

Saturday November 21 1987
WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Number 101

FORM DEFENCE

COMMITTEE AGAINST IRISH DEPORTATIONS

A THREE-PRONGED attack on ethnic communities in general and the Irish in particular was unleashed last week.

The attacks come hard on the heels of Labour leader Neil Kinnock's visit to Ireland where he called for an intensified drive against the Republican movement.

Kinnock echoed the frenzied anti-IRA statements of royalty, churchmen, loyalist politicians and other hypocrital supporters of imperialist terrorism. Visiting soldiers at Gough Barracks in British-occupied County Armagh, he said that IRA fighters and other so-called 'terrorists' should be 'taken out of society'.

Camden Council's ruling Labour group, apparently taking their leader's cue, confirmed its policy of deporting homeless Irish and Bangladeshi families.

BY THE EDITOR

• The Manchester Police are attempting to ban this Sunday's annual Manchester Martyrs march (see page 16).

The Tory government announced further proposals to tighten up the immigration laws. Visitors will in future only be allowed to stay in the country for six months rather than the present 12. In addition those who settled in Britain before 1973 will now have to meet financial and accommodation requirements of more recent immigrants.

IN CAMDEN the Labour group decided to continue its policy of repatriating the borough's homeless Irish families. By a 26-11 majority they voted to maintain the policy of giving travel warrants to homeless families of Irish origin who have accommodation in Ireland — no matter how long they have lived in London. The Labour councillors refused to meet a deputation from last Monday's 200-strong lobby called in opposition to this racist policy.

The repatriation policy has already been extended to homeless Bangladeshi families who have been offered air tickets in order to get them out of the borough. Two recent cases highlight the policies now being carried out by this once 'left' council:

• In the first, a man and his wife — who was nearing the full term of pregnancy — and their five children had applied for

accommodation on 26 October. They had previously lived in south London and had returned from a visit to Bangladesh, where they had spent 18 months at the home of the man's mother. A confidential memorandum dated 2 November from Donald Macarthur, Camden's assistant director of housing needs, to the housing committee chairman Gareth Smyth, said about this family:

'It seems to me that this family is intentionally homeless, either because they were not deprived of their accommodation in Bngladesh or because the head of the household failed to make any housing arrangements for his family on arrival in the UK.'

Camden's move follows that of the east London borough of Tower Hamlets which earlier this year declared 54 Bangladeshi families intentionally homeless because they had accommodation available in Bangladesh, and tried to evict them — a move that will be tested in the courts next February.

In the second case concerning Bangladeshi families, a man who has lived in a Camden council flat 'for some years' applied on 30 October for housing with his wife and five children who were new arrivals in Britain and had obtained immigration clearance. Macarthur said about this case

immigration clearance. Macarthur said about this case:
'It is clear that the household has accommodation elsewhere
they can legally occupy. Had this situation arisen, for example,
from the Republic of Ireland, I would have no hesitation in
offering a travel warrant to return.'

offering a travel warrant to return.'

Smyth said he had yet to reach a decision about this second case. But if families had 'secure and reasonable accommodation' as judged by British standards, Camden would offer them plane tickets.

IN A letter to 'The Guardian' last week the 11 who voted against the Labour group majority said about the repatriation policy:

'It is an absolute abdication of responsibility on the part of the Council's leadership in Camden. These families are not responsible for the housing crisis in the inner-cities, but the leadership in Camden have effectively victimised them as a result of that crisis. It is the equivalent of blaming the unemployed for the level of unemployment, or perhaps more accurately, ethnic minorities for racism, and as a policy is totally indefensible.

We have never defended such policies and we have never

'We have never defended such policies and we have never supported such policies, and we believe that it is the responsibility of everyone who is opposed to racism to do everything in their power to ensure that the policies being implemented by the leadership in Camden are thrown into the dustbin where they belong.'

For their stand the 11 councillors have been threatened with the withdrawal of the Labour whip. Right-wing councillor Pat Denny threatened this action at Monday's meeting but said he would let the matter rest on the table as a measure to be considered at any time in the future.

 The WRP calls for the formation of a defence committee to fight for all those Irish, Bangladeshi and other families threatened with deportation.

This committee must mobilise the widest support throughout the whole of the working class: from those forced to survive in bed-and-breakfast accommodation, from the thousands of homeless, from the trade union movement.

• A mass Lobby must be organised at the next council meeting on 9 December. The 11 councillors intend to move a motion rejecting the Labour majority's racist policy and they must receive the maximum backing from the working-class movement.

Anti-deportation march — see page 2



INSIDE

Meltdown: crisis out of control
— page 15

No 'Glasnost' for Banda group
— page 4

Rae Hunter — 50 years of Trotskyism — page 9

Dot Gibson reports from Communist Party
Congress
— page 5
SAS murder machine
— pages 10-11

Workers Dress

Why we are supporting Scargill

WORKERS PRESS welcomes Arthur Scargill's decision to stand for reelection as president of the National Union of Mineworkers.

His move has already caused great confusion amongst his various enemies who appear to be having problems in mounting a credible candidate against him. They are undoubtedly worried that if Scargill is returned with a substantial majority his position in the union will be greatly strengthened. They are right.

Scargill has increasingly found himself in a minority on the union executive, faced by an unprincipled alliance of Stalinists, 'lefts' and right wingers. This alliance has:

- Opposed Scargill's efforts to extend the overtime ban and put some teeth into the fight against British Coal's disciplinary code.
- Attempted to force him to sit down with leaders of the scab Union of Democratic Miners pressure which Scargill has stood firm against.
- Tried to force Scargill to yield to British Coal's demand for six-day working.

His decision to go to the membership has opened up an opportunity to take the fight on these issues into the ranks of the union and amongst the working class generally. The maximum advantage must be taken of these opportunities.

Scargill has won the undying hostility of the Comunist Party and the right-wing bureaucracy in the working class because of his intransigence during the 1984-1985 miners' strike. It was fitting that Mick McGahey, recently retired NUM vice-president, should last week devote his final speech to the Communist Party Congress as an executive member to an attack against Scargill and a defence of Kinnock's 'new realism'.

The Tory Party have made clear that they intend to destroy independent trade unionism in this country. They want to create unions directly subordinate to the needs of the capitalist state. In this drive the Thatcher government expresses the crisis of world capitalism in general and British capitalism in particular. Capitalism can no longer allow the working class to have organisations which are able to defend its interests. Scargill has been one of the few leaders who by his actions has opposed this drive.

His campaign against six-day working and his refusal to yield to demands for area or pit-by-pit agreements with British Coal has been a campaign for the integrity of the union as a national body.

Scargill is more than an individual. He reflects a layer in the working class that, since the outbreak of the miners' strike especially, has demonstrated a willingness, an enthusiasm even, to take up the struggle against the capitalist state in defence of its living standards and rights.

This does not of course make Arthur Scargill a revolutionary Marxist. We have considerable differences with him and will raise these in the working class on every appropriate

But the issue in the coming election is clear. The whole of the Tory press and media will be mobilised to unleash the dirtiest campaign against Scargill. Every class conscious worker must support him in his bid for re-election as leader of the miners.

Poorest paying for the crisis

D-DAY for the Poll Tax will be 31 March next year. The Tory government has decided to abolish the domestic rates system at one blow.

Unemployed workers and youth, one-parent families, disabled people and old-age pensioners living at the behest of the DHSS will be hardest hit by this latest Tory attack against the working class.

The 13 highest-spending London boroughs will be given four years to phase in the new tax.

To keep opposition at bay, those councils spending more than £130 per head over the official expenditure norm (the grant related expenditure assessment) will not be included in the first hammer blows. The costs of the big bang would be prohibitive for many households.

Even in these boroughs the inhabitants will be expected to pay £100 on top of their existing domestic rates bill.

Workers Press stood alone, following the Thatcher general election victory, in saying that this is a government of crisis. We do not retract that position one jot; the cost of keeping this capitalist system going is catastrophic.

The Tories are selling off nationalised industries, and privatising essential services necessary for the proper maintenance of health, education, safety and travel. Introduction of the poll tax is a further and even more drastic measure to make the poorest in the communities pay for the crisis.

The government will rush the poll tax through Parliament. Legislation is expected to be published in the first week of December, and to have its second reading before Christmas.

The government has published figures showing the expected payments per head in 1990/1991 — when all the so-called 'safety nets' have gone. The payments range from £134 in Teesdale, County Durham to £355 in Brentwood, Essex.

From Scotland, HILARY HORROCKS reports:

IN Scotland the campaign against the poll tax is well under way. A lobby of the re-called conference of the Scottish Labour Party on 21 November is being organised by the recently-formed 'Smash the Poll Tax Campaign' (SPTC).

At a well-attended meeting the Glasgow-based campaign decided to demand that the Labour councils do not implement the hated new charge. But Strathclyde and Lothian Regional Councils have already installed new computers to monitor its collection and

Strathclyde will also recruit 400 'snoopers' on short-term contracts to compile a register of inhabitants.

The SPTC has also agreed to lobby the annual general meeting of the local government union NALGO in Strathclyde. Its members will be the first to be faced with implementing the tax. Local NALGO leaders claim that the extra 400 jobs to administer the tax makes it difficult for them to join the opposition even though it is union policy.

A NALGO member reported to the SPTC that there is to be a workplace meeting to discuss non-implementation despite opposition from the Communist Party and local union leadership who refuse to initiate action unless it is backed up by the local clergy and the Tory 'wets'

The important experience of the miners' strike to the whole working class was expressed by several speakers at the SPTC meeting, particularly the importance of collective action. An exminer emphasised that the campaign should adopt tactics which would clarify rank-and-file union and Labour Party members about the failure of their leaderships to fight the poll tax. SPTC is discussing the setting up of local groups in Glasgow where tenants can participate, and also approaching other anti-poll tax campaigns.

● The next meeting of SPTC will be held on Tuesday 8 December, and will include on its agenda the calling of a conference of trade unionists, tenants and immigrant groups in the West of Scotland to unite opposition to the tax. All those interested should contact the following address for details of that meeting: SPTC, PH8 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow.

Strikers more determined

BY BOB MYERS

ENGINEERING
WORKERS at the
Senior Colman factory
in Sale, Manchester,
are discussing how to
strengthen their strike
action following the rejection of their claim
for unfair dismissal by
an industrial tribunal.

The men have been on strike since January over the sacking of four men asked to fill in new timesheets without consultation.

Three of those four men have taken other jobs but the remaining man, Bob Stanhope, was due for a separate tribunal hearing from the rest of the sacked men.

However, before the hearing took place the company agreed to reinstate him and paid him compensation. He returned to work last week and was cheered through the picket line by the 29 men left on strike.

His return to work has

made the men more determined to fight for their jobs as they originally took strike action to get Bob and the other three reinstated.

The engineering union (AEU) officials are waiting for a report from the tribunal and will be seeking a meeting with the company. The men's determination to defend trade union rights is in stark contrast to the AEU leaders who have recently been trying to draw up agreements with the Confed employers that would have undermined the very same rights.

Teams from the strike committee are still busy visiting labour and trade union meetings the length and breadth of the country, appealing for finance and invitations to speak at meetings.

- Correspondence to: Tony Lowe, Senior Colman Strike Committee, AEU, The Crescent, Salford.
- BENEFIT SOCIAL: Solidarity with Senior Colman Strikers this Christmas. Friday 11 December, 8p.m. Stretford Sports Club. Admission: £1 waged; 50p unwaged.

Joint campaign

FIVE unions jointly organised a demonstration in London last Saturday to protest the cases of Marion Gaima and Som Raj and to highlight the increasingly vicious immigration rulings being applied against black communities.

Every year Britain's racist laws deny hundreds of black people the right to live and work free of state harassment.

Marion Gaima, a member of the local government union NALGO, has lived in Britain for more than 14 years. Her job is here, her home is here, her friends are here — but the government wants to deport her.

If she is forced to return to Sierra Leone she could face political persecution in addition to other hardships in common with the 250 or so black people forced to leave this country every month.

Supported

The demonstration was supported by many local branches of NALGO and the Union of Turkish Workers, the Jewish Socialist Group and the Kings Cross Women's Centre and other groups.

Som Raj, a member of the National Union of Journalists, is one of many who have been refused permission to stay under the application of a ruling alleging that 'the primary purpose of (his) marriage was to gain settlement in this country'.

Cases

This, and many other cases demonstrate that it is not considered a sufficent defence to demonstrate that the marriage is genuine. The mere fact of one of the parties having resided out of this country prior to the marriage seems to be the excuse for wrecking the lives of thousands of people who undergo years of harassment under these immigration laws.

£20,000 Special Fund

THE FUND STANDS AT: £250.32

THIS is the first stage in the campaign to raise £20,000 by 1 May next year. The Fund is to help finance the work we are undertaking to build the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. We trust that plans are now well advanced for Christmas money-raising activities to give the Fund a big boost and launch us into 1988 with a good proportion of the target already met. If your branch has not made such plans, please don't delay any longer. Send all donations to:

WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

WORKERS PRESS NOVEMBER FUND

In so far: £838.36

THE MONTHLY fund stands at a little over £800. We warn you we are falling behind in the struggle to raise our £2,000. We have said repeatedly that without a guaranted income we cannot finance our political activities. So do please make a special effort this weekend to ask everybody you can for a donation to the Fund. Don't let us down! Send all donations to:

WRP Monthly Fund PO Box 735 London SW9 7QS

FORD WORKERS – BE PREPARED!

BY A FORD WORKER

NEGOTIATORS for Ford's and the trade unions are due to meet again on Monday 23 November for the final meeting before the existing pay agreement runs out on 24 November.

So far Fords have not moved an inch on their demand for a three-year deal and productivity 'strings' in return for a 4.25-percent increase.

The company's response has shocked the full-time officials and plant convenors who have grown complacent with customary offers of traditional 'increments by

stages' during pay negotiations and then being able to appear to have gained something.

This ritual pantomime has been demolished by the aggressive Ford management who want to take advantage of the treacherous union leaderships in order to impose even greater exploitation of the 36,000 manual workers at Fords who are now paid more than £20 per week less than other British car workers while producing the greatest output.

Ford management admits that production per employee has gone up 50 per cent since 1984 but, in order to satisfy the never-ending drive for profits, it demands more production, promises job cuts and a wage increase less than the rate of inflation tied to a three year standstill on economic demands.

While the union leaders have been looking for 'a deal' to sell to the workers and were shaken by Fords response, the Ford workers acted immediately.

Tens of thousands of workers have taken unofficial ac-

pany. They have also made it clear they will have no truck with J. Airlie's signing of the single nation deal at Dundee, separate from Fords (UK) and national union agreements. This is a scab deal aimed at undermining Ford workers' wages and conditions and has encouraged Fords to try to impose such conditions on all Ford workers in the name of 'competing' with other car

Ford workers face the danger that their leaders will try to avoid an all out strike by putting to a secret ballot an increased money offer, accepting the three year deal, in line with Tory antiunion laws.

They must prepare now for an all-out strike by setting up strike committees and organising pickets in advance to keep the strike under shop floor control.

Demands must be put on the leaders, both the officials and the plant leaderships:

Lead the fight or resign!No sell-out on the full

claim

- No three- or two-year agreement, job cuts or productivity speed up!
- Fix the date for an all-out strike!

Ford workers must be on their guard against both a sell-out by their leaders and the possibility that Fords may plan to take on the unions in order to smash the plant organisation and force through their drastic attacks on the workforce.

After the stock market crash in October the Thatcherite drive to destroy trade unionism will be redoubled, using every weapon at the employers' disposal, including the state and rotten trade union leadership.

Leadership is the most decisive question in this struggle. New leadership is required in the working class that is prepared for these struggles in their entire scope. The building of such a leadership is seen as a central task and responsibility by the Workers Revolutionary Party and we appeal to Ford workers to join our

Tenants fight rent increases

BY ALAN CLARKE

OVER 100 angry tenants on Thamesmead housing estate, south-east London, met last Monday to form a tenant's association to fight the massive rent increases to be introduced next April.

Thamesmead was taken over by a private company two years ago when the GLC was abolished.

The proposed increases have provoked an angry response from tenants, who say these amount in some cases to £18 a week for a three-bedroomed house.

The increases were set under the Tory government's 'fair rents' scheme without consultation, although they have been advised to register any complaints as soon as possible.

Thamesmead Town has

been very crafty. They sent out the 'fair rents' proposals to tenants two weeks ago. A further letter was sent last week saying that the rents would not be going up as set out under the proposals. They would go up by £2 per room but with a maximum of £8.

This has not satisfied tenants who believe the 'fair rents' will be set eventually.

The meeting was called by the local ward Labour Party with councillor Ted Claridge reporting on the increases. He said tenants must have a plan of action and should form a tenants' association.

He also suggested that tenants should register against the increases as soon as possible. Otherwise, he said, if the fair rents are set, it will be too late.

Claridge said that the Tory goverment must be funding Thamesmead Town. When you see the Tory privatisation plans for British Pretoleum or British Gas on TV you see many banks ploughing in, he said.

Further attacks on unemployed

BY SUE GWYER

THE GOVERN-MENT announced last week a further doubling of the disqualification period for unemployment benefit for people who have left jobs 'voluntarily'.

This will also apply to those who are cleared 'available for work' under 'Re-start' but refuse to go on any of the MSC's work schemes.

More than 400,000 people a year will have to wait 6 months before getting unemployment pay.

Those who qualify for supplementary benefit will have it cut by 40 per cent, unless they are seriously ill or pregnant when benefit reduction will be 20 per cent.

Since supplementary benefit is set at the officially recognised subsistance level, the penalty for socalled 'voluntary unemployment' will be to live at less than subsistance levels for up to six months.

The government's proposed changes will not need further legislation. The government intends to lay parliamentary orders amending the 1975 Social Security Act to implement the plan from 11 April next year.

Since the disqualification period was increased from six weeks to three months, in October 1986, the government argue that the number of people becoming unemployed 'voluntarily' has increased and that the main purpose of the amendments to the Social Security Act is to 'discourage people from leaving jobs voluntarily without good cause'.

Presently about 420,000 people a year are disqualified from receiving unemployment benefit under these provisions, out of 5.3 million claimants. About 180,000 have their supplementary benefits reduced.

MSC director general Geoffrey Holland also announced last week the intention of ending trade union involvement in approving training schemes.

The Employment Secretary, Norman Fowler, wrote

in June to the MSC demanding a reduction in union involvement on the Commission and Area Manpower Boards

He incorporated this change in the Employment Bill which also renames the MSC the Training Commission.

This Bill entered standing committee on 12 November and proposes that the Training Commission should have 6 employer representatives in addition to the MSC's present 3, employer, 3 union and 3 'educational' nominees.

Renamed

Holland argues that the area boards should also be renamed Local Advisory Bodies and that from May 1988 they should no longer approve schemes.

The unions have justufied their position on Area Manpower Boards as ensuring that schemes provide real training and not simply cheap labour.

The MSC has already removed the right of the AMB's to monitor JTS placements, a major factor in mobilising the trade unions to take a stand against JTS; although the TUC did only pass a motion calling essentially for a 'voluntary boycott'.

Holland's proposed changes will remove a union veto altogether on the Area Manpower Boards. The government feel that they no longer need a trade union labour economy.

The government also intend to penalise those who return to the unemployment register on 'graduating' from a scheme by cutting benefit by up to £6.

Such individuals will lose transitional protection under the Social Security Actan effective 10 per cent benefit cut.

Home owners will only get financial assistance to cover 50 per cent of their mortgages for the first 16 weeks of re-signing as unemployed.

Schemes

The MSC's schemes are funded from the EEc's social fund, of which Britain receives £435 million. Some £254 million is spent on MSC schemes.

The Thatcher government applied for an extra £70 million to fund the new JTS but under opposition from British Labour MEPs such as Les Huckfield they received only £10 million.

Moves are afoot to retrieve this £10 million as the EEC becomes aware of its use. The government is throwing people on to cheap labour schemes, which contrary to all previous publicity, they do not pay for. The government was able to bring in JTS only because of trade union collaboraton. They now propose compulsion on all schemes, through Restart (not just compulsion onto YTS), six months non-payment of benefit being the penalty for refusal to take any scheme.

Collaboration

Before they are kicked out altogether, the unions must take a stand and withdraw from the Area Manpower Boards and cease collaboration with the state through the MSC now.

The MSC is an arm of the state, which, alongside the barrage of anti-trade union laws, is designed to smash the trade unions and undermine all the hard-won rights of the working class in order to institute a slave-wage economy where the slaves will not have the organisations to fight back with.

The demand must be end tradue union collaboration with the MSC! NOW!

Organise the unemployed into the trade unions. Unite the employed and unemployed



MEMBERS of the CPSA civil servants' union at Bolton MSC office went back to work after 23 weeks when a return-to-work agreement was successfully concluded. They were the first office in the Civil Service to take action against the introduction of YTS in its present form into the Department of Employment group. The strikers were determined to stay out until the YTS trainees were removed or had completed their secondment. The Bolton strike was followed by actions at West Bromwich and Coventry Job Centres and has been the basis for a campaign against YTS elsewhere in the Civil Service.

No glasnost for

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

ABOUT a month ago, the Jewish Socialists' Group, of which I'm a member, received an invitation to send a speaker to a 'Marxist Philosophy Forum', on the topic of 'The British Left and Zionism'.

The letter explained that the 'Forum' consisted of former members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, and the writer expressed a wish to correct wrong positions which they and the rest of the left had held in the past.

It was signed by Mike Banda.

When the JSG's National Committee discussed the invitation, they asked my opinion, since I'm a WRP member. I said there could be no harm in going, and that I'd be interested in attending myself as it might be a worthwhile discussion.

The JSG suggested that I should be their speaker. Eventually, after giving the matter some thought, and consulting one or two leading Party comrades, I agreed to do it.

Over the next few weeks, I snatched what time I could to read suitable material and made my notes, to prepare my contribution. I intended to stick to my brief, to approach my audience as I would any other, and not to engage in any irrelevant or sectarian diversions.

I was going not as an individual but as a JSG representative, and had a responsibility to fulfil.

Promote

The JSG exists to promote socialist views among the Jewish community, to revive the traditions of the Jewish labour movement, to encourage Jewish participation in anti-racist and other struggles, and to reflect Jewish historical experience and concerns in our contribution to the socialist movement.

The Group is not affiliated to a Party or particular tendency. Jewish Socialists include Labour Party and Communist Party members, and people active in their unions or campaigns who are not members of any party.

I did take the precaution of asking my friend Dave Rosenberg, JSG National Secretary, to let the 'Marxist Philosophy Forum' know whom the Group was sending, just in case they had any objections, and to avoid any surprise for them.

As the day grew nearer, I looked forward to the occasion with curiosity, rather than animosity, as it would be my first opportunity to discuss with Mike Banda in the two years since he took leave of absence as General Secretary of the WRP and went to Sri Lanka, returning later to lead an opposing group.

I was due to speak on Thursday evening, 12 November. I circulated JSG members in London inviting them along. On the Thursday afternoon, I received a phone call from Dave Rosen-

Banda group

or: 'A funny thing happened on my way to the Forum'



Mike Banda

He had just checked the Group's mailbox, and found a letter from the Marxist Philosophy Forum, informing him that the proposed speaker was 'unacceptable', and that unless they could provide a substitute, the meeting was off!

I knew Mike Banda for over 20 years, during which time he was a leading full-timer in the Socialist Labour League and then the WRP and for a decade, at least nominally, General Secretary.

When I was a Young Socialist in the early 1960s, Mike Banda was one of those responsible for my political education—or miseducation—and he supervised our union faction. His wife Janet Banda directed our youth work.

Telling

Rhoda Atkin, another of his 'Forum' associates, was my branch secretary. Among other things, I remember her telling me about her experiences in the Communist Party which had led her to join the SLL.

Had I spoken to Banda's 'Forum', I might well have borrowed the phrase someone used at the 1903 Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party when addressing some leaders of the Bund: 'My teachers, who I see before me . . . '!

Banda must have given many a talk in his time on the subject of the Soviet Union and Stalinism. He knows that as Trotskyists, we in the WRP, are unconditionally for the defence of the Soviet Union in opposition to, say, the 'state caps' of the Socialist Workers' Party, (or the Maoists whom he used to admire).

We are against NATO and US bases, and we regularly expose and fight against the war plans of US and British imperialism.

We consider the USSR a workers' state, born out of the October Revolution, but subject to a bureaucratic degeneration due to the isolation of the revolution, the objective conditions in Russia.

Virtually all the leaders of the October Revolution were murdered by Stalinist repression. We are demanding their posthumous rehabilitation, and a true accounting of

We are opposed to the Stalinist bureaucracy, its parasitism within Soviet society, and its international policies, such as have for instance led to the Nicaraguan government being forced by Soviet pressure to attempt a truce with Reagan's Contras; or the Stalinists internationally supporting Rajiv Gandhi's treacherous slaughter of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Incidentally, one of Banda's followers attended a JSG public event last month commemorating the Jewish Workers' Bund. The main speaker, a veteran of the Bund in pre-war Poland, described how the Bundist leaders Ehrlich and Alter died at the hands of the Stalinist GPU.

I am surprised that after such frankness Banda's 'Marxist Philosophy Forum' was prepared to invite a speaker from the JSG at all.

It is the first duty of a communist, as opposed to a Stalinist bureaucrat or sycophant, to tell the truth to the working class. That is what we endeavour to do each week in Workers Press.

We do not consider our

attacks on the bureaucracy to constitute 'hostility to the USSR', any more than it is 'anti-union' to expose a corrupt official, or than it was 'anti-Trotskyist' to expose and expel Healy.

As for being 'hysterical', we can safely leave it to those with experience of the post-Healy WRP and Banda's group to decide where that label belongs.

Banda's letter in part says:

'I regret to state that your speaker Mr. Charlie Pottins

is unacceptable to us. He is known to us as a leading

member of the Workers Revolutionary Party and a

frequent and enthusiastic contributor to the Workers

Press. The WRP and its paper have earned an

unenviable notoriety for their hysterical and

reactionary hostility to the USSR and, not least, for

their bureaucratic skulduggery against political

opponents. One of their CC members was given a four

months sentence last year for assault on an ex-member of the WRP. Most of the members of our

group, myself particularly, broke from the WRP in 1986 and were expelled on the basis of fabricated

evidence because of our refusal to compromise with their essentially Healyite organisational practices

which included violence, forgery, slander and the

burglary of member's apartments. As far as I know

Pottins who is very conversant with these methods has

never condemned them or even disassociated himself

from them.

Only those who are prepared to prostitute their consciences and abilities to the service of some 'great leader', can adopt the kind of position Banda has today.

He and his followers lost one idol in Healy. They have found another in Stalin. At a meeting of 'The Leninist', Banda praised Stalin for his great achievement in crushing the peasantry.

What's a few million peasants starved to death or shot, between such 'friends of the Soviet Union'? No problem with accepting such 'organisational methods'

Violence

As for 'violence', there are plenty of comrades in the WRP and elsewhere who, asked to comment on Banda's 'organisational' practices, can point to their bruises. I will leave it to them to bear witness.

The idea of Mike Banda as an apostle of 'non-violence' reminds me of W.C. Field's famous act as an inebriate preaching on the evils of drink. With this difference: that Fields was a great comedian, whereas Banda's performance is tragic.

Gerry Healy knew how to exploit the contradictions and weaknesses of those he used, and Banda was no exception. It wasn't always put to bad use. I've known Banda show physical courage when it was needed. (I watched him snatch a bayonet off a hostile youth once.)

But as General Secretary in later years, he let the decaying Healy continue to rule the roost. Banda could Healyites and the police on this.

His use of the half-truth and smear against our Party shows him a true pupil of Healy, and his new hero, Stalin.

Banda never confronted his responsibility as a leading member to give an account of himself to the membership of this party, or to face a congress to explain his desertion. Maybe that's why he and his coterie could not even face the prospect of one WRP member coming to address them, even in a quite differant capacity, and on a seemingly harmless topic.

All who participated in the Healy regime in any way—and I was a journalist on the News Line for two years—ought to accept some share of responsibility for our past actions. I would not hold Banda's past against him, had he shown any willingness to be honest about it, and more important, had he joined with us in negating Healyism to rebuild the WRP as a Trotskyist party.

But when he has the chutzpah to talk about 'their essentially Healyite organisational practices', (as though this party's history was nothing to do with him!) and when he tells people that 'Pottins . . is very conversant with these methods', he must take the consequences.

Friends

I have quite a few friends in the labour movement, and I dare say, some enemies. I have certainly deserved criticism at times. But I would stake my reputation against Mike Banda's any time.

Banda's 'Marxist Philosophy Forum' proclaims in its programme 'we passionately believe that the road to the successful attainment of Socialism and Peace lies in and through the ideological clarification and theoretical development of the vanguard of the working class.'

There, and elsewhere, they proclaim a crusade against what they claim is the main force holding back the working class — not reformism, nor (god forbid!) Stalinism, but 'the method and outlook of empiricism'.

Well, empiricism in its time was a progressive development in philosophy, through which the emergent bourgeoisie broke out of mediaeval obscurantism and scholasticism. Today, we need the more advanced science of dialectical and historical materialism as the method to guide the party in its task of leading the working class to power.

But we cannot dispense entirely with what was correct in empiricism: the careful observation of the objective, material world, the ability to learn from experience and experiment, in order to acquire new knowledge.

Part of our theoretical task is the honest uncovering and study of history, including our own. Especially our own. Mike Banda and his followers, who walked away from the explosion in this party, saying 'look what a mess you have made', who turned their backs resolutely on Trotskyism, refusing to face their own movement and its history, have nothing positive to contribute to the struggle for 'clarification' or anything else in the workers' movement.

I'm glad that such a 'Forum' as they have considers me 'unacceptable' as a speaker. I'm proud of it. There was a time when I used to have some respect for Mike Banda. Now, I will repeat the words Maxton used to Ramsay MacDonald after the betrayal of 1931. 'Ye're pathetic, man.'

assert his authority as a party leader, against those he called 'backward workers' or 'cowardly intellectuals', but when Healy was ranting and raving around the centre, 'hard man' Banda preferred to hide himself away. He lacked any political courage

courage.

True, when the revolt finally came in the WRP, Banda was confronted by the members and forced briefly and relucatantly to make a stand against Healy — 'to save my back' as he put it at the time.

He certainly did not break from Healy's anticommunist methods as was evidenced in his treatment of a woman who had been one of Healy's victims, and tragically could not break with Healy. He boasted afterwards to another comrade that he now 'understood the necessity of torture'.

This is the same Banda who now sees fit to refer to a WRP Central Committee member, my friend and comrade Phil Penn, (he can't bring himself to mention the name), getting 'a four months sentence last year for assault on an ex-member of the WRP'.

Well, Phil Penn, as everyone knows, did not beat up a slightly-built young woman. He was attacked by a gang of Healyites, and was 'unfortunate' enough to beat them off in the fight, when the police arrived.

They were looking for arrests, it being near Wapping, and the capitalist court was only too happy to send down a communist, whatever the circumstances. The only witnesses, apart from the police, were Healyites.

We dealt with this incident extensively in Workers Press, and the letters of support poured in. Banda must be virtually the only person in the labour movement prepared to take sides with the

'By the time of the next Congress we won't have a party'

DOT GIBSON reports from the Communist Party Congress

THE 'Morning Star' and the Communist Party of Great Britain have officially confirmed their split.

The 40th Party Congress in Hammersmith last week, agreed by an overwhelming vote to abolish the rule calling on members 'to read the "Morning Star" and to help in every way the circulation of the paper."

This marks a near 60-year break since the 'Daily Worker' was launched as the Party's paper.

In closed session, 22 expulsions were ratified, including those of 'Morning Star' management committee members Joe Berry, Ken Brett, Les Burt Ken Gill, Terry Marsland, Derek Robinson, Mary Rosser, Tom Sibley, George Wake and Jenny Williams.

Moving 'Resolution 200' from the West Middlesex District Committee, Kevin Halpin called for readmission 'to membership of the Party, without conditions that are not applicable to all members, every member who has been expelled or excluded from the Party since the time of the District Congresses in 1984'.

Halpin appealed: 'Big names are being expelled from this Party. If Mike Hicks (expelled in 1985) were here, would Wapping have been discussed? As it is there is no discussion on the defeats of the class. Let's have some "glasnost" at this Congress, and we will be much stronger in the future.'

No Debate

But no debate took place on the issue. Congress had already decided that there would be only two speakers. For the Executive Committee, Terry Wilde said: "Their position in the trade union and labour movement does not give them special rights — they have broken Party rules."

However there is little to choose between the two sides. Halpin complained that the Communist Campaign Group had been accused by McLennan of being the same as the New Communist Party, and insisted: 'Those being expelled agree with the British Road to Socialism, and some of them first assisted to found the policy.'

Monty Johnston talked about education. Encouraging the reading of Marxist classics, he suggested that the

next Congress (in two years' time) must propose a new edition of the 'British Road'.

'It needs to be a Marxist document enriched by feminism, equality and antiracism,' Johnson explained.

Trevor Carter told Congress: 'In order to enrich our theoretical work we must look at the practical possibilities on the ground. In the light of the "British Road", in the light of our pluralistic society, we have much work to do.'

The party's deep crisis is expressed in the declining membership, financial problems, and 'disappointing' circulation of the weekly paper '7 Days', and much of these problems are blamed on what was described by EC member Peter Carter as 'the lack of politics in the trade union movement'.

Consciousness

He said: 'Years of economic struggle has not led to an increase of political consciousness in the working class.'

It was difficult to imagine

that these people may not have noticed the year-long miners' strike when thousands were embattled with the state. Carter went on to take issue with the AEU-Ford single-union deal. Exasperated, Carter said: 'If the unions are really concerned about driving industry away from this country, then they would collaborate, and not go out for single-union deals.'

He failed to mention that the architect of the deal was James Ailrlie, EC member of the Party.

John Vollamere, the Merseyside membership organiser commented that if membership continued to drop then 'we won't have a party by the time of the next Congress.' He felt that it was 'one thing to discuss the Thatcherite agenda thrust upon us, but another to dent it or replace it.'

However, all is not lost for, according to Carten the Party has a 'unique conception of a genuine broad and autonomous movement around such campaigns as unemployment, poll tax etc. and sometimes it is better to take a supportive back seat



Delegates to the Communist Party Congress faced a variety of lobbyists on their way in.

to build broad-based issue-based alliances.'

It was easy to get the impression that a considerable number of delegates would feel more at home if they disbanded the whole crisisridden operation, and just wended their weary way into social democracy.

Many references were made to the fact that the past five years of struggle between the so-called Euros and Tankies had discouraged the youth.

There are 44 members of the Young Communist League nationally, and the few young delegates at the Congress spoke of the frustration about the way the YCL had been made a scapegoat for the Party. Peter Shield said that the youth were only used 'to sell papers and dish out leaflets.'

Some complained about what they called 'the Trots'. Tim Barnesbury said that the crisis in the Party had meant that Trotskyists had been able 'to impose their odious politics and practices on young people.'

There is a majority in this ageing party who are wholeheartedly in support of Gorbachev's attack on Trotsky, and they are not in the least fussy about the ideological basis for the differences. Eleanor Yates told Congress that it was necessary 'to develop organisation against the reactionary ideology of Trots and others'

'Glasnost' — British style

THE Communist Party leadership refused to tell Congress by how much membership has fallen under the re-registration purge of the past two years.

Despite several requests from delegates, national organiser Ian McKay refused to provide detailed figures, simply saying that 'No comrade has been excluded from membership as a result of the operation of Rule 22. It was a proper re-registration.'

The executive committee report admitted that four London borough committees and 16 London branches had been dissolved since August 1983. Two Scottish branch committees had been dismissed and provisional committees appointed.

IT WOULD be difficult to report the Communist Party Congress in Hammers-mith and not have in mind another event taking place in the same borough at the same time: the Healy/Redgrave report-back from the Stalinist bureaucracy's celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution was held on 15 November at the Riverside Studios, Hammersmith. Healy was expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party two years ago. It was easy to remember the delight with which he treated the crisis of Stalinism in the British Communist Party. He has been proved to be very close to them — and not just because they were both meeting in Hammersmith either. We print below the Workers Press leaflet distributed outside the Healy/Redgrave meeting.

GERRY HEALY: TRAITOR TO TROTSKYISM

FACTS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT VANESSA REDGRAVE AND GERRY HEALY

FOR nearly 40 years Gerry Healy was leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party and its predecessors. On 19 October 1985 he was expelled from the WRP. This was followed by the expulsion of his supporters, including Vanessa and Corin Redgrave as well as Alex Mitchell and former Assistant Secretary of the WRP Sheila Torrance.

Two years later, on 7 November 1987, Healy and Vanessa Redgrave stood in Moscow alongside the Stalinist bureaucracy on 70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. They are traitors to Trotskyism.

HEALY was charged and expelled for systematic sexual abuse against female comrades in the Party, regular use of violence against political opponents inside and outside the WRP, and the use of slander against his opponents (those who disagreed with him were branded CIA or KGB agents). Healy never defended himself against these charges. He refused to attend the meeting where they were heard. He could not defend himself, because they were true.

himself, because they were true.

Healy's 'dialectic' had more and more become the instrument for systematising and rigidifying his personal ruthlessness and rudeness to the point of sheer abuse and brutality. He came to identify his own personal sordid impulses and interests with the interests of the Party and the International Committee. He arrived at the point where he was immovably convinced that he was so unique, so important, indeed so indispensable, that everything other comrades could contribute was subordinate to him — the embodiment of history.

There had been a time (1953) when G. Healy took up a fight for the continuity of the Fourth International and Marxism against Pabloite revisionism, and showed an unequalled determination, resolve and political sense for what must be done in that fight in a long series of struggles. There was a time (1956 — Khruschev's famous speech against Stalinism) when G. Healy led the fight and won important members of the Communist Party for Trotskyism.

But Healy's descent into sheer mysticism, reducing the 'dialectic' to an idle play of subjective fancy merely played the role of confirming his own profoundly mistaken and dangerous but unshakeable conviction that his judgement was beyond criticism.

In October 1985, Cliff Slaughter wrote: 'This process had a definite political character — Pabloite revisionism and the destruction of the cadres of the Fourth International.' But the process was much faster than any WRP member could imagine.

Healy now fawns to the head of a

bureaucracy that:

 Murdered the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party;

Organised the infamous Moscow Trials where leading Bolsheviks were tortured into making 'confessions' about their supposed anti-Soviet activities;

 Murdered the leading cadres of the Red Army;

 Signed a Treaty of friendship with Hitler in 1939 and left the Soviet Union defenceless when the Nazis invaded in 1941.

Speaking of the period following the death of Lenin, Gorbachev told his fellow bureaucrats as well as the world ruling class: 'It is essential to disprove Trotskyism before the whole people. . . the party's leading nucleus headed by Josef Stalin had safeguarded Leninism in an ideological struggle.'

whole people . . . the party's leading nucleus headed by Josef Stalin had safeguarded Leninism in an Ideological struggle.

Gorbachev's attack on Trotskyism is no accident. Trotsky was the leader of that force which from the 1920s onwards fought against the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy, against its national conceptions of socialism in one country and for the concept of the world socialist revolution. It is Trotskyism, the Fourth International alone that today can resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the working class, a crisis created by the betrayals of Stalinism.

Like Stalin, Gorbachev heads a parasitic counter-revolutionary caste that defends to the death its privileges against the international working class. Gorbachev's *glasnost* has one purpose. It promises a few cosmetic reforms in order to try to head off the rising tide of opposition to Stalinism from both intellectuals and workers. Others in the bureaucracy want to deal with the working class by means of open repression. These differences are only about tactics. This is the significance of the sacking of Moscow Party chief Boris Yeltsin. Healy was expelled from the Communist Party

Healy was expelled from the Communist Party in 1936 for opposing Stalin's 'peaceful co-existence' policy at the time of the Spanish revolution. He joined a movement separated from Stalinism by a river of blood. He has now crossed that river. He is a renegade and a traitor to Trotskyism and all he fought for over many years.

He attempts to come to the aid of Stalinism when it is in mortal crisis — when the possibility of defeating it in the international working class has now arisen. It is in order to carry out this task that we are taking part in the Preparatory Committee to rebuild the Fourth International to finish off Stalinism for good.

Stalinism for good.

Be warned: have nothing to do with Healy and Redgrave's bogus 'Marxist Party'. It is a pro-Stalinist group — advocates of the most reactionary politics in the working class movement.

When glasnost goes too far

WHY YELTSIN HAD chief **Boris** Yeltsin,

FORMER Moscow Communist Party brought down for complaining that conservative bureaucrats were blocking needed changes, was reported to be ill in hospital last week, following what some said was a heart attack and others a suicide attempt.

The party leader, whom Gorbachev accused of being 'irresponsible and immoral' in his criticisms, was removed from the executive committee of the Moscow soviet, and from chairmanship of the party group on it.

His removal from the Politburo, where he was a candidate member, and the party Central Committee, were expected to follow.

Yeltsin had made himself a popular figure in the Soviet capital, by efforts to brighten it up, and by well-publicised attacks on corruption and privilege as barriers to efficient services.

There were stories of him going around incognito, to stand in queues, then berate food shop managers when staff had suggested undercounter payments might se-cure otherwise 'out of stock'

Shortages

It might not have ended shortages, or the black mar-ket — in fact, the queues have got longer, as shops not only lacked supplies but staff, at their low wages; and other services suffered when to ease the housing shortage he restricted resi-dence permits for people coming to take 'dirty' jobs.

But when Yeltsin told city officials to stop using official cars, and ordered transport managers to use the buses like everyone else so they could see how services needed improving, the people liked it. He was one of workers have been saying.

Others were none too pleased. The wife of a highly-placed official wrote: 'Don't castigate us, don't you see this is futile? We are the elite and you will not arrest society's stratification.

'We shall tear up the sickly sails of your 'restructur-ing'. You will not reach your destination. So restrain your ardour.

Veteran

By contrast, an army veteran wrote to Yeltsin: 'It is time we started to fill up the trench of social injustice. We shall sweep off the road those who resist restruc-turing.'

'What she means above all is privileges', Yeltsin told reporters. . . . I mean for instance the special schools, the use of service transport and other things . . . Here both extremes are harmful. But I have no doubt it is necessary to seek a way of rectifying the social aberration in the establishment of foreign-language oriented schools, to extend the possibility of learning a foreign language to as many children as possible.'

(Earlier this year, Soviet papers reported how privileged officials in Moscow sent their children to special schools which in turn guaranteed them privileged jobs such as in the foreign service; not unlike the public service; not unlike the public schools in capitalist Britain.)

Yeltsin went on to warn of considerable complexities in the way of assuring social



BORIS YELTSIN

justice. 'I mean justice in the full sense of the word. First of all, in the field of labour and labour-remuneration.

'The clash of interests makes itself felt here more acutely than elsewhere.'

Talking of how bureaucrats used their privileged position, Yeltsin said: 'It is imperative to prevent a situation in which some people live under the law, while others — above it. This is precisely what we had.'

'It was not only fathers filling high posts in the Party, state organs, in trade, who were immune to the law. Even their children, and grandchildren, hid in the shade of parental immunity and did what they liked.

'Are we guaranteed against such things in future? No, we are not, until the law and order branches rally resolutely to the defence of the law and the interests of the working peo-ple. This process is now get-ting under way. So far, the activity of these bodies does not quite satisfy us.

It is remarks like this that must have angered the KGB, as well as conservative leaders in the Politburo like Yegor Ligachev.

When things started going wrong recently in Moscow

electricity cuts and Metro breakdowns — people began blaming bureaucratic sabotage, even talking of 'Ligachev's Contras.'

Attacking those who wanted to 'ride to their earthly paradise on the backs of the working people,' yeltsin demanded 'total openness' (glasnost), saying they had to choose 'either truth or untruth, either fling the windows open, so the wind could sweep away all the cobwebs or again sweep. the cobwebs, or again sweep all litter into a corner, and put a padlock on the whole thing."

Fettered

Complaining that some were still 'fettered by their own inner censor, overcaution,' Yeltsin urged 'It is time they made a bold inspection of high places, and identified the self-important who are in no hurry to start restructuring (perestroika) and wish to leave everything as it is.'

Genuine or not, demagogy or not, Yeltsin's attacks on the privileged were arousing a real class feeling among the mass of workers, which is not at all what Gorbachev works for his 'trastructuring' wants for his 'restructuring'. The bureaucrats took fright, and Yeltsin had to go.

How Marina (20) became a Soviet 'misfit'

THE factory bosses were worried about Marina Pristavka. So were the official union bureaucrats. People said she wasn't coping with her work.

She argued with her superiors. She read a lot of Marxist literature.

A bit of a communist, by the sound of it. And that wouldn't do. Not in the Soviet Union!

So Marina, 20, a worker at a Leningrad optical factory, was taken by the factory un-ion chiefs to see doctors at the psychiatric hospital.

'Other girls your age think about love, not about justice,' the psychiatrist said. 'What's wrong with you?'

Marina told him her soul was suffering. 'Too many nasty things happen all

from "glasnost" for many years, the Soviet youth pap-er says, 'but behind the bars lawlessness is taking place.'

The paper claimed that a The paper claimed that a special section of the Interior Ministry had been investigating bribery in psychiatry for two years, and that several senior doctors and a top Health Ministry official had been committed for trial.

In some cases, people wanted to be certified as schizophrenic, so as to get off work or evade criminal law, 'Konsomolskaya Prav-

law, 'Konsomolskaya Prav-da' claimed.

'Many doctors have low qualifications, they do not know how to use modern methods of psychotherapy, and prefer massive doses of drugs But overdoes of trans drugs. But overdoses of tranquillisers cannot do anyone any good, and least of all neuroleptics, which can turn even a healthy person into a

'Other girls your age think about love, not about justice,' said the psychologist. What's wrong with you?'

round.' The doctor replied 'We'll treat your soul.' And at the third visit, the factory management and union offi-cials between them suc-ceeded in getting Marina di-agnosed as 'schizoid' and taken in for treatment.

As the department manager at her work testified: 'She was sick. It was obvious to everyone. She is very strange, is always looking for truth, does not shrink from conflicts with her superiors. The workers com-plained that she reads a lot of Marxist-Leninist literature, and fails to cope with her work programme.

Marina Pristavka's case was told last week in the Soviet Young Communist League's paper 'Konsomolskaya Pravda', which reported that Soviet psychiatric institutions have colluded with the police and other auwith the police and other au-thorities to incarcerate sane and healthy people in mental institutions

'Psychiatric science and practice have been barred

(Such things are known in the United States and Britain of course, such as the forcible administration of drugs to prisoners).

'Komsomolskaya Pravda' did not deal directly with the notorious practice of confining political dissidents to mental hospitals, although the case quoted of Marina Pristovka suggests that psychiatric abuse against people considered 'trouble-some' has been much more widespread than the well-known cases. known cases.

Although the paper is able to report that senior doctors at Marina's clinic have since been fired for 'financial violations and poor work', it also notes that Marina's diagnosis remains on her work record.

The paper also says that its reporters were thrown out of one mental hospital when they were seeking information. Their source, a doctor, was sacked from his job for blowing the gaff on what went on.

More arrests in Malaysıa

A LEADING women's rights activist and an environmental campaigner in Sarawak were among the latest political arrests by Malaysian police last week as the wave of repression continues.

Cecelia Ng Choon Sim, a lecturer at the Agricultural University, was lifted by Special Branch police at a women's centre in Kuala Lumpur.

A few days earlier, Harrison Gnau, a 25-year old tribal leader in Sarawak who is also an organiser for Friends of the Earth there was arrested. In April, Harrison exposed politicians' secret deals selling off timber concessions in the tropical raise. cessions in the tropical rain

Both campaigners were detained under Malaysia's Internal Security Act, which allows people to be held indefinitely without trial.

About 100 people have been detained in the past few weeks, including trades unionists, politicians, academics, and people active on various social issues.

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's egime has claimed it was taking emergency measures because of the danger of tension between Malays and Chinese. But with accross the board arrests of political opponents, this is widely disbelieved.

'This is becoming more or less a police state,' former president Tunku Abdul Rahman accused last week. 'I

never dreamt they would resort to those methods of dealing with our citizens.'

The Tunku was removed from office after the May 1969 race riots, repetition of which Mahathir has used as a threat to justify his police clampdown. Now the former hand of state says he will head of state says he will publish his own version of events in 1969.

Mahathir's own party, the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) is split, with a group of eleven members bringing a court action alleging election rig-

Jailed opposition leader Lim Kit Siang has another case pending, accusing the government of corruption in awarding a big motorway contract

DEMAND TRUTH ROTS

'THE TRUE rehabilitation of Trotsky would be the restitution of historic truth and the publication of his works in the Soviet Union.'

This statement was made by Esteban Volkow, grandson of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, who was murdered by Ramon Mercader an agent sent by Stalin in

BY JEFF JACKSON

Volkow now maintains the Trotsky museum on Vienna Street in the southern Coyoacan neighbourhood of Mexico City where Trotsky and his wife Natalia lived at the time of Trotsky's murder.

In 1939 at the age of six Volkow arrived in Coyoacan to live with his grandparents and was declared a 'political emigrant without a country'. His father had already been taken away by Stalin's police, his mother, Zina, had committed suicide in Berlin, and his uncle Leon Sedov had died in a Paris hospital, killed by Stalinist agents.

It is reported that Gor-

bachev is starting a Latin American tour sometime in 1988, which will start in Mexico, the only country which dared to give refuge to Trotsky 50 years ago. This trip raises the possibility that Gorbachev might visit the museum, despite his un-ashamed anti-Trotsky speech to the assembled Stalinist bureaucracy at the 70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Volkow, speaking to June Bussey of 'The Guardian' added:

'It strikes me as strange that so many falsifications and so many lies as crude and primitive as were those of Stalin have persisted. Now they are talking about the rehabilitation of all Stalin's victims. It is a very important aspect.'

Police riot on Nairobi campus

THE Kenyan government closed the University of Nairobi last week after two days of terror as armed riot police rampaged through the campus beating students.

Students were given a few hours to pack their belongings and clear out, on Monday, watched by a strong force of police. 'If we are not gone by 4pm we will be beaten-up again,' one said.

Earlier, riot police had charged through the halls of residence, attacking students and staff, and smashing down doors. 'It isn't the students but the police who are rioting,' one staff member said.

The trouble began on Saturday, when students heard that armed police had come for seven of their leaders and taken them from their dormitories at midnight. It was reported later that the seven were being interrogated about a student union meeting on Friday

Hundreds of police with rifles and batons cordoned off the campus, and used tear gas to break up a de-monstration. Some foreign journalists who tried to cover the protest were attacked by the police, and cameras confiscated.

On Sunday, as the police stormed the campus, fleeing students were pursued across a nearby park. Police patrols in the city hunted

down stragglers.

The pro-imperialist Arap Moi government has tried to press reports of a pro-South Africa conspiracy run by US churches with Ku Klux Klan backing, to smear the students by false association. Moi claimed foreign infiltrators were causing trouble, and accused the stu-dents of helping 'the Boers who want to destroy the black man'.

Attack

In fact, the attack on the students came after their union had questioned the government's ban on students visiting Cuba. The regime has complained in the past that the colleges were 'hotbeds of Marxism'.

The University of Nairobi was closed for six months after clashes in February 1985 when six students were killed. This time the govern-ment has banned the students' organisation, and says it is closing the Uni-versity indefinitely.

The rich get rich, and

RONALD REAGAN never played Robin Hood, which is just as well. He'd have got it upside down. 'Reaganomics' have done all right... for some, falling dollar or not.

By the end of next year, according to projections by the Congressional Budget Office, the inflation-adjusted income of America's richest 10 per cent will have grown 16 per cent since 1977. They are already paying 20 per cent less tax than they did ten years ago. The Office's figures show the richest of the rich, the top 1 per cent of US families, will be 50 per cent better off than they were in 1977.

The other side of the picture is that the poorest 10 per cent of Americans now pay 20 per cent more tax than they did ten years ago. And Reagan will be leaving 80 per cent of US families with a lower income than they had in 1977.

Turkish CPers arraetad

TWO Turkish Communist Party leaders who returned from exile to test the Ozal regime's promises of 'democracy' were arrested as soon as they stepped off the plane at Ankara airport.

Haydar Kutlu, secretary-general of the Turkish Communist Party in exile, and Nihat Sargin, secretary-general of the banned Turkish Labour Party, were taken away to police headquarters.

The two had been living in Germany since the military took over Turkey in 1980. They recently announced plans to merge the parties into a unified Communist

Elections are due in two weeks time, and Prime Minister Ozal has been hoping a facade of parliamentary democracy will assist acceptance to the European Common Market.

Lawyer

Kutlu and Sargin arrived with a British lawyer, John Bowden, and a group of MPs from West European countries. The party were not allowed to accompany the two to the police station.

The same day as the two CP leaders arrived, a top-level NATO delegation led by Lord Carrington was due to begin talks with Turkish



FOR about three weeks massive student demonstrations have been taking place in Greece, the biggest actions since the wave of university occupations in 1979 against the right-wing 'New Democracy' Party.

Eight years later, and under the administration of the pseudo-socialist PASOK government, education in Greece faces such economic bankruptcy that the very functioning of the university has become problematical.



The chronic problems of the AEI (Institutes of Higher Education) reached explosive levels following the wholesale government cuts and its tacit consent to the privatisation of the universities.

This, naturally, contrasts with the disproportionately large funding for war armaments and the militarism being developed in relation to Turkey.

An enormous wave of university occupations is sweeping the largest cities of Greece: Athens, Thessaloniki, Polgras, Yannena, Pireus are boiling with student de-monstrations, which have included the closing off of large streets and bridges, occupations of county gov-ernment headquarters, hotels etc.

This movement has a great breadth of demands, whose main axis has been on issues of defence of free education, housing and meals for students (student dormitories have only 10,000 beds for 200,000 students),

BY HELEN GEORGIOU

opposition to the intensification of examinations and new disciplinary measures, the fight against cutbacks and urgent funding of the universities from the state

This has given the move-ment a character of all-out conflict with the PASOK government and has mobilised tens of thousands of students throughout Greece.

It was this which forced even the reactionary uni-versity authorities to sup-port at least the economic demands of the students and in many cases to proceed to close down the schools.

The National Student Union of Greece (which is controlled by the Stalinist Communist Party and PASOK) showed its bankruptcy as a bureaucratic body and after being assentially dragged being essentially dragged into the struggles by force, is now doing whatever it can to stop them.

This is the result of the agreements which the Sta-linist CP concludes with PASOK, as it sees that the mobilisations are passing it over and the forms of struggles being followed (occupations for example) are threatening to destroy the dealings of the Stalinists with Papandreou, relating to the electoral law and the freezing of the workers' strug-

On Thursday 5 November, Athens was witness to the largest student demonstration in recent years, while a an-educational mobilisation was organised for Tuesday 10 November, in which all secondary s rol and uni-versity stude is, teachers and personnel participated.

A 'hot' week was expected as all these demonstrations coincided with the celebration of the Polytechnic upris-ing against the dictatorship on 17 November 1973 and the large protest march on the US Embassy.

The bankruptcy of the Greek capitalist economy and the attacks of PASOK on rights won decades ago is bringing the Greek student movement out of an eight-year inactivity and leading it on the road of the struggle of French and Spanish students on the one hand, and in the direction of defence of social spending along with the Greek working class on the

The PASOK government definitely has a very difficult winter ahead of it.

70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE **RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:**

Selected titles from New Park Publications



History of the Bolshevik Party **GRIGORII ZINOVIEV**

Zinoviev's lucid account of Bolshevism's formative years up to the overthrow of Tsarism in 1917. It highlights the tenacious struggle for Marxist principles that built the Bolshevik party.

24.95



The Bolsheviks in Power: Reminiscences of the Year

A.F.ILYIN-ZHENEVSKY

Younger brother of Red Navy leader Raskolnikov, llyin-Zhenevsky worked in the Petrograd Military Commissariat; this is his behind-the-scenes view of the struggle to build the Red Army to defend Soviet power in the first year of the revolution.

£4.95 0 86151 011 9





Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917 In 1917, the sailors of Kronstadt were at the centre of the Russian Revolution. Raskolni-

kov. aged 25. was their leader. This is his day-by-day account of the Bolsheviks' strug-gle to seize power. \$5.50 \$6151 023 2

TALES OF SUB-LIEUTENAN Tales of Sub-Lieutenant Ilyin

Stories from Raskolnikov's part in the civil war which followed the revolution, including scuttling the Black Sea fleet in 1918 to prevent the ships falling into the Kaiser's hands, and Raskolnikov's capture by the British and imprisonment in Brixton jail.



Heroes of the Russian Revolution

Lehin, Radek, Bukharin and others pay tribute to eight Bolsheviks, eight professional revolutionaries, from the thousands who struggled and sacrificed in the Bolshevik party which organised and led the Russian working class to power. \$2.1.00 0 90203 050 7

Available from: New Park Publications Ltd. 21-25 Beehive Place London SW9 7QR 01-274 6885

or from Paperbacks Centres (addresses — see separate ad)

BOOKS ON THE



1987 is the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. For Rae Hunter, 1987 in addition marks not only her 70th birthday but also her 50th year in the Trotskyist

At the 8 November Rally in Kingsway College, London, commemorating the Russian Revolution, a tribute was made to her work. She was presented with a book of the work of American abstract artist Georgia O'Keefe and a catalogue of works of the Mexican artist Diego Rivera.

In her presentation to Comrade Rae Hunter, WRP Central Committee Member Dot Gibson said:

60N BEHALF of the Workers Revolutionary Party I am proud to say that in Rae Hunter, a comrade of 50 years' membership of the Trotskyist movement, is embodied the continuity of Trotskyism and, as it says on the platform here today, the continuity of Bolshevism in the Fourth International.

Two years ago on 19 October 1985, we expelled Gerry Healy who was the leader of this movement. The majority who took that act found, when they counted their years of membership, hundreds of years of membership of the Trotskyist movement.

We know that in this hall today there are others who were not with us at that point but who have contributed in a very great way to this continuity and I think that this meeting is a tribute to the work that has been car-ried out by Trotskyists internationally against Stalinism over these years.

Religious

Rae Hunter was born in 1917. Her early years were in a religious household: she spent ten years in South Africa. When she and her sister

were on their way back from South Africa, on the same boat was a Trotskyist: Heaton Lee. He spoke to her sister who was some six years older than herself ab-

Marxism

out Marxism, about the necessity for the revolutionary party, about the question of Stalinism, against religion.

Her sister Anne — who was later imprisoned and fought a very heroic struggle against the state with her comrades — spoke to Rae and took these questions up, insisting with her that it was necessary to change the course of her life.

This she did and in 1937 she joined the Workers Interna-tional League, the WIL. She threw religion out of the window for good. She read Marx and Engels; she studied the works of Trotsky and she became a Trotskyist. She has remained a Trotskyist for 50 years.

This was what was inside the Workers Revolutionary Party two years ago that created the possibility for us to overthrow a leadership which is now in the Stalinist camp. It is absolutely fitting that at this meeting we present to comrade Rae a tri-bute from every member of the Workers Revolutionary Party for those 50 years of continuous struggle and our determination to continue the fight for Bolshevism in the Fourth International.

Comrades here are speaking of that continuity in the struggle of the Preparatory

Committee which is organising a conference of Trots-kyists. We have discovered that there are comrades on the same lines, in the same trench, fighting the same battle. In this hall today we have got not only the new comrades we've met in those two years but many many old comrades who were pre-sent in this party when I joined and who set the pattern and the pace in which we struggle today for this leadership.

During the war years Rae gave up nursing in order to go into the factories and to become a leader in the Amalgamated Engineering Union and to take her place in the struggle against Stalinism. Jingoism and the war fever was very much in the air. She fought at meeting after meeting on the basis of internationalism against Stalinism, social democracy and the ruling class.

Forefront

In the latest big and most important round of the bat-tle, the 1984-1985 miners' strike — which was very much the ground of the split in our party — comrade Hun-ter was again in the forefront of the struggle in Liverpool where she now lives.

I want to say again to all those comrades who have joined us today from all sections of the movement in Britain and internationally, and many many old friends and comrades that I am very proud to make this tribute and presentation to comrade Rae.

Opposit on

Leading oppositionists, including Trotsky, Pyatakov and Preobrazhensky speaking against the early growth of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union £1.95

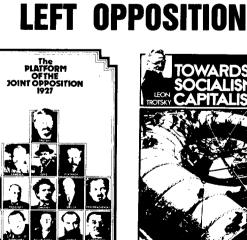
0 90203 063 9

The History and Principles of the Left Opposition: 1923-1933 — the first ten

MAX SHACHTMAN

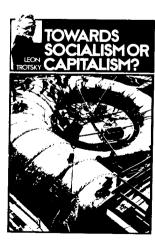
Contemporary account by an American Trotskyist of the fight against Stalinism in the Russian Communist Party and the International

£1.25 0 90203 064 7



The Platform of the Joint Opposition (1927)

bmitted to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in 1927, this document was suppressed by Stalin and its signatories expelled from the Party £2.25 0 90203 041 8



Towards Socialism or Capitalism? **LEON TROTSKY**

Trotsky's writings between 1925 and 1932 began his analysis of the economic problems of the isolated Soviet state and Stalinist degeneration £2.50

0 90203 085 X



Bill and Rae Hunter at the May Day rally of the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) in Argentina this year.

BOLSHEVISM LIVES IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

RAE HUNTER 50 years of — and still Trotskyism fighting!

In replying to the presentation, Rae Hunter said:

61 am very proud to have received this and to be on this platform at the 70th anniversary meeting. This meeting must be an important step in rebuilding the Fourth International.

I joined the Workers International League in 1937 and internationalism was the driving force of the Trotskyist move-

We were small in numbers but the leading members like Ralph Lee and Millie Lee came from South Africa to build the movement in Britain, thinking internationally. The defeat of the Spanish Civil War weighed heavily in the consciousness of the movement and also of course the victory of Hitler.

The Workers Revolutions

The Workers Revolutionary League was not allowed a delegate to the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938. That was because there was a split and the Workers International League was formed actor. al League was formed out of

It was a split over completely unfounded personal attacks on Ralph Lee. He was supposed to have expropriated money of a trade union that he was connected with in South Africa but this must have been cooked up must have been cooked up the by Stalinists, but it was taken up by the Trotskyists and it gave rise to this split.

Despite the fact that we did not have a delegate and were not officially members of the Fourth International, we always considered ourselves as part of the Fourth International. We supported Trotsky in his struggle against Shachtman over the nature of the Soviet Union and were very close Union and were very clear on the nature of Soviet Union: that it was a degenerated workers state and had to be defended, that it had not gone to state capitalism.

I expect that most of the comrades here will have read Mike Banda's 'Twenty Seven Reasons' published in Workers Press. What Mike Banda had to say about the early Trotskyist movement during the war after the death of Trotsky was not

We looked to the Fourth International and we did play a big part. We also looked at the Socialist Work-ers Party of America for theoretical guidance and this played a big post in confirm played a big part in our firm stand during the war. We were quite firm that it was an imperialist war. Not a war for democracy against fascism. We had all the pressure of the Labour Party which had joined a coalition government; and all the pressure of the Communist Party when they changed the line after Hitler marched into Poland — that it was a war for democracy against fascism.

In standing for that the Stalinists destroyed many workers' organisations dur-ing World War II. They told workers to strike-break; they urged workers not to go on strike.

We believed that the class struggle carried on during the war. Of course most workers at that time also thought it was a war for democracy against fascism. Therefore it was very important to us to have been very clear on this question. We clear on this question. We were the only people who really stood for a revolutionary position on the question of the war. Without these international connections we might have given way.

This also entered into aug.

International connections we might have given way.

This also entered into our relationship with Healy's position on the question of the Malvinas war. The (WRP's daily paper) News Line came out with a position which in effect refused to support Argentina in the fight for the Malvinas. Those of us who had been through that experience of World War II definitely felt that Britain was an imperialist power and that the Argentina, although under a military dictatorship, was a semicolonial country and therefore we must support Argentina against British imperialism. We took up a fight on this question and we managed to change the political position of the Workers Revolutionary Party. This is important for comrades to think about.

We have an urgent necessity to build an international leadership. Not as a leadership to give orders but as a leadership that advises and gives practical help in our work. To give an example of this. There was a big faction fight in the Revolutionary Communist Party at the end of World War II over the end of World War II over the question of entry into the Labour Party.

Healy and the minority wished to enter. They said that there was a big turn to the Labour Party and this was true as the Labour lead-ership came forward with the welfare state, the nationalisation of the mines and railways and the free-

dom for colonies such as India. They stood on this programme because otherwise the armed working class, still in the forces, would have taken the road of revolution.

The majority of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and I was one of them, was opposed to entry. Ted Grant who was also in the leadership of the RCP said the conditions for entry — such as the existence of a centrist movement — were centrist movement — were not present and we would lose our identity and suc-cumb to the Labour Party.

This was a very bitter and very turned-inwards faction fight. It went on for months and we could have been destroyed. But the Fourth International stepped in. This is the point I am trying to bring out. They said to us: you must have a split. We will recognize both the minority who enter the Labour Party and the majority who stay and the majority who stay outside as members of the Fourth International. Try it out in practice and see who is correct.

Such advice and leadership, because we followed it, prevented us from tearing ourselves to pieces. I say again that comrades should think about this in the nature and the precessity of building. and the necessity of building or rebuilding the Fourth International.

Finally I would like to tell you that I was part of a delegation to Latin America and attended the May Day rally of the MAS in Buenos Aires. Trotsky said in a speech we once had on record and played at some of the public meetings: Today we are numbered in tens of tens; but tomorrow we shall number thousands and tens of thousands. Anybody who has heard a record of him will know that he was a deep and a marvellous orator.

When I stood with my arm

When I stood with my arm raised before 12,000 in that raised before 12,000 in that stadium where the MAS celebrated May Day, 12,000 who also stood with their arms raised and shouted 'Trotsky!' and we sang The Internationale together, I felt that we were on the road felt that we were on the road to such numbers.



Rae addressed the Russian Revolution Anniversary Rally on 8 November, when a presentation was made to her.

Rae's political work during the war years

RACHEL HUNTER will be 70 years old on 10 December in this the 70th anniversary year of the Russian Revolution and is celebrating her 50th year in the Trotskyist movement.

Rae was introduced to the Trotskyist movement by her sister, Ann Keen, who had become a convinced Trotskyist through discussions with Heaton Lee.

INTERVIEW BY SUE GWYER



While in Argentina as part of the WRP delegation Rae visited the Mothers of the Playa de

The 'Lee Group' came as part of a new influx of Trotskyists from South

Africa.

Ever since 1934 groups from the two small Trots-kyist organisations there had been coming to Britain as it became all the more clear that real activity in South Africa could only spring from the black workers themselves rather than from the privileged minority of white workers.

Rae's family had moved to South Africa when she was six. She lived there with her parents, brother and youngest siter for ten years. By 1933 they were back in London for a year before her father, a church minister, gained a parish in a small Cornish village.

Rae had wanted to take up nursing but was unable to do so until her mother died in 1936. She moved to London and began training for her SEN at St Charles' Hospital, North Kensington.

Ann Keen had broken her Ann Keen had broken her from religion and Rae applied to join the Workers International League (WIL) in 1937 after witnessing the appalling conditions of the working people who also attended the hospital.

'My first taste of politics came when I attended classes given by Ralph Lee in the basement of the Paddington headquarters of the WIL. At the time the Spanish Civil War was very much at the forefront of a lot of discus-

'I used to attend the classes on my day off from the hospital. Heaton Lee, whom Ann was living with, had a lot of political discussions with me and Millie Lee (Kahn), wife of Ralph Lee, became a close friend.

'I was impressed by the internationalism of the WIL and was convinced of the Trotskyist line after the Anarchists and Communist Party had been discredited by the analysis of the Spanish Civil War.

To begin with the WIL published a duplicated journal for Labour Party work in Paddington called 'Searchlight' with Gerry Healy as editor.

In December 1937 Ralph Lee obtained an old printing press, already 80 years old, and repaired it to bring out

● TURN TO PAGE 11

SAS MURDER MACHINE

FAMILIES DEMAND INQUIRY

THE British working-class movement must take up the demand, raised by the families of murdered IRA Volunteers, for an independent inquiry into the continuing 'shoot-to-kill' policy in the six counties. Far from being reduced since police chief John Stalker's internal inquiry was sabotaged by the police 'powers that be', the 'shoot-to-kill' operations have

Here Workers Press presents details of the killing of Strabane IRA Volunteers Michael and David Devine and Charles Breslin, in an SAS ambush on 23 February, 1985. They were showered with bullets in the back and finished off with shots in the head. It was a pattern set with the killing of two Volunteers at Gransha Hospital, Derry, in December 1984 — and repeated in April this year with the destruction of an IRA unit at Loughgall in which eight men died.

The Strabane operation was set up, with the help of an informer, by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) police, who then tried to hijack the mens' inquest to cover it up. The inquest ended when the mens' families withdrew their legal representatives, stating that 'it had become blatantly obvious that the proceeding were never intended to be an impartial inquiry'.

Of course murder, torture and the perversion of 'justice' is nothing new in Ireland. It is part of a dirty war against Britain's oldest colony. But that doesn't lessen the responsibility of the British working-class movement to take up each and every example of imperialist repression.

The Devine and Breslin families stated: 'We shall be seeking the assistance of various human rights organisations to highlight and pursue the demand for a public inquiry into the murder of our sons. One obvious question which still remains unanswered is: "Why were the killings of our sons not included in the cases arising from the shoot-to-kill policy, which formed the basis of the Stalker-Samson investiga-

Strabane Sinn Fein councillor Ivan Barr recently moved that the council should press for an independent public inquiry. This was defeated by Unionist and 'independent' votes, but Barr himself has continued to call for such an inquiry. Now this issue should be linked with that of the MI5 and army operations of the mid-1970s, which attempted to isolate the IRA and simultaneously to destabilise the Labour government - over which British trades unionists are already demanding to know the truth.

'The tactics being used in the six counties can be used against the British working class,' councillor Barr pointed out to Workers Press. 'If the British government feel that trades unionists or others posed a sufficient threat they would not hesitate. That's why British trades unionists should take up this question.

BY SIMON PIRANI

ANY independent or labour movement inquiry into the Strabane murders would have to consider, among others, the following points:

1. The three IRA Volunteers were caught in a hail of 117 bullets, many of which hit them in the back.

Michael 'Bunty' Devine (22) had, according to state pathologist Professor Tho-mas Marshall, a 'bizarre series of wounds which defied interpretation'. He was hit by 28 bullets, many hit-ting him as he lay on the ground.

Charles Breslin (20) was struck by at least five bullets. nead wound being caused by a high-velocity rifle, fired as he lay on the ground or as he fell forward. According to the pathologist, these shots were fired from a range of less than 2 feet.

Agreeing that the men had been allowed to walk into an ambush situation', forensic scientist G.E. Montgomery told the inquest that the three men must have walked 20 feet past their assassins who then fired on their backs.

'When "B" and "C" opened fire, they would have been shooting the deceased in the back or sides,' said Montgomery. The soldiers themselves told the inquest that, using the Heckler & Koch 53 assault rifle (range 600 meteres) they opened fire from less than five metres.

In statements to the inquest, the soldiers claimed that the IRA men 'swung their rifles towards us'. But two of the rifles were found with the safety catches still on, and one of the Volunteers was carrying a holdall containing two rocket-launchers which he would have had to put down before he could point a gun anywhere.

2. Just as the British army used to ceremonially chop off Malayan communists' heads, they have now adopted the practice of finishing off IRA Volunteers with a single bullet through head and did so at Strabane.

Michael Devine had received bullet through the forehead, which had gone out of the back of his skull; there were holes in a balaclava he was wearing corresponding to the wound. A further bullet, fired through the bridge of the nose, did not go through the balaclava; forensic scientist George Montgomery agreed at the inquest that the mask could have been lifted before that shot was fired.

David Devine had a head wound, fired 'as he fell forward or lay on the ground' ward of lay on the ground according to pathologist Pro-fessor Marshall, from less than two feet, by a high velocity rile. So did Charles Breslin Breslin

The 'Irish Press' carried interviews with local people
— disputed by state witnesses at the inquest — who claim they heard a blaze of gunfire, followed by cries of

man accused last wook it

'don't shoot' before three distinct and final shots.

Mrs Kathleen Conroy of Mrs Kathleen Conroy of Springhill Park was quoted as describing the incident as 'a nightmare'; she ran to the corner and saw nothing, then shouts of 'don't shoot, I'm wounded' followed by three single shots. Christopher Brennan of Fountain Ter-race also claimed he heard race also claimed he heard shouts of 'don't shoot' — said shouts of 'don't shoot' — said softly as if the person was already injured — and then the three shots. Denis McDermott of Casement Place, Mark Tinney of Springhill Park, and Mrs Margaret McNicholl of Springhill Park gave interviews in which they also referred to the three distinct shots after the main firing stonned stopped.

An RUC sergeant, part of ne 'quick reaction force' the 'quick reaction force' sent to help the SAS that night, denied that the IRA men had 'begged for mercy before their execution.

3. The army tried to cover up the SAS involvement with the ridiculous story that the killings were done by a 'routine patrol'.

Even the limited information which came out at the inquest proved the absurdity of this claim. Sinn Fein councillor Ivan Barr pointed out in his report of the inquest that 'all of the soldiers involved wore civilian clothes or had worn civilian clothes on their way to the ambush area'; that 'they travelled in unmarked cars'; 'that at least two of the soldiers in-volved wore RUC uniform'.

The weapons used on the 'patrol' included the HK 53 assault rifle — referred to by

awarung a big motorway | agent sent by Stelin in

Janes' Manual on Modern Infantry Weapons as for use by specialist military and police units, deployed at the Iranian embassy siege in London and certainly not carried by the average squaddie on patrol in the six

The soldiers on the patrol refused to give the name of their regiment at the inquest — despite the fact that the — despite the fact that the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers was on a tour of duty in the area at the time had been publicised. Those who fired the lethal shots, 'A', 'B' and 'C', submitted written evidence. But the information given about their length of service, alone, proves they were on no ordinary foot patrol

Major 'G', the highest-ranking soldier involved, had been in the army for 19 years. Soldier 'F', the most junior in rank, had served 12 years and left the army by the time of the inquest — soldiers 'D' and 'E', who were equal in rank and su-perior to 'F', had 17 and 18 years' service respectively; 'C' was equal to their rank but 'A' and 'B' were superior. An average army patrol in Ireland will have two or three squaddies on their first tour of duty. The Strabane patrol was not at all average.

4. The Major in charge of the Strabane patrol also directed operations at Gransha Hospital, Derry, where two IRA Volunteers were killed in December 1984.

When British soldiers, using HK 53 assault rifles, ambushed and killed IRA Volunteers Danny Doherty and Willie Fleming in the grounds of Gransha Hospital, two-and-a-half months al, two-and-a-nair monus before the Strabane shoot-ings, the Major in charge of the operation appeared at the inquest. After Strabane, he was back at court again.

This prompted John Fahy, solicitor for the Breslin family, to ask soldier 'E' during the inquest whether he was involved in the Gransha ambush. The coroner directed that he did not have to answer the question.

5. The RUC set up the operation with the help of an informer, whose role they later tried to hide.

Their own 'shoot-to-kill' operations curtailed by the Stalker inquiry, the RUC Special Branch began acting as stage-hands for SAS kill-

The IRA has stated that their West Tyrone brigade was infilitrated and Breslin and the Devine brothers 'set up' for ambush. Certainly the 'Quick Response Force' sent to assist the SAS left Strabane Barracks at great speed and the operation was co-ordinated with an hourlong meeting. Certainly the RUC — unprecedentedly — provided uniforms for soldiers 'D' and 'E'.

In October 1985 the IRA executed Damien McCrory of Strabane, saying he had confessed to working as an informer for 13 years and setting up the three mur-dered men. The RUC refused to comment on this claim, re-issuing a statement saying that 'secrecy about information received by the police, including those who assist the police, is a legitimate and essential consideration in the public in-

At the Strabane inquest, RUC Detective Sergeant Lawrence Cheshire claimed, incredibly, that he had not heard of McCrory and didn't know why the IRA killed

6. The RUC took desperate, and illegal, measures to cover up the truth about the killings.

Chief forensic scientist Gary Montgomery told the inquest that he collected 83 spent bullet cases from the scene of the slaughter. When he became aware, four days later, that 117 shots had been fired, he applied to the RUC permi and search for the 42 missing cartridges - and was refused.

It was the first and only time he had been refused permission to return to the scene of an incident to continue his examination, he said.

The forensic scientist added that the RUC had burned the IRA mens' clothing and masks. As councillor Barr pointed out in his report: "To destroy the clothing and masks is highly irregular as they were exhibits of evidence and indeed were the property of the next-of-kin of the deceased.'

7. Despite the fact that inquest juries are normally drawn from local electoralregisters, not a single jury member came from Strabane Town which has a 95per-cent Catholic population.

At least three jurors did



The RUC fired a salvo of plastic bullets into the funeral procession of Finbarr McKenna before kicking and batoning mourners on the Falls Road.

they are talking about the nad died in a Paris hospital



Police violence at Republican and nationalist funerals has become systematic. At the funeral of IRA Volunteers Paddy Deery and Eddie McSheffrey on 2 November, one of the coffins fell to the ground as the RUC extracted a brutal revenge on families and friends.

not even live in the Strabane District Council area, councillor Barr noted in his report, and 'only three members of the 11-person jury were identified as belonging to the nationalist tradition'.

The foreman of the jury just happened to be the neighbour of an Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) member who had, according to RUC claims, been killed by the IRA — with one of the rifles found in the field where the three Strabane IRA volunteers died.

8. Lawyers for the IRA mens' families and members of the public were subject to RUC harassment throughout the inquest.

As solicitor John Fahy attempted to leave the courtroom on February 9, carrying photographs which had been introduced as evidence, his way was barred by RUC men.

When he refused to hand over the photos — which are normally available to legal representatives for overnight inspection — he was knocked to the ground and they were forcibly taken from him.

Not only did the coroner refuse his attempt to lodge a formal protest, but he refused Fahy access to the photos until after the inquest!— and even then, only if the Lord Chancellor ruled that he should have them.

For their part, the RUC issued a statement saying that three officers were 'injured and required medical attention', and that an 'assault' on them was being investigated.

When Sinn Fein vicepresident Martin McGuinness — who sat in the public gallery throughout the inquest — interrupted an RUC witness, six RUC men including a Chief Inspector rushed to surround him.

Other members of the public were simply excluded from the court, even though there was adequate seating.

9. The content of witnesses depositions' to the families' solicitors, which had been handed to the court, were well-known to local RUC thugs.

One witness, Mark Tinney, who had not completed his evidence, was challenged and mocked by RUC men in the street about its contents.

the street about its contents.
On one occasion he was taken to Strand Road barracks in Derry, given a beating, and taunted about his evidence — by RUC officers who had been in the 'Quick Response Force' which helped kill Charles Breslin and the Devine brothers.

10. The families' solicitors took the unprecedented step of issuing a 19-point statement about coroner R. O'Doherty's gross abuses of procedure.

He refused applications for car log books, RUC officers' notebooks, and other items, to be produced as evidence. He ruled that only legal representatives and the press could take notes, and then refused to act against RUC personnel who were doing so.

He refused to rule that legal representatives of the families should be provided with copies of crown witnesses' depositions as is normal practice, refused to rule that witnesses should be ordered to remain outside court until they gave evidence, refused to consider a submission by the Devine family's lawyer about the unauthorised exit of three jurors from the court, and refused to explain repeated lengthy adjournements of the proceedings.

According to the lawyers, he 'seemed unable to make any ruling on his own initiative but gave the impression that he was consulting with Crown Counsel, Miss Kennedy and senior RUC officers prior to giving a ruling on any issue'.

The sort of impenetrable obstacles put in front of the

families' lawyers can be judged from the fact that Crown witnesses answered 'I do not recall' to more than 300 questions.

The inquest — the 16 days of which were strung out between 3 February and 22 April with no explanation for the repeated adjournments — eventually ended when the families withdrew their lawyers in protest.

11. When British army captain Simon Hayward was arrested for drug-smuggling in Sweden, press reports that he was Soldier 'A'—the SAS man who led the operation—were not denied by him, his family, the army or the RIIC

A 'senior Ulster Special Branch detective' told Neil Wallis of the wretched rightwing 'Sun' newspaper: 'Simon was a major linchpin in undercover operations against the IRA. He worked directly for the head of MI5 for Norethern Ireland, coordinating, planning and seeing-through sensitive hush-hush operations involving the SAS and undercover squads.'

Wallis wrote that Hayward had served as liason officer between the SAS and the RUC special branch, first at Northern Ireland army HQ and then at Gough Barracks,

Armagh.

Wallis' claim that Hayward 'masterminded' the Strabane killings was never contradicted, and the army agreed he had been attached to their HQ for the six counties.

Strabane Sinn Fein councillor Ivan Barr told 'Workers Press': 'I claim that Hayward's drug-smuggling could have been a fundraising operation to raise money for weapons, for loyalist para-militaries to carry out SAS-sponsored killings.

'In view of the history of SAS operations in Ireland, this is quite possible.

'Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd, the former army intelligence officers, claim that captain Nairac had been involved with the paramilitarists who carried out the Miami Showband killings.

'Another former SAS man, Baker, now in jail in England for carrying out sectarian killings, has also frequently fed stories to the press, in particular the Belfast "Sunday World", that his role was to infiltrate loyalist groups to encourage such killings.

'So I am not convinced that Hayward was simply smuggling drugs for his brother.'

Rae's work during the war

• FROM PAGE 9

the first copy of a theoretical journal 'Workers International News'.

In September 1938 'Searchlight' was replaced by 'Youth for Socialism', a more general production intended for work in the Labour League of Youth.

Rae succeeded in unionising some of the nurses and the WIL press was making an impact, but she didn't finish training.

'With the onset of the war, by 1940 a large number of working-class women were going into the engineering factories as the men were conscripted. The hospitals were evacuated from central London, in anticipation of bombing, to the country.

'Instead of being isolated politically out of London and with middle-class women who went in for nursing in those days, I decided to go into the factories.

'I joined the Municipal and General Workers' Union, which was the only one that recruited women, when working at Sunbeam and Talbot. This was a large factory which used to make cars but was turned over to aircraft and munitions for the war. There were men in the factory but they were skilled and were in the AEU (engineering union) or sheet metal workers' union.

'I recruited a lot of women to the union as the working conditions were terrible. The summer of 1941 was very hot and there was little ventilation in the factory.

'I took up a fight through the union for better working conditions. Eventually the management had to knock a wall down to improve the ventilation. I was unpopular with management.'

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the Communist Party of Great Britain had a sudden change of political and industrial policy. The WIL turned to the CP rank and file in opposition to the new line which was that the class character of the war had now changed and it was a democratic war against fascism.

Trebled

The circulation of the press trebled. 'Youth for Socialism' became a four-page newspaper addressed to the broader labour movement with the title of 'Socialist Appeal'. An emergency leaflet of the WIL drew the industrial lessons of the new CP turn before even the CP had worked them out:

'To support Churchill,' stated 'Socialist Appeal', 'means to act as strikebreakers for the bosses and help to impose a reactionary regime in Britain' so that CP militants 'must act as bosses' agents in imposing speed-up and all other impositions on the backs of the workers.'

This statement could not have proved more correct. The CP put all their efforts behind collaborating with the bosses to 'produce' for the war effort. The new mechanism of class collaboration became the 'Joint Production Committees'.

How did the change of the Stalinists' line on the war affect Rae?

'The Stalinists initiated a National Shop Stewards' Conference which took place in the Stoll Theatre, London, in October 1941. As a shop steward and sitting on the West London Area Shop Stewards' Committee I was delegated to the conference. There were about 1,400 delegates from all over the country and I had my speech ready for an intervention.'

'The conference was called to promote the Stalinist line on production and was chaired by Walter Swanson, the Stalinist shop steward at Napiers. He made it clear that it was called to "survey

concrete instances of how cooperation with the management had increased production."

'The response to Swanson's appeal for accounts of such concrete instances was negligible. The majority of reports related instances of management refusing to cooperate and of using increased production to cut wages and undermine working conditions. All known opponents of the policies of the Stalinist platform were suppressed.

'I was called to speak, mainly I think because I was a woman and young. The Stalinists didn't know me.

'I gave a speech attacking the joint production committees. Swanson attacked me saying I only represented 38 workers.

'But these were 38 shop stewards on the West London Area Committee — of which he was chair! The capitalist press attacked me and supported Swanson.'

Speech

In her speech to the Stoll Conference Rae said:

I have only been a year in industry but I have been in long enough to know that the chaos in industry is not caused by the workers but by the incompetence and lack of planning on the part of the bosses, their managers and foremen. . Some delegates have argued that we can increase output by means of production committees composed of delegates of workers and bosses.

I know from my own experience that the bosses will not cooperate with the workers on this issue. They would brook no interference with their rule.

Where these committees are set up the bosses will attempt to use them to paralyse the independent action of the workers who can only agree to production committees which are completely under their control. The bosses will use the workers reps on these committees precisely as the capitalist government is using the Labour and trade union leaders: to impose restrictive legislation which they could not otherwise operate.

There are only two methods of increasing production. The one alternative is that of Nazi Germany where production is organised through complete destruction of all working class rights.

The other alternative is the establishment of workers control which would not only increase production but would safeguard and extend the rights we have won through years of struggle.

If this conference gives a lead, and I hope that it will, for a movement in the trade unions and factories for the control of production through factory committees it would be the first serious blow struck against Fascism and in defence of the Soviet Union.

'After the Stoll conference I was witch-hunted out of Sunbeam and Talbot's. I was off sick with acute bronchitis and when I returned to work they moved me to the paint department and soon after shut it down.'

The Communist Party then put out a leaflet stating: 'They are a virus which must be cleared out of all contact with working class organisations. TREAT A TROTS-KYIST AS YOU WOULD A NAZI.' The atmosphere of the Moscow Trials had reached Britain for sure.

After getting kicked out of Sunbeam and Talbot's Rae moved up to Renfrewshire in Scotland where she got a job in Babcock and Wilcox' which made ships' boilers.

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984. JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence,

JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, 122338.
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sent-

ence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB, 17-year sentence,
B51715.
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence,
338636.
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence,
274064.

274064.

MAIDSTONE
HM Prison County Road, Maidstone, Kent

Kent DONAL CRAIG, 4-year sentence, L40579.

PARKHURST
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.

342003.
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25-year sentence, L48616.
SEAN McSHANE, B75898.
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHEFRY, Life sentence,

WAKEFIELD
HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W
Yorks. WF2 9AG
NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence,
B71644.
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.

ALBANY
HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS
MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.
HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 200000

338638.
BILLY GRIMES, 10-year sentence, 78647.
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 78648.

GARTREE
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leice, LE16 7RP
RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence 758663.

463799.
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence
758663.
JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence,
338635
ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

FRANKLAND
HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside,
Durham
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence,
119085
BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence,
758662.

758662.
PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.
MICHAEL J McKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence,

LEICESTER
HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2
7AJ
PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.
GERARD McDONNELL, Life sentence,

B75882.
BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.
PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

DURHAM
HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street,
Durham.
MARTINA ANDERSON, Life sentence,
D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER, Life sentence,
D25135.

BRIXTON
HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton,
London SW2 5XF.
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25 year sentence, L48616
REMAND PRISONERS:
QARTREE
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694.

BRIXTON
LIAM McCOTTER, LB83693
LIAM QUINN, 49930
INNOCENT MEN AND
WOMEN FRAMED BY TH

WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:
CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Long

JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.

WORTHWOOD SCRUBS.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison,
Wormwood Scrubs.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM
Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison,
Wormwood Scrubs.

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

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

Send your letters to Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 OJT. Letters do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Board. Letters may be cut for reasons of space.

Letters to PoWs

IN A FEW week's time it will be christmas, the time for people to remember their friends and families. So I am appealing to all Workers Press readers as I did last year to remember all the Irish Republican prisoners of war in English jails, by sending them christmas cards and by letting them know that they are not forgotten.

Some of those PoW's have spent and will spend, many more years in the jails of British Imperialism so the least we can do is to show solidarity with them at christmas time.

They will be separated by many miles from loved ones and friends, those brave fighters for Irish freedom, missing out on the things most of us take for granted at christmas time, are willing to put up with the great deprivations and hardships imposed on them no matter what the cost to themselves.

Last year we in the WRP sent copies of John Mac-lean's pamphlet 'Accuser of Capitalism' to each prisoner Capitalism to each prisoner and I think perhaps we should do something like that again this year. Any suggestions on what we should send the prisoners will be appreciated. Of course all comrades are encouraged to write to the POW's, the Framed Irish prisoners, to Carole Richardson and to Judith Ward not just at christmas time but throughout the year. Finally I think we should also remember the iailed miners Dean Han-Gartree, Russell Shankland, also Gartree and Michael Stephenson, HMP, Acklington, Morpeth, North-

> Charlie Walsh West London WRP.

The Revolution was Betrayed

IS THERE anyone who now doubts the correctness of the expulsion of Healy and Banda? Banda's pro-Stalinist position was too much even for the 'Leninist' group in the Communist Party to accept. Healy and his falsely named 'Marxist Party' are the self-proclaimed running dogs of Gorbachev.

Healy and V. Redgrave attended the 70th anniversary celebrations in Moscow. The reason for this trip must not be confused with the reasons that inspired millions all over the world to salute the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

They went there to grovel at the feet of Gorbachev and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Gorbachev, according to the 'Marxist Party', is a 'dialectician' and a 'revolutionary' and is leading the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

It is essential that Trotskyists study very carefully what Gorbachev said in his speech. He makes great play of 'glasnost' and calls for more democracy, but he treats Stalin with kid gloves. Furthermore, he supports Stalin on the very issues which are the bedrock of the Trotskyist opposition:

• He supports Stalin's ideological struggle with Trotsky

He supports Stalin's policy of forced collectivisation
 He proclaims Stalin to have been the great war leader

What of the 213 of the 287 generals that fell to Stalin's terror, greatly weakening the defence of the Soviet Union? Millions of Russians died defending their revolution

Forced collectivisation cost millions of lives and great loss of livstock and

grain. The Soviet Union is still, to this day struggling to recover from this

Above all else, Gorbachev supports Stalin's policy of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence. The bureaucracy, whether or not they support Gorbachev, will not and cannot give the Soviet power to the workers. To do this is to destroy themselves and their privileged positions.

Stalinism has the position of being the most advanced bourgeois ideology in the international labour movement. Its grip on the working class is diminishing rapidly. And the Stalinist bureaucracy now has to bring to its aid those from the Trotskyist movement who consider that Gorbachov represents a progressive side of Stalinism.

We have to reaffirm the stand of the Trotskyists and of the Left Opposition. Even if some comrades may think it old-hat we have to study the question of peaceful coexistence and socialism in one country and what this means for the building of the Fourth International

Healy and his supporters have to be denounced as traitors and renegades from Trotskyism. His accelerated acceptance of Stalinism has to be seen as part of the build up to, and his expulsion from, the WRP in 1985. His present position is not because he was expelled but because over the years he turned away from Marxism.

Norman Harding South West London WRP

Fords Dundee — A traitorous deal

AS A Trade-unionist and a former car worker at Vaux-hall Motors in Luton, I view with concern the secret antiunion deal signed between the AEU leadership and Fords for their proposed Dundee plant.

The fact that the deal was negotiated clandestinely without consulting their own members or other car plant unions is a matter of grave concern for all trade unionists.

Airlie and Laird have abandoned all basic tradeunion democracy and, like that other traitor, Eric Hammond, they have signed a Wapping-type deal with Fords. No wonder Tory Secretary of State for Scotland, Malcolm Rifkind, is delighted.

The same Rifkind is responsible for the best council housing stock in Dundee being sold off at bargain basement prices, meaning that many working class families are doomed to live in high-rise schemes. Rif-kind is also directly responsible for the fact that Dundee District Council built no new much needed houses for working class families for over 2 years because of austere Tory policies towards local authority housing program-mes. Did Dundee City Labour Party whose provost Mitchell was observed hoisting the Ford flag at the proposed site at Invergawrie endorse this scab deal? How do they stand in relation to the AEU agreement?

With Rifkind's housing policy in mind I view the fact that Fords will be provided with substantial government aid despite huge profits as repugnant and totally unacceptable. Why should mllionaires be handed large sums of money from the exchequer when I cannot get a decent house?

Another element which should be viewed gravely is new unknown elements of flexible working which have been conceded by Airlie and Laird. What kind of a sweat-

shop is this going to be? For those two traitors of the working class to say this was in exchange for high standards of safety is not true. New measures designed to improve productivity are always at the expense of safety and the incidence of stress related illness caused by intolerable work patterns must be totally rejected by all trade-unionists.

Mick Murphy of the Transport and General Workers' Union is correct to challenge the AEU's right to sole representation at the Dundee plant. Every trade kunionist must support his just challenge and address their support of the Transport Union to the TUC and the Labour Party, and demand where they stand on this important question.

Airlie claims the deal was the best possible to bring jobs to Britain. The working class must reject this nationalism and should have no faith in secret deals reached by Airlie and Laird and should in fact be demanding their resignations. The bosses love puppets of capitalism like them and public statements from leading Tories congratulating them for carrying out their heinous act serves as a warning to the working class. Those bootlickers of capitalism must be forced out of office immediately.

Postman and member of the Union of Communication Workers(UCW)

Whispering campaign against Kitson

WHEN A branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was set up in Falkirk a few months ago, I was elected to the local committee. Being engaged in the task of comleting a book on Africa and the British Leftfrom 1883 onwards, I felt I ought to do something in Falkirk and district to contribute to a greater awareness of the 'totatilarian' situation in South Africa. By July of this year, when a decision had been taken to invite Dave Kitson to address public meetings in Falkirk and Stirling I became aware of a whispering campaign to pre-vent him from speaking at Anti-Apartheid meetings.

As an independent socialist — and a socialist who belonged to the Movement for Colonial Freedom in Edinburgh and London in the 1950s — I was appalled at the sleekitattempts being made behind the scenes to prevent Dave Kitson from speaking at Anti-Apartheid Movement meetings in Scotland. After unofficial whispering advice from officials of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Glasgow, the Falkirk committee decided to invite someone from the Scottish committee to come through to Falkirk to explain why Dave Kitson seemed to be unacceptable as a speaker.

When I was a student at Ruskin College, Oxford, in the early 1950s, I saw a lot of Dave Kitson. What I remember most was not Kitson the member of the Communist Party, but a sympathetic, warm-hearted iconoclast whose irreverent sense of humour marked him out from the Party hacks. Yet Africa was never far from his thoughts; and, when I met him one night in London in, I think, the early 1960s, I suspected that he was going back to Africa to avoid the communists' doctrinal disputes in London. Although he was always interested in ideas, he was, above all, an activist. I did not see him again until April of this year when I went down to the Ruskin College Fellowship Reunion.

Then when I saw Dave in

Oxford, he told me something about his political disputes with the leadership of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London. But I confess that I did not — and do not — understand where and at what precise points his analysis of the situation in South Africa and the role of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain differed from that of the official leadership.

On Monday 27, October 1987 John Nelson, an official of the Scottish committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, came to Falkirk to advise' us not to invite Dave Kitson to a public meeting in Falkirk. In the first place, Kitson was only interested in promoting himself at the expense of the South African beration movement. Secondly, only 'the sects' were interested in Kitson's differences with the real leadership. Furthermore Kitson disagreed with the leaders of the Anti-Apartheid movement in London; he insisted on standing for election to the national committee although he had been 'advised not to do so; and he would not accept majority decisions. If Kitson advocate (unspecified) policies at odds with the interests of the black South Africans. By providing Kitson with a platform in Falkirk, we would be taking action detrimental to the activities of the ANC in South

In reply to questions, John Nelson described Dave Kitson as 'a renegade.' Moreover the South Africans were 'engaged in armed struggle,' and they 'could not therefore afford' the luxury of democratic debate. What upset me and the other members of the Falkirk committee was Nelson's attempts to smear and discredit Dave Kitson without offering any clear or coherent account of the political issues at stake. I do not know whether I would agree — or disagree — with Kitson's analysis of the tasks on the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. This is not really the major issue; the issue is one of free speech, free debate and open discussion.

Also I am very disturbed by the almost 'totalitarian' attempts at censorship being imposed by members of the Scottish committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Totalitarianism in South Africa cannot be fought by employing Stalinist methods of thought-control in Scotland. The black South Africans surely deserve better than that; and so do the Scots who are supporting the Scotth Africans' emancipation struggle against a brutal, totalitarian dictatorship.

James D. Young

Tea and sympathy offered at Leeds conference

THE COMMENTS of comrade Geraldine Thorpe on the conference of Support Groups at Leeds were clearly written before she knew the fate of the Tower Hamlets (minority) and Leicester Trades Union Council resolutions.

As both she and I went to the Workers Revolutionary Party rally celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution on 8 November, we missed the second day of the conference and the discussion on the resolu-

The knowledge that the Tower Hamlets resolution was not discussed, whilst the Leicester one was weakened, would probably

not surprise Geraldine, and I do not think it would affect her contribution very much.

Both resolutions wanted to place on the agenda of the conference the issue of building new leadership in the working-class movement, and such a proposal was bound to be given the full 'cold shoulder' treatment from the organisers of the conference.

I was delegated to the conference from Leicester Trades Union Council for 7 November only.

From the outset the conference organisers showed that they were determined to trail behind the developments in the various struggles that they were 'supporting', by keeping the discussion strictly at the level of militant reformism.

In his opening speech to the conference, Tony Richardson, for the Organising Committee, stressed that we had to 'learn the lessons' from the 'disputes' that had been taking place and take the 'lessons' from each one into the next.

Silentnight, he pointed out with surprise, had generated a lot of support for such a small(!) strike.

Sliding over a comment that 'many trade union leaders' had isolated the miners' strike, he reached the main lesson.

'If you want a trade union, you have to stand up and fight', he said.

To those in the audience who wondered how this could be done, he continued: 'You have to support Moat House, Senior Colman...' The way to do this was to build a strong network of support groups, it appeared.

There followed three platform speakers. Mike Brindley, from the trades unionists at GCHQ; John Laing, a sacked printworker, and Roy Butlin, chair of shop stewards of the NUR at Coalville in Leicestershire.

The living experience of these workers in their struggles stood in contradiction to the limited and reformist perspectives of the conference, and the 'keynote' speech of Tony Richardson.

The conclusions reached by the speakers, and most contributions from the floor were broadly similar to those of the conference organisers: that a strong organisation was needed, based on the rank and file.

The content, however, was that each of these struggles faced a veritable conspiracy of opposition from the trade union leaders whilst there was at the same time enormous support from ordinary, working- and middle-class people.

Roy Butlin, whose union branch had blacked all coal movement during the course of the miners' strike, in the middle of an area of nonstriking miners, put this very clearly when he told of local shopkeepers who had supplied the picket line with food, of workers coming with financial donations and of support from all over the world. In contrast, he pointed out, 'it still hurts me how lacking our national leaders were. We found ourselves in dispute with our own union at the same time as management.

'Jimmy Knapp said to me: "Don't let your heart rule your head".'

The one 'concession' that was given by the Conference Standing Orders Committee (which was the same as the Organising Committee), was to allow a part of the Leicester resolution, asking for a workshop on 'building new leadership in the working class' to be inserted into the agenda.

Apart from this, it is clear that the Conference was to discuss the setting-up of a 'strike servicing' organisation, which was to leave miltant and principled workers at the same level of spontaneous development, ignoring the central issues facing the working class, which point to the responsibilities of resolving the crisis of leadership that exists and evidence of which was clearly apparent at the conference, for those with eyes to

Paul Henderson Leicester WRP

Correction

A PROPOS Al Richardson's 'correction' of my view on the Labour Party (Workers Press No.99, 7 November 1987):

Revolutionary socialists inside or outside the Labour Party could share a common characterisation of the party, while disagreeing on tactics and strategy.

My own position on the Labour Party is, and always has been, exactly the same as Lenin's when he urged British communists to affiliate in 1921 and Trotsky's and Matlow's when they fought for entrism in 1934-1935. In fact, I was among the first to support this position.

I don't think that Al Richardson with his myopic view of Trotskyism post the 'golden age' (sic) of the 1940-1950s (WIL/RCP) is in any position to make an objective judgement of the policies, tactics or strategy of 'Socialist Outlook' or any other actively involved Trotskyist group.

Charlie van Gelderen

How did this worker die?

I WOULD like to draw your attention to an incident involving a 36-year-old male employee of a waste paper firm in South East London which resulted in the death of the employee.

On 5 October 1987, Mr Paul Mensah of Charlton, London SE7, left for work at 0700 hours. He was found on the employer's premises lying on the floor, presumed dead, around 0800 hours by a workmate

The security personnel on the premises and workmates noticed nothing unusual about him when he checked in that morning. One of his workmates called an ambulance and the body was subsequently taken to Guy's Hospital — no senior member of staff from Waste Paper Produce accompanied the ambulance, showing a total lack of responsibility.

The police were notified at the same time as the ambulance was called. Investigation is still continuing.

There is a strong belief among the workmates that he was crushed between a stationary van and a forklift truck, but so far nobody has admitted to causing the accident.

The company, for which the deceased had worked for the past nine years, has taken no steps to set up an inquiry and has not contacted any member of the deceased's family subsequent to the incident.

The Coroner's verdict has been postponed until January 1988. The body was flown to Ghana for burial on 5 November 1987.

Name and address supplied

ADVERTISE

your activities in

WORKERS PRESS

An item in 'Listings' or a display ad will bring results

'Observer' last Sunday: 'Some of my most

trusted advisers among professional eco-

nomists think that the recent Stock Exchange crash is only the beginning — as one of them said, "Not the end of the

beginning — the beginning of the end"."

Rohatyn and Keegan express themselves

in this way, Marxists are entitled to reflect

that their own analysis hasn't been all

I don't myself believe for a moment that

we are witnessing 'the beginning of the

end'. Not yet. But for 'professional eco-

nomists' to say that we are is both new

When paid supporters of capitalism like

12 good persons and

LET'S start with something heartening this week. For me, heartening is the only word to describe the stand taken by the Old Bailey jury that defied a judge's order to find a man guilty of manslaughter.

Three times Mr Justice Farguharson sent them back to the jury room to reconsider their verdict. And each time the five women and seven men refused to do his bidding.

In the end they told him: Every one of us is saying he is not guilty. However long you make us stay here, it is still not

No doubt I risk the scorn of ultra-leftists if I write at all favourably of the jury system. That's a risk I shall have to take. For public humiliation of our rulers and their bewigged puppets by stubborn juries has been an instructive aspect of British social history for over 300 years.

In 1670 a London jury refused to convict two men of preaching to an unlawful assembly. The jury persisted in their refusal even after being locked up without food for two nights.

In the 1790s juries of shopkeepers and tradesmen refused to convict such radicals as the Scottish bootmaker Thomas Hardy, founder and first secretary of the London Corresponding Society, who was acquitted of high treason in 1794. John Horne Tooke and John Thelwall were similarly acquitted in the same year.

Anybody with a day to spare can go to the Public Record Office and see how the law officers of the Crown, in the early 19th century, went carefully through lists of possible jurors, with the help of informers, 'pricking' names according to their reputed loyalty to the government of the day.

The idea was to keep known radicals off juries. Radicals' names were 'pricked' with a B, government supporters' names with a G, others with a D. The B stood for 'bad', the G for 'good', the D for 'doubtful'.

On one such list the many Bs included a scale-maker, a glass-seller, several grocers, a sail-maker, and a number of brewers; one Southwark brewer, evidently a desperate character, was marked 'very B'.

This secret official tampering with juries didn't do the government all that much good. In 1817 a defiant jury found Dr James Watson not guilty of high treason for his part in the Spa Fields riots.

Other juries, in the same period, refused to convict the printer Thomas Jonathan Wooler and the bookseller William Hone, whose offence had been to publish 'blas-phemous' squibs poking fun at members of the Cabinet.

In recent years it has come to light that, in a modernised form, the system of 'pricking' - of secretly weeding out potential jurors whom the authorities can't trust to bring in the right verdict — has survived to our own day, with the help of the Special Branch and other arms of the state machine.

And in recent years there has been a steady attack on the jury system, which government and police alike see as altogether too weighted on the side of acquittal. They have been whittling away the powers of juries, and they want to reduce those powers still further.

The jury system, as it has evolved in this country, is not a bourgeois-democratic bauble of no importance to the working class. It was won in struggle; it has been and remains an arena of struggle; and it's worth fighting to retain and strengthen it.

All credit to the 12 Bs and Ds — not a G among the lot of them! - who stood up to Mr Justice Farquharson.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury", said cunning old Fury': not this time you weren't, my

Change of voice

that wide of the mark.

and highly significant.

ONE of the functions of an 18-year-old daughter is to take her father down a peg or two sometimes. Mine did just that the other day when she saw two brief clips of me in 'The People's Flag': one from 1986, the other from 1957.

'Didn't you have a posh voice 30 years ago!' she exclaimed. Nettled at first by such outspokenness, I eventually had to admit that she had a point. Then I asked myself why there had been such a noticeable change.

English vowels altogether have changed quite a bit in 30 years; in British films of that vintage many of the voices now sound very 'posh' indeed. The actors used what students of sociolinguists call an older form of RP (Received Pronunciation): 'gel' for girl, and so on.

Though I brought a Hull accent with me when I came to London in 1947, I soon adapted somewhat — as young people mostly do — to the RP-influenced accents around me (but never to the extent of altering the northern vowel in 'grass', 'pass', 'laugh', etc. to what is known technically as a 'long back' vowel).

Whether I've simply been carried back with the tide, or (as I hope) have more self-confidence than was the case in 1957, I'm glad to think I now speak more like the Yorkshireman I am.

Beginning of the end?

ONE of the more hilarious aspects of 'Black Monday' and its aftermath has been all those commentators hastening, one after the other, to assure their readers that the Marxist analysis of capitalist crisis has in no way been confirmed by the Big Crash of 1987.

And yet, peeping through the obviously orchestrated attempts to restore confidence, we can detect the beginnings of something like panic at what the future may hold.

'We are still facing . . . an extremely volatile and dangerous situation', writes Felix Rohatyn, a senior New York investment banker, in the 'New York Review of Books'. 'We have had a very severe warning; another warning may come too late.'

And William Keegan wrote in the

in the Seventieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

WRP East London Branch Discussion on **Marx's 'Capital'**

Led by Anton Moctonian 7.30pm Sunday December 6 Bryant Street Methodist Church, Bryant Street, off West Ham Lane. Nearest Underground, Stratford

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

London public lectures

BASIC ELEMENTS OF MARXISM

Crown Tavern

43 Clerkenwell Green
London EC1
Tube: Farringdon

Fridays, 7.30 p.m.
Friday 27 November
Friday 4 December
Friday 11 December
Lecturer: Geoff Pilling

EDUCATION MEETING Opting Out and the Implications for Tower Hamlets. Monday 23 November, 8p.m. Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, London E2. Organised by Tower Hamlets Trades Council. All wel-

LISTINGS

LISTINGS are published free by WORKERS PRESS each week for

organisations in the labour move-ment. Please send details to arrive

by mid-day Monday for publica-tion the following Thursday.

RACISM AND EDUCATION Are the teachers doing their job? Will the Tories let them? Does Anti-Racist Education deal with anti-semitism? 2 London teachers give their views. Plus video, 'Zeynep'.Jewish Socialists' Group meeting. Sunday, 22 November, 8pm Friends International Centre, Byng Place, London WC1

NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH

Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. For sanctions against the racist South African government. Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square. Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

BULLETIN OF THE IRISH HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION COM-MITTEE (BIRMINGHAM) Now availissues incl. pp). From: Tiocfaidh Ar La c/o IHSCC, PO Box 540, Spar-khill, Birmingham, Bll 4AU

Workers Revolutionary Party

Tower Hamlets and Hackney Marxist Discussion

St George's Methodist Hall, Cable Street, Stepney, E1 (nearest tube: Shadwell)

all at 7.30p.m.

Friday 6 November: Stalinism in Britain

Friday 4 December: The Stalinist Theory of Socialism in a Single

BLOODY SUNDAY

COMMEMORATION MEETING

Sunday 22 November 11a.m. **Conway Hall Red Lion Square** London WC1

Main speaker: Rodney Mace, Author of 'Trafalgar Square -Emblem of Empire' Reading from William Morris

WORKERS PRESS

SEMINAR

Writing for the revolutionary press Tutor: P. Fryer

Sunday 6 December 11a.m.-5p.m.

There will be three sessions:

- 1. Writing
- 2. Writing a news story
- 3. Writing a feature article

Emphasis will be on practical work. Bring copious supplies of pencils and paper.

For WRP members. For details of venue (London) ring 01-733 3058.



If the (Birmingham Six) win it will mean that the police to proceed with an action against the police for inju-

A new pamphlet outlining the cases of framed Irish prisoners, including the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four. Copies available from Free the Framed Irish Prisoners, c/o BM 1320, London WC1 3XX. To be published on 23 November 1987

Crocodiles in the Streets

By Peter Fryer

The British public knows little about Latin America, least of all about ecent working class struggles in that continent. This illuminating Peter Fryer met Brazilian gold miners, Argentinian meat workers, Bolivian tin miners on strike, Peruvian metal workers and Colombian trade unionists under threat of death from paramilitary fascist

parties organised in the International Workers' League (LIT). Fryer ets the people he met speak for themselves.

nique account capitalism.

ng . It / to

smithe ass ses of sin. arty conish rom sed r to ars.

iism

has that

vith

gist No.

Paperback, 84pp. £3.95.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD 21-25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR

please add 75p for orders by post

Educational Institute of Scotland Lanarkshire Association

2nd Annual John Maclean **Memorial Lecture**

JOHN MACLEAN AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Thursday 3 December 7p.m. McLellan Galleries Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

Lecture given by Terry Brotherstone (History Dept., Aberdeen University); followed by discussion

Tickets from EIS Lanarkshire Association, 25 Gordon Street,

Glasgow 1

BOOK REVIEWS

A look at the Bund

ZIONISTS and leaders of the Jewish bourgeois establishment have denounced the Jewish Socialists' Group as 'neo-Bundist', or 'a handful of Trotskyists, communists and Bundists'.

When the Socialist Workers Party divested itself of a Black section a few years ago, it described those expelled as 'Bundist'. (Maybe the tip should be passed on to Roy Hattersley?)

If 'Bundism' is really as alive and well as such varied opponents suggest, then it's not just the Bund's current 90th anniversary that makes this little book timely.

When words are being tossed around, it's as well to know what they mean.

From a root meaning 'tie together', Bund is a German or Yiddish word for a league or union. Used together with 'Bundist', it refers specifically to the General Union of Jewish Workers in Poland, Lithuania and Russia, founded by 13 people who met in a small house in Vilna on 7 October 1897.

From that small beginning, the Bund spread to become a mass movement, not only organising workers in unions, but combining in itself the functions of trade union, political party and cultural force.

It acquired a youth movement, ran literacy classes as well as political education, had newspapers and songwriters, and took a leading part in forming self-defence squads to confront the anti-Semitic pogromists.

Amidst the poverty and degradation of backward Tsarist Russia, where the Jewish workers endured double oppression, the Bund raised them from pariahs to proud class-conscious fighters. This was its 'revolution in Jewish life'.

As Zinoviev acknowledges ('History of the Bolshevik Party', pp51-52, New Park Publications), the Bund was for a time the vanguard of the workers' movement in Russia, and played a major part in the formation of the Social-Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), a year after the Bund itself.

It was a member of the Bund, Arkadi Kremer, whose pamphlet 'On Agitation' guided the infant Russian Marxist groups out of small discussion circles into mass agitation among the workers.

It was probably with Kremer in mind that a delegate at the SDLP's Second Congress referred to the Bund's delegation as 'my teachers, who I see before me . . . '

The Bund walked out of that congress having failed to gain acceptance for their claimed status as 'sole representatives of the Jewish proletariat'.

Others, not least Jewish socialists like Martov and Trotsky, objected to this claim, as the SDLP itself had begun work among Jewish workers, particularly in southern Russia where the Bund was not represented.

Lenin was concerned with a deeper issue — the character of the Party itself. Was it to be a federation of sections, each waging its own struggle, or a centralised vanguard based on Marxism, preparing for power?

From Kremer's trade unionist approach, through 'economism' and the 'representative' concept of a workers' party, the Bundist leaders were led to side generally with Menshevism.

A Revolution in Jewish life: The History of the Jewish Workers' Bund. By Clive Gilbert. Jewish Socialists' Group pamphlet. £1.25.

After the Revolution, when most of the Bund in Russia went over to the Bolsheviks, the Bund in Poland survived as a party of the Second International (though, as Clive Gilbert notes, it tried to maintain a centrist 'Secondand-a-half' position.).

Bundists who had emigrated to the United States became reformist union leaders.

However, the distrust of a centralised leadership expressed in 1903 owed much also to the isolation of the Jewish workers, who had faced scabbing from Russian and Polish workers, as well as the horrific Kishineff pogrom that year.

Tsarist policies, alternating between forced 'assimilation' and murderous persecution, together with enforced segregation, led to a national feeling regardless of whether Jews were really a nation.

As against the passivity preached by the rabbis and the Zionist call to establish a Jewish nation in Palestine, the Bundists insisted that Jewish workers must fight for their rights where they were. Their watchword was 'Doikeit' (in modern parlance, 'Here to stay and here to fight!')

Borrowing from an idea of the 'Austro-Marxists', they added to these rights that of 'cultural-national autonomy'. Plekhanov wittily but insensitively described them as 'Zionists suffering from seasickness'. Lenin, who regarded the Bund seriously enough to take them up in serious polemics on the national question, argued that their fear of 'assimilation' was misplaced when the main problem in Russia was segregation and persecution.

In 1906, when the SDLP briefly attempted a reunification after the defeated 1905 Revolution (in which Bund militants had taken a courageous part), it was Lenin who insisted against the Mensheviks that the Bund, and the Lettish Social-Democrats, be included.

During the Civil War period after 1917, most of the Bund's rank-and-file (and some of the Socialist-Zionists too) joined the Bolsheviks. It was not just a one-way process since, as Clive Gilbert notes, the Communist Party established a Jewish section; and the new Soviet state not only outlawed antisemitism but fostered the secular Jewish culture which the Bund had done so much to develop.

It is an old cynical adage that 'history is written by the winners'. Had it not been for the rise of Stalinism, and of Hitler fascism which annihilated the Jewish working class in Poland, we might today be familiar with the

history of the Bund and Bolshevik Jews, and looking up footnotes for an obscure bygone called 'Zionism'.

The Palestinians, as well as Jewish socialists and the international working class, must certainly regret that history took that wrong turning!

As it is, neither Stalinist nor Zionist publishers have found it in their interest to tell history as it really was, and the Jewish bourgeois would prefer to bury this history altogether.

Clive Gilbert's little booklet is an honest attempt to recover that history for the new generations entering struggle and confronting issues anew. It is clearly written, straightforward, and succeeds in conveying some of the heroic fighting spirit of the movement.

A beautiful passage from Esther Frumkin (later a leading Communist expert on minorities, who perished in Stalin's purges) describes how tired, hungry workers, young girls, gathered at night for a talk on socialism, defying the police and parents; how eagerly they awaited the latest workers' paper or new pamphlet.

There is also a valuable memoir from Meir Bogdanski appended, on the Bund in Poland up to World War II.

About the issues that divided Bundists from Bolsheviks, Clive Gilbert recognises what others often fail to, that these were not simply about 'the Jewish question', but about the socialist movement itself.

He says the Bund realised the party must 'organise in such a way as to ensure that post-revolutionary society would be pluralist and democratic, while Lenin was supremely conscious of the need to forge an instrument with the necessary discipline to bring about the revolution itself. These conflicting needs have yet to be reconciled.'

My demur from Clive's interpretation of the 1903 split is that Lenin did not, as he accepts, believe there was 'no room for autonomous or semi-autonomous sections'. He argued for one party, with a common programme, within which specialised sections like the Bund would enjoy the widest possible

autonomy in how they worked for the common aim in their particular field.

It must be added that Lenin himself never expected his writings such as 'What is to be Done?' to be treated as the last word. At the outbreak of the 1905 revolution he had to refute some so-called 'Leninists' who cited his attacks on 'spontaneity' to justify sectarianism towards the mass movement.

Those of us who are rediscovering Bolshevism, stripped of its Stalinist and Healyite distortions, can appreciate the importance of reclaiming the movement's history. We should agree also that issues like how to combine the demands of working-class democracy and revolutionary centralism, as well as the relationship between class and minority struggles, are always worth re-examining.

Today, only remnants of the once mass Bund survive, scattered from New York to Melbourne. In Paris, the Medem library is a lively focus for Yiddish-speaking veterans to reminisce, and

for younger people, active in the French labour movement, keen to re-discover their roots

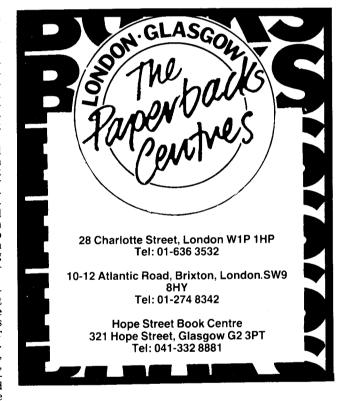
In Poland, a Bundist leader in the Warsaw ghetto uprising, Marek Edelman, emerged among leaders of Solidarnosc.

A Danish friend tells me that in Denmark and Sweden, many Polish Jews driven out by Stalinist antisemitism, but having chosen not to go to Zionism's 'Promised Land', refer to themselves, at least half-seriously, as 'Bundists'.

Clive Gilbert has no illusions about reviving the Bund. But he is convinced that the tradition of struggle which it contained in its heyday must be revived, that socialism is as relevant today as it was then.

All those who agree on that, whatever our other differances, will find this history fascinating and inspiring reading, giving us koech (strength) for today's struggles.

CHARLIE POTTINS



'Lensman' Photographs 1932-52. By Humphrey Spender. Chatto and Windus, paperback, £12.95.

TYNESIDERS in wheelchairs queueing for the Saturday football match, while inside the team are getting ready; the rent collector at a Stepney door; a sequence of pictures in the 'Feathers' pub in Lambeth; the eloquent record of the 1930s, directed by a strong social conscience through Humphrey Spender's 35mm camera.

His own introduction is a surprisingly personal account of the relationship between his own life and the photographs he took for the 'Daily Mirror' and for 'Picture Post', and his subsequent preference for painting and design — as well as his professional photographer's reaction to the sight of a coachload of tourists pointing their cameras at the same scene.



Glasgow — 'The Steamies' or public wash

Briefly. . .

Turning the Tables: Recipes and Reflections from Women. Sheba, paperback, £5.50.

THE BASIC premise of this book is that there are 'messages lurking in cookery books for women', and that they 'peddle a limited range of images and lifestyles.' They are full of commands or instructions, and 'do at least as much to undermine as to build the confidence of the domestic cook.' So here feminists write about their favourite foods and ways of preparing and presenting it. You might find some recipe ideas or new food combinations — or you might just be reassured that your way of cooking is OK.

The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself. Edited by Moira Ferguson, with a preface by Ziggy Alexander. Methuen paperback, £3.95.

MARY PRINCE escaped from the physical and psychological degradation of slavery in the West Indies and published her experiences in London in 1831. It became a famous anti-slavery tract which speaks for the emancipation of thousands of women slaves who had to endure similar hours of work, sexual harassment and irrational punishment.

Dickens' London. By Peter Ackroyd. Headline, £12.95.

LONDON was more than an accidental backdrop to Dickens' novels, and this Christmassy gift book makes the most of his powerful descriptive writing, and puts long quotations together with illustrations from a variety of contemporary sources.

Metropolis. By Gavin Stamp. Penguin, paperback, £7.95.

EARLY photographs of London described briefly by a specialist in Victorian architecture interested in the techniques of photography. Many date from the 1830s and 1840s, and while the text concentrates on what the pictures show about the evolving town, where they are calotypes, stereoscopic photographs and carbon prints this is indicated.

The Landscape of Towns. By Michael Aston and James Bond. Alan Sutton Publishing, paperback, £6.95.

CLASSIC short study of the 'cumulative patterns' that make up the mix of man-made and natural features of the towns of Britain.

When first published over a decade ago, it was a plea for conservation, not just of the 'historic' towns, but of the distinctive character of towns in general.

Meltdown: crisis out of control

BY THE TIME this article appears, Ronald Reagan is likely to have announced an agreement with the US Congress on proposals designed to cut the US budget deficit by tens of billions of dollars.

With a disproportionate amount of noisy celebration, the dollar will get a bit stronger on the world's currency exchanges. Perhaps prices will rise on the stock markets too.

But, however cheerful their press statements, the leaders of world capitalism all know that the great crash of 1987 has only just begun and is out of their control.

Official figures on the gulf between US government income and expenditure — \$150 billion a year at the last count — give little indication of the real scale of the problem.

But those who have been trying to persuade Reagan to balance his budget — Thatcher for example — are administering a cure which will be worse than the disease.

During the 1980s, it was this budget deficit which helped to finance the even more massive gap between US imports and exports. This played the chief part in keeping afloat the expanding balloon of world debt which began to go down with a sickening hiss on 14 October.

That is why we are only at the start of the crisis. Wall Street might look a little healthier than a month ago. The dollar's free-fall might slow down for a few days. But the basic problems are untouched. The crisis is uncontrollable.

For example, while the

BY CYRIL SMITH

Tokyo stock exchange dropped along with the rest in October, it did not suffer the 'melt-down' of New York. Wall Street stands about 40 per cent below its summer peak, while Tokyo is only some 20 per cent down. The turn of the Japanese investor is still to come.

Only a few slight indications of the effects of the crash are visible as yet. One is the convulsive manoeuvring of people like Robert Holmes a Court. His multibillion dollar empire is typical of the mushroom capitals of the 1980s.

He is now desperately struggling to stave off collapse, as the market value of shares in his Bell Group drop from \$11 billion to a mere \$2 billion.

Accounts

But this tissue-paper mountain accounts for some 12 per cent of investment on the Sydney exchange. Its demolition will endanger the entire Australian banking system, along with even sharper world-wide repercussions.

The emergence of such paper capitals was the essence of the 'boom' which followed the recession of 1979-1981. Their dream-like success was impelled by the expansion of debt, and also further accentuated it.

The whole business rested fundamentally on the manipulation of credit. Far from being a component of the expansion of production, the financial acceleration sucked resources away from the production of wealth.

Unemployment soared and manufacturing industry continued to decline in the main industrial countries. But vast conglomerations of capital emerged from nowhere, and were largely responsible for keeping the system going.

IN Volume III of Capital, Marx used the phrase 'fictitious capital' to refer to trading in state debt. It now describes all kinds of 'securitised debt'.

The 'prosperity' of the 1980s was all done with mirrors. It depended entirely on confidence that it would go on for ever. Now nobody believes in it any more. That is why the 1987 crash is far more decisive than that of 1929 for the wholesale slaughter of capitals.

This is bound up with the other main aspect of the past decade of imperialist history: the crisis of the dollar. The post-war capitalist ex-

pansion was carried on the shoulders of US industrial and financial power. In the 1920s, Wall Street took over the role of leader of the imperialist gang from the City of London.

The dollar was the basis for the reconstruction of European and Japanese capitalism in the 1940s and 1950s only because the US was the world's biggest-ever creditor. But with dramatic speed, the US became the world's biggest-ever debtor, draining away money from the rest of the world, especially from the poorest countries.

Understudy

The idea that the role of world leader could pass to a more healthy understudy like Japan is sheer rubbish. No other power can rival US productive or financial might, decrepit though these might now be. (How appropriate that at this moment, when everything depends on confidence, the leadership of world capital is in the hands of a senile cowboy actor.)

There is a general tendency on the left today either to ignore the economic crisis completely or to see in it only a subject for propaganda. But the 1987 crash has transformed the conditions of the entire international class struggle.

There is a widespread idea that merely defensive actions by the labour movement will be adequate to protect the working class against attack. But this is to pretend that the crisis can somehow be controlled.

This is a dangerous illusion. On the 70th anniversary of the October revolution, we are witnessing the beginning of the 'meltdown' of a world social order.

ROBSON'S CHOICE

ON **Saturday**, at 2.30p.m.(BBC2), Lana Turner stars in Tay Garnett's 1946 adaptation of the John M. Cain thriller, **The Postman Always Rings Twice**. at 5p.m.(Radio 3), direct from the Royal Festival Hall, **Music for Organ**, offers new American music including a first performance

At 7.20p.m.(BBC2), Dmitri Shostakovich's ballet The Golden Age, in a Bolshoi Ballet production. At 7.30p.m.(Radio 3), direct from the Festival Hall, more modern American music performed by the BBC Symphony Orchestra. At 10.50p.m.(BBC2), Luchino Visconti's masterly adaptation of The Postman Always Rings Twice, Ossessione, made in 1942 and set in provincial Italy. It helped pave the way for the post-war neorealist movement.

On **Sunday**, at 12.20p.m.(Radio 3), From The Festivals 1987 presents Richard Wagner's Tristan and Isolde. At 5.50p.m.(BBC2), The Great Philosophers this week introduces Schopenhauer. At 7.15p.m.(C4), a documentary: Man Eating Tigers. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), The South Bank Show presents Russian theatre and music from Zimbabwe. At 10.35p.m.(BBC2), a powerful adaptation of Sinclair Lewis's controversial 1920's novel, Elmer Gantry.

On Monday, at 11.20a.m.(Radio 3), Three Choirs Festival presents music by Szymanowsky and Faur. At 8.05(BBC2), The Courage to Fail. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Panorama presents The Storm Beyond the Crash, investigates the cause and effect of the recent world-wide stock-market collapse. Also at

9p.m.(BBC2), Woody Allen's Stardust Memories (call me backward if you like, but in a straight fight between Panorama agonising over its own crisis and Woody Allen, there is no contest — Allen has it by a safe margin). At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), part-three of John le Carr's The Perfect Spy. At 11p.m.(C4), final programme in the series The People's Flag: The Enemy Within 1979-1987.

On **Tuesday**, at 2.15p.m.(C4), Buster Keaton in **Steamboat Bill Jr.** At 9p.m.(C4), second documentary in the series **Hot House People**. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), **Footsteps** this week follows Hiram Bingham (1878-1956) on the road from Cuzco to the spectacular Incaruins of Machu Picchu in the Peruvian Andes. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), a documentary called **Tahiti Witness**, an undercover investigation into the effects of French nuclear weapons tests in the tiny attol of Moruroa, in French Polynesia.

On Wednesday, at 1.03p.m.(Radio 3), direct from Broadcasting House, a piano recital by Piers lane who plays Bach and Rachmaninov. At 2.15p.m.(BBC1), Gillian Armstrong's celebrated My Brilliant Career. At 6.30p.m.(C4), Peter West's second documentary in the series All in a Day's Life. At 9p.m.(C4), Luciano Pavarotti plays the Duke of Mantua in Giuseppe Verdi's Rigoletto. At 9.25p.m.(BBC2), partfour of he Perfect Spy.

On **Thursday**, at 8p.m.(C4), Equinox looks at what it is like to be a fighter pilot in todays weapons of destruction. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), 40 Minutes looks at a special ILEA school in Wolverhampton which is threatend with closure on economic grounds.

On **Griday**, at 9.50p.m.(BBC2), the arts programme Arena returns with Your Honour, I Object! Maybe we all will when we have seen it.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON



The final programme in The People's Flag series is on Monday at 11p.m. on Channel 4: The Enemy Within 1979-1987. Above: A mounted policeman at Orgreave hits out at Lesley Boulton, a woman from Sheffield Women Against Pit Closures, in June 1984.

Kers

REJECT ANTI-IRA WITCH-HUNT

Saturday November 21 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

Support Manchester Martyrs March

A SUSTAINED witch-hunt has been been launched against the organisers of this Sunday's 120th **Anniversary Manchester Martyrs** Commemoration march, in the wake of the Enniskillen bomb.

The march is an annual event called to commemorate the execution of three Irish Fenians in Manchester in 1867.

Leader of the Labour-controlled council, Graham Stringer, has been singled out for treatment following his support for the visit of Sinn Fein to the city. The 'Manchester Evening News' said recently:

'The councillors who went out of their way to entertain, and honour him (a Sinn Fein councillor) are still in office. The fact that they are is, or ought to be, a matter of shame for every Labour Party loyalist in the

Leading the witch-hunt is Sean Roger, Labour councillor and deputy chair of Trafford Education Committee. He

BY OUR MANCHESTER CORRESPONDENT

demanded that councillor Dave Lunts and others who had invited Sinn Fein should be expelled from the Labour Party as 'cheer leaders for Sinn Fein in Britain'. The 'Manchester Evening News' followed up its earlier attack with a letters' page headlined: 'Ban the Manchester Martyrs March'.

There is only one way for councillors and Labour Party members to rebuff the right wing and Kinnock and show their support for the struggle in Ireland: they have to mobilise maximum support for the march.

Far from rallying workers behind Sunday's march and asking the working class to stand firm against the anti-IRA hysteria whipped up by the capitalist press, the city Labour Party last week issued a statement stressing 'we are totally opposed to terrorism'. This is a cowardly evasion. The real terrorists are not the IRA but the British army of occupation.

The threat against Sunday's march is directed against the rights of all workers, British and Irish. The right to demonstrate has been won in a series of long struggles. New Tory laws have already seriously eroded this right.

The Workers Revolutionary Party will be taking part in Sunday's march. We call on all workers to join the march and answer the witch-hunters in the Labour Party.

- Full support for Sunday's march!
- Reject anti-IRA witch-hunt!
- British Imperialism out of Ireland!

Commemoration goes ahead

DOMINIC DELANEY, a spokesperson for the Manchester Martyrs' Committee, told Workers Press: The mobilisation for the march, in spite of the witch-hunting of the Republican movement in Manchester, shows that support is building up. It promises to be the strongest demonstration for some years. The police are allowing a counter-demonstration. We are calling for a passeful and displiced demonstration. But we are determined to the control of t for a peaceful and dignified demonstration. But we are determined that the commemoration will go ahead."

manchester martyrs commemoration







Irish workers: beware false

SINCE the Camden Council policy of repatriating Irish people became known, the Socialist Workers Party, publishers of 'Socialist Worker' have been running around supporting the Irish community in the borough against this monstrous policy.

Workers should be aware of the nature of this type of 'support' they are likely to receive which comes not from socialists who take a principled stand against British imperialism but from middle class radicals.

One week previously this same group made their position clear on the Enniskillen bomb-

They issued a mealymouthed statement that

maintained a shameful silence on the most important issue that dominated everything else: the duty of socialists to defend the IRA against the witch-hunt unleashed by the British ruling class, the only perpetrators of violence in the north of Ireland.

Not a single word was said on this matter. By their silence on this, the issue of issues, the SWP in effect lined up with all those who have seized on the bombing to launch a vicious attack on Irish workers in the north of Ireland and in Britain.

Instead of this call for soli-darity with the Republican movement, under the head-line 'The Bitter Fruits of British Rule', 'Socialist Worker' opened by saying:

'The bombing of the Remembrance Day ceremony in Enniskillen was horrific. No socialist supports the random killing of individuals.

What they ignore is that last week, well in time for 'Socialist Worker's' deadline, the IRA issued a statement through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. It contained the following:

'The IRA admits responsibility for planting the bomb in Eniskillen yesterday which exploded with such catastrophic consequences. We deeply regret what occurred. GHQ has now established that one of our units placed a remote control bomb in St Mary's aimed at catching Crown forces personnel on patrol in connection with Remembrance Day services, but not during it. The bomb blew up without being triggered by our radio signal.'

Instead of nailing the Tory press lies about the real circumstances which led to the detonation of the bomb, the SWP confined its attention to general homilies about the source of the problems being the divide between Catholic and Protestant.

Just as dishonest are

friends

'Socialist Worker's' remarks about the intervention of the British army into the six counties in 1969 — sent by the Wilson Labour government:

'In 1969 British troops were sent to "keep the peace" in Northern Ireland after weeks of pogroms led by the Loyalist-dominated reserve police — the B Spe-

'The army guns were turned on the victims of the pogroms, not the perpetra-tors', 'Socialist Worker' de-clares.

What short memories they must imagine we have!

In 1969 they supported the sending of the British Army into the north, precisely because they said it would be a 'peace-keeping' force, pre venting a pogrom against the Catholic minority.

The Socialist Labour League (predecessor of the Workers Revolutionary Par-ty) certainly underestimated the significance of the national question in Ireland and errors resulted. But on this issue we were right against middle class radicalism in the British working movement, including the SWP

We correctly condemned the British army interven-tion and warned that its guns would be turned against those whom ostensibly it was claiming to defend: the Catholic workers.

So Irish workers should be warned: don't be fooled by the Socialist Workers Party

Their present position on the struggle in Ireland is just as dishonourable as their past

Sunday November 22nd 1987

MANCHESTER

WORKERS PRESS leads the fight for Trotskyism and Marxist principles in the labour and trade union movement nationally and internationally.

The most reliable way to get your copy of WORKERS PRESS is by post.

You can have WORKERS PRESS delivered for 25p

POSTAL **SUBSCRIPTION**

Prompt, regular, reliable — anywhere in the world!

INLAND: 10 issues £4, 50 issues £19

Overseas SURFACE: 10 issues £5, 50 issues £24 EUROPE inc Eire: 10 issues £5.30, 50 issues £25.50

AIR: Near East: 10 issues £5.50, 50 issues £26.50. Americas, Asia, Africa: 10 issues £6.10, 50 issues £30 Far East, Australia: 10 issues £6.60, 50 issues £32

Name	Enclosed £
Address	

Send to: WORKERS PRESS, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY **PARTY**

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name date...... Trade Union..... Age (if under 21).....

SEND TO: Secretary to the Central Committee PO Box 735. London SW9

> Published by Extrasearch Ltd, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS. Printed by East West Graphics, London