

Diego Rivera  
— pages 8-9  
A big lesson from France  
— pages 10-11  
Aborigines fight for their rights  
— pages 14-15  
Health Service breaks up

## FROM ZEEBRUGGE TO KING'S CROSS

# TORY CUTS KILL

**THE Tory government must be indicted for the murder of the 34 innocent people who died in such horrific circumstances amidst the King's Cross inferno last week.**

The facts are inescapable:

- Since London Regional Transport was removed from GLC control and made the responsibility of the Thatcher government its subsidy has been slashed from £121 million to £73.3 million.
- To meet budgetary requirements, London Underground has had to make severe cuts in staffing levels.
- The labour force has been pruned by more than 3,000 in the last five years.
- To save a further £14.5 million it is this year reducing spending on lifts, escalators and maintenance. Lack of cleaning and maintenance escalator brought about the deaths. LRT claims that the cuts will not effect safety.

About £4.5 million is to be saved on day-to-day running costs such as recruitment. Cuts of some £1 million will be made on the original £3.8 million devoted to maintenance and renewal of escalators. LRT again claims that safety will not be affected.

With a 50-per-cent increase in passengers carried in the last few years, Keith Bright, chair of LRT boasts that he aims to cut the operating loss to zero. If he succeeds, London will be the only European capital that has a self-financing public transport system.

Last Wednesday in King's Cross tube station the 34 passengers, the youngest seven years old, paid with their lives for this boast. A further 21 are in hospital fighting for their lives. If they live some will be crippled for life, and all of them horribly scarred.

Eyewitnesses gave graphic accounts:

*'I saw one man brought out with his fingers hanging on by skin.'*

*'I saw one man, blinded, run into the wall. He had blood all over him. It was all over my clothes. When I first saw him I*

## Political raids in Ireland

BY SIMON PIRANI

A MASSIVE wave of police raids is underway on both sides of the Irish border, aimed against Republicans and others who politically oppose British occupation and the Extradition laws.

More than 50 Sinn Fein activists and other 'suspects' were rounded up on Monday, in an operation

closely co-ordinated between the British occupation forces in the north and the 26-county government.

In the north five Sinn Fein councillors were detained.

In the 26 counties, 2,500 troops and 4,000 gardai took part in what Justice Minister Gerry Collins described as 'the most comprehensive' security operation ever.

Among those raided were Independent Fianna Fail TD (parliamentary deputy) Neil Blaney, and non-Republicans who have been campaigning against ex-

● TURN TO PAGE 2

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

*thought he was West Indian, then I realised he had been badly burned by a fire flash.'*

Bright said: 'This is clearly a major tragedy. One feels shattered for the casualties and their families.'

Margaret Thatcher visited the scene fleetingly. She remarked that the fire must have been very hot. Unlike millions of Londoners, she and her ruling-class friends do not, presumably, travel by tube. To add to the obscenity, the station was especially painted for her visit.

It could have been any one of us on King's Cross Station that night, just as it could have been any one of us on the Zeebrugge ferry. Both these sets of victims are casualties not of human carelessness — a sleeping seaman or a tossed away cigarette — but of the crisis-ridden system under which we live. Capitalism is in both cases keen to pin the blame on some lowly worker who is incidentally involved.

In Zeebrugge it was the seaman who fell asleep — not the insatiable drive for profit of Townsend-Thorenson. The first job of the judge heading the inquiry was to instruct the jury that it was beyond its powers to charge the company with neglect.

The capitalist press is eager to pin the blame on station staff who 'directed passengers the wrong way', and on staff who drove trains through the station while the fire was raging. Workers receive only four hours of fire drill training in two years — sometimes in sessions lasting only an hour each — but these facts were not mentioned.

Like all other Underground workers, they have never received any training in the evacuation of crowds in an emergency. London Transport's established evacuation policy for station fires is that trains should be used as the main means of escape. This policy broke down at Kings Cross when transport police, apparently unaware of the policy, ordered the trains not to stop.

The attack on station staff by the media is doubly ironic because on the day of the tragedy Kings Cross staff had been threatened with disciplinary action for issuing warning leaflets on fire danger in parts of the Underground system between their own station and Moorgate.

Ken Cameron of the Fire Brigades Union said that his men lacked the resources to make all the necessary safety checks on the Underground. Rail union leaders pointed out that fewer staff were being employed for growing numbers of passengers. Alan Norman, National Union of Railwaymen London District Secretary said:

'At King's Cross the staff in 1985 was 18; this has now been cut to 11 railwaymen, most of whom are involved in checking tickets at the barrier. There used to be 14 cleaning staff at Kings Cross, this is now cut to two. There was only one on duty on Wednesday evening.'

'There used to be 402 cleaning staff employed by London Underground. This is now to be cut to 150 this year — this must affect safety. Lift and escalator maintenance used to be covered by a staff of 500. This is now to be cut to 300.'

The sprinkler system, the 'waterfog' that could have extinguished the flames in minutes was controlled manually and could not be operated because of the rapid spread of the fire.

One of the most frightening pieces of information to emerge from the disaster is that all London's tube stations are exempt from fire regulations, compulsory in most public buildings. There are no emergency exit signs, no fire alarms or any other means of communicating an emergency and no specific regulations covering railways and stations.

London Transport was warned two years ago that the potential for a tube disaster was 'enormous'. A report from the London Passengers Transport Group recommended the immediate installation of smoke detectors, alarm systems, sprinklers, illuminated exit signs and fire doors. The report was ignored in the relentless drive to cut costs.

The Fire Brigade, which responded with its usual dedication and self-sacrifice is due to be slashed again by this murderous government. University College Hospital — where most of the injured were taken — is due to be cut by hundreds of beds.

**How long until the next fire — perhaps bigger and at peak hours, with the fire brigade and the hospitals cut? How many will die the next time?**

● See Peter Fryer, page 13.

## Manchester Martyrs — see page 3



# Workers Press

## A split without principle

AFTER five years of factional in-fighting it would not be out of place for socialists to expect the Communist Party of Great Britain and those whose expulsion was confirmed at the recent Congress to make an analysis of this experience, and produce a statement of the lessons.

What happened at the Congress?

- The historic link between the 'Morning Star' and the Communist Party of Great Britain was officially broken.

- The expulsion of 22 leading Party members was confirmed.

But to ask for an objective analysis of the crisis underlying these decisions would be asking too much.

The first thing to be said is that the two main protagonists in the dispute — the expelled and the expellers — see the crisis in exactly the same way. The 'Morning Star' mourns the Congress decision to break relations with its former daily paper. But it makes no attempt to assess the political issues lying behind it. It merely treats its readers to the bland statement that 'it represents a consolidation of the Party's move away from class politics.' ('Morning Star' 18 November)

Weekly paper of the Communist Party, 7 Days', in its issue of 21 November, referring to the five-year crisis, makes the hilarious statement: 'Last week's conference finally resolved (sic) that crisis, with reinforced support for the party's leadership and the formal decision that the once special relationship with the 'Morning Star' — the source of the crisis — has now ended.'

Speaking at a meeting of lobbyists outside the Conference, Mike Hicks — a leading member of the 'Morning Star' Communist Campaign Group expelled in 1985 — said: 'Whatever happens in this Congress, the Communist Party will go on.'

On the other hand, '7 Days' tells us that: 'The party will now be able to move on from what had become sterile challenges to the 'British Road to Socialism' definition of class, strategy of alliances and other policy to begin to apply its approach to the new situation of the 1980s, and beyond.'

The 'Morning Star' states that: '... its coverage will continue to reflect the principles of the 'British Road to Socialism', at the same time as it acts as a forum for discussion among all sections of the labour and progressive movement on all issues of concern.'

The ideological foundations of both these groups are identical, equally anti-Marxist. They both campaign for the thoroughly reformist programme inspired by Stalin: 'The British Road to Socialism'. Their present conflict represents no break from the reactionary idea that the capitalist state can be transformed and socialism established peacefully through parliament. What distinguishes Marxism from reformism is not the recognition of the class struggle, as the Communist Campaign Group claims, but the fact that Marxism understands that this class struggle must be taken to the point of the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

Both the warring Stalinist factions reject this fundamental principle of revolutionary Marxism. In the past Stalinism thought it could get away with justifying the Moscow Trials and the murder by the Stalinist bureaucracy of thousands of Bolsheviks in the 1930s; they thought they could get away with the 1956 crisis (when Khrushchev made his famous anti-Stalin speech, followed by the Hungarian Revolution) by making a few adjustments. They now think they can go along with Gorbachev's 'glasnost' whitewash of Stalin and slander of Trotskyism. But history is catching them up.

The British Communist Party cannot opt out of this process. The 'Morning Star' is not 'the source of the crisis' as '7 Days' would have its readers believe. It is the deepening crisis of imperialism and the impact this crisis is having on the struggle of the working class world-wide that is at the root of Stalinism's near-disintegration.

The Communist Party of Great Britain moves closer and closer to the 'new realists' in the Labour leadership and favours alliances with petit bourgeois elements such as those in what remains of the SDP. The 'Morning Star' speaks for sections in the trade union bureaucracy. But this is a falling out amongst political thieves, a division devoid completely of principle.

But this division is not without interest for the Workers Revolutionary Party. It provides us with a considerable opportunity to build an alternative leadership to Stalinism and Labour reformism. We call on socialists in the Labour Party and those members of the Communist Party who are disturbed by the crisis in their party, to study the history of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, and consider joining the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Fourth International.

# POSTAL WORKERS STAND FIRM

BY NORAH WILDE

**BALLOTTED postal workers voted by a magnificent 15,000 majority in favour of industrial action for a reduction in the working week from 43 hours to 40 hours.**

An enraged Mr Clarke, Minister for Trade and Industry immediately threatened to remove the Royal Mail monopoly. This was accompanied by a £15,000 pound campaign unleashed in the bourgeois press, hounding and villifying the postal workers.

Despite the unprecedented pressure, members of the Union of Communications Workers are standing firm. They have been demanding a 40 hour week for the last 22 years. But as workers at Mount Pleasant, London's largest sorting office, explained to Workers Press, matters have been forced to a head owing to a number of developments.

Falling living standards, worsening conditions, increased productivity drives by management and their bullying harassment of workers to maximise profits, have all contributed to driving postal workers to make a stand on the hours issue.

Yet far from decisively pressing for their members demands, in line with past practise the three negotiating union teams representing sorters, postmen and clerks are haggling with the Post Office. And stringing out negotiations in the hope of by-passing the 10 December dead-line for industrial action.

So far management — and behind them the Tory Gov-

ernment — has offered a derisory one hour reduction with strings attached.

These include increased productivity, more casual labour, abolition of the London bonus and implementation of a draconian disciplinary code.

With the Tories as the ultimate pay-masters plotting

● Remove all trade union leaders who block the demand for an all-out strike!

● Force union leaders to link the UCW strike with the teachers, civil servants, miners and Ford car workers struggles!

● For a combined struggle to bring down the Tory Government!



### ● FROM PAGE 1

tradition. Paddy Healy, leader of the League for a Workers' Republic, which claims to be Trotskyist, was raided.

Machine gun-toting gardai burst into the offices of 'Republican News' and, after refusing to give receipts for files they took away, were involved in scuffles. A photographer was illegally detained, and the matter is being taken up by the National Union of Journalists.

Capitalist press reports said that the swoop — which may go on for a week — was agreed upon when Northern Ireland secretary Tom King met 26-county premier Charles Haughey last week following the Enniskillen bombing.

A key note in the propaganda war against the IRA was struck last week by the RUC para-military police, who claimed that the Enniskillen bomb had been detonated by a timing mechanism.

The RUC's chief technical officer in the occupied six counties presented what he claimed was a mock-up of the bomb, to 'prove' that it had been set off deliberately and was not a mistake as the IRA had stated.

The bomb had been built 'around a Swiss-made electronic timer using a printed circuit board', which had 'never before' been used together with a radio trigger.

An IRA statement rejected his claims, stating: 'The IRA completely repudiates the RUC statement on the particulars of the device used by our Volunteers in the Enniskillen bombing. The RUC knows that many of the components used in our remote-controlled radio receivers are also compatible with those used in electronic timers.'

'The RUC, as expected, are being deliberately selective in the forensic evidence they have produced.'

Before the RUC cooked up its story, the London 'Independent' quoted IRA sources as saying that its 'radio-controlled devices are routinely fitted with timing mechanisms, not to set them off but to protect the men planting them. The timers are not used to detonate the bombs but to activate them once they have been placed.'

Derry Sinn Fein councillor Mitchel McLaughlin condemned the RUC claim that the bomb had 'intentionally' been directed against civilians as 'attempting to exploit the tragedy to the full'.

### £20,000 Special Fund

**THE FUND STANDS AT: £265.32**

OUR Special Fund increased by only £15 last week. We have established this Fund to make possible the development of our international work which centres on the struggle to build the Fourth International. We do need to step up the pace if we are to achieve our goal of £20,000 by 1 May of next year. We again ask all Party branches to plan fund-raising activities over the Christmas period to give the Fund a boost. Send all donations to:

WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

### WORKERS PRESS NOVEMBER FUND

**In so far: £1, 189.60**

WE still have a long way to go to complete the Monthly Fund. The Letters page reflects growing interest in our paper and the Workers Revolutionary Party. But we are still not fully translating that interest into hard cash. Please make sure that the November Fund is completed in good time. Don't hold back from asking readers and supporters to make an extra effort to get us to the target. Send all donations to:

WRP Monthly Fund  
PO Box 735  
London SW9 7QS

He added: 'Comments from a sectarian force which in the past has lied, perjured themselves and instructed its members to do so in the recent shoot-to-kill trials are not the sort of comments one can lend any credibility to.'

**WORKING TOGETHER TO END STRIP SEARCHING Conference**  
Saturday 5 December  
Lambeth Town Hall Brixton Hill, London SW2  
10a.m.-5p.m.

# Unity will be built in revolutionary struggle

## MANCHESTER MARTYRS RALLY TOLD

**DESPITE** the witch-hunts against the Republican movement and the Manchester Martyrs march, a highly successful rally commemorated the 120th anniversary of the state killings of the three Fenians in 1867.

The main slogan of the rally was support for the national liberation struggle in the north of Ireland.

Main speaker was Eamon Mullam, of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. He said 'It is necessary that a commemoration such as this takes place to try and emphasise and bring to the fore the fact the Irish struggle is of the utmost significance to the British working class.'

Speaking to 500 supporters, 500 police and 50 Loyalists — all within 50 yards of each other — he continued: 'Sinn Fein's position on not

supporting the rally is incomprehensible: after all it is IRA and INLA members who have given up their lives in the struggle.'

Sonja Hughes spoke for the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign and reminded everyone present that Mendis was still forced to stay in the church by the racist immigration laws.

She pointed out 'the ban on the march has been extended for nine days. That means the regular VMDC march on Friday is affected. We still intend to march

BY MARTIN RALPH

from Piccadilly because the police have no right to ban our march.'

Simon Pirani speaking for the Workers Revolutionary Party said 'How is unity to be built? By the British working class telling the Irish workers to wait for the British trade unions, so potentially powerful but so ponderous and under a reactionary pro-imperialist leadership, to move? Telling everyone to wait for another Labour government?

No, unity will be built by the revolutionary struggle to put an end to capitalism and imperialism. In the course of this real socialism in Britain will defend the right of Irish people to fight as they see fit.'

The Tactical Aid Group, was then sent into the crowd which was appreciating the music of the H-Block Martyrs Republican Band. They

went in to 'get' the band but due to the determination of the meeting the attempt failed.

'Socialist Organiser' group participated, displaying the same sort of chauvinism as Kinnock's after the Enniskillen bombing.

In an open letter to Gerry Adams 'Socialist Organiser' editor John O'Mahony urged the stopping of the military campaign. 'It is a war you cannot win. It is a misconceived war. Its objective, Irish unity, cannot be won by war,' he said.

● In a statement explaining why they did not participate in the rally Sinn Fein said: 'We were reluctant to send a speaker to the march in the first place because we believe the interests of the Irish people are best served by people campaigning on the basic demands for British withdrawal and self-determination for Irish people.'

# DISGRACEFUL RECORD AT NUCLEAR PLANT

BY HILARY HORROCKS

**ACCIDENT** figures at the Hunterston, Ayrshire, nuclear power station made headlines in the Scottish press when they were published by the government recently.

It was revealed in a Commons written reply that 50 incidents had been registered with inspectors this year. In July alone, eleven cases of contamination or mechanical failure took place.

The figures come as no surprise to workers at Hunterston, many of whom are contract workers employed on a short-term basis to do the most dangerous jobs — jobs which trade unionists employed directly by the South of Scotland Electricity Board have refused to do.

The most hazardous work is inside the reactor itself, where erectors, welders, riggers and pipefitters work

around the clock checking the pipework for faults, in temperatures of 140 degrees.

They wear three protective suits for the job — considered too risky to do for more than two hours at once, though for the remainder of their shift they are expected to work elsewhere — but say that the rubber boots they are issued with begin to melt in the fierce heat.

Welders in this area improvise with gloves tied to their knees to prevent their legs being burnt. And workers currently erecting plug racks to hang up spent fuel rods above the reactor, complain about 'Andy Pandy' overalls and overshoes, which are issued in one size only, making movements clumsy and conditions additionally unsafe.

'Film badges' are worn to check monthly on possible contamination — but 22 of those issued through one contractor alone were found to have become useless because they had been drenched in sweat.

All workers must check themselves for contamination at monitors before they leave their section. But they claim that out of three monitors one is always out of action. 'Sometimes you have to stamp your feet to get the machine to work,' said one. 'And if one machine registers contamination, the practice is to go to another which does not.'

Safety standards laid down by the employers have declined in the area where the plug racks are being erected, as the SSEB tries to meet a deadline for closing that half of the Hunterston reactor for routine repairs. Workers are now expected to carry on while the pile cap machine below them is refuelling rods, through this was not permitted at the beginning of the job earlier this year.

At the beginning of this month a welder's spark accidentally ignited the polythene wrapping of a spent fuel rod. No fire extinguishers were to hand, so the welder had to put it out with his hands. The men were subsequently stopped by safety inspectors from working near spent fuel rods — but the SSEB had already sanctioned it for five weeks.

A spokesman for the SSEB said: 'There have been no incidents at Hunterston this year reportable to the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate.'

'However, since the Secretary of State for Scotland introduced the arrangements for fortnightly newsletters, all incidents on the site, no matter how trivial, have been published.'

Local Labour MP George Foulkes claimed the figures 'indicate that nuclear power stations have constant niggling problems which are not in themselves serious. But their frequency and pattern shows that the operation is far from trouble-free.'

'People are very worried that... it is only a matter of time before there is something much more serious.'

● Another fire broke out at the Hunterston plant on Monday, in the space between the reactor and the stressing gallery. It is believed that tarred waste paper which had not been removed from the area was ignited by a welder's spark.

The flames were fanned by hot air coming out of the reactor, and water had to be carried into the area in plastic containers until the fire was brought under control.

# DEWAR SNUBS LOBBYISTS AT DEVOLUTION CONFERENCE

## CLASS FIGHT DEMAND

BY TERRY BROTHERSTONE

**AT A CONFERENCE** on Devolution described by one delegate as 'a turgid and dispiriting experience', Labour Party leaders in Scotland last week end attempted to show that they could keep tight control over the mounting anger and desperation of the working class north of the border.

Lobbyists demanding a class fight against the poll tax and Tory housing policies, and the minority of militants participating in the conference itself, were snubbed by Shadow Scottish Secretary Donald Dewar who made it clear that all he had to offer was a long, hard slog to possible electoral victory in 1992.

The Scottish working class has not only suffered some of the worst of the Thatcher onslaughts but now faces a dramatic tightening of the screw as Chancellor Nigel Lawson made clear in Glasgow on Monday.

Contemptuously dismissing the call by Tory 'wet', Alick Buchanan-Smith, for greater sensitivity to the needs to the Scottish people, Lawson denounced Scotland's resistance to the 'enterprise culture' and backed



the call of Scottish Education Minister, Michael Forsyth — widely regarded as a right-wing fanatic — for more Thatcherism, not less.

Yet Dewar's key-note address to the Labour Party special conference in Edinburgh centred on the alleged significance of the Buchanan-Smith speech. The Scottish Labour leader also dismissed the claim that the

Tories, who were all but annihilated electorally in June, had no mandate north of the border. This argument would lead to support for Scottish nationalism and jeopardise Labour's electoral chances in the 1990s, he claimed.

Alex Wood, former leader of Edinburgh District Council, told a fringe meeting at the conference that the right

wing inside the Labour Party was using 'coded language' to accomplish what it had not been able to do since the October revolution of 1917. Phrases like 'a review for victory' meant ditching all commitments to socialist policies.

The argument for a Scottish Assembly should not be based on 'constitutional rights' but on 'class rights'.

Wood asserted. We know it would be a talking shop, but it would be better than nothing.

'If it leads to demands for independence and that is a means of class opposition, so be it,' he went on. 'The issue is how best can we mobilise class struggle against the Tories. We have to re-inject struggle onto the agenda rather than merely parliamentary hot air.'

# Women still face fierce discrimination on pay

## 1987 earnings survey

IN APRIL 1987 the average gross weekly earnings of full-time workers on adult rates were £198.90 according to the results of the 1987 New Earnings Survey published by the Department of Employment.

The November issue of the Employment Gazette reveals that for adult men in manual occupations, average weekly pay for full-timers was £185.50, and for non-manual occupations was £265.90.

But for adult women the figure was £157.20 in non-manual jobs and only £115.30 in full-time manual work.

These figures are only the average of an extremely wide dispersion. For example, 10 per cent of full-time adult employees earn under £99 a week and a quarter receive less than £129.

### Extreme

At the other extreme, 10 per cent earn more than £316 per week.

However, these figures

represent an average increase of 7.7 per cent in gross weekly earnings for all categories since the previous April (1986). This again covers a range of increases — from 6.3 per cent for manual workers to 8.1 per cent for non-manual.

The New Earnings Survey is the only regular source of information on earnings structure in Great Britain.

It derives from information on earnings and hours of work across a 1 per cent sample of employees.

The figures apply only to

full-time work and to adult rates.

Average gross weekly earnings include overtime pay, incentive pay (payment-by-results bonus schemes, etc.) and shift premiums before deduction of tax, insurance etc.

### Manual

For male manual workers, for example, overtime accounted for over 14 per cent of gross pay and incentive, shifts etc for a further 11 per cent.

The report notes that while



Women's earnings have not varied much relative to men's since the early 1970s.

the average hourly earnings of women relative to men rose appreciably in the early 1970s, at the time of the Equal Pay Act, then subsequently steadied around a relatively stable mean. (They have slipped back from the 1977 high point.)

Extremely significant are the figures of earnings falling down below particular levels.

For example 39.9 per cent of women manual workers and 16.7 per cent of women non-manuals earn under £100

a week (the figures for men below £100 are 5-7 per cent manual and 3 per cent non-manual).

### Technology

Clearly, while modern technology is increasingly making meaningless the traditional reasons for not paying women equal rates with men, employees are still grimly clinging to their old discriminating practices to ensure that women continue to be paid far below the true value of their capacity.

### Women's earnings relative to men's

Year	Per cent
1970	63.1
1975	72.1
1976	75.1
1977	75.5
1978	73.9
1979	73.0
1980	73.5
1981	74.8
1982	73.9
1983	74.2
1984	73.5
1985	74.1
1986	74.3
1987	73.6

BY BERNARD FRANKS

## Labour leaders support Israeli occupation

LABOUR's former deputy leader Lord Glenamara — Edward Short as was — has attacked shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman for urging Israel to have peace talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Glenamara was speaking at a Labour Friends of Israel dinner, along with guest of honour Bryan Gould MP, Labour's Trade and Industry spokesman and leading right-winger.

Kaufman spoke at Labour Party conference fringe meetings in September.

It seems he has upset Glenamara by making a comparison between South African apartheid and the Palestinian towns and refugee camps in the occupied Gaza Strip, from which thousands of workers commute each day to low-paid jobs in the Zionist state, where they are not allowed to live.

Describing the Strip as 'Israel's Soweto', Kaufman called for an international peace conference on the Israel-Palestine conflict, he said that the PLO must have a place at such talks.

Although this is in line with Labour Party conference decisions, Lord Glenamara does not seem to regard this as important.

'Mr. Kaufman's remarks do not represent my views,' he assured the Zionist dinner guests, 'and, in my opinion, they do not represent the views of Labour Party members throughout the country who are proud to support this little island of democracy in a vast sea of thoroughly undemocratic states where no democratic dissent is permitted.'

This rotten old Zionist

argument ignores the simple fact that 'little Israel' is ruling over a million Palestinians by sheer military force. When Thatcher visited the West Bank last year and suggested local elections to produce new leaders, Israeli Defence Minister Rabin explained frankly that the only result of free elections was to produce PLO leaders.

The comparison of conditions in Gaza and the West Bank to South Africa did not originate with Gerald Kaufman. It was former Jerusalem deputy mayor Meron Benvenisti's West Bank Databank which used the phrase 'Israel's Soweto' in a report on Gaza last year.

However, neither the stench of open sewers in the Gaza beach camp nor the sound of gunfire as Palestinian teenagers are shot, can evidently penetrate the rarified atmosphere of the archaic, unelected House of Lords, where the former 'Ted' Short defends what reformists call 'democracy'.

'We won't get a just settlement by saying Israel is just like South Africa,' he insisted. 'We want Palestinians involved in any confer-

## LECTURERS AND STUDENTS ACT AGAINST BAKER ACT

BY OUR LIVERPOOL CORRESPONDENT

MERSEYSIDE students and lecturers joined together in a march and rally against the impending Baker education bill. Their demonstration was part of a

national day of action held by students throughout Britain on 17 November.

The National Union of Students at Liverpool University only began to campaign amongst students one week before the strike.

Consultation with other campus unions was poor and local NUPE leaders told members that it was up to them as individuals whether or not to cross picket lines. The administration attempted to sabotage the action.

Despite this, mass refusal to cross picket lines almost paralysed the university union. It was only kept going by scab Tory students.

At a rally held in Central Hall, following a march through the city, speakers outlined the implications of the White Paper on Education put forward by Kenneth Baker.

Collette Williams, NUS executive, thanked NATFHE, the lecturers' union, for taking their one day action over pay claims.

'We have to fight the Education Reform Bill. If this goes through it will mean the end of

free education in this country. This fight can't be won by students alone, only the workers and students together can win.'

Councillor Frank Rouse said: 'Tories are bringing a sliding scale of education into this country. The arts are our culture, the libraries our knowledge and the youth our future.'

Peter Furnedge (chair of the rally) said: 'Since 1979, there has been a cut in grants of a quarter. We have North-East London Poly due to close in 1988. Aberdeen University is to lose 250 jobs and courses to close as well. Also here, four years ago, Liverpool Polytechnic faced 37 course closures. They were fought, but now they are under threat again.'

Outside the university students' union Joe Baldwin, from the Conservative Collegiate Federation was handing out leaflets, calling on students to scab. The Tories later organised strike-breaking, through the picket lines throughout the university to raise money for 'Rag Week'.

Deputy President of NUS at the university, Shaun O'Shea, said: 'This campaign must now be extended for a total shutdown of education throughout the country involving all the unions.'



This year's National Union of Mineworkers congress endorsed socialism as the alternative to apartheid and capitalism. The release of Mbeki by the Botha regime demonstrates very concretely the urgent need for revolutionary leadership in South Africa to achieve this.

STATEMENT BY  
SOUTH AFRICAN TROTSKYISTS

**WE HAIL the release of Govan Mbeki from apartheid-capitalism's most notorious prison, Robben Island.**

His release, after 23 years of imprisonment, is testimony to the fact that the rule of the racist bourgeoisie is neither invincible nor permanent.

The racist Botha government presents this release of Mbeki as an indication of its ability to 'reform' and as proof of its capacity to act in a 'humanitarian' way.

No less do its allies, the international bourgeoisie and all other hangers-on, hold up this 'magnanimous gesture' as a sign of the 'softening' of the Botha regime and its willingness to find a 'peaceful solution' to South Africa's problems.

Nothing can be further from the truth. Every 'reform' which has issued forth from the Botha regime has been wrenched from it through bitter and protracted struggle on the part of the exploited and oppressed black masses.

The past three to four years have been particularly crisis-ridden for the racist ruling class. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the masses have been challenging their right to rule in a most unprecedented manner.

Even a vicious state of emergency has only been able to push back the offensive, but not inflict any decisive defeat.

While we are unconditional in our support of Mbeki's release, we cannot overlook some of the more sinister aspects associated with his release.

Although the racist state was driven to release Mbeki by the inexorable march of the class struggle, it does hope that his release will serve as a 'safety valve'. Botha made this clear when he said that the government would monitor very closely the effect which Mbeki's release had on the black people.

But what the racist state will be monitoring far more closely is the effect which this will have on the African Nationalist Congress-South

African Communist Party alliance.

It is no secret that the ANC-SACP prefer a negotiated settlement with the racist bourgeoisie above that of a struggle to the finish.

But the ANC-SACP has to be very careful as to the terms of any negotiated settlement which it accepts. If it too readily commits itself to a settlement dictated exclusively by the racist state it knows it will lose the support of large numbers of the oppressed masses among whom it still has credibility as a revolutionary movement.

The release of Govan Mbeki, while on the one hand brought about by the crisis bedeviling the ruling class, on the other hand represents a 'testing of the waters'.

How far, the racist state is asking, will the ANC-SACP now be prepared to go along the road of compromise and negotiation? No doubt a lot of pressure will also be put on the ANC-SACP by the unholy alliance of the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy and world imperialism to respond to this initiative on the part of the Botha government in a positive and 'statesmanlike' manner. In a word, make a deal.

The release of Mbeki must not make us lose sight of the fact that there are still hundreds of thousands of people languishing in jails and in detention, that a draconian state of emergency still reigns in the country, that no less than five treason trials are in progress at this very moment, and that 32 heroic comrades have been sentenced to hang for struggling against the apartheid-capitalist regime.

The fate of all these comrades is directly bound up with the fate of the South African revolution. Unless a constituent assembly which grows out of the struggles of the black working masses is convoked there can be no guarantee of genuine democracy and untrammelled

political rights. We cannot rely on the machinations of the racist South African state or the diplomatic manoeuvring of the ANC-SACP to ensure the release of apartheid capitalism's prisoners.

It is only resolute class struggle which can guarantee that the state of emergency will be lifted, that all political prisoners will be released, that all political trials will end, and that the 32 comrades will be saved from the gallows.

In this context, the struggle for the release of Mandela acquires its true significance. Either the black masses wait for another initiative on the part of the racist minority government, or they release Mandela and all other political prisoners themselves through making social revolution. To be sure, while forced on it by the struggle of the masses, the release of Mbeki was largely on terms dictated by

the racist state. Mbeki is still to remain banned which means that he cannot become involved in any political struggle.

The terms of Mbeki's release reveal that the balance of class forces is still decidedly in the favour of the racist bourgeoisie.

Unless the masses intensify and deepen their offensive, apartheid capitalism can never be overthrown, but can only be 'reformed' on terms decided by the racist ruling class. This in effect will mean that no fundamental changes will take place.

The release of Mbeki demonstrates very concretely the urgent need for revolutionary leadership in South Africa. It is the many sacrifices of the masses and their determination to wage a ruthless class war against the racist bourgeoisie which

has led to his release.

Unless a revolutionary Bolshevik Party is built to advance the struggle and to supply the exploited and oppressed masses with a firm and principled leadership, the heroic battles which they have fought to end the system of apartheid-capitalism will be sacrificed at the altar of compromise and negotiation.

- Rebuild the Fourth International!
- For a Constituent Assembly in South Africa!
- Fight for the unconditional release of all political prisoners!
- Fight the convocation of a Constituent Assembly!
- Fight for a black workers' government!
- Fight to build a bolshevik party!



P.W. BOTHA

**MOSES MAYEKISO General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) is on trial for high treason against the apartheid state.**

Several resolutions calling for the Anti Apartheid Movement to mount a national campaign for his release have been forwarded for inclusion in the discussion at the Anti-Apartheid Annual General Meeting.

These resolutions have been bureaucratically composed without the agreement of the different movers along with more generalised resolutions applauding the trade union movement in South Africa, and in particular the adoption of the Freedom Charter (the manifesto of bourgeois-democratic demands of the African National Congress) by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

**Free Moses Mayekiso!**

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

An amendment from the Leamington Spa Anti-Apartheid Group, which was formulated later than the main motions and hence contained criticism of the attack made by AAM on the campaigns for the release of Moses Mayekiso, was accepted by Cambridge Trades Council which sent in one of the main resolutions, but now appears as an amendment to this very generalised composite. This makes it easier for the AAM leaders to organise for the toothless composite to be passed and for the amendment to be lost.

The reason why Moses and his four comrades are on trial for treason is because they express a socialist current in South Africa which is far in advance of the ANC,

the United Democratic Front, and the Freedom Charter, which is the manifesto of those organisations. These organisations and their compromises with the South African bourgeoisie to build themselves into a comfortable middle class are enthusiastically supported by the South African Communist Party, as part of the vicious betrayals being carried out by Stalinism throughout the world.

The reason why campaigns for the release of Moses in Britain are opposed by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU — a trade union organisation which has no affiliates in South Africa, and exists only in exile), the AAM and the Stalinists or their fellow travellers here is exactly the same.

Moses Mayekiso and NUMSA represent a political current they would like to exterminate as it moves in the direction of the socialist revolution. This threatens the position of the Soviet bureaucracy, which has tried to buy peace with imperialism at all times with their policy of 'socialism in one country'.

# Argentine wants P2 master

ITALIAN businessman Licio Gelli, who turned himself in at the Palais de Justice in Geneva in September after being out of law's reach for four years, is now wanted in two countries.

Gelli, the former head of the sinister Propaganda-2 (P2) masonic lodge, is wanted in Italy in connection with the 1980 Bologna railway station bombing in which 85 people were

This is in addition to charges arising from the fraudulent collapse of the Bank Ambrosiano.

A judge in Argentina has also requested Gelli's extradition, in connection with his business affairs there. But many people in Argentina are also interested in uncovering his past political connections.

In May 1981, Italian police investigating the affairs of Michele Sindona, being tried by a US court for the embezzlement of \$45 million from his Franklin National Bank, raided Licio Gelli's villa in Tuscany.

They discovered a list of 953 VIPs, — bankers, editors, generals, politicians, secret service chiefs — who were members of the P2 masonic lodge, of which Gelli was Grand Master.

Evidence linked P2 not only with a faked kidnap of Sindona in an effort to stop his case coming to court, but with massive financial scandals, and with fascist terrorism aimed at destabilising Italy to prepare a coup.

Magistrates said Gelli had constructed a virtual 'state within the state'. Gelli was at the time honorary Argentinian consul. At a parliamentary commission investigating P2, Gelli's former close associate Gian Carlo Elia Valori said: 'Gelli was much more influential in Argentina than in Italy.'

Licio Gelli's connections in Argentina go back over forty years. An old fascist, he scarpared there just after the Second World War, when he was accused of the torture and murder of Italian partisans.

He became a close associate of General Juan Peron, and during Peron's exile years helped him with influential contacts in Franco Spain and among Italian business circles.

## Nazi Police bombing kidnappers

NEO-NAZIS, angered by the arrest in Argentina of a former SS concentration camp boss are believed to have been responsible for the bombing of a Buenos Aires synagogue.

Argentine police arrested Josef Schwammerger in Cordoba province on 15 November. Schwammerger, Austrian-born, was Gestapo chief in Innsbruck, later running slave labour camps in Poland. He is accused of murdering thousands of Jews and other prisoners.

The bomb blast at a Sephardi synagogue in Buenos Aires old Jewish quarter caused extensive damage, but fortunately it was too early in the morning to injure sabbath worshippers.

In 1973, Gelli returned with Peron to Argentina. Several of Peron's ministers were P2 lodge members and involved in shady business deals with Gelli.

According to former Italian president Andreotti, 'I attended Peron's inauguration and participated in an intimate dinner with him, his wife and Gelli. When the latter arrived, Peron kneeled before him.'

It was Gelli who reputedly advised his masonic subordinate, Interior Minister Lopez Rega to keep strict surveillance over 'far left agents' and 'carry out a true clean-up operation'. Lopez Rega organised the infamous Triple A (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance).

Among the affairs on which the Argentine authorities will want to question Gelli is the racket he and Lopez Rega ran which led to Argentina paying more for its oil imports than any other country, and left the state-owned oil corporation five billion dollars in debt.

When Gelli was arrested by Swiss police in Geneva on 13 September 1982 he was trying to cash a cheque for \$67 billion, said to be commission for sales of Exocet missiles to Argentina during the Malvinas war.

With high-ranking contacts in several Latin American countries, Gelli was assured of a comfortable exile after bribing his way out of jail in 1984 to avoid extradition to Italy. He lived at a luxurious mansion in Sao Paulo, Brazil, for a while, and resumed his financial operations.

Wherever his loyalties lie, Licio Gelli has been one of the class that finds patriotism with a dividend is best. He has made crime pay so far, and may cheat justice yet. He is being treated for a heart condition.

FOUR policemen and a former military intelligence officer involved in a \$1 million Buenos Aires kidnapping were linked with the P2 masonic lodge, it has been reported.

A confession by one of them led to discovery of the body of kidnapped businessman Oswaldo Sivak buried in a field just outside the Argentine capital. The gang had taken a \$1 million ransom from his family before killing him.

The kidnap racket have been connected with attempts to revive right-wing death squads. Sanchez Reisse, a military torturer hired by America's CIA to train Contra terrorists fighting Nicaragua, has been named as a ringleader of the kidnappers.

# J. EDGAR HOOVER'S WAR ON UNION FBI targetted Reuther

WALTER REUTHER, leader of the United Automobile Workers' (UAW) union, who died with his wife in a plane crash in 1970, had been the target of FBI surveillance for thirty-five years.

In 1948, when Reuther was shot at his Detroit home by a Mafia hitman, and seriously wounded, the FBI refused to assist local police with an investigation. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover personally ordered his agents not to take up the case. The assailant was never caught.

During World War II, Hoover had wanted the well-known union leader placed in 'custodial detention', as a supposed 'threat to national security'.



REUTHER

The extent of FBI spying and hostility against the auto workers' union has been brought to light in a series of reports on Detroit's WJBK-TV station recently.

Reporter Tom Gallagher discovered, using the Freedom of Information Act, that the FBI had 8,500 documents in its files on Reuther, running from 1935 to his death in May 1970.

Although Gallagher could only obtain some 1,500 pages of this material, and most of them highly censored, he found dossiers were also kept on Reuther's brothers, Victor and Roy, also with the union. They were described as 'Soviet-trained agitators'.

Victor and Walter Reuther spent a short time in the Soviet Union, sampling conditions working at a motor plant in Gorki, after being victimised by Fords for their

union activity. To Hoover this was evidence enough they were 'reds'.

A letter the Reuthers had sent to friends in the States, expressing sympathy for Soviet workers, was doctored to make the brothers appear Communist Party supporters, and used regularly in attacks upon them.

Walter Reuther had been a member of the reformist Socialist Party. However, the fight to build the UAW brought brutal opposition from the big motor companies, particularly Ford, which had its own 'private army' of service guards.

Reuther himself was beaten up in the famous 'battle of the underpass' while trying to organise workers at a Ford plant. The union was built in the course of the big sit-down strikes of 1936-7.

Reuther took up a fight

against the communists and lefts in the union. In September 1941, the FBI's top agent in Detroit wrote to Hoover: 'In view of the stand Walter Reuther has taken against communistic elements, the FBI should reconsider the plan to place Reuther in custodial detention.'

Bugas later became head of labour relations for Ford. The FBI meanwhile kept up its spying on the UAW, and files on the Reuthers. When a big strike wave spread through US industry from 1946-7, Hoover ordered wiretapping and illegal bugging operations, such as the bugging of union meetings during the long 1946 General Motors strike.

Not long after the attempt on Walter Reuther, his brother Victor was also attacked by a gunman, and lost an eye. A Senate resolution was passed calling on the FBI to investigate the attacks, but again Hoover told his agents 'We are not investigating this case.'

The exposure of the FBI's war against Reuther and the union has been ignored by Detroit's two capitalist daily papers, the 'Free Press' and the 'News'. The present right-wing leadership of the auto union has also been reluctant to comment.

# Support Iranian refugees in Pakistan!

The barbarity and the ruthless nature of the Iran Islamic regime is a well documented and established fact.

In the past nine years, the workers, peasants, women, the national minorities and students have been subjected to an unprecedented degree of harassment and oppression.

Seven years of reactionary war with Iraq has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

The prisons are filled with those who have expressed the slightest sign of opposition towards the regime, whilst over 50,000 people have been executed for the 'crime' of refusing to give in to the regime's atrocities.

The prisons are overflowing with those who oppose the criminal regime.

Following the regime's unwarranted suppression and

policy of forced recruitment for the needs of a reactionary war, hundreds of thousands of Iranians critical of such policies have fled their homes and taken refuge in foreign countries.

The regime in turn, by dispatching bands of professional terrorists and thugs, has engaged in acts of perpetual harassment against political refugees.

In the past few years a number of Iranian refugees in West Germany, Britain, France, Austria, the Philippines, Turkey, India and

Pakistan have been killed by the regime's terrorists.

Refugees in countries who have a treaty with the Islamic regime, such as Turkey and Pakistan, are in particular danger.

According to reports by the government-controlled press in Iran (the 'Islamic Republic Daily'), Turkey has asked for intelligence back-up from Tehran in order to pursue Iranian oppositionists in that country.

As a result of such co-operation in the past few months a number of Iranian refugees in Turkey have been arrested and handed over to Iran.

Similar deals have been struck between Iran and Pakistan.

In those cases the majority of the deported refugees have been among the activists of the labour movement and left activists and active members of national minorities and deserters from the war fronts.

The Pakistani government has recently adopted a policy of not accepting army deserters as refugees. They are attempting to round up all refugees in special camps as an act of improving their 'good' relationship with Iran.

There is considerable evidence that the Pakistani authorities have turned a blind eye to the atrocities committed by Hezbolahi terrorists. These acts have included bombings and shootings.

On many occasions following the attacks by these professional terrorists, the Pakistani authorities have arrested innocent refugees — not the Hezbolahi who were known to be responsible — and handed them over to the Iranian authorities who in turn have arranged for their immediate execution.

● We call on all individuals, progressive organisations and labour movement activists to demonstrate their solidarity by picketing outside the Pakistani Embassy on 12 December.

● Support the cause of the Iranian refugees in Pakistan by taking part in this two-hour picket from 12 noon.

● Protest against the criminal Islamic regime of Iran and its collaboration with the regime of Pakistan.

● Write to the Pakistani Embassy in London to protest against the inhuman treatment. (Send a copy of any such letter to: BM CARI, London W.C.1 N3XX).

## U.S. mock bomber raids on Soviet ports

UNITED STATES Navy bombers are flying mock attacks on the Soviet Far East port of Petropavlovsk. The A-6E bombers based in the Aleutian islands off Alaska have made two dozen sorties in the past 18 months.

According to US press reports, revealing the provocations for the first time last week, the bombers fly from Adak base on a beeline run to within 90 miles of Petropavlovsk, a fishing port and navy base with a 237,000

population.

A senior officer was quoted as saying the dummy runs were designed to say 'take that' to the Soviets.

Although reconnaissance, spy flights, and fighter interception flights — designed to test Soviet air defences and locate bases — have a long history, armed bomber sorties like this are new.

As the bombers near Soviet air space, any Soviet reconnaissance planes coming to intercept are chased off by US Navy Tomcat fighters.

The A-6E, also known as Prowler, is a more sophisticated version of the A-6 Intruder used for round-the-clock target bombing in Vietnam. It is packed with electronic surveillance and jamming equipment, as well as carrying up to 30 500lb bombs.

With elections approaching, the Reagan administration has put aside its 'Armageddon' speeches for hints of peace. The war of nerves being waged in the north Pacific is a glimpse of real intentions.

# South African state terrorism exposed

**SOUTH AFRICAN military chiefs are pouring millions of rand into financing, arming and training the so-called Renamo 'rebels' who have carried out atrocities in Mozambique.**

The long-suspected link between the racist regime and Renamo — whose killers recently massacred busloads of refugees — has been exposed in detail by a Zimbabwean woman just released from Pretoria Central Prison, where she had been held for security violations.

Patricia Hanekom, who had been

held for four years, told reporters in Harare that she and her husband Derek obtained documents showing monthly payments to Renamo, and regular airlifts of arms and supplies. They had been helped by Roland Hunter, a corporal in the South African Defence Force (SADF).

'Roland worked as personal assistant to SADF Colonel van Niekerk, who directed the destabilisation operations,' Mrs Hanekom said. 'Roland paid Renamo members, including the Renamo commander Afonso Dhlakama, while they were trained in large camps in South Africa.'

The mercenaries received salaries of between 500 and 700 rand (£200 to £300) a month while at the camps, which were camouflaged as big commercial farms in the eastern and northern Transvaal. Van

Niekerk had a discretionary fund allowing him to spend 250,000 rand without needing higher authorisation.

'Roland also helped load thousands of new AK-47 rifles into helicopters for airlifts to Renamo camps in Mozambique,' she said. The weapons had been stored at the Voortrekkerhoogte army base in Pretoria.

When the Hanekoms and Roland Hunter were arrested in December 1983, they were charged with high treason, which carries the death penalty. The charges were reduced because the South African authorities did not want to produce the documents they had possessed in court. The Hanekoms have served their sentences, but Roland Hunter, aged 29, still has two years to go.

● The US State Department has hinted it might underwrite a \$1 million aid project channeled through Israel, to assist establishment of diplomatic relations between Mozambique and Israel. Sources in Jerusalem say the Israeli and Mozambique governments have been in secret contact for several months.

● British Foreign Office Minister of State Linda Chalker is holding talks with Mozambique officials in Maputo this weekend, on 'political issues and security'. Mozambique is particularly concerned at food aid being obstructed by Renamo attacks. According to Oxfam, more than four million Mozambicans — a third of the population — need aid, largely as a result of Renamo terror attacks.

## Aborigine death toll rises

**MORE than 100 Australian Aborigines may have died in police cells and prisons in the last seven years, and the situation is reaching crisis proportions, according to Judge James Muirhead who has been investigating cell deaths.**

The judge, heading a Royal Commission set up by the Hawke government last August after angry Aborigine protests over police brutality, urged that action be taken without waiting for his final report.

'It is a matter of sadness for the whole of Australia,' he told the Australian Academy of Forensic Sciences. 'We are reaching a situation of crisis... the Government must act now.'

Since the Commission's inquiry into 64 deaths — mostly people found hanging in their cells — opened on 13 November, another four have died.

Among them was Bernard McGrath, aged 20, alleged to have hanged himself with a length of towelling, within hours of being arrested in Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, on 15 November, charged with breaking a community service order. Grief-stricken parents refuse to believe their son committed suicide.

It was in Western Australia that 16-year old John Pat was left to bleed to death in a police cell after a fight with police in the main street of a small town, Roebourne, in 1983.

Western Australia has had twenty black deaths in custody during the period being investigated. Meanwhile Queensland's Tory state government has decided to reopen a notoriously bad prison especially for Aborigines.

'The rate of imprisonment of Australian aborigines is intolerably high', New South Wales Law Reform Commissioner Paul Byrne added. 'As long as we continue to criticise the position in South Africa, we must look to the very serious inequality that exists in our own country.'

Although Aborigines are only one per cent of Australia's 16 million population, official statistics show that they form one in seven of the convict population.

'They are arrested, convicted and imprisoned at rates far in excess of the general population, for relatively minor offences.'

Aboriginal Affairs Minister Clyde Holding said recently.

'An overwhelming number of aborigines are sent to gaol for minor offences like drunkenness in public places and offensive behaviour,' confirmed an official at the Australian Institute of Criminology.

● See feature on Australia's Aborigine struggle, pages 14-15.

## E. EUROPE: WORKERS RESIST AUSTERITY

**WORKERS in YUGOSLAVIA and ROMANIA have taken action to resist their government's austerity measures.**

The upheavals are bound to worry the Jaruzelski regime in POLAND which is trying to impose big price increases to satisfy advisers from the International Monetary Fund. (IMF)

In YUGOSLAVIA'S Macedonian republic, after foundry workers refusing to accept a pay cut succeeded in forcing the authorities to grant them a 100 per cent increase instead, some 5,000 other workers came out on strike for similar demands on 18 November.

Some 2,000 aluminium workers in Skopje marched on the regional parliament deman-

ding equal treatment with the iron and steel workers. After three hours of talks they emerged with a 71 per cent increase.

ROMANIA'S Communist Party conference, due to start on 7 December, has been postponed, 'to give the party bodies and organisations time to prepare for the conference in adequate conditions.'

The party had actually had months to prepare this conference, but President Ceausescu's plans have been disturbed by events in Brasov. Some 2,000 tractor factory workers there went on strike, and took to the streets on 15 November in a demonstration.

According to some reports there were clashes with police as workers chanted 'we want bread' and 'down with the dictator'. Troops were sent to reinforce riot police, and later formed an armed cordon around the factory.

## Palestinian 'peacenik' fights expulsion.

**A PALESTINIAN whose tactics for non-violent popular protests led one Israeli MP to call him 'the most dangerous Palestinian' was last week defying an expulsion order by the Israeli government.**

Jerusalem-born Mubarak Awad, who claims inspiration from the ideas of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and featured last year in the Channel Four documentary 'Courage Along the Divide', received the expulsion order on 18 November.

Acting on a lawsuit brought by Zionist Rightwingers and material from the Shin Bet secret service, the Israeli Interior Ministry accused him of 'incitement to civil rebellion.'

Mubarak has taken sanctuary in a reform synagogue and says he will not leave his homeland voluntarily. 'They will have to drag me out by force.'

A qualified psychologist, educated in the United States, Mubarak Awad returned to his native Jeru-

salem in 1985, and became head of a Palestinian Institute for Non-violent studies.

Arguing that his tactics could involve more people and be more difficult than guerrilla methods for the Israelis to control by military means, he urged Palestinians in the occupied territories to practice non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

This included boycotting Israeli products, refusing to pay Israeli taxes, refusing to fill in official forms in Hebrew, or to produce identity cards.

In one demonstration, filmed for 'Courage Along the Divide', Palestinian farmers asserted their defence of their land — confiscated by the military — by going out to plant olive trees, on the Jewish Festival of Tu b'Shvat — the New Year for Trees, defying Israeli patrols sent to remove them.

Palestinian villagers have also torn up fences and blocked the path Israeli bulldozers to resist Zionist land-grabbing. Mubarak said about twenty villages had adopted campaigns along the lines he advocated. He has also attracted support from a number of Israeli Jews.

While his work has aimed at mobilising the people in the occupied territories to

grass-roots self-activity, Mubarak Awad says it is the PLO that must represent them in international affairs. He says he is a strong supporter of the PLO.

Although he had an Israeli ID issued after the Israelis seized East Jerusalem in the 1967 war, Mubarak Awad took US citizenship when he went there in 1969. The Israeli authorities, who welcome US Jews under the 'Law of Return', have used this to deny him continued resident status in Jerusalem.

The US State Department has expressed concern at the Israeli authorities' treatment of a US citizen, and US ambassador Thomas Pickering urged them to reverse the expulsion order.

'The discriminatory and racist policy pursued by the government of Israel against the Palestinian people is well-known,' commented reserve-major general Matti Peled of the Progressive List for Peace. 'What is startling is the duplicity and hypocrisy of the Israeli government which has reached unprecedented heights.'

Peled said he could imagine what would happen if the US government ordered a Jewish immigrant to go back to Israel. 'They'd be accused of the height of anti-semitism.'

## Peres relies on Hussein — and Thatcher

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

**ISRAELI Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, in London last week for talks with Thatcher, made it clear that he is relying on Jordan's King Hussein to help bring phoney 'peace' talks aimed at isolating the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).**

The Israeli minister also welcomed resumption of relations between other Arab states and Egypt, as a sign that the Arab regimes now saw Iran, not Israel, as their main enemy.

Five Arab states, beginning with the United Arab Emirates and Iraq, have resumed relations with Egypt since the Amman summit to discuss the Gulf war. Relations were broken after the late President Sadat's Camp David peace accord with Israel.

At that time the Iraqi regime was among the most vociferous in denouncing Sadat's treachery, at the same time backing Abu Nidal's terror campaign against PLO leaders. Now Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein wants Egyptian — and Israeli — backing.

Israel's long-standing strategy of using Iran — whether under the Shah or Khomeini, both of whom they armed — to hammer the Arab states, has paid off.

As far back as last year, Israeli papers reported secret approaches by the weakened Iraqi regime, and articles by strategic experts have argued that the Zionist state could now safely switch its backing to Iraq in the Gulf war.

Although Peres and Prime Minister Shamir have publicly argued, with one eye each on coming elections, over former's call for an international conference on the Middle East, they are agreed on one essential — that the Palestinian's people's chosen and legitimate representatives, the PLO, should be excluded.

In London, Peres said 'non-PLO' Palestinians could form part of a joint delegation headed by Jordan's Hussein. In Washington, Shamir urged a tripartite meeting of Israel, Jordan and Syria.

Following the Amman summit, Jordanian officials omitted from their English-language version of the final communiqué a reference to the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat said this was a scandal.

Following Thatcher's visit to Palestine last year, the British government asked the Israelis to let Jordanian funds into the occupied territories, supposedly for welfare projects. Genuine Palestinian welfare projects often find their funds are blocked by the Israeli authorities.

The truth about Hussein's activity may be gathered from the fact that in May this year the US administration agreed to allocate \$30 million from Defence Department funds to 'reinforce Jordan's position' in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Peres, Reagan and Thatcher are relying on Hussein to seek out suitable 'Palestinian leaders' — the kind who can be bought. It is an expensive business, and as an attempt to sidetrack or replace the PLO, a futile one.

## Volkswagen closure

**VOLKSWAGEN is to close its car assembly plant in Pennsylvania next year, sacking 2,500 workers. The closure is being blamed on the stock market crash and its effect on car sales.**

'The recession in the United States auto market, which we expected in 1989, is already here,' VW America

sales director James Fuller said. Experts are predicting US car sales will fall by one million — 10 per cent — in the coming year.

Worried at the effect of closure, Pennsylvania Governor Casey called in VW management last week to try and persuade them to change their decision.

# Rivera speaks for himself

BY BRIAN ELEY

**AFTER years on the margins of art history — much whispered about but seldom glimpsed in the flesh — Diego Rivera arrives at London's Hayward Gallery to speak up for himself.**

Rivera the muralist — the artist of epic themes and epic spaces — has of course rarely been out of sight.

But now it is possible for a wide audience in this country to stand back from the epic figure of Rivera the revolutionary to appreciate the man who made his achievements possible: Rivera the painter.

His murals were unquestionably the high point of Rivera's development and are represented here by a group of life-sized colour photographs.

Positioned at the entrance to the gallery they appear marooned and rather solemn, the inevitably soft-focused surface of the photographic prints rejecting close examination and emphasising the impossibility of doing justice to such a public art in the isolation of a gallery.

The great strength of this exhibition lies, however, not with the thinly represented murals but with the paintings and drawings, most of them previously unseen in this country, in which we can watch the artist approach his subjects personally, intimately, without the crutch of monumental scale or grand theme.



'Portrait of Lupe Marin' (oil on canvas, 1938); Museum of Modern Art, Mexico City.

Rivera's treatment of the Mexican peasantry, in particular, is remarkable for its general lack of sentimentality. Grave and dignified, they spark into life with flashes of quite unexpected colour, a reminder of the brilliant Mexican light, in otherwise modest pictures such as *Two Women and a Child* (1944).

At times, and especially in later works such as the 1944 *Nude with Calla Lillies*, Rivera's mixture of realism and monumental composition swerves dangerously towards kitsch, a pitfall avoided, for the most part, in the larger works.

Among the most successful

of the paintings are the large portraits, such as that of his first wife Lupe Marin from 1938, with its dramatic distortions and feeling for the physical presence of the sitter, and those of the various society figures from whom Rivera accepted commissions in the 1940s.

That such works are gathered alongside Rivera's remarkable charcoal sketches of Detroit assembly lines (in some respects more striking, and more hellish, than the final mural made for the Detroit Institute of Arts) only serves to underline the fact that his achievements as a muralist were based firmly on his mastery of painting as

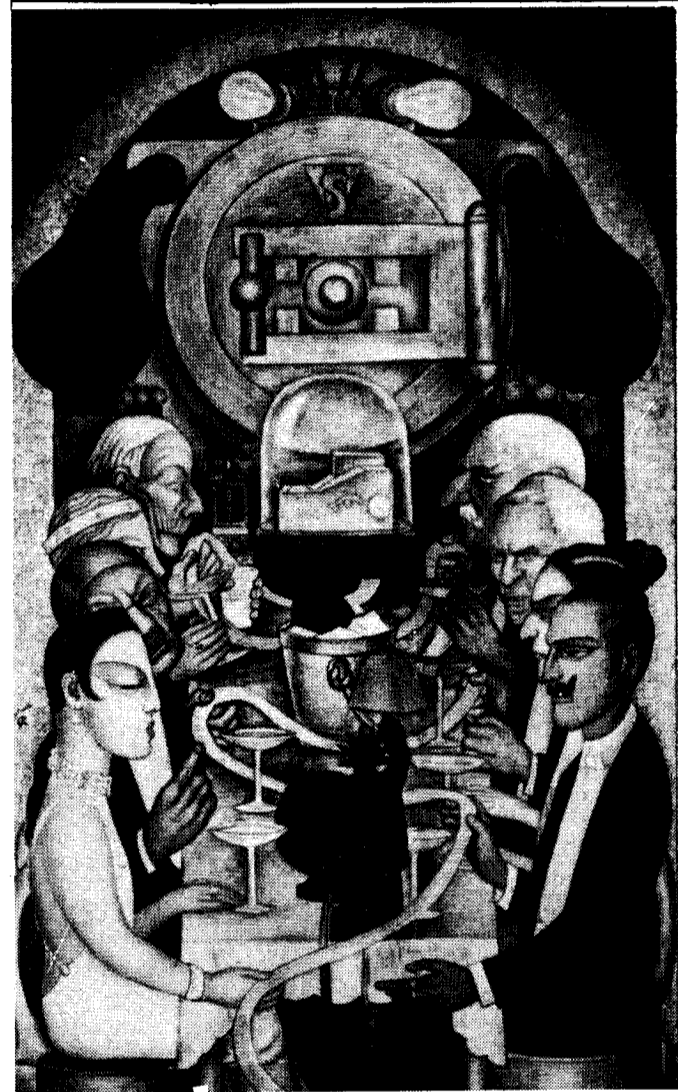
a whole, both its history and technique.

Rivera, whose early explorations of cubism are well represented in that section of the exhibition devoted to his years in Europe went, on to develop an approach strongly rooted in local Mexican tradition, which had no need for the radical, formal experiment that many communist artists in Europe felt compelled towards in the years following the World War I.

This is a timely exhibition, full of unexpected surprises, and a long overdue corrective to our often one-sided view of a major 20th century artist.

# DIEGO A RETROSPECTIVE

Two views of the exhibition now on at the Hayward Gallery, London until 10 January, in the company of a recollection by one of Rivera's assistants of the mural in New York.



'The Wall Street Banquet' (1926) and 'Our Bread' (1928); two views of the exhibition.

# Rivera paints Lenin

BY JEFF JACKSON

**ONE of the 20th century's great art scandals was the destruction of the Diego Rivera RCA mural at the Rockefeller Centre, New York.**

The fifth such commission Rivera undertook since his arrival in the United States in 1930, it also brought to an abrupt end his sponsorship by American big business.

When the present exhibition at the Hayward first opened in Detroit in February 1986, Lucienne Bloch, daughter of composer Ernest Bloch, published an article from her autobiography-in-progress recalling her involvement in the controversy.

She became assistant to Rivera at the time and was also made the mural's official photographer. This article includes extracts from her diary.

*Man at the Crossroads Looking with Hope and High Vision to the Choosing of a New and Better Future* was the fulsome title given to the mural Rivera was commissioned to create at Radio City.

A long correspondence had ensued before agreement was reached between the artist and the Rockefeller representatives. Bloch claims that the very first drawing Rivera did, on a scrap of hotel notepaper, was extremely simple in form, based on an idea of hers described in a conversation she had had with the artist.

## Resemblance

The final drawing that Rivera submitted, however, bore no resemblance to the first. It was not until after the contract was signed that Rivera actually visited what was to be the site of the mural. He quickly realised his sketch was too static and, back in Detroit, he reverted to his original spontaneous composition.

One of the assistants, Clifford Wight, who was still working with Rivera in Detroit, unexpectedly quit. Bloch says: "We never found out what was behind [his] quitting. There was a rumour that he was a member of the Communist Party, and because Diego had sympathy for Trotsky 'they' did not approve of him working for a 'renegade'!"

The Plasterers' Union would not allow anyone except union members to plaster the wall at Radio City where the building itself was still in the process of construction. "The initiation fees were somewhere around \$1,500, but as our type of plastering was very special, the powers-that-be, O'Rourke & Co., agreed after much discussion

that Diego's workers could plaster — as long as we hired one of their union men to sit by.

"And later, when Rivera started to paint, one good-looking fellow did come. He wore his white overalls and cap, and I took a picture of him next to the plaster wall, which then had the lines of Rivera's drawing on its third coat. These showed a soldier, a worker and a farmer together. The worker had a cap and looked like Lenin. Though it was there on the wall for a whole month, nobody ever commented on the resemblance."

Rivera (and his wife Frieda Kahlo) arrived in New York to start work on the mural in late March. They were full of stories about the controversy the Detroit mural had thrown up. An extract from Bloch's diary states:

"Diego is relating with hilarious gestures the scandal in Detroit about his frescoes. There are many 'experts' who want to remove them — whitewash them. Puritanical groups are shocked at the big nudes. Some object that the workers in the factory scenes don't look happy... Diego says that thousands of people are visiting the Art Institute who never went there before.

"As work progresses on the new mural and the enthusiasm of Rivera and his team of assistants grows, so does their work-rate. Often they are working more than 24 hours at a stretch."

From her 8 April entry: "I enlarged the entire North and South walls. Diego plans to paint them before the planks are taken down to the next level. He has painted the telescope section and still controls his colours. But today he sure loosened up. He's on the right side of the wall painting communism, with women in kerchiefs singing,

and red flags all over — and they're red. The subject is 'May Day Demonstration'."

"He's working from his little Moscow sketchbook which is full of drawings of a May Day at Lenin's tomb. He had been permitted to add 'a slight amount of colour' towards the centre of the mural, but with the booklet reminding him of the time when he sketched this from life, he forgot all restraints.

"I expect some commotion about this new turn, but Frieda tells me that Mrs Rockefeller visited him and climbed the scaffold to watch him work and said that it was the finest part of the mural yet. When I showed surprise, Frieda told me that Mrs R. has a radical taste. She even wanted Diego to paint a copy of his fresco from Mexico showing the millionaires, John D., Morgan and Ford sitting at a table, looking at the ticker tape, holding champagne glasses, except John D. with his glass of milk!"

## Afraid

"He would have loved to do that. It's right down his alley, but there is no doubt he was afraid the Communist Party would pounce on him again for being a renegade and flirting with the capitalists.

"My reaction is that Mrs R. has a fantastic sense of humour. Diego had been expelled from the Communist Party three years earlier for refusing to toe the line. He wanted desperately to return to the fold, but on his own terms. So it is to prove to them that he is not afraid of any capitalists that he paints the Moscow May Day with gusto and with plenty of Venetian red.

"On the other hand, the wealthy

patrons who know very well what Rivera's ideals are, think they can win him over. In Mexico, he painted all his great frescoes at a plasterer's poor wages. Here, (they think) handsome fees will win him over to their camp, or at least he'll subdue his brush a little..."

Originally the model for the central figure, the 'man' at the Crossroads, was a young nightwatchman. It was discovered that he was the grand nephew of John F. Curry of Tammany Hall. "He has a cushion job", the workmen said. Rivera immediately scrapped off the image. One of the workmen was chosen instead without any objection from the union.

Although they worked at a frantic rate, it became clear the project would not be ready in time for 1 May as planned. Towards the end of April, one of the newspapers, the 'World Telegram' ran a big headline: **Rivera perpetrates scenes of Communist activity for RCA walls — and Rockefeller foots bill.** It proved to be just the first of a 'deluge of printed explosions'. In another article various artists who were Communist Party members attacked the mural.

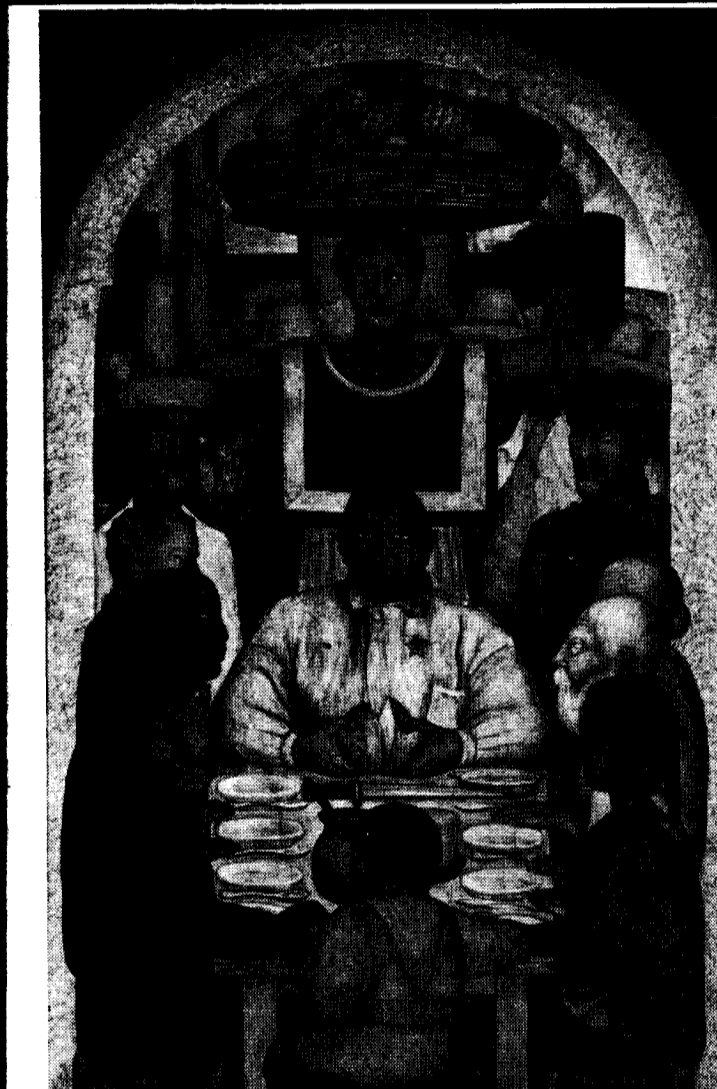
"The work continued according to the same routine regardless of the commotion the press had stirred. But another kind of tension rippled in the lobby. To hurry the official opening of the building, the shift workers had doubled. Elevator boys in uniform scurried over the newly polished floor. Businessmen came and went. It had suddenly become an office building, but with a difference!

"For when our scaffold was entirely removed, we saw for the first time the fresco out of its bonds. It was breathtaking: a vortex of colour vibrating, the disk of television, the electric generator swirl-

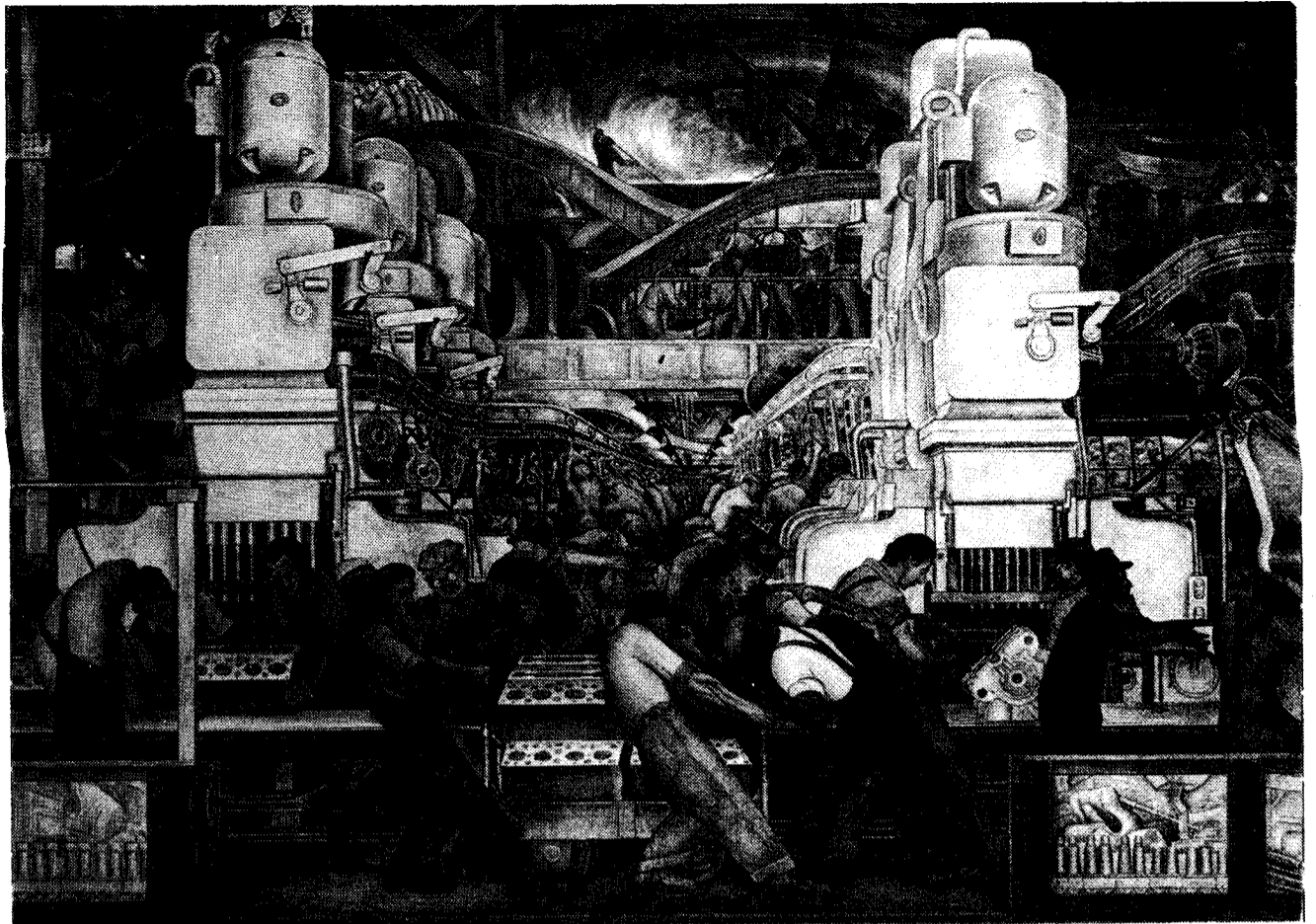


# RIVERA PERSPECTIVE

at the Hayward Gallery, South Bank 1988, plus an edited version of a painting by Rivera who worked on the Radio City Building in New York in 1933.



Frescos from the Ministry of Education building, Mexico City.



'Detroit Industry' (fresco, 1932-1933), North Wall detail Automotive Panel, The Detroit Institute of Arts.

## Diego Rivera hi-jacked!

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

**THIS exhibition falsely described as a 'retrospective' does indeed show what a great painter Diego Rivera was, but gives only a glimpse of the revolutionary scope of his most important work.**

It cannot be accidental that an exhibition spon-

sored by the Ford Motor Company, whose logo is prominent in the advertising, has not set out to show this essential part of Rivera's art.

There are just four reproductions of details of the famous wall murals that he produced after 1921.

The exhibition shows the evolution of Rivera's work, from his brilliant drawings as a 12-year-old, the influence of the Impressionists through to Cubism, which he abandoned in 1917.

Mexico had gone through civil war and the defeated Zapata revolution. The successful Russian Revolution had its impact on Rivera and he became a communist.

He returned to representational art and a visit to Venice to study the religious wall murals greatly influenced his work.

He was commissioned by

the Mexican government to paint the interiors of ministry buildings and produced a mural that depicted the great scope of the history and the revolutionary struggles in Mexico, portraying the prominent protagonists, heroes and villains and at the centre always the Mexican people, the workers and peasants.

This was the first of Rivera's great murals, but little evidence of these are in the exhibition, not even the panels commissioned by Ford's that Rivera painted in 1932-1933 of the Rouge plant in Detroit.

Only the 30-minute video that is shown and a chronological of Rivera's life give an idea of this great work.

Rivera supported Trotsky from 1929. His influence helped Trotsky to find refuge in Mexico and he provided a house for him. This period is almost completely unrepresented.

One of the exhibits is a panel (just one of 28 moveable panels that could have

been brought over) that portrays Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, James Cannon and other prominent leaders. In one corner is Joseph Stalin.

Rivera's murals were not simply blatant propaganda but attempted to show the sweep of the political struggles and their contending forces.

He wanted to become a political leader, which Trotsky advised him against. Shortly after, he broke from Trotsky and later returned to the Communist Party.

The period of the 1940s and 1950s up to his death in 1957 is represented by portraits of himself and friends, surrealist-type images and allegorical paintings.

The way this exhibition is presented appears to be an attempt to take away from Rivera the essence of his work and to exploit the connections with the Ford Motor Company.

The real testimony to his art remains on the walls in Mexico covering some 6,000 square metres.

ing in a dark centre, rays of poison spray at the left facing a chorus of singing people, the violent fleshed ellipse of microbes swinging boldly across, balanced by the ellipse of stars and nebulae.

From Bloch's diary again (1 May): 'The top part of the panel is finished, with Lenin holding hands with the group. Diego painted him without his cap. Now there's no doubt about who is up there! He made a good likeness of the worker too.'

And 3 May: 'The female gymnasts leaping over hurdles were painted yesterday. Now it's the microcosm ellipse below the Lenin section. In contrast to the evil germs of poverty, social diseases on the fascist side, Diego is painting the womb and the ovum, the spermatozoa — the living, positive miracles of Life.'

'But there's a weird ugly mass of cells toward the centre of the Crossroad. Diego explained that it is the cancerous cell representing Stalinism, the growing worship of a totalitarian regime invading a great ideal. Wow! what a conception — right on the walls of a capitalist building.'

Nelson Rockefeller tried to persuade Rivera to take out the Lenin figure but Rivera refused. He offered as a compromise to change a section showing card players and paint in portraits of Lincoln and Jefferson 'but he would never take out Lenin,' Bloch records, 'as that man represents a new future.'

Diary entry, 6 May: 'Frieda told me not to lose a minute but to start making photos of the fresco since things might happen any time now. It is getting pretty serious if she warns me, and I feel my role of a photographer, given to me at the start of the great project, is becoming crucial.'

Bloch mentions in her article that Frieda (Rivera's wife) told her of a meeting she had attended between Rivera 'with some important RCA people and a trade representative of Amtorg, the only link the USSR had with the USA at that time, as the United States had not yet officially recognised the Soviet Union.'

'Would you believe it,' said Frieda, 'if I told you that this guy repudiated Diego, that he called him a troublemaker who had nothing to do with the interests of the USSR? As far as they, Russia, were concerned, they washed their hands of anything relating to the Lenin painting.' She added, 'This meeting has been hushed up!'

'Heavy-set men' had now been stationed at the entrance to the building, checking everybody who came in. Although no more photography was allowed Bloch managed to take a few more shots while the guards' attention was being deliberately distracted.

From Bloch's diary for 9 May: 'The RCA was in a fever: more news from Rockefeller and the contractors saying Rivera must remove the Lenin head or they will cover up the fresco. Diego doesn't seem much perturbed. They just couldn't do anything to such a tremendous art work.'

But the fate of the mural was only hours away. Rivera appears in his street clothes and solemnly breaks the news. 'I've been ordered to stop because of Lenin.' The private telephone that had been installed for the Rivera team's use was rapidly disconnected — in the middle of them phoning around various newspapers. Everyone was ordered out of the building. 'They are guarding the entrances with revolvers!!!' Bloch records.

'One could hear streams of workers coming from all sides with boards and hammers, hectic pounding going on in the lobby... Workmen covered windows with tarpaulins so no one outside could know what happened. They added boards over the heavy canvas nailed to the fresco so nobody would peek at the painting. We emptied the scaffold of trowels and pails, throwing the water all over the floor in disgust.'

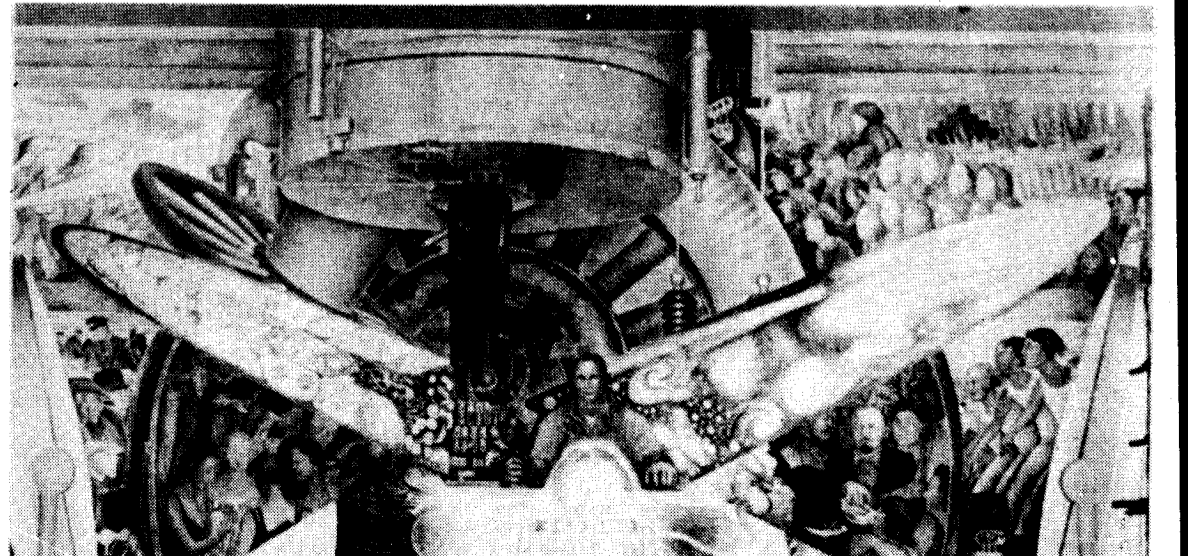
Throughout the political protests that followed, which were reported worldwide, the Communist Party USA continued to denounce Rivera's 'opportunism'. General Motors cancelled a commission for a Rivera mural at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair. His patronage by US capitalists had apparently come to an end.

Rivera did go on to paint a series of 21 fresco panels, 'Portrait of America', for the Communist Party Opposition at the New Workers School. He also did two small fresco panels for the Communist League, the themes here being the October Revolution and the Fourth International. In December he and Frieda returned to Mexico.

In an epilogue to her article, Lucienne Bloch, tells of a cold February New York evening, in 1934, when she and her companion Stephen Dimitroff, whom she had first met when working on the Rivera murals together, decided to take a walk to the RCA building. 'The streets were deserted,' she writes. 'We strolled wistfully to the entrance of the building, wondering how the fresco was, hidden behind its coverings.'

'The doors were locked. In the semi-dark, we noticed about a dozen 50-gallon oil drums against the RCA entrance, heaped with what looked like small chunks of plaster. Horror of horrors: it was the fresco, smashed into tiny pieces — Diego's mural! We picked up some chunks to make sure. Yes, we recognised the brushstrokes of the painting. In one instant, all our hopes that the mural could still be saved were shattered.'

'We immediately rang the newspapers and Bertram D. Wolfe, who called Diego in Mexico. A new wave of protest rose among liberals and creative artists who were already distressed at the news from Germany, where the insane burning of books was only the beginning of the holocaust.'



Lucienne Bloch's photograph of the nearly completed RCA mural a few days before work on it was brought to a halt.

# BUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# A big lesson from

# France!

SINCE the Workers Revolutionary Party expelled G. Healy over two years ago, we have concentrated our efforts on a struggle to bring together politically, theoretically and organisationally all those forces internationally who are for building the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

The centre of this work in 1987 has been the setting up of the Preparatory Committee to organise a World Conference for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International.

The WRP and the other parties and groups in this Committee set out in 'Ten Points' the minimum political foundations of the work for the Conference.

These points were intended to mark us off clearly from all those false claimants to the proud name 'Trotskyist' who have blighted the history of the Fourth International.

In particular, the politics of Michel Pablo, one time secretary of the Fourth International, and his successor Ernest Mandel, present leader of what is known as the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec for short), have masqueraded as Trotskyists, but have in reality been nothing more nor less than a liquidation of the independent Marxist politics which the working class needs and which it is the task of Bolsheviks, Trotskyists, to provide.

We in the WRP and the Preparatory Committee are convinced that the Fourth International can only be built, and is being built, in a struggle to defeat that liquidationism, to expose and defeat it wherever it shows its head.

Where there are workers who are misled into supporting the politics of Mandel, we believe the only way to win them to Trotskyism is to oppose vigorously the politics and theories of their leaders like Mandel.

**PROBABLY** the largest national section of Mandel's renegade 'International' is the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) of France.

Anyone interested in building the Fourth International who had any doubts about our condemnation of 'Mandelism' will surely be convinced by reading of the latest act of treachery by the LCR.

This organisation has announced its open and enthusiastic support for the Presidential candidature of Pierre Juquin.

As part of the break-up of Stalinism internationally, this man Juquin has led a group of 'dissidents' in the French Communist Party on the most right-wing platform which has ever been seen in a Communist Party anywhere.

In doing so he has only taken to its logical conclusion the 'peaceful coexistence' and 'parliamentary roads to socialism' which have become common coin throughout the Stalinist parties.

But in his election call, Juquin has gone even farther than his already stated re-

jection of the revolutionary role of the working class, his rejection of the necessity of the working class taking power and establishing its own rule.

He has made a call which abandons the working class as a class. He appeals to the small businessman no less than to the immigrant worker without rights.

His call for 'peace' is about 'changing the relation between France and the rest of the world' — a call to 'Frenchmen'.

He calls not for the ending of capitalism, even by reforms, let alone by revolution, but he does call for a 'renewal of the great human values'! He calls not for the expropriation of the bosses, but for a place for every worker in the management of the enterprise.

## Patriots

Here, in the guise of an appeal to all democrats and patriots, with a condemnation of the outworn schemas of all existing political organisations, is a recipe for some kind of national unity and national discipline in the name of shared great human values.

Any socialist, any class-conscious worker, let alone anyone pretending to be a Trotskyist, will recognise this dangerous middle-class demagoguery for what it is worth — an orgy of classlessness which in times of mass struggle and great political tension can be turned to the advantage of the most powerful elements of the ruling class.

The financial crisis which erupted in October has brought home just how close we are to great political upheavals and to the attendant dangers, in which the political independence of the working class will emerge with the greatest urgency as the key question of our epoch. It is precisely that urgency which lies at the base of the existence of the Fourth International.

Juquin's evolution should surprise no one, and even its rapidity was predictable.

But the craven capitulation of the Mandeliste LCR is most certainly a sharp lesson in how far the degeneration of the 'USec' has gone, and how urgent is the task of building the Fourth International on its true foundations.

We have printed Juquin's statement in full, so that every member of the Workers Revolutionary Party and every Workers Press reader can judge for her or himself. The statement was printed in the LCR's paper 'Rouge'

on 15 October without criticism.

In the following issue of 22 October, Rouge carried the resolutions of the LCR's Central Committee. By a two-thirds majority they scrapped the independent candidature of their leader Krivine and endorsed Juquin, declaring:

*'It now becomes possible that the crisis of the Communist Party will result not just in the sterile discouragement of thousands of its members and militants, but that all those who have for years been engaged in day-to-day struggles, a new generation can incarnate its hopes in concrete political perspectives. The presidential campaign can thus be a stage in the emergence of a new political force.'*

*'Our first aim is to give the maximum effectiveness to this united campaign, to get the best result, to defeat the right without starting 1981-1986 all over again, in order that there shall be constituted a force which is at the same time united and intransigent, capable of conducting a real policy of social transformation in the service of the exploited and the oppressed.'*

And more of the same. . .

*'Pierre Juquin is contributing to the defining of a line of resistance to resignation, and to give a content once again to the will for change, without seeking to lay down an exhaustive catalogue of proposals, which will come up and define themselves normally in the course of the campaign.'*

This is usually called, in politics, a blank cheque. . .

The LCR Central Committee resolution (which we will publish in full in a later issue) ends by declaring:

*'The LCR will throw all its forces into this campaign, as much through its own activity as through its inclusion without any reservations in the united support organisations which are set up.'*

The last observation necessary on the LCR is that this same Central Committee decided on an LCR Congress this month to confirm the line, and they have invited 'Juquin and his team' to be present.

We have not the slightest doubt that this whole affair will enable many militants who have been studying the history of differences between Trotskyism and revisionism to finally write 'RIP' over the claims of



Last December and January saw big struggles in France: David Assouline of the Ligue Ouvrière Revolutionnaire or 'Verite' group was a leader of the huge student movement which was followed by the rail strike. Above: striking railworkers demonstrate.

Mandel's USec to be Trotskyist.

**BUT there remains another matter of great interest in this sorry tale.**

The prominent establishment newspaper 'Le Monde', reporting Juquin's 'launch', notes that he was surrounded by what he calls his 'team' (he refers to them in his statement, published here).

One of this group of celebrities is a certain Monsieur David Assouline, said to be the spokesman of the student movement.

Assouline did indeed emerge prominently in the big student movement at the end of 1986.

Then, as now, he did not include among his credentials the fact that he is an Executive member of an organisation which calls itself the Fourth International (another one), which has a French section called the LOR (Ligue Ouvrière Revolutionnaire).

These people have wished always to picture themselves as opponents of the revisionism of Mandel and Krivine.

(We had occasion to expose the revisionist theories embraced by this group in a controversy in the WRP's journal 'Tasks of the Fourth International' one year ago.)

Now they embrace the

identical policy of liquidation, not just into Stalinism but into the right-wing politics of Juquin, who mentions neither the working class nor socialism in his statement.

Assouline's group are probably better known as the publishers of the journal 'La Verite'.

They originated as a principled split from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), but in 1984 they excluded Michel Varga and the comrades who formed the GOCQI (Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International), developing a line of adaptation to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

At the beginning of this year our Preparatory Committee would not accept the application of the 'La Verite' group to join it: their stated politics were opposed to the most important of the 'Ten Points'.

We consider that this 'Juquin' experience richly confirms the stand we took, against all those who said we were being arbitrary.

It is crystal-clear that the direction of Assouline's politics is straight into the arms of the LCR and the USec. Their marriage will no doubt occur very shortly.

After all, Assouline will be present at the LCR Congress in his capacity of one of Juquin's team, by special in-

itation! There is not the slightest reason for the two organisations to remain separate.

Any worker or student in either organisation who wants to be a Trotskyist will draw the obvious conclusions and find ways of working with the Preparatory Committee.

● The United States co-thinkers of the 'La Verite', so-called Fourth International — who are called the 'Trotskyist Organisation' have already decided. In a resolution dated 7 September, they decided that their organisation should enter the Socialist Action group, that is the supporters of Mandel's 'Unified Secretariat' in the United States.



# Juquin's declaration of his presidential candidature

Translated from 'Rouge', paper of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, 15-21 October 1987

**COVER** several years I have gone through an experience which has taught me a great deal and led me to profound reappraisals. I have met men and women who have come from very different horizons and who have followed different paths.

Some are, like me, communists, or have been; others feel themselves far away from communism. Some are workers, employees; others technicians, managers; others cultivators; others intellectuals, officials; some even businessmen. Most of them are less than 35 years old.

But all of them are reflecting; all of them struggle in their workplace or their sphere of life, thinking that we live in a rotten epoch and that it is time to come together to make something new, truly new: a precise and concrete politics, which gets away from sclerotic schemas, truly meets up with life, and raises itself to the height of what is at stake nationally, on the European and on the world scale now, as we near the end of this century.

It goes without saying that I will do all I can to ensure that tomorrow we do not have in the Elysée a representative of that conservatism and that injustice which reside in the government today. But the deceptions of the seven-year term now ending have taught us that in order to realise these hopes of change, it is not enough that a tame left and a dogmatic Communist Party win the elections.

It is essential that, in society, a movement impels and helps to put in operation a realistic project for a change of social relations. Recently the actions of anti racists, school pupils and students, railwaymen, and teachers, have contributed to opening the paths of unity, of democratic control, of a politics which reconciles words and deeds; they have proved that great forces, full of vitality, exist in France.

But a project and a general perspective are necessary. The presidential election of 1988 can help in bringing about their appearance, in listening to people, in responding to their longing to live differently, to change things. It is in this spirit that I have decided to be a candidate, addressing myself to all those who, seeking new solutions, still hesitate to get involved because they can see no credible political outcome.

I do not have some special personal knowledge, I do not put up some catalogue of promises, and I do not demand a blank cheque. Quite simply, I am going to try, to the extent that it is possible, to make heard the desires and aspirations which so need to be heard and of which established politics knows nothing; I am going to try and get definite results for precise proposals. My project? To renew, to renew French society.

First of all, to renew work. Must a person, a 20-year-old secretary, drag through all his or her life in the same work at 5,500 francs a month? When one is a 15-year-old CES or LEP student, must one ask oneself: what is my future, to suffer austerity, to rebel powerlessly against everything shocking in life: inequality, hunger, atomic weapons, drugs? When a young person is creative and full of ideas, must he or she stand powerless before a system which refuses to provide the means to launch a business?

What is modern, is to give everyone a skilled and interesting job, to allow everyone to express himself in his trade. What is modern, is to go much farther than the simple and indispensable guaranteeing of the rights of wage-earners at work, by allowing everyone to be aware and to have a say in what the enterprise produces, for whom it produces, and how it produces. What is modern, is to reduce the time spent by everyone in forced work?

Next, to renew the great human values. Must an immigrant, who produces wealth, raises his children, pays his taxes and social security payments, see himself refused the right to vote, as it was refused for so long to workers, to women, and to young people? Must a person, just because she is a woman, see herself deprived of the best education, refused management jobs, denied all posts of responsibility? What is modern, is equality. I propose that immigrants can vote in the next municipal and European elections, in 1989.

I propose that the Constitution be altered in such a way that elected assemblies and government bodies have equal proportions

of women and men. Must one, because one is poor, suffer every exclusion, every injustice? Must an old person go away to die alone in hospital? What is modern, is solidarity. I will open up a social security which will be wider in scope because it is renewed, a real integration of the old into social life, an overcoming of every form of exclusion.

Because one does not happen to be a professional in politics, must one leave everything to be decided by a few men who are for the most part deaf to people's essential wishes? What is modern, is democracy. Nothing is more archaic in our day than the extreme personalisation of power. I would wish for my campaign itself to be the occasion for the largest number of people to come together, to make their voices heard, to get results. Is not that the road that is called self-management (autogestion)?

Finally, to renew the relations between France and the rest of the world. Is it necessary, after the accidents of Three Mile Island in the US and Chernobyl in the USSR, to persist in the construction of nuclear power stations? Is it necessary to live under the threat of a war which threatens the destruction of the human race? Must the developed industrial nations fester in their egotism? What is modern, is to place sincerely on the table all the information on scientific and technical problems; I propose an honest and thoroughgoing debate on civilian nuclear power.

What is modern, is peace. I propose that France accomplishes a bold stroke in favour of disarmament by elaborating a defence policy which ceases to rely on the nuclear deterrent. What is modern, is the alliance of all those who live on the earth; I propose that France renounces every survival of colonialism, writes off all debts due to it from third world countries, and sets out on a policy of economic justice on the planet. These could be the bases of an alternative politics, sincere and courageous, creating a new society.

Close friends have wished me to stand: 'renovateur' communists (i.e., those in the right-wing faction of the Stalinist Party led by Juquin himself) of course, but also the PSU (United Socialist Party), the LCR (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire; French section of the revisionist Mandel-led 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International'), the FGA.

Having said that, I am not the candidate of any organisation, any group. The question which is posed goes far beyond that. I have a team around me which is essentially young, in which already there exist in alliance various feelings — communists, socialists, ecologists — spokesmen of the student movement, leaders of the anti-racist movement, trade unionists, the leaders of associations. I call upon all those who are interested in a project for social change and who want to advance problems to come together in forming open and pluralist committees, where all men and women will be able to find themselves even if they do not yet support me.

I invite them to multiply initiatives which, making it possible for everyone to express themselves and taking into account all opinions, will break with the forms of action of the traditional parties. I ask them to make use of all possibilities of dialogue and of union. I want this presidential campaign to thus serve to get going a dynamic of renewal.

## RCL ATTACKED BY RIGHT WING THUGS

**SRI LANKAN** Trotskyists belonging to the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) have been attacked by right-wing thugs while selling their papers in the docks area of Colombo.

Four members of the RCL (Sri Lankan section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) were tied up and beaten by a gang, who apparently intended killing them.

The comrades managed to shout out who they were and why they were being attacked. A crowd which had gathered came to their rescue.

The thugs were led by a known supporter of the island's ruling United National Party. The RCL has launched a campaign among the dockers against right-wing thuggery.

# JAMES AIRLIE

## A political profile

BY JOHN REES

**JAMES AIRLIE**, of the engineering union (AEU) national committee, has gained a reputation as a skilled negotiator amongst the trade union 'new realists'.

Airlie is also a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Over the last year he has gained some prominence in the labour movement; firstly as the man who ordered a return to work and an end of the Caterpillar occupation because 'victory' was in sight with a proposal that the Scottish Development Agency was to take over the plant.

The result was 800 job losses and the end of a vital political lesson for all workers — the Caterpillar occupation.

Secondly Airlie is one of the main architects of the single-union deal at the proposed Ford plant at Dundee.

This deal has been attacked by workers in all major Ford plants in Britain, as was detailed in Workers Press 14 November.

'Airlie has lined up completely with the right wing advocates of "new realism" in the unions,' said Workers Press when the deal was signed.

The point is that Airlie has always been a 'new realist', his practice at Caterpillar and over the Dundee negotiations flow from his particular kind of political realism — Stalinism.

Airlie has never been confused about splits and disagreements in the Communist Party never faltered from the path laid out in his party's programme 'The British Road to Socialism.'

The essence of that programme is that the British political and economic system can be reconstructed peacefully, in stages and in agreement with progressive elements in British industrial life. Its 'realism' lies in collaboration with capitalism and government over the 'saving' of British manufacturing industry.

Mick McGahey's bagman in the coalfields, George Bolton, is busy saving British Coal through collaboration with management attacks on workers' rights, conditions and very existence whilst Airlie does the same in Dundee. Both men have spent time in the leadership of Britain's Stalinist organisation — the CPGB.

The confusion in the Communist Campaign Group and 'Morning Star' over the Dundee deal reflects the lack of political cohesion in an organisation that owes its existence to Stalinism's attack on its own militant base in industry and on the apostles of the alternative economic and political strategy amongst Party intellectuals.

The latter have been cut adrift from mainstream Stalinism and will suffer the same fate as the sectarian New Communist Party — political irrelevance.

Airlie, as with Bolton, will carry on the counter-revolutionary role of Stalin-



JAMES AIRLIE

ism right in the heart of Britain's working class and that is why he must be exposed.

Some in the labour movement may claim this is high blown rhetoric; surely it is not Airlie's communism at fault, it is just that he has been sucked into official leadership and lost touch with the militants.

My posing of this position is not dishonest, I've heard it said by so many about other 'honest militants' sucked into the system — Panter (AEU), Reid (AEU), Daly (NUM) and so on.

**JIMMY REID** was James Airlie's comrade in a famous struggle on the Upper Clyde way back in 1971 when Airlie and Reid were stewards leading the fight to save shipbuilding yards on the Clyde's upper reaches.

It is to that historical location that we must return to establish an answer to our questioner and to fix the continuity of Stalinism in James Airlie's political and trade union career.

'Originally we set our sights higher than the award we finally accepted. The main point arising from the negotiations was a desire for both sides to cooperate in a mutual fashion to establish a flourishing industry on the upper reaches.'

Airlie in this statement exposes his whole political strategy in one line, 'to cooperate in mutual fashion to establish a flourishing industry.'

That strategy had two elements in 1971 as it does in 1987; firstly to collaborate with the bosses and tie the workers to campaigns of pressure on the Tory government, and secondly to keep the political question of independent working class action out of industrial struggle.

Airlie, in 1972 at the University of Lancaster, stated that workers could not be 'driven to revolution' by 'banging them over the head with a copy of Workers Press'.

This statement yet again reveals more about Airlie; for him workers are a stage army to be negotiated and manipulated into positions like so many pawns in a game of industrial chess. What was the result of this strategy at the Upper Clyde Shipyards in the early 1970s?

1. The parcelling up of the yards to separate em-

2. Separate negotiations with Marathon and Govan shipbuilders. (Haven't we seen this before, aren't we seeing it today?)
3. Separate pay and condition deals in different yards.

In human terms, a 25-per cent cut in the labour force. When the UCS company was liquidated in June 1971 there were 8,449 workers, in December 1971 7,149 and by 1972 only 6,000.

The lost men ended up on the dole. Incidentally this at a time of massive job losses across Scotland.

However Airlie's strategy was not born in defeat and unemployment — he and his comrades were putting into practice during years of mass defiance of the Tory government, let us not forget the miners' strike of 1972 and the freeing of the five London dockers in the same year.

However, it was in the Clydebank yard, eventually owned by Marathon (Texas oil rig firm), that Stalinism was prepared to do a 'deal with the Tiger': a deal outlawing unofficial strikes, a system of binding arbitration and harsh penalty clauses imposed on independently minded workers.

All these facts and the story behind them can be found in an old Socialist Labour League pamphlet by Stephen Johns — 'Reformism on the Clyde — the Story of UCS'.

Yes, in March 1973 the Socialist Labour League (forerunner of the WRP) set out a blistering attack on Stalinism and its main spokesman Jimmy Reid.

Reid, 'dizzy with success', finally found his rightful place churning out garbage on the historic miners' strike for capitalism's yellow press.

Airlie, who in personal chats, used to say that Reid burnt himself out with activity and never took much-needed country week-end breaks with his family, stayed in the labour movement.

Herein lies our problem: we can yet again describe the counter-revolutionary role of men like Airlie, we can sympathise with young workers who declare that the only strings they want are the ones round Airlie's neck, but can we in the urgency of the hour go on to build the leadership that will cast out the Airlies and the Boltons?

That is the burning question of our movement in every single working class community. Lenin's words ring across the century:

'What we do know for certain and are unshakably convinced of is that our Party, will work indefatigably — in our country and among our proletariat and through its day-by-day activities will build up the Russian section of the Marxist International.' (Lenin's Collected Works, Volume 21, page 330.)

# LETTERS

## International opposition to Healy

IN REPLYING to comrade Pilling's nationalistic article 'Two years since Healy's expulsion' I claimed that 'it is a matter of historical fact that no challenge to the deepening decay (of the WRP/ICFI) came from leaders of other sections until 1981/1982' (Workers Press 2 November 1987).

I have since been reminded that this is not true. Following the expulsion of G. Healy and others, L Sklavos, former leader of the Greek section of the IC wrote a letter which was published in Workers Press on 3 May 1986.

Amongst other things he pointed out that in the mid 1970s he had opposed certain aspects of WRP/ICFI degeneration. This included the notion that Arafat was 'heading towards the notion of Permanent Revolution', the 'subjective pseudo philosophy of Healy' and Tom White's 'participation in the committee of co-management in Leyland.'

For his pains, 'Healy and Banda', wrote Sklavos 'stopped a meeting of the IC to take (him) into Healy's office and threaten him with physical violence if he stood against the position the WRP leadership had taken.'

Worse still, 'To get rid of him' Sklavos additionally stated, 'they imposed, with a personal visit by Healy, a split on the Greek section.'

Comrade Slaughter confirmed the accuracy of this account two weeks later in Workers Press (17 May 1986) when he wrote: 'The important thing is what is said (by Sklavos - NW) on the history of the Greek section of the IC, and this is correct.'

I would welcome from comrade Slaughter and anyone else, any further evidence of international opposition (and suppression by the IC leadership) to the anti-Trotskyist policies of the IC in the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

Norah Wilde

### NOTE

THIS WEEK we have received a number of letters which have had to be held over due to lack of space.

## Abortion rights under attack

THE LIBERAL MP for Mossley Hill, Liverpool, David Alton is trying to get his amendment to the abortion law passed for a second reading in the House of Commons.

If this amendment is passed, it will be most distressing and oppressive to many women, especially working class women who in many cases now due to unemployment are the only breadwinners in some families.

The David Alton amendment is to deny an abortion to a woman whose pregnancy has gone beyond 18 weeks.

The cuts in the health service already mean that there is a long wait in getting back the results of tests carried out for patients in general. In the case of a pregnant woman this is all the more urgent. A woman could be carrying an abnormal child which may not be detected till after the 18 weeks.

By this time she would not be eligible for an abortion.

This would be very distressing to most families as the responsibility for the sick and the elderly has fallen back onto the family due to further cuts in the health service.

As far as David Alton is concerned it is a moral issue. What he is saying is that the unborn baby is a person in its own right and has the right to life but this is not the case at all. It is still a part of the mother's body and only she has the right to want the joys of motherhood.

Motherhood should not be forced on her. This will also mean a step back to the days of back street abortions when many women died.

The fact that David Alton (sic) is a Catholic and has the support of the Catholic Church, is the driving force behind the Bill.

The Catholic Church in this and the question of birth control has a very oppressive role to play against women.

To give an example. Still today after the revolution in Nicaragua the Sandinista government is tied to the Catholic Church.

Despite the fact that women came forward to support the revolution they are still oppressed by the anti-abortion laws (a woman or the person performing the abortion can get up to 30

years imprisonment) which the Sandinista government never repealed.

The campaign taken up in the labour movement spearheaded by the Women's Committee of the Labour Party here in Liverpool must be broadened out into the whole labour movement and into the communities and linked up in the struggle against the cuts in the health service.

One of the five hospitals due to close is the Women's Hospital, Catherine Street, which is the only hospital to provide abortions to the women of Liverpool.

Phyllis Maginnis

## WRP marginalises women's issues

AS YET (23 November) Workers Press has not raised the issue of David Alton's anti-abortion Bill.

This can only be due to the WRP's tendency to marginalise the complex issues of sexism and sexuality; placing them outside the 'mainstream' of Marxist development.

The bureaucratic dogmatism, parochialism and conservatism of the pre-split WRP unfortunately still exist in questions that directly affect well over half of society; the double oppression of women and homosexuals.

Both are central areas of development of the Marxist understanding of bourgeois society and both have been marginalised by the WRP for fundamentally the same reasons.

These developments will come not by paying lip service to the issues but by constantly fighting on them with a revolutionary socialist perspective.

It is no coincidence that the miners' strike of 1984/1985 which is now accepted as one of the most immediate driving forces behind the revolution in the party also forced the labour movement as a whole to turn more towards accepting the central role of women and lesbians and gays in class struggle due to the prominence of miners' wives' support groups, women against pit closures and lesbian and gay support groups.

For the first time sections

Send your letters to Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT. Letters do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Board. Letters may be cut for reasons of space.

of the organised working class began to view the issues with a class perspective in place of the previous tendency of seeing them as democratic, liberation petty-bourgeois movements.

In large sections of the women's movement the latter view had been nurtured by the populist single-issue approach of the reformist and stalinist leaderships.

While defending the 4th International against revisionism and liquidationism on an international scale the SLL/WRP constantly capitulated to petty-bourgeois forces by accepting that lesbian and gay rights and women's rights are 'democratic demands' with no central place in the programme of the revolutionary party.

The class nature of the oppression of women and of lesbians and gays have very much the same roots although are very different in essence. The preservation of the nuclear family unit enforced by the state and its tool, organised religion, is essential for the survival of capitalism. The family in bourgeois society serves the requirements of capital by:

1. Defending private property.
2. Fragmenting the working class into isolated units, forced to compete with each other in the labour market in order to survive.
3. Forming hierarchy within the family itself which perpetuates the reactionary ideology on which it is founded, re-enforcing concepts of social and sexual 'norms'.

Independence from this rigid structure is anathema to capitalism (except under the dictates of industry, e.g. migrant labour). The church serves the state admirably in this respect by laying down a morality tailored to the needs of capitalism.

Hence, homosexuality is unnatural, a sin according to the churches and a women's place is in the home or in the mill depending on the predominant industry of the area in which she lives.

With the current crisis in capitalism the ruling class will impose their morality more and more intensely on the working class with increasing importance placed on the family as the German Nazis did in the 1930s.

Any deviance from this 'morality' will be brutally suppressed, hence the upsurge in the anti-abortion lobby and the anti-homosexual witch-hunt using the excuse of the AIDS scare.

These attacks have a bonus for capitalism in fragmenting the working-class and driving opportunist left groupings into populist campaigning which can only serve to re-enforce workers illusions in bourgeois democracy.

The way the Alton Bill has been taken up by various left groups is very telling about their overall perspective. The SWP has raised the slogan of 'Defeat Alton's Bill - No Return to Backstreet Abortions' with no other demands.

According to them, this is the only demand which should be raised in order to gain as much popular support as possible - class politics goes out the window. In their eyes the only reason it is a class issue is that working women will be forced to have back-street abortions while their rich counterparts can afford private clinics.

While the facts here are undeniable they fail to look beyond the most superficial level and end up effectively condoning the hopelessly inadequate 1967 Abortion Act.

Workers Power go further saying the fundamental issue is who controls a woman's body. They raise the demand of free abortion on demand, day-care facilities for abortions and a woman's right to choose.

While far better than the SWP's anti-working class opportunist rantings we have here 'communists' 'discovering' a new revolutionary concept, the mystical 'right' of an individual over the rest of society. The WRP is worse than both in seeing the Alton Bill as unimportant.

The party has cadre more than capable of producing a Marxist programme on these issues. First it must wake up to the fact that the politics of sexism and sexuality are of central importance not simply in our national work but as an integral part of our perspective in the reconstruction of the 4th International.

Chris Boylan,  
Leicester WRP

## Stalinists smear Kitson

I CAN back what reader James D. Young (Workers Press, 21 November) says about the dirty campaign being waged against David Kitson.

Last year I attended a meeting where Ben Turok,

an ANC member, spoke about the struggles in South Africa. Like David Kitson, he had been a prisoner of the Apartheid regime. Much of what he had to say impressed me.

He spoke of the way the Black youth were in the forefront of the struggle, and of what we could do to help. He was honest about some of the ANC's past errors, such as initially encouraging Chief Buthelezi, who is now one of the Black masses' worst enemies.

However, as soon as somebody - a Communist Party member actually - asked a question about David Kitson, Turok's sincerity disappeared. Instead of giving an honest answer, he began talking about 'people who break away', and referred again to Buthelezi.

I protested that surely he was not making a comparison? At this, Turok hurriedly assured us that of course not, David was an old friend, they had been prisoners together, etc.

Yet, had the speaker not been challenged, he would have left anyone who didn't know better, with the impression that David Kitson, 'old friend' or not, was some kind of traitor to the struggle - to which he has dedicated his life.

I don't think Turok could have believed this himself, but this is apparently the line that is being pushed. I've since heard that Turok is a South African CP supporter.

Recalling the way David Kitson got in trouble with the London ANC and Anti-Apartheid establishment because he refused to disown those who had campaigned for him in City Group, including his wife and children, I wonder whether pressure has not been put on old friends and comrades to toe the line in attacking him, whatever they privately think.

This really is Stalinist behaviour in the classic Moscow Trials tradition. It goes with the ongoing attempts to monopolise Anti-Apartheid campaigning here for supposed 'ANC-approved' speakers.

The way the fight for Mayekiso was opposed by the Stalinists and their allies should be a warning. If the Communist Party and Anti-Apartheid establishment are allowed to sew-up all campaigning here, they will use this stranglehold to stitch up the African workers.

David Dorfman  
London

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ  
LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984  
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989  
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338  
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637  
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877  
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016  
JOHN MCCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715  
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636  
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064

#### MAIDSTONE

HM Prison County Road, Maidstone, Kent  
DONAL CRAIG, 4-year sentence, L40579

#### PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX  
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603  
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532  
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25-year sentence, L48616  
SEAN McSHANE, B75898  
TOMMY SHERRY, Life sentence 69204  
PETER QUIGLEY, Life sentence, B75880

#### WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks, WF2 9AG  
NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B1644  
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225

#### ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS  
MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087  
HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638  
BILLY GRIMES, 10-year sentence, 78647  
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661

#### GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP  
RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799  
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence, 758663  
JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, 30-year sentence, ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham  
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085  
BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662  
PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034  
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662  
MICHAEL J McKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486  
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722

#### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ  
PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888  
GERARD McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882  
BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380  
PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881

#### DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham  
MARTINA ANDERSON, Life sentence, D25134  
ELLA O'DWYER, Life sentence, D25135

#### BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF  
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25 year sentence, L48616

#### REMAND PRISONERS:

PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694  
BRIXTON  
LIAM McCOTTER, LB83693  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694  
LIAM QUINN, 49930

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

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilslow, Cheshire  
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree  
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin  
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Long Lartin  
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham  
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs  
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs  
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs  
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs  
RICHARD McLKENNY, 509497, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs  
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs

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

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

## ROBSON'S CHOICE

On **Saturday**, at 8p.m.(BBC2), the Borodin String Quartet play *Shostakovich*.

At 10.05p.m.(BBC2), Luchino Visconti's spectacular chronicle of social and political revolution in 19th century Italy, *The Leopard*, made in 1963.

On **Sunday**, at 1.50p.m.(Radio 3), Richard Wagner's opera *Tannhuser* in a Bayreuth Festival production.

At 6.30p.m.(BBC2), *The Money Programme* focuses on the Japanese economy after the dollar crash of 1987. At 7.50p.m.(BBC2), the great philosopher this week is *Nietzsche*. At 10.15p.m.(BBC2), John Frankheimer's film, *Birdman of Alcatraz*.

On **Monday**, at 6p.m.(BBC2), a highly original science fiction film, *Things to Come*, based on H.G.Wells' doom laden novel of the same name. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Woody Allen's *Sleeper*, set in the year 2173, to be exact. At 10.10p.m.(BBC1), part-four

of *A Perfect Spy*.

On **Tuesday**, at 8.30p.m.(Radio 3), a play by Francoise Campo-Timal, *A Long Fidelity*, set in post-Second World War Vietnam. At 9p.m.(C4), part-three of the documentary series, *Hot House People*. At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), Sydney Pollack's film, *Absence of Malice*.

Also at 9.30p.m.(BBC2), *Footsteps*, the archeological series, follows Charles Fellows' (1799-1860) journey of discovery through Turkey. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), *First Tuesday* looks at the legacy of the civil rights movement in Alabama and the Divis Estate in Belfast, said to have been the worst slum in Europe before it was pulled down.

On **Wednesday**, at 6.30p.m.(C4), part-three in Peter West's thoroughly watchable, if disappointingly superficial documentary series, *All in a Day's Life*. At 7.30p.m.(Radio 3), *The Basarids*, an opera in one act with music by Hans Werner Henze.

At 9p.m.(C4), a Mozart opera *Mitridate*. At 9.25p.m.(BBC2), part-five of *A Perfect Spy*.

On **Thursday**, at 2p.m.(Radio 3), *Des Teufels Lustschloss*, 'The Devil's Pleasuredrome', an opera in three acts with music by Franz Schubert. At 8p.m.(C4), a programme which quite appropriately could have been given the same title as Schubert's opera, looks at institutionalised fiddling on the stock exchange, and is actually called: *The Insider Traders*. At 10.45p.m.(C4), Court Report presents *The Birmingham 6*, a dramatised summary of the appeal hearing at the Old Bailey.

On **Friday**, at 11.45p.m.(BBC2), you can enjoy Woody Allen's first screenplay in Clive Donner's film *What's New Pussycat?*

TOM SCOTT ROBSON

## PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

## Whitewash at 'The Cross'?

THE first London building I ever set foot in, when I visited the capital in 1938, was inevitably King's Cross, then as now the terminus for trains from Hull.

At the age of 11 I felt dwarfed and rather awed by the two arched roofs of Lewis Cubitt's 1851-1852 building, so much bigger and busier, and incontestably more metropolitan, than Hull's Paragon Station where my five-hour journey had started.

When I moved to London permanently, nine years later, King's Cross seemed to have shrunk somewhat, though its façade, clearly revealing the shape of the train-sheds behind, was still eerily impressive when glanced back at through the early-evening December gloom.

For many years to come 'The Cross', as every north London bus conductor then referred to it, was to remain for me the focal point and principal landmark of the gradually expanding area of London that I came to know quite well, and I confess to a sentimental attachment to it that has survived to this day.

Barely ten minutes' walk away along the Gray's Inn Road were the Swinton Street premises of the 'Daily Worker', where I started work on the last day of 1947, and the local, then called the Pindar of Wakefield but latterly renamed for no very clear reason, that was used by both the 'Worker' staff and our colleagues of 'Reynolds News'.

King's Cross was a place — in my eyes, it was the place — for gleeful family

arrivals and tearful family farewells. I can even remember its telephone number (TERminus 4200), which shows how often I would ring up, sometimes waiting half an hour or more for a reply, to check on a Hull train's arrival or departure time.

I loved to board the train there and hear once more the homely Yorkshire voices that brought instantly to mind Hull Fair, fish and chips, and hundreds of bicycles halted at level crossings.

I loved the taciturn porters and noisy newsvendors of King's Cross, the plumes of steam and smoke that periodically obscured the arches (and that often figured on jigsaw puzzles of the place), the little long trains of luggage trucks that snaked improbably round the hurrying travellers.

I loved its slatternly teashop, in those days when a venerable pork pie in a glass case was the pinnacle of railway station refreshment; its quite majestic lavatory; its bookstall inhabited more by browsers than buyers; its semi-permanent population of tramps, beggars, winos, and prostitutes; its Salvation Army patrols that sought, for the most part unsuccessfully, to lead those sinners away from sin.

I loved the descent into the Underground system, with its promise of journeys to such faraway mysterious suburbs as High Barnet and Cockfosters, Upminster and Morden.

And even when I got used to King's Cross, as a familiar staging-post on the daily journey home for many years, I never quite discarded my earlier romantic impressions of its strangeness and grandeur; and, for all its latter-day squalor and congestion, I love it still.

I find it impossible to write without emotion, therefore, of the 'disaster that was waiting to happen' and that suddenly turned the King's Cross Underground station into a horrible death-trap.

Everybody who lives in London, and who might so easily have been one of those victims burnt or choked to death, wants to hear some honest answers to the obvious

questions that arise.

We want to know the full facts about the staffing cuts, and the effects these cuts have had on safety precautions, and the warnings that have come from the workers' side that the cuts would have these effects.

We want to know why the workers' warnings about safety were ignored by their superiors. We want to know just who those officials are. We want to know why those who persisted in alerting the public to the peril they were in were threatened with suspension for handing out warning leaflets.

We want those responsible named, prosecuted, and punished, right up to the top of the ladder. We're not going to stand for a cover-up. Not this time.

## The dirt on Hoover

THE recently published life of FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover by Richard Gid Powers, 'Secrecy and Power' (Hutchinson, £16.95), quotes lectures given to FBI trainees. They were told of their Director that 'the sunshine of his presence lights our lives'.

## A socialist poet

ON 4 July I quoted some lines of verse ('We'll teach the knaves a lesson/That they deserve to know'), and several readers have asked me who wrote them. I was trying to find out something about the author before I replied, but I've had little luck.

One bizarre sign that the London Transport bosses might be thinking of trying some kind of cover-up came when six men were set to work repainting the façade of the King's Cross Underground station just before Margaret Thatcher — not, I think, a frequent traveller by tube — arrived to see the devastation for herself.

'We wanted to make it look as nice as possible for her', reporters were told.

This sycophancy makes me very angry indeed. It spits on the agony of the 30 dead and of the living who will bear fearful scars for the rest of their lives; just as it spits on the grief of the relatives, and on the concern of all decent people who know that something is very wrong with London Transport, and that it must be put right without delay.

At the end of their induction, the recruits had the privilege of a short interview with Hoover. They were warned that to fail to meet his eye, to have a quiver in the voice, to wipe a mouth or pick a nose, would lead to instant dismissal. The lecturer added:

'Our Director enjoys standing on a little box when he greets people in his office. Of course, it's just a small one, only six inches high. Pretend you never even notice it!'

'Not long ago we had a new agent who for some reason just couldn't keep his eyes off it. He was fired.'

His name was Jonathan M. Denwood. 'A Workers' Song', from which I quoted, and an anti-war poem called 'For Whom?', written in December 1914, were anthologised by Jack Lindsay and Edgell Rickword in 'A Handbook of Freedom' (Lawrence and Wishart, 1939; reprinted in 1941 as 'Spokesmen for Liberty').

Apart from the fact that he had a brother called Marley Denwood, who compiled an anthology of Lakeland dialect poems, I have been unable to find any information on Jonathan M. Denwood. Can any reader help?

## Crocodiles in the Streets

By Peter Fryer

The British public knows little about Latin America, least of all about recent working class struggles in that continent. This illuminating book is a report on a visit lasting six-and-a-half weeks, during which Peter Fryer met Brazilian gold miners, Argentinian meat workers, Bolivian tin miners on strike, Peruvian metal workers and Colombian trade unionists under threat of death from paramilitary fascist squads.

In all five countries he also met activists and leaders of the Trotskyist parties organised in the International Workers' League (IWL). Fryer lets the people he met speak for themselves. This is a unique account of a continent seething with resistance to capitalism.

Paperback, 84pp. £3.95.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD  
21-25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR  
please add 75p for orders by post

### Workers Revolutionary Party Tower Hamlets and Hackney Marxist Discussion

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

Friday 4 December: The Stalinist Theory of Socialism in a Single Country

### WORKERS PRESS

#### SEMINAR

Writing for the revolutionary press  
Tutor: P. Fryer

Sunday 6 December  
11a.m.-5p.m.

There will be three sessions:

1. Writing
2. Writing a news story
3. Writing a feature article

Emphasis will be on practical work. Bring copious supplies of pencils and paper.

For WRP members. For details of venue (London) ring 01-733 3058.

### WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

#### London public lectures BASIC ELEMENTS OF MARXISM

Crown Tavern  
43 Clerkenwell Green  
London EC1  
Tube: Farringdon

Fridays, 7.30 p.m.

Friday 27 November

Friday 4 December

Friday 11 December

Lecturer: Geoff Pilling



## FREE THE Framed Irish Prisoners!

'If the (Birmingham Six) win it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous... This is such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: it cannot be right, these actions should go no further. (Lord Denning, denying the Birmingham Six the right to proceed with an action against the police for injuries received while in custody) 1980'

A new pamphlet detailing the cases of framed Irish prisoners, including the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four. Copies available from the Framed Irish Prisoners, c/o

### In the Seventieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution WRP East London Branch Discussion on Marx's 'Capital'

Led by Anton Mactonian  
7.30pm Sunday December 6  
Bryant Street Methodist Church,  
Bryant Street, off West Ham Lane.  
Nearest Underground, Stratford

Educational Institute of Scotland  
Lanarkshire Association

### 2nd Annual John Maclean Memorial Lecture

JOHN MACLEAN AND THE RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION:  
NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Thursday 3 December 7p.m.

McLellan Galleries

Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

Lecture given by Terry Brotherstone (History Dept., Aberdeen University); followed by discussion

Tickets from EIS Lanarkshire Association, 25 Gordon Street,  
Glasgow 1

## LISTINGS

5.30p.m.-7p.m. Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

NON-STOP PICKET RALLY Friday, 4 December 6p.m.-7.30p.m. Outside South Africa House. Followed by City Group members' meeting, 8p.m. at Camden Town Hall.

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.

CONFERENCE Scottish Federation of Socialist Teachers. Saturday, 28 November 10.30a.m.-4p.m. The City Halls, Albion Street, Glasgow. Followed by social at Winter Gardens Peoples Palace 7p.m.-1a.m. (Full details from: 0360 20473.)

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.

NON-STOP PICKET RALLY in solidarity with the women of South Africa. Thursday, 3 December

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.

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## THE FRAUD OF AUSTRALIA'S BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

# Aborigines fight for their rights

This is an edited version of an article that appeared in 'Socialist Press', journal of the Communist League of Australia.

## THE PLANNED Bicentennial Celebration for 1988 has provoked an angry response from Aborigines throughout Australia.

The Australian government has poured millions of dollars into tourist projects, 'tall ships' to stage a re-enactment of 'discovery', souvenirs, and handed out a plethora of grants to the middle class.

Whilst wallowing in the romantic myths of the past of heroic explorers and pioneers who 'discovered' Australia, Aborigines are still suffering from 200 years of oppression.

As Aborigines are forcefully making their opposition to the official history known, we still have 'scholars' attempting to peddle their distorted version of history which claims Aborigines died only through disease, tribal warfare and the laws of nature.

The last Aboriginal hunt took place as recently as 1930, and scholars with some scruples have documented the massacre and poisoning of thousands of Aborigines.

Aborigines are demanding a treaty written into the constitution and recognised in international law. Blacks want equality.

The early 1960s were the beginning of a new form of struggle and the beginning of links with militants from overseas. Maoris, black Americans and Papua New Guineans visited Aborigines for the first time.

Included in those struggles were the 1964 freedom rides led by Charles Perkins in outback New South Wales where towns like Moree still had segregation in their

swimming pools and other places. Struggles for minimum wages for Aborigines were successful in the 1960s even though the Department of Arbitration and Conciliation held this up for three years to let 'employers adjust'.

The famous battle by the Gurindi Aborigines on Vestey's 6,000 square mile cattle station at Wave Hill in 1966 erupted when 170 Aborigines walked off on strike over working conditions. This struggle won support from trade unionists and white supporters. The stockmen refused to go back to work and demanded to set up their own community at Watties Creek.

The essence of the struggle as it developed became a struggle for land rights. By 1975 the government handed over 3,280 sq kms of land on lease to the Aborigines to establish their own cattle property, paying compensations to Vestey's.

### Freehold

The Aboriginal name for the land is Daguragu and most of the land has recently been handed over on freehold title.

When a new policy on land rights was announced on Australia Day in 1972, it amounted to 'a new form of lease for land on Aboriginal reserves' and no legal rights. These new 'general purpose leases' excluded all mineral and forest rights.



Aborigines have long fought against their oppression. This demonstration was against the extreme bias in the legal system, clearly shown by the fact that Aborigines make up 30 per cent of the prison population.

Aborigines who had hoped for some real changes responded immediately to this worthless legislation by erecting an 'Aboriginal Embassy' on the front lawn of Parliament House in Canberra.

The Embassy captured world-wide media attention and increased support for the Aboriginal cause around Australia.

In a matter of hours police swooped down on the tents and arrested Aboriginal and white supporters. This act served to win more support for the Aboriginal cause and over 1,000 white demonstrators and 400 Aborigines were mobilised to converge on Canberra. The demonstrators challenged the law by re-erecting the Embassy three days later.

Shortly after, when Whitlam came into office, the first Labour government in 23 years, he promised to end years of repression and neglect. Funding was increased and some changes were

made with the setting up of Aboriginal health clinics, legal aid and other bodies. But the real test was land rights. Legislation was very narrow and subordinated to town-planning, mining and pastoral interests, or as the capitalists like to call it, 'the national interest'.

### Breaking

The present Labour government did a complete about-face in 1984 by breaking with three of the five principles of Labor Party policy on land rights previously adopted in 1982. They reversed their position on the right to control what happened on Aboriginal land with regard to exploring and mining.

By March 1986 the government announced that, 'as most States were making progress towards the provision of secure land tenure for Aborigines, it was not necessary for the Commonwealth to proceed with national

rights at this time'.

Some State Governments, like the Northern Territory have never accepted the notion of land rights. Although funding for various Aboriginal projects has increased in some areas over the years, this is continually threatened by expenditure cuts and closure of Aboriginal organisations that step out of line, as witnessed by the threats and furore recently when Mike Mansell, Tasmanian activist, established links with Libya.

Aborigines have made some important gains since the 1960s and have become strengthened by them. Every single gain has been through bitter struggle, not 'given' by governments. No amount of State or Federal paternalistic legislation has changed the lot of Aborigines.

Apart from senior civil servant Charles Perkins, there is not a single Aboriginal in a policy-making position or represented in

parliament. One look at Aboriginal health, child mortality, life-expectancy, housing and education quickly shatters the Australian myth of 'fair play and equality'.

### Mortality

Aboriginal life expectancy is 20 years less than that of non-Aboriginals. Infant mortality is four times as high as for white children, 32 per cent of Aboriginal children under nine years have some form of trachoma compared to 1.6 per cent of other Australians. They suffer high levels of diabetes, respiratory diseases, syphilis, alcoholism and a high rate of leprosy in the outback.

Official figures of unemployment among Aborigines are six times the national rate. However, in a recent survey in the rural areas of New South Wales, Dr Russell Ross, Economist at Sydney University, found that 75 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women in the Aboriginal

## The history of aboriginal struggles

IN 1860 a Board for the Protection of Aborigines was established. This was the first body to deal with Aboriginal Affairs. Under this board those Aborigines that were left alive were herded into reserves for their 'protection' and segregated from the whites.

These were the beginnings of the control and rule over black lives through regulations, and dependence on the system. Attempts were made to 'civilise' them.

The Aboriginal Inspection Board had extensive powers and could determine child custody, marriage and contracts. Aborigines continued to die in large numbers, and as the costs of maintaining missions were considered too high the Board decided to reclassify part-Aborigines and send them out into the white community.

A clear example of how Aborigines were regarded by those administering

the reserves is recorded in Phillip Pepper's book, 'You are what you make yourself to be'.

'In 1884 the Superintendent at Lake Condah, who had a number of Aborigines in his care, urged the protection board to leave the married 'half-castes' on the reserves but to waste no time in getting an Act amended so that it would be possible to send out the young 'half-castes' growing up on the reserves to be apprenticed to the settlers as soon as they reached the school leaving age.

By doing so, the mixed blood on the stations would get less yearly, and, 'as the black will ere long die out... the question would be solved'.

This meant more servants and labourers for the whites. When this Act, one of the cruelest ever enacted, was passed in 1886 it meant that part Aborigines under 34 were suddenly

declassified and no longer recognised as Aborigines.

They were forced off the reserves to fend for themselves in a hostile European society. But the worst aspect was that children were taken off their mothers by force. (This barbarity continued around Australia by welfare authorities up to the 1960s.)

The board later closed down a number of missions and moved Aborigines around once again.

Aborigines had very little choice. By now totally dependent on the system, the board put it to them plainly—if they refused to move they would give them no assistance whatsoever.

Aborigines did not simply accept all the changes passively as is often implied. Some families were forced on to Lake Tyers under an Order-in-Council. There are many records of opposition petitions and so on.

The Board discussed the establishment of reformatory stations for those that did not 'behave', and places like Tortoise Head Island and Western Port Bay were suggested.

Contrary to racist claims that Aborigines like the hand-out system, their attempts at self-management prove otherwise. A decision to make Lake Tyers self-sufficient in 1925 looked promising for improving Aboriginal lives. Land was cleared and vegetables grown. Some wages were actually paid and crops were successfully sold on the market.

The Depression was a difficult time for all Australian workers, but Aborigines were even harder hit. Their miserable wages were cut and they were officially encouraged to leave Lake Tyers to reduce government maintenance.

There was great unrest on Lake

Tyers with the cuts in rations, and people living in rags. A description of that period in Pepper's book shows: 'The situation became a cause of rebellion and it was said a penal settlement could not be established without trebling the staff.'

Members of the Protection Board faced the men of Lake Tyers in January 1936 where they were assembled to hear the conditions under which they must live if they chose to continue residing on the station.

'If a man left to make a living outside, he must take his family. Once gone from the station, they could not return. Those remaining in their houses in the station must obey the rules and directions set down for the management of the settlement.'

Aborigines were also encouraged to enlist for World War II—at a third of the pay for non-Aboriginals.

# RATIONS

community were unemployed. Most Aborigines live in rural areas.

A particularly horrifying expression is shown in the fact that they are the most imprisoned people in the world and that 'deaths in custody' have totalled 64 since 1980. Only after the 16th death this year has the government finally been forced to set up a Royal Commission. A comparable number of white deaths over the six months period would be 600.

## Cover-up

The cover-up of these deaths go right to the top of government who have up to now refused to take action. Most of these deaths are surrounded by allegations of violence, yet aboriginal families suffer continual harassment if they question the circumstances surrounding the deaths.

**DESPITE these obstacles and racist predictions, the Aboriginal population is growing and has not died out!**

The real advances can be seen in the militancy and determination of the new generation of Aboriginal leaders. Political changes among blacks have also been influenced by the growing world movement of the masses in Asia and Africa who have defeated white domination, making it increasingly difficult to maintain white supremacy.

## Focus

The Bicentennial of 1988 will become a focus for Aboriginal demands. By the continued denial of equal rights for Aborigines and the inability of any government to bring about real changes in their living conditions, the development of the Aboriginal struggle has in fact accelerated.

Significantly, for the first time, Aborigines have set up their own national organisation, the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations, funded by its own members and completely independent of the government.

**MARXISTS are duty bound to support the historical legitimacy of this national movement in whatever form it emerges.**

Australian Trotskyists are in a unique position to study the process of the development of the struggle for self-determination by Aborigines, not in a patronising or scholastic way, but as revolutionists fighting to develop a perspective towards this struggle and how best we can assist this process.

# The struggle at Lake Tyers

**MURRAY BULL, 38-year-old chairman of Lake Tyers Trust, described what it meant for residents if someone got sick: 'When people got sick they went over to the manager's place.**

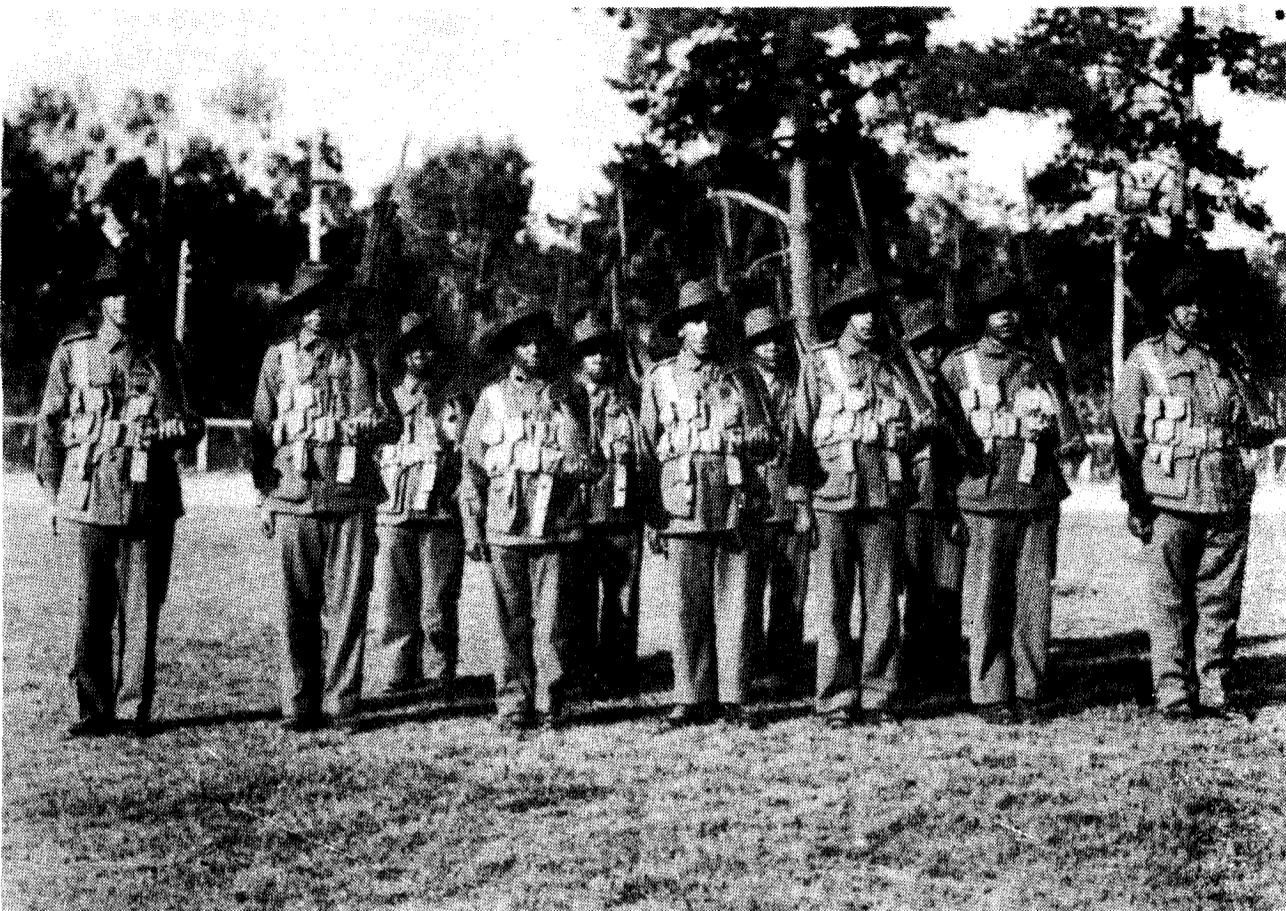
'Either he or his wife would get up and say: "Well, take a few Aspros, go home and see us in the morning." By that time, probably 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, you'd be pretty sick and should have been in hospital.

'People had pleurisy and pneumonia, cut arms and all those sort of things, and they wouldn't take them to hospital — things that could have been fixed by penicillin within a few hours after they got sick. And they just gave a few Disprins or Aspros. As soon as their own kids got sick they'd run them straight into hospital.'

He also spoke about getting rations: 'When you came up here for clothes and shoes and stuff, you had to stand in indian file, 50 to 60 people and wait for people to give out rations. You had to come up to the counter with your ration bag, you'd get rice, sugar, barley, tea, coffee. The managers handed it out.'

After the 1957 Aboriginal Act was passed, the Aboriginal Welfare Board replaced the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines. This was based on the McLean Report recommendation for an assimilation policy. What this meant for Aborigines was that once again they were being moved, like so much cattle or, as the Welfare Board would have it, 'rehoused' in nearby towns.

Having reduced the population on the station from 152 in 1960 to 49 in 1965, the Welfare Board felt confident enough to announce that Lake Tyers was to be closed down.



During World War II, Aborigines were encouraged to enlist — at a third of the pay for non-Aboriginals.

The reserve had been deliberately run down in order to encourage its residents to leave and become assimilated into towns. A formal announcement set the date for closing Lake Tyers as March 1965.

This was the final blow for Aborigines on Lake Tyers. Much to the embarrassment of the government the remaining Aborigines refused to accept this latest attempt at solving their so called 'aboriginal problem'. They stayed put.

## Organised

Many demonstrations were organised, petitions gathered, and demands made to recognise Lake Tyers as an inalienable property of the Aboriginal people of Victoria. Another petition also demanded that a department of Aboriginal Affairs be established.

This struggle by the Aboriginal people was an important victory and the beginnings of some changes.

Although the government agreed to change the status of Lake Tyers to permanent as opposed to temporary, they attempted in every other way to prevent Aborigines from making any real

advances.

Finally in May 1966, the old hand-out system was replaced by a cash economy on Lake Tyers.

Still the government tried to impose its policy of assimilation, despite the resultant racial tensions created in nearby Nowa Nowa and Traralgon. For example, Lindsay Thompson, Minister for Aboriginal Welfare, stated at a public meeting in Traralgon that the government regarded Lake Tyers as a 'third class citizen centre' and would continue its policy of gradually assimilating the Lake Tyers families into other centres.

Pressure by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups eventually forced the State government to set up an investigating committee into the future status of Lake Tyers. Recommendations for a Trust and development were approved by State Cabinet and some improvements were made, albeit with many delays in the process.

In January 1968 the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs replaced the Welfare Board and adopted a policy of 'responsible citizenship'. Only after that did Lake Tyers get a telephone on the isolated reserve, so residents could call a doctor themselves. Full pay was also given instead of mandatory docking of rent etc.

By August 1968 the first Aboriginal town council in Australia was set up at Lake Tyers: a seven-person council of administration.

In July 1971 the Victorian government granted to Lake Tyers Aboriginal Trust the unconditional title deeds to the 4,000 acres of land.

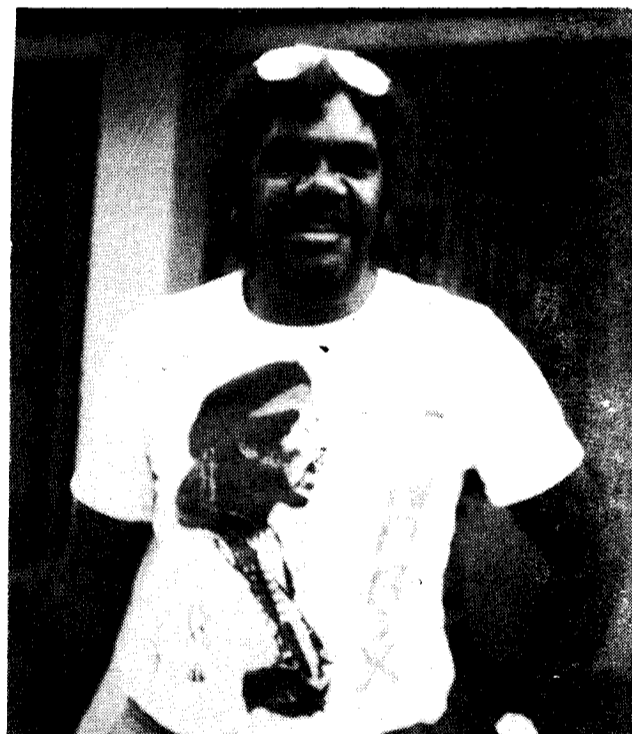
In 1975 the responsibilities of the Victorian Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs were transferred to Federal government.

## Population

The present population on Lake Tyers is approximately 110, over 20 are school children and about 33 people unemployed.

Aborigines decide who can and who can't come on to Lake Tyers station. New houses are being built with mud bricks made on the station.

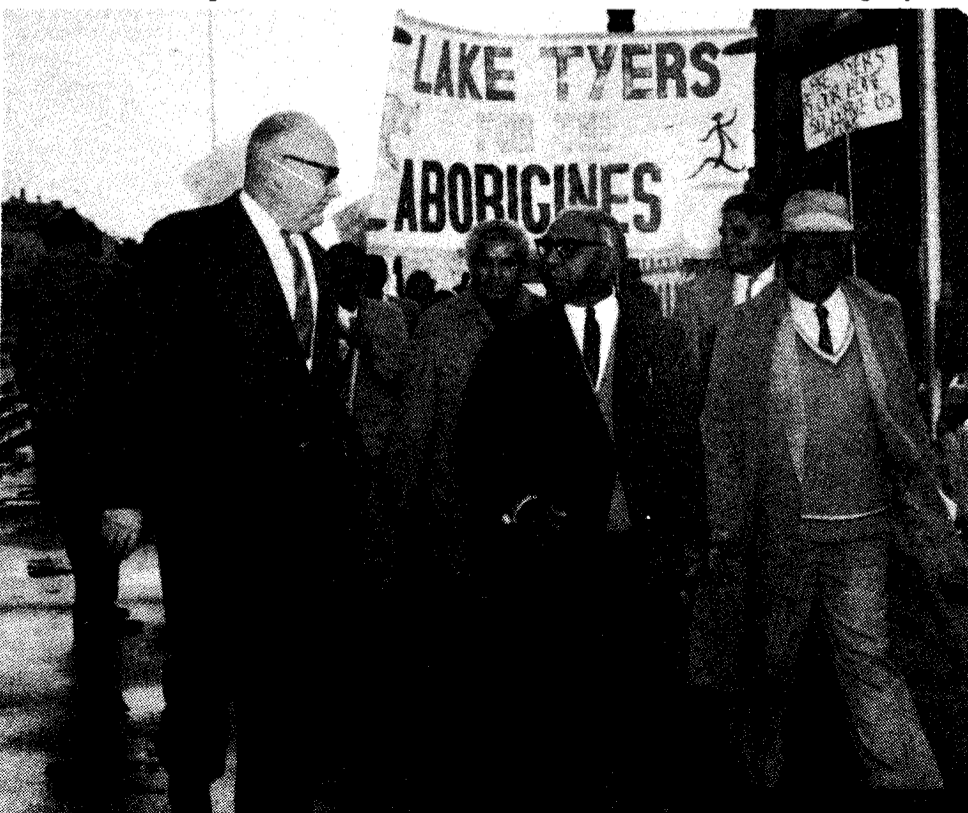
Another change on the station is that police can no longer enter at will and must have permits to enter. Rita Hood is an Aboriginal police



Murray Bull, chairman of Lake Tyers Trust.



Rita Hood, police liaison officer for Lake Tyers. Her house was the first built on the old mission, for the manager to live in.



One of the first demonstrations in the 1960s about Lake Tyers.

liaison officer and is doing such an effective job that police attempted to run her down one night not long ago, in a car with the lights off.

'Don't Celebrate 1988' and 'White Australia has a Black History' are the official slogans adopted by 13 Aboriginal organisations in Victoria and a Freedom Fund for 1988 has been set up for campaigns to oppose the Bicentennial.

Murray Bull, like most

Aborigines, sees the Bicentennial of no benefit to Australians of any colour.

'We're going to demonstrate next year and really put our point across to the government departments. We're going to start either from here at Lake Tyers or start from Sydney and we're going to be on the beaches anyway whenever they pull in with those boats.

'We certainly are planning a demonstration and we're going to make it worthwhile — one thing they'll never forget.'

# Workers Press

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# UNION LEADERS DELAY ACTION FORD PAY CLAIM

BY A FORD WORKER

**MORE than 17,000 Ford workers struck work on 23, November as their negotiators met Ford management in the last meeting before the old wages agreement ran out.**

Once again Fords rejected the unions' demand of a 10-per-cent pay increase, a one-year deal, shorter hours and longer holidays, and represented their own demands for a three-year deal with productivity 'strings'.

They increased their money offer from 4.25 per cent to 5.5 per cent, proposed a 'supplement' on pensions and full lay-off pay if the unions agreed to short-term temporary labour. These Company demands were rejected by the union. The meeting was adjourned until 7 December.

Plant and shop floor demands to cease talks and proceed to an all-out strike are now expected to gather momentum. Stewards' committees, such as Dagenham PTA, had already called for a national ballot for an all-out strike and are increasingly concerned at the union officials readiness to continue talking to the arrogant and aggressive Ford negotiators.

Transport union national official Mick Murphy said of the 5.5-per-cent offer: 'We welcome the improvement,' but after six weeks of sporadic protest action the continued talks are now seen by many as detrimental to the pay-claim with Ford's introducing more conditions.

When the hundreds of Ford's workers lobbying the talks in Bayswater heard of the latest proposals they began to chant: 'Walk not talk, all-out strike now!' They had travelled from several plants including Dagenham, Halewood and Bridgend to make sure their representatives put their case. They lobbied them vigorously as they arrived in the morning. National officials, Mick Murphy and James Airlie sped through in cars without stopping to talk to their members.

Later, at lunchtime, skilled engineers tried to get assurances from Airlie that their jobs and trades would be protected unlike the last national agreement. But he told them he thought the last agreement was 'a good deal' before he slipped away.

The next day, Tuesday 24 November, 5,000 Dagenham workers were laid off as 36 power-house men made their protest and cut off the compressed air and steam that supplies the Dagenham complex. A thousand foremen voted for another two-day strike at Dagenham this week against the proposed attacks on their jobs, but calls for further one-day stoppages of manual workers are expected to be met with demands for all-out action.

The union leaders are extremely nervous of an all-out strike, not only for fear of contravening the Tories' anti-union laws but because of the consequent claims by the 30,000 manual workers for strike pay.

They want an increased money offer that will be enough to enable them to 'sell' the three-year deal and get the Ford workers off their backs for another three years.

The Communist Party AEU leader Airlie, having signed the scab 'single-union' deal at Dundee, wants to avoid a strike at Fords at the expense of Ford workers themselves.

These are the dangers that face Ford workers and can only be answered by all-out strike action at the earliest moment, with the strike firmly under the control of the Ford workers themselves through strike and picket committees. They are not only fighting the Ford Motor Company, but the treachery of their own leaders.

● The December issue of 'Car Magazine' reports that Fords are interested in a take-over of Austin Rover. Fords are particularly keen on the new K-series engine being developed by Austin Rover. Such a take-over would be a direct threat to part of the existing Ford operations, particularly the Bridgend engine plant.

# HEALTH SERVICE BREAKS UP

BY DOT GIBSON

**THE Health Service has broken down.**

Patients are dying needlessly, nurses and doctors are at breaking point, infections are rife on the wards, ambulance drivers, cleaning and catering workers and administrative staff cannot keep up with the mountain of problems.

Each day brings mounting evidence of this break-down.

● Diane and Philip Barber, in desperation, went to the High Court to attempt to force the Birmingham Health Authority to agree to an immediate operation for their six-month-old baby son who has a hole in the heart. The operation has been postponed five times because of staff shortages. Mr Justice

Macpherson categorically refused to intervene on their behalf.

● A National Audit Office report last week claimed that 11,000 extra operations a year could be carried out but for under-staffing, that 29,000 urgent cases had been waiting over one month, and 164,000 other cases over a year. The British Medical Association blamed cash curbs for the situation.

● Haringey District Hospital Consultant Microbiologist Dr Mehtar, in desperation, wrote a letter to local community groups appealing for funds towards the salary of an urgently needed Senior Registrar to help prevent the spread of infection in the hospital and the locality.

● A Chartered Society of Physiotherapy report said that physiotherapists cannot spend enough time with each patient to ensure high quality care and that more than 3,000 extra staff are needed.

● Free eye and dental tests are to be scrapped under new health service cost-cutting measures. Free eye testing has been available since the establishment of the NHS almost 40 years ago.

● Cambridge Health Authority has been summoned before a House of Commons select committee to explain why a 98-year-old dying woman was refused a bed in the city's hospital.

● The Tories are looking for new ways of generating private cash for the crippled NHS, a report in 'The Independent' revealed last week.

A confidential ministerial report concludes that health authorities could raise up to £135m a year, possibly much more, by running shops, selling services, and increasing some charges to staff and patients.

Business development managers with bonuses linked to results would be

appointed under the terms of this report. Some 75 ways of generating extra cash are suggested — including vending machines, catering facilities for visitors and outpatients, and video advertising and games.

Hospital pharmacies should compete with high street chemists, more space should be made available to florists, banks, newsagents and even solicitors, says the report. (Presumably proposals for undertakers to be given facilities in hospitals will be next on the list.)

Staff and visitors could be sold frozen and chilled meals for use at home, and non-emergency ambulances could be hired out at the weekends and evenings.

When the National Health Service was introduced almost 40 years ago, it was a considerable step forward for millions of ordinary people. An immediate improvement in the health of infants, life expectancy and research resulted. Health service staff became part of a national network to pool experiences and training.

The Tories are now driven to destroy these gains and scrap a nationally organised system of health care. Their trail was blazed by previous Labour governments who first started cut-backs and who consistently refused to nationalise the drug monopolies which were bleeding the system dry.



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