

CONVOY OPENS

WORKERS Aid for Bosnia's Christmas convoy has won the right to travel along the northern route to Tuzla!

Its trucks are loaded and are due to leave as we go to press.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina army has also pledged to give the convoy safe passage in the territory it controls along this route.

For the first time in this two-year war, the Croatian government and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have provided a document enabling an aid convoy to leave Croatia from Zupanja over the river Sava to Orasje in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

From there it is only 75 kilometres to Tuzla along the main highway.

Here in Zagreb the news has been received with a mixture of amazement and delight, followed by determination to turn this breakthrough into a general and lasting rule for all humanitarian aid convoys. 'Care International' is now submitting applications to travel to central and eastern Bosnia on the northern route.

Over the past year disquiet has been turning to anger as humanitarian and relief organisations have realised that the UN 'peace-keepers' use hunger and deprivation as a means of trying to force the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept the break-up of their country through ethnic cleansing.

Plight

Together with the UN and the big powers, particularly Britain and France, the Serbian and Croatian governments stand condemned for using the war and the plight of thousands of innocent people to impose huge levies amounting to millions of Deutschmarks on the convoys.

Instead of opening the most direct northern route, these convoys are diverted through Split in Croatia and through Hungary and Serbia. These are the routes which bring these authorities

From DOT GIBSON in ZAGREB

the most 'blood money'. Even so, many convoys are destroyed or arrive empty.

Those sending the aid — both in humanitarian organisations and in the logistic centres representing towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina — are convinced that the basis for permission to pass along the northern route was laid by the campaign of the last Workers Aid convoy.

Accused

In October the drivers of that convoy used their trucks to block the entrance to the UNPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb for 14 hours, during a demonstration that accused the UN of starving the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and demanded the free passage of convoys, with protection.

Hundreds of faxes were sent to General Cot, commander of the UN forces here, and to the Croatian foreign minister, M. Granic, from trade unions throughout Europe demanding the right to take the convoy to Tuzla on the northern route.

Finally UNPROFOR circulated a general message throughout the region advising no assistance should be given to Workers Aid.

At a convoy report-back meeting held in Manchester on 30 October, Workers Aid for Bosnia resolved to continue the campaign for the opening of the northern route to Tuzla — and to build support, particularly in the trades unions, for a

NORTHERN ROUTE

Workers Aid blazes trail

The Workers Aid convoy in Zagreb received this communication on 28 December from the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, which agreed to give safe passage on the portion of the northern route that it controls.

From: The Headquarters of II Corp of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Tuzla.

On the basis of your request we issue this AGREEMENT:

To meet, to let pass and to grant free movement to Workers Aid convoy from Great Britain within the area under the II Corp of Bosnia-Herzegovina army's responsibility.

The convoy will be met and offered safety during its stay in this area.

Sadic Hazim, Commander II Corp.

massive convoy in February 1994.

Edo Asceric, director of the Tuzla Logistic Centre in Zagreb, and Faruk Ibrahimovic, representing the mayor of Tuzla, Selim Beslagic, toured Britain with Workers Aid for Bosnia campaigning for the northern route to be opened — not just for aid, but for free trade between this important industrial region of Bosnia and the outside world.

This present Christmas convoy is a part of that campaign. Its legal and correct customs papers give its destination and route: 'Tuzla via Zupanja and Orasje'.

But it was held up for two days on the Croatian border with Hungary when customs officials and the police would not allow the trucks into Croatia unless the drivers agreed to change their route to the southern road via Split, on the Adriatic coast.

Protest

The Bosnia-Herzegovina embassy in Croatia protested strongly to the Croatian government, and the Croatian embassy in Madrid contacted their foreign office after receiving a protest from Workers Aid for Bosnia in Spain.

In the end, to pass the border, the convoy team gave Zagreb as their destination and arrived in Croatia's capital city at 2am on Christmas Day.

After the holiday break the campaign continued, and on 29 December the letter of permission — signed by Milivoj Tomas of UNPROFOR and by Croatia's visa department —

was handed over to the convoy by Ivo Butkovic in the foreign office.

However one document does not make a route! The convoy must now negotiate its way through the five to eight kilometres of the road occupied by Bosnian Serbs, who hold a strategic position that cuts Bosnia-Herzegovina in half and ensures Serbia a supply line to its occupied territory of Krajina.

Although Workers Aid for Bosnia has won permission to travel through the northern corridor, UNPROFOR does not in-

tend to disturb the Serbian forces.

There are those who may look for a diversion — a provocation — to change the balance of opinion, discredit Workers Aid for Bosnia, and implicate the Tuzla authorities. The convoy is on guard against attempts to turn the step forward into a set-back.

Impatient

But this does not mean that we are hesitant. We are in good spirits and impatient to get on

our way. Tim, the video cameraman from the last convoy, has joined us in Zagreb ready to make the final leg of the journey to Tuzla. His arrival has been greeted with enthusiasm by the convoy team.

Once we have more trucks to pick up the aid left in warehouses from the last convoy, and the extra goods sent here from Germany, we will get on the road.

■ A full report will be given to the meeting in Stuttgart on 15-16 January (see advertisement on this page).



A vigil was held on Christmas Day outside the headquarters of the West Midlands police station in sympathy with prisoners wrongly jailed and awaiting justice. The notorious West Midlands crime squad was responsible for framing many innocent people. Photo: Mark Salmon

TUZLA LOGISTIC CENTRE IN ZAGREB & WORKERS AID FOR BOSNIA Meeting in Stuttgart 15-16 January

End the blockade of Bosnia! Open the northern route to Tuzla!

A meeting on 15-16 January in Stuttgart, Germany, will discuss and organise a breakthrough for aid to the Tuzla and Posavina regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

While people starve thousands of tons of food are going to waste in Croatian warehouses and the money paid for the storage of these goods exceeds their value.

The United Nations stands by while thousands of people who have lost their loved ones now face death by starvation. Fifty years after the Holocaust, Bosnians are being persecuted because they refuse to give up their multi-religious, multi-cultural life.

We urge you to join together to stop this human tragedy.

We invite all organisations who are sending aid to Bosnia, all Bosnian refugee communities, and trade union and anti-fascist organisations to send representatives to the meeting.

For details of the meeting, transport arrangements, etc., please contact Workers Aid for Bosnia:

061-226 0404 or 071-582 5462.

Fighting racism in 1994

THE YEAR 1993 will be remembered by Britain's black community for four events above all which have caused them profound dismay, outrage, and anger:

■ The election of a British National Party candidate, Derek Beackon, to 'represent' Millwall on the Tower Hamlets borough council in east London;

■ The brutal murder in south-east London of 18-year-old Stephen Lawrence, knifed by a gang of white racist thugs while standing at a bus stop — the third racist stabbing in the area in scarcely more than two years;

■ The police murder of Joy Gardner when her hands and feet were manacled and her mouth was bound with sticky tape to stifle her cries of protest against impending deportation; and

■ The mass arrest and deportation of Jamaicans arriving at Gatwick airport for a Christmas holiday.

These four events are connected, and it is vital that the connections among them be fully understood by white as well as black workers, by white as well as black youngsters.

The murder of Joy Gardner and the Gatwick scandal were both the work of a state machine which, while hypocritically denying that it is racist, is in fact totally corroded by racism.

This is seen most clearly — and is seen every day — in the police force and the immigration service. But racism reaches right to the top of the British capitalist state. Margaret Thatcher's words about being 'swamped' by people of a different 'culture' (an obvious coded reference to 'colour'), and Alan Clark's flip remark, while minister of state for trade and industry, about 'Bongo Bongo Land', both exposed the cloven hoof of racism.

* * * * *

RACISM dominates the British state and its organs partly for historical reasons. Racist ideology arose as a justification of the highly profitable triangular trade in black slaves and sugar; and in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th it flowered in countless varieties as a justification of the highly profitable British Empire.

The British Empire is no more. But one of its enduring side-effects is the settlement in Britain of black people from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent.

British capitalism and its state fear above all else a united working class and a united movement among the young people they have consigned to a life of poverty and deprivation.

So it is expedient for British capitalism and its state to keep the working class and the downtrodden masses of young unemployed divided on 'racial' lines, to foster mutual suspicion among people with different skin colours.

Without the encouragement furnished by this pervasive background of state racism, last year's fascist electoral success in east London would have been unthinkable, and the racist scum would not have been left virtually free to maim and murder their way through our streets.

The police murder of Joy Gardner, whose perpetrators have still to be called to account, gave the green light to these racist murderers to carry on with their campaign of terror — a campaign which could with the greatest of ease be suddenly turned against the labour movement and its organisations and bookshops.

The Gatwick scandal showed once again that the state regards black people as less than fully human.

For such shameful scenes to greet the arrival of a planeload of Canadians or New Zealanders would be unthinkable. The message is: 'If you're white you're all right; if you're black get back.'

Britain's black communities fear that matters will get worse in 1994.

They fear a wave of deportations, an intensification of police discrimination and violence, a fresh upsurge of fascist attacks.

Such fears are far from groundless. Only the organised labour movement can lay those fears to rest, by its resolute opposition to every manifestation of state racism, at every level, and by its determination to smash the fascists once and for all.

This is the job we have to do in 1994.

Ludicrous caricature

JOHN ROBINSON gives a hugely distorted picture of psychoanalysis (11 December). In the first place he treats it as a fixed body of ideas, whereas in fact it has been consistently evolving, and has acquired 'left-wing' and 'right-wing' forms.

Freud's original psychology was basically a biological one, enshrined in the notions of 'instincts'. But this biological view of psychology has given way to an interpersonal psychology. Indeed Freud's notion of the 'death instinct' (in other words an innate destructiveness) has been rejected by almost all analysts except the adherents of Melanie Klein.

John Robinson then gives a ludicrous caricature of analytic procedure: the analyst 'brain-washes' the patient into believing he/she wanted sex with mother/father; he/she is then cured.

This is so wrong, I don't know where to start in correcting it. Analysis is concerned with self-knowledge, that is, with recovering those aspects of the personality that have been suppressed or denied. This may involve infantile conflicts over sexuality; but this is not something decided by the analyst! Otherwise we are merely reproducing the authoritarian atmosphere in which many children grow up.

Probably the greatest British analyst has been D.W. Winnicott, who argued in his book 'Playing and Reality' that the task of the analyst is to facilitate the patient's own self-exploration, not to impose any particular set of ideas.

To say that analysts ignore the repressive and destructive nature of capitalism is again simply untrue — see for example, the writings of Erich Fromm, who criticised the orthodox Freudians for 'absolu-

tising' bourgeois society as an eternal norm.

Fromm also argued that the bourgeois family — whose ferocious internal conflicts Freud had exposed — was the ideological agency of bourgeois society.

The distortions of Freudian thought, such as those provided by John Robinson, are a great disservice to Marxism: what we are being offered is a man of straw, who can then be comfortably knocked down. The real Freud is much more complex and interesting than that.

In any case, as the British analyst Harry Guntrip states: 'It is not the function of the pioneer to say the last word but the first word.' No doubt many of Freud's original formulations have been considerably modified or rejected, but the basic thrust of Freudian psychology still stands as a monumental achievement in modern thought.

Roger Horrocks Fulham

March called by TUC

I WOULD like to make a correction to your report on the Tower Hamlets Nine campaign and the Qudus Ali campaign (Workers Press, 18 December).

The march against racism and fascism through Tower Hamlets was not called by either of these groups but by the TUC under pressure from Tower Hamlets trades council.

This mistake was also made by the Newham Monitoring Project, which we contacted about its reports.

The first meeting we attended with TUC general secretary John Monks was shortly after the election of the fascist, Derek Beackon, in the Millwall by-election.

After this we met the community groups and trades

unionists from the Isle of Dogs in two separate meetings with a TUC delegation to Tower Hamlets.

We have also met the TUC at Congress House with these groups on at least three other occasions.

The worry expressed by, in particular, the youth when they met the TUC, and again from the platform at a large meeting held at Stepney Green school, was that the TUC was not consulting them about the route of the march and not allowing them a part in organising it.

Some individuals have even told me they were prepared to disown it if the TUC went ahead on its own.

Monks left the public meeting long before the ten dignitaries lined up on the platform had finished their remarks and so never replied to the criticisms made of them and the Labour Party.

We even had to listen to a Liberal MP whitewash the record of the Liberals in relation to racism — and a lot will need to be said in the coming months following the split in the local Liberal Party following the result of its inquiry.

The trades council has now established with other groups and trades unionists in the area a steering committee to organise a campaign, particularly on the Isle of Dogs, leading up to the march against fascism and for better housing, services and jobs.

We will also defend the Tower Hamlets Nine, who say they are worried the TUC will not take up their call to be released because they are being tried under the Public Order Act.

In closing I will repeat that accuracy in reporting on these questions is very important.

Phil Edwards (secretary of Tower Hamlets trades council, in a personal capacity)

Still jumping

READING Peter Fryer's interesting and welcome appreciation of Bruce Turner ('Shouting for Joy', 18 December), I was reminded of a passage in American reeds played by Bob Wilber's autobiographical 'Music Was Not Enough'.

Puzzled by the fact that Turner sounded like Lee Konitz, the dressing room but like Johnny Hodges on stage, Wilber remarked: 'You're a great musician, but I haven't heard Bruce Turner yet.' To which Turner replied: 'Dad, you wouldn't want to hear that!'

This for me emphasises the fact that Turner was a working musician who sought to earn living by his musical ability.

Incidentally, the Jump Band which Turner led in the latter half of the 1950s only built successful following after it stopped making concessions to the 'traditionalist' camp.

What I'm not happy with in the comment Peter quotes from Tom Scott Robson about Turner "never really [breaking from Stalinist ideas]",

This is the sort of phrase that slides so easily off the pen or tongue, but is one which, since he chooses to include it, Peter appears to have no difficulty with.

Yet it strikes me as a rather complacent way of putting matters. After all, haven't we Trotskyists, in our literature now over many years, stated unambiguously that it was ourselves — who succumbed to the pressures of Stalinism, to the point at which the party was nearly destroyed?

To apportion responsibility in such a way (to someone who for example, using Peter's own words, 'dabbled with politics' and who was 'vaguely interested in Trotskyism') is too convenient and comfortable.

Jeff Jackson London SW16

SPECIAL OFFER — EXPIRES END FEB. 1994

'REVOLUTIONARIES THEY COULDN'T BREAK' BY N.VAN

The fight for the Fourth International in Indo-China

WHEN published in early 1994 this 220 page book will cost about £15. Advance subscribers are offered it for £10. Fill in the form below.

The book and its author

The Vietnamese workers' movement took shape in mortal conflict with the French colonial regime before World War II.

It suffered defeat in 1945, caught between French attempts to reassert control on one side, and an alliance of the Communist Party and reactionary nationalists on the other.

A decisive part was played in the workers' movement by the Vietnamese supporters of Leon Trotsky.

As the official Communist Party — under Stalin's instructions — carried out ever-more ruinous zig-zags of policy, the Trotskyists discredited and defeated them in the workers' organisations.

The Vietnamese Communist Party enforced its power in 1945 by a brutal slaughter of its

Trotskyist opponents — not, as Stalinist mythology pretended, because the latter 'turned their backs on the peasantry' or 'sold themselves to Japanese fascism'.

This book sets straight the historical record after generations of falsification.

It brings alive the political lessons of a period in which the Trotskyist Fourth International and the Stalinist Third International clashed, not in the arena of ideas or slogans, but in life — among workers and peasants who organised and fought in the face of grinding poverty, police dictatorship and war.

* * * * *

Ngo Van was a worker, a Trotskyist and a participant in the events he describes. He was imprisoned in the 1930s by the French colonial regime, and in 1945 escaped the Stalinist massacre.

He fled Vietnam to Europe, where he lives in exile. He combined first-hand experience with years of documentary research to write this book, which is a must for revolutionary fighters of today.

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Return to Index Books, 28 Charlotte St., London W1P 1HJ.

All are welcome to help organise unity conference

BY LIZ LEICESTER, COMMUNITY AND UNION ACTION CAMPAIGN

MILLIONS of people in Britain now lack the bare necessities of life — 3 million children now live below the poverty line compared to 1 million in 1979.

It is more than time to unite all our struggles — against cuts in public services and benefits, and against unemployment.

The Community and Union Action Campaign is holding its second conference, 'Unite the struggles', on 12 February in the

Manchester West Indian Centre, Carmoor Rd, Chorlton-on-Medlock M13 0FB (see below).

All who agree with the aims of CUAC are welcome to come to the organising meeting for the conference on Sunday 16 January from 12pm-4 pm in the Highfields Youth and Community Centre, 85 Melbourne Rd, Highfields, Leicester.

Contact the campaign at the Lambeth Trade Union Resource Centre, 12-14 Thornton St, London SW9. You can also subscribe to our newspaper 'Unite!' — at 40p a copy, or 30p a copy for orders of 20 or more copies.

UNITE THE STRUGGLES! CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 12 FEBRUARY 11am - 6pm

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Creche available — please contact us and let us know how many children you will be bringing

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Big changes ahead for trades unions

ROY THOMAS considers some of the issues as union mergers continue, and unions' relationship with Labour changes

THE year 1994 will find the organisation of trades unions in Britain facing substantial changes.

The recent merger of NALGO, NUPE and COHSE to form a new local government and health service workers' union — Unison — of 1,300,000 members is only the first of a number of mergers on the books.

Discontent

However, not everything is going well. The new Unison combined executive was forced to meet in emergency session in November because of members' discontent.

The new combined executive of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical

Union — including the engineers' union and the electricians' and plumbers' union, EETPU — also has problems making decisions because of the need for 75 per cent votes to make important decisions.

Nevertheless the lay executive and senior full-time officers of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) and General Municipal and Boilermakers (GMB) are now meeting in a number of working parties with a view to having outline proposals for a new merged union by April 1994.

Special conferences of both unions to discuss these proposals are likely later in the year. If this new union covering the bulk of indus-

trial manual workers does take shape, then others are likely to follow.

The Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, Manufacturing Science Finance, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW), and the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers are all in financial trouble and are likely to be seeking mergers with someone.

Moves

GMB would like to merge with USDAW before they join up with the TGWU, so as to add USDAW's 300,000 members to their own and thus improve their bargaining position with the TGWU.

However these moves end up, it is quite clear that the role of the Trades Union Congress as the centre and controller of trade union

policy has now finished.

Even the TUC has begun to recognise this, and a complete reorganisation of all the TUC committees and the disappearance of most of them are likely in 1994, since the co-ordinating role of TUC industry committees is being replaced with new merged unions covering the same ground.

It is already becoming less and less possible for the TUC to set out policies and to play one union against another. Nor can it go to the government and speak on behalf of groups of workers or get concessions for them.

Those days have gone, and the role of the TUC in doing such deals will disappear with the growth of four or five super-unions.

At the same time the relationship between the unions and the Labour Party has also changed.

When the Tory government forced every union to hold a national postal ballot every five years to enable the members to determine whether they wanted to have a political fund, they found that unions which had no relationship with the Labour Party voted to have one and use it for an independent political campaign.

So local government and civil service unions now use those funds to finance campaigns against government policy quite independent from the Labour Party.

What is more, the campaign now taking place in all the unions for the new political fund ballots stresses that the political fund is *not for the Labour Party*, but for the unions' own political work.

Realise

In part this shows that union leaders realise that many of their members cannot see the Labour Party as being on the side of working men and women, or of much use to them; and in part it's a response to the Labour leadership's attempt to separate itself from the unions.

At the Labour Party national executive committee meeting just before last year's party conference, when the proposal to cut the unions' voting rights was being discussed, trade union members found themselves being talked down to — to such an extent that the TGWU's man, the union's president Dan Duffy, a Glaswegian worker, threatened to disaffiliate the TGWU from the Labour Party.

At its next meeting the

TGWU did cut its affiliation by 30 per cent, and it is clear there are major splits between the unions and the Labour Party.

An organisation set up by the unions after 1979 was called Trade Unions for Labour Victory, but after two general-election defeats the word 'Victory' was dropped.

However, the new AEEU/EETPU will not join, and the GMB has said it will leave the organisation, leaving the TGWU to finance and run Trade Unions for Labour on its own.

Faced with falling membership and tight finance, TGWU secretary Bill Morris has said his union will not run it on its own.

So we could see both the end of Trade Unions for Labour and an increase in independent political campaigning by the major unions, at the same time as a fall in the TUC's influence and function.

This is the logical development following the 1984-85 miners' strike, when the Labour Party refused to support the miners' opposition to the government's attack, and the working class built its own organisations to raise funds, food and political support for the strikers.

Things are changing as the working class finds new ways of struggle and moves to consider the need for a new political movement.

At just this time the Democratic Left rump of the old Communist Party is losing members to — of all places — the Labour Party!

But then, that may be the best place for them.



In the 1984-85 miners' strike the working class built its own organisations to raise funds, food and political support for miners

Step forward for Tower Hamlets 9

CHARGES of riot under the Public Order Act against nine anti-racist protesters are likely to be dropped after a successful picket organised in Tower Hamlets, east London, just before Christmas.

Over 50 protesters held the picket outside Thames magistrates' court on 21 December in defence of the Tower Hamlets Nine.

The Nine had been attacked by police with dogs outside the London hospital where Qudus Ali, victim of a vicious

racist attack, was lying in a coma. The bail conditions have been dropped and the Nine will not be bound by a curfew.

Campaign

The Nine are due to appear on 1 February at Thames magistrates' court.

The campaign organisers have asked for the maximum possible turnout on a further picket of the court on that date.

Sisters

RECENT correspondence in Workers Press reminded us that women have often had to confront conservative, even reactionary, attitudes in the labour movement — which is where they should least expect them.

One example worth mentioning is that of Jennie Patrick and Ethel Macdonald. During the Spanish Civil War they went to Barcelona to help the workers there fighting fascism.

On their return to Scotland, they began helping to produce a libertarian paper called 'The Word'. The Scottish Typographical Association then applied its 'men only' rule, forbidding typesetters and any other union shop to do work for the paper.

Was this merely prejudice against women, or the union bureaucracy's way of attacking a dissident left-wing paper? Either way, it seems a shame-

Inside left

ful episode in the history of the movement.

Comrade and teacher

MANY comrades will have their own memories of Tom Kemp, who died on 21 December. Joining the Communist Party as a schoolboy before World War II, he broke with it after Soviet tanks crushed the 1956 Hungarian people's revolt. He helped found the Socialist Labour League (SLL), which became the Workers Revolutionary Party.

In 1960, Tom addressed a meeting in Manchester about France, on which he was an authority, explaining why its ruling class had to wage war to keep its Algerian colony, whatever the cost. A callow youth

asked whether French capitalists might not abandon their colonists for a deal with the Algerian nationalists, to exploit Algeria's oil and natural gas resources.

Lesser persons than Tom might have put the young questioner down with bullying sarcasm, told him he didn't know what he was talking about, or denounced him as a 'revisionist'. Instead, adopting no airs as academic or party leader, Tom explained in a calm and friendly manner why the ruling class couldn't just do as it wished, and what mattered was what the working class did. As for the rest, he added with a twinkle, 'We'll have to see, won't we?'

The 17-year-old was thus encouraged to keep asking questions, follow world events, and go further into Marxism and the movement. I was that Young Socialist. I read a document by Tom Kemp on the

tendency of the declining rate of profit, and his reports on the 1961 Belgian general strike.

Comrade Kemp's stubborn integrity did not endear him to our former leader Gerry Healy, and for some years, until we threw Healy out in 1985, I saw less of Tom Kemp. I was reminded then of our debt to comrades like him, when ignorant followers of the Detroit carpetbagger David North (leader of the US Workers League) sneered at them as 'the professors'.

Tom Kemp's lifetime of service to the working class and the party probably explains why, despite his academic work and ability, he was *not* a professor (nor were the others attacked by North).

Just as in 1956 Tom had seen the need to break with Stalinism and hold fast to Marxism, so after 1985 he strengthened us to remove the rotten legacy of Healyism, and begin reconstructing Trotsky's Fourth International.

Charlie Pottins

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A lifelong fighter for the working class

TOM 192

WITH the death of Tom Kemp the Fourth International and the international working class have lost one of their doughtiest fighters. Tom, who died at his home in Gravesend, Kent, on 21 December after a comparatively short illness, will be sadly missed by his countless friends and comrades in the movement that for almost six decades he did so much to defend and develop.

Tom joined the Trotskyist movement in 1957. He did so following the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution by the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the revelations made about some of Stalin's crimes in the Khrushchev speech to the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union earlier in the same year.

Unlike many fellow intellectuals in the Communist Party of Great Britain, Tom refused to abandon his convictions but, after much deliberation, came to recognise that the fight for the continuity of revolutionary Marxism lay in the struggle of Trotsky and his comrades against the degeneration of the Soviet state and of the Communist International. From that point onwards Tom lived as a fighter for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In common with many of his generation he became a socialist as a result of his experiences in the 1930s — the decade of world capitalist slump and the rise of fascism in Europe. Joining the Young Communist League as a schoolboy in south London, he was deeply moved by the poverty he saw around him and by the Spanish Civil War in which young members of the Communist Party, not much older than himself, were killed.

Influences and interests

TOM was born into a working-class family, his father being a shoemaker-repairer and his mother, before marriage, a domestic servant. Both parents had an influence on his intellectual and moral formation. His father — in Tom's words, 'a typical radical shoemaker of the 19th century' — saw his small business ruined in the slump, while his mother had had first-hand experience of 'how the other half lives'.

His father, with the reluctant though loyal collaboration of Tom's mother, was forever working out intricate systems for making

money — which usually meant evening visits to London's dog tracks. With one exception — when the bookmakers were on the receiving end and Tom was rewarded with a new suit of clothes — these schemes invariably went the way of all such projects. When Tom later enlisted in the navy in World War II his father joined the Communist Party in an act of solidarity with his son but soon left in disgust after seeing the Union Jack at the head of a party march.

Tom described himself as a typical scholarship boy. He won a place at Emanuel, then amongst the best grammar schools in south London. Although a diligent pupil, he was never entirely at home in what was predominantly a middle-class environment. He tells the story of secreting his straw hat — part of the compulsory uniform — in his satchel until reaching the

vicinity of the school. Membership of the school's Combined Cadet Force was compulsory but, ever rebellious, Tom was soon expelled, a notice being posted by the commanding officer: 'The services of T. Kemp are no longer required.'

He entered the LSE just as World War II started. His first year was spent in Cambridge, after the LSE was evacuated to Peterhouse. Here he attended lectures given by Maurice Dobb, the leading economist in the Communist Party at that time. Much later, as a member of the Trotskyist movement, Tom was to take Dobb severely to task for his rejection of the Marxist theory of capitalism.

Tom had an outstanding university career, eventually taking first-class honours and being a prizewinner in each of his three years. At that time the LSE had a quite unjustified reputation as a left-wing establishment, largely because of the presence on its staff of the 'Marxist' Professor of Politics, Harold Laski. In fact the institution was dominated by reactionaries such as Lionel Robbins and the Austrian Friedrich von Hayek, both doyens of bourgeois economics. Tom found much philistinism among the staff at the LSE.

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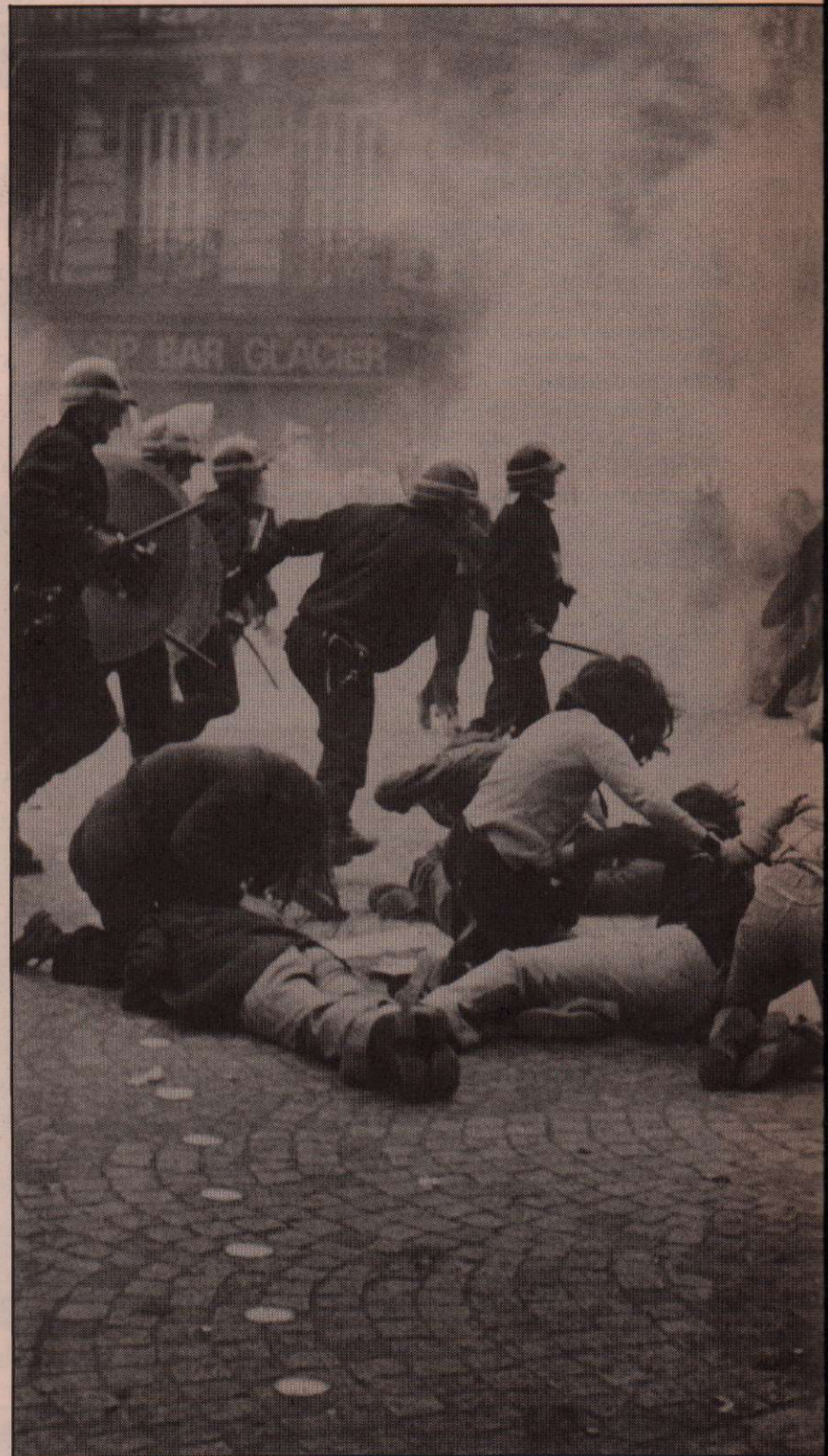
Interrupted by the war

TOM's studies were interrupted by the war. He volunteered not only for the navy but for landing-craft duty, with all its dangers. He was lucky to survive the war, taking part in the infamous Dieppe raid where thousands were sent to their deaths. On the eve of the raid he remembers Earl Mountbatten coming below deck and saying to the ratings 'get a Hun for me', naturally failing to remind the assembled seamen that he himself came from a German family, his original name being Battenberg!

Tom was later to take part in the Allied landings in Italy and was again fortunate to come out alive. Although obviously well suited for a commission, unlike many other Communist Party members, he refused to be considered, and remained an ordinary seaman throughout the war.

At some point in the war — it must have been towards the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944 — he attended in full uniform a meeting organised by the Revolutionary Communist Party at which its secretary, Jock Haston, was the main speaker. Tom also recalled that he had looked at Trotsky's 'The Revolution Betrayed', wrapping it in brown covers in case he was seen reading it. So he could hardly be

'In common with many of his generation he became a socialist as a result of his experiences in the 1930s — the decade of world capitalist slump and the rise of fascism in Europe.'



Police attack a student demonstration in Paris in 1968... Tom Kemp wrote a...

described as a completely orthodox Stalinist.

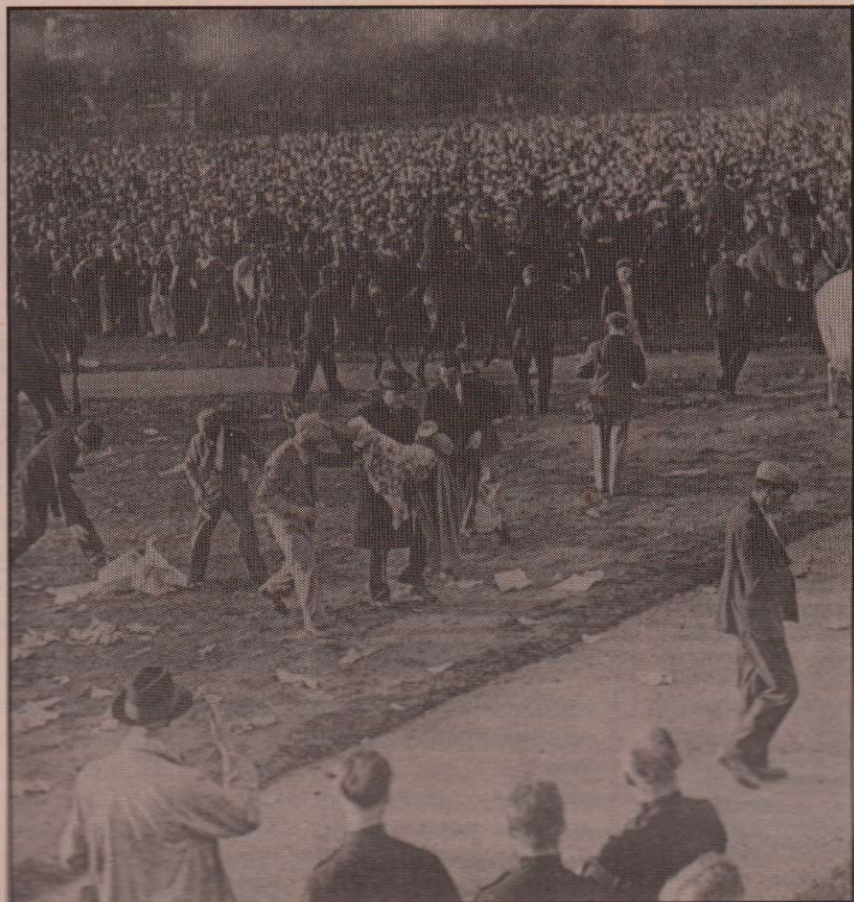
At first many of his fellow ratings regarded Tom as something of a strange bird — always reading and what's more reading books in foreign languages! As a result he was constantly ragged. One day a fellow rating approached him and asked Tom to read to him a letter from home; Tom duly obliged and furthermore offered to draft a reply to the man's wife.

News spread rapidly round the troop carrier on which Tom was serving and special times were set aside by the captain for 'surgeries' at which Tom read letters and replied to them on behalf of the many ordinary sailors who could barely read or write. The bullying stopped immediately.

On being demobilised from the navy Tom returned to the LSE to

complete his degree. After graduation, and lacking the money to proceed with a doctoral thesis, he obtained his first post — as research assistant in University College, Southampton. He did so on the recommendation of the historian Lance Beales, who had taught Tom at the LSE. Beales was one of the few members of staff for whom Tom had a real regard.

By this time Tom was married to Annie, who was to remain a constant and loving companion for the rest of his life. He had met his future wife in Marseilles after speaking to her brother in a cinema queue. From then on France was to play a significant part in his personal, political and academic life. Not only did he pay regular visits to his wife's family but he was to specialise in the economic history of France.



Hyde Park in the 1930s, often the scene of confrontations with fascists

Class and the Fourth International

KEMP

1-93



Substantial analysis of the May-June events

For the Trotskyist movement he wrote a two-volume history of the French Communist Party (the second volume remains unpublished) and a substantial analysis of the 1968 May-June events. In the summer before his fatal illness he sent Workers Press regular material from France, his last piece being about situation in Algeria following the banning of the Islamic movement.

It was his wife's steadfast support over more than 40 years that enabled Tom to face the many difficulties that arose, especially in his early years in the Trotskyist movement, when his political activities intensified and he was bringing up a young family.

After a period at Southampton the Kemps moved to Hull, where Tom was appointed to an assistant lectureship, again thanks in part to

Beales's good offices. Tom was to remain a member of the university there until retirement over 30 years later.

His experiences at Hull were not always happy. John Saville was a member of Tom's department and also a member of the Communist Party. Like Tom, Saville was to leave the CP following the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, but he took a radically different direction, teaming up with the historian E.P. Thompson and others in the New Left.

Tom made no secret of the fact that while his relations with Saville — later to be appointed professor and as such Tom's boss — were always civil there was little warmth between them. Saville was hostile to Tom's Trotskyism while Tom in turn regarded Saville as something of a careerist, more in-

terested in his position in the university than in the defence of principles.

During his time at Hull Tom's output was considerable. His publications were not only numerous but covered a wide range of topics reflecting the breadth of his reading and study. Although his specialist area was political economy he was never a narrow scholar. He published several books, including ones on European economic development, on the history of US capitalism, on patterns of industrialisation, on theories of imperialism, and on Marx's 'Capital', and detailed monographs on French financial and economic history — in which field he became a scholar of the first rank. On top of all this was a stream of outstanding contributions to party publications.

Sometime in the 1960s Tom sent a short manuscript on the history of 20th-century capitalism to Penguin Books. He received a rejection slip which said: 'It is not Penguin's policy to issue books of original fiction.' For several years a genuinely puzzled Tom used periodically to ask me the same question: did I think his manuscript had got mixed up with some other work, or had the reader really considered it to be a piece of fiction? Naturally I could never give him an answer that satisfied him.

'Potboilers' posing questions

SEVERAL of Tom's books on economic development made no claim to originality. They were essentially works of synthesis, posing before the reader a series of questions rather than providing definite answers. To his colleagues in Hull Tom referred to these works as his 'potboilers', to party comrades, somewhat sardonically, he called

them pieces of 'watered-down Marxism'. In fact they revealed the breadth and depth of his reading and won for him a considerable reputation, especially in north America.

Tom's knowledge ranged over the widest variety of topics. I recall an occasion in the late 1970s when he was lecturing at the Workers Revolutionary Party's College of Marxist Education. After the evening session a student asked him about the peculiarities of the transition from feudalism to capitalism in England. In his usual modest manner Tom said that he was not an expert on the topic and then proceeded to discuss the issue for the better part of an hour, reviewing the specialist literature and revealing how much he did in fact know about the subject.

A turning-point in their lives

FOR many intellectuals in the Communist Party 1956 was a turning-point in their lives and Tom was one of this number. Unlike most he refused to see the Stalinist bureaucracy's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the revelations about Stalin as the inexorable outcome of Bolshevism. After a careful study of the various groups claiming the name Trotskyist he joined that led by Gerry Healy. It was a letter from Tom in the 'Daily Worker' criticising the Stalinist bureaucracy's invasion of Hungary that first alerted members of Healy's group to his existence, and several visits to Hull were made by members of the movement, including Jack Gale, Bill Hunter and Norman Harding, after which Tom joined the movement.

As an intellectual in the Communist Party Tom had had only

'For many intellectuals in the Communist Party 1956 was a turning-point in their lives and Tom was one of this number. Unlike most he refused to see the Stalinist bureaucracy's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the revelations about Stalin as the inexorable outcome of Bolshevism.'

minimal responsibilities — attending branch meetings and making financial contributions. His work in the Trotskyist movement was to be far different. Over the coming years he not only carried out major writing and editing tasks for the movement but threw himself into the practical work of the party. Along with comrades such as Trevor Jarvis and Ray and Paula Bradbury and later George Myers (who was tragically killed in a road accident while working as a party organiser) he took more than his share of responsibility for the work in Hull — delivering and selling the party's daily paper, giving lectures and classes in Hull and further afield. (George Myers's son Anthony was one of the members of the Workers Aid to Bosnia convoy who had hoped to participate in a meeting with Tom in November or December, but Tom's last illness developed too quickly for this to be possible.)

Tom made important contributions to the journal 'Labour Review', which after 1956 did much to organise a group of intellectuals around the Trotskyist movement, and for a period he was its co-editor. Until the mid-1960s — when his departure to Canada for a year

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brought him into collision with Healy — he was a regular representative of the Socialist Labour League at meetings of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

One of his earlier party assignments was to cover the Belgian general strike of 1961. Arriving in Belgium without transport, Tom accepted lifts all over the country on the back of Ernest Mandel's motor bike. Mandel was under the illusion that by this act Tom was moving towards his position, an impression that Tom did little to counter while he remained bereft of transport! But his subsequent analysis of the strike, highly critical of the line taken by Mandel's paper 'La Gauche', certainly clarified things for Tom's courier. This was a tale that Tom, with that wry



A mourner lays flowers in 1989 at a memorial for the victims of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution

smile of his, was particularly fond of telling.

It was around this time that I first got to know Tom. He took a group of us to Manchester for a meeting organised by our youth paper, 'Keep Left'. We travelled in his infamous battered dormobile. It was constantly breaking down or running out of petrol, sometimes in remote places in the middle of the night. Tom explained that to overfill his petrol tank not only meant money was unnecessarily tied up but that the van was consequentially heavier and therefore dearer to run! To the discomfort of his passengers he insisted on driving the vehicle with its sliding doors wide open, however cold the weather.

It was at this time that Tom introduced me and other students to 'Capital', and thanks principally to the classes he ran on Sundays in Leeds I developed an abiding interest in Marx's chief work.

Simply to glance at Tom's output for the party press over the next more than 30 years alone indicates his inestimable contribution to our work. Hardly an issue of the movement's theoretical journals failed to carry one of his articles. I well remember the impact of the first pieces of his that I read — especially an article demolishing Walt Rostow's pretensions to have elaborated a 'non-communist manifesto'.

In the 1970s Tom moved from Hull to live in Gravesend so that he could devote more time to work for the party press. This involved him in thousands of miles of driving each year, but he rarely complained. When the College of Marxist Education opened in the mid-1970s Tom was a regular lecturer, along with a small number of others keeping the place going during the winter months; this meant

TOM KEMP

1921-93

● FROM PAGE 5

much time away from home and in the university he became known as a 'two-days-a-week man'. Others will recognise the sort of crises that such activity could create.

It was now that he became increasingly uneasy about the methods of the party leadership, especially about the regime that Healy was building — one which stifled that very freedom of thought which Tom cherished so dearly.

It was here that his bulldog-like qualities became more apparent. If he did not agree with Healy and his inner circle he would often, if not always, say so and stand his ground, ideo-

unambiguous. He immediately sided with those who had taken up the fight against the degeneration of the movement, however belatedly Tom perhaps thought this fight had been joined.

He certainly had no time for the unprincipled manner in which some, notably the leader of the Workers League in the United States, David North, tried to use the crisis for their own unprincipled ends. There was one memorable confrontation with North, who accused Tom and others of being 'objectively' agents of imperialism. Tom demonstratively turned his back on the meeting, later challenging North to explain why he had stayed in the same room with those he claimed



Citizens' militia going to the Madrid front during the Spanish Civil War ... Tom Kemp became a socialist in the 1930s, a decade of slump and the rise of fascism

are quite secondary when measured against Tom's achievements. He was amongst the very finest of his generation. Born in the shadow of the Russian Revolution, he rallied to the cause of communism and was one of that handful who, in a long and difficult odyssey, amidst all the vicissitudes of a turbulent epoch, found their way to the Fourth International. And having arrived he stayed, remaining to the end one of its finest advocates, engaged always in a battle for its defence as much against its false, revisionist, 'friends' as against its open opponents.

Torch proudly and intrepidly upheld

TOM lived to see the disintegration of Stalinism and the possibilities this has opened up for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. It will fall to the generation that follows him to carry forward the torch that he so proudly and intrepidly upheld throughout his life.

But the coming generations will do so only on the firm theoretical and political basis that Tom helped lay.

I and others sometimes disagreed with Tom over political and theoretical matters, but there was not a trace of rancour in him about such disagreements. Shortly before he died he said to me: 'I have several close friends in the party and I value their friendship greatly. But my ultimate loyalty is not to them but to the movement and its principles.'

In saying 'goodbye Tom' we do so to a fine upright man, a resolute, incorruptible communist in his personal and political life alike, a true friend, a true comrade. He will be sorely and sadly missed by all of us.

The Workers International sends its deepest condolences to Tom's wife, his children and his grandchildren to whom he was devoted, and on whose support he relied so much.

G.P.

'Shortly before he died Tom said to me: "I have several close friends in the party and I value their friendship greatly. But my ultimate loyalty is not to them but to the movement and its principles."'

logically and if necessary physically.

Tom was above all a man of principle: once having made up his mind he stuck stubbornly to his position — to the point where his obduracy could sometimes drive his comrades as well as his family to near-distraction. Healy was infuriated by this intransigence and Tom was increasingly sidelined, which perhaps he did not altogether regret. From the early 1980s onwards he dropped out of much party work. But he never revealed this either to his colleagues in Hull or to political opponents. Nor did he lose contact with those he was closest to in the movement.

In the crisis that engulfed the WRP in 1985 Tom's reaction was

were agents of the enemy class. Naturally no answer was forthcoming.

Discussions that proved decisive

FROM 1985 Tom was again an active and enthusiastic member of the movement, in the last year of his life resuming his rightful place on the WRP's central committee. Down to his illness he was a consistent attendee at the WRP's south-east London branch, taking full part in its activities and discussion, often speaking at such length that the meeting's agenda was severely disrupted.

After 1985 it was Tom who made contact in France with

Balázs Nagy and through him those comrades from eastern Europe from whom we had been separated since the early 1970s. This opened up discussions that proved decisive for the next stage of the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

I fondly remember Tom participating in the massive working-class demonstration in London in October 1992 that greeted the Tory government's plans to destroy the National Union of Mineworkers. Having borrowed my umbrella he marched the whole way in a torrential downpour. Here was an indication of his closeness to the working class, a closeness born as much of his own origins as of his commitment to Marxism.

Tom would be the last to want a reflection on his life that in any way smacked of hagiography. On occasion he would admit that he

had 'never studied philosophy' and this was surely one of the sources of his sometimes mechanistic, deterministic approach to theoretical problems — a tendency perhaps reinforced by his professional training in economic history.

His pen was amongst the best when it came to defending the history and principles of the movement (his knowledge of the history of the Fourth International was second to none) but, like many of us, he found it more difficult to make developments in Marxist theory in line with changes in the class struggle. These problems were no simple reflection of personal weakness but a product of the period in which Tom lived — one in which Stalinism in particular did terrible damage to the Marxist heritage.

In any case these criticisms

Tom Kemp: an appreciation

TOM KEMP's death leaves the Workers International suffering the heavy loss of one of the outstanding fighters for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Tom was known internationally as one of the most qualified economists able to defend and develop Marx's ideas. And this he certainly did. This is not the time or the place to assess the significance of his overall contribution to Marxist political economy. But let me simply point to some important features of this contribution from the point of view of its significance as a weapon in the fight to defend Marxism.

Falsify

His 'Theories of Imperialism', published in 1967, and 'Karl Marx's "Capital" Today', published 15 years later, both testify to an intensive struggle against anti-Marxist as well as pseudo-Marxist revisionist theories which, under the cover of so-called 'scientific' analysis, try to disprove or falsify 'Capital'.

Tom was able to carry out this struggle because he did not limit himself to a simple repetition of Marx's formulations. Tom carefully examined Schumpeter, Dobb, Leontiev, Sweezy and others who, on the basis of our cen-

tury's facts and experiences, tried to refute Marx. Tom's criticism of them required a creative re-examination of Marx's teaching, a Marxist explanation of some important aspects of the present-day imperialist system. That is why his work is so alive today, nearly 30 years later.

In 'Karl Marx's "Capital" Today', Tom also unmasked Mandel's revisionist 'neocapitalist' theory at a time when thousands of people claiming to be Trotskyists accepted this theory. At the same time Tom introduced important anti-Stalinist economists such as Roman Rosdolsky and I.I. Rubin to Western Marxists.

Comrade Kemp's fight couldn't be limited to theoretical works because he was an active and leading member of our international party, and for this self-same reason his theoretical contributions couldn't be confined to political economy.

He was one of the best informed in the ranks of the Workers International, if not the best, about the history of the Fourth International. In particular he had a deep knowledge of the history of the French, German, Canadian and American working-class movements — as well as of Britain's. As a real internationalist in this sense,

he moved with ease through these subjects. All of us can read and re-read with great interest his articles on the history of the Trotskyist movement in these countries.

I knew Tom for nearly 30 years and my personal tribute to him as my comrade and friend is a deep one. Together with Cliff Slaughter, Peter Fryer and others, he belonged to the group that broke with the Communist Party in Britain over the Hungarian Revolution and joined the Trotskyist movement. Here perhaps lies the explanation of why this fresh 'current' in the party had a

'His great culture, his internationalism, his principled attitude must be a model for all comrades, particularly the young ones, who are taking part in the reconstruction of the Fourth International.'

lasting interest in the problem of the Stalinist bureaucracy — its nature and its methods — and why it investigated these questions again and again in an organisation which was not at that stage able to break with all Pabloite-type theory and practices.

This is why this current was suspicious, if not hostile, to Gerry Healy's thinking

and methods — which were taken largely from the Stalinists.

Tom's repeated questions about these problems in the early 1960s forced me to clarify my own understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Naturally we made mistakes; but we advanced.

Perhaps this constant fight to defend the theoretical achievements of Marxism against Stalinist simplifications, then against the even more grotesque ones of Healy, developed Tom's inclination towards a theoretical rigidity which had some

difficulty in incorporating newly-formulated analysis.

But at the same time Tom's deep Marxist culture prevented him from falling into a sterile dogmatism. On the contrary, from the later 1950s onwards he was one of the leaders, after years of Pabloite and pre-Pabloite theoretical impotence, of the defence of Marxism against

the sterile dogmatism that threatened the whole International Committee of the Fourth International.

In his 'Theories of Imperialism' — a brilliant, anti-conformist, anti-dogmatic, Marxist study — he did not hesitate to criticise what he considered to be even 'Lenin's weaknesses'. Tom always followed what he himself wrote in this book: 'Any theory [of imperialism] has to justify itself, not by literal adherence to texts or exegesis, but by its ability to aid in the comprehension of material reality.'

Using his perfect knowledge of the French language and French working-class history and contemporary problems, he wrote a series of outstanding articles on the French general strike of 1968 that were later published as a pamphlet. To this day this is the only serious Marxist analysis of this great moment in the history of the European working class and one that contributed to my own clarification of Lambert's revisionism and its nature.

Tom's deep theoretical convictions determined his striking firmness in theoretical discussions as well as his political attitude. He was known for his straight critical attitude against all signs of

what he considered to be a detour from Marxist principles. He did not spare his sarcasm against any 'authority' or sign of ignorance. One of the most distinctive traits in his strong character was precisely this principled attitude and fight.

Prospects

With Tom's death we have lost a good comrade. In 1985, on behalf of the new WRP, he established the first relations with our small international group of French, Spanish and east-European comrades, after many years of split and separation. In Montpellier and Marseilles for hours and hours we discussed our different experiences and, over some good French wine, the prospects for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

We now go forward, but comrade Tom stays with us. In our fight to develop and defend Marxism, his works must be an integral part of this international struggle. His great culture, his internationalism, his principled attitude must be a model for all comrades, particularly the young ones, who are taking part in the reconstruction of the Fourth International. Only by these qualities can we win. And win we shall!

Balázs Nagy

Television

Everything for sale

Review by Hilary Horrocks

I LOOKED forward to the new comedy series 'Health and Efficiency' (BBC1, 30 December), which promised to be a welcome antidote to the mostly stodgy Christmas viewing.

Written by Andrew Marshall — creator of the '2 Point 4 Children' sitcom — the new series is set in a hospital which has recently become a trust enterprise despite a hefty majority of the staff and the local community voting against the transformation.

The characters are promising — a pink-suited unit manager, a cross between Margaret Thatcher and Virginia Bottomley, oozing fake concern for the patients but protesting to a doctor who recommends a period of observation for one of them that 'Everyone must realise this is not a hotel'.

Her most slavish supporter is a ghoulish surgeon whose motto is 'Wheel 'em in; chop 'em up; wheel 'em out'. He recommends instant amputation for an octogenarian smoker who has been admitted with a suspected blood-clot in his leg.

Expensive

The job of doctors Kate and Michael is to prevent this mad axe-man, whose tastes fit in perfectly with the new profit-conscious regime, from getting anywhere near the patients who will recover perfectly well with prolonged non-surgical treatment. But this takes time, and time has become far too expensive a commodity.

The idea of a satire on the future of a deregulated health service is a good one, but this

will need to be a lot blacker and more savage if it is to reach its mark.

HEALTH has always — with some temporary amelioration introduced by the NHS — been for sale under capitalism, and so has sex. Beeban Kidron's documentary 'Hookers, Hustlers, Pimps and their "Johns"' (Channel 4, 29 December) examined the practice of the oldest profession on the streets of New York with an unflinching honesty.

Introducing her programme, Kidron (director of the excellent 'Oranges Are Not The Only Fruit') spoke of prostitutes as a 'disfranchised group' whose world was as diverse as anyone's and defied stereotyping.

The fact that the conception of sex as a commodity permeates far beyond the boundaries of conventionally defined prostitution was unconsciously illustrated by a Wall Street businessman who, in reply to Kidron's question 'Have you ever paid for sex?', said 'Never directly... a few dinners here and there'.

Kidron's 'vox-pop' interviews alternated with longer sequences on some particularly fascinating professionals. Her obvious empathy with her subjects was rewarded by their astonishingly frank revelations.

Junior, a grossly overweight and curiously innocent entrepreneur, described his progress from brothel-client to brothel-owner as 'the American Dream'.

Adam, a sleek black hustler with designer suits and expensive hotel accommodation, had also worked his way up to the top. 'The distribution of wealth has nothing to do with the distribution of intelligence', he commented shrewdly, 'You learn that deeply in hustling.'

Successful female hookers in the film included a middle-class music student who had taken up



'Hookers, Hustlers, Pimps and their "Johns"', Channel 4, on 29 December

prostitution to pay her way through college, and the amazing 'Mistress Scarlett' who did unspeakably humiliating things to her clients which, incredibly, they allowed Kidron to film.

But Kidron also showed us the other side: the street-walkers of south Bronx mostly working to support children or to fund a drug habit; earning little, in constant danger, and reliant

only on each other to get themselves out of bad situations.

'I stay on the street until I've made money,' said one, who hadn't eaten or slept properly for days. 'You just do it, you just do it right and try to walk away with your mind,' said another bitterly.

'THE Railway Station Man' (BBC2, 30 December) was one of those made-for-TV dramas set in Ireland which claim to address, if obliquely, the consequences of terrorism.

The schoolteacher husband of Helen Cuffe (Julie Christie, with what seemed to me an impressive northern Ireland accent) is shot dead in Derry in mistake for another man. She flees to Donegal, takes up painting, and finds new happiness with a mysterious scarred and disabled American (Donald Sutherland), who is restoring the disused local railway station.

Killed

But her student son has become involved with the Provos and unwittingly sets up a situation in which he and his mother's new lover are both killed.

Full of dark Oedipal references, of beautiful camerawork contrasting the dazzling sea and sky with menacing black hills and doorways, the play hinted at much but ultimately amounted to little.

It was a case of Ireland's 'terrible beauty' once more being picturesquely packaged for onward distribution to the world's media. Everything for sale indeed.

Programme guide

Saturday 8 January 'From the House of the Dead'. Claudio Abbado conducts the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in this live recording of Janacek's opera based on Dostoevsky's diary of his years as a political detainee (7.35pm, BBC2).

Sunday 9 January 'Tapoori'. Documentary about two of Bombay's street children (1.40pm, BBC2). **HIGH INTEREST: 'Sunshine State of**

Florida'. Investigates the reasons for the success of Florida — the 14th-largest economy in the world (5.15pm, Channel 4).

Monday 10 January 'In the Valley of the Wupper'. Uncovers the murkier side of the city of Wuppertal where, in November 1992, a local Jew who had publicly objected to racist talk in a German bar was brutally murdered (11pm, Channel 4).

Tuesday 11 January UNDERCOVER BRITAIN: 'The Slave Trap'. Reporter Sima Ray spent two months living the life of a foreign domestic worker to reveal that slavery is alive and well in the heart of London's West End (9pm, Channel 4).

Thursday 13 January STATES OF TERROR: 'Dead or Alive'. Exposes the secrets of British intelligence officers who infiltrate paramilitary groups in

the north of Ireland (9.30pm, BBC1).

Friday 14 January NEWS-ROUND EXTRA: 'Colombia's Child Miners'. Report on the appalling conditions faced by the young boys who work in the country's deep underground coal mines (4.55pm, BBC1).

Selected films

JOHNNY GUITAR (1954). Nicholas Ray's extraordinary Western. With Joan Crawford and Sterling Hayden (Saturday, 12.15pm, BBC2). **MAN-HUNT (1941).** The first of Fritz Lang's anti-Nazi trilogy. Walter Pidgeon as failed Hitler assassin (Wednesday, 2pm, Channel 4). **HOUSE BY THE RIVER (1950).** Fritz Lang again. Author Louis Hayward accidentally kills his housemaid and tries to pin the blame on his invalid brother (Friday, 12.15am, BBC2).

JJ



Florida's economic success investigated, Sunday (left); and Sima Ray undercover, Tuesday



One million 'missing' jobless

GOVERNMENT statistics underestimate the real level of unemployment by as much as 2 million, according to a report from a Cambridge University economist.

If those not actually seeking work are included in the figures, nearly 5 million people are now without work in Britain claims John Wells, in a forthcoming book 'Political Economy of Full Employment'. Wells's figure compares with the latest government total of 2.82 million.

Without

Wells has based himself on calculations made by the International Labour Office, which defines an unemployed person as one without a job, who is

available to start work within two weeks, and has looked for work during the previous four weeks.

On this definition the number unemployed in Britain who are not able to claim benefit — and therefore excluded from government figures — now stands at 1.08 million. This figure went up by 130,000 between the spring and summer of 1993, when government figures suggested that unemployment was actually falling.

Wells points out that many people unemployed for a year are not eligible for benefit because their spouse is in work. They are not registered as unemployed. After April eligibility for unemployment benefit will be reduced to six months, and

therefore even more will disappear from the register.

Wells's figures also include as unemployed the 300,000 plus who are on government work-related schemes.

Changes

Since 1979 there have been at least 29 changes in the way in which unemployment is calculated — almost all have reduced the number of people registered.

■ The number of children living in poverty in Britain has trebled since the Tories took office in 1979. Government figures show that one-in-five families and children are now living on Income Support.

Even during the 'boom years' after 1945 the number of children living at or below the poverty line increased. But the pace has accelerated sharply over the last ten years.

Frank Field, chairman of the Commons social security committee, said there were 272,320 children in families on National Assistance in 1948 — the year the Poor Law was finally abolished.

That figure trebled by 1979, and since then it has trebled again.

The tax measures announced in the last budget will make the position of the poorest families much worse as tax is imposed on fuel, and benefits become increasingly means-tested.

A reply to Marie Critchley

I REGRET having caused Marie Critchley (Letters, 18 December) to feel angry and disturbed.

Having been a Workers Press reader for over ten years, she must know that I've always been quick to correct my errors, even when I'm the only one to spot them.

I assure her that I'm no less ready to correct whatever errors I may have made in the fields to which her letter refers.

Far from feeling in the least arrogant, moralistic, or lofty, I put forward my views on these matters with the utmost diffidence.

I guess — it's no more than a guess — that Marie Critchley is a lot younger than me. I hope that one day she will realise that, between comrades, the pill of reproof is most effectively administered in a bolus of goodwill.

MARIE writes that she has been 'disturbed by previous apparent views of [mine] on "mammalian behaviour"'.
The expression I used, in fact, was 'good mammalian behaviour' (31 October 1992).

As one who favours 'a scientific... analysis of sex and sexuality', Marie must surely know that some such expression, referring to the existence of certain shared elements in the behaviour of humans and of lower primates, is a commonplace of scientific discourse.

It was introduced into the literature, I believe, by Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach, in their *Patterns of Sexual Behaviour* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), but is widely used outside the comparatively narrow field they were discussing.

Moreover, as a long-time reader of Workers Press, Marie will surely recall that even Paul Henderson, who started out by pouring scorn on this concept (Letters, 14 November 1992), ended up by saying he was not opposed to it, provided certain qualifications were made (Letters, 25 September 1993).

Marie writes that she has been 'disturbed by previous apparent views of [mine] on... "date rape"'.
This is odd. The expression 'date rape' first appeared in this column on 6 November 1993, when it was used within quotation marks in the phrase 'the recent "date rape" case', as a convenient shorthand way of referring to a then recent and much-publicised court case.

I put quotation marks round the expression to show that it was newly imported (from the US), and to distance myself from a locution I was rather doubtful about.
I have never written a single word, here or elsewhere, on 'date rape' as such and have therefore expressed no views, apparent or otherwise, on the subject.
Marie says that, in writing 'on "date rape"', as she puts it, I produced 'a vague jumble of reactionary and sexist ideas about women's sexual behaviour with men'.

But what I wrote about (27 November) was the behaviour of some women with men. Marie mocks my qualification that such women are few, but in practice she ignores this qualification.
Significantly, she nowhere denies that some women do behave badly or criminally to men, just as many men behave badly or criminally to women.
So my offence, it seems, is to report something I, in common with many other men of my acquaintance, have discovered from painful experience. For a man to give an honest account of an unfortunate sexual encounter is now, it seems, 'sexist', and therefore out of place in a revolutionary paper.
Marie resorts to heckling: 'Why not just say "prick teaser" and be done with it?' Why not 'throw in "hysterical" for good measure?'

This is mud-slinging, not argument. 'Prick teaser' is a derogatory expression used by many men to describe perfectly normal women who have rejected their advances. 'Hysterical' is no longer a valid medical or psychiatric term.

After reading this column for the past seven years, does Marie seriously suppose that I would use either expression?
Marie's reference to the pigish behaviour of 'all the men who... roll over and sleep' is irrelevant; it's a diversionary tactic, not an argument. (It used to be known as the 'What about the Negroes in the South?' ploy, from its use by Stalinists in the hope of silencing critics of the Soviet Union.)

I share Marie's aversion to labelling, stereotyping, and otherwise discriminating against women whose behaviour is regarded as deviant by misogynistic male alienists. But the words 'neurotic', 'psychopathic', and 'sadistic' also have quite objective meanings, irrespective of gender; and I was using them in the strict sense.

Essentially, the following passage says no more than I did: 'When I discovered that she was a paranoid and disturbed individual for whom sex involved violence as a means of punishment, I finally lost any remaining sympathy' ('Guardian', 28 December 1993). Before Marie hastens to brand this as 'intensely sexist', she should know that it was written by a lesbian who had advertised for friends in a lonely-hearts column and was reporting on her experiences.

Of course I have no doubt whatever that rape exists; I have equally no doubt that some allegations of rape are unfounded.
Of course I don't suppose that all, or even a sizeable minority, of women have the tendencies exemplified by Sandra Wignall.
Of course I accept that there are many forms of what is sometimes called recreational sex; but these bear much the same relation to the sort of sex I had in mind as, say, *Eastenders* does to *King Lear*.

PERSONAL COLUMN

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MARIE's charge that I wrote something '[reeking] of homophobia' is clearly based on a misunderstanding. Two separate topics are mixed up here, and it is essential to disentangle them before confusion deepens further.

Small children's questions on sexual matters are almost always of the 'Where did I come from?' and 'How are babies made?' variety. Once those questions are answered, few children are interested in acquiring further information until puberty.

Since same-sex relationships are necessarily infertile, few pre-pubertal children have any interest in the physical aspects of such relationships.

The social aspects of such relationships are another matter; but, in an enlightened family, small children absorb naturally the fact that not every child has a mummy and a daddy, and that some have two mummies, some two daddies.

Marie asks 'why on earth' information on sexual matters is best given when the child asks the appropriate questions. Her lack of understanding of how children learn astounds me.

Forcing unwanted information on uninterested small children is a sure recipe for boredom and resentment.

But I wasn't singling out lesbian and gay sexuality, nor indeed sexuality in general, for what I have come to believe should be an educational principle of wide application.

Peter Fryer

FREE MARKET MEANS PLUNDER!

**An open letter to Russian miners from
British ex-miner and Workers
International executive member,
Dave Temple**

Dear Comrades,

I write as a miner, a trade unionist and an internationalist.

I worked underground at Murton colliery, County Durham, for 21 years until it closed in 1991. I was transferred for a year to another pit, until that closed too. Like thousands of British miners I was forced out of my job.

We miners in north-east England have followed with interest the news of your own struggles since 1989. In 1991, I travelled to Ukraine, representing the area executive of my union, the National Union of Mineworkers, to offer our support to the miners of the former USSR.

Today, news has reached us that once again you, Russia's miners, are engaged in a battle with the rulers of your country.

I understand that the immediate issues in dispute are the non-payment of wages, the failure to implement wage increases, and the breakdown in the payment of subsidies and of money owing to the coal companies from other enterprises.

I strongly agree with the demand of the Vorkuta strike committee, that those in the banks who are obstructing payments should be dealt with.

But it is not only the banks. I believe that the failure of payments and the crisis in your industry has been the inevitable result of the policy of the Russian government — to subordinate everything to the imposition of world prices.

This same policy led to the horrific rise in the prices of consumer goods, against which our Ukrainian miner comrades fought in their June strike.

On hearing about the uncontrolled inflation you face, I and many of my fellow miners felt strong sympathy for the demand you have raised many times: the indexation of wages to protect yourselves and your families from rising prices.

Now it seems to us that you are in an even worse situation: dealing with authorities who just do not pay your wages at all.

I submit for your consideration this demand: that the budgets be worked out, and implemented, not by the politicians (who represent only

capitalists and would-be-capitalist bureaucrats), but by workers.

Defend your pits, your communities and your livelihoods

No one knows better than the Russian miners that the continuation of your government's present policy means a catastrophe for Russian industries, above all the mining industry.

I have read the forecast by Yeltsin's finance minister, Boris Fyodorov, that the government's present path will lead to an increase in unemployment in Russia to 10 million.

Our solidarity goes out to you, because we British miners know that your fight for jobs is a fight for the survival of your industries and of your communities.

I see in the Russian government's policies a definite overall aim: to prepare the human and natural resources of the country for plunder — either by Western-based multinational companies, or by companies set up by former Soviet bureaucrats who want to be a new ruling class in Russia.

I use the word 'plunder', because this 'opening up to the West' benefits, in the first instance, the multinational companies. (Even the Russian companies that have been set up can only work with international 'partners'.)

In the energy industry, for example, a relatively small number of companies own and control the main coal, gas, oil and nuclear-power resources of the entire world.

These companies have the technology to develop Russia's resources. But their main fear — openly expressed every day in the newspapers in the West — is that doing business in Russia is too much investment for too little return.

They want to invest a little and make a lot.

So they will not bring technology to Russia to improve the standard of life of workers and their families. Instead, they will allow your industries and your communities to be destroyed.

Only after this will they

come and take what they want, for themselves.

How do we defend ourselves from the 'free market'?

The Russian government says that, by opening the country up to these companies, it is simply bringing to the Russian people the 'freedom of the market'.

Miners in the West can tell you about this so-called 'freedom of the market' from their own experiences.

In Britain, our country's rulers have waged a ruthless campaign to destroy our coal industry. They prefer to generate electricity from nuclear power. This policy has remained unchanged, despite the warning we have had from Chernobyl — and a similar warning from an accident at an American nuclear power station, Three Mile Island, in the 1970s.

Nuclear power has many advantages for our ruling class. Most important, for them, is the fact that by using it they will be able to weaken, or destroy, our mining communities, which have always been strong centres of the working-class movement.

The costs of starting up a nuclear programme are enormous. But for the rulers of Britain it is worth it, because it weakens the miners and our trade union. So they have paid enormous subsidies to the nuclear industry — which shows that the market is not 'free' at all.

For years, we have faced an unremitting drive to close pits. In 1984-85 there was a national miners' strike against pit closures. There were about 150,000 of us on strike for one full year. The government used the police to terrorise us (10,000 people were arrested; 7,000 were injured; seven were killed; hundreds were sent to jail for months and in some cases, years). They also used the courts. The TV and newspapers were overwhelmingly hostile to us.

We believed that an issue of such importance for the working class should have generated a united response of all British workers. But the bureaucrats who head our trades unions were completely opposed to such unity. The miners were left to fight on their own.

This isolation has left us prey to the dictatorship of 'the market', which was actually rigged against us. Pits were closed. No alternative industries were built up in our villages, despite promises. In the last ten years, we have been cut from 160 pits employing 230,000 miners to 20 pits employing 20,000 miners.

Bad as that seems, it is not the worst 'the market' has to offer. The South African miners, who have always been exploited under far worse conditions than we have, now face mine closures and lay-offs.

A comrade from South Africa described to me what happens when men are dismissed from the mine. When they start work, they move from their home villages to barracks at the mine.

When they lose their job they lose their place in the barracks. Right now, there are



Thousands marched in London for Britain's miners and against pit closures in October 1992, but Labour and union leaders broke up the unity of the working class
Photo: Rex Dunn

thousands of South African miners living in dusty 'towns' made of wooden boxes, near the mine entrances, hoping to find other jobs. They dare not return to their families, as another mouth to feed but with no money to contribute to the household.

Unite miners internationally! Organise an international conference of militant miners!

I believe that the real 'market' we live in is not free. It is controlled by a few powerful monopolies. The same companies which own the coal mines in Australia, America and South Africa are now trying to buy what mines are left in Britain (where, until now, the mines were nationalised). The same firms also have an eye on the Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Kazakh mines.

These firms, together, determine the world prices of coal and other forms of energy. They can close mines in countries where workers have achieved a better standard of living, and open them where cheap labour is available. Thus for example our national coal company, British Coal, is importing coal to Europe from Colombia, where children work in the mines.

As long as miners and other energy workers are not united internationally, the bosses and the bureaucrats have the advantage. For example, during our strike in 1984-85, the Polish government — against the wishes of Polish miners — exported coal to Britain to break our strike.

American miners have been on strike for the last seven months, because the bosses are trying to abolish agreements giving security of employment, and health insurance while working underground.

Some of these American firms are now considering investment in Russia. If they want to abolish job security and health insurance for miners in the richest country in the world, they certainly will not introduce them in Russia.

All these examples show the need for miners and other energy workers — British, Polish, Russian, American, Colombian, etc. — to unite internationally.

This is why I propose to you that we organise, together, an international conference of militant miners and energy workers to discuss these common problems.

I make this proposal to you on behalf of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, the political organisation of which I am an executive member. Of course we do not propose a conference 'controlled' by the Workers International. We do not seek to restrict attendance to those who agree with our programme.

We want frank discussion, and unity in action by miners and other workers. A fight for this unity will strengthen miners in Russia, in Britain, and in every country. I would hope that, in the course of such a fight, we will discuss and collaborate in working out a programme for the energy industry's development.

I believe that developing such plans is a job for workers themselves — not for managers and bureaucrats who are hoping to make themselves rich in the course of privatisation, not for politicians who are in the pockets of the multinational companies.

Support our comrades in Tuzla! Support international workers aid!

I would like to tell you about an important practical step that has already been taken to unite workers internationally, in relation to the former Yugoslavia.

In the course of the fighting there, the Bosnian mining town of Tuzla has been cut off by Serb and Croat forces. It desperately needs food and other supplies.

Despite the deepening national divisions in the former Yugoslavia, Tuzla has maintained its multinational, working-class character. Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims live and work side by side.

Many workers in western Europe have watched the Yugoslav war with horror, but have felt powerless to act. The bureaucrats at the top of the workers' organisations have done nothing. This summer, a Serb comrade, a member of the Workers International, prop-

osed that an appeal be made to workers internationally to come to the aid of multi-national, working-class Tuzla.

Last August, an international Workers Aid convoy was organised from Britain, France, Sweden and other countries. It won the support of many British workers, including four sections of miners, and also the support of the Hungarian miners' union, the Slovenian miners' and engineering unions, and the Croatian autonomous union federation.

The Workers Aid convoy went to Tuzla not only with material aid, but also with the message that we can break down the barriers put up by bureaucrats and capitalists; that we can rebuild the unity and solidarity of the international working class.

The majority of the convoy was stopped from reaching Tuzla — not only because of the opposition of Croat and Serb military forces, but, even more, because of the refusal of the UN to extend any co-operation to it.

In particular the UN refuses to open the northern route to Tuzla through Croatia — which could ensure the long-term survival of Tuzla — despite this being militarily possible. The UN showed itself to be a partner in blockading that multinational working-class city, in the interests of the division of Bosnia it is now trying to impose.

Further Workers Aid convoys are going to Tuzla during the winter, and this spring. I appeal to all Russian miners' organisations to support this campaign in whatever way you can.

I know that you are far away from Tuzla, and that you yourselves have great material difficulties. But by associating yourselves with this campaign you will strike a blow for international workers' solidarity.

Comrades, I ask you to reply to me at the address below (in Russian is fine). Please let me know your response to my proposals for our mutual co-operation, in the organisation of an international miners' conference, and for support to our miner comrades in Tuzla.

With best wishes,
Dave Temple
My address: D. Temple, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB. Tel: London (71) 582 8882; Fax: London (71) 582 8834.

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