

# Workers Press

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Bobby Sands

By their friends ye shall know them

The news of the election of Bill Jordan as right wing leader of AUEW was due to be released at 12 noon on 29 May (Tuesday). By 10.30 am he was leaving urgent messages at Transport House for the new right-wing chairman of the T&GWU Brian Nicholson: 'Phone me urgently — Bill Jordan'.

# FREE CLASS WAR PRISONERS

100 years of May Day  
1886 - 1986

## A Workers Press statement

**THE WORKERS** Revolutionary Party sends greetings to revolutionaries and socialists world-wide on this, the one hundredth International Labour Day — May Day.

We call on the British working class to fulfil an historic responsibility: to secure the release of Irish Republican prisoners of war and of the miners jailed for the defence of their jobs and their union.

● Remember that 19 miners are still in jail more than a year after the end of the twelve-month strike.

● There are 31 Republicans serving sentences in England for their heroic defiance of the imperialist occupation of the six counties.

● Five prisoners are on remand — including Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson, victims of the brutal 'strip-search' torture.

● Eleven innocent men and women are incarcerated after being framed by the British police.

As Gerry Young of the Sinn Fein Prisoner of War Department told Workers Press:

'There are many similarities between the jailed miners and our own prisoners . . .

'The day is not too far off when not only the miners but other British political prisoners will be in jail alongside ours.'

Neither the miners nor any other worker will get justice from this Tory government. That is the single clearest lesson from the miners' fight: Thatcher's crisis-ridden government has declared war on the trade unions as surely as the ruling class seeks to destroy the Republican movement.

We call on the maximum support for the National Justice for Miners Campaign to mobilise workers and fight for a conception of class war prisoners in Britain.

The success of this campaign will determine the conditions under which a Labour government would come to power. It is an issue which is central to the whole battle against the Tory govern-

ment and against the right-wing Labour leaders.

They must never be allowed to forget these men and women. Take every opportunity at every gathering of the labour and trade union movement to demand their release.

Never again can we tolerate a spectre like the Shrewsbury building workers who were kept in jail by a newly-elected Labour government.

The Labour rights — Kinnock and the others — have come clean. They consider miners who fought for their rights to be common criminals. They have boasted that they will not repeal the anti-union laws of Thatcher and Tebbit.

Just as surely do they support the 'Anglo-Irish Accord' — a dirty deal between the Dublin government and British imperialism to try and hamstring the Republican movement.

There is no difference between these questions and their support for Reagan and Thatcher's attacks on Libya. If the oppressed of Africa and Ireland are 'terrorists' today, militant workers in Britain will be 'terrorists' tomorrow.

It was the Labour government who sent troops into the six counties in 1969.

But what of the 'lefts'? Where do Dennis Skinner, Eric Heffer, Jeremy Corbyn and the others stand on this? Would they not prefer to 'forget' this question?

Labour Party member and Scottish NUM general secretary Eric Clarke seeks the support of the SDP, Liberals and Scot-

tish Nationalists to 'pressurise' the NCB for reinstatement of sacked miners.

**But he has nothing to say about their jailed brothers.**

He is backed in this stand by Mick McGahey, Scottish NUM president and Communist Party member. They hope that the working class will forget, that the miners will rot in jail until quietly released — and that the question of the Republican prisoners is never raised at all.

Nothing could be more dangerous! Every retreat, every betrayal by the Labour and trade union leaders encourages the Tory attacks and strengthens the Kinnocks in their coalition plans.

A fighter in prison has no voice except the working class — he or she cannot be left to rot to avoid embarrassing cowardly labour leaders.

This fight is not 'merely' a British question. Every political defeat for the British ruling class is a gain for the oppressed world-wide. To struggle on these vital issues is to fulfil our international obligations.

### Monthly Fund

£559.97 received this week

April fund total is now £2090.28

### Legal Fund

£186.50 received this week

Total now £33,457.90

Send to:

Workers  
Revolutionary Party,  
21b Old Town,  
London SW4 0JT



The head of the 'Release the Jailed Miners' March from Edinburgh to London last year. Class war-prisoners must not be forgotten!

## Northern low-pay 'epidemic'

**THE Northern Low Pay Unit has published a report this week to mobilise the northern group of MPs in opposition to the Tory government wages bill, which goes a further stage in Parliament next week.**

Speaking at the T&GWU in Newcastle, Mr Al Rannie of the Low Pay Unit warned 'the illegal underpayment of wages in the Northern region is of epidemic proportions. We have a problem that is almost twice the national average.'

The Tory Wages Bill will reduce the number of wages inspectors in the North from ten to six. It will make it impossible to check on firms breaking the law.

The bill also removes 16 to 21-year olds from the legal protection of wages councils — youth will become vulnerable to underpayment of wages.

The report revealed massive exploitation of young workers on an unprecedented scale. Researchers estimate that millions of pounds are

being swindled from workers who are being paid below the rates set by councils. Many are not receiving their holiday entitlement.

Wages council inspectors are supposed to check firms out and, if necessary, prosecute them — but no one has been taken to court for the past three years.

In the North East area, the clothing industry, shops, cafes, and pubs came under particular attack in the report. The Low Pay Unit would not name the firms involved for fear of workers being sacked. Firms often close down and then re-open under different names elsewhere.

The report also gave the following examples:

1. A young cafe assistant working 48 hours a week received £30 — when the wage council rate was £64.
2. An 18 year-old shop assistant was being paid illegally out of the till and getting £18 less than the legal entitlement.

Other young workers

were not being paid holiday pay and overtime rates.

Al Rannie continued, 'Most people who work in Wage Council sectors are not in trade unions. If they threaten to go to the Wages Inspectors or to the Low Pay Unit they might be threatened with the sack.'

Unfortunately there is no legal protection for them in their first two years of employment against unfair dismissal. The employers are absolutely free to do as they wish.

'This problem is getting worse as more full time jobs disappear and part-time jobs come to the fore. There are about a quarter of a million people employed in the North in those jobs which come under the Wages Council.'

This means that they now have to work anything up to five years before they get any legal protection against unfair dismissal.

Britain will be the only industrial country in the world without statutory protection on wages and working conditions for

young people when the Tory government complete their plans to abolish the Wages Council protection for the 16 to 21-year olds in the coming period.

Massive cuts in the level of inspectors by as much as 40 per cent is planned. This will remove all protection for over half a million young workers; their statutory rights to paid annual holidays will disappear. The Truck Acts are to be removed from the Statute Books, allowing employers to deduct from wages any discrepancies in tills, etc.

The right of workers to receive wages in cash is abolished; payment by cheque into banks is to become the norm.

The Tories are to abolish at one stroke all previous legislation involving over 13 acts of Parliament and over 20 orders or parts of other legal enactments.

This will give the bosses powers to hire and fire at will and pay whatever wages rate they can impose on young workers.

# Lambeth Tories defeated

**THE TORY group in Lambeth were effectively prevented from taking control of the council last Friday night. This followed a High Court injunction served after an initiative from the trade unions and the local community.**

Throughout the preceding week both the trade unions and the community had been on tenterhooks as they waited to find out if the legal moves would succeed. The result was announced a few hours before the council meeting.

The Conservative group had been hoping to make a 13 per cent cut in the rate and to reverse the standing orders established by the disqualified Labour group which had prevented the Tories taking power in the period before the May 8 local elections.

In the event, the Tories were defeated by their own incompetence. The High Court ruled that, under the terms of the Local Government Act, they had not given enough notice of the proposals to be debated at the meeting.

The danger remained that the Tories, although unable to lower the rate, would reverse the standing orders and call another council meeting. This would enable them to carry out their attack on the community.

There was jubilation in the public galleries when the mayor, Kingsley Smith, ruled that the meeting was inquorate and therefore unable to discuss anything at all.

The Tories were left flat-

footed by this manoeuvre and forced to swallow an ignominious defeat.

Satisfaction was shown by a large lobby from the community that the great champions of law and order had been declared illegal and the great fans of politics through litigation had been defeated by their own courts.

The night was a triumph for the women from the community and trade unions of Lambeth, who played the leading role in organising the mass lobby. They were prepared to stop the meeting themselves by nonviolent means if the injunctions had failed.

The Lambeth community as a whole was involved in the opposition to the Tories, through the presence of a large contingent of disabled people, pensioners, members of tenants associations and community groups, as well as trade unionists and members of the Labour Party.

The attempted witch-hunt by the press, involving accusations of the 'Lambeth rent-a-mob', was totally discredited by the nature of those who turned up on the night. It must be very difficult, even for the 'Evening Standard', to describe a group in wheel-chairs as Lambeth thugs.

It must also be difficult, even for the Healy rump, to describe a government under which the courts are prepared to give a judgment which clobbers the Lambeth Tory group, a Bonapartist dictatorship where Thatcher controls the courts and rules by decree.



**GRAHAM HENEGHAN (left) and SYLVIA BURTON (second from left) outside last Saturday's national rally in central London in support of striking domestics at Addenbrookes Hospital, Cambridge.**

Their seventeen-month struggle against privatisation has been abandoned by the leadership of COHSE and NUPE, who cut off their strike pay in February after the strikers refused to accept an ACAS deal.

This sell-out agreement was signed by Keith Taylor of COHSE and Eddie Bradin of NUPE who — after achieving nothing — said that nothing more could be achieved.

There is anger amongst the domestics who have stood on the picket line for

seventeen months making great sacrifices to win the dispute, enduring insults and abuse. They have received nothing from their leadership except pressure to end the strike.

When this leadership tried to force them to accept other jobs in Addenbrookes and Fulbourn hospitals they replied: 'We came out on strike for a clean hospital, not for other jobs.'

In March they occupied the Cambridge Health Authority headquarters and have stubbornly continued to draw attention to their dispute.

Graham Heneghan, a hospital porter who lost his job because of his support for the domestics, said recently 'When I drive around the country with Sylvia Burton

from meeting to meeting, eyes jerking from sleep while at the wheel, along never-ending motorways, exhausted from lack of union support, I know who is responsible for keeping us tired.

NUPE's Rodney Bickerstaffe is an expert speaker on low pay, but what's the point when he's not committed to supporting the struggles of low paid workers!

COHSE's head David Williams has become sterile in complacency and Hickson lost in rhetoric. . . . they 'are blocking ordinary working people from becoming politically conscious; they undermine struggle and pull the plug on action — the biggest betrayal of any union.'

● The meeting was not

helped by one of the organisers, Ian Harrison of Bloomsbury NALGO, who decided to exclude members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, not because of their position on the struggle in the National Health Service but because they had expelled former member G Healy, with whom Harrison is in political agreement, for sexual abuse of female members.

We understand, however, that this was done against the wishes of the Addenbrookes workers. We will do all that we can to support the dispute.

All donation and messages of support should be sent to: Addenbrookes Strike Committee, Addenbrookes Hospital, Hills Road, Cambridge.

## MINER'S MAY DAY MESSAGE

**BILLY ETHERINGTON**, general secretary of the Durham Mechanics (NUM) and the national convener of the Justice for Miners Campaign,



Billy Etherington

has spoken to Workers Press with a May Day message and greetings.

'The Durham Miners still have eighty sacked and victimised men plus nine still in jail.

'Despite there having been over 60 industrial tribunal hearings which have recommended reinstatement of our sacked men by the NCB, so far only a handful have been taken back on.

'Since it was the NCB themselves who directed the NUM to use these tribunals instead of our own conciliation procedures, their attitude is little short of deplorable when they now refuse to accept their decisions.

'It is obvious that the NCB criterion is to use our sacked members by victimising them as a deterrent to the whole of the NUM.

'It is totally immoral to

treat individuals in this way considering the hardship and heartbreak this causes. There is also the financial plight of these members to consider, as we do not want them to become martyrs to the cause.

'I would ask that all trade unionists and socialists join the Justice for Miners Campaign and help us to gain the reinstatement of our members and to raise the much-needed money to relieve their hardship.

'Indeed there only crime, if it could be so described, was to fight to save their industry.

'This is TUC and Labour party policy as well as the duty of all NUM members. It must also not be forgotten that we still have miners in jail.

'In the majority of cases they received vicious and unjustified sentences for re-

latively trivial offences. These sort of sentences have so far been directed at strikers.

'Far worse offences were committed by those who worked throughout the strike or who returned to work before the end of the strike. They received either suspended sentences or fines. This is not justice.'

'When you march this weekend on your May Day rallies, remember the jailed and sacked miners. Over 500 miners are today victimised for fighting for jobs and their trade union.

'Get your trade union branch or workplace to adopt a jailed miner or sacked miner and his family. Affiliate to the justice campaign.

● The Justice for Miners Campaign, 26 The Avenue, Durham DH1 4ED.

## Officials halt Fords strike

**STRIKE action by fifty paint shop workers in defence of two women recruits at Fords Dagenham PTA plant has been ended by union officials and the plant leadership.**

The two women were among 250 new recruits taken on by Fords after 3,000 applied for jobs advertised. Fords employed a special agency to vet the references and applications.

The womens' applications were accepted following interviews but, before their month's probation was completed, both women were sacked without explanation. They were marched off the premises without union representation.

Both of the women are former shop stewards. Fords claim that they have qualifications that they failed to enter on their application forms.

The women took their case

to the 1/1107 T&GWU branch, the biggest in Dagenham, and received its backing.

The 50 workers stopped work, demanding reinstatement but both the T&GWU officials and the plant convener persuaded the men to return. An appeal for unfair dismissal is to be made.

Barking MP Jo Richardson has taken the case to the House of Commons, tabling an Early Day Motion which has received 50 signatures in support.

Trade unionists in the plant see the dismissals as part of a growing crack-down on union activity in Fords. A part of this was the recent pay-deal with its drastic productivity and efficiency clauses.

Already, some areas have had their workloads increased by twenty per cent — and thousands of jobs are threatened in the rationalisation.

## Fleet Street Support Group set up

By Alan Clarke

**FLEET STREET** print-workers from SOGAT, NGA, AUEW and EET-PU have set up their own support unit.

At the inaugural meeting on Tuesday April 29, about 60 members, many of them sacked from News International or printers from the Telegraph and Express, decided to publish a leaflet asking for physical support

from the rest of Fleet Street.

Speaker after speaker condemned the union leaderships for keeping the strike at a low key from the very beginning and told how the unions never intended this to be a major dispute.

Other speakers explained how they were not only fighting Murdoch but the national union leaders who seemed to have no will to win the fight.

The meeting also heard from SOGAT members in

Eric Bemrose Ltd (Liverpool) who print colour magazines for Murdoch's papers as well as other Fleet Street titles.

They told the meeting that their members had rejected a call not to print Murdoch's colour magazines because the union leadership had treated them really badly over a recent dispute of their own.

They were told to get back to work after taking strike action and were warned by

the union that they would sack themselves if they voted for industrial action over Murdoch's magazine.

The meeting agreed to elect a 12-man steering committee to prepare a fuller leaflet on the aims of the support unit and a statement on the Bemrose situation.

● The next meeting of the Fleet Street Support Unit will be on May 13, St Bride's Institute, Fleet Street, 7.00 pm.



# TERRY'S DEFIANT MESSAGE THEY CAN'T BEAT ME

'YES, it's hard being a miner in prison. We don't seem to fit into the regime on either side of the fence and our isolation is all the more pronounced. But every so often I get a letter from a child thanking me for fighting for a future for them, and then it all becomes worthwhile and I know they can't beat me.'

This is the courageous message from jailed miner Terry French that appears in the April issue of the NUM newspaper 'The Miner'.

## Fight

A letter from Terry states: 'My message to all British miners is simply this: Fight or perish, the choice is yours.' He explains the world of difference between the suspicion and distrust of prison life and the warm spirit of a mining community.

'Friendship means nothing in here, it's treated with contempt and is seen as a weakness. I live in a world of continual lies and mistrust which, because of my isolation from people of my own kind, is starting to manifest itself in me.'

'To survive I have had to become selfish and deceitful and I hate myself for it. I've found myself doubting even what my wife and friends tell me at times.'

'The physical hardships are nothing compared with what I've just described. The dirt, the stench, the cockroaches crawling on your bed, the rats running in the dining hall, pissing and shitting in a bucket, listening to the rattle of keys on the other side of a locked iron door, trips to the local hospital in handcuffs — all this I can contend with. But to attempt to destroy the trust I have in my fellow man is something I will never forgive them for,' writes Terry.

He describes how he is 'treated with mistrust' by warders, and lost ten days remission and spent three days in a punishment cell, for the 'heinous crime' of smuggling letters to his wife.

'Unfortunately the authorities have never been able to comprehend just how much I love my wife and have labelled me as a subversive for daring to write to her more than the regulations allow.'

Terry's message is one of defiance rather than despair, though. 'The governor here thinks I'm standoffish, what he doesn't realise is that

it is contempt I'm showing for him and his staff.'

Last year the Workers Revolutionary Party organised a major campaign for the release of the jailed miners, including a march from Edinburgh to London and a subsequent lobby of the TUC at Blackpool.

## Signal

Shortly after that, of necessity, we turned inwards due to the political crisis we faced following the split with G Healy and his supporters. But whatever second thoughts this may have caused us to have about our tactics during the jailed miners campaign, the principle we fought for — that the whole working-class movement had to fight for their release — was 100 per cent correct.

Since then we have participated in the national 'Justice for Miners' campaign, playing an active role in the Christmas vigil at Durham jail and the national demonstration last month.

Terry French's letter in 'The Miner' must be a signal to us all to redouble our efforts to raise this issue throughout the working-class movement. It must be at the forefront on this weekend's May Day demonstrations.

# Solsgirth mine: the facts

A REPORT in Workers Press of January 8, on the victimised miners' campaign, suggested quite wrongly that miners at Solsgirth did not go to the aid of one of their work-mates who was injured, because they were more concerned about maintaining work on the face in order to earn bonus.

This report was completely wrong and for Workers Press to have published it without checking with the men involved was inexcusable. May we offer our unreserved apologies to the Solsgirth miners for the distress this may have caused.

## Truth

What happened during the incident in question was that a man was injured by a roof-prop falling on him. Men from a back-up team who were nearest to the injured man took him up the pit, while men came off the face team to repair the roof.

NUM members at Solsgirth have also complained that the report gave the impression that unlimited amounts of overtime were being worked at the pit. We are happy to point out that Solsgirth was one of the most solid pits in Britain during the strike and continues to be firm in its support for the union.

# BOLTON CHALLENGED FOR SCOTTISH NUM POST

BY SIMON PIRANI

VICTIMISED miner David Hamilton, a Labour party member and Monktonhall pit delegate is challenging George Bolton, the Euro-Stalinist, for the vice-presidency of the Scottish area National Union of Mineworkers.

Bolton, national chairman of the Communist Party, seems certain to be re-elected to the post — partly, say Labour Party miners, because Hamilton has not had an adequate chance to express his views.

The candidacy of Hamilton, a leading activist in the Lothian victimised mens' organisation, has ensured that the issue of the 125 Scottish miners still sacked has been central to the election.

The election is carried out by a 'financial vote' — that is, NUM branch meetings are held to decide how the votes of all branch members are cast. But conditions in the Scottish coalfield mean that such traditional methods of trade union democracy are not satisfactory, say many NUM activists.

Only eleven pits are still working in Scotland, and most miners are 'bussed' to work, often 30 miles or further, from pit villages deprived of their pits by closures.

NUM branch meetings are held on Sundays in miners' clubs which are difficult to get to — often impossible without private transport. Unless an issue of special

concern is on the agenda, many miners, even those active in the strike, do not travel to their meetings.

In a number of pits there is a danger of the election passing almost un-noticed. A single poster announcing the election has been sent to each branch, but no leaflets or information on the candidates. Publication of the 'Scottish Miner' has stopped due to 'financial difficulties'.

The fact that Hamilton is a sacked miner works against him in a number of ways.

Firstly, Bolton has recently visited all pits in his capacity as a full-time union official — something Hamilton, as a sacked former NCB employee, cannot do. At the 'cosmopolitan' Scottish pits where men arrive by bus, the option of leafleting at the gate is not available.

Secondly, CP members have used the scurrilous argument that, as a sacked man, Hamilton would not be recognised by the National Coal Board in negotiations.

They have even suggested that, because a short biographical statement submitted by Hamilton does not mention the sacked miners' campaign, he is not bothered about them! Hamilton is himself a sacked miner, who spent 64 days in jail during the strike.

A recent meeting of Labour Party miners was unanimous in the opinion that the issues in this election have not come out in the open, Comrie NUM chairman Bob Young told Workers Press. 'We also felt very



BOLTON

strongly that Bolton was taking advantage of Davie Hamilton not being able to go on Coal Board property.'

Which way to vote? Neither the Labour Party leaders nor those in the Communist Party have any intention of fighting for a socialist economic policy of nationalising major industries, in which the coal industry could flourish again.

The Labour leadership's 'alternative economic strategy' would only provide bankrupt British capitalism with the window-dressing of a 'national investment bank' and a programme of public works. It includes the reactionary and nationalist notion that by limiting overseas investment and selective import controls, the crisis-stricken British ruling class could be

sheltered from the world crisis and the falling price of oil.

The biggest supporters of all this — which spells continuing closures and 'belt-tightening' throughout industry, are the Communist Party. Wyper, Bolton and others made it clear at the Scottish TUC that they will be doing their best to make trades unionists fall in behind a Labour government.

In that sense, there is nothing to choose between the Labour Party and Communist Party.

But in the Scottish coalfield, miners will remember that during the strike the Bolton-McGahey leadership used the Edinburgh office as a base for anti-Scargill operations, opposing mass picketing, collaborating with scabbing deals to keep coal going to Ravenscraig, and trying to limit the strike to a protest.

After the strike, Bolton argued that Scargill was to 'blame' and is now focussing the hopes of the victimised men on a Labour government — despite repeated statements from Kinnock that some will not get their jobs back.

A miner like Davie Hamilton, who was active on the picket lines and strike centres, and since then in the victimised mens' campaign, is infinitely preferable to Bolton the die-hard bureaucrat, craven class collaborator and a far more faithful servant of Kinnock than of the Scottish miners.

# WELSH NUM VISITS IRELAND

THE NATIONAL Union of Mineworkers, in a gesture of appreciation to Irish workers for their support during last year's coal strike, sent over the South Wales Miners' Choir from Onllyn in Dulais Valley.

The 55-strong choir, who last visited Ireland in 1926 to

raise funds during the British 1926 General Strike, performed in Liberty Hall, Dublin, on Saturday April 26.

They then performed in Connolly Hall, Cork, on Sunday April 27 and moved onto Waterford the following day. *An Phoblacht* April 24 1986

## RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

**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, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

**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.

**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 — Affray, attempted not guilty (judge refused to allow change of plea) 21 months.

**ANTHONY RUTHERFORD:** 24 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

**JOHN ROBINSON:** 21 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

**GARY BLACKMORE:** 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody.

**ANTHONY HOWE:** 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 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, Ackington Jail, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF.

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

# PASS LAWS MAY END BUT NOT APARTHEID

LAST WEEK, the South African government published a white paper which proposes abolition of the infamous pass laws, a legislative cornerstone of the apartheid edifice.

The repeal of the pass laws means, theoretically, that any black South African will be able to find work and live in an urban area, provided that he or she can find a home and a job.

The Botha government is ending Section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act which denied the right to live in an urban area to any African who was not born there, unless he had lived there continuously or had served under the same employer for ten years.

This was the law which split husbands and wives if only one of them qualified under the act — one of apartheid's more glorious achievements.

It was also the law under which millions of Africans were continuously harassed, with arrests at times reaching 600,000 per year which would result in the offender being sent back to the tribal 'homelands' if he did not qualify.

However, the Group Areas Act, which defines specific areas where the different racial groups are allowed to live, is to remain untouched.

This act, and the lack of



The feature of the 'Urban Areas Act' which designates certain areas as black 'townships' - like Alexandra and the giant Soweto near Johannesburg - is still to remain.

voting rights for blacks, are now the two main planks of apartheid legislation, assisted by a myriad of other regulations.

'Population registration' into racial groups and the registration of blacks into their tribal groups continues.

The government's future policy on the tribal 'homelands' is unclear and citizens of the four 'independent' tribal 'homelands' — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei — will still be subject to pass law controls and 'immigration' legislation under the Aliens Act.

The feature of the Urban Areas Act which designates certain areas as black 'townships' — like Alexandra and the giant Soweto near Johannesburg — is still to remain.

So pass law harassment may be reduced — but it is by no means the end of apartheid for the millions of blacks who live under it.

● On the same day as the White Paper was published, the Minister for Law and Order was given sweeping powers to declare a state of emergency in any area without using the term 'emergency'.

**Arms deal general threatens to tell**

A retired Israeli general, charged by America with running arms to Iran, has claimed his government knew all about it, and threatened he'll tell all about their involvement, unless they do something to help him get off.

The officer, Avraham Bar-am was arrested in Bermuda on April 21, in a trap set by US investigators.

With him were Israeli arms dealers Guri and Israel Eisenberg, and William Northrop, a member of the American arms-and-aircraft Northrop family.

Five more arrests were made in New York.

According to US officials, American, Israeli, British, French, Greek and West German citizens were involved in a \$2 billion scheme to sell US planes, tanks and missiles to Iran.

Chief prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani said the proposed sale had been 'mindboggling in scope'.

The scheme was to involve using fake 'end-user' certificates to conceal the real destination of the arms, which were to be shipped via Israel. Hundreds of F-4 and F-5 jet fighters and more than 15,000 air-to-air or wire-guided missiles were involved.

There has speculation in Israel that arms shipments to Iran were being resumed, possibly linked to a deal with the Khomeini regime for Iranian Jews to be flown to Israel. There have also been unexplained night-landings by American military transport planes.

Israeli strategy has generally favoured backing Iran — not only under their ally the Shah, and notwithstanding Khomeini's vociferous 'anti-Zionism' — as a counterweight to Arab power.

But there were recent reports that Iraq's Ba'athist regime had put out feelers, proposing to moderate its anti-Israel stance in return for help, such as military intelligence, against the Iranians.

# Woman's murder linked to land-deal racket

THE MURDER of an Israeli woman business consultant may be connected with ongoing attempts to stop investigation of major land-frauds in the occupied West Bank.

If so, it is the second murder linked to the land racket, in which leading Zionist politicians have been implicated.

Zahava Ben-Ovadia was found shot in her office in East Jerusalem a week ago. Although taken to hospital, she died a few hours later.

Police have so far failed to offer a motive for the killing. But it is known that Ms. Ben-Ovadia specialised in land deals, advising Palestinians in occupied Jerusalem and the West Bank.

A few months ago a Palestinian journalist who had been looking into the land deals racket was found murdered in a ditch.

Soon after Menachem Begin's right-wing Likud government came to power in 1977 it began encouraging private Israeli individuals and companies to buy land in the occupied territories. Some American and British investors were also solicited to get involved in these deals.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

It became known that Arab farmers were being subject to extortion and violence to pressure them into selling, and that middlemen also used fraud and counterfeit deeds to pull off highly profitable deals. In several cases, Palestinians only learned their land had been 'sold' when Zionist settlers appeared on it!

During the Likud government from 1977-84, police investigations were blocked. One conscientious Israeli police officer, an Arabic-speaking Sephardi Jew, tried to look into the land frauds and the activity of armed right-wing settler groups, and was sacked.

One case did reach court, only for charges against the land speculator to be suddenly dropped, and the judge told to forbid any publication of details. A key file mysteriously disappeared from a locked safe in the Tel Aviv District Court.

Last August, land dealer Ahmed Oden was detained

for a month, then released after reportedly agreeing to turn state evidence. Several Israelis were arrested, charged with fraud involving forged signatures on land deeds.

Some potential witnesses were able to leave the country, including brothers Moshe and Yigal Gindi, whose building company was named in what's known as the 'Jumbo Affair'.

According to Knesset members Yossi Sarid and Dedi Zucker, the Jumbo company used government institutions to help bring off 'a fraud of colossal proportions'.

Starting in July 1981, it sold plots of land it didn't own in the village of Obidieh, near Bethlehem, enticing buyers with promises of a country club complete with swimming pool and riding stables.

The Jumbo company's lawyer — prominent Likud Knesset member Rabin Milo — claimed the allegations were 'wildly exaggerated'.

In January this year, as police continued to question suspects ranging from village mukhtars (headmen) to bank-managers and high-ranking occupation officials, it was revealed in court that a senior political figure was involved.

The unnamed politician had met then deputy Agriculture Minister Michael Dekel and land speculator Shmuel Einav, just before the 1984 elections, to discuss ways of soliciting funds from land dealers for the Likud party.

With investigations threatening the already crisis-hit Likud (whose last congress erupted in punch-ups between rival factions), and the Labour party itself divided whether to break its coalition agreement with them, the land-fraud scandal is an explosive issue.

There are powerful figures involved, and they are likely to be no more scrupulous about how they try to silence witnesses and the courts than any other political party.

**Workers Revolutionary Party**

**PUBLIC LECTURES**

**The General Strike, 1926**

May 9 — G. Pilling

**The Trotskyist movement in World War II**

May 16 — Bill Hunter

May 23 — Tom Kemp

**Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, NW1**

**7.30pm sharp**

Workers Press

# ORGANISE THE UNEMPLOYED

**THE National Conference of Trades Unions Unemployed Centres, which met in Liverpool on April 11, marked a significant step forward in forging links between the unemployed and trades unions across the country.**

The conference, attended by over 100 delegates representing about 30 centres in England and Scotland, showed virtual unanimity around four basic points.

1. The need for trades unionists to step up the campaign for unionisation of the unemployed, with reduced subs, into all TUC-affiliated unions. Those recruited would be eligible to hold office at all levels of their union.

2. The need to develop the TUC Unemployed Centres as campaigning centres to link employed and unemployed struggles around such demands as 'Work or full pay', programmes of public works to provide jobs on full pay, and planned training to prevent job losses due to changes in demand. (Points contained in the Merseyside Campaign against Unemployment Charter.)

3. The need to build a national unemployed workers movement based on such aspects as (a) the development of local/regional unemployed centre co-ordinating committees, (b) the campaign to establish unemployed sub-committees within the county associations of trades councils, and forge them into the legitimate channels to the region-

In this article guest contributor NICK PHILLIPS, an unemployed T&GWU member, reports on a recent conference in Liverpool which discussed the problems of organising the unemployed in trade unions.

He goes on to discuss the broader issue of linking employed and unemployed workers — and of the responsibility of revolutionaries in this field.

al TUC, (c) establishing a TUC national standing committee on unemployment with representation from the centres as a means of formulating policies and strategies for the TUC to adopt.

4. The need to expand the one fund for all campaigns throughout the country.

This campaign involves making trades unions unemployed centres financially independent by urging trades unions from work-place level upwards to pay a regular levy. The money would then be distributed amongst a particular grouping of centres (e.g. those in the London area) by a management committee comprising representatives of the local labour movement who had contributed to the fund.

Typically, while the TUC representative at the meeting (Ralph Don, National Organiser, TUC services for the unemployed) showed a guarded support for these initiatives, he offered little hope that the TUC would actively campaign around them or would take the lead in any way.

His basic offer was that the TUC would distribute their survey on Trades Unions current policies on recruitment, then leave it up to the centres themselves to act upon the findings as they wished.

These findings when released will undoubtedly show that the vast majority

of the 90-odd TUC affiliated unions prevent the unemployed from becoming members.

The only marked steps forward have been in the T&GWU and the GMBATU where rank and file pressure assisted by some sympathetic regional officials has made some headway.

The GMBATU has set up a special executive sub-committee to look into ways of changing its rules so as to recruit the unemployed, though this sub-committee is dragging its heels at the moment.

Meanwhile the T&GWU has actively recruited the unemployed in certain branches (most notably in Liverpool and London).

## Rules

This has been done mainly by exploiting loopholes in the union's rules, though it is hoped that the rules changes conference in June will make unemployed recruitment official policy, at least for under 21s.

The overall reticence of union officials to develop such policies however is understandable. The influx of large numbers of unemployed people into the union poses a threat to their attempts to maintain trades unions as bureaucratically controlled instruments.

The trade unions

bureaucracy is able to some extent to feed off and fuel the fears of employed people who are themselves wary of the effects on their own jobs of an injection of militant unemployed people attempting to commit unions to industrial action not just to protect existing jobs but to create new ones.

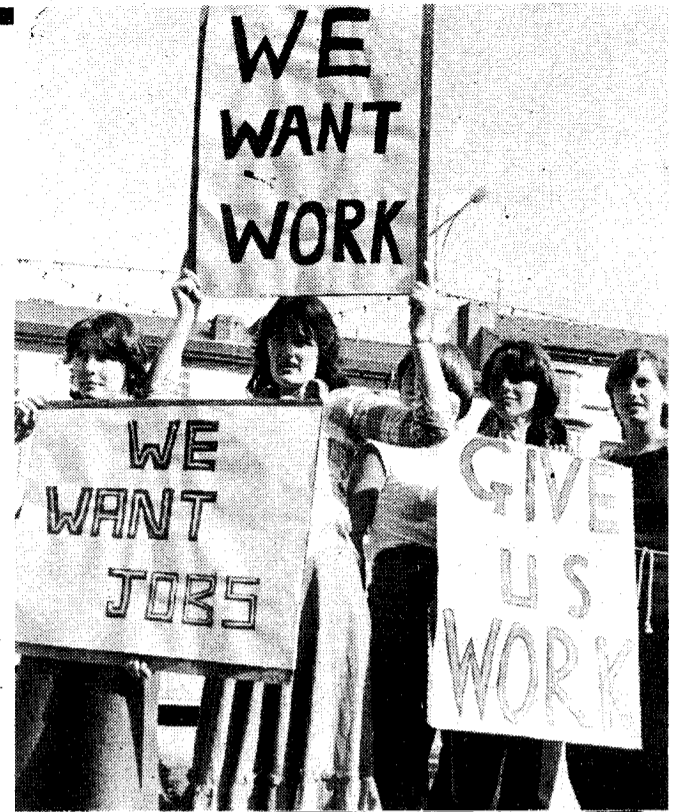
As the Liverpool conference has shown, there is a considerable body of trades unionists committed to convincing the employed and the unemployed that their struggles are indivisibly linked.

This is of course encouraging. The dismaying aspect is though that without the consistent input of the revolutionary left these struggles are destined to be severely limited in their challenge to the crisis of capitalism which must be constantly highlighted as the cause of the epoch of mass unemployment.

Currently the majority of trades unionists involved in the unemployed centres movement are either left-wing Labour Party or Communist Party members. While many of these activists may be converted to a revolutionary perspective in the course of their activity, Marxists must stand aside and hope for such a spontaneous conversion.

Sadly, this is what is happening at the moment. While some groups, such as Socialist Organiser, Workers Power and the Socialist Group carry regular articles on the need to organise the unemployed, these are often at best only lip-service and at worst contain dangerous elements of sectarianism.

This is conspicuous in Workers Power's call for an 'independent' unemployed



Unemployed workers — must be linked with the employed

union organisationally separate from existing trade unions.

Rightly, the Liverpool conference explicitly rejected such proposals having learned the lessons of similar CP-led initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s and seen the isolation of the unemployed from the labour movement which that caused.

In that period, the growth of fascism was able to rely on the support of millions of petty-bourgeois and lumpen elements which were attracted because the labour movement seemed to offer them no positive alternative.

The degenerate state of Stalinism and social democracy world-wide assured that a mighty United Front of labour which could have presented a rival pole of attraction did not materialise. Today, as the crisis deepens, the problem poses itself even more acutely.

In Britain and indeed world-wide, the trade unions, still the principal organs of the labour movement, are being weakened by the loss of thousands of members due to unemployment.

Thus, while organised labour led by a revolutionary party still plays the vanguard role in any revolutionary socialist movement, the role of those it draws behind it becomes all the more crucial.

The unemployed could act at best as an invaluable sup-

port and at worst as a counter-revolutionary force which could severely impede any revolutionary development.

Which way these forces turn depends largely on whether the labour movement attempts to integrate them into its ranks. And for this to happen a massive challenge to the TUC's attempts to block such a move must be mounted.

The left cannot just hope that this challenge will be met by a mixture of Stalinists, reformists and non-aligned socialists like those at the Liverpool conference, however sincere and committed many of these individuals may be.

## Class

The issue is not one of looking for new vanguards but one of recognising the need to strengthen qualitatively and quantitatively the existing vanguard — the organised working class.

If the left cannot recognise the imperative nature of this task, and the role of organising the unemployed within the unions as a part of it, then we may all have to suffer the consequences.

Linked to this is, of course, the need for a principled regroupment of the revolutionary left in order to thrash out policies and tactics on this and the many other issues which face the international working class today.



Fascist storm troopers march on the Berlin headquarters of the Communist Party, January 22, 1933. The dangers of ignoring the unemployed are only too clear

**TIOC FAIDH AR LA!**  
(Bobby Sands, 1981)

**COMMEMORATIVE RALLY**  
Saturday May 10 1986  
2pm - 7pm



**BOBBY SANDS MP**  
MAY 5th 1981  
5th anniversary

**Conway Hall**  
Red Lion Square  
London WC1

**MUSIC - VIDEOS  
BOOKSTALLS**

Speakers include  
**Jim McAllister**  
 Sinn Féin elected  
representative, South Armagh

**Bob Doyle**  
 Irish veteran of the International Brigade  
Other speakers from Irish community and black, labour and trade union movement



**JAMES CONNOLLY**  
MAY 12th 1916  
70th anniversary

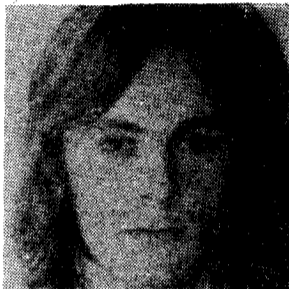
**WE SHALL RISE AGAIN!**  
(James Connolly, 1916)

# FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR!

Dr. MAIRE O'Shea, who recently defeated an attempt by the state to frame her under the PTA, will be speaking at a public meeting on May 15th to launch the 'Free the Guildford Four!' campaign.

The Guildford Four, Carole Richardson, Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong and Gerard Conlon, were framed for bombings in Guildford and Woolwich in 1974.

Responsibility for these bombs was claimed by the 'Balcombe Street' IRA active service unit whose



PAUL HILL

arrest the following year coincided with the ending of the bombing campaign.

The 'Balcombe Street' men refused to defend themselves and spent all their time and efforts in court proving that it was they who had caused the Guildford and Woolwich explosions. They explained in detail how they did it.

In spite of this the appeal court refused to allow the Guildford Four a jury retrial.

They have now spent twelve years in jail and have been subjected to especially severe treatment.

Paul Hill has spent a total of four years in solitary confinement. After a recent visit, which was constantly disrupted by the screws, his sister said that he was looking gaunt and was unwell.

## Windows

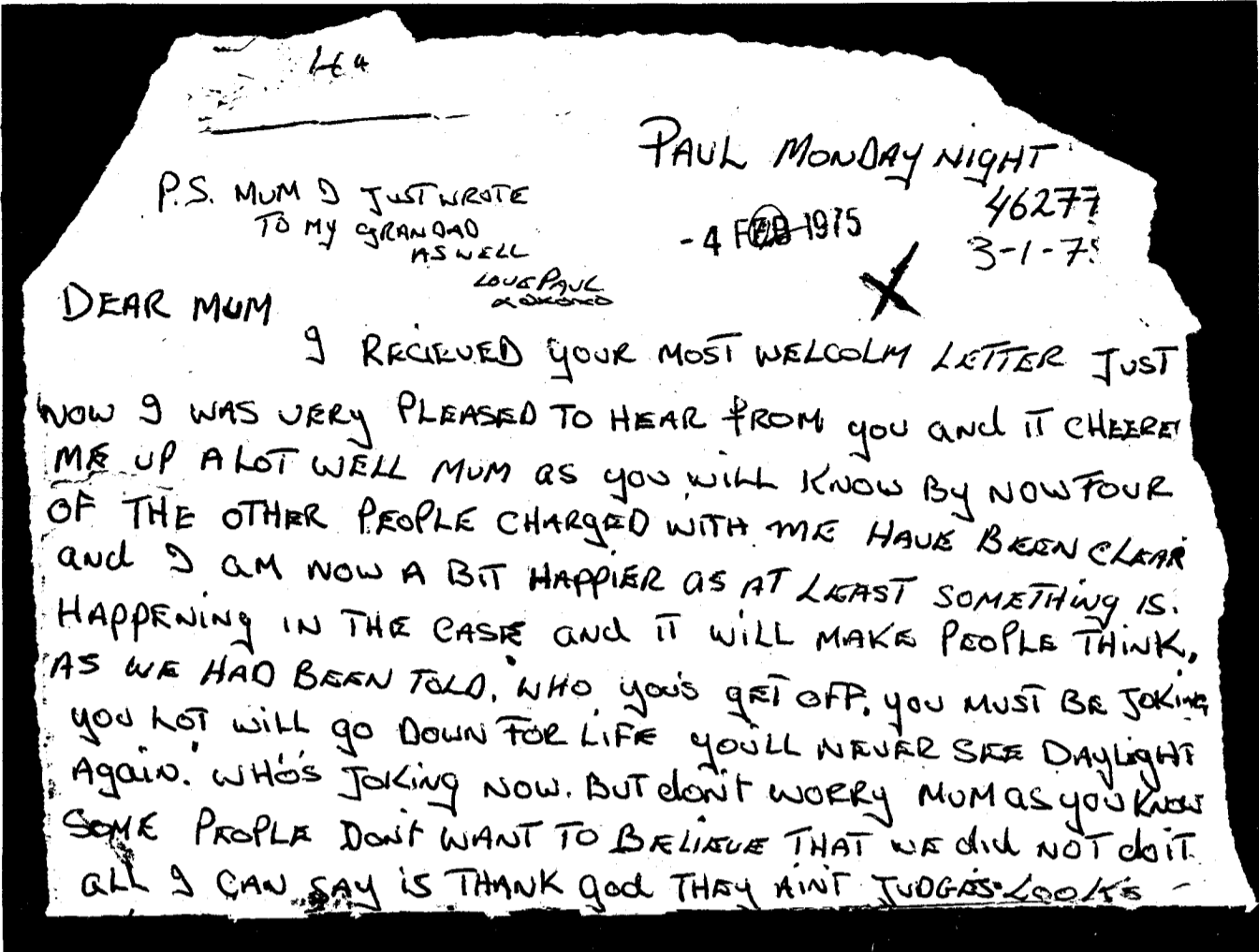
It is known that during his stay in Winchester jail the prison authorities refused to repair several broken window panes in his cell during the whole of the winter.

During the summer they turned the heating up, and yet for reasons of 'cost' he is now being refused an overcoat despite his constant complaints of being cold.

The method used by successive British governments in reply to any action of the Republican movement has been simply to lift any Irish person they can lay their hands on and force a confession out of them.

When he was first arrested, Paul was strip-searched every half hour. A light was constantly kept on in his cell, he was severely beaten and appeared in court with his face badly marked.

Sometimes simple asso-



The Guildford four were framed: the police, the Home Office and all those involved know this. This is just one of a series of frame-ups of Irish people by the British state using the Prevention of Terrorism Act and conspiracy laws. Paul was the first person to be detained under the PTA when its reign of terror began in 1974. He has always maintained his innocence as is shown in this letter to his mother in 1975.

ciation with people of Irish descent is good enough, as in the case of Carol Richardson who was a friend of Patrick Armstrong.

Once having secured a 'confession' they then proceeded to implicate the victim's family and friends.

Gerard Conlon's father, for instance, came to England to see what had happened to his son. He subse-

quently found himself sentenced to prison for the Birmingham bombings. He died while in prison.

This was a man who had suffered all his life from tuberculosis and as a result had been unable to work.

Nonetheless, in prison he was set to work first in the woodwork shop and then, just to finish him off, in the paint shop.

On the day he died, the prison authorities sent a cynical message to his wife saying that they had released him.

A number of groups, including the Workers Revolutionary Party, are co-operating in the campaign to secure the release of these innocent people who are hostages of the British state. We urge every supporter and

reader of the Workers Press to support the campaign.

The meeting is at 7.30 on Thursday May 15 at the Carlton Centre, Granville Road, Kilburn, London, NW6.

For further information, please contact: Free the Guildford Four Campaign, BM BOX 6944, London WC1 N3XX.

## REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, S Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ  
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.

MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119077.

GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.

ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.

PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

### PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.

HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.

PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.

JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.

STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence, 758663.

JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119073.

### ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119035.

SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.

TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence.

### WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks, WF2 9AG

ANTHONY CLARKE: 14-year sentence, 726381.

SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.

CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.

### GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 07-year sentence, B32954.

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, L31888.

RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.

BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.

BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.

### HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.

PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.

### FRANKLANDS

VINCENT DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

### WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Rd, London W12 0AE

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence, 879225.

### REMAND PRISONERS

#### BRIXTON

HM Prison Brixton, PO Box 369, Jubb Ave, London SW2 5XF

MARTINA ANDERSON

ELLA O'DWYER

GERRY McDONNELL

PETER SHERRY

PAT McGEE

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

CAROLE RICHARDSON,

PATRICK ARMSTRONG,

GERARD CONLON, PAUL HILL,

JUDITH WARD, HUGH

CALLAGHAN, JOHN WALKER,

BILLY POWER, GERARD

HUNTER, RICHARD McILKENNY,

PADDY HILL.

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

## Science news

# Company information systems

MANY big corporations have spent huge sums of money building up large computerised systems to improve their information systems. But these very systems can become a weight around their necks when they wish to enlarge or change the nature of their business.

This is because their systems are either incompatible with other systems or are unable to cope with new work problems.

In some cases it has not been possible to expand production and mergers or acquisitions have been called off as the computer systems involved have proved too inflexible to work together.

The planned merger between the Nationwide and Woolwich building societies was recently stopped at the last minute for the stated reason that the Woolwich thought its system was more advanced than the Nation-

wide's and that to integrate the two would take so many years and cost so much that the planned benefits of the merger would be unachievable for at least a decade.

Another problem is with the actual software itself. It needs to be written off like any capital cost and new advanced programs introduced. But firms are not willing to update their programs due to the research and development required plus their installation and 'running in' costs.

It is rare for city analysts or even company finance directors to take these issues into account as they look at profit forecasts. The infrastructure of many corporations is being eroded from within, storing up even greater problems for the future.

It is not just the old style manufacturing industry based in the Midlands and North of the country that is being devastated. The large new businesses, often part of the service sector, are in peril over the next decade. They originally got an edge over their competitors by developing computer systems — which are now becoming the cumbersome and inefficient centre of their activities.

The rapid development of both hardware and software over the last decade has enormously reduced the life cycle of capital investments throughout the world and this country has this additional time bomb ticking away beneath the surface.

The same destruction of the skilled worker in many of the traditional industries is

now facing the programmers in the world of business application software. Thus the problem is compounded in that the people who wrote the software and kept it running are now facing the spectre of 'Application Generators' using fourth generation languages. The theory is that it will become increasingly possible for the end users to design their own software by simply telling the computer what they want it to do and the software will itself write the new program, based on specific rules.

So, behind the glamour of some of the high tech industries lie the problems of outdated systems, little or no renewal and replacement of them leading to growing inflexibility and failure. Finally there is the growing struggle with the personnel who made and installed the systems as they see their jobs in peril and their work becoming more specialised or mundane.

# TOWARDS A DISCUSSION OF YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

OUR YOUTH section has ceased to exist. We left the Labour party in 1964 with nearly 5,000 youth. Now we have only a handful. We have now to ask ourselves three main questions:

1. Why did our youth 'movement' collapse?
2. What sort of youth movement do we need (i.e. what is a communist youth movement.)?
- 3 How do we build this youth movement?

I would like to raise a few points about the first question. There was definitely criminal neglect for the youth in the party under Healy. The YS was used just to sell papers and raise money.

It was mainly due to the exploitation of the YS by Healy that the daily 'Workers Press' was launched.

Current members of the Healy rump will be experiencing the same feeling at the moment, as they struggle to raise the money for their daily 'News Line'.

Unfortunately neglect of the youth did not stop with the split with Healy. The leadership immediately after the split did not foresee the problems with the youth and they continued to ignore the youth.

I believe this to be an important factor in the majority of the YS going (temporarily, I hope) with David North and his rabble of American sectarians.

## Mistakes

The leadership now must learn from its mistakes (which are far too easy to criticise with hindsight) and take an active part in building a new youth section, not, as before, getting a few youth to sell the 'Workers Press' on the High Street.

Questions two and three could not be completely answered by a book the size of 'Capital', but we must carry on discussing these questions for as long as it takes to build our youth movement.

There is no correct approach to the youth: the methods required must change constantly, as the

BY JOLYON RALPH

situations we are faced with change. There are a few points I would like to raise now, though.

First, how important are the youth? If anyone doubts the real importance of the youth, they should read Lenin (a worthwhile thing to do even if you don't doubt it). He wrote in a letter to A A Bogdanov and S I Gusev in February 1905 as follows:

'We need young forces. I am for shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say that there are no people to be had . . . all we have to do is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, without fearing them. This is a time of war. The youth — the students, and still more so the young workers — will decide the issue of the whole struggle.' (emphasis in original)

Just to stress the point a little, this is what Lenin wrote to the Combat Committee of the St Petersburg Committee:

'Go to the youth, gentlemen! That is the only remedy! . . . Go to the youth. Form fighting squads at once everywhere, among the students and especially among the workers, etc., etc.' (again, emphasis in original)

These two quotes also point to another question. Which youth do we turn to? Lenin makes it perfectly clear that students are important, but young workers



Students on recent demonstration against Fowler's cuts

far more so.

Our previous policy (ie. the YSSS) gave the students priority over the young workers. We would still be noticing the after-effects of this stupid policy if it wasn't for the fact that we were no good at recruiting students (look what happened to the IS/SWP, they seem to regard working class youth as backward. One SWP member said that the working class 'don't know their arse from their elbow'.)

So, work within working-class youth is our priority. Where are the working class youth then? LPYS? — perhaps. CND and Anti-Apartheid? — I think not, my

own opinion (perhaps I am wrong) is that these are mainly petty-bourgeois movements.

To build amongst the working class youth we have to work inside unemployed youth, YTS and young workers' organisations. This does not mean bombarding them with slogans like 'Smash YTS, call a general strike!', but convincing these youth to join unions like the T&GWU.

We must turn to these youth, for they are the revolutionary leaders of the future.

Now I must move onto another important point — a youth paper. I believe that, if not vital, a youth paper is extremely useful. A youth page will just not do. This does not mean we should resume the 'Young Socialist'.

## Papers

Before the split we were given a pile of YS papers and told to sell them. Now, if we are to produce a (probably monthly) youth paper we must work out exactly what we want to do with youth work, how a paper would be used in this, and then discuss the best type of paper for our needs.

For instance, it could be that a 24-page A4-size magazine is more suited to our needs.

We have another task at the moment. A lot of youth went with the rump and the Hylands. There are many good youth (Fenwick, Dixon, Eames etc. excluded) who could, and should, be won back.

All youth ex-comrades whom any member of the

WRP or YS knows should be seen and talked to as soon as possible.

We need leaflets and articles for these youth, and eventually we will win them

over, because we are right and their leaders are wrong, and we can prove it.

I look forward to other contributions to Youth News about youth work.



Young Socialists — a Leninist conception of youth?

## DEFEND WAGES COUNCILS

No to Tory sweatshop plans



A WORKERS PRESS PAMPHLET

by Bernard Franks

PRICE £1

## DEFEND WAGES COUNCILS

by Bernard Franks

A Workers Press pamphlet

Available from Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW40JT, price £1 including postage.

# COMMENT

by the Editor

NOTHING could underscore the life and death necessity for the world socialist revolution more starkly than the Chernobyl disaster. Any other answer to the deadly radioactive cloud now spreading over Europe is both illusory and hypocritical.

Every advance in modern technology collides with the social relations of imperialism and with the continued existence of national boundaries. Control of industry by working people on a world scale is the only way science can be developed for the benefit of humanity and not for its destruction.

A disaster on this scale was inevitable at some stage in the course of the inexorable growth of nuclear power. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Friends of the Earth and scores of sections of the ecology movement have warned and campaigned on this issue world-wide for years.

The United Kingdom led the field with the Windscale disaster of 1967. Secrecy was the answer provided by the Tories then — to be followed by the re-naming of Windscale power station as Sellafield.

Secrecy is still the order of the day. News of the disaster was released after routine checks in Sweden revealed abnormal atmospheric radiation levels. The Finnish authorities — with Soviet reactors already on-line and others due — were strangely silent. Governments issue bland reassurances that radiation levels are not hazardous. We are told that the British nuclear industry has a record that is 'superb' (Peter Walker). The truth is that nobody knows the real extent of the danger; nobody can even say with any degree of certainty what a 'safe' level of radiation is. How slow a death constitutes 'safe' leakage?

Three Mile Island in 1979 represented a further step towards cataclysm. But it was in the attempt of the Soviet bureaucracy to force the Soviet power industry into line with the developments of Western technology that the greatest risks had to be taken.

It is the reactionary stalinist conception that socialism could be built within the borders of an economically backward country that underlies the Chernobyl accident. This profound political revision finds both expression and cause in cynical bureaucratic disregard for the rights of Soviet people. This disaster is but the latest example.

Neither is bureaucratic paralysis a novelty. After purging the Red Army of its entire cadre in the 1930s, after ignoring all the warnings of Soviet intelligence and after signing the Nazi-Soviet pact, Stalin disappeared for a whole week when the German army finally invaded Russia in 1942.

Why, then, was the nuclear power issue driven forward? The real considerations are not economic but military. The need for large-scale production of the raw materials of nuclear weaponry as by-products of power production (plutonium) are more important than the technological, ecological and social issues at stake. It is the preparation for imperialist nuclear war on the Soviet Union which made Chernobyl an inevitability.

Socialist planning demands democratic control and the freedom for the working class to organise. These essentials are denied in the Soviet Union. The mechanisms (trade unions, safety commissions, etc) through which the working class can exercise restraint on the development of technique are absent. This is why the nuclear 'chain' broke at its weakest link: safety standards are lower in the USSR.

But it is dangerous cant for the bourgeoisie in the West to crow about the superiority of their precautions. Without the vigilance of workers' organisations in defence of their conditions, the drive for profits inevitably lowers safety standards even in high technology, high-risk industries like nuclear power.

It is precisely these organisations that the capitalist system is hell-bent on destroying all over the world. In the defence of workers' rights, far more is involved than just the wages and conditions of the individual workers in this or that industry. Major social questions are at stake.



SOUTH AFRICA — 1983: The National Automobile and Allied Workers Union celebrates May Day. The upsurge in trade unionism after the Soweto uprising was one of the greatest gains of the mass movement in the late 1970s



BRITAIN — 1895: A tick... one hour's wages) as

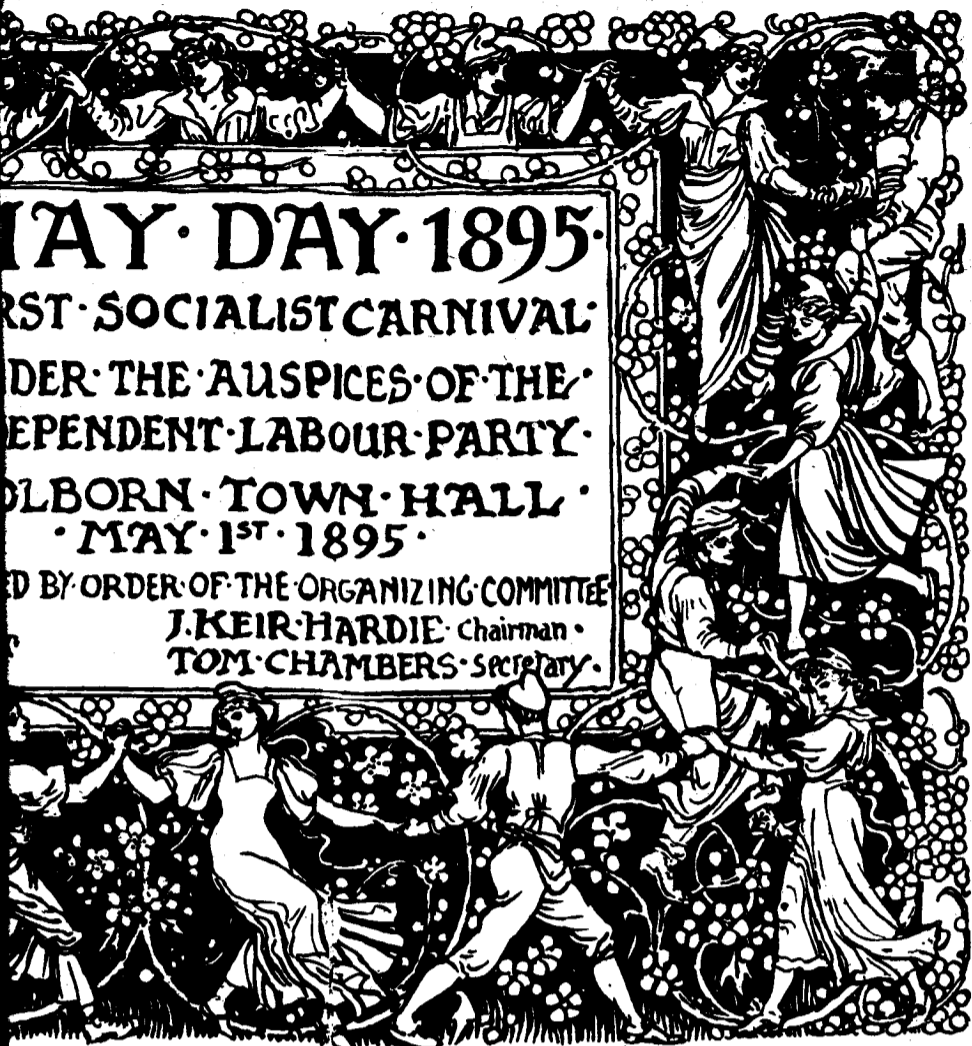
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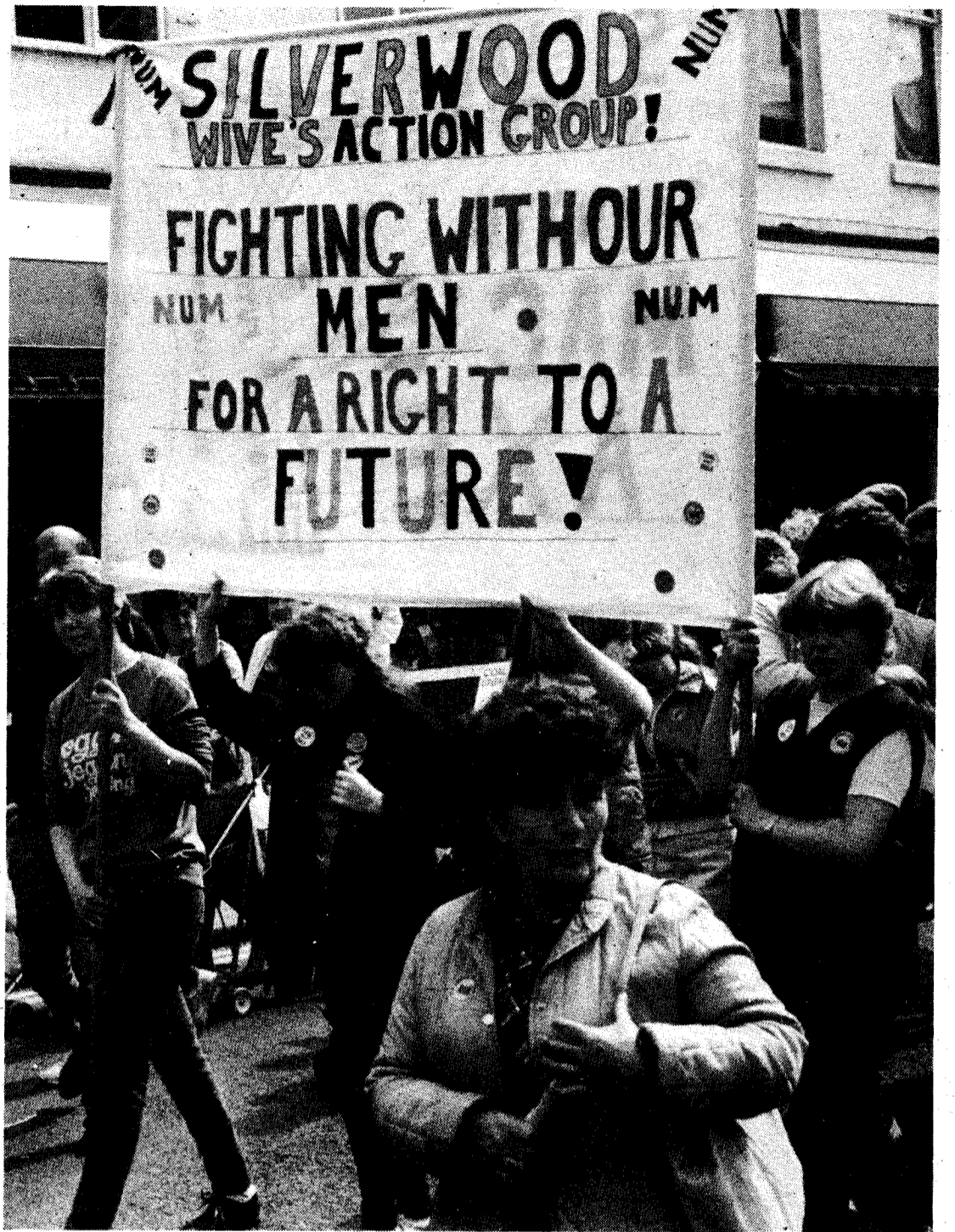
VIETNAM — 1975: A fifty-five day 'Spring Offensive' ends as troops move into the grounds of Independence Palace, Saigon, April 30. Within days, the 30-year Vietnam liberation war was over





Poster for the 'First Socialist Carnival', designed by socialist artist Walter Crane and sold at 6d (about 2p) as a memento

# MAY DAY through the years



BRITAIN — 1984: Miners wives on the march during the miners' strike; the womens' movement was never the same again



BRITAIN — 1926: A London May Day march days before the General Strike

# 1936: General strike a

**FIFTY years ago, on April 20, 1936, the might of the British Empire was challenged by a small people fighting for an independence they have still to win.**

Palestinian workers and peasants began a general strike and rebellion against British rule and Zionist colonisation.

Called by a National Committee meeting in Nablus, the strike went on more than six months, affecting business, transport and industry throughout the country.

The peasant revolt in the countryside, which Palestinian youth flocked to join, continued with but a brief lull until 1939.

At least 20,000 British troops, as well as RAF planes, armed police and Jewish irregulars were used to put down the Arab rebellion.

Emergency laws, military courts, summary executions, and collective punishment became the norm. Altogether 113 people were hanged.

Palestine had come under British occupation during the First World War. British planes had dropped leaflets to the people, urging them to rise against Turkish rule and help establish Arab independence.

At the same time, the British government's Balfour Declaration promised Palestine as a 'National Home' for the Jews.

The League of Nations — so aptly dubbed a 'thieves kitchen' by Lenin — awarded Britain the Palestine Mandate, thus setting its seal of approval on the imperialist carve-up British and French allies had planned in secret.

(This was known as the Sykes-Picot treaty, signed in 1915, but kept concealed from the world until the Bolsheviks, seizing a copy in the

**BY CHARLIE POTTINS**

Russian Revolution, carried out one of their policy pledges — to publish the secret treaties.)

Relations between Jews, Muslims and Christians in Palestine had been good. When Beilis, the victim of Czarist 'Blood Libel' frame-up, came to Palestine, he was invited into Jerusalem's Aqsa mosque as an honoured guest.

But as it became evident that Jewish immigration was no longer that of individuals, but a planned colonial project, Arab apprehension grew.

Educated middle-class Palestinians had already started a national movement in the last century. Now a British military governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, spoke of 'creating a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism.'

Boosted by British recognition and backing, the Zionists found another ally in the native landlord class, the rich effendis, often absentees who doubled as moneylenders.

A few powerful families had acquired vast areas of land. One family, the Sursuks, owned virtually the whole Jezreel valley, with 20 villages. They themselves preferred the city, living in Beirut.

In 1920, the British authorities passed a number of laws easing the way for large-scale land deals. The Sursuks were able to make a hefty profit from the sale of 50,000 acres to the Zionists.

About 8,000 Palestinian share-croppers were evicted by the purchasers, with the aid of armed police.

Much as they might denounce 'foreign influences' (like socialism, or trade unions) and defend 'tradition', the effendis were not slow to appreciate foreign capital.

In 1933 the proceeds for these rich landlords from land sales to the Zionists was £854,796, in 1935 it was £1,647,836.

## Fascism

Not only the volume, but the price of land soared too, as rising fascism in Europe pushed more Jewish migrants into the Zionist venture.

After the 1929 capitalist Crash, the United States no longer wanted Europe's 'huddled masses... hungry and oppressed' for its sweatshops and so the 'Land of Liberty's' gates were closed on Jews fleeing Nazism.

For Zionist leaders, the Jewish tragedy had to be the opportunity for establishing the base for a state. Ben



Houses were often blown up as 'collective punishment' when troops took rebel villages.

Gurion was to warn: 'If we permit the refugee problem to be separated from the Palestine problem, we endanger the existence of Zionism.' (December 17, 1938)

In Palestine, the head of the Zionist organisation's colonization programme, Arthur Ruppin, acknowledged: 'on every site where we purchase land and where we settle people, the present cultivators will inevitably be dispossessed.'

At first, displaced Palestinian peasants could find wage-work in Jewish farms, building, or new industries. But Zionist labour, organised in the Histadrut, picketed employers to enforce a 'Jewish labour only' policy.

The Zionist institutions backed this. There was also a boycott policy against

Arab farmers', shopkeepers and artisans.'

With the added effect of economic recession in 1935, a growing mass of displaced, unemployed Palestinians formed, bitterly resenting both Zionist settlers and British authorities, and ready for revolt.

The rest of the Palestinian peasantry, seeing they could be next, were bound to sympathise.

In Syria, Iraq and Egypt, the Arab national movement was growing and making some gains. But in Palestine, Arab demands for steps towards self-government were opposed by the Zionists, and rejected by the British.

Late in 1935, Shaikh Izedin al-Qassam, a Moslem scholar and patriot who had fought the French in Syria and carried on educational

work in Palestine, took to the hills near Jenin with a band of peasant followers.

Their short-lived guerrilla campaign was put down by British troops, its leader dying in action. Qassam had only a few hundred followers.

But thousands of Palestinians, particularly the poor, turned out for his funeral, which became a mass demonstration of popular nationalism.

In April 1936, clashes took place between Jews and Arabs in the Nablus area and in Jaffa. On April 20, a National Committee formed in Nablus called for a General Strike. Similar committees began to spring up in other towns and villages.

Palestinian lorry and bus owner-drivers laid up their vehicles. Boatmen stopped



Palestinian fighters. Machine guns and officer's uniform weren't as common as this classic picture suggests! Interesting sign of future — armed Palestinian women come into the picture.

# nd revolt in Palestine

the port of Jaffa. Students and school pupils struck classes to stage demonstrations.

Middle-class Palestinians stopped paying taxes to the mandate, subscribing instead to the strike funds — the local committees and youth helping persuade the less-enthusiastic.

The general strike idea had partly come from the Syrian example, where a fifty-day general strike had forced promises of independence from the French.

Now, support groups for the Palestinians were organised in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt.

The wealthy families, dominating Palestinian political parties and led most prominently by the British-appointed Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, had to go along with the strike if they were to keep their leadership of the Palestinian community.

The nationalist youth, the workers and peasants, were not content with a 'folded-arms' strike — they turned to active revolt. From attacking scab lorries, or night forays to burn crops on Zionist settlements, this escalated to derailing trains and attacking the pipeline carrying Iraqi oil to Haifa.

## Heroism

Guerrilla bands formed in the countryside harried Zionist settlements, transport and British troops. Fawzi al-Kawjji, a Syrian nationalist officer who infiltrated the country with Arab volunteers to lead the guerrillas, was amazed by the heroism and self-sacrifice of untrained and poorly-armed peasant fighters.

British officers observed incredulously how, after losing scores of comrades under machine-gun fire or air bombardment, Palestinian fighters would return to the fray undaunted.

As many as 30,000 British troops were brought in to crush the Palestinians. Sixty strike leaders were arrested and collective punishments imposed on towns and villages.

In Jaffa, to stop ambushes and cow the people, the British authorities demolished 237 houses, giving the inhabitants only an hour's notice to rescue what belongings they could and leave to swell a growing shanty-town on the outskirts.

The British government announced another Royal Commission to investigate

the Palestine problem. Through neighbouring Arab monarchs, it had pressure put on Palestinian leaders to call-off the strike and 'put our trust in the good intentions of our friends the British.'

It was also announced that another division of troops would be sent to Palestine.

Concerned over their business losses in the strike, worried that neither they nor the British controlled the countryside any more and fearing the prospect of all out war, the Arab Higher Committee called off the strike on October 12, 1936, and urged an end to all disturbances. Fawzi el Kawjji disbanded his followers and withdrew.

Meanwhile, the British enrolled a Jewish Settlement Police, mostly members of the semi-legal Zionist Haganah, to guard airfields, railways, and other installations.

In the Zionist kibbutzim, the British officer Orde Wingate armed and trained his Special Night Squads for counter-insurgency operations.

He taught them to raid Palestinian villages, demolish homes, and capture 'suspects' for interrogation and killing. (Wingate's SNS, prototype for later counter-insurgency squads in Malaya, Kenya and Ireland, were also forerunner of the Haganah's Palmach commando forces in the 1948 war.)

The 1937 British Commission recommended partition into Jewish and Arab zones, with British military control over strategic ports, airfields and rail centres.

The Arabs would have lost vast areas in which they still lived, as well as the prospect of an independent Palestine. They naturally rejected the scheme, and the revolt resumed.

Galilee District Commissioner L.Y. Andrews, associated with the Commission, was assassinated in September 1937.

The British deported Arab leaders to the Seychelles islands. Sir Charles Tegart, 'terror of the Bengal terrorists', was brought to Palestine and ordered the construction of police forts and a wire wall along the northern frontier to keep out arms and infiltrators.

The contract for Tegart's Wall went to the Histadrut's building company, Solel Boneh.

Up to 15,000 Palestinian rebels were now in action, min-

ing roads, ambushing convoys, taking over towns.

The Haifa oil pipeline was hit seven times in one month. Attacks and derailments forced the government to abandon the railways. Bethlehem was taken over by guerrillas in broad daylight. Large areas of Palestine were in rebel hands.

Late in 1938, British troops, with armoured cars and air support, set about what the 'Times' correspondent called 'the reconquest of Palestine'. RAF planes bombed rebel villages.

Seventeen British infantry battalions moved in. There were 2,500 arrests; military courts ordered on-the-spot executions.

Shaikh Farhan al-Saadi, seventy-five years old, was hanged after a three-hour trial, after admitting possession of an old rifle. It was Ramadan.

## Looting

After a Squadron-Leader Alderton was killed, the South Kents went on a 'search' of a nearby village — demolishing two houses, wrecking and looting the rest, and shooting one villager.

The villagers were then ordered to pay a heavy fine, plus paying the cost of having forty police billeted on them for a month.

Altogether, it is estimated 5,000 Palestinians were killed in the fighting and 113 people executed by the British.

The revolt was finally crushed in 1939. Worried by the possibility of renewed revolt, with World War approaching, and the need to safeguard strategic bases as well as moving troops elsewhere, the British government announced a new White Paper, restricting Jewish immigration.

The next revolt was to come from the Zionists, towards the end of the War.

The 1936-9 General Strike showed the heroism and sacrifice of which the Palestinian masses were capable. It also revealed several problems and weaknesses to be overcome, both in their objective situation and in leadership.

The rural fighters, often locally led, sometimes divided by local, clan or family loyalties, lacked a determined central leadership.

The wealthy notables of the Arab Higher Committee feared a real agrarian revolt or social unrest and would have preferred to avoid a



British troops arrest a young Arab

struggle with the British.

Even while the revolt was on, such leaders — including the pro-Axis Husseinis — were secretly negotiating more land deals with the Zionists and at the same time encouraging followers to vent their anger indiscriminately on Jews.

The very factor which had contributed so much to the conditions for the revolt — the Zionist policy of 'Jewish labour' and economic 'self-reliance' — created a special problem.

The Zionist economy expanded during the General Strike, at the expense of Arab trade and industry. The new port of Tel Aviv opened up while neighbouring Jaffa was strikebound.

## Mistakes

The Palestine Communist Party, mainly Jewish workers, decided to support the revolt. Under its influence one Palestinian leader, Aref Abdul Razik, issued a call to Jewish workers to unite with the Palestinians against British rule.

But the Party's small following was further weakened by confusing zig-zags of policy and serious mistakes — including the bombing of a Histadrut workers' club.

The progressive elements among the Palestinians were not yet able to take the lead in the struggle.

One feature of the 1936-9 revolt was the widespread donning of the peasants' traditional keffiyeh headress even in the towns, both as a practical measure to confuse the police — who were trying to pick out countrymen

among crowds — and later as a national symbol of resistance.

Today, the keffiyeh is internationally known as the symbol of the Palestinian fighter. But since the formation

of groups like Fatah in the 1950s, and the ousting of the old-style effendis from leadership, the heads beneath the traditional keffiyeh may carry much more advanced ideas.

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Shops close as the general strike bites in Jaffa Street, Jerusalem, 1936

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# MORE ON 'BAD MEN'

## L. Sklavos replies to Mike Banda

WORKERS PRESS has received this letter from the Communist Internationalist League of Greece in reply to Mike Banda's earlier statement, '27 Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built.'

The League will be better known as the group led by L. Sklavos which was expelled from the International Committee in the mid-1970s, since when it has had no organisational links with the IC or with the WRP.

This letter is printed as a contribution to the discussion on the history of the Fourth International.

THE British paper Workers Press published an article on February 7 by Mike Banda called '27 Reasons why the IC should be buried forthwith and the Fourth International built'.

We were informed that some remarks were made in the article on the history of the Greek section of the IC from which today's KDE (Communist Internationalist League) originates.

Our organisation arose out of a split which was imposed in Greece by Healy with the co-operation of his opponents of today: Banda, Slaughter and others.

The article was of interest to us as it would inform us what would be the new situation concerning the past and present of those former members of the IC.

But, strangely enough, while being subscribers to the Workers Press, we stopped receiving it. Despite the fact that we made at least ten telephone calls, since Banda's article we have received nothing.

'The Greek post offices are at fault!' said Slaughter. The British ones obviously function without defects!

When finally we were obliged to ask for the article from others, we were able to obtain it without delay. It seems that for the post-offices to function, it is not enough to have a receiver only, a sender is needed as well. From the above, it be-

comes clear why we write this letter after such a delay.

In his article Mike Banda labels pre-war and post-war Trotskyist leaders with a host of characterisations, especially James Cannon, who appears to be the central hero of a disgusting history — the history of the Fourth International — after the war.

All of the leaders were 'unable', 'cowards', 'compromisers', 'vulgar', 'betrayers', 'fleas'; Trotsky had sown dragon's teeth but 'reaped fleas'. The only hopeful exception is — probably — Banda.

He does not say this but this conclusion can be drawn from what is written. For him then, the Fourth International did not progress because it had the misfortune to be led by scum who, by a tragic co-incidence, were proclaimed as the leaders of the various national organisations.

### History

Bill Hunter correctly replied to Banda in Workers Press that the 'Bad Men Theory of History' explains nothing in history itself. We should add that it is an authentic bourgeois theory of the worst sort.

It reminds us of the journalists who 'explain' the cause of the Second World War through the failure of Hitler to enter Art school. If he had enrolled, he would have occupied his time with his paintbrush and would not have led the fascist hordes to fill Europe with blood...

But the historical method of Banda has a secondary role in the subject. What is



Students and workers celebrate the fall of the 'junta' in 1974

important is the reason why he uses it. Bill Hunter, strangely enough, does not even ask this question. Maybe because the method which Banda uses can be explained by the theory of stupid men? No, Banda is not stupid, he lacks neither political education nor experience.

Someone stupid, uneducated and without experience could be a sympathiser and tomorrow become useful. Banda is only mischievous. He confronts history only the way it suits him. That would not be bad if Banda's interests coincided with the interests of the working class.

But the interests of the class are not represented by this ludicrous bourgeois method, nor with the falsification of events. The working class has no reason to hide the truth. Banda has.

The man starts — in every sense — with the split of his political group with the IC as it is today with North as 'leader'. This split was imposed on Banda. All of his argument, all of his article has as its aim the justification of the split and Banda personally — after the event.

If events had taken another course, we are certain that Banda would have pulled a host of arguments out of his little bag — and found a plethora of conclusions to support precisely the opposite conclusion to what he is now saying.

He would have said that, despite its deficiencies and all its weaknesses, this IC is the only continuation of the Fourth International which Trotsky founded and that it is the nucleus around which the international proletariat would organise itself tomorrow.

Banda wants to mitigate the evil and he will achieve this — or he will transform it into good, condemning and sending into orbit that which he cannot have: the IC in political co-operation with him.

Starting like this, it is logical for both the historical materialist method and the events themselves to go haywire.

Healy had created his fantastic world and in it he felt secure. The world existed so as to justify his views. We hoped that the WRP without Healy would land with its feet on the ground. It is not nice to see someone whom they title General Secretary to place reality before a judge who is also executioner, to stretch what is already too short, to cut what is too long and to create a new myth according to his new needs.

We cannot tell from afar what is the real situation in today's WRP but we believe that in it are militants whose interests are opposed to that of the new myth creators; militants who want to prevent the repetition of past history in a new form.

### Events

That Banda misuses not only the historical method but the events themselves can be seen clearly from his remarks on the history of the Greek section of the IC. In his remarks there is not a trace of truth. Banda knows this. But he does not hesitate to give his readers a completely falsified picture. The picture which is of interest to him.

In paragraph 26 he says that 'the Greek section was a bogus one which was metaphorically smuggled into the IC after a split with the Mastroiannis group.'

In the pages of the Newsletter, one can discern that the split to which the know-all Banda is referring occurred in 1967. The third congress of the IC, in which the now deceased Mastroiannis participated, occurred in 1966. The Greek section was one of the three basic sections of the IC after the return of the American SWP to the Pabloite Fourth International.

In the front page of the Newsletter of the time one can see Mastroiannis, Banda, Healy and the French Lambert and Just posing under a portrait of Trotsky at the third congress.

In the caption and the relevant articles, one can read that the Greek section was already a member of the IC. From then on, L. Sklavos was a member.

After the split in 1967 and subsequently, the IC silently recognised the L. Sklavos group as its section, as it had some organisational merits, but without any political discussion.

So (although this does not suit Banda) the political wreckage which supported Healy in the recent split of the WRP was not a bogus section. It was for decades a section of the IC and, from 1963, took part in all its international meetings.

It was the biggest section after the British. Banda personally took part in its first post-dictatorial congress in Athens.

Today, he is trying opportunistically, as he does not want to acknowledge that an organisation exists, to deny there was a section of the IC in Greece since it sided with Healy and not with Banda, in spite of his own desperate attempts (right up to the last moment) to ensure its support.

'Sklavos and his entire group deserted the Greek working class and went into voluntary exile in Britain when the junta came into power and did nothing to oppose the junta.' So says Banda!

'Sklavos and his group which deserted the Greek working class' were Sklavos and his wife. This is known to all the old cadres of the SLL and the WRP and all the sections which were members of the IC in 1967.

And he did not desert the Greek working class voluntarily. He was hunted by the police. The junta condemned him to two years imprison-

ment. The same thing occurred to the comrades from Mastroiannis's tendency who escaped abroad.

As there was no organisational mechanism which would enable activity under the junta, Sklavos had to choose between arrest/imprisonment and escape abroad.

He chose the second, with the hope that something could have been learnt from the most worthy section of the IC at that time.

From England, and in co-operation with the one and only comrade who had remained in Greece, he started working for the building of the Greek section: a section which organised under the dictatorship a print-works and a relatively strong organisation able to act illegally.

### Comrades

Our comrades went back and forth into Greece. Once the organisation was attacked by the police. Not only did leading comrades make no 'declarations' to the police, as the sycophant Banda asserts, but despite violent torture they gave no names to the police.

The arrests were limited to ten people who were imprisoned with heavy sentences and who were freed only when the junta fell.

It was Healy and Banda — nobody else — who made the Greek section, (after the split which they imposed), issue a collective declaration disavowing the idea of the revolutionary conquest of power — so it could take part in the second post-dictatorial elections.

And today Banda calls us 'legal Marxists'?

When, in 1972, the Greek section decided that all comrades abroad should return legally or illegally to Greece and set up a printshop in Athens, it was Healy, Banda and Slaughter who opposed it.

Their argument was that the dictatorship might last

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# LETTERS



The 'junta' of colonels who staged the coup

for many years more! During the same period they believed in an immediate threat of dictatorship in England.

The decision, which was based on the confidence that the junta would soon fall, conflicted with their defeatist theories.

We ignored their opposition and started returning. Before the resolution was complete, the dictatorship had crumbled!

As for the 'renegade Sklavos', this is an accusation which characterises him who sends it. It shows that he can masquerade himself, but not that he can change.

It wasn't Sklavos who discovered that 'Arafat is heading towards the Permanent Revolution'. It was Healy and Banda who stopped a meeting of the IC to take Sklavos into Healy's office and threaten him with physical violence if he stood against the position which the leadership of the WRP had taken.

## Healy

And this is only one case. The subjective pseudo-philosophy of Healy is another; participation in the committee of co-management in Leyland (Tom White) a third on which the 'renegade' Sklavos came into conflict with the WRP leadership.

To get rid of him and his like, they imposed, with a personal visit by Healy, a split on the Greek section.

These are a few words on

the history of the Greek section for those who have no idea of it. Banda knows it very well.

In the same way, he mishandles all the history of the Fourth International. Many things must be discussed and many useful things can be learnt from history. But Banda does not learn from history. He rewrites it according to his own needs.

We support nobody. Neither Cannon, nor Healy, neither Lambert nor Just, nor our faces.

If the Fourth International was led by cowards and incompetents, that could only have occurred because history had no need of able and courageous leaders. When they are needed, they will be found. That is what we learnt from Marxism.

Pre-war conditions, where a single generation of workers had to bury two Internationals, the Second and Third, where the workers' movement suffered severe defeats under the domination of Stalinism and fascism in Germany, were not fruitful for restructuring the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The post-war period also opened up a new parenthesis in the crisis of capitalism. The workers' movement found work. Their standard of living improved significantly.

These phenomena, unforeseeable and fascinating, led many to the idea of a 'third stage' in the development of capitalism. Reformism once more found a material basis on which to exist. Revolu-

tionaries were pushed into the corner. Their isolation explains many things but the hypocritical moralising of Banda, nothing.

Today's crisis becomes the foundation for the strengthening of the will of the working class so it can truly demand power and conquer it.

And this will strengthen the necessity for revolutionary action. The opposite theory of bad men who must be replaced by some good men leads in advance to pessimism and self-isolation.

Socialism since Marx's epoch has stopped searching for angels — and fantasies about devils. We do not have such a view about Banda. That does not mean we will give him an inch.

Let Banda leave the history of the Trotskyist movement of the five continents. Let him use his time to study the history of the SLL, the WRP: his own history.

He writes somewhere (page 16) that Cannon held a vulgar and peculiar silence about the Rosenberg executions!

What must we say about Banda's, Slaughter's and all the others' silence concerning the photographs and money in relation to the execution of the Iraqi communists?

Banda does not consider it vulgar as it wasn't a good enough reason for him even for the suspension of the WRP from the IC.

Even worse than the bourgeois historical method which Banda uses, even worse than the falsification of history, is his insistence on justifying the responsibilities of the leadership of the WRP for the execution of the Iraqi communists. Under different circumstances, this insistence would have meant execution.

## Money

We could not but notice that Bill Hunter passes over this most essential point in Banda's article without a single reference. He makes out that he did not notice it.

The question facing the WRP and IC is not that the WRP leaders — Healy, Mitchell and Redgrave — took large sums of money from the Arab countries, but that this money was largely taken to finance the brain-child of Healy and the IC!

First of all it wasn't only Healy, Mitchell and the Redgraves who were leaders of the WRP. There was Banda, Slaughter and many others.

Banda escapes from placing himself in the list of lead-

# Engels — and contradiction

By Keith Scotcher



IN Workers Press issue no 20 (April 19) John Robinson correctly says that we must not regard the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky as holy writ or a religion. Likewise, we must examine John's arguments to assess their validity.

John takes offence at Engels suggestion that the development of the family during the period of primitive communism was determined by factors that were biological not social. He protests that this is in contradiction to the quote of Engels that 'labour created man himself'.

John asserts that, 'There can be no human interpersonal relationships which are not social, i.e. which are not derived — directly or indirectly — from production'.

## Society

While this is essentially true of modern society, Engels was referring to pre-class society, when humans were in the process of distinguishing themselves from other animals over 2 million years or so by their development of tools. Man had to be an animal before he could be a man.

Of course Engels did not mean that humans literally 'sprang from the beasts'. He went to great lengths to explain the development of mankind: the adoption of the erect gait, the development of the hand through labour, the corresponding develop-

ment of the brain, of speech, social organisation, divisions of labour, and so on.

Indeed, it is John Robinson's argument that suggests that all biologically derived natural relationships were instantly transformed into social relationships the moment that our ancestors first began to develop tools.

He does not allow for a dialectical interaction in Engels' argument which was expressing the contradictory nature of man in unity and conflict with nature.

## Leacock

I would suggest that the 'Marxist' anthropologist Leacock also fails to grasp that there are real contradictions with her 'mis-statements'. Here, surely is a real danger of turning Marxism into dogma and religion.

As Engels wrote in Dialectics of Nature, 'but the more this (production) progresses the more will men not only feel but also know their oneness with nature, and the more impossible will become the senseless and unnatural idea of a contrast between mind and matter, man and nature, soul and body, such as arose after the decline of classical antiquity in Europe and obtained its highest elaboration in Christianity.' (p183)

There are no tragedy or mistakes in the quotes John gives. When Engels says that man had to use, 'bestial means to extricate himself from barbarism', he was referring to the enslavement of

humans by others which arose out of tribal conflicts as populations grew and the level of productive forces was insufficient to support it, (the first crisis of production?) leading to the first class society, the slave system.

There is nothing in this that should remind us of Desmond Morris' reactionary theory that explains social phenomena by animal behaviour. It is not the logical conclusion of Engels' view that all class oppression and revolutions must be the expression of man's bestial nature.

In dialectical terms, the formation of class society was a negation while the socialist revolution is the negation of the negation.

Engels analysis is dialectical and consequently contradictory. It is a mistake to try to 'resolve' the contradiction by trying to impose one side of the contradiction on the other.

## Process

We must see this process as animal/ape becoming social man.

As Engels wrote on evolution, 'Dialectics, which likewise knows no hard and fast lines, no unconditional, universally valid 'either — or' and which bridges the fixed metaphysical differences, and besides 'either — or' recognises also in the right place 'both this — and that' and reconciles the opposites, is the sole method of thought appropriate in the highest degree to this stage'. (p215 Dialectics of Nature)

ers despite the fact that he was the successor of Healy and actually the General Secretary.

His position shows a more deep and hidden opinion about the money which the WRP leadership took. And it was taken, not from 'the Arab countries...' but from the Arab bourgeois and reactionary governments.

That Banda speaks of 'countries' and not governments is one more phenomenon which reveals his intention to underrate the importance of the event — that the leadership of the WRP was bought by the Arab bourgeoisie.

When Banda says that the question is not whether the WRP leadership received money he is trying to make a clever argument.

Maybe some examples about the Indian and Arab nationalists who took weapons from Hitler to fight the British colonialists. Also the reference that Trotsky supported this position of the nationalists.

Hitler and the nationalists of India and Arabia had at that given moment a common enemy: the British ruling class.

The Arab governments

never wanted the overthrow of the British ruling class and did not give Healy money for such aims. They gave it to him to buy him, to obtain a spokesman for their views and for the interests of the Arab ruling class in Britain and in the countries where the IC had sections.

Only under this condition did they give money. Not for Healy to struggle through his paper, against these reactionary bourgeois governments which betray to imperialism at every crucial moment the national movement of the Arab peoples.

The British bourgeoisie had no objections. It was not against it but for it. An organisation which could become dangerous for its regime was sold off to the oil sheiks.

It was a welcome development for Healy, Labour and Thatcher. That is why they never bothered those who were bought off, despite the fact that a relative law exists about receiving money from foreign governments.

Let's leave aside abstract examples of hypothetical situations. These are excuses. In this concrete situation Healy was bought. And the Arab government paid exactly so as to buy them.

Healy served them, not only by transforming the WRP and IC into sub-bureaus of the Arab embassies, but also as a common informer.

If someone embellishes or underrates this crime today — which has no equal in the history of the Trotskyist movement — we do not know what relation he can have with the workers' movement.

It is impossible to believe that a working-class organisation can be built which, in its theory, maintains a justification or arguments for all those who are sold to reactionary bourgeois governments.

For today's WRP to allow such positions to be held by any sort of Banda is to follow Healy's footsteps and condemn itself to the same fate as the Healyite WRP: disappearance into vulgarity.

If this criminal co-operation with Arab reaction is not revealed courageously and completely, if it is not condemned decisively, if every apologist of this crime is not thrown out, then the organisation will disappear, leaving behind only dirt.

April 18, 1986



THE ICFI World Congress: Left to right, (standing) Banda, Slaughter; (seated) Lambert, Healy, Mastroiannis, Just

## TV REVIEW

# Battle for a ghetto kingdom

**King of the Ghetto.** Four-part serial, Thursdays on BBC2 from May 1 at 9.30 pm. Written by Farrukh Dhondy and directed by Roy Battersby.

**A HITHERTO unexplored British community with a rich and fascinating life, the Bengalis of the East End of London is portrayed in a new television series.**

It is a community with a history and tradition, the latest in the waves of immigrants, from the Huguenots to the Jews, who have settled in the area.

The winning aspect of this series is that it is not a self-consciously 'ethnic' programme. It is about the effects of the mingling of Bengali and certain British values, a mingling which seems to produce a series of explosions rather than a mixture.

There are no easy answers. The central theme is the conflict between Matthew, a young white rebel, and Timur Hussein, an up-and-coming Bengali entrepreneur, on the make in both the business world and the Labour Party.

As the title says, the battle is over who is to be king of the ghetto. Matthew comes in from the outside to the community, and becomes very quickly involved in leading trying to solve the housing problems of Bengali families through organised squatting.

The series is loosely based around experiences Farrukh



Tim Roth as Matthew Lang

Dhondy had in the 1970s in the area, when there was a mass squatting movement because of the discriminatory housing policies of Tower Hamlets and other London boroughs.

The residency requirement for council housing was seven years; people were forced to take their own action.

Matthew springs into the leadership of the squatting movement with all the qualities necessary for such a position. His whole policy in relation to life being — if you are faced with a problem, emotional or physical, just rush up to it and kick the shit out of it.

This very hard-edged confrontational approach brings him into conflict with Hussein who is a very smart (not to say criminal) operator, who manages to combine a large amount of dishonesty and brutality with a genuine desire to serve the community.

As the film's director Roy Battersby says 'Timur is perfectly fitted for the road of the Labour Party', and the examination of his relationship with that party is the richest joke in the series.

The blackest joke is that this is also the only successful and mutually satisfactory relationship.

It's about ways of surviving, and while the world it paints is not exactly a jungle, it is not far from it.

Tacit in it is a scathing criticism of the way this particular section of the working class is forced to live.

Roy Battersby says: 'It's powerful that nobody has the answer, neither white nor Bengali, and that there is no explicit political comment. . . in the end, nothing is resolved.'

Matthew's head-on confrontation with the world, which elevates him into a kind of heroism, in the end causes explosions which resolve nothing and rebound on himself.

Hussein's love affair with the corrupt systems, both the shady business world and opportunist Labour Party, on the way produces results.

From a cast of outstanding actors, Tim Roth as Matthew, Zia Mohyeddin as Timur Hussein and Ian Dury as Hussein's criminal side-kick must be commended.

Is this another 'Eastenders'? Roy Battersby says: 'My conviction is that you can do better.' My conviction is that he has.

Bronwen Handyside



Picture shows: Ajay Kumar as Raja, Aftab Sachak as Rizaz, Zia Mohyeddin as Timur Hussein

## TV CHOICE

# Africa's economy of famine

Sunday May 4

7.15 pm, Channel 4. **Man-Made Famine.** Africa today has become a net importer of food for the first time in history — focusing on three women in villages in different parts of Africa, the programme looks at the new economy of famine.

10.30 pm, ITV. **The South Bank Show. Al Jolson:** the man who called himself 'the greatest entertainer the world has ever seen' is seen through film clips, home movies and interviews. A series of his films is being shown all week on Channel 4.

Monday May 5

7 pm, Channel 4. **Scapa Flow 1919: with all flags flying.** Newsreels from Britain and Germany show different views on the scuttling of the entire German fleet. The film examines the conflict between Britain and America for naval supremacy.

10.20 pm, ITV. **Mising** (1982) The Costa-Gavras film with Jack Lemmon searching for his son in Chile at the height of the military coup.

Tuesday May 6

10.35 pm, ITV. **First Tuesday** presents two documentaries — **The Futures Game** (the



**Slaughterhouse worker Henry Sander in 'Killer of Sheep' — Charles Burnett's 1978 prize-winning documentary/drama about life in a black ghetto in Los Angeles. Channel 4, Friday 9 May, 11.15 pm**

Wednesday May 7

whizz-kids on the floor of the London International Financial Futures Exchange) and **Bingo! Keep Grandma off the Streets** (the bingo fanatics of Ellesmere Port descend on Birmingham).

9.35 pm, BBC1. **QED: The Body in the Bog.** Repeat of last year's programme on the excavation and long-overdue post-mortem of Pete Marsh — the Iron Age victim of persons unknown. Won the British

Association for the Advancement of Science 'best documentary' award.

10 pm, Channel 4. **What A Way To Run A Revolution!** A television version of David Benedictus' musical drama about parliament and the general strike in 1926.

Thursday May 8

8 pm, Channel 4. **Worldwide Reports — Nuclear Issues.** A painfully topical look at the nuclear industry and local communities, highlighting Selkield, Dounreay and Winfrith Heath.

11.15 pm, Channel 4. **Seeds of Hope.** Three critical years in the life of an Ethiopian village, before and after the famine.

Friday May 9

8.15 pm, Channel 4. **The Banding File.** Darcus Howe's special report from Port-au-Prince, Haiti after Duvalier's overthrow is this week's main feature.

11.15 pm, Channel 4. **Killer of Sheep.** Charles Burnett's 1978 prize-winning documentary/drama about a black slaughterhouse worker in Los Angeles.



**Man-made Famine: Glenda Jackson looks at the real cause of famine in Africa**

## REVIEWS

# ANNE FRANK EXHIBITION

**Anne Frank in the World: 1929-1945.** At Wickham House, Mile End Road, London E.1 until May 16. Admission Free. The Exhibition will then be touring, dates to be arranged in Manchester and Edinburgh.

ANNE FRANK'S diary, and now this exhibition, show the horrors of Nazism through the experiences of a single Jewish family.

Anne and her sister Margot were concealed in an Amsterdam attic with their parents and close friends for over a year before they were betrayed and sent to concentration camps.

Anne and Margot died of typhus in Bergen-Belsen in March 1945. Only their father survived the war.

The exhibition consists of huge photographs, including the family snapshots taken by Otto Frank, Anne's father. These portraits of a

normal family are juxtaposed to the growing Nazi propaganda and brutality.

The exhibition touring Britain is moving, but it is also distant in parts. It leaves out the responsibility of the leadership of the German Communist Party, and portrays the rise of Nazism as an inevitable process.

When, in later sections, it shows the fascist movements of the 1980s, it suggests that they can be fought with propaganda.

When the first roundup of Jews took place in occupied Holland in 1941, the Communist Party called a general strike — but the exhibition does not really explain why they called it off.

The exhibition catalogue, and the film that accompanies the exhibition, tends to equate anti-Zionism with anti-semitism.

Z Wojcik



Anne Frank in 1942



Swimming pool in occupied Holland: 'Jews not admitted'

## VICTORIAN VALUES

**Statistics of Vauxhall Ward, Liverpool.** Compiled and edited by John Finch in 1842. A facsimile reprint, prepared and introduced by Harold Hinks. Toulouse Press, £1.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLY Association demanded in the 1840s the repeal of the Corn Laws — to benefit the rising class of businessmen.

They argued that the poverty of the working class was caused by the high food prices, not their low wages.

John Finch wrote this pamphlet for the Association. He reported conditions in a part of Liverpool which stretched down to the river and included both iron and soap factories and slums. He hired six reliable workmen to conduct a house-by-house census.

Of the 4387 families in the area, 1342 were without 'visible income'. Families subsisted by pawning, charity, casual employment, or parish relief, with weekly ex-

penditure often exceeding income.

The pamphlet concludes that disease, crime and destitution were problems because 'the manufacturers and dealers are fast going to destruction, from inability in the bulk of the population to purchase from them those articles necessary to their existence'.

Liverpool was growing rapidly — and only a quarter of the people were born there. Half were Irish, and Finch remarks that most of the immigrants were from agricultural areas in Britain or Ireland.

**Ragged London in 1861.** by John Hollingshead. Dent Everyman, £4.95.

TEMPERATURES remained well below freezing for a month. There were thirteen inches of ice on the Serpentine, where refresh-

ment tents served to the cavorting wealthy.

In East London, the poor — mainly dockers who depended on casual work — besieged the bakeries in Commercial Road.

John Hollingshead, a journalist, whose own background was Hoxton streets and whose father had been in the debtor's prison, was well-equipped to investigate the poverty that was brought to public attention by the events of December 1860-January 1861. His account shares the prevalent view that the poor were to blame for their conditions.

'If settlers are wedded to a place like this, where, according to a sanitary report for 1856, the average age at death is under twelve years, and where there is nothing to look at but clay, pools of stagnant water, and the most wretched hovels,' writes Hollingshead of an infamous area behind Notting Hill known as the Potteries, 'there is no help for them.'

## Fascism's victims in Argentina

**Nunca Mas (Never Again).** A Report by Argentina's National Commission on Disappeared People. Faber and Faber paperback, £7.95.

**ABDUCTION — disappearance — torture.** For thousands of Argentinians between 1976 and 1983 the sequence ended in an obscure death.

The first part of the report on the fate of the *desaparecidos*, is now published in English.

It makes chilling reading, not just because of the overwhelming evidence of physical brutality, systematic use of beatings and electric shocks, but because of the psychological impact on prisoners and their families alike of the process of disappearance without trace.

Women gave birth on the floor of cells, and their babies were taken from them. Even when the mothers survived, they knew nothing of the fate of their children.

Prisoners were blindfolded, 'walled off', until con-

junctions or even maggots blinded them. They did not know where they were; one man sat blindfolded, chained upright, for six months before his captors realised that he was no longer being taken out for interrogations — and he was 'transferred'.

This frequently meant the prisoner was allowed to eat, bathe and dress in clean clothes, before being taken out and 'killed in a shoot-out.'

Bodies of 300 'unknowns' were exhumed from one cemetery, and in each grave there were 3 or more bodies. How many were not found, for every bullet-riddled corpse floating in the River Plate?

The Commission found a remarkable number of survivors to testify to the fate of the others. They estimate at least 8960 disappeared, and where whole families were taken, there may have been no-one to report the losses.

Before the military junta came to power in 1976, Argentina had no death penalty. The new regime didn't use it either — these were murders.

These were not, says the Commission, 'excesses', but 'common practice; the normal methods used daily during the repression'.

'Great catastrophes are always instructive' argues Ernesto Sabato in his introduction. While the reasons for the military junta — and its overthrow — are outside the brief of the Commission's work, there are hints at the effect on Argentinian society.

Many were frightened into believing that there must be some reason for what was happening. The Commission concludes that it was not 'terrorists' who were being arrested and killed.

'Among the victims are thousands who never had any links with such activity but were nevertheless subjected to horrific torture because they opposed the military dictatorship, took part in union or student activities, were well-known intellectuals who questioned state terrorism, or simply because they were relatives, friends or names included in the address book of someone considered subversive.'

## The story of Africa

**Wounded African veterans of World War I.** Taken from 'The Story of Africa' by Basil Davidson (Mitchell Beazley paperback, £8.95), based on the outstanding Channel 4 television series.

The book is superbly illustrated with photographs, maps and engravings which take the history of the continent from the earliest civilisations, through colonialism to the struggles for independence.





The funeral of Hunger Striker Bobby Sands in May 1981

# BOBBY SANDS

## Irish freedom fighter

**ON MAY 5 1981 an elected member of the British Parliament died in a concentration camp in the north of Ireland after 66 days on hunger-strike. Bobby Sands was just 27 years old — and nearly nine of those years had been spent in jail.**

It is now five years since Sands was buried in Belfast's Milltown Cemetery but the graveside oration delivered by his election agent, Owen Carron, still rings true:

'It is hard to describe the sadness and sorrow in our hearts today as we stand at the grave of a Volunteer, Bobby Sands, cruelly murdered by the British government in the H-Block of Long Kesh . . .

'Bobby Sands, as representative of the blanket-men and women, died rather than be branded as a criminal

'The callous intransigence of the British government has made the hunger-strike a symbol of the struggle for freedom . . .

'Bobby Sands is a symbol of hope for the unemployed, for the poor, for the homeless, for those divided by partition and for those trying to unite our people . . . Bobby Sands has not died in vain

Over the next three months, nine other young men followed Sands and starved themselves to death rather than accept the policy of criminalisation and removal of political status in-

flicted by the Labour government in 1976, when Roy Mason was Northern Ireland Secretary.

The hunger-strikes had begun on March 1, 1981, the fifth anniversary of this withdrawal of political status in H-block and Armagh jail.

Since the introduction of internment without trial in 1969, shortly after the occupation by the British army — when hundreds of men were rounded up and incarcerated in makeshift prison camps — the right to political status had never been questioned.

Many of the first internees' only 'crime' was to demand civil rights — one man, one job; one man, one house; one man, one vote being the three most basic.

As police and military oppression intensified — and especially after the massacre of 13 men, women and boys in Derry on 'Bloody Sunday', January 1972 — many took to arms and joined the IRA and INLA. Bobby Sands was eighteen and a half when he made his decision.

By 1975, nearly 3,000 men and women were in jail in the Six Counties. No country in Europe had as many political prisoners as Britain.

The Labour government wanted rid of this embarrassment — they designated the prisoners 'criminals'; they would be forced to wear prison uniform, forbidden educational activities, Irish language classes and free association with other prisoners.

When this was announced in 1976, Republican prisoners refused to don the prison garb.

Rather than be branded as

criminals, they were prepared to serve their time stripped naked, wearing nothing but a blanket in freezing cells from which the mattresses had been removed for all but sleeping.

Sands was returned to Long Kesh in that year after a short period of freedom — the only one he knew as an adult. He immediately joined the blanket protest which soon escalated into the 'dirty' strike.

In a short article entitled 'The Battle for Survival', Sands described the horrors he and his 350 comrades endured:

'Imagine how it would feel

that resemble a pigsty, and you are crouched naked upon the floor in a corner, freezing cold, amid the lingering stench of putrefying rubbish, with crawling, wriggling white maggots all around you, fat, bloated flies pestering your naked body, the silence is nerve-racking; your mind in turmoil.

'It is inconceivable to try and imagine what an eighteen-year-old naked lad goes through when a dozen or so screws slaughter him with batons, boots, and punches, while dragging him by the hair along a corridor, or when they squeeze his privates until he collapses, or

ers issued the following statement: 'For the past four years we have endured brutality in deplorable conditions — we have been stripped naked and robbed of our individuality, yet we refuse to be broken . . .

'We wish to make it clear that every channel has now been exhausted and, not wishing to break faith with those from whom we have inherited our principles, we now commit ourselves to hunger-strike.'

The British black propaganda machine claimed that 'IRA godfathers' were paying the families of prisoners who joined the fast.

The Republican leaders were opposed to the hunger-strike and tried to persuade the prisoners to change their minds.

However, having heard the prisoners' determination to proceed with the action, they withdrew their criticisms and publicly supported the hunger-strikers.

Last-minute negotiations started by the Tory government led to the first stage of the hunger-strike protest being called off — with some prisoners very near death.

When the promised concessions were not granted and the criminalisation process began again, the prisoners had already tested the promises of Irish Nationalist politicians in the Dublin government and found them worthless.

This time there was no going back. Their final statement pointed out the betrayal they had suffered:

'Our last hunger-strikers were severely blackmailed by a number of people and politicians who called upon them to end the fast and

allow the resolution of the protest . . .

'It needs to be asked openly of the Irish bishops, of Cardinal O Fiaich and of politicians like John Hume, what did your recommending ending of the last hunger-strike gain for us?'

The answer, of course, is that it gained time for the British government to swing into action and spread the lie that a bunch of gangsters and political racketeers were exploiting helpless prisoners and would let them die for a propaganda advantage.

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams wrote to Sands in 1980: 'Bobby, we are tactically, strategically, physically and morally opposed to a hunger-strike.'

The workers, farmers, mothers, unemployed and the youth of the Six Counties responded massively to the sacrifice of the hunger-strikers.

On April 9, 1981, Bobby Sands was elected MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone: his supporters had voted 30,429-strong for the prisoner of war.

The huge support for the hunger-strikers took the Tories and Unionists by surprise, particularly as they had always claimed the IRA was a small movement with no mass base. But it only made the ruling class even more determined to kill Sands and his comrades. They refused all pleas for clemency.

The real murderers and terrorists, as is now clearly demonstrated by the actions of Thatcher and Reagan in bombing Libya, are the imperialists.

### Roll of Honour

IRA Vol.	Bobby Sands, MP	May 5 1981
IRA Vol.	Francis Hughes	May 12 1981
IRA Vol.	Raymond McCreesh	May 21 1981
INLA Vol.	Patsy O'Hara	May 21 1981
IRA Vol.	Joe Mc Donnell	July 8 1981
IRA Vol.	Martin Hanson	July 13 1981
INLA Vol.	Kevin Lynch	Aug. 1 1981
IRA Vol.	Kevin Doherty, TD	Aug. 2 1981
IRA Vol.	Thomas Mc Elwee	Aug. 8 1981
INLA Vol.	Mickey Devine	Aug. 20 1981

to be locked up naked in solitary confinement, 24 hours a day, and subjected to total deprivation of not only common everyday things, but of basic human necessities, such as clothes, fresh air and exercise, the company of other human beings.

'In short, imagine being entombed, naked and alone, for a whole day. What would it be like for twenty torturous months?'

'Now again, with this in mind, try and imagine just what it is like to be in this situation in surroundings

throw scalding water around his naked body.

'It is also inconceivable for me to describe, let alone for you to imagine, our state of mind just sitting waiting for this to happen. I can say that this physical and psychological torture in the H-blocks has brought many men to the verge of insanity . . .

Protests made no impression on the Labour leaders. They were determined to carry out the British imperial role at all costs and hang on to the Six Counties:

In October 1980 the prison-