

Workers Press

18p

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
Monday January 27, 1986 Number 8

£60,000 legal fund appeal

SINCE the last issue of Workers Press we have received a further £56 towards our £60,000 legal fund. This fund is to enable the party to fight off the attack by the Healyite renegades who seek to destroy us in the capitalist courts.

Healy was expelled from the WRP for refusing to answer charges of sexual-

ly abusing women comrades, physical attacks on party members, slandering the leader of the US Workers League as a CIA agent and breaking an agreement to cease his abusive practices.

Healy claimed more than 40 years in the leadership of the Trotskyist movement, but rather than answer to his own party he walked out with some of his sycophants and con-

cubines, and formed his own bogus WRP.

This reactionary and corrupt man is in hiding from the working class and from his own former comrades. Yet he hopes to destroy our party with the aid of lawyers, judges and the wealth of the Redgrave family.

We are determined to defeat these attacks and beat back the deluge of court

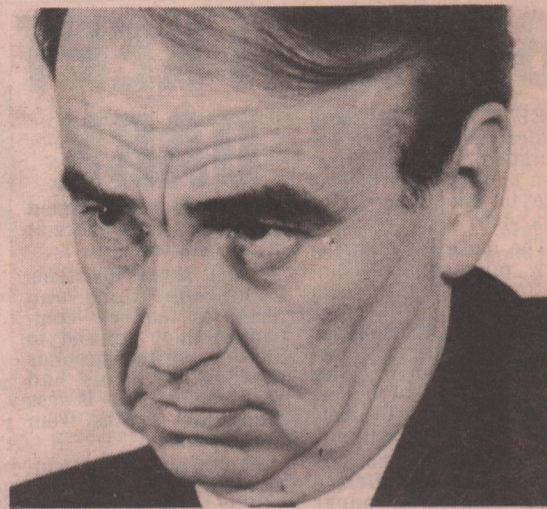
actions they have brought.

We thank our supporters who have donated a total of £31,447.29 to date. Please keep the money coming in and help to defeat Healy and the rest of his traitor clique.

Many thanks to: South Leeds, £5; Lewisham, £20; Millwall, £5; Newcastle, £26. Send donations to: 21b Old Town, London S.W. OJT

PRINT SHOWDOWN

Thatcher cheers on Murdoch



MURDOCH

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

FLEET STREET print-workers employed by Rupert Murdoch's News International group face an all-out struggle for their trade union rights which must be backed by every section of the labour movement.

Talks between the millionaire proprietor's representatives and the union leaders broke down on Thursday because of Murdoch's determination to proceed with union-busting.

Murdoch is ready to print his newspapers, 'Sun', 'News of the World', 'Times' and 'Sunday Times' at a new plant in Wapping without the print unions' agreement.

The right-wing electricians' union leaders have signed a no-strike, single union deal with Murdoch at the Wapping plant. Electricians' union leader Eric Hammond reached this arrangement in defiance of TUC policy.

Leaders of the four print unions plus the electricians' union were due to meet on Friday at TUC headquarters in London. Hammond has so far

treated the TUC with derision. His only concession was to call off a meeting planned with News International management next Wednesday.

Prime Minister Thatcher sprang to Murdoch's support with an open attack on the print unions, telling MPs: 'He is trying to get rid of restrictive practices that should have been got rid of years ago and to protect the future of some of Britain's most distinguished newspapers.'

The terms Murdoch offered at the meeting with the unions were described by SOGAT leader Brenda Dean as even worse than before, while the NGA's Tony Dubbins said a strike was much closer.

Dubbins said the unions had been given the impression at the talks that News International wanted to get rid of 5,000 jobs.

He and Dean met leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union, ASLEF and the National Union of Railwaymen at the NUR's London headquarters.

In a joint statement the transport unions expressed their 'total solidarity with the print unions'.

The print unions were seeking an urgent joint meeting between the TUC's industries committee and its printing industries committee.

THE Liverpool branch of the AUEW construction section (the old CEU) is set to explode over a decision to expel from its committee Bill Traynor, unemployed convenor of Heysham Power Station.

The latest move has all the hallmarks of a witch-hunt. Traynor was informed of the decision, for alleged offences which are not yet clear, by correspondence.

Traynor was physically excluded from the branch committee meeting on

Tuesday January 14. He said afterwards: 'The implications of this behind-closed-doors decision is that they are not only prepared to deny me my democratic rights, but that this also applies to all members and our constitution.'

Traynor's exclusion is believed to be linked to the union's failure to organise any protest against Prime Minister Thatcher's recent visit to Heysham Power Station.



Strikers from the Contracts factory in South Shields pictured outside Downing Street on Thursday. For a report of their visit to London, see page two

Unity against education cuts

THOUSANDS of teachers from all over London supported the half-day strike and rally called by Inner London Teachers' Association (ILTA) and the extra-metropolitan National Union of Teachers on Thursday.

Over 90 per cent of the membership voted by ballot to support the action.

Thousands of teachers assembled at Highbury Fields and marched to the Arsenal stadium, where speakers from the ILTA and the Scottish teachers' union, EIS, stressed their members' determination to continue the fight for a 'professional salary' — and the link between that and the defence of state education.

A spokesman from the All-London Parents' Ac-

tion Group, ALPAG, brought their support for the campaign. However all the speakers stressed that the object was to pressurise the government into negotiating a realistic settlement.

Future

Fred Jarvis, NUT general secretary, said that 'this was the greatest campaign in the history of the union. It involved both the future of the teachers' profession and the future of public education.'

The campaign was creating 'unity in action' between the NUT and the membership of the NAS/UWT. He hoped that this would lead to the conditions for the creation of a single teachers' union.

He denounced the talks being held on Friday,

January 23 at ACAS saying that the agenda was fixed so that condition of service would be up for negotiation at the same time as salaries. He stressed that there would never be a return to normal working until the salary claim for 1985 is resolved to the teachers' satisfaction.

Many teachers present agreed with the Scottish teachers' decision to refuse to prepare and invigilate public examinations.

The determination of teachers after eleven months of this dispute, to oppose the Tory government attack on their living standards and on the

education service was crystal clear at Highbury. The campaign has involved many tens of thousands of teachers in action for the first time.

Support for the campaign of strikes has been drawn from every sector of the education service, and all have shown a determination to fight that has surprised both government and the leadership of the unions. The level of support and involvement from parents is growing as the dispute goes on.

Claim

In the face of the hostility of the government, the teachers' union leaders only pose the reasonableness of the claim. To try and convince this government that education is suffering as a result of its policies shows a remark-

able ignorance of the political reality, a level of ignorance which teachers do not share. To talk of putting pressure on the government and to look for allies in the church as Lydia MacDonald suggested is to mislead teachers and their supporters.

The struggle for salaries and condition of service, and against the education cuts, means that the real nature of the political situation must be kept in front of all teachers. In support of this claim the wider issues must be raised amongst parents, the working class and all those who stand opposed to the Tory government attack.

This dispute creates the conditions under which many thousands of teachers and others can learn vital political lessons.

NEWS FROM THE AREAS

GCHQ MARCH

THE second anniversary of the Tory ban on trade unionism at the GCHQ spy centre will be marked this Saturday by a march through Cheltenham and a rally addressed by Norman Willis and TUC chairman Ken Gill.

Despite the fact that they were all required to

resign their union membership or leave GCHQ by March 1, 1984, GCHQ Trade Unions are still fighting on.

The march assembles at 12.00 a.m. at Pittville Pump Room, moving off at 1.00 p.m. to a rally in Montpellier Gardens.

Tenants confront councillors

HUNDREDS of Glasgow tenants and trade unionists met the city's Labour councillors last weekend to hear annual expenditure plans and protest at a proposed weekly rent rise of £2.43.

The meeting was termed 'consultative' but many attending claimed it had been inadequately publicised.

A delegation from the district council joint shop stewards' committee walked out in protest at the short notice they had been given, and speakers representing tenants from all over the city condemned the councillors for submitting to Tory government guidelines on spending.

committee would be urging tenants to withhold the proposed rise.

Ian Malcolm, treasurer of Glasgow tenants' association, said that city rents had jumped from £5 to £13 in the last ten years — two and half times higher than other prices.

Budget

'The councillors are digging into 177,000 tenants' budgets to save their own budget,' said Malcolm, pointing out that half the proposed rent rise was interest charged which would go straight to the pockets of the loan sharks.

'But we would bear any burden to take part in a fight against the government over spending cuts,' he added, criticising councillor Pat Lally for citing the setbacks of Edinburgh and Stirling councils who had defied the Tory dictates.

'Where has all the fight gone?' demanded Teresa McKend of the Wellpark tenants' association. 'I for one refuse to pay any extra rent.'

Robert Ross, secretary of Cambuslang tenants' group, called on the Labour councillors to resign and go to the electorate again on this issue.

'It is high time you gave us a political lead,' Ross warned, adding that his

'They failed only because Glasgow and Clydebank did not back them up,' said Malcolm.

Milton tenants' leader Charlie McNicol told the meeting that despite rent rises, essential repairs were left undone — his bath had been out of use for a year.

'We will be handing our children a worse inheritance than we had from the Victorians,' warned Frances Hamilton, Glasgow tenants' secretary.

'If we give in to a bully, he will only take more from you. We are not prepared to go down on our knees.'

'You've got our answer about the rent rise — what are you going to do about it?' David Tannahill from Springbank tenants asked.

His demand was met with stony silence from the six councillors, most of whom had not uttered a word throughout the two-hour meeting.

BUSMEN KEPT IN THE DARK

MERTHYR Tydfil, South Wales, busmen fear the worst from the privatisation of services which is due to take place later this year.

The busmen met the new management committee, plus other local councillors, at Merthyr Town Hall last Sunday for what they were led to believe would be the announcement of a new pension scheme to operate under privatisation.

But there was no pension scheme on offer — just a sheet of paper which was a brief guide to the options available to employees on privatisation day, that is, freezing of the superannuation scheme until retirement age at 65 (providing they live that long of course).

After some questions, the busmen realised they were getting no new information — and no new pension scheme. Some of the men stormed out of the meeting.

Transport committee chairman councillor Jack Hanley, who will also be chairman of the new private company, reacted by saying that he felt a lot of anger from the busmen. He and other councillors

and future management didn't have to be there at all, he stated.

When asked questions about conditions and terms in the new company Hanley refused to answer on the grounds that no decisions had been made. This is less than nine months from privatisation.

Hanley was asked to indicate when the decisions will be made, and the union representatives (GMBATU) told. He was told that it was late in the day, and the men were on a knife edge, not knowing what their future employment if any will be. He replied that by February 23 the private company had to apply as a commercially viable company, leaving three to four weeks for meetings with union representatives.

Already the busmen's representatives have been told that there will be no pay rise for the first two years in the new company. From Sunday's meeting it is clear there is no pension scheme on

offer.

Merthyr bus branch officials of the GMBATU stated that they had not been included in any discussions about setting up the new company. They have been told that some fringe benefits will be lost and that the present pension and superannuation schemes cannot continue.

The busmen fear that in the end they could 'miss the boat', losing their jobs through no fault of their own.

Contracts strikers in London

FOLLOWING a very successful public meeting organised by South Shields TUC and the Contracts' strikers, a great send off was given to a delegation of eight to leave that night for London.

The support from local trade unionists had a big impact on the meeting, and a 'name' call was called for to identify all the different trade unions represented. Plans were then made to intensify the campaign for trade union recognition.

After 19-weeks on strike, it was announced to those attending that the share prices of the French Connection group



JIM SLATER... thanked for support

had dropped from £3.75 at the start of the strike to a new low now of £1.50. Workers Press spoke to the delegation before they returned to Tyneside.

Carol Adamson (strike committee member) told our reporter: 'We were

sent down to London by the members as an official delegation to deal with certain matters connected with our strike.'

Mary Moran (strike committee) added: 'We have had a very productive and rewarding day and we will be reporting back to our members when we return.'

1st Stop: was a visit to the National Union of Taylor and Garment Workers headquarters to see General secretary Alec Smith to seek assurances of continued support from the executive and national offices and to query why the strike had not been reported in the 'Garment Worker', the union magazine.

Question

2nd Stop: Was a visit to the House of Commons to see South Shields MP David Clarke, who is to seek an adjournment debate on the French Connection company practices asked for by the Contracts' strikers. He is also to ask questions in the house concerning this.

3rd Stop: Was 10 Downing Street to hand in an 8,000-signature petition. They were accompanied by their MP who also wrote a covering letter to Tory leader Margaret Thatcher concerning the 19-week strike.

4th Stop: Was Oxford Street where London shoppers were given leaflets and strikers explained their struggle for trade union rights.

5th Stop: The delegation insisted that a courtesy visit be paid to the National Union of Seamen's General secretary Jim Slater. They wanted to thank him for his support for the strike throughout and for the use of the Seamen's Union hall in South Shields for the strike headquarters.

The delegation reported they had an interesting discussion on the course of the strike and had thanked him for his support.

Parents lobby MPs

A RALLY of about 700 parents was organised by The All London Parents Action Group (ALPAG), on Thursday at Central Hall, Westminster.

ALPAG was formed out of the enormous frustration that parents all over London felt about the stalemate in the teachers' struggle which they fully support.

There were various speakers, one from the Campaign for the Advancement of State Education (CASE), outlined the position of the government's intransigence over the dispute,

that was a dispute not simply over pay but the defence of state education in general.

Children should have equality of opportunity, the cuts are robbing children of this opportunity and as a result their whole future is being seriously jeopardised, she said.

The Secretary of State Sir Keith Joseph was acting like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in other words education cannot be drawn up like a balance sheet but that his role was to promote the education of children in England and Wales, the speaker said.

£5,000 Monthly Fund

TARGET: £5,000
RECEIVED: £1,802.83
NEED: £3,197.17

Since the last edition of Workers Press we have received the sum of £797.00.

We are still more than £3,000 short of our target and there is less than a week to the end of the month.

We are asking our members and readers to support the Workers Press finances. Please send a donation immediately to: £5,000 Monthly Fund, 21b Old Town, Clapham, London S.W.4 OJT

BOOKS

LONDON · GLASGOW · LIVERPOOL

The Paperbacks Centres

28 Charlotte Street, London W1P 1HP
Tel: 01 636 3532

10/12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, SW9
Tel: 01 274 8342

389 Green Street, London E13
Tel: 01 470 1388

321 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 3PT
Tel: 041 332 8881

34-36 Manchester Street, Liverpool L1 6ER
Tel: 051 236 0438

BOOKS

Workers Revolutionary Party

MARX'S CAPITAL TODAY

1986 series of lectures

- Friday 31st January**
The capitalist crisis and the bankruptcy of the social sciences
Lecturer: Tom Kemp
- Friday 7th February**
Commodity, Value and Money
Lecturer: Geoff Pilling
- Friday 14th February**
Surplus Value and the Class Struggle
Lecturer: Tom Kemp
- Friday 21st February**
Capital and the rate of profit
Lecturer: Geoff Pilling
- Friday 28th February**
The contradictions of capitalism
Lecturer: Cyril Smith
- Friday 7th March**
Capital in the age of information technology
Lecturer: Cyril Smith

Reading: Marx, *Capital* vol 1
Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*
Tom Kemp: *Marx's Capital Today*

Conway Hall
Red Lion Square, London WC1
Starts 8pm

Tickets 50p each lecture; complete series £2

All Trades Union Alliance

PUBLIC MEETING

Tuesday February 4, 7.30pm

Dundyvan Community Centre,
Dundyvan Road, Coatbridge,

Unite the working class movement
against Tory cuts — Occupy the steelworks

Tickets: 25p

Workers Revolutionary Party

MARX'S CAPITAL AND THE WORKING CLASS

1986 series of lectures

Saturday February 15,	Saturday February 22,
1.) The relevance of 'Capital' today	3.) 'Capital' and the Working Class
Sunday February 16,	Sunday February 23,
2.) Commodities, Value and Money	4.) 'Capital' in the age of information technology

All lectures start at 2pm

Glasgow YS Training Centre,
Tobago St.
(off London Rd),
Glasgow

Lecturers: Tom Kemp & Geoff Pilling

Tickets: 50p
Complete series: £1.50

British presence divides working class

DERRY student Tony Doherty was just nine years old when his father Patrick, a plumber's mate, was one of the thirteen unarmed demonstrators shot dead by British paratroopers on Bloody Sunday on January 30, 1972.

Tony grew up to hate 'the Brits' and at the age of eighteen was imprisoned on explosives charges. He began prison life in Crumlin Road jail Belfast, but spent the last 4 years of his sentence in the H-blocks in Long Kesh. He was released last year.

With the 14th anniversary of the massacre near, Tony and fellow student Tommy Carlin, both 23-year-old members of Sinn Fein, spoke to Workers Press in Creggan, Derry.

Not yet ten years old when his father was killed, Tony Doherty didn't yet understand the tragic events of Bloody Sunday. 'But I do remember the tense atmosphere,' he recalls: 'People were stunned. They hadn't realised something like that could happen in their own town. At first there was almost disbelief. People had experienced repression before in Derry, but never anything as callous as that.'

The bullet that killed Paddy Doherty entered his body in the right hip, went through a lung, and

FROM CHRIS CORRIGAN
came out through his shoulder.

After the Paras had opened fire, Paddy was one of a large group of marchers trapped by the high flats. He was one of those shot as they crawled from behind a low wall to try to escape back into the Bogside. As he lay dying, another man Barney McGuigan went to his aid. Barney was immediately shot dead too.

Soldiers
'Originally when the British soldiers came over here they were made out to be peacekeepers. But it didn't take long for people to realise the soldiers had taken the place

of the Unionists and their B-Specials,' said Tommy. 'Bloody Sunday was completely unprovoked; not that it would have been justified even if it had been provoked. People were shot in the back.'

Subsequent to the massacre, the British government set up an inquiry under Lord Widgely then the Lord Chief Justice. 'My mother was at the inquiry,' remembers Tony. 'She used to come home every day from it crying.'

'It was such a blatant whitewash. The soldiers, the paras, didn't even have to attend. Some army representatives read out statements. Widgely was placed there to cover it all up, and to try to pacify a section of the community, the middle class, and shift the blame on to the IRA.'

Tony went on: 'Directly after the event, the republican movement had a lot of recruits from the working class areas. It had opened a lot of people's eyes; what the British presence really meant.



Bloody Sunday, 14 years ago this week

'After I was told my father was killed, I wasn't able to understand. Until I was about nineteen or twenty, I only felt a hatred, a white hate, for British soldiers and more or less anything British.'

'I was sentenced to eight years when I was eighteen for explosives charges. I was in the H-blocks for four years, from 1981. As I said, the reason I first got involved in the republican movement was because of blind hate and a gut feeling of revenge.'

'But I have totally changed my views on the British army and the British people. I don't hate them, and I don't hate the actual men who fired the shots on Bloody Sunday. But I do hate what they represent. A lot of them only joined the army because they couldn't get a proper job.'

Destroy

'I realised in prison that an all-consuming hatred served no purpose, and could destroy a person. I learned this in Long Kesh, from the other men in there, who I benefited from politically a great deal. They more or less analysed the whole situation inside out.'

'People in there, particularly the more leftist ones, sat down and explained the whole situation, why there was a need for socialism, why it was necessary to get rid of capitalism and imperialism.'

'I was in Long Kesh as a direct result of Bloody Sunday. Even now I would not deny that. My republicanism stemmed initially from emotionalism. But now I've thought

it all through,' said Tony.

Tommy pointed out: 'Sinn Fein has changed radically, particularly since the hunger strike in 1981.'

'Prior to the hunger strike, Sinn Fein members were mostly activists, very good workers, but not too politically aware. A lot of the work was money collecting.'

'Sinn Fein has grown up as a movement. It has developed ten-fold. Previously, many in the IRA would feel elitist towards someone in Sinn Fein. Whereas now, members of the IRA and the individual people realise that Sinn Fein has a very necessary role, and a crucial role.'

'Whereas several people got involved in republicanism through emotionalism, now people join the republican struggle and realize why they are joining it.'

'Sinn Fein is a socialist party which wants not just a united thirty-two counties, but a united thirty-two counties population. Wolfe Tone wanted to unite the Catholics, the Protestants and the dissenters — basically to unite everyone regardless of creed.'

'We have to unite the people, but before that we have to see the removal of the British presence, because although this is a class struggle it is first and foremost a nationalist struggle.'

'Some people would maintain that nationalism and socialism don't go together. But we would refute that because of the very nature of the British presence here, they are dividing the working class, to protect the imperialist interests. Until

we remove that division, we cannot unite the people. So nationalism and socialism do go together.'

'The very nature of this state in the north of Ireland is sectarian. We must have our own national self-determination. We are not out to discriminate against the loyalist population. We only want to create an equal state. Sinn Fein is not a sectarian organisation,' added Tommy.

Tony was on remand in Crumlin Road jail during the hunger strike of 1981. 'You had a feeling of complete helplessness at that time. You were stuck in jail and could do nothing for the men on hunger strike.'

Strikers

'That hurt everyone, even more so those who were personal friends of the hunger strikers. It is impossible to underestimate the impact that the hunger strike had.'

He added: 'There used to be taboo subjects in our movement, socialism was one of them.'

'For a long time, socialism was not brought to the forefront. But since the hunger strike particularly, the republican movement has become much more aware. In the republican movement today, nothing is taboo and questions can be raised about everything.'

'Having said that we have thrown away none of our principles. Questions are not hidden away. The fact that a Sinn Fein man or an IRA man can stand up and say "I am a socialist," shows the great strides that have been made. We have learned lessons from history.'

TAMIL TIGERS' LEADER SPEAKS

PREPARED FOR LONG STRUGGLE

Velupillai Prabhakaran is the 31 year old leader of the Tamil Liberation Tigers. The following interview was given to the Student Organisation of Liberation Tigers and is reprinted with their permission.

HOW were you attracted to the liberation movement? What were the factors that impelled you to take up this cause?

Prabhakaran: It is a long story. When I was young, my parents used to talk a lot at home about the 1958 racial riots directed against the Tamils in which many people were affected. This affected me. I used to read a lot of books which came from Madras, including magazines like Ananda Vikatan, Kalki, Kumudam, etc. All magazines used to run stories on India's freedom struggle, which used to fascinate me. Besides, books like Mahabharate, which says that good will vanquish evil, left a deep impression on me.

Movements

When I was studying in school, I used to receive private tuition from a master called Home-Guard V. Navarathinam, who had left the Tamil Federal Party. The youth of the Federal Party also followed suit. He used to talk to us on the various world movements, how nothing can be accomplished by parliamentary means, etc. I was 15 years old then and I got the feeling that we also should hit back and that

we should hit back and that we should have a separate country of our own.

Q: What is the LTTE's ideology? Unlike other organisations, the LTTE began as a military outfit and later acquired Marxist-Leninist leanings. Some organisations like the EPRLF began as a 'Communist party' and later added a military wing.

A: We had an ideology from the beginning — that was to form a socialist state. If we did not give shape to that ideology, it was because we (LTTE) got straightway into the struggle.

Q: What is your outlook on Eelam, towards the struggle, the experiences of your sufferings? Do you think you can achieve Eelam?

A: The chances of attaining Eelam are bright because the people's determination is firm. We are prepared for a long-drawn struggle (to attain Eelam).

Q: The LTTE's general style of operation seems to be to indulge in hit-and-run tactics. But after a hit-and-run attack, the army turns on the Tamil civilians. For example, it is widely believed that your ambushing and killing the 13 soldiers pre-

saged the 1983 riots against the Tamils. Other liberation organisations like the PLO and the IRA do not indulge in hit-and-run tactics. Further they have expanded their base among the people. Have you expanded your base?

A: For the PLO, there is no room for adopting hit-and-run tactics because they are fighting from a foreign soil. The IRA is fully indulging in hit-and-run operations. But the British army does not attack the civilians.

Liberated

But, we work with a lot of hardship in terms of finance and the resistance from (Sri-Lankan) military, yet, in Jaffna and other places, we have controlled the army and we have made them into liberated zones. This was because, there is no gap between the people and us. In Jaffna, and in Nilaveli at Trincomalee... these areas are under our control. There is no government control.

We are running the civil administration. This means, we have gone a step above the hit-and-run methods. Even though we adopted hit-and-run methods in the beginning, gradually, we have not allowed the troops to come in and as

time goes on, it will become a mass struggle. Right now, in places like Jaffna, it has become a mass struggle.

Besides, we are running a guerilla force. Out of several tactics in guerilla warfare, one is hit and run. In the initial development of the LTTE, we did hit-and-run operations. But now, after an attack, we give protection to the people. The Sri Lankan government attacks the people and also it does it to create a gap between the people and us. Without people's support, we would have been betrayed and our movement would not have been there.

Q: To go back, have you expanded your base among the people, like have you established trade unions, etc?

A: Outwardly, we don't have trade unions. In all places, the LTTE's base has expanded.

Q: What is your attitude toward the government of India, its efforts to bring about a solution to the crisis? Is it pressuring you to accept a solution?

A: Till now, we have not been pressured. At the same time, the government of India is trying

TURN TO PAGE 5

JOIN THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

FILL IN THIS FORM AND POST TO:
The General Secretary
21B Old Town, Clapham
London SW4 0JT

NAME			
ADDRESS			
TRADE UNION		AGE	
DATE SENT			

Workers Press COMMENT

Healyites: sectarian and opportunist

THE bogus 'News Line' of the Healyite renegades is raising a hue and cry over a letter we published on December 10, 1985 from Scottish miner Kenny Thompson, a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

They have even issued the letter as a leaflet for circulation in the Yorkshire coalfield in a pathetic attempt to divert attention from their own status as renegades and friends of rape.

Ben Rudder takes up most of page 6 in the January 15 issue of the bogus 'News Line' to try and bury Thompson under the usual mountain of logic-chopping and lies.

Rudder misrepresents Thompson's position in his opening sentence as an appeal for miners to join the scab UDM. Lie about what Thompson said by all means, Rudder, but don't overdo it!

In fact, Thompson argued that Marxists 'should work with members of the UDM to try and show them through their own experiences just how anti-working class their leaders are, to combat this tendency as we should in all trades unions, whether they are doing it intentionally or not.'

He added: 'This must be done by all means possible, and this means getting Marxist policies being pushed by the members inside the UDM, so that the members of the UDM can smash the UDM and allow unity inside the mining industry once more.'

Rudder raises a series of irrelevant objections to this proposal. He complains that Thompson does not distinguish between 'bona fide unions and the state controlled and state funded UDM'.

This distinction has nothing to do with whether or not Marxists should strive to influence UDM members. Trotsky dealt with the principle of this issue in an unfinished article 'Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay', the manuscript of which was found on his desk after his assassination.

This was published as a pamphlet by New Park Publications in 1972 so even Rudder has had time to read it.

In it Trotsky argues strongly against the idea that revolutionaries can abstain from working in the most reactionary, even fascist, unions. Trotsky emphasises: 'It is necessary to conduct a struggle under all those concrete conditions which have been created by the preceding developments, including therein the mistakes of the working class and the crimes of its leaders.'

This must surely include the mistakes of the miners in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere who scabbed on the strike and broke with the NUM, and the crimes of those Notts NUM leaders who split their union to form the UDM.

Trotsky states: '... in spite of the progressive degeneration of trade unions and their growing together with the imperialist state, the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party.'

The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organisation, every party, every faction which permits itself an ultimatum position in relation to the trade union, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, merely because of its displeasure with its organisations, every such organisation is destined to perish. And it must be said that it deserves to perish.'

Readers will find a similar approach is adopted in the Transitional Programme and in Lenin's important work 'Left-Wing Communism'.

Rudder's ultimatum approach to the UDM's membership is accompanied by truly servile praise for the NUM's 'bold leadership', in which he places absolute confidence.

The rump chooses to ignore the UDM and hope that it will sink under a barrage of abuse. Inside the NUM, meanwhile, they are reduced to uncritical cheerleaders for Arthur Scargill. The combination of frightened sectarianism and leader-worshipping opportunism is the hallmark of Healy's degenerate cult.

Critique of Healy

THE notes that follow are a part of 'A Contribution to a Critique of G. Healy's "Studies in Dialectical Materialism"', by David North, national secretary of the Workers' League of the United States. (The Workers' League is in political sympathy with the International Committee of the Fourth International but cannot be affiliated because of the reactionary Voorhis act in the US).

They were written in October-November 1982 after the publication of 'Studies in Dialectical Materialism' by Healy, former leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party whose subjective-idealist 'philosophy' and opportunist politics came increasingly into conflict with the party up to the point of his expulsion in October 1985.

We publish the notes as part of the discussion taking place in the WRP following the expulsion of Healy and in preparation for our 8th Congress. Contributions from

VI. Political Summary of Critique of G Healy's 'Studies' (November 7, 1982)

1. 'Studies in Dialectics' has brought into the open a crisis that has been developing within the International Committee for a considerable period of time.

2. For several years (in my opinion, this began in 1976 and only began to predominate in 1978), in the name of the struggle for dialectical materialism and against propagandism, the International Committee has drifted steadily away from a struggle for Trotskyism.

3. An increasingly one-sided and narrow concentration of the 'process and practice of cognition' — almost entirely divorced from a concrete study of the objective situation — has led, as is expressed in 'Studies,' to a blatantly idealist vulgarisation of

dialectics, a caricature of Lenin's work on Hegel's *Science of Logic*, that reproduces the very forms of mystification that Marx criticised in his writings against the Left Hegelians 140 years ago (and which Engels exposed in his polemic against Duhring in the 1870s).

4. Historical materialism has been ignored. It has been forgotten that Marx and Engels, according to Lenin, 'naturally paid most attention to crowning the structure of philosophical materialism, that is not to materialist epistemology but to the materialist conception of history'. (Vol. 14, p.320)

5. As Hegel has been elevated within the International Committee to his present status alongside Marx, Engels and Lenin, Trotsky has been demoted: virtually no attention is now placed on a study of his writings. (This can be proven very

other party members analysing Healy's method will follow in future editions.

The notes published here were not intended for publication, but were drawn up in anticipation of a discussion which North hoped to have with Healy. When North met with the WRP political committee in December 1982 to discuss the notes, the committee supported Healy and rejected them. He withdrew his criticisms under threat by Healy of a split with the Workers' League if he refused.

After the expulsion of Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party in October 1985, the notes, of which this is only one part, were published in pamphlet form as an Internal Bulletin for WRP members. Copies of this pamphlet are now available publicly, from New Park Publications bookshops or from the Workers Revolutionary Party.

simply: in all of the international conferences and cadre schools since 1978, how much time has been spent on a study of Trotsky's writings compared to Volume 14, Volume 38 and the Hegel *Logic*?)

6. Corresponding to a decline in the study of Trotsky's writings the theoretical aspect of the struggle against Pabloism has been virtually abandoned.

7. A vulgarisation of Marxism, palmed off as the 'struggle for dialectics,' has been accompanied by a unmistakably opportunist drift within the International Committee, especially in the WRP.

8. The work of the IC in the Middle East, which has never been guided by a clear perspective of building the International Committee in that area of the world, has now degenerated into a series of pragmatic adaptations to shifts in the political

winds. Marxist defence of national liberation movements and the struggle against imperialism has been interpreted in an opportunist fashion of uncritical support of various bourgeois nationalist regimes. The outcome of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has starkly revealed the bankruptcy of this approach. At the present time, the IC has been unable to make an assessment of the situation in the Middle East. The WRP has yet to take a clear position on the present diplomatic manoeuvres of the Regan Administration.

9. This has not developed overnight. The line of the IC is littered with unclarified questions:

a. The 'alliance' with the Libyan Jamahiriya in August 1977;

b. The support of the Iraqi Baathists' persecution of the Stalinists.

10. During the six years in which the IC has con-



North's notes raise questions

ducted work in the Middle East, there has not been a single statement in which class relations in that area of the world have been analysed. For all intents and purposes, the Theory of Permanent Revolution has been treated as inapplicable to present circumstances.

11. The same uncritical approach to developments had been manifested toward the independence struggle culminating in the establishment of Zimbabwe.

12. As for Iran, the greatest revolutionary upheaval in the colonial world since the events in China, the International

BOOK REVIEW

by Terry Brotherstone

A moving Scottish novel

A STORM FROM PARADISE by Stuart Hood. Carcanet, 1985.

TAKING his title from a quotation from the Marxist literary critic, Walter Benjamin, Stuart Hood has written a moving and intelligent novel about one of the most difficult subjects in modern British literature: Scotland.

The Scottish novel is said by some to be enjoying its greatest flourishing since the days of Sir Walter Scott. Allowing for a measure of exaggeration and a certain lack of historical perspective in such a remark, the current interest in creative fiction north of the border would certainly be worth critical evaluation from a Marxist stand point.

Whoever undertakes such an exercise will surely find some of what he or she has to read deficient in at least one virtue: a sense of the limitations as well as the possibilities of the novel within a decaying bourgeois culture.

Hood, in my view, has this virtue, even if his resultant self-awareness sometimes leads him to over-indulge his liking for

literary devices, and to slip into an over-explicitness which may seem to patronise the reader.

The quote from Benjamin which Hood uses goes as follows: This is how one perceives the angel of history. His face is turned towards the past. Where we perceive a chain of events he sees one single catastrophe. . . . The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise, it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. . . . The storm is what we call progress.

Benjamin wrote that in 1940, shortly before committing suicide to avoid capture by the Nazis. Hood uses it to reflect on an imagined set of incidents in a Forfarshire village in the period just before World War 1, when his own imagined father — who, maybe, contains elements of his real father and even of himself — has a love-affair with a Russian emigre who has connections with the revolutionary movement.

The father is the village

domine (schoolmaster), the very epitome of the 'lad o' pair' — that is, the boy risen from the lower orders through the mechanism of the Scottish educational system by which the hard-working and talented were said to be able to proceed from parish school to university and on to a good career regardless of wealth.

With this setting and story, Hood is able to do two interrelated things. He speculates on his supposed father's reserve, the sense that in later life he was living out the form of an existence long since deprived of its potential human content. And he skilfully dissects the supposed 'democracy' of the Scots village, apparently linked by the ladder of education to the opportunity of the world outside. In a series of incidents involving gossiping landladies and shopkeepers, vying clergymen and anglicised landowners he shows it to be dominated with class-ridden, dehumanising hypocrisy.

The concern of the School Board — comprised of clergy and local worthies — is not with educational opportunity but with social stability,

religious obedience, and Scotland's part in Britain's imperial glory.

Against this is counterposed the internationalism of the world about to experience the historic, contradictory explosion of war and proletarian revolution. The forces which threaten the stultifying parish community, clinging to the values and jealousies of a society based on individual wealth accumulation, come from without.

The domine-father John Scott lost 'his faith and his virginity' in the cafes and brothels of Perpignan on his one trip abroad. His lover, Elizaveta, brings him the critical spirit which takes him to the brink of a leap into the richness of life — but she brings it not from any Scottish, or even British, tradition but from the struggle against the dynasties of Eastern Europe.

In the end the stranglehold of the parish and 'respectability' prevails, and the possibilities of the father's life are left to be lived out in the speculations of the imagined (or real?) son.

Hood's narrative technique continually re-

minds one of his career in television (as well as his obvious knowledge of the history of the modern novel): incident, flashback and the use of the fast-forward button all play their part. But complexity is never introduced for its own sake, and at times, if anything the author is too anxious not to let the reader's imagination sort out its own confusions.

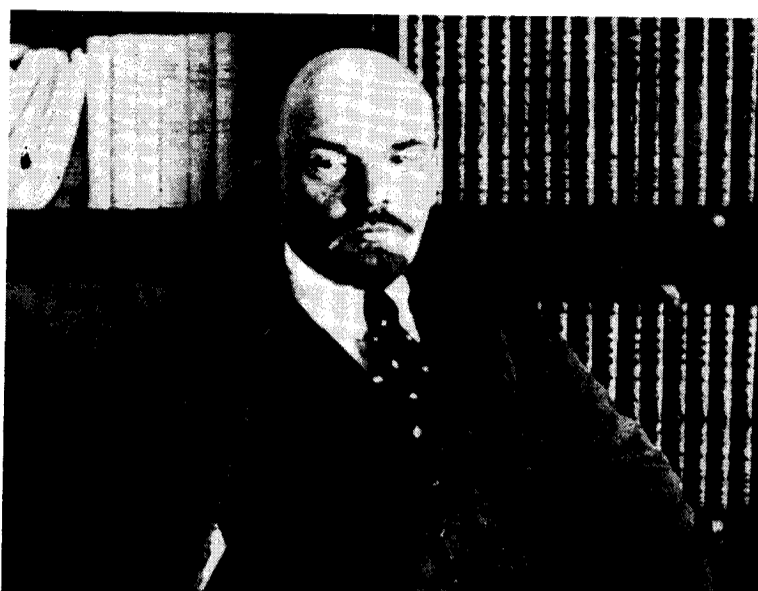
Hood in my view, has tapped a rich theme, but he has not worked it dry. Perhaps he, or someone else, in a future book, might penetrate further the contradictions of parochialism and internationalism in twentieth century Scotland.

For, in the autumn of 1914, it was to be a Scots schoolmaster with family roots deep in Scotland's parochial past who placed his life on the line for an internationalism based uncompromisingly on the revolutionary role of the working class. History, for John MacLean, proceeded not only on wings blown by a storm from paradise; but through the actions of the working class (as Marx said in another context 'storming paradise').

y's 'Studies'



about the WRP's policy towards Libya



LENIN

Committee has produced not a single critical analysis since February 1979.

13. Out of all the pragmatic day-to-day shifts there is beginning to coalesce a political tendency that has a definite Pabloite taint. Thus, we find in a statement of the WRP Political Committee, dated December 11, 1981:

'But Gaddafi has politically developed in the direction of revolutionary socialism and he has shunned the palaces and harems of some other Arab leaders.

'For this reason he has become the undisputed leader of the Libyan people and his name is now synonymous with the strivings of the oppressed in many countries.' (News Line, December 12, 1981)

14. The dangers of such an impressionistic approach, against which we warned many times in the course of the struggle against Pabloism and the SWP, has been clearly shown in the events which followed the Israeli invasion.

15. The reaction of the WRP to the outbreak of the war in the Malvinas should be taken as a serious sign of political disorientation. With the outbreak of war, the oldest

and most experienced section of the International Committee took an incorrect position, which was essentially pacifist, which was corrected only after nearly two weeks. Given all the work that has been carried out by the WRP in the Middle East in defence of oppressed nations against imperialism, it must be asked why the WRP had such difficulty recognising the same issue in the Malvinas war.

16. These are not isolated incidents which can be overlooked. We are reviewing several years of work during which a increasingly definite oppor-

tunist tendency has become apparent in our work.

17. This does not mean that our work has been all wrong and that no achievements have been registered. That is of course, not the case. But the rapid development of the world crisis, the desperate crisis of Stalinism, and the radicalisation of the masses in all the major capitalist countries present an unparalleled opportunity for Trotskyism. However, we would be committing the greatest political error if, at this very moment, we pulled in our Trotskyist horns.

OBITUARY

Roy Le Strange

WE regret to announce the sudden and tragic death of Roy Le Strange on Saturday January 11th at the age of 51.

Roy, a member of the Wheldale branch of the National Union of Mineworkers, had been a miner since the age of 20, working at various pits in the Castleford area. He worked at Wheldale pit until December 1985 when he left because of severe arthritis, a condition brought about by his work in the pit.

Roy was a real class fighter, active throughout the miners strike despite the problems caused by his illness. He saw the strike as a political one, against the hated Tory government — and passionately believed that it should have continued. His close friend Tony Holmes told Workers Press: 'If it had been up to Roy, we would still be out.'

Firm

Since the beginning of the strike, Roy was a firm supporter of the News Line and subsequently of the Workers Press; he was interviewed many times in the paper's columns. On the last occasion on November 5th 1985, he spoke about the formation of the Nottinghamshire-based scab union, the UDM, and called for a total boycott of the breakaway.

He said: 'If the TUC or Labour Party recognise the UDM in any form whatsoever, every miner in the NUM has to withdraw his political levy. It should spread like a bush fire throughout the movement.'

He actively supported both Young Socialists marches to free the jailed miners when they visited Castleford. He believed that the leaders of trade union movement had the responsibility to mobilise the whole working class



in the struggle to secure their release. He had nothing but contempt for Kinnock, Willis and the leaders of the labour movement who betrayed the miners' strike.

Roy joined the army as a boy of seventeen. He left after three years, but maintained his link with the forces as a sergeant in the Territorial Army. It wasn't until the miners' strike of 1972 that he understood the oppressive role of the forces of the state. The confrontation at the Saltley coke depot opened his eyes. He walked out of the TA and broke off all relations with them. He warned union members about the preparations being made for the use of state forces against the working class

and would speak with passion and eloquence about the horrors of war, recounting the tales of the first world war that he had heard from his father.

Although Roy was not a member of our party he held a profound belief that the only way to solve the problems facing the working class was through the revolutionary overthrow of the whole capitalist system. He rejected entirely the reformism of the Labour Party.

Confident

Roy was supremely confident about the future. Despite the return to work, he believed that the miners' strike was the beginning of that revolutionary process. He believed that even bigger struggles would not be long in coming.

We deeply regret that Roy will not take part in the struggles to come, but we take great inspiration from the part he played during his life.

We express our sincere condolences to Roy's wife Jean and his two sons Barry and Peter.

Prepared for struggle

FROM PAGE 3

to solve the problem through talks. But our history shows that nothing can be solved through talks. Yet, we have to support the government of India's and so, we are taking part in the talks.

But at the same time, the Sri Lankan government has not, so far arrived at any worthwhile solution.

Q: Recently, you went on a tour of Tamil areas of Sri Lanka and you also met your regional commanders. How is the morale of your cadres and what is the situation there?

A: There is only progress (increasing determination). There is no retardation in the struggle. There is a feeling dominant among the people that instead of slowly dying in batches, it is better to fight and die all together.

Our boys... comrades... are closer to the people. As a result, they are strong and firm. There cannot be any talk on morale because as long as there is one soldier (in the LTTE), they will fight for our ideal (to achieve Eelam). Till there is a last comrade, we will fight for our independence and liberation.

DEFEND DR O'SHEA!

A DEFENCE committee set up to campaign for Dr Maire O'Shea held a well-attended public meeting in Manchester town hall last Monday, before her trial on charges of conspiracy to cause explosions began.

Sixty-five year old Dr O'Shea is a psychiatrist who has worked for many years in the NHS. She is an active member of the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG).

On trial with her are Peter Lynch, Patrick Brazil and Peter Jordan, who are also charged under the racist prevention of Terrorism Act.

Arrest

The public meeting was told by Cath Wright, of IBRG: 'On New Years Eve 1984 Maire called me from Cork to tell me of Peter Lynch's arrest and the Special Branch raid on her home in Birmingham. I asked her to stay where she was but Maire said she had to return to help defend Peter Lynch, and that this would show people what the PTA is.

'She also said she couldn't leave her patients. She thought she would be all right.'

Manchester meeting condemns PTA

On her return Dr O'Shea was arrested and detained for five weeks in Liverpool. She was then bailed but Peter has been kept on remand.

Dr O'Shea was in the position she was 'because the labour and trade union movement consents to the military occupation of northern Ireland and blocks any discussions at conference,' said Cath Wright. 'It is no use blaming the government.'

'Marx said that we can expect the capitalists to fight for their class interests. Most of us are members of the labour movement, and we have to get the working class to see and hear more clearly, despite all the professional jammers, who's on trial and for what.

'It's the whole Irish community, and others who exercise their political right to speak out against the military occupation of the six counties, on trial.

'Maire and Peter were part of the IBRG Prisoners Committee who succeeded in raising grave doubts about the guilt of

the MacGuire and the Birmingham Six. The IBRG through Maire and Peter have been singled out.

'Maire has given long service in the labour movement fighting for justice and freedom and fighting to defend the NHS. Her weapons were words. Maire O'Shea is innocent.'

Present

Dave Douglass of the Yorkshire NUM executive said: 'I was determined that the NUM should be present on the platform in one capacity or another. The same ruling class who are judging Maire put miners in jail: after 12 months of naked repression the mining communities know what class justice is about.

'All oppressed sections must stand together.

Tone McCardle, chairman of Manchester City Council police monitoring committee, told the meeting that the City Labour Party had voted to support O'Shea, to fight to abolish the PTA and for a

free Ireland. The policy would now be put to the full City Council.

Maire's daughter Deirdre O'Shea said: 'We have for the first time forced the Irish Embassy to send observers to a trial in Britain. At first all I got was that they had a special relationship with Britain and they couldn't afford to upset it.' She called for people and organisations to attend the trial and to write to the Department of Public Prosecutions, Royal Court of Justice, London SW1, and the Home Secretary, to drop the charges.

The defence committee has been supported by COHSE and ASTMS who will also be sending observers. The trial is expected to last at least six weeks.

The chairman, Manchester solicitor Robert Lazar, announced that because of legal advice Moira had reluctantly asked for no picket, but wanted as many supporters as possible in the public gallery to show the jury her support. He said people should not be intimidated by the massive security operation which would surround the trial. It began on Tuesday at Crown Court, Aytoun Street, Manchester.

RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

NORTHUMBERLAND

WILLIAM SMITH: Whittle — 2½-year sentence from February 1985. E44975, Durham Jail, Old Elvet, Durham DH13HU.

DURHAM

JOHN MATTERSON: Murton — Two years and three months youth custody from December 1985.

JOHN HEMINGWAY: Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

JOHN ROBSON: Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

ROBERT HOWE, 22, miner, affray, attempted not guilty (judge refused to allow change of plea), 21 months

ANTHONY RUTHERFORD, 24, miner, affray attempted not guilty, 18 months

JOHN ROBSON, 21, affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months jail

GARY BLACKMORE, 19, charge affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years youth custody

ANTHONY HOWE, 19,

affray, attempted not guilty, two years youth custody

WILLIAM BELL, 20, affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months youth custody

YORKSHIRE

MARTIN HODGSON: Wakefield — Three-year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

NIGEL HODGSON: Wakefield — Three-year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

PAUL WRIGHT: Saville — 18-month sentence. G76424 Kirkham Jail, Freckleton road, Preston Lancs.

CLIVE THOMPSON: Frickley — Three-year sentence from April 1985. G79348, Acklington Jail, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF. Not miners but sentenced in connection with the miners strike:

DAVID TEASDALE: Student — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks LS22 5ED.

N. DERBYSHIRE

PAUL BROTHWELL: 12-month sentence.

DAVID GAUNT: Shirebrook — 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Doddington Road, Wellingborough.

KENT

TERRY FRENCH: Betteshanger — Four-year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Weald Wing, Maidstone jail, Kent

CHRIS TAZEY: Betteshanger — Three-year sentence from January 1985. A29398 Youth Detention Centre, Springfield Road, Chelmsford

SOUTH WALES

DEAN HANCOCK: Oakdale — Eight-year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

RUSSELL SHANKLAND: Taff Merthyr — Eight-year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, Leicester.

LETTERS to the Editor

A workers' paper

I WAS overjoyed to see the Workers Press again and to see a workers' paper, such as the News Line never was. I was particularly pleased to see so many letters.

I retired from Liverpool docks three years ago with heart trouble. It was in 1951 that I went to work on the docks and I joined the Communist Party after three months. I was in the CP about six or seven years and drifted off disillusioned. I felt they were not fighting for socialism but just for things like East-West trade, which I supported, but did not see how it would bring Socialism.

I did not support the 'British road to socialism'. I thought it was ridiculous to think we would get socialism through the ballot box. And I did not like it when Prince Charles was born and the Daily Worker said he might live to be king in a soviet Britain.

At this time, thirty years ago, I supported the CP line on the 'Blue Union' — the National Amalgamated Stevedors and Dockers — which was joined by ten thousand dockers in the north who left the Transport and General 'White Union'. I gave out CP leaflets saying that the men should stay in the Transport and General.

I think readers will be interested in what sort of solidarity the dockers had. About seven thousand joined the 'Blue Union' on Merseyside.

The Transport and General official told the bosses not to hire 'Blue Union' men because they did not have Transport and General membership cards. When they heard this, all the 'White Union' men stopped work in one

centre after another. Those of us like myself who thought they were wrong to leave the Transport and General defended their right to work. After two or three days the strike was won.

The majority of dockers, including CP-ers like myself came out for six weeks when the 'Blue Union' was involved in a recognition strike. We were not going to scab. I still thought they should not have joined the 'Blue', but if they were in they should be recognised. One member of the CP — I always knew him as an honest man — went into work. He came out after the first day and held a meeting to apologise.

Agent

The line in the party was that the 'Blue Union' was led by Trotskyists, but I did not have any idea what a Trotskyist was. I was told that Trotsky was a fascist agent. I would say that I believed it and didn't believe it at the same time.

I heard someone mention Trotsky building the Red Army and I went to the library and found out it was true, but I still had doubts. I believed in the CP but how could a man who built the Red Army be a fascist agent?

After Krushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union CP and the crisis that followed in the British CP, I drifted away from the Communist Party.

In 1969, after we had

been out on strike, I came back from home after my dinner and I bought a Workers Press from a little blonde-haired woman at the dock gate, thinking it might have something in it about the strike. What was more important than the strike was an article inside on Stalinism. It struck me right away. I was reading it walking along and I remember my feelings. I had not seen anything like it before. Here was the answer to questions, hundreds of thousands of people like me had asked about, it put everything into place about how Stalinism developed. Why the Soviet Union was a workers' state but a degenerated workers' state. I must have read that article a dozen times.

I went to find the lady who had sold it to me and found she lived near me in a multi-storey block of flats. I started looking for her at the bottom and eventually, when I had done every floor, I arrived at the fourteenth, knocked on a door and she opened it! I had enough wind left to put in an order for the Workers Press. She invited me in. When I went in, her husband was sitting there and I nearly walked through the window. I had once tried to throw him out of a meeting when I was a CP steward. It was a meeting on the 20th Congress and he was shouting 'where were you, Gollan! tell the truth, Gollan!'

I thought then that the Workers Press was a fantastic paper. Its Marxist

analysis was new to me and I could not only understand things myself but could also explain them to others. There were big sales of that paper.

The paper now is a thousand times better than the News Line and begins to match up with the appeal of the old Workers Press. Of course, the situation for workers is different now and more desperate. But if we take what was best in the old Workers Press and try to learn what 'Pravda' was like — as described by Zinoviev — then we will build a paper whose enthusiastic readers will expand the circulation.

Yours fraternally,
John Maginnis.

DURING the miners' strike, scabs who returned to work did not simply desert their fellow strikers; they often triggered the intervention of thousands of police to outnumber, terrorise and physically attack pickets. The scabs called in the state machine.

Strikers who went through that experience will have an idea how WRP members are feeling now. A group of former party members, who were with us only months ago, have been expelled and are trying to destroy our newspaper and other party assets in no less than the 19 legal case.

The anti-party group, led by Alex Mitchell, Sheila Torrance, Vanessa Redgrave and Corin Redgrave, walked out of the party after we expelled the former leader, Gerry Healy (whom they support) on charges of sexual abuse of female party members, physical attacks on comrades, and slanders against American Trotskyist leader David North.

When the pro-Healy group walked out in October, we said they had split over the issue of revolutionary morality. Many people thought, mistakenly, that this referred only to their vile justification of Healy's sexual abuses, basically on the grounds that he was such an important leader that female comrades' interests were subordinated to his. (By the way, rumours that Torrance and co. want to ditch Healy seem to be groundless: during a visit to Glasgow last week she again explicitly defended Healy's 'lifestyle'). But morality concerns much wider issues — as the torrent of court cases shows.

To quote a favourite book of Healy's, the Soviet 'Dictionary of Philosophy', morality is 'a form of social consciousness, a social institution that regulates people's conduct in all spheres of social life without exception' (p.275). The works of the great Marxists abound with material on morality: for them, morality firstly has a class character; working-class or communist morality has to incorporate what was progres-

AS unsatisfactory, for many reasons, as I found the exhibition 'German Art in the 20th Century' which closed just recently, your correspondent KO's review (29.11.85) was even more regrettable.

The premise on which he based his article was both false and sectarian. And what was, 'the questions posed are the same as those that are being challenged in the WRP today — the need for a strong Bolshevik party with correct perspectives' supposed to mean? What a pity KO did not draw a more apposite conclusion from his own analogy.

First and foremost, the exhibition was staged and selected by a bourgeois institution, the Royal Academy. It did not claim to be a collection of works by socialist artists. Therefore to base his observations on who among the artists, represented or

In defence

not, were socialist was completely beside the point. But in doing so, of course, KO placed himself in a position, for very correct-sounding reasons, to dismiss and pour scorn on four or five of the century's — not just Germany's — finest artists (to say nothing of the ones, Kirchner for instance, he didn't mention).

Stating that Marc, his 'gentle paintings of animals' and his 'longing' for innocence, was 'one of the first' victims of the barbaric First World War; that Kandinsky 'eventually joined an obscure religious group; that Grosz came to deny his earlier communist loyalties, and that Beckmann 'washed his hands of politics', became a cynic and 'worked continuously' (?) does not

to my mind tell us anything about the lasting contributions they made to art.

One has only to recall Marc's prophetic 'Animal Destinies', painted in 1913, to see that this artist's work was far from devoid of any lessons concerning the growing horrors experienced under a doomed capitalist society. Kandinsky was of course one of the great innovators of modern painting, being among the first to pioneer abstract art. His work method and approach to the tools and material of his profession contain much that do justice and honour to socialist artists too.

Grosz has rightly been compared — admittedly by bourgeois art historians! — to both Goya and

Class morality

sive in bourgeois morality that preceded it, and reject that which served only capitalist interests.

What then is the morality of people who quit the WRP and then resort to the capitalist state to attack us? It is the most reactionary morality of the horrified petty-bourgeois, who phones the police at the first sign of trouble, who knows the state is his master and protector. It isn't just a wrong political stance!

Of course, this fawning before the capitalist state was an important characteristic of some leaders of the pro-Healy group, even when they were in the WRP. Healy and Vanessa Redgrave constantly resorted to the capitalist courts to resolve problems. But it didn't stop here. When it came to a fight with the capitalist state, Healy and Mitchell, particularly manifested — for all their 'revolutionary' words — plain cowardice.

Defeat

This explains in part why, for the first two weeks of the Malvinas war, the WRP took a pacifist line and did not call for the defeat of British imperialism, the line only being changed after a fight by other leading members. The party's attitude to Ireland also bore the stamp of Healy's cowardice.

I can add to this a personal experience, which I did not understand at the time: myself and others spent months preparing for publication a book on the death of Jimmy Kelly, a worker from Liverpool, in the hands of the police — Mitchell had promised to publish it but it never appeared, because of Healy's unfounded and paranoic fear of a libel prosecution.

Morality includes a person's attitude towards the state, towards other people in society, towards sex... towards 'all spheres of social life'.

Bourgeois morality was at large in the WRP not only in Healy's abominable attitude to women, but in cowardice before the state, in the bureaucratic party regime which was a twisted denial of democratic centralism to serve the interests of a small clique, and the contempt with which party members, both workers and intellectuals, were often treated. This morality was inseparable from the extreme opportunism and nationalism with which the party's politics became affected and the reverse side of the coin, sectarianism.

The morality of the Healy group can be summed up with the words, 'anything goes'. For example, Corin Redgrave, speaking at a WRP members' meeting in Glasgow two days before the October 25th split, recounted some achievements of the WRP, claimed it was all Healy's doing and said: 'If this was the work of a rapist, let's recruit more rapists!'

The response of WRP members in Scotland (not one of whom went with Healy) was more adamant than eloquent! Trotsky was also quite specific in his rejection of such 'morality': 'Permissible and obligatory are those and only those means... which unite the revolutionary proletariat, fill their hearts with irreconcilable hostility to oppression, teach them contempt for official morality and its democratic echoes, imbue them with consciousness of their own historic mission, raise their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice in the struggle. Precisely from this it flows that not all means are permissible.' ('Their Morals and Ours' pp. 36-37).

Trotsky continues: 'When we say that the end justifies the means, then for us the conclusion follows that the great revolutionary end spurns those base means and

ways which set one part of the working class against other parts, or attempt to make the masses happy without their participation; or lower the faith of the masses in themselves and their organisation, replacing it by worship for the "leaders".'

Certainly in the WRP, comrades' faith in themselves and their organisations was 'lowered' and replaced with worship of the 'leaders' to some extent; various parts of the party (youth, trades unionists, intellectuals) were turned against each other.

Theory

Healy's utterly bourgeois morality went with his subjective-idealist theory. This 'theory' glorified the 'practice of cognition', which he believed that he and he alone could understand or interpret. Grasping this method was, according to Healy, the key to knowledge; with this key all problems could be solved: the theoretical conquests of Marxism in the fields of historical materialism, the analysis of class relations under capitalism by Marx and in the imperialist epoch by Lenin and Trotsky, the theory of the class struggle, revolutionary strategy and tactics — none of this had to be studied.

The attack on revolutionary morality by the Healy group is bound up with its attack on revolutionary theory and enthusiastic defence of Healy's subjective idealism. It would be no exaggeration to say that Healyism tended to cut the party and its members off not only from the ideological gains of Marxism but from all the ideological gains of mankind, what Trotsky called 'spiritual culture', embracing philosophy, the natural and social sciences, law and morality.

Westlands

IT HAS been concerning me that we must advance the transitional demand for nationalisation under workers control of Westland Helicopters.

The bankruptcy of Westland gives us the opportunity to develop our practice based on the Transitional Programme, abandoned under Healy.

Agitation and propaganda must be organised around these demands in the working-class movement, aimed at winning workers over to a revolutionary programme.

Rescue

In particular we have to expose the reformist trade union leaders who have no strategy to defend jobs at Westlands except to support one or another 'rescue' bid (e.g. Ken Gill, the TASS leader).

This kind of practice, from which the party could make real developments and gains, was abandoned by Healy who substituted his fetish of the daily paper, subordinating party practice to it and foisting his blend of opportunism and sectarianism on the party. K.S. East London

Workers Press READ IT REGULARLY!



WORKERS PRESS leads the fight for Trotskyism and Marxist principles in the labour and trade union movement nationally and internationally. WORKERS PRESS is committed to tell the truth and uncover corruption in the workers' movement.

WORKERS PRESS gives the best and most thorough coverage of industrial, political and economic news, with in-depth features, sport, arts, leisure — at a price everyone can afford, twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays.

LOCAL DELIVERY
36p per week
delivered to your door
Tuesday and Friday

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION
3 months: £11
6 months: £22
One year: £44

Name

Address

Amount enclosed

Complete and return to: Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.

THE EDITORIAL board welcomes letters from readers. They can be sent to Letters Page, 21B Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 0JT. Those letters published do not necessarily reflect the views of Workers Press

e of bourgeois art

Daumier for his biting political satire. And Beckmann, probably only second to Picasso as the out-standing artist of the twentieth century, produced work — whatever he himself said about his being a-political — which is about the most profoundly political you could get (see for example, his masterful series of triptychs).

KO properly complains about the total absence of any work in the exhibition by John Heartfield, and the very limited selection of that by Kathe Kollwitz. These were major omissions and emphasised the position of the organisers in respect to the Nazi period. It remains nothing short of a scandal, the way in which this entire episode was glossed over. But here, too, KO

adds little to our understanding when he simply states that the 'notorious "Degenerate Art" exhibition... had to be abandoned when too many members of the public turned up'.

Would that such controversies be so easily resolved! In conjunction with the 'exposure' of 'perverse' and 'miscreant' artists was a show of officially approved exhibits, the reactionary propaganda of Goebbels thereby taking account of the large numbers of merely curious visitors to the show.

The mis-appropriated quotation from Trotsky which KO opportunistically selected to round-off and lend weight to his review actually underlines what a narrow 'pers-

pective' he pursues: 'The political writing of a class hastens ahead on stilts, while its artistic creativity hobbles along on crutches!' still leaves me wondering, in fact, how KO (not Trotsky!) meant his readers to interpret this.

Trotsky was talking about writing itself (which is an art form too); and he was not speaking about the working class, in case there should be any misunderstanding.

What may otherwise have encouraged Workers Press readers to 'go and see the exhibition and look' for themselves would have been a rather more scientifically oriented assessment of the contributions made to art history by the artists included in this extensive but far from comprehen-

sive exhibition of modern German art. I believe, however, that KO ended up by doing the very opposite.

Had KO fully taken into account the 'lessons' (that 'paintings do not change the world but only reflect it') he may have produced a more informative and valuable article. None of the artists he disparaged so effortlessly would, I think, have challenged that statement, and neither would Heartfield or Kollwitz. To belittle the struggle by artists to reflect the world because of their lack of standing as socialist fighters, as KO did, does not assist us to 'form an understanding of the role of art and artists' in whatever period.

Yours fraternally,
Jeff Jackson (Tooting WRP)

ity and politics

In his article 'Culture and Socialism', Trotsky describes human culture as 'everything that has been created, built, learned, conquered by man in the course of his entire history, in distinction from what nature has given' (New Park pub's edition, p.3). He distinguishes material culture (technique, tools, machines) from spiritual culture, shows how the development of culture is connected with the development of class society, and insists that the working class must 'master all the culture of the past, otherwise you will not build socialism' (p.4). He writes: 'Spiritual culture is as contradictory as material culture. And just as from the arsenals and storehouses of material culture we take and put into circulation not bows and arrows, not stone tools or the tools of the Bronze Age, but the most improved tools available, of the most up-to-date technique, in this way also must we approach spiritual culture.' (p.8).

workers in other countries — and took the lead in forming the Communist International in 1919 and giving every assistance to the communists all over the world.

The generation of communists which fought the 1917 revolution had been decimated by the civil war and the Bolshevik leaders set out consciously to bring forward the communist youth, in



LEON TROTSKY

opposition to the conservative and pro-capitalist forces on which the state and the party bureaucracy rested. (Incidentally, anyone with doubts about the importance attached by Lenin to communist morality need only read his speech to the third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League in 1920, entitled 'The Tasks of the Youth Leagues'. The entire purpose of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics', he said (Collected Works vol 31, p.291) and went on to explain the subject at length).

The struggle against the bureaucracy was opened in 1923 by Trotsky and the 'Moscow 46' (documented in 'The New Course' and 'Documents of the 1923 Opposition'). They warned that unless a consciously-worked out policy was undertaken for socialist industrialisation and planning, that the capitalists, merchants and rich peasants, to whom unavoidable concessions were made in the New Economic Policy of 1921, would grow too strong. But the economic

questions were inseparable from the struggle against the bureaucratic tendencies in the state and the party, which reflected the reactionary forces still at large in Russian society, and the struggle to train the new generation of communist youth in Bolshevik ideas and morals.

That generation was not trained, but stifled by the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The failure and betrayals of the revolutions in Europe, particularly Germany, combined with the inability of the Soviet Union to progress towards socialism beyond a certain point within its national borders, strengthened that bureaucracy. At its head stood those Bolshevik leaders (Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev) who had turned their backs on the development of Marxism as a guide to action and become prey to alien class pressure. Later, in 1924, Stalin concocted the 'theory' of 'socialism in one country' to justify the betrayals.

Bolsheviks

In his article 'Stalinism and Bolshevism' written in 1936, twelve years after the death of Lenin, three years after the victory of Hitler), Trotsky wrote: 'certainly Stalinism "grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dialectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorean negation' (Writings of Leon Trotsky 1936-37, p.420). He continued: 'The Bolsheviks, however, did not have to wait for the Moscow trials to explain the reasons for the disintegration of the governing party of the USSR. Let us remember the prognosis of the Bolsheviks, not only on the eve of the October Revolution but years before. The specific alignment of forces in the national and international field can enable the proletariat to seize power first in a backward country such as Russia. But

the same alignment of forces proves beforehand that without a more or less rapid victory of the proletariat in the advanced countries the workers' government in Russia will not survive. Left to itself the Soviet regime must either fall or degenerate. More exactly: it will first degenerate and then fall.' (pp.420-421).

A few lines further on: 'Lenin stressed again and again that the bureaucratization of the Soviet regime was not a technical or organisation question, but the potential beginning of the degeneration of the workers' state.' Referring to the Bolsheviks as 'the best' fighters, Trotsky wrote: 'These "best" can degenerate in the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture. Not only can the Soviet state abandon the way of socialism, but the Bolshevik Party can, under unfavourable historic conditions, lose its Bolshevism.' (p.422).

Trotsky saw the theoretical, moral, political and bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik party as one single process; he fought to understand the relationship of these factors without counterposing one to the other or separating them.

Of course there is no direct comparison between the degeneration of the WRP and that of the Bolshevik party. The WRP never led a revolution and never came near to doing so; on the other hand, neither were its betrayals on the monumental historical scale of Stalin's. But nevertheless we have to ask ourselves to what extent our party 'lost its Bolshevism', and to what extent it had any, amidst the 'spirit of an alien culture', in this case, post-war capitalism.

This fight, and the fight to regenerate our party as a truly revolutionary leadership, began with the expulsion of Healy, S. Pirani

THE LIMITS OF EVOLUTION

IS THERE any limit to evolution? is a question that biologists do not often ask. It is assumed that the process of natural selection, operating on trillions of mutations thrown up at random over billions of years, is capable of producing an endless variety of organisms.

The evolutionist, however, has to take into account that the mutations take place among already existing organisms so there is a pre-set limiting factor already present - the body plan of that organism. Thus the primeval vertebrate, a tadpole-like fish, set the basic plan on which more advanced fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals are derivative themes. The primitive vertebrate itself, of course, being a variation on the theme of the animal body plan. The resulting hierarchical unity within the diversity of life being expressed in the familiar Linnaean classification.

An article in the current issue of the Biological Journal of the Linnean Society takes a different approach to the same question. Professor McNeil Alexander of Leeds University looks at the physical constraints which set limits on evolution.

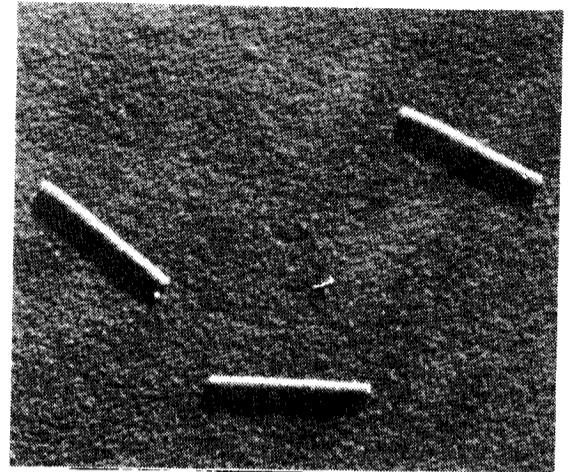
SKELETON

First, what would the ideal animal be like? An unbreakable infinitely light skeleton would be useful, as would muscles which responded instantaneously and could move any mass at any speed. Other useful attributes would be the ability to see the smallest of objects with an eye which could adapt to any level of illumination from 'utter darkness to infinite brightness'. An infallible psychic sense which let the animal know the positions and intentions of all other animals would not go amiss, as would a 100% efficient energy conversion mechanism. No doubt the reader could add several other hoped-for attributes to the above list.

Of course no such animals could exist. All organisms must live in the real world and as such in the last analysis must build their bodies and earn their livings within the constraints of the laws of physics and chemistry. For example the lower size limit of organisms is determined by the size of the molecules of which they are composed.

It is thought that the minimum requirements for self-sustaining life are 45 different enzymes, which are necessary for the chemical activity of the cell, and the ribosomes needed to manufacture them, all of which must be contained within a cell membrane. McNeil Alexander estimates that the minimum volume of such a cell must be of the

Science today



The first virus to be discovered, the Tobacco Mosaic Virus, magnified 130,000 times. Viruses can be so small because they parasitise the 'life processes' of other organisms

order of 100 nanometers (a nanometer (nm) is one thousand-millionth of a meter). But a cell of such small size would have little room for other cell components.

VIRUSES

The actual limit must therefore fall between 100 nm and the size of the smallest known cells which have diameters of about 300 nm with cell membrane thicknesses of some 8 nm. Even smaller organisms, the viruses, do exist but rely on other organisms to carry out their metabolic activity. Consequently they cannot really be considered as having an independent life.

Size is also a factor when it comes to considering the senses. The most sensitive olfactory equipment known is that of the silk moth Bombyx. Its antennae can detect just one, at most two, molecules of the sex pheromone Bombycol. They can thus detect down to the absolute limit, one molecule, of one very specific 'smell'. In the case of hearing, the lower limit of detection is when the sound becomes so faint that it is masked by the random motion of the molecules of the air. It is not known whether any animal hears the incessant dull rumble of this Brownian motion.

VISION

In the world of vision it is known that both vertebrate and insect eyes react to the impact of just one photon. However, the discrimination of different intensities of brightness and the ability to resolve fine detail are at odds, so the eye becomes a compromise between these two competing and necessary functions. Visual acuity is a function of how many light receptors can be packed into the retina and the wavelength of visible light. Most eyes also have a lens which helps by focusing the light from an image. The ideal eye would have a lens with a very low F number (see

any camera) and a high number of receptors. The Australian web-casting spider is remarkable in having a lens of F0.58, but in practice most animals have a receptor density too low to make lenses with an F-number below 4 of any extra advantage.

One of the most interesting areas where physical constraints on evolution are currently being investigated is on the maximum possible size of organisms. As a general rule if an organism is scaled up its weight increases disproportionately, thus an Elephant-sized animal cannot be just a scaled up horse or antelope. It needs to have much stronger pillar-like legs to support its more massive bulk. (This of course does not apply to aquatic animals such as whales whose bulk is supported by the medium they live in).

DINOSAURS

This problem is even further compounded when considering animals such as the extinct dinosaur 'Brachiosaurus' which was about 50 feet high and is estimated by some scientists to have weighed about 80 tonnes. (This is now dwarfed by 'Supersaurus' and 'Ultrasaurus'). Supporting such high weights means that the thickness of the animals' leg bones and associated muscles must increase dramatically, while the rest of the body is scaling up more normally. The question is, at what point does the animal become too unwieldy to survive? Examination of the limb bones of these dinosaurs indicates that they had not reached the limit of possible evolution.

Professor Alexander admits that the scope of his paper is limited in many areas by lack of knowledge of both physics and biology, but within the limits he has set himself he has outlined a new and interesting direction in evolutionary studies.

GOODISON GOAL-GLUT

Boycott SA athletes

SOUTH AFRICAN athlete Zola Budd arrived off a plane from her racist homeland on Thursday evening and will go straight into competition at Cosford this afternoon.

Budd returns to Britain after a long holiday in Bloemfontein. She bases herself here after being given preferential treatment by the Tory government, receiving British citizenship in 10 days back in 1984.

The 18-year-old middle distance runner arrives back just in time to get a ticket for Wembley to cheer on her compatriot Gerrie Coetzee when he meets Frank Bruno in a world heavyweight boxing eliminator in March.

Also there for that fight, presumably, will be the growing band of white South African Rugby Union players who are arriving here to play professional Rugby League.

England has indeed become the home of South African athletes who want to beat the successful international sports boycott because of their homeland's apartheid regime.

These athletes would be welcome if they signed a statement or made it known publicly that they would never return to South Africa as long as apartheid existed and condemned this degrading system.

None of them, despite frequent requests, are prepared to do this.

However, there is growing resentment to their arrival on these shores. Budd will not be made welcome, Rugby League fans are now up in arms at the importing of these renegades while a major campaign is being launched to get Bruno to pull out of his fight against Coetzee.

On Thursday night Jose Suliaman, president of



ZOLA BUDD

the World Boxing Council, attacked Bruno for even thinking about getting into the ring with Coetzee.

'It is a pity a boxer of Bruno's potential should not stand out against apartheid which affects his own people in South Africa,' Suliaman said.

The pressure is growing to have South Africa totally isolated in the world of sport.

On Wednesday night at the Alexandra Pavilion Funso Banjo 'mysteriously' pulled out of his scheduled bout with South African Ron Ellis hours before the fight. First excuses suggested that Banjo was injured.

But on Thursday Banjo made it quite clear why he decided not to fight. 'People from the anti-apartheid groups spoke to me but in the end it was down to me. It was my own decision to pull out,' he said defiantly. And even promoter Frank Warren, although angry at the late cancellation of the fight had to say: 'I respect the man's principles.'

Banjo has now set a great example for Bruno to follow. Banjo has broken the ice so to speak in the boxing ring. Promoters will now realise that they just cannot bring in South African boxers and expect British fighters to meet them.

Floyd does it again

CLYDACH featherweight Floyd Havard did it again at Alexandra Pavilion on Wednesday night when he won his second professional fight when he defeated Sugar Gibilry of Liverpool on points.

The score was 59½ to 58 (five of the six rounds) — a decisive victory but not impressive enough for his manager Garath Bevan.

'The Liverpool boy kept coming forward and although Floyd made him miss, he was not his usual self', Bevan told Workers Press. 'Boxers get their

off nights, but it is because it was his first London venue.'

Havard appeared on the same bill as Terry Marsh and Tony Sibson and mingling in that kind of company won't have done him any harm at all.

Floyd now looks forward to his third professional fight next month against an opponent to be announced.

GARY LINEKER and Graeme Sharp, with 39 goals between them for Everton, are the most prolific strike force in the Canon League.

So they must be confident of adding to their tally when they face Second Division Blackburn Rovers in the fourth round of the FA Cup at Goodison Park this afternoon.

Blackburn pulled off one of the big shocks of the third round when they drew 1-1 and then beat Nottingham Forest 3-2 in the replay at Ewood Park. But Everton, on their own ground, should be a different proposition with Lineker, 24 goals for his club and three for England, in particularly sharp form.

Another top marksman, 19-goal Trevor Senior of Reading, will be hoping to help the runaway Third Division leaders into the next round at the expense of Bury at Elm Park.

Reading have stronger motivation than usual. Bury were the first team to beat them in the League this season after they had gone 14 games without defeat.

Both Sheffield clubs are at home and should progress into the fifth round against lesser opposition. But Wednesday, who play Fourth Division Orient, must watch out for 16-goal Paul Shinner while United, who meet Derby County, will need to keep a special eye on Bobby Davison, who has 18 goals to his credit.

Ian McParland, who has scored 16 goals for Notts County, could be the big danger to Tottenham at Meadow Lane.

But the London club.

BY SHAUN PHILLIPS

who have lost three games running and conceded eight goals, must also watch out for County's other striker, 6ft, 5in Mick Waitt.

No doubt Spurs manager Peter Shreeve is worried. He took his entire first team squad to watch County draw 1-1 at Brentford on Tuesday evening.

First Division leaders Manchester United have been a little off-form in recent games and must be hoping that England captain Bryan Robson will be fit to play at Sunderland.

Enough

West Ham, beaten 3-1 at Liverpool on Saturday, will be striving to bounce back with a home win over Ipswich. Frank McAvennie, keen to add to his 20 goals, may have to outshine England defender Terry Butcher, who will be determined to make up for a bad game against Liverpool in the Milk Cup earlier this week.

Arsenal, at home to Rotherham, Aston Villa who meet Millwall at Villa Park, Luton, who play Bristol Rovers on their artificial pitch and Southampton, at home to



DANNY WALLACE will be chasing the goals for Southampton against Wigan



KERRY DIXON...hoping to add to his tally

Wigan, should all make further progress, but the most interesting fourth round tie may be at York.

Gola League club Altrincham are the visitors and after their 2-1 win over First Division Birmingham at St Andrews in the last round must fancy their chances.

York, who beat Arsenal in the FA Cup last season, have been up and down in their Third Division

games, so will not be complacent. York ought to win but the public will not be unhappy if the last non-League club in the competition survives.

Fifteen of the fourth round ties will be played on Saturday but the biggest match between Chelsea and Liverpool at Stamford Bridge will be televised live on Sunday.

Chelsea have been

showing superb form at home with Kerry Dixon and David Speedie banging in the goals and Pat Nevin producing tantalising form on the right wing.

Liverpool, however, will be quietly confident now that Ian Rush and Paul Walsh, their double strike-force, have hit form together, each scoring six goals in the last six games.

POOLS CHECK

FA CUP (fourth round)
(3pm unless stated)

Arsenal v Rotherham
Aston V v Millwall
Everton v Blackburn
Hull v Brighton
Luton v Bristol
Man C v Watford
Notts C v Tottenham
Peterbro v Carlisle
Reading v Bury
Sheffield U v Derby
Sheff W/West B v Orient
Sunderland v Man U
West Ham v Ipswich
York v B'ham/Altrincham.....

DIVISION I

Oxford U v Coventry.....

DIVISION II

Crystal P v Norwich C.....

DIVISION III

Bolton v Walsall.....

Bristol v Cardiff.....

Chesterfield v Gillingham.....

Newport v Plymouth.....

Swansea v Wolves.....

DIVISION IV

Burnley v Hereford.....

Cambridge v Port V.....

Chester v Torquay.....

Crewer v Northampton.....

Exeter v Wrexham.....

Mansfield v Aldershot.....

Rochdale v Hartlepool.....

SCOTTISH FA CUP
(Third round)

Aberdeen v Montrose.....

Arbroath v Clyde.....

Airdrieonians v Partick T.....

Ayr v Sten'smuir.....

Berwick v Alloa.....

Celtic v St Johnstone.....

Clydebank v Falkirk.....

Dundee U v Morton.....

E Fife v St Mirren.....

Midlothian v Rangers.....

Kilmarnock v Stirling.....

Motherwell v Brechin.....

Queen's P v Dumbarton.....

Nairn C v Dundee.....

SCOTTISH DIV II

Cow'beath v Queen of S.....

★ WELCOME TO

Workers Press

Saturday, 1 February
7.30 - Midnight

DISCO CABARET

★ BUFFET ★ LATE BAR ★

David Gareth Jones Theatre
Merseyside Trade Union, Community
& Unemployed Resources Centre
Hardman Street, Liverpool

★ TICKET £2
(Unwaged £1) ★