

# Workers Press

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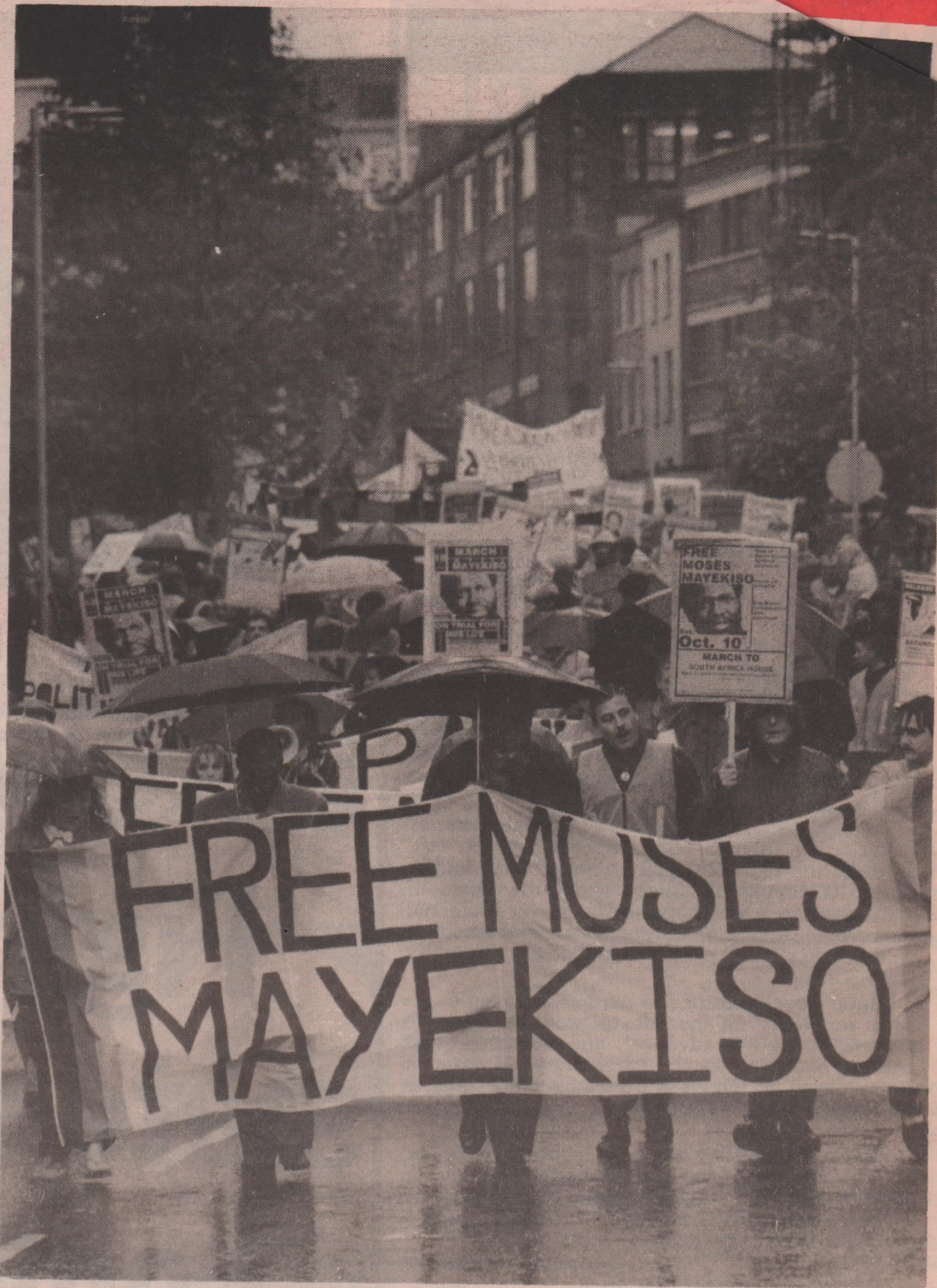
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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

**70<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

SEE PAGES 8 and 9



**£5,000  
Special  
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**NO SIGNIFICANT RESPONSE** has yet been received to our urgent appeal a fortnight ago for the Special Fund to be completed by the 8 November meeting to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

In that time we have received less than £250 which means we now have just over three weeks to raise the remaining £2,017!

Last week's Workers Press the position was made absolutely clear.

Our Special Fund was established to spearhead the task of rebuilding the Fourth International. The anniversary meeting to which we intend to invite speakers from overseas is the most ambitious Party project since the split with Healy. It is part of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists. But, without money, we will not realise this ambition.

What money-raising events have been organised in your area? Are you discussing the financial situation of the Party in your branch and amongst all your contacts? The answers lie in your hands

● Send donations without delay to:

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London SW9 7QS

**FORD shop stewards at Dagenham last week called for the resignation of chief engineering negotiator Jimmy Airlie after the one-union deal signed between the engineering union (AEU) and Ford's for their new Dundee plant.**

This deal is the latest warning about the future of trade unionism in Britain. The union leaders have again shown that they will stop at nothing in selling to the employers and the Tory government the most basic rights won by the working class.

### Negotiator

In the words of ASTMS negotiator Paul Talbot the deal 'effectively endorsed a non-union shop'. He pointed to a similar agreement signed by the AEU at Nissans, where only 17 per cent of the workforce has joined the union.

Who is responsible for the Dundee deal?

It is the result of secret work over the last two years by the Ford management, the Tory government and AEU officials, including prominent Euro-Stalinist. Airlie and AEU general secretary Gavin Laird put their names to the deal on 26 September following a series of meetings with Ford bosses in Britain.

Tory Secretary of State for Scotland Malcolm Rifkind said last week that he was 'delighted' with the deal.

The TUC provided the green light for this latest breach of trade union rights when its Congress four weeks ago refused to take action against the electricians' union EETPU who have

# WAPPING COMES TO DUNDEE

## Airlie signs deal

BY THE EDITOR

led the way in signing such deals, including that at Wapping.

Last week Airlie claimed the deal was the best possible to bring jobs to Britain. He said: 'Ford would have set up its plant abroad if we had not agreed a one-union deal. The new factory will make in-car entertainment systems. It is the first real foothold for trade unionism in new technology in Scotland away from the anti-union firms of the so-called Silicon Glen in East Kilbride.'

Airlie admitted that new elements of flexible working had been conceded by the unions, but claimed that this was in exchange for high standards of safety and health care.

It is understood that the deal was finally agreed at a secret meeting in America on the eve of the Labour Party Conference. Under its terms there will be a local disputes procedure, but Airlie will be called in if agreement cannot be reached.

The plant is to be owned by the Electrical and Electronics Division of Ford US, not its British subsidiary and will be taken out of the UK wages and union negotiating structure. The Tories will provide substantial government aid for the plant, despite the fact that the company is

currently making huge profits.

The drive of a section of the AEU leadership, hell-bent on selling rights and conditions to the engineering employers, and the situation at Nissan — where strikes are banned and union representatives constantly under threat of dismissal — indicates the sort of conditions to be expected by prospective workers at the new plant.

Transport union top Ford negotiator M. Murphy last week challenged the AEU's right to sole representation at the Dundee plant. He also warned that the new venture will threaten jobs at Ford's other UK plants in Treforest, Enfield and the Basildon radiator plant, where electrical car components are already made.

He expressed fears that the single union deal would 'impact on wages and conditions in all Ford plants in Britain and alter traditional attitudes to working practices.'

Murphy is right. But much more is at stake. The spread of scab trade unionism is not an accident. It shows that the employers and the state will now tolerate only the most spineless type of unions, ones which will obey every single dictate of the bosses.

The transformation of the unions from this servile state into bodies that can fight for the interests of their members requires one thing above all else: a new leadership to replace the right wing and Stalinist leaders. That is the lesson of Dundee.

# Workers Press

## Star turn

STALINISM HAS never been numerically strong in the British workers' movement. Today it is in deep crisis — split between the 'Euros' of 'Marxism Today' and the pro-Moscow 'Morning Star'.

But, paradoxical as it may seem, Stalinism still represents as great a danger as ever to the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class. And it is the so-called 'hard-line' 'Star' supporters, rather than the rightward-moving CP leadership which represents the greatest menace.

The 'Marxism Today' bunch aim to cement a 're-alignment' between Kinnock and the remnants of the defunct Liberal-SDP Alliance. The coming Congress of the CP will be certain to mark a further lurch to the right.

The 'Morning Star' tries feebly to avoid such open adaptations to the crisis of the Labour leaders. But this is so that it can better work to undermine any effort among left-wingers to find a Marxist answer to the implications of Thatcher's third term, and the capitulation to the Tories by the trade union chiefs.

Monday's 'Star' carried a wordy statement by editor Tony Chater: 'Challenge facing the left' assesses the 1987 TUC and Labour Party Conferences. It complains mildly about the 'form of prevarication in which major issues were referred for review'. Referring several times to the actions of 'the right wing' it clearly distinguishes this entity from Kinnock.

Chater speaks about the need to overcome 'serious problems' on the left, to 'weld an effective movement for left advance', and 'to ensure that Britain has a properly functioning Communist Party based on the class principles elaborated in the British Road to Socialism'.

Attacking the policy of the CP leaders, he replies to their argument 'that the left has to re-think its position and make compromises so that it can support Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock against the right wing'. His answer is that:

'In practice the support has been one way. There has been precious little from the Labour leader by way of concessions to the left. As a result, instead of Kinnock being pulled to the left, the so-called "re-aligned left" has found itself being pulled to the right.'

The aim of all this is to find a deal with Labour Party and union leaders, which is not very different from that sought by the 'Marxism Today' supporters. 'Left advance' is a coded expression for influencing prominent figures to favour Soviet foreign policy moves.

A clear indication of the politics of Chater and his friends is found in the centre spread in last Saturday's 'Star'. Headed 'The People's Candidate', it is an article on Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party's candidacy for US President.

This was mainly concerned with showing that Jackson stood a good chance of winning this contest. His \$3 million campaign budget was praised as being 'cost-effective'.

Registering the US CP's endorsement of Jackson's demagogic campaign, the article never once talked about the politics of the 'Rainbow Coalition', let alone assessed its relevance for the fight for socialism in the US.

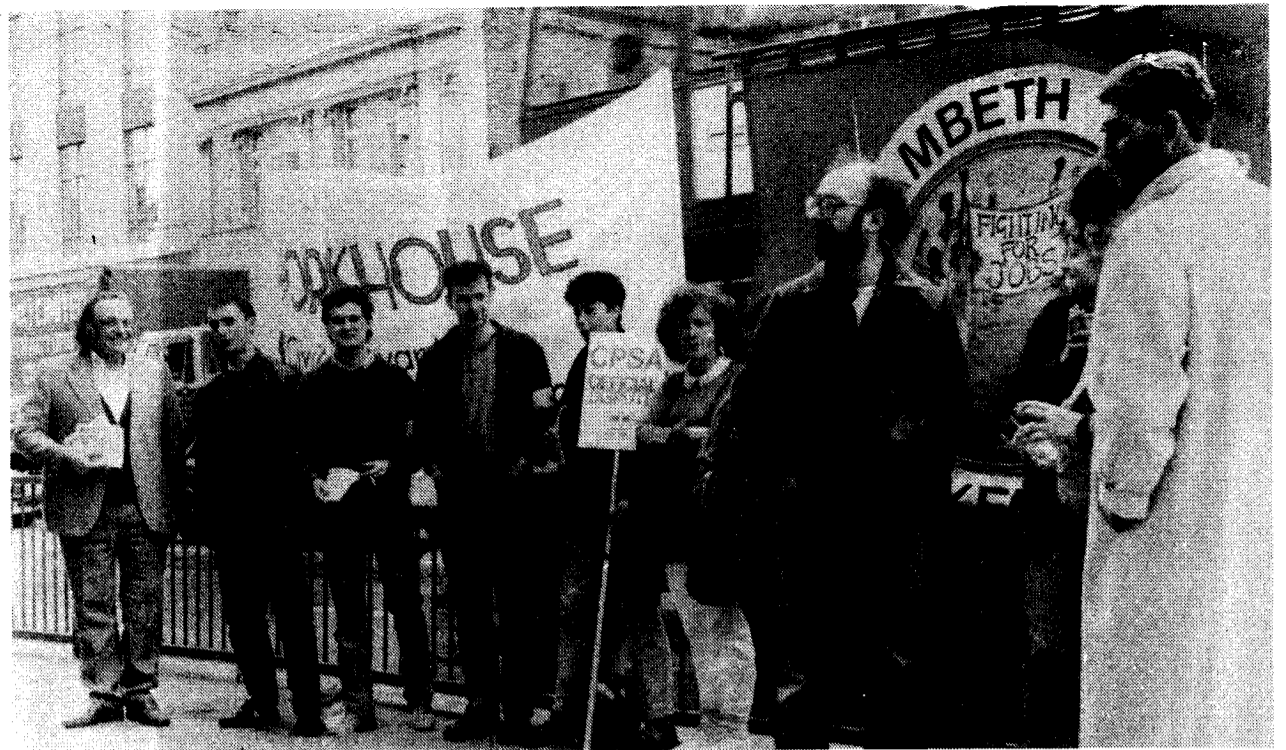
Tuesday's 'Star' carried an even more interesting spread. 'An open letter to British Coal', was a message from Sociology Professor Vic Allen to Sir Robert Haslam, advising him that 'your code needs improving and negotiating with that in mind'.

'Miners . . . are assertive and aggressive. But they can also be generous under the right circumstances . . . I hope you accept that I am sincere in wanting to help you.'

The break-up of British social-democracy is proceeding apace. The old channels of compromise are blocked by the economic decline of British capitalism. The class-collaboration of right-wing leaders is forced into the open.

On the left, there is indeed deep confusion. But, at the same time, sections of the movement are seeking a road to principled socialist politics, as the only means of mobilising against the Tories.

The 'Morning Star', whatever its difficulties, will continue to do its Stalinist duty: to fight against this process of clarification. Along this road they will discover that the major battle historically is that between Stalinism and Trotskyism.



## No to 'ethnic monitoring'

MEMBERS of the Civil and Public Servants Association were joined on their picket of Brixton Job Centre by Lambeth Unwaged Action Group last week, as part of a campaign by civil servants and others to stop the government's racist 'ethnic monitoring'. More than 20 Job Centres, mainly in the London area,

voted for strike action in opposition to 'race checks' for the unemployed. Although Brixton Job Centre was kept open during the strike by a small number of scabs, the strikers intended to stay out on strike until Friday. The strikers said they would welcome support on the picket.

# Fight to defend state education — conference call

**TORY ATTACKS on state education are being met with a growing campaign of teachers and parents. Last week a conference in Holland Park School, west London, brought 60 parents, governors and teachers to discuss perspectives and strategies.**

Stephen Ball analysed Tory strategies since the early 1970s and the ideological onslaught by different wings of the Tory Party on the concept of state education.

BY ED PHILLIPS

Teachers have fought to introduce progressive innovations into schools, particularly in the inner cities where schools have been threatened with cuts in resourcing and loss of control over the curriculum.

Peter Herbert, secretary of the London NAS/UWT teachers' union, opened the workshop on strategies for the teacher unions. He agreed with Ball's characterisation of teachers as 'bulwarks of the democratic system' and then went on to argue that teachers should agree a professional contract but without the notion of 'voluntary time' included.

One teacher was quick to point out that a 'contract' had not been agreed with Baker; it had been imposed on the teachers' unions.

In fact, Baker has imposed conditions and levels of pay with built-in compulsory overtime clauses. There are parallels here with the flexi-schemes which appeared in industries in the 1960s and which have re-appeared under Thatcher.

Bill Barker, secretary of Westminster Teachers Association (NUT) was more cri-

tical of the record of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) and highlighted the developing struggle against 'opting out' which would lead to the destruction of ILEA.

He pointed out that while defending ILEA it had to be recognised that white collar, manual workers and teachers had been in dispute with Labour-led authority and in some cases still were in dispute.

In Westminster the end of nursery provision is threatened. The Inner London Teachers' Association, ILTA, he said, would fight all of Baker's provisions, including those contained in the Teachers Pay and Conditions Act.

Raj Ray from the National Convention of Black Teachers pointed out that the NUT itself had to be criticised for betraying the teachers' struggle when teachers were at the peak of militancy.

'A good general' he said 'does not tell his army to stop and retreat when it is winning!'

Ray Sirotkin, acting secretary of Lambeth Teachers Association, pointed out that what teachers face is part of an

attack on the whole working class and for that reason a much broader response to Tory attacks was necessary.

Jane Shallice, an ILTA officer currently under suspension, addressed a workshop on privatisation in education. The Tories, she said, were deliberately introducing a 'small business mentality' into education but added that privatisation in education had been growing since 1981 in primary schools.

Exam boards already functioned as independent, private financial institutions which make vast profits.

### Repercussions

John Bangs (ELTA) outlined the provisions of Baker's Education Bill as described in 'ILEA Response Document'. They include financial delegation to school governing bodies. The 1986 Education Act allowed more parents to sit on governing bodies but many of those, Jane Shallice pointed out, would be chosen by Tory administrators.

Financial delegation meant that a small unrepresentative body will determine school budgets and could actually sack teachers without any effective sanctions for London educational authorities to prevent this.

If schools or local authorities 'opt out' then ten years must elapse before they can opt back in again. To opt out a vote from parents representing only 20 per cent of pupils is necessary, or a simple majority vote by the governors.

A secret ballot of parents could be responded to by as few as a dozen parents. There need not be a majority of all parents whose children

attend a school.

What seemed clear from all the workshops, which included discussions on ILEA, on how to involve parents, governors and students, Equal Opportunities, and the National Curriculum, is the recognition of the need for new forms of struggle and the need for a fighting leadership to arise in the course of that struggle.

The campaign in Westminster is attempting to include all TUC affiliated unions. In Wandsworth the campaign seems to be divided between that mounted by bureaucrats who are uncritical of ILEA and those in the NUT who continue to challenge ILEA's refusal to campaign alongside their employees instead of against them.

Wandsworth Trades Council are participating in a campaign in defence of state education and Tower Hamlets Trades Council intend to issue a call for a meeting in East London where the Liberal majority on the local council clearly intend to opt out.

All of these campaigns must be coordinated and links must be made nationally. They must involve parents, students, unemployed and all sections of workers involved in union struggles or community campaigns to show the Tories in front of the working class that workers in Britain have not been defeated.

The Ancoats struggle and the struggle to defend Mile End hospital in East London show that small victories can still be won in this period but that a revolutionary leadership must be developed in the course of a broad and determined struggle to smash the Tories and then smash the state itself.

# Ferry disaster: right verdict, wrong people

**THE DECISION** of a coroner's jury that the Zeebrugge ferry disaster victims were unlawfully killed is welcome, but not the coroner's stricture that officials of the company were 'too remote' from events to be held criminally responsible.

Captain David Lewry, First Officer Leslie Sabel and assistant Bo'sun Marc Stanley stood at the end of a chain of command that began in the Townsend Thoresen Board Room.

The great weight of evidence gathered for the previous inquiry shows that the three were not grossly negligent but were working under intolerable pressures stemming from company policy. Something was bound to give.

The coroner's decision conflicts directly with the findings of the Justice Sheen inquiry. That inquiry concluded that the cardinal fault leading to the sinking of the Herald of Free Enterprise lay with the management of the ferry company. 'From top to bottom, the body corporate was infected with the disease of sloppiness.'

There had been continuing concern at the unsafe design of roll-on roll-off vessels. They lack watertight transverse bulkheads and can roll over and sink in seconds. In 20 years 35 have sunk, most going down in under ten minutes.

Damning operational deficiencies came to light, including the company's refusal to install failsafe devices — TV monitors and contact records — which ensure that the bridge knows the status of the end doors at all times. Other lines have used such devices for years.

To ensure top speed load-

ing, unloading and turn round, passengers and vehicles were packed on board without any check of weight, numbers or dangerous loads.

Townsend Thoresen ferries have been leaving port since at least 1983 with both doors open to speed up departure.

Most damning of all was the revelation that ships' masters who catalogued dangerous practices and serious inadequacies of the vessels' operations had their pleas and recommendations treated with cynical contempt by the Company Board.

The true cause of the sinking of the Herald of Free Enterprise was not individual negligence but corporate greed; the concern to maximise profits from the lucrative cross channel trade by subordinating safety to speed.

Last year 118 million passengers passed through Dover alone; 120 ships left the port each day — one every twelve minutes. Competition is intense.

The seamen's union is right to throw the lie of the chairman of P&O (Town-

send's parent company) back in his teeth — that the crew members are solely responsible and that it is 'far fetched' to blame anyone sitting on shore for the disaster.

The crew should be vigorously defended and the crimes of the arch-proponents of Free-Enterprise-at-any-price must be exposed in the process.

BY BERNARD FRANKS

## Welcome to youth paper

**WORKERS PRESS** editorial board congratulates the youth comrades of the Workers Revolutionary Party who have just produced their first eight-page publication 'Youth for Socialism'.

A variety of subjects are covered, contributed by leading youth comrades in the Party. These include articles on the trade union struggle and the MSC; Trotskyism's role in the Irish freedom movement; workers' sanctions against apartheid, and the future for education under the Tories.

Internationalism is very much a key-note of the paper. 'Across the world today young people face the brunt of imperialism's attacks on the working class' it makes clear. 'What is needed to unite these struggles is an international socialist youth movement based on the revolutionary scientific theory of Marxism.'

'Youth for Socialism therefore proposes the formation of the International Youth Section of the Fourth International, bringing together youth internationally in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution.'

With this perspective 'Youth for Socialism' can go forward with confidence.

**YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM**



'Youth for Socialism' is obtainable from: YFS, PO Box 735,

London SW9 7QS; 25p including p&p.

## A sinister proposal

**THE TORY** government's sinister proposal to introduce an oath of non-violence for all local government and assembly candidates in the north of Ireland is not simply an attack on the IRA and Sinn Fein.

Its immediate target is certainly Sinn Fein. The oath — 'I declare and undertake that if elected I will neither support nor assist the activities of any organisation proscribed by law in Northern Ireland' — is directed at anybody expressing support for the armed struggle in Ireland.

But the precedent could be used to introduce similar measures against all those in Britain supporting the armed struggle of the South African working class or the Palestinians.

The source of violence in Ireland is not the IRA but British imperialism. There will be no peace in Ireland until the British army is driven out. That task is one not simply for the Irish people but for the British working class.

The latest Tory moves must be opposed throughout the British working class movement and the right reaffirmed of Sinn Fein and the IRA to struggle against British imperialism by any means they think appropriate.

## Library cuts

**TORY** plans to privatise public library facilities were unveiled by Arts Minister Richard Luce at last Tuesday's Library Association Annual General Meeting.

## MANCHESTER

# Tory policies

**STANDING** as a terrible warning for all those that follow left reformism without criticism is Graham Stringer, leader of Manchester City Council, who unveiled a £100m package of cuts on 7 October.

There can be no greater indictment of a party that stood on a no-cuts socialist-policies platform than to force through measures that will immediately hit the poorest sections of the working class.

Stringer is telling the working class: for us to remain in office you will have to bleed — we will begin by taking a hand and a foot. Do not expect treatment for these ills because the casualty units are closing as well.

The council plans: £30m saved by job losses, £40m slashed from running costs and an increase of £30m from the rents.

The very day this was announced the Manchester Royal Infirmary Casualty Unit was closed 'temporarily' because of a shortage of beds.

With what, in yuppie terms, might be called a cleverly timed announcement, Stringer appeared on television stating that Siemens (the computer firm) was opening a factory in Manchester.

This of course was the

BY JIM STEAD

masterplan to solve the unemployment problem, or rather to keep the news of the cuts details to a minimum.

With unemployment in the city areas at 32 per cent and at least 50,000 on the dole overall, local people were not jumping for joy.

In fact 300 of them in Moss Side are taking on the local police and defeating them. Now that over half the city's population is living at or below the government's own 'poverty line' drastic action is needed.

What began as a brief 'no-go area' in Moss Side for the police must be an example to

the entire labour movement.

**Manchester must become a no-go area for Tory policies and any willing accomplices.**

Manchester City Council can turn to only one force now that is strong enough to defeat the Tories. They have to mobilise and lead the working class in the defence of jobs and services.

Workers will not maintain council services unless they are told the truth and allowed to inspect for themselves the damage done by the Tories and by anybody else.

The council should be placed at the service of the working class. Need must be met, the cost will have to be met by the state and the bankers.

The campaign unit must be open night and night for workers as required. The immigration unit must immediately organise in the boldest possible way to protect the ethnic groups under attack. It must immediately employ Viraj Mendis as its pledge to the tasks it is going to carry out.

Stringer has said that another 4,000 jobs will have to go. Even then the 'left' is not stating the full implications of the package.

The Labour council are bound by the principles of the Labour movement to speak the truth to working

class. They have to prepare for the emergency which is coming.

This perspective will have to include or rather be based on workers control of council services.

Any other perspective will give the Tories increasing control of Manchester.

However their actual perspective was revealed when Hainsworth, chief education officer, asked the college lecturers in Manchester not to campaign against the government package of pay and conditions.

It is also revealed by their reliance on the YTS schemes and the MSC in the council.

Instead they should throw out all connections with the MSC. They should attend the NALGO sponsored conference in Birmingham on 7 November. They should agree with the proposals of that conference which start from the need to smash the MSC.

Many left groups are putting forward no cuts, no redundancy demands. Not one explains how this can be carried out.

They put forward organisational rather than political programmes. They call for conferences or campaigns



**SOME OF the most exploited workers in Britain are not hidden away in back-street factory sweatshops but are on public view in premises on any high street.**

The hairdressing industry is at the very bottom of the official wages league table.

Government figures show that average earnings for women working full-time in the salons stood at £78.60 per week in April 1986, almost £100 per week lower than the average wage across all industries and £55 below the average for women.

In particular, qualified hairdressers are the worst-paid full-time occupational group in the country.

As if this is not bad enough, they work some of the longest hours in industry, often in extremely unhealthy and unsafe conditions, yet with a minimum of employment rights.

According to the Low Pay Unit report 'A cut below the rest' there are an estimated 120,000 workers in the industry, of whom 82 per cent are women and around one in five are part-timers.

Young people predominate, nearly half the workforce being under 22 years of age. They are seen as vital to the projection of a fashionable image for the salons. Young women are often barred from wearing trousers and are expected to dress and make-up to ensure a sexy trendy image, a sick joke in view of the wages paid.

But worse is to follow.

In 1986 a new Wages Act took away the legal minimum wage protection for all hairdressing workers under the age of 21.

At a stroke it removed 50,000 young workers from the cover of the Hairdressing Wages Council.

In addition, the condition of adult workers were undermined by the removal of statutory legal rights to minimum paid holidays and to protection for differential rates.

The Tory government and the leading employers claimed that the Wage Council rates for young people were too high, thereby discouraging employment. These shockingly high pay levels ranged from just £33.50 for a first-year apprentice to £47.70 for a 20-year-old receptionist.

An LPU study of young people's pay rates after the abolition of the legal minimum found that weekly rates had not changed but they were applying to even longer hours.

Of course the 50,000 to 100,000 jobs, said by the Tories to be a logical outcome of the elimination of legal protection, never materialised.

In fact, the door has been opened even wider to systems for further cutting wage bills and replacing full-time workers with a variety of substitutes.

The New Workers Scheme pays employers a gratuity of £15 a week for taking on 18- to 20-year-olds at slave labour rates, currently £60 to £65

# Hair dressing — behind the trendy image. . .

BY BERNARD FRANKS

per week. Of course the vast majority of employers take up the scheme in order to cut labour costs and pocket the difference, not to create new jobs.

As they are paying far below these rates they easily qualify for payments.

Another employer trick is to take on workers on a self-employed basis, so saving on tax and insurance while requiring them to supply their own equipment — scissors, blow driers etc.

According to the LPU, the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) has also made major inroads into the hairdressing trade, to the extent of 17,710 girls and 1,360 boys in YTS placements in December 1986.

Their pay is even below hairdressing's appalling low rates: £28.50 in the first year and £35 in the second.

Again, employers are not concerned to give young people proper training towards jobs in the industry but to exploit cheap labour for their greater profit while undermining the apprenticeship system.

And of course 'topping-up' of YTS rates is vehemently opposed.

Normally, the trade requires a standard three-year apprenticeship and a further two years' experience before young people qualify for the adult pay rate.

Whatever the deficiencies of this system, they are certainly not countered by YTS.

True, there is private training. A 35-week Diploma Course at Vidal Sassoon's costs £4,600, that is, two-and-a-half-years' pay for a first-year apprentice.

As for employment rights: a high turnover rate in the industry en-

sure that few qualify.

Protection from unfair dismissal requires a two-year qualifying period for full-time employees, yet two-thirds of the under-22 age group have been in their present salon for less than 12 months.

Part-timers have even less chance; those working 8-16 hours a week have to be with the same employer five years to qualify.

## Hairdressing hazards

A RANGE of major health risks are associated with the industry arising from contact with and exposure to strong chemicals.

Common skin diseases are dermatitis and eczema, attributable to contact with hair tonics, brilliantines, dyes, bleaches and nickel tools.

Respiratory problems, including asthma, can derive from use of aerosols, peroxides, bromides, conditioners and dyes in perming and other processes. Activators and neutralisers can also pose hazards and some chemicals in dyes are suspected carcinogens (cancer-causing chemicals).

Other occupational problems, arising from long periods standing, repetitive actions and non-stop working, are varicose veins, nervous fatigue and cramp.

The Health and Safety Executive has produced a guide for use in the salons. But when the LPU visited 12 in London's West End, it could find no one who had seen it or knew of its existence.

None of the salons had any written guidance on health and safety except for two which had received information on



Aids from the DHSS and the local council.

The LPU report welcomes the fact that trade unions are developing new strategies to meet the challenge of a seriously unorganised industry: the shopworkers' union USDAW, the Transport and General Workers Union and the general workers' union GMBATU are the main ones involved.

While recognising that there are serious problems owing to the fragmentation of the industry — 120,000 workers in 32,731 premises means an average of fewer than four to a salon — the unit states: 'The potential for future membership in the industry is sub-standard.'

The fact is all unions and trade unionists should be mobilised on this issue. The labour movement as a whole has a duty to see to it that the young are not exploited and that the weakest sections of workers are aided by the strongest.

Capitalism's right to exploit with impunity has to be challenged in the small units as in the large.

She is now 21 and working as a tinter and permer in a West End salon. She starts work at 8.30a.m. and rarely finishes before 7p.m. For 45-50 hours per week she receives £44.51 net (£49 gross). Her hourly wage of about £1 was thus below the Wages Council legal minimum — at the time £1.82 per hour. She receives no overtime pay or commission. ♪

□ □ □ □

Ann is a junior stylist who lives at Slough. She works in London's West End and earns £58 gross for a 42-hour week. She receives no breaks and sometimes works until 9p.m. Out of her wages she pays £25 a week fares and has to provide her own equipment. ♪

Liz had completed a three-year apprenticeship and had been working as a fully-qualified stylist for three years when she contacted the wages rights office. She worked 46 and a half hours a week with no meal breaks for a wage of £58 net. ♪

MARCIA, an experienced hair stylist in her mid-20s explained:

□ □ □ □

Joanna worked until recently as a beauty therapist in a leading hair and beauty salon in London. She had two years' experience already and looked forward to making a good career. She found herself working 40 hours a week for £70 gross. She had no dinner or tea breaks and often stayed late to fit in extra clients without overtime pay. In two-and-a-half years she had no wage rise or promotion so that she was earning less in real terms at 22 than she had been at 20. ♪

□ □ □ □

Lisa went to college to study hairdressing at the age of 16.

The wages were good for me at the time — £70 basic with commission bringing it up to £100. But the hours and conditions made it like "slave labour". We worked 12 hours a day — 9.30a.m. to 9.30p.m., Monday to Friday. On Saturday it was 9.30a.m. to 6.30p.m. For breaks you got half an hour in the whole day but you didn't get that unless there were no customers in the salon. Also he wouldn't let you out in pairs so you couldn't socialise with your colleagues at lunch. There was no toilet apart from a filthy cubicle in the basement which was derelict and not in good working order. ♪



# . . . the slave labour reality



# Gandhi's 'peacekeepers' slaughter the Tamils

**OVER 6,000 Indian 'peacekeeping' troops, backed by artillery and air support, went on the offensive against Sri Lanka's Tamil population last week.**

Over 200 people were reported killed as the troops stormed the city of Jaffna. Helicopter-borne paratroops went in after a heavy artillery barrage in which many civilians may have been killed.

The Indian forces had banned reporters from the Jaffna peninsula, and cars were turned back at roadblocks. Fierce house-to-house fighting was said to be taking place on Tuesday as Tamil Tiger guerrillas resisted the onslaught.

There was fighting also in Batticaloa, on the east coast, where the Indian troops claimed they were attacking Tamil Tiger camps.

The Tamil Tigers reported heavy civilian casualties. In southern India, people in Tamil Nadu state have launched demonstrations

protesting the Indian government's action.

Indian troops were sent in to Sri Lanka under a pact signed between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lanka's President Jayawardene on 29 July this year, after the Sri Lankan government's troops, helped by SAS, Israeli, and South African mercenaries, had failed in four years war to subdue the Tamils.

## Fight

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, whose fight for self-determination gained popular support after government-backed pog-

roms against Tamil civilians four years ago, was never consulted in the 'peace' talks.

At first, Tamils were relieved that the accord halted Sri Lankan government bombing and military offensives, in which civilians were often killed indiscriminately. The Tigers were persuaded by the Indian forces to begin handing in their weapons.

But it soon became evident that the Sri Lankan government had no intention of honouring any promises in return. The army sided with Sinhalese chauvinist rioters, armed militia units, and assisted a scheme to settle Sinhalese in the middle of the Tamil areas to thwart moves towards autonomy.

The Tigers found rival groups backed by the Indian intelligence service RAW were being armed against them, while their men continued to be rounded up by Sri Lankan state forces.

A Tiger leader died on hunger strike against the betrayal, and 17 prisoners committed suicide in government hands, when the Sri Lankan military insisted on flying them to a jail in Colombo.

The Indian military onslaught on the Tamils, which had been demanded by Jayawardene if the troops were to stay, was launched after a series of massacres of Sinhalese in the Batticaloa area, which were blamed on the Tigers, although they firmly denied this.

## Fleeing

It reached the point where frightened and bewildered Tamil and Sinhalese people who had lived at peace for years in the port were fleeing their homes in opposite directions, not knowing where the next attack would come from.

The Sri Lankan govern-

ment confusingly claimed Sinhalese JVP extremists were working with the Tigers to undermine the accord, and also complained that Indian troops were not doing their job. In one incident, Indian and Sri Lankan troops exchanged fire.

Whatever the truth about what happened in Batticaloa, there can be no doubt that it was the Jayawardene government, its racist goon squads, and its foreign mercenaries, who fostered inter-communal hatred on the island over a long period, and made massacres commonplace.

It is also clear that Rajiv Gandhi's 'peacekeeping' force is behaving as a ruthless occupation army, showing scant regard for civilian casualties in its determination to impose the 'peace' of mass graveyards in Sri Lanka.

Behind the scenes, with Sri Lanka's strategic location in the Indian Ocean and the

important naval harbour at Trincomalee at stake, the US and British imperialists who backed Jayawardene's repressive war without success may accept Gandhi taking on the job, so long as Tamil aspirations are crushed.

## Provocations

From that standpoint, it is not hard to guess which agencies might have thought it worthwhile to create provocations, and foment inter-communal violence. They had enough men there to do it, too.

We say — withdraw the troops! Self-determination for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka!

Unity of Tamil and Sinhala workers and peasants, to fight imperialism and its stooges! Down with Gandhi and Jayawardene, down with poverty, exploitation and national oppression! Forward to socialism!

## Tamil Tigers deny part in killings

TAMIL freedom fighters have denied any part in attacks on civilians, and condemned such attacks.

In a statement issued on 7 October, five days before the Indian Army onslaught, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who withstood four years of brutal repressive war by the Sri Lankan state, said:

6 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam vehemently denies any involvement in the current wave of violence on the Sinhalese and Tamil people in the Batticaloa and Trincomalee areas of the Eastern province of Sri Lanka. Liberation Tigers are engaged in a people's struggle. A people-oriented struggle as such never involves any attacks on Sinhalese or Tamil civilians. We condemn all such barbaric acts of violence on the civilian population. We also condemn the Sri Lankan security forces who have a sinister role to play in these incidents, for trying to achieve a propaganda victory from these unfortunate incidents, by accusing LTTE of being responsible for these acts of violence. 9

THE STALINISTS of the 'Morning Star' ('incorporating the Daily Worker — for Peace and Socialism') have joined the attack on the Tamil people.

'Tamil rebels killed', said the 'Morning Star' report on Monday, 12 October, as Indian artillery and tanks pounded homes in the city of Jaffna.

Continuing LTTE violence has forced India to more than double its troop strength', said the 'Star's' David Greybe. On Tuesday, the 'Star's' front-page lead 'Indians battle for Jaffna city' quoted an Indian High Commission spokeswoman claiming that 163 Tamil Tigers had been killed, and a story from All-India Radio that 'the guerrillas were using civilians as "human shields" as Indian troops advanced on the city.'

No mention was made of the Indian

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

artillery bombardment. As for reports from the LTTE that Indian troops had killed many civilians, the 'Star's' Roger Trask said: 'The LTTE claim was given a quick riposte by the Indian spokeswoman, who commented sharply: "The LTTE is hardly in a position to accuse Indians of genocide".' Trask continued: 'It was the Tigers' killing of some 200 Sinhalese last week and the burning of over 600 of their homes which prompted the offensive by the Indian peacekeeping force.'

No mention that the Tigers have denied responsibility and condemned the killings.

But Trask's biggest lie is slipped into his next sentence. He says Indian troops 'came to the island under the terms of the July 29 pact between India and Sri Lanka which was aimed at ending four years of communal violence.' (our emphasis).

So four years in which Sri Lankan government forces launched anti-Tamil

pogroms, waged war assisted by British and other mercenaries, massacred civilians, and bombed Tamil populated areas, becomes merely 'communal violence' for this Stalinist's purposes!

Not content with backing Rajiv Gandhi, the 'Morning Star' goes on to quote Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa who 'pleaded' with the UN General Assembly for backing against 'terrorism'. It expresses concern that 'divisions' between Tamil and Sinhalese 'could easily become permanent'. The division in Sri Lanka was not started a fortnight ago in Batticaloa. It was the Jayawardene government and the racist goons who convinced the Tamil people, by bloody pogrom, before this war started, that they could not live under such a regime and must fight for self-determination.

The 'Morning Star's' disgraceful attack on the Tamils is in line with its long record of supporting Stalin's repression and butchery with all the lies it could offer. Now it is doing the same job for imperialism too.

# CHE GUEVARA

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

**ERNESTO 'CHE' GUEVARA was killed on 9 October 1967.**

He had been captured in the jungle by Bolivian troops and was executed by CIA agents. He was 39 years old.

Guevara was one of the key figures in the Cuban revolution of 1959 and had held posts as Minister of Industry and President of the National Bank.

He left Cuba in 1965 to train guerrillas in the Congo before venturing to Bolivia to begin guerrilla warfare there.

After his death, Fidel Castro iconised him in Cuba and radicals and revisionists of Trotskyism turned him into a romantic pin-up hero.

A young asthmatic doctor from Argentina, Guevara met Castro in exile in Mexico recruiting volunteers to launch a war against the Batista dictatorship in Cuba.

He joined as their doctor and

## 20 years on

set sail as one of 82 in the boat 'Granma', only to be ambushed when they landed. Just 13 made it into the hills to begin a guerrilla campaign.

The revolution was already developing in the towns and cities with an underground movement amongst the students and workers. The unions were dominated by Stalinists and were long-time collaborators with Batista.

A general strike — opposed by the Stalinists — paralysed the regime. It disintegrated and Batista fled. Castro's forces came down from the hills to assume control in January 1959.

By this time Guevara had become a commander with several victorious battles behind him. The promise of elections was abandoned and Castro declared himself head of state.

Guevara became Minister of Industry and in 1960 nationalised US interests in Cuba, constituting the main industries, to break the imperialist stranglehold on the economy.

Castro merged his move-

ments with the Stalinist party as he looked for support from the Soviet Union because Cuba was hit by a US economic blockade.

Non-Stalinist union militants who agitated for better wages and conditions and set up factory committees were denounced as Trotskyists and agents of imperialism by Stalinist leader Blas Roca.

The journal of the Cuban Trotskyist organisation, Revolutionary Workers Party, was banned and its presses, set up to print Trotsky's 'Permanent Revolution', were smashed.

In 1961 Guevara criticised Trotskyism as being 'from the theoretical point of view absurd' and 'from the practical point of view, an infamy or a mistake'.

He banned 'Voz Proletaria', a small Trotskyist journal, saying that 'it was unwise to allow Trotskyism to go calling for subversion' and declaring that 'Trotskyism was born at Guantanamo' (the US base).

To further ingratiate the Cuban regime with the Soviet bureaucracy, Trotsky's assassin Mercador was personally



greeted at Havana airport by Guevara as he passed through in transit to the USSR on his release from prison in Mexico.

Guevara proclaimed the utopian 'New Man' concept whereby everybody worked for society, not himself. The reality of this was that trade unions were disbanded and workloads increased by Stakhanovite work methods. Payment was not related to either production or peoples' needs and inevitably production declined as revolutionary spirit waned.

Guevara's agricultural schemes aimed at ending the reliance on sugar production proved to be disastrous, cutting sugar production but not ending the reliance on it. He resigned all his posts in 1965 to further guerrilla struggles.

His writings on guerrilla warfare reveal most clearly his petty-bourgeois position. In 'Essence of Guerrilla Warfare' he wrote:

'The third proposition is a fundamental of strategy. It ought to be noted by those who maintain dogmatically that the struggle of the masses is centred in city movements, entirely forgetting the immense participation of the country people in the life of all the underdeveloped parts of America.

'Of course the struggles of the city masses of organised workers should not be underrated; but their real possibilities of engaging in armed struggle must be carefully analysed where the guarantees which customarily adorn our constitutions are suspended or ignored.

'In these conditions the illegal workers' movement faces enormous dangers. They must function secretly without arms. The situation in the open country is not so difficult. There, in places beyond the reach of the repressive forces, the inhabitants can be supported by the armed guerrillas.

The struggles of the working class, including the general strike, were to be subordinated to the strategy and tactics of the 'armed nucleus', the guerrillas based in the countryside.

This concept meant that the workers in the towns were to be left under the domination of the Stalinists who would be allies when the movement eventually seized control. He failed to understand the deadly nature of Stalinism and its relationship with world imperialism.

Guevara's calculations proved fatal in Bolivia. With a

small band of guerrillas isolated from the organised workers, tin miners, etc., Guevara was betrayed into the hands of the CIA.

A member of his group, Tamara Bunke, a KGB agent, was reporting on his activities. Her communiques were either intercepted by the CIA or handed over by the Stalinists. The CIA flew over the jungle at night with infra-red cameras and pinpointed his camp. He was captured and assassinated.

'Che' Guevara was a self-sacrificing middle-class revolutionary, but his life is also testimony that without a revolutionary party guided by modern Marxism — Trotskyism — based on the leading role of the working class, establishing the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution becomes stunted, resulting in bureaucratic rule.

In Cuba the petty bourgeois revolutionaries joined forces with the Stalinists to form the bureaucracy.

● The 'Evening Standard', 12 October 1987 reports: 'In a speech commemorating the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death, Fidel Castro attacked "glasnost" as decadent materialism, saying it will never be adopted in Cuba while he is alive. Castro said: "Che was a realist, but he was opposed to material stimulus. He gave greater importance to the moral factor". Cuba faces severe economic crisis with Russia cutting its economic aid. For the first time Cuban police are being given not training.'

# BRAZIL Secrecy hampers nuclear disaster workers

**EXPERTS called in to help tackle what has been described as the West's worst nuclear accident are being hampered by official secrecy.**

A team of experts from four countries has been called in to help with the disaster in the Brazilian city of Goiania, home of over a million people.

Fourteen separate 'areas of contamination' have so far been found, and thousands may have been affected by radiation.

Ten people, including a six-year-old girl and others not expected to survive, were being treated last week at a special naval hospital. Scientists warned it might be at least 30 years before traces of contamination would be gone from Goiania.

The story so far given of what happened might almost be comical, if the results were not so tragic.

Some teenagers broke into an abandoned clinic, and stole parts of a radiation therapy machine. They sold a cylinder to scrap metal dealer Ivo Ferreira.

Ferreira broke up the cylinder, intending to make a ring for his wife. His six-year-old daughter Leida, attracted to the shining powder inside, rubbed it on her hands and legs, and swallowed some. Other neighbourhood children also played with it.

Some days later the children and their parents went to hospital, suffering from

vomiting, diarrhoea and burning skin — symptoms of radiation sickness. Nearly 60 people were contaminated. Ferreira and his daughter were last week expected to die.

The material in the cylinder was radioactive caesium chloride, which apart from its glitter and deadly danger is in some ways like common salt. It can be blown about in the wind, and it dissolves in water.

Seven districts near Goiania's city centre have been evacuated and sealed off, and hundreds of people have left their homes in nearby districts.

President Sarney ordered identity checks at the country's airports to detain the clinic owners believed responsible for leaving the radio-active material behind.

Sarney said a week ago that the situation in Goiania was under control. But the team of experts from Argentina, the United States, West Germany and the Soviet Union, called in under an international convention signed

after the Chernobyl disaster, were less optimistic.

There was talk of thousands of people being affected, and US doctor Gerald Hanson, who works for the World Health Organisation, said it was the West's worst nuclear accident.

The experts were having trouble obtaining full information on the disaster or what had been done about it, because of official secrecy. Brazil's nuclear energy industry was recently placed under the control of the state's National Security Council, and this may be the reason for the official secrecy clampdown.

In the southern Amazon region, fishermen and gold prospectors protested when they heard radio-active waste material was to be dumped at the Brazilian air force's nearby Cachimbo weapons-testing range. A geologist working for the Ministry of Mines said the area, which has a high rainfall, was 'geologically unsuitable' for the caesium-137 waste.

# Murder sparks workers' anger

COLOMBIAN police have killed several people and injured many more in clashes in working-class areas of Bogota, the capital, sparked off by the murder of a Left-wing political leader. Trade unions called a 48-hour general strike.

Dr Jaime Pardo Leal, leader of the Union Patriótica and a candidate in last year's presidential elections, was shot while out for a Sunday drive in the country with his family.

The assassins staged a fake road accident, forcing Dr Pardo Leal's land-rover to stop. When he got out, he was shot five times in the head at point-blank range. Colombians have little doubt the killers were from right-wing death squads which have so far killed nearly 500 people in less than two years, with so far no arrests.

Dr Pardo Leal, a law professor, had

repeatedly accused elements in the Colombian armed forces of being behind the killings, comparing them to Argentina's 'dirty war'. Victims have included trade unionists, political activists, students, even schoolchildren. At the end of August, a radio station broadcast a right-wing death list of 23 prominent people, including journalists, lawyers and a retired general. Dr. Pardo was third on the list to have been killed.

The Union Patriótica was formed after a ceasefire between the Left-wing FARC guerrillas and former President Betancur. It has accused army officers of wanting to wreck the ceasefire by waging assassinations, which have been stepped up recently as local elections approach.

This month, the Stalinist-influenced FARC urged talks to find 'a political solution' to Colombia's problems, but the government has rejected this, and ordered troops into FARC-controlled areas to take on the guerrillas.

# US trade unionists back footballers

'EAGLES Yes! Scabs No! Union-busting's Got to Go!', was the new crowd chant at Philadelphia's Veteran's Stadium, when thousands of trade unionists turned up to back striking Eagles football team players against a match played by scabs.

Out of 68,000 ticket holders, more than 41,000 had requested refunds before the weekend, and the club could only claim a gate of 4,074 for the game.

Outside the ground, trade unionists mobilised by the Philadelphia AFL-CIO council joined picketing players at the gates, or drove around for two hours in vans and tractors and trailers, blasting horns and shouting union slogans.

Eagles player Andre Walters told the US Workers'

League paper 'Bulletin' later: 'It goes to show that when something happens to a union in a union town, we all stick together. I'll tell you one thing, when the unions are on strike, we will honour their picket line.'

In New Jersey, state troopers were out to stop striking football players and supporters from building, teamsters, and other unions picketing the match at the Giant Stadium. The workers held a rally outside nevertheless.

'We are on strike because the owners show an unwillingness to negotiate,' said Giants halfback Joe Morris. Teamsters' local president Robert Sasso said the owner's attitude was 'an affront to labour', and promised his members would keep picketing with the players.

In Pontiac, Michigan, farmworkers, teachers, auto workers and firefighters joined the striking football players outside the Silver-

drome, booing anyone who entered the ground. There was anger when police arrested International Association of Firefighters picketing a driveway, frisking and handcuffing them before throwing them in the police van.

Locked-out musicians from the Detroit Symphony Orchestra gave a performance at a softball game between Detroit Lions players and other trade unionists in aid of the strike.

It was a similar picture in all the big working-class areas across the country, as the football bosses tried to launch their scab season.

In Minneapolis, an estimated 40,000 Vikings fans had claimed refunds on their \$18 tickets, and the union football players' picket was swelled to a thousand by teamsters and other unionists. In Los Angeles, 87,000 stayed home from the LA Raiders game.

# Chaos and scandals in French parliament

**FASCIST deputies belonging to Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front created chaos in France's National Assembly during a debate on anti-drugs laws, physically assaulting other deputies and taking over the Speaker's platform.**

The disorder on the night of 9 October came in a week that also saw accusations and threats traded between Socialist Party and Conservative deputies over the handling of the million-franc scandal involving former minister Christian Nucci.

By a 2a.m. vote of 340-12 on 8 October, deputies voted to send Nucci, minister for overseas development in the former Socialist Party government, for trial on charges of misusing public funds.

If Senate agrees, Nucci will be tried before a Haute Court (high court) of his parliamentary colleagues. The last person to be tried in this way was a Vichy minister punished for wartime collaboration.

The equivalent of nearly half a million pounds sterling is believed to have passed into private bank accounts through Carrefour du Développement, a 'Third World' aid charity which Nucci's ministry funded.

Former top civil servant Yves Chalié, who fled to Brazil when the discrepancies were uncovered, is now awaiting trial on charges of

forgery and fraud. He is alleged to have used public funds to buy property, ostensibly for the aid charity, but in fact transferred to friends.

Ex-minister Nucci has claimed he knew nothing about Chalié's embezzlement. He is also bringing private charges against whoever helped Chalié escape to Brazil.

Socialist Party deputies are accusing present Interior Minister Jacques Pasqua of involvement. When Chalié returned to France six months after, an examining magistrate found he had been given a passport under a false name by a police officer.

Further investigation by the magistrate was frustrated by the Interior Ministry, which claimed national security matters were involved.

The Socialist Party is accusing Chirac's right-wing

government of rigging a case against Nucci timed to give them a 'Socialist corruption' theme for next Spring's presidential election. Former Foreign Minister Roland Dumas has gone further, accusing Interior Minister Pasqua of 'a misdemeanour and, in fact, a crime.'

Both the fascist National Front and the Communist Party had been accusing the bigger parties of covering-up corruption, and they voted together with the Conservative parties for Nucci's indictment.

The National Front's Le Pen, first to declare himself a candidate for the presidential elections, has been hoping to pick up 15 per cent of the vote first time round next spring, then make a deal with the 'respectable Right' to trade his voters' second-choice to their man, in return for office.

However, Le Pen's television-interview gaffe about Nazi gas chambers being 'a

minor point' of World War II, which embarrassed would-be British Tory hosts last month, has set back the chances of an open deal from the French Tories — for the time being.

To cheer the lumpen-fascist element among his supporters who were worried he was trying too hard for respectability, Le Pen is reverting to his rabble-rousing attacks on 'the old parties' and on parliamentary politics itself.

During their night of disruption, the 13 National Front deputies shouted abuse and threats, and some invaded other parties' empty seats, using their voting switches to register 130 votes for suspension. A Gaullist woman deputy who objected to their invasion was shoved roughly aside.

As two National Front deputies took over the Speaker's platform, burly ex-para officer Le Pen bellowed 'The way in which parliament functions is beyond belief.'

# 'Unfair to Nazis'

TORY leader Thatcher and her right-wing 'education' advisers aren't the only people complaining of 'biased' anti-racist education in state schools.

A top official of Ronald Reagan's federal education department has complained recently that a teaching programme used in many US schools does not give a fair hearing to the views of Adolf Hitler's Nazis, nor to America's own racist Ku Klux Klan!

Because of such objections, the curriculum, called 'Facing History', dealing with the Nazi extermination

of Jews and other minorities, has been refused funding for use in more schools.

According to a report in the 'Daily News', an unnamed member of the education department panel declared: 'The Nazi point of view, however unpopular, is still a point of view, and it is not presented, nor is that of the Ku Klux Klan.'

The curriculum is at present used by about 30,000 teachers for courses in modern history for about 450,000 students. Grants to expand its use were turned down last year, and again this year.

# Israeli troops kill mother

A YOUNG mother collecting her children from school was shot dead by Israeli troops in Ramallah, occupied West Bank, last week, as they attacked a student demonstration.

Shops in Ramallah and East Jerusalem closed, and students at Bir Zeit University marched in honour of the dead mother, Inayat Hindi. Another woman, Nama Abdul Wahad, was shot in the chest in Ramallah, and a man was shot in Gaza.

Earlier in the week, in Jerusalem, riot police using batons and tear gas stormed Palestinians defending the area around al-Aqsa mosque from Jewish religious fanatics, the 'Faithful of the Temple Mount'.

## STATE MASSACRES GO UNPUNISHED



Bearer of the bad tidings: A prison official informs family members that their sons have just been hanged

## Pretoria's death row

**THE places occupied in death row by Moses Jantjies and Wellington Mielies were filled before their lives ended on the gallows.**

Only hours before Jantjies, 23, and Mielies, 26, were hanged on Tuesday for their role in the 'necklace' murder of KwaNobuhle town councillor Thamsanqa Kinikini, two more men were sentenced to death for another 'necklace' killing.

Oupa Mbonane, 21, and Sibusiso Masuku, 22, were convicted for stoning a policeman in February 1986 and then placing a tyre around his neck and setting it alight.

As people go to the gallows in South Africa, so their places in death row are filled by new candidates for the hangman's noose.

So far this year, 104 people have been hanged. All were men: 64 were black, 34 'coloured' and six white.

Executions in South Africa are never totally divorced from political issues. The overwhelming proportion of victims are working-class blacks, tried and sentenced by courts staffed predominantly by whites.

But the steady pre-dawn march of people down the corridors of Pretoria Central Prison to the scaffold has been given an unmistakably political dimension by the 'Save the 32' campaign.

The original 32 — 31 men and one woman — are considered 'activists' and 'political prisoners' by the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). Supported by its

allies in the United Democratic Front (UDF), SAYCO is calling for 'an end to the hanging of political prisoners and activists'.

The 32 include an African National Congress bomber Colin McBride, the 'Sharpeville Six', the 'Queenstown Six' and three members of the National Union of Mine-workers.

Most of their victims were men considered collabor-

victed of murder. SAYCO refers to them as 'patriots'.

Whether the 32 were activists motivated by political considerations is an open question. The answer varies from one case to another.

In an orthodox sense, neither Jantjies nor Mielies were political activists. Neither proclaimed their loyalty to any political organisation. Neither could be

not see his mother until he was 15 years old.

Mielies fared better, but he did not lead an easy life. 'We always had food before we went to bed but the food was not elaborate,' he told his lawyers. 'It was usually bread and porridge. There was not enough clothing.'

While they may not have been anti-apartheid activists, Jantjies and Mielies were certainly victims of apartheid.

It is easy to see how they could be swept up in the wave of anger and hatred which erupted in KwaNo-

buhle after 20 black people marching to a funeral were shot dead by police at the neighbouring township of Langa on 21 March 1985.

As resentment surged, Thamsanqa Kinikini was the only councillor in KwaNobuhle who refused to resign. He had become a symbol of oppression for the 'township' residents because of his actions in rent increases, arming the councillors and setting up murderous vigilante squads.

There were three months of mounting violence with numerous provocations by

the police which culminated in the shootings at the Langa funeral.

Three days afterwards, Kinikini and five members of his family were killed by a frenzied crowd of about 7,000 people. These were the first 'necklace' killings in South Africa.

Jantjies and Mielies may not have been political activists in the orthodox sense — but they were certainly not the common criminals convicted of murder as the state would claim.

The political background to their actions is clear.

## Whites sentenced to death

*FIVE white men are also on death row. Three were sentenced to death for raping and murdering black women. Johan Wessels hit his young victim over the head with a bottle and stabbed her with a fishing knife. Later, he was convicted of a second murder — an unidentified black man found in a shallow grave not far from where he had raped and killed Elizabeth Mokoena.*

*Schalk Burger and George Scheepers raped Ginny Goitseone, forced her into the boot of a car and set it alight.*

*Anton Stoop assaulted David Mthutang, threw him out of a car and then set him on fire. Henry Burt beat policeman Johannes Ndimande unconscious before placing a petrol-soaked tyre around his neck, setting it alight to make it seem Ndimande had been murdered by radicals.*

ators: 'township' councillors, policemen, informers and team leaders or, in old-fashioned language, 'boss boys'.

The state sees the 32 as common criminals con-

described as politically sophisticated or even knowledgeable.

Jantjies, an epileptic, was illiterate. He was a casual labourer before joining the swelling ranks of unemployed blacks in KwaNobuhle. Even before he was convicted of murder he had — perhaps under the exigencies of township life — become a petty criminal, having been jailed for house-breaking and theft.

His political knowledge was scanty. He did not know when the UDF was formed, he had not heard of Steve Biko until he arrived at Pretoria Central Prison.

Mielies was better educated. He worked for manufacturers of car parts, the only breadwinner in an extended family consisting of his young son, his mother, his aunt and uncle and their children.

He was never a member of any political organisation and his political knowledge was rudimentary. He did not know why the UDF was formed or when the ANC was banned. Of Steve Biko, he said: 'I heard that he died. I do not know his role or significance.'

Both men, however, knew poverty and hardship.

Jantjie's father deserted his mother when he was four months old. He lived with his aunt, who beat him and did



## 'Save the 32' campaign

IN JULY the 700,000-strong South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) launched a worldwide campaign to save the lives of 32 South African 'patriots' on death row in Pretoria Central Prison. The campaign was backed by the National Union of Mineworkers — three of whose members are among the original 32 — and by the United Democratic Front.

Almost half of the 32 have been sentenced to death for taking part in 'necklace' killings. SAYCO's president Peter Mokaba accused Western leaders of using last year's spate of 'necklace' killings to back away from support for anti-apartheid organisations. Neither SAYCO, the African National Congress nor

the UDF endorsed 'necklacing', he said. But the West remained silent over 'pro-apartheid death squads who massacre anti-government activists'.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the government accused the 32 people of killings and murders but 'at the same time it is committing what are virtually mass murders.'

● Of the more than 120 people who were hanged in South Africa last year, five of them were 'political' executions. This year there have already been 34 political sentences to hang, two of them have already been executed.

## THIRTY TWO ON DEATH ROW

■ **Sharpeville Six:** murder of Vaal councillor, sentenced December 1985, appeal due September.

Mojalefa Reginald Setatsa  
Oupa Moses Diniso  
Duma Joshua Khumalo  
Francis Don Mokhesi  
Reid Malebo Mokoena  
Theresa Ramashamola

■ **Jansenville:** 'necklace' murder, sentenced June 1986.

Lillie Webushe

■ **Tzaneen:** killing of two informers, sentenced July 1986.

Alex Matshapa Matsepane  
Solomon Mankopane Maiwasha

■ **Oudtshoorn:** death of councillor, sentenced September 1986.

Dickson Madikane  
Desmond Majola  
Patrick Manginda

■ **Sebokeng:** murder of policeman, sentenced September 1986.

Daniel Maleka  
Josiah Tsawane

■ **Eastern Cape:** sentenced for killing councillor Kinikini and family.

Moses Mnyanda Jantjies —  
executed  
Mlamli Wellington Mielies —  
executed

■ **Colesburg:** stoning of woman police informer, sentenced 1986.

Paul Setlaba

■ **Eastern Cape:** Addo Youth Congress members sentenced for murder of farmer and wife.

Similo Lennox Wonci  
Christopher Mziwoxolo Makeleni  
Ndimiso Silo Sephenuko  
Machezuzana Menze

■ **Durban:** bombing, sentenced April 1987.

Robert MacBride

■ **Vaal Reef:** killing of team leaders, NUM members sentenced May 1987.

Tjelubuyo Mgedezi  
Solomon Mangaliso Nogwati  
Paulos Tsietsi Tshehlana

■ **Queenstown:** 'necklace' death.

Mzwandile Gqeba  
Wharito Silinga  
Lundi Wana  
Theminkosi Press Feet  
Mzwandile Mnzini  
Monde Tingwe

## TWO MORE

■ **Soshanguve:** 'necklace' death of a policeman.  
Oupa Mbonane  
Sibusiso Masuku

# MA M



DELEGATIONS from all over Britain in a national response to the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group's call to 'March for Moses Mayekiso and his four co-defendants' — Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mda, Kopeng Bapela and Mzwanele Mayekiso — each represented by individual banners in red, black and gold: the colours of African trade union federation COSATU.

Mayekiso is general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa. He and his co-defendants were arrested for participation in the Alexandra (a black town near Johannesburg) Action Committee on trial for treason, subversion and capital offences.

Before the march set off, messages of support were read, including one from Independent Labour Party MP Arthur Scargill. The marchers heard messages from SWANU, the City Anti-Apartheid Group, Jeremy Corbyn MP, a spokesman from the Anatolian Cultural Centre and Ali Ibrahim from the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The march was led by the Republican Pipe Band from Glasgow, while other musicians helped enliven the following contingents

## FREE MOSES MAYEKISO



**CRAWLEY FRIENDS OF MOSES MAYEKISO**  
**PUBLIC MEETING**  
 Mon Oct 19 7-30 PM AUEW HALL  
 (ROBINSON ROAD) SPEAKERS—



Spirits remained high despite the rain

### March for Mayekiso SPONSORS and SUPPORTERS

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The march carried banners with the names of the five Alexandra Action Committee defendants marked with the COSATU colours of red, black and gold as well as a banner saying 'Hands off COSATU!'



# MARCH FOR MAYEKISO

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

**PUBLIC MEETING**

Thursday 22 October 7.30p.m.

Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square  
London WC1  
(Holborn tube)

Entrance: 50p waged, 25p unwaged

Victory to the South African Revolution!

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

Speakers: Peter Gibson (WRP Central Committee)

Wayne Poulson (WRP Central Committee)

Paul Trehela (City of London Anti-Apartheid; in personal capacity)

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ss, who

read a letter from his brother Ishmael, now in jail after abduction by South African troops from Swaziland. An executive member of COSATU was present on the march.

Banners on the march included Leicester T&GWU, Leicester and district trades council, Queen Mary College ASTMS, Cambridge trades council, Camden councillors who are opposing the cuts, Greenwich Young People's Theatre, the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, various Anti-Apartheid branches, NALGO branches, the Azania/Namibia Forum, the Workers Revolutionary Party (Workers Press), Fight Racism Fight Imperialism and Workers Power.

Led by the Republican pipe band from Glasgow who had travelled overnight from Scotland for the event, the 600 marchers were greeted in Trafalgar Square by the Non-Stop Picket. Spirits remained high despite the appalling weather. Marchers crowded on to the pavement outside South Africa House where speakers from the labour movement and supporters of the campaign addressed the marchers.

## Mayekiso campaign: the way forward

COMMENT BY  
WAYNE POULSON

A POWERFUL blow has been struck by City Group, the March for Mayekiso Committee and all those who scorned the vicious campaign mounted against any support for Moses Mayekiso and the 10 October march in particular.

This campaign hid behind the unrepresentative South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and used as its thugs and bully-boys the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracy in conjunction with the Anti-Apartheid Movement and their bag carriers in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Action, the Communist Party, Communist Campaign Group and the Labour Party.

These forces are rallying to the class line of a section of the bourgeoisie, expressed most clearly in the South African liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), championed by the Stalinist South African Communist Party (SACP).

Moses Mayekiso personifies the determined drive of the South African working class towards socialist revolution as the means of its liberation from capitalism in its apartheid — or other — forms. Mayekiso and his four comrades from the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) have put themselves in the forefront of this fight.

Saturday's demonstration must be seen as a first blow in the campaign of action by the British working class to free Mayekiso and his comrades. Such a campaign is certain to meet with the utmost opposition from the trade union and labour bureaucracy and it will have to face up to these traitors of both the South African and British working class and defeat them.

The greatest contribution the British working class can make to the South African revolution is to defeat its own imperialist ruling class.

**Saturday, 24 October.**

NAM National Demonstration for Sanctions.  
London. Assemble 12 noon EMBANKMENT.

March to Hyde Park for 3p.m. rally. Chief speaker: Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO.

Details: 01-387 7966.



The Workers Revolutionary Party had a strong contingent on the march



Banners were very varied, including a number of trade unions and trades councils

# Trotsky and the Gorbachev press

**FOR some months the name of Leon Trotsky has appeared in the Soviet press.**

All Gorbachev's men in the west are now falling head-over-heels to display the 'liberal' credentials of the Kremlin leadership.

'Stalin's most famous victim restored to his place in history' is how the 'Guardian' has reported the recent Soviet press coverage.

A more serious look at recent developments leads to very different conclusions.

This is not the first appearance in the official press of the leader of the Left Opposition and founder of the Fourth International.

Back in the late 1960s the Soviet Army paper 'Krasnaya Zvezda' printed an article on Trotsky. The socialist samizdat journal 'Notebooks on Social Democracy' saw this as no great revelation.

Defending Trotsky as an honest revolutionary, the 'Notebooks' attacked the 'falsification of Soviet history', discounting the mention of a name or a mere article as 'rehabilitation'.

The falsification of history has not disappeared under Gorbachev. In February an edition of 'Pravda' began 'glasnost's' attempt to deal with Trotsky in the 70th anniversary year of October 1917.

The article coincided with the anniversary of the birth of Red Army commander, Vasilii Chapev.

'Pravda' pointed out that while this supposed hero of

the revolution had successfully used 'partisan' tactics against the Whites, Trotsky attacked his troops as 'bandits'.

The inadequacy of 'Pravda's' revelations can be seen in the fact that it made no mention of Trotsky's position as Red Army Commander, nor of the authority given to him to make such criticism.

Last month another inadequate article appeared in the monthly 'Politicheskoye Samobarz Ovyane'. In a survey of the 1917 general staff of the Bolshevik Party, among others killed by Stalin it mentioned Trotsky as a member of the Central Committee.

Then the 'Encyclopaedia of the Great October Socialist Revolution' came out and gave Trotsky promotion to the place of 'statesman' and quoted Lenin as saying he had great 'ability'.

Without mentioning what kind of a 'statesman' he was or just what part he played in the revolution, we are told that he joined Zinoviev and Kamenev in what 'Stalin denounced as a deviation of Leninism'.

Trotsky made another appearance, this time in 'Argumenty i Fakty', where Pavel Volobuev asserted that he was a revolutionary but not a real Bolshevik.

It is clear for anyone with the slightest knowledge of the history of the revolution and Trotsky's role in it that none of the reports mentioned give a truthful account. There has been no real change in reporting from either the Stalin or Brezhnev eras.

With the anniversary approaching closer, questions are obviously beginning to be raised as to who Trotsky really was and what role he played.

If Stalin opposed him so much, then surely there must have been something positive in his politics?

For Gorbachev's 'glasnost' to answer such questions would indeed be to enter dangerous territory. It is one thing to allow left opposition groups to organise openly. It is another to allow access to theories that can arm them politically.

'Sovietskaya Rossiya' made it clear the regime was not about to break from the past and the 'assessments of Trotsky and Trotskyism' made during the first quarter of this century — during Stalin's suppression of the opposition.

V. Ivanov, author of the largest article to appear for decades on Trotsky, not only makes clear that he will not be rehabilitated but can also be taken as giving warning

to the new opposition in the USSR.

Ivanov says nothing different from the lies of his predecessors under Stalin that as head of the Petrograd Soviet all Trotsky did was make speeches.

For the anniversary of October we are told that the organiser of the uprising — whose organisational ability was actually praised by Stalin at the time! — in fact attempted to 'wreck' the revolution.

Amongst other things 'Sovietskaya Rossiya' raises Trotsky's period outside the Bolshevik Party. In his last testament Lenin made clear that this should not be held against him.

What all the official coverage on the question of Trotsky shows is the limitations of 'glasnost' and its true intentions.

Openness will only be allowed so long as it does not threaten or challenge the rule of the bureaucracy.

While the regime is prepared to admit that those murdered by the 'dictator Stalin' held this and that position, their politics or ideas are covered in Stalinist lies — in no case more than Trotsky.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that in essence nothing has changed.

## Protesters strip-searched

### Militia attack on peace camp

**AN INDEPENDENT peace camp near the Latvian capital Riga has been attacked by the authorities according to a Samizdat report.**

The report received by the London Ukrainian Peace Committee says the first raid by a 'delegation' of militia accompanied by a group of 15 'druzhynniki' (vigilantes) on motorcycles swept into the camp and rounded everyone up.

They demanded to see documents and took down the names of everyone present before tearing down the tents, with the excuse that it was too near the border and would have to be moved. (Latvia does not border any foreign country.)

thing else in the camp, including all belongings, tents and tools etc.

All the members of the camp were photographed and taken to Riga for further medical inspection and strip searches.

They were then driven to a militia station and ordered to sign documents admitting that they had violated the peace. The majority did not sign.

V. Ziuzyn and E. Kashnykova were detained by militia and told during interrogation that 'there would be no more peace camps and if they did begin to appear again, they would be brutally dispersed'.

#### Militia

After the camp had moved to the Liost area, the militia raided it again at 6a.m., this time with 11 vehicles including an ambulance.

Once again everyone was rounded up and ordered inside an ambulance for examination by doctors specialising in drug addiction, under the pretext of looking for drug users.

A number of the camp members were detained. A number of 'interesting things' were found including a geiger counter and books. These were confiscated along with...

#### Campers

As they were being escorted out of the headquarters in Riga, a militia member said to the two peace campers: 'We'll teach you the meaning of "glasnost".'

# Stalinist racism's true colours

BY PATRICK KANE

**FOR decades the Soviet bureaucracy has disguised its Great-Russian chauvinism and oppression of the nationalities in the USSR with the language of socialism.**

Now it has taken on its true form.

The 'Pamyat' association was formed in 1980 to protect churches and historical monuments.

Although now officially disbanded, the association has continued to function and enjoys support and protection in the ranks of the KGB and military.

Behind the guise of a community group, Pamyat is comparable to neo-Nazis in the west. The magazine 'Ogonyok', a promoter of 'glasnost', reported on one of their meetings. Equating Zionism and Judaism, D.D. Vasilyev said:

'The whole weight of Freemasonry and Zionism in our country is directed at the Russian people and the fatherland... Boldly seek out and name the dwellings of the enemy conspirators!'

As a warning to the Gorbachevists he said: 'Take control of the means of mass information, reveal journalists who have sold out and settle scores with them... The motherland is in danger.'

The advocates of these politics have been organising openly and unchallenged — in a regime that claims to be 'socialist'.

On May of this year 400 Pamyats Russian nationalists demonstrated in the cen-

tre of Moscow calling for the dismissal of the Ukrainian editor of 'Ogonyok' Vitaly Korotych and for the post-humous condemnation of 'the hangman Lazar Kaganovich', a Stalinist henchman who, by no means, was Jewish.

Not only did the authorities not intervene but Pamyat's demand to meet Moscow Communist Party secretary Boris Yeltsin was met. The press agency Tass described the meeting as spontaneous, discussing preserving old buildings and opponents of reform.

#### Stop

Asked why he didn't stop the demonstration, Yeltsin replied: 'There is nothing in the law against demonstrations in Moscow'. This raises the question of why the Jewish 'refuseniks' protest was attacked.

Although Yeltsin went on to compare Pamyat to the French fascist Le Pen, the Soviet authorities allow their own Le Pens virtual legal status.

Dmitri Vasilyev is an official in the Pamyat Moscow offices. He has been described as a 'model worker and Party member'.

Behind him are portraits of the Tsar Nicholas II, the Tsarina and Peter Stolypin, a Tsarist minister. Chairman Konstantin Andreyov is also a Party member.

Not only do Pamyat have open offices but regularly meet in Party buildings, a reflection of their degree of support.

At one such meeting in the Moscow Party conference hall, according to 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' one speaker said: 'We are in favour of Leninism. The des-

truction has been wrought by Satan's hands.

'I was struck by the fact that many of the designs for the monument on Poklonnaya Hill (reference to a competition) contain Masonic-Zionist and even fascist symbols. That is how the cultural changelings operate. The Order of Lenin has been missing from the coat of arms of 'Ogonyok' since the New Year.'

The ideology of Pamyat is a mixture of Stalinist Russian chauvinism and the mysticism found during the Tsarist days.

Behind the bizarre politics, however, are the same forces who established the regime in the first place —

the hardline Stalinists out to protect their power.

The group has been able to establish branches in Moscow, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk and Leningrad without serious opposition from the Establishment.

The official paper 'Sovietskaya Kultura' asked the questions: why is Pamyat allowed to exist? Who funds them? And who offers them prestigious halls?

Very valid questions. Why are a group of rabid anti-Semites allowed to organise openly and advocate an all-Russian crusade to cleanse the country of the evil force of darkness?

If, for example, oppressed nationalities like the Kazakhs raise progressive national demands the regime sends in troops. The implications of 'glasnost' for the oppressed nationalities could not be clearer.

## HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

PETER FRYER



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

In October 1956 Peter Fryer was sent to cover these events for the Daily Worker. He reported what he saw — only to have his despatches suppressed and to be suspended and then expelled from the Communist Party. He saw people in arms demolish a regime of fear and poverty and take power in their own hands. He saw security police atrocities — and the people's terrible revenge. Then he watched appalled as a nation's new-born freedom was relentlessly crushed.

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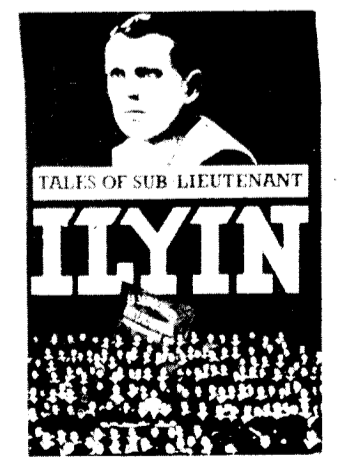
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# They cannot tell the truth about Trotsky

## PART II

BY BILL HUNTER

**THERE** are press reports that, in the next weeks, the Soviet Supreme Court is expected to revoke posthumously the treason sentences passed on Nikolai Bukharin and other victims of Stalin's purges in the 1930s.

Andrew Wilson, the Moscow correspondent of 'The Observer' (4 October) declared:

'By a convenient technicality, the formula leaves out the most controversial of all revolutionary figures — Leon Trotsky. This is because Trotsky was never tried but merely exiled by Stalin.'

If we are to give a full picture, Trotsky was not only exiled but also murdered, on the instructions of Stalin.

Thousands and hundreds of thousands suffered the same fate — old Bolshevik leaders and devoted rank-and-file communists. Among them were those who refused to confess to fake accusations.

These 'disappeared' were 'liquidated' in the purges of the 1930s and also, let us add, in those after the war, which not only took place in the Soviet Union but throughout Eastern Europe.

While we are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution we will not forget that, at the end of this year, we are also in the 30th anniversary of the GPU's foul and criminal destruction by tortures and murders of fighters in the Spanish Revolution.

Not only was there the disappearance of the old Bolshevik, Antonov-Ovseenko, who was the Russian Consul General in Spain.



Trotsky proved himself the ablest organiser among the Bolsheviks. His oratory, his ability to keep constantly on the go, his skill in whipping the Red Army into shape saved the young Revolution from disaster again and again.

(Antonov-Ovseenko was commander of the Red Guard which stormed the Winter Palace, and was a member of the first Bolshevik government. He was recalled to Moscow in 1937 and vanished, together with other old Bolshevik leaders who were in Spain with him.)

There was also the murder of Andres Nin, leader of the Party of Marxist Unity (POUM). Trotsky made sharp criticisms of Nin but recognised him as an heroic revolutionary.

The GPU kidnapped Nin, wanting to use him in a show-trial. Under torture, Nin refused to confess and there were widespread demands from workers' organisations and even members of the government to know what had happened to Nin.

The GPU faked a scenario of a 'Nazi' attack to 'liberate' Nin from the house where he was being held, carried out by ten German Stalinists. Nin was taken away in a closed van and murdered.

Among thousands of others at this time who died

in jail after false arrest was Bob Smilie, son of the famous British miners' leader.

These Stalinist crimes are not aberrations — some miscarriages of justice. We are dealing with the degeneration and vile corruption coming from a bureaucracy which usurped the leadership of a communist movement. But it developed in a workers' state which owed its origins to the Russian Revolution.

The bureaucracy could only claim the cloak of the Russian Revolution by monstrously distorting it and liquidating all those who expressed in any way its revolutionary and internationalist heritage. It had particularly to make its central aim the destruction of those, like Trotsky, who carried over in struggle the principles of Bolshevism.

The historical crime of Stalinism is that it destroyed the capital of the working class — it physically liquidated the entire leadership of the socialist revolutions of the second and third decade of this century and the revolutionaries who led the Communist International in its first five years.

Because it is not a question of aberrations, but a profound degeneration of bureaucratic relations, the present bureaucratic 'reformists' will not succeed in just lifting one corner of the dark curtain that Stalin and his sycophants tried to cover over the history of the Soviet Union.

The demand of Soviet workers and youth for the truth about Trotsky and the Left Opposition and its struggle for Marxist internationalist policies in the Soviet Union, can only grow to resounding proportions.

How can the forces who want an objective analysis of the Moscow Trials be stopped short by such a manoeuvre as that described by the Moscow correspondent of the 'Observer'?

Trotsky, his son and Trotskyism occupy the centre of the whole lying edifice which the GPU erected for the Moscow Trials.

With their roles worked out in advance, the accused

in the Moscow Trials confessed to terrorism, economic and military sabotage, the 'mass destruction of workers' and conspiracies with the Nazi government and other governments to overthrow the workers' states. The central organisers of these activities and plots were built up during the trials as Trotsky and his son.

The accused at the Moscow Trials confessed to a fantastic conspiracy to destroy the Soviet Union, in which Trotsky began his machinations in concert with all the major capitalist powers, immediately after the Russian Revolution.

Krestinsky, who became Soviet Ambassador in 1921, confessed that he entered into negotiations with General Hans Von Seeckt, commander of the Reichswehr in the winter of that year.

On the order of Trotsky, he said, he made an agreement with Seeckt for a subsidy of 250,000 marks, and in return 'confidential and important information of a military nature should be transmitted to him, even if not regularly, by Trotsky in Moscow or through me'.

The agreement, he said, was put into effect in 1923! He confessed that later, in 1928, 'when the struggle of the Trotskyites abroad against the Party leadership was at its height, both in Moscow and among the fraternal groups', Seeckt demanded that the espionage information should now be transmitted regularly and, in addition 'that Trotskyite organisations should pledge that in case it assumed power during a possible new world war, this Trotskyite government should take into consideration the just demands of the German bourgeoisie'.

Trotsky agreed, declared Krestinsky, and continued with the script he had been given. He made the fantastic calculation that 'beginning with 1923 until 1930 we received annually 250,000 German marks in gold. . . approximately 2,000,000 gold marks'.

Rakovsky, another old Bolshevik, became ambassador to England in 1924. He

confessed that he had made contact then with British Intelligence, and Trotsky told him that relations should be established.

The former Soviet Ambassador to Japan, Yurenev, confessed he had been a Trotskyist since 1926 and, on instructions from Trotsky, had established connections with the Japanese Intelligence Service.

And so, through the nightmarish accusations and vicious lies, coming from tortured and broken men, Stalin and the bureaucracy aimed to eliminate Trotsky and Bolshevik traditions. Such was their fear of Trotsky.

No material evidence was advanced at the trials; all accusations rested solely on the confessions of the accused. The GPU could advance no material evidence though they scoured the globe and stole Trotsky's archives in Paris.

The first discovery by any objective study of the Moscow Trials can only be that the real policies of Trotsky and Trotskyism were covered up in the trial.

'The ruling caste is unable.

however, to punish the Opposition for its real thoughts and actions,' wrote Trotsky in January 1937. 'The unremitting repressions are precisely for the purpose of preventing the masses from learning the real programme of "Trotskyism", which demands first of all more equality and more freedom for the masses.

'In the land of the October Revolution the struggle of the Bonapartist caste against the Opposition is unthinkable otherwise than by means of lies, forgeries and judicial frauds. . .

'The reader should bear in mind that the Left Opposition is already in the 14th year of its existence. Through it have passed hundreds of thousands of party members. Tens of thousands were arrested, perished in jail and exile, and shot.

'If the Opposition were really hostile to the Soviet Union and Socialism, and in the service of hostile states, and resorting to terror etc., then during the innumerable raids, arrests, interception of letters etc., the GPU should in the course of 14 years have accumulated vast archives of material proofs.

'Yet, up to now, not a single genuine letter, not a single document, not a single impeccable piece of evidence has figured at any of the trials. . . To ordinary mortals it looks like a mockery of common sense and of human nature.'

Fifty years later students and youth in the Soviet Union who study the Moscow Trials must come to this conclusion of Trotsky, and to the belief that the most important thing about the trials is: What were Stalin and the repression covering up by forced confessions and murders?

The Moscow Trials cannot be demolished without revealing and increasing the stature of Leon Trotsky as a principled revolutionary fighter. For the questions on which he and the Left Opposition conflicted with Stalin and on which they fought for principled Marxist answers are more critical than ever for the Soviet Union today.

TO BE CONTINUED



NIKOLAI BUKHARIN



LEON SEDOV



PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

1. To Monty Johnstone

Two open letters

Dear Monty Johnstone,  
I HAVE vivid, and not unhappy, memories of you prancing about East Berlin in a cornflower-blue shirt, the uniform of the Free German Youth, during the 1951 World Youth Festival.

Stalinism provided you with a fetching fancy dress, and I must say you cut quite a dash in it. It also trained you as a controversialist to pick out, and make the most of, any trifling inaccuracies in your opponent's argument, while ignoring the substantive questions he raises.

Your side of the exchange in Workers Press between Geoff Pilling and yourself shows how engagingly unimpaired is your grasp of this method which poses as fair and reasonable but is essentially dishonest and evasive.

The Communist Party is — or, more accurately, the 'Communist' Parties are — in deep crisis. William Rust House, built and equipped by money collected from workers, has been sold off to the lowest dregs of the capitalist press. The Young Communist League has virtually ceased to exist.

These and similar facts cry out for a political explanation. When challenged to provide such an explanation you don't even try to do so but, instead and quite characteristically, have twice done your best to drag the discussion on to different ground.

I can't say I've ever been impressed by 'You're another!' as an argument, and I'm

no more impressed with it when it rolls so glibly off your pen.

We used to have a name for that ploy in the CP — perhaps you remember it? We called it: 'What about the Negroes in the South?' That's the sort of thing we said when somebody made a criticism of the Soviet Union that we couldn't answer.

Your replies to Pilling are a classic instance of this hoary Stalinist diversionary tactic. I'm saddened, but not wholly surprised, to find that you've forgotten so little, and learnt so little, in 36 years. But I dare say your mentors would have been proud of you.

You give the impression of a jaded cynic, quite unconcerned about the good name of communism, or about the education of the young on the basis of an honest appraisal of past experiences.

What seems to concern you above all is scoring cheap debating points in a last-ditch battle against Trotskyism. If my memory serves me right, you've always been something of an expert on this subject, ever since the days of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Unfortunately, of course, the kind of abuse and abominable lie that did service against Trotskyism in those days will no longer serve. But what you've put in its place won't really do either.

The trouble is, you're still wearing that old cornflower-blue Stalinist shirt under your trendy 'Marxism Today' tee-shirt. And, to be frank, both garments are now totally threadbare.

2. To Charlie van Gelderen

Dear Charlie,

THOUGH we haven't met for nearly 30 years, I remember you from distant days with liking and respect, tinged with some regret that we didn't get to know each other better.

All the more, therefore, have I the duty to tell you publicly how disappointing I found your letter in last week's Workers Press.

To start with, I was amazed by your attempt to play me off against Workers Press. The contrast you draw is so obviously false that I winced for you when I read it.

The Workers Press I've been reading over these past few months seems to bear no relation to the paper you've been reading, with its pages that 'reek' of the malaise of 'crass ultra-leftist sectarianism', a malaise which 'infests' those who edit Workers Press like 'a gangrenous growth'.

This column alone, according to you, reflects the real world. The rest of this paper, in your eyes, doesn't deal with the real world at all.

Charlie, such exaggeration is both false and unworthy of you. Take the issue in which your letter appeared. Aren't the firemen in the real world? And the civil servants? And the inmates of Scotland's prisons? And young people on Job Training Schemes?

Or, to take the issue you complain of, aren't the miners of Britain and Australia, the Tory poll tax, and the South African struggle in the real world?

Now, everyone who has ever worked on a weekly paper knows that it's quite impossible to ensure that coverage and priorities and balance shall be exactly right in every issue. The only fair way to judge it is to consider several successive issues.

Constructive criticism, in other words, means looking at the paper's trajectory. A really serious, fair, and constructive critic would sit down and analyse the contents of Workers Press over the past six months at least.

But you haven't done this. Instead, and I think very unfairly, you've built your whole case on one single editorial oversight, or error of judgment, in one single issue.

Like the tailor reconstructing a suit from a single button, you deduce from this oversight, or error of judgment, that Workers Press suffers from Third Period sectarianism — though surely, if that were really the case, one would expect at least the occasional reference to Labour Party members as 'social fascists'?

This is sniping, not constructive criticism. And there's already quite a lot of sniping at Workers Press. On the one hand, we are told it is opportunist and moving to the right. On the other hand, we are told it is sectarian and ultra-left.

It seems to me that these criticisms largely cancel each other out, and that Workers Press, on the whole, manages to steer a pretty straight course.

To say this is not to claim that the paper is perfect, or incapable of improvement. But among comrades the pill of reproof is most effectively administered in a bolus of goodwill.

It's precisely this lack of goodwill that disappoints me in your letter, even more than the overblown rhetoric it parades.

There's an urgent need on the left for a serious and thoroughgoing discussion on the Labour Party, and on our strategy and tactics in relation to it. You say you share this paper's view of that party; you, with your long political experience, would certainly have a lot to teach the rest of us in such a discussion.

Your letter suggests that you might also have something to learn.

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Tower Hamlets Marxist  
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Shadwell)

Friday 6 November: Stalinism in  
Britain

Friday 4 December: The  
Stalinist theory of socialism in a  
single country

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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.

**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 protest.

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

**FIGHTERS DAY** Towards a New Kenya: Unity in Resistance. Public Meeting, **Tuesday 20 October**, 6.30p.m., Friends House, 1/177 Euston Road, London N1.

# ROBSON'S CHOICE

## Submarines crewed by ex-miners

**AN absorbing programme slipped out on BBC2 with scant attention from the press (including this columnist) last Saturday. Two English Surrealists featured the work of very different artists working broadly within this tradition.**

The zoologist, **Desmond Morris**, known for the biologically determinist views first propounded in his book 'The Naked Ape', embraced surrealism at an early age. He claimed that his first exhibition in 1948 'outraged art-lovers'. I doubt his work would raise an eyebrow today — it is too sterile for that.

His preoccupation is with the unconscious and instinctual. Fellow zoologist and artist in his own right, **Richard Dawkins**, explained that Morris's imaginary forms, which he calls biomorphs (because they are derived from living organisms), evolve through successive paintings, developing inside Morris's head from generation to generation.

'That,' Dawkins points out, 'is of some interest because it suggests an analogy between biological evolution and the evolution of ideas in people's minds.'

It may be of interest to **Dr Dawkins**, to give credence to a doctrine which asserts that everything that happens is determined by a necessary chain of causation, but such crude materialism is of precious little use to anybody else.

By way of contrast the shrewdly observed art of **Anthony Earnshaw** is like a breath of fresh air: unpretentious, inventive, humorous and literate in the best sense of the word.

**Earnshaw**, who modestly describes himself as an

armchair anarchist, was for many years a lathe operator in Leeds where he still lives and works. At one time he spent three years on permanent night shift in an engineering works in order to have daylight hours to devote to his art. 'I don't get on very well with the idea of work as such,' he explained, 'unless it's of my own devising'.

His artistic work is firmly based on the working class and life as a worker. Not surprisingly his heroes among artists of the past are the 18th century poet and master-craftsman **William Blake**, who responded with insight and anger to the oppression of the masses in his justly famous *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, and the 20th century French writer **Andre Breton**, who in collaboration with the Mexican artist **Diego Rivera** and **Leon Trotsky**, drafted the manifesto 'Towards a Free Revolutionary Art' in 1938.

**Anthony Earnshaw** is judicious in his choice of heroes!

Post-impressionist art (which embraces surrealism as one of its currents) was a reaction to the traditional forms of artistic expression, including the language of art itself, which had developed with the rise of imperialism in the 19th century.

Contemptuous of the decaying order which had given rise to the bloodbath of World War I, the post-impressionists renounced all illusion of reality on principle, and expressed their outlook on life by deliberately deforming natural objects; by deconstructing the modern world.

Cubism, constructivism, futurism, expressionism, dadaism and surrealism in their different ways all turned their backs on 'nature-bound and reality-affirming impressionism'.

The Dadaists, the nihilistic precursors of the surrealists, emerged with the cataclysmic shockwaves of World War I. They were quite consciously against art and

against reason, for outrage and scandal.

They dreamed up 'happenings' like a lecture given by 38 lecturers in unison and an exhibition in Germany, held in an annexe of a cafe lavatory, at which weapons were provided for spectators to smash exhibits — which they did with gusto.

**Andre Breton** assembled the remnants of this group which was a spent force four years after the October Revolution and the surrealist movement was launched.

Its object was to free artists from the normal association of pictorial ideas and from all accepted means of expression, so that they might create according to the irrational dictates of their sub-conscious mind and vision. Although surrealism had firm roots in 19th century romanticism, at that stage, in the mid twenties, they were a liberating influence in the sphere of aesthetics.

They searched, among other things, for rational explanations to irrational phenomena. **Andre Breton**, for instance, had been personally involved with shell-shocked victims during the first imperialist war. This experience fuelled his interest in the role of the sub-conscious, the 'dark side' of the mind.

Many artists adopted the psycho-analytic method of free association. Yet **Freud** himself, interestingly enough, is said to have told **Salvador Dali**, who visited him in London shortly before he died: 'What interests me in your art is not the unconscious, but the conscious'.

Another important aspect of the post-impressionist movement is that it forced individual artists to crawl out of the stifling salon atmosphere provided by the bourgeoisie for their own amusement and into the real world of ordinary people struggling to live.

Firmly in the tradition of the surrealists, with their provocative and unexpected juxtapositions of natural ob-



**Henrik Gawkoski retraces the route he took driving trainloads of Jews to Treblinka during the Holocaust and relives his experiences in 'Shoah', Claude Lanzmann's epic film about the Holocaust, hailed as 'the greatest documentary ever made about contemporary history'. The film lasts over nine hours and is screened on Channel 4 in two parts on Sunday 18 October at 8.15p.m. and Monday 19 October at 8.30p.m.**

jects, but with none of the self-indulgence or opacity I associate with many of them, **Anthony Earnshaw** says what he wants to say with the simplicity and the directness characteristic of his class.

Of the few works shown in the programme I couldn't help chuckling out loud at the wooden slingshot with a string of pearls in place of the usual thong, entitled 'Boyhood of Don Juan'; the filthy industrial chimney-stack topped with a silk top hat, called 'Pillar of Society'; the ruthlessly historical planetary sphere with a fag-end stubbed out on its nebulous ring, called 'The Ghost of Walter Raleigh'. However serious the subject matter, a sense of fun permeates every work.

I glimpsed a caption on a work entitled 'A Day at the Seaside' which carried the following inscription: 'Nota Bene — In the ideal world submarines will be crewed by ex-miners'. Think about that — I had to!

\* \* \*

OPENING on 21 October, in the Gallery and Foyer of the

Riverside Studios in Hammersmith, a major exhibition of **Soviet Posters of the Silent Cinema**. A rare chance to see the work of **Nauman**, **Lavinsky**, **Rodchenko**, **Prusakov** and the **Stenberg Brothers** produced in the early 1920's.

\* \* \*

ON **Saturday**, at 8.05p.m.(BBC2), **Dance from America** this week features the **Paul Taylor Dance Company**. At 10.05p.m.(BBC2), **Claude Miller's gripping Garde a vue**, followed at 11.35p.m. by **Henri-George Clouzot's Quai des Orfevres**, made in 1947.

ON **Sunday**, at 2.30p.m.(Radio 3), **Globe Theatre** presents **Friedrich Durrenmatt's play The Visit**. At 7.50p.m.(BBC2), **The Great Philosophers** looks at **Locke and Berkeley**. At 8.15p.m. through to 12.45p.m.(C4), Part One of **Shoah**, a nine-hour documentary about the victims, the perpetrators and the witnesses of the extermination camps in Poland'. At 10.20p.m.(BBC1), in **Everyman**, BBC Television News reporter **Michael Buerk** reports on four years

of news gathering in South Africa culminating in his expulsion from the country this year.

ON **Monday**, at 8.30p.m.(C4), Part-Two of **Shoah**.

ON **Tuesday**, at 9p.m.(C4), **Apartheid**, the first part of a four-part documentary series on the history of apartheid. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), **Footsteps** looks at the life of 18th century explorer and plunderer, **Giovanni Belzoni**. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), **Granada Television's 75 minute documentary Ten Days that Shook the World**. At 12p.m.(ITV), **Krzysztof Zanussi's The Contract**.

ON **Wednesday**, at 9.35p.m.(BBC1), prize-winning Danish documentary, **Yesterday**.

ON **Thursday**, at 9.50p.m.(Radio 3), **Music for Guitar** from the 1986 Havana Guitar Festival. At 10.30p.m.(C4), **Martin Bell's** documentary **Streetwise**.

ON **Friday**, at 10.20p.m.(BBC1), the second Omnibus on **The Arts and Glasnost**, focusses on writers.

**Tom Scott Robson**

## REVIEW

**Academic Freedom and Apartheid: The Story of the World Archaeological Congress.** By **Peter Ucko**. Duckworth, £9.95.

**THE 1986 World Archaeological Congress at Southampton University broke new ground, both in its emphasis on 'Third World' archaeology and because it banned participants from South Africa and Namibia.**

**Professor Ucko**, tireless organiser of the conference, has written a personal and at times breast-beating account of the connection between these two issues, and the importance of the stand this group of academics took against apartheid.

His own career taught him a great deal about racism in archaeology and anthropology. As an authority on palaeolithic cave art, he went to Australia to study contemporary rock painters.

He found whites studying the blacks, with the arrogant assumption that they had the sacred right to dig where they pleased, while the native Australians had no sacred rights at all.

With pride, **Professor Ucko** tells us that his successor at the Australian Insti-

tute of Aboriginal Studies was a native Australian.

After the independence of Zimbabwe, **Ucko** went to advise on how to preserve and make available the country's heritage. He was horrified to discover the regime of **Ian Smith** had sacked an archaeologist who refused to deny that the indigenous black people built Great Zimbabwe.

**Ucko's** initial reluctance to ban participants in the conference from the apartheid state was always at odds with his aims in focusing the discussion on world issues and indigenous people and their rights.

**Ucko** describes the concerted campaign to prevent the WAC from going ahead once the ban was announced. It makes gruesome reading as some of the academics leave the committee and manipulate and manoeuvre outside it.

For him, the academic community consists of individuals, choosing which side to take on this issue. But he has provided a detailed account of how the Congress reluctantly, painfully felt its way to a principled stand, and succeeded in attracting 850 participants from 71 countries to discuss new issues in archaeology.

**Workers' actions** like that of the dockers who have banned shipments to and from

South Africa and the sports boycott were joined in 1986 by this and other academic boycotts.

Those arguing to maintain these bans which isolate the apartheid state will want to read how these initially rather timid and hesitant anti-apartheid archaeologists resisted their former colleagues and friends who said something abstract and important called 'free speech' was more important. **Professor Ucko** ends the book:

'It is my hope that the story of the World Archaeological Congress may help [other academics] to resolve this dilemma, to come out from behind the shaky edifice of their own academic freedom, and turn their attention to the issue of freedom itself.'

**Indigenous Peoples: A Global Quest for Justice. A Report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues.** Zed Press, £4.95.

**FORCED relocations, military occupations and recruitment with compulsion to the invaders' armies, as well as genocide, have been the lot of indigenous people in every continent, from the time of what is still called by many historians their 'discovery' right through to the present.**

This book recounts many

experiences: the San bushmen in Namibia, driven and bribed into the services of the South African army; the native Australians whose land rights have been cynically abused by big corporations like **Rio Tinto Zinc**, while the promises made to them by Labor in opposition have been systematically circumvented; Asian forest dwellers with a remarkable knowledge and use of the local vegetation for food, fuel and medicine, who are being driven into smaller and smaller areas so that they are forced to destroy the ecosystem by overuse.

Rates of death and illness are usually far higher for the indigenous people. Native Americans have eight times the tuberculosis rate of the rest of the population;

'At the heart of the indigenous issue,' says this devastating report, 'is the racist attitude of dominant societies dating back to the invasion by the Spanish Conquistadores who excused the murder of native inhabitants because they were "less than human"; similar attitudes include that of British settlers who used to organise hunting parties to clear Australia of Aborigines, or of the North American settlers that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian".'

'Such attitudes, even though sometimes shrouded are, in varying degrees, still discernible in the relationship between dominant and indigenous societies in many parts of the world.'

**BRIDGET DIXON**



**Racist view of Great Zimbabwe, denying evidence for early black civilisation: travel poster shows a white Queen of Sheba receiving a gift at the entrance to the Great Enclosure. (From 'Footsteps: Nine Archaeological Journeys of Romance and Discovery' by **Bruce Norman**, BBC, £14.95)**

**Origins: The Roots of European Civilisation.** Edited by **Barry Cunliffe**. BBC, £16.95.

**TEN ARCHAEOLOGISTS** discuss how archaeology continuously unearths details about the past, and indeed changes the questions being asked about human history. This is a superbly illustrated tenth anniversary volume for the radio prog-

ramme 'Origins'.

Perhaps the choice of subjects for the chapters is predictable but each is a mixture of what we know now, how we came to know it and how sites are being either preserved or destroyed, or generally a bit of both — like Pompeii, where digging was stopped in 1977 to concentrate on conservation and documentation of the parts already recovered from under the volcanic deposits.

# CHEN BILAN (1902-1987)

## In memory of a proletarian revolutionary

**CHEN BILAN, an early leader of the Communist Party of China and a Trotskyist militant, died on 7 September at the age of 85.**

When she was 20, Chen Bilan committed herself to the cause of the liberation of humanity. For more than 60 years she persisted in her belief in communism. Like Peng Shuzhi, her life companion, she fought all adversities and defied the enemies throughout her life.

Soon after the 4 May Movement of 1919, Chen Bilan converted to socialism. In early 1922, in the Hubei Provincial Teachers College for Women where she was studying, she initiated and led a strike to protest the College's dismissal of progressive lecturers and to demand the resignation of the Principal. The strike was the first victorious struggle of women students in Chinese history.

In April the same year, whilst she was struggling in the student strike, she joined the League of Socialist Youth; six months later she became a member of the Communist Party of China (CPC). In 1923 she was sent to study social sciences in Shanghai University. The next year she was sent to the University of Tolders of the East in Moscow.

When the 30 May Movement of 1925 broke out, Chen Bilan returned to China to join in the revolution, by decision of the CPC. In autumn 1923, she became secretary of the Department of Women of the Shanghai Regional Committee (Joint Provincial Committee of the Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui Provinces), and was a member of the Presidium of the Regional Committee. Soon afterwards she was chief editor of 'Chinese Women' published by the Party Central. In July 1926 she was also acting secretary of the Department of Women of the Party Central, and took up practical leadership work of the revolution.

After the strangling of the revolution by the Kuomintang, Chen Bilan and many other comrades together tried to find out the reason and lesson of the failure of the revolution. Subsequently they came to learn of the difference between Trotsky and Stalin on the question of the Chinese revolution, and from their own experience they knew that Trotsky's propositions were correct, and that Stalin's incorrect line and policy in guiding the Chinese revolution was the central subjective factor for the failure of the revolution.

Thus, Chen Bilan, Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzhi and others submitted their opinion to the Party Central which requested a general review to be conducted throughout the Party to discuss the reason for the failure of the revolution, opposed the putschist adventurism practised at the time, and advocated the re-formulation of a correct line and policy. However, not only was their proposal flatly rejected, they were also expelled from the Party.

From 1929 onwards, Chen, as one of the initiators, participated in the Chinese Trotskyist Movement to continue carrying out revolutionary work and underground activities under the white terror of the rule of Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek) Kuomintang. When Peng Shuzhi and others were arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang regime under the manifold oppression, she had to bring up the children and make a living by writing journal articles and taking a job.

The book 'Essays on the women's question' was a compilation of articles she wrote for the journals under the



Revolutionary tanks in Shanghai, 1949. By this time Chen Bilan and other Trotskyists had already been forced to flee China because of the Chinese Communist Party's hostility. Later, all Trotskyists were arrested and jailed for a quarter of a century.

pen-name of Chen Biyun. In the Preface written by Jin Zhonghua, the author was referred to as 'a woman who is genuinely devoted to the women's movement and has a profound understanding of the women's problems'.

Owing to the eruption of the war against Japan, the Nanjing authorities released Peng Shuzhi and other Trotskyists. During the resistance war against Japan, Chen Bilan and Peng Shuzhi remained in Shanghai to lead underground revolutionary work. Their comrades were arrested by the Japanese occupation forces for leading workers' strikes, and they were the targets of arrest (Peng Shuzhi narrowly escaped from a siege).

After Japan surrendered, Chen Bilan and other comrades published two monthlies in Shanghai: Chen was chief editor of 'Youth and Women' (later the name was changed to 'New Voice'), and Peng was chief editor of 'For Truth'. Through these publications, political influence was spread and organisational strength was developed.

At the end of 1948, Chen and others knew that they would not be tolerated by the CPC rule since the CPC had persisted in slander of and hostility to the Trotskyists. They were compelled to go abroad. A few years later all Trotskyists in the country were arrested and many were detained for a quarter of a century.

Chen Bilan, Peng Shuzhi and Liu Jialiang went to Vietnam, and when Liu was murdered by the Vietnamese

Communists (Stalinists), they feared their lives threatened and so went to Europe. Their lives in Vietnam and Europe were very difficult and they had to do manual work for meagre wages to maintain a living.

In their exile they participated more closely in the work of the Fourth International, and frequently wrote articles analysing the development in different countries, in particular China. In the first few years in France, Chen Bilan began to write 'My Memoirs' which records her experiences, understanding and opinions on the decades of struggle (in particular 1925-1927 Revolution) in which she had participated. (The book, in 28 chapters, was printed in serial form in 'October Review', March 1981 to November/December 1984.) In the mid-1960s, Chen and Peng went to the United States.

The life of Chen Bilan is one of a proletarian revolutionary and militant for women's liberation. Her dedication to the revolutionary cause manifests her virtues as an upright, kind-hearted, strong, brave person. At the same time, the arduousness of her life manifests the oppression suffered by the Chinese working women.

Chen has left us, three years after her partner Peng Shuzhi. Yet her example of a revolutionary militant will inspire the later generations and her deeds will go down in history.

From 'October Review', 10 September 1987

# Cy Twombly at the Whitechapel

Cy Twombly retrospective exhibition, until 15 November. Whitechapel Gallery, Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

REGARDED by many as a second-generation Abstract Expressionist, Cy Twombly, whose first major exhibition in Britain is now at the Whitechapel, cannot really be linked with any particular school or category.

His earliest compositions already convey an individuality, with only a superficial resemblance to Jackson Pollock, to whose revolutionising drip-paintings, works such as the masterly 'Panorama' (1955) have been likened.

The air of mystery to Twombly's paintings invites attention quite unlike the response one normally experiences when coming across abstract art. There is something instantly intriguing about them.

British audiences have at long last the opportunity to study in depth his work

which previously has been little known over here (the one exception being the splendid roomful of Twomblys at 98 Boundary Road a couple of years ago when that gallery held its first 'public' show).

Now, at the Whitechapel Art Gallery until 15 November, the chance has arrived to get on much closer terms with both the painting and the sculpture. There are over 130 pieces in all, and for those willing to put in the time it is an enriching experience.

### Vanguard

In 1951, at the age of 24, Twombly, who was born in Lexington, Virginia, spent the summer on the invitation of his friend Robert Rauschenberg, at the prestigious Black Mountain College. Here he met vanguard figures in America's art movement such as Franz

Kline and Robert Motherwell.

Together with Rauschenberg he went on to tour France, Spain, North Africa and Italy. He decided to remain in Rome for a period and later, in 1957, returned to that city permanently.

This move and Twombly's profound interest in and attraction to European culture were to mark his development away from the direction being taken by his contemporaries, Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns.

Following the emergence only ten years earlier of the burgeoning artistic style with specific American characteristics pioneered by Pollock, Barnett Newman, Willem de Kooning etc., and which had gained recognition internationally, Twombly's departure from New York, where it was now 'all happening' could have been fatal to his career.

Instead, his reputation grew steadily and, over the past 30 years Twombly has

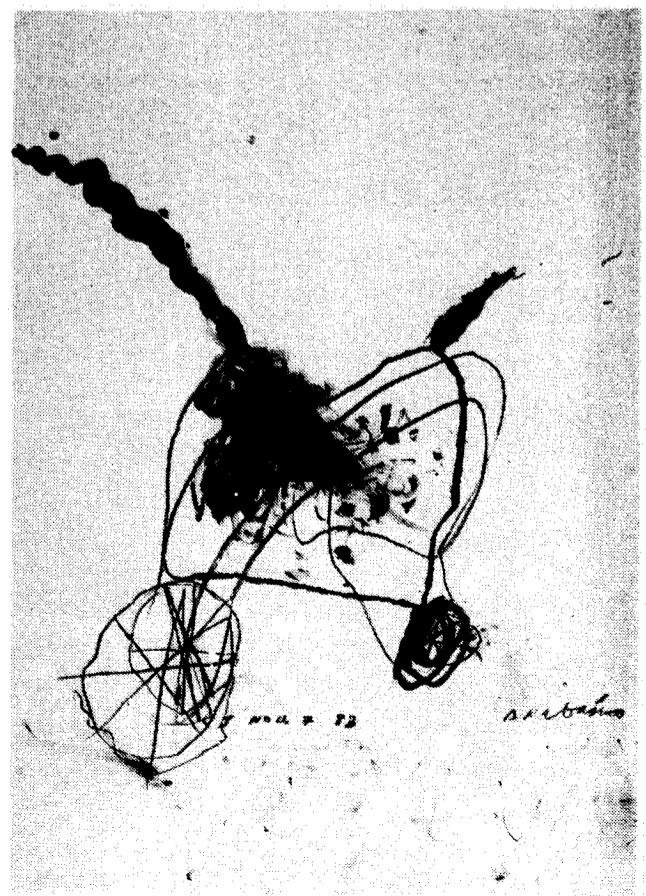
become firmly established as a major and original talent.

Adorned as many of the works are with cryptic markings — scrawled half-words, signs or scribbled sentences that fade or disintegrate before reaching completion; squiggles and smears of paint — they nevertheless all possess an undeniable elegance.

The sculptures also have a most original touch about them. Impromptu pieces most of them, held together with bits of cord or tape and painted white they have a rough yet poetic quality.

The concern to pay homage to great art of the past and his ability, through a highly individual application of materials, to convey to the spectator the passion it arouses in him, Cy Twombly has created an extraordinary series of contemporary images.

JEFF JACKSON



'Anabasis' 1983. Oil and oilstick on paper.

Saturday October 17 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

BY OUR CITY CORRESPONDENT

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### NEIL KINNOCK'S 'comrade shareholders' speech to the Labour Party conference at Brighton looks even sicker with last week's arrest of financier Gerald Ronson on charges which include the theft of £6 million from Guinness.

This is the fourth arrest in connection with the Guinness takeover bid for Distillers 18 months ago.

Ronson was also charged with common law conspiracy to create a false market in shares, the first time such a conspiracy charge has been brought since 1878.

In a letter in January to Sir Norman Macfarlane, the Guinness chairman, Ronson admitted that he was paid £5.8 million to purchase up to £25 million of Guinness shares during the takeover battle.

The aim was to boost the value of Guinness shares to beat off a rival bid from the Argyll Group.

In returning the money Ronson said that he 'did not focus on the legal implications of what had occurred'.

Ernest Saunders, former Guinness chairman, was last

week charged with 37 further offences in connection with the bid for Distillers.

These come on top of charges of intent to pervert the course of justice and destroying and falsifying documents.

### Theft

Saunders is charged with theft amounting to some £24 million, most of which was paid out to those involved in the share support operation.

Also in the growing queue facing charges is financier

# Not so good for some

Sir Jack Lyons, accused of stealing a modest £3.25 million from Guinness.

Like Saunders and Sir Jack, Ronson is one of the new breed of 'Thatcher capitalists' whom Kinnock seems so keen to sell to the labour movement.

Ronson's fortune has been made through share dealing, intervention in takeover battles and property dealing.

His companies have had little or nothing to do with actually producing anything.

Reputedly a hater of snobbery and extravagant living, this school dropout nevertheless draws an annual salary of £800,000, drives a Bentley and owns a 55-metre yacht.

Ronson is certainly a vigorous weeder out of corruption where his own cash is involved. If the amount of money taken at his petrol stations falls short of the goods sold he simply 'knocks it off the wages of the people on the shift. They can sort it out among themselves.'

### Uncouth

He is variously described as 'uncouth' or 'salt of the earth'.

He entered his father's furniture business at 15 and was a millionaire eight years later as a result of property speculation. He now controls capital estimated at £1 billion and concentrated in office blocks, financial service companies and petrol stations in the UK, Europe and America.

Ronson has made millions in takeover bids, after he saw the scope for US-style arbitrage deals. During Burton's 1985 takeover bid for Debenhams he accumulated a 7-per-cent stake in Debenhams which he used to play a pivotal role in the outcome of the battle.

Commenting on the Ronson arrest, the 'Daily Mail' last week said:

'Bucks may be made in the Golden Mile. And justice may be slow in disentangling the more questionable of the deals struck there.'

'But watching television and reading the newspapers these days, not even a Marxist in blinkers could say that the City was "outside the law". Indeed it is on trial as never before.'

The exact reverse is the case. With the coming of Big Bang the possibilities of fraud have been increased enormously as billions are moved around with the use of computers.

Whatever the outcome of the charges against Ronson and company, it is certain that the Guinness scandal is only a small aspect of the corruption that goes to the very heart of the City.

That Gould, Kinnock and the Labour leadership are advocating a Thatcher-type 'peoples' capitalism' at precisely the moment when the deep parasitism of British capitalism is being shown daily is an apt comment on the extent to which they are tied to a rotten and dying system.

### DESPITE receiving only 48 hours notice of a plan to apply massive health cuts in Tower Hamlets, local hospital, community and trade union organisations were able to mount a large and spirited demonstration in defence of services last week.

Nurses beating a tattoo on bed-pans led the march from Mile End Hospital to the Health Authority meeting at the London Hospital (Whitechapel) where campaigners packed into the boardroom where the vote was to be taken.

- Cuts proposals included:
- closure of Mile End Casualty Unit and Children's Ward on 1 November;
  - cuts in Family Planning and incontinence services to the community;
  - shutdown of 108 beds leading to a cut in admissions for 1,750 local people and
  - conversion of nurses' sick beds to private use.

The Tory excuse for cutting budgets is that London is generally over-provided and that inner cities are 'running down'.

They may certainly be running down in terms of deteriorating houses, worsening road conditions, declining shopping centres and reduced facilities but in Tower Hamlets the elderly and the infant populations are growing.

In addition there are plans to expand the office and student populations in the area massively.

Health service cuts have nothing to do with declining need or cash shortage but are a direct product of Tory policy.

Budgets are deliberately set below funding needs to wreck services, causing them to collapse in stages to provide a basis for privatisa-

## Mile End hospital — temporary reprieve

tion or closure where profit-making is untenable.

At the London Hospital meeting the board voted to delay implementation of the closure plans while it pleaded with the government to supply extra cash.

Meanwhile, local community organisations are well aware that they will have to establish their defence committees on a permanent basis to ensure a concerted campaign ready for when the next attack comes.



Auxiliary nurse and NUPE member Essi Hanson addresses demonstrators after the march to London Hospital.



A clear message from this young demonstrator