

Workers Press

25p

Saturday October 10 1987

Number 95

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE BOLSHEVIK FIGHT AGAINST STALINISM LIVES IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

SUNDAY 8 NOVEMBER 1987

KINGSWAY COLLEGE
SIDMOUTH STREET
off GRAYS INN ROAD
LONDON W-C1

DOORS OPEN 12.30 p.m.
MEETING STARTS 2 p.m.

TICKETS £2 UNWAGED £1
Available from PAPERBACKS CENTRES
28 Charlotte Street, London WC1 or
10-12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, London SW9

FILMS - PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION - MEETING

Creche available

Organised by the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists
Workers, Revolutionary Party, Workers Press

FIREMEN RALLY AGAINST SACKINGS

FIREMEN throughout the country came out in support of the 360 firemen sacked last Monday by Labour-controlled West Glamorgan County Council.

Manchester, Strathclyde, West Midlands and Lancashire were among the 15 areas refusing to handle all but emergency calls.

BY MARIAN BURROWS

Many areas continued their action despite talks at ACAS where Fire Brigades Union secretary Ken Cameron offered to suspend the action if the West Glamorgan authority agreed to put the dispute to arbitration.

Unable to force them to accept drastic changes in fire cover, including closure of three fire stations and the loss of 48 jobs, the council sent out notices of termination of contract to all 360 firemen and summoned the 'Green Goddesses' they had kept waiting in the wings for the last two weeks.

The firemen had given a noon deadline to begin implementation of lightning one-hour strikes demanded in a near-unanimous County ballot if the Council continued to refuse to withdraw the proposals.

But an 11th-hour meeting of the council's Public Protection Committee again decided on confrontation and moved immediately on the dismissals.

As firemen continued to man fire stations, police redirected 999 calls to the four Territorial

Army centres in Swansea and Neath where 400 troops from the Royal Hampshire Regiment, recently returned from the north of Ireland, have been stationed.

They are using 30 20-year-old 'Green Goddess' fire appliances, last used in the national strike under a Labour government 10 years ago.

Chair of the Public Protection Committee, councillor Frank Evans (ex-district secretary of mid-Glamorgan engineering union and a full-time organiser for Oxfam), expressed the council's arrogant position.

'If we hadn't called in the Army the Home Office could have sent in the "Green Goddesses" itself and surcharged us.'

Clearly the estimated £5,000-per-day bill for state scabbing is preferable to him and his members.

Public support for West Glamorgan FBU is strong because of concern about reduced levels of fire cover proposed for some areas. A massive petition in their support was presented to the full council two weeks ago by a lobby of 1,500 firemen from all over the country.

Throughout the dispute, national officers of the FBU have given their backing and on Tuesday Ken Cameron pledged to a mass meeting of West Glamorgan firemen that they would not fight alone.

He said that it was 'a bloody disgrace' that the county council, a Labour-controlled authority, had acted in the way it did over the firemen.

'It's also disgraceful that they are prepared to call in troops with three days training to provide fire cover,' he said.

'If that's what they think of the people they represent, they are a bloody disgrace to the people they represent.'

He warned: 'We aren't going to be provoked to going out on strike, we're going to come into work, and we're going to carry on coming into work until they lock us out.'

The county council had acted as 'the worst kind of reactionary employer', Cameron said.

Their behaviour was like what had happened at Wapping. 'It's the most unprecedented provocation I have seen in my 26 years with the fire service.'

£5,000 Special Fund

IN SO FAR: £2,917.10

Last week the Workers Revolutionary Party launched a campaign for the 8 November meeting to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. This is part of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists.

It is the most ambitious Party project since our split with Healy two years ago. We intend to bring several speakers from overseas to take part in this celebration and make the rally a decisive step in building the Fourth International. But, as we made clear last week, we will not realise this ambition without money. For that we rely on our members, supporters and readers.

Our Special Fund was established to spearhead the task of building the Fourth International. Last week we only received £177. At this rate we will come nowhere near our target.

We have a fraction over four weeks to raise £2,083. That means £520 must come in each week. The Fund must be completed by 8 November. Unless Party branches give the matter their urgent attention and organise special money-raising events this will not be possible. We are calling on every Party member for a special sacrifice. Ask every Workers Press reader and Party supporter to make as generous a donation as they possibly can so that we can cover the considerable costs involved in making the 70th anniversary rally a real success.

● Send donations without delay to: WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

Fighting fund to sue unions

A THREE-PRONGED attack on youth, the unemployed and trade unionists was announced at last week's Tory Party conference.

● A government fund to pay the costs of trade unionists who want to take their leaders to court is to be set up. It will be controlled by a trade union ombudsman who will have powers to underwrite the heavy costs of any necessary court actions.

This is part of a battery of proposed legislation which will protect scabs who

go into work, even after a vote for strike action and will also ensure that union funds are used for 'proper' purposes.

● Legislation will soon be introduced to take away social security benefits from all 16- to 18-year-olds who refuse to join a Youth Training Scheme.

● A further crackdown against 'fraud and abuse' of the social security system was promised, with 300 more special investigators being taken on over the next year.

■ See 'JTS - an offer you can't refuse' - page 5.



Workers Press

Well said, Neil!

TO THE delight of Tory and Liberal commentators, Kinnock had no trouble in steering the Labour Party Conference on to its new course. Only the tiniest whimper from Ken Livingstone disturbed the seagulls at Brighton. And then a slap on the wrist from the right wing, and the highly democratic refusal of the chair to let him reply, easily put him in his place.

A writer in the Communist Party's 'Seven Days' was also pleased about the leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. 'Seven Days' approved of the way 'he confronted the sterile waters of those still arguing for a return to "socialist principles" and fighting harder on these to secure a Labour victory'.

The article particularly liked Kinnock's description of the lefts: 'They have "do not disturb" signs on their minds.' We understand what the Euro-Stalinist writer has in mind, but perhaps they have a point here, just the same.

Others on the left speak of Kinnock's 'yuppie socialism' as a betrayal. But Kinnock is not a traitor to his cause. He remains what he always was: a reformist. That means that he is devoted to the maintenance of capitalism, trying to extend its life and defending it against the working class by making it less unpleasant for sections of the middle-class and privileged groups of workers.

Such reforms were to be achieved through Parliament and local councils, occasionally helped along by controlled pressure from the organised working class.

What has changed now is that there is no room left for reforming this system, and this is really what the lefts are complaining about. Their misery and disorientation arises from their inability to contemplate a world without reforms and without reformism. They hate Kinnock, because he is the messenger bearing the news that the old world has come to an end.

He and his followers explain to the Party that they have to learn to live in Thatcher's Britain. In reality, he is following the logic of 'democratic socialism', the very same logic which took David Owen and his friends along the SDP road.

Of course, this has now led to a dead end, and Owen's friends have abandoned him. But the gap between the two sections of the Labour Party leadership which parted company in 1981 is hardly discernible today.

Many of Kinnock's left critics were convinced a year ago that the return of Thatcher for a third term would be a terrible disaster. Since — whatever revolutionary phrases might pass their lips from time to time — they never really thought of politics beyond the parliamentary game, they are now in a state of despair.

Far from a gnashing of teeth at the events in Brighton, it must be recognised that the coming to a head of the crisis of reformism is the precondition for the establishment of a new revolutionary leadership in the working class. Far from being an occasion for despair the performance of Kinnock and company underlines the opportunities for building a leadership in the working class based on the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

Some eyebrows might have been raised by the conclusion of the Workers Press article on the Brighton Conference, which called on workers to 'break from the Labour Party and join the Workers Revolutionary Party'.

Of course, we are not telling anyone fighting inside the Labour Party against Kinnock and the rest of the right wing to walk out and abandon their work. That would be stupid.

But we do insist that the time to seek ways of fitting Marxism as a loyal opposition within the bureaucratic framework of reformism has long passed. It is time to say quite clearly: the days of reformism are strictly numbered.

And three cheers for that!

Henry Ford II:

Car boss and Philistine

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

HENRY FORD II died on 29 September aged 70. He was the boss of the Ford Motor Company for 36 years until he was ousted by a shareholders' revolt in 1979.

Obituaries in the capitalist papers have a common theme: admiration for this former boss of the Ford empire. The truth about Ford will not be found in such notices.

At the beginning of World War II, the Ford Motor Company was facing bankruptcy under the tyranny of the increasingly eccentric and senile Henry Ford I who was fighting a losing battle to keep trade unions out of his plants.

The war brought lucrative contracts to Ford from the Allies to mass-produce Liberator bombers, jeeps, Merlin engines for Spitfires — and troop carriers for Hitler, built in Cologne.

Company president Edsel Ford died in 1943 and his son Henry was released from the Navy to take over at the age of 27. He had no academic qualifications having left Yale University in disgrace when caught cheating in exams.

He is reputed to have asserted his authority by taking a gun into the boardroom and sacking 'usurpers' who were trying to take over the company.

After the war, during a visit to his plant in Cologne, virtually the only building left unflattened by bombing, he was asked to take charge of Volkswagen, which he dismissed as 'not worth a damn'.

Ford Motors began losing money again — \$1 million a month. Henry Ford II hired a ruthless team of former officers to set up order and discipline and carry out major reorganisations that established the multinational company of today.

He has been described as spoilt, wilful, arrogant, cruel and churlish.

Unlike his famous purita-

nical grandfather who was intimately involved in the design of his cars and the actual production process, he was a purely corporate business man who indulged in an opulent life-style.

He occasionally got involved in abortive pet projects such as racing cars and the famous flop, the 'Edsel', in the 1950s.

In 1956 he made the company 'public' with the Ford family retaining 40 per cent of the shares.

Ford regularly sacked managers who served him well but had become a threat to his authority. He treated his three wives the same way. One of them said he would stand in front of a mirror and say: 'I am king and the king can do no wrong.'

He will be particularly remembered by Ford workers at Dagenham for describing the River Plant as 'the cesspit of Dagenham' during the strike when women sewing machinists won equal pay in 1969.

Seeking to exploit cheap labour, Ford built plants in Taiwan, the Philippines, South Africa and Brazil. In Spain, fascist dictator Franco would not agree terms to build a plant at Valencia until Ford agreed to increase the proposed wages!

Having got used to being treated as a god he was eventually accused of misusing company facilities and forced to resign in 1979. Shareholders protested that he had ordered company aircraft to fly across America to deliver his dog's dinner, but behind the revolt were the biggest financial losses in the history of the company.

His arrogance extended to his health: ordered by doctors to stop smoking he refused and suffering from angina and emphysema was finally killed by viral pneumonia.

The Ford empire was built on the most systematic exploitation of labour; the mass assembly line operating at gruelling speeds to extract the maximum surplus value.

Henry Ford I once said that 'every man shall have the necessary seconds to do his job, but not one second



HENRY FORD II

more'. From the beginning Ford workers had to fight for every gain against the most determined and ruthless employer.

One day the working class will take back what it created, and were robbed of, and control the means of production themselves.

Civil servants must reject proposed deal

BY PAUL CASH

THE SOCIETY of Civil and Public Servants is poised to enter the ranks of the 'new realism' unions — that is if the recommendations of its executive council are approved in a members' ballot at the end of October.

The council, having undemocratically 'suspended' industrial action on 23 June has now reached an agreement which represents an abandonment of union policy. This proposed agreement would involve:

- Direct recruitment of staff at various levels. Cur-

rently there are entry grades into the Civil Service and senior posts are filled by internal promotion.

- Employment of staff on a non-permanent basis.
- Use of consultants.

All these proposals have been or still are subject to industrial action by either the SCPS or other civil service unions.

What have the Tories paid for the scrapping of existing agreements? Magnificent sums ranging from 0.85 to 1.90 per cent.

The membership must reject this proposed deal, demand decent wages and fight for a united and independent union that can fight for the interests of all civil servants.

Putting your money where your heart is

go on to explain.

'It's a fund that will invest in enterprising businesses worldwide whose track record may be measured not only in terms of profit, but also in terms of social commitment' (our emphasis).

'It excludes the bad and the ugly investment opportunities — companies that exploit, pollute, or do business with oppressive regimes.'

'It focuses upon the good — on companies whose sensitivity to the importance of social issues goes hand in glove with flexible, innovative and enterprising management which contributes to real corporate success.'

These lofty aims, the leaflet continues, are achieved through the application of a 'Charter of Conscience' which selects companies which have 'high employee welfare standards; environmental awareness; commitment to community involvement' and make 'charitable donations' — though whether to the Tory, SDP or Labour Party is not stated.

The charter aims to avoid companies involved in 'Production of tobacco products,

alcoholic liquors for consumption, armaments and gambling; the unnecessary exploitation of live animals (fur trade and cosmetic research); and close links with oppressive regimes'.

It is quite clear from the above proposition that capi-

talism is about to enter a new, humane phase of development which neither Lenin nor any other revolutionary thinker could possibly have anticipated, a phase in which the internal contradictions of imperialism dissolve away. This is most encouraging!

By severing all the internal connections that make imperialism what it is today we can anticipate two capitalisms developing, as it were, side by side: one evil and corrupt, the other socially accountable and humane.

Even Robert Owen might turn in his grave at this pathetic proposition. But never mind, if it sells shares it's good for shareholders.



THE UGLY

A CLASSIC EXAMPLE of the unbridled cynicism with which financial institutions prepare to trawl the waters liberated by Kinnock and his supporters slipped through letter boxes in the London area last week.

The leaflets in question, distributed by a Dorset-based unit trust company, are aimed at assorted liberals and trade unionists who might be tempted to follow the Labour Party's 'new realism', i.e. it's lurch to the right.

Its name is the quintessence of cynicism: the 'NM Conscience Fund'; its slogan might have been sanctioned by Kinnock himself: 'A Partnership of Profit with Principles'.

Just the ticket for left poseurs or workers who have been obliged to take compulsory redundancy and find themselves, for the first and undoubtedly the last time in their lives, in possession of some ready cash.

The Conscience Fund's sales pitch is as follows: 'Have you ever felt obliged to compromise your integrity when considering the best means of investing your money?' they inquire. If so, those days are over, as they

Screws' brutality sparks off more Scottish prison riots

PRISONERS at Perth jail took a prison officer hostage early this week in the third such incident in Scottish jails within a week.

The disturbance at Perth — the oldest of Scotland's jails followed hard on the heels of the SAS attack which ended a five-day siege at Peterhead jail.

A prison officer was also briefly taken hostage at Shotts, echoing similar incidents at Glasgow's Barlinnie jail in January.

In all cases prisoners have hung makeshift banners on the roofs protesting about brutality by staff, poor conditions and, at Peterhead, the distance which makes visits almost impossible.

All this comes as no surprise to Mike McCallum,

BY HILARY HORROCKS

who spent 18 years in Scottish jails and who is now chairman of the Dumbarton branch of the Scottish Prisoners Support Committee.

'We are the voice of moderation,' said Mike in an interview with Workers Press. 'If they don't listen to us, disturbances will keep on happening until there is serious loss of life.'

Mike pointed out that the demonstrators never bartered for their freedom with their hostages. 'They are willing to serve their sentences, but not under this draconian Scottish penal system where large numbers of officers are members of the National Front.'

Scotland's jails hold more of the adult population than any other country in Europe. Serious assaults by prison staff are routine — McCallum alone says that he has personally witnessed 400 such incidents.

In the recent Barlinnie protest, prisoners' banners referred to the governor as 'Slasher Gallagher' — a name he earned after having

slashed a prisoner's face with a razor at Peterhead in 1978.

Although his own staff voted no confidence in him the following day, Gallagher was moved to the highest post in the Scottish prison service at Barlinnie.

Mike refutes Scottish Secretary Malcolm Rifkind's claim that a hard core of troublemakers are behind the prison protests. Discontent is widespread, he says, and exacerbated by Scottish Office policy, which meets it only with more facilities for punishment.

'Peterhead — the Siberia of Scotland — contains a punishment unit which can accommodate over half the prison population, including a "cardboard city" in which all the furniture is made of cardboard.'

'If desperate prisoners can't destroy the furniture, they'll soon start on the screws.'

McCallum maintains that the prison authorities, despite their crocodile tears for

hostage officers, are creating a situation where riots will erupt, and are well prepared for them.

The support committee is particularly concerned about the use of 'behaviour modification' units in Scottish jails, where prisoners are subjected to psychoactive drugs, intimidation and the ever-present threat of physical violence.

Those in the Inverness punishment 'cages' endure psychological torture of a kind well-rehearsed in northern Ireland: harsh persistent noise alternating with absolute silence, broken sud-

denly by the deliberate banging of a door; constant, excessive lighting reflected off white walls; deprivation of all moveable objects except a chamber pot.

Mike has taken his own allegations of torture to the European Court of Human Rights. After seven years, his case is about to be heard.

All prison staff, including chaplains, are prevented by the Official Secrets Act from divulging what they see in the jails. The support committee is a voice for those inside, and their demands are:

- an end to behaviour modification units
- no interference in prisoners' mail
- no more closed visits (some prisoners have gone 14 years without physical contact with their visitors)
- an end to the jailing of petty offenders
- an independent investigation of the penal system

The committee welcomes messages of support and information, which should be sent to: Mike McCallum, 26 Ben Bouie Drive, Kirk-michael, Helensburgh, Scotland.

BROADWATER FARM MARCH



A section of the 4,000 demonstrators who supported a march called by the Movement for Civil Rights and Justice on the second anniversary of the Broadwater Farm uprising. Organisations participating included the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press, City Group Anti-Apartheid plus trade union and Labour Party

supporters.

At the end of the 13-mile march from Broadwater Farm to Hyde Park, speakers demanded the release of Engin Raghip, Winston Silcott and Mark Braithwaite who were framed and given life sentences by the judiciary in revenge for the October 1985 Broadwater Farm uprising.

Big lobby against cuts in Camden

BY A LOCAL GOVERNMENT CORRESPONDENT

HUNDREDS of trade unionists and members of community groups lobbied a meeting at Camden Council's Labour Group last Monday in opposition to the council's proposed budget cuts.

In what has become commonplace at such meetings, the security doors of the town hall were locked and guards kept a close check on all those trying to get into the building.

Inside, security was even tighter as the Labour councillors met to decide on next year's budget which is expected to contain 20-per-cent cuts in jobs and services.

The nine councillors who had been fighting the cuts have now been joined by a tenth, and Graham Shurety addressed the lobby on their behalf before going into the Labour Group meeting.

'We now have the Tory government running the town hall,' he said. 'We must defy Tory policy. Thatcher will be back for more.'

Shurety said that the cuts proposed by the Labour Group had got wider and wider. Whereas initially they only proposed cuts in bureaucracy they were now talking about front-line services.

'They are dividing black against white, the community groups from council workers, manual workers from white collar workers,' he said.

Jo Fawkes, from Camden Workers Against the Cuts, also stressed the cuts policies were dividing the workforce. 'Camden Council is not an equal opportunities employer anymore,' she said.

'Most temporary workers — the majority of them women and black — have now lost their jobs. This council is pitting section against section' she said.

● Irish people in Kilburn appealing to Camden's homeless persons' unit will in future be told: 'Go back where you came from.' The

council has tightened up the intentional homelessness rule in an effort to slash its bed-and-breakfast bill.

This move will go alongside a drive to clear families out of hotel accommodation. In the past Camden has been willing to house families rejected by other boroughs but has decided to slam its door.

IN THE RED

BY OUR CITY CORRESPONDENT

BRYAN GOULD's 'Comrade shareholders' speech at the Labour Party conference must have caused quite a crisis in Martin Jacques' editorial office at 'Marxism Today.' For the 'colleagues' at the Communist Party's ultra-'Euro' magazine — whose title must bring it about as close to violating the Trades Descriptions Act as marketing the 'Daily Star' as a newspaper — have become used to providing the 'new realist' Labour leadership with ideas.

Titbits of opportunist advice about how best to capitulate to 'Thatcherism' and the SDP get floated in the 'Guardian', published in full in MT, and become stock-in-trade at Walworth Road within the month.

But at Brighton Gould broke loose and looked for once like making the running. Could it be that the Labour leaders are capable not only of carrying out Thatcher's decree to 'abolish socialism' but of actually thinking about the justification for what they are doing?

Never fear. MT is one step ahead after all. For next month — revealed appropriately in Rupert Murdoch's 'Sunday Times' — the 'yummies' favourite mag launches its very own 'personal finance supple-

ment'. (A yummy — according to the 'Wall Street Journal' in a recent article about MT — is a young upwardly mobile Marxist. If such people exist they should really be called 'yes persons' — young excreting Stalinists.)

It seems that Jacques has commissioned eager whizzkids at the 'Investors Chronicle' and 'Financial Times' to write the supplement in their leisure hours — providing MT readers with advice about how to invest ethically, by keeping their surplus cash clear of firms too openly involved in the arms trade or apartheid.

'We're not opposed to people owning shares' Jacques told the Murdochman, adding a cryptic caveat: 'It all depends how many they have.' So maybe MT will have to publish a second supplement on 'The Morals of Moderate Profit Taking for Ethical Bolsheviks.'

And if you think it is all a crazy joke, remember that 'Marxism Today' is the magazine supported by former NUM vice president, Mick McGahey and his successor as miner's president in Scotland, George Bolton.

Over to you, Georgey-Porgy!

Jobs threat at BBC

WHEN MICHAEL CHECKLAND, head of BBC Television, was asked at a recent press conference in what way the BBC might change in the coming period, he claimed it would get 'smaller'.

It turns out that 'smaller' is simply a euphemism for fundamental 'restructuring' and massive casualisation of the existing workforce in a new round of cuts.

BY TOM SCOTT ROBSON

If this package of cuts is implemented, the permanent jobs lost would exceed 1,000.

The government's decision to index-link the BBC's Licence Fee rather than to raise it to meet rising production costs, and its insistence that more programmes be generated by the private sector, obliges BBC management to seek to implement draconian cuts in services and salaried jobs.

Axing the Graphic Design Department, for example, could save management upward of £6 million, a saving they desperately need to recoup the losses incurred through abysmal forward planning.

The Lime Grove Studios are a case in point. They were completely refurbished for the launch of Breakfast Television at a cost of between £4 million and £5 million only two years ago! Now they are proposing to shut them down.

BETA, while acknowledg-

ing that certain changes are inevitable with the introduction of advanced technology, are deeply concerned that they have so far been excluded from meaningful discussions with management on matters relating to the future of their members.

But how the fight with BBC management is taken up will be decisive. At the moment there is a real conflict of interest between permanently employed staff at the BBC (represented by BETA), many of whom are likely to be thrown into the dog-eat-dog freelance market if management has its way, and the freelance sector (represented by ACTT) which naturally welcomes more independent production.

This contradiction cannot be satisfactorily resolved except in the fight to build a single entertainment union embracing BETA (a recent fusion of ABS and NATTKE) and ACTT which organises not only the freelance sector but also film laboratories, film studios, non-broadcast video units and the whole of Independent Television.

The goal of establishing a single union capable of developing an integrated strategy for resisting the attacks of employers, whether at the BBC or elsewhere, is now imperative. The rapid introduction of cable and satellite transmission makes it all the more urgent.

Fundamental changes in employment revealed

BY BERNARD FRANKS

FIGURES published recently by the Department of Employment give a significant breakdown of the employment structure in Britain in the 1980s and show the major changes that have occurred over two decades.

Of a total of 21.3 million people employed in all industries and services 9.4 million are women of whom 4 million are part-timers (i.e. nearly a fifth of the workforce).

While the number of workers in agriculture, forestry and fishing has fallen to 368,000 (from 800,000 in 1967), and manufacturing industry now employs 5.4 million (12 million in 1967), the total in health, local authority and social services now stands at 6.2 million (2 million more than 20 years ago).

Today distribution, hotels and catering account for 4.2 million jobs, banking, insurance and finance for a further 2 million, and all forms of building and construction for 1 million (2 million in 1967). All forms of arts and recreation



'The largest dispute in 1986 in terms of days lost was that of the teachers.'

now employ around half-a-million people.

There are also an estimated 2.6 million self-employed people in Britain (up 1 million on 1967) and there are 350,000 members of the armed forces.

The Employment Gazette figures also show that in 1986 a total of 1.9 million working days were lost through industrial disputes, the lowest figure since 1963.

This compares with 6.4 million days in 1985 and an average of 11.1 million days lost a year for the ten years 1975-1985.

The largest dispute in 1986 in terms of days lost was that of the teachers, losing 310,000 working days (115,000 in Scotland).

Stoppages over pay accounted for 60 per cent in terms of days lost, followed by redundancy (15

per cent) and other work allocation issues (13 per cent).

In all there were 1,074 stoppages of which just over two-thirds lasted less than four working days.

Meanwhile productivity in manufacturing industry rose by 7 per cent in 1986, unemployment officially averaged 3,289,000 and hours worked per week (full time) were 43.2 per cent for men, 38.2 for women.

Overtime, where worked, averaged nine hours a week.

SOME points should be made about these figures.

FIRSTLY, the most significant change in employment over the last 20 years has been the halving of jobs in manufacture from 12 million to under 6 million, and the rise in number of those in public services and service industries combined from 9 million to 13 million.

However, this in itself does not prove a collapse or decline of manufacturing industry. Many firms who have closed factories and sacked thousands of workers in the recent period are currently showing record production and record profits on the basis of a continuous rise in productivity in their remaining units. Other indices would be needed to prove a contraction of a particular industry.

SECONDLY, the official unemployment figures, as is well known, show only the number registered as out of work, not those who would take a job if one was available or those who have been pushed into fake training schemes as a substitute for proper work.

THIRDLY, whatever success the Tories have had in cutting services and introducing anti-union laws, they have failed totally in their efforts to use high unemployment to force down wages.

Figures in a separate article in the Employment Gazette show that earnings across the whole economy have risen continuously at about 7.5 per cent a year since 1982.

In 1986, for example, the average hourly rate for full-time men excluding overtime was £4.86 (£4.49 in 1985) and for full-time women £3.60 (£3.32 in 1985).

It appears that as long as they are in work, workers expect the rate for the job and refuse to be intimidated by threats of sackings and closures.

THE Tories' main successes have been in holding down the pay of the very low paid, of part-time workers and of women, and in forcing vast numbers of workers to do over-

time to achieve a living wage.

The continuing emphasis on percentage increases in particular has the effect of maintaining low pay at its abysmal levels.

Fourthly, these changes in employment structure reflect a major redistribution of occupations, always remembering that industrial figures in any case include a significant percentage of clerical, managerial and service staff.

According to the University of Warwick's Institute for Employment Research, craft and skilled workers now comprise 13.2 per cent of those in work, operatives and labourers 19.6 per cent, managers 13.8 per cent, sales and personal services staff 17.9 per cent, clerical and secretarial 15.4 per cent and professional and related staff (in commercial enterprises and public services) 22.5 per cent.

According to the unit, if existing trends continue, by 1995 women will be half the workforce and part-timers 28 per cent (four-fifths women). Meanwhile manufacturing sector jobs would continue to disappear at the rate of 1 per cent a year, while business services jobs would rise at 3 per cent a year.

Repercussions

Clearly these developments have major repercussions for the trade union movement in terms of memberships of particular unions, although the number of those needing representation will not have fallen.

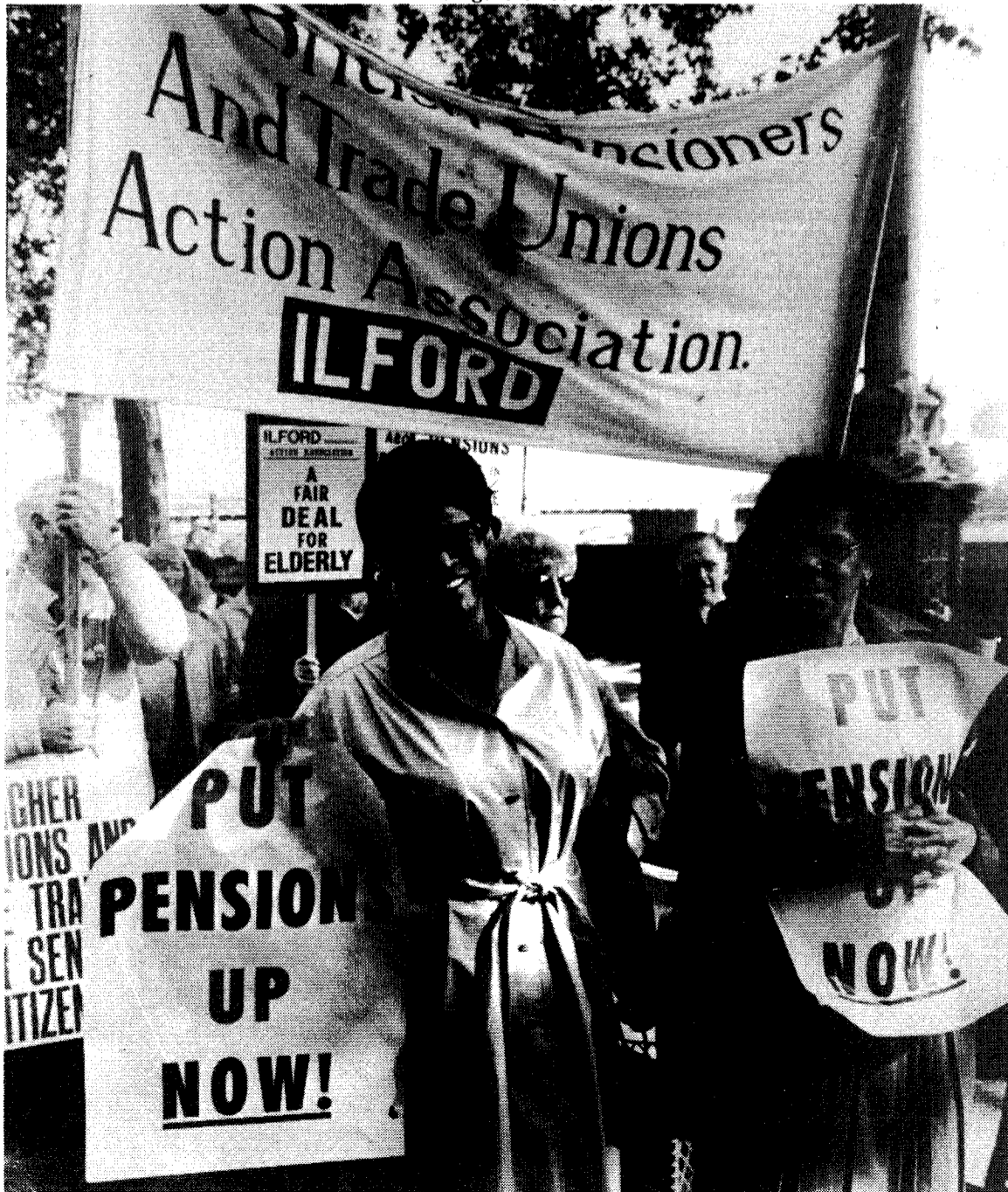
In fact, major areas are opening up for recruitment.

Finally, while the number of days lost to disputes fell in 1986 (already surpassed in the first four months of 1987), an increasing number of actions would not come under this heading.

Community action to save a hospital from closure, to oppose a motorway extension, to prevent a commercial property development, to block council estate sales, to fight racial harassment or environmental hazards, or even in support of an industrial dispute, do not count as industrial action if carried out by groups and organisations outside the workplace.

Alongside the trade union movement there is a rising incidence of concern by elderly people, tenants, ethnic communities, one-parent families, unemployed people, disabled people and young people at the growing threats to their rights, conditions and quality of life.

It is vital that this concern be met by the 'traditional' trade union labour movement, and that these groups are encouraged to play their roles in their own communities.



'Alongside the trade union movement, there is a rising incidence of concern by the elderly, tenants, ethnic communities, one-parent families, unemployed, disabled and young people.'

JTS

Compulsory labour schemes getting closer

YOUNG people returning to employment after completing a Job Training Scheme will find their benefit cut by as much as £6 a week.

This news of the cheap-labour proposals of the Manpower Services Commission is revealed by the Unemployment Unit, an independent research and campaigning organisation, and the Department of Employment section of the civil servants' union CPSA.

BY SUE GWYER

The new Job Training Scheme has been running in ten pilot areas since late 1986. The government's aim was to have recruited by now 110,000 18- to 25-year-olds who have been unemployed for more than six months.

Managing agents, like local authorities, large charities and private organisations, will be given grants for placing trainees in workplaces. The agents will get a flat fee of £35 and then £58 per month for each of them. Employers will then be charged for the work undertaken.

Recruits will spend an average of six months on the scheme. A government survey showed that one employer in eight expected JTS to make savings in labour costs.

In the ten pilot areas, claimants are being placed in work without a minimum standard being set. No guaranteed vocational qualification is given to JTS 'graduates'. Once managing agents have been given 'approved training organisation' status, they are not scrutinised again.

A minimum of 150 hours off-the-job training was originally laid down for the pilot areas, but this has been doubled for the national launch, after pressure and criticism.

There is no obligation on the managing agent to see that this is college-based learning.

JTS will pay less money to young adults than the £35 paid to 17-year-olds in the second year of YTS. Participants will get a fortnightly Giro from the unemployment benefit office, as if they were still unemployed.

Continued receipt of Housing Benefit has been guaranteed, but trainees will be penalised if they get more than £4 a week part-time earnings, just as if they were on Supplementary Benefit. Any topping-up of the allowance will be deducted by benefit authorities, unlike YTS practice. Spouse's earnings will also cause a deduction to be made.

★So continued denials that JTS means working for your dole are just farcical.

The JTS pilot areas showed a drop-out rate of over 20 per cent, and that is only at the half-way mark. Leaving the scheme will cause complications, as you will then be regarded as 'newly unemployed'.

There is a cut of up to 10 per cent for JTS 'graduates' due to the loss of transitional protection under the Social Security Act. But, in addition, home owners will only get financial assistance to cover 50 per cent of their mortgage repayments during the first 16 weeks of re-employment.

JTS is to be financed out of existing MSC resources, up to £37 million being diverted from other adult training programmes. Up to £200 million will come from a planned underspend and cutback on Community Programme and YTS. This coincides with continuing cuts

in Skills Training Agencies. So far, 27 Skill Centres have closed since November 1984.

★So JTS means moving money from any schemes which might have any remote value into bad ones.

In the pilot areas, those recruited from Restart have had their eligibility for entering alternative work or training schemes sharply restricted. By October 1988, the MSC plan to bar all 18- to 25-year-olds from Community Programme schemes, which are in any case to be developed into full-time 'benefit-plus' schemes. They will only be available to those unemployed for six months or more.

By the end of 1988, 18- to 25-year-olds will only be offered JTS under 'Restart'. Former TOPS courses are being trimmed, YTS will cater only for up to 18s, and Community Programmes will be barred to under 25s.

Despite rumours and deliberate misinformation in 'Restart' interviews, JTS is not yet compulsory. However, it is likely to become so in the near future. With the benefit suspension period being extended from six to 13 weeks, and the availability for work test, the MSC have considerable power to make

The message on these placards is clear

young adults 'an offer they can't refuse'.

If and when the government designates JTS as 'recognised training', (like YTS), it will become almost impossible to reject an offer of a place which, according to the Social Security Act, is ground for disqualification from benefit.

★Thus JTS introduces for the first time in this country a 'work for benefit' regime.

Some aspects of the 'Restart' initiative have already been borrowed from the American 'workfare' system. JTS takes us much closer to the compulsory labour schemes to be found in some American states — a system actively promoted by some Tory politicians.

The MSC's new terms of reference for Area Manpower Boards see trade union representatives taking only a 'strategic overview' of projects running in each area. They will have no power to approve or reject them.

In reality, of course, the unions never really had any power, with only one-third representation. Now, employers are doubling their representation. Union arguments that their presence somehow

meant improved conditions are now quite ridiculous.

Under JTS, virtually all responsibilities are devolved on to Managing Agents. The government wants more private agencies to take on the functions of the MSC. Area Manpower Boards will only be consulted over awarding contracts to Managing Agents in those rare cases where they do not already run YTS.

With substantial money being dangled like a carrot on a stick for Managing Agents, local authorities will be tempted to take on the running of JTS. Two Labour authorities — one of them is Strathclyde — have already jumped at the money and become Managing Agents.

The National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders — NACRO — have also accepted Managing Agent status.

The Greater Manchester and Cheshire T&GWU 6389 Social Action, voluntary and MSC workers' branch are balloting Community Programme shops for sanction on industrial action, should JTS be introduced in their workplaces. The majority of replies are in line with branch policy, for boycotting JTS and for industrial action in the event of it being introduced.

Other unions should be preparing in the same way. Local authorities should be looked at closely in relation to Managing Agent status, and lobbied to stop them implementing JTS.

Trade unions should pull out of Area Manpower Boards straight away, and their representatives be stopped from defending the MSC from the government — in effect, their strategy since the Boards' structure was changed.

Unions should build support for the Conference against MSC called in Birmingham by NALGO. Unions must also recruit MSC workers, as well as other unemployed. Already schemes have been used to break strikes, most recently at the Moat House Hotel, in Liverpool, where 67 workers took industrial action for recognition.

★Of course the MSC is a method of manipulating the unemployment figures. But it is much more than that! Its real purpose is to attack trade unionism itself, along with working conditions and wages.

The unions must mobilise against the MSC and prepare industrial action to stop JTS being introduced into workplaces.



Young workers on a YOP scheme — the forerunner of today's JTS

FIJI: Colonel's racist Republic

FIJI's new right-wing dictator Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka took the plunge last week, proclaiming a republic, with the declared aim of ensuring 'indigenous Fijian' supremacy.

The Sandhurst-trained colonel, who took power on 25 September in his second coup, having doubled the size of the army in the past four months, evidently decided representations from the British monarchy were not something to lose too much sleep about.

While concern about the constitution, under which the Queen of England was supposedly head of state of these islands 12,000 miles away, Governor-General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau represents the same class interests as Colonel Rabuka.

The real conflict in Fiji is not between these two colonialist stooges, nor between 'indigenous' Fijian and Fiji Indian, but between the right-wing pro-imperialist landowners and army officers — the latter trained by the British but probably paid now by America's CIA — on the one side, and the working class of Fiji on the other.

It was the working class, whether descendants of the original Melanesian population or of Indian plantation workers brought in by British colonialism, who joined together in establishing trade unions, and a Labour Party.

Now the union leaders have been jailed, and although deposed Labour prime minister Timoci Bavadra was released so he could take part in constitutional talks, his life was threatened by Rabuka's troops.

A visitor to Fiji a few months ago was Reagan's UN representative General Vernon Walters, who has plenty of 'form' for organising coups in Latin America.

To cover their subservience to big imperialist interests, Rabuka's backers in the racist Taukei movement demagogically blame Fijian poverty on Indian traders and white collar workers. It is the classic fascist technique.

Taukei leader Ratu Meli Vesikula, who told reporters recently 'Had Colonel Rabuka not come in, Suva would have started to burn', was 22 years in the British Army.

These are the scum who are organising landowner's sons and lumpen youth to attack Indian shops and terrorise trades unionists — Indian and Melanesian alike.

While the Reagan government affected to condemn Rabuka's first coup, a Pentagon official admitted: 'unofficially we're kind of delighted.'

As for the Thatcher government, it left it to the Queen to warn Rabuka against dismissing her Governor-General, as this would be 'repudiating his allegiance and loyalty to the Queen.'

It was the Queen's Governor-General in Australia who overthrew an elected Labour government under Gough Whitlam, with the Australian army on stand-by ready. It is well-known that Thatcher was keen to learn from Australian Tories how this was done before she even came to office.

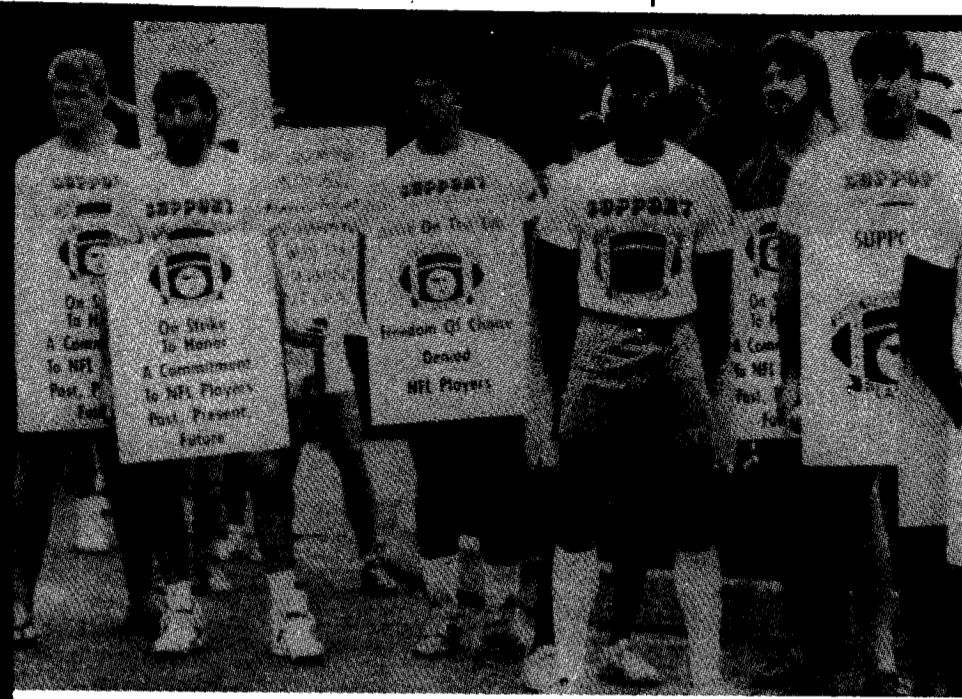
Thatcher's own rise to the top of the Tory party was assisted by her friends in the intelligence services, and her government's close ties with Reagan led it to accept the US invasion of Grenada. The Tories will accept a CIA

coup in Fiji so long as Rabuka can get away with it.

The British Labour movement must show solidarity with the labour movement in Fiji in opposing this reac-

tionary military takeover. It must follow those trade unionists in Australia and New Zealand who have blacked Fijian goods.

The labour movement must also take warning. The enemies of the Fijian working class are the same as ours, and the threat from the right-wing, the racists, and the military is just as real in these islands.



PLAYERS PICKET



Tamil Tigers take 'eye for eye'

TAMIL TIGERS executed eight Sri Lankan army hostages last week in reprisal, and anguish, after hearing that twelve of their comrades had died in military hands.

The Tamil prisoners, among a group of 17 taken from a fishing boat off the coast by the Sri Lankan navy, were reported to have committed suicide at Palaly air base, in the northern Jaffna peninsula.

They refused to let the Sri Lankan forces fly them to Colombo, threatening suicide instead, but their warning was ignored.

Among the dead were two important leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Kumarappa from

Jaffna, and Pulendran from Trincomalee.

The Sri Lankan forces claimed the captured Tamils had been ferrying arms from the northern province to the east, although all seventeen prisoners denied this.

Only two weeks ago, on 26 September, Amarthilingam Thillepan, a leading repre-

sentative of the Tamil Tigers, died in Jaffna after a twelve-day fast to demand that the Sri Lankan government be made to keep its 'peace' accord with India, under which the Tamils have been disarmed.

It is reported that the Indian forces on the island under the 29 July pact had urged the Sri Lankan authorities not to transfer the prisoners. There was assumed to be an amnesty for Tamil fighters implicit in the pact. But the Jayawardene government ignored the plea.

President Jayawardene told Lieutenant-General Depinder Singh, the Indian commander, last week that his troops should get tough with the Tamils to 'restore law and order' in the port of Trincomalee; or else get out

and let the Sri Lankan forces do it.

In a new twist to its propaganda, Jayawardene's government claimed the Sinhalese JVP movement — which it previously blamed for anti-Tamil violence — had joined forces with the Tamil Tigers to operate against security forces in Trincomalee area.

Two JVP members were reported killed in a raid on an army post west of the port, but others had escaped with arms, according to an official statement.

Indian deputy high commissioner Nirupam Sen said 'elements of the Sri Lankan armed forces' were at least partly to blame for trouble in Trincomalee. Sri Lankan troops had been involved in attacks on the Indian forces.

Sterilised woman denounces judge

BETTY RIGGS was told at 26 that she had a choice — get sterilised or lose your job. The employer's ultimatum was legalised by a court ruling.

In West Virginia, where jobs are scarce and

poverty common, it wasn't much of a choice.

Of the 23 women given that ultimatum by their employer, American Cyanamid Corporation, Betty and four workmates accepted sterilisation.

Now Betty has telegraphed the US Senate Judiciary Committee to denounce

Reagan's Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork, after hearing the right-wing judge was still defending his court ruling in favour of the company.

As a member of the US Court of Appeals, Bork accepted Cyanamid's claim that it could not reduce lead contamination levels in its West Virginia plant sufficiently to remove dangers to unborn foetuses.

'I suppose the five women who chose to stay on that job and chose sterilisation, I suppose they were glad to have the choice,' Bork said.

The company did not want to reduce lead levels because they did not consider it 'economically feasible'. It would have cost them \$700,000. In 1980, they closed the plant anyway, so the sterilised women still lost their jobs.

'I cannot believe that Judge Bork thinks we were glad to have the choice of getting sterilised or getting fired,' Betty Riggs says.

'I was only 26 years old, but I had to work, so I had no choice. This is the most awful thing that happened to me.'

Betty said she was amazed that someone like Bork should be considered for the Supreme Court. 'Only a judge who knows nothing about women,' or about the need to work could believe that anyone could be 'glad' to have such a 'choice'.

Hoover's literary interests

ERNEST Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Pearl Buck, Carl Sandburg, John Steinbeck, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, Theodor Dreiser — were just some of the writers in whom late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover took an interest.

That's to say, the US security chief ordered files kept on them, and over a hundred others regarded as dangerously subversive.

The poet W.H. Auden was named in FBI dossiers as a possible 'contact' of Soviet spies Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, reports 'New Yorker' writer Herbert Mitgang, who has obtained access to the files under the Freedom of Information Act.

Like Hemingway, he had supported the Spanish Republican side in the Civil War against Franco's fascists. During the Second World War, when Hemingway gave the US embassy in Cuba information on Nazi submarine movements, Hoover warned the ambassador that Hemingway was 'unreliable'.

Havoc

The U-boats caused havoc to US shipping in the Caribbean for a period.

The dossier on Auden also identifies Stephen Spender as a friend of his, and says Spender 'had a telephone conversation with Burgess before Burgess and Maclean defected from the British Foreign Office.'

Novelist and travel writer Pearl Buck attracted the FBI's attention because of her campaigning against racial discrimination.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Baby Berfin Muhammed Ibrahim died from his wounds

KURDISTAN

Children in the front-line

IRAQI air force planes have flown 77 sorties against Kurdish villages in the north of the country in the last six months. Recent reports from Kurdistan say 28 villages have been annihilated in this war, which seldom rates a mention in the Western press. Recently, 151 people were killed in Melekon and Daywason.

Among the worst-hit victims of Saddam Hussein's war are Kurdish children, killed or maimed beyond recovery. In some recent raids the Iraqi planes have dropped poison gas.

Their country dismembered among four states when the Anglo-French imperialists carved-up the defeated Turkish empire after World War I, the Kurds have tenaciously clung to their cultural identity and national aspira-

tions. They have regularly risen up to fight for self-determination.

Since 1984, nearly 2,300 people have been reported 'missing' in Iraq-Kurdistan. They included 338 children and 208 people over 60. The Iraqi government has begun closing Kurdish schools in an effort to thwart the education and growth in consciousness of the new generation. In Turkey, Kurdish-language teaching is forbidden.

Now, evidently aware of the support the Kurdish peshmerga (partisans) can call on from the people, the Iraqi regime is threatening to exile over a quarter of a million Kurds from their land, so as to crush the national struggle. Saddam Hussein's regime recently obtained massive fresh loans from Britain in order to maintain its war machine, against neighbouring Iran and against the Kurds.



Pitiful suffering of a child victim of Iraqi attacks

INDONESIA

Serving 26 years of a 20-year sentence

SITI SUNDARI is 66. She has spent 19 years in an Indonesian prison. So far as the Indonesian authorities are concerned, she will not be released until 1994.

Siti was sentenced to life imprisonment for her political activities, in 1976. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to 20 years. Mrs Sundari had already been held in detention for more than eight years, but this was not included in her sentence.

In 1965, the military seized power in Indonesia, under General Suharto, and launched an immediate bloody suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party and trade unions. Between then and March 1966, an estimated 1 million people were murdered by the regime.

Siti Sundari, from central Java, began her political activity in Pemuda Puteri, the Young Women's movement, under Japanese occupation. Later she was active in the Angkatan Muda youth movement, and then the Barisan Buruh Wanita (Women Workers' Front).

Arrested

Joining the Indonesian Communist Party during the 1950s, she was elected a candidate member of its central committee in 1964. When the military cracked down, Siti left Jakarta and went underground. She was arrested in South Lampung in 1968.

For the first eight years, she was held under the rule of the army's security command, Kopkamtib. During that time, the Supreme Court ruled that such detentions were not their business — which means they can be ignored when passing sentence.

In 1984, Siti met official visitors to Tangerang prison and pleaded for her case to be re-examined. It was said she would not be released until 1996. Since then she has apparently been granted two years' remission.

In September, a member of parliament for the ruling Golkar party visited Tangerang. The MP, Marzuki Dorusman, praised the regime for the 'humane' way it was treating Siti Sundari. As for calls for political prisoners like her to be released, Dorusman said this could not be done, because her case 'must be handled in line with the existing law'.

President Suharto has been invited to visit Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev has praised his role in South-East Asian affairs. Did Soviet representatives raise the cases of prisoners like Siti?

She can't go to Moscow or anywhere else, she can't return to her home, because so far as Suharto is concerned, she is a communist. The Indonesian dictator need harbour no such fears about his Stalinist hosts.

The international working-class movement must demand the release of class-war prisoners in Indonesia!

More troops for Tibet

CHINESE troops and armed police were airlifted into Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, last week to reinforce the garrison there against renewed nationalist unrest.

Heavy patrols moved through the streets, and people were stopped and searched at roadblocks. A government announcement warned rioters to give themselves up or face serious punishment.

Two Americans were held, after Tibetan flags were found in their luggage. The

authorities claimed foreigners had been involved in the riots, during which the central police station was set ablaze, twelve police cars burned, and policemen killed.

The violence erupted after police arrested demonstrating monks, and worsened after plain-clothes police fired at demonstrators, killing some children.

The exiled Dalai Lama has been encouraging rebellion against Tibet's incorporation into the Chinese People's Republic, and urging the imperialist powers to support Tibetan independence.

The nationalist and religious-led outburst, almost thirty years after Chinese troops crushed an uprising, appears to have taken the Chinese government by surprise. It had hoped more liberal policies since 1980, and raised living standards, would reconcile the Tibetans.

FBI library spying

LIBRARY staff in New York have protested that FBI agents asked them to spy and inform on readers, under a 'library awareness programme' supposedly aimed at spotting possible 'Russian spies'.

Betsy Pinover, of New York Public Library, said 'We're extremely concerned about intellectual freedom and the reader's right to privacy, and are committed to protecting the privacy of our readers.'

Indonesian workers get 'out of control'

WORKERS at a shoe factory in West Java, Indonesia, fed up with long hours, low pay, and bullying management, decided they had had enough when they heard a colleague had been knocked about by one of the bosses.

The workers, mainly women, demonstrated outside the company offices, demanding that the manager responsible be called to account.

Getting no response, they eventually stormed the offices, smashed up property, and set fire to company vehicles.

Police and an infantry battalion were called in, but it was two-and-a-half hours before they regained control, and made arrests. The military regime-sponsored union federation SPSI later attacked the Eagle Shoe factory workers for 'getting out of control'.

Eagle Shoe is jointly owned by Kostra Corporation of South Korea and the Indonesian company PT Garuda Indawa. The factory at Tangerang, West Java, produces sports shoes, mostly for export to Britain, the US and Canada.

Workers complain of having

to do compulsory overtime, which the management claims is essential to meet export orders. Early in August seven workers were sacked for refusing overtime.

'We must work from 7.30 till 17.30 every day, and then do overtime until 21.00,' a worker told the Indonesian paper 'Pikiran Rakyat'. 'This goes on seven days a week without respite. There's no such thing as Sundays or holidays here. We're only allowed two days off a month.'

It was while working Sunday afternoon overtime that a worker, finding he had nothing to do for a spell, sat down for a breather. One of the managers came running over, yelling at him, and started beating him up. This was what led to the riot.

'I want them to work as hard here as workers in South Korea,' a manager told reporters. He complained that Indonesian workers' productivity was too low.

'Over there, a production line of 250 workers, working a 12-hour shift produces 3,000 pairs of shoes, whereas in Tangerang, a production line of 400 workers only produces 800 to 1,000 shoes per shift,' he said. This was why people were having to work overtime.

In South Korea, workers fought pitched battles with riot police in their struggle to union-

nise this year. If Korean management members are not yet aware of the changes back home, they had a taste during the Eagle Shoe strike. Workers burnt down the South Korean staff canteen.

Male workers at Eagle Shoe get Rp150 an hour, women — about three quarters of the workforce — are paid Rp120 an hour. There is nothing extra for overtime.

As the Eagle Shoe workers came out on strike, 'Pikiran Rakyat' expressed surprise at their explosion of anger. 'Till now, no workers have expressed their anger so demonstratively... In recent times workers seem to have lost the courage to make demands of their employers, as if they realise that making demands in the present circumstances is an invitation to disaster. Making demands means opposing policy, and that leads directly to dismissal...'

But Indonesian workers are making demands and they are not taking sackings and victimisation lightly. On 25 August, the 'Jakarta Post' reported that 40 employees at a print works in Tangerang had dragged the manager out of his office and thrown him off the premises after hearing that a senior employee who was also an active trade unionist had been sacked for 'insubordination'.

APARTHEID'S OTHER FRO

Creating a wasteland

THE WAR waged against the Mozambican government by Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels has transformed one of the country's most fertile areas into a wasteland.

The Angonia plateau, in the north-western province of Tete, near the Malawi border, boasts good soils, abundant rainfall and a fairly temperate climate.

Under normal conditions, it produced large surpluses of maize, potatoes, fruit and meat.

It used to supply food to the rest of Tete Province and to major cities such as Maputo and Beira. Not any more.

'For the first time ever,' says the district administrator, Alberto Zacarias, 'this year there has been hunger in Angonia. There is nothing in our warehouses.'

A giant state farm, the

Angonian Agro-Industrial Complex (CAIA), once dominated the plateau. Now its machines are silent. They are rusting, burnt-out wrecks and the state farms' crops rot unharvested in the fields.

Since 1984, CAIA has suffered nine attacks by the MNR. The last two, earlier this year, finished it off.

The installations have been gutted. The equipment written off is valued at tens of millions of rands and no one will gather the crops that were planted for this year.

Peasant agriculture is also in ruins. Zacarias says MNR raids have turned the farmers of Angonia into nomads. They move constantly to avoid the rebels, known here as *bandidos armados* (armed bandits).

Many have fled over the border into Malawi. In Ulongue, the district capital, the administration knows of 20,000 people (10 per cent of Angonia's population) who have taken this escape route.

But everyone admits that the real figure for Angonia refugees in Malawi must be much higher.

In and around Ulongue, there are now 50,000 people living within a 20km radius of the town centre, controlled by the Mozambican army. Fields outside the town are worked only under military protection.

Ulongue depends on food aid distribution via the Tete branch of Mozambique's

Disaster Control Office.

The road to Tete is unsafe, so food enters from Malawi along a short stretch of road considered secure.

The alternative to the Malawian route would be a more expensive airlift. Fortunately Ulongue possesses a well-maintained airstrip.

Scars of war are evident in Ulongue, which has suffered two major MNR attacks — one in November and one in June. Both were beaten off after heavy fighting.

Mozambican officers insist that in November white South Africans led the MNR and that three whites were killed in the battle. Pretoria has denied the claims.

Last December, Mozambique and Malawi signed a security agreement that was supposed to end MNR use of Malawi, the only independent African country with full diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The government of Dr Hastings Banda also has longstanding territorial ambitions on parts of northern Mozambique. Both these considerations have made parts of the Malawian establishment well disposed towards the MNR.

In Maputo, there is official optimism about the current state of relations with Malawi, but that cheerful mood evaporates the nearer one gets to the Malawian border.

In Ulongue there is nothing but scepticism towards Malawian intentions.

BY LUCY BRENT

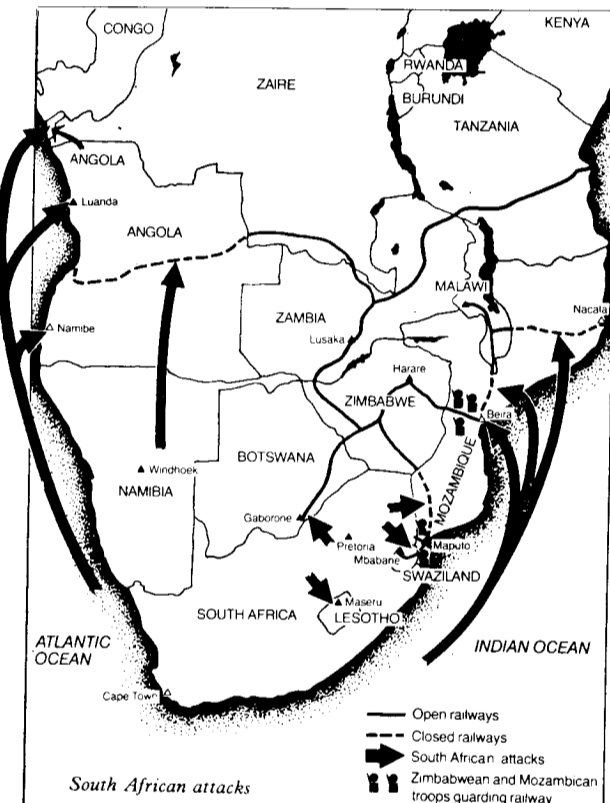
IN its struggle to crush opposition, the apartheid/capitalist regime in South Africa uses brutality in many forms against the blacks inside the country. But an essential component of the regime's survival is its external war against the so-called front line states of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia and Angola to destabilise the economies and prevent the countries giving support to opponents of apartheid.

In the case of Mozambique and Angola, full-scale war is being waged — openly as far as Angola is concerned, operating from bases in South-African occupied Namibia. In Mozambique — where deaths are estimated at over 400,000 with at least half of them children under the age of five — the war is waged covertly through the murderous Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) who carry out their operations on behalf of the South African military.

Botha's government continually denies any involvement with the MNR, but even inside white South Africa this has little credence. Government regulations inhibit press reports, but people living in the border areas south of Mozambique which are flooded by refugees escaping the brutal activities of the MNR have no doubts.

Nor do the white men of military age who do their annual stint of military service on the Mozambique border and may witness the blowing-up of passenger trains on the other side or other such horrific episodes. Tourists visiting Malawi before the security agreement signed last December with Mozambique brought back accounts of South African troops and military vehicles openly preparing to cross the border to reach MNR units.

The reports on this page give some details of South Africa's role in its brutal external war.



A 1981 victim of the MNR

The refugees who flee south

THREE doctors at Shongwe hospital on the South African side of the Mozambique border serve an area which is home to 180,000 people . . . at the moment. The population increases by up to 1,000 a month as refugees from the MNR war brave landmines and electric fences to flee across the border.

It took Petrus Khoza two days to walk from his home in south-western Mozambique to the South African border. When his pregnant wife was shot dead by MNR soldiers, Khoza fled with the remnants of his village to the relative solace of a tiny village called Putini in the 'self-governing homeland' of KaNgwane.

Khoza is one of the lucky ones. He made the trip safely, avoiding the bone-splintering landmines, the soldiers and the electric fence being erected along the border which can sizzle to the wrist the hand that touches it.

There are now more than 15,000 registered Mozambican refugees in KaNgwane and about 60,000 scattered in neighbouring 'homelands'. The refugees are fed by the charity

Operation Hunger and as the flow — sometimes reaching 1,000 a month to KaNgwane — increases, new demands are being made on the 'homeland's' health service.

Shongwe hospital, one of the major health centres in KaNgwane, takes the brunt of this increasing population and its ailments. It treats, inoculates and checks many of the refugees as well as the locals — mostly for 'third world' sicknesses such as typhoid, tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis and malaria.

Three full-time doctors serve an area which is home for about 180,000 people. With limited funds and a tiny staff, Shongwe can only perform curative medicine — treatment which deals with the epidemics as they happen. Preventative medicine and health education is only a dream.

The 'homelands' already have a stretched and inferior health service compared to white South Africa. Now, with the huge influx of refugees from the indiscriminate murders and attacks by the MNR, these services are pushed beyond their limit.

Pretoria clearly involved

IT IS an open secret that South Africa carries out military operations inside Mozambique — however many times the government denies it.

When the apartheid government denied responsibility for the commando raid into Mozambique's capital Maputo at the end of May, no one believed them.

'Who is (Pik) Botha trying to fool?' asked the Maputo daily 'Noticias' after the foreign minister had tried to attribute the raid to 'internal' Mozambican affairs.

'Isn't Botha tired of making ridiculous public statements every time the regime needs to justify or hide its atrocities?' asked 'Noticias'.

No alternative identity for the raiders has been proposed and two of the targets had very clear South African connections.

One was the local office of the African National Congress.

This was the second time that ANC offices in Maputo had come under

attack. In October 1983, South African commandos bombed the offices and, although nobody was killed, damage was extensive.

That raid was admitted by the South African government and one of its authors, Captain Wynand du Toit, is currently in jail in Angola's capital Luanda after attempting unsuccessfully to destroy oil installations in Angola.

A second target for the attack was an ANC-owned house used to store supplies for South African refugees. The nightwatchman was murdered and his body burnt.

In another house, the parents were shot dead in front of their young daughter.

Most of the targets were close to President Joaquim Chissano's office, suggesting the commandos were pointedly warning the Mozambican authorities of South Africa's ability to strike at the most

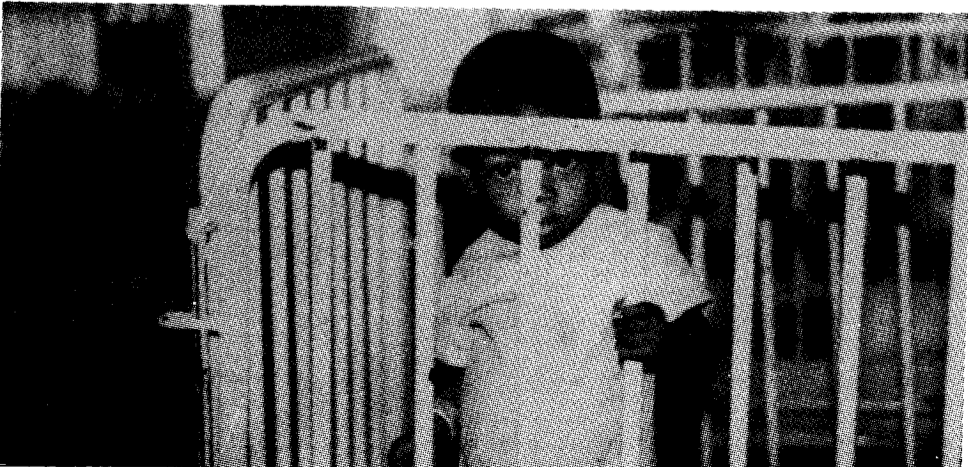
sensitive part of the city.

The raiders used three vehicles which were found abandoned at the Maputo sea-wall. One of them had documentation giving the presumed owner as living in Johannesburg.

On the sea-wall police found two intra-red torches switched on and pointing out to sea, confirming the general belief that most of the raiders made their getaway by boat.

The raid took place just hours after Frelimo had presented further allegations and evidence of South Africa's war against Mozambique to journalists.

A Mozambican, captured while spying for the apartheid regime, was shown to the press in Maputo: 28-year-old Jaime Mondlane said he had been recruited by South African military intelligence in 1983 when he was in Tembisa township inside South Africa.



This baby is one of the lucky ones who has a bed. Many others have to sleep on the floor

HOMOIN
cial cent
bique, be
bloodiest
year war
the Moza
sistance

Several
killed 380
town in U
bane.

The Moz
found mor
people kid
the rebels
ing their r

Mozamb
Chissano
the attack
of course,
involvement
know who
was the Se

The kill
ate. Photo
photograph
and childr
sudden, vic
gunshot w
were runn

The rebel
tients in t
hospital —
babies and

NT — THE EXTERNAL WAR

Origins of the MNR



THE Rhodesian security chief who took the dubious credit for creating and shaping the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, Ken Flower, died from a heart attack in Harare last month.

He frankly admitted to starting the MNR on a campaign of violent destabilisation and terrorism nearly ten years ago after Mozambique independence but before Zimbabwe gained its independence.

Despite the endless suffering and misery created by MNR activities, Flower was kept on as head of Robert Mugabe's Central Intelligence Organisation until his retirement in 1982.

Flower's book 'Serving Secretly',

which has just been published, tells how following the collapse of the regime of Portuguese fascist Antonio Salazar and Mozambique's independence, his Rhodesian security network collaborated with right-wing Portuguese elements and discontent Mozambicans to form the MNR in the late 1970s.

The MNR was intended to harass Samora Machel's Frelimo government because of its support for Mugabe's ZANLA guerrillas who operated from camps in Mozambique. 'None of us was ever deluded that this was going to overthrow the Machel government,' said Flower. 'It was a thing for the hour. It suited us that it was a thorn in the side of Frelimo. It gave us access to the same areas where ZANLA was.'

But Flower's temporary network was turned over to the South African military after the end of Rhodesia in 1980 and continued to grow and carry out large-scale battles and terrifying atrocities

such as the massacre at Homoine.

Flower privately expressed a feeling that under the South African aegis the MNR grew like Frankenstein to its current strength. He denied that the MNR had any political motivation, as is claimed by US Republican senators who are pushing for the Reagan administration to back the MNR directly.

'It's not a bona fide guerrilla movement because they have not got a clear political objective. I'll take it further than that, they probably couldn't have continued to exist without our (Rhodesian) assistance, they probably couldn't continue now without somebody else's assistance (South Africa).'

'We helped, we trained — inside Rhodesia — and those inside Mozambique provided the recruits. Their motivation was money.'

**'Serving Secretly' by Ken Flower. John Murray. £16.95.*

March steps up demand for blockade

THE NAMIBIAN Support Group organised a national march in Liverpool last Saturday to step up demands for the blockade of Namibian uranium.

BY JOHN OWEN

Seamen, miners from Bolsover, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, CND, health workers and car workers as well as different support groups from other areas were amongst the 250 marchers.

The march stopped outside Derby Square in the city centre where Labour councillor Liz Drysdale, spoke of the historic role of Liverpool and its position in the slave trade.

John Farrel, the servicing officer of the Moat House dispute, brought fraternal greetings to the march.

The march then went on to rally outside the Corn Exchange buildings where Safmarine, a shipping company involved in the transportation of Namibian uranium, is based.

It then went to the Littlewood's-John Moores centre — home of the Littlewood's staff pension funds which owns two million shares in RTZ.

The march then passed Atlantic Container Lines which is involved in the shipping of Namibian uranium, and also Silkhouse Court, the base for the P&O Shipping Company.

Speakers here included Tony Santamaria of the National Union of Seamen who committed the seamen

aid the unions in organising.

Garoeb also called for the implementation of United Nations resolution 435, calling for the withdrawal of South African troops and recognition of Namibia's to independence.

Enos Ngatchana from the African National Congress (ANC) said 'I give warning to all ultra-left groups in Britain who criticise the ANC from their sofas. We don't want a separate Moses Mayekiso campaign.'

'This divides the movement here in Britain. We don't need people telling us which way to fight. The people in South Africa will decide.'

Bloodiest massacre

a sleepy commercial southern Mozambique the scene of the massacre in the ten-day operation against Frelimo by Mozambique National Resistance Movement guerrillas' in late July.

hundred MNR guerrillas were killed from the small province of Inhambane.

Namibian armed forces were involved — apparently they were killed at Homoine by the MNR then murdered during the attack.

President Joaquim Chissano said South Africa for the apartheid regime, 'strongly denied' any involvement. 'We don't think, we don't think, we don't think,' said Chissano. 'It's the Africans'.

The MNR were indiscriminate in their attacks — apparently they were killed at Homoine by the MNR then murdered during the attack.

murdered all the people in the beds at the local hospital including new-born pregnant women.

The political bureau of Mozambique's Frelimo Party said the infiltration of rebels over the South African border into southern Mozambique had been stepped up considerably in the preceding weeks, as had airdrops of equipment from South African planes to MNR units.

Three large parachutes of American origin had been recovered by Mozambique troops. After these airdrops, there was a substantial increase in MNR activity in the province.

Previously, all the indications were that the rebels were running out of ammunition in this part of Mozambique. They had been carrying out most of their raids by night, using knives and clubs against relatively defenceless villagers. Now they were using firearms again, reports said.

Observers in Maputo believe the focus of the war is switching from the centre of the country to the south.

This follows the joint Mozambique and Zimbabwean successes earlier this year in the Zambezi valley, when the MNR was driven out of most of the small towns it had captured in its 1986 offensive.



Inside occupied Namibia — South Africa's base for war against Angola: Troops from the infamous Koevoet military unit display the versatility of a Casspir. You can use it for counter-insurgency — the activity for which Koevoet earned its notoriety — or you can use it for Sunday picnics at Ruacana, near the Angolan border, as these soldiers did. In the middle of the operational area, they explored the many uses of their equipment.

Japan dragged into US war plans

JAPAN is coming under a two-pronged offensive from United States imperialism: the Pentagon's military planners want to drag Japanese government and industry into US war plans while the industrial capitalists want to weaken Japanese competition in the international trade war.

When the Reagan administration accused the Toshiba company of weakening 'Western defence' by selling machine tools to the Soviet Union, the Japanese government agreed to tighten controls on exports, and to join Reagan's 'Star Wars' programme.

The latest development concerns the US naval build-up in the Gulf. Japanese industry is highly vulnerable to any rise in oil prices, or threat to supplies. Japan gets 70 per cent of its oil from the Gulf.

On 2 October, a government spokesman in Tokyo announced that Japanese shipowners and seamen's unions had reached agreement on a temporary ban on Japanese-registered ships entering the Gulf. The second ban in two months, it followed attacks that week on two Japanese-registered ships.

Since the US sent its navy in, it has been demanding the Japanese government pay 'protection'. At first, the Japanese argued their constitution would not permit war spending.

Maybe noting the US had not sent any minesweepers, they had doubts about Reagan's real purpose, and weighed the dubious US 'protection' offer against the possible risk to their interests from coming out as a US ally.

However, Prime Minister

Nakasone argued last month that the constitution need be no obstacle, telling parliament that 'even if the maritime self-defence forces (Japanese navy) sent minesweepers, that would not amount to foreign deployment, because it would not constitute a use of military force'.

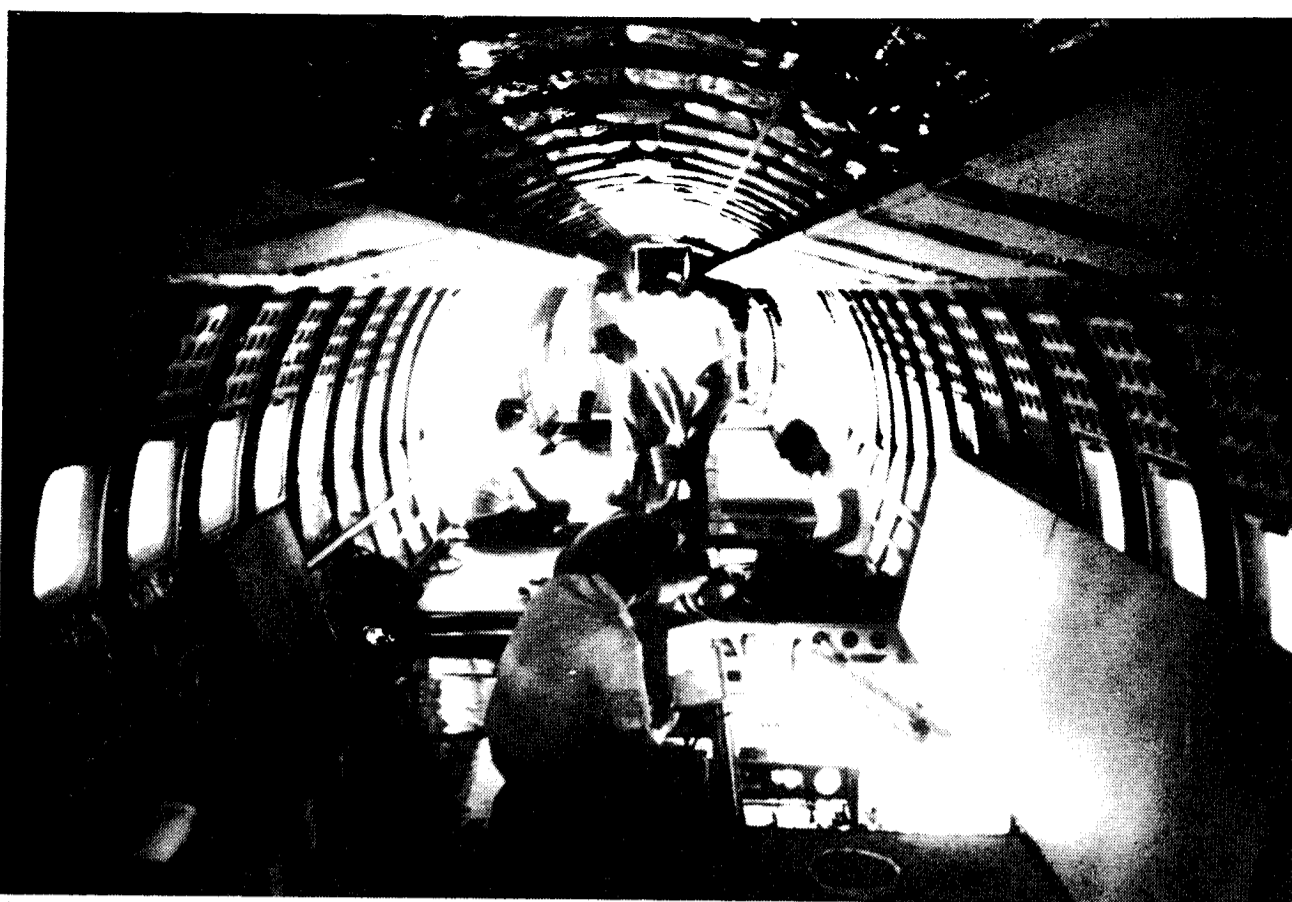
Nakasone later said this would be 'inappropriate', but that Japan could help finance US minesweeping operations. Japan's ambassador in Washington Nobuo Matsunaga said payment could be made indirectly, by increasing Japanese support for US forces in Japan.

If Japan has no ships in the Gulf to be 'protected', then the argument for this is going to look weaker.

Involve

Ever since the 'trilateralist' doctrine of the Carter administration — aiming to involve US, Western European, and Japanese policy in a common strategy — US policy-makers have been arguing that Japanese capitalism has an unfair advantage, not having to shoulder such a huge military expenditure as its rivals.

Allied victory over Japan, and post-war US military occupation, supposedly sought to end Japanese militarism. With the Korean war, in which Japan was the jumping-off base for US troops and bombers, Japanese armed forces were revived, in the guise of 'self-defence forces'.



Fitting out the interior of a YS 11. Mitsubishi and other firms want to expand military aircraft production. The US wants bigger Japanese forces, but US-supplied. Japanese workers must oppose the imperialist war-drive.

The US has more than 24,000 troops and 190 aircraft based in Japan now. Under the 1960 Japanese-US security treaty, Japan provides rent-free land and facilities, and more than 275 billion yen a year to maintain the bases.

Japanese armed forces include more than 50 modern destroyers and frigates, 14 submarines, 430 combat aircraft, and 1,100 tanks. In July this year, the US House of Representatives passed a resolution demanding Japan increase the percentage of its Gross national Product spent on 'defence', from one to three per cent.

Under Nakasone, since 1982, military spending has increased by more than 5 per cent each year, allowing for inflation. The latest budget finds money for over-the-horizon radar, early warning planes and Aegis guided missile ships.

Defend

A Japanese Defence White Paper this year declared: 'The necessary minimum force to defend Japan employed in the exercise of her right to self-defence is not necessarily confined to the geographical scope of the Japanese territorial, land, sea and airspace.'

It said it was difficult to define limits for Japan's defence interests geographically, since they would vary with the situation.

JAPANESE forces have taken part in exercises around Korea with US and, more recently, British forces. The working-class struggles in South Korea have given fresh reason for imperialist concern for its stability.

Japan also has an important place in US global strategy, looking over the Soviet Far East and port of Vladivostok. US interests and surveillance of that area was revealed after the Korean airliner incident.

'Hello Tosh, got a submarine?'

In July this year, it was reported that Toshiba had exported milling machines to the Soviet Union, which the US said breached regulations on exports to the Soviet bloc.

The Pentagon claimed the Japanese machine tools had enabled Soviet plants to produce 'noiseless' propellers for their submarines, making them harder to detect.

A Toshiba subsidiary was preparing a tender worth 14 billion yen to supply new computers to the US. The US Congress rushed through a ban on Toshiba imports. Television viewers in the US and Japan were treated to the sight of congressmen with hammers smashing Toshiba radios and video equipment on the lawn in front of the Capitol.

According to the US Navy Department's 1986 Guide to the Soviet Navy, 'noiseless' Soviet submarines entered service between the beginning of 1981 and the middle of 1984. It was not until the end of 1984 that Soviet plants began installing Toshiba machine tools.

With the United States' continuing trade deficit with Japan — around \$30 billion per annum, hardly dented by the declining dollar — and with US manufacturing companies lobbying for protection, quiet Soviet submarines weren't the real issue. Likewise, when prime minister Nakasone, replying to a question from one of his own Liberal Democrat (Tory) MPs, accused Toshiba of 'betraying the interests of the nation', and Japanese business in general of 'losing its sense of responsibility', he wasn't really talking about the supposed Soviet threat.

Nakasone knows that behind this particular 'hunt for Red October', Congress is considering protectionist tariff legislation that has already worried the EEC, but would be aimed particularly at Japanese goods. Trade Minister Hadzima Tamura apologised to the Reagan administration for any 'problems' for its 'national security' from the Toshiba deal. His ministry increased its inspection staff to check trade with the Soviet bloc. The Defence Ministry offered to send officers to join the US-led Co-ordinating Committee on Export Control in Paris.

The leading newspaper Asahi openly doubted the US assertions, and warned Tamura not to fall for US pressures when he visited Washington for talks on trade restrictions. Plainly, the Japanese ruling class is divided on how much to take from the United States. A new row concerns military aircraft. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, one of the giant zaibutsu (capitalist trusts) that stood behind Japanese militarism, and builder of the World War II Zero fighter, is

heading a defence lobby that wants an expanded Japanese military aircraft industry.

They want a new fighter plane, code-named FSX, built in Japan. Like the Israeli Lavi bomber, which was first subsidised by the United States then dropped under US pressure, this would not only supplant US-made planes, (or US planes built under license) but compete with them abroad. Mitsubishi is interested in the world market.

US aircraft manufacturers and arms suppliers want Japan to re-arm, but with their products. In June, US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger went to Tokyo, and warned Nakasone that if the FSX was built it should be a joint project with US firms; otherwise, there would be more protectionist pressure in Congress.

In August, Nakasone said that in considering the next fighter, 'we should place the highest priority on stabilised security ties with the United States.' The US military are keen to use Japanese technology, which leads in such fields as optical fibres and micro-chips. Technical exchange agreements have led to little, however, as commercial rivalries breed suspicion on either side.

The Japanese government signed an agreement in July to participate in Reagan's so-called Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), the 'Star Wars' programme, ignoring the conflict between this programme's nuclear weapons content and the non-nuclear pledges in Japan's constitution. One argument used was that Japan might otherwise be 'left behind' in technology. Clearly, a more cogent though less-voiced argument was the threat of US economic pressure, of which the Toshiba row was a well-timed reminder.

Toshiba has declined to participate in the 'Star Wars' programme, understandably. Sony electronics is also reported to have decided against it, and other companies are unenthusiastic. In exchange for US contracts, they would have to let the US Defence Department have all patent rights and control commercial exploitation of SDI technology.

The US imperialists want Japanese capitalism to subordinate itself to US capitalist interests and to help with the colossal economic and military task of keeping imperialism going. The Japanese ruling class is divided on how far it can afford to subordinate itself, not on the imperialist war drive.

The Japanese people, having experienced nuclear attack, know better than any other the horror which imperialism threatens. If they are not to be dragged into imperialist war plans, whether by Japanese or US monopolies, the Japanese working class, on which the country's industrial strength was built, must assert itself politically and take the road to power.

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.
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338.
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN MCCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.
PAUL HILL, Life sentence, 462778.
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.
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, 342303.
GERRY McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.
SEAN McSHANE, B75898.
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence 8204.
PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks, WF2 9AG
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, 10-year sentence, 78647.
SEAN KINSELLA, 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.
CON 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: BRITTON

HM Prison, Jebb 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.
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.

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

We thank An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for supplying and updating this information.

They cannot tell the truth about Trotsky

PART I

BY BILL HUNTER

EVERY SOCIALIST, inside and outside the Soviet Union should mark well not only the refusal of the Soviet authorities to 'rehabilitate' Leon Trotsky, but also their refusal to make an objective assessment of his contribution to the struggle for socialism.

He is a spectre to be laid by ruling bureaucrats and their supporters because of his historical struggle for Marxist-Leninist internationalist principles and against the growth of bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Millions of workers, students and intellectuals in the Soviet Union and throughout the world are going to draw inspiration from the struggle of Leon Trotsky.

The desperation of the resistance to the truth about Trotsky and his struggle, was clearly shown in the 4,500-word article which appeared in the Soviet Press, commented on in last week's Workers Press.

The author was one Vladimir Ivanov, a professor of history no less.

Obviously he gained his academic standing as a servitor of the regime and is seeking to earn his privileges and wages by continuing the denigration of Trotsky as best he can.

Trotsky is anathema to the ruling bureaucracy whether they are supporters of 'glasnost' or not. They are not able to spew out the same slander and lies against Trotsky as did Stalin and the GPU, nor can they hold to the same crass Stalinised 'history' of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union as before 1956. But they are still a group of liars and distorters of history.

However, at this time, without the repression able to assist them to the extent it did under Stalin, those who hide historical truth only expose themselves.

Ivanov declares that Trotsky lacked 'the main characteristic of a proletarian revolutionary, ideological conviction of the correctness of the cause.'

'Trotskyism was ideologically crushed during Lenin's lifetime,' declares the professor. In a moment, he will trace the relations between Lenin and Trotsky at the end of Lenin's life. But first,



Natalya, Trotsky and Seva in 1939

there is an overriding point to be made.

Trotskyism has never been ideologically crushed, even though Stalin pronounced it so more than once, and even though Stalinism tried to drown it in a river of blood.

Hundreds of thousands of Trotskyists were liquidated, most in the Soviet Union. They were murdered by Stalinist agents and secret police in Spain, in Vietnam, in China.

Trotsky's secretaries were killed, and he was himself eventually assassinated by

Mercador, a secret agent of the GPU.

Exiled to Alma Ata, deported to Prinkipo, from there to France, to Norway and then to Mexico; he was an outcast all over the planet a man without a visa. And he fought unceasingly and indefatigably for Marxist principles against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union.

What can this miserable little man in Moscow know about 'conviction in the correctness of his cause'? Trotsky proved his conviction in his cause and in the potentialities of the working class to liberate humanity.

At the age of 26 he was president of the first-ever Soviet, in St Petersburg during the 1905 revolution. He was arrested and deported by the Tsarist dictatorship to Siberia, but escaped. He was imprisoned by half-a-dozen bourgeois governments.

He was a principal organiser of the Russian Revolution. Stalin wrote of him on 6 November 1918:

'One can say with full certainty that the rapid passage of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the skilful organisation of the work of the Revolutionary War Committee, the party owes pri-

marily and above all to comrade Trotsky.'

He was Commissar for War and founder of the Red Army. In his recollections of Lenin, the famous Russian writer Maxim Gorky reported Lenin angry at the lies being spread about himself and Trotsky.

'Striking his fist on the table, he exclaimed: "Show me another man who would be able in a year to organise almost a model army; yes, and win the esteem of the military specialists. We have such a man. We have everything, and you'll see miracles!"'

Trotsky was first Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic and a founder and leader with Lenin of the Communist International. Lenin's letters at the end of his life, which the Soviet leaders have been forced to publish since 1956, show Lenin seeking collaboration with Trotsky on the questions of nationalities and bureaucratism.

In 1936 and 1937, Stalin and the GPU set out to destroy the whole generation of revolutionaries who built the Bolshevik Party. They framed up these communists in the infamous Moscow Trials.

The victims constituted the entire leading staff of Lenin's party, of the Russian Revolution and of the Soviet government that existed in Lenin's time. Leon Trotsky and his son Sedov were at the centre of the frame-up.

Lack of conviction in the correctness of his cause? On 9 February 1937, he spoke about the trials and the Independent Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against him. The Commission was to meet the following April under the chairmanship of Dr John Dewey, America's foremost educationalist and philosopher.

Trotsky made the declaration in his speech:

'Why does Moscow fear the voice of a single man? Only because I know the truth, the whole truth. Only because I have nothing to hide. Only because I am ready to appear before a public and impartial commission of inquiry with documents, facts and testimonies in my hands, and disclose the truth to the very end.'

'I declare: if this commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree of the crimes which Stalin imputes to me, I pledge in advance to place myself voluntarily in the hands of the executioners of the GPU.'

Here was a communist leader who turned himself firmly to the tasks that history had imposed on him. He wrote in his 'Diary in Exile':

'The collapse of the two Internationals has posed a problem which none of the leaders of these Internationals is at all equipped to solve. The vicissitudes of my personal fate have confronted me with this problem and armed me with important experience in dealing with it.'

'There is no one but me to carry out the mission of arming a new generation with the revolutionary method over the heads of the leaders of the Second and Third International. And I am in complete agreement with Lenin (or rather Turgenyev) that the worst vice is to be more than 55 years old! I need at least five more years of uninterrupted work to ensure the succession.'

And, in 1940, dying from a terrible blow from the assassin, he made his final declaration of conviction: 'I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!'

Only a Philistine, bureaucratic hack, without the tiniest sympathy with masses in struggle, could write as Ivanov does.

TO BE CONTINUED

LETTERS

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

Healy's Third Period Stalinism

ON MORE than one occasion I have taken advantage of the hospitality of your letters page to express my disagreement with the current political trajectory of the WRP as reflected in the pages of your paper.

When the present leadership broke from Healy there appeared to be real hope that the WRP was turning its back on its sectarian past, internationally an nationally, and reintegrating itself into the working class.

Alas, we were mistaken and, it is my contention that this arises from a profound misunderstanding of Healy and what he represented.

Healy's main offences against the working class and Trotskyism were neither his sexual peccadilloes nor his distortion of Hegel.

When Healy joined the Trotskyist movement in the late 1930s he retained in his sub-conscious the crass ultra-leftist sectarianism of the Stalinist Third Period.

As soon as he felt himself free from the ideological discipline of the Fourth International, this surfaced and the tactics, strategy and internal regime of the WRP became almost indistinguishable from Third Period Stalinism.

Trotskyism became a veneer.

It would seem that 30 years of Healyism has, like a gangrenous growth, so infested his erstwhile followers, that they are now incapable of getting it out of their systems.

The pages of Workers Press reeks of this malaise.

One is thankful for Peter Fryer's column which, at least, deals with the real world.

The current issue of Workers Press (26 September) underlies starkly this sectarian approach to working-class politics.

To mention just one subject: This is, presumably, the issue which was being sold outside the Labour Party conference in Brighton.

But, in all its 16 pages there is not even a mention of this event.

I share, with you, your view of the Labour Party, its leadership and its politics. It is not the party of socialist revolution.

But, whether we like it or not (and I don't), it is the party to which millions of workers look for political leadership. It won't go away by being ignored in Workers Press.

Nor will the working class take seriously a party and a paper which takes such an important event in the labour movement's calendar so light-mindedly.

While I am writing to you, may I ask: How does one explain why that most diabolic of anti-Pabloites, Gerry Healy, and the father of 'Pabloism', Michael Raptis, now both find themselves vying with each other eulogising Gorbachev and hailing 'glasnost' as the long-awaited political revolution?

Surely there's a lesson somewhere in this?

Charlie van Gelderen ● On the basis of last week's paper and our editorial comment this week ('Well said, Neil'—page 2) we trust that Charlie van Gelderen is now disabused of the idea that Workers Press ignores developments in the Labour Party. We would like to hear his comments on what we have actually written about the Brighton conference.

Three other points of some importance are raised in Van Gelderen's letter.

We believe it is a serious mistake to equate the politics of Healy with those of Third Period Stalinism. It is undeniable that many of his methods resembled those of Stalinism, and not only of Stalinism in the 1929-1934 period.

But to explain Healy's politics on the basis that he never broke from the sectarianism of this period is wrong. For the SLL/WRP was both sectarian and opportunist, an opportunism which came to the surface so starkly in the attitude which Healy adopted to figures such as Ken Livingstone and Ted Knight.

Second, Healy was not guilty of 'sexual peccadilloes' and nor was he charged and expelled from the movement on this basis. Healy systematically mis-used his position as leader of the movement to abuse Party members, both male and female. This was and is no small issue. It involves the politics and morality of the leadership of the working class.

Thirdly, van Gelderen is quite right when he points out that Healy ended up with the classical Pabloite liquidationist position on Stalinism. But he forgets that at an earlier period Healy did take part in a struggle, however limited and inadequate, against this self-same Pabloism.

It was on this basis that the movement split in 1953; this was the fundamental split between those who continued the fight against Stalinism and those who capitulated to it.

It is also true that van Gelderen did oppose the positions of Pablo before Healy took up this fight. But the fact is that his later political evolution brought him into the same circles as Pablo's supporters.

These include, notably, Ernest Mandel and others who have openly broken from Trotskyism — Editor.

Shameful role of 'Socialist Organiser'

LENNI BRENNER is correct to point an accusing finger at the shameful role of 'Socialist Organiser' during the 'Perdition' controversy.

The role of this group has been that of an echo chamber to the lies and distortions hurled at this play from all quarters.

The biggest of these lies is of course the most serious: the amalgam of equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism in the case of Marxist opposition to Zionism. The truth of course is the complete opposite.

Historically, Trotskyists and the Trotskyist movement have been at the forefront of the battle against all forms of racism.

The record in the fight against anti-Semitism has been exemplary. A study of the record of the Socialist Workers Party during the 1930s will show this.

While others, e.g. 'liberal democracies', the Zionists, Stalinists, were trying to do deals with the Nazis, it was the Trotskyists who warned the working class of the mortal danger this involved and saw the necessity of a fight to the death against these vermin.

Lenni Brenner's book 'Zionism in the age of the Dictators' gives a good example of this by citing the example of the role of the early American Trotskyists.

The American fascists had organised a rally in New York's Madison Square Gardens on 26 February 1939.

Against opposition from both Stalinists and Zionists (one right-wing group, the 'American Jewish Committee', even sent a letter to the board's management supporting the right of the Nazis to hold their meeting), the American SWP set about organising a counter-demonstration.

To quote Brenner: 'The SWP was a small group with no more than a few hundred members but as Max Shachtman, the organiser of the action explained: "It knew enough to mesh the small gear which it represents into the huge gear which the militant workers of the New York represent thus setting the latter in motion".'

This counter-demonstration attracted 50,000 people. The SWP had mobilised many people from the local community including rank-and-file Stalinists, who had come rejecting the advice of their leaders.

A contingent of 1,780 armed police rode into the crowd. The anti-Nazis could not break the police lines. But as Brenner observed: 'Victory was theirs, the 20,000 Nazis in the Garden would have been mauled had not the police been present.'

The Trotskyists of the American SWP also campaigned to try and save the Jews from the annihilation that was to befall them. On 19 November 1938 a statement was issued by the National Committee of the SWP: 'Let the refugees into the USA.'

Part of this statement read:

'The brown-shirted monsters do not even bother to conceal their aim, the physical extermination of every Jew in greater Germany.'

Brenner in his book quotes Trotsky's prophetic warning to the Jews and his recognition of the need for a fight to the death against fascism. In his 'Appeal to American Jews menaced by anti-Semitism and Fascism' he wrote:

'It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future war. But even without war, the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the physical extermination of the Jews.'

'Only audacious mobilisation of the workers against reaction, creation of workers' militia, direct physical resistance to the fascist gangs, increasing self-confidence, activity and audacity on the part of all the oppressed can provoke a change in the relation of forces, stop the world wave of fascism and open a new chapter in the history of mankind.'

It was the 'Militant', organ of the SWP, of 19 September 1942 who broke a conspiracy of silence about the fate of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. The 'Militant' informed its readers of the atrocities that had been committed and went on to say:

'The State Department has meantime — so we are informed — suppressed information that it received from its Consular agent in Switzerland. This information has to do with the treatment of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.'

'Evidence of the greatest atrocities has occurred there in connection with the renewed campaign to exterminate the Jews.'

'Rumour has it that the ghetto no longer exists, and the Jews have been completely wiped out. The reason this report has been suppressed by the State Department is that it does not wish any mass protest here that will force its hand on policy.'

So while all kept quiet, it was the Trotskyists who spoke out on this issue. It was also the Trotskyist Movement that opposed the Hitler-Stalin pact and the bankruptcy of the ultra-left policy of equating German Social Democracy with fascism — the policy that divided the working class and led to the victory of the Nazis in Germany.

The Marxists who fought for these policies were at times the lone voice in a wilderness of silence. They

swam against the stream, never surrendering to Zionism but developing an independent policy in favour of the working class and oppressed.

This is a lesson 'Socialist Organiser' should learn from, the example they should try to emulate, instead of their squalid surrender to Zionist ideology.

Roger McGuinn

Anti-matter bombs on the way?

AN article in 'New Scientist' (10 September), 'Physicists make the most of anti-matter', reports that anti-matter could soon be made in the laboratory. That raises the possibility of a new type of bomb.

The concept of anti-matter particles — the 'mirror-image' of ordinary ones — only received a sound mathematical basis in 1930, when Dirac combined quantum theory and relativity theory to predict their existence.

Einstein's Special Relativity theory showed that mass and energy were equivalent, through the famous equation $E = mc^2$. Quantum theory showed that a very small system like an atom could only have certain values of energy.

From these two ideas, Dirac produced an equation that not only gave the normal levels of energy that an electron could take, but also indicated, astonishingly, that there could be an equal number of levels with negative energy and negative mass.

At first, physicists were sceptical about the idea, which was based only on mathematics. But in 1932, a particle called the positron was found, exactly like the electron but with positive electrical charge. When an electron met a positron, they annihilated each other, their masses turning into energy in the form of gamma-rays.

Twenty years later, the anti-proton was found by a team at the University of California, and the idea of anti-particles was firmly established.

More recently, experiments at CERN have produced intense beams of anti-protons. This will enable scientists to carry out experiments on anti-matter.

The first step is to get anti-protons to combine with positrons, either by persuading them to move along parallel paths, or by catching them in the same trap. The result might then be atoms of anti-hydrogen and other forms of anti-matter.

People have speculated about the use of lumps of anti-matter as an ideal fuel for interstellar travel: a tiny bit of it would produce a lot of energy. But there have also been suggestions that it could be used in weapons of enormous power.

Some scientists have dismissed this as far-fetched. But recall that in the 1920s, when it was known that the sun's centre is a nuclear furnace, Eddington absolutely denied the possibility that humanity could tap this source of energy on earth.

Any physicist who understood the physics of the sun would know it was absurd, he declared. It was inconceivable to this great astrophysicist — who was also a Quaker — that in only a few decades the future of the world would be concerned with thermonuclear weaponry. So it is quite possible that in the next few decades anti-matter bombs will be produced.

Do scientists learn from history? Are they not in danger of being seduced by the forces of capitalism?

Scientists must fight this

leech that hangs on to them and exploits their ideas. For this, we must look at more than politics. The WRP must not treat this with scepticism.

We must win the hearts and minds of scientists and artists, as well as workers.

Anthony Maccini
Wandsworth

'Glasnost' Johnstone style

I DO not expect anybody to take my word for what is in the Communist Party Executive's Report of Work, from which Geoff Pilling's article (Workers Press, 15 August) purported to be drawing the information on the CP which I refuted in my letter (Workers Press, 29 August).

I only expect those interested, and particularly Comrade Pilling, to check for themselves with the report in question, which is freely available.

Geoff Pilling (Workers Press, 26 September) is, however, careful not to do this, as it would entail his having honestly to admit to and account for giving false

information to his readers.

Instead he now tells us that the 'main points of (his) article still stand' — so why worry about a few possible 'inaccuracies', which he's not admitting to anyway, mind you!

Pilling's suggestion that it is risky to believe me because (like WRP leaders Cliff Slaughter and Tom Kemp) I was 'a loyal follower of Stalin until 1956' is simply an attempt to introduce irrelevant subjective criteria to divert from submitting the statements in his article to objective verification.

Healyite practices die hard even among those who now denounce their former guru with the greatest vehemence!

If Pilling is right that, like the Communist Party, the WRP and Workers Press 'have tried to discuss all (their) problems openly and objectively', how does he account for the fact that the CP regularly publishes its membership and sales figures, gives the numbers of those expelled and disciplined, and holds open congresses, whereas the WRP, even post-Healy, does none of these things?

And will Workers Press be prepared to publish this letter and to answer (or, at least, allow discussion on) its questions?

Monty Johnstone

TWO BOOKS BY F F RASKOLNIKOV

Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917

In 1917, the sailors of Kronstadt were at the centre of the Russian Revolution and Raskolnikov, aged 25, was their leader. This is his day-by-day account of the Bolsheviks' struggle to seize power.

£4.95

0 86151 023 2

Tales of Sub-Lieutenant Ilyin

Stories from Raskolnikov's part in the civil war which followed the revolution, including scuttling the Black Sea fleet in 1918 to keep the ships from falling into the hands of the Kaiser, and Raskolnikov's capture by the British and imprisonment in Brixton jail

£4.95

0 86151 025 9

Available from:
New Park Publications Ltd
21-25 Beehive Place
London SW9 7QR
01-274 6885

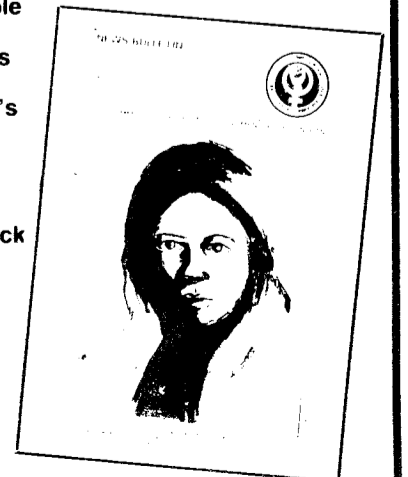
Please add 85p for orders by post

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



HEALY AND WORKING-CLASS LEADERSHIP

WORKERS PRESS this week publishes a letter from Karl Stewart which attempts to defend the practices of former leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party Gerry Healy, together with a reply from Robin Burnham, a member of the Crawley branch of the WRP. Issues of a more general nature raised by Stewart's letter are considered by Geoff Pilling.

A defence of Healy

I REFER to the article in Workers Press on 22 August.

I would like to comment on the continued slander of Gerry Healy, a lifelong fighter for his beliefs.

He built the WRP from a few dozen into a strong, cohesive, and disciplined organisation of several thousand and a national daily paper.

Healy may or may not have been sexually promiscuous. If so, sexual promiscuity is not a crime. Not in this country nor in most countries, capitalist or socialist, but only in the most backward and reactionary societies.

Further, the fact that someone may be old does not mean that they may no longer have sexual relationships.

Healy has also been accused of rape, which is a

crime. Rape counselling centres and other organisations who deal with aspects of sexual abuse, strongly advise all victims to report it to the police and bring prosecutions.

Why did the alleged 'victims' of Healy not do so?

If he was guilty of rape he should have been reported to the police, arrested and charged. This was not done, one must conclude that no offence or crime was committed by him.

Column 1, paragraph 8 of the article states: '... neither he nor his supporters answered the charges.'

This type of reasoning will not do. It is not for the accused to prove his innocence, it is up to the accuser to prove his guilt.

The 'Workers Press Group' believe that they may accuse anyone of any kind of crime, and if that person cannot prove his innocence beyond all shadow of doubt, then that person is automatically guilty.

Further, if anyone should dare to suggest that the accused may be innocent, then they automatically become 'accomplices' to the 'crime'. (hence the slander of Alex Mitchell, Sheila Torrance, Corin Redgrave, and Vanessa Redgrave).

Healy is quite right to treat these ridiculous allegations with the contempt they deserve. No one outside the WRP and its splinter groups takes the 'charges' seriously.

The Workers Press only succeeds in bringing ridicule on itself and the Trotskyist movement, while those outside the movement snigger at stories of 'reds in the bed'.

While Workers Press continues its self-indulgent squabbling, Healy is trying to build a new party, of a new type.

I wish him and his supporters well.

Karl Stewart
(in a personal capacity)

ROBIN BURNHAM has answered in detail (see below) the issues raised by Karl Stewart's letter. But a number of more general points need to be stressed.

Stewart claims that Healy was 'a life-long fighter for his beliefs'. He was nothing of the sort. Healy broke from Stalinism in the 1930s at the time of the Spanish Civil War and the Moscow Trials and became a Trotskyist. But the events of October 1985 revealed with brutal clarity that Healy had long abandoned any principled fight for communism. He has ended up as unashamed apologist of the Gorbachev wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the basis of Healy's 'new party'.

It is also false to assert that Healy built the Workers Revolutionary Party single-handed. The movement was built by the sacrifice and devotion of thousands of people; many of them were certainly brought into the movement by Healy but many were driven out by his anti-communist practices. For Marxism, for historical materialism, history is not made by individuals as such or the 'individual will' but by 'many wills'.

This point is connected with Stewart's pretence that Healy's 'personal' activities were something quite separate from his political activities. They were not. Morality is a reflection of the social relations of production. Healy's treatment of Party

members — including his systematic violence and abuse of female comrades — were not the product of his individual character but an expression of the degeneration of bourgeois society, its reduction of everything to the level of objects for self-gratification.

When one of Healy's prominent supporters, Corin Redgrave, declared that he was 'neither for nor against corruption but for revolution' he was simply revealing the reactionary depth to which the Healy group had fallen.

For the working class to be able to deal with such leaders is a vital part of the struggle against bourgeois ideology inside the movement. Healy's relationship with female members of the Party was not a question of 'promiscuity' but the abuse of power by a leader of the movement.

The reformist and Stalinist leadership of the working class has always seen the working class in just these terms: as an object to be manipulated and through which its ambitions could be realised. The expulsion of Healy and his supporters was thus a question of importance not just for the Workers Revolutionary Party but for the whole of the movement.

It is for this reason that we will continue to answer all apologists for Healy such as Karl Stewart.

Geoff Pilling

Mis-education leads to betrayal

AS KARL STEWART is an ex-candidate member of Crawley WRP (joining just before the 1985 split), it is appropriate for me to reply.

His letter reveals many points about mis-education under Healy's regime. There is a need to refute his assertions almost sentence for sentence. My reply is broken down into nine areas which are as follows (Stewart's words in italics):

1) *'the continued slander of Gerry Healy, a lifelong fighter for his beliefs'*

EVIDENCE against Healy was presented to the membership. The Control Commission's last report to conference told of 50 comrades who had submitted signed statements. The Central Committee meeting of October 12/13 1985 which laid charges against Healy went on into the early hours of the morning, such was the extent of the proof.

This was followed by numerous aggregate meetings around the country. Two were held in London, one of which Stewart attended — why the silence on this?

Then came the WRP Special Conference of 26/27 October which continued for a number of sessions at weekends after.

The degeneration of Healy and his supporters was traced in numerous editions of our News Line (starting 23 October 1985) through to Workers Press (starting December 1985) and up to the present.

Public meetings on the split were held around the country. Crawley WRP held one in February 1986. Stewart didn't attend, even though we invited him.

Alongside this, a public leaflet 'Facts about G. Healy and his supporters' was produced, together with interviews given to television and the capitalist press by Mike Banda and John Spencer. The correctness of giving the interviews is up for public discussion, like all aspects of WRP tactics and policies — we have nothing to hide!

'He built the WRP from a few dozen into a strong, cohesive and disciplined organisation of several thousand and a national daily paper.'

Working-class organisa-

tion is built by one person. Typical of bourgeois ideology, Stewart isolates the individual from the collective, from society.

If Healy alone did the 'building' what need of a Central Committee? Also what need for the participation in Party democracy for the membership? The party's theory was developed (despite their abuse) by a number of intellectuals and workers like Comrades Kemp, Smith, Slaughter, Pilling and Hunter.

Where was Healy's contribution and development of, for instance, historical materialism and Marx's Capital? You will search in vain in Workers Press, News Line, Labour Review and Fourth International of at least the last decade.

The Party's practice was carried out by many thousands over the last 50 years who fought in the factories, clubs, High Streets and estates. Healy may have had enormous energy but he couldn't be in two places at once.

Incidentally in the last few years he hardly set foot outside his flat, the Party centre and school! He was not at a branch meeting for a decade.

3) *'Workers Press group destroyed both'* (reference to WRP and News Line).

THIS is true in that we have started to end the degeneration whilst retaining the thread of Trotskyist principles from our past (not least, the theory of permanent revolution).

No more support to the Iraqi bourgeoisie for executing CP members. No more selling photos of the opposition. No more uncritical support for Libya (who banned unions in 1972 and proscribed political parties on pain of death).

No more uncritical support for Iran (whose Islamic labour code gives employers a free hand to sack workers without compensation, lengthen the working day without overtime payments, cut wages and bonuses, employ child labour, refuse payments of pensions and withhold national insurance contributions). All of these

things were done in the pages of the daily News Line.

The content of our weekly paper is more important than its frequency. Healy was destroying the WRP. He kept it small with his sectarian politics and brutal and undemocratic regime.

How many people left because of this? How many women (and their friends) were driven away because of his sexual attacks?

How many women never joined in the first place because the WRP never took up the exploitation of 52 per cent of the population — bourgeois as well as working-class women?

The new WRP has started to address these questions although we have a long way to go and need more contributions from women to the Party and Workers Press.

4) *'Healy may or may not have been sexually promiscuous.'*

HEALY has never been charged with sexual promiscuity. Although he did have sex with many women, teenagers included, that itself is not a crime. However if sex is entered into without respect for the other person then that is behaviour which socialists cannot agree with.

As Stewart appears confused about what the charges actually were, I must quote from the article in Workers Press of 22 August 1987 of which you complain:

● He was expelled from the WRP on the following counts:

● Systematic sexual abuse of female comrades.

● The regular use of violence against Party members, including women and disabled comrades.

● The repeated slander of political opponents and associates including David North, secretary of the American Workers League, whom Healy branded as a CIA agent with no evidence.

Note we said 'sexual abuse', not 'promiscuity'. However, why does Stewart

remain silent about the violence and slander? Why no mention of a female comrade who is deaf in one ear because Healy's blows perforated her ear-drum?

Or of another female comrade who needs constant therapy to her back because Healy beat her with a broom handle? Or the male comrade with shins black and blue (this when his glasses were not repeatedly smashed). The list is endless.

Yes, not quite so bad as the Stalin regime but real nevertheless to the victims, as is the slander of ex-members from Thorne to North.

The Healyite Paddy O'Regan is now himself under attack (see Healy's magazine 'The Marxist' June-July 1987, page 45).

5) *'If he was guilty of rape he should have been reported to the police, arrested and charged.'*

THE 'News Line' group agrees with Stewart about reporting, arresting and charging of a 'crime' — not in relation to Healy but to our comrade Phil Penn.

Not only that, but they agree with the jailing part (their 'evidence' sent Phil to prison with a year sentence after had defended himself against assault by a group of Healyites).

Healy's victims were communists, more politically aware than most people. They, unlike the Healy group and, it seems, Stewart, understood the principle of dealing with differences within the workers' movement and not going to the capitalist state.

WRP members, reflecting the working class, were the force to deal with Healy — and we did!

Also, Stewart doesn't understand what rape is and how women feel about being violated. It is not the type of thing to shout about.

The urge to forget about the incident is understandable, especially when they face harassment and humiliation ('you asked for it' etc.) from the police. More rapes are not reported than are.

6) *'No one outside the WRP takes the charges seriously.'* TELL that to non-party people like Thorne, Pennington, Fryer, Blick etc. Tell that to 'Socialist Organiser' who were faced with libel action when they tried to tell the truth about Healy.

Workers Press as well as the 'New Statesman' have printed stories of Healy's violence. No court action by Healy this time — he knows he hasn't a leg to stand on.

7) *'Further, if anyone should dare to suggest that the accused may be innocent, then they automatically become accomplices to the crime.'*

THE public statements (see their 'News Line') and press conference by Mitchell and the Redgraves say that Healy is innocent. However while they were in the Party up to 26/27 October 1985 they did not say Healy was innocent.

At the first London aggregate — I remind Stewart that he was present — Corin Redgrave said: 'The Party is neither for nor against corruption, we are for the socialist revolution'.

No denials. No indignant outbursts against the slander of 'comrade Gerry Healy, the outstanding leader of the world Trotskyist movement in the post-war period' (see 'The Marxist' June-July 1987).

He was admitting the charges were of corruption — but so what, the party was neither for or against.

Mitchell hardly squeaked a word. Torrance also didn't deny the charges and condemned Cliff Slaughter for reading from Lenin's 'Exploitation of Women' where he talks about sexual morality.

Torrance cried out: 'This is bourgeois morality.' No denials, only rejection of Lenin.

8) *'It is not for the accused to prove his innocence. It is up to the accuser to prove guilt.'* TROTSKY didn't agree. He did reply to the slanders of the Moscow trials which branded him a Gestapo agent. The Dewey Commission was set up where Trotsky gave his evidence and

dared Stalin to prove the charges.

In Healy's case: total silence now for two years. This, after what Stewart considers ridiculous allegations towards the then leader of the WRP, a member of the Trotskyist movement for 49 years.

Charges which according to the Healy/Torrance 'Marxist Review' (April 1986) were to 'politically smash the WRP' (page 13) and whose CC members who voted to expel Healy were a 'rapidly rightward-moving swamp moving back to social democracy and Stalinism' (page 15).

How fantastic then that this 'lifelong fighter for his beliefs' doesn't answer the charges (in person or by letter or tape-recording) when the whole fate of the revolutionary party is at stake.

9) *'While Workers Press continues its self-indulgent squabbling, Healy is trying to build a new party, of a new type.'*

NOW that Stalinism, because of the economic and political problems of 'socialism in one one country', is allowing some criticism and some exploitation of the past, Healy's new 'party' is at least unique: one that allows no investigation of its corrupt past.

Self-indulgent squabbling is the idea that rape, violence and slander just concern the WRP. These are questions of capitalist society and do affect the working class.

For the class it is a concrete question: from trade unionists, hanged in Britain in the last century to South Africa today; from bugging and burglary by MI5 to suicide by the unemployed; from slums to the destruction of the welfare state.

Stewart hasn't broken from Healyism yet. If a struggle isn't taken up by him in the future then as a leader of Crawley Labour Party (a fact his letter doesn't mention) he will build nothing.

Robin Burnham
Crawley WRP

PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

The polite racist society

HAVING swallowed nothing but Lomotil all day, I turned on the television last Friday evening in the rather faint hope of finding something to take my mind off my woes. As luck would have it, the first thing I saw was an interview with the founder of the Polite Society, a character whose approach to courtesy is much harder to swallow than any amount of Lomotil.

Last Friday, for those who don't know, was National Courtesy Day, or National Politeness Day, or both: a day when we were all exhorted to oil the wheels of social intercourse by saying please and thank you, holding doors open for those behind us, helping to pick up the contents of other people's burst shopping-bags, and generally doing what many of us do much of the time anyway, except while running for the last train.

And here was the only begetter of the Polite Society, the very model of a polite upper-middle-class white Englishman, being asked what had given him the idea. 'Well,' he replied, 'I really thought we needed to do something about all this lunatic fringe in the inner cities. . . . The interviewer looked taken aback, as well she might. For here was the racist cat being let out of the coded, consensual bag in a way that doesn't get on to the screen all that often.

The phrase 'this lunatic fringe in the inner cities' has only one possible meaning. It was a reference to those tens of thousands of young people who, having been rejected by our society because their skins are black, having had it made pretty clear to them that they are not merely the unemployed but the never-to-be-employed, having been marginalised into a 'fringe', are then branded as 'lunatics' because they are 'impolite' and 'discourteous' enough to resent the abuse, and resist the harassment, meted out to them by a racist police force.

The message is clear. If you're a fringe that dares to fight back, you're a 'lunatic fringe'. 'Respectable' British racists, far too polite of course to call things by their real names, are infinitely fertile in devising new and ever new ways of cloaking racism in genteel euphemisms.

The 'Polite Society' is only the latest example of these delicately coded manifestations of the racist backlash against the struggle of ethnic minorities for tolerable conditions of life.

Margaret Thatcher proved herself no slouch in this regard when she declared on television in 1978, not long before becoming prime minister for the first time: 'People are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture.' Everyone who heard her knew what she meant, for in this transparently coded bid for the racist vote she hadn't needed to say 'people with a different colour'.

More recently, the right-wing lumpen-intellectuals of the Scruton and Honeyford stripe have taken to cloaking their racism under the rubric of anti-anti-racism, branding anti-racism as a sinister ploy by 'neo-Marxists' to brainwash the nation's youth.

Their deluded followers in Dewsbury,

whose blatant use of children as instruments of propaganda is surely not the least unpleasant example of child abuse that 1987 has brought forth, at first hid their racism under the banner of parents' rights; but some, I see, have at last confessed themselves to be 'racist' and 'anti-Asian'.

By comparison with all these mealy-mouthed apostles of 'cultural' homogeneity, there is something almost healthy about Enoch Powell's references, in 1968, to 'grinning piccaninnies'. At least Powell had the guts to say what he meant; the consensual racism that poses as the 'Polite Society' is, to my mind, several degrees more sinister than its precursors of 19 years ago. It is more sinister precisely because it provides a cover for the fascists' physical attacks on black people in a way that is not simply polite and courteous, but downright furtive.

Soon after Peter Griffiths won Smethwick for the Tories in the 1964 general election on the slogan 'If you want a nigger neighbour vote Labour', crosses were burnt outside black people's homes in Leamington Spa, Rugby, Coventry, Ilford, Plaistow, and Cricklewood. After Powell's intervention four years later, black people in many parts of the country walked the streets in fear of their lives.

They are still doing so. If you live in Britain and your skin is black you are 50 times more likely to be attacked in the street than if your skin is white. The arson attacks, the stabbings, the racist murders continue, as the Bengali community in London's Camden, for instance, has good cause to know. And nowhere do the police take these serious attacks seriously.

This is the daily reality for Britain's black population; and it is in this context that such warnings as the recent forecast

by Linda Bellos of gas chambers in seven years have to be evaluated.

It's all too easy for a smug white interviewer to pour scorn on such a statement, as I saw one do on a later TV programme that same Friday evening. He was clearly as remote from the daily realities of life for black people in Britain as is the man in the moon.

Let's not forget, either, that anyone who, in the Germany of 1932, had forecast Hitler's gas chambers would have been laughed to scorn in much the same way. Germany was too civilised and too orderly, and the German people too polite and courteous, for such a 'solution' — to what it was already becoming fashionable to call 'the Jewish problem' — to be thinkable.

However intemperate her language may seem to some, Linda Bellos has articulated the deepest fears and concerns of communities that are already under open attack from racist gangs — some of whom, as in Camden, wear masks as they go about their vicious business, and all of whom, it is now clear, are being shielded by the police.

Side by side with those open physical attacks, the black communities are under thinly veiled verbal attack from sanctimonious apostles of politeness and courtesy who, as always, blame the victims. The labour movement can't afford to wait and see whether Bellos's forecast turns out to be merely a piece of rhetoric. The movement's clear duty is to undertake the defence of the embattled communities, now.

This is the only way to avert what many black people, and not only Bellos, see as a looming tragedy. And let there be no mistake: the tragedy, whatever its precise form, would not be confined to the black communities.

LISTINGS

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

TWENTY YEARS OF THE ABORTION ACT National Abortion Campaign: Twelfth Annual Conference. **Saturday/Sunday 31 October/1 November** Wesley House, 4 Wild Court, London, WC2B 5AU. Speakers include Jo Richardson MP, representatives from Committee in Defence of Women's Rights in Iran, Tamil Women's League and Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Creche and Disabled Access.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE — TOWARDS A SOCIALIST AGENDA Day Conference, **Saturday 14 November**. Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Organised by Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice. For further details phone Ruth Allan, Northwood (65) 24666; Bron Roberts, 01-903 4921; Chris Naylor, 01-226 3396.

TRADE UNIONS AGAINST MSC Conference to co-ordinate opposition to MSC schemes and government policies on unemployment through the trade unions. **Saturday 7 November**, 9.30a.m.- 5p.m. Dr Jonson House, 40 Bull Street, Birmingham B4. Registration £5. Contact: M.Arkwright 01-521 4130.

FREE MOSES MAYEKISO Free All South African Prisoners; Hands Off COSATU; End British Collaboration With Apartheid. March to South Africa House, Trafalgar Square. **Saturday 10 October**. Assemble mid-day, Clerkenwell Green, London EC2 (nearest tube: Farringdon)

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

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

BRING BACK VICTORIA WILLIAMS! Campaign meetings **second and fourth Wednesdays of every month**. 7.30p.m. UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

GREENHAM COMMON WOMEN'S CAMP! To all women — we are still here; we still need your support! Near Newbury, Exit 13 on M4, or BR Newbury, Berkshire.

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

EL SALVADOR: EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF FMLN Picket US Embassy. **Saturday, 10 October**, Mid-day-2p.m. Social in the evening 7p.m.-Midnight. Students Union, University of London, 20 Bedford Way, WC1 (tube: Russell Square).

BULLETIN OF THE IRISH HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE (BIRMINGHAM) Now available on subscription: £2 per year (3 issues incl. pp). From: Tiofaidh Ar La c/o IHSCC, PO Box 540, Sparkhill, Birmingham, B11. 4AU

Workers Revolutionary Party Tower Hamlets and Hackney Marxist Discussion

St George's Methodist Hall, Cable Street, Stepney, E1 (nearest tube: Shadwell) all at 7.30p.m.

Friday 6 November: Stalinism in Britain
Friday 4 December: The Stalinist Theory of Socialism in a Single Country

In the 70th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution East London WRP

Discussions on Marxism
Sunday 11 October 7.30pm

'The Contribution of Marx and Engels'

Introduced by Bob Archer
Bryant Street Methodist Church
West Ham Lane
Nearest Underground: Stratford

Youth for Socialism

MEETING

SUNDAY 11 OCTOBER, 12 NOON

Brixton Recreation Centre, Station Road, London SW9

Solidarity with the struggles of young people in South Africa and internationally!
Build Youth for Socialism!

YOUNG people, whether in South Africa, Ireland or in Britain, are in the forefront of the struggles of the working class against unemployment, poverty and oppression. Here in Britain young people face more unemployment, more racism, and an onslaught against their basic rights under the Tory government.

The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) is being expanded to supply more cheap youth labour. This is the purpose of the compulsory two-year YTS for school-leavers, and the 'work for your dole' Job Training Scheme for 18- to 25-year-olds. At the same time, higher and further education is being cut, and schools are being brought more closely under Tory control. The Tories' efforts to divide the working class — unemployed teenagers from adult trades unionists, black from white — are being assisted by the Labour leaders and bureaucrats who refuse to fight this government.

Youth for Socialism is fighting to build a youth movement which will mobilise working-class youth in the fight against the Tories and the labour traitors. Central to this is the building of solidarity with struggles of young people internationally — like the South African youth fighting apartheid and Irish youth opposing the occupation of their country by British troops. At our meeting on Sunday October 11 in London, we hope to bring Youth for Socialism members together with young people who are fighting for union rights and against MSC scabbing, fighting racism, and fighting to build solidarity with international struggles.

Come to our meeting. Fill in the form below.
(Tickets £1)

I wish to have more information about Youth For Socialism/come to the meeting

Name

Address

Return to Youth For Socialism, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name date

Address

Trade Union Age (if under 21)

SEND TO:

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

LOWTRY LTD (TU)

We can do your typesetting, print your leaflets, etc.

Example: Typesetting: £15 per 1,000 words

Printing 1,000 A4 for £25.00

Quotations also available for Web offset printing: tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, according to size and run.

Tel: 01-274 8459

Lowtry Ltd., 21-25 Beehive Place, Brixton, London SW9

WORKERS PRESS OCTOBER FUND

In so far: £280.02

Our September Fund closed at £2,006.48.

As comrades will see, we have made a reasonable start to the present month but the average total has to be higher than this if we are to complete on time.

Without achieving every month's £2,000 target the production of our weekly Workers Press remains in jeopardy.

Donations urgently, please, to: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

GET YOUR COPY IN!

WORKERS PRESS needs articles, letters, reports and photographs from YOU — whether you are someone taking up an issue in the class struggle, a Workers Revolutionary Party member, someone reading the paper for the first time . . . or just have strong views to air!

BUT — we need your material BY MONDAY EVENING (or Tuesday evening — ONLY if you are reporting something taking place on Monday or Tuesday).

POST to WORKERS PRESS, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS. Telephone 01-733 3058.

BONKING MPE WIFE'S FURY

OVERBOY GEORGE GOES HOME TO FACE THE MUSIC

'A soft porn rag'

TELEVISION reporter Peter Gill's TV documentary about the 'new look' daily 'Star' must have been an eye-opener for those workers with no idea about how such a newspaper is produced.

'This Week' showed how the editor and his henchmen do their best to distort the truth and content of a story or article with no feeling for subject or reader. The more fanciful the story the more chance it has.

For one journalist the new 'Star' has become too much.

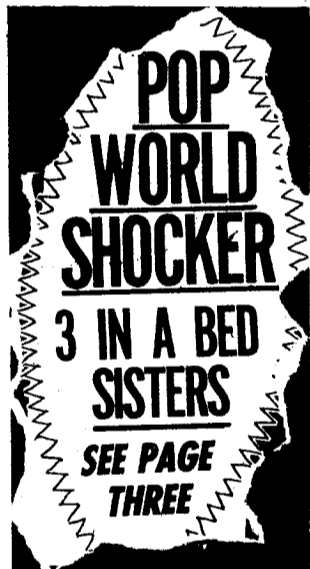
It is nothing more than a 'soft porn rag' said David Buchan, chief leader writer — until he was suspended for saying as much at a fringe meeting during the Labour Party conference.

Buchan was merely echoing what many printworkers feel about the paper — but at present they are unable to do much.

Any worker picking up the 'Star' will see that the paper's vocabulary has changed. Previously rubbish, it is now second-grade rubbish — with words such as, POW! ZAP! WOWEE! KER-UNCH! taking up much of the space.

It's also the paper that's discovered 'BONKING,' the new yuppie word that's on everyone's lips. It's become the paper that fills its pages

with near-naked women and calls it FUN! FUN! FUN! according to new editor, Michael Gabbert.



BY ALAN CLARK

Fun it might be for Gabbert but fun it isn't for many of the paper's staff.

Ian Mayer, the features editor, said that he had resigned because, with two young children, he was now unable to take the paper home.

The 'Agony Aunt' columnist Alix Palmer told how Gabbert had wanted her to 'spice up' the column. In other words, if the letters coming in are not spicy enough, make them up.

Palmer refused and resigned. Moira Petty, another journalist, also refused to take over the column and left the paper. The 'Star' now has a column, 'Nothing Shocks Shiril,' but who 'Shiril' is anybody's guess.

Many other journalists have also called it a day, declaring themselves 'dismayed and disgusted'.

Philip Radcliffe, Director of Communications at Man-

chester University, wrote recently in the 'News On Sunday':

'We have had newspapers in this country for 200 years and mass circulation popular newspapers for 100, but never such abuse of the language as this.

'It is not just the language which is abused. Fed on a daily diet of sexism, racism, immorality, exaggeration, sensationalism, the sensitivities of the reader are blunted.

'What price decency and dignity? Wherefore literacy, let alone literature?'

With new technology being introduced into newspapers at great speed, proprietors such as Stevens, Maxwell and Murdoch, have to adopt any method of selling their paper (or go out of business) no matter what the content or the consequences.

What are the implications, not only for the reader and the workforce, but for news-

papers themselves? As the 'Guardian' said on Monday 5 October: 'It's a fine irony that the "Sizzling Sun" should now be cast in the mould of "acceptable" popular journalism while the "Soaraway Star" gets the flak.'

The result of the downmarket effect on the 'Star' is that some advertisers — their 'image' in mind — have withdrawn from the paper, while others are having second thoughts.

The ITV companies are meeting to discuss whether or not the 'Star' should be advertised on television. TV bosses are quite worried about the 'Star's' new image.

After Wapping — where Murdoch used the Tory laws, the state and the cowardice of the union leadership to get what he wanted — the other proprietors are now jumping on the bandwagon to shed thousands, and to clamp down on union activity (with

all of them planning a move to new premises in the very near future).

This has not always guaranteed an increased circulation for a particular newspaper (such as the 'Star').

Printworkers and journalists at the 'Express', 'Star', 'Mirror' or 'Mail', should beware of any feeling that the increased circulation of their particular paper will save it and their jobs — this is not normally the case. (Don't forget what happened at Wapping).

It could be said that readers only get what they deserve, but that is wrong. They only get what Stevens, Maxwell, Murdoch and Co. want them to read.

Readers and printers have very little influence over what goes into capitalist newspapers. Let's make sure that in the not too distant future this situation changes.

ROBSON'S CHOICE

ON Saturday, at 1p.m.(C4), don't miss Cecil B deMille's biblical epic made in 1927, King of Kings.

At 8p.m.(BBC2), a chance to see the second programme in the series Dance from America, which features the work of leading American choreographers, Martha Graham in this instance. For sheer escapism, at 10p.m.(BBC2), Monte Hellman's China 9, Liberty 37.

On Sunday, at 2.30p.m.(Radio 4), Globe Theatre presents Opera Wonyosi, by Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka. At 5.15p.m.(BBC2), Vivaldi concertos in Music in Camera. At 7.50p.m.(BBC2), The Great Philosophers this week features Spinoza and Leibniz. At 8.15p.m.(C4), Le Corbusier, the second of two documentaries on the influential French architect.

At 9.05p.m.(BBC1), the first of a new series adapted for television by Alan Plater, Fortunes of War. At 9.15p.m.(C4), last in the series of Alan Bennett plays, All Day on the Sands. At 10.05p.m.(BBC2), Robert Aldrich's Ulzana's Raid. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), The South Bank Show marks the appearance of a new novel by Toni Morrison, Beloved, based on a true story about black slavery in America.

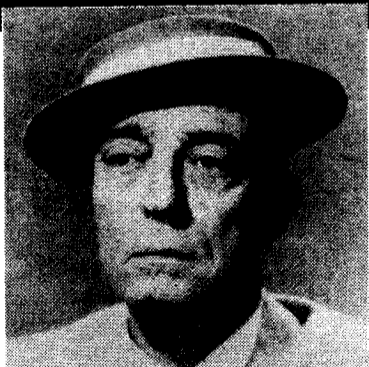
On Monday, at 6p.m.(C4), in Off the Page, playwright Trevor Grif-

fiths explains how success has cut him off from his working class origins. At 8.15p.m.(Radio 4), Getting Ahead by Clairr O'Connor, a play set in the background of a teachers strike.

At 9p.m.(BBC2), The Atlanta Child Murders, the first of a two-part dramatisation of the notorious slaying of black children in the state of Georgia in 1979. At 9.15p.m.(Radio 3), One Billionth of an Atom, looks at the existence of gravity waves to prove one of Einstein's most radical predictions. At 11p.m.(C4), a film portrait of Che Guevara: My Son Che.

On Tuesday, at 8p.m.(ITV), The First Great Train Robbery, for light relief. At 9p.m.(C4), part four in the series The Politics of Food looks at The Aid Trap. At 9.15p.m.(Radio 4), In Touch looks at the latest research designed to assist people with impaired vision.

On Wednesday, at 6.30p.m.(C4), Working it Out looks a work patterns of the future. At 8.10(BBC2), Timewatch investigates Images of the Revolution, and purports to answer the question: 'What really happened in Russia in October 1917?'. At 8.40p.m.(Radio 3), Cuban guitarist Rey Guerra plays Bach at the Havana International Guitar Festival 1986. At 9p.m.(C4), the last of three documentaries on the American silent comedian Buster Keaton — A Hard Act to Follow. Also starting at 9p.m.(BBC2), part two of The Atlanta Child Murders.



Buster Keaton

On Thursday, at 7.30p.m.(Radio 3), Bizet's opera The Pearl Fishers. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), Taming the Dragon, an investigation into the pros and cons of nuclear power.

On Friday, at 11.30a.m.(Radio 3), Guitar Quartets by Haydn and Schubert. At 2p.m.(C4), Family Portrait, by the great British documentarist Humphrey Jennings. At 9.30p.m.(Radio 3), a concert recorded last November with the one and only Sonny Rollins. At 10.20p.m.(BBC1), Omnibus presents The Arts and Glasnost. (Rumours in circulation that this programme will be introduced by Vanessa Redgrave are absolutely false). At 11.20p.m.(BBC1), Edward Albee's menopausal tour de force brought to the screen by director Mike Nichols, Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?

BOOKS

LONDON · GLASGOW

The Paperbacks Centres

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

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

389 Green Street, London E13
Tel:01 470 1388

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

BOOKS

Workers Press

Saturday October 10 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

FREE MOSES MAYEKISO



Sat. **Oct. 10**th '87

Free all South African Political prisoners!

Hands off COSATU!

End British Collaboration with Apartheid!

MARCH TO SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE

Meet: 12 noon Clerkenwell Green London EC2 (Farringdon tube)

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group
March for Mayekiso Committee 01 837 6050 BM City AA, London WC1N 3XX

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

PUBLIC MEETINGS

VICTORY TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

- Free Moses Mayekiso and all political detainees!
- Trade union sanctions against the apartheid state!

LONDON

Thursday 22 October 7.30p.m.

Conway Hall
Red Lion Square
London WC1
(Holborn tube)

Entrance: 50p waged, 25p unwaged

Speakers: Peter Gibson (WRP Central Committee)
Wayne Poulson (WRP Central Committee)
Paul Trewheila

MANCHESTER

Monday 26 October 7.30p.m.

West Indian Sports & Social Club
Westwood Street
Moss Side, Manchester

Speakers: Dave Temple (WRP Central Committee)

THE LONG MARCH

Tour of Britain 1987

Play by the Sarmcol Workers Cooperative

10 October, Barnsley. 12 October, Glasgow, Jordan Hill College. 13, 14, 15 October, Edinburgh, Traverse Theatre. 16 October, 10a.m. Stirling University, 3.30p.m. Falkirk, 7.30p.m. Mayfield, Stirling; late p.m. Glasgow, Tran Theatre. 17 October, Glasgow, Maryhill Commun-

ity Central Hall. 19, 20 October, Tyneside*. 22, 23 October, Lancashire*. 26-31 October, East Anglia including Cambridge, Norwich, Colchester*. 1 November, London, Brixton*.

*. exact details to be confirmed, contact 0533 712 041

March for Mayekiso Committee MEETING

Wednesday 14 October 8p.m.
Camden Town Hall
Euston Road, London NW1

BUSINESS:

- To organise a rally for 19 October, the first day of the Mayekiso trial
- Discussion: the way forward for the Mayekiso campaign

CORRECTIONS

THE Tottenham meeting last Tuesday was organised by the WRP/Workers Press not City Group. We apologise for the error in our advertisement.

IN the article 'The struggle of tendencies within the South African working class' (Workers Press, 3 October 1987), we referred to the Schiebusch Commission's recommendations of 1979 towards state recognition of the unions. The trade union commission was in fact the Wiehahn Commission.

ON TRIAL FOR THEIR LIVES!

MOSES MAYEKISO, 38, PAUL TSHABALALA, 38, RICHARD MDAKANE, 29, OBED KOPENG BAPELA, 28, MZWANELE MAYEKISO, 22: charged with treason, subversion and sedition by the apartheid/capitalist regime of South Africa.

MOSES MAYEKISO was under no illusions as he left Britain last year for South Africa.

Thousands of activists and leaders were being rounded up and detained by the state under its Emergency.

Nevertheless he returned to continue the struggle — with the near certainty of another detention.

Detained he was, and finally this year he and his four Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) comrades were charged with treason, subversion, and sedition.

In South Africa, where every trial is political, this was to be the political trial: a hammer blow aimed at the highest expression of three years' of revolutionary upheaval.

Mayekiso is not only the leader of the most militantly socialist — and one of the most powerful — trade unions in South Africa, he was also chair of the AAC, based in the black township Alexandra near Johannesburg.

The AAC led the way in building organs of working-class power in the community: yard committees, block committees, street committees and the AAC itself, taking responsibility for the welfare of all — accommodation, food, resolving disputes, stopping crime, defending the community against attacks and even cleaning the streets.

The Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) — which has now merged to form the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) — and the AAC represent the embodiment of the leading role of the working-class masses in the struggle to liberate South Africa 'from the chains of capitalist exploitation and apartheid oppression.'

Mayekiso and his comrades represent working-class leadership in this trial. The working class has not only had to battle against the apartheid/capitalist state to establish its leading role, but also against petty-bourgeois and bourgeois class interests within the liberation movement itself.

These forces, repre-

BY WAYNE POULSON

sented by the Stalinist-led African National Congress, respond to the growing power of the working class with compromise and conciliation, presenting the Freedom Charter as a maximum programme while NUMSA, for example, recognises it only as 'containing the basic minimum demands for a free and democratic South Africa'.

Shielding those who want only a black capitalist South Africa are the Stalinists of the South African Communist Party (SACP), which has an unbroken record of following every twist and turn of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Support for a democratic first stage is justified by referring to a socialist second stage — to be achieved at some unspecified future date.

IN Britain those who campaign for Moses Mayekiso's freedom find a parallel split in the labour and trade union movement.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) slavishly adopts the line of the ANC and SACP leadership who continue their opposition to Mayekiso on an international scale.

Here in Britain they even pick up some unexpected allies — renegades from Trotskyism in the state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

While supporting the 'Free Moses Mayekiso' campaign in the pages of its paper 'Socialist Worker', the SWP frantically tries to outdo Socialist Action in viciously opposing the building of mass action in support of Mayekiso initiated by City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

In building a campaign to Free Moses Mayekiso and his comrades we will find ourselves fighting the same forces they confront in South Africa and indeed the same forces that confront the British working class in its struggles to resist the capitalist attacks and to move forward: the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies.

● SEE South Africa articles — pages 8&9

Moses Mayekiso — a working-class leader

MOSS, as he is known to his comrades, is on trial for his life together with four of his Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) comrades. Born in the Transkei in 1949, his political education began early. His schooling was interrupted by having to seek work after expulsion following a school protest. He was not able to complete his education until he was 24.

He was influenced strongly by the determination and militancy of the migrant workers whom he met while working on a gold mine in the West Rand. This was followed by stints as a construction labourer and working in a Johannesburg furniture store.

He joined the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) while working for Toyota, receiving £14 a week, in 1976! As a shop steward he led a number of strikes for union recognition. When he was victimised and sacked for this he became a full-time MAWU organiser in 1979. In the East Rand, Moss was responsible for consolidating the shop stewards' council structures which are the framework of today's 130,000 strong union membership.

MAWU was responsible for some of the most militant struggles in some of South Africa's biggest metal factories. Throughout this period, Moss played a leading role in the battle to establish the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), now approaching 1 million membership.

For Moss the fight for socialism and the leadership role of the organised working class in the democratic struggle were not confined to the trade unions. Along with other trade unionists, he built democratic structures in the community — the yard, street and area committees of Alexandra township.

In 1986 he was elected general secretary of MAWU and this year while in detention was elected general secretary of the new National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA).

PUBLIC MEETING

Moses Mayekiso must not hang

Monday 19 October, 7.30p.m.

AEU Hall, Robinson Road

Crawley, Sussex.

Organised by Crawley Friends of Moses Mayekiso

WORKERS PRESS

WORKERS PRESS leads the fight for Trotskyism and Marxist principles in the labour and trade union movement nationally and internationally.

The most reliable way to get your copy of WORKERS PRESS is by post.

You can have WORKERS PRESS delivered for 25p per week.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION

Prompt, regular, reliable — anywhere in the world!

INLAND: 10 issues £4, 50 issues £19

Overseas SURFACE: 10 issues £5, 50 issues £24

EUROPE inc. Eire: 10 issues £5.30, 50 issues £25.50

AIR: Near East: 10 issues £5.50, 50 issues £26.50

Americas, Asia, Africa: 10 issues £6.10, 50 issues £30

Far East, Australia: 10 issues £6.60, 50 issues £32

Name Enclosed £

Address

Send to: WORKERS PRESS, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS