



No trade union collaboration with the MSC!  
Smash YTS and all other cheap labour schemes!

- For a massive public works programme with union rights and union rates of pay!
- For a 30-hour week with no loss of pay!
- For workers' control of skill training: a return to the apprenticeship system with full rates of pay!
- Trade unions must recruit unemployed and all scheme workers!
- For the unity of unemployed and employed workers!

# MI5 KINNOCK MUST SPEAK

**A BLOODY FEUD for supremacy between MI5 and MI6 in 1973/1974 ended in victory for MI5. There then followed a campaign of assassinations and smears designed to destabilise the Labour government.**

The trade unions were infiltrated as were the Labour Party and the left. It continues to this day.

Caught in the middle of the feud was Colin Wallace, then Psychological Warfare (Psywar) Officer in the north of Ireland.

He says he was driven out of the service when he refused to smear the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson.

In an interview with Workers Press, Wallace told of the battle he is fighting on two fronts.

On the one hand, he alleges the intelligence services tap his phone, open his mail, steal his files and fabricate evidence against him. But he is also engaged in a fight to get the leader of the Labour Party to listen to him.

Over a year ago Wallace handed a file on the illegal activities of MI5 to Teddy Taylor MP. The file had been compiled by Wallace and another former intelligence officer, Fred Holroyd.

Wallace says Holroyd had evidence that SAS man Robert Nairac had been ordered to murder members of the Miami Showband as part of a plot to wreck a ceasefire agreement negotiated between the IRA and the Labour government.

Taylor's office in the House of Commons was broken into. Only one thing was taken: the file!

On 21 April 1986 Wallace wrote a letter asking Neil Kinnock for help (see p 16). He is still awaiting a reply.

Despite the explosive nature of the allegations, which show that Thatcher was selected for prime minister by MI5, Kinnock refused to embarrass her by raising it during the election.

When Ken Livingstone repeated these charges in a speech to the House of Commons, Kinnock described them as 'probably unfair'.

'Kinnock should realise that if he ever looked like coming to power the same thing would happen to him as happened to Wilson,' Wallace said.

When Wallace wrote his letter asking for help, Kin-

BY PHIL PENN

nock was very busy trying to expel members of Militant, not only in response to Tory demands and a hysterical press witch-hunt, but probably, and more importantly, in response to pressure from the United States.

Civil war broke out in the British security services in 1973 as a result of an ultimatum from the CIA, Wallace told Workers Press.

'President Nixon and Henry Kissinger began to believe that a lot of the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations were organised by the Soviets.

'They started an enormous internal surveillance operation called CHAOS. It was totally illegal and was designed to look at American citizens, mail-opening, wire-tapping and all the other things that the CIA do so well.

'Then they started a vast computer surveillance system called HYDRA.

'They were unable to prove anything — which only led them to believe that the conspiracy was more refined than they thought.'

The CIA then turned their attention to Britain with whom there was an information-sharing agreement.

'The CIA said that if the left was growing in power in Britain then they would have to withhold co-operation from us.

'That had a fairly marked effect on our people, because without American finance the whole intelligence operation would be impossible.

'At the time, the Labour Party was, in its 1973 draft manifesto, promising to go for unilateral disarmament and the withdrawal of American bases. These things were fundamental to American foreign policy.

'In addition there was the miners' strike and the three-

day week, which, to the conspiracy theory people, was a manifestation of the real power of the left.'

The whole thing then began to feed on itself 'when information was distorted for political purposes' as agents told their heads of intelligence what they wanted to hear.

In the ensuing power struggle Wallace was ordered not to co-operate with MI5 after a number of informants were killed when their cover was blown.

In October and November alone 28 people were killed.

'One NCO who lost a number of informants committed suicide as a result,' said Wallace.

'When MI5 took over lots of silly things were done like booby-trapping arms dumps and derailing trains. From that period came Echo 4 Alpha, the shoot-to-kill policy, which was investigated by John Stalker.'

Part of Wallace's job was to find out about the rivalries within different 'sectarian' groups. He would then weave this information into provocative stories which found their way into the press.

Just after the election of the Labour government Wallace discovered that much of the disinformation he was asked to spread around was about Labour politicians who had links with Ireland.

'The stories were designed to show that Labour's policies in northern Ireland were failing because the Party was sympathetic to the terrorists and that government policy was being manipulated by the Soviet bloc.'

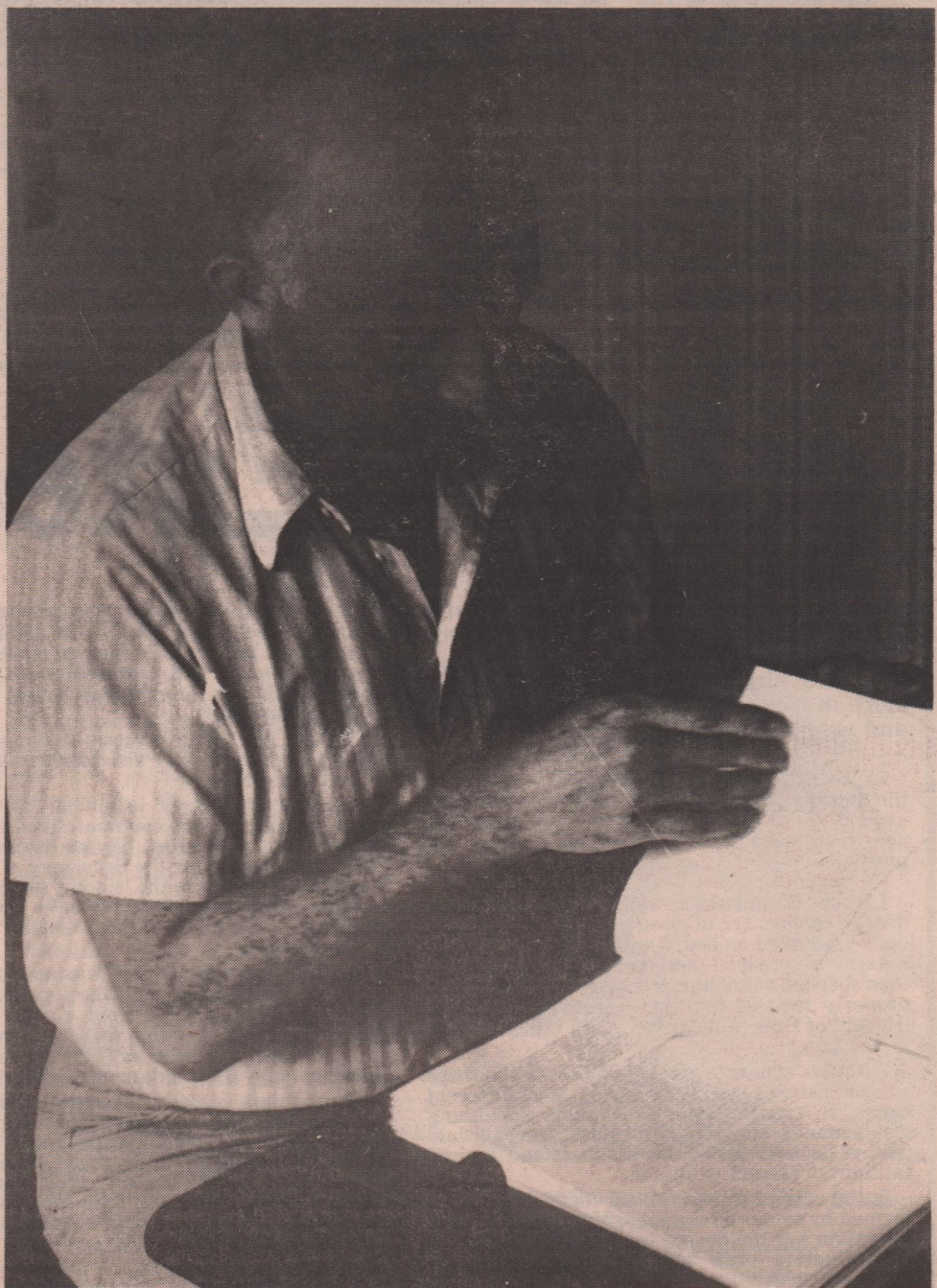
Wallace showed me a copy of MI5 source material containing his orders for Operation Clockwork Orange Two (see box).

TURN TO  
PAGE 16

## Clockwork Orange Two

Opinion polls show that Wilson rates much higher than Heath as a personality leader. Given the foregoing it is clear that the next election will be heavily dominated by the personality factor and every effort should be made to exploit character weaknesses in target subjects and in particular financial misbehaviour, sexual misbehaviour, political misbehaviour.

Targets are: Heath, Maudling, Pym, Gilmore, St John Stevas, Van Straubenze, Wilson, Rees, Benn, Mikardo, Owen, Hart, Stonehouse, Driberg, Short, Thorpe, Byars, Smith, Foot, Thomas, Wellbeloved, Heffer and Castle.



COLIN WALLACE

# Workers Press

## A matter of dishonour

WE ARE not going to discuss whether Jeffrey Archer did or did not have sex with Miss Monica Coghlan. Nor shall we comment on the news-gathering techniques of 'The Star' and the 'News of the World'.

And there is no need for us to refer to the cool half-million damages awarded to Mrs Thatcher's favourite source of fiction — next to MI5, that is. Readers of Workers Press will have little difficulty making up their own minds about these matters.

But the summing-up of the case by Mr Justice Caulfield should not pass without comment. Even Murdoch's 'Times' last Saturday was moved to say: 'The jury took only a few hours to decide . . . Considering the partiality of the judge's summing-up it might be thought surprising that it took even this long.'

Caulfield had urged the jury to remember Mrs Archer in the witness-box. 'Your vision of her will probably never disappear. Has she elegance?' he gushed. 'Has she fragrance? Would she have — without the strain of this trial — a radiance?'

And of Mr Archer, the impartial judge spoke of his 'worthy and healthy sporting history'. Clearly, it is unthinkable that a man from Wellington School and Brazenose College, Oxford, one-time President of the Oxford University Athletics Club, and who sprinted for England, could actually be the man on top of Monica Coghlan.

On the other hand, the jury was told to remember that she was 'a common prostitute, and has been since the age of 18'. They had to decide whether she was 'a sincere woman', or 'in the clutches of the "News of the World".'

In an unprecedented intervention, defence counsel for 'The Star' interrupted just before the jury left the court, and asked for errors in the judge's summing-up to be corrected. The judge had to recall the jury and alert them to these 'mistakes and inaccuracies'.

Whatever happens in the appeal called for by 'The Star', none can mistake the class character of this judgement.

● SEE 'The harlot's cry' — Peter Fryer — page 13

# London busmen vote to strike

LONDON busworkers now have no illusions about their 'rights'.

A legal judgement in the High Court says they have no legal right to redundancy payments when sacked and offered the same jobs under new management when London Buses win the tenders for their routes.

These 'same jobs' have a major difference — they are paid at lower rates for longer hours.

This judgement was given at a test case in which the Transport and General Workers Union members at Norbiton Garage took a legal action against London Buses.

But Colyn Partridge, T&GWU branch representative at Norbiton called on union members in London's whole fleet to continue the fight.

In a letter to fellow busworkers taking part in a union ballot for further strike action to defend wage rates and oppose the lengthening of the working day, he said:

'This is not Norbiton's fight alone. They will be after you next. We are not willing to accept this treatment. No matter what you have heard we do not intend accepting this.'

'We are going to fight London Buses Limited as hard as we can and we need your support. Let us stand up now for one rate of pay for all London bus workers. If we do not fight now we never will.'

In spite of concerted efforts by right-wing delegates to put off a vote, London bus crews voted overwhelmingly last Friday for further strike action.

Only two days before the vote London Buses announced that they had won the tenders for their own routes in the Harrow area.

They propose to work these routes under new conditions which would mean up to six hours behind the wheel without a break, and only 30

BY ROY THOMAS

minutes' meal relief in a nine-hour working day.

In spite of previous denials, London Buses plan to buy 27 second-hand buses from Manchester to run the Harrow services.

Within the next few weeks the results of the tenders in the Plumstead area are to be announced.

Local London Buses managers have already made it clear that they plan swinging cuts in wages because, they say, with unemployment so high in south east London, they will be able to recruit drivers at lower rates of pay.

The resistance to these plans already shown by the Norbiton busworkers is causing London Buses management problems.

The Norbiton garage has been on strike at least once a week, over 20 drivers left last week, and over 30 drivers are off sick at any one time because of the longer hours.

The sickness problem is so acute that a local doctor with a number of bus drivers on his panel has asked for a meeting with London Buses management to discuss the effect of the new working conditions on his patients.

The effect on passengers is also resulting in complaints that the tendering of bus routes is not providing a better service as promised. Instead it is much worse.

London Underground last week announced that because they are carrying so many passengers and many trains are now overloaded, they are increasing fares to drive passengers away.

rather than spend money putting on extra tube trains.

London Buses managers are known to be discussing a similar proposal in some of London's busy shopping areas where the GLC flat fare (30p) policy has produced an increase in bus travellers. Proposals to increase fares in outer London are expected to be announced soon.

Last year over 1,000 London busworkers were

assaulted at work — the largest number as a result of disputes over fares.

This combined attack on the level and quality of bus services to London's travelling public, and on the wages, working conditions and safety standards for bus crews makes even more urgent the setting up of joint bus crews and bus users committees to unite the struggle of the working class.

## Scottish bus strike

BY HILARY HORROCKS

ANGRY drivers employed by the Scottish Bus Group continued to strike early this week in defiance of their union leaders.

Local transport union officials had recommended a return to work until a delegate conference on Wednesday voted on a management pay package.

But members in many areas refused to suspend their week-old industrial action without a new offer from the management. 'We would be going back on a deal we have already thrown out,' said one shop steward.

The men say that the job flexibility demanded by the SBG in return for a higher basic wage will mean a drastic cut in overtime payments. Average earnings would be reduced by as much as £40 per week.

The employers are trying to step up the rate of exploitation in their 11 component companies to compete with other firms who have joined the scramble for profitable routes under bus de-

regulation. And the drivers fear that jobs will also go.

Pickets were out in force on Monday at bus depots still working. They were determined to present a solid front and prevent expected moves by management to pick off the companies one by one with local agreements.

Workers at the Dalkeith, Bathgate and Livingstone depots in Lothian reversed a previous decision and re-joined the strike. Drivers at the busy Edinburgh depot refused to cross picket lines.

Scottish Bus Group employers were threatening legal action against the union for 'secondary picketing', despite the fact that all the companies involved are owned by the SBG.

## After the raid

LAST week we reported an incident in south-east London where residents of a quiet street found themselves witnessing an early morning armed police raid on a neighbour's home (Workers Press, 25 July).

The entire operation, which also involved a helicopter and Alsatian dogs, turned out to be 'all a mistake' and the police subsequently apologised.

The family were distressed that a newspaper report on the incident included their name. Usually, when no charges are made, the police say 'a man' is helping them with their inquiries.

The suffering for needless victims after an incident like this is seldom reported or even recognised.

Margaret, the mother, told Workers Press: 'Now that Joe is trying to get back to normal we are finding it very difficult. He has lost a lot of business because people are afraid to go to his premises.'

'The whole family is a bag of nerves, especially Joe's elderly mother who has not been able to sleep since it happened.'

'The police officers smashed their way into Joe's shop premises; they smashed the door down and the glass partition and searched the premises while no one was inside. They did not have Joe's permission to do this.'

'The police also demanded the keys to Joe's old mum's flat so that they could search it. She gave them the keys willingly. They told her that if she did not they would smash that too.'

# 'Free Enterprise'

THE result of the Zeebrugge ferry disaster inquiry — a white-wash for Townsend Thoresen and the government — confirms what we already knew, that where the spirit of free enterprise reigns, profit is all and safety nothing.

In the ruthless competitive rush to cash in on the lucrative cross-Channel trade, speed of turnaround is of the essence while concern for sea-worthiness has been tossed out of the porthole.

Lorries of unknown weight and sometimes deadly content are in close proximity to passengers, crammed on board without limit to ensure maximum payload and revenue. Vessels are then speeded out of harbour before they are even properly secured for sea — in the case of the 'Herald of Free Enterprise', with a gaping hole in the bow!

With five separate groups of officers and three sets of ratings operating the ship at different times, to ensure non-stop running, something was bound to go wrong. No matter, there would always be individual crew members and 'human fallibility' around to blame.

In the case of roll-on roll-off vessels (cynically termed by some roll-on, roll-over) not merely the operation but the design too has been a case of subordinating crew and passenger safety to capitalist greed.

Basic lessons learned not merely from the

'Titanic' disaster in April 1912 (proved to have insufficient bulkheads) but of the sinking of the 'Mary Rose' in July 1545 (shipped water through an open gunport and capsized) were blatantly ignored with the concern for a fast drive-on, drive-off capability.

The fact that 35 ro-ro vessels have gone down in the last 20 years was also totally disregarded — and 188 died.

This was not 'sloppy' behaviour, as the judge put it, but downright criminal. The wording is significant. On the first day of the inquiry, 12 May 1987, counsel for the Secretary of State for Transport referred to the 'sloppy' attitude of the company. This term seems to have been pencilled in and then taken as the basis for the final summing-up.

But the company board was not sloppy. It pursued profitability and Tory philosophy on private enterprise with great vigour, even endangering its ships in this respect. If rules were not laid down this was so that 'anything goes' would remain the fundamental criterion.

When ship's masters catalogued dangerous practices and serious deficiencies in provision, their urgings were treated with cynical contempt by board members. True, some of these facts were raised in the inquiry, they were public knowledge anyway. But it seems the only reason for this was so that, having aired the issues the case can now be closed.

Some minor improvements have been made, the original Townsend Thoresen board has been dispersed and the company name is to be scrap-

ped and replaced with that of its parent, P&O. But meanwhile, there are still no transverse bulkheads, lorries with unknown loads still travel on the same vessels as passengers, and the sole involvement of passengers in safety matters is an early announcement over the loudspeaker system: 'Your attention is drawn to notices which inform you of your muster stations should difficulties arise.'

Clearly the book must not be closed. Prosecution should be made for corporate criminal neglect where this exists.

The trade unions must open their own inquiry into the running and design of roll-on, roll-off ferries and demand that they be withdrawn from service (with crews on full pay) until it has reported and ships have been modified or replaced. (The inquiry report states that ro-ro design can be looked at 'in the long-term').

In addition, although money is no recompense, if Tory Jeffrey Archer can get £500,000 for a scandalous assertion that may have set back part of his career, how much then should fall to these survivors and relatives of victims, whose lives have been devastated and wrecked by the actions of Townsend Thoresen!

Finally, has not the clearest case been made that such services can never be truly safe while profit and the morals of the market rule? The need for nationalisation and control of operations by crew and passenger committees has been brought into the sharpest relief not by the labour movement, but by the private enterprises themselves.

## NO COUNCIL MUST FIGHT ON ITS OWN!

# Manchester's crisis

**MANCHESTER City Labour Council have decided to make cuts in jobs and services in an attempt to stop bankruptcy.**

City-wide shop-floor meetings have been held covering the 40,000 employees of the council.

It has been publicised that 12,000 jobs would have to go, but Labour council leader Graham Stringer pledged no compulsory redundancies.

He has said publicly that their method of keeping services and jobs going was creative accounting—something the council has been doing for three years.

They had staked their policies on the return of a Labour government.

The trade union leaders of GMBATU, NUPE, NALGO and UCATT have called on the council for no compulsory redundancies but have agreed to cuts. In fact, Dick Pickering, secretary of GMBATU, called publicly for cuts, paving the way for Graham Stringer's announcement. In some quarters of the council they are being called 'socialist' cuts.

Although still to be worked out, the cuts amount to:

- 4,000 job losses by no filling of vacancies; ● £2 on rent, and
- £38 million cuts in services.

Stringer claimed it was the only way to maintain a left hold on the city council.

Many workers see the proposals as just the first in a series of cuts leading to compulsory redundancies and a devastation of ser-

the working class.

The financial system of the council must be open to workers to show how Thatcher has devastated services.

We agree with all those organisations calling for no cuts, no rent increases, no job losses. But how can this be achieved?

Certainly all debts to the banks must be repudiated. This can only be carried out by mobilising all workers, supporting their struggles and using the council as a means to aid their struggle.

The courts have made it quite clear that local authorities must carry out central

government directives where this conflicts with the locally elected council.

Workers have to prepare themselves for the deepening Tory onslaught. The council has just announced £40 million cuts in Manchester as the immediate measure that needs to be taken.

Workers' meetings and conferences need to be held throughout the city to thrash out a policy to fight these cuts.

We are confident that Thatcher can be defeated and that the workers will take the same road in many countries in repudiating capitalist debts.

BY MARTIN RALPH

vices. Indeed, Manchester City Council is now to be rate-capped by the Tories.

The council had proposed £110 million cuts over a two-year period. The Tories want at least £124 million, that is, over a quarter of the entire budget of Manchester City Council.

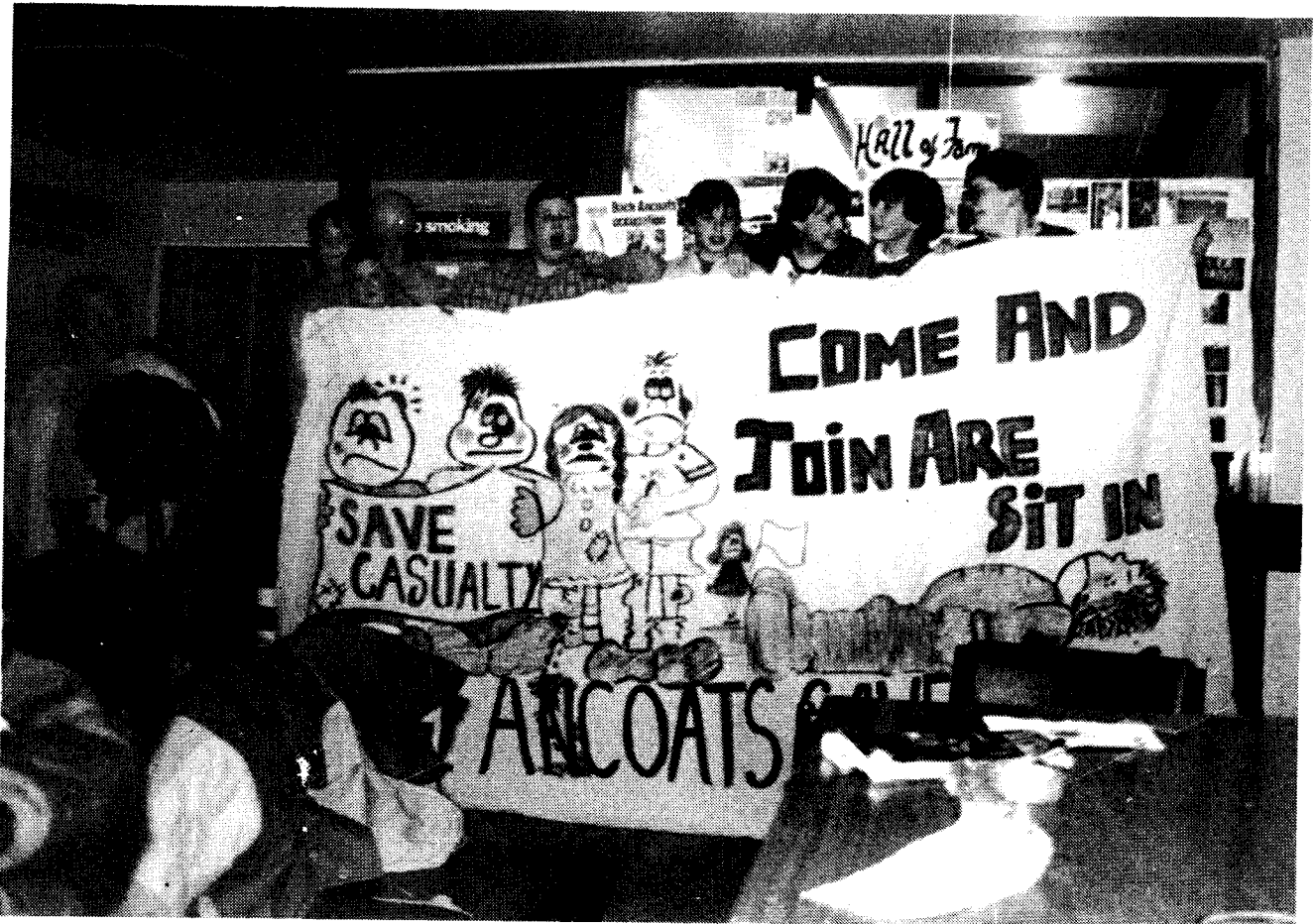
Labour councillors in Manchester were elected to fight for jobs and services that were and are under attack from Tory legislation.

At a recent Labour meeting, one in four delegates claimed that cuts in any form would be a betrayal of the manifesto on which the Labour left have taken control over the recent years. They said it would endanger the positions in the next year's election.

It has to be stressed that the main enemy of workers in Manchester is the Tories.

Recent announcements of ward closures and other drastic cuts at three Manchester hospitals prove that. Strikes breaking out every week in Manchester prove that, and the high unemployment in Manchester proves that.

The working class in Manchester will fight these cuts. It is the duty of Labour councillors, union leaders and all those who want to defend services and jobs to turn to



The Ancoats hospital occupation: cuts in three Manchester hospitals are the reflection of earlier attacks

## Neddy is knackered

COMMENT BY BERNARD FRANKS

**FOR 25 years TUC leaders have sat with employers and government members on committees designed solely to increase the profitability of Britain's industry at the expense of its workers.**

The National Economic Development Committee (Neddy) was set up in 1962 under the MacMillan Tory government with a brief to discuss such subjects as industrial efficiency, labour productivity, prices and incomes, manpower planning, automation etc.

A series of tripartite sub-committees (little Neddies) were set up to cover separate industries on the same basis.

Through years of rising unemployment, wholesale industrial rationalisation, anti-union legislation and brutal police assaults on striking miners, printers, photographic workers and others — with batons, truncheons, dogs and horses — the union leaders sat tight, and discussed how the employers' and the state's requirements for more output from fewer workers might be more easily achieved.

At one stage, under a Labour government, Prime Minister Harold Wilson took the chair flanked by TUC chief Len Murray and bosses' leader Sir Ralph Bateman, specially knighted by Labour for the occasion.

Further round the table sat Labour ministers Denis Healey, Michael Foot, Eric Varley, Harold Lever and Tony Benn, inters-

persed among the merchant bankers and captains of industry.

All were united in their concern to sort out the problems of British capitalism, currently in recession.

Now, without ceremony or warning, Tory chancellor Nigel Lawson has told the trade union heads that 22 of the 36 little Neddies are to be abolished and their parent committee is to meet quarterly instead of monthly.

Further, it is to be demoted by having a junior bureaucrat preside instead of a Cabinet Minister.

This ought to be a salutary lesson for the union leaders concerned, showing the contempt with which class collaborators are treated once their usefulness to capitalism has expired.

They should now be asking, what price the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), currently in the process of cutting back on trade union representation and its funding to major schemes.

Instead they will go crawling and whining to Lawson to plead that a terrible mistake has been made, that there is still lots of mileage left in Neddy in terms of bargaining away workers interests.

The fact is, collaboration at all levels — whether three-way committees and worker directors at the top, or just consultative bodies lower down — only benefit the employers as a way of easing in unpalatable measures, as brain-picking sessions of the union side and as a measuring up of the opposition before launching a new onslaught planned elsewhere.

Good riddance to Neddy and all its kind!

## JUDGE BACKS HOME OFFICE

### Viraj Mendis must stay!

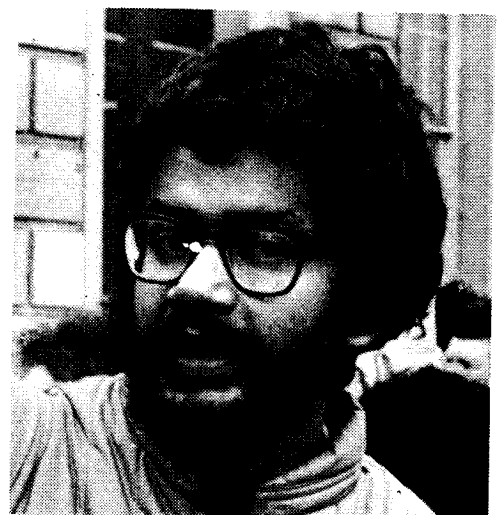
**LAST week the courts rejected the application by Viraj Mendis to quash the Home Office decision to deport him.**

Viraj, a supporter of the Tamil struggle for self-determination, faces persecution if he is returned to Sri Lanka. Mr Justice Mann, in his ruling, ignored this question and endorsed the actions of the Home Office.

He also gave the green light to the Home Office or their friends in the National Front to attack the church where Viraj is in sanctuary. Justice Mann made it clear that sanctuary had no legal basis since it was abolished by parliament in 1623.

The Home Office has repeated its decision not to raid the church. But as the ruling class in Britain increasingly attacks immigrant communities around the country, this cannot be taken for granted, and the defence campaign has stepped up its security at the church.

Viraj is appealing against this court decision to the Court of Appeal and the defence campaign is planning a series of marches in Manchester while next Monday (3 August) between 6 and 7p.m.



they will hold a protest at Downing Street in London.

Community organisations, Labour Party wards and union branches must act now to demand Viraj's right to stay in Britain.

For speakers and for further information, contact VMDC, 061-234 3168.

# 'Alleviate pressure on our relatives!'

## Left's responsibility towards Ireland

WE PRODUCE below a letter written from Leicester prison by three Irish Prisoners-of-War to the 27 June Hunger Strike Demonstration.

In every phase of Ireland's struggle British imperialism has attempted, using all her machiavellian skills, to criminalise that struggle.

What Britain achieved on the international stage, in this respect, must remain problematic.

No doubt many sovereign countries had their own perceptions of British truths.

What is indisputable is that Britain could never convince Ireland that her revolutionary children were criminals.

Even with all the collaboration from the Irish establishment, Church and state, the citizens of no property gave de facto morality to the struggle for freedom.

In past generations, the British manifestly failed to criminalise that struggle in the eyes of the Irish people.

The danger however was always there that by force or favour Mother England would make a breakthrough.

That ever-present danger was finally eliminated in 1981 when Bobby Sands and his comrades died on hunger-strike.

By their deaths, they were making a final defiant statement that will re-echo through our future. This is what they said:

'What possible rationale can ever again explain how Irish republicans can be castigated as terrorists, and how can Republican PoWs ever be classified as criminals?'

This truism will forever be the reality, not least for Republicans.

For our part, as prisoners here in English jails, it is enough that our beloved relatives see us for what we know ourselves to be, prisoners of war, held as hostages to the successful enactment of absolute British control in Ireland.

Let no one be in any doubt, regardless of any conditions imposed on us, that we ourselves can ever be changed in our perception of ourselves, our comrades and our struggle.

It is irrelevant to us how we are perceived by our enemies.

As long as the British retain the least vestige of control in Ireland, we do not wish her understanding, nor do we look for compatibility with her intentions.

The only commonality we have with the British is the air that we breathe. Her pretensions to humanity are lost on us.

We will not demand humane treatment from her, what exists is our reality, good or bad; we will deal with that reality in our own way.

### Inhumanity

What we do find hard to accept though, is the institutionalised inhumanity against our relatives.

This England, this mother of parliaments, cradle of democracy has apparently not only sentenced us with judicial righteousness, she has also, arbitrarily, sentenced our relatives to a lifetime of injustices, extra to those already experienced in Ireland.

English jurisprudence, if it ever existed, has been buried beneath the camouflage nets of legal aberrations such as the PTA.

There is no sustained protest from the Labour movement! No cries of stricken conscience from the supposed, fair-minded English!

Why is that? Is it possible the English people do not know what is being done in their name?

Sometimes we wonder, if our enemy, is something more than British imperial-

ism, could there be an actual race-hatred involved, a hatred that blinds the English to the reality of this legalised violence?

Will they ever realise, that by countenancing such inhumanity they sow the seeds of their own corruption?

We can demand nothing nor can we alleviate the pressure on our relatives.

### Harassment

Must they spend a lifetime of wearisome travel, back and forth to visit us, suffering continuous harassment, either from police or petty officialdom?

Each one of them has a

national propaganda will this cause become an unacceptable embarrassment to the British.

It is repugnant to us also, that Free State ministers, and other sections of the Irish establishment still retain some credibility in the expatriate Irish community in England.

We ask you to make a special effort to counter their insidious motives, because the damage they do to just causes like that of our relatives, is almost irreparable.

Do not let our people stand alone — they cannot prove their case without your help.

Finally we want to thank you for giving this repre-



'Britain could never convince Ireland that her revolutionary children were criminals.'

story to tell. We ask you, our comrades in struggle, to help the stories be told.

We ask you to highlight this cause in every accessible corner of society. We ask you to seriously consider our relatives' cause at a high level of perception.

Only through concerted political pressure and inter-

sentative the opportunity to address you. Hopefully, a stronger bond of comradeship will be achieved because of this.

Be strong, be prudent, but most of all, be active.

**Brian Keenan  
Paul Kavanagh  
Pat Magee**

ON SATURDAY 8 August a demonstration and rally commemorating the 16th anniversary of internment is being held in London organised by the Irish Freedom Movement.

British imperialism introduced internment in 1971 as an attempt to drive back the Irish people in the nationalist areas of the occupied six counties.

These people had responded to the demonstrations and demands of the civil rights movement which had been demanding basic democratic rights since 1968.

They were not only fighting to defend themselves against the pogroms of the Loyalist mobs organised by the Rev Ian Paisley, Mayor Ronald Bunting and others, aided and abetted by the sectarian bigots of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and B Specials. (These resulted in Catholics being shot dead and thousands more driven

BY CHARLIE WALSH

be used exclusively against the nationalist working class areas but in particular in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast, Derry and other nationalist towns.

Internment must not be commemorated in London just as something that happened 16 years ago, but as a reminder to the British working class of British imperialist repression and tyranny, past and present, against the valiant and heroic Irish people.

The responsibility of the working class and its leadership in Britain is to support the struggle in Ireland and the Irish people against its own ruling class, its state and its laws which have been used and are being used in an attempt to put down the Irish working class.

Internment must also be seen in the context of all the repressive measures that have been used mainly against the nationalist working class since August 1971.

### Abuse

Internment-by-demand, no-jury Diplock courts, supergrass-prepared trials, shoot-to-kill, the recent revelations of murders, the sexual abuse of young boys, blackmail of politicians etc — all have been carried out by the British state agencies such as MI5, MI6 and the SAS with the assistance of the murder squads in the RUC.

The sectarian and anti-Catholic Loyalist murder gangs like the UVF, UDA, UFF and TARA have carried out atrocities such as the Miami ShowBand massacre, the bombings in Dublin and Menagh in 1971 plus the many others against the Catholic and nationalist community during the past 16 years.

To commemorate internment in Britain is not simply to pay tribute to the steadfastness of the Irish people, the IRA and Sinn Fein in their heroic struggle against British imperialism but to use the occasion to remind those on the British left of its responsibility towards Ireland, its people and their struggle that the left must do everything to advance in every way possible the struggle in Ireland by principled solidarity work here in Britain.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

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

LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.

JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.

EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.

GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.

JOHN McCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.

ANDY MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461576.

PATRICK MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461575.

NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.

#### PARKHURST

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

PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.

GERRY McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.

PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence 863532.

TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence 69204.

PETER SHERRY, Life sentence B75880.

#### WAKEFIELD

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

HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.

NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

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

MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.

HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638.

BILLY GRIMES, Life sentence, 758661.

#### GARTREE

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

RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.

STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence 758663.

JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635.

ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085.

BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence 758662.

PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.

CION McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.

MICHAEL J McKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.

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

#### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.

BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.

PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

#### WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE

DONAL CRAIG, 4 years.

VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

#### DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham

MARTINA ANDERSON, Life sentence, D25134.

ELLA O'DWYER, Life sentence, D25135.

#### REMAND PRISONERS:

#### BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jacob Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.

G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, L48616  
LIAM McCOTTER, LB83693  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694  
LIAM QUINN, 49930

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

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

PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.

PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.

JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.

HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.

JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.

BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.

RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

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

Irish Freedom Movement

## MARCH

Troops out of Ireland!  
Prisoners out of jail!

Saturday 8 August 1p.m.  
Assemble Islington Town Hall (rear)  
Upper Street, London N1

Further details — 01-729 0414

# More on the Poll Tax

**AS MORE details come to light of how the Tory poll tax is to operate, ever greater numbers of people, including worried Tory voters, are registering concern at its effects.**

This has only made Thatcher all the more determined. She has told her backbench MPs that introduction of the 'Community Charge' to replace domestic rates is 'the flagship of the government's legislative programme and has to be supported'. ('Guardian', 17 July)

The new rating system will work roughly as follows: councils will receive a direct grant from government as at present but worked out on a few simple factors such as the number of children needing education or people needing housing.

It will be paid out on a sliding scale dependent on how much each council has over- or under-spent.

In addition, council borrowing will be even more strictly controlled than today, possibly through a new system of external borrowing limits.

The extra money needed to run services will come from the community charge on everyone aged 18 and over.

This will be a flat-rate payment varying from one authority to another but, in general, unrelated to ability to pay. It will be collected by the councils.

The belief is that this will encourage a majority of voters, not just the householding minority, to elect councils concerned to cut spending on services and put the rest out to private tender in line with government policy.

In the long term, so the theory goes, this will lead to everyone seeking to minimise their own spending by voting Tory for ever.

Some Tories, on the contrary, fear this will backfire and they will be blamed for imposing a poll tax as well as for the further destruction of services to the sick, the old, the young and communities generally.

## Plan

They believe that at the last election the majority of Scots saw the scheme for what it was — a plan for the working class to subsidise the business and propertied classes — and voted accordingly.

There is also concern at the high cost of collection — from double the present number of payers — and the fact that a single household will have to report the names of all other occupants of the premises.

Presumably there will be a penalty for failing to do so.

The scheme also implies some form of detection squad to track down people on the move, especially the young.

In this regard the right-wing Institute of Directors has called for a national system of identity cards as an aid to enforcement.

The implication is that these would have to be shown in order to receive council services and maybe even to vote.

Examples are now beginning to appear of how much

## Expected

individuals will be expected to find and by how much the charges will vary from one authority to another.

Figures released by the government confirm that deprived inner city areas will pay the most while wealthy suburbs and country districts will probably pay less than at present.

In the south, the greatest increases will occur in the London boroughs of Greenwich, Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Hammersmith and Fulham, Wandsworth and Lambeth, with rises ranging from 118 per cent to 145 per cent for a household containing two adults.

The main gainers in the region will be South Bucks, Chilterns, Epsom and Ewell, and Wokingham, saving 41 to 51 per cent on their present rate bills.

## Far more

Of course, for larger adult households the cost will be far more.

● A four-adult family in Liverpool currently averaging £500 rates a year could have to find £301 per person, that is £1,204 for the household.

● A similar household in Camden, London finding £880 in rates at present would have to pay £3,076 — a rise of 350 per cent.

● However, a two-adult family in Bromley, Kent, might find its £384 present payment reduced to £332 (down 15 per cent).

A larger adult family would pay more, and if they live in a currently low-rated dwelling, might find themselves facing a steep increase precisely because they live in a Tory-controlled low-rate area.

In general large families living together as a unit (the Tory ideal?), especially Asian families which tend to support their old people, will be hardest hit of all.

In recognition of some of these problems Tory ministers are now said to be considering phasing-in the community charge for England and Wales over a number of years.

In fact this is not a new proposal at all. The January 1986 Green Paper on the subject advocated a ten-year transition.

A similar drawn-out procedure was recommended for Scotland but was subsequently scrapped and replaced with instant introduction on 1 April, 1989.

One fear was that with both old and new systems running side-by-side, one increasing, one decreasing, total chaos would ensue — which of course it would.

**MEANWHILE a huge cut in both funding and local control of**



Under the Poll Tax proposals, inner-city areas will pay the most while wealthy suburbs and country districts will probably pay less than at present.

**spending will follow from the establishment of the uniform National Business Rate.**

Councils will lose the right to levy local shops, commerce and industry in line with local needs and services provided.

Instead, all businesses will pay a national rate poundage which will be pooled and re-distributed to local authorities.

Under a Tory government concerned to maximise company profits and minimise wages and services, this will mean the lowest possible call on business revenues but an increased requirement on the working population to pay for the victims of capitalism's greed and ruthlessness.

As the political editor of the 'Sunday Telegraph' wrote recently in slightly different terms: 'By standardising business's share of local-government spending the government will ensure that the full burden of above-average council spending will be borne by the domestic rate-payer.'

## Proposals

The Green Paper stated that these proposals on the business rate are 'central to the government's proposals for the reform of local government finance as a whole'.

The reason is easy to see: in combination with the provision of grant, 80 per cent of local authority expenditure (85 per cent in Wales) would be under central government control as against just under 50 per cent at present.

**CLEARLY there is the need for a massive campaign of opposition built around community organisations to defeat any attempt to introduce this system.**

The fighting spirit of Wat Tyler and the anti-poll tax rebels of 1381 must be rekindled in trade unions, tenants committees, ethnic organisations, community associations and among the elderly and the young with a view to throwing out these odious proposals along with the obnoxious government that has advanced them.

## Demand a public inquiry into toxic gas explosion

BY JOHN HOLMES

**HUNDREDS of angry residents and local workers were prevented from voting on a resolution calling for a public inquiry into the recent Centronics factory explosion in New Addington, Croydon.**

The meeting was held in such a manner as to be no more than a public relations exercise and an attempt to get the company, Centronics Engineering, 'off the hook'.

Its managing director, Brian Kelly, told the meeting at New Addington Community centre last week that the explosion the previous week never threatened public health. He denied the company kept any radio-active material on its premises.

On Tuesday 16 July a canister containing 300 grams of the lethal gas, diborane, exploded. Diborane is a by-product of boron which is manufactured for use as a safety device in the nuclear power industry, mainly in America.

It was the third explosion of its kind at the factory in recent years, the last being in August 1985, when two people were badly injured.

Engineering union members from Louis Newmark Engineering Company led the demand for a public inquiry.

Works convenor Cyril Cooper told Workers Press they had passed a resolution demanding a public inquiry into the explosion because 21 of their members had suffered ill-effects as a result of explosion.

Kelly claimed the two previous explosions at the factory had nothing to do

with diborane. The incident in 1985, he said, in which two Centronics employees were burned, involved ether.

He evaded questions about what other substances were kept in the factory and was unable to assure the meeting that there would never be another explosion.

Angry parents demanded to know why their children were evacuated from Row-down school two hours after the explosion.

The chief fire officer told them that he had requested the police to do so as he was concerned the two remaining canisters of diborane might also explode, although he believed a further explosion would not be a threat to public safety.

He was concerned that the children's presence in the school playing-field was hindering the fire service operations.

Both the chief fire officer and the police chief inspector in charge of the situation were present at the meeting. They stressed that they saw no public danger.

They could not explain why schools as far away as West Wickham and Bromley had been evacuated and the public warned to keep all doors and windows closed, when they claimed it was not necessary to issue a warning locally.

The Headmaster of New Addington High School, the largest school on the Estate said the first he knew of the emergency was when he saw police driving round the playground panicking the children by shouting through a loudspeaker.

He was unable to gain assurance from the police and fire chiefs that, should a similar incident occur in the future, he would be notified

immediately.

Steve Pettit, the engineering union safety representative for Louis Newmark, told the meeting that he was only allowed through the police cordon when trying unsuccessfully to persuade Newmark's managers to evacuate the factory.

Pettit called for better liaison between the safety officials of the various adjoining factories. He criticised the lack of any planned emergency procedure for such an event.

Labour councillor Mary Walker, who supported the call for a public inquiry, said there had been a complete breakdown in communications: the town clerk at Croydon town hall was not made aware of the emergency until 3.10p.m. — five hours after the explosion.

Trade union and Labour movement activists were prevented from asking questions in a blatant attempt to keep the meeting 'non-political'.

When the formal resolution was put at the end of the meeting calling for a public inquiry by Tom Stratton, a Louis Newmark shop steward and Croydon Trades Council vice president, a vote was prevented by ex-Labour councillor, now alderman, Reg Page (a former employee of Centronics).

He had been sitting on the platform next to the chairman throughout, not saying a word. The meeting was closed down without a vote being taken.

● The call for a full investigation into what goes on inside the Centronics factory must be stepped up.

● Links must be built between local trade unions and residential organisations to demand that all dangerous materials be removed immediately from Centronics.

## Workers Press

# Defend the Iranian Revolution

OUR editorial in last week's 'Workers Press', 'Thatcher backs Gulf war threat', ended as follows:

'We are for the defence of Iran and its people against US and British imperialism, neither of whom have any right to be in the Gulf.

'The Iran-Iraq war and the bourgeois regimes of Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini which have squandered their peoples' blood and opened the way for imperialist intervention, will be ended by the working masses of Iran and Iraq.

'The much more dangerous mad nuclear warmongers of Washington and London must be brought down by the US and British working class. Get the Navy out of the Gulf. Labour must say no to Reagan and Thatcher's war. Smash imperialist conspiracies, down with the NATO alliance!'

The 'News Line' of Monday last also carried an editorial on this subject. It included the following reference to our comment:

'These renegades, who were expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1985, claim that Ayatollah Khomeini's government is responsible for the current US intervention in the Gulf.

'According to the logic of this particular lie, the Iranian leaders were presumably responsible for the Iraqi invasion of their own country since it was direct intervention by US imperialism in 1980 which sparked the war!

'Perhaps the Workers Press will argue next that the Nicaraguan revolution should end its defiance on the grounds that it too has "opened the way for imperialist intervention" (!) and might "squander its people's blood".

'Like their new-found friends among the petit-bourgeois revisionists, the Workers Press group are simply recycling the pro-imperialist outlook of the labour bureaucracy. They find themselves in an unholy alliance with the United Nations — the body Lenin branded a "Thieves' Kitchen" — in calling for Iran's effective surrender in the Gulf War'.

By now you are wondering how anyone could lie quite so crudely. Let us explain.

In 1985, the WRP expelled its former leader G. Healy for sexual abuse and other crimes, together with a group which justified all his actions. These people now publish the 'News Line', and pretend they are still the WRP.

In 1979, the WRP had correctly hailed the Iranian revolution as a massive blow against US imperialism. But it then went on to smother the slightest criticism of the theocratic bourgeois regime which took over on the backs of the Iranian workers, the people who had actually overthrown the Shah.

The WRP, whose leadership was by then fast degenerating, also gave its backing to the reactionary butcher Saddam Hussein, even when his regime murdered members of the Iraqi Communist Party.

Since our expulsion of these people, we have tried to re-examine many of these issues as objectively as we can. In contrast, the 'News Line' group clings desperately to its idolatry of Khomeini and his regime.

This regime is thoroughly reactionary. Its war with Iraq, a conflict between two capitalist powers, has caused untold misery to the workers in both countries and benefitted only imperialism. No wonder both sides have been encouraged and armed by the imperialists, even if the US is backing the Iraqis at this particular stage.

We must always defend the Iranian revolution against the attacks of US and British imperialism. But to attempt to hide Khomeini's savage suppression of the Iranian working class, of women and of national minorities, was and is a betrayal of every revolutionary principle.

What is particularly nauseating is the defence of the Iranian bourgeois state in the name of Trotskyism. Our movement is based on the conception that we live in the epoch of the world proletarian revolution. In the twentieth century, the capitalist class and its agents are unable to carry out a progressive role in any country in the world.

The Iranian revolution is yet one more confirmation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and can only be completed by the working class.

Only the independent action of the working class can resolve the problems facing society, and for this a Marxist international leadership is required.

The difficulties through which the Trotskyist movement has passed, and which it is now beginning to overcome, all stem from this issue. Those who have 'discovered' progress — non-proletarian forces, revolutionary bourgeoisies, revolutionary bureaucracies, 'natural Marxists', etc., have always ended up in the enemy camp.

The 'News Line' people, in selecting the Ayatollah as their candidate for revolutionary leader, are only the latest and most bizarre in a long line of capitulators. That is why their lies are so shrill and so obvious.

# Women in Turkey



Turkish women attending the founding meeting of the Association of Women Against Discrimination (Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Denneği)

BY MARIA DEBORDE AND EROL YESILNUR

**IN RECENT years women of Turkey have begun making serious efforts towards defending and advancing their rights. Women from different sections have been working together, discussing and making proposals for dealing with issues related to women.**

On 25 May, their efforts achieved a new dimension with the foundation of the Association of Women Against Discrimination (Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Denneği). Many of the founders are oriented towards socialism.

Indeed, it should be pointed out that the vanguard of the struggle for women's rights in Turkey is composed primarily of women with socialist views.

The association's founders state that, following the 1986 United Nations International Agreement (which Turkey signed) to 'end all discrimination against women', 7,000 signatures were collected in Turkey in favour of the applying the agreement in Turkey.

The establishment of the association came about as a result of the determination shown by many women for the realisation of such an undertaking.

The founders are both working women and housewives.

The establishment of this association must be seen as symbolising an important stage in the women's rights movement. At last women have succeeded in getting a

new organisation where they can struggle for their rights together.

The few associations founded by socialist women before the 1980 coup d'état were severely limited in scope and activity. Along with other democratic or socialist organisations they were outlawed by the military junta before such limitations could be overcome.

It has only lately begun to overcome the sharp setback it suffered following that period.

In recent years many of the women playing an active role in opposition to the military regime have begun taking steps towards the birth of a new movement for women's rights, the significance of which should not be underestimated.

As one of the first sectors in society to consistently put forward aims against the existing regime they have now earned a special place in Turkish history.

The first step in this pro-

cess was the publication of women's views in the weekly magazine 'Somut'. The fourth page of each issue was devoted to publishing only articles written by women.

The wide interest and participation of a large number of women led to the creation of an atmosphere where, in 1982-1983, women began meeting and discussing how the struggle for women's rights should be developed.

In 1984 the association by the name of Kadın Gevresi AS was founded by Stella Ovadia and friends. This was the first post-1980 organisation officially established in the struggle for women's rights.

Nevertheless in 1985-1986 differences between the initial founders and other women involved led to most of the women leaving.

The association did, however, succeed in publishing a number of books dealing with women's issues and conducting several struggles aimed at women.

In the last year the movement has begun to grow. Meetings and talks have been organised, more and more books have been published, and magazines as well have begun devoting greater space to the subject (although not always favourably).

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the recognition and analysis of discrimination against women, and the growing movement against it, has at long last become a regular feature in the Turkish press.

Within the past year a group of women characterising themselves as 'socialist-feminist' and 'radical feminist' has begun publishing a magazine called Feminist.

On 17 May a large number of women participated in a march protesting violence against women, a widespread problem in Turkish families which was never publicly discussed until last year.

Without a doubt the growing women's movement will fulfil an important and active role within the general climate of increasing opposition to the regime.

Women's and revolutionary movements of other countries are following the struggle of Turkish women with interest and solidarity.

## Iran: France joins in

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

**FRANCE has put an aircraft-carrier and two frigates on alert for Arabian Gulf duty, so joining the build-up of imperialist forces in the Gulf area against Iran following the provocative 're-flagging' of Kuwaiti oil tankers.**

Following the UN resolution calling for an end to the Iraq-Iran war, events have been escalated towards a joint confrontation of imperialist forces with Iran.

French involvement has escalated since diplomatic ties were severed with Iran on 17 July.

The Iranian embassy in Paris has been under siege with French authorities demanding the handing over of an interpreter for questioning in connection with 'suspected' terrorist activities.

The Iranian, Vahid Gordji, is wanted 'as a witness'. No charges have been men-

tioned, yet the embassy has been surrounded by anti-terrorist state forces and an anti-Iranian hysteria generated.

Since March police have been arresting Tunisian, Moroccan, Algerian and Lebanese Shia Muslims by the dozens, under the pretext of involvement in the wave of bombings in Paris last September. One of the Lebanese was an associate of Gordji.

The bombings were originally claimed by the followers of Georges Abdallah, who are Lebanese Christians.

The French secret service DST says that the terrorist attacks were personally ordered by Ayatollah Khomeini, giving its source of information as a paid informer named 'Lofti'. The hunt for Abdallah's supporters was dropped and the arrests of Shias began.

The severing of ties brought to an end 14 months of diplomatic moves by Prime Minister Chirac to

establish cordial relations with Iran.

He had agreed to expel the Mojahedin leader Massoud Rajavi and to do a deal on outstanding financial disputes, following which five French hostages were released in Lebanon.

The DST have clearly provided the pretext for breaking off of relations in line with the general imperialist strategy against Iran, which had demanded a change in French policy.

● The American oil giant Texaco has threatened to sack British tanker officers for refusing to work in the Gulf 'war zone'.

NUMAST, the ships' officers' union, has accused the company of 'putting profits before lives' and has teleaxed all its Texaco members seeking opinions on a suitable response.

The union also fears that if Thatcher allows ships to be re-flagged under the Red Ensign it would be a provocation making other British vessels vulnerable to attack.

## PHILIPPINES

## Whose land?

**A NEW phase of struggle against bourgeois rule in the Philippines is marked by the opening of the first elected Congress since 1972 and the panic discussion of a five-year land reform programme.**

The ambitious plan is intended to stem rising rural protest. In the Bical area 40-50 per cent of villages are now controlled by the New Philippines Army (NPA), the armed communists.

The land redistribution scheme was announced on 8 February — just days after a storm of outrage had greeted the murder at Mendiola Bridge on 22 January of 20 farmers who had been demanding reform.

The Philippines economy is virtually bankrupt, with over half its foreign earnings needed to repay interest on loans. President Aquino's speech to the new Congress admitted that the national debt is \$28 billion and growing.

She also complained that the overseas creditors are giving worse terms to the Philippines than to countries like Mexico and Brazil.

Under Aquino, little of the budget has been allocated to agriculture. Like her predecessor, the dictator Marcos, she has concentrated instead on 'counter-insurgency'. Aquino has no intention of reducing the military budget, and the change of direction towards land re-

**BY CHRIS DIXON**  
form will cost an extra \$5 billion.

She hopes that international creditors will provide the funds to back the scheme as a desperate measure to increase political and economic stability and give them some chance of getting their money back.

The richest landowners have greeted the plan with enthusiasm. They anticipate the redistribution will be of medium-sized holdings, public land and the 50,000 hectares of estates confiscated from the supporters of ousted president Marcos, leaving their plantations intact.

It is unlikely that the scheme will achieve a radical change in the land-holding pattern in a country where millions are landless tenants or agricultural labourers.

Essentially the programme continues the one initiated with a similar fanfare — by Marcos in 1972. Intense lobbying by landowners en-

sured that the Marcos programme gave land title to only three per cent of its target beneficiaries.

The Philippines population is growing by 2.4 per cent each year, and only a little poor-quality land remains to be brought into cultivation. In the 1950s less than 10 per cent of the rural population was landless, but now the figure is 30-35 per cent.

The average size of farm-holding has also declined dramatically, although at the other end of the scale there are massive estates owned by members of the ruling class, or in a few cases by multinational agribusiness. Under Marcos, Del Monte was encouraged, and some farmers were evicted.

The Aquino family own 6,100 hectares of sugar plantation.

There is such a shortage of land, however, that even if these estates were broken up, there would not be enough to give each family an economic unit.

Corazon Aquino has been attending a series of 'regional consultative conferences', stage-managed to give vent to local issues and demand agricultural improvement, electricity, credit and so on — but not land reform, because the local administrators are often also landowners.

Land reform is a major slogan of the NPA, however, and the measures this year are a desperate attempt to

cut away their support.

The focus has returned to agriculture, neglected under Marcos in favour of the export industries of the Manila Free Trade Zone, which has now largely collapsed.

The urban poor of the Philippines endure some of the worst conditions in Asia, and the towns are unable to absorb any more of the impoverished villagers.

Land redistribution alone is not able to solve the problems of the Philippines economy. Other investment in agriculture would be needed to increase productivity.

Low world prices for the country's main products — rice, maize, sugar and copra — have been exacerbated by the implementation of the US Farm Bill in April 1986.

Aquino's programme will be very costly, although how much landowners are to be compensated has been left to Congress to resolve.

Some estate owners, badly hit by falling prices and low productivity, may be pleased to sell, and take their compensation out of the country.

If redistribution increases subsistence farming, it may even reduce the surplus available for export and worsen the balance of payments deficit.

Redistribution cannot be carried out without intensifying the struggle of the poor, increasingly mobilised by the NPA.



## Britain and the Contras

**FRESH evidence of British support for the US-backed Contras' covert war against Nicaragua has been uncovered by the current Washington hearings.**

Colonel Oliver North has testified to sabotage in Nicaragua by KMS — a British-based security firm run by ex-SAS officers including Thatcher's friend David Walker.

A new pamphlet by the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign provides background details of the British connection in the United States' attempt to overthrow the popular Sandinista government.

It reveals that KMS sent two six-man teams to Honduras to train Contras in 1985, and that North approached British firms like Short Brothers to buy Blowpipe and other weapons for the Contras.

Documents leaked in 1985 and reproduced in the pamphlet show that the official position of the British government is far from neutral

on Nicaragua.

A 1984 Foreign Office memorandum on aid urges the Overseas Development Administration to 'oppose proposals from Nicaragua by finding technical reasons to do so.'

## Abstained

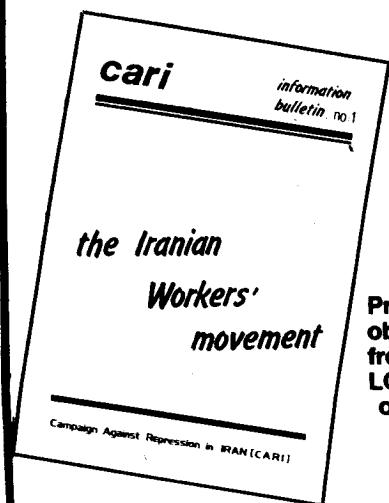
When the United Nations Security Council voted on the ruling of the World Court that the US war against Nicaragua breaches international law on eight counts — Britain abstained.

And the pamphlet indicates that Thatcher's government is under pressure to move further in its support for the murderous Contras.

Far-right members of the Tory Party, including leaders of Conservative students, have made visits to the Contras and even spent days armed and on the march with them.

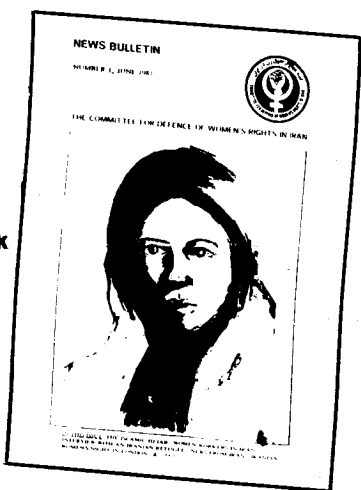
● *Nicaragua Special Report: The British Connection.* Price 50p, from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, 23 Beveden Street, London N1 6BH.

## Two important pamphlets on Iran



Price: £1, obtainable from B.M. CARI, LONDON WC1N 3XX or through Paperback Centres.

Price: 50p, obtainable from Committee for Defence of Women's Rights in Iran, c/o London Women's Centre, 70 Great Queen St. London WC2b 5AX, or through Paperback Centres



## BRUTAN PERERA: PARTIAL VICTORY

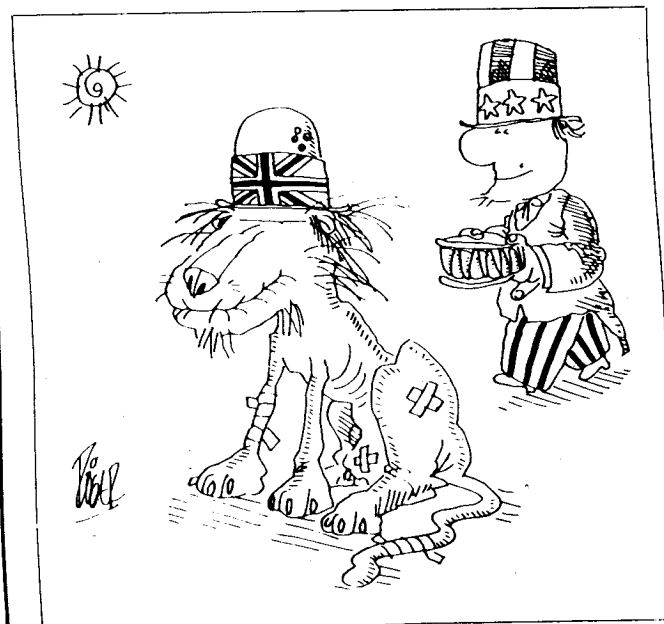
DAMAGES and costs have been awarded to the three members of the Revolutionary Communist League who were imprisoned last year by the Sri Lankan government. The judgement, delivered in the Supreme Court on 25 May, was awarded on the grounds that the detention of the three men had been unduly prolonged.

A unanimous judicial agreement found that the emergency regulation under which the arrests were made, which states that posters or other literature may not be published without police authorisation, was invalid under the Fundamental Rights in the Sri Lankan Constitution.

Brutan Perera, Wijes Dias and Ruman Perera were arrested at an RCL public meeting in Chilaw, in June 1986. They were held for 19 days in police custody and remanded for a further 23 days until being bailed on 7 August.

The release of the detained Sri Lankan Trotskyists was the subject of an international campaign launched by the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), of which the Revolutionary Communist League is the Sri Lankan section.

The campaign was supported by the Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press.



How one Nicaraguan cartoonist sees the relations between Britain and the United States

# What speakers

## said

A MANCHESTER teacher opened the conference, saying it had come out of a meeting in Leeds of both strikers and members of their support groups where the necessity to broaden out support for strikes was discussed. This was the beginning of a fight-back against Thatcher, he said. The conference had received messages of support from the Frickley miners, from the French CNT and the Durham Miners' Wives Support Committee.

Senior Colman striker: 'The fact that a support groups' conference has had to be called reflects on the state of the trade union movement. Support should come from the trade union leadership. Our strike arose when four men were sacked. The tactics used against us were: use of the law, victimisation by police, harassment of strikers and families. These are the common enemies of every picket line in the country. At the Durham Miners' Gala we met people who are doing a great deal for us.

'I am disgusted by the conduct of the Labour Party during the election. Labour leaders were embarrassed by standing on picket lines and by contact with our strike. The AEU said that £18 a week strike pay was as far as they wanted to get involved in the strike. They "wish to preserve the assets of the union", but assets are members, not money.' Recently the President of the AEU had stood on their picket line, and 'looked very uncomfortable. Although the Silent-night dispute had ended earlier this year, a support group network had a role to play in continuing to boycott Silentnight beds.

Gateshead Workers Support Group: 'I am moving the main statement sent out on the invitation to this Conference (see right). All isolated struggles need to be linked up. All workers in struggle are now facing the anti-trade union laws and unemployment. Workers join unions, the employers sack them, with the backing of the Tory government, and the unions do not take forward the struggles of these workers because of the laws.

'The workers in Caterpillars were instructed to call off their dispute because it was illegal. We must be clear on the fundamentals of struggle and support. Support for strikes today means much more than raising money — it means standing side by side on the picket lines, standing up to the Public Order Act.

'Just as Thatcher allies with Reagan and Botha, so the working class must ally with workers in South Africa and throughout the world. We have to be more than just support groups. The leaders who won't stand up and fight — we have to come up against them. We cannot even begin to consider waiting five years for this government to be removed. We must force the TUC to return to the pledges of the Wembley Conference decisions.'

Manchester City Council worker: 'We are faced with a strike against the Manchester City Council. Both the Labour Party and the trade unions plead for us to accept the cuts. But we are in struggle against the state, and the unions are collaborating with the left-wing council to cut jobs in this city.

Gateshead Workers' Support Group: 'We sent out the letter with proposals for discussion and we expect amendments. At the end of the day we want some sort of organisation. We call for the setting up of an organisation — run by a series of delegate meetings. Each organisation, support group, strikers' organisation etc. should have a delegate at them.

'They should be held once a month, or perhaps once every two months, and they should take all the relevant decisions of the organisation, but the groups would have autonomy. They may or may not opt out of decisions.

'The organisation would be limited to strikers and support groups and not political parties.

There would be a bulletin distributed throughout the country to spread information, and reports from groups to see what are the most effective methods of struggle and a list of contacts to call for assistance, and proposals for the way in which support groups can assist in other areas.'

Oxford Dispute Support Group: 'There have been two planning meetings already, and some of the comrades here were at the Leeds meeting, which agreed by majority vote to call a conference in the autumn. We have listened to the speakers saying that they could not wait, but a lot of people who were in Leeds are not here today, and they would want to take part.

'Therefore I want to amend the proposal from Gateshead so that the formation of a structure be deferred until the autumn conference. If you go ahead with a series of structures here it will lead to a split.'

Communications Workers Group: 'We have amendments to put to the Gateshead proposal. We think we must build a network which is both national and regional.

'We want to have anti-capitalist instead of just anti-Tory. The organisation must be independent of political parties. We call for the deletion of anti-apartheid and anti-racist campaigns, and we don't agree that there should be a demonstration outside the TUC — this is a waste of time. We think we should be building an inter-union rank-and-file organisation.'

Viraj Mendis Campaign: 'The demonstrations and marches for Viraj Mendis brought together all kinds of organisations in the community, the church, the Labour Party and Communist Party and many others. If people who are involved in support campaigns limit themselves to the organised labour movement in this country, then they will be stifled.'

Photographing of the participants was not allowed at the conference. In the same spirit we have not used their names in this report.

Ancoats Solidarity Committee: 'I want to refer to Peter Wright's "Spycatcher" book. Workers must be alerted to what they are up against. Miners are well aware of the phone-tapping, and Wright also speaks of the MI5 carrying out burglaries etc.

'MI5 set out to destabilise the Wilson Labour government; King was in on the plot as an undercover agent. Livingstone's speech in parliament raised the whole question of MI5 activities in Ireland. We must demand that there is a labour and trade union inquiry into their activities.'

Health Workers Action Group, London: 'We must draw people in struggle together. If we have a project it must be to draw more people in. I support the Communications Workers amendment to change Tory into capitalism — this is the central thing.

'The Senior Colman speaker was worried about the unions not supporting their struggles — this is commonplace, what is new is that workers are recognising it.'

Rae Hunter: 'I am a member of a group in Liverpool to fight against hospital closures. I raised it in the election, saying that the Labour candidates should raise the closures in their campaign, but they did not.

'Liverpool children's hospital is to close, and the other children's hospital is way out of town. The closure means that the building will be open from 8a.m. to 8p.m. only for minor injuries. This question of casualties is important — I feel very strongly for the Ancoats occupation — communities are suffering.

'We have all got to unite on this. I believe that the Gateshead proposal to get out a bulletin or journal to every section of the country is

important, particularly for the hospitals. There is a movement growing up, and we must bring everybody together.'

Ancoats Occupation: 'On 1 February, we occupied Ancoats Hospital. We will stop in there for ever more. It is our hospital — the people of Ancoats — the people can't afford to go to hospital further away. We want this hospital open. There is unemployment in Manchester. We are not going to walk away from this fight. We ask you to put your name on the rota to assist with our occupation.'

Lambeth Workers Joint Trade Union Committee: 'I want to talk about workers in Labour Authorities; there are budget deficits of between £70 million and £110 million across the board in Labour authorities, and a very big struggle is coming up in the near future. I am in opposition to the proposed amendment to say 'anti-capitalist' instead of 'anti-Tory' because workers are coming into struggle against this government, and learning in the course of it that it is the whole system which is to blame. We must build up a movement against this government.

'One thing we need to face up to is that the working class is not full of revolutionaries. There is no point in displaying contempt for workers. Take the Labour councillors — they came into their positions mainly because they wanted to do something for the community, and now they are in a situation where they cannot do what they were elected to do.

'The problem we face is lack of leadership. It is no good saying

that the present leadership lets us down and then draw the conclusion that there should be no leadership. I support the building of a new leadership in the class, and that is why I support the proposal to set up an organisation of workers in struggle.'

Leeds Support Group: 'I am in general agreement with the Gateshead proposal. I came here to see a network of support groups set up now. We are here to set up practical aid — there will be a lot of people who will disagree on many things, but if we honestly want to see support then we can work together.'

Cliff Slaughter, Workers Revolutionary Party: 'We are here because the traditional organisations do not match up to the situation. The name of the Tory game is 'take away all rights'. I agree with the comrade who raised the question of Wright's book — we must become more conscious of these things. We cannot just go ahead blindly without being aware of the role of the state.

'We must find new leaders, and support groups must have a much bigger role. We are talking about fighting the Tories and the capitalist class. We must unite and take forward all these struggles. We must organise for workers' power; workers' committees and workers' councils are vital to represent the millions coming along the line in struggle.

'I am against the amendment not to lobby the TUC. Only by taking these actions against the existing leaders can we learn what we have to do.'

Al Feeds, T&GWU: 'We are now in the 20th month of our dispute. We formed a union and were dismissed three days later — so we



Above: the 'Red Rag' theatre group, who performed in the afternoon break, shedding a bit of dramatic light and reminding everyone of the struggles the meeting was discussing at their most basic — the debt collector at the door, the war-mongering of Thatcher and Reagan.

'We formed 'Red Rag' with the idea of making people think,' said Paula. 'I'm fed up with being unemployed.'

struck. There was management intimidation — and Labour Party politician Alan Roberts didn't even know where the strike was. We had very little response from the union itself. We need to take leadership into our own hands. The dockers refused to load soya, but the dispute is stagnant at the moment.

'The union is carrying out Thatcher's law and all the anti-union laws. The union is losing hundreds of members because they are not fighting and it really really bad. We have been 20 months on the picket, and we have been left alone. Political groups have turned out like Joan Collins' fan club. They just patronise us — they only stay a while.'

City of London Anti-Apartheid: 'We have had a non-stop 24-hour picket outside South Africa House since 19 April 1986. I am here to ask this Conference to support COSA-TU in South Africa, and the Rally on 10 October called by the Non-Stop Picket.'

London busworker: 'Busworkers at Norbiton garage in London were given 90 days' notice to terminate their contracts, were offered no redundancy payments, but told that they could have the same jobs, on the same buses, from the same garage for less wages and longer hours. They were told by the union and lawyers that this was all perfectly legal, but they couldn't believe it.

'The union took London Buses to court and lost the case. There is no lack of understanding now among London busworkers about their lack of rights. Yesterday there was a ballot for strike action to carry forward the fight. Those who say there should be no lobby of the TUC are wrong — you cannot ignore the organisations of the working class. We can only carry forward the building of a new leadership by fighting in the movement.'

Gateshead Workers Support Group: 'People have come here

from all over to tell us about the disputes. Our rights won by our forefathers must be defended in struggle. It is a disgrace that certain Labour leaders are capitulating in the face of the Tory attack.

Kirkby Unemployed Centre: 'I can't run before we walk. We have to get to work on the struggle. It is the first time we've met each other and we have to hear what each has to say, not allow ourselves to be isolated in struggle.'

Arbride (Glasgow) Workers' Support Group: 'The dispute finished on 13 June. This factory is part of the famous Laura Ashley group. The workers were sacked for joining the T&GWU. Picketing was international — Germany, France, Denmark and the United States.

'But the strikers did not get much support from the T&GWU. They were informed that they had not been members long enough to qualify for strike pay, and the union tried to scupper the women's work on the picket.

'The union's negotiations ended with no change in conditions wages and the implementation of three-month contracts. Union members threw this out, and so the T&GWU pulled out.

'We are asking you to continue the collections — these workers need money now — gas and electricity cut-off notices are being received, and there are mortgage payments outstanding.'

Caterpillars (Glasgow) Support Group: 'Our group was formed in April, just after the Court declared the occupation of the Caterpillars Factory to be illegal. The occupying workers met, voted and issued a defiant call — they would continue their physical force if need be to maintain their jobs.

'The Jarrow shipbuilders, unemployed, students and various political organisations joined the Support Group and carried out financial and physical support.



## SUPPORT CONFERENCE

## The discussion begins

**THE Manchester Support Conference was a beginning. It brought together representatives of some of the important struggles in which workers have been engaged in the past year, to discuss the problems faced by the class as a whole.**

The confusion and unclarity which characterised much of the discussion should therefore be seen in terms of the situation they express.

It is one where new explosive forces are being unleashed by the crisis of the system and the attacks of the Thatcher government, but where the thinking of millions of people is still determined, inevitably, by

the past.

We have pre-miners' strike ideas in a post-miners' strike world.

This, in our opinion, is how we should look at some of the issues which emerged:

● The young group of anarchists who participated urged us to turn away from the trade union organisations, because of their treacherous leaders.

This mistaken attitude must be understood against the background of betrayals by the TUC, especially of young people. The union leaders have allowed the employers and their state to destroy the prospects of a whole generation.

This leadership has proved itself incapable of winning even the smallest of the strikes which are now breaking out all over industry. Indeed, these bureaucrats clearly regard any fight-back against the employers as an embarrassment. Hostility to this leadership on the part of new forces coming into these battles is entirely justified.

But to abandon the fight within the established organisations of the class would be an abdication of responsibility. The task today is to unify the sections into which the working class has been divided by Thatcher and the employers, with the assistance of labour leaders. We must bring

together in struggle young with older workers, and employed with unemployed.

● Should we be mobilising against the Tory government of Thatcher, or against capitalists in general? We can appreciate the reason for such a question, when we listen to the mouthings of Kinnoch and other opportunist leaders of the Labour Party.

But the labour movement is not the property of these people. They stole control of it from the working class, who must fight to take it back.

● What about the question of the participation of political groups in the building of a rank-and-file movement? Yes, there is a long history of left groups intervening in struggles, sometimes with the best of intentions, and manipulating them in line with their own preconceptions.

Some of the contributions last Saturday were of this type, with speakers taking up valuable discussion-time to fight out their own private battles.

But we believe it would be a mistake to dodge this problem by some 'no politics' rule. The major issues confronting us today — some of those raised at this conference — are indeed political; they are not just about the relation between workers and their immediate employers.

For example, the fact that

many local authorities are close to bankruptcy, that the Health Service is falling apart, that Baker is dismantling the public education system — these are vital issues for the class. To answer them is a political necessity.

Even more directly political is the question raised of the interference of the secret organs of the state in the workers' movement. We have called for the labour movement to organise its own inquiry into the activities of MI5. To avoid this issue would be an enormous error, we believe.

● This brings us to the central question: does the working class need leadership? Our anarchist friends deny it. Leaders are corrupt! they cry.

Yes, throughout the world, leaders of the working class have been bought over by the enemy class. That is one of the main features of imperialism and the chief reason for its continued existence. But that poses the most urgent problem which must be answered by the working class: how to build a leadership through which the class can establish its independence of its exploiters?

These are all vital problems, and not to be settled in five minutes. Let us continue the discussion at the further meetings which have been announced. Let all the various points of view be heard.



cluding weekly demonstrations at the site of the big tractor parked in the middle of Glasgow by the occupying workers.

'In April the leadership of the AEU and the Scottish TUC had already decided not to support the occupation if the court ruled it was against the law; they called for support for a campaign to get a new owner for the factory.

'Pressure was put on to those who wanted to support; meeting rooms were denied because it was not an 'accredited' organisation and the occupation ended in May, when the workers finally agreed to the Union's strategy to find a new buyer.

'Jimmy Airlie said that with the test of time this will prove to be a victory for the movement. I want you to understand that this was a gigantic action — money was pouring in. It caught the imagination of all sections throughout Scotland, and then — the union gave the impression there was a buyer and the jobs would be saved.

'Nothing has happened — none of the schemes put forward for a new owner has come to fruition. The factory will close in October. I have a message from a Caterpillar worker:

'Best wishes and greetings to the Conference. It is most important that you understand that Caterpillar workers did not capitulate — we were forced by the AEU, including threats of expulsion from our union and withdrawal of strike pay. We have no time for the union, and especially Jimmy Airlie.

'We want to tell you that workers must prepare well in advance for the struggles coming up — money must be put in contingency funds for rank-and-file actions. 'Every action of workers now is illegal.'

HFV striker: 'If someone had told me three months ago that I would be travelling the length and breadth of Britain addressing trade union and political meetings, I would have said they were crazy. Politics, trade unions and disputes were the last thing on my mind. It

is only now because I have become involved that I see the need for the trade union movement, and I understand the oppressiveness of Tory legislation.

'In three months I have received a lifetime's political education. I would never have believed that a company would sack an entire workforce and that our reward for years of sacrifice would be to be dismissed so that a cheap scab workforce could be recruited, a workforce who travel in a bus with a darkened windows to hide their identity and their shame.

'To ensure that the bus goes through, the police have subjected us to brutal sadistic treatment. We have been kicked and knocked unconscious, hospitalised, arrested, imprisoned and fined, but we have become hardened to all this. We have found strength in our unity and we are determined to win.

'But we need support, not only for ourselves but for other working people. We need physical and financial support as we are preparing for a long and bitter fight. Please help us sustain it.'

North West National Justice Campaign: 'I remember a song Rita Hayworth used to sing called "Long Ago and Far Away". This is the theme song of the Labour and trade union movement. They can get sentimental about the Tolpuddle Martyrs, but not over disputes today. They can pass resolutions on South Africa, but oppose black sections in the Labour Party.

'The struggle is here and now; the real assets of a trade union are people. Unions get too rich and afraid of sequestration. They are not debating societies, but part of a huge struggle.

'MSC is a scourge. I have a terrible fear that I will wake up one day and find a Community Programme brain surgeon by my bedside. The Community Programme gives half pay for a week's work; it is being used to drive down pay. We need to organise workers on these schemes. Solidarity is extremely important. I ask you not to forget the sacked miners.'

## RESOLUTION

**We print below the aims of the conference, circulated in the conference call. The meeting decided to defer discussion on amendments until a further meeting to be called by the Gateshead Workers Support Group and it was agreed the Gateshead group should go ahead to call a lobby of the TUC.**

● To counter the employer and government offensive those workers in struggle must have a strategy, a programme around which to organise and fight.

Our strength is not in numbers engaged in any particular dispute, but the sure fact that millions of workers and their supporters have a common hatred of this Tory government and will respond to those who will be seen to fight back.

The past and present 'sectionalism' in the trade union movement must be broken down once and for all. We are 'one class' and we must develop 'one movement' to stop this onslaught against the hard won rights of the working class.

We call for the building of an inter-union rank and file-controlled organisation that embraces all those in struggle in an anti-Tory movement. We must begin by building a national and international network of Support Groups and Strike Committees to immediately strengthen those workers engaged in disputes. Sacked miners, movements against racialism, anti-apartheid and unemployed groups must be given full participation as a right. Solidarity movements and community groups likewise must be asked to join us.

Joint work between areas and

those in disputes must be organised, with demonstrations, picketing and propaganda as a first step towards building such a movement. A national bulletin with up-to-date news and information must be produced.

We must continue this discussion and mobilisation over the coming months by participation in:

● A demonstration outside the TUC conference in September.

● The Liverpool conference 'Shrewsbury to Wapping' in September.

● A National Conference of Support Groups in Manchester on 1 November.

The Tory government have set in motion their programme, with the employers' eager participation, in trying to destroy any organised resistance from the working class.

Wage levels are to be driven down, working conditions and practices revised, past agreements ignored and trade union organisation destroyed. To assist them in this onslaught they have created a reserve army of unemployed whom they will attempt to conscript into industry through compulsory work schemes for benefits.

More anti-trade union legislation is to be implemented along with further attacks on the unemployed

and youth to drive them into scab non-union work. The new Public Order Act is being used by the police and the courts to criminalise the working class as they attempt to fight back against the employers' offensive. Picketing becomes intolerable in the eyes of the police as they begin to realise the power that they have in using the Public Order Act.

Up and down the country workers in many industries have been sacked as soon as they begin a dispute. There is a growing tendency for employers to simply sack their entire workforce and replace them with scab non-union labour recruited from the dole queues. The TUC and the present leadership of the trade unions by their fear of sequestration are no longer paralysed by inaction, but actively seek to undermine and stop support for workers engaged in struggle.

Since this conference was called, already Hangers and Trader sacked workers and the Ardrbridge strikers have all been subjected to this process of isolation, demoralisation and resulting in these disputes being forced to the end with more than a little encouragement to do so by their respective trade union officials.

As far as the employers and the Tories, the police and the courts, the TUC and the trade union leaders are concerned the working class must not be allowed to mobilise, this is their common slogan. These are the lessons of the miners' strike, Wapping and Silent-night and are faced now by every worker coming into struggle. ●

# Soviet journal hails Raskolnikov — but what about Trotsky?

**FYODOR RASKOLNIKOV has rightly been hailed in 'Ogonyok' as one of the leading Bolsheviks who was outlawed by the terror machine of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1930s.**

The truth now begins to emerge in the Soviet Union after years during which Raskolnikov — like thousands of others butchered, imprisoned or exiled — have had their names and records slandered and sullied by gross and systematic lying.

Thus, after a brief interlude in Khrushchev's day, when Raskolnikov was posthumously rehabilitated, he was denounced in 1965 by the Soviet leadership as 'a Trotskyist and a traitor'.

Now 'Ogonyok' has published Raskolnikov's 1937 letter to Stalin, in which he declares, despite his political differences, that Trotsky 'is an honest revolutionary', that the Moscow purge trials are a frame-up, and that Stalin's lying and treachery have 'destroyed Lenin's party'.

Today, no one believes that the charges against the accused in the Moscow trials were justified, or that there was the slightest substance in the allegation that Trotsky was organising a counter-

squads was not a 'Russian' phenomenon but part of the international role of Stalin and his apparatus.

With the frame-ups and killings in Moscow went the betrayal of the Spanish revolution, opening the path to the victory of Franco and World War II.

The killing-off of Bolsheviks was the necessary complement of this adaption to imperialism.

'Socialism in one country' was the myth which was imposed as the 'theory' of this degeneration and betrayal.

That is why it is of such great importance that Raskolnikov's letter not only denounces the frame-ups and the murders, but also declares that Stalin is destroying Lenin's party and that Stalin is the destroyer of the hopes of the Soviet working class by proclaiming that 'socialism' exists in the Soviet Union.

We are therefore especially struck by 'Ogonyok's' conclusions. They welcome Raskolnikov's letter, favourably comparing it with the attempt by Stalinist apolog-

To the editors of the Soviet journal, 'Ogonyok', from the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists in 1988.



**Fyodor Raskolnikov, leading Bolshevik outlawed by Stalin's terror machine in the 1930s. A mass-circulation popular weekly Soviet magazine recently published the letter he wrote 50 years ago to Stalin accusing him of 'wading through the blood of yesterday's friends and comrades'.**

dictions in social reality, and thus to prevent Russian workers, youth and intellectuals from tackling the solution of the problem, not just tracing its roots.

It is not only a matter of the roots of the problems in Stalin's day, but also the root of the problem of refusal by the bureaucracy to face these questions today.

It is an ideological barrier put up by the bureaucracy to defend its own power and privilege, a power and privilege which transmits the pressure of imperialism and seals off the Soviet working class from the working class in the capitalist world.

A real struggle to master the past and restore the historical truth about Stalin's regime coincides with the struggle to remove today's Stalinist bureaucracy and restore the Soviet working class to a relation of unity in struggle for socialism with the workers of the rest of the world.

That unity, established only by Bolshevik parties as part of an International of Communists, is what Stalin had to destroy.

Today's Stalinist bureaucrats live on the gains which Stalin made against Bolshevism and against the

working class on the world arena as well as within the USSR.

We write this open letter to you as followers of Trotsky. The rehabilitation of Raskolnikov and a handful of others is greatly to be welcomed. But what about Trotsky, exiled, framed and then assassinated by Stalin's hired killer in 1940? What about all those falsely accused?

Our Preparatory Committee for the organisation of a world Conference of Trotskyists to rebuild the Fourth International has embraced the campaign by the British Trotskyists of the Workers Revolutionary Party for the rehabilitation of those accused in the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938.

We believe that this campaign, already widely supported (see right), will be welcomed by many thousands in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

It is part of the central struggle of our time — the struggle for the continuity of Bolshevism, of communist internationalism, against its Stalinist destroyers and all who collaborate with them.

It is not the desire to see the past as a mere historical curiosity, but the desire to see the past as a living reality, as a reality which is still being lived in the present.

You say: 'What remains now is to investigate the reasons and conditions that led to the appearance of the Stalin cult, and the historical experience of the struggle against it.'

We have emphasised the last phrase. Truly, the struggle against Stalinism, including the fight for the historical truth, is precisely the struggle to rediscover and continue the work begun by Lenin in his last year against Stalin, continued by Trotsky and the Left Opposition, then the International Left Opposition, culminating in the founding of the Fourth International in 1938.

The historical necessity of this struggle and the truth of Raskolnikov's accusation of 'destroyer of Lenin's party' was totally confirmed by Stalin's decision to dissolve the Communist International during World War II.

This only set the seal on the degeneration already rampant, which led directly to the betrayal of the proletarian revolution in Italy and France at the end of the war, and the consequent renewed hegemony of imperialism in Europe.

Today, the contradictions of bureaucratic planning, arbitrary political command, suppression of soviet democracy and popular initiative, together with suppression of historical truth and scientific inquiry into socio-political questions, have produced a mass of problems in Soviet society which are insoluble within the rigid framework imposed by the continued existence of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Gorbachev wing of the bureaucracy seeks to overcome these consequences by opening the doors to imperialism and by providing safety-valves which they hope will release harmlessly the mighty pressure of the masses.

We are naturally in favour of taking advantage politically of such 'safety-valves' where possible, and we know that the rebuilding of the Fourth International, of Bol-

shevism, will bring together new forces with the upsurge of the youth and the working class in the capitalist world and in the bureaucratically deformed workers' states.

Some people write as though, while Gorbachev and his supporters are 'capitalist roaders', his more rigid opponents are defending the gains of the October revolution. This is false.

Each of these wings is out to protect the control of the bureaucracy over the economy. Their differences concern how to defend bureaucratic power against the working class.

The struggle cannot be won except by starting from recognition of the real social nature of the bureaucracy as political usurper of workers' power.

It is a caste parasitic on the conquests of October. Those Soviet workers — and they are many — who follow 'Ogonyok's' injunction to reconnect with the historical experience of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism will do so only as part of the struggle to overthrow the privileged bureaucracy and restore the power of the workers themselves in the soviets.

There is no socialism in one country, only the world socialist revolution, with workers' states as conquests and bastions along the road.

The political revolution in the Soviet Union means the overthrow of the bureaucracy by the working class, in order to defend the workers' state against imperialism by truly socialist, proletarian methods. It is thus an integral part of the world socialist revolution against imperialism.

We call upon all Soviet workers and youth to declare for the campaign to rehabilitate all victims of the purge trials of 1936-1938.

**Preparatory Committee for the International Conference to rebuild the Fourth International.**  
10 July 1987

*A real struggle to master the past and restore the historical truth about Stalin's regime coincides with the struggle to remove today's Stalinist bureaucracy and restore the Soviet working class to a relation of unity in struggle for socialism with the workers of the rest of the world.*

revolutionary centre abroad with imperialist backing.

Everyone knows that the 'confessions' of the defendants were extracted by torture to justify death or incarceration.

This process, and the butchering of countless others, Bolsheviks, was the final act of the long-drawn-out 'destruction of Lenin's party' to which Raskolnikov refers.

This physical destruction was prepared by political destruction and theoretical corrosion.

The murder and exile of the Bolshevik old guard by Stalin's secret police death-

ists to attribute the abuses of Stalin's regime to 'the cult of the personality'.

This is of course no explanation at all.

According to 'Ogonyok' the prevalence of such an 'explanation' arises from 'stagnation in the social sciences' in the Soviet Union.

Undoubtedly there is such stagnation, but it is not something natural, or to be accounted for psychologically, or the fault of individuals.

The question is: why, in a workers' state, is a Marxist explanation not developed?

What is at stake is a major ideological block, i.e. a set of ideas to conceal the contra-

## Question mark

AT A pre-general election meeting in Dundee, general secretary of the British Communist Party Gordon McLellan was asked how he viewed the Moscow Trials and what role he saw his party playing in regard to them in the light of the new approach in the Soviet Union.

He said that the Communist Party executive committee had written to the Soviet government last year, asking about a review of the Trials and rehabilitation of the victims. 'In February they told me that was going to be done,' he said. Quoting Gorbachev, he said that the nation with a question-mark over its history would always have a question-mark over its future.

Again quoting Gorbachev, McLellan said: 'There are going to be no blank pictures.' He went on to say that Trotsky did play some part in the Russian Revolution and this should be restored, although in his opinion he was later harmful. The process that was going to take place, he said, was very important in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

# Chomsky backs Moscow Trials campaign

Further support for the campaign to clear the names of those accused in Stalin's frame-up Show Trials of 50 years ago is now coming in.

The statement demanding that the Soviet government reviews these cases has now been signed by veteran Trotskyist fighter Oskar Hippe.

A signatory from the United States is world-famous linguistics theorist Noam Chomsky. He is now joined by several members of the Mexican parliament.

To the sponsorship of the Leicester and District Trades Union Council is now added the support of the Tayside Health Branch of ASTMS. The branch has also agreed to ask Dundee Trades Council to support the campaign.

William Shieles of Dundee has also asked to add his name to the list of signatories. So have a group of Transport and General Workers Union stewards in the Manchester area.

Support in the trade union movement is particularly significant. When Stalin's thugs were murdering the leaders of the Russian Revolution in 1936-1938, only a handful of people in the workers' movement raised their voices against the chorus of Stalinist lies. When they held public meetings to denounce the frame-ups, the Stalinists tried to break them up.

Those days are past. But we must ensure that neither the crimes nor the victims of the bureaucracy are forgotten.

This is the text of the statement:

It is now over 50 years since the infamous Moscow Show Trials. It is astounding that, at a time when the Soviet government is at pains to humanise its concern with 'human rights' and proclaims the

need for 'glasnost', the accused in these trials, with a few exceptions, are still considered guilty of being paid agents of Nazism, and other crimes.

Among these men were numbered several who played outstanding roles in the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The reputations of founders of the Soviet state like Zinoviev, Radek, Trotsky and Bukharin were besmirched or expunged from the history books.

Today, no one doubts that the 'confessions' about the trials — the sole basis for the prosecution — were utterly false.

Seven defendants in the third trial, Krestinsky and others, have been both judicially rehabilitated and politically exonerated. So have the military leaders, Tukhachevsky and others, whose military trial in 1937 was held in secret.

But the admittedly false evidence against these men was inseparable from the charges against all the other accused.

None of the accused, of course, is alive today. Many were executed immediately after their trials. Others died in prison or camps.

Leon Trotsky, the chief accused in all three of the trials, was murdered in exile in 1940. However, families of some of the defendants are still living in the Soviet Union. Some also suffered imprisonment and exile. It is worth recalling that a review of all these cases was promised by Khrushchev, but this promise was broken.

We the undersigned therefore call on the Soviet govern-



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ment to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice, as took place with Krestinsky. We are confident that all those accused in the Trials of 1936-1938 will be shown to have been innocent. They should immediately be rehabilitated, their honour restored, their families compensated and their graves marked.

# Reorganise the Fourth International Statement from the Preparatory Committee

THE RESPONSE to the Workers Revolutionary Party's call for an International Conference to rebuild the Fourth International has already brought together in the Preparatory Committee Trotskyists from Europe East and West, and from Latin America, comrades whose work had been separated for decades by earlier splits in the movement.

The Australian Communist League has now joined the Committee, and Trotskyists from Turkey and Morocco, and from countries where only illegal work can take place, are now working for it. In addition, important work is now in progress to discuss with comrades who have approached the Preparatory Committee from several countries in the Middle East, the Far East and Africa.

Several groups which are still members of, or who have recently broken from, the Mandel-led United Secretariat, opposed to its liquidationism, are now in discussion with the Preparatory Committee.

At the same time, an opposition is being cobbled together by a number of small groups who were not in agreement with the ten points on which the Preparatory Committee was founded. They by no means agree among themselves on all questions, but they are agreed that the ten points are too 'exclusive'.

What these ten points did was to define the minimum basis upon which Trotskyists could work for the rebuilding of the Fourth International as the continuity of Bolshevism.

Especially disputed was the point that we are for the building of Trotskyist parties in every country. This was, certainly, directed against the conception that in



some countries Trotskyist parties are not necessary because other left, nationalist or Stalinist forces, will do the job of revolutionary leadership.

It is precisely against that revision of Marxism that the battle must be fought and won. The Fourth International is being rebuilt against this liquidationism, which has been at the root of the Fourth International's crisis, reflecting the pressure of Stalinism.

The participants in the Preparatory Committee have in the past taken separate paths for long periods, but they are brought together by the lessons of the struggle, in various forms, against the liquidationism now dominant in the movements led by Mandel and by Lambert.

This recognition of each other as Trotskyists, despite past differences, is essential to the work of the Preparatory Committee, the work of reconstruction.

The Italian GOR, for example, would not withdraw its characterisation of some Preparatory Committee members as 'centrists' and so was not accepted on the Preparatory Committee. One of the Preparatory Committee delegations negotiating on this with the GOR, on behalf of the Committee, and reporting back to it, was that of the Irish Workers League.

Nonetheless this group has suddenly announced its withdrawal from the Committee on the

grounds of its supposed 'exclusivity', without any explanation of their change of mind.

No doubt all those who object to the principled basis of the Preparatory Committee, contained in the ten points, will now announce a more 'open' conference, denouncing our 'exclusivity'.

Our own Conference is open to all those forces now coming forward who find themselves confronted with the overriding need for new, revolutionary leadership independent of Stalinism, reformism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, and our firmness on the principle of building in every country is proving to be our greatest strength in attracting such forces.

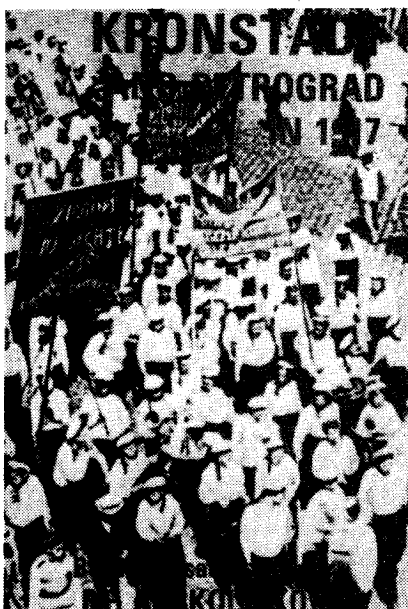
The ten points of our original Call will be expanded and developed. They are after all only a minimum basis or minimum definition of what unites Trotskyists. What is important is to develop Trotskyism as our guide to action in the developing world revolutionary struggle, forced as it is to a higher stage by imperialism's crisis and the break-up of Stalinism.

Not only will new groups join the Preparatory Committee, but many new forces will be present at the Conference itself.

At its last meeting, the Preparatory Committee adopted the campaign initiated by the WRP for the clearing of the names of the accused in the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938.

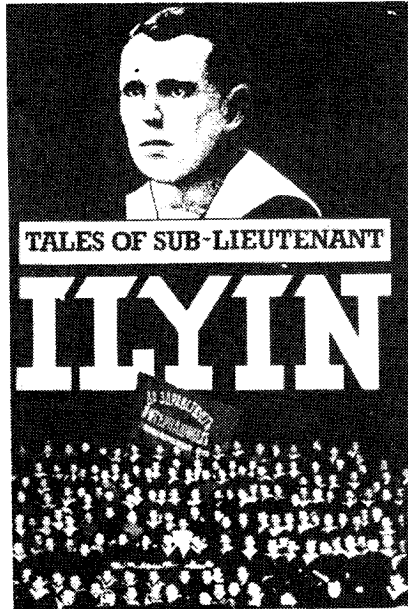
It was also decided to organise an international rally in London for 7 November, 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. A public meeting on the International Conference is also being prepared in Paris for the latter part of September.

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## SOUTH AFRICA

# PERMANENT REVOLUTION

## The fight for a Bolshevik party

## Part Two

In Part One of this three-part series we drew the attention of all class conscious fighters of the proletariat to the notorious historical legacy of Stalinism (Workers Press 4 July 1987).

This article will show that whereas the two-stage conception has its origins in Stalinist counter-revolution and defeats of the working class, the Permanent Revolution conception represents the only path for a victorious proletarian revolution.

### The Permanent Revolution conception is a Bolshevik-Leninist conception!

*'Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie . . . History will not invent for you any transitional dictatorship, a dictatorship of the second order, a dictatorship at a discount. Whoever speaks to you about it is deceiving you. Make your preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, prepare seriously, stubbornly and tirelessly.'* (Trotsky)

THE Third International, under Lenin and Trotsky, proclaimed as its fundamental principles 'the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the soviet.' This formulation, based on Lenin's scientific analysis of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, captures in essence what permanent revolution means.

In the first place, the permanent revolution conception argues that, in the epoch of imperialism, all the great historical tasks of revolutions in all countries can only be decisively tackled if state power is wielded by the proletariat.

The Third International insisted that all the manifold forms of imperialist oppression will continue for as long as the bourgeoisie remains the ruling class and capitalist property relations hold sway over humanity.

The bourgeoisie worldwide has completely exhausted itself as a progressive force. It keeps the vast majority of people in a barbaric state of poverty and starvation, it brutally denies basic democratic rights to hundreds of millions, it snatches back hard-won democratic gains from millions more, it intensifies national, racist, and women's oppression, it exacerbates national rivalry, and precipitates ever-bloodier and more destructive wars. In every country therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat is a historical necessity.

In the second place, the permanent revolution conception argues that 'it is impossible to pass from capitalism to socialism without breaking national frameworks.' (Lenin).

This follows inevitably from the world character of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism. Consequently, the Communist International was guided by the perspective that, 'the socialist revolution begins on the

#### BY A SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY

national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena' (Trotsky).

To be a Bolshevik-Leninist one must therefore resolutely oppose and struggle against the Stalinist formulations of two-stage revolution and socialism-in-one country; one must 'prepare seriously, stubbornly, and tirelessly' for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and one must rebuild the Fourth International and fight for the world revolution.

### In South Africa the Permanent Revolution is the fight to smash apartheid-capitalism!

IN ITS transition to its imperialist stage, capitalism subjected all countries to its rule. But in each instance, the specific national form of capitalist development proceeded through the yoking together of the particular historical features of a country with the general laws of the capitalist system of production.

In South Africa the discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1870s and 1880s, and the rapid development of capitalist relations of production, forcibly drew together in a single, systematic but contradictory social whole, a great diversity of historical elements: pre-capitalist, colonial, semi-feudal, capitalist-imperialist.

This was the origin of contemporary South African society, that is, apartheid-capitalist society.

The productive forces in South Africa have thus developed through a set of distinct social relations. Surplus value has been pumped out of the working class in a particular and unique way. It was through the super-exploitation of the labour-power of black workers that the South African bourgeoisie grew rich and powerful.

The fact that the South African economy has reached a relatively advanced and industrialised stage of development can be traced to two important factors — one is the existence of large quantities of gold, the money commodity of the world; the second is the racist and undemocratic political system, by means of which the black working class was kept in a state of subservience.

Apartheid and capitalism have thus always been inseparable. In a word, apartheid is the historically de-

veloped form of imperialist capitalism in that country. It is the failure, or more correctly refusal, to grasp this relationship between form and content which has led to the hopelessly incorrect formulations about the political struggle in South Africa.

### The muddle of the South African Communist Party

THE South African Communist Party's characterisation of South African society is typically undialectical and ahistorical. It argues that, 'apartheid is not a form of capitalism, it is a form of backwardness reflecting some kind of pre-capitalist political and economic relations', and that, 'apartheid South Africa's

PERMANENT revolution in South Africa involves tasks that are bound up with the advanced stage of development of its economy and the racist and undemocratic nature of its political system.

The democratic tasks of the revolution do not flow out of economic backwardness, nor out of the existence of a 'colonialism of a special type', as the ANC-SACP argue, but out of a rotten-ripe capitalism that cannot reform itself in any way.

South Africa is a fully-developed capitalist country that is dominated by a national bourgeoisie which is monopolist and sub-imperialist, insofar as it wields enormous economic power in much of the southern African region.

The last 25 years has seen the growing concentration

### No separate solution for the 'bantustan' areas!

DEVELOPMENTS in the 'bantustans', bear striking testimony to the onward march of apartheid-capitalism. In these areas, which are an integral part of South Africa, only a tiny proportion of the population still work the land as peasant farmers.

The overwhelming majority of the people in these hopelessly overcrowded areas are an impoverished mass of proletarians (migrants, commuter-workers or unemployed workers), or semi-proletarians (wives, children or the aged relatives of migrant workers).

The 'bantustans' are thus merely dumping grounds

Stalinists, the heroic struggles for democracy by advanced workers, unemployed, youth and students, have increasingly become struggles for socialism.

However, the struggle for power cannot be successfully waged and won by only the organised sections of the oppressed and exploited. Millions of urban workers, rural workers, and semi-proletarians, in both 'white' South Africa and the 'bantustans' have to be drawn in solidly behind the vanguard of class conscious workers.

Those only recently aroused to political life, and the millions more still to be awakened, because of their objective, material conditions, will respond most readily to a combination of democratic, immediate economic, transitional and socialist demands. The entire proletariat must be armed with a transitional programme for socialist revolution!

### Only a Bolshevik Party can guarantee the Permanent Revolution!!

HISTORY is littered with aborted revolutions: with pseudo-revolutions that have installed 'popular' Bonapartist regimes; with half-revolutions that have given birth to deformed workers' states.

These are the practical consequences of Stalinism and the policy of socialism-in-one-country. These are the bitter fruits of the attempted liquidation of revolutionary Marxism.

We stand irreconcilably opposed to the notion propagated by the Pabloite revisionists that the permanent character of the revolution ensures that, regardless of their initial political-ideological character, the leading organisations will inevitably become 'radicalised' and their leaderships ultimately be transformed into consistent revolutionary Marxists.

This anti-Marxist position is in fact shared by none other than the SACP, which argues: 'Revolutionaries like Fidel Castro, Samora Machel, and Amilcar Cabral, to name just a few (no doubt Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo will in due course be added to the list), began as revolutionary democrats and moved to a position of scientific socialism.'

We call on all revolutionary fighters to unmask the fake Marxists. Your task is to fight for a permanent revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and soviet power, to become consistent internationalists and fight for the world revolution. Heed Trotsky's words:

'For successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party, once more a party, again a party!' (our emphasis).

Fight for:

- Permanent Revolution!
- A South African workers' republic!
- A federation of southern African workers' states!
- A Bolshevik party!
- A re-organised Fourth International!



rules of political operation lack conformity with what is best suited to the requirements of capitalist society.'

The fact that the black working class is denied political rights; is paid starvation wages; has little freedom of movement; is a victim of a host of other barbaric racist laws; all this is certainly no departure from some supra-historical 'norm of capitalism'. Indeed, it is the peculiar national expression of a moribund capitalist system.

The inextricable historical relationship between apartheid and capitalism forms the basis of the permanent revolution in South Africa. It means — what the African National Congress-SACP alliance constantly attempts to deny — that the struggle against apartheid, the struggle for consistent democracy, can only be a struggle for socialism.

### The economic prerequisites for socialism exist in South Africa!

*'The relative weight of the individual democratic and transitional demands in the proletariat's struggle, their mutual ties and the order of presentation is determined by the peculiarities and specific conditions of each backward country and to a considerable extent by the degree of its backwardness'* (Trotsky).

and centralisation of capital in the hands of a powerful minority whose tentacles have spread into every sector of the economy — mining, commerce, and banking.

South Africa is furthermore entangled in the world system of imperialism by the gigantic web of operations of British, American, Japanese and European monopoly corporations and innumerable ties to the world market. Consequently, South Africa is a chronic victim of the world capitalist crisis.

Even South Africa's agriculture, that sector of the economy which historically lags behind the other sectors, is not only fully capitalist, but is also dominated by a small minority of white capitalist farmers, and agribusiness corporations. Today 6 per cent of farming enterprises produce 40 per cent of all agricultural commodities.

Under the whip of international competition, white farmers have had to resort to the constant revolutionising of productive techniques on the land, with the result that there has been a rapid and absolute decrease in the size of the agricultural proletariat.

At the same time, the last decade and a half has witnessed the most prolonged and severe crisis experienced by South Africa in agriculture.

and concentration camps for those discarded by a rotten-ripe capitalism.

### For a transitional programme for socialist revolution!

THE fact that South Africa is fully capitalist, that the working class is the largest part of society, that all the economic pre-requisites for socialism exist — all this does not mean that democratic demands are obsolete, or that the struggle is simply for socialism.

On the contrary, in South Africa, democratic demands have always been and remain and remain an enormously revolutionary factor.

It is because a large black proletariat has been forcibly denied the most basic democratic rights, it is because this proletariat for so long has felt the incessant whip of racist oppression, and it is also because the problems of democracy and racist oppression are so organically tied up with class exploitation that has made the situation in South Africa so politically explosive, and why the racist ruling class has absolutely no way out of the social crisis.

This is why, contrary to the policy of the ANC/SACP, there can be no intermediate stage of national democracy. Despite the confused and obstructive formulations of

PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

# The harlot's cry

WHATEVER else it was about, the Jeffrey Archer libel case was primarily about harlotry: people selling themselves to other people, or to the state.

Not, like most of us, selling their labour power but their bodies, or their honour, or their brains, or their pens, or their forensic eloquence.

And, above all, selling their loyalty, which in this sick society is a commodity like everything else.

Of the bevy of harlots who played their various grubby parts in that courtroom theatre during those three weeks, the prostitute woman Monica Coghlan was the only female, and the only victim.

This child of the inner city was streetwise before puberty, sent to Borstal more than once, sexually attacked in her teens, and convicted for soliciting in Manchester more than 20 times from the age of 18.

On one occasion those God-fearing Manchester magistrates, in a spasm of street-sweeping, swept her off their streets — and into jail — for six months.

At 36, with a three-year-old child to bring up, she proved easy prey for the 'News of the World', which paid her a mere £6,000 for her part in the entrapment of Jeffrey Archer. By their normal standards, they got her dirt-cheap.

For six weeks they owned her, body and soul. While her child was left with relatives or neighbours, they shipped her round a series of hotels in Blackpool, Stockport, Manchester, London, Spain, and Tunisia.

A 'News of the World' watchdog slept in her room at night, to stop her being snatched from under their noses by a rival newspaper.

Despite her participation in the 'News of the World' scam, Coghlan was the most innocent, the most vulnerable, the least unsavoury, the least contemptible of the lot of them.

She is the only one who deserves pity. But not only pity. She deserves also our incandescent rage on her behalf. For the gutter press made more degrading use of her than the most neurotic of her clients.

Jeffrey Archer deserves neither pity nor congratulations, but contempt. He's a glib salesman who came unstuck. His character was summed up long ago by one

of the Beatles, who said of him: 'That guy, he'd bottle your pee and sell it for £5.'

Good too at selling himself, he sold himself to Margaret Thatcher in her hour of need. Then, through the cowardice that fatally flaws the character of so many Tories on the make, he blew it.

It's worth remembering what the Tory Party deputy chairmanship entailed: marketing this anti-working-class government just like a commercial product — soapflakes, say, or barely-literate bestsellers. And, of course, fundraising for the Tories.

'Get the right ingredients, sweetie,' Archer used to say, 'and you can raise money for your local traffic warden.'

Though he's unlikely to get his job back, Archer — whose personal fortune is estimated at £10 million at least — is still a member of the ruling-class network.

One of his closest friends is another of Thatcher's broken-backed henchmen, Cecil Parkinson, now in favour again after a decent spell in purgatory.

Archer has many other influential friends, both inside and outside the Tory Party. The Lord Chancellor attended his victory celebrations, as did Dr David Owen and his wife, the latter being Archer's literary agent.

The would-be scandalmonger Aziz Kurtha need not detain us long. He emerged as a failure at everything he sets his hand to: a seedy gambler who botched his one big chance. Much more significant are the journalists, editors, and newspaper proprietors, who emerged as whores and panders of the most sordid kind.

The tabloid journalists prostitute their pens; their editors prostitute their consciences; their proprietors are more shameless and ruthless in their pursuit of wealth than a legion of pimps — and, unlike pimps and street-walkers, they don't have to share their profits with the Vice Squad.

If the Archer case did nothing else, it gave us a rare insight into the inner workings of this dung-factory that poses as a free press.

Every society, it is said, gets the press it deserves; British capitalism and the British gutter press go together like rotten meat and maggots.

Barristers too, like journalists, sell themselves, and the two leading advocates in the Archer case both have illuminating records in this respect.

The mouthpiece of the 'Star', Michael Hill, sold himself to the government some years ago when

he secured the convictions of the Guildford prisoners, now known to be innocent of the crime for which he got them into jail.

Archer's mouthpiece, Robert Alexander, likewise sold himself to the government when it was seeking, successfully, to outlaw trade unions at the GCHQ spying centre.

Hill is said to have been paid £20,000 merely to take his brief in the Archer case. Alexander probably got a bigger retainer still. Each received a 'refresher' of £1,500 per day.

In other words, each of these two barristers earned a cool £42,000 or thereabouts, for just three weeks' work (of five none too arduous days per week).

To earn such a sum would take a waitress or a shop check-out operator about ten years, a hospital porter about six years, a miner on the coal face roughly four years, a Monica Coghlan somewhat over six months.

Mr Justice Caulfield's summing-up was widely seen as heavily weighted in Archer's favour. And to this end it fairly bristled with what he himself, when challenged, frankly admitted were 'mistakes and inaccuracies'.

The judge, who is due to retire at the end of next year, muddled the evidence given by different witnesses and confused certain evidence with assertions made by counsel.

As a drop of pond water, under the microscope, reveals all kinds of bizarre creatures, so the Archer case has thrown a bright light on the denizens of the top layer of Thatcher's Britain.

Multi-millionaires, seedy informers, pressmen with the ethics of carrion crows, unscrupulous press barons, venal barristers, bewigged puppets of the state: we have been witnessing a strange, exotic world far removed from the daily reality that millions of working and unemployed people in our country have to endure.

The whore and gambler, by the state  
Licensed, build that nation's fate.  
The harlot's cry from street to street  
Shall weave Old England's winding sheet.

So wrote William Blake at the beginning of the 19th century. Less than 200 years later the winding sheet is almost finished; the society it shrouds, though not yet dead, is decomposing.

And the stink that comes off this decaying society, at the top of the heap, could hardly be called fragrant. In fact, it makes you want to hold your nose.

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PETER FRYER



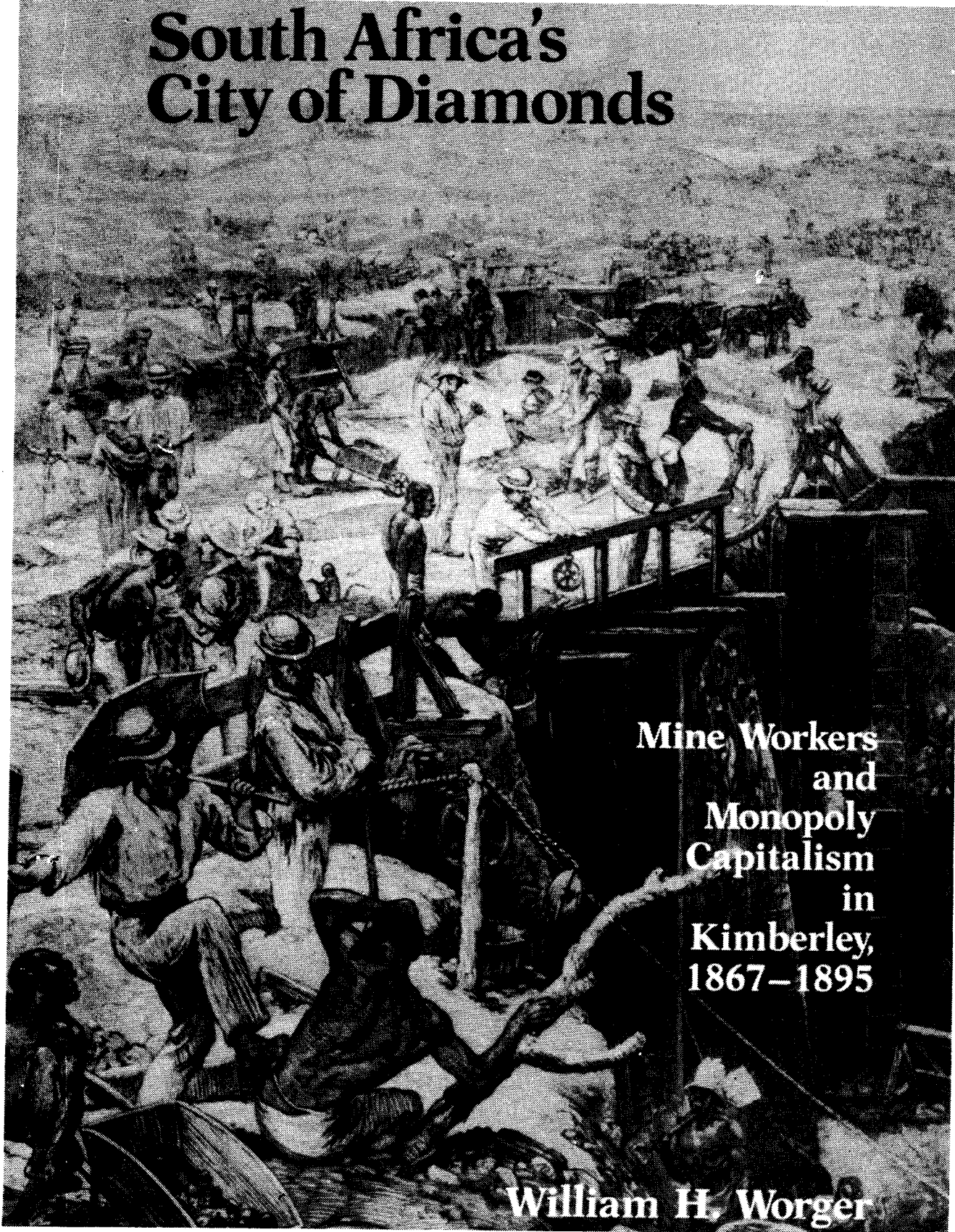
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# BOOK REVIEWS

## South Africa's City of Diamonds



**Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895**

**William H. Worger**

ABOVE: Jacket illustration — the diamond diggings, 1872, from 'Illustrated London News'. BELOW: Inmates of the De Beers compound, c.1894



South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895. By William H. Worger. Yale University Press. £25.

WELL before the discovery of gold, the rise of the Kimberley diamond industry in the last three decades of the 19th century transformed South Africa, establishing a relatively huge urban community in the

middle of the subcontinent which brought back British imperialists and their capital.

Thus began the most distinctive feature of South African society: migrant black labour moving between impoverished rural homes and the urban workplace, subject to racially discriminatory legal practices.

The book examines Kimberley's history from the rush of thousands of prospectors in the 1860s to the construction of a monopoly enterprise by Cecil

Rhodes and De Beers Consolidated Mines in the 1880s and 1890s, with its large-scale organisation of diamond mining, the subjugation of rural black societies to the industry's demands and the use of law to establish a prison-like community for blacks — and the crushing of opposition by white miners, mainly immigrants from Cornwall and Cumberland.

At £25 this book is inaccessible to most. Read it in your local library.

# Growing up and getting angry

Beer In The Snooker Club. By Waguhi Ghali. Serpents Tail. £4.95

'IMAGINE being a member of a club where middle-aged people play croquet. This ease; this glide from one place to another; the crispy notes in crocodile wallets; the elegant women floating here and there . . .

'The strange thing about this club is that in the early days of the revolution, it was condemned as a symbol of exploitation and was taken over by a committee or something like that. Well, all the members are still members, with a few additional military members.'

'Ram', an Egyptian who grew up with the excitement of national struggle in the 1950s, is not one of the impoverished fellaheen, or exploited textile workers. As he says of his place in the university faculty of medicine:

'I was one of the privileged; I had strings to pull. Not that I bothered to pull them; my mother, or one of my aunts, must have pulled one from the dangling assortment within her reach. I became: "Il faut la médecine, ma chère."

Even the Arabic language of the common masses was too low-bred for this class.

He gets involved, along with the other students, even helping with a bomb which kills the police chief; but affects not to take politics, including his own, too seriously.

'I don't remember which party I voted for, but we were given whisky and salted peanuts, after which we were taken in Cadillacs to vote with our thumbs . . . none of us was of voting age.'

This is a pose, of course. In his comfortable home, he listens to relatives telling a rich uncle from the country that he should exploit the fellaheen harder.

At a party, he meets Edna, with whom he discusses literature and hears about police brutality and torture of communists.

Ram is disgusted by his own class at the same time as he enjoys its privileges. He welcomes the Egyptian Revolution, but sees through the new bourgeoisie — the officers — too.

He admires the socialist intellectual who is an ex-political prisoner, and would like to be like him, he says. Not to actually go to prison, he hastens to explain, but to be an ex-prisoner!

Ram goes to Europe to imbibe culture, and learns to drink beer in pubs, and play pitch-and-toss with Irish labourers. Later, he will drink with his fellow-sophisticate who has a snooker club in Cairo and discuss British Labour politics.

In London, he encounters a middle-class leftist family; and Steve, the British squaddie who keeps on about 'wogs'; and the politer, officer-class racists of Kensington; and Vince, in Kilburn, who has a go at him, over a pint, about the starving fellaheen and his rich relatives.

He replies, what about Vince's 'rich relatives', who have fleeced the colonial peoples?

'You know all about the

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## NICARAGUA: TROTSKYISM GAINS

## Students move left

**Managua, Nicaragua:** The student elections are considered by every observer of revolutionary Nicaragua to be one of the most important indicators of the directions the political winds are blowing.

On 6 and 7 July the vote for the president of the national union of students (UNEN) revealed a new surge to the left among the nation's youth.

The far left candidate, Luis Quinperos Bonilla of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT — Revolutionary Workers Party) the Trotskyist Party in Nicaragua, received 3,079 votes or 23.5 per cent of the 13,105 votes cast.

The FSLN candidate, Napoleon Lopez, received 7,724 votes, (58 per cent); and the candidate of the Marxist-Leninist Party (PML) 635 votes, (4.8 per cent).

About 1,000 students abstained, and 651 ballots were declared void. According to UNEN, 85 per cent of students participated in the elections.

The PRT candidate campaigned on a revolutionary platform centred on the call for the military defeat of the Contras, and the extension of the revolutionary process towards socialism.

The programme included a demand for the expansion of the universities' budget through expropriating and taxing the bourgeoisie and ending payments of the national debt of Nicaragua.

The Trotskyists included in their platform the need to abolish the academic rules which effectively prohibit many working class students from attending their universities, called for university autonomy, and demanded that the dean of the universi-

BY LEON PEREZ

ty be elected rather than appointed.

In the Central American University, the PRT candidate obtained 31.9 per cent of the votes; at Isca (the Agricultural College) 33.8 per cent, and in the College for Accountants lost to the FSLN candidate by only 5 votes.

In the school of economics the PRT candidate received 29 per cent of the votes. Even at the University of Leon, the stronghold of the FSLN, the Trotskyist candidate polled 19 per cent of the votes.

### Nicaraguan Students, part of the revolutionary vanguard

UNIVERSITY students have always been in the forefront of the revolutionary process. Most of the leaders and cadres of the FSLN came out of the student movement; many of the combatants in the civil war that overthrew Somoza's national guard were university students.

Until now the political leadership of the nation's students was considered to be a virtual monopoly of the FSLN.

The strong showing of the PRT in these elections indicates a powerful new tendency among the country's youth — to realign them-

selves to the left of the Sandinistas.

Another indication of this shift is that the Christian Popular Party, a bourgeois opposition party failed to obtain the required number of signatures to place its candidate on the ballot for this election.

Hoping to avert a strong showing by the PRT, the FSLN allowed the PML Marxist-Leninist Party's candidate to appear on the ballot, even though the PML had failed to obtain the number of signatures required.

The FSLN gave the PML press and video coverage that was withheld from the Trotskyist candidate. As the vote revealed, their success in this effort was very limited.

Prior to the election itself, the PRT fought against the restrictions the FSLN tried to impose on the election process.

Together with other opposition candidates they demanded that the number of signatures required by a candidate to appear on the ballot be reduced from the 9,000 signatures demanded by the FSLN.

The number was reduced to 3,000, still 20 per cent of all the university students.

When the PML and the 'independent' candidates failed to obtain the necessary 3,000 signatures, the PRT demanded that the candidate appear on the ballot anyway.

THE importance of the votes received by the Trotskyist candidate was not lost on the FSLN which called emergency meetings of Sandinista youth at the universities immediately after the elections.

The youth were harshly criticised at these meetings for their 'method of work' — but not for their programme,

which after all is the programme of the Sandinistas.

No doubt the bureaucratic 'method of work' in the way the Sandinistas organised the elections contributed to the diminution of their support, but far more important in the election results is the growing shift to the left of the nation's youth.

That shift is also reflected in the students' support for sterner measures to defeat the Contras than those carried out by the Sandinistas with a political line of 'moderation' and 'negotiated political settlement'.

There is growing student support for more radical measures to advance the social process in the country.

This undoubtedly has confounded the United States who have orchestrated the siege of revolutionary Nicaragua in the hope that the hardship caused by the Contras and the economic blockade, together with the political confusion sown by their diplomatic efforts, would lead to a shift to the right among the politically active youth. Instead, they are shifting to the left.

The PRT is also active in the labour movement, where its members occupy important positions in the unions, and in the army and militias where PRT members fight against the Contra mercenaries.

The PRT, despite the very difficult economic situation in Nicaragua, publishes a regular fortnightly newspaper, 'El Socialista', which is widely read among the nation's working class and youth.



Jackie Morris's cover illustration for the *Serpent's Tail* edition of 'Beer in the Snooker Club' by Waguih Ghali

Egyptian fellah, do you? Do you know anything of the natives in Kenya? In Rhodesia? in Aden? And worst of all, perhaps in South Africa?

'Or are you going to tell me South Africa doesn't belong to your rich relatives? It does. If your rich relatives weren't so happy doing business with those filthy rich there, they would have been scared to flog defenceless black women.'

They become good mates. And as Ram notes in parentheses: 'He turned out to be the only one amongst all those I met in England who continued to be my friend when I was penniless and in trouble.'

First published in 1964, 'Beer In The Snooker Club' has been described as 'one of the best novels about Egypt ever written'. It must also be one of the best novels about a young man growing up, getting angry, making love, and learning about the world.

Its humour and satire, with sad undertones, but never sour, you must taste and enjoy.

**I MET Ram — or at any rate, Waguih Ghali — back in 1968 on a demonstration outside the Israeli embassy. We used to meet for a drink now and then and discuss Middle East politics.**

He was scraping a precarious living from a bit of office work in Germany, a bit of translation here and there. The Egyptian government had taken away his passport, the Israelis had terminated his stay by booting him out as 'a spy'. The British government would not give him a work permit.

A qualified doctor, with several languages, he was asking me about casual kitchen work.

The last time I saw him, he was telling me about a visitor who had come to see him from Beirut, offering well-paid employment. They wanted him to tour Arab capitals lecturing — against the Nasser regime. Waguih had told his visitor that he would only do this if he was free to denounce the much more reactionary regimes in countries he would tour.

In the ensuing heated discussion, Waguih had mentioned the plight of the

Palestinians, and the visitor — who turned out to represent the biggest newspaper-group in Lebanon — had sneered at his concern, remarking to the effect that the Palestinians 'could go to hell'.

'If only I'd had a tape recorder', Waguih said, 'if only I could expose these bastards... For once, he did not mind showing his anger. But what could he do? That was eight years before the Lebanon civil war when the right-wing bourgeoisie, whose hatred Waguih had heard, tried to put the Palestinians in hell.'

I left London at the end of 1968 to go on a college course. There was some doubt whether I'd get a grant.

Waguih, with all his own problems, anxiously started working out ways of raising cash, so as to encourage me to take the opportunity. As it happens, I was able to write and reassure him things had worked out OK.

We lost touch. About a year later, running into another friend, I asked casually how Waguih was getting on. 'Didn't you hear?' Apparently, at some point, the lonely exile, stateless and jobless, and maybe without much hope, had committed suicide.

'Of course, he was a manic-depressive, you know.' No, I didn't. Nor about other problems, which I believe Diane Athill has written about. ('After A Funeral', Cape, 1986).

All I knew, from my brief acquaintance, was that Waguih Ghali was a bloody good bloke, with whom I'd discussed ideas and what we could do about them, who'd written a good book, and who was getting kicked around by bureaucrats and governments, but could still make jokes about it.

Reading 'Beer In The Snooker Club' again after all these years, I found myself still grinning and chuckling at the humour, even though more conscious now of the sadness in it.

I'm glad someone has brought the book back, even if they can't bring back the author. I'm sad Waguih didn't live to see some political developments which we only dreamt of. But I hope you'll just enjoy 'Beer in the Snooker Club'.

Charlie Pottins

## ROBSON'S CHOICE

IF YOU are genuinely weary of conversation by 10.30p.m. on **Saturday**, or you don't have a good book to get stuck into, try Don Siegal's **Two Mules for Sister Sara** on ITV. It's the best of a thin evening.

On **Sunday**, there is something to choose from and Peter the Great starring Vanessa Redgrave et al. is definitely not included. At 3.30p.m. (Radio 4), for example, **Epitaph for Elvin**, could make fascinating listening.

At 5p.m. (ITV), Turning the Tide deals with **The Great Gene Robbery**, a subject of burning interest to food growers all over the world, even though many of them do not recognise its importance yet.

At 6p.m. (Radio 3), the legendary Fritz Kreisler plays Beethoven's violin Concerto in D, a recording made in 1926.

At 7.15p.m. (C4), episode 9 of **The Struggles for Poland**. At 7.45p.m. (BBC2), **Ice, Wind and Fire**, the first of three award-winning documentaries about wildlife in the South American Andes under the general heading: Flight of the Condor.

At 9.15p.m. (BBC1), the final part of Hemingway, a biography of the American author. At 10.10p.m. (BBC2),

the first in a season of feature films from New Zealand, **Utu**, is set in the late 19th century, a period of bitter strife between the colonising soldiery and the peaceful native Maori's. At 10.15 (C4), John Huston's excellent **The Man Who Would Be King**.

On **Monday**, at 7.30p.m. (BBC2), Schoenberg's 'Gurrelieder' conducted by Pier-

re Boulez in **Live from the Proms**. At 8.30p.m. (ITV), **Manor People** offers a close-up view of life on a council estate where 'unemployment, poverty and rotten houses have taken their toll'. If you are suffering from under-stimulation, try Richard Fleischer's thriller **Blind Terror** at 10.30p.m. (ITV).

On **Tuesday**, at 9p.m.

(BBC2), a thoroughly entertaining RKO thriller directed by Edward Dmytryk, **Crossfire**.

At 9.25p.m. (Radio 3), George Buchner's **Woyzeck**. (Buchner's work represents a reaction against the romanticism of Schiller and Goethe. It paved the way for the naturalistic drama of the 1880s and the expressionist theatre of the 1920s. Buchner died in 1837). At 10.50p.m. (C4), a portrait of Art Blakey in **Sounds of Surprise**.

On **Wednesday**, a treat for the children on BBC1 at 1.50p.m., Francis Ford Coppola's **Finian's Rainbow**. At 11.30p.m. (ITV), Marilyn Monroe in **Gentlemen Prefer Blondes**.

**Thursday** belongs to Channel Four. At 2.30p.m. **The Adventures of Tom Sawyer**. At 3.55p.m. a beautiful short by the master animator Norman McLaren, **Pas de Deux**.

At 10.35p.m. Emile de Antonio's **Underground**, a documentary portrait of the radical group of the seventies known as the Weather Underground Organisation.

On **Friday**, at 11.35p.m. (BBC1), Neil Simon's witty and sentimental **The Goodbye Girl**. Starting at 11.55p.m. (BBC2), Richard Fleischer's taut thriller **The Narrow Margin**.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON



Sean Connery and Michael Caine in John Huston's comedy-drama 'The Man Who Would Be King', Sunday at 10.15p.m. on Channel Four

# Workers Press

Saturday August 1 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

## Kinnock must speak!

● FROM PAGE ONE

It is also from this time that 'Ted Short's' forged Swiss bank account originated. Although Wallace did not know the source of this particular forgery, he said that they were producing forged bank accounts for Clockwork Orange Two.

Wallace produced a forged pamphlet supposedly written by Dennis Healey, who was defence minister at the time, Tony Benn and Stan Orme. It was for sale in America and said what a good job the North Vietnamese were doing in their war against American imperialism.

Wallace refused to use the material without political clearance. He claims he was 'set up' by MI5 and removed from his job.

His cover was then blown and he had to leave Ireland for his own safety.

In England he contacted Roland Moyle, MP for Lewisham East and Labour Junior Minister for the Northern Ireland Office. Moyle said that he had looked into it and said that there was nothing he could do.

In fact what he had done was to go to Merlyn Ree — who told him to take it up

with the appropriate authorities, i.e. MI5.

'I then hired a QC and asked him to go to the MoD,' Wallace said. 'I wanted to know whether the cover-up was low-level or official.'

'The MoD refused to talk to him.'

'I wrote to Wilson in July 1977, but nothing came of it, so I tried to get the matter raised in the press.'

'The "Sunday Times" did a piece. Shortly after I was visited by the local Special Branch, who claimed I had a stolen pistol in my possession.'

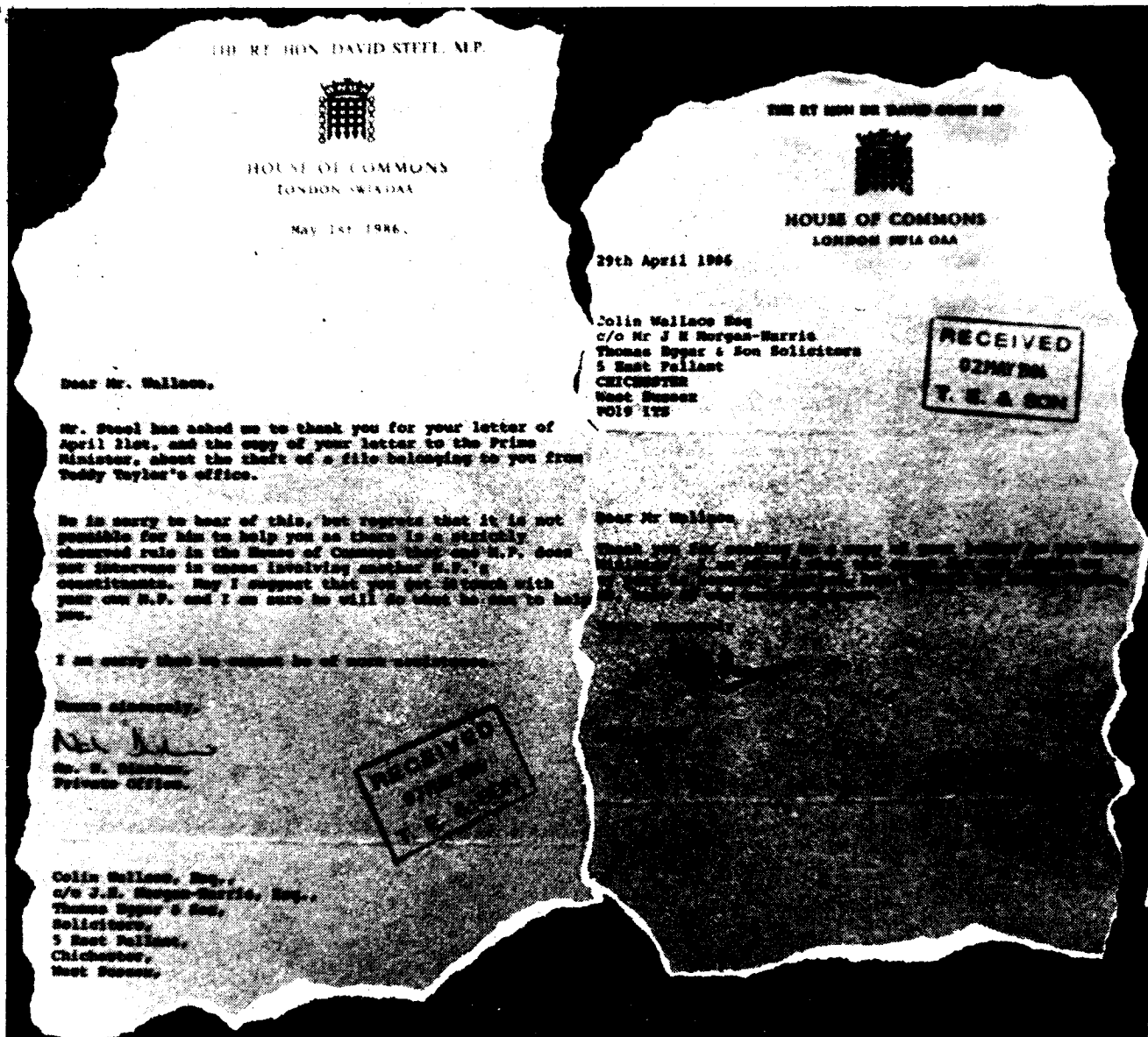
'My firearm file had mysteriously gone missing from the RUC but luckily I had paid for the gun by cheque and was able to prove it.'

'Shortly after that I was facing a murder charge.'

Wallace believes that he served six years in jail because of manipulation of the police, judiciary and press — a job he says the security forces would have found very simple.

'This very conveniently kept me out of circulation while the cover-up of the Kinvara Boys Home child abuse scandal was being investigated.'

Wallace says the Kinvara



Three letters from Colin Wallace's files — above: letters from the Alliance leaders and, below: the letter to Neil Kinnock that remains unanswered . . .

Boys Home in the north of Ireland was under surveillance by MI5 who were hoping to use it for blackmail purposes; he wrote a report and leaked it to the press.

'When it finally blew in 1980 I was not able to give evidence to the inquiry.'

'The same officer who put me away was given responsibility for the Kinvara inquiry.'

'What really sickens me is that there has been so much outcry about child abuse, about what social workers have or have not done, but for 20 years kids in care in that home and five others have been abused by staff. One was murdered and another committed suicide.'

'The security services used that situation. Nobody over here has shown the slightest interest.'

Wallace is campaigning for an independent inquiry, and welcomed the Workers Press call for a labour movement investigation.

He says there are other members of the security services who would speak out. 'The reason they don't is because they ask what I have achieved.'

'You see, although we have brought the matter to light, what has the Parliamentary Labour Party done?'

PERSONAL FOR:

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21st April 1986

Dear Mr Kinnock,

The attached copy of a letter which I have sent to the Prime Minister regarding a burglary and the theft of a file belonging to me from the office of Mr Teddy Taylor MP at the House of Commons is self-explanatory. I would, however, be most grateful for any help you might be able to give me to ensure that this matter is thoroughly investigated.

Yours sincerely,

Colin Wallace

Notes: Also sent to David Steel and David Owen

## For a labour movement inquiry

THE Workers Press is calling for a labour-movement inquiry into the anti-working class activities of MI5, and particularly their destabilisation campaign against the Labour government of 1974-1979.

We are asking trade union and Labour Party branches, trades councils and other working-class organisations to pass re-

solutions calling for such an inquiry.

We are asking both organisations and individuals to agree to sponsor such an inquiry.

In this week's issue we carry details of the MI5's activities, including an interview with former army intelligence officer Colin Wallace who has made them public.

Please take this matter up wherever you can. The following is a model resolution: This branch/trades council . . . . . notes the revelations of the secret, illegal and anti-working class

activities of MI5, particularly:

● The operation to destabilise the Labour government of 1974-79;

● The large number of sectarian murders in the north and south of Ireland alleged to be part of this operation;

● The subsequent infiltration and 'psychological warfare' operations against trade unions and labour movement organisations, which continued during the miners' strike, the Wapping dispute, and continues today.

We note the refusal of

Thatcher's Tory government to investigate these matters, in which it is alleged Tory politicians were themselves deeply implicated. Only the labour movement can be entrusted to investigate the truth.

We call for a labour-movement inquiry into these questions; we call on Neil Kinnock and all Labour and trade union leaders to sponsor such an inquiry.

If you are able to win support for this campaign, please let us know. We are planning to report on it in Workers Press in the coming weeks.

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