



## CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

WORKERS PRESS sends warmest Christmas greetings to all political prisoners throughout the imperialist world as well as those languishing in jails throughout the Soviet Union and eastern Europe for their struggle against the repressions of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Especially in our thoughts at this time are those prisoners in Ireland, South Africa, Chile, Iran, Turkey, El Salvador and those

thousands of Palestinian freedom fighters held in prison camps in Israel. Nor do we forget those incarcerated in British jails, the great majority for their struggle for an independent socialist Ireland.

We call upon workers throughout the world to redouble their efforts to win freedom for these heroic victims of capitalist repression.

# Thatcher's Xmas cheer:

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

'The Health Service is safe in our hands.' Christmas 1987 has shown this repeated Thatcher boast to be one of her biggest lies.

The spectre of the 1930s haunts the NHS.

- Staff shortages have forced the NHS to close over 3,500 beds. Health ministers expect closures to increase and are resisting demands for a massive cash injection into the NHS. These closures are very real. They mean.

- The death of more and more patients before their turn on ever-lengthening waiting lists.

- Intolerable pain and a greatly diminished quality of life for tens of thousands. Nearly 700,000 were waiting for in-patient hospital treatment in September, 162,000 of whom had been waiting for more than a year.

This suffering is completely unnecessary. The NHS has the expertise, and health service workers are prepared to work with great dedication to repair damaged bodies. Bottlenecks are caused by Thatcher who from the comfort and safety of parliament declaims pompously that the Health Service has never had it so good.

Her lies are being exposed by all layers in the service — from the big guns of the presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians, Surgeons and Obstetricians, to ordinary doctors and nurses frantically trying to keep children alive in the Birmingham Children's Hospital.

The care of premature babies and children in most areas of Britain is being hit by cash shortages, according to the Royal College of Nursing. In the Yorkshire, Trent, North-West Thames, South-East Thames, Wessex, Oxford West Midlands, Mersey, Wales and Scottish areas children and babies are being turned away because of lack of nursing staff.

Nearly sixty per cent of nurses work overtime for nothing to keep the service going, the Institute of Manpower studies revealed last week. Some 70 per cent of nurses take second jobs in the struggle to make ends meet. Some are working for up



to four different employers.

Even Thatcher's friends are turning on her. A leading consultant who appeared with Health Minister Tony Newton last week accused Tory ministers of 'deceit'.

Thatcher has declared she will stand firm against all protests. Hospitals must make greater efforts to 'increase their own efficiency' says this arrogant woman.

While Thatcher and her Cabinet enjoy private care thousands of ordinary people are subject to degradation at the time when they are most hel-

pless

To force patients to lie in their own urine all day or to place men in female wards — as at St. Mary's Hospital in London — shows that the term 'human dignity' has no meaning for the gang of speculators and City rip-off merchants who run the Thatcher government. For the young this is bad enough, for the old it can prove fatal.

What gives this government the right to say to millions of workers that their lives and the lives of their children are worthless, and that unless the local hospital opens a souvenir shop they will not receive treatment?

Thatcher's lies will not

wash, not even with Tory voters. A 'Guardian' survey showed that 86 per cent of people, including Tory and Alliance voters, are prepared to pay more tax in order to preserve the NHS.

The campaign to defend the NHS will be one of the key struggles in the coming year.

The Labour leaders, who by their inaction have collaborated with Thatcher's attack on the health service, must be forced to mobilise the working class and those sections of the middle class worried about the collapse of this key element of the welfare state for all-out battle with the government.

# TORIES STRANGLE THE N.H.S.

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WORKERS PRESS will not be published next week due to the Christmas Holidays: our next edition will be published on Saturday January 2. The editorial board sends the warmest seasonal greetings to all our readers and supporters.

## A crisis appeal: for £2,000 extra

In so far: £1,150.03

We need £2,849.97

to make £4,000

WORKERS PRESS must raise an extra £2,000 by the end of the year to guarantee its continued production. This means raising £4,000 for our December fund.

Since the overthrow of the old party leadership we have told our readers the real situation facing the paper. We are telling you that now.

The blunt fact is that we are not raising sufficient money each week to sustain the paper. Unless there is an immediate and determined rally by all the paper's readers and supporters continued publication will not be possible.

This would be a great

blow. The past year has seen the growing offensive of the working class throughout the world: in South Africa, in eastern Europe, Latin America as well as Europe the working class, youth and students have fought imperialism and its agencies in the most determined manner.

It is vital that Workers Press comments and intervenes in all these struggles.

But its future is in your hands. As a matter of real urgency you must raise every possible penny to make sure we get in the needed £2,000. This is not an ordinary appeal. So please rush your donations to:

Workers Press Appeal Fund  
PO Box 735, London, SW9 7QS

**Workers Press**

**Comrades in struggle, not beggars with bowls**

MILLIONS of people in Europe and north America, deeply moved by grinding poverty like that pictured in our centre pages, are giving to various charities this Christmas.

The Disasters Emergency Committee — composed of Oxfam, Save the Children Fund, the British Red Cross and two Christian charities, and supported by Bob Geldof — expects to raise £1 million by 25 December. This will be sent to northern Ethiopia, where five million lives are threatened by a new drought. There are other appeals for famine victims across Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Working-class people in Britain are sickened each Christmas by the nauseating barrage of hypocrisy oozing from television screens and money-grubbing newspapers.

Thatcher, Owen and Kinnock and the Queen shed crocodile tears for 'the poor', and then get on with supporting bloody anti-working class terror in Ireland, South Africa and dozens of dictatorships which rely on British imperialist support.

Former TUC general secretary Len Murray, (elevated to Lord Murray after services to British capitalism) is in on the act, as chairman of 'Crisis at Christmas', the charity for homeless people.

A fitting New Year resolution for Workers Press readers could be: to fight to take the whole business of famine relief out of the hands of the Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, to make it OUR business, part of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

We could start by listening to the Bangladesh Project, a group of Bengali trades union and student activists, who call on British workers to treat them as 'comrades in struggle, not beggars with bowls'.

The regime of General Hossain Mohammed Ershad, says a Bangladesh Project leaflet, has 'accelerated pauperisation of the vast majority of the population, corruption of unimaginable proportions, and policies that have made the country completely foreign-aid dependent, placing it firmly in the grip of neo-colonialist powers.'

The Bangladesh Project points out that most of the foreign aid donated during the recent floods went to corrupt government officials; food was sold at inflated prices instead of being sent to flooded areas; Ershad used the flood as an excuse to bring in new martial law regulations.

The Bengali working class reacted to the flood as fighters, not beggars. The campaign of general strikes against the Ershad regime didn't decline but intensified: there have been ten days of all-out stoppage since a State of Emergency was declared on November 27.

A demonstration against the corrupt 'Presidential Fund' for flood victims defied baton-wielding policemen who went berserk in the crowd.

The working class is coming on to the scene in Bangladesh as part of the world working-class struggle. What an inspiration, as is the South African struggle, to workers and socialists in the industrialised imperialist countries!

The Workers Revolutionary Party advances its demand for a workers' international plan of development. Such a plan would indicate how the resources of the industrialised countries, now being destroyed by capitalist slump, can be used to overcome the starvation and poverty caused by capitalism.

In advancing such a plan, the international working class would be able to show even more clearly the rottenness of imperialism, the stagnation of the productive forces, and the way it turns them into forces of destruction. It would show even more clearly why socialism is a historical necessity, not an idealistic hope.

**Fourteenth Christmas in prison for Birmingham six**

THE BIRMINGHAM SIX will spend their 14th Christmas in jail this year.

They will have to wait until sometime in the New Year to hear the result of their appeal against conviction for the 1974 Birmingham Pub Bombings.

Following new evidence which came to light at the appeal, they should have been released pending a public enquiry into the case.

At the end of what is believed to be the longest appeal in court history, Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane, sitting with Lord Justice Stephen Brown and Lord Justice O'Connor, said the court would take time to consider its judgment.

The appeal was preceded by a police 'investigation' of new evidence from former Birmingham police officer, Thomas Clark, who was present when false confessions were beaten out of the men on the night of their arrest.

Clarke, breaking the police code of silence said he saw the men 'mistreated'.

In a letter to 'The Times' before the appeal two MPs, Chris Mullin, Labour, and John Farr, Tory, complained:

'As is common with inquiries of this sort senior police officers are displaying an unhealthy preoccupation with discrediting Mr Clarke

rather than establishing how the men came by their injuries which no one disputes they received during their first three days in custody.'

The 'confessions' were beaten out of the men in an orgy of violence after 'forensic scientist' Dr Frank Skuse told police thugs that some of the Six were covered in nitroglycerine.

Skuse's evidence helped to convict the men although it was later discredited.

In a dramatic second appearance at the appeal, police woman Joyce Lyness, backed up Clarke's evidence when she said she also had seen the men mistreated.

Lyness said she had seen one of the men kneed in the groin but had been warned to keep quiet by fellow officers. She said that she had not said this before because she was frightened after receiving threatening phone calls.

Following the arrest of the Birmingham Six, the Prevention of Terrorism Act was rushed through Parliament in one day. That Act and the continued incarceration

tion of framed prisoners has been used ever since to terrorise the Irish community in Britain.

There were those who said that the Southern government should use the Anglo-Irish extradition Treaty as a bargaining counter for the release of the framed men.

It is ironical therefore that the Treaty should be rushed through the Dail in the tradition set by the PTA.

In fact the Southern bourgeoisie wanted the Treaty just as much as the British government and jumped at the chance of getting it on to the statute book.

They may have painted the post boxes green, but in reality they support Britain's suppression of the republican movement just as much as Margaret Thatcher.

● There is no such thing as a happy Christmas in gaol.

The prisoners will wake up in the morning in a cell smelling of stale urine.

They will fight their way to a crowded and stinking recess, where an angry queue will form, cursing the man who got the last of the hot water.

With the same small piece of soap used to wash his face, a prisoner will try desperately to clean his stained and flaking plastic cutlery.

Locked away during the day, prisoners will write letters to their loved ones, which will be read by a prison officer (screw) — whose job it is to ensure that no word gets out about disgusting conditions in prison.

As a special treat the men will be given half a Kit-Kat with their Christmas dinner.

They will eat their dinner in their cells knowing that it has come from a cockroach-infested kitchen.

If it is not raining they will be allowed an hour's exercise (walking round in circles) in the afternoon.

On returning to his cell a prisoner may well find that the 'Burglers' (screws) have been in, on a routine cell search.

The extra blanket will probably have been stolen and there will be the mess to clear up.

As the prisoner checks to see what has been broken a screw will lock him up for the rest of the day, cynically wishing him a 'Merry Christmas' as the door slams.



**DIY flogger**

GREATER Manchester's Chief Constable who, in January, was reputedly trying to 'fade into the background' has crawled out of the woodwork again via the pages of 'Woman's Own' (Christmas Issue).

Pronouncing on flogging and thrashing violent criminals until they begged for mercy, Anderton once again claimed divine guidance wherein he himself could carry out such punishment 'quite easily'.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about Anderton's so-called 'outbursts' is the coverage they receive from the press in general, the 'Morning Star' being no exception.

Reports appear virtually without comment, even giving the impression that Anderton has said something 'indiscreet'.

This, of course, is not the case at all. Anderton has no need to 'court' media coverage. He is an arch spokesman for the most reactionary elements of the ruling class, and there is undoubtedly a method in his madness which, however uncomfortable, the bourgeoisie acknowledge.

And they certainly must take dim view of his statement that nothing surprises him because he believes 'the level of corruption in this country is much deeper and

BY JEFF JACKSON

wider than anyone imagines: in politics, business and even, perhaps, the police.

The mealy-mouthed protestations by some of the Labour councillors on his local Police Authority who seek to keep Anderton in check were only overshadowed by the statement from Labour MP for Warrington North, Doug Hoyle.

'He is making the Greater Manchester police force a laughing stock,' said Hoyle.

Well spoken, Doug! Unsurprisingly, Anderton has a word or two of pious consolation for the millions facing another Christmas on the dole:

'Most people are searching for a strengthening of their spirit so they can withstand the storms of life,' he says.



JAMES ANDERTON

'The unemployed and homeless can overcome enormous adversity if they have the love of God and the strength of the Holy Spirit to help them do it.

'But I believe these things go in cycles. I think that out of today's disturbances, depression and disarray, a natural order of things will

emerge and people will turn to God.

'Concern for each other will become paramount, selfishness will disappear and the constant seeking after material things will diminish in importance.

'History shows, though, that before any changes take place some extraordinary event has to happen.'





# WORKERS PRESS CHRISTMAS QUIZ

1. The American poet William Carlos Williams, Nobel prizewinners Sinclair Lewis and Pearl Buck, and novelists William Faulkner and Ernest Hemmingway were last year found to have something sinister in common. What was it?
2. Apart from the Reagan-Gorbachev summit there was a so-called 'summit of the left'. Where did it meet?
3. Guinness's takeover bid for another company proved not so good for some. Which company was involved in the takeover?
4. Name the prominent guerilla leader executed by the CIA 20 years ago.
5. Which political party formally broke off relations with which newspaper during last year?
6. How was it a large number of crocodiles began to appear in Britain last year?
7. Which fascist's feet failed to touch the ground when he headed west earlier this month?
8. Which prominent Communist Party member played the leading role in killing a pink panther?
9. A fiftieth and a seventieth anniversary were celebrated by the Workers Revolutionary Party on the same day in November? what were these two celebrations?
10. 'The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today.' In connection with which event were these words spoken a hundred years ago in Chicago.
11. Which American car company sponsored an exhibition of which Mexican painter in which city?
12. He made a flying visit to Britain in 1940, in 1946 claimed to be suffering from amnesia and died this year, un-lamented.
13. In August, a so-called peace plan was signed by the presidents of five Central American nations in Guatemala. What is the name of this plan?
14. The Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko came as part of a Soviet cultural delegation to an international festival held in Britain. Name the city where the festival was held.
15. A play hounded off the London stage earlier in the year was read at this festival. Name the play and its author.
16. Name the former American Trotskyist and later staunch anti-communist who died in July, aged 81.
17. Which judge described which prominent Tory politician's wife as 'fragrant' in what was perhaps the smelliest court case of the year?
18. Why did the year 1981 become of interest during the course of last year?
19. What sinister measure did Tory-run Surrey County Council introduce against teachers?
20. The ex-Stalinist Jimmy Reid got himself a new job? With whom?
21. Why was a butcher operating in the south of France in the news?

22. In May, Barcelona marked an important anniversary. What was it?
23. Police chief James Anderton was investigated because of his strange contacts. With whom did he have the contacts?
24. *Comrades* was a film released last year about which historical event?
25. What events of last year reveal that Peter Wright and Joan Miller had much in common?
26. How did the sale of William Rust House have implications for the Socialist Workers Party?
27. What did 1987 show Tower Hamlets and Camden councils to have in common?
28. Which party boss was sacked for being too open?
29. Flagellation became an issue in Essex just before a third term started. Explain.
30. *Hasta Cuando* (When will it end?) was a film about which country?
31. Who refused to leave church throughout last year?
32. Why was 1987 not a good year for the Reverend Jim Bakker?
33. Why did sunflowers go up steeply in price last year?
34. 'Who is British Ambassador to America?' How did this question create a laugh last year?
35. Where was Mrs Thatcher when the laughter was taking place?
36. Who started searching for votes in the Four Ferrets?
37. On what occasion did Mike Mansfield, QC and Dr Frank Skuse clash over the question of nitro-glycerine?
38. Michael Larkin, William Allen and Michael O'Brien were put to death 120 years ago, yet were the subject of a police ban this year. Explain.
39. An important centenary was celebrated on 13 November connected with free speech in London. What was it?
40. The trial of a prominent South African workers' leader began on 19 October? Can you name him?
41. What do Roger Seelig, Ernest Saunders, Gerald Ronson and Sir Jack Lyons have in common?
42. Many people in Britain will have to take a critical decision by New Year's eve. Explain.
43. Who was threatened for exhibiting pork pies in the east end?
44. Who, rather unexpectedly, appeared on the Moscow stage?
45. Which Democrat returned from the dead at the very end of the year?

ANSWERS PAGE 5



# Turkish elections

**THE LAST** general election in Turkey resulted in the victory of the 'Motherland Party' (ANAP), which has been in power since 1983.

The Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) — the so-called social democratic party — is the main opposition party. The 'Truth Party' led by ex-prime minister Suleymon Demirel entered the Turkish parliament as a third party.

None of the other parties won the necessary 10 per cent of the vote to gain representation.

At the time of the last elections tendencies within the Turkish socialist movement adopted different policies. Some supported the SHP, some of them called for a boycott, some groups and individuals rejected both these policies. These groups wanted to contribute to the process of building an independent united socialist party and refused to support the SHP or any other bourgeois party. They put forward four candidates but gained very few votes.

The election was carried out in the shadow of the gun. Particularly in Kurdistan where harsh oppression of the Kurdish nation continues.

On the day of the election the army went into every Kurdish village, turning the election into a demonstration of a genocidal policy against the Kurdish people.

A number of socialist candidates stood in the election. Their platform did not include any opposition to bourgeois foreign policy — in particular the new role of the Turkish bourgeoisie in the Middle East, although the papers of supporting groups did publish critical articles on this issue.

For more than two years pro-Stalinist, self-styled Trotskyist factions and independent activists have wanted to establish a united socialist party. The standing of these candidates for the election was an attempt to found such a party. But it was unsuccessful.

Most of these factions are now denouncing each other and are seeking other ways of working towards such a party.

In general the work around a united socialist party has been characterised by the perspective of 'legal Marxism'.

As always during periods of reaction and decay some factions split up in unprincipled ways that insult the method of the Leninist party.

For example, two leaders of the Turkish communist party (TICP) came back to Turkey from exile and were arrested. They announced that they wanted to build a legal Communist party and make a contribution to the democratic process in Turkey.

Before returning to Turkey they changed their political programme, abolished the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat and accepted bourgeois policies on the Atlantic pact as well as on the EEC. As well as this, the TICP capitulated to the Turkish militarist democracy and attempted to cover up the Kurdish question. Two pseudo heroes turned into fighters for bourgeois democracy. They are liquidators and mortally sick because of the cancer of 'legal Marxism' and Stalinism.

On the other hand revolutionary currents fight against the deterioration of middle class factions and the betrayals of bureaucratic Stalinist leaderships.

We call for support in building a united socialist party and a revolutionary leadership.

## INDIAN TROOPS MURDER TAMILS

Eyewitness Account

FIGHTING is continuing in Sri Lanka between Tamil Tiger freedom fighters and the forces of both Jayawardene's regime and Rajiv Gandhi's India. In one incident recently after an ambush at Batticaloa, in the east of the island, troops of the Indian 'peacekeeping' force rampaged through a village, burning homes, killing civilians and destroying a mosque. The following is an extract from a doctor's sworn account.

'At about 4.00pm, some soldiers walked into the hospital shooting at random. I think all of them were Sikhs since all had their turbans on. Some doctors were relaxing at the doctors' lounge and I tried to get there. But the shooting was very heavy and the people were running for safety. I was thrown on the ground and I remained there for quite a long time, as long as the shooting continued. When everything was quiet I tried to crawl out to my room and as I did so I realised that I was crawling over some dead bodies.

'Dr. Sivapathasundram lives about a mile away from the hospital. We begged the Indian officers to hand over the body to the wife. They refused. His children — twins — are both deaf and dumb and what a tragedy! Dr. Ganesh has his mother and sister, and his body was also burned. The other doctor killed was Dr. Parimelagan.

On the whole there were about sixty eight bodies: of the hospital staff, were three doctors, one matron (Ms. Vaidivalu), two nurses, two overseers, eleven labourers and one ambulance driver.

'We tried to get the identity of those killed, by searching their pockets and cutting away pieces of clothing. It was humanly impossible as there was a lot of blood, mutilation, disfigured bodies etc. Thank God we were not asked to set fire to the bodies. This was done by them near the mortuary, in the rubbish tank, near the entrance, etc.

### Injured

On Friday, we attended to some of the injured. There were about 22 of us, including the interns, and we had to do all the work with very few nurses on duty. All of us were strictly forbidden to leave the hospital premises. Today is the 10th. day and I hear that my house has been blasted and I do not know what has become of my parents.

Though the curfew has been relaxed for four hours I am unable to reach my home. I prefer to stay in a refugee camp than to stay in the hospital. It's like being in hell. If the hospital cannot afford safety to the patients and look after the wounded, what is the meaning of my stay here?'

# WORLD WIDE SUPPORT FOR CAMPAIGN AGAINST STALIN'S FRAME-UPS

**THE STATEMENT CALLING** for the names of the victims of Stalin's frame-up trials of the 1930s to be cleared now has widespread international backing. Signatories to date include Members of Parliament, academics and labour movement figures in over forty countries.

Internationally famous names include Esteban Volkov - Trotsky's grandson - in Mexico; Jiri Hajek - Foreign Minister in Dubcek's 1968 government; Italian playwright Dario Fo; Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff of the US 'Monthly Review'; Prof. Naom Chomsky, US; Luis Zamora, MAS candidate in the Argentine presidential election; and Petra Kelly, leader of the West German Greens.

There are also signatures from the USSR and from Poland.

In this country, the Moscow Trials Campaign is sponsored by the Leicester and District Trades Union Council and TGWU, Ford Central, 11107 Branch.

New support has come from Ken Livingstone, Norman Buchan and Pat Wall, MPs, Janie Buchan, MEP, and from Perry Anderson and Robin Blackburn, of the 'New Left Review'.

A recent meeting in the House of Commons, attended by several Labour MPs and other supporters of the Campaign, agreed to work for a meeting next March, on the fiftieth anniversary of the third and last of the Trials. Details of



LEONID BREZHNEV

this meeting, and of the campaign to gain support for it in the labour movement, will be announced shortly.

Text of the statement:

It is now over fifty years since the infamous Moscow Show Trials. It is astounding that, at a time when the Soviet government is at pains to emphasise its concern with 'human rights' and proclaims the need for 'glasnost', the accused in these trials, with a few exceptions, are still considered guilty of being paid agents of Nazism, and other crimes.

Among these men were numbered several who played outstanding roles in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The reputations of founders of the Soviet state like Zinoviev, Radek, Trotsky and Bukharin were besmirched or expunged from the history books. Today, no-one doubts that the 'confessions' at the trials - the sole basis for the prosecution - were utterly false. Seven defendants in the third trial, Krestinsky and others, have been both judicially rehabilitated and politi-

cally exonerated. So have the military leaders, Tukhachevsky and others, whose military trial in 1937 was held in secret. But the admittedly false evidence against these men was inseparable from the charges against all the other accused.

None of the accused, of course, is alive today. Many were executed immediately after their trials. Others died in prison or camps. Leon Trotsky, the chief accused in all three of the trials, was murdered in exile in 1940. However, families of some of the defendants

are still living in the Soviet Union. Some also suffered imprisonment and exile. It is worth recalling that a review of all these cases was promised by Krushchev, but this promise was broken.

We the undersigned therefore call on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice, as took place with Krestinsky. We are confident that all those accused in the Trials of 1936-1938 will be shown to have been innocent. They should immediately be rehabili-



TROTSKY

tated, their honour restored, their families compensated and their graves marked.



KAMENEV



ZINOVIEV



PIATAKOV

## QUIZ ANSWERS

- 1. They were all investigated by the FBI at various times for supposed communist activities.
- 2. Chesterfield, Derbyshire.
- 3. Distillers.
- 4. Che Guevara killed October 1967 by the CIA in Bolivia.
- 5. The Communist Party of Great Britain at its Congress broke off relations with the Morning Star.
- 6. Peter Fryer's 'Crocodiles in the Streets', his account of a Latin American visit, was published this year.
- 7. Jean Marie Le Pen attempted to visit the French West Indies but was prevented by widespread opposition.
- 8. Jimmy Airle who was instrumental in bringing the Caterpillar occupation to an end. The pink Panther was the name of the tractor used by the workforce and for was built by the workforce and was destined for Nicaragua.
- 9. The 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and Rae Hunter's 50th anniversary as a member of the Trotskyist movement were celebrated on 8 November in London.
- 10. The words of US labour leader August Spies as was executed in connection with the Haymarket massacre in Chicago, 1886.
- 11. Diego Rivera, sponsored by the Ford at the Hayward Gallery in London.
- 12. Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess.
- 13. The Arts plan, named after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias.
- 14. Edinburgh.
- 15. Jim Allen's 'Pardition: it had been banned at the Royal Court earlier in the year.
- 16. James Burnham.
- 17. Mr Justice Goffe of the Court of Appeal.
- 18. The year 1981 saw the introduction of the Poll Tax, a move sparking off a giant rebellion.
- 19. The decision that all applicants for teaching posts would be vetted by the police.
- 20. On the union-bashing 'Sun', Klaus Barbie, Nazi butcher of Lyons.
- 21. The 50th anniversary of the Barcelona May Days when Stalinist forces battled with anarchist forces for the control of the Barcelona telephone exchange, the last time before the war that the working class was involved in a direct battle for state power.
- 22. The 'Topkapi Martyrs'.
- 23. God.
- 24. The Trotsky at the Vakhtangov Theatre, Moscow, with Mikhail Shatrov's play 'The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk'.
- 25. The presumed-dead Garry Hart right winger Peter Wright's 'Spy' banned for sale in Britain.
- 26. Joan Miller's 'One Girl's War' against the Wilson government in re-appeared as Democratic contender for President of the United States.
- 27. They have both been discriminated against by the Morning Star.
- 28. Boris Yeltsin, Moscow party by refusing to rehouse them.
- 29. Harvey Proctor, Tory MP for Bitterley in Essex, resigns as Tory MP for too far.
- 30. A film about repression in Chile released in the UK last year.
- 31. 'Viral' Meats in Manchester, as part of his struggle against deportations.
- 32. Baker was forced to resign as chief of the 'Frase the Lord' organisation (turnover £12 million a year) after admitting his sexual involvement with his secretary, Baker.
- 33. Vincent Van Gogh's 'Sunflower' was sold for almost £25 million last April.
- 34. Ronald Reagan addressed the Labour shadow Foreign Secretary Denis Healey as Mr. Ambassador during his visit with the president in the White House, who he thought in mind.
- 35. In Moscow, visiting Gorbachev.
- 36. John Walsh, opponent of Arthur Scargill in the NUM Presidential election battle held his first conference in a Yorkshire pub the Four Farts.
- 37. At the Guildford Four hearing in the Court of Appeal.
- 38. The police banned the Marches in memory of the death of Larkin and his comrades the 120 years ago.
- 39. Bloody Sunday, part of the campaign for free speech in London.
- 40. Moses Mayekels.
- 41. All were arrested in connection with the Guinness scandal.
- 42. People from the Commonwealth and the Irish Rep had the right to register as British citizens on payment of £97. After 21 December that right will disappear.
- 43. The Theatre Royal Stratford East by the Kent Police for staging 'Tom Pies' which told of strange events in the Kent constituency.
- 44. Trotsky at the Vakhtangov Theatre, Moscow, with Mikhail Shatrov's play 'The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk'.
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## Kinnock supported by Irish 'left'

**THREE left wing parties in the Irish Dail want Neil Kinnock to ensure that the British Labour party ends all contacts with Sinn Fein.**

A letter complaining about 'deluded British socialists who support the IRA' has been sent to Neil Kinnock from the Irish Labour party leader Dick Spring, Stalinist Workers party leader, Thomas MacGiolla and Democratic Socialist party leader Jim Kemmy.

'Nonetheless, such contacts have persisted', the letter continues 'particularly at local level, and with the support of some leading figures in your party'. They add that it is extremely offensive for them to see 'apologists for the IRA being given warm welcomes and standing ovations by British socialists'.

The Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI) believes that Neil Kinnock is trying to stifle debate on Ireland. Richard Chessum of LCI insists that dialogue must continue with all sections of Irish people including the Republican movement. He says that LCI supports Ken Livingstone's stance during the past couple of weeks and deplores the fact that leading people in the Labour party want to stifle debate in the wake of Enniskillen.

## Worse treatment for Irish

**IRISH people arrested under the the PTA receive worse treatment than any other type of detainee in Britain according to Birmingham six barrister Michael Mansfield.**

This is a fact the Irish Government should note before extraditing their citizens to Britain, he said. Speaking at a recent press conference in Dublin, Mansfield said that discrimination against Irish people begins at their arrest.

mental state of the prisoner when the jury comes in.' Mansfield added that it was myth to say a jury ensured a fair trial. 'The PTA embodies an attitude of mind, a political attitude, towards the Irish community in Britain'.

Michael Mansfield has been representing Billy Power and Paddy Hill at the Birmingham six Court of Appeal hearing at the Old Bailey.

Gareth Pierce who was a defence solicitor at the original trial of the Birmingham six said that the Irish Government must consider most carefully before extraditing people to Britain.

'After some of the experiences we have had, and some of the despair we have seen, you should consider when you think about to whom you will entrust your citizens for their trial'.

Adrian Hardiman, a Dublin based barrister, said that the recent Extradition Act was an entirely inappropriate one between two sovereign states such as Britain and Ireland.

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### LAND OF THE FREE

THE NUMBER of prisoners held in city and county jails in the United States rose by 23 per cent in the past three years, reaching 274,000 by July last year.

The total prison population of the United States, in Federal, state or local prisons, is over 800,000 - the third highest percentage of population imprisoned of any country in the capitalist so-called 'Free World', beaten only by South Africa and Israel.

In New York recently, Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward remarked: 'America incarcerates whites in state and federal prisons at about the same rate as Western Europe, and incarcerates blacks at about the same rate as South Africa.'

Whites make up 44 per cent of the US prison population, blacks 41 per cent, and Hispanics 14 per cent.



The weather was freezing, but the pickets were firm. Winter morning scene on a road outside Duisburg.

## MASS POISON SCARE EXODUS

THOUSANDS of people fled villages in Galicia, north-west Spain, after a ship carrying dangerous chemicals caught fire and ran aground off Finisterre.

The crew of 23, all from Hong Kong or China, were killed in the blaze on the Panamanian-registered 9,000-ton Cason a fortnight ago.

The captain was among those killed, and reportedly the only person on board who knew the nature of the cargo. It was not until three days after the vessel ran onto the rocky coast that Spanish authorities learnt that it was carrying the chemicals.

Tugs were sent to unload the cargo. Barrels of sodium fell into the sea and exploded. On Friday, 11 December, the regional government advised local people to evacuate.

About 7,000 people, from six villages, piled into buses, cars and trucks, heading for the regional capital, Santiago de Compostela. The narrow road was jammed with fleeing vehicles.

Later, the authorities announced that any chemical cloud produced by the accident would not endanger human life, and that anyway it would soon be dispersed by strong winds along the coast. People were not convinced, and refused to return home.

Riot police were called out when demonstrators blocked a main road to stop trucks carrying 250 barrels, taken from the ship before the explosions, to an army base inland.

The environmental group Greenpeace criticised the authorities for taking so long to find out what was on the ship, and for keeping its unloading covered by secrecy.

The official reply was that they had had to wait for the owners in Hong Kong to send them the cargo manifest, that this then had to be translated, and that it was later found to contain inaccuracies on the nature and location of the chemicals.

# Steel jobs battle halts the Ruhr

WEST GERMANY's giant industrial belt, the Ruhr, was brought to a halt on 10 December, as workers came out on strike against a steel plant closure which they say marks the 'slow death of the Ruhr'.

Famous firms like Krupp, Hoesch, Thyssen and Mannesman were all halted.

Tens of thousands of steelworkers, joined by miners, postal workers, teachers and public service workers, blocked roads and motorway access routes, and occupied bridges across the Rhine.

REPORT FROM  
GERMANY BY  
TRUDI JACKSON

Pickets were out before dawn, and in the freezing cold weather they warmed their hands by braziers while women kept up a supply of hot

coffee and fresh rolls.

The workers were objecting to plans by the Krupp company to close a steel plant in Rheinhausen, in the Duisburg conurbation, destroying 6,000 jobs.

Earlier in the week, angry workers had stormed the Krupp family mansion, Villa Hugel. The all-out strike on 10 December came after a fortnight of guerrilla stoppages at the Rheinhausen plant.

## Occupation

'The next stage will be occupation of the plant,' promised Klaus Lollgen of the Krupp Workers' Council.

There is already 16 per cent unemployment in the Duisburg area, and union leaders have warned that

altogether 15,000 jobs could go as a result of the Krupp closure plan.

'If Krupp shuts down you can build a wall around the city and declare it dead,' said steel worker Uwe Neumann. His mate Frank Kwasny, a 19 year-old welder, said the unions must not let 'workers be divided as they were in Britain. We will stand together.'

Even shops, pubs and cafes were closed in a sign of support for the 10 December action. Postal deliveries were stopped, and children were given the day off school. There were posters on nearly every house, and even on Christmas trees.

Behind the bitter feelings of Ruhr workers is a sense of betrayal, as well as concern

for their future. Rheinhausen survived the Allied bombing in World War II. After the war British occupation forces wanted to dismantle the steel plant and reassemble it in Britain.

## Workers

Ten thousand workers were there, and they occupied the plant to prevent this happening. For three generations Rheinhausen was a symbol of work and home for the proud Krupp workers.

As new technology was installed, they expected it would remain secure for future generations. Now their pride and anger, shared by an entire industrial community, is engaged in the fight to save the plant and jobs from the capitalist owners.

# French terrorist brought home

NEW ZEALAND prime minister David Lange last week charged the French government with 'blatant and outrageous' breach of a UN agreement, after convicted state terrorist Major Alain Mafart was brought home from the Pacific atoll of Hao, supposedly for 'urgent medical treatment'.

Mafart, one of the French secret service team who carried out the 1985 bombing of the Greenpeace ship 'Rainbow Warrior' in Auckland harbour, had not been due for return until 1989.

A New Zealand doctor sent to examine the agent could find little evidence that he needed flying home for treatment.

A photographer working with Greenpeace was killed when the French team sank the 'Rainbow Warrior', to prevent it sailing to lead protests against France's Pacific nuclear tests. Other members of the crew had been ashore at the time.

Most of the French saboteurs got away, but

BY PIERRE DUMONT

Mafart and Prieur were sentenced to ten years jail by a New Zealand court. Labour Prime Minister Lange described the 'Rainbow Warrior' attack as 'state organised terrorism.'

The French government threatened New Zealand with EEC discrimination against its exports, and the

British Tories indicated they would connive at this.

Under a deal struck with the help of UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, New Zealand released the two agents who were transferred to the French military base on Hao atoll for three years' restricted residence. New Zealand also received £3 million compensation.

The 'Rainbow Warrior' attack had been carried out under Mitterand's 'Socialist' government, planned by his Defence Minister, Charles Hernu, with the secret service chief Admiral Lacoste, who had to resign. Chirac could pretend it was not his affair.

But as soon as the two agents were at Hao, Chirac rejoiced 'that they were free on the Republic's territory'. French conservatives boosted him as the man who had liberated two brave officers, and Chirac declared 'The French army

has every reason to be proud of them.'

This year, en route to New Caledonia to celebrate a referendum backing French rule, Chirac stopped off at Hao atoll to meet with Major Mafart and Captain Prieur, just to rub in the message for New Zealanders and other Pacific peoples, and for the chauvinist vote back in France.

It was revealed that far from being 'restricted' on Hao, Mafart had been promoted to deputy-commander of the base. In fact, the two French agents have reportedly been training fresh

groups of saboteurs sent to the Pacific base.

The sinking of the 'Rainbow Warrior' was seen by people in the South Pacific not only as a terrorist crime, but as a symbol of French colonial arrogance. The return of Major Mafart is seen in New Zealand as a further arrogant gesture, aimed at boosting Chirac's campaign for the presidency in 1988.

The French government must be told that it can have Mafart back — and get the rest of its imperialist troops, gendarmes, ships, and terrorists out of the Pacific NOW!

NEW ZEALAND'S High Court has rejected attempts by the Tories to ban Peter Wright's memoirs 'Spycatcher' there. Chief Justice Sir Ronald Davidson said the material could not damage New Zealand's security, and the British government could not be permitted to enforce its laws there.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

# New light on the Kirov murder

FRESH light on Stalin's murderous mass purge and show trials of leading Bolsheviks in the 1930s may be shed by material being published in the Soviet Union for the first time.

Evidence contained in the posthumously published memoirs of the late Anastas Mikoyan points strongly to what many historians have long suspected — that the murder of Leningrad party leader Sergei Kirov in 1934, which was used to start the great 'conspiracy'-hunt, was ordered by Stalin himself.

The murder of Kirov, a popular figure who might well have become Party leader, was blamed at first on a 'White Guard' plot, but then the alleged assassin was supposed to have 'confessed' to links with Zinoviev and Kamenev. From this, Stalin's secret police manufactured their story of a 'terrorist con-

spiracy' headed by Trotsky.

In his memoirs, Mikoyan, a leading central committee member from 1922, and holder of several top posts, including president of the supreme soviet from 1964, says delegates to the 1934 party congress wanted to replace Stalin as general secretary by Kirov.

At the congress, attended by nearly 2,000 delegates, Kirov received more votes for the Central Committee

than any other candidate, Stalin included.

'A group of delegates suggested that Kirov become General Secretary. He refused . . . he told Stalin and was met with hostility and a will for revenge against the whole Congress, and of course, Kirov personally.'

Mikoyan's point here confirms what others have said. In 'The Time of Stalin', published in 1980 in America, Anton Antonov-Ovsenko, son of the famous Bolshevik, describes Kirov attempting to reassure an anxious Stalin that he would not challenge him for the leadership

## Policies

'If I was appointed general secretary, that would call into question the policies of the party — collectivisation, industrialisation, nationalities policy, our building of socialism in general. No that's something I wouldn't agree to. You can't change horses in midstream.'

But as Stalin interrogated him further about the opposition in the party, Kirov told him: 'You have only yourself to blame for what happened. After all we told you things couldn't be done in such a drastic way.'

Later, Kirov confessed to friends that he feared Stalin had not finished with him. Taking a vacation after a first Central Committee meeting, he told a friend: 'Alyosha, my head is on the block. They're going to kill me.'

On 1 December, 1934, Kirov was shot in the back of the head as he worked in his office in the Smolny institute in Leningrad. The alleged assassin, Nicolaev, had gained access to the building without trouble. Indeed, it soon transpired that GPU officers in Leningrad had known of his intentions.

Several high-ranking GPU officers were charged with 'neglect of duty', and sentenced to two or three years. Meanwhile, thousands of 'suspects' had been rounded-

up as possible 'conspirators'. As for Nicolaev, his trial was held in secret, and he was executed.

The charge of being behind the murder of Kirov was the main one on which Zinoviev and Kamenev were found 'guilty' in the Moscow Show Trials, and Trotsky was accused in absentia.

● By 1937, 90 of the 139 Central Committee members who had attended the 1934 congress had been arrested and killed.

● Of the 1,966 delegates who had attended, 1,108 were either killed or sent to labour camps.

## Exile

Leon Trotsky, following the events as closely as he could from exile, had predicted from the start that the assassination of Kirov would be used as the pretext for Stalin's onslaught on opponents, and potential opponents.

He also pointed out the evidence which, notwith-

standing Stalinist cover-ups, pointed to the hand of Stalin's GPU in the murder which began it all.

In 1956, it was a speech by the Armenian-born Mioyan criticising the official 'Short Course' history of the CPSU which foreshadowed Khrushchev's famous denunciation of Stalin's crimes.

Although the issues raised by his memoirs now are not entirely new, it is significant that what a long-standing Soviet leader has to tell goes so far to confirm what Trotskyists have long believed was the truth about the Kirov case.

It is also important that this is now being published in the Soviet Union, and brought before the Soviet public. It must strengthen the case for exonerating the victims of the Moscow Trials, for investigating Stalin's crimes, and for demanding that the works of Trotsky and others be published in the Soviet Union.

● See Moscow Trials call, p.5



## HANDS OFF IRANIAN REFUGEES!

IN RECENT months the relationship between the Islamic regime of Iran and the Pakistan government has become very close.

A consequence of that was the arrest and deportation of members from the opposition groups within Pakistan. A number of them have been executed on their arrival in Iran.

Also soldiers who fled the war fronts to Pakistan were arrested and refused refugee status by the Pakistan regime and are being expelled back to Iran.

The Pakistan government has allowed the Hezbollah thugs freedom to attack Iranian refugees and kill them. The

Pakistan regime has not arrested the Hezbollah thugs, but they have arrested and deported a number of Iranian refugees.

CARI (Campaign Against Repression in Iran) last Saturday called a picket outside the Pakistan Embassy in opposition to the collaboration of the Pakistan regime with the Islamic regime of Iran. More than 70 people supported the call from a number of groups from the Middle-East and Britain. The main slogan was 'Break all links with the Islamic regime of Iran, hands off Iranian refugees!'

At the end of the picket a petition signed by MP's, trade unionists and supporters was handed in at the Pakistan Embassy. For more information please contact CARI, BM-CARI, LONDON WC1N 3XX.

# ISRAELI TROOPS RAMPAGE

ISRAELI troops dragged injured Palestinians out of a hospital in the occupied Gaza strip last week, beating them about the head, and throwing them into a jeep.

An officer, realising the incident was being watched by foreign reporters, shouted to his men: 'What the hell are you doing? Put them back. Can't you see there are two journalists here? Are you crazy?'

The incident at Gaza's al-Shifa hospital, witnessed by two American journalists, one of them understanding Hebrew, was just one more in a week of violence by the Zionist occupation forces against the Palestinians, in Gaza and the West Bank.

Over 40 people, mostly teenagers, had been brought into the hospital after troops broke up demonstrations in Nuseirat and Bureij refugee camps, on 13 December. Hospital officials said 35 had gunshot wounds, and another six had injuries consistent with beatings.

As local youth gathered later, and threw stones at troops outside, the soldiers charged, pursuing them into the hospital. One soldier opened fire in the entrance hall with rubber bullets.

A few days previously, troops in jeeps and half-tracks fired tear gas and live rounds to break up a demonstration in Rafah, at the southern end of the Gaza Strip. There was a similar scene in Khan Yunis.

By the weekend, 10 Palestinians had been killed, and more than 100 wounded. In the West Bank, four people were killed in Balata refugee camp, near Nablus, and scores were reported injured, when troops opened fire on a crowd coming from the mosque after Friday prayers.

There were two more victims killed at the weekend, when troops opened fire in Nablus and in Hebron. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat announced that 23 Palestinians had been killed in six days of Israeli repression,

and 210 wounded. He called for international action to halt the slaughter.

The trouble in Gaza had been expected for some time. Last month, a 17-year old Palestinian girl was shot dead by Zionist settlers, and another girl wounded. The settlers claimed they had opened fire when stopped at a roadblock, but the girl's body was lying in the playground of a school some distance away.

Later, a Zionist settler died in hospital after being stabbed in Gaza. Then on 8 December, five Palestinian workers returning home were killed when an Israeli army truck rammed their car. The occupiers later claimed it had swerved accidentally, but local people believe it was deliberate.

Israeli prime minister Shamir insisted recently there could be no question of 'demilitarising' the Gaza strip, nor of halting Zionist settlements there.

The Israeli leaders, both of Shamir's Likud and Peres' Labour Party, are adamant that they will not talk to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, although polls this year confirmed that the vast majority of people in the occupied territories regard the PLO as their representative and leadership. Israelis who have met PLO members are being prosecuted.

As we go to press, there are reports of more young Palestinians killed in Gaza and the West Bank, and Israeli tanks and helicopters in action in south Lebanon.

## Chirac deports Iran refugees

IRANIAN political refugees opposed to the Ayatollah Khomeini's regime are being deported from France, as part of the Chirac government's deal with Tehran over hostages.

Police descended on the Paris suburb of Auvers-sur-Oise, in a dawn raid on the headquarters of the People's Mojahedin movement, a refugee hostel, and the homes of Iranian students.

The Ministry of the Interior said 'dozens of Iranian citizens' had been taken into custody, who he claimed had been involved in militant activity threatening public order.

### Married

Several of those held were UN-registered refugees, and two were married to Frenchwomen. Seventeen alleged members of the Mojahedin were deported to Gabon, in west Africa. The leader of the movement, Moussad Rajavi was expelled to Iraq last

year.

The Mojahedin insist they have not carried out terrorist activity from France. A spokesman said they had adhered to restrictions set by the French government in 1981.

The new relationship between the French government and the Iranian regime was started by the release of the French hostages in Lebanon, and the French government allowing Vahid Gorti from the Iranian Embassy to leave France two weeks ago. Gorti was believed to be

the organizer of terrorist attacks against Iranian opposition groups and refugees around Europe.

In turn the Iranian regime released a member of the French Embassy in Tehran. France also decided to withdraw an aircraft carrier from the Gulf

### Arrested

On Sept 20th 1986 four members of a left wing opposition group were arrested and charged with 'having connection with European terrorist groups'. Since then one has been released but the other three have been kept in prison. With the new relationship developing between Chirac and the Khomeini regime, their lives are in danger.

The new move by the French government to deport 17 refugees clearly highlights the dangers for the

Iranian oppositionists in 'democratic' France. At the moment Ebrahim Tavangar one of the left oppositionist who has been deported to Gabon is on hunger strike and his life is in danger

The Campaign Against Repression in Iran (CARI) is calling on activists from the labour and trade union movement and progressive organizations and individuals to join in demonstrations, and write to French Embassies condemning the arrest and deportations of left oppositionists and refugees by the French government

CARI also urges that letters be sent to Amnesty International and United Nations.

- Free the Three Iranian Political Prisoners In France
- Hands off Iranian Refugees In France!

# CHILDREN OF TH

## Worth fighting for



Street kids of BRAZIL. These car clean kids are among the thousands of children who roam the streets of cities like Rio and Sao Paulo, scraping a living by casual work, begging, or crime. Many will die before their teens. Their country is potentially among the richest, but its people among the poorest, hugely burdened with debt to the big international banks.

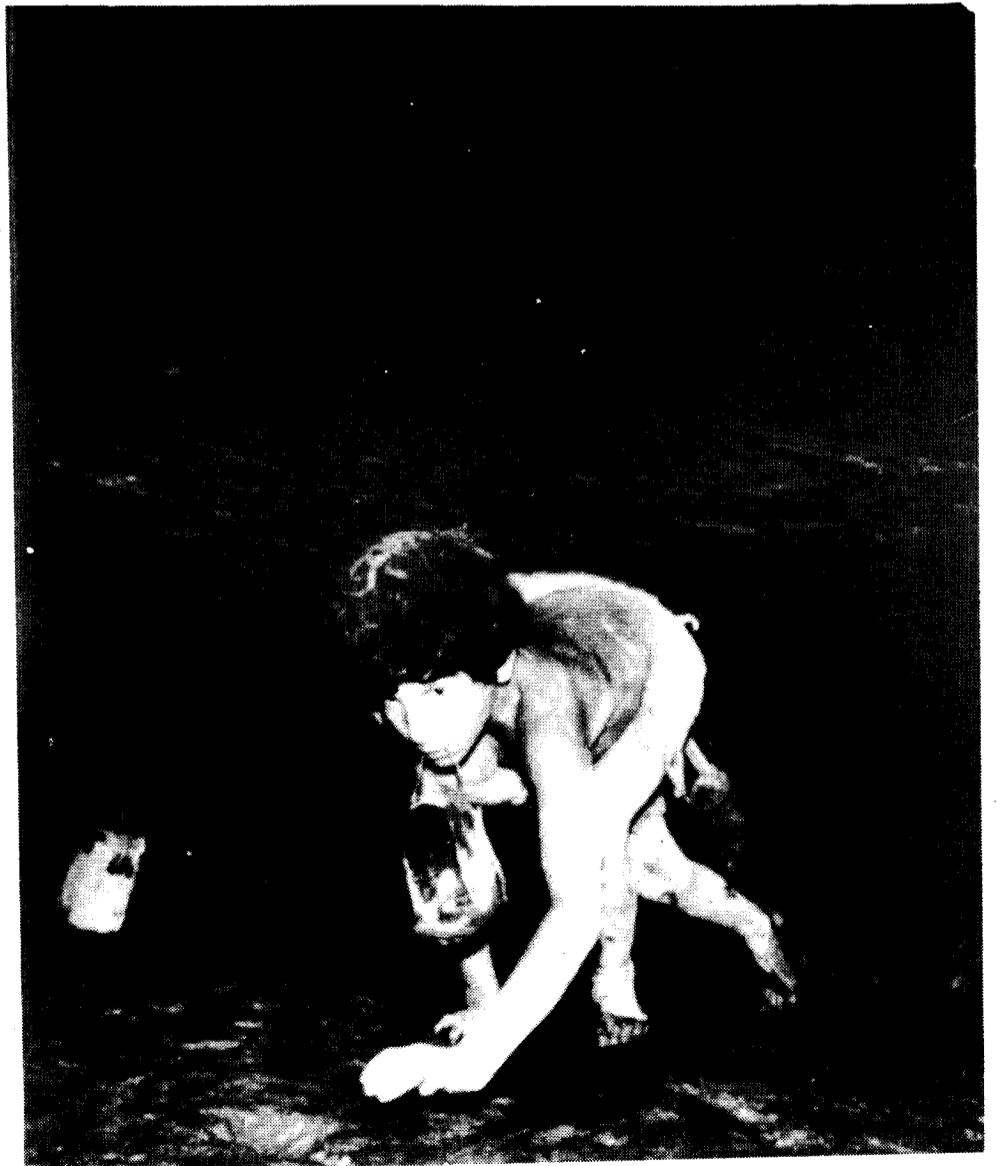


In ETHIOPIA, and other parts of Africa, famine strikes again. Only with international planning and socialist allocation of resources can it be halted, and these children can live to develop their countries.

In Mozambique, South African-backed terror is directly responsible for destroying the economy. And throughout Africa, good agricultural land is being used for exports to pay off debts to the banks — billions of pounds more than comes in relief.



LITTLE GEMS? They are polishing them. These kids are working in a jewellery factory in THAILAND. Thousands of factories there employ children at less than seven cents an hour. Many children work up to 75 hours a week.

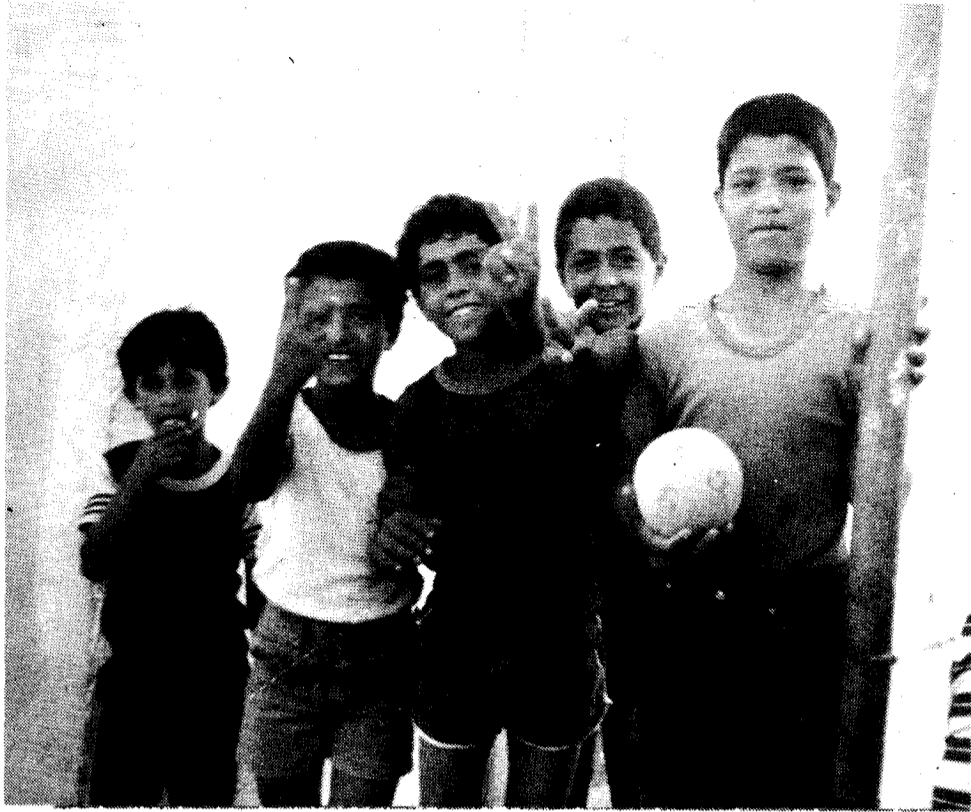


THOUSANDS of feet below the ground, this COLOMBIAN boy must hack at the coalface, fill sacks, and drag them to the surface. For each sack, which may fetch 180 pesos when sold to a factory, he gets seven pesos. Often the roofs and walls in the Colombian mines are unsupported. Lighting is from his candle in a tin can.



# THE WORLD

TEXT BY CHARLIE POTTINS

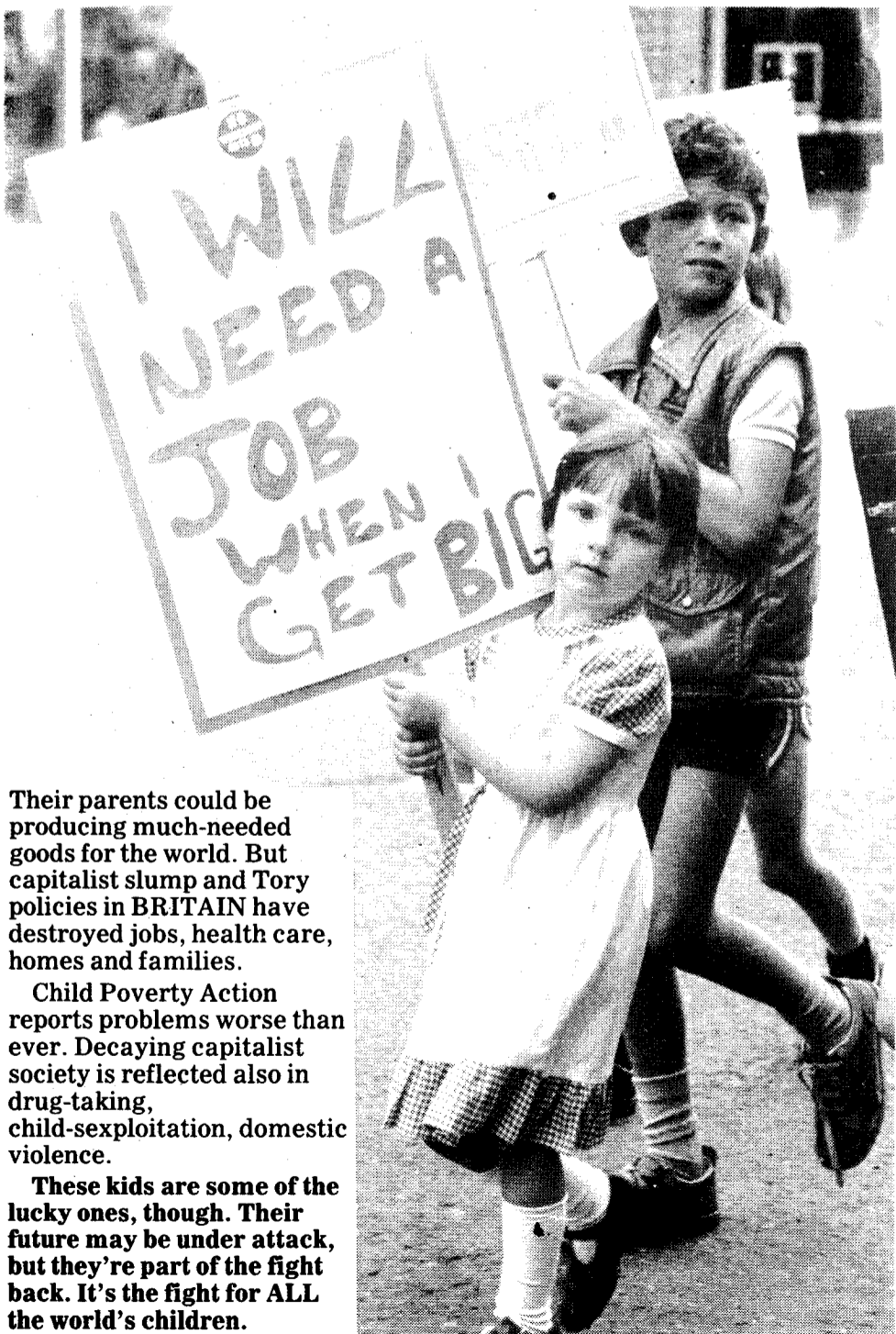


**SAMED!** It means steadfast. That's what these **PALESTINIAN** lads, in Daheisha camp, intend to be. Their families were driven from villages near Jerusalem in 1948, when the State of Israel established itself. Their older brothers (and some little older than they are) may be serving jail sentences for acts of resistance. Their camp is under constant watch by the Israeli army, and has been attacked by armed Zionist settlers.

But Daheisha, in the occupied West Bank, remains a strongpoint of Palestinian popular resistance. And the defiant spirit of these youngsters is going to keep it so.



A victim of chemical warfare in Iraqi **KURDISTAN**. Imperialism carved up the Kurdish homeland between four alien states after World War I. The Kurds have never given up their struggle for self-determination. The Turkish government treats it as a crime for Kurdish children to be taught in their own language. The Iraqi regime, now receiving huge loans from Britain and the United States, has been waging all-out war on Kurdish villages. This child is just one of the victims.



Their parents could be producing much-needed goods for the world. But capitalist slump and Tory policies in **BRITAIN** have destroyed jobs, health care, homes and families.

Child Poverty Action reports problems worse than ever. Decaying capitalist society is reflected also in drug-taking, child-sexploitation, domestic violence.

**These kids are some of the lucky ones, though. Their future may be under attack, but they're part of the fight back. It's the fight for ALL the world's children.**



Come to Sunny **SOUTH AFRICA**, where the police torture 12-year old girls, the politicians speak of 'Christian values', and the bosses look after the price of gold for their rich partners in the City of London!

These youngsters struggling to learn, in the most difficult conditions, soon learn to struggle, against racial oppression and ruthless exploitation.

This Christmas, as last, hundreds of youngsters will be in the police cells and prisons of the Apartheid regime. Botha is frightened of them. Thatcher continues doing profitable business with Botha. But what are we doing about it? It is time we meant business against both.

Politics from the prisons

# Class struggle and national struggle

BY SIMON PIRANI

'QUESTIONS of History', written by Irish Republican Prisoners of War and published by the Sinn Fein Education Department, is an exceptional book.

If previously we thought of self-sacrifice and defiant courage as the prisoners' great strengths, now we must add another: they are making a vital contribution to political discussion.

'Questions of History', Part 1, surveys the history of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland from 1798 to 1934. The historical narrative is interrupted with very piercing questions from the prisoners, some of which we offer our comments on.

**Class struggle and national struggle**

The first question posed is a crucial one: 'what class is to lead the struggle for national liberation?' (p.15).

(This question appears in the chapter on the 1798 uprising. There is no room in this article to deal with the role of the Irish bourgeoisie then, or throughout the 19th century. We will concentrate on the present.)

Today, with imperialism internationally gripped by historical crisis, when in Ireland majority of the population have long ago been concentrated in the towns, when the Irish bourgeoisie has 65 years ago irretrievably betrayed the national struggle and signed the Treaty, there can be a clear answer: the working class.

Of course the idea of working-class leadership in the national struggle was first advanced when the working class was still a minority of the population, a quarter of a century before the Treaty — by James Connolly.

'Questions of History' says he 'strove to create a consciousness and awareness amongst the working class which would unite them against their capitalist oppressors' (p.60).

What about alliances between the working class and

bourgeois forces in the national struggle?

'Despite his suspicions,' say the authors, 'Connolly nevertheless felt that it was correct to align himself with the most progressive section



James Connolly

of the national bourgeoisie.

'This was in line with the thinking of the Russian Marxist, Lenin, who felt that socialists should align themselves with what is progressive — and only progressive — in the context of another class.

'In the struggle for Irish self-determination, the battle to reject the British, in which the bourgeoisie participated, constituted the progressive element in that context which Connolly aligned himself with.

'Given this approach of Connolly's, could there exist a progressive element in the context of, say, the SDLP or Fianna Fail, now, or in the future, which could provide the basis for a possible alliance or united front between these groups or sections of them and the Republican Movement.' (pp 65-6).

This question of class alliances is so central that there can't be any confusion on it.

Since Connolly and Lenin both saw the working class, internationally, as the motive force of historical change, they never considered anything but temporary, expedient, practical alliances with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces — with the working class marching under an independent, socialist programme, to-

wards its own historical goal.

In 1897, with brilliant historical foresight, Connolly defended his aim of a 'socialist republic' from those who said it would 'alienate all our middle-class and aristocratic supporters'.

'If you ask me to abate one jot or tittle of the claims of social justice, in order to conciliate the privileged classes, then I must decline.' ('Socialism and Nationalism').

Connolly never changed this view. It is not true — as Sean O'Casey writes in his history of the Irish Citizens' Army, for example — that Connolly abandoned socialism for nationalism when the first world war broke out.

He was determined to carry through the Easter Rising precisely because of his socialist internationalism: he feared the war would physically destroy millions of workers, and — as 'Questions of History' states clearly — believed it vital to detonate revolutionary struggles by whatever means, viewing the 1916 rising as 'a

blow against world imperialism' (p.65).

Neither did Connolly drop his criticisms of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces, even the IRB with whom he organised the rising — and 'Questions of History' points this out.

But he lacked the means to mobilise the working class in revolutionary struggle.

Connolly, following the American syndicalist tradition, believed that the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, rather than a revolutionary party, could fulfil that role.

But it was already under reformist control and played no part in the rising. (We will return to this in another article).

In the struggle against Tsarist autocracy in Russia, before the 1905 revolution, Lenin also advocated an alliance with certain bourgeois forces — with bourgeois liberalism against Tsarism.

But he always saw that alliance as temporary, its purpose being not to strengthen the liberals, but to un-

mask them as vacillators in front of the whole democratic movement.

Both before and after 1905, all the Russian revolutionaries, understanding that the revolution was fighting to achieve democracy, and agrarian reform, emphasised its 'bourgeois character'.

The Mensheviks concluded that the working class could thus only play a supporting role, with the bourgeois forces leading the way.

They were bitterly opposed by Lenin, who insisted that only the Russian working class, allied with the huge peasantry, could carry through the bourgeois revolution, and thus advanced the slogan 'for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.

Along with Lenin, Trotsky attacked the Mensheviks for surrendering the revolution's leadership to the bourgeoisie; his 'theory of permanent revolution' differed from Lenin's slogan only in that it insisted the working class would have

the leading role and the peasantry would follow it.

In February 1917 Russia was plunged into revolution, the best possible test of all theories about class alliances.

The liberal bourgeoisie took power, and in maintaining capitalist rule they received vital support from the Mensheviks.

Lenin, who had never thought of the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie as more than a passing phase, argued that the working class had to seize power from them immediately, aiming to win the support of the peasantry with the slogan 'bread, peace and land'.

He bitterly conflicted on this score with the majority of Bolshevik leaders, who closed their eyes to the class character of the liberal bourgeois regime, decided that it represented the 'democratic dictatorship' they had advocated, and gave it 'conditional' support.

With Trotsky's help, Lenin overturned this position inside the Bolshevik party, enabling it to lead the first successful workers' revolution in November that year.

So, even when the working class was a small minority of the population, far more so in Russia than in Ireland, tactical alliances with the bourgeoisie were strictly subordinated to the strategic goal of working-class power.

It is necessary to say all this, because in the 20s, in the era of imperialist domination, after the national bourgeoisie in Ireland, India, China and elsewhere had carried out historic betrayals — the Communist International under Stalin adopted the Menshevik line of 'class blocs' and 'people's fronts' against imperialism, trying to claim that this policy was Lenin's.

But these were strategic compromises with the national bourgeoisie, not tactical alliances. The difference between these is a matter of life and death.

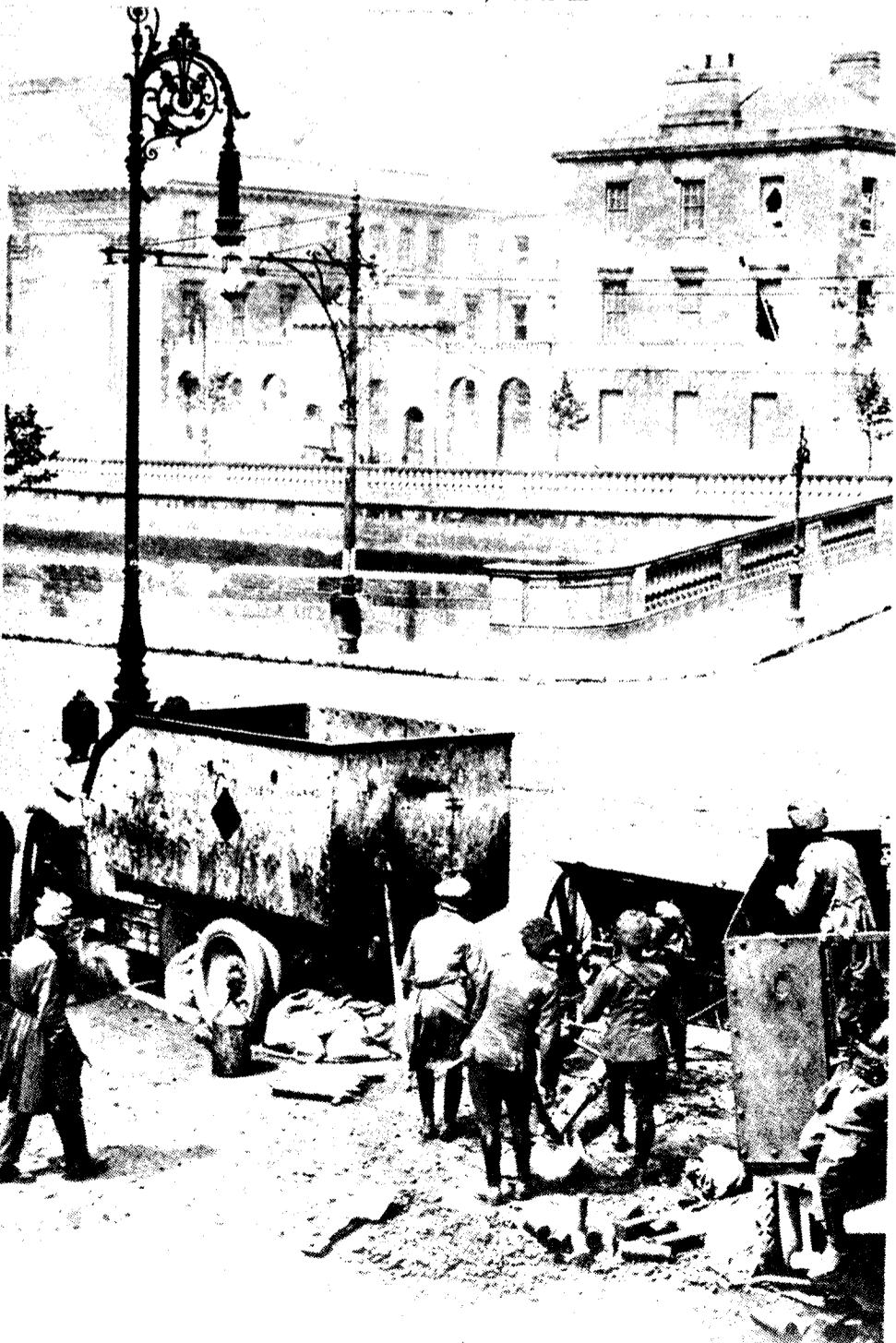
What does all this mean for Ireland in 1987? Fianna Fail represents not a bourgeoisie that desperately needs to achieve democratic reforms or national liberation to go forward, but one whose interests are best served by alliances with British and US imperialism.

The SDLP represents the most cowardly section of the labour bureaucracy which accepted partition in 1922 and works to preserve the six-county state.

Sinn Fein, which has almost entirely working-class support, and has maintained its support for the armed struggle, nevertheless advocates a middle-class reformist political and economic programme.

The vital need today is for a revolutionary working-class leadership, standing on the shoulders of Connolly and Lenin, which understands the working class as a motive force in history, not a passive object.

Only with such a party can the working class develop its political independence; and that political independence is the essential prerequisite for the working class to take advantage of any tempor-



The Irish bourgeoisie 'irretrievably betrayed' the national struggle in 1922: here the Free State army bombards the IRA at the Four Courts, using British guns

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These documents comprise a selection of the Balance-sheet, tasks and Perspectives and political positions of the IWL (FI) and its forerunner organizations while they were part of the USec. More documents will be made available to British readers as soon as translation work permits.

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**SPECIAL OFFER FOR BRITISH READERS**

# On the History of American Trotskyism

BY MICHEL VARGA

**COMRADE Tom Kemp — and Workers Press — are a thousand times right to draw attention to the history of the American SWP. That history, or more precisely the clarification of the many problems that fashioned it, is indispensable for us as an essential element in the reconstruction of the Fourth International.**

In writing these few lines of comment on Kemp's remarks, however, I should like to concentrate on one precise point. Comrade Kemp insists on the fact that the Goldman/Morrow faction, like many other members — often leading ones such as Van Heijenoort or Craipeau — were demoralised and left the party after the war because, in their view, the revolution predicted by Trotsky did not take place.

I am of the same view as comrade Kemp when he emphasises not only the importance of this series of defections but also of its roots, that is to say the theoretical fragility and inadequacy of the SWP and consequently of the whole Fourth International after Trotsky's assassination.

Contrary to those theoreticians and their very many present-day successors, I am in entire agreement with comrade Kemp: towards the end of the war, in its outcome, the masses took the road of revolution.

The 'error' of Trotsky's prediction will certainly not be proved by pointing to the workers and party members in China, Vietnam, Yugoslavia or Greece.

## Revolutions

But what I think is even more important to say is that these were revolutions limited to certain countries, deformed and aborted.

To the well-known list of deformed revolutions (Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam) it is important to add the revolutionary upsurges particularly in France and Italy, where the revolutions were aborted.

The real problem therefore is not that the revolution was absent, but of knowing why the forward march of the world revolution was stopped and slowed down in some countries and split up, localised and deformed in some others. This brings us much closer to reality.

In order to answer this question, permit me to recall what Marxism teaches us: that the direction of historical development is not determined by fate. Even a revolutionary situation can engender reaction instead of a victorious revolution, because it is men themselves that make their own history.

To put it another way, the laws of history express themselves through the intermediary of the class struggle whose unfolding and outcome alone determines the historical process.

Well, the decisive question in the class struggle is the level of consciousness and organisation of the classes in struggle, that is to say, their leadership. The whole problem is here.

It is impossible to go into a

detailed analysis here of the many reasons for the reinforcement of the influence of Stalinism and the parallel weakening of the Fourth International (these two great problems alone well deserve separate studies). It is enough to show the terrible contradiction: the revolutionary upsurge after the war carried at its head a counter-revolutionary leadership.

That leadership brought about a gigantic and very active counter-revolutionary alliance such as history had never before seen in order to divert, prevent and actively fight against the revolution.

The veritable sharing-out of the world at Yalta, confirmed and developed at Potsdam, did not merely reveal the extent and depth of

To sum up, the revolution did happen, but it was extremely modified, mutilated and deformed. To such an extent that even serious people like Van Heijenoort for example could deny its existence.

This, moreover, is the most striking proof that the class collaboration of the traditional leaderships can brake, postpone, deform and even prevent the revolution. For the laws of history are realised only in the activity of its protagonists. It is dangerous to confuse Marxism and historical determinism, with vulgar mechanical materialism applied to history.

This, however, is precisely what happened in the Ramos-Assouline group (which has already burst apart). During our struggle

these two basic characterisations are indissolubly linked. Without that it is impossible to understand Trotsky's prediction — which was not a determinist one — and the actual history of the post-war period.

The lack of such an understanding is, however, the theoretical root of a whole series of revisionist deviations.

From the 'absence' of the revolution, particularly in the industrially advanced capitalist countries, certain people have concluded that the bourgeoisie is able to surmount its crises and contradictions. (Politically this 'lack of understanding' means giving absolutism to the Stalinists and reformists!)

Helped by the post-war economic boom, some have gone so far as to discover the 'aptitude' of capitalism to develop the productive forces (!?). The sum of these phantasmagoria is codified in Mandel's pseudo-theory of neo-capitalism which, to this day, he has not revised.

Others take this 'absence' of the revolution as reality, concluding that the Stalinist bureaucracy is able to make the revolution in particular countries — in place of the masses.

## Arsenal

It is no coincidence that this 'revolutionary capacity' of the Stalinists serves to prove the 'dual nature' of the bureaucracy and this takes pride of place in the theoretical arsenal of many revisionist groups.

Generally speaking, the theoretical characteristic not only of former members like Goldman and Morrow but many of our contemporaries in relation to Trotsky's prediction and its consequences is mechanical metaphysics.

Instead of a theoretical analysis fructified by Marxist theory and its previous results, it operates with preconceived ideas which it tries to apply rigidly to history. If the two do not coincide absolutely, it condemns — history, guilty in its eyes of not conforming with the 'theory'.

It adopts reason in a normative way, whence their habit of reaching extreme conclusions. They are the prisoners of a formalism which some of their number, such as Laffont, cultivate to the level of the unbearable.

It is not difficult, in examining history, to discover that in the theoretical inadequacy of the American SWP that comrade Kemp speaks of there was a fair dose of this formalism and schematism.

It was no coincidence that Trotsky so urgently recommended to the SWP the study of dialectics. This advice is more important and timely today in view of the ravages of revisionism of every sort, including that of Healy, whose 'study of dialectics' was — once more — nothing other than formalism empty of content.



JAMES P. CANNON

the bourgeois allies' and the Stalinists' fear of the revolution. It codified the concerted and often common behaviour to block it or to fight it.

The Anglo-American bombing to terrorise the German working class, the stopping of the Red Army before Warsaw during the struggle against Hitler's troops, the prolonged joint action of the bourgeoisie and Stalinism to strangle the revolution in Greece, not to mention the division of the German proletariat are more than revealing facts, as is the active, not to say fervent, participation of the Stalinists in bourgeois 'national unity' governments, sliding even lower down the slopes of class collaboration than the — themselves abject — popular fronts.

It is, I repeat, impossible to retrace all this history here. We must write it and, moreover, deal with the particular forms it took in Eastern Europe, China and Vietnam.

Nevertheless as a whole and despite the joint efforts of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, the world revolution took a step forward, but a stumbling and painful step. Thus in several so-called advanced capitalist countries the bourgeoisie was forced to concede certain reforms in order to keep the essential thing — power.

The Stalinists and reformists rushed to present these reforms as victory. A mess of pottage. . .



The six-county state 'bred and suckled' loyalism: here Ulster Volunteers train to defend the reactionary Union with Britain



The Bolsheviks regarded the Russian workers as the leading force in the revolution: here is a workers' demonstration in 1905

ary, tactical alliances with other forces.

This view of the working class — as a motive force of history and not a passive object — is the only one from which the question of the protestant workers of Ireland can be tackled.

Referring to the explosive situation after the first world war, in which imperialism faced mounting industrial struggles in Belfast and impending civil war in Dublin, 'Questions of History' asks whether in such a 'situation of dire poverty', the unionist workers could 'come to reject unionism and embrace socialism. Or even in such circumstances would the Orange supremacist ideology be too strong?' (p. 111).

Further on, the authors quote David Reed of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), who claims in his 'Ireland: Key to the British Revolution' that the loyalist cross-class alliance 'can never be destroyed unless the prop of the union with Britain is taken away.'

'Questions of History' asks: 'Can the working class in the north become united for long enough to perceive British imperialism as the ultimate enemy of their real interests, working in collusion with the unionist bourgeoisie, and upon the basis of that perception, actively participate in the process aimed at defeating that imperialism and its allies; or is the line of argument pursued by David Reed essentially correct?' (p. 135).

It is impossible to answer these questions unless the Irish situation is understood in the context of the historical crisis of imperialism. That crisis — most clearly evident in the recent stock-market crash — has the most severe effect on Britain, which far from being the world's leading imperialist power as it was when the monster of unionism was first brought to life, is today a poor cousin of US imperialism. Historically it is in decline.

In the end, this will be decisive in sealing the fate of the unionist bourgeoisie. The linen and shipbuilding industries from which they got their wealth, built up by Bri-

tain in the last century, have all but collapsed.

'Questions of History' correctly says that 'a virtual monopoly of the better paid skilled jobs' enabled the unionist bourgeoisie 'to create among the protestants an aristocracy of labour who would lead the protestant working class in the direction required by the interests of the bourgeoisie' (p. 108).

One characteristic of the present imperialist crisis is its devastating impact on the privileges of the labour aristocracy — in the imperialist countries themselves, and Ireland too.

It is this fact that must, in the end, produce the possibility of uniting protestant and catholic workers. But unity will be realised only in the course of revolutionary struggles: that is to say, not by large numbers of protestant workers 'embracing socialism'.

Probably, before the working class has been 'united for long enough to perceive imperialism as the ultimate enemy' and 'act on that perception', imperialism will strike such terrible blows at protestant workers that it will force many of them into united struggles against their will and expectations. Because class struggle does not develop according to consciousness.

Of course partition deepens the divisions and can yet make them more violent. But David Reed's mechanical view that the working class can not be united, until imperialism is defeated, must be rejected.

It discounts the working class — albeit at present divided — as the major force in defeating imperialism.

It ignores the fact that imperialism and its six-county state which bred and suckled loyalism are themselves in mortal crisis.

Thus Reed opens the door for a 'stages' theory that rigidly separates national unification from the struggle for socialism as a whole.

● In our next issue, there will be a discussion article on points made in 'Questions of History' about Trotskyism and nationalism.

# 'A chance that must not be missed'

**Resolution of the Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionaire (LCR)  
French Section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International**

Reprinted from 'Rouge', Journal of the LCR

**ON 12 October, Pierre Juquin officially announced that he was standing in the presidential election.**

Since its last congress, the LCR has been putting forward its own candidate, while at the same time striving to bring together the conditions for a wide campaign rallying anti-capitalist forces. The LCR had therefore to reconsider its position. This it did at a special meeting of its Central Committee on 17 and 18 October.

By 28 votes to 15, with one member of the CC abstaining, it carried a resolution evaluating Pierre Juquin's candidacy positively and calling for Krivine's withdrawal, as well as for the organisation's resolute involvement in the united battle that is opening up in order to give it the maximum effect and political edge.

Four other documents differing from the orientation adopted by the majority vote were submitted to a vote of the Central Committee. They garnered seven, six, three and one vote respectively.

All these documents are reprinted in this special supplement and will now stimulate the discussion among members of the organisation. A national conference will be convened on 21 and 22 November next which will conclude the discussion. Several comrades of the CC have, however, asked for themselves to be disassociated from this point in the majority resolution, considering that recourse to a Congress is not indispensable for the organisation's definitive involvement. The Congress discussions will be public. Juquin and his team having been invited to it.

## RESOLUTION

1. On 12 October, Pierre Juquin announced that he was standing in the presidential election. This is an event of considerable importance.

This candidature constitutes a first response not only to the left's experience of failure in government between 1981 and 1986 but also to the remobilisation of social movements last winter. It manifests the first break both from the Socialist Party's policy of 'co-habitation' and the Communist Party's policy of division, which are two ways of turning ones back on the demands and the need for unity felt by all the victims of the crisis and the government's management of affairs. It takes in hand once more the essential demands put up for sale on the altar of 'reasons of state'.

It relates to the movements of students, railwaymen and schoolteachers to affirm the necessity of seeking out once more the path of struggles, of unity and of democracy.

The whole meaning of this candidacy is derived in relation to the trajectory of the current of communist renewal. By proposing to Pierre Juquin, on 5 September, to stand in the election, its coordinating committee undertook a detour to break with the Communist Party. It has already gone a very considerable way since the petition of April 1986 in favour of an emergency congress of the Party. This current has chosen the path of a 'marked withdrawal from cohabitation', of unity and of mobilisation, of the struggle against imperialism.

It can become a rallying point for members who are

breaking with the Communist Party without giving up communist struggle, for the moving spirits in social movements who do not see themselves as part of the traditional left, for Socialist Party members who have drawn a negative balance sheet of the sacrifices their party has made, for the Parti Socialiste Unifre (PSU), for ourselves, and for many others coming out of trade union, ecological, feminist, anti-war and alternative struggles.

It is a chance that must not be missed.

Henceforth it becomes possible that the crisis of the Communist Party will not go to waste in the sterile demoralisation of thousands of members, that all those years of involvement in day-to-day struggles can find new hope, that the new generation can embody the aspirations in concrete political perspectives. The presidential campaign can thus be a stage in the emergence of a new political force.

2. That is why the Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire declares in favour of the withdrawal of the candidature of Alain Krivine and calls for support for the candidature of Pierre Juquin and for active participation in his campaign starting today.

This is an important decision. It is right that it should be discussed as democratically as possible by the whole membership. The Central Committee therefore convenes a national conference of elected delegates to meet on 21 and 22 November to confirm or otherwise the choice and to work out in debate the ways in which the LCR will participate in the campaign.

Pierre Juquin and his campaign leaders have been invited to it.

3. Our first aim is to give the maximum effectiveness to this united campaign, to get the best result, to defeat the right without starting 1981-1986 all over again, in order that there shall be constituted a force which is at the same time united and intransigent, capable of conducting a real policy of social transformation in the service of the exploited and oppressed.

We do not expect the embodiment of a revolutionary programme or strategy. It is merely one moment, imposed on us and on treacherous terrain, of a longer drawn-out struggle. The conditions for the construction of a revolutionary force may emerge from it changed. It will constitute a major test in this perspective.

But the immediate objective is not to miss the first step: the campaign itself, the greatest possible mobilisation around the decisive questions of the hour.

The effectiveness of a long and difficult campaign in

**WE print here the resolution of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, French section of the United Secretariat — the revisionist organisation led by Ernest Mandel. The LCR, on a majority vote, decided to support the candidature of Pierre Juquin, a former member of the French Communist Party who has broken to the right and is standing as Presidential candidate on a populist platform that rejects socialism completely and the role of the working class as the instrument of social change. (Juquin's statement was published in full in Workers Press no 102, 28 November 1987).**

**The LCR is backing Juquin in preference to their own member, Alain Krivine. An amendment stressing that while Juquin should be supported the LCR should be critical of his positions when they felt it necessary was defeated. Such is the degree of support for this ex-Stalinist with the LCR.**

**This episode is particularly instructive for the Workers Revolutionary Party's work as part of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists. The 10 Points which constituted the original WRP call were deliberately based on a struggle against Mandelite revisionism — against the consistent capitulation to Stalinism for which the Mandel tendency has been responsible since the 1953 split in the Fourth International.**

which our armaments are more than unequal to those of our opponents, depends above all on the content and the reach of its message.

By the positions he has adopted over the last few months, as in the declaration of his candidature, Pierre Juquin is contributing to the defining of a line of resistance to resignation, and to give a content once again to the will for change, without seeking to lay down an exhaustive catalogue of proposals, which will come up and define themselves normally in the course of the campaign.

By referring to the forms of struggle of the students and the railwaymen, by its commitment to do its utmost in the second round to beat the right by a vote in favour of the best placed candidate of the left, the candidacy of Juquin confirms that it is a candidacy for unity, in struggle as in the electoral field.

Thus support committees for Pierre Juquin's candidature should be set up based on his initial public positions.

These committees are not organisational cartels, but united rank and file committees, wide, pluralistic and rooted in those places where intervention takes place. They should take the tasks of the campaign in hand and contribute to the nourishment of the candidates campaign as a function of their own experience. It is essential that they must function in a pluralist and democratic manner and they should encourage convergences based on differing traditions of activity and politics. The CC of the LCR calls on organisations and regroupments such as Luttre Ouvriere, the Movement for a Workers Party (MPPT), the Rainbow Alliance and all the forces struggling for real social change to support Pierre Juquin's candidature.

4. We are only in the opening stages of a long battle. The campaign has been opened. It will be what the candidate makes of it, but also what all the forces participating in his support make of it in dialogue with him. It will be defined in the fire of

practice. Confrontation with the plans of other candidates will sharpen its contours.

Indeed to have a real change it is necessary to start by drafting a different plan from those of the traditional parties of the left. By presenting himself *de facto* as a competitor with the candidates of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, Pierre Juquin is expressing the fact that both are beyond retrieval.

In his very first proposals he has started to express what makes the content of his campaign different from those of the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party: The right of all to a skilled job; cuts in working hours without loss of pay, the right to vote for immigrants; equality of responsibility for men and women; extension of social security to all those at present excluded from it; rejection of nuclear deterrence and the opening of a debate on civil use of nuclear energy; renunciation of all survivals of French colonialism and the annulment of the third world debt.

Thus the effectiveness of the campaign consists in showing to hundreds and thousands of workers how such topics open up political perspectives radically opposed to the orientations of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party and to these parties' record in the period 1981-1986. It is correct to strike together without preconditions and without any horse-trading over rights in the second round of the elections; it is also necessary to explain clearly the justification for standing a separate candidate in the first round.

5. We had wished that the candidacy should be launched from the outset on the basis of a platform, a statement of intention, a precise charter. It was not a matter, in our minds, of walling the candidate in with a definitive document nor of setting on foot the negotiation of a joint mini-programme. Nevertheless it is desirable that discussions between Pierre Juquin and his partners should continue so that we can

emerge with a clear and mobilising document.

We are guided by a concern for transparency, democracy and effectiveness. A successful campaign will be one which will allow everybody, organised party members or not, trade unionists and members of associations, to recognise themselves in the campaign and associate themselves fully with it, as something that rallies them. It will have to show in practice that there is a different way of going about things from the media campaigns of the traditional parties.

Since Pierre Juquin is not the candidate of any organisation, the unity and the pluralism he calls for imply common action at the same time as a free and fraternal confrontation of differences. The Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire is immediately mandated to meet Pierre Juquin and his team to discuss the manner of association at every level of the campaign, motivated by a concern to contribute to its maximum effectiveness. In the areas and workplaces, members of the LCR will without delay contact forces and individuals prepared to launch support committees for the campaign. The LCR will throw all its forces into this campaign, as much through its own activity as through its inclusion without any reservations in the united support organisations which are set up.

**Amendment**  
One comrade on the Central Committee presented the following amendment, which was rejected, to the majority resolution:

Our involvement in the

campaign does not imply that we will be silent or that we will not discuss problems that arise.

From this point of view we think that to take responsibility for the way the candidate has presented himself continuously in a presidential election is pregnant with danger and ineffectiveness.

P. Juquin has chosen an autonomous campaign. He is not, therefore, a unity candidate on the basis of a common platform. We support him and associate ourselves with his campaign in accordance with the manner of doing so we discuss with him, but we are not responsible for everything he may say or do.

Consequently we participate fully and unreservedly in the united activity of the campaign and retain the greatest autonomy of expression and intervention on the part of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire.  
(end of amendment)

AT THE national conference of the LCR on 21 and 22 November, 90 per cent of the votes were in favour of support for Juquin, who addressed the gathering.

According to the daily 'Liberation' (23 November) the conference also accepted fusion with the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (LOR) of David Assouline, the French section of the Fourth International (Reconstructed).

The US section of that body, the Trotskyist Organisation, has already joined Mandel's supporters in Socialist Action (US).

## STALINISM IN FRANCE

Tom Kemp

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## Personal Column

Peter Fryer

## James Baldwin's honesty and rage

ONE day in the late 1960s I was waiting to cross Bloomsbury Street when I noticed beside me a slightly built, frail-looking, almost skinny black man whom I recognised at once from press photographs as James Baldwin.

I wanted to speak to him, to tell him how much I admired his work and how glad I was to see him in London.

But British reserve, that traditional jailer of such an impulse, made me hesitate. Then the traffic lights changed, he hurried off along Great Russell Street, and the opportunity was lost.

And now, to my sorrow, neither I nor anyone can tell James Baldwin what his writing has meant to his readers, American and British, black and white, or thank him for the illumination his fierce intelligence and honesty have brought us over the years.

The 20th century has produced only three authentic masters of English prose — I mean expository prose, not short stories or novels. These three were Shaw, Orwell, and Baldwin.

The greatest of them was Baldwin, a writer with rage in his blood, a ghetto-born, ghetto-bred ex-boy preacher who testified that 'to smash something is the ghetto's chronic need', that 'a ghetto can be improved in one way only — out of existence!'

What Baldwin did his best to smash, with his onslaught of well-chosen, well-ordered words, was the complacency and ignorance of his white compatriots.

By the age of 31, he once said, he had given up expecting sanity from most white Americans: 'Essentially, I knew most white Americans were trapped in some stage of infantilism which wouldn't allow them to look at me as though I were a human being like themselves.'

Many of those who did

condescend to look at him — the literate ones — saw him as some kind of cultural curiosity.

'A black writer', wrote Baldwin, 'is still a freak, a dancing doll. We don't yet exist in the imagination of this century, and we cannot afford to play games; there's too much at stake.'

Born in Harlem in 1924, he saw his native ghetto as a kind of concentration camp policed like occupied territory: a ghetto where 'if nothing belongs to you, there is no reason not to burn it down, especially if it is oppressive'; a ghetto whose black inhabitants were more or less official prisoners of the state and longed for the day 'when the entire structure comes down'.

This sensitive, intelligent child with his expressive eyes and mouth, for whom poverty meant an endless diet of corned-beef hash and prunes provided by relief agencies, who 'hit the street' when he was seven and lived by his wits, who 'stole odds and ends from Woolworth's — with no compunction at all, due to the way they treated us in Harlem', had read every book in both of Harlem's public libraries by the time he was 13.

He changed his nine younger brothers' and sisters' nappies, taught them to walk, kept them out of mischief — and held a book open in the other hand.

By the same age he was covering scraps of paper and paper bags with short stories, poetry, and plays.

What above all informed his writing was the awareness that he had been born into a society which spelled



JAMES BALDWIN

out with brutal clarity, and in as many ways as possible, that he was a worthless human being.

Day after day he endured 'the unspeakable and the unimaginable'. Gradually he learnt how to turn the pain of these hardly-to-be-endured experiences into limpid prose, prose of quite exceptional range and power, prose as rich and fluent and compelling as the very greatest oratory.

burned'.

You will meet a writer who, driven out of his native country by racism at 24, went to Paris with 40 dollars and no French.

You will meet a writer who took ten years to complete a virtuoso first novel, 'Go Tell It on the Mountain' (1953), an autobiographical novel which conveys as few other books ever have what it means to be black in a white racist society, and which immediately established Baldwin as the leading Afro-American novelist since Richard Wright.

Above all, you will meet a writer who is as 'committed' as it is possible to be without accepting a Marxist analysis. This is the central paradox of James Baldwin, and this is precisely where we have something important to learn from him.

At the age of 19, without joining any organisation, he had briefly called himself a Trotskyist; he ceased to do so when he decided that 'revolutionaries tend to be sentimental and I hope that I am not'.

This 1943 misconception may strike us now as more comic than tragic. Baldwin was to take another road: one that is surely no less honourable.

For here was a writer who wanted above all to be 'an honest man and a good writer', who realised 'that writing was not simply the act of writing — it was something else, something much harder, which is to tell the truth'. For Baldwin, the effort to write well 'involves attempting to tell as much of the truth as one can bear, and then a little more'.

This led him to realise

that 'you write in order to change the world, knowing perfectly well that you probably can't, but also knowing that literature is indispensable to the world'.

He knew quite well that 'the Western economy is doomed', that 'the world is scarcely habitable for the conscious young'.

But he saw no way out. And as he grew older he grew sadder and more pessimistic. Those who share his unflinchingly bleak view of this society, but not his frustration, despair, and anguish — those who do see a way out — can learn both from his passion and from his exceptional understanding, from within, of the oppressed masses. We can learn, for instance, from that mordant little essay called 'Journey to Atlanta', just why black people, for the most part, don't trust white political leaders, however enlightened those leaders may claim to be.

Baldwin's death hurts. It seems untimely; but then, as he said himself, unless a writer is extremely old when he dies, in which case he has probably become a neglected institution, his death must always seem untimely: 'This is because a real writer is always shifting and changing and searching.'

We have lost one of the most searching and brilliant minds of our time. And the literature he gave us is indeed indispensable to the world.

FURTHER READING. 'Giovanni's Room' (1956), 'Another Country' (1962), 'Going to Meet the Man' (1965), and 'Just Above My Head' (1979), are all available in paperback from Corgi; 'The Fire Next Time' (1963) is published in paperback by Penguin.

'The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction 1948-1985' (Michael Joseph, 1985), which contains several important essays not readily found elsewhere, ought to be easy to obtain through any local library.

## 'Unite councils, unions, communities'

A CONFERENCE of a hundred labour movement activists in Edinburgh last Saturday discussed taking the fight against the poll tax forward in trades unions, Labour councils and working-class communities.

The Edinburgh Labour Party members who organised the conference insisted that, to attend, delegates had to commit themselves to fight for five demands:

1. Regional Labour Parties to instruct their councils to refuse to co-operate in its implementation;
2. District Labour Parties to instruct their councils to refuse to co-operate in its implementation;
3. All Labour councils to refuse to prosecute non-payers;
4. All trades unions to refuse to co-operate in its implementation;
5. Tenants' groups, Anti-Poll Tax Unions, resident

## SIMON PIRANI REPORTS ON THE ANTI-POLL TAX CAMPAIGN

associations, community groups and Labour Parties to organise locally for collective non-payment in their areas and to urge non-collection by the councils.'

Opening the conference, Lothian Regional Labour councillor Tony Kinder said there were 'no legal tricks or technicalities' on which the tax could be beaten, and 'no dodging the question of defying the law.'

He indicated two points at which resistance to the tax could begin:

1. The registration of householders as 'responsible persons' who have to give information for the Poll Tax register. This process, due to be completed by April 1988, can be obstructed by people refusing to positively identify themselves to registration officers, or signing themselves 'Wat Tyler' on the official forms.

2. The District Councils will have to provide information on their tenants for the register to be operated, and

Labour districts could refuse to do so.

A document 'Preparing for the Poll Tax: Opportunities to Fight' outlined the steps in the introduction of the tax and how trades unionists, councillors and ordinary people could resist them.

Edinburgh District Labour councillor Alex Wood told the conference: 'Local authority services are to be reduced to second-class for those who can't afford to pay; the poll tax goes hand in hand with these cuts.'

Campaigners had to make the implications of the tax understood, and 'recognise the anger and opinion that exists, and mobilise it to ensure non-payment'.

In discussion, a NALGO member said that computer workers had voted to accept the creation of extra posts to administer the poll tax, and that such decisions had to be fought.

Anne McGhee reported on the highly-successful found-

ing meeting of the Gorgie-Dairy Anti-Poll Tax Union, where residents vowed to withhold rates in opposition to the tax and seek the support of Labour local authorities and trades unionists. 'The united strength of ordinary people in this country is waiting to be gathered,' she said.

A Labour Party member pointed out the 'gross invasion of privacy' inherent in poll tax registration.

'It will be the most up-to-date register of who lives with who. What right do the authorities have to such information?'

'Everyone will have a number, distinct from their NHS number, and this can lead to identity cards very easily. Copies of the register will be sold to private companies. How do we know what information will be stored?'

He advocated a refusal to co-operate with registration.

The conference set up a Steering Committee with representatives from Labour Parties, trades unions, tenants', pensioners', Anti-Poll Tax Unions and political groups.

For more information on the Edinburgh campaign, phone Evelyn Gillan on 031-337 9066, J. Aylett on 031-229 7084, or Ian Robertson on 031-449 3137. For copies of the 'Can't Pay, Won't Pay' pledge, contact Edinburgh and District Trades Council, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh, telephone 031-556 3006.

Dates for your Poll Tax campaign diary 1988:  
January 12: trades union-

ists' conference organised by Edinburgh Trades Council to discuss strategy to fight the poll tax.

Saturday-Sunday January 30-31: conference called by Edinburgh councillors for all Regional and District councillors, MPs and MEPs in Scotland, on the poll tax.

Friday-Sunday March 11-13: Scottish Labour Party conference at Perth; lobby planned.

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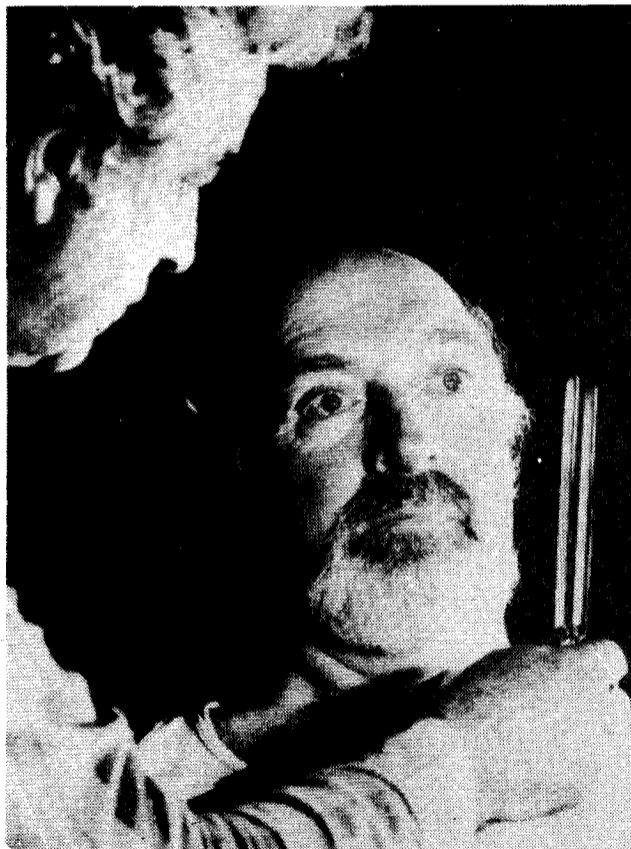
# ROBSON'S CHRISTMAS



Ruby Keeler takes a dancing lesson from Warner Baxter in *42nd Street* (1933), the classic chorus girl-to-star musical. Christmas Eve, 2.50 pm, Channel 4.



Thomas 'Fats' Waller — *This Joint is Jumpin'* explores the life, times, and music of Fats Waller. Monday 28 December at 10 pm, Channel 4.



Emile Belcourt (left) and Frederick Westcott, in *The Man who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*, Sunday 20 December 8.45 pm, Channel 4.



Channel 4 presents its now traditional Christmas animated film *The Snowman*, telling the story of a little boy who befriends a snowman. Christmas Day at 5.25, Channel 4.

**Saturday 19 December:**

At 7.10p.m.(Radio 3), Bizet's opera *Carmen*. At 7.25p.m.(BBC2), Beethoven's magnificent *Missa Solemnis*. At 10.50p.m.(BBC2), Emir Kusturica's film *When Father Was Away on Business*. At 11.55p.m.(BBC1), Sidney Lumet's film *The Anderson Tapes*.

**Sunday 20 December:**

At 2p.m.(Radio 3), *From the Festivals 1987* presents tenor Peter Schreier in an all Schubert programme. At 4.15p.m.(Radio 3), Segovia, the first of five programmes of recordings by the great Spanish guitarist who died in June. At 5p.m.(C4), *The Money Slaves*. At 5.05p.m.(BBC2), *Music in Camera* features two of the world's most accomplished oboists. At 5.45p.m.(BBC2), *The great Philosophers* introduces Frege, Russell and Modern Logic. At 8.45p.m.(C4), a 'neurological opera' called *The Man who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*. At 10.05p.m.(BBC2), Milos Forman's film, based on E.L.Doctorow's novel, *Ragtime*. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), *The South Bank Show — Arts Review '87* is a two-hour review of the best in theatre, music and the arts.

**Monday 21 December:**

At 4.10p.m.(Radio 3), Segovia plays Bach, Villa-Lobos and Ponce. At 5.10p.m.(Radio 3), *Intermezzo*, a play by Arthur Schnitzler. At 6p.m.(BBC2), the sci-fi classic *Forbidden Planet*. At 8.20p.m.(BBC2), *Venturers* looks at high finance and the aero-industry. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Alan Ayckbourn's play, *Absurd Person Singular*. At 9.30p.m.(Radio 4), *Letter from Ethiopia*. At 10.55p.m.(BBC1), final episode of *A Perfect Spy*. At 3a.m.(ITV), William Wyler's film *The Little Foxes*.

**Tuesday 22 December:**

At 1p.m.(ITV), Howard Hawks' film *El Dorado*. At 7.30p.m.(Radio 3), Dvorak and Jaroslav Kvapil's lyric fairy-tale, *Rusalka*. At 8.30p.m.(C4), At 8.30p.m.(C4), (with a nod and a wink to Cde N. Harding), a biography of Elisabeth Welch, *Keeping Love Alive*. At 9.50p.m.(BBC2), a unique documentary on the famous Russian pianist, *Horowitz Plays Mozart*. At 10.20p.m.(Radio 3), *Anatol*, by Arthur Schnitzler.

**Wednesday 23 December:**

At 9.25a.m.(C4), a second chance to see Peter West's excellent documentary *Bert Hardy's World*. At 10.40p.m.(C4), Jacques Tati's *Parade*. At 2p.m.(BBC2), *The Natural World*. At

2.30p.m.(C4), *'Napoli'*, a ballet in three acts by August Bournonville. At 6p.m.(BBC2), Judy Garland in *The Wizard of Oz*. At 10p.m.(Radio 3), further adventures of *Anatol*, by Arthur Schnitzler. At 10p.m.(C4), *Graceland: African Concert*. At 10.40p.m.(BBC2), Anatole Litvak's film *Sorry Wrong Number*.

**On Thursday 24 December (Christmas Eve):**

At 2.50p.m.(C4), the superb 1933 musical *42nd Street*. At 6.25p.m.(Radio 3), Bach and Ravel in *The Left-Handed Legacy*. At 7.45p.m.(Radio 4), Agatha Christie's *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd*. At 8p.m.(C4), Rossini's opera *La Cenerentola*. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Antonio Stradivari *Gala Celebration 1737-1987*. At 10p.m.(Radio 3), the final two adventures of *Anatol*, by Arthur Schnitzler. At 10.25p.m.(BBC2), James Ivory's film *The Bostonians*. At 11.30p.m.(C4), early musical shot in two-colour Technicolor, *King of Jazz*. At 12.20a.m.(BBC2), Douglas Sirk's film *There's Always Tomorrow*. At 12.30a.m.(ITV), Alfred Hitchcock's celebrated *Vertigo*.

**Friday 25 December (Christmas Day):**

At 11a.m.(C4), *Bach's Christmas Oratorio*. At 1.45p.m.(BBC2), *The Natural World*. At 2.30p.m.(Radio 3), the brilliant Italian pianist Maurizio Pollini accompanied by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. At 3.10p.m.(BBC2), Verdi's romantic tragedy *La Traviata*. At 4.55p.m.(BBC2), *White Nights of Dance*, filmed in Leningrad. At 6p.m.(C4), a chance to see the recently disbanded *Amadeus Quartet*. At 10.35p.m.(BBC2), *The Story of a Recluse*, by Robert Louis Stevenson. At 10.45(BBC1), James Brooks' acclaimed *Terms of Endearment*. At 11.20p.m.(C4), *Dire Straits Live in '85 at Wembley Arena*. At 1a.m.(C4), an acclaimed animated film by the brothers Quay with the only familiar title of *Street of Crocodiles*

**Saturday 26 December (Boxing Day):**

At 9.25a.m.(C4), the Marx brothers in *The Big Store*. At 2.25p.m.(BBC2), the animated feature film *Peter No-Tail*. At 7p.m.(C4), a documentary, *Andrs Segovia: The Song of the Guitar*. At 7.30p.m.(ITV), the film *Ghost Busters*. At 7.40p.m.(BBC2), a Paris Opera Ballet production of *Cinderella*, with music by Serge Prokofief. At 12.30a.m.(BBC1), the famous compendium of supernatural tales, *Dead of Night*.

**Sunday 27 December:**

At 2p.m.(BBC2), *The Bol-*

# CHOICE VIEWING

**shoi Ballet.** At 4.10p.m.(BBC2), **The Great Philosophers** discuss Wittgenstein. At 7.50p.m.(Radio 3), world-famous baritone Fischer-Dieskau at the QEH sings Schubert at the QEH. At 8.30p.m.(C4), a documentary, **Maria Callas — Life and Art.** At 10p.m.(C4), the film **The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie**, a tour de force by Maggie Smith. At 10.25p.m.(BBC2), Robert Benton's film **Still of the Night.** At 10.30p.m.(ITV), Christopher Fry's **The Lady's Not For Burning.** At 11.20p.m.(BBC1), John Huston's masterpiece, **The Maltese Falcon.** At 11.55p.m.(BBC2), Greta Garbo in Ernst Lubitsch's **Ninotchka.**

**Holiday 28 December (Holiday Monday):** At 9.25a.m.(C4), **After Dark**, a discussion programme with Klaus Barbie's defence council, Maitre Jacques Verges. At 1.05p.m.(Radio 3), the great Russian pianist Vladimir Horowitz plays Scarlatti, Mozart, Rachmaninov, Scriabin, Schubert, Liszt and Chopin in **Horowitz in Moscow.** At 2.20p.m.(BBC2), **The Bolshoi in the Park.** At 4p.m.(Radio 3), Segovia plays Tansman and Castelnuovo Tedesco. At 8.30p.m.(BBC1), Hugh

Hudson's film **Greystoke — The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes.** At 10p.m.(C4), a documentary, **Thomas 'Fats' Waller — This Joint is Jumpin'.** At 10.40p.m.(BBC2), Woody Allen's delightful **Broadway Danny Rose.** At 11.45p.m.(BBC1), Sidney Lumet's compelling courtroom drama **Twelve Angry Men.** At 12p.m.(BBC2), Greta Garbo in **Camille.**

**Tuesday 29 December:** At 3p.m.(C4), part-one of **The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby.** At 3.50p.m.(BBC2), Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers in **Flying Down to Rio.** At 6p.m.(BBC2), a film for all the family, **The Silent One.** At 6p.m.(C4), **The Man on the Hill.** At 8.05p.m.(BBC2), Ravel's opera **L'heure espagnole**, from Glynébourne. At 10p.m.(BBC2), Alan Parker's film **Shoot the Moon.** At 11p.m.(ITV), Alfred Hitchcock's **Psycho.** At 1.35p.m.(BBC1), Elia Kazan's tale of young love and parental misunderstanding, **Splendour in the Grass.** At 12p.m.(BBC2), Greta Garbo in **Anna Karenina.**

**Wednesday 30 December:** At 1.50p.m.(Radio 3),

final part of **Segovia**, in which he plays music by Turina, Albeniz, Granados, Tarrega, Alard and Boccherini. At 3p.m.(C4), part-two of **Nicholas Nickleby.** At 8.10p.m.(BBC2), another opera by Maurice Ravel, **L'enfant et les sortiliges.** At 8.30p.m.(C4), **The Best of the Comedy Machine.** At 9p.m.(BBC2), Roland Joffe's **The Killing Fields.** At 11.30p.m.(BBC1), the Elia Kazan classic, **On the Waterfront.** At 12.05p.m.(C4), **Maya Angelou in Performance.**

**Thursday 31 December (New Year's Eve):** At 1p.m.(C4), **Tennis: Davis Cup Classic Match (McEnroe vs Becker).** At 1.40p.m.(BBC2), William Wyler's spectacular **Ben Hur.** At 3p.m.(C4), part-three of **Nicholas Nickleby.** At 7.30p.m.(C4), **Spandau Ballet.** At 9.30p.m. At 12.10p.m.(BBC1), the **musical High Society.**

**Friday 1 January (New Year's Day):** At 3p.m.(C4), final part of **Nicholas Nickleby.** At 6.45p.m.(ITV), George Lucas' **Star Wars.** At 10p.m.(BBC1), Alan Ayckbourn's play **Way Upstream.** At 11.25p.m.(BBC2), Jean Becker's wickedly stylish **One Deadly Summer.**



Maria Callas — *Life and Art* commemorates the tenth anniversary of the death of the century's greatest opera singer. Sunday December 27 at 8.30 pm, Channel 4



Groucho and Harpo Marx detain Margaret Dumont in their classic farce *The Big Store*, Boxing day at 9.5 am, Channel 4.



*The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* the award winning RSC dramatisation of Dicken's novel. Tuesday 9 December at 3 pm, Channel 4.



*Keeping Love Alive* is a self-portrait of Elisabeth Welch on Tuesday 22 December at 8.30pm on Channel 4



*Graceland: the African Concert* Paul Simon's two-day at the Rufaro Stadium in Harare. Wednesday 23 December at 10 pm, Channel 4.

# Workers Press

Saturday December 19 1987, Newsdesk 01-733 3058

## Labour Party Activist Persecuted

**EXETER NUR** Busmen's branch has voted to ballot for industrial action over the sacking of a branch official Steve Warwick, a mini-bus driver employed by Devon General Ltd.

The special meeting, of 60 to 70 people, voted unanimously to take action.

The decision to sack Warwick came direct from the boardroom. Nothing was put in writing and established disciplinary procedures were ignored. He was given 60 seconds to leave the premises. Since then management has offered no explanation for their action.

Warwick's appeal was rejected by the management but he won an interim industrial tribunal by three to nil. Despite the interim tribunal, management have refused to re-instate him.

Devon General was one of the first National Bus Companies to be bought out under the government's privatisation policy. It was the first company in the country to introduce mini-bus operations. With the system came the wholesale attack on the wages and conditions of trade union members.

The mini-bus 'experiment', as it was first sold to the shop floor by management and the union leadership, immediately cut across all previous hard-won conditions and wages. A 45 hour week was imposed, instead of the agreed 39 hours. All overtime rates and penal-

BY GEORGE SMITH

ty payments were abolished with the initial payment of £2.84 per hour (since changed) for all the hours worked.

A management policy of separation of the mini-bus system from the conventional system was designed to split the members. The existing leadership is made up mainly of conventional bus workers. They are very much of the 'negotiate', 'compromise' and 'sell it to the membership' brigade. They are now waking up to the fact that the old attitudes are inadequate to deal with the ruthless Thatcherite management confronting them.

The branch is demanding Warwick's unconditional reinstatement. That is why it is calling for industrial action.

Warwick, an active Labour Party member, has been the outstanding spokesman for all drivers. He was liaison officer for his mini-bus unit.

Despite Warwick's record as a branch officer many members are concerned that the leadership is refusing to take the action needed to defend his job. It is clear that his dismissal is the first step in a management assault on a powerful union organisation.

# 1988 peasants' revolt

## ANTI-POLL TAX CAMPAIGN

**A PLEDGE** not to pay the poll tax was launched by Edinburgh Trades Council at a demonstration through the Scottish capital last Saturday.

'We need to commit the maximum possible number of people to pledge not to pay this tax,' trades council vice-president Calum Macrae told a 1000-strong rally after the march.

'Some of us looked at the poll tax with feelings of horror, and impotence — but then organisations started springing up on both national and local levels

BY OUR SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENT

with a potential for action,' said Macrae.

The turn-out for the march — which included trades unions, tenants' groups, Anti-

Poll Tax Unions, pensioners, students, Lesbian and Gay campaigners, and political groups — was proof of this.

'You're wasting time trying to get English Tory MPs to rebel against Thatcher: only if the Labour districts, regions, trades unionists and tenants stick together can we win this one,' said Archie Stoddart of the Edinburgh Tenants' Organisation.

John Mulvey, one of the Labour regional councillors who has voted against the tax, said a '1988 peasants' revolt', including extra-parliamentary

and, possibly, illegal action, was needed.

John Hendry of the Scottish TUC insisted that he had to 'adhere to the decisions of the trade union movement' — i.e. a protest campaign within the law. Amidst booing from the crowd, a heckler shouted 'traitor: remember the miners' strike' — and Hendry told him to get a resolution in to change STUC policy if he didn't like it.

After the march, a conference was held in the Leith Community Centre to discuss the way forward in the anti-poll tax fight. (See report — page 13)



Anti-poll tax demonstrators

## 7-day warning

**MINERS' leader Arthur Scargill issued an eve of Christmas warning that seven day working could be on the way in Britain's pits.**

He said that British Coal propose to introduce 24-hour continental-type working in preparation for privatisation.

'It is part of British Coal's initial plan to reduce the size of the industry to 70 pits and 70,000 jobs producing 70 million tonnes per year,' insisted Scargill, speaking at a meeting of miners in north Yorkshire.

'The new revelation is clear evidence that British Coal's strategy is preparing for privatisation,' he added.

Scargill urged miners to resist further reduction in the industry's size and follow the example of workers in other countries in the fight for shorter hours.

● Scargill's campaign for re-election as union president received a year-end boost with the news that the NUM's Midlands area had nominated him by a big majority. The area's general secretary, Jim Colgan, reported that branches had voted 59 to six to back Scargill against John Walsh, his rival for president.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

**LONG LARTIN**  
HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ  
LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.  
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.  
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338.  
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.  
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.  
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.  
JOHN MCCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.  
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.  
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

**MAIDSTONE**  
HM Prison County Road, Maidstone, Kent  
DONAL CRAIG, 4-year sentence, L40579.

**PARKHURST**  
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX  
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.  
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.  
SEAN McSHANE, B75898.  
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence, 69204.  
PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

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

BILLY GRIMES, 10-year sentence, 78647.  
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661.

**ALBANY**  
HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS  
MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119067.  
HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638.

**GARTREE**  
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP  
RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.  
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence, 758663.  
JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635.  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, 30-year sentence, ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

**FRANKLAND**  
HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham  
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085.  
BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662.  
PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.  
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130682.  
MICHAEL J McKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.  
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722.

**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.

**REMAND PRISONERS: BRIXTON**  
HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.  
LIAM MCCOTTER, LB83693.  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694.  
LIAM QUINN, 49930.

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

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire  
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.  
G.(DANNY) McNAMEE, 25-year sentence, HM Prison, Parkhurst  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, 30-year sentence, HM Prison, Gartree  
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
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.  
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.

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