

## ON INSIDE PAGES

Elections round-up  
Pages 4,5

Free The Guildford Four!  
Pages 6,7

Youth Perspectives  
Pages 11,12

Printers' fight  
Page 16

## Brutal attack on WRP member

ON MONDAY evening, May 5, Charlie Walsh, a bus conductor from the Cricklewood Garage and a long-standing member of the Workers Revolutionary Party, was brutally assaulted outside the National Club in Kilburn High Road.

Charlie, who comes from Kilkenny and is a well-known supporter of the Republican cause, was handing out leaflets on the street campaigning against the constant strip-searching of Irish women in Brixton prison, and publicising a meeting launching a campaign to release the Guildford Four.

### Nose

(The Guildford Four have been imprisoned for twelve years on frame-up charges and their case is now being taken up by several Labour MPs and other groups in the working-class movement.)

While Charlie was handing out the leaflets to people queuing for a 'Wolfe Tones' concert, a man suddenly came out of the 'National' dance hall and assaulted him — breaking his nose in several places, causing severe bleeding and shock.

An ambulance had to be called to take him to hospital.

This outrageous and unprovoked attack must be condemned by Republican supporters and the labour and trade union movement in the area. We must defend the right of all progressive forces to campaign politically on the streets of Kilburn.

We call on all those organisations to pass resolutions to this effect and send them to the National Club, 234 Kilburn High Road, London NW6.

# OCCUPY THE SHIPYARDS! Force the Tories out

**ONLY MASS occupations of the shipyards and the mobilisation of the entire labour and trade union movement to force this hated Tory government out of office can begin to answer the minimal demands of shipyard workers.**

The right to work in 1986 poses directly this confrontation with Thatcher's Tory government.

Facing shipyard workers today and every other worker — whether unemployed, in factories, mines, or hospitals — is an absolutely ruthless class enemy acting decisively to attack workers and trade unions.

The Tories are plundering the nationalised industries and selling off the profitable ones to their capitalist friends and the banks. They simply smash up those assets which are no longer profitable.

The fate of the shipbuilding industry was at risk when the trade union leaders and the shop stewards failed to mount any serious opposition to the Tory carve-up when the highly profitable naval yards were sold off.

The streamlining necessary before privatisation demands the smashing of trade union organisations in the work place and the destruction of hard-won working conditions.

The more the trade union leaders retreat the more arrogant and vicious the Tory government and the employers become.

More and more concessions are demanded on wages and conditions when closure and redundancies threaten. It was no coincidence that the 'negotiations' last week for a new wage deal for shipyard workers was turned into a butchering of the shipyards.

The 1,300 men at Smiths Dock on Teesside actually received their written notices on the Wednesday lunch time while the Newcastle meeting between British Ship Builders and the unions was in progress.

Areas of already mass unemployment — up to 85 per cent in some communities on Teesside and Tyne — are to

BY HUGHIE NICHOL

receive the full brunt of the Tory attacks

2,580 jobs are to go in the North East, 820 in Scotland, 95 in Devon.

Shipyards on the Tyne have been bulldozed to make way for luxury houses; ship repair docks are to be turned into marinas. The Tories cynically offer £10 million to assist folk in those areas: £5 million to re-train ex-shipyard workers and £5 million extra for MSC and community programmes.

The Tory message to the unemployed is to clean up derelict land on community programme schemes and to sign up at the local Job Centre (bitterly called joke shops by the unemployed).

The privatised Swan Hunter's naval yard has also threatened a further 2,000 more redundancies if no orders are received from the government.

The same day massive cuts in the area's hospitals were announced.

Miners at Bates Pit in Northumberland have worked their last shift as the pit closes down and is allowed to flood by the NCB.

The events of the miners' year-long strike and the bitter struggles of the print workers at Wapping must be seen as a sharp reminder to the shop stewards in the shipyards: no amount of 'negotiations' or appeals to the Tories will soften the blow.

The Northern Region Labour Party are to ask to see Tory leader Thatcher to question her on the shipyard issues!

The campaign for demonstrations, rallies and a lobby of Parliament with which the trades unions propose to fight the closures and sackings is totally inadequate and doomed to failure.

Only the mobilisation of the working class to seize the means of production by mass occupations of the shipyards and the merging of the struggles of all workers facing these attacks by the Tory government — the miners, print workers, hospital-workers, the unemployed and youth facing YTS — and the turning of this fight to force the Tory government out of office as the major task of the day; only this campaign can prepare

working class for the tasks ahead.

The notion that we can only wait for the election of a Labour government is a betrayal and a poor excuse to allow the Tories to continue unchallenged.

The issues facing every worker today from Wapping to Tyneside are fundamental questions of working class rights: the defence of trade unions.

The continuous onslaught by British Shipbuilders and the bosses of the newly privatised shipyards means today compulsory overtime, redundancies, yard closures, shift working and interference in holiday arrangements.

The ongoing Phase Five

agreement means that the company demands that workers accept responsibility for the economic slump.

The Tory-inspired new-style management demands that you give yourself and your family to the needs of the customers for low wages and poor working conditions with no job security.

The world slump in manufacturing and shipping drives governments and bosses to attack workers jobs and wages.

The Labour and trade union leaders consistently refuse to stand with workers in resisting these attacks. Since 1977, 40,000 jobs have been lost in ship building alone.

Every trade unionist must

face these issues today; this slump is not of our making. If these leaders refuse to stand with us, we must forge a new leadership with new policies.

Hard-won rights and working conditions are not negotiable — they cannot be bought or sold.

- Occupy the yards!
- Demand the right to work!
- No redundancies, no closures!
- Smash the anti-union laws!
- Workers control of nationalised industries!
- End privatisation!
- Unite with printers and miners to force the Tories out!



Swan Hunter workers. Battle now is to defend whole industry against Tory government.

# BANK WORKERS FACE PAY AND JOBS THREAT

BY PETER WINDELER

THE Banking, Insurance and Finance Union (BIFU) is meeting this Sunday in Blackpool for its four-day annual conference.

Delegates are faced with many problems as banks and other financial institutions struggle against each other in the financial services market.

Drastic staff cuts, and effective 'de-skilling' operations play a large part in the banks' strategy for cost-containment and increasing profitability.

It is widely known that for instance Lloyd's Bank is considering paying wages related to market forces operating in different areas of the UK.

This could in effect mean a bank worker in the depressed North say, receiving substantially less than his or her counterpart in the South-East.

Also, as financial institutions insist on obtaining what is known as a market-related return on capital invested, total withdrawal from large northern industrial towns, exacerbating a slump, must be considered a distinct possibility.

## Compete

A trade war is not only a possibility in the field of manufactured and agricultural products, but also in financial services, for which the U.K. has maintained in the past a trade surplus.

Barclays Bank chairman Timothy Bevan recently accused Japan of 'dumping' financial services on the world market, driving out firms from the USA and Western Europe unable to compete.

BIFU, traditionally a 'non-political' union, will vote this year on a motion on South Africa, among other things

to affiliate to the Anti-Apartheid movement and withdraw all assets from companies having connections with the racist regime.

The union's history dates back to 1917, when a meeting in Sheffield decided to form a new 'Combination of Bank Clerks'.

The union then grew rapidly, which led the employers to set up their own staff associations. These staff associations still exist and although registered as 'trade unions', are vehemently anti-TUC and labour movement.

## Finances

Frequently, in-house staff association newspapers contain letters supporting the racist South African state, and contain a smattering of articles and photographs featuring Tory government officials.

Marx described the trade unions as 'schools for socialism'. In a future workers' state, bank workers hopefully will play a vital part in controlling and regulating the finances of the socialist economy.

BIFU delegates are invited to submit to Workers Press letters and articles about what workers in the finance industry should be considering and working towards, within their union and the labour movement as a whole.



Big struggles ahead for bank workers

# Scandal of homes for OAPs

By Brian Dempsey

PRIVATE OWNERS of homes for the elderly are given a 'licence to print money', according to a report published this month by NUPE and the West Midlands County Council and featured in a 'World in Action' television programme.

Private rest homes are exempt from rates; they receive relatively high DHSS payments and make widespread use of YTS trainees 'with the MSC unable or unwilling to monitor abuses'.

The report was compiled by

researchers who volunteered their help to 14 private homes for the elderly to expose the horrific conditions and the open profiteering that is encouraged by the government.

Private owners are paid by the number of residents that they have not the quantity of care given.

If a private owner has a large room in which one or perhaps two elderly people could live with some dignity and privacy then the tempta-

tion is to put four/five people in that one room to get extra payments.

One elderly man was billed £168 for incontinence pads for a six week period. This would have meant that the pads were changed 86 times a day when the normal maximum would be 12.

Elderly people often pay obviously overcharged bills because they are confused or they are frightened to cause a fuss.

The report calls for local authorities to have legal powers over private home operators. However, as long as very great profit is to be made out of the suffering of elderly people there will always be those willing to exploit this.

It is the NHS's responsibility to provide high quality, dignified care for the elderly, using properly qualified and properly paid staff. Only then can we 'stop the exploitation of our own elderly people and ensure that caring not profit is the priority'.

'The Realities of Home Life: Report on care for the elderly' is published by NUPE and the West Midlands County Council.

# FORD AXE 600 SOUTH WALES JOBS

SIX HUNDRED jobs are to be lost at Ford's Bridgend engine plant. The plant, built in 1978 with a £90 million grant from Callaghan's Labour government, produces all the engines for the top-selling Escort and Orion models.

Elsewhere in the Ford's factories, it is being said that the plant leadership accepted the job losses when they were told that the alternative was complete closure.

In Dagenham, workers producing the 1.6 Kent diesel engine, who only two months ago were forced to increase production by 20 per cent, have now been told they have 'overproduced' — and face 21 days layoff.

Speculation is growing that a major policy change has taken place in the management following the blacking of Ford's moves to buy out Austin-Rover. Ford's Europe chief Bob Lutz said then, when talks ended, 'This

decision will cost jobs.'

Fords are known to be jealous of Nissan's new plant in the North east and their agreement with the AEU, the only union they will recognise. They continuously browbeat the plant leadership with the need to compete.

## Operations

One motoring magazine has suggested that one of the options Ford's are looking at is handing over some or all of its operations to Mazda. Ford's has a 25 per cent shareholding in Mazda, a subsidiary of Japanese giant Sumitomo. Two years ago Ford's handed over its Philippines plant to Mazda — who re-hired the workforce with lower wages and worse conditions.

Profits of Ford of Britain rose by £100 million last year to a pre-tax level of £160 million. The US parent firm took £100 million of the profits in the form of a dividend.

THE DREAM of owning a home has become a nightmare for many of the young couples who bought homes under a joint local authority-private developer scheme, according to the latest issue of 'Roof'.

The builders provided the development finance, built and sold the homes. The councils provided cleared inner city sites and in return nominated people from their waiting lists.

It is these families who are now counting the cost, according to the report. They found the costs much higher than they had expected, and some fell behind with their payments.

They had 100 per cent mortgages, which meant they couldn't simply sell up, because no-one would pay the original price.

A sudden rash of empty houses on the Ardwick estate in Manchester led to vandalism — and now 17 of the 52 houses are for sale, the start

of a spiral of decline. Building societies are now reluctant to lend on the estate.

The developers got the land from the councils on the understanding that they were providing a service in building cheap homes.

They offer incentives for the first occupants like Bar-ratts £200 towards legal fees

and £40 a month subsidy for the first year, which mean that new buyers are trapped in houses that are generally more expensive than older properties in the same area.

Manchester was ordered by the government in 1985 to hand ten sites over to developers for private housing.

Yet the market for private

houses remains depressed, and the developers are really only making rich pickings out of more expensive housing.

The claims made for the schemes were extravagant, and the councils are forced to buy back houses they do not want from developments that went wrong.

# Build-for-sale nightmare

# Lothian's 'care gap'

A SHORT NEW pamphlet on the 'care gap' in Lothian criticises the state of public services. It outlines the cost to the people of Lothian Region of the last 4 years:

- 40,000 pupils lost free school milk.
- 5,000 pupils lost free school meals.
- 1,400 fewer subsidised meals served to the OAPs.
- 700 fewer home helps employed, and many other cuts in services.

The main strength of the pamphlet is in raising the role of 'local democracy'.

The council says 'it is the council's responsibility to stay inside our budget'; the users of the services say 'our services are the council's responsibility', and the providers of the service say 'our work, wages and conditions are the council's responsibility'.

Should services be tailored to the cash 'available' or should the cash available be

determined by the amount of spending needed to give a proper service to the young, disabled, and elderly, the CARE pamphlet asks.

It will be enlightening for the people of Lothian, with a new Labour Regional Council, to see whether that administration considers people or its budget as its priority. 'The Care Gap in Lothian Region' is available from CARE, 14 Bellevue Gardens Edinburgh

# Teachers' gains at risk in NUT deal

**TEACHERS** are determined that local authorities will find it impossible to return to a situation where they are prepared to cover for absentees.

The NUT has sold its members an interim payment for peace and calm in the schools in order to get a place on the ACAS talks.

Teachers' leaders accepted an on-account payment of £520 or 5.5 per cent at the weekend.

The NUT's claim was for a minimum increase of £1,700 with an on-account flat rate payment of £800.

Teachers in schools are worried that the NUT may refuse to go ahead with the no-cover action.

They are angry that the payment falls far short of £800, is not a flat rate and are suspicious of anything beneficial coming out of ACAS.

'I don't think we should ever cover ever again. I think it's ludicrous,' this was the reaction of Carol Patterson from Lambeth.

All teacher unions, including the NUT, are now participating in the ACAS talks on pay, salary structure and conditions of service — talks which represent the biggest danger to teachers and pupils.

BY PAM RODELL

The government's aim is first of all to force teachers to accept as part of their contract many extra duties such as covering for absent teachers, evening meetings, dinner-time supervision, exam invigilation and other duties.

If there has been one important gain in conditions of service in the past year, it is that teachers will not return to covering for absent staff; a gain which has resulted in improved teaching conditions.

The union recommendation of one-fifth of all time being left for marking and

preparation has been met in many areas for the first time.

Teachers are determined to continue this gain which has resulted in a big expansion of supply staff.

Another aspect of the pay campaign has been that all preparation for new exams or courses has been stopped. This has resulted in the demand for proper time and resources to be put into training teachers for the new GCSE exam.

Keith Joseph is still refusing to postpone the exam for a year.

However the main thrust of government policy is on teacher appraisal. The NUT has refused to accept government appraisal up till now, instead putting forward their own ideas of appraisal.

By accepting the idea that teachers should be appraised at all, the NUT are entering into the government's trap.

First of all, it gives credence to the government's idea that bad teachers are one of the main causes of the problems in education.

In reality the government would like to use

appraisal to weed out left-wing or liberal teachers who oppose the new centralisation emphasis and the Manpower Services Commission's intervention in education.

These government trends will end up destroying the improvements won for the working class in the post-war period, particularly in the field of comprehensive education.

- Teachers should demand:
- No talks with ACAS
  - No appraisal
  - Continuous study courses by right.

# Hospital Workers fight 'Devastating package'



Young nurses (above) and the Bethlehem & Maudsley Hospitals Action Committee Banner (left) on the May 12 march and lobby: vital London health amenities are threatened

STAFF at one of Britain's leading psychiatric hospitals are fighting a half-million pounds cuts programme.

Workers from the Maudsley Hospital in London are protesting against a half-million pound cuts programme...

drug dependency unit, which serves a wide area of London.

The 24-hour emergency service would end, with patients being referred to the already over-worked casualty unit at nearby King College hospital...

cer, many of them emergency cases. The hospital's Junior Doctors' Association say the proposal is unworkable and irresponsible.

The hospital's special adolescents treatment unit, which serves young people with mental health problems...

package'.

Leading doctors and psychiatrists have expressed grave concern at the effect on services research and training. It was that 22 out of 44 professors of medicine...

## Election round-up

# Labour loses East End stronghold

**THE LOCAL election result from the East London Borough of Tower Hamlets last week reversed the trend everywhere else in the country and gave the Liberals a majority after 50 years of Labour.**

The final result was Liberals 25 seats, Labour 24 and the SDP one.

A major factor in the defeat was the defection of the

**BY BERNARD FRANKS**

mayor, former council leader Paul Beasley along with two other Labour renegades Reg Beer and George Desmond.

Their breakaway Tower Hamlets Labour group split the vote in the Lansbury ward and gave the Liberals three vital seats.

However this alone would not have been a factor had not there also been a deep

and long standing concern in the borough over the council's failure to face up to the government on key issues affecting the local electorate.

These include the chronic housing situation, the growth of racism, the destruction of local industry and jobs; the closure of hospitals; the rundown of local council services; the failure to fund voluntary groups doing vital work in the area and the encroachment of City of London moguls and property developers into the area with schemes which are wholly detrimental to local people.

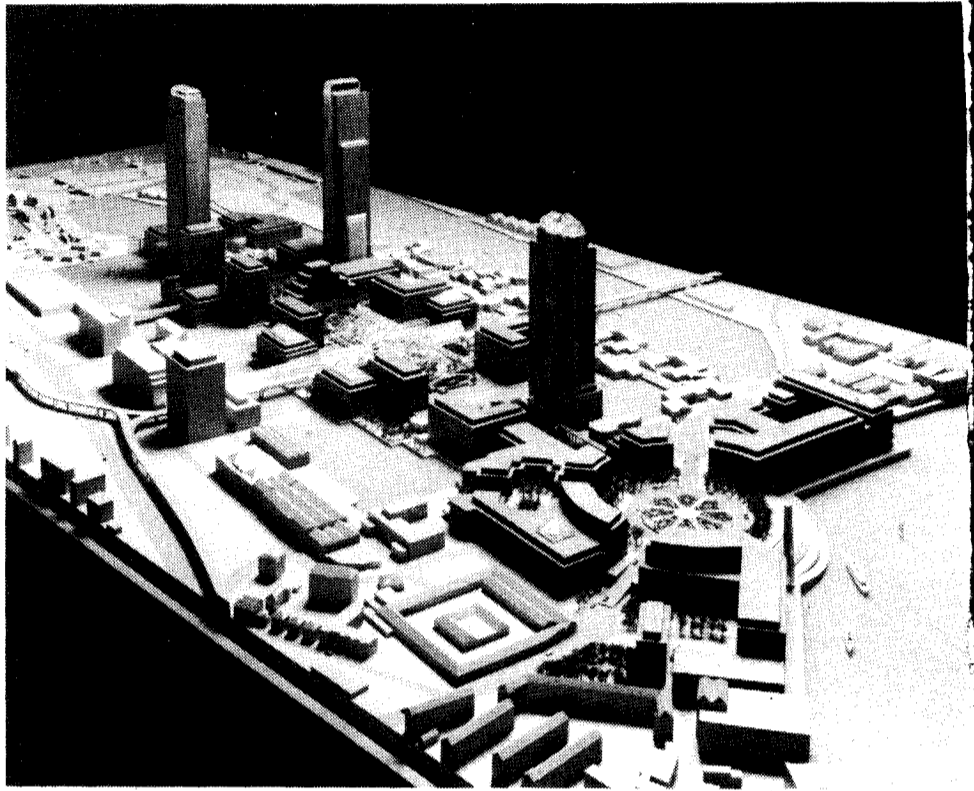
There is far more to Tower Hamlets than its 'East Enders' soap opera image indicates. It has a history of labour struggles going back centuries.

A mural at Mile End commemorates the 1381 peasants revolt which passed through on its way to besiege the Tower of London and occupy the city.

In 1768 port workers and coal heavers struck work and demonstrated in support of the imprisoned radical John Wilkes.

The fact that in the 19th century the Salvation Army and Barnardos Homes both began in the East End testifies to the appalling poverty that existed here in the midst of the vast wealth that flowed through the Port of London.

The great 1889 dock strike stopped the borough, as did the 1926 General Strike and the Battle of Cable Street to keep out Mosley's Black Shirt thugs.



Property speculators' latest plans for Tower Hamlets — the massive financial centre planned for Canary Wharf on the Isle of Dogs

Some of the earliest Labour Party work was done in the area and the terms 'Red Poplar' and 'Poplarism' both derived from actions by local workers in support of their Labour councillors.

Later the Communist Party would gain a toe-hold with councillors and an MP — Phil Piratin — in 1945.

However no united com-

munity struggle was mounted by Labour or the Stalinists at the time of the systematic dismantling of the docks and local industry in the 1960s and 1970s.

Today, while the most important struggle for years for the working class rages within its compass at Wapping, the future control of the council hangs on the arrangement that is made between the Liberals and the

SDP at the next meeting in a week's time.

Lansbury Ward  
Barry Blandford (Lib) 1119;  
Gwyneth Deakins (Lib) 1108;  
Pauline Fletcher (Lib) 1093;  
Stephen Bowen (Lab) 956;  
Paul Collins (Lab) 883; Mary Hawkins (Lab) 871; Reginald Beer (THL) 407; Paul Beasley (THL) 385; George Desmond (THL) 376; Chris Kingsley-Smith (Con) 77.

## Lessons of a right-wing betrayal

### COMMENT

By Martin Westwood

**ONE OF the local election results the leaders of the Labour Party were not quick to praise last week was that recorded in Tower Hamlets. For the first time in living memory overall control of the council was lost to the SDP-Liberal alliance.**

How was it possible that, in an swing of votes to the Labour Party nationally, a solid working class area like Tower Hamlets should pass out of the control of the Labour Party?

The answer is not only to be found in the corrupt and opportunist leadership of the Labour group but also with those Labour 'lefts' who buckled and ran when the Tories came for their pound of flesh in the rates confrontation last year.

With one or two honourable exceptions every Labour councillor, left and right, found their accommodation to the Tory cuts imposed through a reduced budget.

### Appalling

One of the major concerns of the working class in Tower Hamlets is, as with other inner city areas, the appalling state of the existing housing stock and the council's failure to build new homes for rent because of the Tory stranglehold over expenditure.

Imagine the anger then when they found the ex-leader of the Labour group — and still the mayor — Paul Beasley sitting on committees with the spivs of the London Docklands Development Corporation which grabs and sells land as frequently and cheaply as second-hand cars.

Imagine the anger when new homes are built and dangled invitingly — provided of course you have a spare £50,000.

The housing committee of the council, which has been dominated by Beasley and his clique, have answered the clamour for an increase in housebuilding and repairs by 'facing reality' — and proposing that council estates be auctioned off to property speculators like Barratts.

Little wonder then that the opportunist Liberals have been able to exploit these policies made in the name of socialism and pose as the defenders of the working class on their estates.

### Credit

To the credit of the local Labour Party activists, Beasley and his cohorts were driven from their branch base and de-selected. It was little surprise to find them standing as independent Labour candidates to split the Labour vote.

Although control of the council has been lost, it is very positive that these arch right-wingers have been driven from their positions of power.

The immediate task for those in the Labour Party in Tower Hamlets who wish to develop a true socialist alternative to the renegades and their heirs is quickly to expose the Liberals as the charlatans they are.

More important is not to give an inch on any issue where the working class is being asked to pay for the capitalist crisis.

This means a policy of no cuts whatever the consequences.



In October 1936 a mass turnout of the East End set up barricades and clashed with police — stopping Mosley's fascists from marching down Cable Street

## Election round-up

# Mersey result confirms 'Thatcher out' demand

The results of the municipal elections on Merseyside leave no doubt about the great strength of feeling in the working and middle class against this Tory government.

The most class-conscious workers found no alternative but to express their hatred of this Thatcher government in a Labour vote.

The Liverpool Labour Council now has a majority of ten seats over the combined Tory and Alliance total of 44.

Labour won again the 11 seats of the councillors who face high court penalties including a ban from office for 'wilful misconduct' in refusing to set a rate.

The council was re-elected despite a witch-hunt against it which extended from the most rabid attacks by Tories and the Alliance to a campaign against it by Labour and trade union leaders.

Its victory was despite an enquiry by the Labour Party right wing, supported by Tribune and former lefts — and it was despite all the weaknesses and opportunism in the leadership of the Labour council, with a strong Militant tendency in it.

### Manoeuvres

They made a deal with Tory minister Jenkins in 1984 which, despite Militant exaggeration, gave them very little but which took the council out of a struggle together with the miners.

Then, in 1985, they conducted the fight by using manoeuvres such as the declaration of redundancies, instead of making the centre of political gravity in the communities.

Workers voted in a class conscious way, irrespective of their criticism of the lead-

BY BILL HUNTER

ership, and rejected the witch-hunt.

In the solid working class area of Speke with enormous unemployment, particularly among the youth, one of the councillors, proposed for expulsion by the NEC of the Labour Party as a supporter of Militant, was given a massive majority.

Labour won 2,527 votes. The Tory was given 386 and the Alliance 662.

### Gained

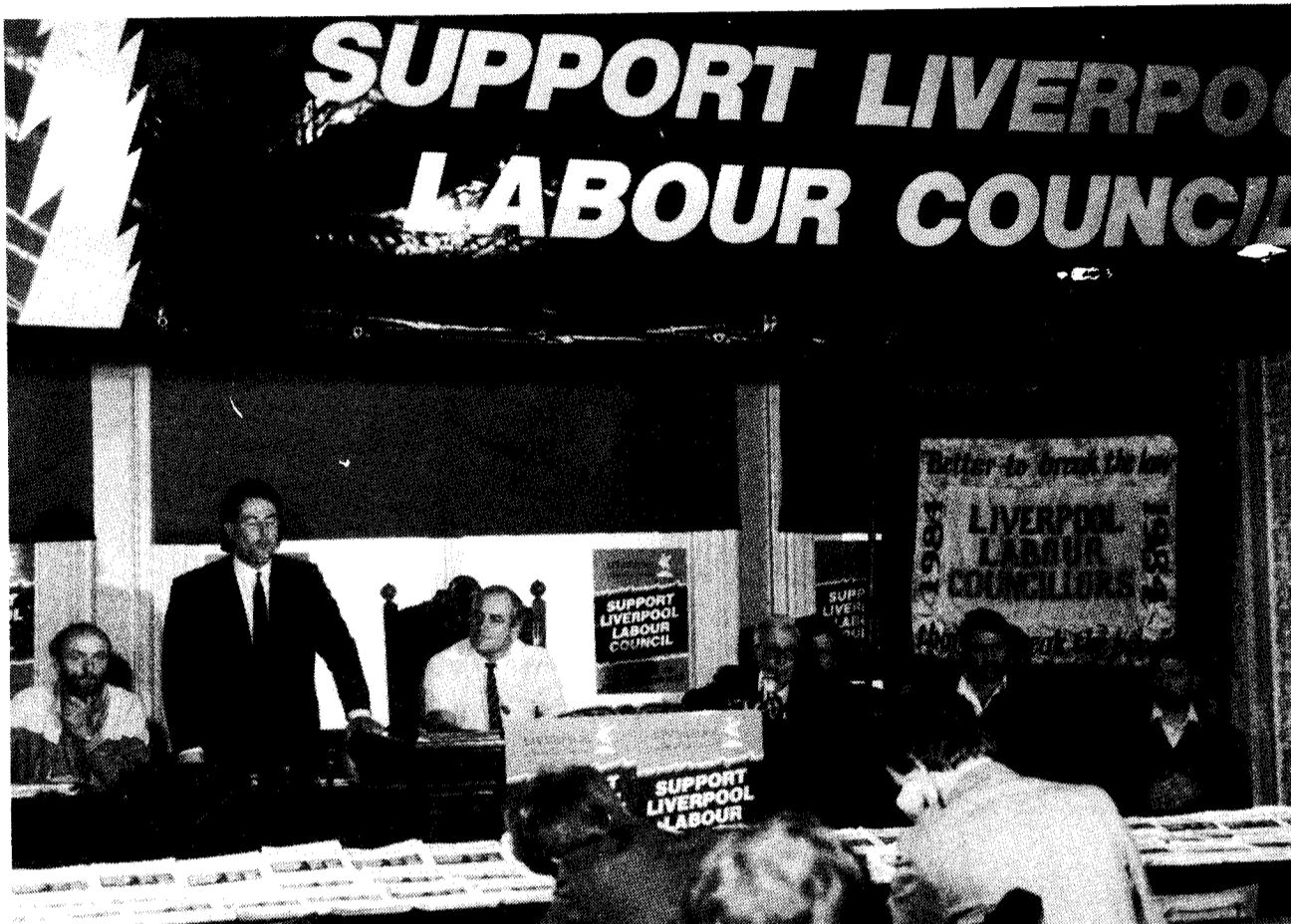
The Labour Party gained one seat in Liverpool; the only seat it lost was in Dingle. There the Labour candidate lost by 31 votes; The Communist Party candidate got 44 votes.

To show the present feelings of workers, it remains to be added that in St Helens in Merseyside, the Labour Party gained six seats from the Tories and the Alliance.

Both constituency Labour Parties in this area have been suspended by the Labour Party leaders.

Thursday of last week showed the correctness of the demand on the front page of Workers Press to 'force out the Thatcher government'.

Among right and left in the Labour Party, the conclusion will be drawn to wait for



the electoral tide to remove the Tories.

What is involved here, however, is the possibility of a mighty mass movement. The right-wing in particular are afraid of this.

Such a movement is the only way to deal not only with the Tories, but with the betrayal of Labour leaders.

These betrayals are not

answered by slogans like that of the Militant, 'Labour to power on a socialist programme'.

You cannot commit reformist leaders or change their nature by resolutions or words. That is one lesson at least from the 1974 Labour government, when Wilson, with the help of the word-spinning of Michael Foot,

ditched the 'left' manifesto.

You can only deal with the betrayals of reformism with a mass movement.

To bring the Tory government down with a mass movement on demands which concentrate all the hatred existing for the Thatcher government would mean a Labour government would be put into power by

forces that would collide with its betrayal.

● A mass movement, angry at war policies, demanding a break-up of war alliances, deeply agitated by the dangers of nuclear fission, bitter at the destruction of communities — such a mass movement would be a real basis for dealing with the Labour leaders.

# From United Front to sectarianism

THE 'NEWS LINE' of April 10, 1982 announced that 40 WRP candidates were standing in the local council elections.

In our election address voters were told: 'Where the WRP is not standing, we call for a Labour vote against the Tories, Liberals and the Jenkins gang known as the SDP. This does not mean we have any political confidence in reformism or the Labour leaders. We don't. The Labour leaders have no answer to Thatcherism. In office they cynically betrayed the working class.'

Also: 'The WRP seeks a genuine dialogue with Labour Party supporters and trade unionists who are serious about the struggle for socialism. We say that the WRP will give every ounce of support to your struggles against the Tories while always preserving our independent revolutionary socialist programme and our independence of action as the revolutionary leadership of the working class.'

'We fight for a united front with the Labour Party against the common Tory enemy, while waging an unrelenting struggle against the betrayals of the Labour leaders. The WRP will continue to back all those

Labour-held councils which have taken up the fight against the Tories, such as the Greater London Council (GLC), Lambeth Borough Council, Sheffield City Council, Lothian Regional Council and Dundee City Council.'

This was a principled united front with the Labour party: for a Labour vote while correctly placing no confidence in Labour leaders who betrayed.

### Jail

The 1974-79 Labour government held down wages while letting prices rise — on IMF orders — cut public spending, used troops to break the firemen's strike, pushed for a 'yes' vote in the Common Market referendum and continued to keep Des Warren, building worker picket, in jail.

The 1982 statement also acknowledged the contradiction that some Labour Party supporters (no mention however of Labour Party members!) were serious about the struggle for socialism.

This policy was also put forward in the WRP General Election Manifesto for May 13, 1983.

Two years later in October 1985 the Central Committee

BY ROBIN BURNHAM

of the WRP voted by 25 votes to 11 to expel Healy for sexual abuse and violence against members and slander against Dave North of the Workers League (USA), calling him a CIA agent.

Later Healy's expulsion, together with that of Sheila Torrance, Vanessa and Corin Redgrave, Ben Rudder, Simon Vevers, Richard Price, Paddy O'Reagan and Jean Kerrigan, was endorsed by a special conference on October 26 and 27, 1985.

These with a small following constitute the Healy group who lie through their teeth by calling themselves the WRP.

The real WRP resumed production of the 'News Line' (on October 23, after a stoppage of 10 days) until the new year when the title changed to 'Workers Press' (after the winding up of the printer of 'News Line', Astmoor Litho, because of court action by V. Redgrave Enterprises Ltd.)

The Healy group from November 1, 1985 produced a twice weekly bogus 'News Line' that went daily from February 1, 1986. On April 29, 1986 the Healyite 'News Line' announced that they were standing three candi-

dates in the local elections.

The passing of years from 1983 to 1986 reveal the degeneration of Healy and the people who support him. **Nowhere in their election address do they call for a Labour vote.**

Unlike 1982, Sheffield, Lothian Regional and Dundee City Council are not mentioned except for a vague 'build community councils to unite all councillors fighting Tory cuts with the trade unions, community groups, pensioners, tenants, unemployed and youth organisations'.

How were Labour councillors to remain unless workers voted for them? In Lambeth it was very important that workers voted for the new slate of Labour candidates put up to replace those disqualified by the Tories for trying to protect jobs ad services. Those candidates were in fact elected, but no thanks to the Healyites.

### Criticised

The election address also criticised Kinnock and Hattersley for betraying the miners, Lambeth and Liverpool councils, and for supporting most of the anti-trade union laws.

However no mention of the support Labour Party mem-

bers gave to these struggles, hence an undefeated working class (nowhere to be seen in this issue of 'News Line').

In a nutshell it was a case of we are the greatest, only we are fighting the Tories, so you can only vote for us. Bill Bowring, Ted Knight, Hazel Smith are you listening? Do you get the message?

'Workers Press' May 10, 1986 said, 'The urgent task for the WRP is to turn decisively to the millions who are engaged in this mounting opposition to the Tory government. The expulsion of Healy last October has made possible a break with his previous politics of sectarianism on one hand and opportunism on the other.'

In Crawley we have tried to do that by getting involved with the Crawley Print Support Group which was set up, to their credit by Paul Smith, a SWP member, and Mark Belchambers from the Labour Party.

This has not stopped us criticising where we thought necessary. Struggling with the working class in their organisations is a united front.

However the following from 'Workers Press', May 10 is wrong and could distort and, even worse, alienate Labour Party members and supporters:

'A future Labour government will come into direct conflict with the working class and large sections of the middle class. We will not place a shred of confidence in such a government. We will give it no support, critical or otherwise.'

It is wrong for the WRP to say we will give a future Labour government no support. Will we not call for a Labour vote in the first place?

### Interest

Has the capitalist system reached such a crisis that Labour could not do anything, legislate anything which would be in the interest of the working class?

Would they not find it possible, for example, to keep the promise of screening for cancer (no doubt at the expense of something else in the welfare state)?

They would certainly try to please the working class for as long as possible otherwise they would not last two minutes.

Can we please have a statement in the paper clarifying this point? It must be made clear that we will support actions in the interest of the class while ruthlessly criticising those that are not.

# Irish Question Central – WRP

'THE IRISH working class will have to incorporate and surpass James Connolly's achievements in the struggle to take power in Ireland,' Gerry Downing, WRP Central Committee member told a public meeting in Cricklewood, north west London on Monday night.

The meeting was called to commemorate the execution of James Connolly by the British on May 12, 1916, after the Easter Rebellion was crushed, and the death by starvation of Bobby Sands on May 5, 1981 at the end of a hunger strike.

## Resolved

Connolly, who fought for a workers' republic in Ireland, and who helped to found the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896 was very aware that the situation in Ireland could only be resolved by socialism, he wrote:

**'If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic, your efforts will have been in vain.'**

And in 1903 he said: 'There is only one remedy for this slavery of the working class and that remedy is the socialist republic. There is only one way to attain that end and that is for the working class to establish a political party of its own, every political party is the party of a class.'

Gerry Downing said that after Connolly's execution, the Irish working class was left leaderless.

And that the limitations of Connolly's conceptions of Marxism, and scientific socialism, were based on the material conditions prevailing in Ireland at the time.

## Land

The beginnings of an organised working class only existed in Belfast and Dublin. The big agitational question in Ireland was the question of the ownership of the land.

Downing said that republicanism pre-dates the struggle for socialism in Ireland. 'Revolutionary socialism must incorporate revolutionary republicanism.'

'As Trotskysts, we must fight for the working class as the only force capable of carrying through Irish liberation.'

'The contradictory nature of Sinn Fein can be seen in their attitude to the 1913 General Strike in Dublin — the right wing opposed the strike but the left wing supported that strike.' Downing went on:

'We must build revolutionary socialist parties based on the overthrow of capitalism in Britain and Ireland.'

## Defend

'We must defend the revolutionary heritage of James Connolly as we defend the struggle being waged in the north of Ireland against British imperialism. Those like the Irish Labour Party and the so-called 'Workers Party' who make a separation between the fight for national liberation and the fight for socialism don't want to fight British imperialism.'

Since the expulsion of Healy, the question of Ireland has become a central question for the WRP. 'We in Britain can't defend the Nicaraguans, the Libyans, or the South Africans, if we can't defend the Irish fighters for national liberation. As soon as the struggle comes close to home, the great left talkers will condemn it,' Downing said.

Commenting on the record of the British Labour Party on Ireland, Downing observed: 'No socialist or republican will ever forget Labour leader Don Concannon travelling to the side of the dying Bobby Sands to assure him that the British Labour movement would never support him,' said Downing.

'And Roy Mason, whose record in the north of Ireland is far worse than the Tories, presided over the tortures in Castlereagh and still needs an armed guard with him.'

'We have a major responsibility to raise the question of Ireland in the labour and trade union movement, in particular the question of Republican prisoners in British jails, denied the most basic rights of other prisoners,' Downing said.

Liz Hill, sister of Paul Hill, one of the 'Guildford Four', spoke powerfully about her brother, wrongfully imprisoned for 12 years. The first person to be held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, he is also the only person to get a sentence of 'natural life' in a British court.

## Solitary

During his 12 years in prison he has been moved 42 times, he has spent almost one and a half thousand days in solitary confinement and has been severely beaten.

Many people are now joining the campaign for the release of the Guildford Four and Liz urged everyone at the meeting to support the campaign by raising it in the labour and trade union movement and by writing to MPs.

Arrested herself in Coventry when she was 17 years old on the day the Birmingham bombs went off, she said after the treatment she got, she could understand why people are terrorised into giving statements under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

## Support

'I can see how people get framed up,' she said. She described the continual harassment of herself and her family, the arrests and re-arrests, and the raids by armed members of the Special Branch.

'We're going to need everyone's support,' she

# Picket of Show Trial Arrested



This whole picket was arrested

## WOLFE TONE MEETING

A packed Conway Hall last Saturday saw a successful rally in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of James Connolly and the fifth anniversary of the death on hunger strike of Bobby Sands.

The rally was organised by the Wolfe Tone Society, who provided facilities for stalls to a number of campaigns and political groups.

The Free the Guildford Four campaign stall attracted a lot of attention, especially after Liz Hill, who was invited to speak on the platform on behalf of the campaign, had explained the frame-up of the Guildford Four.

The meeting was addressed by a number of speakers including Jeremy Corbyn (right) and Bob Doyle, pictured below.

said. 'Because they've spent 12 years in prison, it's going to be very difficult to get them out. The police won't admit to a frame-up easily.'

Sarah Hannigan, Kilburn WRP, who chaired the meeting, said that in the past the WRP 'fawned before British imperial prejudices. A turn has now been made to face up to that and we must understand the national liberation of Ireland as part of the struggle for a socialist Ireland.'

'James Connolly's policies were aimed at trying to heal the split in the Irish working class. Still today we must overcome those divisions and also the division between the Irish and British working classes,' she said.

See page 8: Liz Hill tells her story in her own words as the first of a series detailing the events which led up to the conviction of Paul Hill.

these five Irish people are dangerous terrorists.

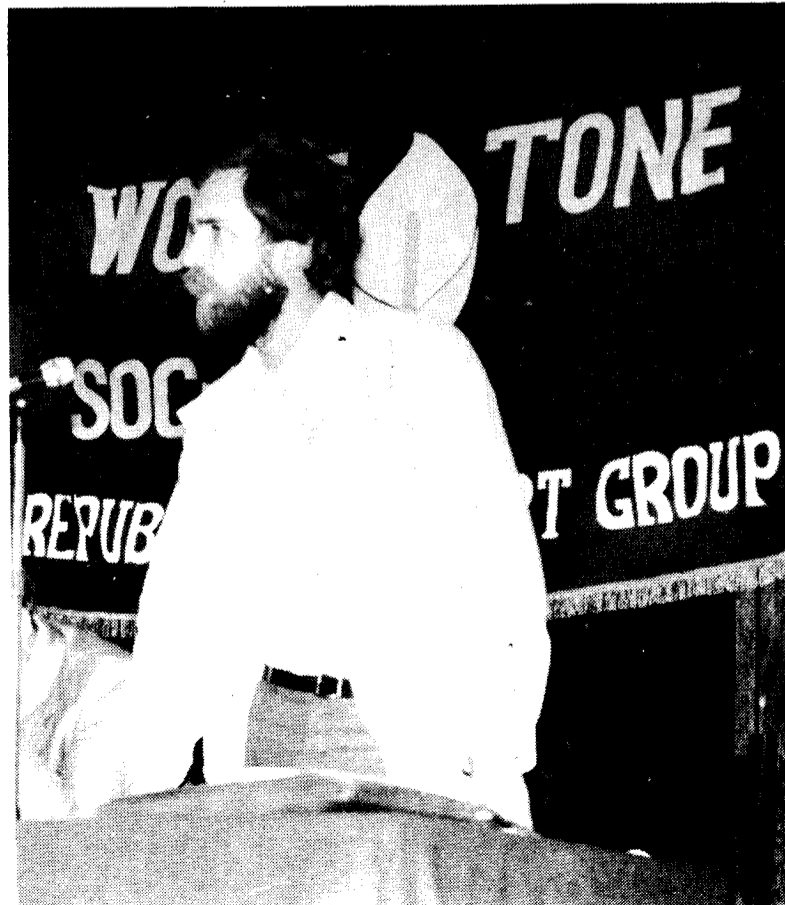
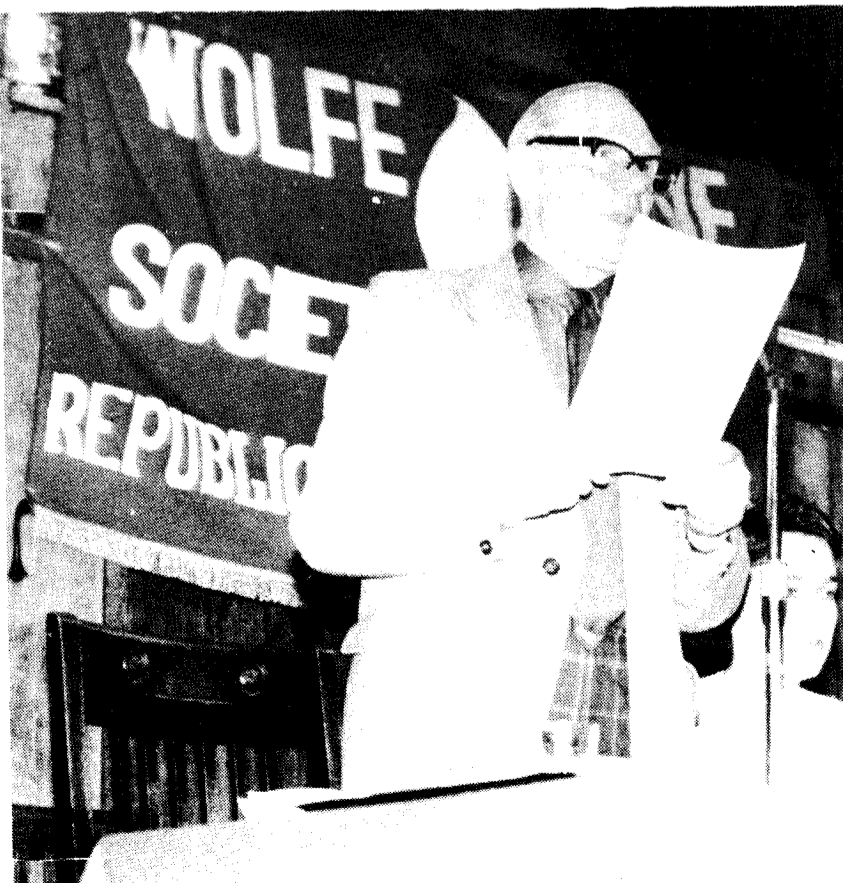
The five are Patrick Magee, who is charged with bombing the Grand Hotel in Brighton during the Tory Party conference in 1984, and Gerry McDonnell, Peter Sherry, Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, who are all charged with conspiring to cause explosions in the UK during 1985.

The picket was organised by the Irish Prisoners Appeal and supported by Women and Armagh, the Troops Out Movement, the Irish Solidarity Movement and the Workers Revolutionary Party. The picket protested against the 'show trial' atmosphere, with police all around the court, many of them armed.

The IRA point out that the trial is similar to the show trials in the north of Ireland. It has nothing whatsoever to do with obtaining justice, but sets out to give the capitalist media the impression that

Martina and Ella have been the victims of routine and systematic strip searching in Brixton prison. The fact that the media have been fed selective information about the five before the trial has, like in all previous trials of Irish political people, produced such an anti-Irish atmosphere that it is impossible to have a fair trial.

A picket of the Old Bailey will take place each Monday during the trial.



# WORLD NEWS

# WAR THREATENS SYRIA DESPITE ASSAD TREACHERY

**IN THE WAKE** of Reagan's bombing of Libya, a new war threat emerges in Syria. In this Workers Press feature, international correspondent CHARLIE POTTINS outlines the background to the danger and explains the duplicitous role of the Assad regime.

The relationship between Assad and the dubious Abu Nidal group plays a key part in its relationships with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

**SYRIA COULD** be the next Arab victim of US aggression after Libya, despite fresh treacherous moves by President Assad to make a deal at the expense of the Palestinians.

Reagan and vice-president George Bush have both spoken openly of Syria as the possible next target and have threatened use of sea-launched cruise missiles.

The stage for war is being set by the British and US governments and their loyal media, which have suddenly begun branding Syria as a 'terrorist' centre.

The attack might well be launched by the Israelis, who reportedly provided the British Special Branch with information implicating Syrian embassy officials in the bombing attempt on an El Al plane at Heathrow.

warned of 'increased danger of a military confrontation'. Officials told foreign journalists that a message had been sent via the US reassuring Assad they were not preparing to attack.

Assad has not shown any sign of being reassured. He told a student rally in Damascus that the situation was like that 'before an explosion' and that Israeli missile batteries were pointed at the Syrian capital.

After vice-president and former CIA chief Bush had talks with Rabin, Assad was reportedly in urgent consultations with Soviet leaders.

Unlike Libya, the Syrians have got Soviet guarantees in the event of aggression. But there is tacit agreement between the US and the Soviet Union that if the Israeli Zionists do Washington's dirty work, the Kremlin will look the other way.

There is a double irony to the latest threats against Syria. First of all, the Assad regime's involvement with, and use of, so-called 'terrorist' groups was known well before the Reagan government's onslaught on Libya.

Soon after the Achille Lauro ship hijacking, Italian investigators reported that



Hail fellow well met? Assad pledged 'steadfastness' with Gaddafi. Has he given different message to Hussein... and Washington?

the group involved had come from Syria.

This was largely ignored by the American and British media. So was a message relayed via the Italian premier from Colonel Gaddafi, offering co-operation in curbing attacks in Europe if the US withdrew its war fleet from off Libya's coast.

Libyan peace-feelers via the Saudis were also ignored. Reagan had already made his plans.

The Syrian regime has been playing host for some time to the renegade Palestinian Abu Nidal group, which has boasted of several attacks on Jews in Europe and has murdered leading PLO representatives like Said Hammami in London, Naim Khader in Brussels, and Issam Sartawi at the Socialist International in Lisbon. The PLO has vowed a death sentence on Abu Nidal.

Last year, a Syrian-organised hit squad was intercepted in London, intending to kill PLO envoy Faical Aweida.

It is understood Palestinian intelligence got wind of this plot. The British authorities quietly sent Assad's hitmen back, but not much fuss was made.

## Strategy

This is one reason why, until now, Syria has not been targeted for imperialist attack. The imperialists and Zionists understood that Assad's backing for supposed 'Palestinian extremists' opposing Yasser Arafat's PLO leadership was part of his strategy for trying to smash Palestinian independence, as much as the open Syrian military onslaughts on Palestinian camps.

While Assad was harbour-

ing Abu Nidal, his brother Rifaat, head of the Syrian secret police, had secret meetings with former Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and with Uri Lubrani, seconded by Mossad (Israeli intelligence) to direct Israeli political interference in Lebanon. After each meeting, a fresh attack on the Palestinians followed.

The second irony is that the war threats come as Assad has been patching-up a dirty deal with the pro-imperialist King Hussein of Jordan. Earlier this year, Hussein rattled on agreements with the PLO to pursue joint diplomatic initiatives.

His pretext was the PLO's refusal to accept UN Resolution 242 — recognising Israel — since it does not recognise the Palestinians.

Now Assad, who posed as the super-militant opposing PLO peace moves, hastens

to embrace Hussein, whom he had previously denounced as a traitor. The only consistent feature in the shifting sands of the Arab bourgeoisie's secret diplomacy is their treachery to the Palestinians.

## Aggressive

What makes the war danger greater now is not any 'new evidence' of Syrian misbehaviour, but the problems which Reagan, the Zionists and Thatcher each face at home, making aggressive action abroad more attractive to them.

● Notwithstanding all it has suffered at Assad's hands, the PLO has rightly declared a principled readiness to fight alongside Syria against the imperialists and Zionists. As with Libya, the labour movement must take the same position against imperialist aggression.

## Sanctions

Three Syrian diplomats were expelled last week and, after Syria's tit-for-tat expulsion of three Brits, Foreign Office Minister Timothy Renton said further action might be taken.

In the Commons, SDP leader (and former Labour Foreign Secretary) David Owen said that if Syrian involvement in the El Al incident was proved there should be diplomatic and economic sanctions against Syria.

In Israel, where public concern has been growing for some months that the military might be planning a new war, the government was giving out confusing signals last week, perhaps deliberately.

Defence Minister Rabin

# US TEXTILE PROTECTION PRESSURE—

**THE REAGAN** administration is coming under big political pressure to take a tough protectionist line against textile-exporting poor countries that compete with US firms.

US officials and others are in talks to restrict the exports of these countries to the industrialised capitalist West. The present Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) expires at the end of July.

Brazilian and other representatives have pointed out that such restrictive pacts conflict with the proclaimed free-trade objects of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Trade ministers of the 90 GATT-member countries are due to meet in Uruguay on July 15.

## Agriculture

The big seven industrial capitalist governments agreed in Tokyo that they all wanted to stop protectionism and move to freer trade. Others are asking whether they'll include agriculture and textiles.

A majority of US Congressmen say they want tougher restrictions. A letter to Reagan, signed by 70 out of 100 senators and 302 of the

435 representatives, demands he negotiate a new agreement 'to significantly reduce the market share held by major foreign suppliers.'

Last year Reagan vetoed a bill which would have cut back imports by 40 per cent from 12 countries — all but one in Asia.

At the same time, he promised to take a tough stand in the Multi-Fibre talks to shield the US industry.

Now the congressmen say they'll be watching whether he sticks to this pledge. This will decide what they have to say in August when Congress is due to discuss his veto.

The Democrats are also planning to take a protectionist line in the congressional elections this Autumn.

They'll blame foreign imports for factory and mill closures in the United States and the loss of thousands of jobs.

The problem which all these 'look after our own' chauvinists prefer not to face for now is that America's competitors are also her markets and that more than one can play the protection game.

US farmers and industrial workers have already been hit by the boomerang effect of Reaganomics applied

abroad as well as its policies at home.

A report by the congressional joint economics committee says pressure by the Reagan government on Latin American debtor countries has staved off collapse of US banks, so their profits and stocks have risen.

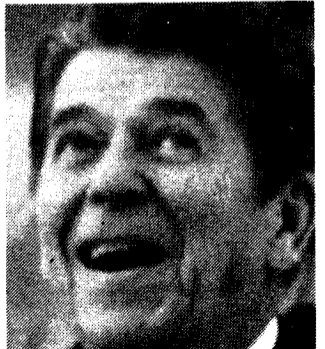
## Debtors

As the debtors struggle to pay off huge interest, they inevitably have to cut im-

ports.

The US imperialists also have to face the prospect that exporting their own economic crisis to other countries, even those with pro-US governments servile enough to back-down, only threatens to destabilise these governments and promote working-class revolt.

Whichever way they turn, the capitalist contradictions are irresolvable. Trade-war can lead all too easily to shooting-wars as the capitalists seek a way out.



REAGAN

# AS REAGAN DEMANDS OPEN DOOR

**'THE WAY** to resolve trade problems is to seek open, not closed, markets; to seek multi-lateral negotiation, not unilateral legislation', US President Reagan said after the Tokyo economic summit.

Trumpeting his usual theme of the 'free market' as cure-all for capitalism, Reagan claimed:

'We arrived at this summit as a rising tide of prosperity

in the industrial democracies was demonstrating to the world the wisdom of the free market policies that we've pursued and together we committed ourselves in Tokyo to strengthening those policies when we return home.'

Reagan went on: 'For developing countries as well, as a robust and free Asia demonstrates, the principles

of the free market are more important to progress than any level of economic aid.'

Reagan — or his lousy scriptwriters — might have the affrontery to call the growing unemployment in every capitalist country a 'rising tide of prosperity'.

He might even prefer not to notice that, amid the sweatshops and shantytowns of 'free' Asia, the most

robust force these days is the movement against US domination and its corrupt stooges.

● But while he is telling poorer countries they must keep open their doors to US goods and capital and provide a free market for exploitation, he will not find it so easy to persuade worried manufacturers back home to provide an open market.

## COMMENT

# The Brutality of Apartheid

The South African apartheid regime has become a by-word for savage repression and brutal counter-revolutionary violence. What this means in terms of death and injury for the black population is vividly underlined in this report based on a report published in the Capetown 'Weekly Mail'.

MORE than 50 per cent of people shot by police in Cape Town last year were wounded in the back, according to a University of Cape Town medical research report.

The report is one of two published this week containing strong evidence about police behaviour in dealing with unrest in Cape Town townships in the last year.

In the first, Dr Joe Duflou, a registrar in UCT's Department of Forensic Medicine, studied post-mortems conducted on victims of police action.

He found that more than 50 per cent were shot in the back and another 11.6 per cent had wounds in their sides, suggesting they had turned to run as police opened fire.

The average age of those shot was 25.2 years and 12.2 per cent of victims were less than 15 years old. The youngest was seven.

Duflou investigated the post-mortem findings of 93 people shot dead by police between January and December last year.

Of these, 87 deaths were unrest-related and six were the result of 'routine law enforcement'.

Duflou found birdshot was used in almost 40 per cent of the deaths.

He reported that the birdshot pellets used by the SAP were between 2mm and 3mm in diameter.

In the United States, birdshot, which is used only for pest control, is half that size — 1.3mm — and can barely penetrate thin cardboard at 20m range.

The majority of the deaths were inflicted by shotguns at a distance of more than 15 metres. Ten people were shot from less than four metres away.

Almost 35 per cent of the unrest victims were shot more than once and 6 per cent were shot at least five times.

Duflou also reported that in the four months prior to the declaration of the State of Emergency, there were no unrest deaths from police shootings in the Cape Peninsula. By August, 22 bodies had been sent to the Salt River mortuary.

In the second report, doctors at the Empilisweni SACLA clinic in the Crossroads squatter camp claim to have treated about 500 people shot by security forces between February and November, 1985.

Of these, 60 had serious injuries needing referral and 13 later died from their injuries.

Five children below the age of nine were treated at the clinic, including a child who 'reported being shot on the way to the shops'.

Another 36 victims were between 10 and 15 years old. Altogether, nearly 160 of the 370 patients treated whose age was recorded — a total of 43 per cent — were under 20 years old.

'Of the 31 people treated for rubber bullet injuries, four had fractures, including a fractured skull and mandible.

'One patient had an acute abdomen resulting in a partial hepatectomy (a major operation involving the removal of part of the liver).

'Five of those injured were shot with live ammunition and 31 with rubber bullets. The rest were injured by bird and buckshot.'

Clinic staff reported they faced a dilemma about referring seriously injured patients to hospitals where they were often placed under police guard. The document said patients had refused referrals for fear of being arrested at the hospital.

The report said that at another hospital the names of all patients who had been shot by security forces were underlined in red in the admissions book and, according to an unnamed sister, were handed to the police.

'A patient with a penetrating eye injury refused to return to this hospital for treatment after seeing another patient put under police guard in this ward.

'Several of our patients have been arrested in state hospital. We find it completely unethical that certain health professionals put the interest of the police above that of the confidentiality of their patients.'

The report expressed concern that none of the 500 injured had been granted disability payments or received any financial compensation, although some had attempted to lay charges against the police.

# FREE THE

## Part

THIS WEEK the Workers Press is beginning a series of articles on the events leading up to the arrest and subsequent frame-up of four innocent people for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings in 1974 — for which they are still serving prison sentences.

We begin the story two weeks before the arrest of Paul Hill, who was the first of the four to be arrested — and also the first person to be arrested under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act.

His sister, Liz, who was living in London at the time, had gone from Birmingham, where she was visiting a friend, to the funeral of James McDade in Coventry. She tells the story in her own words.

**In 1974, two weeks before Paul was arrested, my friend and I went to Coventry for the funeral of James McDade. His body was actually being flown back home to Ireland.**

There was a lot of trouble from the National Front; they started a fight but the police moved in and began arresting the Irish.

They arrested my friend. I did not know my way back to Birmingham so I asked around the town where the police station was and made my way there.

### Name

When I arrived and asked for my friend, they told me that she was not there. When I insisted that she was, they asked for my name and I was told to wait.

After a while two plainclothes men, whom I now know were Special Branch, came and began to question me.

'What's your name? What are you doing in Coventry? What do you know about James McDade? Do you support the Republican movement?' I told them that I came from Belfast and that I did support the Irish.

They went away but a few minutes later four men came in to me and one of them said, 'You are under arrest for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings'.

I was 17 at the time and I was so naive, I didn't know anything. I just started laughing. They picked me up by the elbows and carried me away.

I just couldn't believe that it was happening. I was just laughing as they carried me off to the charge room.

### Strip

They took me to a cell where two female warders told me to take everything off. I asked why and they said that they were going to search me. 'They have taken all my stuff' I said, 'I've got nothing on me.'

But they made me strip off, searched me and then threw me in a cell, where I started shouting for a solicitor but no one took any notice.

Then I realised that my friend was in the cell opposite. I could see her through the little hatch in the door and we started exchanging words.

Her sister was in a cell down the end. Just the three of us were in a block on our own so to pass the time we started singing rebel songs.

After a while the cell door opened and two plainclothes and some uniformed men came in.

I asked 'Can I see a solicitor and phone my aunt to let her know where I am?' One of them said 'Look, you're f—g Irish, you don't have any rights'.

So I wouldn't eat. I refused cups of tea and in fact I did

not have anything to eat or drink for forty-eight hours.

After that I really started creating havoc in there. I began banging on the door for about two hours solid — no response — so I got a tin cup and rattled it up and down the bars.

I had only been doing this for a while when two plainclothes men came in, grabbed me, put my arm up my back and lifted me up against the wall.

One of them said 'Look, Hill, you can have it easy in here or you can have it rough. We've got a padded cell down the end. Do you want to go down there or do you want to shut up and stay here?'

I decided to stay where I was. I was still a bit rebellious but not so much as before. Then the questioning started.

Two branch men took me to a room down the corridor for interrogation. They took my photograph from every angle, took my finger prints. I did not have any say in the matter they just did it.

They took a statement from me about my whereabouts

jokes about somebody finding a leg and somebody finding a finger and said to me things like 'What do you think about that, you Irish bitch, you are going to go down for this. You will get 30 years.'

They became more hostile. This went on the whole night. I did not get any sleep.

The next morning two of them came into my cell again, took me to a room down the end and threw me in. There was a man sitting there who they said was a solicitor.

### Questions

I immediately knew from instinct that there was no way that this man was a solicitor. I sat down in front of him. He gave me a cigarette and asked me a few questions, 'Just between you and me, did you do it?', that sort of thing, but after a while he became more interested in my brother, Paul.

I said that I had not seen Paul for six months and did not answer any more questions.



Liz Hill

outs since I had come to London, addresses, people, friends. 'Where do you eat? Where do you drink? What are your hobbies?' Dates, times, names, everything they could get out of me.

This went on half hourly until one time, when I arrived for questioning — I think very early in the morning, I lost track of the time — I noticed that the Branch men were very hyped up, very angry.

I realised why later, when one of them let out that bombs had been going off in Birmingham that night while I was being held.

One of them started ranting and raving and swinging his fist about. I thought that he was going to hit me but two of the others pulled him away.

They then started making

I was escorted back to the cell. I never found out who he was but as far as I am concerned he was Special Branch. Two hours later I was told that I was being taken to Guildford.

They grabbed me and tried to hurry me out so I shouted to my friend 'You know that I was here, when you get out get in touch with my aunt, tell her I was here.'

I was quickly hurried out to a yard where, and this is not kidding, the whole yard was surrounded by uniformed police, wall to wall. I was handcuffed to two police women. In the car there were two Special Branch one driving and one in the passenger seat and there were a lot more in the cars in front and behind us.

I was taken down to Guildford and, as we came in to

the town, they stopped outside a place that looked as if it had been knocked down. 'Well Hill', one of them said, 'You and Gina sat here while Paul and the others did the bombing'. Gina was Paul's girlfriend.

I said that I did not know what they were talking about. I had never seen the place in my life. This was met with a torrent of abuse and foul language.

### Angry

Then I was brought to Guildford police station, where they decided to strip-search me again. This time I refused to let anyone come near me, I was so angry. I told them that I was not going to take any more of their aggravation. But they got a few more people into the cell and forced me to remove my clothes.

From the time that I was first arrested I had just started a period. While I was in Coventry I asked the police if I could have a sanitary towel or something to use but they said no, so during this whole time I was bleeding and when they strip searched me they would laugh and make jokes about it.

In Guildford I was not allowed a comb, a bath or even a wash I had not had any sleep and I had not eaten since the whole thing began.

So when they told me that I had to go on an identification parade, I said no way! not like this. I looked terrible, but they said if you don't go on it you will go down for it any way.

I told them I had nothing to hide and agreed. About half an hour later I was marched upstairs where there was a line of girls, all smartly dressed, hair nicely combed, faces made up and I was set in the middle of them like a sore thumb looking anxious.

Two people came in and walked up and down the line and left. Then another walked up the line and then came back to me. I just froze, I thought she was going to pick me out and I would go down for the whole thing but she then left and I was taken back to my cell.

Twenty minutes later someone came down and said I was free to go!

### Cakes

He said that I had been treated very well, that nobody had actually laid a hand on me and said that he hoped that I was not going to tell anyone different.

Then they brought a book into me with photographs in and asked me if I knew any of them I told them that I did not. They then gave me tea and cakes, I picked the cakes up and threw them across the room I was so, annoyed. I told them to just take me back to Birmingham.

Two Special Branch men drove me back to Birmingham and dropped me at the end of the road where I was staying.

Because I thought that they would immediately re-arrest me I started running as soon as my feet hit the ground, down alleys and back streets until I was sure that I had lost them.

Then I made my way back to the house.

I was scared stiff of going into the house I thought that they were in there waiting for me. But I knew I had to go in to get some rest and some money.

All the doors were lving

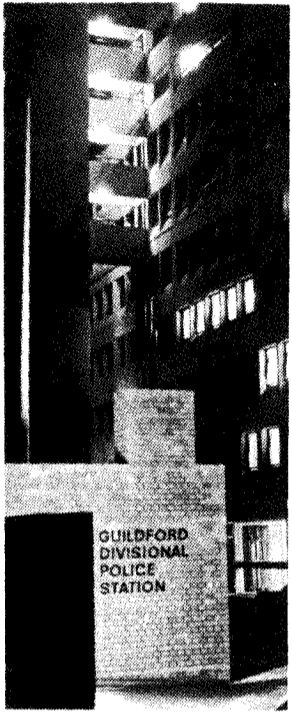


# GUILDFORD FOUR

## 1: The arrest of Liz Hill

open, the branch had been there and had taken a lot of my clothes, my suitcase and my diary. To this day I still have not got these things back.

I got some things together and went looking for my friend.



There was a lot of hostility that night, some people were going mad, petrol bombs and stones were being thrown through windows.

Irish people had fled their homes. Having an Irish accent in Birmingham that night was asking for trouble but luckily I bumped into an Irishman who asked me what was wrong, when I told him what had happened he took me home where I was able to have a bath and get some sleep.

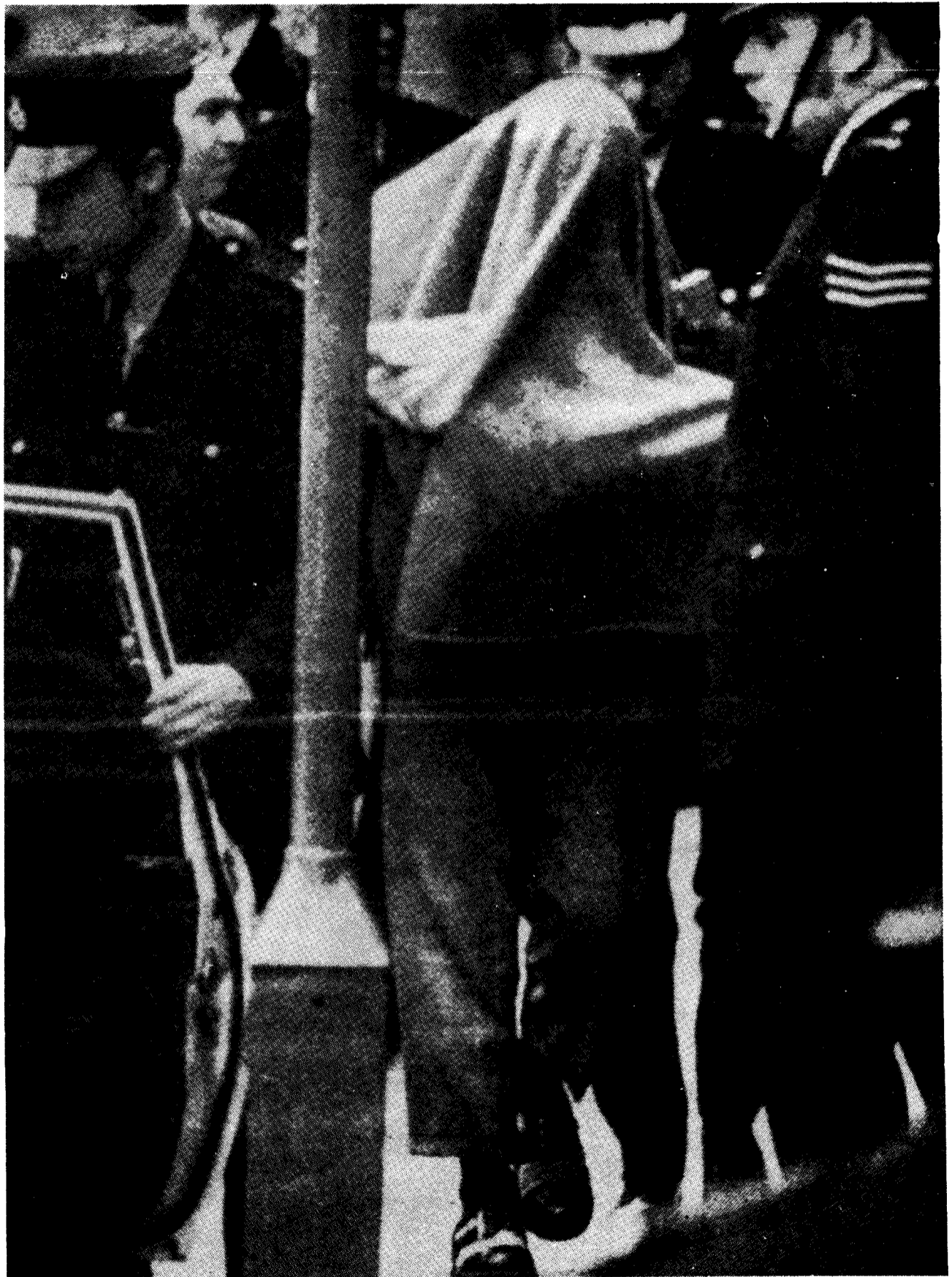
### Frightened

He then took me to see my friend where I stayed for a few days until it died down. I telephoned my Aunt Theresa and asked her to arrange for me to be met at Euston station in London the next day because I did not want to be picked up as I got off the train.

I was even frightened when I got on the train at New Street because a number of people were watching me and did so all the way down to London. I thought that it was the branch watching where I was going. I was met at Euston and went to stay with my aunt.

.....Liz was right it was the Special Branch.

Next week we continue the story as seen by Liz's Aunt



Paul Hill with a blanket over his head, escorted by police to be tried for the murder of a girl who died in the Guildford bombing. Paul was picked up by police only after they unsuccessfully tried to 'pin' the Guildford bombing on his sister, Liz.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, S Littleton, Evesham Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.

JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.

GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.

RICHARD GLENHOLMES: 10-year sentence, B32955.

JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.

ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.

PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

#### PARKHURST

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

EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.

HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.

PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.

STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence, 758663.

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

#### 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.

PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.

NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

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

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085.

SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence, 69204.

#### GARTREE

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

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-

year sentence, B32954.

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.

RONNIE MCCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.

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

#### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.

BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.

JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.

#### HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.

#### WORMWOOD SCRUB

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, Jebb 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 McIL-KENNY,

PADDY HILL.

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

### IRISH SOCIALIST PRESS

#### Monthly paper of the Irish Socialist League

Available, price 25p from Irish Socialist Press, PO Box 14, Belfast Or from Paperback Centres, Glasgow, Brixton, Upton Park and Charlotte Street in London

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY LECTURES: LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT. Every Wednesday, 7.30 pm. Family Lounge, Flying Picket, MTUCURC,

Hardman Street, Liverpool.

CAPITAL READING SEMINARS. Every Friday, 7 pm. First floor, Bloomsbury Tavern, 236 Shaftesbury Ave, London WC2. For details phone 01-354-0668.

Please send details of your meetings and events to Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT, to arrive not later than the Monday before publication.

### SILENTNIGHT STRIKERS AND KEIGHLEY TRADES COUNCIL

#### March and Rally

Saturday May 17

Assemble 12 noon, Lund Park, Keighley  
March leaves 12.30pm, Rally 1.15pm, Cliffe Castle

Speakers:

David Coates (FTAT National Organiser), Dennis Skinner MP (Labour Party NEC), Derek Hutton (deputy leader Liverpool City Council), Terry Bennett (chairman FTAT Cravenvale), Steve Price (FTAT convenor), Women's Support Group

Eleven months on strike — show your support for the Silentnight strikers

## The Workers Press Youth Page

# The Transitional Programme and the youth movement

**THIS WEEK'S** youth page continues the discussion on perspectives started two weeks ago. First, KEVIN TOWNSEND of the North-East WRP's youth faction replies to Aly Mir of Red Youth on the youth movement and the Transitional Programme.

JOHN BALLANTYNE, from North London, reviews his experiences in the youth movement and warns of the dangers of isolation from the broad movement of youth and students.

We also carry a report on the invidious replacement of apprenticeships by YTS and the movement of opposition to the Tory schemes which is developing in the unions — alongside a retreat by the leadership.

**THE LETTER** from Comrade Aly Mir (Red Youth) raises some important questions over Pabloism, transitional demands, the relationship of the youth to the revolutionary party, and YTS.

While agreeing that WRP/SLI under Healy overemphasised objective processes, it would be erroneous to suggest the subjective factor is the party's fight for the Transitional Programme.

The Transitional Programme was never intended as a guide to entry work either.

At certain stages in history the objective processes or conditions have developed ahead of the subjective factor: Germany 1919, France 1968 etc.

If the subjective factor is the party's fight for a Transitional Programme, which is 48 years old, where does the party come into this?

The subjective factor is not the programme but the party itself, its fighting capacity its clear thinking and foresight into complex and yet unfolded problems and dangers, its collective courage, firmness and its tempered will.

### Method

The Transitional Programme, though of great importance in breaking workers from reformist ideology (raising class consciousness and political consciousness or class consciousness to revolutionary consciousness: that is the aim of transitional demands) is not some kind of dogma.

It should not be mistaken for anything other than the method Trotsky fought for in a period of defeats for the working class internationally.

Because of the catastrophic defeats and betrayals the working class experienced, its organisational strength smashed up or weakened, the demands of the Transitional Programme reflected the conditions of that period. Therefore its demands were primarily of a defensive character and not offensive.

A common error of left-wing organisations is the belief that to win over workers to the maximum program-

me you must first win them to the minimum programme.

Many people join reformist parties because they believe that the reformists are fighting for transitional demands.

However the point of transitional demands is to raise the consciousness of workers above the reformist consciousness.

The Militant tendency treat both programmes as though they are both separate and unconnected.

Trotsky saw that the minimum programme operated inside a general framework of winning workers and youth to a maximum programme.

For the party to win over the youth it must immediately draw up a programme of demands relating to the biggest attack on youth. Our demands over YTS and the two-year YES should be:

- Smash the YTS/YES
- Campaign to break the trade unions from the MSC
- Trade union rates of pay and conditions for all youth
- Return apprenticeships

Our attitude on YTS/YES should not be determined by any kind of new-realism that they are the main employers of youth and here to stay.

The attitude of Militant tendency is to get the best deal out of a bad deal. This is a cover-up for the fact that the trade union bureaucracy do not intend recruiting or are not recruiting large numbers of youth.

Our policy towards YTS/YES should be based on the class nature of these schemes.

They represent a corporatist attack not only on the youth but on the whole of the workers' movement.

Our party warned correct-

ly even under Healy that the MSC was a state attack on the whole of the working class, not just one section.

This position has been vindicated by the use of the YTS to break picket lines at Contracts, Fibmat and Silenight.

Comrade Mir your publication 'Red Youth' says correctly 'Stop TUC support for YTS' but you criticise the call to smash the YTS as it will mobilise no one. How are we to combat Militant's reformism if we spread the illusion that YTS can be reformed?

I do not believe also that saying 'YTS should be smashed' will mobilise anyone if it is purely propaganda.

But the fact is most school-leavers (in the north-east case in particular Teesside and Tyneside) do not or will not go on a scheme, resisting all forms of coercion.

Unions such as APEX, AUEW, USDAW and NALGO are divided over whether to continue accepting YTS/YES, and are facing increasing pressure from the rank and file to break off from collaborating with these schemes and their manpower boards. So someone is doing some mobilising not to mention the NUM's non-involvement.

What should be the attitude of the revolutionary youth movement to this swing of opinion against YTS? Full support and agitation at local and regional trade union level for this policy.

### Rights

Where YTS has been strongly opposed in workplaces it is a common fact that youth trainees receive trade union rates of pay and conditions.

So opposition should be primary and linked to trade union rights.

Our opposition to YTS should not preclude supporting youth who are fighting independently for trade union rights and recognition, in the workplace.

On the contrary we should agitate for trade union rights, proper jobs and proper pay wherever YTS/YES operates.

Winning over the most advanced sections of youth and students also involves giving a political character to their daily struggles.

At the forefront of our appeal should be a struggle to establish the political independence of Trotskyism. We must say: 'We support your struggle and fight alongside you in your fight against capital, in whatever form your struggle takes.

'But our road is a different



Kevin says YTS MUST be smashed

road from that taken by reformism, Stalinism and pacifism.

'This is the epoch of capitalism in its death agony and that capitalism will not concede anything without the bloodiest of battles. What it concedes today it will readily take back tomorrow.'

'This system with its standing army of riot police, nuclear weapons and repressive legislation is historically weak and doomed. It only appears strong because of the perfidy of reformism and Stalinism.'

'The historic task of the youth is that of the whole class, resolving the crises of

leadership and destroying capitalism through the social revolution.

'The youth will play an important role in this great clash. But only alongside the most firm and principled section of the class, alongside the most theoretically advanced, battle hardened, experienced and tested section of the class. That is the Trotskyist party.'

Such a party requires the closest centralisation and firmest discipline between its youth and adult sections, if it is to assimilate new theoretical knowledge from its political interventions into the working class.

While the WRP youth section is still in the process of developing new perspectives and re-evaluating its old programme, it would be unwise and premature to discuss any mergers or entry work with Red Youth or the LPYS as these are major tactical questions concerning our whole party.

This should not prevent our organisations from working together on the basis of the united front in defence of young people's rights.

Yours fraternally,  
Kevin Townsend  
North Tyneside WRP youth faction

## As union opposition to YTS mo AUEW retreats on ap

By HUGHIE NICOL

**MANY** trade unions today have a substantial opposition within their ranks to the involvement of the TUC with the Manpower Services Commission.

Continuous attacks against the youth by this Tory government are closely tied in with plans to destroy trade union organisation in the workplace.

This is most sharply shown by the two-pronged attacks now being implemented by the Tories.

First is the extension of YTS into schemes lasting two years (no doubt compulsory or dole/social security money will be stopped).

Secondly is the removal of Wages Council protection from all young workers aged 16 to 21.

The aim is to abolish apprenticeships altogether and encourage employers to rely on the two-year YTS.

The Engineering Industry Training Board (EITB) figures for 1985 show a reduction in apprenticeship intake of sixty-two percent.

There were 6,869 young workers recruited for basic skill training (not all of them apprentices) and a further 2,148 under YTS in

the year ending March 1985.

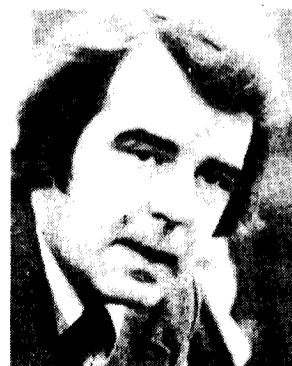
In 1986 many companies will take no apprentices at all but will be looking to the new two-year youth schemes.

As soon as British Shipbuilders on Tyneside was privatised in January 1986, management announced that there would be no further intake of apprentices.

### Training

The Tory government has ended the autonomy of the Engineering Industrial Training Board (EITB). This will allow the employers to alter the training of apprentices to meet the needs of industry.

The EITB now stands alongside the MSC in supporting only craft-training



projects based on training received and not a four-year apprenticeship period.

In 1983, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions signed a revised apprenticeship training agreement with the employers and the EITB.

The AUEW has always insisted on retaining the four-year apprenticeships.

In March 1986 the AUEW junior workers at their national conference unanimously passed a resolution

### Workers Revolutionary Party

#### PUBLIC LECTURES

## The Trotskyist movement in World War II

May 16 — Bill Hunter

May 23 — Tom Kemp

Friends Meeting House,  
Euston Road, NW1

7.30pm sharp

Tickets 60p

## The Workers Press Youth Page

# Youth cannot accept Marxism on command - Trotsky

By JOHN BALLANTYNE

**THE DISCUSSION on youth perspectives will, I hope, help deepen the understanding of our youth comrades of the important and invaluable situation that we are now in.**

With hindsight, it is not surprising that, as Comrade Jolyon said, our youth movement has ceased to exist. The logic of the philosophical outlook of Healy and his clique required an enormous turnover of young workers, unemployed youth and students in the movement and the systematic destruction of potentially important young members.

Equally it involved the isolation of opposition and the stamping out of any healthy conflict and development.

The destruction of our youth cadre in my view ranks as one of the biggest, if not the biggest, crimes of this party under Healy.

We are talking about the cynical abuse of hundreds, if not thousands, of potential future leaders. I entirely agree with comrade Jolyon that there must be discussion with the comrades who went with North.

### Practices

The more the split unfolded the more agonising it became to watch the further abuse and cynical manipulation of the youth that went with North.

Condensed within the six months following the split, many comrades were given the shock of seeing themselves reflected in the group that left with North.

The scenes we witnessed outside one of our conferences should have sent shockwaves through the party.

'Blind obedience is a virtue in a soldier of a capitalist army but not in a proletarian

fighter. Revolutionary discipline is rooted in collective thought and will.

'A supporter of the theory of scientific communism does not take anything on word. He judges everything by reason and experience.

'The youth therefore cannot accept Marxism on command; it must assimilate it for itself through an independent effort of thought.

'This is precisely why the youth should have the opportunity not only to educate itself but also to make mistakes in order to rise through its own errors to a communist conception.

'Bureaucratic and artificial discipline has crumbled to dust at the moment of danger. Revolutionary discipline does not exclude but demands the right of checking and criticism. Only in this way can an indestructible revolutionary army be created.

'The young worker needs leadership from the party. But this should not be leadership by command. When at every step coercion is substituted for persuasion, the breath of life disappears from the organisation, and with it, the people.

'Not only must we reject but also mercilessly destroy

the use of repression, slander, and physical methods in the struggle of the different groups and factions inside the workers' movement.

'These invidious methods have nothing in common with the arsenal of communist education. Brought into the workers' movement during the last ten years by the Stalinist bureaucracy, they have poisoned the atmosphere of the proletarian vanguard, particularly among the youth, and isolated the organisations from the broad working masses.

'We must free the revolutionary programme and the internal regime from Stalinism and return the Comintern to the path of Marx and Lenin.'

### Split

This quotation is from a letter that Trotsky sent in April 1933 to a conference of young communists in Paris which I first read during the early days of split with the Healy clique.

It is irreconcilably opposed to the practices that dominated in the past.

I speak from my own experiences over the last five years as a party member who worked in the Glasgow youth centre.

During the struggle with North, Comrade M. Bambrick wrote what I think is an invaluable contribution on the conflict which developed with Healy and the comrades from the West London area.

From a position of winning large sections of youth from the YCL and social democracy, the Young Socialists was reduced to a small group of comrades.

They became in the most part completely isolated from the living pulse of the great mass of young workers, unemployed and students who were, and are, experiencing the whole break-up of, dare I say it, the post-war boom.

It was reduced to a group which was united — in many ways by intimidation, fear, etc — around a person and not around the struggle for ideas.

The high point of the logic of this position was the infamous statement by Torrance at the CC meeting which laid down the charges against Healy. Referring to a young comrade Torrance said: 'She was rubbish anyway.'

At many times in the past Healy spoke about the need to turn to the youth as a strategic necessity. We can see now and must grasp the relationship between form and content.

During the split with North, and even the first week after that first CC meeting that charged Healy, do you, comrades, remember the fine words of the new YS national secretary of the rump, Gary Hollingsbee, quoting Lenin from 'What is to be Done?'

Do you remember Julie Hyland speaking at our aggregates?

But the real relationship between those fine words and the real world was at quite a distance. Don't get me wrong; they probably believed very passionately in what they were saying. But the real question for us is the relationship between form and content.

Our youth movement never really touched the youth particularly in the last period. If we did bring youth to our conferences it was on the basis of opportunism and expediency, not on a strategy which required a long drawn out patient struggle to win the most advanced young workers, and stu-



Trotsky

dents, to Marxist principles.

Open political struggle and bold discussion with social-democratic and YCL youth was rejected for the requirements of sectarianism, a problem which in Britain has quite a history (See 'Left-wing Communism').

If we don't learn the lessons of the past, there is no hope for the future. The arsenal of communist education of the youth is immense. We must become immersed in a study of this.

The Transitional Programme opens the road to the women worker, opens the road to the youth, gives us a basis on which to begin!

We must make a sober assessment of our forces. We must of necessity go to the youth who are in the social-democratic movement, CND, Anti-Apartheid, etc.

We must encourage our most convinced members, those who have come through the split, and who are unemployed, to join the YTS schemes.

A basic precondition must be the joining of their respective trade unions and the unemployed branches of trade unions.

Both Comrade Hanlon and the comrade from Red Youth make correct statements and are on the right track. Comrade Jolyon's contribution provoked me to write these few lines; I hope to continue in the discussion.

Nobody any more has a blank cheque, everyone must now come forward and find their way in the movement. We must collectively, with the help of older comrades, fight for the healthy conditions which Trotsky states above.

## Units up: apprenticeship scheme



Roy Grantham

demanding no reduction in the standards of apprentice training, an increase in the number of apprenticeships available and requesting their executive to prevent apprentices being replaced through YTS.

In April 1986, the AUEW policy-making National Committee finally abandoned their determined stand in defence of the four-year apprenticeship scheme — by 66 votes to 58.

Stalinist Jimmie Airlie called for the dropping of the four-year appren-

ticeship scheme, saying that 'We are on our own'.

Delegates then voted by the narrowest of margins (63 to 61) to co-operate with the new training measures in the engineering industry.

For the past two years the AUEW national committee has rejected Executive recommendations to co-operate with the training schemes.

### Scheme

Delegates were told by George Arnold, from the Executive, that the AUEW had been 'abysmally defeated' by the other trade unions in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions — which were now co-operating in the scheme.

Arnold explained that 80 per cent of companies in the engineering industry were using 'training to standards' and that the AUEW was now out of step with the EITB, the TUC and the Manpower Services Commission.

Despite this setback, the AUEW is still opposed to apprenticeships being link-

ed in any way with the new two-year YTS.

Delegates now fear that employers will try to undermine apprentices' rates by paying new entrants on engineering training schemes the YTS rate — which is £15 a week less.

What is significant today is the division in the trade unions over MSC and the role that the TUC has in operating the schemes.

The clerical workers' union, APEX (whose general secretary Roy Grantham is also the chairman of the TUC Employment Policy Committee — responsible for YTS support) was badly shaken at their recent conference.

A motion to boycott the new two-year YTS and to press the TUC to abandon any co-operation with the schemes was narrowly defeated by 37,840 votes to 32,910.

These divisions appear in the trade union movement today without any campaign and can only highlight the programme that must be fought for in uniting trade union militants with all youth in opposition to these schemes.

## Wapping Comment

By CHRIS McBRIDE

AS THE hour struck nine and the police waded into the pickets at Wapping on the Saturday before last, who were the first to run away?

Yes you guessed! Young Healyites fled like rats from a ferret-infested rathole (shades of the 1985 WRP emergency congress).

If it wasn't for the young printers and the hundreds of unemployed youth present there would have been more victims of the police batons.

Within minutes of the first police attack the young Healyites obeyed the orders of their 'leaders' and retreated up the road — banners, flags, tins and all.

Are these 'legal Marxists' pacifists or is it more important to do a Friday night pub sale rather than be on the picket line at Wapping?

Any 'YS' members who are disillusioned with the impotence of the Torrance/Mitchell group should phone 'Youth Page' — 01-720 2000.

### Workers Revolutionary Party

## SCOTTISH AREA DAY SCHOOL

### The Fourth International Its tasks today and its history

Sunday May 25, 11 - 5pm

Central Hotel

next to Central Station

Gordon Street

Glasgow

Speaker: Bill Hunter (WRP Central Committee)

Followed by Discussion in which all are welcome to take part

# LETTERS

The Editorial board of Workers Press welcomes letters on any topic from all our readers. Please address them to The Editor, Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London, SW4 0JT. Pressure on space is acute: some letters have been

waiting for publication for weeks, others have simply not made it. Please try to keep your letters short — they have much more chance of getting printed.

While we try to print letters as they arrive, we reserve the right to edit letters to give everybody a chance. Where letters have been edited, this will be indicated.

## Workers Press — 'messy' on nuclear weapons and nuclear energy

I WOULD like to clear up some points raised by the Workers Press Comment of May 3 which makes two explicit mistakes and leaves the position of the WRP messy and unclear.

Firstly, the Windscale near-disaster was in 1957 not 1967. Secondly, and very seriously wrong, is the idea that nuclear weapons are a 'by-product' of nuclear energy.

The Manhattan project and all subsequent nuclear projects had only one goal: production of the bomb.

The ruling class gains an important advantage from nuclear power in that it undermines the strength of the NUM and other strong unions.

This though is incidental. It must be stressed that nuclear power is a by-product of nuclear weapons.

The WRP must be clear where it stands in this issue in Britain. We must make it clear that we totally oppose nuclear power and call for the shutdown of all nuclear power stations.

For one thing, they are completely unnecessary from a power-production point of view.

We have enough coal to last 300 years and there is enormous scope for research into re-usable forms of energy.

Also nuclear power production is extremely expensive and inefficient. There is continual radioactive output from the nuclear power stations.

This is increasing the radioactivity of the atmosphere and the sea all the time — and there is the problem of what to do with the waste.

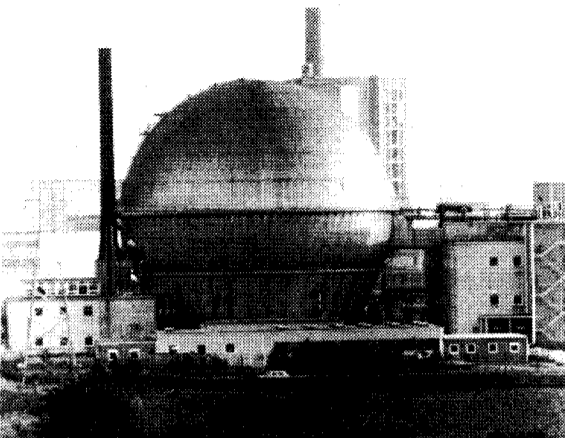
There is no reason whatsoever to have any faith in Britain or any other Western nuclear 'safety standards'. What happened in Chernobyl could just have easily have happened here.

The article was right to point out that 'secrecy is still the order of the day.' Also correct is the position that nobody knows what a safe level of radioactive discharge into the atmosphere is.

In the USA it is interesting to note that the permitted background level of radiation is twenty times less than in Britain.

The WRP must pose the dismantling of the nuclear power industry and the publication of all secret treaties etc. concerning the nuclear programme and attack the disgusting record of Labour in power on this issue.

Attlee's Labour government decided to continue the nuclear programme in 1945. They used some of the



Windscale

most reactionary people imaginable to help them, including Sir John Anderson (of Anderson shelter fame) who had been Churchill's Chancellor and a former colonial overlord and butcher.

Anderson's powers during this government were second to none. He was part of an inner cabinet which overruled the economic constraints of building the bomb, which were being highlighted by Cripps and Dalton.

In 1977, so-called 'left' Tony Benn threatened striking Windscale workers with troops when he was Energy Secretary.

These points illustrate the bankruptcy of reformism and the total prostration of the labour leaders before the state.

However, while being critical of the Soviet stalinist bureaucracy is of course correct, as long as the Soviet Union remains a workers state under threat from imperialism, we must defend its right to nuclear weapons, for which it needs a nuclear programme.

The fact that the USSR has the bomb makes the world safer than if it didn't have it.

Richard Knott  
Exeter WRP

## The discussion on Sklavos gets going

YOU PUBLISHED last week a contribution to discussion by L. Sklavos, a comrade who was expelled, along with the Greek group he led, from the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Many important questions are raised, and there is no question but that this group was expelled wrongly and on quite arbitrary grounds, as happened often in the time of Healy's domination of the WRP and the IC.

Others who were in the leadership, such as I, bear a responsibility for collaborating in those wrong methods and the most important task is to carry through the struggle to correct and reorientate our movement, completing the work begun in expelling Healy.

We will need a whole series of articles analysing the questions raised in the letter from Comrade Sklavos.

My purpose in writing this short letter is only to point out one or two misconceptions which should not be allowed to obscure the big questions.

The comments about not receiving Workers Press and other documents in Greece are out of character with the serious matters under discussion.

There is no suppression of material.

After all, M. Banda's '27 Reasons' was printed in our paper and on public sale.

Breakdown in sending out the paper to subscribers is to be regretted, but it was certainly not deliberate on any comrade's part.

The 'joke' about my blaming the Greek and not the

British post office serves no purpose and I said no such thing.

The important thing is what is said on the history of the Greek section of the IC, and this is correct.

One other point. Cde Sklavos refers to 'Banda's, Slaughter's and all others' silence concerning the photographs and money in relation to the execution of the Iraqi communists'.

It must be said that as soon as I learned of the giving of such photographs — in October 1985 — I did not remain 'silent' at all but exposed it first in the party and then publicly.

Until the first facts became available in October 1985 neither I nor M. Banda had any knowledge of such relations with the Iraqis.

It must also be said that M. Banda did oppose the WRP newspaper's endorsement of the execution of Iraqi communists in 1979.

The relations with Arab bourgeois regimes, concerned with money and involving selling of principles, were conducted by Healy and not by any committees of the WRP.

The details of them were revealed only after Healy's expulsion.

The WRP today is the product of the struggle against Healy, as well as carrying the heritage of a past still to be overcome.

This party has condemned and does condemn the selling of principles in search of favours from the bourgeois governments of Arab countries and it will not coexist with any who defend those practices.

C. Slaughter

# In defence of the National Unemployed Workers Movement

I READ with some amazement an article printed in Workers Press (May 3) from 'guest contributor' Nick Phillips entitled 'Organise the Unemployed'.

In it he attacks as sectarian the 'CP-led initiatives of the 1920s and 1930s' (i.e. the National Unemployed Workers Movement — NUWM) and the 'isolation from the labour movement which that caused'.

Either comrade Phillips, a supporter of the Socialist Labour Group, is misinformed on the history and struggles of the NUWM, or he knows it and is intent on misinforming your readers.

The NUWM was formed in April 1921 with Communist Party members such as Wal Hannington and Harry McShane playing leading roles in its development.

By 1922 it had 300 local committees with over 100,000 unemployed members. Its fortnightly paper 'Out of Work' sold 60,000 copies an issue in this period.

### Occupied

It organised hunger marches involving tens of thousands, it fought against evictions and occupied workhouses.

It picketed and held meetings at factories where systematic overtime was worked, often with positive results.

It was in the vanguard of the struggle in the national lockout of engineers in 1922, strengthening the picket lines and raiding scab factories.

Far from isolating the unemployed from the employed, as Nick Phillips suggests, the NUWM fought consistently to link up with the struggles and organisations of the employed workers.

It fought for the unionisation of the unemployed and

for their right to be represented at all levels of the trade union movement.

It fought for the NUWM to be affiliated to the TUC, a proposal always rejected by the TUC leaders.

Between 1923 and 1927 it forced the TUC, by dint of its activities, into establishing a 'Joint Advisory Committee' with it to organise activities on unemployment.

It was the TUC leaders, with the post-General Strike 'peace in industry' policy, which broke off all connections with the NUWM and proceeded to denounce and obstruct its actions.

### Leaders

One would indeed have to support a group which combined very right-wing politics with a deeply entrenched 'stalinophobia' to blame the CP-led NUWM for isolating the unemployed rather than place the blame where it really belonged — with the trade union and labour leaders of the time.

Even in the late 1920s and early 1930s the NUWM avoided some of the worst excesses of the ultra-left 'Third Period'. It was only wound up in 1936 when the CPGB decided it got in the way of its class collaborationist 'popular front' perspective.

If comrade Phillips is ignorant of the history of the NUWM, then he is profoundly ignorant of the positions argued by Workers Power on work among the unemployed.

On this issue it seems that Socialist Organiser, the Socialist Group and ourselves are all guilty of putting forward articles which contain 'dangerous elements of sectarianism'.

'This is conspicuous,' comrade Phillips informs Workers Press readers, 'in Work-

ers Power's call for an "independent" unemployed union organisationally separate from existing trade unions'.

This is a deliberate piece of distortion designed to 'prove' that Workers Power contrives, in a sectarian way, the building of an organisation of the unemployed, to work in the trade unions on this question. We do no such thing.

To quote our real position as argued by our comrades active on both 'Peoples Marches for Jobs' and carried in our paper at the time:

'In every town and nationally, unemployed activists and the official trade unions must devote energy and resources to building an Unemployed Workers Union with full representation rights at every level of the labour movement.'

'In addition the trade unions themselves must be open to the unemployed. Unemployed workers should have the right to join the union of their choice, at reduced subscriptions with full rights.' (Workers Power No. 42, May 1983)

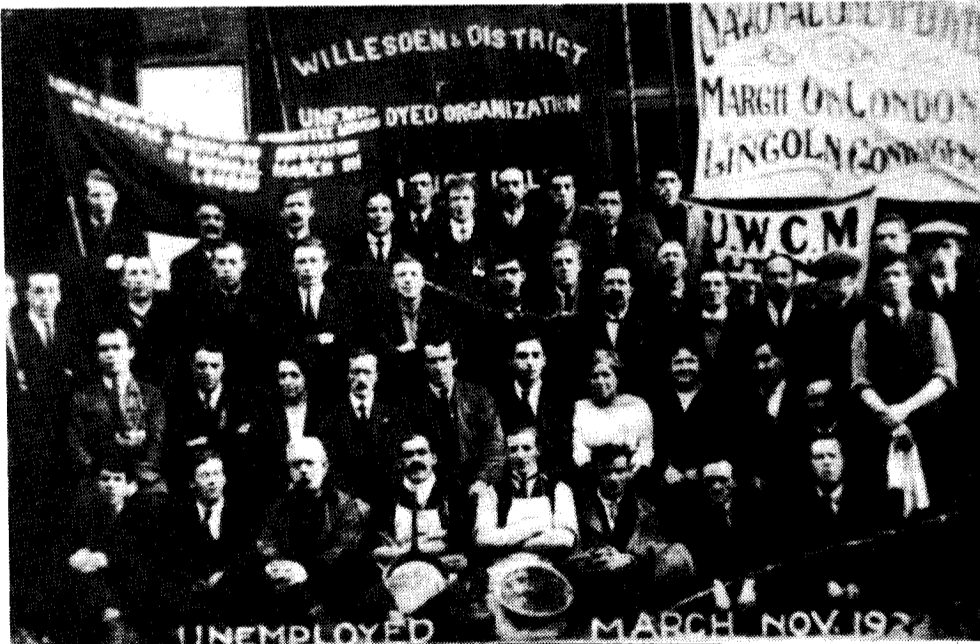
### 'Folly'

What comrade Phillips and the SLG really object to is any organisation for the unemployed outside the existing trade union structures.

The folly of this position is revealed in Nick Phillips' own article.

He says that the representative of the TUC at the conference of Unemployed Centres in Liverpool, 'offered little hope' that the initiatives proposed by the conference would be taken up by the TUC.

He goes on to say that the TUC survey on current poli-



Massed banners of unemployed workers' organisations in 1922

cies towards the unemployed would 'undoubtedly show that the vast majority of the 90-odd TUC affiliated unions prevent the unemployed becoming members'!

So what are the 4 million plus unemployed meant to do? Wait around until the unions have a change of heart? What about the mass of youth condemned to the dole since leaving school who have never had the chance to learn a trade, let alone join a trade union?

Of course we should fight for the trade unions to unionise the unemployed. We should also fight for an independent organisation of the unemployed affiliated to the trade union movement and fighting alongside it.

But we should start off from the viewpoint that the unemployed are not just an object of benevolence for the

existing unions but can, when organised, become a potent force for revolutionising the hidebound, bureaucratic trade unions that bear a major responsibility for the defeat of the miners and are doing a repeat job on the printers.

Nick Phillips' viewpoint, on the other hand, is that of a trade union routinist at best, smug labour aristocrat at worst. It is not the viewpoint of a revolutionary communist.

In applauding the Liverpool conference decision to reject the building of such an unemployed workers' organisation, he is applauding a policy which condemns the mass of unemployed and youth on the dole to kick their heels while they wait for the trade union movement to take up the fight for the unemployed.

We have to say openly that the trade unions' record up to now on this question has been appalling.

Indeed without an active, mass fighting organisation of the unemployed, taking its own initiatives as well as pressurising the trades unions, the likelihood of changing this situation and winning policies such as the unionisation of the unemployed is slim indeed.

Far from rubbishing the lessons of the NUWM, we should learn from it — both its mistakes and its strengths.

We hope that the article that appeared in Workers Press from Comrade Phillips does not represent a convergence of his views with those of the WRP.

Stuart King,  
Workers Power, London

# LETTERS

## Has social man evolved?

I must reply to the letter of Keith Scotcher, published under the heading of 'Engels — and Contradiction' (Workers Press May 3). Keith's was in response to mine (April 19).

Keith agrees with my statement that: 'There can be no human interpersonal relationships which are not social, i.e. which are not derived — directly or indirectly — from production' but then goes on to claim that, although this is true of 'modern' society (i.e. class society) it is not true of the period of man's history during which there existed a society of primitive tribal communism. (Keith refers to this as 'pre-class society'.)

### Tools

Keith's great error, I believe, is that he confuses 'pre-class society' with the period during which, as he puts it, the 'process (of) animal/ape becoming social man' took place. The process by which an ape-like creature began to use tools and thereby change itself into man lasted about two million years. Social man as we know him today, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, arrived on the scene about fifty thousand

years ago. (See Oakley, 'Man and Tool-Maker', Washburn, 'Tools and Human Evolution', Encyclopaedia Britannica etc). The existence of modern man about this time must have been inseparable from the first form of human society, namely primitive tribal communism.

We know quite a lot about this pre-class primitive communism. As Engels himself tells us in 'Origin of the Family', it gave rise to the cultivation of the soil, irrigation schemes, domestication of animals for meat and milk, pottery, the smelting of iron and alphabetic writing. These considerable feats could only have been possible given a high level of social co-operation. The productive forces had to be of a social nature. This implies specifically human consciousness. Human individuals had to be able to perceive the world in terms of what it could become with conscious human intervention. In turn this implies skills and knowledge transmitted from generation to generation primarily through language. This could not have taken place if individuals were only part-human and part-animal.

Relevant to this discussion

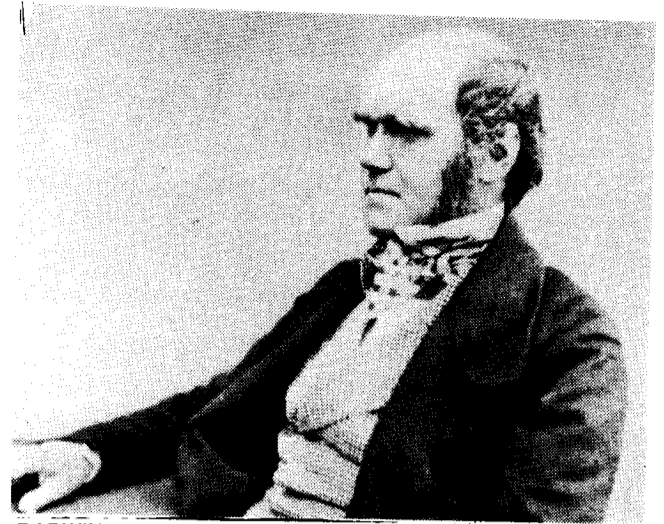
is the fact that in some parts of the world today like New Guinea and the Amazon jungle there are to be found people still living in a state of primitive tribal communism. These tribes live much as our own ancestors must have lived for thousands of years before the emergence of the first form of class society some five thousand years ago. Yet these tribes consist of individuals that are human. If a baby were to be taken from one of these primitive tribes and brought up in capitalist society he or she would grow up to be, not part-human and part-animal, but human like the rest of us.

### Humans

To put the record straight, I did not argue, as Keith states I did, 'that all biologically derived natural relationships were instantly transformed into social relationships the moment that our ancestors first began to develop tools'. Keith is here referring to a process during which there must undoubtedly have been considerable interpenetration of biological and social factors. I was referring in my previous letter, not to this period, but to

the period from about fifty thousand years ago when mankind finally and decisively emerged from the animal kingdom, thus entering the period of primitive communism in which individuals were humans rather than part-humans and part-animals. It was this period of human history about which Engels was writing when he was developing his ideas about the origin of the family.

Keith denies my assertion that Engels never realised the significance and implications of his own work 'The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man'. He further denies that some of Engels' views are similar to reactionary writers like Desmond Morris who 'explains social phenomena by animal behaviour'. Yet Engels states categorically that: 'It is . . . inherent in the descent of man from the animal world that he can never entirely rid himself of the beast, so that it can always be only a question of more or less, in the difference in the degree of bestiality or of humanity.' ('Anti-Duhring' 1954 edition p140). These are words with which Desmond Morris and similar writers would readily agree.



DARWIN — to whom Marx dedicated 'Capital'

Whilst on the subject of Engels, what does Keith think of Engels' view that there is no oppression of women in working class families? ('Origin' 1972 edition p135). This is in fact a question that should not be addressed to Keith alone. The question of the oppression of women under capitalism — especially of working class women — is a question that should be the concern of the whole party. Any blind and unthinking defence of everything Engels wrote is not going to be of help.

Finally, it is good that Keith should raise the question of contradiction. As the whole history of philosophy

shows, the development of human knowledge is a contradictory process. This is certainly true of our knowledge of the development of mankind and of the family. When Engels made his contribution the available evidence of mankind's origins was very meagre. It is indeed to his great credit that he was able to write such works as 'The Part Played by Labour . . .' at all. However, the further development of our knowledge demands, not that we treat Engels' writings as dogma, but that we both build on his achievements and correct his mistakes.

John Robinson

## Sexual relationships and commodity production

I would like to welcome the contribution from Geoffrey Thurley, published March 29, on the question of sexual relationships.

In view of the split with the Healyites — on the fundamental question of revolutionary morality — it would appear that surprisingly little has been published on this subject.

However, the letter from Ann Goodier, published February 1, concerning Engels' analysis of relations in the 'Origin of the Family', makes a very important point, overlooked by G. Thurley.

Patriarchal domination is a comparatively recent development and emerged only as class society became the organisational form of human society.

In capitalist society, the maintenance and reproduction of the main means of production — the working class — has been ensured by very unequal family relationships, themselves a reflection of very unequal class relationships.

### Commodity

The essence of the capitalist system is the dominance of commodity production, wherein the tendency is that everything be turned into a commodity — industrial production, food production, education, art, sport — the list is endless and no exception is made in the matter of sexual relationships.

This not only results in the exploitation and debasement of women in prostitution, pornography, advertising and of course in the 'highest' stage of British capitalist journalism, the scab 'Sun' and 'News of the World', but also has a leading hand to play in the relationships of ordinary men and women.

Workers, predominantly men, would have been unable to bring their only com-

modity, labour power, to the market-place in as much as 72-hour-a-week quantities if the 'slaves of slaves' were not at home to do the cooking, cleaning, etc., all necessary for the maintenance and replenishment of labour power, and the child-bearing and upbringing necessary to replace worn-out commodity producers.

Sexual relationships, therefore, are dominated by the demands of commodity production.

### Muscle power

Women, generally not as able as men in a world where 'muscle power' was mostly the labour in demand, and where pregnancy could seriously jeopardise their livelihood, have been relegated to selling to individual men, their ability to make a home, provide and rear children, and just as essentially, to give sexual pleasure.

To say this, is not to denigrate real, loving family relationships which do exist, but even these are not immune from the inequalities created by material conditions, nor are the most emancipated women completely free from the pressure of a society which pushes them to 'get a man'.

It is no coincidence that the capitalist system has not only created the material conditions for putting an end to all class society but also, by developing a technology which has replaced the need for 'muscle power' and by developing the means of control of reproduction, has become the gravedigger of all society wherein one gender dominates the other.

It surely follows, therefore, that sexual relationships in communist society will certainly not be based on what Engels (in 1884 and, in this respect, a prisoner of his time) describes as 'surrender' even if

it be out of a 'consideration of real love'. ('Origin' as quoted by Maggie Obank in the same issue as Geoff Thurley's article appeared).

On the contrary, women's equality will be established and will rightly demand that sexual relationships be mutually satisfactory partnerships.

When free and equal partners enter a relationship — no matter how temporary — each knowing the other's feelings and intentions, hopes and fears, where can the 'abuse of someone else's body' exist as described by G. Thurley?

He correctly states the necessity to strive towards mutual respect, but fails to recognise that relationships can be other than male dominated.

What relief does Marxism offer from what Ann Goodier calls 'this dual oppression' of women?

Is it that, when the contradictions of class society have been resolved by the social revolution and the establishment of social relations of production, the contradictions of sexual relationship will be resolved by more caring and loving, based on some idealist 'template'.

### Lifestyle

If so, women would, rightly, feel cheated.

They might consider that a further, sexual revolution be necessary, or conversely, that more loving and caring from the bourgeoisie might be enough to resolve the contradictions of capitalism!

Of course, we, who are determined to lead the human race into a society of which the hallmarks will be mutual care and respect, must be able to demonstrate these qualities in our own lifestyle.

However, the idealist view of G. Thurley and, dare I say

it, Engels, fails to recognise that revolution in sexual relationships is interwoven with the unfolding social revolution, and like national revolution develops unevenly — not tied to any timeslot, real or imagined.

This manifests itself in various forms, including the feminist movement, yes, the 'liberal' view that sex can be fun, and should be 'enjoyed by all', and most definitely in the outlook of the heroes of the Miners' Wives Support Groups who categorically state that 'things won't ever be the same at home'.

### Equal

When all human inequality and exploitation has been ended, sexual pleasure will have been removed from the commodity shelf and will not be 'surrendered', but like labour power will be given and received by free and equal human beings.

I did not set out — despite the added headline — in my original letter, to defend promiscuity, but rather to urge restraint on those who pontificate about promiscuity from an idealist pedestal, thus giving ammunition to those who would deliberately confuse revolutionary morality with Mary Whitehouse morality.

Nevertheless if young people in particular decide that casual relationships between equals is the best way to develop their sexuality and to learn the techniques of mutuality, it is surely no task of communists to condemn them.

I would suggest, rather, that this road is infinitely more likely to end the horror inflicted by sexual perversion — with its roots deep in the repression of sexuality which capitalism has undertaken in order to maximise its market value.

David McIlwaine  
Central Scotland

## Crawley AUEW

THE CRAWLEY branch of the AUEW (Engineering Section) unanimously passed the following resolution at its branch meeting on May 9:

'We, the members of this Crawley branch condemn the police attack on the picket lines on Saturday May 3.

'The labour movement must find ways to defend picket lines.

'We call on the trade union and labour movement to hold an enquiry into the Police thuggery of May 3.


The resolution has been forwarded to appropriate AUEW committees and organisations of the local labour movement. The branch's Retired Members Association has also condemned Reagan's attack on Libya and has forwarded

their resolution to Thatcher and the US Embassy as follows:

'The members of this Association, comprised almost entirely of senior citizens, protest in the strongest manner possible at the decision you and your colleagues made to allow US forces to use bases in the country to make the barbaric attack on Libya which resulted in the deaths and injury of hundreds of innocent civilians.

'There cannot be any justification whatsoever for any country to make an attack of this nature. For the US to do so on the pretence that they want to put an end to terrorism is sheer hypocrisy as they support, by military and financial means, the terrorism that suits them.'

Workers Press READ IT REGULARLY!



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

WORKERS PRESS gives the best and most thorough coverage of industrial, political and economic news, letters, arts, leisure — at a price everyone can afford, every weekend.

#### LOCAL DELIVERY

delivered to your door every weekend.

#### POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION

telephone 01-720-2000 for details.

Name .....

Address .....

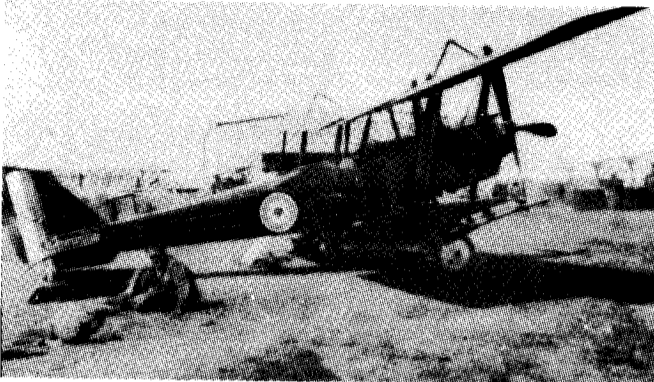
Amount enclosed .....



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

## BOOK REVIEWS

# Churchill's crusade against Bolshevism



RAF training plane used to teach Russian pilots under Denikin near the Sea of Azov

## Computerised threat to civil liberty

**On the Record: Surveillance, Computers and Privacy — The Inside Story.** By Duncan Campbell and Steve Connor. Published by Michael Joseph, £7.95.

**THIS BOOK** gives an account of how the development of centralised computer databases poses an unprecedented threat to the rights of the individual.

The Data Protection Act came into force on May 11 this year and is supposed to protect the privacy of individuals.

Those holding personal information on computers are obliged to register with the newly formed Data Protection Agency, to make entries available to those individuals whose information may be held and to ensure that personal data collected for one purpose may not be used for another.

In fact the main threat comes from the State whose databases are by and large exempt from the Act's provisions.

The book explains how a computer database poses a qualitatively different threat to civil liberties than the same data held in a manual filing system simply because a computer can read through data so much faster than a clerk and cross-reference it in a way that would be out of the question manually.

It shows how recent developments in technology have made it possible for huge amounts of data to be stored on computers cheaply and efficiently. For example, a computer that can hold a hundred words of data on each of five million people would, in 1984, have cost less than £100,000.

### Cheap

Now many different types of computer are able to communicate with one another over telephone lines, enabling personal data to be sent quickly and cheaply between one system and another.

The authors have done a thorough job of research into the computers used by government agencies and the data they hold.

They show how the state is moving towards a centralised database network recording personal details about the whole population.

some of which might be sensitive and others of which might be incorrect.

For example, the Department of Health and Social Security holds the date of birth and last known address of everybody with a National Insurance number on a computer in Newcastle.

It is planned to link this to computers with terminals in every local Unemployment Benefit Office which, by the 1990s, will bring together all the information held locally on almost every member of the population.

The book tells of the capabilities, present and planned, of the Police National Computer, together with those operated by the intelligence services, the immigration service and local police authorities.

'On the Record' is to be highly recommended as an authority both on the capabilities of computer databases and on the danger that they pose.

Robert Harris

**The Day We Almost Bombed Moscow: The Allied War in Russia 1918-1920.** By Christopher Dobson and John Miller. Hodder and Stoughton, £12.95.

**THE AUTHORS** have produced a widely-researched but terse account which sketches an overall picture of the intervention by British, French, US and Japanese armies in Russia during and after the revolution of 1917.

The interest in the book lies in the use of eyewitness testimony from the diaries, letters and writings of members of the foreign forces, with a sparing but telling use of British military reports.

British and US forces were involved in the north of Russia around Murmansk and Archangel. They intervened from the Middle East and India in the Transcaucasian area.

British, French, Japanese, US and Canadian forces intervened in Eastern Siberia in support of the counter-revolutionary Admiral Kolchak. British naval units attacked the Red Fleet in harbour at Kronstadt and British tank crews assisted Yudenich's unsuccessful attack on Petrograd.

The British government used the latest techniques of destruction to smash the young Soviet republic. Bomber and fighter aeroplanes were sent along with British crews of 'military advisers' to bomb Red Army units producing terrible butchery.

While British warships bombarded Russian ports, the British government funnelled huge stocks of war-surplus weapons and equipment to the counter-revolutionary armies that at one point nearly managed to draw a noose around Moscow.

The authors argue that



British tanks on their way to join General Denikin's army. Despite being forbidden to join the fighting, the British 'instructors' went into action alongside the Cossacks

this war of intervention was neither systematic nor the result of a concerted plan.

They point out that it began with forces sent to protect strategic points from the advancing German army after the collapse of Russian forces in 1917 and that at first there was a degree of co-operation with the Bolshevik government, for example against White Finns near Murmansk.

This changed with the defeat of Germany by the allies and the armistice. Then the Bolsheviks became the enemy.

British officers, who shared the anti-semitism of their White allies, set up a 'Bolo Liquidation Club' when they returned to Britain. ('Bolo' was squaddie slang for Bolshevik).

The British Labour MP Lieutenant-Colonel John Ward assisted the Tsarist Admiral Kolchak to kidnap Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary ministers in his counter-revolutionary provisional government.

Although united in their hatred of the Bolshevik revolution, the leaders of the ruling class were unable to

pool their resources effectively in order to crush it.

While Churchill carried on a veritable crusade for the destruction of Bolshevism, Lloyd George had his hands full with the class struggle in Britain and none too gently called Churchill to order.

By May 1920 all foreign forces had been withdrawn from Russia and the White armies had been smashed or driven into exile.

Details from the Bolshevik side are given sparingly. The authors do not discuss how Trotsky was able to forge the Red Army into an unvanquished revolutionary force.

But they give a fascinating insight into the mood of some of the soldiers in the British and US forces.

Near Archangel, both the Yorkshire Regiment and the Royal Marine 6th Battalion Light Infantry mutinied and refused to fight the Red Army.

In Ekaterinburg, the devout Anglican Colonel Robert Johnson wrote home to his wife:

'The bourgeoisie are too cowardly to fight even though of course they know

that the triumph of the Bolsheviks would mean the torture and murder of every man jack of them and every woman jack too. Really, the bourgeoisie makes one almost Bolshevik oneself'.

The much-decorated American sergeant Silver Parrish drew up a protest resolution on behalf of his men and wrote in his diary about the people he was meant to be fighting:

'The way these kids and women dress would make you laugh if you saw it on the stage. But to see it here it only prompts sympathy (in the heart of a real man) and loathing for a clique of blood-sucking, power-loving, capitalistic, lying, thieving, murdering, tsarist army officers who keep their people in this ignorance and poverty . . .

'After being up here fighting these people I will be ashamed to look a union man in the face . . .

The book also contains fairly detailed information on the activities of British intelligence agents in Russia at that time.

Bob Archer

## Campaign of genocide

**Banking on Disaster: Indonesia's Transmigration Programme.** Special issue of the 'Ecologist' produced in collaboration with Survival International and Tapol. £4.00

**A WORLDWIDE** campaign to halt the international funding of the Indonesian

transmigration programme is reported in this special issue of the 'Ecologist'.

Transmigration is the mass movement of four million people from the densely populated islands of Java, Madura, Lombok and Bali to the outer islands. The repressive Indonesian government plans to remove another 65 million people

over the next twenty years.

Millions of dollars of international 'aid' from the World Bank and western governments has contributed to the shifting of landless poor.

The 'Ecologist' is very concerned about the irreparable destruction of tropical rainforest and resources. The report makes clear that, while destroying the en-

vironment, it does not contribute to the alleviation of poverty — quite the reverse.

It is a completely inadequate way of solving the problem of a growing population, because Java alone is growing each year by four times as many as the number of migrants that the government intends should leave the island.

In addition, transmigration is being carried out with genocidal effects on the tribal minorities in the remote parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

The whole plan is shown by the report to be, in reality, a political programme, to extend the control of a military government over peripheral islands where local people have been reluctant to give up their own lands. Militarised settlements under the direct control of the Indonesian army are being set up.

The Minister responsible for transmigration, Mr Martono, has admitted in private that the intention is that the different ethnic groups will disappear altogether.

Chris Dixon

## Barclays' ups and downs

**The Barclays Shadow Report 1986. End Loans to Southern Africa, PO Box 686, London NW5 2NW, price 75p, or £1 including p&p.**

**THE SIXTH** annual 'Shadow Report' on Barclays' activities reports that the bank, for long a major channel for British investment in the apartheid state, is now anxious about its future.

Just three weeks after the State of Emergency was declared in South Africa in

July 1985, Barclays Bank withdrew from its position as majority shareholder in Barclays National in South Africa.

The report graphs the ups and downs of Barclays shares on the stock exchange when the State of Emergency was declared (down 23p), as Barclays appeared to be on the point of ditching its South African subsidiary (up 14p), wavered in its support for loans to South Africa and then in reaction to the Botha regime's loan-repayment

freeze in September (down 9p).

Other topics featured in the report are the huge loans from Barclays to South Africa, the bank's recruitment campaign in Britain, and its role in arms sales to the apartheid state.

A Barclays branch in Southampton provided a bank guarantee for the export of a computer-controlled milling machine to a subsidiary of the Pretoria government's state

arms corporation. It was only observant dockers who revealed the ultimate destination of the crated load of machinery and had it impounded by customs.

Meanwhile the disinvestment campaign has grown worldwide, with accounts being withdrawn from Barclays. In May 1985 the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union — representing 150,000 members — condemned banks which 'support the regime through investments and loans.'

# REVIEWS

## ART AND REVOLUTION: A CONFLICT OF CULTURES

THE FUTURISTS by Dusty Hughes,  
directed by Richard Eyre at the Cottesloe Theatre, South Bank, London.

The team at the Cottesloe Theatre has put on a play of tremendous vitality which captures for a British audience the excitement of artistic life in Russia in the years following the 1917 revolution.

The 'Futurists' of the title are the poets whose creative work flowered in those years of revolution, war, famine, typhus, triumph and terror when an old order was pushed into the grave and a new age dawned.

And in this living context with all its contradictions, the poetry of Mayakovsky, Akhmatova, Mandelstam, Blok and Gumilov takes on a vibrant life intimately linked with the inner development of the play.

Vladimir Mayakovsky, brilliantly played by Daniel Day Lewis, embraces the new order wars and all and forges the new language of the new man in the age of the machine.

### Proclaims

He takes the revolution in all its contradictions and strives to enunciate it. The Bolsheviks have to crush the uprising of the Kronstadt sailors that threatens the existence of the workers' state itself. Mayakovsky proclaims from the rooftops a poem in praise of the revolution.

Osip Mandelstam tries to save for the new society the best that former cultures have to offer while Mayakovsky wants to 'tear up the dead words' of the old order.

The debate between them in the seedy setting of the 'Stray Dog' artists club is

fought out in the medium of poetry.

Into this debate march the Proletcult poets. Led by Averbach (Fred Pearson) they denounce the 'bourgeois individualism' of the other poets and demand a language and themes closer to the proletariat.

Their literary offerings are meagre. This is the same Averbach who later turns up as a literary hack of Stalinism, churning out the Party Line in literature.

And then there is the royalist poet and adventurer Gumilov. This is how the revolutionary Victor Serge describes him: 'At least he was frank, daring in thought, tremendously in love with adventure and battle, and from time to time he would recite verses with magical effect.'

'He was rather lean and singularly ugly: his face too long, heavy lips and nose, conical forehead, weird eyes, bluish green and overlarge, like fish or Oriental idol...

'This was one of the greatest Russian poets of our generation, already famous... we were destined to meet several times in Rus-

sia, antagonists but friends.'

Gumilov has two of the best scenes in the play. In one, alone on the stage, Gumilov (Jack Shepherd) lectures Red sailors on poetry.

Shepherd is able to make a tangible reality of the collision between the chaotic but vital forces of the revolution and the cultured middle class.

Each has something that the other needs, but the exchange is not a simple matter.

In the other scene Gumilov, having drafted a leaflet for a group of counter-revolutionary plotters, is interrogated by the CHEKA.

### Shot

The interrogator turns out to be a poetry-lover with a special respect for the works of Gumilov's former wife, Akhmatova. They politely exchange their works before Gumilov is taken out to be shot.

Such were the living contradictions of the early Soviet era.

They are focussed in the play on the character of the old revolutionary novelist Gorky, played by David Calder. Gorky uses his friendship with Lenin to try and rescue works of art and artists caught up by the whirlwind of revolution.

For Gorky the contradictions are overwhelming. Aging, tired, ill, his meagre diet enriched with various hack



Roger Pack as Mandelstam and Daniel Lewis as Mayakovsky in the National Theatre production of 'The Futurists'

cures for vitamin deficiency, he prepares to visit a sanatorium in the west, leaving his poet friends and his salvaged 'kons to their fate.

It is part of the contradictions that Gorky's secretary and companion had been approached by the CHEKA to spy on him, while another assistant has been sent to spy on her.

### Path

In the final scene of the play, set after the Krushchew thaw, a Dutch television interviewer meets the survivors, Akhmatova and Mandelstam's widow, who has carried her dead husband's works safely hidden in her head throughout the years of the Stalin period.

This scene brings it home that the problem of how the artist finds a path to the revolution, and how revolutionaries find a path to the best representatives of the arts, is still to be resolved today.

Bob Archer

## CAPITALISM AND TRIBAL SOCIETY

ICA: The films of Dennis O'Rourke: Monday May 19  
Saturday May 31 at 6.30 and 8.30 pm

ICA Cinematheque, The Mall, London, SW1

TWO FILMS which explore and deplore the impact of capitalist society on the innocent tribal peoples of New Guinea and Yap in Micronesia are currently running at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London.

Civilisation descends on these people in its most hideous forms — Christianity and Californian television shows.

The *Shark-Callers of Kontu* juxtaposes the ancient magical ritual of calling the sharks out of the sea against the cultural inroads of the missionaries and schoolteachers.

Dutch explorer Abel Tasman had seen in 1643 in the Pacific, men who were able to catch sharks by hand: in 1982 the ancient skill resides only in a handful of villagers in the remotest areas of New Guinea.

Despite our 20th century awareness that the methods used in the ritual of shark-calling are not magic but a shrewd exploitation of an acquired knowledge of shark behaviour (the rattling of a bunch of coconut shells in the water imitates the sound of a school of fish in distress) the process remains suffused with a sense of mystery. Perhaps through a rather suspect romanticism exhibited by O'Rourke.

Yap... How did they know we'd like TV? brings us the ugly American in all his glory. In contrast to 'The Shark-Callers of Kontu' where civilisation is at least not seen as deliberately imposed, America comes to Yap in the role of Big Brother.

Yap is one of a group of islands forming Micronesia, a strategically important base for the control of the Pacific, which has been held 'in trust' by the USA since the end of the second World War.

The contention of O'Rourke's film is that, faced with handing the islands back to self-government, the Americans have decided to maintain their control of the area by ideological

means through installing commercial television.

The villagers of Yap now sit in palm huts watching eight hours of American propaganda a day.

The only drawback to these two films is a naively romantic view of tribal cultures as necessarily 'good' and 'right' and of westernisation as wicked and bad.

True enough these island peoples throughout the Pacific have had their ways of life vandalised and destroyed in the most degrading way but the question remains, is this inevitable?

### Independence

The real question is, could it not have been done in a better way and the answer to that is, not under capitalism.

The problem with the O'Rourke approach is that it presents the islanders only as hapless victims of the wicked capitalist. There is no suggestion that these people could independently make use of their new knowledge to better their lives — there are in fact more productive things to do than catching sharks and hoeing sweet potatoes.

I would prefer to see a film about the independence struggles of the Kanakas of the New Hebrides, which brings me onto the two films showing later in the programme, which were shown at the preview, but actually look more interesting.

Couldn't be fairer is about the struggle of the Queensland aboriginals for their land rights and Ilek-sen is about the first general election in Papua New Guinea after independence.

Bronwen Handyside

## TV CHOICE

Saturday May 17

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **Africa: The King and the City.** Presented by Basil Davidson, shows the great works of art from Ife, Benin, and from the old empire of the Yoruba. It also presents the preservation of the royal system of government in Kano in northern Nigeria from ancient times down to the present day.

10.55 pm, Channel 4. **The Killing of Sister George.** (1969) Film directed by Robert Aldrich, a blackly humorous look at a lesbian relationship and the tragedy that results when one partner is fired from a long running TV soap opera.

Sunday May 18

11 am, ITV. **Getting On.** England has the highest death rate from hypothermia amongst old people. This is a personal view (from the assistant editor of the Daily Mirror, unfortunately) of the tragedy of two of these deaths.

7.15 pm, Channel 4. **World Wise 86. Reclaiming The Earth.** The famine remains in Africa, despite attempts from well-intentioned aid projects to eliminate it. What is the cause of the inability of this fertile land to sustain its people?

12.15 am, Channel 4. **Seeds of Destiny.** Short documentary on the plight of victims of Nazi Germany's plan to subjugate the populations of adjacent countries by means of systematic starvation at the end of World War II.

Monday May 19

7 pm, ITV. **Nature Watch.** A triumph of Australian pragmatism, the platypus is the only mammal that lays eggs, and to



Marilyn Monroe, Lauren Bacall and Betty Grable in 'How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying' (1953) — Channel 4, Tuesday May 20, 9.00 pm

confuse the issue further is a marsupial, that is it has a pouch. Dismissed as a hoax when first discovered, the platypus has redeemed itself, unlike Rolf Harris. This programme pursues the platypus to Kangaroo island, off the coast of Australia.

8.10 pm, BBC2. **Horizon: A Handful of Sugar with a Pinch of Salt.** Cholera kills through dehydration, and this Horizon

report, filmed in four countries, shows how children can be saved by giving their mothers easy access to the simple rehydration salts.

Tuesday May 20  
9.00 pm, Channel 4. **How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying.** (1953) Three of the most talented and gorgeous women ever to appear on the cinema

screen romp through a gallant attempt to marry money, but are forced to acknowledge the power of true love in this comic masterpiece.

Thursday May 22  
9.30 pm, Channel 4. **Heat and Dust.** (1982) A film scripted by Ruth Praver Jhabvala which unerringly captures the unique and fantastic heart of India.

# FLEET STREET

## Demand by rank and file printers

By FLEET STREET PRINTWORKERS

THE FLEET Street printers' support unit, set up two weeks ago, had its second meeting on Tuesday, May 13.

Nearly 100 printworkers, many of them sacked News International employees, met near Fleet Street to elect a committee to run the rank-and-file unit.

Invited speakers from the platform spoke about their experiences of the dispute and the way the dispute should proceed, as did every speaker from the floor.

The overwhelming feeling of the meeting was the need to get Fleet Street out, including days of action, as the way of escalating the dispute against Murdoch.

Many of the printers spoke angrily of the SOGAT executive's and Brenda Dean's decision to purge the union's contempt of the courts.

This was seen as a stab in the back to all those who have supported the sacked printers from day one — as well as having a demoralising effect.

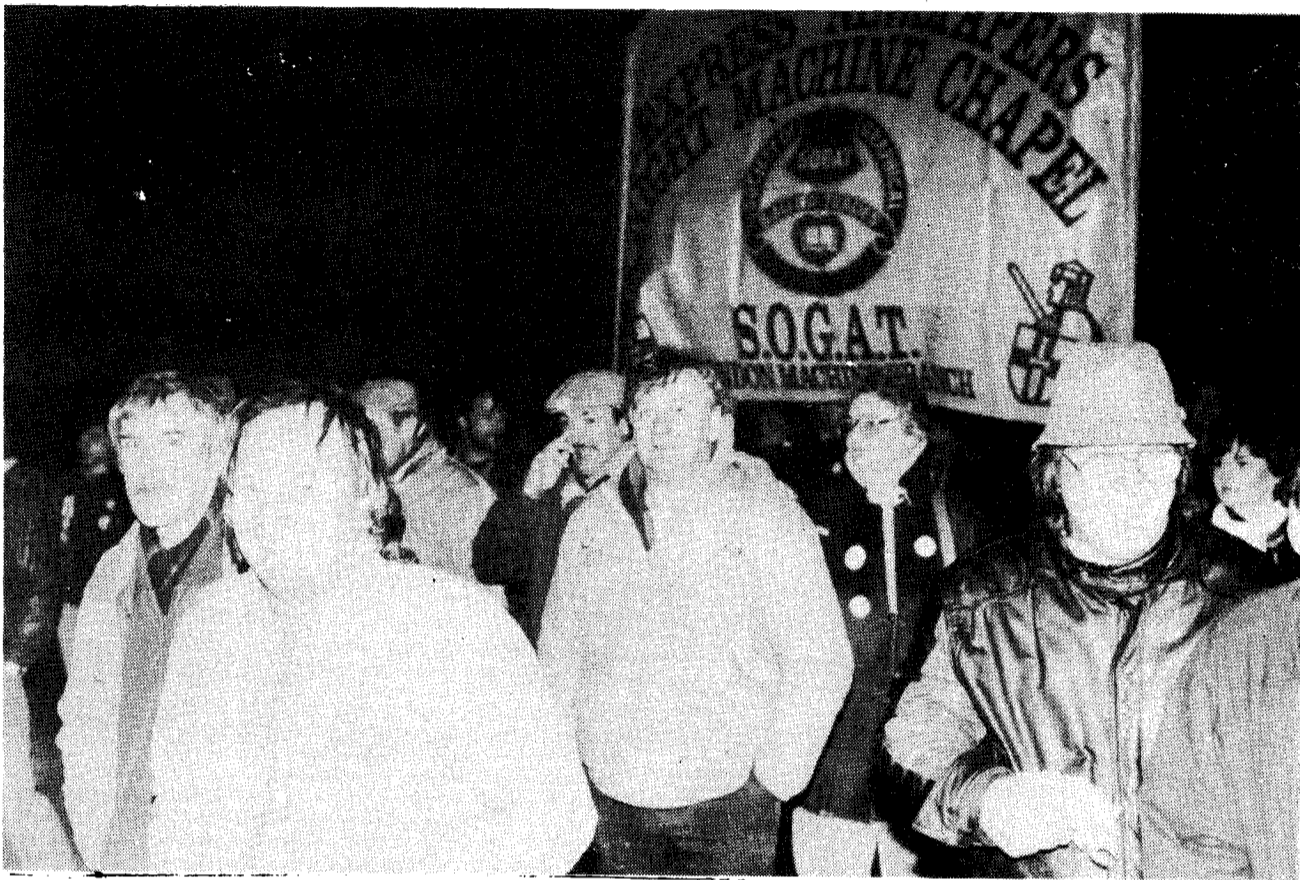
The packed meeting also saw a video film, made by the Hounslow Police Monitoring unit, of police opera-

tions and violence against the pickets at Wapping, including scenes from the march and demonstration on May 3.

As we said in last week's Workers Press, the call has to be made now for a national conference of printworkers and every section of the working class to plan an effective campaign of action against betrayals by the union leadership, in particular the TUC who have done nothing since the day Thatcher came to power in 1979.

As Trotsky says in the beginning of his unfinished work 'Marxism and the Trade Unions':

'There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organisations in the entire world: it is their draw-



Fleet Street workers gave their support on May Day — but the call must be for strike action

ing closely to and drawing together with the state power.'

This has to be true about British union leaders who have constantly done the dirty work of the state and then taken their reward, a seat in the House of Lords.

The crisis of leadership is one which is facing every trade unionist today and can only be answered by challenging and building an alternative leadership based on socialist policies. The old reformist ways of doing things have gone and must be buried.

The printworkers' support groups around the country are still in their early days, but already they have learned some of the lessons of the miners' strike. Helped by printworkers with experience in the miners' support groups, they have been able to plan strategy and action beyond where the miners' strike finished.

The Fleet Street Support Unit must now take up the mantle and challenge the leadership of the print unions and not allow a sell-out of the dispute.

A sell-out would be a

tremendous set-back, not only for the rest of printworkers in Fleet Street, but for the working class in general.

The rank and file realise just how important it is to win this dispute.

The leadership only seems concerned in seeing how much redundancy money they can get from Murdoch and whether or not they should accept the offer of Grays Inn Road.

A report in last week's 'Observer' said that SOGAT leaders are anxious for a rapid settlement of the dis-

pute and are preparing for a climb-down.

If that is so, then the rank-and-file printworkers have a great responsibility to take up in the next few weeks.

The new committee will meet next Monday, May 19.

For information about the Fleet Street Support Unit and Union of Support Groups, contact:

- Lawrence Jenkins: 01-690 6841
- Steve Masterson: 01-435 5652
- Larry Hyett: 01-733 5670

**BOOKS**

**THE PAPERBACKS CENTRE**

LONDON · GLASGOW · LIVERPOOL · NORWICH

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

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

389 Green Street, London E13  
Tel: 01 470 1388

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

**BUUNS**

## Dockyard disaster warning

MINISTRY of Defence civil servants warned last week that the privatisation of naval dockyards will increase the risk of a Chernobyl-style nuclear disaster in Britain.

The warning came at the Brighton conference of the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA).

Brian Sturvetant, secretary of the union's Ministry of Defence section, said the government should halt the proposed privatisation before it is too late.

He said: 'Britain's fleet of Polaris and other nuclear submarines have their nuclear power units refitted at Rosyth and Devonport by highly skilled, highly experienced Ministry of Defence staff.

'Once the government has sold off the two Royal Naval dockyards to the highest bidders these private investors will come in and do the work.

'They will probably be from shipping, ship-repair or construction companies and will have little or no experience of

managing nuclear operations. They will undoubtedly cut corners and cut costs to boost profits.

'Public service will not be their motivating factor — they will be in the dockyards to make money.

'The handling of the nuclear power plants will almost certainly become less safe — and that poses the real risk of an accident which threatens Scotland and the West of England.'

Fuel for the nuclear submarines is made at Windscale (Sellafield) and refined at Aldermaston.

The nuclear warheads are made at Burfield near Reading and taken to the submarine bases at Coalport and Faslane on the Clyde for fitting.

The nuclear power units are fitted and refitted at Rosyth and Devonport.

'This is privatisation gone mad — pitting Scotland, the West of England — indeed the whole of the UK — at risk from a "Chernobyl-type" disaster just to raise cash to give a tax

cut before the next general election.

'Anything that the government does to make nuclear

energy less safe is immoral. The selling off of Rosyth and Devonport is therefore immoral.'

**JOIN THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

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

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TRADE UNION \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_

DATE SENT \_\_\_\_\_