

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Manchester Town Hall  
25 July, 12 noon

This SUPPORT conference has been called by sacked workers and supporters in an attempt to build solidarity and a fighting body to win our demands.

Called by Ancoats Casualty sit-in, Ardbride supporters, Senior Coleman strike committee, Gateshead workers' support group, Ardbride sacked workers, and Trader sacked workers.  
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# BREAK WITH THE TORIES!

## End collaboration! TUC leaders must quit MSC!

**THE labour and trade union movement must end all collaboration with the Tory government and its anti-union laws, and walk out of state bodies like the MSC.**

The Tories' decision to end dole payments for school-leavers who refuse to go on the Youth Training Scheme underlines the urgency of this demand.

Payments are to be denied to school-leavers who refuse to join the Youth Training Scheme: about 100,000 teenagers will be immediately affected.

The measure, announced in the Queen's Speech, brings forcible conscription to the state-sponsored schemes one step nearer.

Now trade unionists must demand that the TUC breaks off all support for the schemes.

Trade union organisers sitting on the Manpower Services Commission boards must get off them.

Every union must drive to organise those on the schemes — as well as those in low-paid and part-time working, and the unemployed — into union membership.

The TUC General Council last week voted to remove support from the Job Training Scheme (JTS). This is too little, and too late.

'JTS is a bad scheme which in many cases only offered token training,' said TUC general secretary Norman Willis.

But other schemes which the TUC still goes along with are just as bad — and are increasingly being shoved down jobless workers' throats with the threat of benefits being stopped.

A Labour government initiated 'Job Creation' in 1976 with a mere 17,000 schemes: trade union leaders derided the Workers Revolutionary Party and others who warned of cheap labour on a mass scale.

Today hundreds of thousands of schemes are in operation, which alongside temporary contracts, part-

### BY THE EDITOR

time working, and the proliferation of small businesses are making cheap labour the norm.

The labour leaders have always accepted the schemes in principle. But this principle must be rejected by the working class, otherwise unity of the employed and the unemployed will never be achieved.

(Ironically, Employment Secretary Fowler is talking about replacing the £18.75 dole payment for school-leavers with a Job Search Allowance which is stopped after six months. He got the idea from the Australian Labor government, Kinnock and Co.'s antipodean cousins!)

The assault on jobless teenagers is only one of 17 pieces of anti-working class legislation which Thatcher hopes to ram through parliament. Others include:

- **The 'inner cities':** Thatcher's drive to 'bring new opportunities' to impoverished ghettos will mean wild profiteering by building-trade and other capitalists, while the council services which alleviate some of the worst working-class hardship will be further eroded.

Thatcher herself and Lord Young will head a team of ministers in the 'enterprise drive'.

- **The Unions:** New legislation will give rights to union members to sue their union if a strike is called without secret ballot. Further attacks on the closed shop include making dismissal for non-union membership unfair.

All union leaders will have to stand for periodic re-election and scabs who cross picket lines will escape discipline by their union, even though a majority have decided for strike action.

- **Poll Tax:** Rates are to be abolished and replaced with a poll tax. Every person over 18 will pay the same sum, whatever their income.

This means for example residents living in Hackney who at present pay £583 per household, would have to pay a staggering £648 per adult. Thatcher would save £2,000 on rates for her luxury Dulwich home.

- **Privatisation of Water Authorities:** London, Thames, Southern and Anglian water authorities. This means thousands of homes having water meters installed resulting in huge increases in water rates.

- **Immigration:** Further

crackdown on immigrants. The courts will be used to persecute so-called 'overstayers' before deporting them. Only one spouse will be able to join those already granted permission to stay. The right of appeal for those without an entry clearance who are claiming citizenship will be scrapped.

- **Abolition of Free Schooling:** Parents will in future be forced to pay for field trips, music tuition, materials for craft and cookery.

This is a fundamental breach of the 1944 Education Act which made these activities free for all children. Part of the Thatcher drive to privatise schools,

this will make education available only to those who can pay and will herd the poorest children into slum schools where no proper education will take place.

We repeat what we said in last week's Workers Press: the working class cannot wait for another election to fight Thatcher. There must be trade union action to unite employed and unemployed, to fight the cuts, and against the 'fifth column' of trade union leaders who champion no-strike deals and acquiescence with anti-union laws.

Let us add: if the labour movement is going to fight Thatcher, it must end all collaboration with the MSC and other state bodies.

Otherwise opposition to the Tories is empty words.

**JACK GRASSBY**, North East Regional TUC representative on the Area Manpower Board, said last week:

'The only conclusion to be reached is that supplementary benefit will be refused to all young people up to 18 and then subsequently up to 25.

'The only way of obtaining any payment would be to undertake a so-called training scheme which effectively means working for sub-trade union rates and conditions.

'This, for many trades unionists, could be the last straw and it is doubtful now if the TUC could retain its credibility and continue to participate in the MSC scheme.'

## KOREA — See page 16





**Workers  
Press**

## Reject this 'democracy'

IN SO far as election results can reflect the real relationships in society, the outcome of the 1987 General Election can only be summed up in the phrase 'class confrontation'.

Thatcher leads a Tory government hell-bent on renewing its assault on workers' living standards and rights. The Labour Party, with one third of the votes, got the support of the mass of workers and their families, who were determined to beat back this offensive. The 'middle ground' was devastated.

Kinnock and the right-wing now step up the very campaign to emasculate the Party which led to its defeat. One expression of their response to the re-election of Thatcher is to call for 'reform' of the party constitution, so that candidates would be selected on the basis of 'one member, one vote'.

The main result would be to diminish the central importance of the organised trades unions in the Party. Kinnock wants to break the power of the general management committees. They are composed of the most active party members in each constituency.

He wants to replace the present selection system by one of postal balloting in which individual party members and union members paying the political levy would take part in postal ballots. This is designed to undermine the influence of the most conscious party members and trade unionists.

Kinnock merely takes the same road as Thatcher who has long been a zealous supporter of postal ballots in the unions — on the same pretext as Kinnock: that democracy would be widened.

**Kinnock aims to establish a dictatorship of the right-wing, ruling the Party by plebiscite.**

It is interesting to recall that when, in the 1950s, the Labour Party was dominated by the trade-union 'block vote', in those days solidly controlled by the right-wing, many left-wingers wanted to get rid of this influence. But the Trotskyist movement correctly fought against this tendency.

One union, NUPE, has already declared its opposition to the proposal. The Executive of the Transport and General Workers Union decided not to oppose, but only on the casting vote of its chairman. The General Municipal Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union (GMBATU), however, are backing Kinnock.

The Stalinist 'Morning Star' last Tuesday managed to state its disagreement with its hero Kinnock, but in terms which hide the real issue.

The proposal 'would be a tragedy', moans the 'Star', because 'it would plunge the Labour Party into an inner-Party conflict'. It looks forward to 'left advance in the unions and elsewhere, as happened in the early seventies.'

So the Stalinists look forward to a re-run of a scenario from the days of the boom. The reality is quite different.

The re-election of Thatcher opens up a period of economic upheaval and unprecedented class battles. The Labour Party leadership is quite rightly terrified of what is to come.

All Kinnock's attacks on those who oppose him — however mistaken their tactics may be — are concerned with protecting the leadership from the movement of the class on which it rests. The 'Star' disagrees only with his method of achieving this aim.

Trade unionists and individual Labour Party members alike must throw out the Kinnock proposals — the latest attempt to transform the Labour Party into a social democratic party on continental lines.

# UDM bid for South Wales membership

**THE BREAKAWAY Union of Democratic Mineworkers has taken advantage of the retreat in sections of the NUM leadership over six-day working to bolster its flagging influence among mineworkers.**

UDM leaders have offered an open door to a possible 780 miners at British Coal's proposed £90 million pit at Margam in South Wales.

These 'new jobs' will almost certainly be taken by miners moved on after the closure of other pits in the area but British Coal are using the jobs offer to drive a wedge into the NUM.

Acceptance of six-day working, which is in opposition to NUM national policy, has been made a condition for the opening of the 'super pit'.

At the scab union's Weymouth conference last week founder member David Prendergast said: 'Arthur Scargill may say that Margam can go by the board, but the UDM will not.'

'We want to see that pit sunk at Margam, and will approach the South Wales

pitmen to offer them membership if Scargill rejects them.'

UDM President Roy Lynk told the conference that although the present five-day week would not be cast aside lightly a 'great deal of hot air' had been talked about its benefits.

Des Duffield of the South Wales executive welcomed the UDM's statements saying: 'Lynk seems to be saying a lot of things that the South Wales miners have been arguing for a long time. If it helps us to bring jobs to South Wales I hope you (the press) plaster what the UDM are saying all about.'

In opposition to the National Executive and official NUM policy — to fight for a four-day week — the South Wales Executive are in favour of negotiating the 'concept' of six-day working with British Coal.

The issue is due to be

fought out in the NUM at next month's Rothesay conference.

The UDM hope to cash in on the confusion created by the South Wales executive.

The UDM launched its own political fund at the conference from £26,000 of what were previously frozen assets of the Nottingham NUM.

Lynk said the UDM would not be tied to any political party. The meaning of that became clear when the conference gave the new Tory energy secretary, Cecil Parkinson, his first parliament since his fall from grace two years ago.

Parkinson said the UDM was the true voice of the modern mineworkers, but when applauding miners for moving towards 'modern' working practices, quoted Stalinist Mick McGahey as an example of accepting change.

British Coal gave a swift reply to the UDM plea for talks: a spokesman addressing the conference said that if they could not get the six-day working agreement with the NUM then they would be prepared to negotiate with other unions who would agree it.

## Union leaders come a cropper — again

COMMENT BY  
PAUL CASH

ONCE AGAIN last week we were treated to the all-too-familiar spectacle of trade union leaders making fools of themselves.

This time it was the leaders of the two Civil Service unions, the Civil and Public Services Association and the Civil Service Union.

They went to the Treasury 'to explore the possibilities' with the newly elected government. They came away with nothing.

It hardly needed a genius to predict that a union-hating Tory government fresh from an unexpectedly large election victory was not going to be exactly over-generous.

In fact, the only reason the Treasury didn't kick them out immediately was that the bureaucrats had been so quick off the mark to demonstrate their loyalty and willingness to 'negotiate' that the Tories, for all their arrogance, were taken by surprise.

Why union leaders continue to do this is beyond belief. Perhaps it is just plain masochism.

However, one union leader has stated that they do it 'because that is what members expect'.

Which members he has in mind isn't clear. What is clear, however, is that if you try and defend such antics, you just get laughed at.

What is really wrong with this sort of behaviour is that it makes the Tories appear much stronger than they actually are.

Thatcher may have won an election, but she faces a deepening world economic slump that will wipe out still more British industry. She is in a very weak position.

## Blood tests may prevent deportation

**TWO brothers in Glasgow, Mohammed Faryas, 10, and Mohammed Ilyas, 11, may be saved from deportation to Pakistan.**

The Home Office has previously said they were not the sons of Mrs Sakina Bibi, 28, and did not have entry clearance.

The boys were living with their grandparents in Pakistan until a year ago when their grandfather died and their grandmother became too infirm to care for them.

They came to Scotland to be with their parents and four sisters. Their father died earlier this year.

Special genetic blood tests, commissioned by the Scottish Television news programme 'Scotland Today', have proved Mrs Bibi is their mother.

Newcastle university's department of genetics, recognised by the Home Office as a test centre, sent two nurses to take blood samples from Mrs Bibi and her children.

One test examined distinc-

tion genes. Another, much more detailed, showed the X chromosomes of the boys matched those of their mother.

'I knew all along the children were mine. The worry I had was that if they were sent back to Pakistan there would be nobody to look after them.'

The boys' future depends on a meeting with the Home Office. An official has said:

'If Mr Waddington is convinced Mrs Bibi is the boys' mother then it will simply be a case of sending the boys back to Pakistan for proper clearance before returning to Britain. At least, this is what usually happens in cases of this nature.'

## Support Senior Colman Strikers

### Demonstration and Rally

4 July, Manchester

March Assembles 11 a.m. in the G-Mex Car Park

Rally: 12 o'clock

The Mandela Building, Manchester Students Union  
Oxford Road

Speakers: Tony Benn, MP; Terry Fields, MP; Mike Hicks, SOGAT; John Tocher, AEU official.

## Right-wing 'freedom' group uncovers supporters

THE motley crowd of right-wing 'libertarian' cranks who spent £210,000 on anti-Labour advertisements during the general election have at last 'come up out of the bunker' — their own way of putting it — and told the world who they are, and who some of their friends are.

One of those friends, according to David Hart, chairman of the 'Committee for a Free Britain', is none other than John Lloyd, editor of the 'New Statesman'.

'He is slowly moving in our direction', Hart claimed this week, adding: 'So is the Fabian Society.'

### Ministers

Flanked by a bunch of his supporters, Hart was launching a glossy brochure entitled 'Setting the Individual Free', which demands the privatisation of state schools, the replacement of the National Health Service with a new national insurance scheme, and a flat-rate income tax.

Hart's cronies turn out to include both the notorious racist ex-headmaster, Ray Honeyford, and Professor Roger Scruton, editor of the 'Salisbury Review' that has given prominence to Honeyford's views and to call for the repatriation of black people.

The committee includes Brian Walden, the former television presenter and former Labour MP; Christopher Monckton, former member of Thatcher's Downing Street policy unit; Baroness Cox, campaigner against comprehensive education and former government whip; and Lord Harris, director of the right-wing Institute of Economic Affairs.

### Brochure

Supporters include two former Labour ministers, Lords Marsh and Chalfont.

Hart himself is a farmer and property developer who acted as linkman between Thatcher and the National Coal Board during the miners' strike and helped to set up the organisation which turned into the Union of Democratic Mineworkers.

## Oops!

YUPPIES wind-surfing on the Royal Docks would have had to smile at David Steel's cynical reply to Tory plans for the inner cities.

Steel said: 'We don't want to see cities which have injected into them yuppie areas which are designed to tilt the political balance.'

Docklands, in London's East End, has become the centre of Europe's biggest property speculation site.

Industry has been driven out, unemployment spirals upward and a battle is raging between locals and the Liberal council who are working hand-in-glove with developers to drive out the working class — thereby making the area safe for incoming yuppies and profiteers.

**TEACHERS**

**Reject police vetting**

**ALL TEACHERS must demand that their union leaders reject Tory controlled Surrey County Council's sinister police vetting procedures for job applicants.**

All those applying for jobs will now have to disclose in writing 'any criminal convictions, bind-over orders or cautions' as well as 'spent convictions.'

This move comes immediately after the Tory government's withdrawal of collective bargaining rights from 250,000 teachers.

Teachers and ancillary workers will have to give permission for police to run a check on them and if they refuse they will not be considered for employment.

A document marked 'In confidence,' asks for information on any record and warns that 'convictions which are 'spent' under the terms of the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 will be disclosed in deciding whether to offer you an appointment. In the circumstances, you should list any 'spent' convictions.'

Surrey councillor Peter Brewer said that the new measures are being introduced in order to eliminate child abuse by staff and had been drawn up in response to a Department of Education and Science circular.

Urging other authorities to follow suit he said 'we just can't be too careful, and must take all precautions possible to prevent children in our care from being molested.'

The vetting covers teachers, voluntary helpers, ground staff, caretakers and all other ancillary workers.

Parents, teachers and National Union of Teachers members described the vetting as 'an infringement of civil liberties.'

Doug McAvoy, NUT deputy general secretary, is suspicious of the motives behind the new checks. He fears that teachers may be discriminated against for their political beliefs. But all he proposes to do is to take legal advice on behalf of his members.

'Teachers will already have gone through a system that should have identified whether they have a criminal record or are suitable for employment' McAvoy said.

A DES blacklist is already in operation preventing the employment of teachers for criminal offences or professional misconduct. There is also a statutory requirement for all teachers to declare convictions when applying for jobs.

This new attack follows the Tory government's withdrawal of collective bargaining rights for 250,000 teachers.

**Docks ballot**

**PLANS to close a container depot in Greenock in the west of Scotland have been countered by a national strike ballot call.**

Sixty-six jobs are under threat in a plan outlined by the Clyde Port Authority which will drive a horse and cart through the National Dock Labour Scheme giving statutory protection to registered employees.

Delegates to a national ports conference of the transport union, have voted overwhelmingly for a ballot of 1,500 workers

**Reid moves to 'Sun'**

BY HILARY HORROCKS

the UCS saw his true colours for the first time as they read these vitriolic attacks.

According to the 'Herald' interview, Reid also checked with Kinnock before leaving the 'Record' to write for union-busting Rupert Murdoch on the 'Sun', which is currently trying to break into the 'Record's' readership with a Scottish edition.

Reid's first piece for Murdoch came the week before the general election. It was given maximum local publicity, so helping to boost the circulation of a

virulently pro-Tory publication which used every dirty trick in the book to try to discredit Labour's campaign.

The former shipyard leader — abetted by his 'Herald' interviewer, Murray Ritchie — presents his pro-Murdoch move as 'rugged individualism'. The 'Sun', he claims, gave him carte blanche to write what he wants, instead of the censorship to which he says he was subject at the 'Record'.

A letter from one of Reid's erstwhile comrades in a subsequent edition of the 'Herald' blows the whistle on this deception. 'I must say that doing

someone else's dirty work does not seem to me to signify a fine, independent spirit,' writes correspondent Ted Ramsay, who continues:

'One form of courage is to be able to admit one's mistakes. Recently, when glancing through a published collection of Jimmy's articles, I was amused to note that he had left out those articles in which he supported the Falklands war. He did, however, include articles which gave the impression that he had been a fierce opponent of the war.'

We can only conclude that Reid has found his true home.

**Support for occupation**

**ANCOATS occupation has won support from the Manchester North Community Health Council, who have recommended that 'a full adult casualty unit be reinstated at Ancoats Hospital'.**

They also called on the council to 'reiterate its existing policy that the Casualty Department at Ancoats Hospital continues to provide a full adult service until the purpose-built unit is opened at North Manchester General Hospital (early 1990s)'

The CHC report surveyed 2,000 households. 25 per cent had needed casualty treatment but also highlighted difficulties in transport.

Ancoats occupation have regular meetings every Sunday at 2p.m. Everyone is welcome who wants to support them. They want help with the occupation and are asking for contributions to the area health consultative document.

The Ancoats occupation is joining the Senior Colman demonstration and rally on 4 July.

Workers Press interviewed the younger members of the sit-in at Ancoats. They have been amongst the strongest supporters since it began on 1 February.

Julie Gleave, aged 17; James Mason, 13; Raymond McGrath, 18; and Tricia Mason, 15.

While we were talking a person suffering from a possible stroke was brought into the Casualty Unit. Her friends had to drive her to the Crumpsall Unit, three and a half miles away before being treated.

**WORKERS PRESS:** How often do you take part in the sit-in and why?

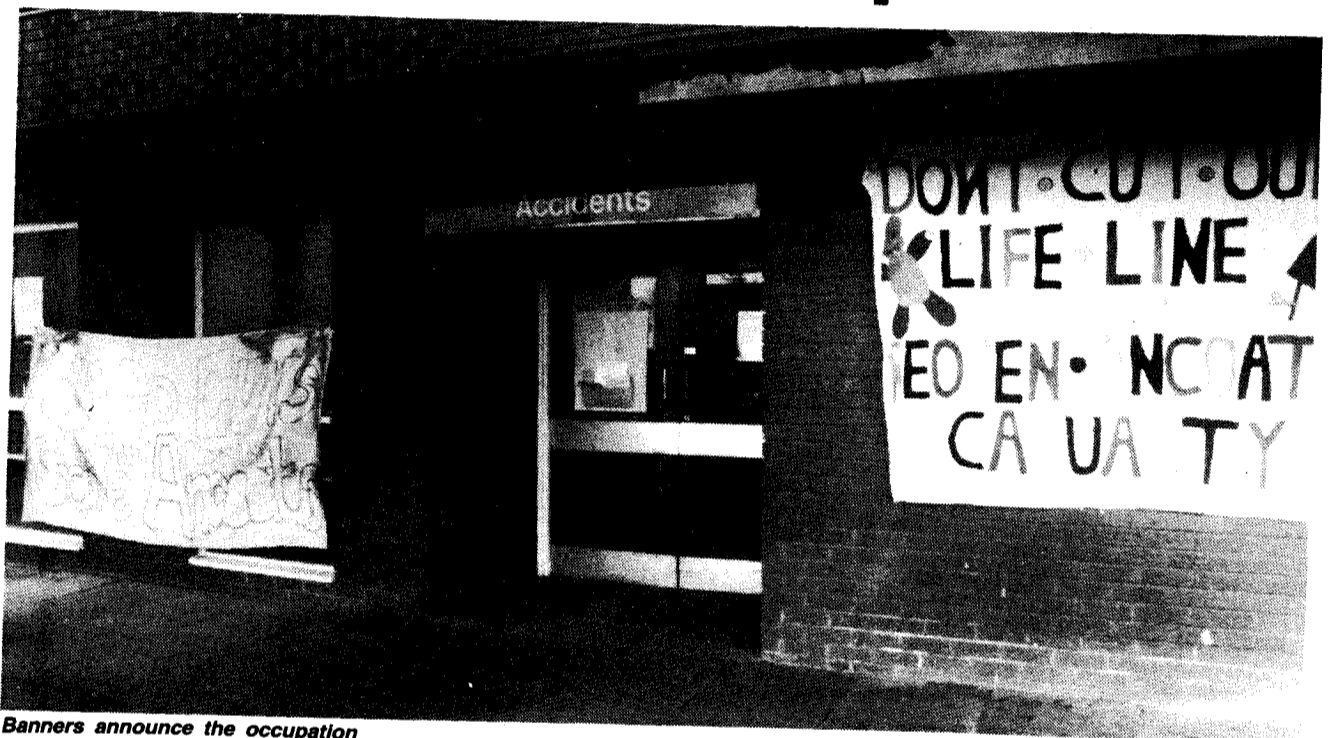
**JULIE GLEAVE:** I am here every weekend, most of the day. I work during the week but I go to the sit-in every night after work.

I want the Casualty Unit re-opened. The hospital saved my brother's life 5 years ago. He got run over near the hospital and they treated him before sending him to Booth Hall. Since there are always kids playing in the street these accidents can and do easily happen.

A few months before February my friend and I burnt our faces. Ancoats was the nearest place, if it wasn't here our faces would have blistered.

My parents are unemployed. They do not have the money for a taxi to Crumpsall or the Manchester Royal Infirmary.

I work in a factory just



Banners announce the occupation



From left to right: Terry, Ray, Julie and Patricia

around the corner from the hospital. If I had an accident in work there would be no easy access to any treatment.

I think if Labour won the general election our hospital would have a better chance of opening because the Tories want to privatise hospitals.

We will not be moved!

**TRICIA MASON:** I go to the sit-in every day. I was the last one to use the Casualty before we started because of a bad knee.

I used to be here a lot because I am always getting cuts and burns. Two boys have been killed since the closure, both within one mile of the Casualty, they would have stood a better chance of living. With the school holidays coming and the local canal that we use for swimming, the Casualty unit would be even more in demand.

Since I have been here I have learnt a lot: how the hospital management treat people, about how the Tories

privatise everything. When I leave school I'll probably work for £10 a week.

I have learnt about struggle. My life will never be the same. I have been on telly, in the paper and been down to London. We have a document coming out soon arguing for a fully-equipped Casualty. I hope it opens as soon as possible.

**RAYMOND McGRATH:** I have been here from 1 February, every day and

night of the week. I suffer from epileptic fits and the Casualty is the first place I would be taken to.

If Labour got in I don't think they would have re-opened it just like that, it would have taken time and we would have continued the sit-in.

**TRICIA MASON:** I come straight from school and stay till late. I am here because I want the hospital re-opened.



# Cuddles banned for Irish prisoners' families

BY PHIL PENN

**WIVES and children have become the latest target of the Home Office in its search for new ways of persecuting Irish prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs.**

No longer will they be able to greet their loved ones with a kiss. Prison officers have been told to stop any child who tries to embrace her father during a visit.

There are six Irish political prisoners in D wing of Wormwood Scrubs at the moment: two IRA prisoners of war, Vince Donnelly and Donel Craig; and four framed men, Billy Power and Richard MacIlkenny of the Birmingham Six, Paul Hill of the Guildford Four, and Patrick McLoughlin, framed for conspiracy to cause an explosion outside Chelsea Barracks in 1985, who is serving life.

In May they were brought before the prison governor and told that the Home Office had ordered new visiting arrangements for 'high risk' prisoners.

From Monday 22 June they will have to wear 'sterile' clothing on all visits. This means giving the gov-

ernor 24 hours' notice of visits and at the same time giving a set of clothing to a screw. The clothing will be taken to the visiting area and searched.

Just before the visit they will have to change into the 'sterile' clothing — and change back again when the visit has finished.

Because of the limited facilities, it is probable that this arrangement will mean the adoption, for the first time, of a waiting-list for visits.

The prisoners have objected, saying that all visitors for Category A prisoners are vetted by the police, a process so thorough that it takes six months.

If they are found not to be of 'good character' they are simply not passed. Visitors are also subject to clearance by the local security at each visit.

Most prisoners receive open visits in an area resembling a cafeteria, with four or five screws supervising sometimes 40 or 50 people.

But Category A prisoners get 'supervised visits'. They sit in a small room with a screw only a few feet away to make it impossible to smuggle anything in or out.

What is more, there has always been strip-searching at the Scrubs, so why is there suddenly the need for 'sterile' clothing? And why only for these prisoners?

I asked the Home Office. Although they let slip that special visiting procedures were coming into operation, they refused to comment further.

The two 'Birmingham Six' prisoners are likely to be in the glare of publicity because of their case going to



Patrick McLoughlin's wife Kathleen (left), his sister Valerie and two of his daughters, Celra and Marina

appeal soon, and have since been taken off the list for the new proposals.

In June the four remaining Irish prisoners were sent for again. More orders from the Home Office had arrived, restricting their visits even further.

A visiting room has been arranged for them away from the main area. They will no longer have access to its canteen facilities and in future each visit will be supervised by two screws.

But, far worse, they were told that no bodily contact will be allowed between the

prisoner and his visitors.

To enforce this, an extra-long table has been installed. It is divided in the middle by a board underneath and a glass panel above.

This is very similar to the visits allowed to prisoners who are on 'punishment'.

No longer will they be able to embrace or even kiss their loved ones. The children, for whom things are already bad enough, will no longer be able to give their dad a cuddle.

I asked Patrick McLoughlin's wife Kathleen how these

new proposals would affect his family.

'Patrick is serving a life sentence for something he did not do,' she said. 'This is bad enough, but to make matters worse he is imprisoned far away from his family. It is a great strain for everyone involved: physical, mentally, and financially.'

'I come from Derry, and for health reasons I cannot travel by boat so I have the added expense involved in flying. I then have to find accommodation. I get an allowance for one night's bed

and breakfast but have to pay for the other nights myself.

'It drains the little money that I get, and because of this it takes a long time to get back on my feet after a visit.'

The strain is already bad enough, but if these new proposals go through, think of the effect it will have on Patrick and the children. He misses them terribly, and they won't understand.

'It will be too much for them if they are not allowed to sit on their daddy's knee and can only talk to him from the other side of the room.'

Three of the prisoners have served more than 12 years, and none of them has been involved in smuggling anything. This treatment is apparently their reward for good behaviour.

Why is it that after so many years their security rating is being upgraded while others — such as murderers and rapists — are decategorised after about a year?

A couple of weeks ago one of the Irish prisoners was mistakenly allowed a visit in the main hall.

One of the screws noticed and they were ordered to continue their visit in the usual office under close supervision.

As he got up to go, the prisoner saw that there were a few Category A prisoners having visits there, and right in the middle of the crowd was a man who was convicted last year of murdering his step-parents, his sister and his sister's children, all for a few pounds.

According to the Home Office, all Category A's are 'high risk', and yet these four have been singled out.

The dilemma for these prisoners is that if they accept visits under these conditions the persecution will not stop there. But refusal means no visits at all while the battle for justice goes on.

## Durham march a big success

**NEARLY 2,000 people from a wide range of women's groups, trade union and labour movement groups, Irish, black and civil rights groups marched in Durham in the north-east on Saturday 13 June to demand an end to strip searching.**

The route passed Durham prison where Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson are held in the notorious H Wing. Between them they have suffered over 900 strip searches.

The event was organised by Newcastle Women and Ireland Group, Leicester Women Against Strip Searching and Stop the Strip Searches Campaign in London.

Over 30 other groups supported the march. As well as women's and Irish groups, banners included Liverpool, Newcastle and Tyneside trades councils, Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Power, Fight Racism Fight Imperialism, the Socialist Workers Party, the Indian Workers Association and the Iranian Women's Association.

Led by women's groups, the march was accompanied by drums and music from two bands of the Scottish Republican Band Alliance and created a lot of interest

among Durham shoppers.

The two demands of the demonstration were: 'Stop strip searching in Maghaberry and Durham' and 'End imperialist violence against women'.

The second demand highlighted the fact that not only is strip searching used in a racist and discriminatory way against Irish women republican prisoners both in Ireland and in England, but that the state, in the guise of immigration officials, police and prison authorities, singles out black and Asian women and political activists for the sexist and degrading practices of strip and internal searches.

The march stopped outside the prison to chant messages of support to the women inside, demanding the H Wing be closed and Irish prisoners of war transferred to prisons in Ireland.

Speakers at the rally were from the Iranian Women's association, the Chilean Women's Organisation and the Broadwater Farm Youth Association. Chilling parallels were drawn between police and court tactics against Irish nationalists and the black community in London.

Isobel Anderson, Martina's sister, gave a history of strip searching, introduced at the same time as the supergrass tactic. Martina and Ella had also sent a letter to the rally.

Many other messages of support were read to the march.



Women's groups led the march against strip-searching

**THE Durham strip-search march drew support from women's organisations around the country, Irish solidarity organisations, political parties and trade unionists.**

The solidarity shown on both issues — Irish prisoners in Britain and the strip searching of women — by trades councils and trade unionists brought a strength to the march not seen very often.

You would expect the organisers to be delighted, but instead one section of them, at least, were openly hostile and antagonistic to the men who had come from all over the country to support the march and to the women from the same organisations. All the men came in order to support the women who had organised the march.

While in some situations it is neces-

### COMMENT BY LYN BEATON

sary for women to fight for the right to organise as women, the attitude of many of the women at the Durham march showed clearly the paucity of their separatism and the anti-working class and anti-Republican nature of their politics.

Anyone with a serious commitment to fight against the strip searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer would have welcomed such wide support — as many of the organisers did.

Women wanted to lead the march to show the 'strength of women', and that is fine.

But remember that the miners' wives,

the greatest example yet of the 'strength of women' seen in this country, didn't indulge in futile displays of separatism. They had no need for such empty gestures, for they were involved in a bitter class struggle and understood that fighting as women they were fighting as part of the struggle of the working class.

Separatism is the resort of middle-class feminists without any such strength, whose activities show a vile hostility to the class struggle and their fear of the mobilisation of the working class. This was made very clear by the hostility shown by several of the women's groups to the working-class support on the march.

To insist that slogans be restricted to passive cries of support for Ella and Martina as individual women was an insult to their struggle.

PHOTO: Joanne O'Brien



# Protestant workers in 'flux'

## as Unionist influence wanes

This is the second in a series of Workers Press articles on the problems and prospects of the Irish working class. This week we interview Peter Anderson, a trade union official who joined the Trotskyist movement in the mid-1960s while working in the Belfast shipyards.

Like others who refused to bow to loyalist sectarianism and fascist threats — and refused to toe the Communist Party of Ireland's 'no politics' line in the unions — Anderson has trodden a difficult path since 1969 in the predominantly Protestant community where he lives and works.

Like many other workers who turned to Trotskyism, Anderson was excluded from the movement because he would not go along with the opportunist and Anglocentric policies dictated by the old leadership of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), dominated by G. Healy.

Only since Healy's expulsion has he come back into contact with the movement.

**WP:** A basic principle of socialism is that the working class is the revolutionary force in society — and yet Protestant workers in the north of Ireland appear to many socialists to be completely gripped by the most reactionary Unionist politics. How do you see this?

**PA:** It's not as simple as people make out. The Protestant working class are in a state of flux. They're confused. They are suffering unemployment, they see that the government is taking away their rights — and they feel that the Tory party has 'betrayed' them on the political field as well, with the Anglo-Irish agreement.

The Unionist politicians are saying, 'Thatcher wants to force us into a united Ireland, which will mean de-industrialisation'. That is accepted, but not too readily.

For a start, workers can see that there are similar problems in Britain with rising unemployment. They can see that unemployment is not just the result of some British government plot against Unionism.

**WP:** To what extent do the Unionist politicians have the workers' allegiance? And how is their influence maintained?

**PA:** It's not a hold that can't be broken. There are historical reasons why Unionism has become a force, and now there are factors which are weakening it.

Because of the way the northern Ireland state is set up, a degree of sectarian bitterness is there and is constantly fuelled by that state. But it's not as widespread or as deep-seated as some people would have us believe.

In the more militant and involved sections of workers, discussions on Republicanism and the national question can go on and do go on. Take the issue of prisoners' rights and political status, in which Republican and loyalist prisoners were in battle together against the authorities.

There was never a situation where the issues lying behind it couldn't be discussed — but you had to be able to stand your ground and argue your corner.

Among Protestant work-

ers you can't say where the water is going to be choppy or calm — but the trade union leaders and Stalinists of the Communist Party have never tested the water.

This problem has been worsened by their idea that industrial and political matters must be separated.

They say they can't discuss this or that political question — but they've never tried, they've just assumed.

The other important thing is that in areas like this, where the population has expanded over the last 15 or 20 years, the communities and workforces are not always so sharply divided as they are in Belfast.

A considerable number of factories in this area have a fair number of Catholic workers — and more often than not those Catholics will be well-represented on shop stewards' committees and other union bodies.

**WP:** But when the chips are down, and the loyalists organise a strike, most Protestant workers follow them.

**PA:** A big factor, again, is the trade unions' failure to give any constructive leadership to the working class. By not intervening in the struggle, they have allowed the Unionists to link dissatisfaction over unemployment with the Anglo-Irish agreement.

As far as anything political is concerned, the union leaders have no position. Even with industrial issues, they say 'The government must do this, that or the other' — but they were no struggle for any of the policies they put forward. They don't act as though they expect these policies to be realised.

Since the Tories came to power, unemployment in northern Ireland has gone up to 22 per cent — and in all of that time the Irish Congress of Trades Unions (ICTU) hasn't organised a single demonstration against unemployment.

Instead, they make pious statements, begging the government to change the situation on their behalf.

Now, when the loyalists called the one-day strike to protest against the Anglo-Irish deal, the trade union leaders reacted the same as they reacted to previous similar actions: they simply said people shouldn't take part in the dispute. But any work actually done to stop people taking part was done by activists.

The ICTU called on the police to make sure the roads were open, and on the government to make sure the police were doing their job. So they appealed to the state, to ensure that the workers could go to work, to do what the police did in Britain in the miners' strike.

The call should have been directed to the working class, to ensure their own right to go to work.

The loyalists were reasonably, but not totally, successful in getting people out on a one-day strike. They had the support of the power workers, and this settled the issue in a lot of factories because they shut off power.

In this area, the one-day strike had about 50 per cent support: one of the major



Shipyard and aircraft workers march against redundancy in the north of Ireland

plants did not come out at all. The police didn't effectively keep the roads open, and workers couldn't go to their work.

On that day, the police actually stopped me so that the 'pickets' could talk to me. I told the police they had changed their tune, because in a recent very militant wages strike they had done everything possible to stop pickets talking to those crossing the line.

The 'picket' I spoke to said: 'what about the Anglo-Irish agreement?' I said, 'What do you know about it?' and of course he knew nothing.

He just said, 'No one's going to their work.' I asked him where he worked and of course he didn't, he was unemployed.

At dinner-time they had a meeting: members of the National Front and the Linfield Supporters' Club were in evidence, but I couldn't see any industrial workers there.

**WP:** How did it compare with the 1974 strike called by the Loyalist Association of Workers strike?

**PA:** At that time I worked in the British Enkalon factory at Antrim. When the strike was called, the stewards held a mass meeting.

We reminded the workers that we had built the union in that factory, and told them we would support strikes called by the workforce or by the union, but not by outside bodies. We said the workers could be with us or with the LAW, and they stayed with us.

We brought the bulk of the workforce in at one time in the morning, and we outnumbered the loyalist 'pickets' 20 to one.

So here was a factory of 4,000 people working, and we weren't being intimidated. But when the unions held their 'back to work' rally, we weren't even invited.

It was badly organised,

and relied too heavily on the state for protection. The organisers didn't organise their own defence, but left it to the state to do it, and didn't do it.

**WP:** What do you think are the prospects of a revolutionary socialist party winning support from workers in the six counties?

**PA:** When we were organising the Young Socialists in the early 1970s, the difference between the two sections of the working class was this:

The Catholic youth were against the northern Ireland state because they were anti-Unionist. A Protestant worker, if he was broken from his concept of the Protestant state, would often break from his concept of the state in general.

He would become anti-capitalist — whereas Catholic workers could remain in some cases anti-Unionist without being anti-state in general.

The other thing was that if we were discussing with Catholic youth, we found the biggest blur in their vision was with catholicism. They got really uptight when they discovered we were anti-church.

They had a lot more difficulty being anti-religious than being anti-state — though I would say that things have changed now.

Relations between the Catholic church and the nationalist community have deteriorated in many areas — and the Hunger Strikes, and the church's hostility to that movement, had a lot to do with that.

There is still a degree of authority upheld by the Church, but the youth are disdainful towards it. It's still a problem for Sinn Fein.

I saw Gerry Adams on the TV recently — he was very sharp on support for the armed struggle, on his anti-Britishness, but when he came to the question of the Church he couched his re-

marks in very defensive terms.

I'm not sure the Church, or because his own position is ambiguous.

**WP:** What should British revolutionaries, and the British working class in general, be doing about Ireland?

**PA:** From a British working-class point of view, the main thing to be said is that the struggle in Ireland can be most successfully waged only when the British working class recognises that it is British imperialism that oppresses the Irish.

Secondly, British workers should look at what's happening in Ireland, and the way that the state handles those who oppose it.

The restrictions on freedom imposed in Ireland are gradually coming to Britain. Look at the miners' strike, during which the police had the ability to stop people miles from where the pickets were taking place, and where they used CS gas and

mass policing techniques. The British working class and British working class.

The British TUC, of course, will discuss repression in south America, South Africa or wherever — but not in their own backyard. They'll talk about police states and dictatorships, but they won't talk about northern Ireland in the same language. And so they become pillars of support for the state in that struggle.

It's a common complaint from delegates at various conferences that you can discuss anywhere in the world but Ireland. It's totally irrelevant what 'our northern Ireland delegates' want — that's the usual excuse they use. Delegates at trade union conferences should discuss socialist working-class policies.

People are saying don't discuss things that the protestant workers don't want discussed — but in doing that they are assuming that all Protestant workers share that point of view, and that is not so.

## Soldiers jailed for 'evil trade'

**TWO serving soldiers have each been jailed for three years for trading in stolen army anti-tank rockets.**

The arms were destined for sympathisers of the Ulster Defence Association, the prosecution said.

Justice Leggatt told the two soldiers last week that the jail terms would have been heavier, but he accepted they would lose their careers and army gratuities in excess of £10,000.

The most obvious use for those weapons was for terrorists in Northern Ireland. 'Since you both served there you must have been mindful that that is where they would have been likely to end up.'

Militaria dealers Paul Barker, 33, and Peter Kabluczenko, 39, were jailed for

a total of five and six years respectively. Justice Leggatt described Barker as the instigator of the rocket thefts.

Knighton and Smith admitted stealing 14 M72 (66mm) anti-tank rockets, capable of piercing armour plate last year and selling them to Kabluczenko in a £1,000 deal.

Kabluczenko, who ran three shops called 'Soldier of Fortune', denied receiving and illegally possessing the rockets.

The prosecution said Kabluczenko sent five rockets by British Rail Red Star parcel service from Liverpool to Glasgow for collection, but Scottish police intercepted them.



# THE DETAINEES' PARENTS

**IN SEPTEMBER 1981 mass detentions were the exception rather than the rule in South Africa.**

BY LUCY BRENT

The huge tide of arrests following the Soweto uprising of 1976 had subsided.

There was nothing to suggest that this particular batch of detentions of trade unionists and members of emerging non-racial organisations would change the context of all future detentions.

But it did. It prompted the founding of South Africa's most consistent and widely supported anti-detentions movement, one which viewed detentions as a basic instrument of minority rule and therefore requiring both a political and a welfare-oriented response.

In the following six years the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) has grown from a sitting-room gathering of relatives of detainees to a widely publicised organisation arena.

The original parents, striving to be truly supportive of their sons and daughters behind bars, acknowledged the justness of the anti-apartheid struggle which led to their children's detention.

The DPSC regards the security laws underpinning apartheid as in themselves unjust and will not concede that trial in terms of such laws is any positive alternative to detention.

In this respect they differ from the legalistic 'charge or release' approach of

The committee in 1983 put itself firmly in the mainstream of anti-apartheid work by affiliating to the United Democratic Front and committing itself to the idea of universal franchise in a non-racial, unitary state.

It has been at loggerheads with Pretoria virtually from its inception. At an early meeting with the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order in April 1982 the organisation presented a dossier on torture in detention.

The documents drew an angry response from the government. Minister Louis le Grange suggested in parliament that the DPSC was lying. The antagonism of this first encounter between the government and the DPSC set the pattern.

The government has repeatedly said the DPSC has no standing and makes unsubstantiated allegations about abuse of detainees.

But the DPSC has won the support of many foreign governments, the French government last year named the DPSC as the first recipient of a newly-instituted human rights award.

The DPSC has undoubtedly worked for recognition — but to an even greater degree it has had prominence thrust upon it by the sheer volume of detentions in the last two years.

**TODAY the DPSC operates advice offices in all major centres and several small towns. Here**



The DPSC in 1981... founder member TOM MASHININI highlights the detention of his trade unionist wife Emma in a solitary cell outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. Such protest is now illegal.

In addition to its service workers, the DPSC has developed a network of committees, operating city-wide in the main centres and also within individual black 'townships'.

**THE DPSC's methods of protest and support have changed as circumstances have dictated.**

The initial group of outraged detainees' parents picketed week in-and-week-out in front of the police headquarters at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, and various courts of law, highlighting the length of detention of their children and spouses.

This provoked a new law making it an offence to protest within 500 metres of a law court.

The original group negotiated directly with senior security police officers for improvements in conditions of detention — establishing a *de facto* right for detainees held in solitary confinement to receive clean clothing and food parcels on a regular basis.

## Courts

In more recent years the DPSC has not been accorded official meetings and has increasingly resorted to courts of law to redress detainees' grievances wherever possible.

Official measures have been taken against the organisation. Members have been detained. Restrictive emergency regulations have been made (and subsequently overruled by the courts) to curtail campaigning on detentions.

There have been slur pamphlets about its campaigns and attacks on buildings. But the DPSC undoubtedly has greater support now than at any previous time.

THE Detainees' Parents Support Committee is often referred to in the same breath as Argentina's Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who have kept alive protest at the thousands of 'desaparecidos'.

The DPSC contains an amazing spectrum of families — militant black parents from South Africa's 'townships' through to conservative white parents from the comfortable suburbs — all of whom became involved when their children, partners or friends were whipped away before dawn into detention.

## How the strike began

**FOR Andrew Nendzanda, 24 October 1986 started like any other normal working day.**

Little did he know that an indiscretion on his part on this day would, five months later, precipitate a bloody labour dispute.

Six people died when the first bullets were fired, several items of rolling stock were burnt, more than 20,000 workers downed tools, and a union building was attacked with explosives.

Like many historical events, the South African Transport Services (SATS) strike was precipitated by an insignificant matter — a question of precisely Rands 40.40 (about £20).

Nendzanda, a driver with SATS, was sent out to deliver containers one Friday afternoon last year. He forgot to submit the payment for the containers after delivery and only did so three days later.

An inquiry into why he failed to submit the money was held and five months later, 12 March 1987, he was sacked. Then the situation exploded.

Nendzanda says he would have remained in 'blissful obscurity' but for the 'racist mentality' of the SATS management which caused the strike.

'At the core of the whole issue is SATS' racist attitude towards black workers,' he said.

The 30-year-old Nendzanda does not consider himself a political animal — but he is not a political ignoramus. His involvement in trade unionism started at the beginning of this year when he joined the South African Railway and Harbours Union.

He regards himself as an ideal worker. 'I have never had any problems with management before. This was the first and only



New member of the South African Railway and Harbours Union ANDREW NENDZANDA made one mistake since joining SATS five years ago.

mistake I made since joining SATS five years ago. My record with previous employers is very clean.'

Before the strike, Nendzanda had a rather simple lifestyle, revolving around his extended family in Chiawelo, Soweto; he is newly married and has no children yet. His hometown is Sibasa, deep in the Venda homeland.

The SATS strike has just been won by the 16,000 workers who struck for Nendzanda's reinstatement and were subsequently sacked. After solidarity strikes by other workers, black SATS workers have won the right to permanent status and to elect their own representatives.

One legacy of the strike has been the politicising of non-political people — including Nendzanda.

## DETENTION FIGURES

**FROM an estimated 1,130 detentions in 1984 (in all areas, including the 'independent' homelands), the figure rose to over 8,000 in the first seven-month state of emergency in 1985-1986.**

**THE TALLY for the present emergency — which is just a year old — was officially put at 19,209 at mid-April and is estimated to be at least 25,000 by the DPSC.**

many other critics of detention without trial.

**SINCE the thousands of detentions under the present state of emergency, the DPSC has particularly argued that detention is a weapon used by the state to crush all meaningful opposition to apartheid rule.**

It points out that perfectly legal opposition groups can look forward to a detention onslaught against their members as soon as they gain substantial support.

In analysing the kinds of people who ended up behind bars the DPSC found:

- an extraordinary number were school pupils and other students;

- There were church and community organisers, trade unionists, journalists, women's leaders — all people active in areas of significant opposition to apartheid.

families of detainees are:

- helped to trace the place of detention and ascertain the particular section of law governing the person in custody;

- assisted in obtaining visits to detainees where these are permitted.

- referred to lawyers and to organisations which assist with legal costs and cater for the welfare needs of detainees' families;

- assisted with small amounts of cash or food parcels for detainees.

Further care is offered to former detainees and to persons injured by security forces in the townships. Medical treatment and psychological counselling is offered by professionals who support the DPSC.

The DPSC maintains statistics and registers trends in detention conditions in monthly reports circulated locally and abroad.



## AFL/CIO aid to bosses' union

IS it AFL-CIO or AFL-CIA that's 'helping' the Philippines?

THE AFL-CIO union bureaucrats in the United States proudly announced recently that they were helping trade unionism in the Philippines.

A fine example of international solidarity with highly-exploited workers fighting for their rights against ruthless employers? Not a bit of it.

The AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labour Institute is stepping up technical assistance to the right-winged Philippine Trade Union Congress (TUCP) to help it 'fight raids by the communist-dominated National Democratic Front', the 'AFL-CIO News' explains.

In other words, to help this tame Marcos-creation fend off recruitment by the left-wing May 1 Movement (KMU) unions, whose more militant stand has won growing support, and which now claims the bigger membership.

When the KMU began organising in Cebu (previously a TUCP stronghold) last year, the island's American Chamber of Commerce launched a 'Save Cebu Crusade' to fight 'communism'.

Employers were protecting a set-up which allowed most of Cebu's rattan-exporting firms to pay less than the minimum wage — and that's only \$1.60 a day.

Funds for the AFL-CIO Asian-American Free Labour Institute's Philippines operation are coming from the National Endowment for Democracy, the US Workers' League 'Bulletin' reports ('The CIA's Labor Stooges', 21 April).

This is a US government agency set up by the Reagan administration in 1983. It is backed by both capitalist parties and the US Chamber of Commerce as well as the AFL-CIO leadership.

In February this year it was revealed that the National Endowment for Democracy, on whose board of directors sit AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and teachers' union leader Albert Shanker, was used as a cover by Colonel Oliver North for funding right-wing Contra terrorists attacking Nicaragua.

Thousands of American workers joined the big demonstration in Washington on 25 April to oppose US policy in Central America and southern Africa.

Twenty union presidents endorsed the demonstration call. But AFL-CIO boss Kirkland made a red-baiting attack on the demonstration, banning AFL-CIO bodies from taking part.

In the Philippines, TUCP leader Ernesto Herrera, a former Marcos supporter, has switched to supporting the Aquino government. He stood for the Senate on Aquino's slate, and has been saying he doesn't have problems with KMU, 'only with some elements'.

Worried that not only are members being lost to the KMU, but that other unions are being attracted to an alliance with it, Herrera was plainly bending with the wind a little while waiting for more US aid to help him try to regain strength.

Sinister CIA-linked figures like ex-General Singlaub, of the World Anti-Communist League, have been in the Philippines encouraging the growth of reactionary extremist groups to fight the workers' movement.

# Reagan in Berlin

BY TRUDI JACKSON

FOR the duration of President Reagan's four-hour visit, the big section of Berlin-Kreuzberg, which has 160,000 inhabitants, was cordoned off by the 10,000 police mobilised for the occasion.

All public transport and traffic was halted for 'technical reasons'.

Over 300 arrests were made from amongst the anti-Reagan demonstrators. Shoppers had their bags searched and small gatherings were broken up and chased away by the police.

Tension increased as people, who found these measures outrageous, had no idea how to go about their daily routines — how to travel to work or to get home from school.

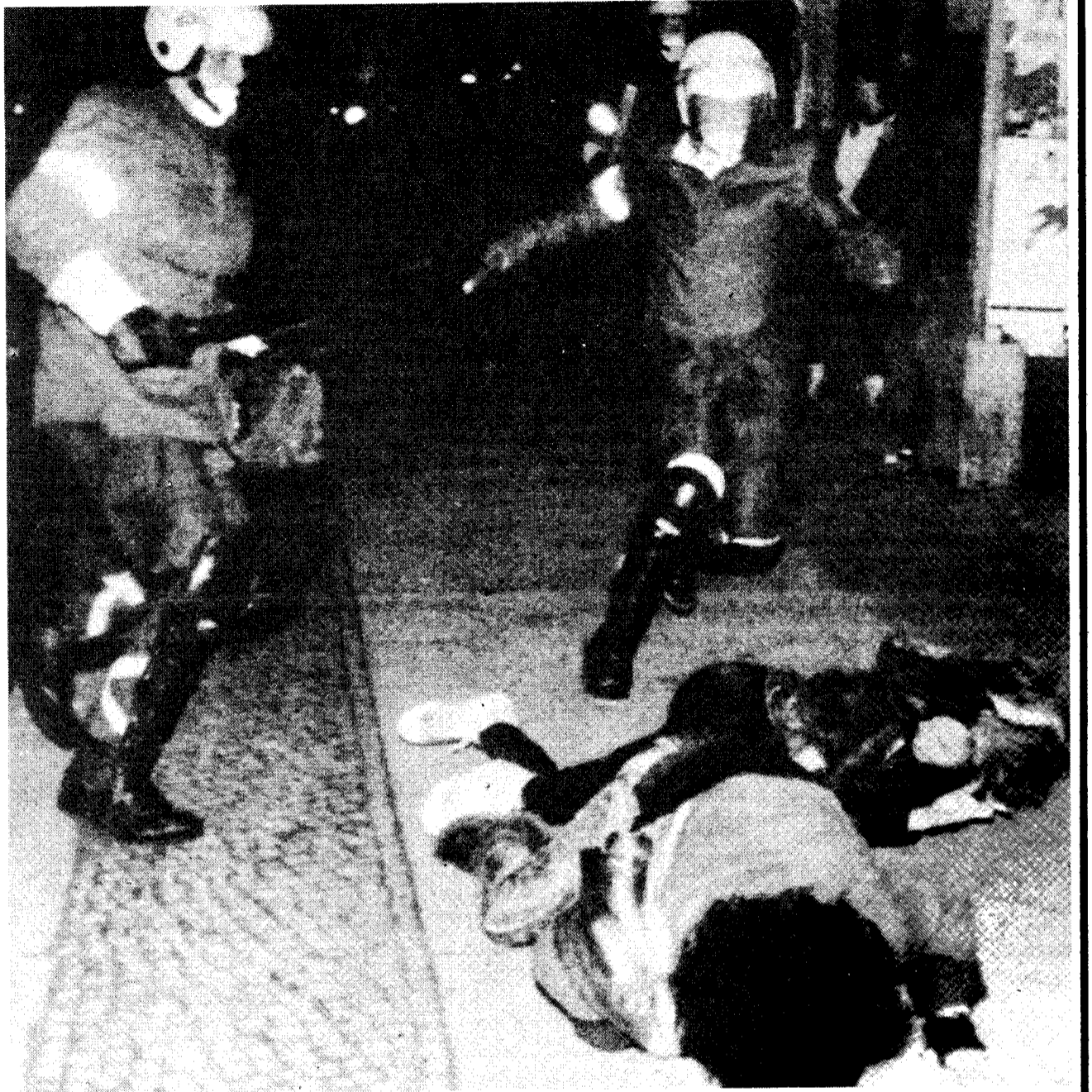
## Background

This was the real background to what was officially staged. 'Reagan Go Home' wall slogans had been sprayed over with 'Welcome Reagan 1987'. Only 25,000 hand-picked people from Berlin were allowed to be present when Reagan spoke.

Praising the superiority of Western Capitalism and proposing the next Olympic Games should be held in Berlin, he told all those demonstrating against him to go and live 'on the other side of the Wall'.

'There is only one Berlin' he said, claiming to speak for the people of East Berlin.

It is true that they too want the wall to come down, but not under the rule of capitalism.



West Berlin police kick demonstrators while they are down

## Death squads in Philippines

RIGHT-WING death squads of the kind that murdered trade unionists and socialists in Latin America have begun operating in the Philippines, destroying any hopes working people had held of peaceful progress under Mrs Aquino's bourgeois democracy.

As has happened elsewhere, with CIA-trained 'security' forces operating under the 'democratic' facade, political dissidents have begun 'disappearing' after being in police or military hands.

On 6 May, Nenita Villa Lopus, 27, married with three children, Marissa Nombre, married with one child, and 15-year old farm worker Diony Academia, all from a village in Negros Occidental province, were reported arrested by police.

All three had been campaigning for civil rights lawyer Edmondo Manlaopo, who stood in the 11 May congressional elections as a candidate for the Liberal Party and the left-wing Alliance of New Politics.

Witnesses had seen the two women and the youth taken away in the direction of Kabankalan in a police vehicle. But when relatives asked at the police station there on 8 May and 12 May, officers denied holding the three.

Enquiries at the 7th Infantry Battalion's headquarters

nearby also drew a denial from an officer that the three were held.

On 20 May, a lawyer acting for relatives went to the Kabankalan municipal court to get a writ of habeas corpus, but military authorities named as respondents in the petition refused to appear.

Another hearing was scheduled for June. But a fortnight ago grim news came. Two bodies were found at Talisay, a considerable distance from where they had disappeared.

One, a woman, was definitely identified as Nenita Villa Lopus. The other body, a man's, was not exhumed so has not been identified.

● A TRADE UNION Support Group is being formed to foster links between trade unionists in Britain and the Philippines, to back genuine unions like the KMU against repression, and to learn from Philippines workers' experiences.

The Philippines Support Group trade union committee already has support from the Confederation of Health Service Employees, National and Local Government Officers' Association, National Union of Public Employees, and other unions. It is holding a meeting in London on July 14, at PRC, 1-2 Grangeway, NW6.

For more information ring Philippines Support Group 01-624-7819, or Trade Union Committee, 01-446-0061.

## Tim Hector

I AM writing to you on behalf of Tim Hector, chairman and political leader of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement and editor of 'The Outlet', the only non-government newspaper.

Mr Hector has been very critical of the government of Antigua headed by Prime Minister V.C. Bird on several occasions.

Over the past five years the government has tried to shut 'The Outlet' down seven times, but hasn't succeeded to date and has personally harassed Mr Hector.

For example, on 11 April 1987 the government newspaper 'The Nation' published a front-page editorial which called for 'a totalitarian verdict of execution on Tim Hector'.

In 1985 a Minister of the Antigua government was denied entry to the US with a large sum of money in his diplomatic bag, purportedly the proceeds of drug running.

Shortly after this incident V.C. Bird was due to attend a summit conference with President Reagan in Louisiana but he didn't attend. This was very embarrassing to Reagan as Bird's seat was next to his at the top of the table.

A source in the US Embassy confirmed to Mr Hector that V.C. Bird's absence from the conference was due to the Minister being denied entry to the US, so he published the story.

Shortly after this he was

arrested and charged under Section 33B of the Public Order Act which made it illegal to make a false statement which caused a loss of confidence in the government.

All the Ministers went into the dock to deny being refused entry into the US. They are entitled to diplomatic immunity and/or are not subject to Antiguan law. Only the FBI or someone in the US Embassy can prove that Tim Hector has told the truth.

Mr Hector was convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, the maximum sentence.

The Court of Appeal affirmed the conviction but reduced the sentence to three months' imprisonment.

Mr Hector then challenged the constitutionality of the Public Order Act in the High Court on the grounds that it violated the right to freedom of expression guaranteed by Section 12 of the Constitution of Antigua.

(For example, Section 33A of the Public Order Act made it illegal to undermine confidence in a public official in the conduct of public affairs; Section 33B — see above).

The High Court Judge Justice Matthew declared the whole of the Public Order Act unconstitutional with the result that the sentence against Mr Hector could not be carried out.

The government have appealed and a judgement is expected on 23 June. After this the case is expected to come to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the UK, which acts as the final court of appeal for the English-speaking Caribbean.

This case is not just a fight for Tim Hector's individual rights. It is a fight for freedom of the press, freedom of thought and freedom to criticise the government.

If Tim Hector loses this case he won't be the only one who goes to prison: it will be democracy in Antigua as V.C. Bird's position will be confirmed as untouchable and the government will see this as an indication of their right to do whatever they like without being held accountable for their actions.

Please send letters or telegrams to the Rt. Hon V.C. Bird, Prime Minister's Office, St John's, Antigua, demanding an immediate end to the harassment of Tim Hector and 'The Outlet' and demand that the government cease their legal action to reinstate the blatantly unconstitutional and totally undemocratic Public Order Act.

Please send copies to Tim Hector, P.O. Box 493, St John's, Antigua.

Yours is the struggle for justice!

Satish Sekar  
p.p. the Caribbean Human Rights Solidarity Campaign



# Contras: The a

**TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS.** — The Contra radio of the FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front), which gathers together most of Reagan's 'freedom fighters', bragged in mid-April that 3,000 armed men trained by the US army and intelligence agencies had launched a 'strategic offensive'.

'We shall not leave Nicaraguan territory; we shall set up permanently controlled areas,' the speaker declared enthusiastically.

The FDN had lost face internationally because of the disastrous campaign in 1985 and 1986 and, more recently, the disintegration of their political leadership embodied in the UNO (Nicaraguan Opposition Union).

So this Contra military offensive was an attempt by the FDN to get their image back.

On 12 May, when the Sandinistas gave a preliminary report on their counter-offensive, the 'Rebelde' radio's version had changed completely.

According to the same radio announcer: 'The FDN went far into the enemy's territory, hit all the targets assigned to them, and then retreated in an orderly fashion'.

A foreign correspondent on the scene of the attacks approached a peasant (campesino) who appeared to be hostile towards both the contras and the Sandinista army.

When asked about the 'orderly retreat', he replied: 'Both of them spoil my crops.'

All that he had witnessed, he added, was 'a large group of people wearing uniforms rushing towards Honduras, chased by a dozen Mi-17 helicopters of Soviet manufacture'.

American journalist Rod Nordland, from 'Newsweek International', travelled with the Contras in April and May on their 'counter-offensive' march from Honduras to Nicaragua.

On his way back he accompanied the Sandinista Popular Army and its vanguard 'Simon Bolivar' battalion, which almost vanquished the Contras, managed to scatter them, and finally attacked and destroyed their so-called 'Star Base' in San Andres, Honduras (the name is taken from the 'bad-dies' in the film 'Star Wars').

The Contra broadcasting station estimated 80 dead among the FDN. The American ambassador in Honduras, however, calculated a loss of 10 per cent of the Contra forces sent out to attack.

This military victory of the Nicaraguan Revolution over the Contras clearly shows that the revolution in Central America is far from having sustained a strategic defeat, as those who came up with the treacherous negotiation of Contadora had predicted.

And now they scheme this new 'peace' plan, the Arias Plan, in an attempt 'to save what can be saved' from the process which saw the end of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua.

## The post-apocalypse warriors

During recent years Hollywood has developed very peculiar military characters: gangs of mercenaries travelling around the world after the nuclear war, primitively armed, competing for elementary things such as gasoline and food, with no other motivation than to extend their lives one more day.

These post-apocalypse warriors, who in science fiction reflect the desolate future of humanity, seem to have become incarnate in the Contra armies.

The hecatomb that created them was not a nuclear war but the fall of the Somoza dictatorship. Like the movie warriors, they struggle for elementary things in order to

survive — not gasoline and food, but new aid packages from the now sceptical American Congress.

There is only one difference: the Contras are equipped with modern arms, protected by the Honduran dictatorship disguised as a democracy, trained — legally, now — by American advisers, and dependent on the sinister policies of the CIA.

These warriors' aim is not so different from those of their counterparts in the movies: to survive.

It is not political objectives which drive them, but rather the mere continuation of a war which provides them with a privileged way of life by Central American standards.

After all, these 'war lords' go out for a little loot on the borders of Honduras and Nicaragua, wearing Yankee uniforms and armed to the teeth.

They collect their pay in dollars and have all the freedom in the world to steal and carry prostitutes with their units.

This is a better life than stooping over poverty-stricken lands, as the peasants do, to save their crops from imperialism in the middle of an artificial and seemingly never-ending war.

Rod Nordland marched with these 'warriors' from Honduras to Nicaragua. He wrote a revealing article, 'The New Contras?', in 'Newsweek International' on 1 June 1987.

He gives a crude description of these 'freedom fighters', starting with their pseudonyms: Commander Attila, Mercenario ('The Mercenary') and even a recruit who has called himself Ronald Reagan since he found out that the American president had said: 'I'm a Contra, too'.

Nordland describes mercenaries who boast names like 'Exterminator' and 'Dragon'; have skulls and crossbones tattooed on their arms and painted on their shirts; and turn the local peasants into 'instant', though temporary, 'collaborators' when scores of heavily armed and hungry men drop in for breakfast at their homes.

The names given by the Contras to these 'spontaneous collaborators' are strikingly different to the ones they take for themselves: Obediente ('Obedient'), El Conejo ('The Rabbit'), and so forth.

This is how the Contras won Obediente's loyalty: they 'ate his chickens, beans, tortillas, bananas, plantains, cassava and grapefruits and agreed with him that it was a pity that other Contras had already eaten the eligible pigs belonging to the peasant' — who, according to Nordland, complained about his meagre income from the crops since the coming of the revolution.

This peasant was also compelled to stand on night guard and walk out 'on the point' (meaning he was the first in line, so that he would be the first victim of a possible Sandinista ambush).

El Conejo, in spite of his repeated complaints of arthritis in the knees, was also forced to serve the Contras at home and to walk out 'on the point'. The report says his



Cesar Castillo N. is a member of the Trotskyist PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Nicaragua and a soldier in the Sandinista army which is fighting the 'Contras'. Photo courtesy of 'Working Class Opposition'.

whole family was paralysed.

A young Contra called Solitario ('Lonesome'), aged only 14, did not look at all happy. He ate and roamed about alone. A few weeks later, the journalist discovered that Solitario was a recruit recently taken by the Contra army: a child violently kidnapped from his parents and obliged to fight under the orders of El Mercenario.

In recent declarations about the Iran-Contragate scandal that has shaken up the Reagan administration, the ex-commander and Interior Vice-Minister Eden Pastora, now an ex-Contra, declared that the CIA promised 'economic and military aid — whatever we should ask for' ('Clarín', Argentina, 1 June).

This has turned out to be true. Apart from the \$300 million organised by the American Congress, the Contras received another \$500 million as private aid and a further multi-million amount whose exact figure remains uncertain, given by voluntary 'donations' by governments such as Israel and Argentina (during the military dictatorship there).

They also received illegal funds from illegal operations by the American government (for example, those coming from the sale of arms to Iran).

Besides, Nordland, as well as other journalists before him, has proved that the American satellites and the most sophisticated elements of US Intelligence are at the Contras' disposal.

In the article mentioned above, maps of the Sandinista facilities are shown, providing scrupulous details even of the position of the latrines.

Part of the American military infrastructure in Honduras, which is supposed to be used only by the US and Honduran armies, is also in part illegally channelled to serve the Contra troops.

A military specialist from the publication 'Foreign Affairs' has estimated that by the end of 1986 each Contra was costing the United States and its allies about \$100,000 every two years — or almost four-

and-a-half times more than a Marine 'hooked up on a conventional big-scale war such as Vietnam'.

But paradoxically there is no one who firmly believes in the victory of this costly de luxe military force.

Imperialism's most coherent and serious sectors see the Contras as a gambit pawn used in an effort to snatch from the Sandinistas a kind of surrender of the revolution, of the Contadora or Arias Plan kind.

The internal bourgeois opposition in Nicaragua, and the Catholic Church itself, see the Contras as a piece to negotiate with the Sandinistas; however, they are careful enough not to be identified with their past as murderers in the Somozista National Guard.

The Contras see themselves as a piece of mechanism whose role they do not understand very well.

Tono, one of the commanders of the FDN, declared to 'Newsweek': 'If we can do our best this year, we can win the war in Washington for more aid.'

Although they may repeatedly state their objectives as being 'to win over most of the peasantry' and 'to achieve victory in one year', the truth of the matter is that the Contras' target is not the Managua government house, but rather the wallets in Washington.

Their armed struggle is really about keeping their jobs and so they have turned into parasites of American foreign policy.

Only some of the commanders still sound with a direct and massive Yankee invasion to Nicaragua which, according to Nordland 'the contras fervently wish' seeing it is the only wave on whose crest they could arrive at some place other than the Honduran border.

For this reason, the declarations made by Nordland are not surprising; in his article he states that 'the contras were great when retreating; attacks they never quite managed. One after another, they abandoned the targets assigned to us by the high commanders'.

Then he gives an account of how they set an ambush near an 'unsuspecting Sandinista unit much smaller than ours but they never attacked it' and as Aguila Negra (Black Eagle), one of the contra commanders told him 'our goal is to reach the objective, not to fight along the way'.

Nordland describes how they never reached the objective and their 'elite battalion' ended up in a cow pasture somewhere on the border in a place named El Bote.

The Yankee journalist describes how the contras are reluctant to follow the advice of the American intelligence officers to face the regular Sandinista army, instead of concentrating (as they do at present) into civil militia units more lightly armed and whose objectives are not military defence.

'Finally,' the journalist states, 'the two fire fights experienced in our time with the contras were both defensive manoeuvres'.

Considering the unit where the journalists were marching was an elite unit of the 'strategic offensive' and that for that reason 'for the first time in five years' foreign journalists were allowed to go with them. The contras did not fare so well. There is no record of the 'bravery' of these 'freedom fighters' in Nordland's article.

But any gang of robbers which devastates roads and takes economic advantage of the terror of the rural population is extremely dangerous, particularly when it is armed with rocket-launchers, when it receives an aid of millions of dollars weekly and air-drops of food and ammo daily, from a C-47 courtesy of the CIA.

From a strictly military point of view the private armies of the Colombian drug dealers (the most similar to the Nicaraguan contras) are a potential danger — just as much, or even more so as the left-wing guerilla — for the army of their country.

And the analogy holds true even with the drugs which the contras are not only fond of but which they also monopolise in their trade on



# gainst Nicaragua

# Army of bandits



ist Peoples Army EPS

'... Better than stooping over poverty-stricken lands as peasants do to save their crops from imperialism'. Here peasants at the 'Juanita Viscaya' co-operative in Condega spray crops. Photo: Alison Rooper

the border area, according to a report handed out in the American Congress.

## The Warriors of the Revolution

Every revolutionary process has had its heroic military expression. In the Russian Revolution, the Red Army, organised with troops of armed workers magisterially led by Leon Trotsky to military victory against armies commanded and armed by imperialism and its elite of Czarist, English, French, American and Czechoslovakian officers.

The disastrous retreat of the Maoist army in the 'Long March' produced a revolutionary warrior of impeccable military performance against the Japanese invaders and the Vietnamese people, fighting barefooted, badly armed, underfed, led the most modern army of the hegemonic imperialist power in the world into the sea.

We must here make clear that there is a striking difference between the Red Army led by Trotsky, a revolutionary and proletarian army, and the EPS (Popular Sandinista Army) whose structure and grade are those of a bourgeoisie army; what we are referring to here is the spirit of the soldiers in combat.

Apart from its military and political leadership, brilliant in the case of Trotsky in the Russian Revolution, disastrous in the case of Chinese Maoism, the fighters who emerged from living revolutionary processes have an enormous capital which is the struggle for a revolution; in this case that which defeated the hated Somoza regime.

This explains some of the striking facts reported by Rod Nordland when he returned to Honduras from Nicaragua, in the columns of the Sandinista counter-offensive, walking on his way back the path previously walked with the contras.

'The Sandinistas,' wrote Nordland 'called their counter-offensive the biggest of the war and the shortest'.

'On 10 May they landed five battalions by helicopters near Amaka and fought their way down Rio Bocay to the Honduran border.

The next day, under withering fire, they waded across Rio Coco into Honduras and quickly took over the Star Base hill-tops at San Andres.

'The contras don't have any balls,' said Manuel Antonio, a 20 year-old soldier wounded in a grenade blast in the fighting. 'Most of them just run.'

In the same chronicle, the American journalist took notes of a pejorative expression of a Sandinista Lt. Col. in the area: 'Without their sanctuaries in Honduras they couldn't exist.'

Nordland also describes how a group of only 20 Sandinistas from the Simon Bolivar Battalion quickly turned round to look for a contra column of 150 in the rearguard and how another small group of Sandinistas competed with them to fight first.

The Sandinistas do not steal. The soldiers, according to Nordland, wait respectfully at the doors of the peasants' huts for a glass of water and this is so, only in extreme occasions.

The 'collaborator' of the contras himself, Obediente, confirmed to the journalist that the Sandinistas only ask for coffee once in a while.

The reporter continues to describe in his article from Newsweek that many Sandinistas 'told us they hadn't seen a paved road or had a cold drink in 15 months of steady action.'

Where it had taken a mere three weeks for the contras we accompanied in the same mountains to turn into an unruly scourge, Sandinista troops on the march never stopped at a peasant's house.

'We never saw the Sandinistas impress the campesinos as guides or make them walk in front of the troops,' write the journalist.

In his opinion, this kind of troop 'explains one anomaly of the war. Most guerilla armies inflict far more casualties than they suffer, since they have advantages of ter-

rain and surprise.

'Yet FDN guerrillas and Sandinista troops, according to the latest US intelligence estimates, suffer roughly equal kill ratios.'

These warriors can only emerge from revolutions. With these warriors, footed in anti-Somoza hatred of the Nicaraguan population and in international solidarity, particularly with the revolutionaries in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador and with the invaluable contribution of the anti-war masses which have begun rallies in the United States itself; the war, that is, peace for Central America, can be won.

Unfortunately, the Sandinistas are not planning to defeat the contras military-wise soon and cleanly. The centre of their policy is not to sweep them out of their Star Bases but rather to obtain some form of negotiation with imperialism, whether it is Contadora or the Arias Plan or some other short cut.

The revolutionary warriors are merely launched to respond to contra attacks or offensives. Solidarity with revolutions in the rest of the istmus is kept to a minimum.

The hope of a negotiated agreement, by laying pressure on the masses, extends war unnecessarily and grants the contras potential and force never achieved in the combat field.

The journalist, Rod Nordland, synthesises the prospects of a war in which neither of the two sides is willing to go all the way to decide this equation militarily.

On his way back, the journalist reports the following experience: 'As we walked off in the half-light before dawn, Don Fernando, (landowner) came after us'. 'One last question,' he called. 'Will the United States really invade Nicaragua?'

'Most of the contras we met had fervently hoped so; most Sandinistas fervently believed so. I said I doubted it.'

'Mister, if the war just drags on like this, soon it will degenerate into banditry.'

'Mister it already has.'

## Contadora and Arias

THE Contadora Plan and the Arias Plan are two different versions of the same imperialist plan for obtaining by diplomatic means what they could not achieve by military means: the defeat of the Central American revolution.

The Contadora Plan is a proposal for 'peace' in Central America made by a group of reactionary bourgeois governments in the area. Among them are the governments of Panama, which protects the US bases and has just declared a state of siege against the working class; Mexico, responsible for the assassination of hundreds of left-wing political and union leaders; and Colombia, engaged in a bloody war with its own guerrilla opponents and an increasingly militant trade union movement.

These governments are supported by most of the Latin American bourgeois governments, and by the Pope, the American imperialist Democratic Party, social democracy, and Fidel Castro.

The Sandinistas have so far not signed the agreement proposed by the Contadora Group but have declared that 'their efforts are the only valuable ones to achieve real peace in Central America'.

The proposal includes 'withdrawal of support' from those forces in El Salvador and Guatemala that are struggling to overthrow the dictatorships; negotiations between the FSLN and the Contras; formation of a government of national unity in Nicaragua between the FSLN and the bourgeois opposition; reduction of the arms, equipment and manpower of the Sandinista army; and control of the borders by United Nations or Organisation of American States troops.

Together with this would be a commitment by the FSLN to maintain and develop Nicaragua's capitalist structure.

In exchange for this explicit sur-

render of the Nicaraguan revolution, the Contadora 'peace' plan would request US withdrawal of financial and technical support from the Contras — though there are no provisions for guaranteeing such withdrawal.

The Arias Plan is merely a more right-wing version of the same proposal. Arias is president of Costa Rica, which has been allowing its territory to be used by the Contras to launch attacks against Nicaragua.

His proposals include the almost total disarmament of the FSLN and the Nicaraguan masses, and demand the supervision of 'free elections' in Nicaragua by bourgeois Latin American armies.

Both the Contadora and the Arias plans are the second front of imperialist strategy. The idea is to use the Contra armies to bleed the revolution and sabotage the economy in order to force the FSLN to surrender by accepting the Contadora 'peace proposal'.

This combination of tactics is known as imperialism's Contadora strategy.

The same strategy is being used in southern Africa, with the combination of the Knomati agreement between the front-line states and the use of counter-revolutionary guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique.

Latin American and American Trotskyists, organised in the International Workers' League (IWL) have actively campaigned for the military defeat of the Contra armies — their campaign has included participation in military operations through members of their own Nicaraguan section — and for the defeat of the Contadora and Arias plans as deadly traps for the revolutionary process.

Their slogan is: 'The only road to peace is through the defeat of the Contras and imperialism. Win the war against them!'



# Bevan and the 1945-1951 Labour government

**MANY Labour supporters today look back on the 1945 Labour government with pride and nostalgia, as an administration which successfully achieved many basic socialist ideals.**

The work of left-winger Aneurin Bevan within it is said to typify all that was best in the period.

In fact at no point during its six-year term in office did Labour overstep the boundaries of capitalism: socially, politically, economically, or otherwise.

On the contrary, following on from the wartime operations jointly run by Tories, Labourites and Liberals to save the British Empire from its economic rivals, the post-war regime was wholly geared to the regeneration of the market economy and to restoring Britain to its role as the world's foremost imperialist power.

The introduction of a comprehensive welfare programme, the nationalisation of several key service and supply industries, and the conceding of 'independence' to a number of colonial possessions lay entirely within this context, as did 'Nye' Bevan's attitudes and practice.

In 1945, Labour MPs were as shocked as Churchill and the Tories at their election victory. Having sung the 'Red Flag' in the House of Commons on 1 August, what do do next?

The Labour leaders certainly knew what they would not do.

No overall plan was advanced for a transition to socialism. There was no policy for expropriating the major capitalists or involving the working class in the takeover, centralisation and socialisation of productive industry, distribution and exchange.

Instead the harsh wartime labour laws were retained. The severe austerity measures were continued. The Emergency Powers Act was renewed.

The rigorous working regimes, which broke all safety and hours-of-work regulations, were kept running. And major iniquities, such as low pay for women, were carried over into peacetime.

Only in this way could capitalist accumulation derive maximum benefit from the changeover from war production to export production.

Where industries were nationalised they continued under the management of the previous owners — massively compensated — with the sole object of restoring their profitability and that of associated private undertakings.

Workers' control was specifically rejected. Sir Stafford Cripps, a founder member of the left-wing Tribune Group who became President of the Board of Trade (1945-1947) and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that workers were 'not competent' in this respect.

The concept was also attacked in a Labour Party handbook as 'syndicalist' and rejected by National Union of Mineworkers president Will Lawther as 'ridiculous'.

Any threat to the continued existence of the House of Lords or the monarchy was likewise opposed.

The Labour government's non-socialist position was clearly shown in its labour

BY BERNARD FRANKS

relations and foreign policies: — the one exploitative and repressive, the other racist and imperialist.

British workers were locked up for defending their rights and living standards. Reactionary regimes were given cash and arms to repress their workers and peasants. Aggressive anti-Soviet policies were pursued. And Bevan was a party to all of it.

'Bevan the socialist fighter' is a myth nurtured by his official biographer Michael Foot. Author John Campbell, in his recent book, 'Nye Bevan and the Mirage of British Socialism', has drawn on freely available evidence to tell a different story — for his own anti-socialist ends.

But Campbell has the picture upside down. It was Bevan who compromised socialist ideals, not vice-versa

**ONE of the Churchill's last acts as caretaker prime minister was to put 600 soldiers on standby to act as strikebreakers in a dispute at the Surrey docks.**

One of Clement Attlee's first acts as Labour prime minister was to order them in to unload the strikebound ships<sup>13</sup>.

Depressed at losing the election, Churchill perked up at this. 'I did not feel down at all,' his biographer Lord Moran reports him saying. 'I



CHURCHILL

am not certain the Conservative Party could have dealt with labour troubles that are coming'<sup>14</sup>.

Churchill's trust was not misplaced. Labour used troops to break strikes on 14 separate occasions during its six years in office<sup>15</sup>.

Within days of Labour's taking office the American government abruptly cut off 'Lend-Lease', threatening Labour's entire recovery strategy. The panicking Labour Cabinet turned not to socialist planning but to their favourite bourgeois economist J.M. Keynes, to go and plead their case with the Americans.

Yet Britain had entered the war as the world's fore-

most creditor nation and come out of it as the world's greatest debtor, mostly because of American capital's turn of the screw.

In the event it was not Keynes but Churchill who saved the day. His Cold War 'Iron Curtain' speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, warned the US rulers against destabilising a valuable ally against Russia.

At the same time he stoutly defended Labour against all accusations of seeking to implement socialism<sup>16</sup>.

Attlee telegraphed his warmest thanks to Churchill, and the capitalist USA agreed to finance British 'socialism' — though at the price of ceding the dollar pride of place as the world's leading currency and opening up protected empire markets to US trade.

Any party winning the election would have had to adhere to the wartime commitment to establish a comprehensive, free National Health Service.

During the war several by-elections had been won by independent socialists with huge majorities over government candidates.

A repetition of the 1918-1921 post-war unrest was feared. There was a massive wartime demand for something better, after the war, than a return to the conditions of the 1930s. Labourite Rhys Davis warned that while the Labour Party was crawling to the right, the working class was marching to the left!

To direct such a movement away from socialism and into channels for capitalist reconstruction, a few promises of 'homes fit for heroes' — still strong in the public memory — would not suffice this time. Rather, a hefty dose of 'welfare capitalism' was required.

This is what Labour supplied — and what British Stalinism played a key role in helping it supply.

Bevan nationalised the hospitals but caved in completely when doctors objected to becoming salaried civil servants.

He not only guaranteed them the right to continue with private medicine, but even allowed them to do so within the public hospitals, with full use of all facilities.

He thus did far less than Tory and Liberal Ministers had promised during the war. When invasion was expected hourly, they had promised 100-per-cent salaried service and direction of doctors to where they were needed.

Under Bevan, suppliers of drugs and equipment were not nationalised and NHS workers and patients were not given control of the services. Yet such measures are basic to the development of a genuinely socialist health service and to preventing a return to the old ways.

Similar anomalies were left in the new National Insurance scheme. Resting on the provision of a substitute minimum and on a regressive contribution system — a fixed payment meant the poorest people paid relatively the most — the new scheme perpetuated poverty and left the door open to a collapse into today's overstretched, underfunded system.

No plans were advanced for a fundamental redistribution of wealth. The same 10 per cent of the population owned 80 per cent of riches in 1951, just as in 1945.



Nye Bevan draws a smile while speaking against press censorship at a meeting in Central Hall, London, in 1942

**ANEURIN BEVAN was born in November 1897, the sixth of ten children.**

The son of a Welsh miner, at 13 he too began nine years' work in the pits.

He became active in the Labour movement in the ferment following the First World War and continued his activity during the major onslaught on the South Wales mining industry in the early 1920s.

An avid reader, he won a scholarship to the Central Labour College in this period. Though a professional admirer of Marxism, he limited his admiration to Marx's analysis of capitalism.

By this time Bevan had already firmly rejected revolutionary communism, as conflicting with his parliamentary ideals.

In the 1926 General Strike he chaired the Tredegar Council of Action but shocked the region when he called for a return to work after the mining communities had held out for a further 22 weeks<sup>4</sup>.

His low level of internationalist consciousness showed at this time when he returned from a travel scholarship tour of the Polish coalfields, reflecting not on the need for solidarity with overseas mineworkers but furious that British financial institutions were investing in competition to South Wales pits<sup>5</sup>.

Bevan was elected Labour MP in 1929. In his first speech he acknowledged that Labour was 'subsidising and buttressing private enterprise', but what else could it do, he asked, as the Liberals would withdraw vital support if Labour introduced socialist measures<sup>6</sup>?

In London Bevan rapidly became enamoured of good living and high society. He made friends across party boundaries, being on first-name terms with Liberals and Tories and a regular house guest of Lord Beaverbrook, Tory millionaire imperialist and owner of the 'Daily Express', whose champagne he swilled liberally<sup>7</sup>.

Ludicrously, Foot excuses this aspect of Bevan's life as 'proletarian espionage'<sup>8</sup>. Campbell claims Bevan was 'intellectually inoculated against the aristocratic or bourgeois embrace'<sup>9</sup>.

In South Wales Bevan was the brilliant socialist orator, full of references culled from Marx, Engels and Jack London. In the capital he was the man-about-town frequenter of the Cafe Royal.

In February 1932 he was one of 17 Labour MPs who signed Sir Oswald Mosley's manifesto, but he quickly broke from the future fascist leader when their association implied a break from the Labour Party.

In the late 1930s, in support of Popular Front policies, Bevan found common ground with the British Stalinist defenders of the Moscow Trials in a way he had never found possible with the early 1920s communists.

Expelled from the Labour Party for this activity in May 1939, he was allowed back after a few months when he gave a written undertaking to toe the line. The left Labour weekly, 'Tribune', was launched in this period.

When the Second World War broke out Bevan followed the logic of his Popular Front views and backed Labour's entry into a coalition with the Liberals and Tories.

He gave early unqualified backing to this coalition's leader, Tory Winston Churchill, whom the Labourites had been instrumental in making prime minister — as their price for supporting the war effort as members of a 'national' government.

Now editor of 'Tribune', which had been launched in 1937, Bevan supported strong reform policies and nationalisation as systems for assuring Britain's military victory.

As a miners' MP he sympathised with 100,000 striking pitmen, after first trying to get them back to work<sup>10</sup>. He also opposed the introduction of Regulation 1AA — aimed specifically at Trotskyists — which prescribed fines and prison for incitement to strike.

It would, he said 'elevate a poor little band of political sectarians to the status of an organisation powerful enough to throw dangerous spanners into the war machinery'<sup>11</sup>.

The 1944 Labour Party conference endorsed the use of British troops to smash the Stalinist-led Greek resistance movement and install a right-wing royalist government now the Nazis were ousted. This was in line with the secret carve-up deal worked out between Churchill and Stalin.

Bevan called, not for the withdrawal of British troops, but for the disarming of the partisans and rule by an archbishop as regent<sup>12</sup>.

Labour came to power in 1945 with a huge absolute majority and an obligation to implement major welfare reforms. Bevan was made Minister of Health and Housing, both in chaos.

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# Letter from America



## When Washington restored European capitalism

**FORTY** years ago European capitalism was in danger of collapse. It was saved from revolutionary overthrow only by the treachery of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships.

A major economic effort by the United States was needed to ensure its survival.

At the end of the war Lease-Lend from the United States had been abruptly cut off, facing the governments

of Britain and France in particular with the impossibility of paying for essential imports of food and raw materials.

They had to go cap in hand to Washington to seek loans to keep American supplies flowing to Europe.

But these loans soon ran out.

As living conditions deteriorated and industry was unable to get moving again, so there was growing fear, both in European capitals and across the Atlantic, that the working class would break out of the stranglehold of its old leaders and take the revolutionary road.

Relations with the Soviet

bloc had rapidly deteriorated when it came to drawing up a peace treaty; the Cold War had begun, centring particularly on Greece, Turkey and Czechoslovakia.

At the same time the American economy, geared to full production during the war, faced a return to the slump conditions of the 1930s.

Farmers had been encouraged to sow more land and pour on more fertiliser, so that there were now huge surpluses of food and fibre.

The Marshall Plan, announced by General George C. Marshall, Secret-

ary of State, on 5 June 1947, was the Truman administration's way of grappling with these problems.

The question was: could capitalism survive into the second half of the 20th century?

The so-called 'Plan' (aimed at preventing planning) proposed to resume the flow of American supplies to Europe as loans and gifts which would not have to be matched by a return flow of European goods. They would be 'given away'.

This overcame the problem of finding markets for surplus production. Goods would be bought by the government, using taxpayers' money, and sent to the participating countries, on the terms laid down by the administration.

Faced with the threat of economic breakdown and growing social discontent — and perhaps revolution — Europe's governments accepted enthusiastically.

At first even the Czech Stalinists were ready to take part — until called to heel by Moscow, which saw the 'Plan' as a way of reinforcing US control over Western Europe (a too mechanical, if basically correct, appraisal).

The Marshall Plan seemed to have been 'and' suffering people of war-stricken Europe.

That is how it was sold to the American people in 1947, and that is how it is still presented in the commemorative articles and speeches of recent days.

In fact it was based on a hard-headed calculation of American capitalism's interests.

Besides finding an outlet for American products which might otherwise have choked the market and provoked a slump, already brewing, the Marshall Plan opened the way for the penetration of European economies by American capital despite tariffs and other barriers to trade.

The investment involved was thus comparatively small compared with the benefits which could be expected.

Europe would be preserved from revolution and kept safe for American capitalism in the shape of the big multinational corporations.

The European capitalist countries — Britain, France and Germany in particular — were on their knees.

Only the United States could preserve them from disaster. And without a viable capitalist economy in Europe, American capitalism could not survive — that is what it had fought the Second World War for, as well as the First.

The USA could no longer stand aside after the war, as it had done after 1918; Europe's fate was its fate.

And so, building on the Marshall Plan, it went on to inspire the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1949 — as its military counterpart in pursuit of the Cold War.

At the time the financing of the Marshall Plan was well within the capacity of the United States, whose eco-



GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL

out strengthened by the war.

The idea of Japan, or even Germany, as a rival at that time would have been regarded as ludicrous.

In fact, in the Plan's passage through Congress, the amount of aid was actually reduced.

Many, even in Washington, did not understand the Marshall Plan's political and military implications.

In fact the Plan was carried through in much the same way as a wartime operation and in close cooperation with the big corporations that stood to gain so much from it.

Paul Hoffman, head of the Studebaker motor company, ran the operation from Washington. American bureaucrats were sent to Europe to administer the Plan, nominally in 'cooperation' with their European counterparts.

The disparity of power and means was so great that there was no doubt who took the final decisions.

It should be recalled, moreover, that the European countries not only received food, raw materials, machinery and technical assistance under the Marshall Plan but also received vast amounts of military aid at the same time.

This also, of course, served to boost the economy and especially the market for the products of their big corporations, which had immensely increased their productive capacity during the war.

There is no doubt that the Marshall Plan was a 'success' for world capitalism. But the way had already been prepared by the treachery of the social-democrats and Labourites and, especially, the Stalinists.

In the long term, Europe's recovery as well as that of the Pacific countries, had

effects for the United States.

The change in the world situation, and the world position of the United States, can be gauged by the fact that nothing like the Marshall Plan would be possible at the present time.

Hence the futility of proposals that the United States should launch a new recovery programme in the direction of the poverty-stricken and bankrupt countries, politely said to be 'underdeveloped' or 'developing'.

Now the dollar is a weak currency and the USA has a huge trade deficit, while in 1947 the dollar was No.1 and more than half the world's industrial capacity was in the USA.

Now the USA has a budget deficit and would be in no position to raise the \$60,000m that the Marshall Plan would have cost in present-day dollars, or \$180,000m, in proportion to today's National Income.

In fact the reduction of the deficit, not the further increases, is imperative for US capitalism.

Moreover the USA could not possibly gain the same material advantages from aid to the 'developing' countries that it obtained in the first period of the Marshall Plan's operation.

Probably the Marshall Plan did contribute towards giving decrepit European capitalism a new lease of life. But it was also the starting point of new, long-term contradictions which can be summed up as the decline of American capitalism.

The futile charade of the Venice meeting, and Reagan's impotence in the face of world capitalism's mounting crisis, are an index of how far things have changed since Marshall's 5 June speech of 40 years ago.

GEORGE LORMIN  
NEW YORK



PRESIDENT TRUMAN



# LETTERS

Letters do not necessarily reflect the view of the Editorial Board. Letters over 500 words will normally be cut. Letters should arrive by first post Monday at: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS, and should include sender's address.

## Election gave green light

**THE ELECTION** is a declaration of war by the ruling class.

Thatcher has quite openly and ruthlessly said they are going to break up the health service, the state education system and council housing and get more profit from them.

The election has also shown how woefully and inadequately prepared the working class is.

The miners' strike showed that the old trade union militancy is not enough to defeat the ruling class, or extract concessions from them, and the election shows that the Labour Party can't stand up to the Tories.

The middle class can see this all very clearly and in their millions they have voted for Thatcher — as always they swing over to the side that looks the best prepared for war.

But the working class has shown its class-consciousness in Scotland and Wales, and cities like Liverpool and Manchester, by totally throwing the Tories out.

The media stupidly go on about Thatcher's personality about a deciding factor.

This is true only insofar as she embodies very clearly the utter determination and ruthlessness of the ruling class.

When I remember the old line — still peddled by News Line — that we are in a 'revolutionary situation', it makes me laugh.

The battle lines are still being drawn.

The miners' strike was a tea-party compared to fight the Tories and defeat them.

There's no doubt the working class will fight but it won't win unless prepared by a Marxist party.

I have been withdrawn from politics for some years but this election has flashed the green light for me.

The Tories' agenda is one of open and naked class war.

They are ripping away the veil of smooth talk which they used in the 1950s and 1960s — that isn't needed when you're declaring war.

In that sense, Thatcher is the best educator we could have.

Barry Forder, Fulham

## More time needed

**WE ARE** surprised by your announcement of the proposed National Conference in Manchester on 25 July. This Support Group sent two delegates to the Leeds Conference of Support Groups earlier this year and the proposal to hold a conference in July which was supported by Gateshead Support Groups was rejected and the majority agreed to work for a conference in the autumn.

We take the view that more time should be taken to build up local groups as a national conference without the ground support would not be effective. For example the Tower Hamlets Support Group held a post-election meeting on 18 June. The discussion was valuable but only 25 attended. Obviously we need to build further to make our presence at a national conference useful.

The Morning Star in its editorial (19 June) calls for the setting up of Workers Campaign Committees in the localities. By suggesting that these are something new and ignoring existing

support groups the Morning Star creates confusion and effectively contributes to sabotaging the attempts of the working class to organise.

The decision of the Gateshead Support Group to call for a July conference against the wishes of the majority of the Leeds conference could have the same effect.

Pat Brady, for Tower Hamlets Workers Support Group

● *Editor's note: Next week's Workers Press will comment on this conference.*

## The USec and Argentina

**SOME** of your comrades have asked me, after reading the articles by Simon Pirani on Argentina: what about the United Secretariat forces in Argentina? What did they do in relation to the signing of the 'Act of Democracy' (or 'Act of Surrender', as the MAS called it)?

After their disastrous policies of the 1960s and 1970s when they capitulated to Castroism and guerrillaism, driving hundreds of potential revolutionaries to their death or to the abandonment of revolutionary Marxism, the United Secretariat was left with very small forces in Latin America.

This is particularly so in Argentina, where they have to confront the existence of a very powerful and influential Trotskyist movement, embodied in the MAS (Movement Towards Socialism).

When the Front of the People was formed, their small group of supporters, about 25-30 grouped in an organisation called 'Praxis', joined it and supported it. Of course, they were not members of the Communist Party. Some articles on these lines appeared in 'Imprecor' and other USec publications.

When the Front of the People broke up at Easter, because of the Communist Party's betrayal of the Front's programme, and because of the struggle of the masses against the military, the USec group also split.

One section went along with the Communist Party, supporting their signing of the 'Act of Surrender' with Alfonsín, and signing the Communist Party's call for their May Day meeting in the Atlanta Stadium. The other section, which now calls itself 'Praxis (Socialist Democracy)', refused to support the CP and sent an interesting letter, which I enclose for publication.

Note that this group, Praxis (SD), even though rejecting the signing of the CP compromise with Alfonsín, and also criticising its own right-wing, still criticises the MAS for calling a separate May Day rally. Apparently, they still didn't realise that it was the class struggle and the betrayal of the CP which forced the MAS to call a separate May Day rally.

The MAS rally was called under the central slogan of 'Come with those who didn't sign the act of capitulation to the military'. Could they have organised that jointly with those who did sign? Comradely,

Leon Perez  
Representative of the  
International Workers  
League (LIT) in Britain

**Letter from the Praxis Group (Socialist Democracy) to the MAS**

● Buenos Aires  
May 16, 1987

Dear comrades of the MAS, IN view of the appearance of the name of Praxis being

used in ads calling for participation in the Atlanta May Day rally, and also indicating that they endorsed, even though with 'reservations', the so-called 'Act of Democratic Compromise', we should let you know about certain rectifications.

In the first place, the group Praxis voted overwhelmingly to reject the proposal of the Communist Party to let their name be used for such advertisements.

Our position then was to criticise the breaking up of the Front of the People and also criticise the fact that two separate May Day meetings were being organised. That is why we attended both meetings with political declarations criticising both.

The appearance of the advertisements made many comrades believe that we supported only the Atlanta meeting, or even that we were part of the 'El Frente Va' (the new front formed by the CP — Ed.) which we do not.

In the second place, the group Praxis has rejected, from the start, the signature of the 'Act of Democratic Compromise', with 'reservations' or without them.

Today, with the project of 'due obedience', it will be clearer to many comrades how criminal was the objective of Alfonsín, who was able to entangle left forces to sign it.

The signature that appears in the advertisements and the participation in the 'El Frente Va', is of only a minuscule group that split from us and in an irresponsible way has started to sign here and there as 'Praxis'.

What you have known as 'Praxis', with its own independent policies in confronting 'democratic pacts' with fictitious rubber stamp organisations, and its intransigent attitude towards the Communist Party. Some articles on these lines appeared in 'Imprecor' and other USec publications.

Horacio Tarcus  
For the leadership of the  
Group Praxis (Socialist  
Democracy)

## SUCCESSFUL SEMINAR

BY SANDRA PENN

**SEXUAL ABUSE, part-time working, welfare and the health service — these were just some of the issues affecting women which were discussed at the Workers Revolutionary Party's Womens' Commission Seminar held in east London last Sunday.**

More than 30 people attended the all-day event — the first of its kind to be held in the Party. This fact was reflected in the wide-ranging and enthusiastic discussion which took place.

Rae Hunter, the longest-serving Trotskyist in the Party, who recently visited South America in a Workers Revolutionary Party delega-

tion, reported on the struggle being waged by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo.

These Argentinian women are demanding the return of their children, 30,000 of whom 'disappeared' in the most sinister circumstances during the darkest hours of the military junta.

The way these mothers and grandmothers organised themselves and how a revolutionary cadre from the MAS (Movement Towards Socialism) intervened to develop the struggle was of great interest to everyone.

Although the seminar was a big step forward for the Party, central to it was the theoretical issue. The necessity for an analysis on the question of women, its place in the construction of a revolutionary leadership and the Stalinist attacks on women's rights has to be studied and developed.

We should certainly be working towards another seminar. Much more has still to be done on such questions.

Workers Revolutionary Party

## PUBLIC MEETING

Tuesday 30 June, 8p.m.

Highfields Community Centre  
Melbourne Road, Leicester

## Revisionism in crisis

**WORKERS PRESS** is to publish a series of articles about the crisis of the revisionist United Secretariat (USec) and the international current of the French PCI, led by Pierre Lambert and known as the Centre of International Reconstruction (CIR).

Each of these organisations is racked by profound political, theoretical and organisational crisis.

Entire sections of the USec have dissolved themselves into organisations alien to the Trotskyist movement. Some have gone into Stalinist parties and organisations, breaking all ties with the USec.

The only other important organisations left in the USec, the French LCR and the Mexican PRT, are riddled with factional disputes. On the other hand, some sections of the USec are resisting these trends to liquidation, although in a limited fashion.

The CIR has just exploded. After the splits of the Stefan Just and the Cambadellis factions of the PCI (the second of these fused with the French Socialist Party), a new crisis has developed.

Lambert's co-thinkers in Brazil, England, Ireland and other countries walked out of the last 'General Council' of the CIR. The PCI itself is busy constructing its own reformist 'Movement for a Workers Party'.

These new developments in the revisionist trends within the Trotskyist movement undoubtedly have their roots in the new developments in the class struggle that is shaking, not only the ruling class, but also the counter-revolutionary apparatuses of Stalinism, social-democracy and the labour bureaucracies.

We have seen the miners' strike, the revolutionary upheavals in the Philippines, in Central America, in the Middle East and in South Africa, as well as recent upheavals of the French and Spanish students and working class.

Together with the deepening of the crisis of imperialism that produces them, these have affected those organisations, like the USec and the CIR, which capitulate to the counter-revolutionary apparatuses.

The articles, by Leon Perez and Bob Archer, will be both an account of this crisis and an analysis of its roots. They will be a contribution to the work of reorganising the Fourth International on a principled programmatic basis.

The authors form the Secretariat of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference which emerged from the WRP's call of the Workers Revolutionary Party for the reorganisation of the Fourth International.

## Hammer the gossip

**IN THE** June issue of 'Workers Hammer' (Spartacist League) Ted Crawford writes that David North, leader of the Workers League (US) recently went into the Paperback Centre in central London and 'started to throw his weight about, threatening and abusing people'.

This is untrue. David North did enter the shop but did not threaten or abuse anyone.

If Ted Crawford wishes to gossip on the basis of fact then he could pass on the following: On Wednesday 24 June two members of the shop, one of whom attempted to steal a copy of 'In Defence of Marxism'.

The book was retrieved from her bag and both were asked to leave the shop.

Andrew Burgin

## A newly-translated document from the Vietnamese Trotskyists

**AN** English translation is now being made of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam' by Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, originally published in Paris, in French, by the Fourth International in 1947. (English translation copyright New Park Publications).

This work consists of a Marxist historical analysis of Vietnam before and during the structure of the class line of the development of nationalist movements from their origins in the 1890s, and of the Stalinist and Trotskyist movements in Vietnam.

It concludes with an estimation by the author, a Vietnamese Trotskyist who work-

ed in Paris after World War II, of the nature of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

We are not able at present to print this material. However, this work is invaluable for the study of the Vietnamese revolution, and of importance for the study of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries in general.

We are therefore offering Xeroxed copies of this document (approximately 100 A4 pages) for £5 plus postage (Special offer for WRP members £2.50).

Please return the form below within a month if you want a copy of this document. We need finance in order to complete the work on this project.

To: WRP Education Department, PO Box 735, London SW9 1QS. Please send me a copy/... copies of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam'.

Name & Address .....

Please enclose £5 per copy (£2.50 for WRP members) plus postage: 50p — Britain and Ireland; 60p Europe; £1.56 — Middle East and north Africa; £2.12 — America, southern Africa, India; £2.40 — Australia, Far East.

## TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Magazine of Marxist Theory  
Volume 1 Number 1 March 1987

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27 Reasons and No Explanations, by Dave Bruce  
The Class Nature of the Bureaucracy, by Gerard Laffont  
A Reply to Comrade Laffont, by Cliff Slaughter

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PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

The same old ball game

ONE of the books we had knocking about the house when I was a small boy was a curious relic of the 'Great War', as everyone then referred to the First World War.

It was called 'The Queen's Gift Book', or some such seductive title, and was designed to raise funds for convalescent homes for wounded soldiers and sailors.

Famous writers, now forgotten, had given their services free, turning out sentimental stories about the love of a beautiful woman for a handsome, gallant, wounded officer, and how their love survived a tangle of mutual misunderstandings — you know the sort of thing.

Equally famous but equally long-forgotten artists had contributed sentimental pictures on 'patriotic' themes. The one I remember best — it burnt itself into my imagination at the age of three or thereabouts — was a kitschy depiction of a scene on a British battleship during a naval engagement.

We are on deck in the thick of the battle, behind a big gun that is being loaded by a group of brawny tars. Stripped to the waist and sweating profusely, they are otherwise implausibly smart and well turned-out.

And towering there in the sky, emerging as it were from the very smoke of battle and looking down with love and approval as our brave boys withstand the onslaught of the fiendish Hun, is the figure of Admiral Horatio Nelson himself.

The popular iconography of the British ruling class, and that iconography's political purpose, have changed little in 70 years.

The latest example is worth more than a casual glance. Commissioned by the West Midlands police to raise money for a police convalescent home, it's an oil painting purporting to show the scene at Birmingham City Football Club during a riot there two years ago.

Entitled 'A Different Ball Game', it was painted by an artist called John Edwards, who clearly knows which side his bread is buttered.

West Midlands Chief Constable

Geoffrey Dear, we are told, has signed a limited edition of 250 colour prints of this painting, and copies are being sold at £35 each. Already 57 of these prints have been bought, mostly by police officers.

The central figure in 'A Different Ball Game' is a policeman, gallant of course, and no doubt handsome to boot — though you can't really tell how handsome he is because he's got a visor on. He's mounted on a mettlesome milk-white charger, and round his head is a kind of halo.

This kind of writing, for which I beg my readers' pardon, is the precise verbal equivalent of this genre of painting. Indeed, 'A Different Ball Game' is instantly recognisable as the lineal descendant of those 19th-century pictures of St George of England sallying forth to slay the loathsome dragon.

Only, the dragon about to be slain by this St George isn't, as you might naively expect, the National Front supporters who according to reliable reports were chiefly responsible for, and chiefly involved in, those Birmingham disturbances.

Far from it. The leading adversaries of this particular St George are a group of young black men, one of whom seems to be in the act of throwing a stone at him. White youngsters are shown, to be sure, but they are well in the background.

It's as if John Edwards, in his natural desire to replicate his patron's cherished image of the world — and canvas, as is well known, will bear without protest whatever the artist cares to paint on it — has succeeded in conflating two quite different events.

Superimposed on Birmingham football ground in tumult is another, quite distinct picture that evidently lurks in Mr Edwards's imagination: of the Handsworth uprising, maybe.

Needless to say, black community leaders in Birmingham are furious about 'A Different Ball Game'. They say it is offensive and insulting, in that it suggests that black people were to blame for what happened at the football ground.

This painting is said to be just the first in a collection illustrating the development of John Edwards' is obviously on to a very good thing indeed, and I'd advise him to lose no time in offering his services to every police force in the land.

Here are some suggestions for subjects to which he might apply his undoubted talents.

'Gallant Police Officers Invading the Home of Mrs Cherry Groce' is crying out for his inimitable brush. 'Gallant Police Officers Beating up Mr and Mrs David White in their Stoke Newington Home' would make an admirable sequel — a piquant one, too, since here a woman police officer shared in the action alongside her male colleagues.

Then might come a cunning diptych, 'Trevor Monerville Before and After Police Custody', followed by 'Gallant PC Yeates Breaking the Nose of a Hampstead Film Director's Son Who Had Parked his Car in the Wrong Place' (Hampstead, so beloved of Pre-Raphaelite painters, would make an admirable leafy backdrop to the scene).

For a subtle urban nocturne, set in the Holloway Road, how about 'Gallant Police Officers Disciplining Five Teenagers with Kicks and Punches' — or perhaps Mr Edwards would prefer as an alternative, catchier title: 'I Feel Better for Giving that Lad a Smack!'

If Mr Edwards now grew tired of his heroes' everyday activities, he could turn his attention to industry. I see his 'Gallant Mounted Police Charging Yorkshire Miners' as a vast canvas, a veritable tour de force, crying out to be hung in the National Gallery, with 'Gallant Riot Police Invading Yorkshire Pit Village' as, perhaps, a minor pendant.

Light relief? Why not 'Chief Constable James Anderton Listening to the Voice of God', followed by 'John Stalker Gets Too Near the Knuckle and is Taken off the Case'?

'Special Branch Raiding the BBC' would call for judicious use of the palette-knife: Mr Edwards would need lots of thick, buttery, silver pigment to portray all those confiscated cans of film.

But Mr Edwards's forte is clearly crowd scenes, and my final suggestion — one has to draw the line somewhere, though the police don't seem to — is 'Gallant Police Clouting Norma Kitson in the Jaw outside the South African Embassy after Knocking her Son Steven about'.

These suggestions alone would keep Mr Edwards happily busy for 250 prints each, at £35 per print, I calculate that the series I've suggested would raise no less than £96,250.

Such a sum would supply gallant convalescent police officers with little comforts for some considerable time to come.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name ..... date .....

Address .....

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SEND TO: Secretary to the Central Committee  
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

WORKERS PRESS JUNE FUND

Our fund stands at £1,355.38

Last Thursday's speech by the Queen made it abundantly clear to every worker that attacks on their living standards and basic rights will be stepped up immediately with Thatcher's return to office. We were never in any doubt this would be the case — the role of Workers Press is precisely to tell the truth to its readers. During the election campaign we gave particular attention to the treacherous position of Kinnock which consequently resulted in Labour's defeat at the polls. Despite this betrayal there was still a massive anti-Tory vote by the working class expressing, not illusions in the Labour leadership but a class hatred towards the Tories and their allies. It has provided us with a clear indication of the need for the building of a revolutionary socialist leadership.

Send donations urgently to: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

£5,000 Special Fund

IN SO FAR: £1,977.90

The Workers Revolutionary Party Special Fund has hardly moved in recent weeks. This is a very urgent situation. The Fund is needed for the important work that is at present being undertaken in relation to the forthcoming Conference to reorganise the Fourth International.

We urge you to give this appeal your serious attention. Donations to the WRP Special Fund are vital for the Workers Revolutionary Party's contribution to the work of the Preparatory Committee to organise the International Conference of Trotskyists.

PLEASE send, send, send donations, large or small, to WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

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Workers Revolutionary Party

Weekly Public Meetings

7.30p.m. start  
Starting Thursday 25 June  
1. The Founding of the Fourth International  
2. The Fourth International after World War II  
3. The Fourth International and Revisionism  
4. Re-Organisation of the Fourth International  
Liverpool Polytechnic Students Union  
Haigh Buildings  
Maryland Street, Liverpool

Workers Revolutionary Party

London Public Lectures

Every Friday, 7.30p.m.  
Duke of York, York Way, N1  
near Kings Cross Station  
June 26: Marxism as a Scientific Method  
July 3: The Communist Manifesto  
July 10: The Russian Revolution  
July 17: Stalinism and Trotskyism

LISTINGS are published free by WORKERS PRESS each week for organisations in the labour movement. Please send details to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Thursday.

BOTHA'S LAWS COME TO BRITAIN Non-Stop Picket against Apartheid banned from South African Embassy. Public Order Act used against City of

London Anti-Apartheid Group. Join us to challenge unjust police action. Mass Rally every Friday, 5.30p.m.-7.30p.m., Ducannon Street, WC2.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR) Weekly planning meetings every Tuesday at 7.30p.m. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938).

BRING BACK VICTORIA WILLIAMS! Campaign meetings,

7.30p.m., second and fourth Wednesdays of every month. UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

REMEMBER BOBBY SANDS MP! March and Rally to commemorate Irish Hunger Strikers. Saturday 27 June. Assemble 12.30p.m. Finsbury Park. Speakers include representatives from Sinn Fein, Black Liberation, Irish POW Repatriation Committee and PAC.

VIRAJ MENDIS WILL STAY! National Demonstration in Man-

chester Saturday 11 July (For further details ring London Support Group: 837 1688.)

VIRAJ MENDIS LONDON SUPPORT GROUP Downing Street Protest every Monday 6-7p.m. Westminster/Charing Cross tubes) Weekly Organisational meetings take place after the picket.

GAY PRIDE RALLY AND FAIR March leaves 2p.m. from Hyde Park Corner to Jubilee Gardens, Saturday, 27 June.

Workers Revolutionary Party

Public Meeting

Mobilise Against the Tories!  
Labour Leaders Must Fight Thatcher!  
Thursday 16 July, 7.30p.m.  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square

Speakers: Simon Pirani (WRP Central Committee); John Simmance (WRP Central Committee and AEU convenor, Charing Cross Hospital — in a personal capacity)

Cashmere Welfare Society UK

Commemoration of 13 July, 1931  
'Quit Cashmere Movement'  
Monday 13 July, 7p.m.  
Carmichael Hall, Eastwood Park  
Rouken Glen Road, Giffnock  
Glasgow G46

Workers Revolutionary Party

West of Scotland

Public Meeting

Tuesday 14 July, 7.30p.m.  
Mobilise Against Tories NOW!  
Craigneuk Community Centre  
Fieldmuir Street  
Craigneuk, Lanarkshire

Workers Revolutionary Party

Public Meeting

Labour, the Election and the International Working Class  
Tuesday 7 July, 7.30p.m.  
Brighton Unemployed Centre  
Tilbury Place (off Calton Hill), Brighton  
Speaker: Bob Archer (WRP Central Committee)



# ROBSON'S CHOICE

## Oasis in a desert

Even in a good week, and this could not be mistaken for one, Jorg Gfrorer and Gunter Wallraff's **The Lowest of the Low** (Thursday, 10.30p.m. on Channel Four) would have to have been my 'pick of the week' on television.

As it is, it stands out like an oasis in a desert: not to be missed!

Gfrorer is a graduate of Berlin's German Film and Television Academy. Wallraff is well known as a campaigning journalist.

They have worked together since 1976 on a variety of subjects of mutual concern. Their first film together made in 1977, **Information from Behind the Scenes**, was banned at the last minute from showing on West German television.

In **Lowest of the Low** Gfrorer and Wallraff investigate the slave-labour practices that underpin the German economic miracle.

With breathtaking audacity they disguise themselves as 'guest workers', as an Italian and a Turk, and look for work in the twilight zone where no self-respecting German trade unionist would be seen dead or alive.

picture: 'wanna... is that the film equipment — a camera weighing 8 kilos, a tape recorder, portable U-Matic high band and all the bits and pieces — into the car boot.'

'Soon after five in the morning we reach an industrial estate in Oberhausen. We have been hired out to a firm here specialising in industrial cleaning by our 'job agency' — or, in insider's jargon, "slave dealer".

'If there's enough work, we'll be hired for the day. Otherwise we'll have to leave. A few Turkish col-



Some of the 'Lowest of the Low' (10.30pm on Channel 4, Thursday)

leagues come here on foot in the hope of getting a job. One of them lives nearly an hour's walk away.'

'... The neon light in the washroom is bright enough. I take the bag and try to take a couple of pictures of the tired faces. I have to hold the camera bag as high as possi-

ble, and point it downwards so as not to get the neon tubes in the picture... By now I'm familiar with the angle and don't need to check my picture in the little monitor built into the bag.'

'No one gives my strange behaviour a second glance. To them I've long been "the crazy Italian who lugs the Turk's bag around after him".

looks at the Prevention of Terrorism Act which, since it was rushed through parliament in 1974, has been used to terrorise the Irish community in Britain, and enabled the authorities to arrest, detain and imprison for seven days over 6,000 Irish citizens.

On **Tuesday**, at 7.30p.m. (Radio 3), Luigi Pirandello's play, **A Woman in Search of Herself**. At 9.30p.m. (BBC1), in a season devoted to the work of Dennis Potter, **Where Adam Stood**, written in 1976.

On **Wednesday**, at 8.30p.m. (C-4), **Diverse Reports** takes us to famine-struck Somalia. At 9.30p.m. (BBC1), the first of a ten-part natural history series called **The Living Isles**. For light relief, at 11.30p.m. (ITV), off-beat **Western True Grit**.

On **Thursday**, at 4.05p.m. (C-4), a Buster Keaton short entitled **The Balloonatic**. At 8.20p.m. (Radio 3), a short piece by Pirandello, **The Partners**. At 10.30p.m. (C-4), the German documentary mentioned above, **Lowest of the Low**.

On **Friday**, at 7.30p.m. (Radio 3), William Shakespeare's **Merchant of Venice**, with the superb David Suchet as Shylock, and Marc Allegret's minor French classic (1937), **Gri-bouille**, at 11.55p.m. (BBC2).

\* \* \*  
On **Saturday**, at 10.20a.m. (C-4), **The Living Body** follows a child from conception to birth (first of two programmes). At 8.30p.m. (BBC2), **Segovia at Los Olivos**, a portrait of the Andalusian guitarist Andres Segovia who died early this month aged 94. For light relief, at 10.45p.m. (ITV), the film **Neighbors**.

On **Sunday**, at 2.30p.m. (Radio 4), the play **Better to Break Your Neck**. At 3p.m. (BBC1) an ebullient Hollywood musical **Seven Brides for Seven Brothers**. At 7.15p.m. (C-4), episode four of the excellent documentary series **The Struggles for Poland**. At 10.15p.m. (C-4), the entertaining Howard Hawks comedy **Monkey Business**.

On **Monday**, at 7p.m. (ITV), the popular science series **The Cutting Edge** presents **Crazy But Harmless**. At 10.55p.m. (C 4), Britain: **The Lie of the Land**.

## Walter's crime lands him in jail

**PENSIONER** Walter Frith spoke of the prison sentence he has just served when he was stripped naked, body searched, given prison clothes and shut up for 24 hours a day.

His crime? He parked his car in a space reserved for disabled drivers in August, 1985, and refused to pay the £12 penalty.

'I honestly did not know. There was building work going on in the street and the signs were obscured and markings on the road covered in sand and mud,' he said last week.

Walter, 76, went before Luton court. The magistrates ordered him to prison for five days.

'I couldn't believe it was happening. These magistrates sitting there puffed up on their own importance didn't want to know. I might just as well have been talking to a brick wall.'

Walter was taken to Bedford jail, one of Britain's most crowded prisons.

'I was body-searched in case I had brought some-

thing in with me. In the reception area I had to strip naked and was then given my prison clothes and a set of bedding.

'I was desperately worried about my dogs and the fact that they might be on their own in the house for five days.

'Because I have a heart condition I was placed in the hospital wing. I was put in a cell with bars over the window. I was in that cell 24 hours a day and even my food was brought to me. There was no chance to exercise.

'At night I had to make use of a plastic potty and I would slop out every morning. It was just so degrading.'

Walter finally walked through the prison gates to freedom last weekend. He was given a single rail pass back to Luton and, ironically, £12 in cash.

Luckily a friend had managed to look after his two dogs.

'I am not a bolshie old man or someone who will not listen to reason. If I had deliberately parked my car there and got caught, then fair enough, I would have paid the fine,' he said.

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**CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ... CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ...**

# Trial, verdict, & execution

**FOLLOWING the Haymarket massacre the first major red scare in American history was launched.**

The sole purpose was to rob the workers of their leadership, a practice that the ruling class have attempted to carry out wherever and whenever the working class have been in conflict.

There were the most vicious and vile attacks on workers, their organisations and printing presses. It was in an atmosphere of hate that the trial took place.

Jurers who openly admitted that they were prejudiced against the accused were sworn in as 'just men and true'.

Just to make sure they did not weaken, before and during the trial the press kept up a barrage of anti-working class propaganda.

One example was an article by a business man for a Chicago newspaper: 'No, I do not consider these men to be guilty of any offence, but they must be hanged. I am not afraid of anarchy but I do consider that the labor movement must be crushed. The Knights of Labor will never be able to create discontent again if these men are hanged.'

As a representative of his class, this man was correct. He saw the struggle around the demand 'Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest,

eight hours for what we will' as a challenge to the domination of capital over labour.

It was not a question of anarchy, but that the workers were moving forward as a class and the leadership had to be smashed. In Chicago alone, the main centre of the eight-hour movement, 400,000 workers were on strike. The leadership of this great movement had to be taken out of activity one way or another.

This was the context of the Haymarket events.

The trial was presided over by Judge Gary. He made it very clear that he had already made up his mind about the verdict by allowing a relative of one of the dead policemen to be sworn in as a jurer.

The prosecutor's case against the accused men was to prove that the bomb thrower had been inspired by the words and agitation of those now on trial for murder.

In their speeches and during cross examination the defendants insisted that although they were being charged with murder, it was their politics that was on trial.

On 9 October 1886 the prisoners were brought from the cells to the court room to hear the verdict and sentence.

8th and final part of a series by Norman Harding

Seven were sentenced to death and Oscar Neebe received a 15-year prison sentence.

They all spoke before Judge Gary passed sentence. But it was August Spies who captured the attention, and raised the passions of those who were packed into the court room. He said:

**'If you think by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement ... the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil in want and misery, expect salvation, if this is your opinion, then hang us! Here you will tread upon a spark, but there and there, behind you in front of you, and everywhere, flames blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You cannot put it out.**

**And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day, if you think that you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows ... if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they have dared to tell the truth ... then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price! Call your hangman!'**

There were not many dry eyes that day. Many hundreds of thousands of workers were proud of their leaders and the courage that they had shown when faced with the enemy class and their state machine.

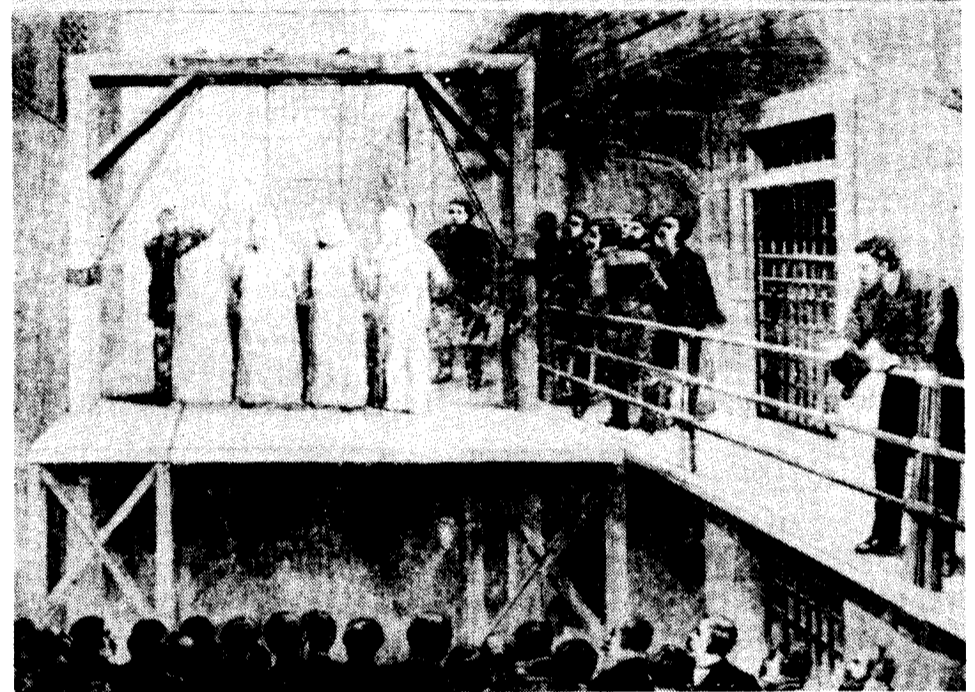
Immediately after the trial Lucy Parsons went into action and organised a protest movement that found a response the world over.

In England Edward and Eleanor (Marx) Aveling called on the British workers to strengthen the hand of their American brothers by holding protest meetings and passing resolutions against the murder of the labour leaders.

On October 14 1887 a crowded meeting took place in London at the South Place Institute. An overflow meeting had to be held outside. Meetings like this took place all over Britain.

The United States Supreme Court refused to examine the case and the date of execution was fixed for 11 November 1887. The day before the execution Fielden and Schwab had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. On the same day 22 year old Lingg either committed suicide or was murdered in his cell.

In his last letter to his wife Lucy, Albert Parsons wrote: 'To my poor dear wife ... you I bequeath to the people, a woman of the peo-



Scenes from the execution of the Chicago martyrs



ple. I have one request to make of you: Commit no rash act when I am gone, but take up the great cause of socialism where I am compelled to lay it down.'

On the day of the execution Lucy, her two children and two friends Lizzie and William Holmes, tried to get as near as possible to the execution block.

As they tried more and more persistently to get through the police cordon round the prison, they were passed from one police officer to another in attempting to get permission.

Finally the police hustled them away to a local police station where William Holmes was put into one cell and Lizzie, Lucy and the children in another. They were all strip searched.

They were then locked in their cells until it was all over.

Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Engel, each escorted by a deputy, made their way to the chamber. As they passed the cages of Fielden, Shwab and Neebe they bid them farewell and told them to carry on the fight.

The four men were proud and dignified as they climbed the steps to the platform. The deputies approached to place hoods over their heads.

Spies said: 'The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today.'

'Hurrah for anarchy!' were the last words of both Engel and Fischer.

Parsons appealed to be allowed to speak: 'Let me speak Sheriff Matson! Let the voice of the people be heard! O ...'. He did not have time to finish. His last word was lost in the noise of the trap door opening.

On neat rows of benches 170 pressmen and observers sat to witness the judicial murder.

They saw the suffering. None of the four men had their necks broken and all died from strangulation.

## Death

At 12:06 they were pronounced dead. It had taken seven minutes and 45 seconds of suffering and agony for the ruling class to achieve their objective, to take these leaders out of the struggle.

When American labour journalist John Swinton asked Marx: 'What does the future hold for us?' the answer he got was a simple one: 'Struggle.'

May Day, the day of international working-class solidarity, was born out of the events of May 1886 in Chicago.

We say to the labour lieutenants of capitalism: The day will come when you are not allowed to use May Day as cover for your allegiance to capitalism.

The determination and devotion to the working class and to socialism of those covered in this series is unquestionable. But devotion is not enough.

To continue their fight we have to build a leadership, a party, based not only on determination and devotion but on Marxism.

The events covered in this series can only be understood in the context of the historical development of man and society, otherwise they will be only a series of impressions.

We have to understand from where the conflict developed, and where it is

heading. The next historical step is communism — it was in 1886 and still is today.

I make no apology for finishing with an extract from the speech Engels made at Karl Marx's funeral:

**'Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch from the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, the ideas of art, and even on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.'**

## CONCLUDED

Recommended reading  
*History of the Labour Movement in the USA Vol.2, Foner.*  
*William Sylvis: Pioneer of American Labor, Grossman.*  
*The Great Labor Uprising 1877 (Rail Strike), Foner*  
*The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs, edited by Foner.*  
*Labor's Untold Story, Richard O. Boyer, Herbert M. Morais.*  
*The Haymarket Tragedy, Paul Avrich.*



PARSONS



SPIES



ENGEL





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# A powerful working class in the wings

**PARALLELS between the eruption of opposition to the regime of South Korean president Chun Doo Hwan and the movement which overthrew President Marcos in the Philippines are easy to see.**

Korea is far more important for US imperialism than the Philippines, both militarily and economically: 40,000 US troops are stationed there, and South Korea is one of the largest US trading partners.

The rise of the economy in the past two decades is one of the major shifts in the capitalist world.

In 1963, 57 per cent of South Koreans lived in the countryside. Today, the figure is less

BY CYRIL SMITH

than 20 per cent. The economy is now growing at the rate of 16 per cent a year.

Student movements against the dictatorial regime are nothing new. In 1960, Syngman Rhee, who had been the US puppet in the war against the North Korean and Chinese armies, was overthrown by such a movement.

In 1979, his successor Park Chung Hee was assassinated. Chun, a leading milit-

ary figure who fought alongside the US army in Vietnam, came to power in 1980, after brutally suppressing another wave of student protest.

Chun was supposed to step down after a seven-year term. His successor is due to preside while Seoul hosts the 1988 Olympics.

The present unrest was triggered by his attempt to foist one of his cronies on to the country as his successor.

The movement of 1987, however, involves more than radical students. The sizable and prosperous Korean middle class has played a major part in the clashes with the police which have blown up in several major cities.

A question hangs over Korea today: the silence of both North Korean and Soviet Stalinists is now quite deafening.

They are praying fervently that Chun takes US advice

to find some kind of compromise with the liberal opposition.

The demand for the country to be reunited has widespread backing among the students, but its expression is regarded as treason.

The most vital question does not yet feature in the comments of newspaper articles.

For the fantastic rise of the Korean economy not only brought forward a middle-class democratic opposition to the dictatorship. It also brought into being a powerful working class.

Any weakening of the military regime will set this force into political motion.

It is this movement which will be decisive in determining the future, both of the capitalist dictatorship of the South and the bureaucratic regime in the North.