

25p

Knowsley fights the purge
The debate in Sinn Fein
Reply to Eric Hobsbawm
Israel and South Africa
North Sea jobs fight

p 3
p 6
pps 8,9
pps 10,11
p 16

TORIES' RACIST CONSPIRACY

EVIDENCE is mounting that Britain's crisis-battered Tory rulers intend to use the weapon of racism in their bid to hold on to power.

With millionaire Rupert Murdoch's scabby organ to the fore, the capitalist press has done its best to whip up racist hysteria at the expense of Asian visitors caught-up in the Heathrow 'chaos' — itself engineered by Tory policy.

The airport boasts of how many thousands pass through each hour. But suddenly, 3,000 Asians coming to visit relatives were an 'invasion'. People's stumbling replies to interrogation brought the front-page headline 'Liars'.

One Sunday paper reported from the true-Blue Cotswolds what the jolly locals were saying they'd do to

the unfortunates held at a nearby college for screening.

The 'Invasion' hysteria is neither a one-off episode nor merely media sensationalism. The Tory papers tell it the way the Tory rulers want it told.

Once more, pressure has been put on the BBC to toe the Tory line.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

On Tuesday October 21, right-wing Tory MPs Neil Hamilton and Gerald Howarth came out of the High Court with £280,737.35p in costs and damages after the Corporation had backed down over the 1984 Panorama programme 'Maggie's Militant Tendency', dealing with far-Right infiltration of the Tory party.

One of the BBC governors, Malcolm McAlpine, cousin of the Tory party treasurer Alistair McAlpine, denied he

had promised Hamilton the governors could 'deliver' a settlement.

Whether the BBC management really decided to back down on their own, as they claim, or were pressurised by the governors — and whoever pressurises them — the two right-wing Tories were immediately rallying support for their claim that the BBC's 'integrity' and 'political impartiality' must be restored.

The way the 'Real Lives' programme on Ireland was stopped last year is too fresh in BBC staff's memories. They can have a good guess what kind of 'impartiality' this government expects.

Another case that is bound to have encouraged the far-Right and the racists is the one that never came to court.

Murdoch's 'Sun' had been told by the Press Council that it was 'not racist' to refer to someone in a headline as an 'Arab Pig'. The Wapping scabsheet celebrated with a cartoon depicting 'Pigs protesting at being called Arabs'.

This racism was so blatant even the 'Jewish Chronicle's' press commentator Philip Kleinman, an entrenched Zionist, condemned and warned against it.

There were moves to get a prosecution of the 'Sun' under the Race Relations Act. But Tory Attorney-General Sir Michael Havers ruled out any legal action.

After all, the Tories are not running-up million pound bills in police overtime protecting Murdoch's scab operation for nothing.

They want Murdoch's

presses, free of interference by unions or anyone else, to keep churning out racist, sexist, anti-union, anti-labour rubbish.

Fighting racism and incipient fascism is a class issue. And we say this not just for those 'anti-racists' who think they can fight by moral appeals, appointing well-paid 'Community Relations Advisers', and legal proceedings, but also to any trade unionist who imagines he can get by on 'day to day' shopfloor issues and ignore what's happening on the street.

Tory policies of unemployment, union-bashing, health and housing cuts, standing by racist South Africa and preparing nuclear war, have brought bitter hatred for

● Continued on page 16

PUBLIC MEETINGS

LONDON

Sunday October 26, 1p.m.-9p.m.
Kingsway-Princeton College, Sidmouth Street
Grays Inn Road, London WC1

- 1p.m. Doors open
2p.m. **Peter Fryer**: correspondent for the Daily Worker, eye-witness to the events in Hungary and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'
Michael Varga (Balazs Nagy): Hungarian Trotskyist; one of the former secretaries of the Petofi Circle
3.30p.m. BREAK
4p.m. **Cliff Slaughter**: expelled from the Communist Party for opposition to Stalinism after the Khrushchev speech and the Hungarian events in 1956; a Trotskyist for the last 30 years; Central Committee member, Workers Revolutionary Party
Bob Pennington: Trotskyist for 35 years; member of the Editorial Board of International
Bill Hunter: long-standing Trotskyist; Central Committee member, Workers Revolutionary Party
6p.m. BREAK
7p.m. WORKSHOPS: **The Moscow Trials and the Popular Front** — Cyril Smith (WRP Central Committee)
Political Revolution — Post Hungary — Tony Richardson (Socialist Viewpoint)
Poland — Oliver MacDonald (editor, Labour Focus)
East Germany — Peter Firmin (Socialist Viewpoint)
Hungary & the political revolution — Dave Hughes (editorial board, Workers Power)

EXHIBITION REFRESHMENTS CRECHE ARCHIVE SALE

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NEWCASTLE

Thursday November 13, 7.30p.m.
Irish Centre, opp. Gallowgate Bus Station
Nearest Metro: St James's
MAIN SPEAKER: PETER FRYER

30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION



MERTHYR BUS DRIVERS PUSHED TOO FAR

Strike on privatisation day

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MERTHYR bus drivers have voted four-to-one for strike action on Monday October 27, their first day under the new company.

On that day Merthyr Labour Council-run buses will go private, as they do nationwide.

Merthyr's buses won't run until four victimised drivers are given their jobs back with the rest of the drivers, as promised by the new board of directors, four local Labour councillors.

Merthyr council are the only shareholders of the new company yet they have washed their hands of the problem saying the manager has a free hand to do what he likes.

All the present drivers who wanted to stay on after privatisation had to apply for their jobs at the local Jobs Centre — but not the maintenance and other administration staff, who just signed a new contract at work.

As a further humiliating stunt, all of the drivers had to have an interview with manager Gareth Morgan.

Eight drivers were singled out for yet another interview, some even a third, where accusations were

made. One driver was asked if he was a member of a political party on the left, which he is not.

Eventually four were told they could not stay on, although the company is short of drivers and is using MSC money to train drivers and put them through tests.

Victimised

The reason given to the full-time union officer when he was called in was 'lack of commitment'. He was told that if the four came back to see the manager and showed him commitment then they could possibly have their jobs back!

Happy with this, the official did not consult the four victimised men and went

straight back to Cardiff.

With no guarantee of their jobs, the four were expected to beg and grovel. Even then they might be told 'no'.

The drivers are puzzled by the word 'commitment' as one of the four has been there 20 years — all his working life and longer than the manager.

The men believe theirs has been the worst deal in the country. They have been forced to accept cuts in pay, weekend working for flat rate pay, loss of pension and sick-pay schemes and a lot more.

Despite being treated, as the men put it, 'like dirt', there has been no industrial action.

But this time they have been pushed too far.

Tories hit working class students

NO GREATER proof is needed of the Tories' interest in reconverting higher education into an elitist provision than their threat to close Birkbeck College.

Part of the University of London, Birkbeck is unique in the university system in that most of its 2,300 students are part-timers who work for a living.

The college covers all the usual degree courses except medicine, engineering and law.

Many working people and mature students who do a full day's work and hours of evening study are the other side of the story from the high life Hooray Henrys whose Oxbridge junketings periodically hit the headlines — their colleges are not at risk.

Previously, Birkbeck funding was calculated on the basis that a part-time post-graduate student was equivalent to one full-time student and an undergraduate was equal to 80 per cent of a full-timer.

This is necessary because part-timers simply don't use half the equipment, materials and facilities of a full timer.

The plan now is to rate all Birkbeck undergraduates as 50 per cent and post-graduates as 55 per cent.

This will cut funding by £1.6 million (i.e. one eighth) and stop the college operating.

Although, in their earliest form, universities were not exclusive to the rich alone, they rapidly developed into elite bodies for training the ruling class in the necessary skills for running and controlling society.

In the past 40 years however, a battle has been fought by staff, students and workers' organisations to expand higher education into a right available to all.

Even in the past few years, there has been a marked and encouraging increase in the number of women (hardly ever seen in science colleges up to a few years ago), ethnic origin, working class and mature students in higher education.

This development more than outweighs the fall in the 18-year-old population that the Tories cite as a reason for the cuts.

Now the threat to cut college provisions further, along with the attacks on

social security payments and housing benefits and the plan to replace grants with loans, must hit those on the lowest income and open the door to discrimination as the number of places diminishes.

Last year, the Open University, which provides correspondence courses and likewise caters for students in full-time employment was forced to turn away 24,000 of 56,000 applicants.

Aside from teaching, the other major area under attack is research.

All university departments throughout the country have been analysed for their research output and placed in a league table of achievement.

The criterion is 'value for money', 'excellence'. Just how you measure these, particularly in medical science or abstract areas where, for the moment, no practical application exists, nobody knows.

However, the implication is that those colleges and departments at the bottom of the scale are for the chop, while those at the top have more money — provided they come up with plans for rationalisation, closures, greater managerial efficiency and increased dependence on private industry and charity support.

This is a continuation of the process of funding reduction, mergers — in practice closures to leave one faculty of each type per university — staff reductions, cuts in relative pay and an enforced decline in student numbers which has been operating for a decade.

All university staff and students should unite to oppose the threat to higher education provisions and jobs.

Tory proposals to pass laws to ensure 'free speech' on campuses are nothing but plans to let racism and fascism run riot and split the eventual unity needed to defeat their attack.

In this context, support for the struggle for those in S.A. determined to overthrow a vile apartheid regime should be a major concern of student and staff unions in British colleges in the coming term.

- Defend higher education as a right free to all!
- Link action with the Colleges of Further Education!
- Build and unite the campus trade unions!
- Oppose privatisation of education!
- Occupy departments threatened with closure and keep the courses going!

DUNDEE POSTAL WORKERS DEFIANT

DUNDEE post office workers voted last Wednesday to continue a strike which began unofficially the previous day when postmen, catering staff and cleaners walked out.

Two hundred and seventy-eight workers attended the mass meeting called to discuss the strike, which has halted all delivery and collection of mail in Dundee.

The local Union of Communication Workers (UCW) branch expect the action to be made official and 'bring to a head' a situation which gave rise to a similar strike last month in Aberdeen.

Other places currently involved are Elgin and Gloucester.

The strike is in response to the introduction of part-time delivery officers.

Although the local branch of the union do not disagree with the introduction of part-time workers as such, Dundee UCW branch chairman Robert Storr said that the main problem in the union's opinion was the method used to introduce them.

This was done by computer testing to determine the postman's workload.

'Full-time workers are now grossly overloaded,' Storr said. 'At the moment the ratio of five full-timers to three part-timers means eight share the first delivery.'

'But the whole of the second delivery is done by

the five full-timers.

'Management are replacing full-time positions that become vacant with part-time ones.

'Their aim is 50 per cent part-time and 50 per cent full-time postmen.

'This will mean full-timers having twice the load on the second delivery.

'If they want this ratio then there must be manual testing to prove that the postman can take this extra work on board.

'The media is saying we are against part-timers. This is not true — it's the method we disagree with which means extra work all round.

'The 25 part-timers at present employed are overloaded as well.

'They should work three-and-a-half hours per day, but in some cases are working five to six hours, again because of the computers testing.'

Part-timers voted with the full-timers to continue the strike, Storr said.

City group votes to continue S.A. House picket

BY BOB MYERS

THE main question facing last Sunday's City of London Anti-Apartheid emergency general meeting was whether to continue the non-stop picket of the South African embassy in London.

The picket faces considerable difficulties: the opposition of the Anti-Apartheid Movement leaders, harassment by the state and the coming winter weather being some of them.

But against these problems, speaker after speaker spoke of the role the picket was paying nationally and internationally in developing the solidarity movement.

Messages of support come in from around the world, including South Africa's liberation fighters, heartened by the news of the picket.

In Britain the activities of the City Group are exposing

the nature of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) leadership, whose present financial crisis reflects their political bankruptcy.

City Group, despite being disaffiliated by the AAM, is one of the few local groups to have responded to the AAM's financial appeal.

They voted to send them £100.

Every month, thousands of pounds are raised on the picket line, which helps both to maintain the picket and to support the families of prisoners in South Africa and the liberation fighters.

As well as voting to continue the non-stop picket, the EGM voted to change its constitution to allow other organisations and parties to affiliate in order to widen support for the picket.

Many other questions were dealt with: legal matters, education classes, supermarket boycotts and a full programme of future activities including preparation for Christmas day on the picket.

A new and expanded committee was elected, including for the first time, posts like Youth and Student Officer and Trade Union Organiser.

On November 8, coachloads of City Group supporters will travel to join a demonstration called by Hatfield Main NUM in solidarity with the South African NUM.

The march in Scunthorpe will go to the wharves where South African coal is imported.

In the evening the City Group Singers will join in a social evening at the Stainforth miners welfare

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY West of Scotland branch

PUBLIC DISCUSSION

The tasks of the Fourth International, the degeneration of the International Committee and the 1971 split

**Tuesday October 28, 7.30pm
McLellan Galleries
Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow**

All welcome Admission 50p, unemployed 25p

NHS Accommodation Crisis

A Conference

Jointly called by London Health Emergency and the Association of London Authorities

**Saturday November 1, 10.30 am — 3.30 pm
CAMDEN TOWN HALL, Judd St, WC1**

Creche available; Access for people with disabilities: Nearest tube Kings Cross

● All Welcome.

Contact London Health Emergency 336 3366 or Rd. WC1

PRINTERS DEMAND TUC ACTION

BY ALAN CLARK

NEARLY a thousand sacked print workers and their supporters braved the rain last Wednesday 22 October to lobby trade union leaders as they went into Congress House for a General Council meeting.

The sacked printers were demanding the TUC give them full support in their nine-months-old dispute.

TUC General Secretary Norman Willis gave a report to the Council about his talks two weeks ago with the five unions involved.

Although the print workers don't hold out too much hope of the TUC doing much, morale and spirits were high as they greeted the delegates with songs and slogans.

Some delegates spoke to the crowd. Arthur Scargill said: 'After a lengthy period of time the one tragedy is still going on.'

'It's incumbent upon the trade union movement not merely to pass resolutions but to translate those resolu-

tions into positive action in support of workers like yourselves involved in action against people like Murdoch.

'That's the sort of message that should be going in here today to the TUC. And I hope those people who are responsible for breaching picket lines are at least brought to task in line with TUC Conference decision.'

SOGAT General Secretary Brenda Dean told the pickets: 'We will be calling on the TUC to join us in demonstrations.'

'We will be calling on the TUC to organise a lobby of parliament. We will also be calling on the movement to support you financially and in various activities that we are going to organise.'

Letter

She produced a document which she said was a letter from the northern region of the Transport and General Workers Union which has ex-

pelled and recommended expulsion of members of TNT (Murdoch's distribution fleet of lorries and vans) who are crossing printers' picket lines.

'We will be calling on the EETPU to do just the same and calling on the General Council to enact the decisions taken at the TUC in September,' she said.

Alan Tuffin, General Secretary Post Office Workers Union, said: 'My delegation at the Congress supported the resolution. We've got to resolve this dispute, the longer it goes on the more bitter it will become.'

He said his membership were totally behind the printers in the fight down at Wapping. 'The General Council will have to take some action on the situation.'

Others speakers who promised support included Jimmy Knapp from the NUR and John Edmonds of the General Municipal Boilermakers.

COMMENT

THE TUC General Council decision to have a lobby of parliament sometime in early December might as well be a march to the moon and back for all the good it will do. The sacked printworkers won't be fooled by such empty gestures that produce nothing. They want action, particularly against Eric Hammond and the EETPU.

But Willis is saying no more can be done against the electricians unless new charges are laid against them. If Willis waits any longer, he might find Hammond applying for the job of TUC general secretary. Stranger things have happened.

Tony Dubbins, general secretary of the NGA, is reported to have said outside Congress House that the TUC must carry out the wishes of Congress if the EETPU is

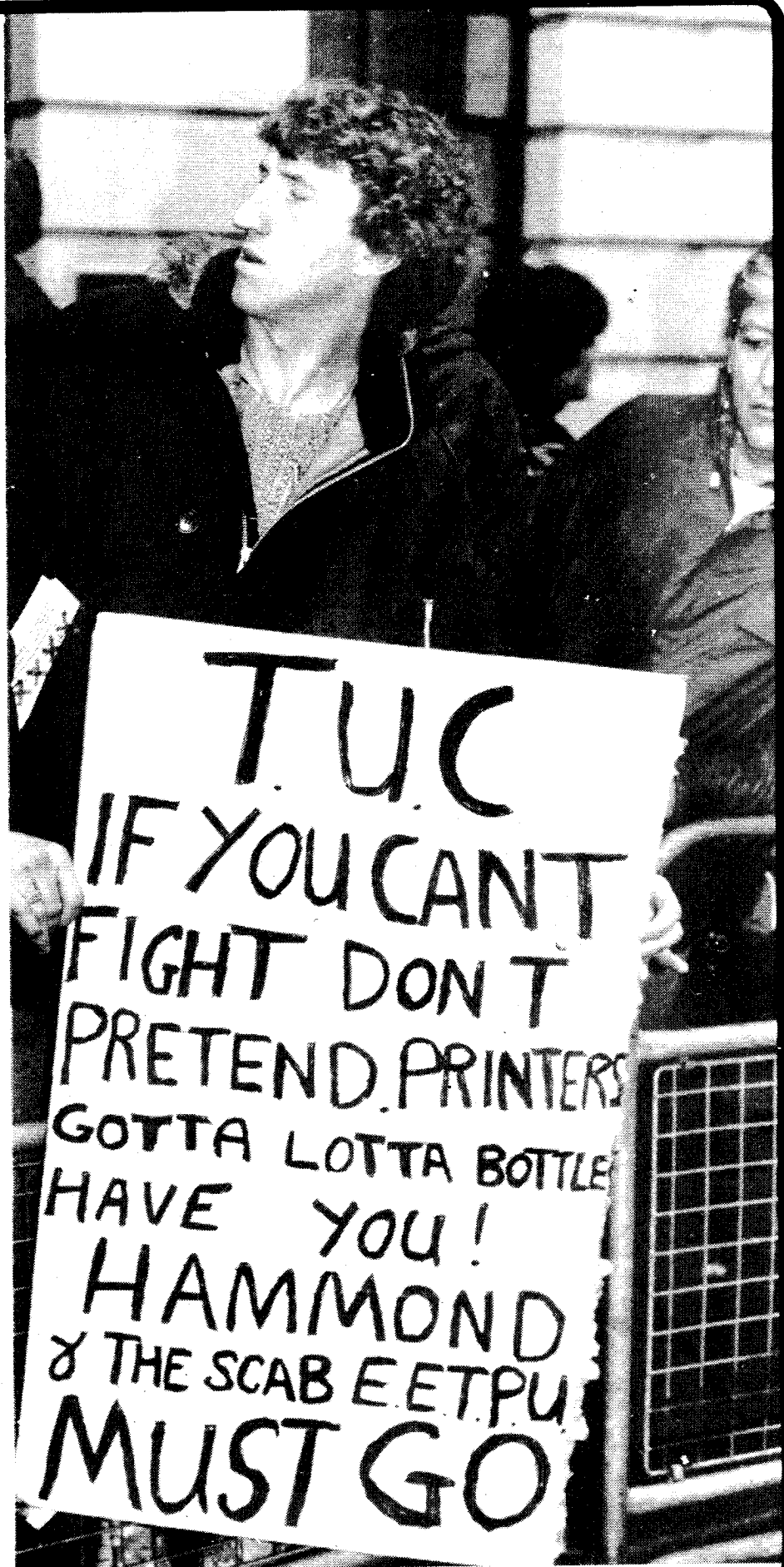
not going to instruct their members to stop crossing picket lines and doing printers' jobs at Wapping.

But the main argument is still, 'Where do printworkers go from here?'

If printworkers were looking for answers, Wednesday's lobby showed the leadership is no nearer providing these answers than it was at the beginning of the dispute.

Lobbies of parliament and bigger and better boycott campaigns are no solution to this dispute.

- Expel the EETPU!
- Fleet Street out!
- Bring back mass rallies!
- Build a strike committee!



A clear message to TUC leaders at last week's printers' lobby of the General Council

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Teachers must act swiftly DEMAND SPECIAL CONFERENCE

THE National Union of Teachers (NUT) leadership has been forced to renegotiate parts of the 'Coventry Agreement' which set out to link teachers' pay with their conditions of service.

Many branches of the NUT have voted down the agreement as it stands. They told their national executive not to accept the deal and to organise a special conference.

The response from the leadership is to re-negotiate some aspects of what had been accepted. These include:

1. Ensuring all teachers on Scale 3 and above in all schools should be safeguarded on the new Principal Teacher Post.

2. Faster assimilation for long-serving teachers on to the main professional grades (MPGs).

These adjustments avoid the main question and have been designed to dissipate some of the opposition.

The agreement would continue to have many aspects which are against conference policy. The overwhelming opposition to the deal that has developed in many parts of the country has done so independent of each other.

The main opposition centres on:

1. The need for a large flat-rate wage increase now
2. No selling of conditions of service
3. The agreement to include non-contract time in primary schools
4. No appraisal.

To maintain pressure on the NUT executive, a lobby of the next ACAS talks on

November 8 in Nottingham is being organised by a number of divisions and associations of the NUT.

This should be supported by all teachers, regardless of which union they are in.

The hostility from teachers towards the 'Coventry Agreement' is such that a genuine rank-and-file movement could be developed from it.

Teachers will need to respond swiftly to events because after three days of ACAS talks a Special Conference will be organised in November.

This will be followed by a ballot of the entire membership.

Clearly, the leadership will be working hard to push through a deal on a take-it-or-leave-it basis by Christmas.

One line that the leadership is now taking is that if you don't accept this deal the

Tories will force through a new Act of Parliament compelling teachers to accept an even worse deal.

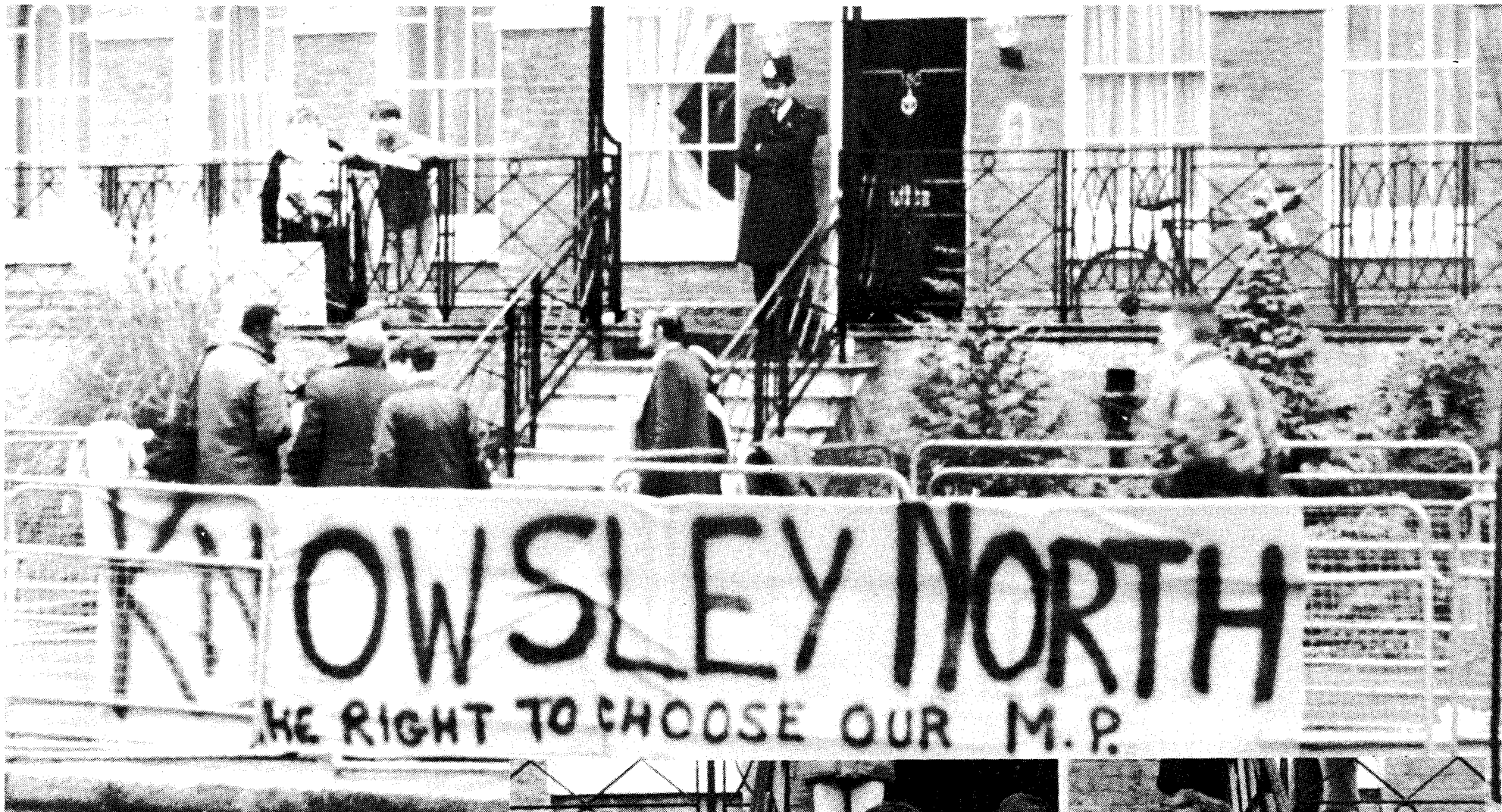
Such arguments have already been cast aside by many teachers.

The opposition to the deal is frightening the NUT executive. The union paper 'The Teacher' carried no letters for four weeks because the executive insisted on replacing the letters page with their propaganda.

The Education Secretary Kenneth Baker certainly wants the productivity and contractual side of the agreement.

Teachers may well argue for a vote on each aspect of the deal. However, they will have to maintain their energy and vigilance in opposing the executive line if they do not want the deal imposed on them.

When Knowsley came to Walworth:



THE MEMORY and spirit of the suffragettes was evoked last Wednesday, October 22, when nearly a dozen women chained themselves to Labour Party headquarters in London.

Two mini-bus loads of Labour Party members from the Knowsley North constituency, representing five Labour Party wards and four Transport and General Workers Union branches, arrived in London to protest at the National Executive Committee meeting which was usurping their right to reselect a candidate for the area.

The women, who were dressed in period costume and sported sashes of suffragette colours — green, white and purple — said:

'The suffragettes fought for the right to vote and now we are fighting to exercise that right.'

'We demand the right to choose who will represent Knowsley North.'

This is the second time that the NEC has usurped the right to select the candidate for Knowsley North.

One of the women, Margaret Carney, said,

'In 1983, Kilroy-Silk was imposed on us without choice. Twelve months ago our reselection process was suspended pending an enquiry.'

Now Kilroy-Silk has resigned and once again our reselection process has been suspended with all the indications showing that the NEC is about to impose yet another candidate.

'As women are an integral part of the Labour Party, we will be staying chained until we hear the result of the NEC meeting.'

It is well known among left wingers in the area that this move is to prevent the selection of left wing nominees. (see letter, p13)

It is believed that the NEC hope the Liberals will demand a by-election to give them the opportunity to claim lack of time for the constituency selection process to take place.

Alan Kelly, from the Kirby Unemployed Centre, told Workers Press:

'This is a warning to the whole left of the Labour Party; it's not just Militant that is being witch-hunted, Kinnock is out to crush any opposition in the party.'

The Unemployed Centre has been accused by the right wing of the party as

being a base for Militant, but Alan Kelly denied this, saying, 'This is just nonsense, there is not one Militant supporter that works there'.

'Les Huckfield, who has no connection with Militant, would almost certainly win selection for North Knowsley; the Militant candidate would probably come in second or third.'

Alan Kelly said the reasons given by the party leadership for the enquiry are fabrications.

The Merseyside East Euro-constituency was accused of not providing the necessary seven days notice of a meeting.

But Frank Kelly told Workers Press that they now have proof from the Post Office that the notices were sent seven days in advance.

Kinnock has also stated that he doesn't believe that Huckfield has the backing of the Transport and General Workers Union but militants in the area say everyone knows he has had the union's backing for eighteen years.

At the same time as the left are being accused of gerrymandering, the EETPU sent eighteen new delegates into the constituency branch at the time Kilroy-Silk was trying to get re-election.

Local party activists are not even convinced that all of these 'delegates' come from the Mersey area.

Alan Kelly said that if the NEC tries to impose a candidate on the constituency they will refuse to recognise the nomination.

'We have more right to be in the party than any imposed candidate and so we won't resign.'

'But we know how they work and it will lead to expulsions. We're not going to sit back and let Kinnock tell us what to do.'



WORKERS PRESS SPOTLIGHTS TWO MORE TORY ATTACKS

Legal threat to anti-fascist students

ACTION by students to prevent racists using colleges as their platforms is under threat from the Tory government.

In the name of protecting free speech, the Tory Education Bill seeks to open up higher education institutions to those seeking to organise provocations in a multi-racial establishment or district.

Professing horror at a few eggs thrown at Tory leaders, the least indignity in 800 years of student agitation, the Conservatives have branded students as 'campus barbarians' and plan to impose laws far beyond those applying to ordinary citizens.

Particularly under attack is the National Union of Students' 'no platform' policy which encourages local student unions to deny organising rights to bodies like the National Front.

The form Tory policy may take is a requirement on polytechnics and university colleges to draw up a strict open platform code of conduct.

This would provide access

to college facilities for all those wishing to use them, irrespective of aims or policy, and impose on college unions and student societies a requirement to accept any speakers.

College authorities would be expected to police the arrangements, if necessary by calling in the police and by expulsions.

The government would play a part by threatening to withhold student funds.

If this seems an exaggeration of what the legislation might require, it should be remembered that the interpretation by the courts plays a significant role in English law.

In this context the exam-

ple of the events at John Scurr Primary School in London is significant.

On Friday May 2 this year, the court instructed the Inner London Education Authority to open up one of its schools in the East End to a meeting of the British National Party.

Police forced a way through a demonstration of teachers, trade unionists, ILEA officials and members of the black and Asian local communities to get the BNP into the school.

The Tories condemn 'outside involvement' in opposition to fascists but local communities have every right to concern themselves with who is organising a provoca-

BY BERNARD FRANKS

tion in their area, as the recent anniversary of the Battle of Cable Street reminds us.

It is also a fact that campus trade unions such as AUT, ASTMS, NALGO and NUPE have negotiated equal opportunities agreements with colleges and have in any case taken seriously their duty to oppose all racial, sexual and religious discrimination or harassment within their institutions' precincts.

Presumably, these considerations would be expected to give way to so-called freedom of speech protection.

In fact, as Professor John Griffiths rightly points out, existing laws binding on all citizens already curtail freedom of speech in relation to libel, slander contempt of

court, sedition, blasphemy, public order and of stirring racial hatred (Guardian, October 13, 1986).

Today colleges of higher and further education are under attack in terms of the elimination of courses, funding cuts, mergers, staff reductions, increased private business involvement, cuts in places and efficiency drives.

A recent survey by Ruskin College has shown that 38,000 university manual and clerical support staff are some of the lowest paid workers with only 6.8 per cent of them earning above £100 a week.

A return to elitism in the universities, with only the rich able to afford to go to college, is reflected in the plans to introduce a student loan scheme and in the threat to London Universi-

ty's Birkbeck College which caters predominantly for part-time students who work during the day.

The unity of students and staff defending education and in supporting others in struggle to save a hospital from closure, to back local strikers, to support those fighting the South African apartheid regime is anathema to the Tories who would be pleased to see campuses and colleges split on racist lines.

Law or no law, fascist thugs must be defeated.

All student organisations and education trade unions must work to strengthen their internal unity and also to improve their links with local communities if they are to meet attempts to bring in racists with a massive show of opposition.

and new curbs loom for local authorities

RENEWED attacks on local authority jobs and services are contained in legislation likely to be in Parliament in November or December.

BY LIZ LEICESTER

According to the Local Government Information Unit, the Bill will:

- Give the Secretary of State the power to make local councils invite tenders from private contractors for refuse collection and street cleaning; cleaning buildings; ground and vehicle maintenance; catering services; waste disposal; transport services (including education and social services); printing; computing; architectural services; sports and leisure services.
- The Bill may give the government the power to extend this to other services and to issue orders instructing particular authorities or groups of authorities to put a specific service out to tender.
- Councils may be banned from imposing 'non-commercial' conditions on contractors.

This could be used to prevent boycotts of firms with South African links, for example.

Contractors would not have to pay nationally negotiated wage rates and conditions, meet training requirements, health and safety conditions or implement equal opportunities policies under the proposed legislation.

● The Bill will probably follow a consultation document produced in 1985 which suggested that the Secretary of State should be able to stop a Council awarding a contract to its own direct labour force if it does not put in the cheapest tender regardless of other factors.

As the LGIU unit points out, the way contractors win

contracts is by cutting jobs, pay and conditions.

One example they cite is Lincolnshire County Council which has just handed over their school cleaning to ISS Servisystem whose 'savings' were based on paying £1.70 an hour to cleaners instead of the in-house rate of £2.24.

Privatisation in the National Health Service and local government is central to this government's policy.

In local government this attack started with the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act which required direct labour organisations to compete with private contractors for most of their building work.

But it has been up to local authorities to decide whether or not to put other services out to tender.

This legislation will change that.

A NATIONAL Anti-Fascist Defence Campaign has been launched by Anti-Fascist Action.

The campaigners believe that, particularly with the introduction of the new public order laws, it will become more difficult for anti-racists to defend their communities without facing serious legal action against them.

In May this year, the British National Party held a

provocative meeting in a primary school in Tower Hamlets, east London, an area with a large Bangladeshi population.

Members of the public who turned up, including women and children and teachers from the school, were attacked by BNP supporters.

The police refused to arrest any of the BNP, preferring to charge the anti-fascist protesters with threatening behaviour.

In July, hundreds of anti-racists demonstrated against an NF march through Bury St Edmunds.

Eight of the anti-racists were arrested and found guilty of threatening behaviour; they now face massive fines.

● Donations are urgently required, particularly for the Bury St Edmunds appeal. They should be sent to: National Anti Fascist Defence Campaign, PO Box 273, London E7.

30th Anniversary protest



PICTURE shows the banner taken by the WRP onto the demonstration outside the Hungarian Embassy last Wednesday

TEXT of a statement read on behalf of the WRP outside the Hungarian Embassy on the 30th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution

1. The Central Committee and members of the WRP salute the memory of those 30,000 Hungarian workers who, in 1956, laid down their lives in a heroic struggle against the hated Stalinist bureaucracy headed by Gero and Kadar.

2. The uprising of the Hungarian working class and their workers' councils was suppressed only after a bitter struggle lasting for months. The might of the soviet army was used to kill thousands of defenceless workers.

3. Those who died — not only workers but with them the best representatives of the Hungarian students and intellectuals — are not forgotten. Their memory lives on in the consciousness of workers throughout the world. Nor did they die in vain. On behalf of the working class they struck a mighty and lasting blow at Stalinism and its reactionary theory of socialism in one country.

4. Since 1956, the crisis of world Stalinism has deepened inexorably. Stalin has been dead for 33 years but Stalinism lives on. The barbarous actions of the Moscow bureaucracy in its interventions in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Afghanistan in 1983 and its continued struggle to destroy the Polish Solidarity movement shows that the leopard has not changed its spots.

5. By their actions, the workers and students of Hungary showed to the world that there could be no peaceful reform of Stalinism. Stalinism is a cancerous growth in the working class movement, a parasitic caste which will be removed only by the political revolution of the working class.

6. More than anything, 1956 vindicates the historical struggle of the Trotskyist movement. It was Trotsky and his comrades who first took up the fight against the emerging soviet bureaucracy during the period after Lenin's death in 1924.

It was Trotsky who ex-

posed the reactionary character of the theory of socialism in one country, in 1924 pronounced by Stalin as the official doctrine of the bureaucracy.

7. The workers of Hungary showed the way forward for all those oppressed by Stalinism throughout eastern Europe, the USSR and China. Only the overthrow of the bureaucracy can lead to a restoration of soviet democracy. Only the destruction of all the bureaucratic privileges and the establishment of workers' control can lead to a regeneration of the economy of these states founded on nationalised property. The struggle of the working class in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is an integral part of the struggle of the international working class and the exploited masses against imperialism.

● Long live the Hungarian working class!

● Long live the international working class!

● Long live the Fourth International!

NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE.

For the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. For sanctions against the racist South African government. Outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, London. Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

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LISTINGS

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issues, Media representations, ACTT Franchised, 90-92 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1 6EN (051-709 9460)

WORKERS POWER PUBLIC MEETING 'British Trotskyism, 1938-1949' Monday October 27, 7.30pm. Conway Hall (small hall). Speakers: Al Richardson (co-author 'War & the International') Mark Hoskinson (Workers Power Editorial Board)

AWATINAS IN CONCERT Art Musical des Indiens de Bolivie. Saturday October 25, 7.30pm Stanley Theatre, University Union, Liverpool University. Tickets £1.50, £3.50.

ANC INTERNATIONAL FETE Camden Centre, Bidborough Street, London WC1. (off Euston road, opp. St Pancras stn.) Saturday October 25 11am — 4pm

NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN Eleventh Annual Conference London Women's Centre, Wild Court, Holborn. November 12. Open to all NAC supporters.

WAR ON WANT: 'A Night for the People of South Africa' Shaftesbury Theatre, Shaftesbury Avenue, London WC2. Sunday November 16, 7.30pm. Those taking part in the show include Linton Kwesi Johnson, Skint Video, Norman Beaton and Billy Bragg.

NEW JEWEL 19 COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATION Grenada: Third Year of American Invasion and Occupation. A Demonstration and Public Meeting, 12 noon Saturday October 25, outside US embassy, followed by March at 2pm to Meeting at Speaker's Corner, Hyde Park.

REPUBLICANS SET TO CONTEST LEINSTER HOUSE SEATS

Sinn Fein's annual delegate Conference, Ard Fheis will take place in a weeks time where Sinn Fein policy will be debated and amended.

By far the most contentious issue which will come up is a motion calling for an end to the policy of abstention from the Parliament of the Free State at Leinster House.

It will be proposed that Sinn Fein candidates who are elected to Leinster House will take their seats in the government, but their participation will be directed by Sinn Fein itself.

A debate has been raging within Sinn Fein about this major change in its political work. Simon Pirani reports on the debate as it has appeared in An Phoblacht/Republican News.

THE IRISH Republican Army has declared support for Republicans taking seats in Leinster House, the parliament of the southern Irish state.

The decision, taken by a General Army Convention held last week, will boost Republican leaders' efforts to push the decision through the Sinn Fein *ard fheis*, which meets in Dublin early in November, by the necessary two-thirds majority.

Opposition to Sinn Fein candidates taking their seats in the 26-county parliament comes from those who fear that doing so will compromise the nationalist principle of re-unifying Ireland.

But the *ard fheis* will probably take the decision because most Republicans believe that unless Sinn Fein combines the national struggle with campaigning on social and economic questions, victory is impossible.

The fiercest opponents of the proposal to take seats at Leinster House claim that it would be a 'betrayal' of nationalism no less than the 1969 IRA decision to sanction parliamentarism, which resulted in a large minority of the Republican movement splitting from the Official

movement to form the Provisionals.

The comparison is a flimsy one. In 1969, the Officials, 'stickies', under the Stalinist leadership of Cathal Goulding, decided on participation not only in the Dublin parliament but in Stormont and Westminster as well.

Stages

Their rationale was a 'stages' theory par excellence: the first stage of the struggle was the winning of civil rights and the vote for northern Catholics, second came the unification of the people and the nation; thirdly the end of capitalism.

Central to the 'stickie'

strategy was aversion to the armed struggle at a time when the need for the defence of Catholic communities in the north made it a life-and-death necessity.

The present change is proposed on quite different grounds: the combination of armed struggle with electoral campaigning to win support in the south.

Present-day Republican leaders conceive this as a road to a first stage of national unity and a second stage of socialism.

If the change of tactics is adopted by Sinn Fein, it will make a major impact on Irish politics and particularly on a general election which will take place in the south almost certainly next year.

Inevitably, there will always be hard-line nationalists who will oppose the tactic, standing by the principle of abstentionism.

This originates from May 1921 when Sinn Fein won 124 of the 128 seats in the 26 counties in a British general election and declared its allegiance to the Dail Eireann (all-Irish parliament) which they established in defiance of imperialist dictates.

In the civil war that ensued, the capitulators who signed a deal with Britain entered the Free State parliament at Leinster House and joined forces with the British to inflict bloody defeat on the IRA.

The 26-county state is regarded by Republicans as this day as a blood-stained creature of British imperialism.

Passionate

The letters page of Sinn Fein's weekly, *An Phoblacht - Republican News*, has featured a passionate discussion about what entering the Leinster House parliament would mean.

Those who support entering the Dublin parliament have pointed out forcibly that the military struggle by itself cannot bring victory.

'The legitimacy of armed struggle against British imperialism in the six counties needs no argued debate.

'We do not believe however, that it would be justifiable to commit future generations to permanent war unless there was tangible hope of the acquisition of political power', wrote prisoners of war Brian Keenan, Paul Kavanagh, Brendan Dowd and Patrick Magee from Leicester prison. (AP/RN, August 28).

'In this respect we believe that Sinn Fein must try to gain political power in the Free State.

'That can only be achieved through the ballot box.

'Over 70 per cent of the electorate there have consistently accepted the mandate of Free State governments.'

Impotent

Thomas Cullen of Bray, County Wicklow, argues: 'The abstentionist philosophy has made us impotent in making political gains of any kind until "the war is won".'

'But the fact is that we are unable to win in the classic sense of a British surrender.

'The armed struggle is, and will remain, a war of attrition with peaks and troughs.' (AP/RN, October 16).

Cullen, warning against capitalist media attempts to provoke divisions by playing on deep-seated nationalist feelings, calls for a 'pragmatic' approach.

Until recently a fervent abstentionist, Cullen asks: 'Can the proponents of abstentionism explain how, in realistic terms, we can re-establish the Irish republic without timely political intervention? I don't believe we can.'

Writing from a prison cell in Amsterdam, where he is fighting a British extradition order, Republican prisoner Gerry Kelly argues that the vast majority of people in the 26 counties desire national unification but also want:

'Action on everyday issues affecting our/lives such as unemployment, housing, taxes, social welfare, medical care etc.' (AP/RN, October 16).

'They support, in general, military actions in the occupied six counties to overthrow a foreign military power.

'In the twenty-six counties, though, they support change by constitutional and radical, though peaceful, methods.

Support

'The Republican movement, which draws its support and encouragement from the people, endorses such reasoning by waging a military-political war in the six counties but unequivocally rejecting military activity against the Dublin government while, at the same time, recognising that government as an apologist underling of the British government.'

Kelly also argues that in the south, abstention lets right-wing bourgeois nationalists off the hook.

'There is no-one demanding that Fianna Fail acts on its age-old reunification rhetoric,' he writes. 'Fianna Fail must be confronted. Abstentionism by Sinn Fein helps the other parties to misrepresent Republicanism.'

Sinn Fein activists in the south have written to *Republican News* arguing that entering Leinster House is permissible only on the basis of a clearly socialist programme.

Forum

Sean Cullen of county Wexford writes (AP/RN, September 11):

'Parliaments at best represent a forum in which to articulate a revolutionary voice and raise people's consciousness.

'At worst they are a direct route to the pits of constitutionalist stagnation and reformism.

'Entering parliament does not necessarily betray the Republic or the revolution, but without a more intense ground in revolutionary scientific socialism, a revolutionary programme, continuing preparedness to engage in street agitation and armed struggle and the strictest accountability, both the Republic and the revolution could be lost irretrievably.'

Eoin O Dubhghaill of Baile Atha Cliath, appealing to pro-abstentionists 'not to make a stand on the wrong issue', supports going into Leinster House on the basis that other aspects of the struggle, including the use of arms, is continued.

'The future Republic will only be safeguarded by Sinn Fein having a clear strategy to wrest power from the bosses and imperialists', he writes (AP/RN, September 25), which should include, as well as militarism, a radicalisation of the trade union movement; the building of a radical movement for small farmers as opposed to the right-wing IFA; the development of joint campaigning with other radical groups, and the formation of community councils to 'draw power from the state and begin to control their own affairs.'

Some correspondents have vehemently opposed entry to Leinster House, fearing that it can only weaken the national struggle.

'Twenty years ago I was one of those who was ordered by the leadership of that particular time to vote for Leinster House entry at the coming Sinn Fein Ard

Fheis', explains M. O. Dubhda (AP/RN, September 11).

'That was the first stage of the sticky betrayal.

'Today in Leinster House two so-called Workers' Party representatives are learning the futility of their constitutional policies as they are muzzled and excluded in every which way by the "rules of the house".'

Dubhda quotes the remarks of British army counter-insurgency expert Frank Kitson about Che Guevara's failure in Bolivia as a warning to any who see parliamentarism as an end in itself:

'Except where the real objective of the campaign is related to the expulsion of the occupying power, it carries the seeds of its own destruction within it.'

Representatives of Sinn Fein's branch at Rathfarnham, Dublin, also oppose entry into Leinster House because of its reactionary nature (AP/RN, October 16)

'People who might consider voting Sinn Fein in the future will be watching these deputies to see if they deserve a vote.

'The Free State establishment and politicians would be aware of this and would do all in their power to render these 'rebel TDs' helpless.

'They would use the excuse that these deputies 'support violence' to boycott them at all times, and would vote collectively against any motions tabled by these deputies, and they would make it very difficult for them to even address the floor.'

The Rathfarnham activists having discussed the issue at length in their meetings, urge waiting 'for the right opportunity' before entering Leinster House.

Behind the tactical question of entering Leinster House lie more fundamental questions of political programme and the Republican movement's attitude to the class struggle.

Eric McAllister of Dublin draws attention to these, asking (AP/RN, October 9):

'In the coming intensified class struggle, on what side of the barricades will Sinn Fein be?'

Defend

'Will our people, the people of no property, be able to look to Sinn Fein deputies in the Leinster House assembly to defend their interests by opposing measures which attack their living standards?'

'Or will we be tied in some political coalition or broad front with "nationalist elements" of Fianna Fail on the basis of some nebulous freedom charter?'

'If you're not in, you can't win. If Sinn Fein continues to refuse any seats . . . it cannot begin to fight for working people, let alone win.

'And history will never forgive us if, once in, we then betrayed the trust of Irish workers and small farmers by compromising ourselves in a broad front with a party that represents the interests of the property speculators, the bankers, the would-be oil millionaires and the bosses.'

For Marxists, the issue of entry into any parliament is a tactical question.

Surely the biggest issue facing the Irish working class is that raised by McAllister: the formation of a socialist programme which, whether advocated inside or outside of parliament, will result in the defeat of British imperialism and of the native Irish capitalist class.

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

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

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.
ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

PARKHURST

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

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

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

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.
PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

ALBANY

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

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES: SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.

GARTREE

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

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire

PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.

PAUL HILL: 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.

JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.

HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.

JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.

BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.

RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs

PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

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

SINN FEIN IN LAMBETH

TWO SINN FEIN Councillors visited Lambeth for two days last week to make direct contact with trade unionists and community groups.

They are part of a group of Sinn Fein Councillors who have been visiting London over the past fortnight.

Their visit was seen as a very positive step towards achieving an understanding amongst the British working class of the Irish struggle for the removal of British troops.

All the second hand reports in the world cannot beat this kind of face-to-face discussion.

One theme that has emerged constantly is the similarity between the Irish struggle, the miners' strike and the struggle in South Africa.

The Councillors pointed out at several meetings — with Lambeth Trades Council, Lambeth NALGO and community groups — that the policing methods which really began to get off the ground in Britain during the miners' strike and the riots were first developed and perfected in Ireland against the Irish working class.

They made the point very cogently that there is an absolute identity between the interests of the British working class and the Irish.

If we allow these methods to be used in Ireland without opposition, the same methods will be used when it is necessary for British workers to be oppressed in the same way.

Francis Molloy from Duggan, and Tommy Carroll

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

from Armagh were the two Councillors who came to Lambeth.

They explained the nature and the role of Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland and the problems they faced there.

Sinn Fein has 59 Councillors in the six counties, and 39 in the 26 counties. They work under severe pressure from the Unionists and from the British government.

Where Unionists are in the majority on the Councils, the Sinn Fein councillors are shouted down and prevented from speaking.

Murdered

Tommy Carroll, who is in a minority of one on his Council, entered politics when his brother was murdered by an RUC death squad — shot 13 times in the chest and head.

Where the Nationalists are in the majority, Unionists are allowed to participate and speak on all committees.

The Councillors spoke about the peculiar status of the trade unions in the six counties.

The union leadership is predominantly Unionist, be-

cause of the long history of the privileged position of the protestant community in relation to employment.

They show no interest in the question of a united Ireland or the removal of British troops. On the contrary.

Trade unionists from the six counties seen here at trade union conferences are generally extremely reactionary, and do not represent the whole of the Irish working class at all, the bulk of whom are unemployed, through discrimination.

This is in contrast to the present situation in South Africa, and bears further examination.

The Councillors were at pains to point out the sharp comparison with South Africa, where there is also a privileged minority which holds the majority of the population to ransom in order to preserve their privileges.

In South Africa they do not however have an imperialist power in occupation.

Sinn Fein has taken up the issue of South Africa in Ireland. Three Boroughs have been declared apartheid-free zones. Shops selling South African goods are being boycotted and Armagh Council has given Nelson Mandela the freedom of the Borough and presented a plaque to his daughter.

The Northern Ireland Office has issued a directive to all departments to record the time, place and nature of every single enquiry made



Sinn Fein Councillors Francis Malloy and Tommy Carroll speaking to a meeting in Lambeth Council Chambers.

by Sinn Fein Councillors.

Presumably this is not only to keep a close eye on their constituency, but also to check up on who responds most often to them and to place those who assist Sinn Fein in any way under suspicion as well.

The trade union of those workers who are co-operating fully in giving this information is the Irish equivalent of NALGO, called NIPSA.

The councillors explained how Sinn Fein was a new dimension in local government.

Rather than disappearing after they were elected, to reappear at the time of the next election, they were very conscious of remaining within their Boroughs to give practical assistance to their electorate.

They operate 26 advice centres with voluntary full-time workers, most of whom are Councillors.

They give advice on housing, social security, repairs and all the issues which most closely concern the people by whom they were elected.

When asked about their attitude towards the Anglo-Irish Accord, they said that they had a position of total opposition, but it was very difficult to have any influence over the agreement as British government officials refuse to speak to them and they are totally excluded from the media.

The Accord has not changed the position of Nationalists, in fact the number of people being stopped and questioned by the police and security forces has increased.

Occupation

Tommy Carroll spoke about what it was like to live under occupation. He himself had been stopped and questioned 88 times in the past year.

Friends and acquaintances of Sinn Fein Councillors were subject to police raids on their houses.

In these raids all those in the house were herded into one room, unable to supervise the search that took place. The searches could last from 7a.m. until 2p.m.

If you were stopped in the street by a police car, you would be asked your date of birth, which would be radioed through to the police station with your name, and a computer would flash up all the information collected about you.

Your address, job, acquaintances and political affiliations are instantly transmitted to the police who have stopped you in the street.

During the miners' strike, miners who were travelling,

not necessarily to picket, were stopped by police who knew where they had come from, their names, and at which pit they worked.

Every person in the six counties is on computer in this way.

The similarity of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Detention Orders used against the working class in South Africa was pointed out.

It was explained how easily this Act, which is used exclusively at present to frame up the Irish, could be turned on the British working class.

It costs the British tax payer £1.5 billion a year to maintain the security forces in Northern Ireland, money which could be far better employed elsewhere in Britain — for housing, the NHS, or education.

They pointed out that it was the partition of Ireland which prevented the emergence of class politics as we know them in Britain.

Both Councillors insisted it was only the presence of British troops in Ireland which permitted the oppression and violence to continue.

The removal of the troops would mean the Loyalists would be faced with the reality of the situation — that they are a minority. Without the backing of the British armory it would be impossible for them to hold a whole country to ransom with violence.

They asked British workers to take up all these questions in their communities and their trade unions — the use of plastic bullets, the PTA, the Diplock courts and — most importantly — the removal of troops and the unification of Ireland.

CORRECTION

WORKERS PRESS would like to apologise for a reference in last week's article 'Weapons of Repression' to Britain as the 'mainland'. This carries the implication that Ireland is part of Britain, and is contrary to our policy on Ireland.

IRA AMEND CONSTITUTION



Photo from AP/RN

THE IRISH Republican Army recently held its first General Army Convention for sixteen years.

This is a further indication of the changing attitudes of Republicans to the struggle in Ireland and their reappraisal of the tactics necessary to achieve a United Democratic Socialist Ireland.

Several very significant changes were made to the Constitution of Oglagh na hEireann.

A statement issued by the IRA after the Convention said: 'The Convention opened with a unanimous pledge of rededication to the armed struggle and confidence in the armed struggle as being the means of breaking the British connection and bringing about Irish independence.'

Army

At the same time it was reaffirmed that the Army prohibits offensive action

against the administration of the twenty-six counties or its forces.

As well as amending the Constitution to support the taking of parliamentary seats in the Leinster House Government, which was passed with more than the two-thirds majority required, the Convention agreed that the IRA Constitution be modernised so that it reads in non-sexist language.

Language

The objective of restoring the Irish language as the everyday language of the Irish people was reaffirmed and a secret ballot elected a twelve person Army Executive.

The Convention was held in secret and delegates from all over Ireland attended.

These changes make it clear that the direction being taken by Sinn Fein towards a more overall involvement in social issues is supported by the IRA.

A YEAR OF TORTURE

A DERRY WOMAN who has spent one year in jail was released last week after all charges against her were dropped.

Patricia Moore was charged with IRA membership and the killing of an RUC inspector.

She was arrested and held on the word of an RUC perjurer Angela Whoriskey

After her release Patricia told of her arrest when she was taken to the notorious Castlereagh Interrogation Centre where she was threatened for several days that she would be shot by the SAS.

She also had pressure put on her to work for Special Branch.

She was then sent to Armagh Jail where she spent five months before it closed and she was moved to Maghaberry.

She was not given a preliminary hearing which is supposed to safeguard defendants and allow them to

challenge their imprisonment without evidence.

While Patricia was being held in remand she was repeatedly subjected to strip-searches.

At one time she was seriously ill and was strip-searched on her return from hospital.

She was very weak and had been unable to hold down food or water for days, the strain of being strip-searched nearly caused her to faint.

Two weeks later she was rushed to Craigavon Hospital for an emergency operation to remove a ruptured ovarian cyst.

She was returned to Armagh Jail fifteen minutes after the operation.

Patricia said that the year she spent in jail has changed her life.

Before being arrested she had a full-time job, a boyfriend and played a lot of sport.

WRP IRISH COMMISSION

Public Discussion Group
Irish Solidarity Work
Principles, programme and future prospects
Sunday October 26, 7-9.30pm, The Cock
Tavern, 23 Phoenix Road, London NW1
(between Euston and Kings Cross stations)
Sunday November 9, 7-9.30pm; The
struggle in Ireland — How to defeat British
Imperialism.

COMMENT

BY THE EDITOR

ON FEBRUARY 7, Workers Press published a document by Michael Banda entitled '27 Reasons why the International Committee should be buried forthwith and the Fourth International Built'.

Banda, general secretary of the WRP under the leadership of G. Healy, was, as explained in last week's Workers Press, later expelled together with a small group of supporters.

His document catalogued the 'mistakes, cowardice, corruption', etc. of the Fourth International since Leon Trotsky's assassination, claiming that the 'Fourth International was proclaimed but never built'.

Several comrades asked why, despite its title, his document said nothing about why the Fourth International should be built; his method implied the abandonment of Trotskyism altogether.

Now we have no further need to speculate about the direction of the Banda group's political evolution.

The 'Communist Forum' discussion Bulletin no. 3 of October 3 contains an article by David Good called 'A reply to Steve Powell of Reading Workers Power'.

A few quotations will make its political line quite clear:

'The development of the Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions, together with the establishing of Workers States in Eastern Europe by the occupying Soviet Forces, led to a terminal crisis of the Trotskyist movement. It could not overcome the fact that the basis for its existence had been proven false.'

'Ho Chi Minh, Va Nguyen Giap, Pham Van Dong, fought as communists. The achievements of the Vietnamese masses under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party of Vietnam, testified to this — they led the overthrow of French and US imperialism as well as its native lackeys.'

'Today a correct orientation must be based on a critical assimilation of revolutionary theory developed in the heat of revolutionary struggles as they have unfolded. It is for this reason that I no longer consider myself a Trotskyist.'

'The Trotskyist movement is the most vociferous advocate of revolution, but due to its theoretical bankruptcy, its transformation of revolutionary theory into a dogma, it has become an opponent of revolutions as they actually occur.'

'As a consequence, it sees nothing to learn from the successes of the international proletariat, writing off its conscious articulation by the revolutionary vanguard as "counter-revolutionary".'

Logic

Of course it confirms the logic of Mike Banda's position, undoubtedly reflected in Good's article. Only its speed is surprising.

But the article is much more important than that. For Mike Banda's views of 1986 are not really new at all. They were already contained within the outlook of the Healy leadership throughout its existence.

The 1953 break with Pablo's capitulation to Stalinism, however belated, was formally correct. But it did not grasp the fundamental character of his revision of Marxism.

The importance of Banda's evolution is this: Healy's expulsion opened up the possibility of grappling with theoretical questions which had remained, for us, concealed for decades.

Good now joins the Stalinists — who claim that events in East Europe, China and Vietnam, not to mention

Cuba, falsify Trotsky's Transitional Programme.

The truth is the precise opposite. Developments since the Second World War have confirmed that programme in all its main features.

One bitter lesson has begun to be assimilated by the WRP in the last year: the hue and cry about 'Security and the Fourth International' concealed a profound historical truth.

While Healy (and North) orchestrated a campaign to show that it was the Trotskyist movement that was responsible for Trotsky's murder in 1940 — since nearly every one of its leaders was a GPU/CIA agent — they, with Banda, lied about the real history of this movement elsewhere in the world.

Ignorant

The majority of WRP members were ignorant of the history of the Vietnamese and Chinese Trotskyists; it is certainly true that the movement never confronted the political implications of the contradiction of a workers state founded by a counter-revolutionary leadership, wallowing instead in mystical notions of the 'contradictory' nature of stalinism.

How can a man like Mao Tse Tung (or Kadar, come to that) be both 'a worker and not a worker', a 'bureaucrat and not a bureaucrat' at the same time?

It remains a central tenet of Trotskyism that, while stalinist leaderships may 'go too far' in their struggle with imperialism, the bureaucracy remains a barrier to the development of socialism.

Where the stalinist-led movements took power — China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc — it was not through leading the independent activity of the working class towards its own emancipation.

These were basically peasant guerilla movements carrying out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution — land reform and the like — from which the working class was excluded with its leadership either assassinated or jailed.

In eastern Europe, there was a bureaucratic overturn of forms of property accompanied by the political strangulation of the working class.

When the power of the working class was used as a lever against imperialism, this was accompanied by the beheading of its leadership the better to control that movement, as happened in Hungary with a purge of any potential opposition within the ranks of the Communist Party.

Certainly, the revolutionary struggle for masses of workers and peasants has come under the leadership of Stalinist parties in several countries. In some cases the grip of imperialism has been weakened — and we must defend all these conquests.

We live in a world in which the social and technological conditions for communism are highly developed. The rapid decay of world capitalism means that the statement of 1938 that 'the present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the revolutionary leadership' is as true as ever.

Today, clearer than ever before, we can see that this is the epoch of the Fourth International.

STALINISM

Thirty years after the Hungarian Revolution 'Euro' Eric Hobsbawm toes the line

An analysis by Geoff Pilling

THE HUNGARIAN Revolution of 1956 was the most decisive event in the post war crisis of world stalinism.

Thirty years ago this week the Hungarian working class rose up in heroic revolt against their stalinist oppressors.

They were crushed only by the power of Soviet tanks and the might of the Russian army.

At least 20,000 Hungarians were killed in the uprising and many thousands more were imprisoned and tortured for their opposition to stalinism.

Eric Hobsbawm this week contributed a piece to the Guardian (October 20) marking the 30th Anniversary of these stirring events.

His 'The Age of Political Nervous Breakdown' was a shortened version of an article due to appear in the November issue of Marxism Today.

This latter journal is the publication of the 'Euro' wing of British stalinism.

For many years there has been a division amongst the stalinists. There are those whose aim is the subordination of the working class to the ruling class of their 'own' countries via an alliance with the labour bureaucracy and sections of the bour-

geoisie.

On the other hand is that 'pro-Moscow' wing of stalinism which remains directly subordinate to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Hobsbawm, for many years Professor of History in the University of London, has been a central figure in the former camp and a particularly enthusiastic advocate of coalition between the Labour Party and Owen's Social Democratic Party.

He has won for himself an unenviable reputation as an adviser to the Labour bureaucracy on how best to present itself to the working class and to ingratiate itself to the ruling class.

The tale he tells runs as follows.

The events of 1956 came to him and his fellow Communist Party intellectuals as a great shock; 'Absolutely out of the blue' he says.

But, following the speech delivered by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (which became available in early June of 1956), Hobsbawm and others began to have doubts about the regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Historians Group in the Party said that the leaders had provided 'an inadequate analysis of what has been happening in the Soviet Union... We must do something about it.'

About this 'analysis', inadequate or otherwise, which the party was given Hobsbawm has nothing to say.

For good reason; the major preoccupation of the leaders of the Communist Party was to lie about the Khrushchev speech, claiming that it was a forgery.

On Togliatti's account at any rate, Communist Party general secretary Harry Pollitt went to see Khrushchev and pleaded with him to stop the revelations about Stalin because it was creating considerable political difficulties for him back home.

Likewise, Hobsbawm can now blandly declare that, in 1956, the 'real situation was

that the Americans and the West were not going to intervene in Hungary or anywhere else in Eastern Europe'.

He says nothing about the fact that this was precisely the line — that if the Russian army did not intervene the Americans would have moved into Hungary to take advantage of the situation — which was used to try and silence all opposition within the party.

Crimes

Further, the Communist Party has to this day completely failed to provide even the beginnings of a materialist explanation for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the crimes it committed and still commits against the international working class.

Those who wait for such an explanation wait in vain.

Nor can British stalinism provide anything approaching a true account of its sordid history, as can be seen in the tortured and tendentious official history of the Party.

Hungary, it seems, further intensified Hobsbawm's unease. The Hungarian regime had been considered popular.

Glasgow meeting recalls Hungary

SIXTY people listened intently to a moving and dramatic account of the 1956 Hungarian revolution given by Peter Fryer in the T&GWU Hall, Glasgow, last Sunday.

The lessons of the Hungarian struggle, said Fryer, were that the revolutionary party must tell the truth to the working class and the leadership must tell the truth to the rank-and-file.

The question of political revolution, he added, could not be understood on a national scale: the future of the political revolution in the east was linked to workers' struggles in the west and above all, to the struggle to regenerate the Fourth International.

The last time Fryer spoke in Scotland was early in 1957, shortly after witnessing the bombardment and massacre of the armed Budapest workers by the Soviet army.

Some members of Sunday's audience had heard him speak then — one told the meeting how Fryer's 1957 meeting had turned him against Stalinism and towards Trotskyism.

Another comrade who had joined the Trotskyist movement as a result of the Hungarian events was platform speaker Bob Todd, a college lecturer.

The political significance of 1956 was shared by other eastern European workers' struggles which had been crushed by the Stalinists, including the East German uprising of 1953 and later struggles in Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Hungary had confirmed

the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism.

'People said that they saw, with Khrushchev, that there could be a self-reform of the bureaucracy, that he hadn't bumped off Voroshilov, Molotov and others when he came to power.'

'He may not have bumped off Voroshilov and Molotov, but they did send in the tanks to massacre the Hungarian workers.'

Bill Hunter, of the Workers Revolutionary Party Central Committee, emphasised that the 1956 events had confirmed Trotsky's prognosis that socialism could not be built in a single country, that the revolution had to be permanent.

It had borne out Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

A dozen comrades contributed from the floor during

discussion, including questions on the 1956 events and a claim (not supported by most) that the origins of counter-revolutionary Stalinism lay in the suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny in 1921 by Lenin and Trotsky.

It was pointed out that the joint work done for the meeting — by the WRP and supporters of 'International' and 'Socialist Organiser' — was itself part of the work of rebuilding the Fourth International.

Chairman Ian McCallman, an activist in the teachers' union EIS, closed the meeting with a call that it should lead to future activity in support of the eastern European workers, especially in Scotland where Stalinism retained influence in the workers' movement.

IN CRISIS

The challenge for the Trotskyist movement



'We were therefore profoundly shaken to discover quite undeniably in Hungary that very large sections of the people were not behind it.'

What does this mean?

In 1956 Hobsbawm was amongst those who 'explained' the crisis in Hungary and the Soviet intervention on the grounds that the leadership in Hungary had gone too fast too quickly, they had got out of step with the people etc.

Evidently he still persists in this view today.

Hobsbawm's article makes clear yet again that, whatever differences might separate the two wings of Stalinism, they remain indissolubly united on one issue.

They are both apologists for the theory of socialism in one country.

On this, the cornerstone of all Stalinist theory and practice, not a hair divides them.

The essence of stalinism was its advocacy of the theory of socialism in one country.

First announced by Stalin in 1924, this was in fact a doctrine taken over from the right wing of pre-1914 German social democracy.

It proposed that socialism could and should be built first within the state boundaries of the Soviet Union in isolation from world economy.

It was Trotsky and the Left Opposition who took up the struggle against this theory and its disastrous consequences.

Trotsky was divided from Stalin on no mere question of tactics — about 'the means' whereby socialism was to be achieved.

For the notion that socialism could be established within an isolated USSR involved a fundamental revision of Marxist theory.

But behind what started as a theoretical struggle was revealed the existence of a parasitic caste whose narrow interest and outlook were alien to socialism.

Marxism teaches that socialism can be created only on the basis of the all round achievements of capitalism.

The historic mission of capitalism was to raise the level of the productive forces

to the point where, in the 20th Century, it was possible necessary to reorganise them on a new, socialist, basis.

This central point of historical materialism was rejected by the advocates of socialism in one country.

First emerging in the early 1920s, a parasitic bureaucracy gradually consolidated itself over the next decade.

Following the defeat of the German Revolution in 1933 and the imposition of Fascism on the working class of that country, Trotsky came to the conclusion that stalinism had passed definitively to the camp of counter-revolution.

It was no longer possible to reform the Comintern and restore it to path of world revolution.

To bring Soviet society back to its former health, to create the preconditions for the integration of the state property of the USSR into a planned world socialist economy it was necessary to prepare for the political overthrow of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Vindicated

All the developments of the last three decades have vindicated this contention: Czechoslovakia, Poland and the present mounting crisis in the USSR prove beyond dispute that the bureaucracy remains a parasitic imposition on the nationalised property forms of these countries which will have to be overthrown by the working class.

It was these fundamental principles which Hobsbawm rejected in 1956, just as he rejects them today.

That is why he has remained inside the Communist Party throughout this period. By his actions he has in practice justified every betrayal and crime.

Indeed, he can still assert, without apparent shame and certainly without any regard for the historical record, that 'the virtues of the Communist Party, for instance as an organisation and schooling for workers and intellectuals were quite enormous.'

'Those people who belonged to my generation, not just intellectuals but as

ABOVE left: the then Communist Party general secretary, HARRY POLLITT, went to see Soviet leader KHRUSHCHEV (middle) to complain that the CPSU 20th Congress revelations about the crimes of STALIN (right) were causing problems in the Party in Britain, in whose interests he wanted them curtailed. ERIC HOBSBAWM (below), link man to the intellectuals who left to go to the right, boasts that the 'virtues' of the Communist Party were 'quite enormous'



workers, owe an extraordinary amount to the style, to the way in which the Communist Party organised its work, with all its enormous weaknesses.'

The Communist Party of Great Britain lost a third of its 30,000 members in 1956.

It is clear that many who left did so not so much out of disgust with stalinism as a move away from Communism.

Such were those who formed themselves into the New Left: E.P. Thompson, John Saville and others.

As Hobsbawm makes clear, he was the link man with these people.

He says, 'There must have been people in the party leadership who also saw that it would be absurd to start excommunicating people.'

Hobsbawm remained closely associated with Thompson and Saville precisely because their aim was not a fundamental critique of stalinism but the reiteration of the hoary lie that it was Leninism which had pro-

vided the organisational and theoretical basis for stalinism.

Only a small group, mainly intellectuals, were able to find their road through the crisis of 1956 back to revolutionary Marxism, to Trotskyism.

As many readers of our paper will know, the Workers Revolutionary Party has passed through a profound crisis over the last twelve months following the expulsion of its long time leader G. Healy and his political associates.

The expulsion of this corrupt leadership was the essential precondition for the reassertion of those vital principles of Trotskyism which 1956 brought so sharply into relief.

The fact that many of those who broke with stalinism and came to Trotskyism in 1956 have played a central part in our commemoration of the Hungarian Revolution indicates that we have made significant progress in that reassertion.

ANNOUNCING A NEW EDITION OF

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

PETER FRYER



The Hungarian revolution of 1956 and its brutal suppression by Russian tanks was a watershed in the history of socialism.

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He saw people in arms demolish a regime of fear and poverty and take power in their own hands. He saw security police atrocities — and the people's terrible revenge. Then he watched appalled as a nation's new-born freedom was relentlessly crushed.

Peter Fryer's eye-witness account, first published in December 1956, had an immediate impact, bringing home to many things which they wished were not true.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Seminar highlights Israeli links

SOUTH AFRICA'S racist regime intends to use the State of Israel as a backdoor for sanctions-busting trade with Europe and the United States, a London seminar was told recently.

An Israeli trade mission visited Pretoria this summer and the Israelis have invited South African firms to take advantage of Israel's free trade agreement with United States and its EEC preferential treatment.

Notorious as arms supplier to the South African racists, Israel has been enabling them to receive NATO military hardware and technology.

According to American Jewish writer Jane Hunter, the pro-Israel lobby in the United States has also been mobilised to try and influence liberal congressmen against sanctions.

African National Congress representative Solly Smith drew comparisons between the oppression of Africans and Palestinians and PLO representative Faisal Ouweida said US imperialism had used Israel and South Africa as watchdogs for its interests.

There was some discussion at the seminar, organised by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), on how to mobilise support for the Palestinian and African struggles.

In November 1984, South African Finance Minister Barend du Plessis announced that South African imports from Israel were worth 73 million Rand and exports to Israel were 157 million Rand.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

Du Plessis said figures showed steady growth, adding significantly:

'Ties between South Africa and Israel go well beyond the published economic ties and the available trade statistics.'

Here we give some of the known facts on the South Africa-Israel Connection.

TRADE LINKS

South Africa is the world's biggest producer of rough diamonds — a large proportion of these today coming from illegally-occupied Namibia.

Israel is the world's largest centre for diamond cutting and polishing. Its imports of rough diamonds, mostly from South Africa,

are believed to run to over \$800 million annually.

In 1985, as demands for sanctions on South African trade escalated around the world, Israel's diamond exports increased by over 20 per cent.

Jane Hunter, in her study 'Undercutting Sanctions', (Washington 1986), suggests the De Beers Central Selling Organisation in London (a subsidiary of the South African mining monopoly) supplies the diamonds to Israel.

In 1976, South African Prime Minister and ex-Nazi Balthazar Vorster visited Israel as guest of its then Labour government.

Agreements were signed for South African investment, raw materials and coal, in exchange for Israeli technical know-how, military and intelligence co-operation.

In 1979, Israel began importing one million tons of coal a year from South Africa.

On November 29, 1983, Reagan and Yitzhak Shamir signed a free trade agreement which came into effect in April last year.

Under Israel's EEC tariffs deal, dating from 1975 and revised in 1984, Israeli goods enter the EEC exempt from tariffs.

This also applies to goods originating outside Israel. The EEC has even waived the requirement that at least 40 per cent value must have been added to the goods in Israel.

In 1978, Israeli Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich said during a visit to Johannesburg that South African products finished in Israel could be resold to the EEC and USA 'where they would benefit from the advantages enjoyed by Israel.'

South Africa's state-owned Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) has formed a partnership with the Israeli Koor industries — owned by the corporatist Israeli labour organisation, the Histadrut.

The joint company, ISKOOR, has two plants in Israel refining crude steel from South Africa into high-grade steel for re-export to Europe.

(It was incidentally the ISKOOR works at Kiryat Gat, southern Israel, which announced earlier this year that it would no longer employ Arabs.)

Since 1976, Koor industries have been partners with another South African company, Sentrachem, in a re-export scheme for South African chemicals and fertilisers to Europe.

The electronics company

Tadiran, owned jointly by Koor and the Israeli Ministry of Defence, has important contracts and interests in South Africa.

In 1980, the Israeli marketing agency Agrexco began marketing South African produce in the United States.

Israel has been one of the few states in the world to recognise South Africa's stooge Bantustans like Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as 'states'.

In 1982 a Ciskei trade office opened in Tel Aviv. By the summer of 1985, there were 200 Israeli businessmen and technicians in Ciskei and ten Israeli-owned factories.

(However these links were hit by corruption scandals and the Tel Aviv trade office was closed in July.)

ARMS AND MEN

In 1979, US satellite instruments recorded a nuclear test explosion in the Indian Ocean, and a second one was registered in 1980.

The US government tried to suppress its own intelligence reports and pretend the evidence might be mistaken.

Material obtained under the US Freedom of Information Act has confirmed US officials knew it was a joint

Israel-South African nuclear test.

Israeli military advisers have been reported in Namibia, and General Sharon visited the South African forces there during the 1981 attacks on Angola.

The previous year, Israeli companies and technicians completed work on an electrified fence for the Namibian-Angolan border.

Israeli technicians have worked in South Africa on installing electronic surveillance equipment along the borders.

The Israelis have supplied South Africa with Kfir jets, Scout unmanned spy planes, Gabriel missiles, and Dabur coast patrol boats.

In 1967, South Africa was granted production rights for the Uzi sub-machine gun and since then they have been given rights on the Galil assault rifle and Reshef missile boats. South African crews for these trained in Haifa.

More recently Israeli officers have been training security units for South Africa's Bantustan stooges, in Bophuthatswana for instance.

An Israeli-manufactured unmanned spy-plane was shot down over Maputo, Mozambique, in 1983. This year, Israeli-supplied planes were used in the South African bombing raids on frontline states.

In 1980, then Israeli De-

Financial Times, 10 October 1977

South Africa 'evading curbs' on steel by sales through Israel

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

A MEMBER of a visiting Israeli trade mission has disclosed that South African steel producers are finding a way around EEC import restrictions by routing a sizeable portion of their exports via Israel.

According to Dr. Tamir Agmom, Professor of International Finance at Tel Aviv University, semi-processed iron and steel from South Africa is being fabricated at the Iskor plant south of Tel Aviv, which is a joint venture of Koor Metal Industries of Israel and the South African

Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR).

The fabricated metal is then sold to Israel companies which process it into a variety of products, such as electronic equipment, household goods and solar heating units. These articles are then shipped to EEC and U.S. markets as Israeli-made products.

Dr. Agmom's remarks are borne out by the sharp increase in South African iron and steel exports to Israel in recent years. Foreign base metal sales — mostly iron and

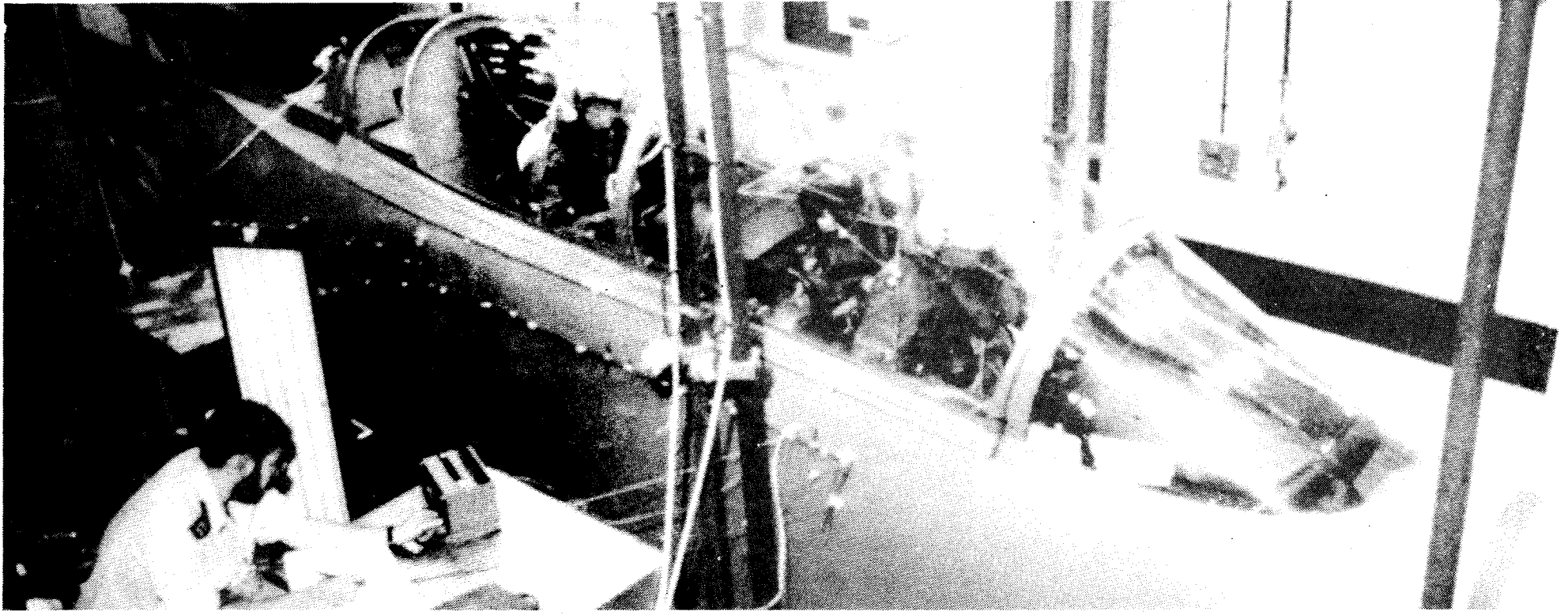
JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 9.

steel — have soared from R1.2m. in 1970 to more than R17m. in 1975 and R21.3m. last year.

Exports in the first five months of 1977 amounted to R5.2m. Last year these items accounted for about two-thirds of South Africa's total exports to Israel.

ISCOR however, has denied using Israel as a conduit for marketing its steel in the U.S. and Western Europe. The corporation claims its steel exports to Israel are destined to the local market only.

S BACK DOOR



WORKING on the Lavi fighter-bomber — and waiting on South African orders?

fence Minister Ezer Weizman visited South Africa.

Among projects in which he solicited South African involvement was the Lavi fighter-bomber. This plane would greatly extend the South African Air Force's attacking range.

In 1981, there were reports that Israel and Taiwan were involved in a project with South Africa to produce Cruise missiles.

THE LINK OF SHAME

The South African racists and the Israeli Zionists each have their own aims and interests and these are not always the same.

They have increasingly identified with each other as settler-states repressing a native population (or as they might put it, 'standing up to communism').

But it is the South African racists — notwithstanding their traditional antisemitism — who tend to enthuse over Israel, rather than the other way round.

The South African paper 'Die Burger', after the 1967 Six Day War, commented:

'Both are engaged in a struggle for existence and both are in constant clash with the decisive majorities in the United Nations... it is in South Africa's interest that Israel is successful in containing her enemies, who are among South Africa's own most vicious enemies.'

An Israeli official, summing-up the advantages of collaboration with South Africa as he saw them, said: 'We have the brains, they have the money.'

Israeli governments have to weigh the advantages of the South African connection against any risk to Israel's trade and involvement with black Africa, which has started to expand again.

In the early 1960s, when the Israeli government, firms and institutions like the Histadrut were cultivating African links — assisted by the US which wanted them as a 'front' — the Israeli government's public line was anti-Apartheid.

Later, it is suspected Israeli intelligence made its sources and assets in black

Africa a sales-item for deals with Pretoria.

In September this year, Shimon Peres returned from a visit to Cameroon, where agreements were signed on defence, trade and agriculture.

He declared on his return that he was 'unwilling to compromise with apartheid.'

Members of the 'Left Zionist' Mapam have called for an end to arms sales to the South African racists, while naturally pleading ignorance that these took place while they held ministerial positions!

Israeli political leaders and lobbyists fear knowledge of the South African connection not only discredits Israel in itself, but invites people to start making comparisons between the Apartheid regime and the Zionist state.

There are enough differences between the two situations to caution against crude equations, but enough elements in common to make comparisons possible.

In both cases, an entire people — Palestinians or Africans — have been robbed of their land, denied their rights and subject to discrimination.

Many people in the West — liberal politicians, churchmen and labour leaders — who would not dare to be associated with South Africa and may be quite genuinely outspoken against Apartheid — have seen nothing wrong with supporting Israel.

The problem facing Israel lobbyists now is how to keep their liberal constituency while at the same time they are trying to use it to weaken the struggle against Apartheid.

In Israel itself there have been warnings along the lines that 'We supported Somoza, we supported the Shah of Iran, and now we risk tying our fortunes to an even bigger disaster.'

DOING IMPERIALISM'S DIRTY WORK

Besides its general support for Israel, one reason the US government may have tried to cover-up its knowledge of nuclear tests is

that the United States itself could be implicated.

It has been disclosed that Israel was involved, together with the CIA and an American company, Space Research Corporation, in smuggling US-manufactured 155mm howitzers and their technology to South Africa.

The swollen Israeli arms industry's need for profitable markets for itself is clearly not the only factor shaping Israel's role.

Whether it is a matter of supplying arms to Nicaraguan contras, sending military advisers to Guatemala, or getting involved elsewhere, as an Israeli put it 'whenever Uncle Sam wants

to keep his hands clean, Israel is called upon to do the dirty work.'

PLO representative in Britain Faisal Ouweida sees the Zionist state as being used by imperialism.

At the London seminar he recalled the episode of the missile boats from Cherbourg.

'France could not say in front of the Arabs that it had sold the boats to Israel.'

'So the "Israeli heroes" took the boats, and somehow passed through the straits of Gibraltar and evaded the French navy in the Mediterranean.'

'The same boats, adapted in Israeli yards, are now in service with the South Afri-

cans.

'Israel's much-vaunted Kfir fighter-bomber was essentially a combination of the French-supplied Mirage and the US F4 Phantom, Ouweida said.

'Now it appears in South Africa and was used to bomb the front-line states.'

'Israel and South Africa are both watchdogs for imperialist interests', the PLO representative stressed.

'There are no sanctions against South Africa. They are not implemented.'

'Israel breaks sanctions, shifts products to South Africa with the Israeli merchant fleet. They will let their ships be used on charter to the

South Africans.'

Faisal Ouweida observed: 'We have the same thing in the Arab world, despite the supposed boycott of Israel.'

'Israeli products go to Italy, the tags are changed, they come back to the Middle East as "European products".'

Reminding people of the discrimination and denial of rights practised by the Israeli state itself, the PLO representative posed the question for anti-racists:

'How can you condone apartheid in Palestine and not condone it in South Africa? How can you say you oppose racism in South Africa and not oppose it in Palestine?'

Civil servants join sanctions fight

PASSPORT OFFICE staff in the civil service unions are the latest to join the trade union action against the apartheid regime.

Applications from dual-nationality South Africans and from business travellers are being ignored.

They are not the only civil servants acting to oppose

the South African connection.

British Council employees, who have already insisted on their right not to be sent to South Africa, have voted for the closure of the Pretoria office.

Tax office staff in the West Midlands have

opposed the recruitment of 21 computer experts for the Inland Revenue centre in Telford and South African contracts have been blocked by the Manpower Services Commission staff in Sheffield.

There are also growing moves to stop television

advertising of South African fruit.

At the annual conference of the film technicians' union ACTT, a resolution agreed that ads for South African goods 'would be neither produced, processed, distributed nor transmitted'.

Disputes over local adherence to this policy are developing in Grampian, Thames and London Weekend Television.

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March goes to a 'Call for Action' Conference
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The real lessons of Blackpool

KINNOCK has gained control over the party. Now Leader and Vice-Chair, he hopes to be Leader, Chair and Prime Minister by Conference, 1987.

The conference in Blackpool backed a whole series of policies and statements issued by the National Executive Committee which set the Labour Party on course for widespread attacks on the working class if they get into government.

In the analysis of the conference put forward by Workers Press certain inaccurate positions are put forward.

One error is highlighted by Bill Hunter's dismissal of the votes on disarmament and nuclear power.

He considered these to be less important than the vote on the NEC.

The two are not the same, but the anti-nuclear votes should not be ignored, since they reveal a significant factor about the character of the present Labour Party leadership.

Unlike Healey or Callaghan, Kinnock is a candidate of the centre of the party, not purely the right wing.

He was elected leader with the backing of wide sections

of the party, left and right.

His ability to win decisive victories on anti-working class policies and on the witch-hunt is due to the support he has from the 'soft left', led by careerist elements like Livingstone and Blunkett.

Kinnock cannot yet afford to lose this support, which explains his support for the, albeit vacuous, policies opposing nuclear power and weapons.

These policies, and others such as on the minimum wage, Lesbian and Gay rights and women, are important in maintaining the support and enthusiasm of the soft lefts and constituency activists.

Kinnock is not a dictator.

He still requires the backing of sections of the 're-aligned' left and therefore pays lip-service to their campaigns.

In this sense, a Kinnock-Hattersley party before the election is not the same as a Kinnock-Hattersley government after it which, freed from its ties to this base, can travel the Wilson-Callaghan road.

Workers Press seems to overestimate the scale of the present witch-hunt.

The articles argue that a massive purge is planned, with the expulsions of Militant supporters as merely the tip of the iceberg.

Ernie Roberts is favourably quoted saying that it will be the Campaign Group next.

Whilst Kinnock may dearly love to be free of any critics, his purpose in the latest witch-hunt is to silence the left, make them knuckle under to the task of 'winning the next election', and avoid 'rocking the boat'.

This has already occurred in most sections of the left.

Kinnock still needs the support of Constituency Labour Party activists, including areas where there are many lefts, to get the Labour electoral machine into action.

Motions to conference calling for the expulsion of all Militant sellers, for example, were not passed.

The witch-hunt is central because it is a device for silencing a cringing left which fears more than death the prospect of being outside the Labour Party.

Revolutionaries should defend the right of socialists to organise in the party and indeed to affiliate tendencies

to it but should never liquidate their politics in order to stay inside.

The relatively few expulsions so far this time have succeeded in shutting up Militant.

There will be further attacks in right wing CLPs who can now go direct to the NCC for quick expulsions of irritating left wingers.

But there seems to be no need for Kinnock himself to stake his reputation on a wider purge of Militant beyond Liverpool, even less the kicking out of Campaign Group MPs who refuse even to stand against him for leader!

Kinnock's victory is shown by the complete inability of the left to organise a united fight against the recent expulsions.

Militant hold their own rallies and Labour Left Liaison built a single issue campaign around two expelled comrades from Birmingham, Kevin Scally and Amir Khan.

Both of these groups failed to unite with wider forces in opposition to all expulsions.

Workers Press mentions Militant's failure, but does not report the only serious campaign attempt to build

the movement against all expulsions, Labour Against the Witchhunt '86.

It is unfortunate that comrades opposed to the witch-hunt, such as those in the WRP, do not seek to build this campaign which is rooted in the Labour Party and the unions.

Workers Press carries no comment on the state of the 'hard left' in the party.

This is a big mistake.

Serious militants will be looking to those who say they oppose Kinnock for some leadership in the next period.

Within the workplaces and unions the power of illusions in 'waiting for Labour' are growing.

These must be fought now, but the left leaders and centrists claiming to do this must themselves be exposed by revolutionaries.

Benn and Skinner at a Campaign group Rally in Blackpool both argued for workers to 'fight now'.

But these 'leaders' persistently refuse to fight Kinnock for leadership, saying in effect that workers have no alternative than to put an anti-working class leader in No. 10.

The MPs of the Campaign Group are scared.

They have been marginalised with an ease which seemed impossible in the heady days of the democra-

cy movement of the early 1980s.

They have therefore tried to rebuild a base which they hope will win them some leverage within the leadership.

The base they have chosen for themselves is the inauspicious Labour Left Liaison.

Labour Left Liaison, set up by Vladimir Derer of Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and Socialist Action, was another attempt to 're-align' the left.

With the support of the Labour Party Black Sections and Labour Women's Action Committee they excluded the hard left, decided in advance among themselves who could vote in their organisation and agreed to try and work with the Campaign group.

Democracy has no place in the Labour Left Liaison and politically it has become a loyal backer for the Campaign Group of MPs, creating illusions that these reformists can really solve the problems of the working class with their 'million jobs a year' programme and other inadequate measures.

Helen Ward

Vauxhall CLP and supporter of Workers Power

The depth of the crisis in the health service

IT CAN be news to few people that the health service is in a dire crisis.

After seven years of Thatcher, starved of funds, hospitals face closures, patients face years of waiting for routine operations, many casualty units face one-day shut downs, hospital staff wages have been forced down in real terms and there is a shortage of vital hospital equipment.

It has long since reached the point where people are dying for lack of medical attention.

Millions of workers were angered to hear the pompous hypocritical speeches made by the Tories at their annual conference about their 'caring' attitude for the health service.

Having been a trade unionist since leaving school in 1973 and a member of the WRP since 1978 I considered that I appreciated the problems faced by workers as regards to health care.

However, it was only recently when my wife reached the latter weeks of pregnancy that the depths of the crisis hit home.

My wife was admitted to Mayday Hospital, Croydon when she was thirty-two weeks pregnant suffering from Placenta Abruptio — a condition whereby the placenta partially separates from the wall of the uterus causing a haemorrhage and blood clot.

She had also started to go into premature labour and was told that if they failed to stop the labour she would have to be moved to a London hospital with a Special Care Baby Unit as there were no cots available at Mayday at the time.

Fortunately they were able to stop the labour and my wife spent a week in Thornton One, the ante-natal ward before being discharged.

However, her health has remained poor and she has been constantly in and out of hospital over the last few weeks.

During this period we have

witnessed the pressures under which the staff at Mayday Hospital have had to administer the maternity unit.

Last year, St Mary's hospital was closed under the pretext of converting it into a psychiatric hospital.

St. Mary's was the main maternity hospital in Croydon and is now disused owing to lack of funds.

A new maternity unit has been built at Mayday to cope with the extra load, but it is now overdue in opening and it is not clear when funds will become available to do so.

On one of my wife's subsequent admissions to hospital we found that the ante-natal ward had been moved from Thornton One to Felicity Ward so as to convert the former, which has twenty-one beds, into a post-natal ward to help cope with the current baby boom.

Felicity Ward, the new ante-natal ward has now only thirteen beds to cater for the whole of Croydon.

I asked the ward sister what would happen to any extra women requiring beds and she replied that they would have to be more selective with whom they admit.

The maternity unit at Mayday is suffering a staff shortage.

Experienced midwives have been forced by low pay to give up their jobs, and there is an increased reliance on student midwives.

The majority of doctors are young and newly qualified.

Mayday's consultant gynaecologist Mr. John Bootes was quoted in the Croydon Advertiser on Friday, September 26th as saying that premature babies were dying because there was a shortage of Special Care cots at Mayday, and those at hospitals in neighbouring areas were full.

A directive has been given by the South West Thames Area Health Authority that more money can only be made available for babies at

the expense of other patients.

Obviously, under capitalism, babies, as well as old people are less valuable as they have no labour power.

The Croydon Advertiser also reported that there were no registrar doctors in the Mayday Hospital child service.

As the baby boom increases in Croydon so the pressure on the hospital become greater.

Ninety-nine babies were reported to have been delivered in Mayday during the week ending October 11th.

This year the total number of births the hospital is expected to have to cope with is expected to top 4000.

First time mothers' stay in hospital has been reduced from ten days to five days and those women who already have children are often discharged within 24 hours of delivery.

On Friday October 10 my wife was again admitted to hospital, after a fall on the stairs at home.

She suffered internal abdominal bruising and, despite still being ill and in pain, she was discharged on the following Monday, not on the grounds that she was fit, but because of the severe bed shortage.

I have tried to outline the crisis in one department of our local hospital and how we were affected by it.

This is just an example of one of the many areas of the health service being destroyed by capitalism.

The Tories are attempting to privatise the NHS through the back door.

Parasites such as BUPA are making fortunes by picking the bones of the health service.

It is no longer in the interests of capitalism to retain a healthy working class.

No profit can be extracted from a healthy unemployed worker.

The Labour Party have no intention of reversing the cuts in the health service.

The crisis of capitalism is such that they could not, even if they wished to.

Kinnock consolidated the right wing control of the party at the recent annual conference by having himself installed as Labour Party Chairman.

He is carefully grooming the Labour Party to win the support of the middle class and large sections of big business.

Kinnock has made it plain that under his leadership the Labour Party will remain a loyal servant to capitalism.

A future Labour government will retain Tory anti-union laws to hold back and crush any opposition in the working class.

The expulsion of Militant tendency members and the removal of Eric Heffer from the NEC is a clear indication that any resistance and defence of workers basic rights will be crushed.

The repeated speeches by Labour Party leaders, not to expect too much too soon from a future Labour government is an excuse for that government doing nothing at all.

As Marxists we must campaign for bringing down the Tory government.

Although we will call for a Labour vote at the next election as a class action against the Tory enemy, it is our duty to warn the working class of the treacherous nature of any future Labour government, and formulate socialist demands to put upon that government in order to expose it.

Under the Healy-Torrance leadership the success of the WRP's intervention in the health service and other such cuts campaigns was judged by how many recruits we made and how many News Lines we sold, not on how the campaign was developed.

The WRP prior to the expulsion of Healy and his supporters had the policy of building community councils, i.e. soviets to unite all those sections of the community in opposition to Thatcher.

This was to be the prelude of the seizure of power by the working class and the policy was developed on the basis that we were already in a

revolutionary situation.

Clearly, we are not in a revolutionary situation and the working class has yet to develop a revolutionary consciousness.

Millions of workers still look to a Labour government to solve their problems.

The policy of community councils has been dropped from our new manifesto.

However, we must strive to unite trade unionists, youth, tenants' associations and all those sections of workers and middle class in united class action against the attacks on services and jobs.

This must be done in a non-sectarian, non-opportunistic manner.

It is also necessary to continue our discussions and work with other Marxist organisations.

Only in this way can we hope to build a revolutionary leadership capable of breaking the working class from social democracy, and leading the struggle for power.

John Holmes.

Defend Eric Joseph!

ON MAY 20, 1983 Eric Joseph, a 33-year-old Rastafarian from Dominica, was sentenced to death following a conviction for murder which he claims was in self-defence.

His final appeal, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain (the highest Court of Appeal for Dominica), was dismissed on June 9, 1986 for non-prosecution, but has since been restored.

However, his right to legal aid as a poor person has not been granted so he now needs to raise at least £1,000 before October 31, 1986 in order to bring new evidence before the court.

Rawlins Jemmot, Presi-

dent of the Human Rights Commission of the National Workers Union of Dominica, says that Eric Joseph is a 'victim of circumstance' and has asked British people to help him answer the charges and so save his life.

Please give generously, and quickly, as the situation is extremely urgent.

● Donations should be sent to The Eric Joseph Appeal Fund, c/o Satish Sekar, TPSU, Thomas Street, London SE18.

Snoop scoop

ON SATURDAY (October 11) the Exeter WRP did a sale of Workers Press on the High Street.

Following the sale a complete stranger approached me.

He said that during our paper sale a member of the local CID, whom he knew, had been discreetly filming our sale.

Geoff Barr
Exeter WRP

LETTERS

Running away from a discussion on youth perspectives

SINCE the departure of the Young Socialists National Committee and most of the Young Socialists in February, there has been little youth work inside the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The split with Healy gave us the opportunity to start on real youth work but as yet we have done practically nothing.

So far, all youth work has been organised by individual members.

At the moment, our main task is the reconstruction of the Fourth International but any reference to youth work has been only on the scale of slogans.

Trotsky says in the Transitional Programme:

The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat.

All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future.

Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution.

Thus it was, thus it will be. (Transitional Programme, p.57.)

Youth work must be a priority for all Trotskyists inside the WRP and outside.

I do not intend to discuss the nature of such work here: that must be discussed at a special conference.

For the last eight months the only people fighting for the youth inside the WRP have been the youth themselves.

This is shameful. Neglect of the youth is a very serious problem.

Every revolutionary party finds its chief support in the younger generation of the rising class.

Political decay expresses itself in the loss of ability to

attract youth under one's banner. (Revolution Betrayed, p.159).

The WRP must act immediately to change this.

We must organise a conference to work out a youth programme and organise a youth committee.

The WRP must be prepared to help such a committee financially.

We must make the production of a youth paper our immediate aim.

Youth work is inseparable from the fight to rebuild the Fourth International.

Hopefully, through the WRP and through the pages of Workers Press we can

perspectives

contact representatives of youth groups in other countries.

Remember, I have not written this letter for nothing.

I demand immediate change, and also remember that this is not solely aimed at the WRP, though this is the only group I am able to talk about.

The same crime is being committed by almost all the other little groups.

Let us follow the example

of how we turned to the youth in the early 1960s, and how *Militant* are now, and above all, comrades, remember this:

'Opportunist organisations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker.' (Transitional Programme, p.57).

Jolyon Ralph

The COHSE election – vote for Militant

WORKERS Press publishes this letter as we receive it in the interests of discussion. However, while we consider the points on the election of a Militant supporter to be perfectly valid, the editor wishes to stress that the comments on the Addenbrookes strike are in no respect representative of the views of the WRP or the Workers Press.

VOTING for the post of general secretary of COHSE is currently taking place with the early retirement D.O. Williams.

Standing for the post is Kevin Mullins, a charge nurse, former NEC member and a supporter of Militant.

All of the candidates running for election have now been given the opportunity to state their position in 'Health Service' – the newspaper of COHSE.

Each has provided a biography (not so brief in some instances) and an electoral address.

Apart from the obligatory joke candidate, each has outlined the way he or she sees the future course of the union.

However, only brother Mullins has provided anything like a programme that socialists working within COHSE can in all conscience support.

He is the only candidate who is committed to accepting his present salary and to the regular re-election of officials, at present elected for life.

He is the only candidate committed to the eventual goal of one health service union.

While other candidates refer to low pay in the health service, only Mullins links this to the obscene profits

made by drug companies, the high salaries offered to the new 'Griffiths' style general managers and spells out what he means by an adequate wage for health service employees: £120 per week for 35 hours.

Of course, there are many criticisms that socialists could make of brother Mullin's manifesto.

True to the politics of Militant, he takes no cognisance of the special needs of ethnic minorities and women within COHSE, something that other, more right wing, candidates attempt to take up in a demagogic fashion.

He does not deal with the threat to enrolled nurses and auxiliaries posed by the UKCC's current proposals.

Nor does he call for the automatic protection of wages against inflation by cost of living rises.

Moreover, he does not mention the Pay Review Body for nurses, which should be extended throughout the health service elected by all NHS employees and binding on the government.

Furthermore, brother Mullins has consistently aligned himself with the Addenbrookes workers.

Unfortunately, some of these people held membership of both NUPE and COHSE, and also found other part-time work outside the NHS during the course of the strike.

It therefore appeared that they had a financial interest in continuing the industrial action as they had two strike pays and part-time employment.

None of these workers were previously employees of the NHS (Addenbrookes had a contract with Crothalls long before the Tories' cur-

rent privatization offensive). Yet when officials of NUPE and COHSE negotiated a deal with the local health authority for them to become direct employees of the NHS, they voted against it.

Socialists would be explaining how such things happen, not accepting them uncritically.

By failing to distance himself from the Addenbrookes strikers, Kevin Mullins has opened himself up to all sorts of slanders from the right wing.

The author of this article and a non-aligned socialist member of NEC of COHSE, wrote to 'Militant' detailing these facts.

However, we have not seen this letter printed, nor have we as yet received a reply.

It must also be stated that 'Militant' have not taken steps to involve other left groups with members within the union in their campaign.

Similarly, organizations such as the SWP, which has recently made overtures for unity with 'Militant', have not covered brother Mullin's candidacy in their press.

This 'silent sectarianism' does nothing to advance the cause of socialism in COHSE.

Nonetheless, with these reservations, the candidacy of Kevin Mullins represents the only opportunity for socialists in COHSE to campaign for socialist politics in the union.

A large vote for him would be a step forward for all health service workers.

David Fowles
Charge Nurse,
Asst. Branch Secretary,
929 Larbert Branch, COHSE.
Supporter of 'International'.

The split in the FI and the Hungarian Revolution

WORKERS PRESS published a letter by Cyril Smith in its issue of September 13, 1986 stating the following:

'I think we are obliged to undertake a really objective study of the International's history, not just to find out who was to blame for its difficulties, or establish just who did what to whom, but to prepare a fundamental advance in theory.'

'In particular, the split of 1953 must be carefully examined.'

Excellent resolve. So far, so good.

But Comrade Cyril Smith also published an article a few weeks earlier (Workers Press August 23, 1986), which carries his interpretation of the 1953 split:

'In 1953, a more important split occurred in the International.'

'Michel Pablo (Raptis), who had become the Secretary, tried to adapt the policies of the movement to the apparent might of Stalinism.'

'In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the bureaucracy was going to liberalise itself, he said, following the ideas of Isaac Deutscher.'

'And if the Chinese CP could lead a revolution, why not the French?'

'Against him, several groups fought to defend the heritage of Trotskyism, especially the characterisation of Stalinism as counter-revolutionary.'

'The "destabilising" moves of Khrushchev in 1953-1956 appeared to many people to confirm the predictions of Deutscher.'

'But the eruption of the Polish and Hungarian struggles certainly did not.'

'To some of the people who took seriously Pablo's theory about the "self-reform of the bureaucracy", the workers of Budapest ought really to be condemned for joggling the elbow of the Moscow leaders, derailing the train of reforms by driving it too fast.'

'Their actions, in any case, were doomed to defeat from the start.'

'This position was clearly stated by Deutscher, but privately held by many others.'

This is not a 'really objective study of the International's history' but just an attempt to justify the 1953 split, not on the basis of documentary evidence but of allegations about positions 'privately held' by anonymous and mysterious 'many persons'.

Could Comrade Smith tell us who these persons are and what role they played inside the FI in October/November, 1956?

In fact the whole FI majority, with which the Socialist Labour League had broken in 1953 on the assumption of its 'Pabloism', fully and enthusiastically supported the Budapest workers against the bureaucracy and the Soviet army in October/November, 1956.

It identified with their struggles.

It saw in them the first full scale model (of which the GDR workers' uprising of 1953 had only been an embryonic form) of the poli-

tical revolution against the bureaucracy, which Leon Trotsky had predicted would occur, and for which our Transitional Programme had prepared the movement.

We took the same attitude towards the Prague spring of 1968-69 and towards the Polish workers' upsurge of 1980-81.

The basic assumption on which the 1953 split was based, to wit, that the FI majority was 'capitulating to Stalinism' was thereby disproved by events.

No attempt to substitute the analysis of 'private thoughts' for clearly established documentary evidence of public statements and public political actions can distort that picture.

It follows that the 1953 split had been a mistake.

The SLL's refusal to join the 1962-1963 reunification had been an even graver one.

Comrade Cannon recognised these facts implicitly when he based his first prudent approval of initial moves towards reunification, starting from 1957, on the recognition that both wings of the International had reacted identically to the Hungarian Revolution.

This was already clear in 1956-57 to anybody who looked at reality objectively.

For Comrade Cyril Smith it should at least have become clear thirty years later.

Ernest Mandel

The Mersey witch-hunt broadens

THE WITCH hunt of the left continues without abatement on Merseyside after the ratification by the Labour Party conference of the expulsion of the eight Liverpool Militant supporters.

An inquiry is taking place into the nomination of Euro-MP Les Huckfield as candidate for the coming by-election in Knowsley North.

The three-person enquiry team has been calling witnesses on a highly selective basis.

The 17 witnesses refused admission into the proceed-

ings have all been left-wingers and the constituency is being kept in the dark about the terms of the inquiry.

This fuels the conviction of Party militants that the sole purpose of the inquiry is to block the selection of left-wingers Huckfield and Lesley Holt, who between them have over 60 per cent of the nominations for the seat.

The constituency party is determined to boycott any candidate imposed on it by the party nationally.

They have very bitter

memories of the last MP imposed on them – Robert Kilroy-Silk, an out-and-out careerist who went whinging to the Tory press rather than face the democratic process of re-selection.

In a separate move, the Broad Green constituency party in Liverpool has been suspended, ostensibly because Kensington ward has been alleged to have members on its books who do not live in the constituency.

The three members who complained to the national executive about this did not

raise this matter at any meeting of the ward.

The supergrass system apparently is no longer confined to the occupied six counties of Northern Ireland!

The target for this attack is undoubtedly the Broad Green MP Terry Fields whose principled refusal to accept more than the salary of a skilled man obviously makes him unfit for his position in the eyes of the Kinnock leadership.

Frank Fitzmaurice

DAY OF ACTION

to demand

Repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners in British jails

Saturday November 8

11.30am Assemble at the Monument, Haymarket, Newcastle

12.00 noon March through Newcastle

2.00pm Assemble at Frankland Prison, Durham
March to Durham Prison

Rally – Speakers to include prisoners' relatives, NUM (in personal capacity)

BRING YOUR BANNERS!

Supported by Clydeside Troops Out, Republican Band Alliance, Prisoners of War Committee (Glasgow). More information from PH3, 340 W. Princes St., Glasgow G4

REVIEWS

The Wendy Savage Affair

TWO WEEKS ago, Mrs Wendy Savage returned to work as a consultant obstetrician at the London Hospital. She had undergone an 18-month long suspension and a public enquiry that amounted to a trial to prove that allegations of incompetence were totally unfounded.

This week Mrs Savage has published her own account of the affair.

Referring to her suspension by Tower Hamlets Health Authority in April 1985, she writes:

'I realised then what millions of other people in this country already know — that the loss of your job is a shattering experience.'

Pointing out that she was fortunate not to share the financial anxieties of other sacked workers because she was suspended on full pay, she adds:

... but the allegation of professional incompetence, and the abrupt ending of my active role of looking after patients and teaching students, was devastating.

'The loss of my job was like a bereavement.'

Wendy Savage was not the first doctor to be accused of incompetence — nor will she be the last.

What is unusual in her case is that the people making the accusations against her were her fellow-consultants and the head of the academic department in which she worked.

Her supporters were — and are — local mothers, family doctors, midwives, nurses and medical students.

In most other cases of medical incompetence, the plaintiffs are former patients and, more often than not, the accused doctor is allowed to continue working while the allegations are examined.

'I and many of my supporters saw my suspension as

part of the continuing struggle about who controls childbirth, and it was on this ground that we chose to fight ... but at a deeper level, I knew that this battle was about the way doctors relate to and work with each other, and about the fact that I am not a member of the "establishment" and saw no reason to conform to the medical profession's unwritten, but well understood "party line", especially if I thought this was not in the interests of patients.'

One unwritten law is that disputes within the profession are not made public, for fear it should cause loss of authority and confidence in doctors in general.

Statements

Initially, Mrs Savage did all she could to avoid making public statements about her suspension and the allegations she faced — a nicety not always adhered to by her accusers.

Eventually, however, she decided her best course of action was to change her solicitors — since they too were part of the medical establishment that was attacking her.

Many more women have certainly realised that they have the right to see that the health services they get are what they want.

A Savage Enquiry — Who Controls Childbirth. By Wendy Savage. Virago Press, £2.95.

Whether that can be translated into the power to realise these services is another issue and one which trade unionists throughout the National Health Service face daily.

However, every struggle which raises these issues and puts them on the agenda for solution is a positive step on the road towards the attainment of a health service based on the needs of present and potential patients and not the constraints imposed by administrators or government policies that aim to undermine all the gains of the past 38 years since the foundation of the health service.

The long-term issues of political control of the NHS will be decided in a protracted struggle over many different sectors and will depend on the outcome of the class struggle against both Tory and Labour governments.

The fact that many women today have the confidence to voice their opinions and demands on these questions is as much a result of the battles of the women's support groups that arose in the miners' strike, and the repeated conflicts by NHS ancillary and nursing staff over pay and conditions, as the specific socio-medical issues raised in the childbirth campaign.

Her new solicitor, who has stayed with her throughout the campaign, was Brian Raymond, who successfully defended the civil servant Clive Ponting in the 'Belgrano secrets' trial.

It was he who advised her not to avoid the public support but to use it to advantage.

'Your power in the court is directly proportional to your power outside the court,' he advised her when they first met.

The Wendy Savage Support Group had been launched within weeks of her suspension and they co-ordinated the widespread local — and national — anger in the form of meetings and demonstrations and a collection for defence funds which eventually reached £60,000.

As it happened the Defence Fund was not needed in the long run.

Support

Public support for her stand eventually pushed the Medical Defence Union into taking a stand on the issue after the health service enquiry had finished; it was decided that they would pay the legal costs of her fight.

Referring to the decision to 'go public', Mrs Savage says:

'The public campaign was, I believe, essential if justice was also to be a factor in the resolution of my suspension. But there was another, more important, aspect of the publicity.

'Women throughout the country have realised that they have the right and the power to see that the health services they get are the ones they want.'

The fact that Mrs Savage's suspension was not about incompetence in five childbirth cases — selected out of many thousands she has handled — was clearly demonstrated at the month-long public enquiry in February this year.

Of 59 original charges, 55

were found to be invalid or insubstantial.

In four instances there were criticisms of her management — three of which she had accepted as errors and said so the year before.

But Mrs Savage's obstetric colleagues in Tower Hamlets continued to oppose her return to work.

Two weeks ago some were threatening to resign themselves!

However, when invited to do so, they declined.

They have proposed that she should only work at the Mile End site of the London Hospital or that they should be transferred elsewhere.

One of the issues that sharply divides Wendy Savage from some fellow consultants is their practice of taking private patients while continuing to draw large salaries from the NHS.

There have been repeated complaints that NHS patients are the losers.

It is also public knowledge that facilities provided by the NHS are rarely adequately paid for by private users.

Mrs Savage has listed six important issues arising from her suspension:

- Birth and power — who controls childbirth?
- What kind of services do women want — and who is going to decide on the kind of care that is offered to them?
- Accountability — of the District Health Authority and of doctors
- Incompetence — how is it defined? How is it measured?
- Disciplinary procedures for doctors in the NHS — can they be improved?
- Academic freedom and the role of professors and senior lecturers

On the first question, she points out that the twentieth

century has seen the power of obstetricians — mainly men — rise to unprecedented heights.

Today, only one per cent of women have their babies at home.

Increased medicalisation and intervention at birth have proceeded without good scientific evidence that they are justified.

Perinatal mortality rates — deaths of babies between the seventh month of pregnancy and the first week of life — have fallen and continue to decrease.

But, she argues, it is probably as much due to improved living standards and easier access to abortion and contraception as to intensive care facilities and high technology in the form of foetal monitoring, induction of labour and surgical delivery by Caesarean section.

The rising rate of Caesarean section in childbirth is an issue on which Mrs Savage has strong feelings.

She points out that this method of delivery now accounts for between 10 and 13 per cent of all births, depending on where one lives.

In the US, however, the rate is over 24 per cent and still rising.

The justification for this method is that the risk from operations has fallen, and that Caesarean guarantees a normal healthy baby.

Neither of these assumptions is true.

Mrs Savage points out that while the risk of Caesarean section is much lower than ever before, 'all surgical operations carry a risk ... Caesarean is no exception.

'What is clear is that it is safer for the woman to have a vaginal delivery — and moreover she has less "morbidity", that is infection and haemorrhage and other rarer complications, and she recovers more quickly from a normal birth ...

Statistically, about one and a half to twice as many babies die following a Caesarean operation than if they are delivered head first vaginally.

Some of the risk is because the mother may have already had a complication which led to the need for surgery.

'My philosophy, in which I am not alone, of involving the woman in the decisions about her care, means that the obstetrician must relinquish some power,' she points out.

On the question of the type of services, Mrs Savage has this to say: 'My own feeling is that there needs to be a partnership between the consumers and the providers, both medical and administrative.'

In obstetrics and gynaecology services there is a particular problem in that the majority of consultants are men, but the consumers are all women.

But of course, the main problem affecting the provision of services throughout the NHS is continuous and ever-increasing cutbacks in



NOTTS AGAINST APARTHEID

NOTTINGHAM AGAINST APARTHEID is a video produced by the 'Other Side Video Collective', a record of a mass anti-apartheid demonstration organised in Nottingham in January 1986.

Over footage of the day's events, two of the principal organisers describe how the demonstration was planned and successfully carried through with the participation of a broad range of organisations including most of those in the black community and the wider labour movement.

They also stress the importance of links made during the day's events between apartheid in South Africa and racism in this country.

This is forcibly underlined by an appeal by the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee: 'If you want to see South Africa, come to Tottenham.'

These links, it is argued, are vital if the anti-apartheid movement is to gain more active support from the black community.

Containing both a basic introduction to the work of the anti-apartheid movement and issues of debate within the movement in footage ranging from march and picket shots to music from a city centre vigil and late evening benefit, 'Nottingham Against Apartheid' is especially useful to the many recently established anti-apartheid groups.

The tape is available on VHS, lasts 25 minutes and costs £7.50 for individuals, or it can be hired for £3.00 (please add £1 for p&p) from The Other Side Video Collective, 122 Noel Street, Hyson Green, Nottingham.

All proceeds go to COSATU.

REVIEWS

The Hungarian Revolution

An eyewitness Account

THE HUNGARIAN revolution in 1956 was not only a national uprising against an oppressing nation but a world historic event for the working class.

The Hungarian workers tore free from bureaucratic Stalinist domination in a political revolution and fought for control of what was supposed to be a workers state.

This uprising and its brutal suppression by the 'Soviet' armed forces had an international impact on the working class and on the Communist Parties, throwing them into a crisis in which thousands of members left.

Peter Fryer's invaluable eye witness account 'Hungarian Tragedy', reprinted again after 30 years, sets out to tell the true story of the revolution and nails the lies and propaganda of those who justified and supported the crushing of the workers' revolt.

In 1956 Fryer was Hungarian correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, a Communist Party member for 14 years, and had already begun to question the truth following the about-face on Tito, the rehabilitation of Laszlo Rajk, whose trial Fryer had reported, and Khrushchev's famous 'secret speech' denouncing Stalin's crimes.

His book was written, 'or rather, it poured itself onto the page white-hot' immediately on his return.

He tells us of his eventful journey to reach Budapest in late October 1956, gives his eye witness account of the struggles and leads us to the causes of the revolution.

In 1945 Hungary had been liberated by the advancing Red Army, ending 26 years of fascist rule.

In elections of that year, the Communist Party received 17 per cent of the votes but was able to secure the key posts of Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior.

finance that are closing hospitals and wards, driving underpaid staff out of the service and leaving those remaining facing increased pressures and tensions.

When it comes to accountability, Mrs Savage is extremely critical of the medical and administrative chiefs.

'The fifteen months of my suspension from my post at the London Hospital and the subsequent enquiry has been a terrible waste of NHS funds.

'It has damaged relationships between the GPs and obstetricians in Tower Hamlets and it has reduced, both at the service level and personally, choice for women in the district, especially those women who want a woman obstetrician and gynaecologist.

'How is it possible that the chairman of the Health Authority and a handful of doctors could set in motion an enquiry costing an estimated £250,000 at a time when the impoverished district of Tower Hamlets is cutting beds and services?'

To whom are they accountable, she asks.

These are questions which are asked daily in the NHS as staff — both medical and administrative — question policies and decisions that undermine the service and threaten patients' wellbeing and health.

It is no accident that the public debate over the control and provision of medical care in childbirth resulted in the 'Savage Enquiry.'

Hungarian Tragedy. By Peter Fryer. New Park Publications, £2.95.

The State Security Authority (AVH), the secret police, was in their hands from the first day it was established.

In this way, the rule of a tiny handful of Stalinists was imposed bureaucratically on 9,500,000 Hungarians.

Land reform broke up the great estates and redistributed the land. The great bulk of industry came into public ownership.

These measures undoubtedly had the support of the workers and peasants, but there was no workers' control.

Stifled

Until 1949 the standard of living rose, then it began to fall.

The bureaucracy strengthened its grip and free discussion and criticism was stifled.

Dissenters soon received the attention of the AVH.

The trial and execution of Laszlo Rajk, Minister of the Interior, and three others, established the reign of bureaucratic terror.

Every field of life became straightjacketed by the bureaucracy, imposing Russian 'Soviet' methods on Hungary.

The AVH became the oppressors of the whole people, with jails and torture chambers.

Ultimately, of course, it concerns the political issue of the provision of the entire facilities for health care — and the issues of health and disease in future generations.

There is no doubt that Mrs Savage's contribution on these issues will be long remembered.

Her account of her ordeal is a model of lucidity which explains all the complicated decisions that face obstetricians, and all medical staff, seeking to provide the best possible care within the constraints of lack of funds, staff and inevitable overwork, leading to mistakes and casualties.

It also details the political wheeling-dealing by the managers of the Tower Hamlets Health Authority in conjunction with Mrs Savage's fellow obstetricians in selecting five unrepresentative childbirth cases as a basis for ill-founded charges of incompetence.

Mrs Savage's peers have acknowledged that she is far from incompetent.

While still suspended from her job, she was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Obstetricians, one of the highest accolades the profession has to offer.

The issue that remains to be settled, of course, relates to the competence or otherwise of the members of her profession who brought the original charges against her, and of the administrators who used scarce NHS funds to back them.

Sarah Hannigan



After Stalin's death in 1953, Rakosi, the veteran Stalinist leader, was retired into the background and Imre Nagy took over the premiership, making concessions to the people by way of production of consumer goods and especially food.

But in April 1955, Nagy was ousted and later expelled from the party.

Rakosi came back with a bang, denouncing and reversing the policies.

In February 1956 Khrushchev's secret speech denounced Stalin's crimes.

Opposition to Rakosi built up; in March Rajk was 'rehabilitated'.

Ferment among the intellectuals led to the all-night meeting of the Petofti circle attended by 6,000.

Rakosi was replaced by Gero in July, but the party was discredited and its leaders hated.

When Rajk was reburied in September with full honours, the ceremony was attended by 200,000.

On October 23, the AVH opened fire on students demonstrating in Budapest outside the radio station to insist their demands were broadcast.

News of the shootings swept the city and soon people were armed and engaged in running street battles with the AVH.

Arms came from the Hungarian Peoples Army.

Some handed their weapons over to workers and students while others joined in the fighting.

The popular demands crystallised into two points: the abolition of the AVH, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The fighting was primarily against the secret police and the people took their bloody revenge on them.

The intervention of Soviet troops in the fighting spread the movement nationwide.

In Magyarovar, Peter Fryer arrived the day after 80 demonstrators had been shot dead by the AVH.

He tells how in Magyarovar and throughout the country, elected revolutionary committees sprang up and

ran the towns, distributed food and supplies and organised militias.

Here, the real working class, the youth, the intellectuals, long suppressed by the AVH, emerged to play their role.

5,500 political prisoners were freed.

Fryer shows that the revolutionaries wanted no return to capitalist private ownership and that they were capable of dealing with any elements of counter-revolutionary restorationists.

Nagy became prime minister again following the uprising and sought negotiations for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces.

It was during negotiations

on November 3 that he and Colonel Pal Maleter, Minister of War, were seized and taken prisoner, later executed.

Within hours Russian tanks and troops attacked Budapest, whose citizens fought desperately against the onslaught.

The youth fought tanks with petrol bombs.

Much of Budapest was devastated especially the workers' districts.

Even after the fighting was over on November 10, a general strike continued the defiance.

Peter Fryer returned vowing to tell the truth about the uprising.

The *Daily Worker* had refused to print his dispatches

and he now saw the Communist Party for what it really was.

The leaders were afraid of the truth and he was suspended on the pretext that he had published his story elsewhere, and later expelled.

In his book Fryer reaffirms his belief in the need for a working class party based on Marxist principles, and that a regenerated world communist movement is the key problem of our epoch.

His account is a powerful indictment of Stalinism, a verification of its counter-revolutionary nature, and a confirmation that the working class can and will break from the stranglehold of bureaucratic domination.

Keith Scotcher



SEAMEN'S MEETING DEMANDS:

NORTH SEA UNITY TO SAVE JOBS



A STORMY reception met speakers at a National Union of Seamen (NUS)-sponsored meeting in Aberdeen on Monday.

Over 100 workers from the supply boat, oil exploration and offshore construction sectors attended the meeting, planned locally as part of the union's national campaign to save jobs in the oil and gas industry.

It was the first shot in Aberdeen NUS branch's long-stated policy to confront the viciously anti-union oil field employers and fully unionise the North Sea.

The invited platform speakers were Frank Doren, prospective Labour MP for Aberdeen South, Ernie Ross, Labour MP for Dundee West, and Harry McLevy, Scottish regional officer of the AEU, also representing the STUC.

Despite sympathetic words for the thousands of offshore workers already sacked, the message from the speakers was clear: Campaign for a Labour victory at the next election and

BY NEIL ROTHNIE
then they can begin the slow job of saving the industry.

The response from the floor was immediate and angry: There would be little left to defend by that time!

Ernie Ross and Harry McLevy were left in no doubt what was required of their organisations — a high-profile campaign to support the union's fight and a pledge by Labour to defend workers victimised for re-joining the unions.

Both speakers pledged their individual support while pointing out the difficulties.

Surprisingly little enthusiasm was shown from the floor of the meeting for the NUS' 'protectionist and nationalistic' approach to the question of defending jobs.

The mood was for unity to be forged between all unions involved in the North Sea.

The recent role of the Inter Union Offshore Oil Committee was scathingly attacked. Aberdeen NUS branch secretary Harry Bygate compared its ineffectiveness today with the promise it showed in the pre-1979 period.

● Last Monday's meeting reflected the mood of a special NUS branch meeting in

Aberdeen the previous Saturday where discussion centred on the latest attempts by supply boat owners to wind up the supply boat committee.

This was a central issue behind the recent successful two-day supply boat strike.

A strategy to resist the employers was agreed. Significantly, Aberdeen branch officials were instructed to open discussions with the other European seafarers' unions with a view to reaching a joint agreement to defend jobs throughout the North Sea.

● See Dundee postal story — page 2

Another step forward for the Durham miners

Tories racist conspiracy

● From page 1

them from workers and many middle class people too.

The Tories know this. Behind their arrogance, they are worried. It is not just a general election they stand to lose.

Much as Neil Kinnock and the union leaders may have made the Labour Party 'safe' enough for capitalism, the working class has accounts to settle with Thatcher and her class.

The prospect of a Labour government raises workers' confidence and expectations — which Kinnock and co. warn frankly they cannot satisfy.

The big question then is where do people turn? Particularly, the youth — many of whom in Britain today have never been in a union because they've never had a job.

The Tories will try to play the racist card to divide workers and divert middle class frustration and anger against minorities and organised labour.

The experience not only of pre-war Germany but of recent years in France shows that Big Business and elements within the state machine themselves will not be averse to behind-the-scenes funding and assisting neo-Nazi groups.

Anyone who thinks the British ruling class is essentially different should look up some of the admiring things they had to say about Hitler in the 1930s.

For the time being, of course, Toryism is working through more respectable channels.

With the hysteria about Asians at the airport goes a co-ordinated campaign purporting to defend the 'rights of the individual' and 'free speech' (for the likes of Enoch Powell) against 'Red mobs', 'student rioters' and 'the anti-racist lobby'.

The tone was set in the way former Bradford headmaster Ray Honeyford was built up as some kind of 'hero' — and invited to Downing Street by Thatcher. The Tory press followed its cue.

The Tory campaign will try everything. We need not remind readers which regime began by burning books and, before moving on to burning people, launched round-ups of Jews, communists, trade unionists, and homosexuals.

We are not being alarmist, or trying to sensationalise unduly. We are simply pointing out what is going on, and urging people not to be afraid to see the connections.

The Tories know there is a war on. So must we. The time to organise and fight is now.

NORTH EAST super pit Wearmouth Colliery in Sunderland was the fourth target in the Durham Mechanics series of one-day strikes earlier this week.

This latest action by the Durham Mechanics cost British Coal an estimated £250,000 in lost production and is hailed by miners in the area as another step forward in their fight.

Wearmouth has the biggest concentration of UDM members in the North East coalfield. Out of the 2,300 workforce, 400 are members of the UDM.

When the deputies and overmen arrived at the pit they were met not only by the pickets but by their own trade union officials (NACODS) who were there to encourage their members to

BY HUGHIE NICHOL

cross the Mechanics' picket line and go into work.

The vast majority of NUM members gave total support to the Mechanics in their struggle against the closure of Seaham Colliery, to have all sacked miners reinstated and to recover the £8 a week

pay rise stolen from them by British Coal.

The works buses arrived either totally empty or carrying two or three members of the UDM. The picket was broken by only a handful of NUM members.

When the bus drivers refused to cross the picket lines the scabs were placed in the humiliating position of having to leave the bus and

walk through the picket lines.

NUM lodge secretary Alan Mardghum said there had been a small number of NUM men who went in, but over the four shifts it was only a handful. The union would now have to consider possible disciplinary action against the men who ignored the picket lines established by the Durham Mechanics.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

PUBLIC LECTURES

All on FRIDAY evenings
7.30pm sharp

Duke of York, York Way
Near Kings Cross

October 24

Geoff Pilling: Marxist Political Economy

October 31

Bob Archer: Revolution and the State

November 7

Bob Archer: the Soviet State

HATFIELD MAIN NUM Solidarity with South African NUM

MARCH

to the South African coal import wharves,

Saturday November 8

Assemble 11.30am, Guinness Corner
Guinness, near Scunthorpe

Social Evening

7.30pm Stainforth Miners Welfare

(Coaches from Trafalgar Square non-stop picket
leave 7.00am. Return fare £5)

For details ring City AA 01-837 6050

CONFERENCE FOR TRADE UNION SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Saturday December 13, 11am - 6pm

Carrs Lane Church Centre
(off High Street, near Birmingham
Central Station)

Called by: Lambeth Joint Trade Union Committee,
City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

For further details ring Bronwen Handyside,
01-274 7722 X2010 (Office hours)