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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

No false 'unity' at TUC! Fight anti-union laws!

STOP

THE RETREAT

THIS week the General Purposes Committee of the TUC ruled out of order an amendment from the National Graphical Association calling for the suspension of the EETPU.

The EETPU recruited labour to staff News International plants at Wapping and at Kinning Park, Glasgow, thus in effect scabbing on the struggle of SOGAT and the NGA against the sacking of 5,000 printworkers.

During and since the miners' strike, the retreat of the trade union leaders from the decisions of the Wembley TUC in 1982 has become an undignified rout.

All the wordy opposition to anti-union laws has been exposed as empty rhetoric.

Support

Trade unionists should study seriously the article by Bernard Franks in this issue of 'Workers Press' which shows very clearly that the trade union leaders are not just a weak opposition to the anti union laws, they actually support them.

Their central aim is for a Labour government instead of a Tory government operating the restrictions on the unions.

In 1982 the TUC pledged to support any union that fought the Tory anti-union laws. But in 1983, when the NGA appealed for help in the fight against Shah's union-busting, trade union leaders turned them down, and the

BY BOB ARCHER

NGA had to purge its contempt of court or be destroyed.

TUC support for the miners in their historic strike remained words only.

Meanwhile the Hammond leadership of the EETPU have set the pace, thumbing their nose at the trade union movement.

They are in the vanguard of collaborating with the Tory government's anti-union laws on the one hand and with the big combines on the other.

Prevent

And yet the TUC leaders have protected them. Last year they manoeuvred to prevent the suspension of the EETPU from the TUC. In 1984, the EETPU negotiated a single-union, no-strike deal with Hitachi in Hirwaun; the TUC rapped them over the knuckles, but accepted the basic argument that the breaches of the Bridlington agreement were necessary



RESIDENTS near Rupert Murdoch's scab printing plant in Wapping, east London, are up in arms about the police take-over of their streets — and someone has expressed their disgust by altering a street sign. Reports of residents' and printers' opposition to Thatcher's boot boys, pages 2-3.

to maintain some sort of trade union presence at the factory.

Since then the EETPU has negotiated a single-union agreement with Shah's 'Today' newspaper.

Although the NGA amendment has been ruled out of order, their main resolution calling on the TUC to instruct the EETPU to stop their members scabbing still stands.

By 15 votes to 14, the General Council refused to take such a stand on February 5, 1986.

TUC leaders want to keep the struggle with the EET-

PU leaders off the Congress agenda — they hope to evoke a mood of 'unity' around the prospect of a future Labour government. There is a question which must be asked by all serious trade unionists who will be inside or outside this Congress: How do they prevent Kinnoch and Willis from proceeding along the same road as Thatcher?

Fighting

The fact is, they are already on that road! Those same serious trade unionists will speak for workers, like the printers who are fighting

for their jobs today, and like the miners who battled for trade union principles.

It is on these forces and not on weasel worded compromises with the Kinnocks, the Willises and the Hammonds that there rests the future of the trade union movement.

Defend the printworkers and the unions in deeds, not just in words. No compromise with those who collaborate with the state and the monopolies to destroy trade union rights. No collaboration with the plans for a Labour Government's union laws.

HUNGARY MINERS STRIKE

HUNGARIAN miners are fighting government pit closure plans: the state-controlled radio admitted last week that hundreds are staging a mass 'resignation'.

The Stalinist government, which plans to run down 14 pits, said there was a 'misunderstanding' with the pitmen.

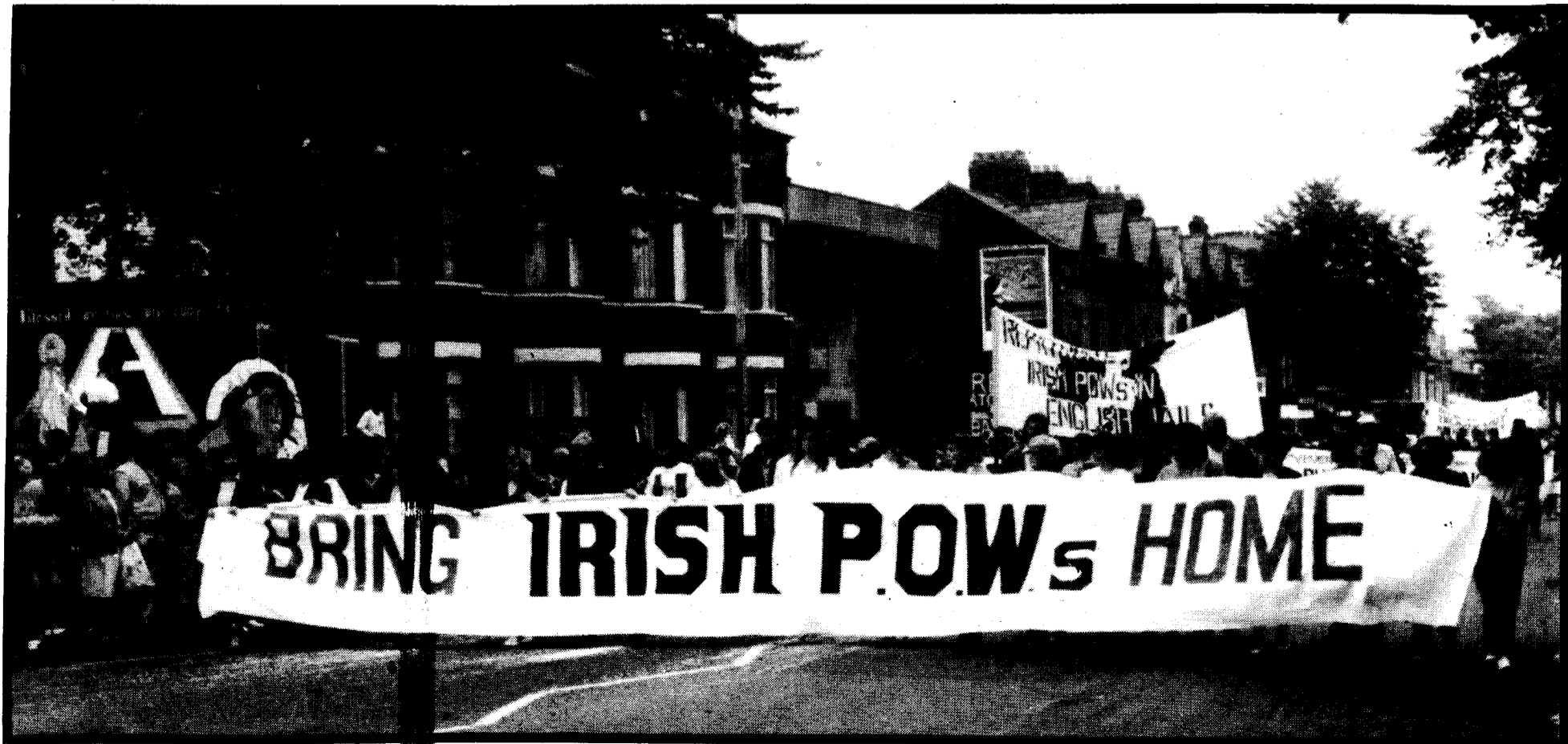
According to the radio broadcast, 400 men at the Borsod colliery in north-eastern Hungary, and another 300 at Tatabanya had 'given notice'.

It was at the latter pit, 40 miles west of Budapest, that angry faceworkers barracked Prime Minister Guorgy Lazar when he led a visiting delegation last November.

Hungarian miners are reported to be highly sceptical about government talk of increased wages and investment in the industry. Although it's not clear yet whether the 'resignation' is just a protest or a device for waging strike action, its concerted character does indicate a real movement.

The workers of Tatabanya have a militant tradition, says Peter Fryer who was in the town during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. 'They were brave fighters', he recalls, 'and they stopped a few bullets as well. It's great to know their fighting tradition is still alive.'

(Hungary and Trotskyism series: page 7)



Defiant Belfast march

A contingent demanding the repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners, on last weekend's march in Belfast on the 15th anniversary of internment. More pictures and reports, pages 4 and 5.



Miners' leader Arthur Scargill with the Burnhope miners' support group contingent

'Labour must open pits'

BY PAUL DREW

A DEFIANT MESSAGE from Terry French, the jailed Kent miner, was brought to the Burnhope Miners Gala in County Durham last weekend.

'Fight on to get us all out of jail!' was Terry's call, brought by Jeremy Corbyn, MP for Islington North.

Corbyn captured the mood of the miners at the gala when he spoke of the importance of the Justice Campaign.

Contrasting rural Burnhope with inner-city Islington, Corbyn pointed out that both areas have a common element — mass unemployment.

He spoke of the support groups in his constituency which had raised £100,000 during the strike.

Ending his speech, Corbyn spoke of 'the next Labour government' not compromising on its election promises.

Unemployment and re-nationalisation are the priorities, he said.

The re-opening of all

mines with workable reserves was one of Arthur Scargill's demands at the Burnhope Miners Gala.

This was one of the policies which emerged from discussions with Labour's shadow Energy Minister, Stan Orme.

Also on this menu of demands was the call to end pit closures and the need to open 40 new pits to provide replacement and additional capacity.

In the aftermath of Chernobyl 'we should stop all nuclear power now,' said Scargill.

Praising A.J. Cook, the last miners' president to speak at Burnhope, Scargill referred to the overtime ban in Wales.

He told Durham miners, now engaged in a struggle to

save Seaham Colliery, that 'action' was needed but 'I didn't say strike action. I didn't even define it.'

About 2,500 people listened to the speeches at the first gala in Burnhope for 60 years.

In 1926 the traditional Big Meeting had been cancelled in favour of a political meeting.

The gala was well-supported by trade unionists from Tyneside.

A COHSE nurse, Val Carter from Newcastle, described the deterioration in the NHS.

She said that major struggles were yet to come in the hospitals.

COHSE members circulated a petition opposing the planned closure of Newcastle General Hospital.

Among the many banners present were those from the Goldthorpe Lodge, Spenny-moor and District Trades Council, North West Area Miners Defence Campaign and the Fire Brigades Union No.3 Area.

THE PRINTWORKERS' STRUGGLE POLICE AND EAST-EN

RESIDENTS FROM THE WAPPING area of Tower Hamlets were met with police brutality at the end of their march last Saturday.

The residents' march, organised by Tower Hamlets Printers' Support Group, defied the police and court order banning anyone who is not a printworker directly involved in the dispute with Murdoch's News International from demonstrating there.

The march stewards were informed beforehand that the police were prepared to be 'flexible' — as long as the march stayed within the roadblocks.

They were told that Pennington Street, which leads to the plant, was a 'sterile' area and they would not be allowed to march down it.

The residents were determined that there should be no 'sterile' areas in Wapping.

The point of the march was to hand in a letter to the plant demanding that their streets be given back to them, and that the sacked printers should be reinstated with full trade union rights.

As the 75-strong procession arrived at Pennington Street, the police emerged from their vans and announced in their own special language that it was a 'no-go' area.

Two arrests were made; one female steward received a deliberate blow on the side of the head and was struck to the ground.

Despite this brutality, residents regrouped and proceeded to march on.

The police backed off.

The Wapping residents marched on up to the main demonstration which had come from the opposite direction and was organised by the Stalinist-led Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

The march parted to let the residents through amid tumultuous cheering.

On the other side they encountered yet another police cordon and started pushing again.

At this point the police radio could be heard refer-

ring to a 'negative situation.'

The police announced that only six residents would be allowed to continue to present their letter.

The marchers, whose purpose was to reclaim the streets for all the residents, burned their letter on the spot.

Smuggle

They moved undaunted back up the Highway, where police told them that as the march had increased in size they were clearly trying to smuggle printworkers through the police cordon.

As police lines appeared to part, another violent police attack took place.

At each point where the march rallied, the residents

'The right

LIZ SHORT, deputy MoC for the SOGAT Times Newspapers Ltd clerical chapel, spoke to Workers Press about the issues of leadership that have arisen during the seven-month fight with Murdoch. Workers Press asked what she thought of the level of support for the strike.

LS: We have not had much support from the national union, but lots from individual members and branches. We have not had the support we would have liked from other unions, but I think this is partly due to the fact that we haven't had the support from our own union.

It makes it very difficult to ask for help when members of our own union have been scabbing, handling News International titles.

The NGA and SOGAT did not explain the point of principle that we came out on to the members in the rest of the country.

SOGAT were specifically telling people not to get involved. When the librarians in Fleet Street refused to cut and file News International papers, they were told the boycott campaign only applied to the public not buying NI titles, but certainly did not apply to members in SOGAT not handling them.

Unwinnable

The union decided from day one the dispute was unwinnable. Brenda Dean continued negotiating with Murdoch right up until the last minute.

As it happened, Murdoch wasn't interested and so she had to continue with the strike. We didn't envisage being on strike seven months later!

When we came out I was very naive. I assumed the union would do everything traditionally required to win a dispute: the blacking orders would be called for and implemented, NI mate-

rial would be blacked, PA and Reuters would not send copy to Wapping. But it hasn't happened like that.

For example there is no action at Bemrose: this is crucial in that it is wholly owned by Murdoch, and prints both the News of the World magazine and pre-prints for colour pages to the national papers. So we could put pressure on right through the union to management, which in turn could put pressure on Murdoch at Wapping. That has not happened.

The same at Watford, where printers who print Sunday Times magazines weren't asked to stop. The unions haven't even called on the Fleet Street press branch to stop crossing our picket lines at Grays Inn Road and Bouverie Steet.

Boycott

So all these things I naively thought would be put into operation when we came out didn't happen. The national union was relying very much on picketing at Wapping, demonstrations, and the boycott campaign — and now its been proved conclusively that the boycott campaign is not going to win this.

The right of working people to organise is the main issue. Jobs are at stake, yes. But more than that, it's the right to organise.

The union are not prepared to fight for that: this has been proved by their attitude in the face of sequestration and Tory law. Any group of working people that come in to dispute with management can not win unless they take all the traditional forms of action, and if they do that they will be breaking the law.

WP: What has been the effect of the injunction?

LS: The response of the members has been great; also the NUJ and AUEW have been very supportive, and given all sorts of assist-

'FLEXIBILITY' MENACE

BY TRAVIS GOULD

'FLEXIBILITY: who needs it?' examines how flexibility deals, especially in engineering, are being used to undermine trade union rights, conditions and bargaining power.

The booklet, put out by CAITS, an independent non-commercial organisation founded by the Lucas Aerospace Combine shop stewards committee, explains how management blame economic problems on the labour market and union 'inflexibility'.

Flexibility is a strategy for speeding up and boosting productivity, and is being imposed in factories throughout Britain against the background of mass unemployment.

The booklet points to two main types of flexibility, which go hand in hand and present the same problems to unions:

'Numerical': varying the number of workers at management's will through temporary contracts etc;

'Functional': the interchangeability between skills and different job tasks.

The pamphlet raises the relationship between the anti-union laws and flexibility, and also the relationship between single-union no-strike agreements, sweetheart deals etc., and flexibility.

Flexibility conditions workers to accept low pay, wage cuts and worsening conditions, and the booklet

acts as a guide to trade unionists to combat it.

Not only that, but if it has been accepted or forced on the unions in a factory or site, it opens up new areas and new demands e.g. training and a shorter working week, which can begin a struggle to claw back the conditions which have been eroded.

Where it has been accepted, management have used the blitzkrieg method to get it adopted, and clearly this holds immense dangers for the union movement as a whole, including 'company councils' and 'quality circles'.

Company councils involve no or severely diminished trade union representation on negotiating bodies, while quality circles or teams to boost production are pitted against each other and their unions.

To quote from the booklet:

'So the formation of teams (in conjunction with other flexibility changes) neatly enables management to co-opt the workforce into identifying with the objectives of management and the enterprise, as opposed to the collective objectives of the workforce, whilst undermining the links between the union representatives and their members.'

The booklet quotes a succinct description of flexibil-

ity from the Financial Times:

'the holy grail of management: the replacement of class struggle with the struggle for markets.'

'No longer us workers against them management, but us company X against them company Y people.' (FT, September 7, 1985).

Section three of the booklet, 'Facing the Challenge' has many points to make on tactics to use in opposing the introduction of flexibility.

Flexibility is an attempt to alter the relations of production in favour of the owners in order to extract the maximum profit by boosting productivity.

The only way to resolve this is to socialise the means of production through nationalisation without compensation and under workers control and management.

It is the task of a revolutionary leadership to develop the struggle to achieve this, and there are pointers in this pamphlet to intensify the struggle against right-wing union leaders, who are willing to go along with and capitulate to the employers on these questions.

It is a very useful read, especially shop stewards and trade union representatives.

'Flexibility — who needs it?' is available from CAITS, Polytechnic of North London, Holloway Road, London N7, price £1.95.

Children

The marchers, who had children and old people with them, held a short rally and reiterated their demands that the printworkers should be reinstated with trade union rights.

They turned to confront the police cordon.

The residents pushed to get through, and the police pushed back, surrounding the demonstration and throwing punches to the body.

Children were separated from their parents, and elderly people from those they knew.

The police attempted to take a two-and-a-half year old child in a push-chair and put her behind police lines, and started raiding tactics into the crowd.

LISTINGS

ALTERNATIVE BOOKFAIR. New and secondhand books and pamphlets. Saturday September 20, 11 am — 5.30 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

EL SALVADOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN — PROTEST. Saturday September 13, 12 noon, United States Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London.

EAST MIDLANDS JUSTICE FOR MINERWORKERS GALA. Saturday September 6. Assemble 10.30am, Mansfield Leisure Centre, Chesterfield Road, Mansfield, to march to West Notts College of F.E. Speakers Mick McGahey, Dennis Skinner, WAPC, SOGAT, and Justice.

GLE

Reports from Alan Clark and Phil Penn

ATTACKERS

stressed their identity with the printers, the miners and the people of Ireland.

At one point a Nottinghamshire miner was loudly cheered.

The marchers were reminded that the people of Ireland were marching on the same day for their own liberation from oppression.

The residents final message of defiance was that they would continue their fight, using guerilla tactics, and striking during the day when the police are thin on the ground.

They are organising a major march to include large numbers of residents of Tower Hamlets.

The courage of these marchers is in marked contrast to the cowardice of the print union leaders who have decided to act as police for the

state, demanding that demonstrations at Wapping should follow the orders of the recent court injunction.

The main demonstration of 3,000 stopped on the Highway to hear speakers on the main road rather than in Well Close Square which is well away from Murdoch's printworks and where the High Court order directs marches to finish.

Ban

This march, as well as the residents' protest, defied the state and the Dean leadership of SOGAT who last week sent letters to officers and members threatening them with union discipline if they did not obey the ban on effective picketing of Murdoch's Wapping plant or the TNT depots which distribute his scab papers.



Close encounters of a most unpleasant kind for Wapping residents during their demonstration

It to organise is at stake'

ance. But both unions (SOGAT and the NGA) are equally terrified of being sequestrated and have taken the position that somehow the unions are separate from the members.

You can not fight for jobs unless you have the right to organise, and our leadership are not prepared to fight for that right, and I find that absolutely shameful.

They operate on the level of Labour Party politics: our leadership take the line that if we shut up and don't rock the boat, when a Labour government comes in we'll be OK, but that could be eight-

een months to two years, which is of little comfort to us.

Most people in the strike believe that won't do us alot of good anyway, because if we stop struggling now it will be much worse in two years' time.

WP: What about the role of the TUC?

LS: The absence of the TUC in this dispute has been shameful. Quite rightly they have been giving prominence to the arrest and disappearance of trades unionists in South Africa under the emergency.

It's right tht they should be

protesting about South Africa. But arrests amount to more than 1000 at Wapping. The question is, why is the TUC so quiet about trade unionists being arrested in Britain?

The TUC should link up different struggles, the shipbuilders in the north east, the Cornish tin miners, etc. But the impression we get is that we are just a nuisance, and that hopefully we won't be around by the time of the TUC in September.

WP: What do you think of the work done by the trades councils and the print support groups?

LS: The PSGs have been very important in this dispute. I would like to congratulate all of them for keeping going and supporting the members in the face of a total lack of interest from SOGAT and the national unions. They were 'all right' in the early part of the dispute, when they were called upon to get the boycott campaign underway, but when they try to do any more to take the dispute forward, this will be seen by the national union as dangerous, leading to sequestration.

WP: What has been the role of women in the dispute?

LS: Women have played their part equally alongside their male colleagues; one of the failings of the leadership is they didn't attempt to involve the families of the strikers. We should have had meetings with the families.

One of the differences between us and the miners was that we are comparatively isolated: you are an exception if you have another printer in your street. Most members in this dispute live outside London, and therefore it is very expensive coming in to picket your place of work.

WP: What are the implications of the dispute for the rest of Fleet Street?

LS: The leadership of the unions have played this question down. Brenda Dean brought us out saying that if we went down the whole of SOGAT would go down, and we firmly believed that — but she seems to have changed her mind.

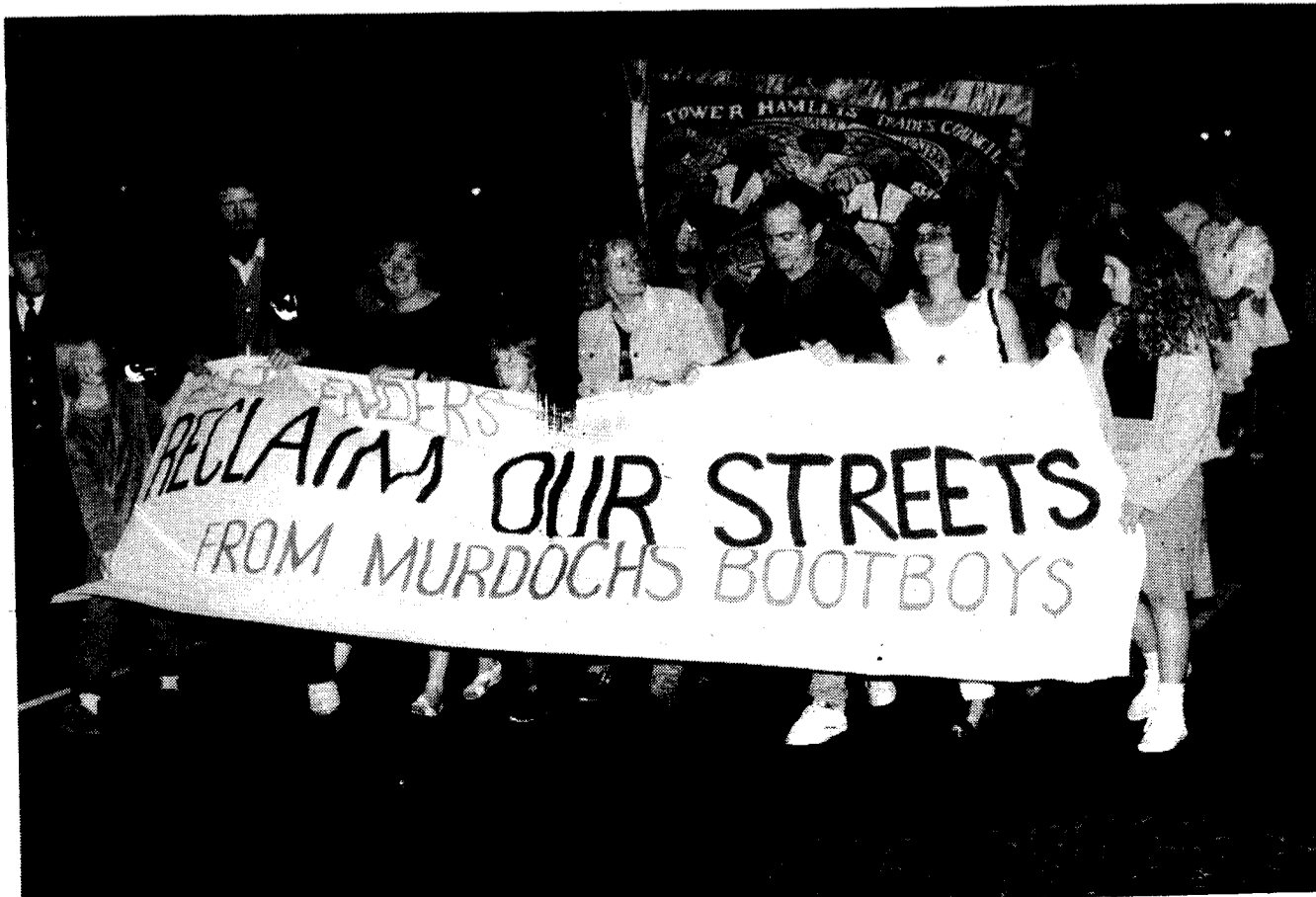
Some members in the print fear for their jobs. This is something I sympathise with: I don't wish to berate the membership of SOGAT. I remember what we were like last year when everyone knew what Murdoch was planning, we all buried our heads in the sand.

Let's be clear: the power of the unions in Fleet Street will be broken if the NI dispute is lost. All the employers are ready to follow Murdoch. The Observer for example is moving its editorial to Battersea; they have announced redundancies of 550 NGA staff; printing will be put out for contract, its fairly obvious that it will be printed by Today, which the Observer has a controlling share in. It will be non-union contract printing on Today presses.

The only way to win this dispute is to unite in action different parts of Fleet Street and to get Fleet Street to take action. But the way the leadership both nationally and in London is, this obviously is not going to happen. The most you can do is to link up with other chapels where people are putting up a fight, like the Mirror workers who are living under permanent threat of dismissal, due to the behaviour of Maxwell. They are putting up a very strong fight just by hanging on in there.

You have to start re-organising from the bottom: that in itself is a major task.

IF YOU can help, get in touch with SOGAT operations room 01-928 2388 x 155.



Women and children were to the fore of the Wapping residents' march

RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

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

GARY BLACKMORE: 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody (not a miner, but arrested during the course of the strike)

SOUTH WALES
DEAN HANCOCK: Oatfield — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicesters.

RUSSELL SHANKLAND: Taff Merthyr — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicesters.

KENT
TERRY FRISCH: Bultingham

— Four year sentence from January 1985. 573083, Weald Wing, Maidstone jail, Kent.

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

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

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

N. DERRYSHIRE
DAVID GAUNT: Shirebrook — 2 1/2 year sentence from December 1984. E71007 & Wing, Millers Pen Youth Custody Centre, Dodderidge Road, Wellingborough.

DAY WILL COME!



An anti-strip search banner took pride of place

The bin lids rattled...

BY LYNN BEATON

FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER internment the atmosphere in Belfast is still heavy with memory and tense with nervous anticipation.

Everybody here has their own story and their own memories of the nightmare of that night in 1971 when British soldiers dragged 300 men from their beds and away into the night.

As bonfires lit up the sky, children ran around as children do at these events, but there was a difference.

Their excitement was edged by a bitter hatred for the army whose presence was strong and provocative.

These children all have relatives dead, in jail or injured by the war.

Before long the fires had spread. Everywhere bits of roads were set alight and

small barricades were set up.

At 4.30 bin lids rattled and banged.

One woman told me that after that first night every time soldiers were sighted the bin lid alarm went up and everybody raced from their houses to the entrances of the nationalist districts to form human barricades.

But if the soldiers wanted to get in, they did anyway.

They moved bulldozers in when necessary and just lifted women and children out of the way.

Sunday was a day of high tension.

It was just two years ago that John Downs was shot with a plastic bullet at point blank range on an anti-internment march.

Everybody dressed up and in some way it had the atmosphere of a carnival, but underlying was a fear of what might happen this year.

Headed by armoured cars, flanked by soldiers and police brandishing rifles and plastic bullet guns, the march wound its way down the Falls Road.

At every intersection crowds stood by cheering before they joined in. Each group was watched by the military.

Speeches were drowned out by helicopters whirring overhead.

The military moved through the crowd waving their murderous weapons carelessly, others sat safely up in their Saracen thrones aiming their rifles at individuals.

On the roofs of the shops which lined the street rows of rifles pointed down at the crowd below.

Children defy tanks

BY GERRY DOWNING

AT 8 O'CLOCK ON SUNDAY morning a twelve-strong foot patrol moves down Springhill Avenue from the British army post at the entrance to the New Barnsley Estate.

They crouch and back and run past the cross roads, rifles constantly at the ready.

An hour later green Saracens roar past, followed by grey RUC armoured carriers.

The street is littered with rubble and old mattresses from the Friday night bonfires.

The last RUC carrier gets caught in the mattress springs and slows down.

Children six or seven years old seize their chance and shower the vehicle with half-bricks and paving stones.

Their parents, returning from mass, barely give them a glance.

'Them wee lads will get hurt,' grumbles an old man.

Overlooking the whole area is the loyalist Springmartin estate, and no-one makes the mistake of crossing that divide.

Ardoyne flare-up

BY JOHN EASTON

ON SATURDAY AFTERNOON myself and three other comrades were returning from a visit to Turf Lodge. As we pulled into Flack Street we had to drive slowly round two concrete barricades which had been erected to defend the community from attack.

Just as we passed the barricade we heard a roar.

When we turned around about five RUC armoured vehicles backed up by Saracens of British troops were just behind us.

We pulled into the side off the road, and a crowd of youth began assembling.

The RUC jeeps formed a protective barrier, the doors swung open, and they came piling out aiming rounds of plastic bullets directly at us.

Troops more cautious took up positions at strategic points.

And out from nowhere came the bulldozer.



The Troops Out banner

It took 15 minutes to flatten the barricade. The soldiers looked on, very young, and very nervous.

The abuse from the RUC was very provocative, but the people of the Ardoyne had seen this many times before.

The way they held themselves from being provoked was in itself a lesson for us.

As the troops and the RUC retreated back down Flack Street after the operation, they were met by a sea of stones, bottles, and any objects which the youth could get their hands on.

We thought they might open up with rounds of plastic bullets, but they never did.



The fires were still burning on Sunday morning

2000 march in London

BY CHARLIE WALSH

A 2,000 STRONG MARCH in London commemorated the fifteenth anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial in the British occupied six counties of Ireland.

The slogan 'Close Britain's Concentration Camps' was followed by banners from Hammersmith and Fulham trades council, SOGAT Machine Branch No. 2 NALGO London Voluntary branch, socialist and anti-imperialist groups including WRP/Workers Press.

Marchers shouted 'Troops out of Ireland, prisoners out of jail!' and an unequivocal support for the Republican struggle in Ireland against the jackboot tyranny of Brit-

ish imperialism.

An attempt by about 16 National Front members to disrupt the march was dealt with efficiently by the stewards. The marchers did not allow a provocation for the police to attack the march.

Kevin Colfer of the Irish Prisoners of War Committee told the rally that the struggle to free Ireland would continue while there were men, women, and boys in the IRA prepared to wage war against the British army of occupation.

John McDonnell, formerly deputy leader of the GLC, said the struggle of the IRA

for Irish freedom had to be supported.

He called for the withdrawal of troops and pledged his continued support for a free and united Ireland.

Peter Gibson from the WRP central committee, chair of the London bus committee, T&GWU (in a personal capacity), said that the question of Ireland couldn't be ducked in the labour and trade union movement.

'It is our duty as trade unionists and as socialists,' said Gibson, 'to support the struggle in Ireland, to raise the question of Ireland in our trade union and Labour party branches, to call for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland and for the release of all Irish Republican prisoners of war in British and Irish jails.'

He called for the release of the jailed miners and printers who share a common enemy with the IRA and with all those fighting against imperialism.

Liz Hill of the Guildford Four Campaign called for mass support for the four young prisoners who were victims of a police and judicial frame-up.

She said they were young and vulnerable and after being terrorised, beaten, left without food and in fear of their lives they signed 'confessions' to something they didn't do.

Mick Hulme of the Irish Freedom Movement told the rally: 'We know the Irish people have not forgotten the crimes committed against them, and this march warns the British authorities that we will remember too.'

He concluded with 'Victory to the Irish people, troops out now!'

Messages were read from POWs in Albany prison, Durham Mechanics (NUM), Revolutionary Fedayeen Iran, and Mick McGinty, vice president of Nottingham NUM.



The Kevin Lynch memorial band from Derry headed the London march

Workers Press thanks the large number of comrades who sent these reports. We've used them as fully as space permitted.

CHEAP LABOUR SCHEMES Part 2 of a series by Hughie Nicol

TEACHERS OPPOSE 'COERCION'

TRADE union members in further education colleges and welfare offices are alarmed at the threat of benefits being cut off which looms in the background of the new Restart programme.

Members of the college lecturers' union NATFHE, and the local government white-collar union NALGO, have been drawn into lecturing on, or administering, the schemes — and are disturbed about their use to coerce people into second-class jobs or schemes that they don't want.

Forced

The method of Restart interviews, and the way unemployed are forced on to the second stage of Restart courses, is causing concern. So is the emergence of the private AMARC(TES) Ltd, which administers Restart courses with massive MSC funding, and to which local job centres refer the long-term unemployed.

The Restart interviews began in May 1986, and the actual courses in July. Already, anger has been expressed in the NATFHE monthly journal.

'As a teacher in further education, I personally feel that adults who come on our courses should be free to change their minds,' writes lecturer Caroline News. 'When we send our Restart registers to the agency which funds us, I do not want to find that people who said they would come in the interview, but are not on the class register, or who drop out, are penalised in any way.'

'It seems to me an impor-

tant question of principle is involved here. If society can not offer people work at a living wage, they should be allowed to live in peace on benefits and allowed to decide for themselves what courses they go on.

'To penalise people for not bettering themselves, is to pretend that unemployment is the fault of unemployed people, and such a pretence is quite incompatible with offering genuinely useful courses.'

One lecturer at a college

on South Tyneside, which also operates a Restart course, said: 'I see AMARC as the privatisation of legitimate spheres of higher public education.'

'How can a private agency which operates solely on a profit basis be entrusted to have the authority to advise and refer unemployed people on to Community Programmes and to report and inform on participants to the Job Centres and the DHSS, as well as the Department of Employment?'



Trade union leaders like Rodney Bickerstaffe of NUPE — seen here talking to MSC 'trainees' about their opposition to cheap labour — must take a stand against the corporatist schemes

The Tebbit ethic

'AVAILABILITY for work is a state of mind. Refusal of any offer in a RESTART interview suggests the wrong state of mind.'

That's the privately-expressed opinion of a Department of Employment adjudication officer.

He and his fellow officers can help decide that an unemployed person's benefit should be stopped if they reject low-paid jobs, government schemes or courses put before them under Restart.

The guiding philosophy of the scheme is that, if only the unemployed presented themselves better, had more confidence, drew up a CV, and became 'competitive', then they would find work.

Fault

It is not the closure of factories or shipyards with privatisation and mass sackings which create unemployment, but the fault lies with those who are unemployed and their state of mind. Blame them, demoralise them, teach them to write coherently and express themselves, build up their confidence, and give them a plastic bag to collect litter on a Community Programme.

But the mailed fist inside the velvet glove is that if you are not seduced into a low-paid job or government scheme by Restart, then your benefit can be cut or stopped completely. Documents outlining the ways in which benefits can be stopped were quoted in last week's Workers Press.

This week, we present some examples of the pompous and arrogant thinking to be found in the 58-page tutors' manual for Restart courses.

Guided by this thinking, the interviewer can offer the claimant any low-paid or undesirable job, or a Community Service scheme place - or refer the claimant to a voluntary work agency or a one-week Restart course.

Outbursts

The strongest outbursts against the unemployed comes not from any maverick in the Tory ranks but from party chairman Norman Tebbit who claimed that jobless people 'find life in the safety net a little bit too comfortable.'

'They don't attempt to climb the ladder. These days it is not unusual for people to take jobs and leave themselves worse off than they would have been on benefit.'

The whole concept of Restart is based on this: to demoralise and forcibly direct the unemployed into Community Programmes, run by industry for profit and funded by the MSC.



The 'great MSC swindle' has now been extended to Restart schemes which virtually coerce long-term unemployed adults into low-paid jobs

What the DHSS manual says . . .

THE GUIDE for tutors on the MSC's Restart programmes states that the 'overall and subordinate objectives' (see excerpts from section 5 below) are 'mandatory'.

Restart: the problem

1. Unemployment can and does have negative consequences. These have been summarised in various ways and include:

- Lack of resources (especially money).
- Problems in structuring and using time;
- Isolation;
- Lack of purpose;
- Loss of status identity and confidence;
- Lack of opportunity to exercise and develop skills.

2. The effects of unemployment vary between individuals. There is growing

evidence that some people's approach to unemployment can be more psychologically healthy than others.

3. There is evidence . . . that people adopting a reactive stance to unemployment 'waiting for something to happen' suffer more than those who hold a belief that they can exercise some control over the course of their lives and who respond proactively to unemployment. A pro-active approach to life can help to diminish all six of the negative effects of unemployment outlined above.

Minimum

5. Overall objective . . . 5.1 The minimum overall objective of the course is to help participants move from a reactive stance to unem-

ployment towards a more pro-active approach, which encompasses a belief that it is possible to exercise some control over what is happening to them.

5.2 Subordinate to this overall objective will be a number of objectives all of which lead to participants setting long-term action plans.

5.3 Subordinate objectives are to help participants to:

- Build their confidence and self esteem;
- Re-assess their strengths and skills;
- Improve their ability to manage on limited resources;
- Improve their jobsearch skills;
- Produce a Personal Information Chart (or curriculum vitae);

Make more effective and enjoyable use of their time; Develop explicit short and long term goals;

-maintain contact with tutors and other group members after the first week of the course has ended.

Focus

6. OUTCOME

6.1 It is quite new for MSC to focus on helping people in their unemployment. The course deliberately avoids duplicating other MSC provisions such as the Wider Opportunities Training Programme, Jobclub or ERC courses.

It is hoped that those hardest hit by unemployment see this course as a very first step in becoming com-

petitive in the labour market. It is designed to engender sufficient feelings of confidence and well-being for participants to believe that they are capable of and could benefit from taking a step in a new direction (possibly via an MSC or other provision) . . .

7.4 Personal goal setting (which could include plans for re-entering the labour market) will take place towards the end of the course. This, combined with the proposed support groups that meet independently after the course, is meant to increase the likelihood of individuals being able to put their plans into action. The goal setting process will include a time for course members to re-evaluate the options available at the job-centre and other agencies.

ANNOUNCEMENT FROM WORKERS PRESS — SERIES STARTS NEXT WEEK

'Hungary and Trotskyism'

THIRTY years ago, the Hungarian working class, with the support of large numbers of intellectuals and students, took up arms in bloody battle against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

More than 20,000 Hungarians were killed and, when the Soviet Union sent its army in to crush the uprising, 3,000 Russian soldiers.

This event marked a decisive turning point in the history of postwar Stalinism and changed the lives of

thousands of communists throughout the world.

Over the next two months we will be publishing a series of interviews with some of those who took part in the political explosion resulting from these events, outlining the part they played, their reactions then and now and the way in which 1956 helped shape their lives.

Among those interviewed will be:

NORMAN HARDING: had joined the Trotskyist movement in Leeds the year before Hungary and saw the impact which the Hungarian crisis had on the Communist Party in Leeds where he was working in a large clothing factory.

JIMMY RAND: a member of the Young Communist League on Merseyside in 1956. The Liverpool YCL was badly hit by the crisis in 1956 and Jimmy has first hand experience of these events.

BRIAN PEARCE: prominent historian of the working class movement and well-known translator of Trotsky's writings. He was a member of the Communist Party in 1956 and was later to play an important part in the theoretical work of the Trotskyist movement in the period immediately after Hungary.

BILL HUNTER: member of the Trotskyist movement from the early 1940s and today a member of the

Workers Revolutionary Party. Bill played a prominent part in the theoretical struggle within the movement which anticipated the Hungarian events.

TOM KEMP: in 1956 a Lecturer in the University of Hull; a member of the YCL and then the Communist Party from 1936. One of the small group of Intellectuals who in 1956 broke with Stalinism and came over to Trotskyism. Member of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

PETER FRYER: sent by the Communist Party paper the Daily Worker to report events of Budapest in 1956. Saw the struggles of the Hungarian working class at

first hand. Nearly all his reports to the Worker suppressed because they told the truth of these momentous events. Author of HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY.

JOHN ARCHER: joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934, and played a major role in the intervention by Trotskyists in Yorkshire in the crisis of the Communist Party in 1956.

CLIFF SLAUGHTER: like Kemp, Cliff Slaughter was among the group of in-

tellectuals who left the Communist Party thirty years ago and played a prominent part in the subsequent development of the Trotskyist movement. Member of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

This important series of interviews will be prefaced by a special article written by CYRIL SMITH for next week's Workers Press: 'The Significance of Hungary for the World Trotskyist Movement'.

ADVANCE NOTICE

PUBLIC MEETING

October 26 1986

30th Anniversary

of the

HUNGARIAN UPRISING

Speaker: Peter Fryer

Eyewitness to the events in Hungary as correspondent for the Daily Worker and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'

Manning Hall, University of London Union,
Malet Street, London WC1

On borrowed time

THE LIVERPOOL Labour Council has now borrowed £30 million from the Yasudo bank of Japan to make a legal budget.

The deal was supported by the six Liverpool Tory councillors, with the SDP-Liberal Alliance demagogically opposing it.

The following day, 47 Labour councillors lost their appeal against the District Auditor, who had surcharged them £106,000, and banned them from office for five years, for 'wilfully delaying' the fixing of a rate.

The Labour council has now borrowed no less than £100 million from international bankers in little over a year!

In the middle of last year, they borrowed £40 million from a French bank, Paribas. They sold off council mortgages. At the end of last year they borrowed £30 million from the Union Bank of Switzerland.

Chairman of the Finance Committee, councillor Tony Byrne, declared that to meet the council's deficit with this Japanese loan was a 'remarkable feat'. At the same time he said that next year, the council would face rate rises of 50 per cent and more catastrophic budget problems.

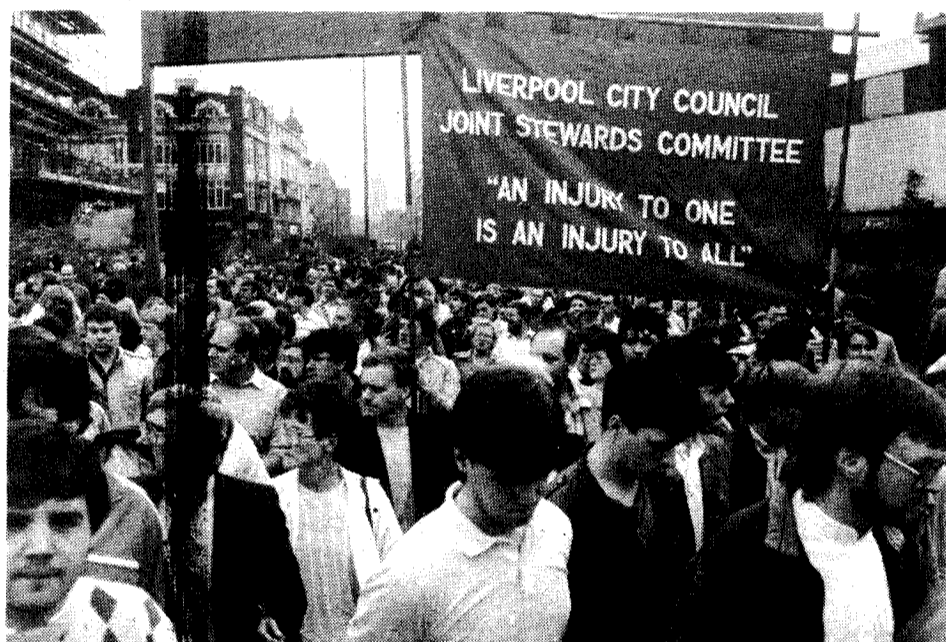
Bankers

The interest on the new loan will be £12 million. £6 million a year is now added to the council debt together with the loans from the Swiss and Japanese bankers.

After three years of struggle by a Liverpool Labour Council, the population has ended in hock by an enormous amount to capitalist banks. The time is ripe to draw a balance sheet.

This can only show the complete inadequacy of left reformist policies, particularly when they are covered over with revolutionary phrases, as in the case of 'Militant' supporters who occupy leading positions in the Liverpool Labour Party.

The Liverpool Labour council operates in one of the most turbulent and militant areas of Britain. Where the sharpest political and economic expression of British capitalism's decline over the last thirty years can be felt. The basic workforce, once in the forefront of the class nationally, has been decimated: the dockers, ship-repairers and other port workers have been reduced from



Liverpool workers marching against cuts: the 'Militant' strategy was always limited to left reformism, says Bill Hunter

tens of thousands to three thousand, and there have been similarly massive cut-backs of seamen and building workers.

After the right wing in the Liverpool Labour Party was defeated, in 1983, gains were made for Labour in the municipal and General elections, contrary to the general voting trend.

It is true to say, that the chauvinism of Thatcher, endorsed by the leaders of the Labour Party in the Malvi-

No tendency on the council really accepted that the centre of gravity of all politics in Britain is the movement of struggle among the working class, particularly women and youth, and that the worth of council activity is in how it encourages that.

Before the election of 1983, the Liverpool District Labour Party had declared it was going into confrontation with the Tory Government.

The Municipal Policy

PART ONE OF A SERIES Lessons of Liverpool

BY BILL HUNTER

nas war, affected the population and labour movement of Liverpool, less than elsewhere. It is no accident that the Liverpool Trades Council passed a resolution by an overwhelming vote, against the British invasion of the Malvinas and supporting their return to Argentina. The resolution, incidentally, was opposed by 'Militant' supporters.

Majority

The majority of the Liverpool councillors were prepared, quite genuinely, to face a risk to themselves financially and to their political future. But nevertheless we contend that their policy of the last three years was left reformist. They remained reformist in this — that in the end their answers lay in manoeuvres within local government.

statement of the District Party declared that: 'For the past two years, the Liverpool District Labour Party has had a policy of No Cuts in Jobs and Services, No Increase in Rents and No Increase in Rates to compensate for Government cuts.'

With a certain arrogance, the statement continued, declaring that, in adopting this policy, the Liverpool Labour group was 'the first Group in the country to adopt this clear confrontation policy with this government.'

Council

The council, however, had no positive plans for meeting this confrontation. There was a general cloudy idea of conflict, but no-one appeared to even ask the question: How do we move the real forces which can hold back

the Tory attacks and defeat them?

The 'Militant' tendency have their own reasons against mobilising any wide, lively, turbulent movement. Together with their own brand of opportunism goes their sectarian dogmatism. There are readers who will comment that such a combination is not unique and, in a different form, it was seen in the degeneration of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Control

For the 'Militant', all movements have to be under the control of the Labour Party or not exist at all. Here, their ideas met with those of Cllr Tony Byrne, the driving force in 'creative accounting' and in the housing programme.

'We are not consensus people', Councillor Byrne told the Guardian, in a long interview on August 7th 1984. '... the council does not recognise community associations — only ward parties are acceptable.'

We have no need of broad committees in the area to defend Liverpool, said leading 'Militant' spokesmen to a central meeting during the 1984 campaign on the budget.

Said councillor Derek Hutton, deputy leader of the Labour group: 'We have the Central Campaign Committee and we have our ward meetings, linked with the trade unions.'

'Good God', exclaimed one of the audience, 'a social revolution through the ward labour parties!'

Travel ban on pro-Palestinian churchman

THE ISRAELI Ministry of the Interior has slapped a one-year travel ban on Canon Riah Abu el Assal, head of the Anglican Church in Nazareth, on the grounds of the 'security interests of the state'.

Interior Minister Rabbi Itzhak Peretz announced

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

that the Palestinian churchman could not leave Israel last week when he was about to leave for a United States lecture tour.

In the same week the Knesset adopted a new law aimed against Israelis talking to the Palestine Liberation Organisation. In June, Canon Abu el Assal went to Tunis with Knesset member Mohammed Miari for talks with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

The canon calls for direct talks between Israel and the PLO, and the setting up of a Palestinian state alongside Israel (see Workers Press, August 2.) Like Miari, he is a member of the Progressive List for Peace, a joint Arab-Jewish party.

Former Israeli prime minister Itzhak Rabin recently slammed members of his own Labour Party for starting to air the possibility of talks with the PLO. The government's latest moves are plainly intended to stamp on unofficial contacts and intimidate any Israeli who questions official policy.

This also suggests that Margaret Thatcher's arrogant talk of 'finding other Palestinians to talk to' has not fooled anyone, but does encourage the Peres government's intransigence.

Canon Abu el Assal is the second Progressive List member to be banned from travelling. The same thing happened last year to lawyer

Kamal Daher, the party's international spokesperson.

Knesset member Miari had his parliamentary immunity withdrawn last year, thus laying him open to prosecution if he challenges the new law. Right-wing politicians also want moves against Jewish members of the Progressive List like Matti Peled and Uri Avneri, who have met with the PLO before.

There are manoeuvres afoot to remove parliamentary immunity from former Black Panther leader Charlie Biton, who sits in the Knesset in alliance with the Communist Party.

In a protest over the ban on Canon Abu el Assal, the International Jewish Peace Union (IJPU) says the restricted church dignity may appeal to the High Court of Justice:

'However, the Court's hands are tied: according to Israeli usage, a Secret Service executive appears, swears he "has security grounds for the decision" and the Court must bow to administrative judgment without proof being produced.' The IJPU points out this happened in the case of Kamal Daher.

The IJPU is urging an international campaign in both religious and political quarters to defend the canon's civil rights, and says protests to the Israeli government must demand: 'Let Canon Abu el Assal go!'

DATELINE PALESTINE Charlie Pottins report

DEIR AL ASAD, Western Galilee — Legend has it that the sheikh who founded this village, riding out from Safed through Galilee on his donkey, stopped by the well to water his beast, washed himself, and was saying his evening prayers when a lion fell upon the donkey and devoured it.

Nothing daunted, the sheikh, a Sufi saint, rose up and saddled the lion, (in Arabic, al asad) thus to continue his westward journey. Visiting Deir al-Asad today, and meeting some of its people, you can almost believe it.

The village nestles against a steep hillside, backed by high mountains soaring to the Tawfaniyya plateau above. Some of its houses are centuries old, but sturdy: a cluster of flat roofs and narrow alleys on the ridge. Others are smart and modern, concrete balconies above stone facework.

Behind some of the newer buildings, we climb to the older part of the town, stepping aside for a tractor taking road material for council work. 'The central government won't give us a penny, so that is our responsibility', a local councillor told us.

Honey bees

A family shows us their home. On the flat roof, besides the television aerial, onions are being sorted for market and there's a cleverly improvised hive for honey bees. In the living room, a poster in Hebrew and Arabic — 'No to Racism!'

Down the alley below, we come across the vaulted arches of a building from Crusader times, now evidently a place for plucking poultry.

Later, after tea with a local family, we go down by the big play-ground, where a youth five-a-side soccer tournament is in progress, to the newly-opened cultural centre, marble-floored and spacious, to hear something of Deir al-Asad's past, present, and aspirations for the future.

As Palestinian places go, Deir al-Asad is not all that old. The village's history only goes back 400 years. About 1518, Sultan Selim I granted to Sheikh Muhammed al-Asad lands to establish a village, and for farming.

For centuries, Deir al-Asad was a self-supporting agricultural village, producing grains and olive oil, and with some flocks. The villa-

gers sold their surplus in the towns, and bought cloth, coffee, tea, sugar etc.

In the nineteenth century, the men of Deir al-Asad began going to work in the marble quarries nearby. People began buying more land, reclaiming the mountainside, expanding their village.

Remained

In 1948, when the Israeli army took the area, many people had fled. About 1,000 remained. The Israeli government appointed a 'Custodian of Absentee Property' to take over land and houses left by the Arab refugees.

'A neighbour of mine had relinquished his land to his son', local councillor Yahya Dhabbah recalls. 'The son crossed the border to Lebanon in 1948. His land was confiscated. The old man was left with nothing.'

This piecemeal confiscation was only a beginning. In 1962-3, the Israeli government issued decrees expropriating the lands of Deir al-Asad and neighbouring villages, Bi'na and Nahaf, for the new Jewish town of Carmiel. The good arable land in the valley, the marble quarries, all went.

Negotiate

The villagers tried to negotiate with the authorities, to persuade them to site the new town further south. 'We asked them to leave the good land, and marble quarries', Yahya Dhabbah says. 'We told them, "You will have good quality marble, you will have hard currency, you will have work for thousands of workers", but No.'

In Carmiel today, tower-blocks have their footings in quarries. Some good houses, built with cheap loans from a government keen to promote Jewish settlement in the area, remain empty and objects for speculation. When an Arab tries to buy or rent a flat in Carmiel, the authorities find ways to block it.

The battle for land

When Ismail Qablan, a Druze officer in the Israeli Border Police retired and applied to start a marble quarry on the outskirts of the town, he was refused on the grounds that the land in question was closed to non-Jewish citizens.

Muhammed Ma'ruf, from Deir al Asad, had the same problem when he wanted to start a building materials plant in Carmiel. A Mr Moshe Primashur objected: 'Should Ma'ruf establish a plant here, his Arab workers will later wish to live here'. Who is Mr Primashur? A big shot in the local Histadrut, the Zionist trade union organisation.

In the early 1970s, the Israeli authorities began their third wave of land confiscation, as part of minister Israel Koenig's plan to 'Judaise' the Galil. They used an Ottoman law of 1902, Yahya Dhabbah explains, saying that mountainous land, land not cultivated for three consecutive years belongs to the state and can be confiscated.

'Aerial photographs taken in 1937-8 were used to "prove" that land was not

cultivated.'

As a result of all this land-grabbing, Yahya says, 'there isn't a single family in Deir al Asad today that depends on agriculture.'

'I have a certain amount of land. I work on it, it contributes to my income. But you won't find a single family in Deir al Asad that depends on agriculture for its income. The great majority of us have become wage-earners.'

Workers

Yahya said some Deir al Asad workers spend four hours travelling to and from work each day. Others had taken jobs in the south, and only got home once every fortnight or month. This was having its effect on family life and traditional relationships in the community.

Hundreds of Arab workers from Deir al Asad and neighbouring villages have taken jobs in Carmiel's new factories, or on building sites. Only one place, the Boulos brothers' marble plant is Arab-owned. It happened to be already there, so the owners were able to negotiate with the authorities for their site. Their marble is ex-



Merry Maids of the Mountain. These Bedouin youngsters were telling us about their journey to school, when the appearance of cameras brought on a touch of shyness and a lot of giggles. Life is not easy on the Jebel Kammana, but like kids everywhere, they'll find something to laugh at. Like, days after an armed police convoy, getting a busload of tourists armed with cameras. See story at bottom

ported world-wide, and Israel needs hard currency.

In Carmiel the Arab workers get the 'dirty', low-paid jobs — what the Israelis call 'black labour'. So long as they are kept in their place, and kept from moving into town, the local authorities are tolerant!

Celebrations

'Every year they invite us to their celebrations in Carmiel', says Yahya. 'But we don't go'. I wonder if the Carmiel council wonders why?

In the late 1950s, while young Palestinians in exile were forming groups like Fatah and the Arab National Movement (out of which came the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), a national movement also emerged within Israel, where Arab areas were under military rule.

It asserted independence from the Zionist parties, but also reflected dissatisfaction with the Communist Party. It took some inspiration

from Nasserism, and from the Algerian struggle, but its roots were local. Significantly it was called el-Ard — the Land.

Deir al Asad was a stronghold of this movement. It was soon banned by the Israeli authorities. But not before it had become an influence on local youth.

Ten years ago, Deir al Asad got its own municipal council. A group of mainly young people, organised as the Deir al Asad Progressive Front, called on people to overcome old family divisions, and combined national and social aspirations. They won a majority of seats.

Aspirations

The front's programme included such aims as a new school, piped water supplies, sanitation, electrification, better roads. They have had to struggle for all these things.

'The first time we got electricity was 1978', says Yahya Dhabbah. 'We paid for it. We were ready to pay for ser-



Improving roads and transport . . .



Electricity, a new school, a play-ground . . . ten years ago they were just demands. Organising themselves in the Deir al-Asad Progressive Front, young people of the village set about transforming their environment.

'Police Pale

ON THE Jebel Kammana, near Deir al Asad, Hassan Aziz angrily relates his story: 'A couple of days ago, it was Police Day in Israel. On TV they showed policemen and women distributing flowers in Tel Aviv, to make better relations with the public.

'That morning on my way to my office in Akko, I passed a long convoy, seventeen police trucks heading north. I thought for a moment there must be trouble on the border, then remembering the day I wondered if they were going to some event.

'I found that evening they had been up on Kammana, where Bedouin had built new houses, and demolished two houses.

'That was their program-

ts from Galilee



vices ten years before, but the government was not interested.

For years the village had to struggle for adequate water supplies, even for domestic use let alone farming. The council can boast of having installed a piped water supply for the whole village.

The council is currently improving the roads, and draining a pond to expand playing fields for the youth. It is rightly proud of its achievements so far, including the cultural centre, which took a three-year struggle with the authorities for permission to build. But Yahya Dhabbah is quick to point out that it was the local people, poor as many are, who raised most of the cash and put in the labour to make this all possible.

In the 1984 Israeli general elections, the Deir al Asad Progressive Front became split between supporters of the C.P.-led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the new Progressive List for Peace. But it is hard to detect a split on the needs and aspirations of Deir al Asad.

'More than 60 per cent of the people in Deir al Asad are under 18', says Yahya Dhabbah. 'In a few years, these kids will be couples. They will need flats and

electricity. They will need kindergarten and school places for their kids. We, the breadwinners will have to provide all these.'

Dhabbah sees the battle for land and labour in Galilee, the fight for social progress in Deir al-Asad, as part of the wider Palestinian struggle.

'The English administration during the Mandate did us an injustice, they helped in many ways the Zionists with the means to oppress us in our land.

'The British people's responsibility is to force their government to do us justice. To try to solve the problems of Jews in eastern Europe at our expense was not justice. To try to safeguard your interests in the Gulf etc. at the price of our existence is not justice.

Zionist

'To aid those who drive us out of our homeland so the Zionists could serve your interests is not the way, it is not justice.

'It is, I think, your duty to try and help us, everyone in his own field, to hold on to our land, our culture, our way of life, our existence.

'We believe in peaceful co-existence between Israel and a Palestinian state in Gaza and the West Bank. At the same time, Deir al Asad is my country, I will not relinquish it.

'It is in my interest that a Palestinian state be established.

'We are not just concerned for ourselves, but for our whole people. We are concerned about our relations in Sabra and Shattila.

'Carter said not a single Arab government appeared keen for a Palestinian state. We know we cannot rely on them.

Refused

'The PLO is the only democratic institution in the Arab world.

'The Palestinian experience, education, is such that their state will be in the forefront in the Arab world. That is what the Arab states fear in a Palestinian state.

'People come from abroad and see our situation, our problems, and they say "You are cheerful". Yes, we are confident. We are optimistic.'

WORKING FOR SOLIDARITY

THE work of winning support for the Palestinian struggle in the British trade union movement started a long time ago, before many of the existing groups came into being.

We moved, from 1979 onwards, from the Arab world and the Palestinian movement to change the policies of the British labour movement.

The Palestine Trade Union Federation (PTUF) first approached the T&GWU three years ago. Now we have the support of most of the big trade unions in the country, from the General and Municipal, to NALGO and NUPE to T&GWU and the NUM.



Yusuf Allan (second from right) with members of the Croydon Trades Council, which recently 'twinning' with Palestinian trades unionists in Nablus

Policy

Nobody can claim that putting one resolution at the Labour Party conference changes the policy of the labour movement in a single day.

But the situation has changed. It is now very difficult for anyone to get a pro-Israeli motion through Labour Party or trade union conferences, despite all the problems within the last few years in the Palestinian movement.

The real change started in Scotland, mainly when Trade Union Friends of Palestine was established. This followed the twinning of Dundee and Nablus, which made the public more aware of the issue.

The Dundee Labour Party put a resolution to the Scottish Labour Party conference and the Dundee Trades Council put a motion at the Scottish TUC in 1981; later that year there was a motion from the Labour Party in Dundee to the Labour Party conference.

All this started a debate in the labour movement in Scotland.

With the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, there was a motion put forward to the Labour Party conference from Dundee. As well as that, there was an emergency motion from Norwood constituency to condemn the invasion and the massacre.

Interval

The Palestinians have built as good an organisation fighting for solidarity as have the Nicaraguans and South Africans. We have tried to do this without actually bringing in our own internal politics, or getting involved in British politics.

We understand that most British people are ill-informed about the Palestinian question. So to bring in all the differences — first they can't solve them because it is only Palestinians who can solve these problems, secondly, it makes the Palestinian problem and cause more complicated, the work more complicated.

We manage also to work with everyone in the labour and trade union movement. We try to avoid aligning ourselves with this or that group. We try to understand the problems of the British labour and trade union movement, but, as Palestinians, we can't solve our problems.

It is wrong for Palestinians to align themselves with this group or that



ing attention from the central issues. Our time is limited, we haven't time for that sort of thing. I would say generally that those who have done this have not managed to get anything off the ground.

Issues

I urge anyone who is actually involved or who goes to any trade union or any Labour Party conference, to concentrate on the real issue to try and raise the real issues.

'WHAT can you and your trade union do?' ask the Palestine Trade Union Federation in a recent bulletin. The answers they give are:

1. Establish direct contact with the PTUF.

2. Invite speakers from PTUF and the PLO to address your trade union branch.

3. Twin with one of the trade unions operating in the occupied territories.

4. Pass resolutions supporting the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination within an independent Palestinian state and recognising the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

5. Write to the Israeli authorities protesting the deportation, imprisonment, administrative detention and house and town arrest of fellow trade unionists.

6. Join friendship and solidarity organisations.

7. Join the campaign to boycott Israeli goods and produce.

Useful addresses in Britain are: the PLO, 52 Green Street, London W1. PTUF — same address. Telephone 01-491 8872, or 01-629 8394. Trade Union Friends of Palestine, PO Box 196, London WC1X 0AT.

day' in stine

me for "Police Day" for the Palestinian people.

'This is mountainous land, but it is fertile. The Bedouin are scattered all over this mountain. In every place you find ten, maybe fifteen houses. They have been here many years.

'The Israeli governor proposed they should move down to a planned settlement. As soon as they showed willing, the plan was dropped. Really the Israeli authorities want them to go.

'Over there you can see water pipes and electricity being laid on for a new Jewish settlement, Mitzpeh Kammani. But Palestinian people that have lived here for years are not allowed to build a house. They do not get any of these privileges.'

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LABOUR'S LEGAL S

LABOUR and TUC leaders are preparing a massive attack on the working-class movement should they win the next election.

Kinnock, Willis and co. have drawn up a programme of labour relations laws and privatisation schemes, to bind the working class hand and foot to the employers and the state.

In this way they seek to protect themselves and their bureaucracies from rank and file members, activists and supporters who want radical policies and action.

While apparently winning concessions for the poor and exploited, to retain their traditional support, the heads of Labour and the unions offer a service to the employers: they supply labour whose disaffection has been headed off as the crisis bites deeper.

This, they hope, will endear them, both to Britain's capitalist business leaders and to the conservative middle class voter, who might be induced to forsake the Tories or Liberal SDP Alliance for a 'respectable' alternative.

It is hard to know who has been keenest in the planning stage, the TUC or the Labour Party leaders.

In March this year Norman Willis told a special TUC consultative conference on industrial relations at Congress House, that they must prepare a package of industrial law to offer to a future Labour government.

This means not a repeal of Tory anti-union laws, which are 'here to stay' according to Willis (Guardian 23.3.86), but the extension of secret ballots, introduction of arbitration courts, imposition of wage restraint, and the elimination of any policy that faintly resembles socialism.

These policies — revealed at a press conference last month, and included in an as-yet-unpublished document 'People at work: new rights, new responsibilities' — have been discussed at a series of joint consultative conferences and TUC/Labour Party liaison committee meetings.

They have been approved by the Labour Party National Executive Committee (which voted 17-8 to accept them on July 14) and the TUC General Council (27-9 vote on July 23) . . . but still have to get over the twin hurdles of the Labour and TUC congresses this autumn.

The policies under discussion are:

Extension of secret ballots:

The joint TUC Labour Party plan goes far further than the Tory law requiring secret ballots. It would require this to be included in every union rule book, to cover strikes and election of officials.

Unions would have to register the fact that they had adopted the system, and could face deregistration for not doing so, thereby losing various legal rights.

To give the illusion of non-compulsion, the secret ballot would not be applied automatically — but could be activated by a single worker requesting it. (And of course wherever you are there is usually one such management boot-licker).

This plan — the outcome of constant attacks on trade union democracy by the right wing — directly contradicts the TUC's 1982 Wembley Conference decision, reaffirmed in September 1985, not to accept government funding for secret union ballots.

The trade unions, like the Labour Party, were not built by formal 'democracy': their founders did not sit at home filling in forms, but went out on the streets and

With the Labour and TUC congresses weeks away, new and more right-wing policies are being hatched by the Kinnock-Willis leadership. BERNARD FRANKS reports.



Nurses on a pay demonstration against the last Labour government: If another one is elected, wage restraint is planned again

● Secret ballots ● Privatisation ● Wage restraint

fought on issues, often literally.

The best fighters constituted the vanguard, combining the greatest experience and knowledge, and these activists elected the best of their number as leaders for the entire movement.

This essentially militaristic centralised command structure was adopted by the working class and socialist movements for their struggles because they found, and find themselves, in a class war. The capitalist class, and corrupt leaders in the workers' movement, are bound to try constantly to replace this real workers' democracy with bourgeois democracy, to over-ride the activist vanguard.

The TUC-Labour Party enthusiasm for secret ballots is in sharp contrast to their outright hostility to a plan to repeal Tory anti-union laws.

The plan was to remove all civil law restriction on strikes, nullifying Tory bans on political strikes, solidarity strikes and strike for union recognition. It was proposed by Labour Party research staff and put before the TUC-Labour liaison committee earlier this year — but got short shrift.

Within minutes it was 'consigned to the dustbin'.

'Nobody can imagine the Labour Party producing either in a Manifesto or in legislation any such commitment to the unions in that form,' said Kinnock.

'It badly distorts and mis-

represents the Labour Party's policy and nobody around this table can possibly go along with it.' (Sunday Telegraph 6.4.86). Apparently nobody did.

Willis said that the document could not possibly be taken as the workframe or guidepost for any future discussions.

Clive Jenkins, ASTMS leader, said the starting point had to be ballots: 'It was not a matter of defense of the Unions'.

Tony Benn thought emphasis should be placed in ballots where issues of joint concern to management and Labour were involved.

Arbitration courts:

The Labour-TUC document proposes that union members who are refused a pre-strike secret ballot should be entitled to complain to an independent body, presided over by a member of the legal profession. This body would have powers to issue an instruction to a union.

It would not simply substitute for action in the civil courts: this would still be available as a 'last resort'. Where the validity of an industrial action is challenged, the view of a new tripartite body, comparable perhaps to the Central Arbitration Committee, would be sought.

Possibly termed an Industrial Democracy Commission, it would have legal

powers to supervise the rights of Unions and Workers.

It would take over the work done by the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) The Central Arbitration Committee, Industrial Tribunals and like bodies.

The Commission would have enforcement powers in terms of being able to remove from unions a Certificate of Independence, thereby depriving them of tax advantages and other legal benefits for, say, refusing to hold a secret ballot prior to a strike.

While apparently diminishing the role of the courts and the use of the common law in industrial relations, the labour leaders are on the road to setting up labour courts to enforce their new laws.

All such structures have a common aim — to undermine free collective bargaining (direct negotiation between the workers side and employers side), and to put all decisions in the hands of an alleged 'impartial' authority, ultimately the state.

Incomes policy:

On the excuse that it is vital for resolving unemployment problems and for the betterment of unorganised low paid workers, Kinnock and Co are calling on union leaders to exercise 'voluntary wage restraint' when negotiating their members' pay under a Labour govern-

ment.

This was discussed privately by senior leaders at the Scottish TUC conference in April.

Kinnock, also there, congratulated Transport 7½ General Workers Union general secretary Ron Todd for his assurance that the 'first few years of a Labour administration would not be all grab' (Guardian 24.4.86).

Further discussion on the issue has been linked to the possible introduction of a national minimum wage.

The claim that cutting living standards will help reduce unemployment is hardly new. But under capitalism, it is as false as ever.

Many firms have in any case massively cut their wage bills by sacking and closure, but this has not led to the creation of new jobs or put more money in the wage packets of clothing workers, shop workers and hospital ancillary staff.

How Labour's 'unofficial restraint' will operate has not been disclosed. Does it mean, for example, that negotiators will tone down their demands, or take less than the employers offer? Of course they don't say.

The fact is that the Labour Party has no plans for eradicating capitalism, and as long as that system exists organised workers must have the right to freely bargain their pay with the employers without state interference.

'Social Ownership':

If Kinnock gets his way, the Labour Party will 're-interpret' Clause Four of its constitution — seeking 'common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange' and abandon any remaining pretence at being a socialist party.

Traditional nationalisation and public ownership ideals will be replaced with the concept of 'social ownership'. Workers will be encouraged to buy shares in the companies for which they work

and appoint their own directors to the Board.

What a time for the Labour leaders to come up with a plan for workers to put their wages and savings into stocks and shares — when world capitalism is in a state of gross instability, with businesses collapsing, entire industries disappearing and world stockmarkets oscillating wildly.

Nationalisation is far from socialism, but in lifting vital industries out of the private sector rat-race, a step forward is taken towards running them primarily as services instead of sources of profit. But now Kinnock aims to outdo Thatcher in privatising everything.

The 'social ownership' plan, drawn up by a Labour strategy group headed by shadow industry spokesman John Smith and Sheffield Labour Council leader David Blunkett, is to be a main plank of Party Policy.

It is based on the American Employees Share Ownership Plan (ESOP), the primary concern of which is to imbue workers with the capitalist ethic.

The final draft from the strategy group specifically rejects the 'crude rhetoric of an unspecified checklist for nationalisation which contains no strategy for implementation, no plan for how the economy would run, no sense of practicality and amounts to posturing rather than to serious policy making.'

According to the Guardian political correspondent John Carvel (Guardian 7.7.86) a majority has already been mobilized on this issue for the forthcoming annual Party Conference in Blackpool.

Any socialist worth the name will be warning that conference of the dangers inherent in capitalism, not procuring victims for the City's finance sharks.

Extension of privatisation:

Labour leaders have implied that they expect to make inroads into unem-

TRAITJACKET



Railway engineering workers demonstrating against Tory privatisation: Labour plans similar measures

ployment under a Labour government — but without anything that resembles socialist planning. This is to be done by Labour councils being asked to forge strong links with local private enterprise, to create jobs repairing and building local housing, supplying amenities and improving the environment.

Again David Blunkett is involved. 'We will be building a new relationship between industry and Labour which would have been unthinkable five years ago,' he explained (Guardian 14.7.86).

Letters are going out to Labour councils to begin these schemes now, so that jobs will already be in the pipeline when Labour comes to power. Labour shadow chancellor Roy Hattersley has taken the scheme a step further, advising the Tory-controlled Association of District Councilors to interest themselves in Labour's plan.

The only 'community in-

volvement' of this type that interests private companies are those which make a maximum of profit from a minimum of jobs. These include schemes for buying up council estates, evicting tenants, refurbishing and selling off to well-to-do owner occupiers, large scale new property development centred on building luxury flats and houses, and replacement of direct labour services and amenity provision with cheap labour and even unpaid labour operations.

It is to Labour's discredit that many of its councillors are already under fire from local people for their involvement in such community wrecking schemes. Now they have official blessing from party headquarters to go ahead with plans for taking privatisation even further.

Labour and the state:

The Labour Party national executive has apparently

approved a document which confirms that its non-nuclear defence policy will not produce immediate savings for spending on social programmes, due to the growing cost of alternative weapons systems.

In any case the entire concept of a 'non-nuclear defence policy' is called into question with the statement that 'in the first years of a Labour government we recognise that some of the funds currently earmarked for nuclear defence and Falklands spending may have to remain within the defence budget.'

Regarding the use of nuclear power for 'peaceful' purposes, shadow environment secretary Dr John Cunningham heads a strong lobby in favour of retention, despite the widespread and growing concern at the dangers involved.

The Labour leadership's onslaught on it's far left, those grouped around the newspaper Militant and others, takes on special sig-

nificance in the light of these proposals, showing a concern to purge the party of even the faintest opposition to its blatantly anti-working class, pro-capitalist policies. Likewise Kinnock's growing hostility to Arthur Scargill has sinister implications in terms of undermining the position of a proved defender and leader of the labour movement.

In the same way, TUC links with the military (Workers Press page one, 5th June 1986) reveals an unhealthy involvement with the state, to say the least. Especially ominous in the face of these patch-up plans for saving British capitalism is the low-key opposition from Labour 'lefts'. They have apparently subordinated serious public criticism of these measures to the need to win the next election.

Similarly, trade union leaders are clearly playing down workers' struggles, such as the News International dispute and the fight against South African apartheid, so as not to rock the election boat. Yet if they do nothing now, what will they bother to do once Labour is in power?

Delegates to the coming TUC Congress and the Labour Party annual Conference must fight unremittingly to smash the plans for Labour to continue where the Tories left off. The majority decisions of the National Executive Committee and General Council for bolstering ailing capitalists must be overturned and replaced with policies for defending working class institutions and for revitalising health and social services, expanding local amenities and re-establishing manufacture in the form of genuine jobs in public services and nationalised industry.

For revolutionary socialists, the election of a Labour government is vital for exposing the bankruptcy of reformism to the working class in practice, not just in words.

Far from meaning that current struggles and betrayals must be played down, on the contrary, a fierce defence of the rights of trade unionists and local communities by the Labourites will distance them from the Tories and give them the electoral endorsement of the working class and sections of the middle class which they seek. At the same time, it will give revolutionary socialism the opportunity to prove the inherent fallibility of the fully expounded reformist, gradualist, parliamentary variety.

Knives out for LPYS

LABOUR's national executive last week gave the go-ahead for consultations with constituencies about cutting the Labour Party Young Socialists' top age limit from 26 to 21.

This move, part of the Kinnock leadership's frantic campaign against the Militant tendency, could cut LPYS membership by half. It would probably be the coup de grace for an already small organisation.

This is not the first time the Labour Party executive has tried this stunt to smash the militancy of the youth.

In 1936, the Labour League of Youth age limit was cut from 25 to 21 and by 1939 the organisation was dead.

It is interesting to see how the Stalinists reacted to the news that, fifty years later, the right wing were up to their old tricks again. In the Morning Star (July 31, 1986) the only comment made about the plan was that it was 'controversial'.

The article was tucked into a bottom corner on the back page.

In 1936, the Stalinists in the 'Advance' group started by condemning the NEC's action, but by the end of the year they said that the LLY could still function adequately and promptly gave up all struggle against the NEC.

BY JOLYON RALPH



Neil Kinnock... his leadership is hitting at the LPYS

This outrageous decision should be condemned by all who call themselves socialists. The LPYS should be supported and encouraged to fight back immediately to prevent this direct attack on them.

ASLEF blocks 'anti-vandal' scheme

THE train drivers' union ASLEF are blocking plans to organise a hundred strong 'anti-vandal' patrol on the Metro rail network in Tyne-side.

The Passenger Transport Executive plan to start the operation by the end of September, but the MSC-backed private policing scheme is now threatened because the 'Community Programme' needs the approval of the relevant trade union before it can be implemented.

The PTE put the proposals for the patrols in March, and hoped to have them keeping the unemployed population of Tyne-side 'in line' before the end next month.

They plan to use MSC resources to test the 'viability' of the patrols before having to use its own resources on a

permanent basis.

The Manpower Services Commission said of the scheme. 'We think the scheme will be of great benefit to the community and will be successful,' said a spokesman.

The Community Programme in this case is aimed at turning the long term unemployed (of which there is an abundance in the North east) into scab private armies. The state will try to use these to divide and intimidate unemployed youth who use the Metro when they can afford to. The rail bosses plan to use up to forty 'guards' each night of the week and equip them with facilities which include police radios!



Labour premier Callaghan and his health minister David Ennals under fire from ambulancemen: the same conflicts are in store if Kinnock is elected

BOOKS

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BOOKS

TROTSKYISM

THE 'Open Letter to the WRP' by Alan Merrik, published in 'The Leninist' of July 12, 1986, is distinguished by extreme reticence on basic Leninist principles.

Merrick belongs to a trend within Stalinism which tries to paint a revolutionary face on that counter-revolutionary force.

It is not the class make-up of the various 'Communist' parties that makes Stalinism counter-revolutionary. We readily accept that many workers and others have joined them out of allegiance to the October Revolution and in the hope of carrying it forward.

Nor is it any single episode of the history of Stalinism which alone explains why it is counter-revolutionary.

Stalinism is counter-revolutionary because of its political principles: that socialism can be achieved in a single country, on the level of an isolated nation, and that there can be peaceful co-existence with imperialism — positions which are the political expression of the material social role of the bureaucracy that usurped political power in the Soviet Union.

The rise of that bureaucracy was not a sudden event, nor the result of evil men plotting to undo the revolution. Its material basis was the isolation of Russia in the period following the First World War.

October

While the example of October unleashed a wave of revolutions in Europe, it was not possible in a short space of time to build trained revolutionary — Communist — leaderships which could ensure their success.

In Russia itself, the very conditions which had made the revolution possible in the 'weakest link of the imperialist chain' were a huge drag on the construction of socialism.

The small, politically very advanced, working class, concentrated in a few highly developed industrial centres, had been dispersed all

BOB ARCHER (WRP CENTRAL COMMITTEE) REPLIES TO 'THE LENINIST'

over the country during the wars of intervention and the civil war.

Many of the best elements had perished in the fighting, while the whole economy of the country had been laid waste. It was under these conditions that political trends battled it out in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The outcome was never pre-ordained, but was fought out in the battle itself.

Around Trotsky and the Left Opposition there gathered many of the freshest and most vital elements of the revolutionary movement who fought to defend Lenin's principles of Bolshevism and internationalism.

The forces that gathered around Stalin were the 'worshippers of the accomplished fact', those who looked for short-cuts and to maintain their position as 'policemen in the ration queue'.

It is in these processes that social forces lay hold of political trends.

That is why, during the late 1920s, Trotsky defined his opponents as 'bureaucratic centrists' when discussing the line imposed on the British Communists during the General Strike and on the Chinese Communist Party.

In both Britain and China the Communist International made its mistakes in the middle of massive struggles, but there was nevertheless the possibility that the 'little wheel' of the Left Opposition could turn the 'big wheel' of the Comintern. The decisive change in the Communist International, prepared by the mistakes of the period before, came during the Stalinists' abrupt 'left' turn from 1928 onwards.

Their policy in relation to the British General Strike had left the trade union bureaucracy unchallenged in its leadership of the struggle, following Zinoviev's dictum that the revolution in Britain could possibly 'come through the broad gate of the trade union movement'.

In China, the Communist Party, under the guidance of the Comintern, clung on for too long to its alliance with the nationalist KMT and then recoiled into the ultra-

left adventures that left its base in the working class shattered.

Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union itself, the Stalinists had allied with Bukharin's right-wing trend to slow the tempo of industrialisation down to a snail's pace and, despite the warnings of the Left Opposition, allowed the peasants to enrich themselves.

The better-off peasants, the Kulaks, established their influence in the countryside and then turned against the Soviet power itself, withholding grain shipments and demanding the right to sell

chaos.

The political line promulgated from 1928 onwards by Stalin was that the world situation had entered its 'Third Period' following the first period of the revolutionary wave following the First World War and the second period of capitalist stabilisation.

The 'Third Period' was the period of the imminent slump and the immediate struggle for power in every country: in its name the Communist parties denounced all social democratic workers as 'social fascists' and issued a series of

plete opposite of a Leninist understanding of the dialectical task of building a revolutionary leadership in the closest possible collaboration with the working class, guided by the highest recognition of objective developments, a further point must be made.

At the height of the ultra-left turn, in 1932, Stalin was making it clear to US journalists that he was by no means averse to an alliance with western imperialists.

The political essence of the ultra-left sloganing was — socialism could be built in Russia alone, and she could

in the fight for a new international.

This is not 'the paradigm of various Trotskyist orthodoxies', this is the experience of the world working class won at the cost of immense struggle and sacrifice.

It is this political experience that Merrik asks us to throw away, telling us: 'The new orientation towards the construction of a "Fourth International" was a defeatist desertion of the advanced section of the world proletariat, organised then as now, mainly within the communist parties.'

'Germany 1933 was not the 1914 of the Comintern as Trotsky asserted, and did not precipitate its transformation to being a "consciously counter-revolutionary" movement, as reality was to prove.'

Merrick has to stand back a little from reality to validate this contention. His subjectively-selected 'reality' does not include a number of important events:

Purges

The destruction of the last vestiges of Lenin's Bolshevik Party by the bureaucracy in the purges and show trials;

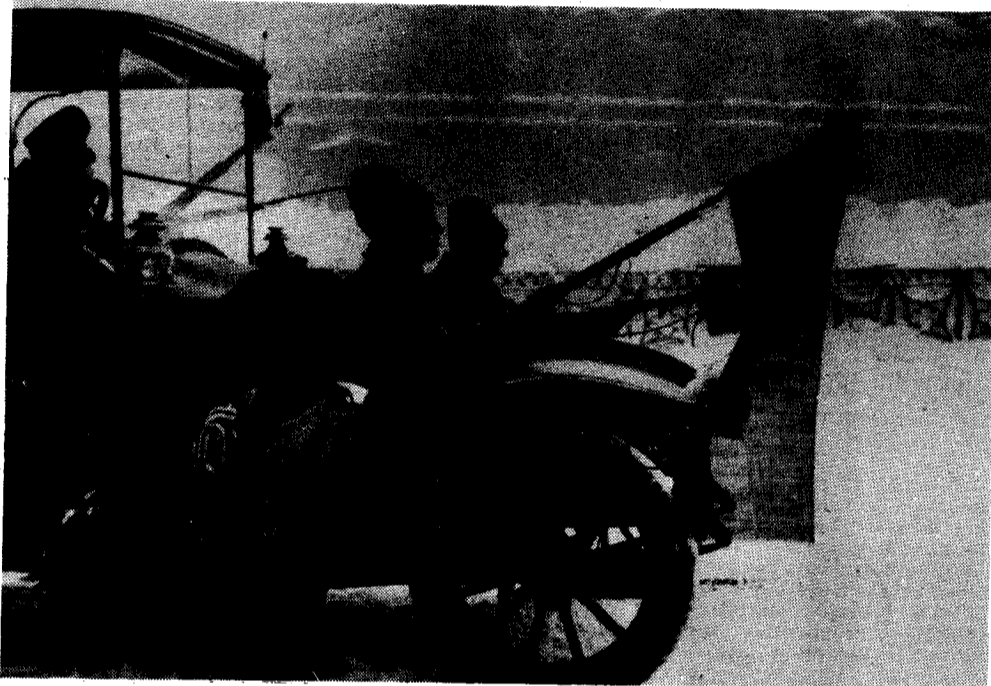
The almost total physical liquidation of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union by the extermination of thousands; the GPU murders in the 1930s of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, the international secretary of the Trotskyist movement Rudolf Klement, Trotsky's secretary Erwin Wolf, and the former GPU agent Ignace Reiss (Poretzky) who was ambushed and machine-gunned while trying to join Trotsky in exile — and in 1940 of Trotsky himself.

This slaughter of revolutionaries was accompanied by further zig-zags in the Stalinists' political line.

Stalin had expected to be able to continue under Hitler the military and industrial agreements he had secretly maintained with the Weimar government. His illusions were rudely shattered.

'Socialism in a single country' and 'peaceful co-existence' now required an alliance with the western 'democracies' against Hitler.

The Soviet Union duly



'Workers join the Stalinist parties in the hope of carrying forward the October revolution': these Petrograd soldiers, carrying red flags on their bayonets, played a leading part

their produce on their own account on the market.

The bureaucracy responded with the forced collectivisation of agriculture, 'liquidating the Kulaks as a class'. Millions of peasants died in this process, during which Soviet agriculture sank below pre-revolutionary levels.

Meanwhile the bureaucracy launched into a massive plan of industrialisation, to try to make a reality of 'building socialism in a single country' — but actually plunging the economy into

ultimatic demands for a 'united front from below', instructing workers to abandon reformist leaders and follow them.

The 'Third Period' was marked by a kind of revolutionary fatalism in the Comintern's political line: according to it, so mighty were the forces unleashed by the world slump that every development must finally lead to the victory of the working class.

But while it must be emphasised that the 'Third Period' signified the com-

live in peaceful co-existence with imperialism!

When the German Communist Party then acquiesced to Hitler's coming to power in January 1933 without a fight Trotsky correctly concluded that that Party was dead for revolution.

When the Comintern, later that year, endorsed the actions of the German Communist Party, Trotsky concluded that that body was also 'dead for revolution'. The struggle for Leninism could now only be carried on



'The courage and endurance of the Soviet working class in defence of October': the Red Army in action at Stalingrad

IS LENINISM

joined the League of Nations. French Communist Party parliamentarians were instructed to approve a military build-up by the bourgeois French government as a counter-weight to Germany: the Popular Front, naked class collaboration to strangle revolutionary movements of the working class, was now taking shape.

The whole wisdom of the bureaucracy, enshrined in the political lines of the Communist Parties, was now to manoeuvre between imperialist blocs; the Stalinists sought to exclude the working class and the masses from independent action.

Small wonder that the founding document of the Fourth International states:

... The orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism, and second, by the treacherous politics of the old workers' organisations.

'Of these factors, the first of course is the decisive one: the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus.

'No matter how the methods of the social betrayers differ — from the "social" legislation of Blum to the judicial frame-ups of Stalin — they will never succeed in breaking the revolutionary will of the proletariat.

'As time goes on, their desperate efforts to hold back the wheel of history will demonstrate more clearly to the masses that the crisis of proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International.'

Trotsky's analysis was confirmed by the outcome of the Second World War, but in a way that neither he nor the other founders of the Fourth International could have foreseen.

The Soviet bureaucracy, ill-prepared and relying on alliances with imperialism to avoid war, led the Soviet Union to the edge of extinction in the Second World War.

Courage

The courage and endurance of the Soviet working class in defence of October, and the resilience of the nationalised property relations, held the Nazi armies on the doorstep of Moscow and Leningrad and shattered them at Stalingrad and Kursk.

During the course of the war, in the hour of the greatest crisis, Stalin dissolved the Comintern, a body long dead in all but name in any case. At the same time, the bureaucracy pledged at conferences in Tehran and Yalta to prevent revolution in western and southern Europe in return for a defensive 'buffer zone' stretching from Poland in the north to Albania in the south.

The price of this agreement was the disarming of the Communist Parties in France and Italy, the drowning in blood of the Greek resistance at the hands of the British Army and the dismemberment of the German working class.

In assessing the role of different political leaderships since the war, it must be said right from the start that the Soviet bureaucracy had no intention of allowing any independent revolutionary movement of the masses. Their politics were determined, as



Lenin and Trotsky with Soviet workers in Red Square in 1919, celebrating the second anniversary of October

at all times, by 'socialism in a single country' and 'peaceful co-existence'.

In the 'buffer zone' of Eastern Europe their first concern was to control and close down the workers councils that sprang up in many parts of, for example, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

It was not until the late 1940s, when it became clear that they were confronted by a hostile and united bloc of imperialist states, that they moved against their bourgeois coalition partners and nationalised large sectors of the economy.

Armed workers were allowed out, on a leash as it were, for the purposes of intimidating the bourgeoisie, but the movement was extremely carefully controlled and shut down immediately the required effect had been obtained.

The end of the war saw mass movements in Asia against colonialism. In China the nationalist government collapsed and the Communist Party, led by Mao and largely based on the Red Army, swept to power.

Under Tan Malacca the Indonesian masses won their freedom from the Dutch bourgeoisie.

India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka won nominal independence from British imperialism under a scheme carefully tailored by the Attlee Labour government to leave the maximum room for crippling communal strife.

Now, for Stalinists like Merrik, these developments present no theoretical problems. Since the bureaucracy is the motor of social progress in their eyes, you just define the states that emerged in Eastern Europe and China as being on the road to socialism, and that is that.

For revolutionaries it was not so simple.

Trotskyists observed that under the pressure of events, especially, it seemed, under pressure from the masses, Stalinist bureaucrats appeared to have been forced to carry out progressive acts.

While Stalinist deputies in

France were voting military supplies to a government that was to try to drown the Vietnamese revolution in blood, a discussion of the new situation broke out in the Trotskyist movement.

The contradictions in the new states led to a renewed discussion on the class nature of the 'peoples democracies', while a serious conflict broke out on the economic prospects for capitalism.

Alan Merrik has been extremely careful in his characterisation of the group that crystallised around Michel Raptis (Pablo). He forgets to mention that they broke with Trotskyism around precisely the issues he is advocating.

They concluded that the laws of history were not stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus, or rather, that the bureaucratic apparatus itself could be an instrument of the laws of history.

In fact, Pablo based this assessment on a 'catastrophic' theory that the US and the Soviet Union would shortly be plunged into an atomic war.

Pablo, like Merrik today, thought that a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy could be a revolutionary leadership of the working class despite itself.

Liquidate

In fact, even as Pablo fought for his position to liquidate the Fourth International into a political counselling service for Stalinism, the crisis of Stalinism was bursting to the surface.

In June 1953 the East Berlin workers revolted, not against communism or for capitalism, but against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Three years later, the Polish and Hungarian working class shook Stalinism to its very roots as Krushchev started to blurt out some of the truth about the bureaucracy.

Since 1956, the turn in Eastern Europe has indeed been to the working class, to lay hold in a political revolution of the means of production bureaucratically nationalised by Stalinism.

And the greatest threat to those nationalised property relations has stemmed from the methods of the bureaucracy itself.

In Hungary in 1956 the Soviet leadership unleashed its armed forces against a workers' uprising, crushing workers' councils and treacherously murdering communist fighters like Pal Maleter. How can we describe such a political leadership as anything other than counter-revolutionary?

Developments

But above all developments since the war in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China demonstrate the huge gulf — despite state planning and the nationalised means of production — between them and socialism.

It is a little disingenuous of Merrik to state, against Trotskyism, that Ho Chi Minh, leading the Communist Party of Vietnam, 'carried through a national democratic revolution under the harshest conditions, and now builds socialism under such conditions.'

Nobody in the Trotskyist movement doubts the revolutionary will of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the fighters of the Viet Minh and NLF. Members of the Socialist Labour League fought for the policy of 'Victory to the NLF' when assorted liberals and Stalinists were bleating for 'peace in Vietnam'.

But who helped the imperialists to crush the working class of Saigon in 1945 as part of their diplomatic manoeuvring? And who robbed the Viet Minh fighters of their hard-won victory at Dien Bien Phu, by going to the Geneva conference table where the south was handed back to imperialism and the war prolonged by 20 years?

Merrik goes on: 'Castro, Mao, Kim Il Sung and others have committed errors; we do not try and paint them in Leninist colours, but they are hardly counter-revolutionaries.'

He should know first of all that Trotskyists, unlike the

the money and the arms to prosecute a reactionary annexationist war against Iran.

Merrik says: 'The Leninist is of the opinion that providing answers to the questions posed by events in the WRP will require more than the location of a "golden age" of Trotskyism by an empiricist approach of checking off "formally" correct positions in relation to the positions of the Fourth International and its fragments at various points in time.'

Measured

Just so; but Merrik has no idea how to do this. He thinks, as did G. Healy in his day, that a movement's principles can be measured by the forces and resources it can command at any given time.

Lenin — the real Lenin who struggled to build and train the Bolsheviks as Marxists — called this pragmatism.

At the heart of the crisis in the WRP is the principle laid down by Trotsky in 'The Transitional Programme':

'The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus. No matter how the methods of the social betrayers differ... they will never succeed in breaking the revolutionary will of the proletariat.'

Difference

It was this conviction that guided the WRP members who charged and unseated G. Healy nearly a year ago. That is why we proudly proclaim the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

No, the Stalinist movement of today cannot be broadly compared to the Second International before 1914. Those who fight for Leninism in words will either embrace the revolutionary tradition of Trotskyism or they will play the role of today's Kautskys — tame apologists for one or another bureaucratic faction.

The expulsion of Healy and his supporters from the WRP has opened the way for a critical study of the history of the Fourth International and Workers Press welcomes all serious contributions to this.

But a condition for this study is to defend the principles embodied in the foundation of the Fourth International against all its Stalinist and social democratic detractors.

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LETTERS

Let's talk frankly about 1971

THE expulsion of G. Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party last year gave rise to a discussion not only on his corrupt degeneration but on the deep-going crisis of the Fourth International. But some participants, instead of trying to deepen our understanding of the crisis of our movement, have pointed out a 'turning point' where they think Healy went off the rails, and asked us to return to it and put ourselves straight.

Members of the Spartacist League, for example, say that the resolution 'The World Struggle for Socialism', passed in 1961 by a congress of the Socialist Labour League, forerunner of the WRP, is such a 'turning point' and a key to resolving our present problems.

A document issued last month by the Socialist Labour Group, British section of the Fourth International (International Centre for Reconstruction), takes a similarly facile approach, claiming that if after expelling Healy the WRP had gone back to the 'turning point' of its 1971 split with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (now the Parti Communiste Internationaliste) everything would have been OK.

The document also includes many demagogic attacks on WRP leaders who have supposedly refused to 'face up to an honest accounting of the past crimes and policies' — to which I simply want to say that many of us in the WRP have managed a far more 'honest accounting' than the author of the SLG document, A. McLarty, who was also with us under Healy. (The document is called 'Why I Have Resigned from the WRP to fight for Trotskyism' and is no doubt available from the SLG).

The main thrust of the document, however, is that 1971 was 'an historic split! Two paths, two directions!', that all of the struggles of the most grotesque symptoms of deep-going problems

last year in the WRP 'could only be theoretically and politically explicable in relation to the 1971 split', and that the WRP's 'refusal' to effect a 'principled regroupment' with the SLG dooms it to disaster.

We could not, even if we wanted to, try and resolve the problems of the Fourth International by such organisational manoeuvres, or by rushing to the SLG comrades shouting 'you were right; we were wrong'.

Of course we can all agree that Healy ran away from the discussion with the OCI, because he feared it would touch on questions about his own sectarianism and arrogance, and the nationalist clique politics of the SLL leadership at the time. (I certainly wouldn't accuse the OCI of having ever sunk to those depths).

Personally I believe that Healy's politics were only

have to discuss now, questions answered by neither the SLL nor the OCI in 1971.

Take for example the military coup in Bolivia in August 1971, after which relations between the SLL and OCI broke down completely. The SLL and its supporters in the Workers League (US) reacted to the coup by issuing strident and sectarian public denunciations of G. Lora and the Bolivian POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), a Trotskyist organisation which commands the allegiance of powerful sections of the Bolivian working class.

The POR, founded in 1936, won the leadership of decisive sections of the Bolivian tin miners, who formed the backbone of Bolivia's COB trade union federation. The POR played a decisive role in the 1952 national uprising, in the formation of the COB in 1953, and in the

Bolivian Trotskyism. (Lora has written several books on the subject, not translated from Spanish; 'Rebellion in the Veins' by James Dunkerley is a powerfully-written and accurate account of Bolivian working class history 1952-82, although not from a Trotskyist viewpoint).

The point here is that the POR did play a decisive role in the revolutionary situation which developed in 1970-71 and in the Popular Assembly which had the makings of a soviet; they did (by Lora's own account) make fatal errors in relation to Torres, the bourgeois-nationalist military leader who was overthrown by Banzer's coup in August 1971.

Lora wrote at the time: 'At this time everybody thought — including we Marxists — that the arms would be given by the governing military team' to the workers. 'This position was completely wrong. It did not take into account that Torres preferred to capitulate to his fellow generals before arming workers who showed signs of taking the road to socialism and whose mobilisation put in serious danger the army as an institution' (Trotskyism v Revisionism, vol 6, p.11).

The SLL's wordy assault on Lora was nauseatingly sectarian and arrogant. But the OCI's position was, I believe, also wrong: they said anyone who criticised the POR had proved to be 'enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat', 'agents of counter-revolution' who 'take the sides of imperialism and Stalinism' (Trotskyism v Revisionism, vol 6, p. 21). Hardly the way to conduct a serious discussion.

As far as I can see, neither side answered the really vital questions: why were the Bolivian working class defeated, and the POR comrades consequently subject to ruthless persecution? What were these comrades' successes and their failures? What lessons could be drawn in relation to the crisis of the Fourth International as a whole, and its total failure to



Workers, students and teachers march through Paris in May 1968: were the lessons drawn by Trotskyists?

provide support or political assistance to the Bolivian comrades?

The discussion on the lessons of the French general strike of 1968, the biggest strike in world history, seems to have been similarly subordinated to the point-scoring of the split.

Two other issues were central in the split: the role of theory in the building of the international movement, and the tactical orientation to the mass reformist- and Stalinist-led organisations of the working class.

On the second of these, it was quite easy, at the time of our split last year, for SLG comrades to point out that criticisms of Healy by WRP members were very similar to things said 15 years ago by the OCI. True — but is it enough?

Of course not — because now, it is clear that there are real differences on this very question.

The SLG document savagely attacks the WRP and its adoption of a manifesto, because it is 'sectarian' for the party 'to counterpose itself openly as the alternative to the Labour Party'.

But if a party of the Fourth International does not counterpose itself to the Second and Third internationals, whichever organisational methods it chooses to do this, then what was the point of founding the Fourth International in 1938? (Incidentally, I agree with the SLG that the WRP is not presently a party in the strict sense of the word, but a group or a league. But that makes no difference: as Trotskyists our very *raison d'être* is surely to 'counterpose' revolutionary politics to reformism and Stalinism.)

Furthermore, if the SLG comrades say it is wrong to 'counterpose' the WRP to the Labour Party, then how do they explain the activity of their French comrades in the PCI? They are 'counterposing' to the Communist and Socialist parties a 'Movement for the Creation of a Workers' Party' (Mouvement pour un parti des travailleurs), to which they

have turned over their weekly paper and which puts up dozens of candidates in elections.

They can not justify this on the grounds that the PCI is a party while the WRP is simply a group. If that is true, what is a Trotskyist party doing trying to create a party with specifically reformist policies, in a country where there are already two large reformist workers parties?

The principal difference I can see between the WRP and the party which the OCI is trying to build, is the politics. The WRP, for all its weaknesses, is 'counterposing' our manifesto to our first serious attempt to elaborate a revolutionary programme, including transitional demands, for many years) to reformism and Stalinism; to those same forces in France, the MPPT 'counterposes' the most right-wing reformist policies.

In a column repeated each week on page two of their paper, 'The MPPT — who are we', the MPPT explains that it stands for building a workers' party 'without any conditions other than the four points of our charter', which are: firstly, 'recognition of the class struggle' as 'the permanent line of action' on which workers' unity will be built, 'resting on the greatest possibly democracy'; secondly, secularisation of the schools and the state; thirdly, 'liquidation of the anti-democratic institutions of the Fifth Republic and establishment of a real democracy, the form and content of which will be decided by the people themselves'; fourthly, reciprocal independence of the political parties and trade-union organisations.

While the SLG attacks us for counterposing revolutionary policies to reformism, the PCI counterposes a workers' party — based on the most reformist programme — to other workers' parties.

Let us frankly discuss these issues, instead of talking nonsense about the WRP 'refusing' to face up to 1971.

S. Pirani



Bolivian Trotskyist leader Guillermo Lora

of the Fourth International, problems sharpened by the savage blows struck at its leadership by Pabloite revisionism and never adequately answered.

These are the questions we bitter and violent miners' strikes and general strikes against Bolivia's various dictators in the 60s, when its

leadership was subjected to constant repression. Although the POR supported Pablo in the 1953 split, it parted company with him shortly afterwards, and was not part of any international organisation until making contact with the ICFI in 1970.

We have in front of us a big job in studying the history of

Crawley Branch WRP Day Schools
 Sunday, August 17 'Historical Materialism'
 Sunday, September 21 'Political Economy' Geoff Pillin
 10.30am — 4.30pm
 Ifield Community Centre, Ifield Drive, Crawley
 Entrance: £1 per day
 Creche and refreshments available

Workers Revolutionary Party West of Scotland branch
LECTURE SERIES
MARXISM AND THE WORKING CLASS TODAY
 Tuesday August 19th, 7:30 pm:
 'The theory of permanent revolution: its relevance today'
 Tuesday September 2nd, 7:30 pm
 'Trotskyists, trades unions and the Labour Party' — W. Hunter
 Tuesday September 16th, 7:30 pm:
 'Ireland and the national question'
 Tuesday September 30th, 7:30 pm:
 'The Scottish working class and its history'
 Tuesday October 14th, 7:30 pm:
 'The family and the struggle for socialism'
 All lectures at the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, except Tuesday August 19th, when the lecture is at Partick Burgh Halls, Burgh Hall Street, off Dumbarton Road, Partick.

Workers Revolutionary Party West of Scotland branch
DAY SCHOOL
'COMMUNISTS AND THE TRADE UNIONS'
 Saturday August 16th, 10:30 am- 4:30 pm
 City Halls, Candleriggs, Glasgow
 Opened by: Dave Temple (WRP Central Committee, member of NUM Durham Mechanics)
 Discussion on: Marxism and the unions... lessons of the miners' strike... the fight against the anti-union laws

Workers Revolutionary Party
PUBLIC MEETING
'WHERE THE WRP STANDS'
 Thursday August 21st, 7:30 pm
 Central Library, Wellgate, Dundee
 Speaker: Simon Pirani (WRP Central Committee)
 Discussion on the WRP Manifesto 'A programme for the crisis'

Your letters are welcome at Workers Press,
21b Old Town, London SW4 OJT.

TV Preview

Hobsbawm tampers with the history of Marxism

A 'WORKERS PRESS' correspondent (August 2nd 1986) has made a valuable contribution to the political critique of Eric Hobsbawm's ongoing apologia for the 'broad alliance' policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain's 'Euro' wing.

The writer documents how Hobsbawm, in a recent collection of essays edited by Chris Wrigley ('Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics'), claims precedents for this popular frontist line in the early history of the Third International.

The Popular Front, or 'People's Front', was a policy imposed by Stalin's Comintern on the official communist movement in 1934-5. It followed the rise to power in Germany of Hitler, itself in large part a consequence of the preceding Stalinist 'Third Period' line which had characterised the social democratic parties as 'social fascist'.

Reaction

In a hasty and improvised reaction against this sectarian binge, the Popular Front policy advocated the unity of all 'democratic' forces, including bourgeois parties, against fascism. Its essence was class collaboration and a repudiation of the struggle for the independent and leading role of the working class in the political activity of Marxists. (In fact, those Trotskyists and other socialists who continued to struggle for revolutionary and even centrist strategies were subjected to persecution including murders at the hands of Stalin's political police in Spain and elsewhere.)

The author of the 'Workers Press' article examines the way in which Hobsbawm, by a sleight of hand which can only be conscious, rewrites a resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Third International held in 1921. The effect is to insinuate that 'a Liberal government' was being advocated for Britain as a specific form of 'broad', that is, non-working class based, government. So the Popular Front becomes, in Hobsbawm's hands, a policy of the international Marxist movement before the consolidation of power by the Stalin faction: in fact two years before the death of Lenin!

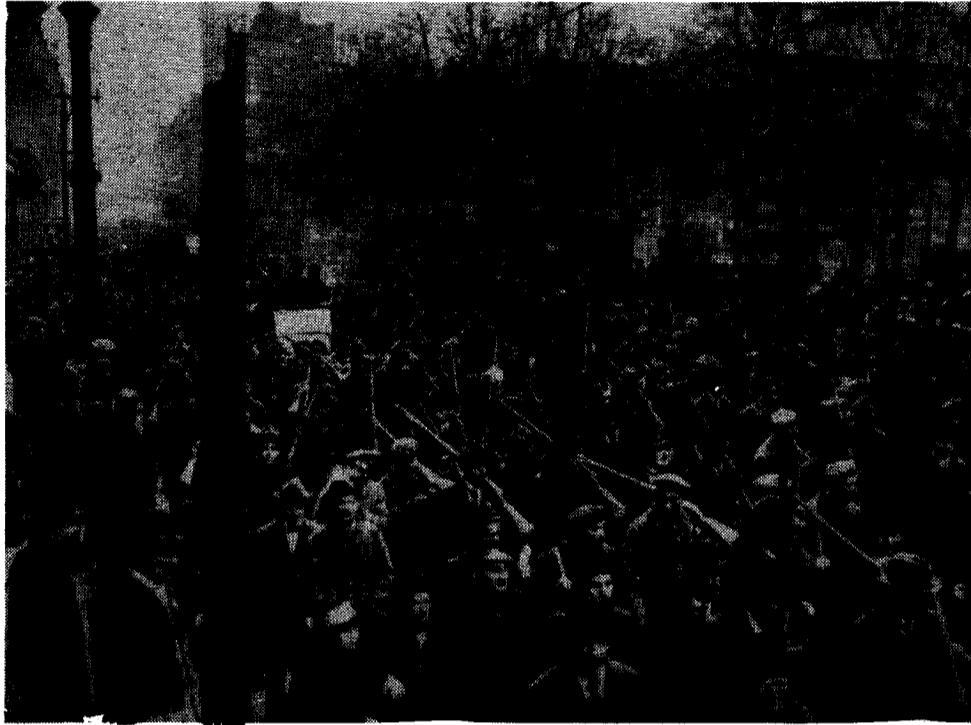
Tampered

This is not the first time that Hobsbawm has tampered with the history of Marxism. Nor, serious as it is, is it the most fundamental example. It is instructive in this context to consider 'The Invention of Tradition'. The book was co-edited with T. Ranger and published in 1983. Here Hobsbawm goes beyond his more recent contribution in seeking orthodox Marxist credentials for his endorsement of the 'radical' national politics of the Popular Front.

To begin with, he cites, in Germany, the opening sentence of Engels' classic historical study, 'The Peasant War in Germany': 'The German people also have their revolutionary tradition.' Hobsbawm interprets Engels' remark as evidence for the tendentious statement: 'Even revolutionary movements backed their innovations by reference to a "people's past".'

To the unwary reader this may appear straightforward enough, but it is a perverse interpretation which makes both Engels and the revolutionary German peasants

history of Marxism



German workers and soldiers on the march in the 1918 revolution, again full of 'ideas and plans which often enough make their descendants shudder'

appear as respectable as an English don. Hobsbawm 'overlooks' Engels' observation, in the same paragraph as the sentence he cites, that 'the German peasants and plebeians were full of ideas which often enough make their descendants shudder.' Equally, he 'neglects' Engels' insistence that the 'peasant-plebeian heresy' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries... developed into a clearly defined party opinion and usually took an independent stand alongside the heresy of the burghers - (my emphasis, R.B.) - a clear repudiation of the popular frontist reading of the revolutionary German events which Hobsbawm absurdly ascribes to Engels.

Hobsbawm can offer no explanation of why the fetish of a 'people's past' arose in the second quarter of the twentieth century. To do so would require political investigation of a dimension of history on which he remains silent. A clue may be found in his concluding chapter to

ral law. The objective world development of the working class is presumably unnatural against this reactionary utopia of national forms of socialism.

However much it is verbally linked with 'democratic' anti-fascism, the strategy of socialism in one country is Stalinist through and through. Hobsbawm's allusion to the Second International only diverts from the role of Stalin's monstrous Third International in codifying this degeneration of Marxism and transmitting it into the labour movement on a world scale.

Old story

In this sense, he is telling an old story, in an old idiom. The pragmatic doctrine of socialism in one country became official policy of the C.P.S.U. in 1924, within a rightward shift in the European political conjuncture. Once established, it could

ive forces, even within capitalist forms, incompatible with national boundaries.

In fact, the bureaucratic apparatus required to enforce Stalin's fantasy-fueled by the isolation of the U.S.S.R. and working class political defeats internationally - meant war against independent working class activity even within national frontiers. Socialism would be accomplished 'on behalf of' the revolutionary class by 'wise men' unconstrained by the discipline of democratic relationships: through improvised alliance with non-proletarian classes which adapted to and reinforced the national priorities of anti-colonial movements (China), and subordinated the working class within a bourgeois framework in the more developed capitalist societies (France, Spain); through tactical lurches and a contempt for history and theory which was, and remains, also a contempt for people. To paraphrase Trotsky, a particle of Pol Pot is lodged in every self-satisfied political bureaucrat.

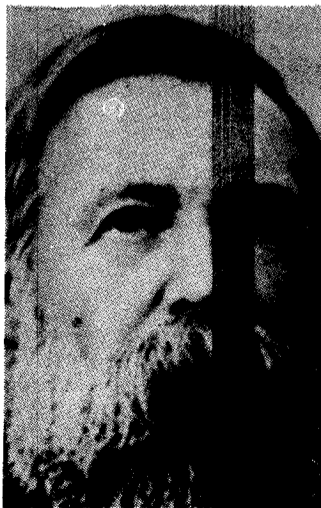
Studied

But it is not enough to view Stalinism as a purely external line of decay. Its history must be studied and absorbed by today's young revolutionaries above all. But in order to be green, the tree of life needs more sustaining nourishment. It is a measure of the poverty of Marxism in the entire period spanned by the existence of the Fourth International that shabbily refurbished popular frontism is still able to present a certain plausibility among other large numbers of people who honestly consider themselves to be socialists.

Remind

The struggle for Marxism is, as always, a struggle to re-establish fundamentals in relation to the needs of the present. The influence of Hobsbawm - and behind him Stalin - both inside and beyond the Communist Party should remind us how far we have to go.

R. Bobinska



References to Engels (left) have been misrepresented by Hobsbawm



'The Invention of Tradition.' There he asserts that it is 'natural that... (working class political movements and parties)... should operate within the confines of the nation'.

For Hobsbawm, the war credit votes of the parties of the Second International parties in August 1914 'conclusively demonstrated' this. The poisonous blight of nationalism in the imperialist societies is in this way granted the status of a natu-

only be 'developed' bureaucratically, by methods including the suppression of political debate and rewriting of history. There was no longer scope for the Marxist principle of internationalism. The latter was replaced by the myth that this or that 'national working class' could by itself begin the process of socialist reconstruction. This would take place in defiance of world economy which long ago rendered the development of the produc-

Saturday August 16

2.00pm, Channel 4. **20/20 G-Men.** 1935. The first in a magnificent series of six films this week on Channel 4, starring James Cagney. When the Catholic League of Decency was harassing the American film industry, the Hollywood Production Code of 1933 stated that movies could no longer glorify gangsters. So the focus was shifted from the villains to the law-enforcers, who of course became just as violent and blood-thirsty as the crooks they pursued. G-Men was one of the first such law-slanted films.

3.40pm, Channel 4. **Lady-Killer.** 1933. Cagney stars again in this comedy-thriller, made to cash in on the popularity of The Public Enemy, in which Cagney pushes half a grapefruit into Mae Clark's face. Cagney starts as a gangster but is driven out of New York by a police hunt, and ends up in Hollywood as a movie-star.

10.55pm, Channel 4. **The Roaring Twenties.** 1939. Also starring Cagney, this is one of the best gangster films to come out of the thirties.

Sunday August 17

5.00pm, ITV. **Survival Special: Galapagos.** A look at the world's only nocturnal gull, a flightless cormorant, and 40,000 albatrosses that nest nowhere else on earth.

8.10pm, BBC 2. **John Evans at 108.** John Evans is coming up to his 109th birthday. He remembers the death of Gordon at Khartoum, life before the motor car, and his first day down the mines at the age of 12. He retired from the pit at 73, and is the only surviving original member of the miner's union. He recalls the long struggle of the miners.

Monday August 18

7.30pm, BBC 2. **Open Space: Homeland.** An examination of the huge changes that have taken place in the Jewish community in Britain, internal divisions and debates over the role of women, religious observances, marriage and assimilation.

10.00pm, Channel 4. **Commod-**

ities: **Grow or Die.** Final programme in this fascinating series, it examines in detail the effect of the monopolisation of the market in tea, coffee, and sugar by two or three companies who have bought out the competition.

Wednesday August 20

6.30pm, Channel 4. **Flashback: 'On the Means Test' in the 1930s.** Footage from the recently discovered Workers Film and Photo League tells of life under the Means Test. In 'Bread', a fictionalised account, an unemployed man is forced to turn to crime to feed his family. There are extracts from a dramatisation of 'Love on the Dole', and most interestingly from a factual film, called 'Enough to Eat?', in which malnutrition amongst the unemployed and the low-paid is described as affecting up to 50 per cent of the population.

Thursday August 21

11.25pm, Channel 4. **First and Third.** This discussion programme follows on from the series 'Commodities' and looks at the issues raised, including international trade, the relationships between 'first' and 'third' world countries, and the role of multinational corporations.

Friday August 22

9.30pm, Channel 4. **What Do These Old Films Mean?: USSR, 1925-1928.** This episode of the continuing series presents the arguments about the role of women and changes in everyday life achieved by the Russian Revolution.

10.45pm, ITV. **Spitting Image.** A repeat of the cynical but extremely funny comedy series.

11.30pm, Channel 4. **A 19-Year-old's Plan.** Film directed by Mitsuo Yanagimachi, powerful Japanese drama about a young student who supports himself by delivering newspapers. He builds up a picture of the quiet middle-class suburb he delivers to, and the people who live there, which inspires a moral rage impelling him to make telephone calls to his customers threatening them with torture and murder, and finally drives him to threaten blowing up the whole area.



Mae West and James Cagney (Saturday 3:40 pm): at least this time he's not attacking her with half a grapefruit

PUBLIC MEETING & DISCUSSION 1974

● The events surrounding the expulsion of Alan Thornett from the WRP

SUNDAY AUGUST 31

1.00pm to 6.00pm

East Oxford Community Centre
Princes Street, Oxford

For Details, ring: Oxford 717821 or Swindon 724714

FIGHT FOR TU SANCTIONS!

BY BOB MYERS

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S State of Emergency was temporarily thrown into crisis last week with the Supreme Court's decision that regulations under which detainees were being held were invalid.

Lawyers began preparing applications for the release of up to 10,000 prisoners.

Botha last week opened the Federal Congress of his ruling National Party with a call for unity among whites.

Differences in the white ruling class only emphasise the fact that the masses remain defiant even though their organisations have been shattered by the arrests.

Flouting

Schoolchildren in particular are openly flouting new education regulations that are meant to stop political agitation and organisation in schools.

Political activists among the youth are still giving liberation classes under the noses of troops and police who now guard school entrances.

In the townships the committees that grew up after the fight against the old collaborators have in many cases been driven underground, but rent strikes,

beer hall and shop boycotts continue despite the lack of leadership and mass evictions in some areas.

The trade unions, most heavily hit by detentions, continue their work.

Action is being taken to demand the release of detained leaders and to make employers keep them on the payroll — a demand which has largely been conceded by the employers' organisation.

Stay-at-homes and strikes have sometimes been replaced by sleep-ins and occupations to overcome mass sackings.

The spirit of defiance has led to the virtual collapse of plans for independence for KwaNdebele, the apartheid-planned black homeland.

Not only have independence plans collapsed, but the authorities have been forced to wind up the stooge goon-squad in Imbhokoto following the assassination of its leader and Minister of Home Affairs Piet Ntuli.

But against the blacks' determination to fight on, the state has dealt heavy blows.

The mass arrests have seriously weakened the organisation of opposition. In some areas it has allowed the police-organised vigilante groups to take control from the township committees.

Union offices, and even a union library in East London, have been systematically fire-bombed.

The COSATU movement is also faced with internal splits in Natal and Pietermaritzburg where UDF supporters are forming break-away unions.

The South African state is clearly trying to take advantage of the chaos its detentions have caused in the opposition to rally and maximise the strength of reaction.

Attacks

South African forces carried out attacks on the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, the government base in an area largely held by South African-backed UNITA forces.

Massive preparations are under way by the state to beat sanctions that may be imposed.

At the same time steps have been taken to prepare to undermine the economy of the front line states.

And while the masses in South Africa continue their defiance, the South African Communist Party celebrated its 65th anniversary two weeks ago with a meeting in London, where party chairman Joe Slovo and

British CP leader Gordon MacLennan pledged to hold the working class to its role of second fiddle to the bourgeoisie.

The South African Communist Party's call to unite all classes opposed to apartheid echoes Stalin's call for the Chinese working class to support Chaing Kai Shek's Kuomintang, and will meet with the same bloody results.

This alliance with the bourgeoisie is reflected in the leadership of the South African solidarity movement here, in the ANC and Anti-Apartheid who will do nothing to demand the TUC take action independently of Thatcher.

Moves towards sanctions amongst the western governments are almost laughable. Reagan continues to oppose them, and Thatcher in particular is making a mockery of even her voluntary bans

on tourist promotions etc. — with various government departments arguing over whose responsibility the plans are.

While this charade continues, the trade union leaders continue to do nothing but plead with Thatcher.

Trade union members around the world, however, are beginning to move.

In particular, the workers in the United States are building up a campaign to stop Shell's operation in South Africa.

GO BY TRAIN!

Train to the TUC lobby, Monday September 1st. Departs London Victoria Station, 6:30 am; returns Brighton station 4:00 pm. Return fare £4:00.

Bookings to Bronwen Handyside, Lambeth Nalgo, 17 Porden Road, London SW2. Tel: 01 274 7722 x 2001/2010.

Other workers, particularly those belonging to the International Metalworkers Federation — whose South African affiliate MAWU has been particularly hit by detentions — are starting to discuss actions.

The fight for workers sanctions must be taken into every union branch and factory.

The unions have the power to halt trade. It must be used.

In Britain, a lobby of the September Congress of the TUC is being organised by a growing number of organisations, including Birmingham, Lambeth and Croydon trades councils.

This lobby, on September 1, is to demand the TUC organise the ending of trade with South Africa.

We urge all trade unionists to support the lobby and to fight in their unions for trade union sanctions.

Kitson wants promise kept

FORMER South African political prisoner David Kitson is appealing to the labour movement to support him in a dispute with his union, TASS, over their financial commitment to him.

Kitson, a lifelong campaigner against apartheid, was released from a South African jail in 1984 after twenty years of imprisonment.

While Kitson was incarcerated, TASS leaders often repeated their long-standing and much-publicised undertaking to him of open-ended financial support.

This was reduced by an executive committee decision on April 29th 1986 to 'give financial support to the end of the Summer Term 1987'. Now they have further microscoped their stated plan to help David build a new life to an offer of £12,000 on 'compassionate grounds' to see him off.

Sponsorship for David Kitson's job at Ruskin College, the trade union education institution, ceased at the end of June 1986. But he intends to return there in the autumn term, unpaid if needs be.

David has no pension or savings. Friends who offered to set up jobs or savings for him on his release were told he would be taken care of. And so he is insisting that TASS stand by their 1969-70 commitment of a 'job for life'.

Campaign on TASS case at Labour & TUC conferences

TASS members view with horror what is being done by a few members of the leadership in their name, and No 16 Division has called for the matter to be raised in all TASS Branches. This week they circulated the peculiar TASS statement sent out to those who have expressed disquiet at what is happening to David, a statement from Ruskin College, a petition form and other documents.

in accordance with the wishes of the ANC. But the ANC have never requested TASS to withdraw funding of David Kitson's job and have continued to state that his suspension from the London ANC is an internal matter.

David Kitson has no difference with the policies of the ANC and has consistently given his support to the organisation in the many speeches he makes up and down the country. Because of the measures taken against him by members of the London ANC, individuals and organisations in this country have been writing to ANC head office in Lusaka, hoping to get them to intervene.

In an attempt to stave off

the tide of disgust, John Jones of TASS is telling the press and the public that he is awaiting news from David Kitson as to whether he will accept the £12,000 handout. David has made it consistently plain that he wants the rate for the job — and that Ruskin expects him to resume lecturing. David Kitson is going to fulfil his commitment to Ruskin, even if TASS isn't.

Because the issue of David Kitson's treatment goes to the very root of trade union democracy and academic freedom, the matter will be raised at the TUC and at the Labour Party conference. Volunteers have come forward asking to lobby the congresses with leaflets and petitions.

'I would like to get back to work unhampered by the strains and stresses which have been imposed on me since the moment of my arrival in Britain and after 20 years in jail,' Kitson told a London press conference last week.

'But while this is personally a distressing matter to me, I cannot help thinking of so many of my colleagues languishing in apartheid's jails.

'I will continue to do whatever I can for the liberation struggle in South Africa and for their release. I only hope they will be released into a kinder world than I have experienced.'

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS ASK BRITISH TRADE UNIONS TO ACT



LOBBY THE TUC FOR TRADE UNION SANCTIONS

Brighton

(Conference Centre)

Monday 1 September 8.30am

Train from Victoria £4 return, leaves 6.30am

Contact Bronwen Handyside, Lambeth Nalgo, 17 Porden Road, Brixton SW2. Phone 01-274 7722 x2001/2010

Sponsored by: Birmingham Trades Council, Lambeth Trades Council, Chelsea AUEW Charing Cross Hospital Shop Stewards Committee