

Workers Press

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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

LETTER TO THE LIBYANS

To: President Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, The People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya

Dear Comrade,

The Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers Press unreservedly condemn the brutal and unprovoked attack on the People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya.

This attack on unarmed civilians is an expression of the efforts of imperialism to destroy the gains of oppressed peoples throughout the world. We are confident that their efforts will fail.

The fact that this attack against Libya was launched from US bases in Britain gives the British working class movement special responsibility in taking up the defence of the People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya.

We pledge to mobilise all our material and political resources to campaign throughout the British working class movement to expose and defeat this brutal act of aggression.

With warmest fraternal greetings,
Dave Temple, Chairman,

on behalf of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Editorial Board of Workers Press

MOBILISE AGAINST US BASES!

by
Cyril
Smith

WHEN Reagan's bombers flew from Thatcher's bases to murder the men, women and children of Tripoli and Benghazi, they attacked the working people of the whole world.

Only the action of the world working class, and especially the British labour movement, can answer this act of terrorism.

Reagan's decision to bomb Libya was taken after months of careful preparation. Not only was the very latest military equipment made ready, but the ideological conditions for the raid had to be prepared.

'Terrorism' became the chief topic of 'discussion' in the media. Every possible incident was blamed on President Gaddafi, without the need for the slightest evidence.

The decision to send in the bombers was made in the face of opposition from many sections of the ruling class in the US itself as well as in Europe and Japan. They do not disagree with his fight to make the Middle East safe for imperialism, of course, it is his way of doing it that terrifies them.

Only those sections of the ruling class most parasitic on US imperialism — Britain, Canada and the Zionists — could give Reagan open support on Tuesday.

Collapse

In Thatcher's Britain today, capitalism is pawning its assets to Wall Street hand over fist. Westland and British Leyland are only the start of a process which will accelerate with the collapse of the oil market.

But the lunatic logic of the White House is clear. 'Terrorism' — ie any challenge to the power of imperialism — must be stopped. In the Middle East, that means killing millions. For, so long as the Palestinian people are dispossessed by the Zionist agents of imperialism, the struggle for national liberation will continue.

So Reagan has sent in the F111's with their laser-guided bombs. This is only one part of his aggressive strategy throughout the world: stepping up aid to the Contras in Nicaragua, the South African-backed UNITA forces in Angola and arming every other reactionary force in the world with the latest US hardware.

Reagan's policy must 'logically' imply the direct use of American troops in Latin America and the Middle East. It means the establishment of new Vietnams throughout the world.

Nuclear war is not much further down his agenda. The Tripoli raids make clear



The immediate response to the bombing was a picket outside the US embassy — followed by a spontaneous march to Downing Street

to any who doubted it before that imperialism, a system without a future, will not be deterred by considerations of the future of humanity. Has it not used the weapon of famine to force its political will on the peoples of Africa?

The Reagan treatment has, however, a few immediate side effects. For the past nine years, since the Camp David agreement, the 'moderate' Arab leaders have staked their entire future on the idea of the US as an 'honest broker' in the Middle East.

They are now in utter disarray, as the very idea of a diplomatic solution to the Palestine problem has been blown away. The bombs might have been aimed at Libyan children, but they have also struck a powerful blow at Mubarak's already tottering regime.

All those forces which base themselves on the continued existence of imperialism must ultimately be drawn in behind the crazy logic of Reagan, because it expresses objectively a crazy world order.

When millions are starving in Africa, when whole nations are forced to live under brutal military dictatorships in Latin America and Asia, when peoples are robbed of their national identity, how can the masses — call them 'terrorists' if you like — be prevented from struggling for their lives?

Reagan has an answer: only the use of the most modern military technology against these masses stands a chance of success. After the collapse of Duvalier and Marcos, which supporters of imperialism can deny it?

Kinnock's bleating protests only voice the reservations of Reagan's European imperialist critics. He questions the efficacy of Reagan's actions, not their

aims. Let us not forget that the agreement under which the US bases in Britain were able to operate last Monday night was signed — in secret, of course — by Kinnock's predecessor, Attlee, in 1951. Does anyone seriously imagine that a Labour government led by Kinnock would behave any differently from that of Attlee? Are they not Zionists to a man? Did they not themselves preside over the military intervention of British imperialism in Ireland?

Diplomacy

But the political force most clearly exposed by Reagan's action is Stalinism and its 'peaceful coexistence' policies. For the past few weeks, Moscow has been using its methods of 'quiet diplomacy' to soften Reagan's reactions to the Middle East situation.

As Viktor Issrealyan, chief Soviet delegate to the Conference on Disarmament said on Tuesday, 'I have to confess we failed. This will be a factor of a very negative character in US-Soviet relations.'

Since 1983, there have been speculations about the existence of a secret treaty between Libya and the USSR. On Monday, Soviet foreign policy expert Georgy Arbatov denied the existence of such a treaty. 'What Mr Gaddafi says is not always true', he chose to say.

Here we have a concise outline of the meaning of 'peaceful coexistence'. First, get involved in the process of imperialist military preparations — Moscow was informed at every stage of Washington's war-plans. Then, use 'quiet diplomacy'. Then confess your failure with great regret.

The Soviet leaders have

limited their reaction to the Tripoli raid to sad head-shaking and the postponement of plans for the summer summit with Reagan. Now every fighter against imperialism must learn: from Moscow you get protests, loud or quiet, but nothing more.

The spontaneous demonstrations on Tuesday night, especially in Western Europe, are only the start of a massive movement against the plans of imperialism. In Britain we have an especially important job to do.

The outposts of the US war machine, planted here with the collusion of the Labourites, must be removed. The trade union leaders who are making noises of protest about Thatcher's complicity in Reagan's actions must be forced to mobilise industrial action to get rid of these bases.

The working class must break from and mobilise against the chauvinism of the Labour and trade union leaders. If the Libyans could oust the US from the Wheelus air base, can the powerful British trade union movement not drive them out of their bases here?

This demands a bold campaign the length and breadth of the workers' movement. Fight to pass resolutions in every trade union branch condemning Kinnock's craven support for Thatcher. Organise demonstrations, petitions, pickets in every town. Agitate in every Trades Council, community group, shop stewards committee — wherever workers meet and discuss.

Defence of the Libyan revolution is our fight. Can a Labour leadership which capitulates to Thatcher on this question even begin to defend the rights and gains of the working class?

STOP THE REAGAN WAR DRIVE

DEMONSTRATION AT U.S. EMBASSY
GROSVENOR SQUARE, W1

Organised by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils

6PM - 7.30PM
FRIDAY 18 APRIL

CND
Sit Down ACTION
outside U.S. EMBASSY
12 noon
Grosvenor Sq
Saturday April 19th.

RALLY & MARCH
Against Imperialist Aggression
1pm Speakers Corner, Marble Arch
Sunday April 20

STUC DEMONSTRATION
Against Reagan's attack on Libya
Called by the Scottish Trade Union Council

Assemble 11am
Blytheswood Square, Glasgow
March to city centre. Bring Banners.

DEMONSTRATION
Saturday April 19, 11am
National Museum
CARDIFF

CARDIFF PROTEST AT US ATTACK

STRONG FEELING against American imperialism's murderous attack on Libya brought spontaneous demonstrations in towns and cities throughout the world.

In South Wales, a 24-hour vigil outside the Welsh Office in Cardiff was supported by peace campaigners, Plaid Cymru, Labour party members, and a delegation from anti-apartheid.



Solidarity with furniture workers

A POWERFUL appeal for trade union solidarity was made in Glasgow last week by a group of workers who have been out on strike for almost a year.

Brian McKee, shop steward of the 35 victimised

men from the Morris furniture factory, told a public meeting organised in their support that the dispute had implications for the whole trade union movement.

Over eighty trade unionists heard how the firm stand of the Morris workers, who have been picketing their

factory every day since the strike began, has won the support of dockers, who have stopped imports from France and Italy reaching the factory, now run by a scab workforce.

Printworkers in SOGAT and GMWU members at Radio Clyde had also backed the strikers by refusing to handle advertisements for their jobs.

'In the past, measures like this have been enough to bring an employer back to the negotiating table,' said McKee. 'But now they are backed by the government's anti-trade union laws, and they can use threats against what they call secondary action.'

McKee appealed for the help of trades councils, shop stewards committees and all trade unionists to secure the nationwide blacking of Morris products, including imported furniture, by shops and local authorities.

'We don't say like the EETPU executive that we're only here to help ourselves,' added McKee. 'This is a struggle for all trade unionists and if we stand together we will win.'

Jim Friel of SOGAT, brought fraternal greetings from all the local print union branches. 'All disputes now are about the very defence of trade union organisations,' he said. 'The government want sweetheart unions with the facade of democracy — neither our union, nor the NUM nor FTAT will ever be unions like that.'

Like the miners, printworkers were now facing vio-

BY SIMON PIRANI IN GLASGOW

lence by the police and sequestration by the courts of their funds.

'Even a £4,000 collection the union made for a member suffering from multiple sclerosis has been seized by the High Court,' Friel said.

Printers at the 'Daily Record' in Glasgow had taken action against employer Robert Maxwell over the right of reply to his lies in the paper. 'We are now back with our heads high — not one crossed the picket line despite the provocations and attempts to divide us.'

The disputes with Maxwell and Rupert Murdoch, said Friel, were not about the new technology, but about democratic rights. A future Labour government would have to address itself to the ownership of the press, which at present was a daily voice for the multi-nationals and for American imperialism.

The scabbing of the EETPU was no reflection on its membership — the union had only been temporarily hijacked by the Hammonds

and the O'Hanlons — a reference to the local branch official who had recruited scabs for Murdoch's Glasgow plant, and was now 'frightened to show his face in his own village.'

'We need trade unionists as loyal to their class as the Tories are,' said Friel. 'A worker from Germany rang up our office and told us how the scenes at Wapping reminded him of those in 1939 when he had fled his country.'

'We are not prepared to step back any further.'

Doug Harrison, assistant general secretary of the Scottish TUC, pledged support for the Morris's blacking campaign. 'The number of shops now boycotting South African goods proves that this can work,' he said.

Bob McAllum, FTAT district organiser, paid tribute to the support of National League of Blind and Disabled members from the Blindcraft factory in Springburn, who were among the audience. Pledges of solidarity action were also made by delegates from Scottish Electric, Dundee, themselves on strike for 21 weeks, and John Brown Engineering at Clydebank.

PROTEST GREETS THATCHER'S ALLY



Protesters picketing 10 Downing Street against the visit of the Korean dictator, Chon Du Hwan.

The protest against the denial of human rights in South Korea, and against the 35,000 US troops and nuclear bases in South Korea, brought together many struggles against imperialism — including the National Liberation Front of Tamil Eelam, The Indian Workers Association, The Wolfe Tone Society (Irish

Republican Campaign Group, a contingent which included Gerry McLoughlin), and the Philippines Support Group.

Liverpool Labour MP Bob Parry said that last year's parliamentary delegation to North Korea had reported that North Korea 'wants peace', yet the military build-up in the south threatens the peaceful reunification of the peninsula.

JEAN VAN HEIJENOORT

Jean van Heijenoort, long-time secretary and guard for Leon Trotsky, has been shot dead. According to an Associated Press report, van Heijenoort, 76, was shot by his wife who later committed suicide.

As a young man, van Heijenoort went out to join Trotsky in Prinkipo, Turkey, later working with him in France and Mexico.

Tyneside resolutions

TYNE District Committee AUEW has passed an emergency resolution to: 'Deplore the acquiescence of the Tory government and Tory leader Margaret Thatcher to allow the US to use our island to launch attacks against Libya.'

Delegates were incensed that British bases had been used to launch the attack.

South Shield TUC passed also an emergency resolu-

tion. It is to call on the TUC General Council to condemn the Tory government for allowing the use of facilities to the American government to carry out bombing attacks on Libya.

South Shields TUC has also condemned the strip searching of Irish women prisoners in Brixton.

They are to write to Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer

Sri Lankan army attacks civilians

OVER the past few weeks the liberation fighters of Tamil Eelam have launched successful attacks on the Sri Lankan armed forces. However the cost has been a high one with the Sri Lankan army taking their revenge against the civilian population.

In Mannar on 26 March two soldiers were killed and eight seriously wounded. The Sri Lankan army took revenge in a cowardly helicopter attack on four villages in the Jaffna Peninsula which killed one civilian and seriously injured another five.

On 30 March three Tamils were shot dead at Chettikulan, Vavuniya by an army patrol, while in the Mathagal sea six people in a sailing boat were also shot dead by the army.

The defence ministry has recently warned the public to evacuate from many parts of the Jaffna Peninsula — to eradicate terrorism.

They plan to bomb these areas. The people of Killinochi are leaving the area because troops are entering the shops and houses.

Following the recent reserve conscription law passed in parliament the Sri Lankan education minister Mr Ramil Wickramasinghe visited Pakistan to make arrangements for the training of 100,000 of the Sri Lankan armed forces in Pakistan.

Fighters

On 28 March the freedom fighters attacked 200 army personnel who were marching towards Kuttuvan from Palali army camp in Jaffna and forced them to retreat to barracks. The army retaliated using helicopter gun ships to attack the civilian population in the surrounding villages leaving many civilians seriously wounded and destroying many houses.

In Atchuveiy, Jaffna the

army once again using a helicopter gun ship attacked a passenger van causing serious injuries to five passengers. In Point Pedro, Jaffna, a priest was shot and wounded by the army while riding his motorcycle towards St Thomas church in Nellyyadi.

In Kanniya, Trincomalee five soldiers were killed and three seriously wounded in a land mine attack. A warning to the people in the North East of the country has been issued by the Sri Lankan government. The people have been told not to give refuge or to live among Tamil freedom fighters.

Earlier, on 20 March a home guard, Mr Akthar, was killed by the army. Clashes between the government sponsored home guards and the army are reported to be a frequent event. In an attempt to defeat the freedom fighters of Tamil Eelam the Prime Minister, Mr R. Premadasa has announced that nine million rupees are to be spent on the purchase of planes and helicopters. He said that this is necessary in order to control the extremists in the North and East.

An A to Z of health cuts

IN A WEEK which saw the opening of the major new London Bridge private hospital opposite Guys Hospital — where NHS cuts have slashed 200 acute beds since 1984 — a new report from the London-wide pressure group London Health Emergency paints a stark picture of cuts across London's 30 health districts.



Angela Dickson

Health authorities are sacking staff and selling assets while drug companies and others make huge profits out of the NHS, student doctor Angela Dickson told a meeting called to oppose closure of St. James hospital, Balham, south London. COHSE branch secretary Kelly Mannah said waiting lists and casualty waiting time were already too high in the Wandsworth area, and people would die because of the cuts.

Organised by the Labour Party Young Socialists, the meeting saw a lively discussion on how to fight closure. It was agreed to back St. James workers and organise a united campaign in the community.

Health Authority has squandered £150,000 of taxpayers' money in pursuing a vicious vendetta of the male obstetrics establishment against consultant obstetrician Wendy Savage.

'The result has been almost total closure of community obstetrics in the district during Dr Savage's prolonged suspension and "trial" — and the closure of maternity beds helps pay for the the DHA's legal costs (while Wendy Savage was at first forced to foot a £50,000 bill for her own defence).'

A very valuable round up of the health authorities in alphabetical order is contained in the report which will prove invaluable to anyone involved in the campaign to defend the NHS.

The report costs £3.00 or £1.50 for affiliates and is available from London Health Emergency, 335 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

Tel 01-833-3020.

Publicity Officer John Lister said: 'It comes as no surprise that the recent Newsnight poll in Hamersmith and Fulham showed that 79 per cent of the electorate were opposed to government handling of the health service: the surprise is that as many as 15 per cent said they were happy with it.'

'Our report shows the disastrous and rapid decline in services in the capital, which has arisen from a deadly combination of wholly inadequate national funding, and the draining of scarce resources from inner London to the shire counties. If this is not reversed, the toll of misery and unnecessary deaths is bound to increase.'

The 26 page report provides an excellent expose of the devastation being wreaked upon London's health service.

In the introduction it is shown that management uses the shortage of funds as it suits them. 'Even within the limits of cash available, the peculiar priorities of management and of the medical hierarchy have produced some bizarre decisions.'

'Tower Hamlets District

Women's pay battle — still not over

WOMEN'S PAY, in spite of the laws on equal pay which have been in force since 1970, averages out at two thirds of that of men.

Job segregation, giving women jobs which are graded for lower pay than the men working in the same industry, is the way in which these pay differentials are usually explained. Nearly half the women working in Britain work for less than the TUC minimum wage.

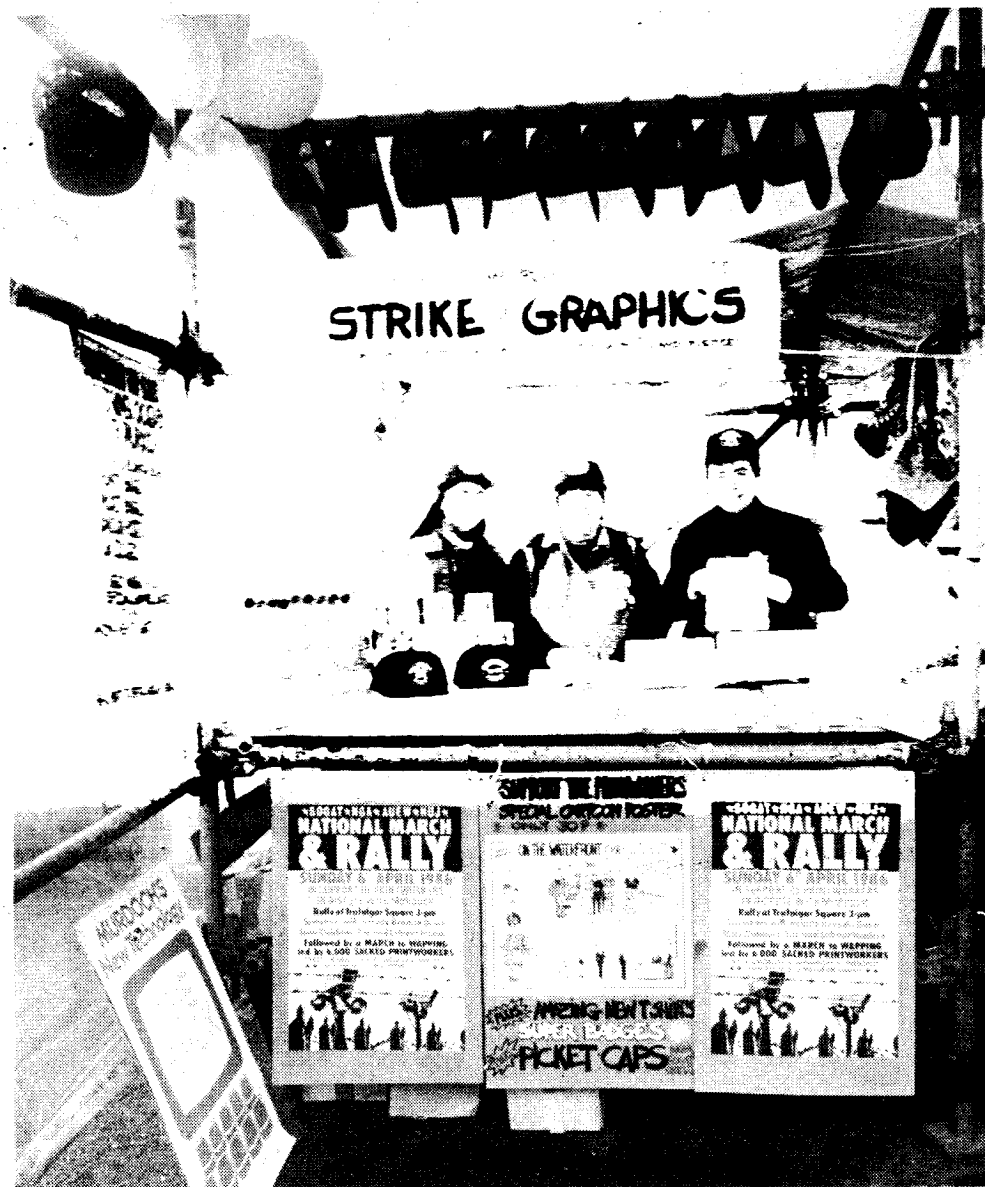
Report

A new report by the Labour Research Department shows how trade unionists can negotiate for equal pay, particularly by showing how to grade jobs.

An assistant cook at Cammell Lairds, for example, demonstrated that her job deserved the same wage as a joiner by comparing their jobs in terms of responsibility for cash, discretion/initiative, numeracy, heavy lifting, physical hazards, responsibility for the safety of others, and the hazards of the job itself.

The employers, however, launched a counter-offensive, and the report

PRINTERS SUPPORT GROUPS — VITAL



The Strike Graphics Group, seen here selling their own designs on mugs, t-shirts, posters and badges, can be contacted at 42 Braganza Street, London SE17 3RJ (telephone 01-582-0996).

points out that many firms have now employed management consultants particularly to avoid the problems of women demanding equal pay.

The report examines job titles, and argues that a man is more likely to be defined as 'assistant manager', and a woman as 'manager's assistant' — which automatically reduces the pay to which she is entitled.

The final section of the report examines particular firms where claims have been fought, and points out the importance of winning a united workforce, by showing that a stronger bargaining position, with 100 per cent union membership was an added bonus in the cases where claims were successful.

Women's Pay: Claiming Equal Value. Labour Research Department. 95p.

PRINTWORKERS SUPPORT GROUPS are being organised in many areas, to mobilise not just trade unionists, but all oppressed sections of the community — youth, unemployed, women, blacks, tenants and other community groups. Groups can affiliate to the Unions of Printworkers Support Groups, at 102a Cromer Street, London WC1 (telephone 01-733-5670 or 01-435-5652).

Over 70 delegates attended their last meeting earlier this month, and the aim is to double this number at their next meeting:

FUNDS

Monthly Fund
£826.97 received this week
April fund total is now £1056.58
Legal Fund
£65.33 received this week
Total now £33,271.90
Send to:
Workers
Revolutionary Party,
21b Old Town,
London SW4 0JT

TIOC FAIDH AR LA!

(Bobby Sands, 1981)

COMMEMORATIVE RALLY

Saturday May 12 1986
2pm - 7pm



MAY 5th 1981
5th anniversary

Conway Hall
Red Lion Square
London WC1

MUSIC - VIDEOS
BOOKSTALLS

Speakers include
Jim McAllister

Bob Doyle



MAY 12th 1916
70th anniversary

WE SHALL RISE AGAIN!
(James Connolly, 1916)

SUPPORT THE UCATT PICKET

organised by Laings Lockout Committee

Hays Wharf Site

Tooley Street

near London Bridge

Monday - Friday, 7am - 5pm

Saturday 7am - 12 noon

MASSACRE AT DEIR YASSIN — 38 YEARS AGO

by Charlie Pottins

Zionist terror

JUST OUTSIDE Jerusalem, not far from the main road to Tel Aviv, is the suburb of Kfar Sha'ul. Once the stone houses of an Arab village stood on the hillside, housing quarry workers and farmers.

Today, its site is unmarked by any memorial, nor on the maps of Israel. But every Palestinian remembers its name: Deir Yassin.

On the night of April 9th, 1948, the villagers went to their beds as usual, except for a few old watchmen. If there was trouble elsewhere in Palestine, they had no reason to expect they would be a target. Relations with neighbouring Jewish settlements had been peaceable enough. Deir Yassin had neither sheltered Arab guerrillas nor voiced any fears that it might be attacked by Zionists.

Partition

Besides, according to the United Nations partition plan, it would be part of an International Zone for Jerusalem.

At 4.30 in the morning, Zionist forces of the Irgun Zvai Leumi attacked Deir Yassin from the north-east, while a Lehi (Stern Gang) force attacked from the south-east. Woken by the first shots fired by their watchmen, the villagers fought back with what few weapons they had, though it was an unequal battle.

By noon the following day, the Zionist forces had taken most of the village, though it had not surrendered. They began 'mopping-up' operations, going from house to house, and using grenades and explosives.

They also shot everyone they saw in the houses, including women and children — indeed the commanders made no attempt to check the disgraceful acts of slaughter, says Meir Pe'il, a former Israeli officer and eye-witness to what happened.

'I myself and a number of inhabitants of Jerusalem begged the commanders to give orders to their men to stop shooting, but our efforts were unsuccessful. In the meantime, some twenty-five men had been brought out of the houses; they were loaded onto a lorry and led in a "victory parade", like a Roman triumph, through the Mahneh Yehuda and Zikhron Yosef quarters (in Jerusalem).

At the end of the parade, they were taken to a stone

quarry between Giv'at Sha'ul and Deir Yassin and shot in cold blood.'

After the fighting in Deir Yassin was over, the killing did not stop. Twelve-year old Fahimi Zidan narrowly escaped. He describes what happened: 'The Jews ordered all our family to line up against the wall and they started shooting us. I was hit in the side, but most of us children were saved because we hid behind our parents. The bullets hit my sister Kadri (four) in the head, my sister Sameh (eight) in the cheek, my brother Mohammed (seven) in the chest. But all the others with us against the wall were killed: my father, my mother, my grandfather and grandmother, my uncles and aunts and some of their children.'

Others who were children then tell of seeing people butchered with knives and swords. This is borne out by Red Cross observer Jacques de Reynier, who says he arrived in the village to find Irgun youth proudly displaying bloodstained cutlasses.

Altogether, at least 250 men, women and children, were slaughtered that day at Deir Yassin. Most were killed after the fighting, in the Irgun's orgy of murder, looting and destruction.

Victory

The commander of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, who boasted of his men's great 'victory' at Deir Yassin, and how it had spurred thousands of Palestinians to flee their homes and country, was Menachem Beigin, later to be Prime Minister of Israel.

The leaders of the new Israeli state, proclaimed on May 14th, 1948 were anxious to condemn the massacre. Ben Gurion, head of the provisional government, sent an apology to King Abdullah of Jordan. But as the Irgun were able to reveal, the mainstream Zionist Haganah had approved an attack on Deir Yassin. 'I have no objection to your carrying out the operation provided you are able to hold the vil-



Victims of the Deir Yassin massacre

lage', Haganah's Jerusalem area commander had written.

In fact, the massacre fitted a general plan of attacks on Arab villages and towns which the Zionist forces had launched, in advance of proclaiming the State, and before any Arab states sent armies into Palestine. As an Israeli historian has recently confirmed, using Zionist military documents, the hundreds of thousands of

Palestinians who fled in 1948 did so primarily because they were being deliberately terrorised and driven out by the Zionists.

Pretence

Up till May 1948, the British mandate's forces were still in Palestine, but had increasingly abandoned any pretence at protecting the civilian population. Arab or in some cases Jews, from

attacks and massacres. This despite a claim by Britain's United Nations representative that his government would continue to maintain law and order.

The Zionist forces were able to go on to the offensive in April 1948 because large quantities of arms had begun to reach them from Czechoslovakia. Ben Gurion was later to acknowledge the importance for his state of Soviet and East European

backing at this time, and some Israeli Stalinists boasted of their part in negotiating the arms deals.

This, too, is part of the story of Deir Yassin, and should not be forgotten.

In 1967, when Israeli forces seized the rest of Palestine, the people did not flee. Despite harassment and oppression, they remain steadfast. Their struggle goes on.

YOUTH NEWS

THE Workers Revolutionary Party youth faction welcomes with open arms the overwhelming 'yes' vote to campaign for the withdrawal of British troops from the north of Ireland, at the National Union of Students conference on April 8th.

Student grants and benefits have come under attack. This is drawing students closer to the nationalist youth in the north of Ireland who for many years have faced poverty and repression.

Educational facilities in the north of Ireland are the worst in the UK. Unemployment rockets year after year. Unemployed youth are faced with a barrage of plastic bullets and tear gas every time steps are taken to defend basic rights and communities against the

A welcome decision

onslaughts of British capitalism.

The isolation of the youth in the north of Ireland from their allies in the UK mainland can be defeated. For this it is important for NUS branches to carry out their conference decision in practice.

The heroic attack on the Tory cabinet by the Provisional IRA at Brighton in the middle of the miners' strike in September 1984 inspired youth internationally — but this is not enough.

A struggle must be taken up now, to unite the different sections of youth both employed and unemployed, both in the north of Ireland and in Britain. Militant youth organisations in Britain must make contact with

the Sinn Fein youth sections.

But most of all, to build active support into the trade union movement will be a huge blow against the social chauvinist and anti-youth bureaucrats who lead the vast majority of the trade unions in Britain and Ireland.

The struggle to unite British and Irish youth, and to unite with the trade union movement, is an inseparable part of the struggle against the trade union bureaucracy who give no lead, and fail to unite British and Irish workers.

It is necessary to stop all military transportation to northern Ireland and to provide finances and necessary equipment for the Irish Re-

publican movement to win their right to self-determination and to drive out British imperialism for ever.

What can youth do?

1. Join your relevant trade union.
2. Organise discussion groups.
3. Move resolutions in trade union branches to boycott military goods to Ireland.
4. Organise meetings to campaign for the withdrawal of the troops.

We appeal to young people to write to the 'Workers Press' youth page and participate in the discussion on the way forward. If you are interested, ring 01-720-2000 and ask for the youth page.

How Labour youth collapsed

AN UNOFFICIAL conference of the Labour League of Youth was called in May 1937 with the young Stalinists of 'Advance' in control. In typically bureaucratic style, they refused to let resolutions be put by anyone except the ex-National Advisory Committee.

They called for the Labour Party National Executive Committee to prepare them a programme and call an official LLY conference!

Over the next few months the 'Advance' group stopped any activities that might 'offend' the NEC.

In September resolutions from the branches calling for an international embargo of war material to Japan, which had occupied Manchuria and was then attacking the rest of China, were ignored.

The autumn conference of the Labour Party decided to renew recognition of the LLY, but still with no politic-

HISTORY OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS PART FOUR — BY JOLYON RALPH

al discussion and age limit of 21.

In March 1938 there was an official national conference. Again, no resolutions were taken from branches. The NAC had ten members appointed by the NEC and eight elected from the conference. Ted Willis (now Lord Ted Willis) was appointed as national organiser. The March issue of 'Advance' warned of Trotskyists trying to make the resolutions lifeless under cover of 'freedom of discussion' — and all key issues were ruled out of order.

In May 1938 the 'Advance' was recognised as the official paper of the LLY. An editorial board was set up, including Ted Willis even though he was over the 21 age limit.

The Stalinists used their positions in the LLY in two ways:

Firstly they set out to transform it into a 'social' organisation. In September 1938 a new Trotskyist youth paper was launched, 'Youth for Socialism', and it argued against this point of view by saying people would be attracted by the superior attractions of employers' organisations.

Secondly the Stalinists pushed Communist Party policy. 'Advance' in June 1938 called for 'peace, democracy and social advance'.

The LLY held joint meetings with Young Liberals and other groups, turning completely away from the working class.

'Youth for Socialism'

warned in March 1939 that now the Labour Party NEC had used 'Advance' for its own purposes, it would try to remove it.

This was exactly what happened. Transport-House, trying to crawl into the Chamberlain government, attacked the LLY's 'popular front' policy. Willis was forced to leave because of his age, the NAC was disbanded and the conference called off.

They announced that there would not be future national or regional organisation for Labour youth, but only youth sections again.

Once the Stalinists had been caught out they left the Labour Party and openly joined the YCL in June 1939.

Compare this with what they said in 1936-7! (see previous article).

Many League officers and entire LLY branches went with them, and the Labour youth organisation was smashed.

Stop the strip-searches

PICKET

Every Saturday, 11.30am - 1.30pm
Brixton Prison, Jebb Avenue SW2

Against the strip-searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, and also in support of the women in Armagh Jail who are undergoing similar treatment. Support this important campaign organised by the Irish Prisoners Appeal, Women and Armagh and the Troops Out movement.

CLOSING IN ON THE RACISTS

IN FEBRUARY of this year a new organisation, the International Campaign Against Apartheid Sport (ICAAS), was formed to continue the fight to isolate South Africa from the international sporting arena for once and for all.

The organisation is headed by Fekrou Kidane, director of the Paris-based magazine 'Continental Sport', a long-time opponent of apartheid. Sam Ramsamy, chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), was appointed Executive Director.

In this interview, Ramsamy explains the aims of the new organisation to Shaun Phillips.

SAM RAMSAMY has been a thorn in the side of the South African government for some years now.

Through his work with SANROC, Ramsamy has helped to publicise the covert operations of the South African government to bring sportsmen and women, club and national teams to the racist state by bankrolling them with massive amounts of cash.

SANROC has also worked constantly to put pressure on international sporting bodies to ban South Africa from the world arena. So will the ICAAS not cut across this work?

'No, not at all,' says Ramsamy. 'SANROC will continue to play its part. The

ICAAS will, however, co-ordinate the international campaign against apartheid sport and will work closely with all national and international organisations who are pledged to smash apartheid.

'These will include the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), the United National Special Committee against Apartheid, the Olympic movement, governments and anti-apartheid organisations.'

The ICAAS will also concentrate on countering the South African propaganda machine. Besides spending

millions of Rands annually to prop up their racist sporting links, the South African government also spend vast amounts of money in propaganda every year,' added Ramsamy.

'They have installed the former cricketer Eddie Barlow in a London office to push out their propaganda in England, and are busily discussing ways they can help South African business houses finance possible rebel cricket, rugby and other sports tours.'

'Already sponsors are allowed a colossal 53 per cent tax rebate for luring sportsmen and women to

tour there. And now the South African government are now planning a further 40 per cent tax rebate as a marketing allowance for these same companies.'

'This shows just how much sporting links mean to the South African government. The ICAAS will try and counter all this as well as lobbying for all international sports federations to exclude South Africa and increase international vigilance, and it will closely monitor all sports exchanges with South Africa.'

SANROC and the new organisation will also continue to expose the large



SAM RAMSAMY

British sporting link with the racist state. England, in particular, continues to be the apartheid state's biggest sporting ally.

If you just take a look at recent collaborations with South Africa it becomes only too evident that many British sportsmen and women and national sporting bodies openly attach themselves to apartheid,' added Ramsamy.

There is the continuing saga of Zola Budd. She is allowed to enter this country 'freely from South Africa' on a British passport when she wants to run for England and Britain yet she still resides for the best part of the year in the apartheid state.

The British and English athletics vest she wears is only a sporting flag of convenience. Budd refuses to condemn apartheid, and the British Amateur Athletic Board (BAAB), as well as the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) are only too happy to go along with this despicable arrangement.

Then there is the recent case of the Frank Bruno-Gerrie Coetzee fight in London. That was something of a major propaganda coup for South Africa. In the future I think that the ICAAS will be able to organise major

media campaigns and protests against such racist sporting links.'

Cricket and Rugby Union, the two most popular sports amongst the white ruling class in South Africa, continue to be the areas where the racist state has its biggest influence.

'The Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB) and the International Cricket Conference (ICC) have played their part in these tours by refusing to take a strong line against cricketers who travel to South Africa,' said Ramsamy.

'We have had some success in recent months, however. The decision of the Zimbabwe and Bangladesh cricket organisations to withdraw invitations for the England "B" teams because several members of that team refused to sign anti-apartheid declarations is a case in point.'

When you have the situation where Graham Gooch, currently on tour with the full England team in the West Indies gets indignant because several Caribbean political leaders protest about his South African connections — and the TCCB are thrown into disarray when he writes to them complaining about the matter.



Police repression outside a South African stadium

W. Berlin bribes scandal

THREE ministers in West Berlin's right-wing city government have resigned, and a Christian Democrat councillor is among eight people charged, over bribes for planning favours.

Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, who has admitted taking up to £22,000 from a building tycoon, may not survive the growing scandal.

Right-winger Heinrich Lummer, who has had to resign as Interior Minister, made his name as a hard-line 'law and order' man, anti-socialist and anti-immigrant. He has denied bribery charges, but a car dealer with whom he had dealings is now being held over crooked property deals.

Lummer has admitted paying large sums to an extreme right-wing organisation to interfere with the Social Democratic party's election campaign in 1971. He also made 17 mysterious trips to Lebanon, meeting with Christian militia bosses. There have been allegations that both Lummer and the arrested business associate had links with West Germany's secret service, the BND.

Strike against anti-union laws

REPORT FROM FRANKFURT

Workers in West Germany are fighting back against anti-union laws which they see as part of an attack on both living standards and democratic rights by the conservative Kohl government.

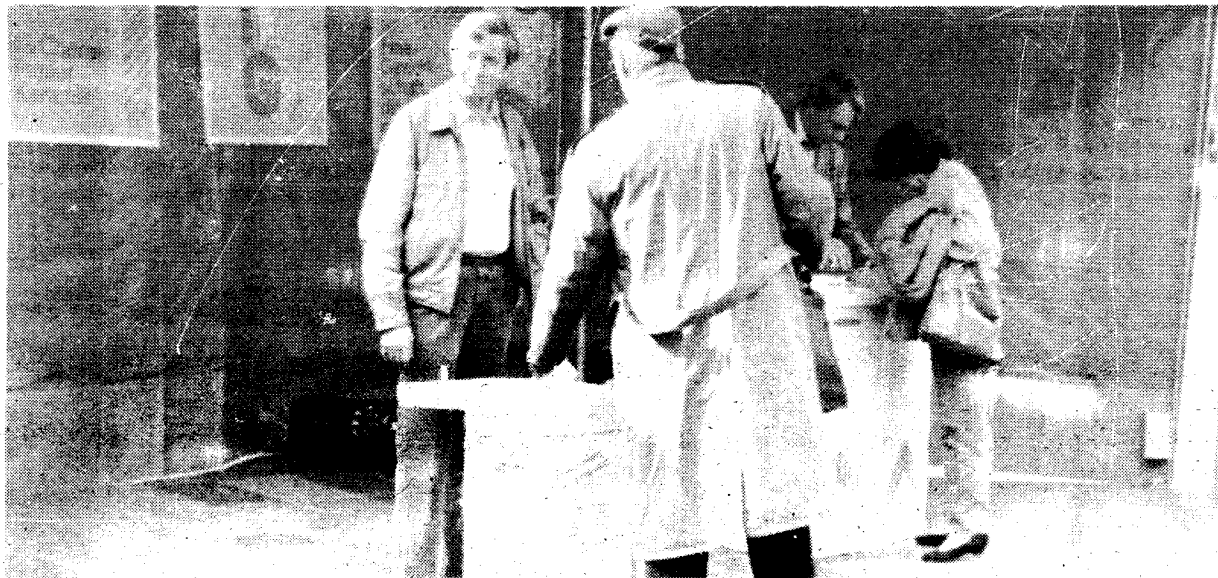
On March 20th, the Federal Parliament passed an amendment to their Employment legislation, ending state benefit and lay-off pay to workers laid off by strike action in their industry.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, mainly in the engineering and car industries, had joined protest strikes against this amendment.

Lay-off pay in West Germany has traditionally been high, up to 80 per cent in some cases, enabling strikes by key sections of workers to have great impact.

The Kohl government's attack began after the huge strike movement that swept West Germany in 1984, especially in the engineering and print industries, for shorter hours and better conditions.

The employers' response at the time was to lock-out tens of thousands of workers. Kohl's Employment minister Franke decreed that



German trades unionists campaigning against anti-union laws

locked-out workers were not entitled to pay, in an attempt to stem the strikes and bankrupt the unions. But this infamous 'Franke Decree' was challenged in the courts and ruled unconstitutional.

The new amendment represents a tightening up in legislation against the unions as part of the crisis and scandal-ridden Kohl government's attacks on workers' living standards.

This has provoked enormous opposition from the German working class, who are very conscious of Germany's Nazi past and the

importance of preserving trade union rights against any threat of a return. Lock-out pay was a valued post-war gain.

Warning strikes, demonstrations and rallies have spread throughout the Federal Republic in the past four months, with many calls for general strike action. This culminated in a nationwide strike on March 6th, third anniversary of the Kohl regime, involving over a million workers in more than 250 towns and cities.

The trade union bureaucracy has at all

stages sought to split the movement down, in order to keep it under control. In January they decided against organising any joint action between the 17 industrial unions, confining it to token strikes, demonstrations, and rallies, while at the same time trying to negotiate a compromise with the Kohl government.

Having rushed through the new amendment on March 20, the government immediately announced its intention to introduce new legislation before the Summer, stepping up its attacks on

trade union rights. Despite the growing militancy of the German workers, the union leadership response so far has been merely to organise a 'token ballot' of union members, registering their opposition to the government moves.

Despite the week-knead attitude of their leaders, West German workers are in no mood to give up their rights and conditions. Big struggles are ahead in Germany, which will pose sharply the issue of building revolutionary leadership in the unions.

COMMENT

by Charlie Pottins

War and Peace

'WHEN I study the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the signs of Armageddon, I ask myself whether we might not be the generation to see this come'.

It was three years ago, when US marines were getting chased out of Lebanon. The fanatic proclaiming world-wide war and destruction was the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan.

Among his strongest supporters, the influential Reverend Jerry Falwell, told Americans over coast-to-coast radio and TV not long ago that the Apocalypse would begin with a Soviet-American clash in the Middle East, and take the form of a nuclear holocaust in which the Soviet Union would be annihilated.

Behind the 'Born Again', bible-thumping, bomb-happy, 'Apocalypse Now' President stands a capitalist ruling class which has seen the 'mighty dollar' fall, seen US imperialism defeated in Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, and sees crisis, slump and revolution wherever it looks.

Reagan is not just the geriatric B-movie cowboy that liberal critics have joked about. He is a menace because, like Thatcher, he represents a rotten outmoded system which cannot provide jobs, or health, or food for the world's people, but has the power to destroy us all. Capitalism in its own death agony might do just that — if we let it.

Behind it's talk of 'not being pushed around any more', the US government has supplied phosphorus bombs to burn Lebanese children, armed terrorists who kill Nicaraguan teachers and nurses, invaded Grenada, sent its fleet into Libyan waters, and bombed Libyan civilians. Thatcher, having 'rejoiced' over the Malvinas bloodshed, is now Reagan's proud accomplice in murder.

Yet it was not just British bases that made the latest US aggression possible.

It is inconceivable that Reagan would have gone ahead with the bombing raid on Tripoli without Gorbachev's tacit agreement that there would be no Soviet response.

Asked about possible Soviet reaction, one diplomat in Moscow is reported as saying 'There will be an awful lot of sound and fury, but I would be surprised if they try to raise the temperature.'

Reagan got the green light last month with the disclosure that plans first announced in 1983 for a friendship treaty between Moscow and Tripoli had been dropped.

The response of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow to American imperialism's attack on Libya was entirely predictable. The Moscow bureaucracy simply condemned this 'barbarous attack' and postponed the Gorbachev-Reagan summit.

In a long series of international incidents, including the Cuban missile crisis more than twenty years ago, the Stalinist bureaucracy has backed off from any confrontation with US imperialism, or even with its satraps.

The huge Soviet navy, often depicted as a 'threat to Western interests', and in reality supposed to defend Soviet sea routes, could not spare one ship to challenge the Israeli blockade on Lebanon, and deliver supplies to besieged Palestinians. The Soviet radar technicians in Libya looked on when Israel bombed the PLO in Tunis. More recently, US warships tested the waters not only off Libya, but off the Soviet port of Odessa.

The arrogance of U.S. warmongers in this deadly poker game shows their conviction, that the worst the Stalinist leaders will do is bore us with rhetoric about 'supporting the world's peoples fighting imperialism', which is not meant to be taken seriously.

This betrayal of the exploited masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the direct product of the Stalinist theory of peaceful coexistence which dates from 1924, when the needs of the emerging Soviet bureaucracy were placed above the world revolution.

By the mid 1930s, it was a major plank of the bureaucracy's foreign policy. It led to the betrayal of the Spanish working class, and of communists from all over the world who went to fight fascism in Spain, and were sacrificed to Stalin's supreme aim of ingratiating his regime with the capitalist 'democracies'.

Then from 1939-41, Stalin convinced himself of the peaceful intentions of Adolf Hitler, denouncing warnings of war as 'provocations'. For this, and the previous mass purge of the Red Army, twenty million Soviet people paid with their lives.

Imperialism has not fundamentally changed. Nor, unfortunately has Stalinism. Yet it is not only the Libyans and other small nations defying imperialism who are threatened. Reagan is on record as claiming the Soviet Union itself is a 'terrorist-supporting state' and the centre of world 'evil'. Like Hitler before him, he is whetting his appetite for the big one.

The Labour leaders will do little to stop the imperialist war drive. Kinnock, like others before him, voices his horror at the 'methods' and the results of US aggression, but accepts that 'we' and the US are allies, and basically the 'goodies'. In one of Reagan's old movies he'd be the ineffective citizen deploring all this shooting, but eventually persuaded to join Sheriff Ronnie's posse.

This kind of 'opposition' which does not really oppose is unlikely to deter Thatcher and Reagan. More important, it hardly alerts or inspires working people. Labour leaders with their eye always on what the capitalist papers might say (and they, from Murdoch's 'Sun' to Maxwell's 'Mirror' were all for the bombing), cannot give a lead — they are being led.

The 'Workers Press' and Workers Revolutionary Party join with all those who have rallied to oppose US aggression against Libya, and denounce British collaboration. The struggle of the Libyan and Arab peoples to defend their homelands and independence, the defence of the Soviet Union, and the struggle to remove the imperialist menace of a nuclear holocaust, are all linked with the struggle of the working class throughout the world. We reject bankrupt reformism and the Stalinist theory of 'peaceful coexistence'. Peace can only be established by the workers taking power.

'British justice'

WORKERS PRESS last week reported the speech made at the anti-strip searching demonstration in Brixton by Liz Hill, sister of Paul Hill, one of those framed for the Guildford pub bombing.

This week we publish the facts of the case sent to Workers Press with a letter from Liz Hill which says:

'There is a lot of public concern about the case;

TWELVE years have passed since four innocent young people were sentenced to prison for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings.

The attack, which killed seven people and injured about 77, appeared to be part of a big series of bombings and shooting incidents, carried out in Britain by the Provisional IRA between October 1974 and late 1975.

The names of those sentenced in the Guildford trial are Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon and Carole Richardson.

From the very onset there were a number of disturbing aspects about the Guildford and Woolwich cases.

Paul Hill was the first to be arrested, and according to his solicitor, there are two versions of events that led to the arrest. The first is that, Detective Chief Superintendent Walter Simmonds, who was at that time head of the Surrey CID, stated that £350 had been paid to an informant in Belfast, who had given them Paul's name.

It is known that when the police went round interviewing members of the Hill family living in England, they were enquiring about 'Benny' Hill which was the nick-name given to Paul Hill's brother.

It is true that they called at a house where Paul Hill was staying but they were still enquiring about 'Benny' Hill at that time. It is clear therefore that the informant gave the name of 'Benny' Hill.

The second version is that an intelligence officer who had served in the north of Ireland recognised Paul Hill from an identikit picture that was put out by the police in the afternoon of the Guildford explosions.

The intelligence officer is supposed to have told the police that it looked like Paul Hill wearing a wig. However, the identikit picture in question was one of two which were put out by the police in October 1974 and subsequently withdrawn

MPs Joan Maynard and Jeremy Corbyn are very interested in the case, but the Home Office are trying to put a block on it because the story is just too awful to be told.

'I hope you can help, by publishing as much information on the case as possible, in order to highlight the injustice of the British system, and to help free Paul and the others and so put an end to the suffering they have and still are enduring.'

THE OF GUILDFORD

when the police discovered that the identikit pictures were of a girl who was killed in the bombing of the 'Horse and Groom' and another girl who was severely injured.

Subsequently the police fought to suggest that these identikit pictures were not officially put out by the Surrey Constabulary, but had been pinched by an enterprising journalist and that was how they got into the press.

Paul Hill's arrest was followed by further events, and eventually the Guildford Four were brought to court on the basis of confessions that had been obtained from them by the police.

Paul Hill has always maintained that the confessions were extracted only after he and the others were severely beaten.

It is a matter of public record that his face was badly marked when he appeared at the Old Bailey.

Apart from the confessions the prosecution had little to offer the court. There was no forensic evidence linking the accused with the bombings nor was any incriminating evidence found in their possession.

There was no fingerprint evidence and they were identified by none of the survivors.

Carole Richardson was put on thirty identification parades and was not picked out in any of them.

In spite of this all four were found guilty and sentenced to some of the longest terms of imprisonment ever handed out by a British Court. When passing sentence the Judge stressed the need for severity and his adversity to mercy.

Richardson, then aged 18, was sentenced to be detained at Her Majesty's Pleasure.

Conlon, then aged 21, was given life with a recom-

grounds of old age or infirmity.

The IRA bombing campaign continued until 6th December 1975, a year after the Guildford defendants had been arrested. Many of the later bombings bore a marked similarity to the ones for which people had already been convicted. In particular the bombing of a pub at Caterham in August 1975 was almost a carbon



PAUL HILL



PATRICK ARMSTRONG

mendation that he serve not less than 30 years.

Armstrong, then aged 25 was sentenced to not less than 35 years. The Judge then said, 'I must stress the words "not less than" I do not mean by this recommendation to give you any reason for hoping that after 30 or 35 years you will necessarily ever be released.'

Paul Hill, then aged 21, was sentenced to life imprisonment with a recommendation that he should never be released except on the

copy of the Guildford bombing.

The bombings stopped abruptly in December when, after what became known as the siege of Balcombe Street, four members of an IRA Active Service Unit, Joe O'Connell, Eddie Butler, Harry Duggan and Brendan Dowd confessed to being responsible for the Guildford bombing. They had carried out the bombing along with three others, two of whom were women, who they refused to name. But they did



BALCOMBE STREET SIEGE: Where members of an IRA Active Service Unit were arrested and confessed that they, not the four convicted, had been responsible for the Guildford and Woolwich bombs.

at work

CASE THE RD FOUR

say that none of the Guildford four made up the remaining three. Three of the Unit confessed to being responsible for the Woolwich bombing.

All said that they had no knowledge of, nor had even met any of the Guildford four.

The Balcombe Street men were able to provide detailed accounts of their role in the bombings and two years af-



GERARD CONLON

ter the event could draw accurate maps of the layouts of the bombed pubs.

Even in their 'Confessions' the Guildford four had been unable to supply such detail.

In spite of the statements by the Balcombe Street men and the serious implications to which they gave rise the police made no attempt to investigate the accuracy or otherwise of the claims.

When they eventually came up for trial at the Old Bailey they were charged with 25 bombing and shooting incidents but the indictment contained no mention of either the Guildford or the Woolwich bombings.

Normally, IRA prisoners refuse to recognise a British Court. On this occasion, two members of the Balcombe Street Active Service Unit refused to plead on the grounds that the indictment did not include the Guildford and Woolwich bombings for which innocent people had been convicted.

The four men instructed their lawyers to offer no defence, but to concentrate on bringing out evidence that they had been responsible for the Guildford and Woolwich explosions.

This was done to great effect. The defence, for example, cross-examined a police forensic expert Mr Higgs who gave evidence that a whole series of bomb explosions, many of which occurred whilst the Guildford Four were in custody, fitted a consistent pattern and that the Guildford and Woolwich bombings could fit this pattern.

Asked therefore why he had omitted the bombing

from the list of similar incidents Mr Higgs replied that a bomb squad officer had told him to omit the Guildford and Woolwich cases from his evidence.

The head of the Bomb Squad, Commander Jim Nevill, was asked why these cases had been omitted from the charges against the Balcombe Street Men. He said that the Director of Public Prosecution had advised him to tell Higgs to omit them



CAROLE RICHARDSON

from his evidence.

In fact a large list of offences committed in the first phase of the Balcombe Street operation, which lasted from October 1974 until January 31st 1975, were omitted — even though the Balcombe Street men had been charged with them and they had been put in the indictment.

The purpose for these charges were, according to Paul Hill's solicitor, quite obvious. The prosecution wished if possible to avoid having to traverse in Court the links which would have shown that Guildford and Woolwich were part of a connected series of bombings which forensic evidence linked to the Balcombe Street Active Service Unit.

Following the Balcombe Street case the Guildford Four applied for a re-trial on the grounds that new evidence — the confessions of the Balcombe Street men — now existed.

The Court of Appeal decided, it would hear the new evidence itself acting as a court of first instance. In this way no new jury would be involved — a procedure which Lord Devlin, in relation to another case, has clearly condemned.

The appeal was heard in October 1977. Three of the men arrested at Balcombe Street and another man, Brendan Dowd, who had been arrested separately, all gave evidence that they — and not those convicted of the offences — had been responsible for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings. Although three years had elapsed since the bombings, and although Brendan Dowd

had been held in solitary confinement in separate jails from the other three, the four men were able to relate in great detail how they had planned and executed the bombings.

Despite rigorous cross-examination, the prosecution were unable to shake the men's story and instead adapted its case to say that the Balcombe Street men may well have taken part in the Guildford and Woolwich bombings but that they had acted together with the four persons already convicted.

This was not altogether impossible since the Balcombe Street men freely admitted that they were part of an IRA Active Service Unit of up to twelve members but they would not name the others as they were still at liberty.

The prosecution case therefore rested upon proving that the persons convicted of the Guildford and Woolwich bombings were part of the same IRA unit as the Balcombe Street men. This they failed to do. They were unable to show any link. They failed to establish that any of them had ever met, and although they found the fingerprints of the nineteen persons in the safe houses used by the Balcombe Street Men, not one matched the fingerprints of the four persons convicted for the Guildford and Woolwich explosions.

All the prosecution could offer was a letter found in one of the houses used by the Balcombe Street men referring to two Belfast boys.

This it was argued was a reference to Hill and Conlon, although the point was never proved.

The three Appeal Court Judges upheld the original conviction. Whether the jury in the event of a re-trial would have come to the same conclusions is open to conjecture.

In the absence of a re-trial Paul Hill, Gerry Conlon, Paddy Armstrong and Carole Richardson are destined to remain in prison for the rest of their natural lives.

Robert Kee is writing a book on the case, which will be available later this year, and Yorkshire TV have produced a documentary which is due to be screened on May 6th on 'First Tuesday'.

Liz Hill is launching a campaign for a re-trial for the Guildford 4, and will shortly have a box number. Meanwhile anyone wishing to help with regard to the case should contact Workers Press; all information will be passed on.



HULL RIOT (1976) Paul Hill received compensation for injuries sustained at the hands of the screws after the Hull Riot. Despite assurances that this would never happen he has recently been sent back to Hull.

African trade unionists' liberation struggle

BY LOTTE BAILEY

'LIBERATION of all the working people is what we want', leading South African trade unionist Moses Mayekiso told trade unionists in Cambridge last week.

Moses, only released from prison in February, was in Britain campaigning to forge links between African and British trade unionists. He outlined the history of the epic strike at Sarmcol, part of the British BTR company, which was met by instant dismissal of all strikers and the murder of six black workers.

Despite very short notice, a packed and enthusiastic audience welcomed the speaker, who is secretary of the Transvaal Metal Allied Workers Union and chair of Alexandra Action Committee.

The trade union movement was in the forefront of organising resistance against the racist Botha regime, Moses said. The recently formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), to

the meeting — but instead, the working class was taking them over, fighting independently for the first time. Growing trade unions could co-ordinate action not only in the factories, but in dispersed locations, between different races, and among the unemployed.

In discussion, Moses opposed the arguments of some present, including Communist Party members, who said the fight against Apartheid was first and foremost a question of fighting racism, and that raising class issues would alienate certain 'progressive forces'.

'Apartheid is there to protect the profits of the multi-nationals', Moses said. 'A black capitalist government in South Africa might actually be even worse'.

Finally, Moses urged British trade unionists to organise shop stewards delegations, particularly from BTR, to visit South Africa; to establish local links; and to fight British BTR for reinstatement of their African colleagues.

which his union was affiliated, was not only organising workers in the factories, but forming action committees in the townships together with youth and political organisations. They were overcoming deliberately fostered tribal divisions, to unite workers against racist oppression.

Together with the youth and others, COSATU was calling for a general strike on May Day against cheap labour, the pass laws, and for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

'Apartheid is the way in which capitalism has developed and is ruling in South Africa', Moses said. The struggle against apartheid will also deal with all the oppression of capitalism. 'Liberation of all the working people is what we want'.

Trade unions had been legalised in South Africa in an attempt to control the working class, Moses told

LISTINGS

Workers Revolutionary Party Public Meeting: 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXECUTION OF JAMES CONNOLLY. Monday 12 May, 7.30 pm. Anson Hall, Anson Road, Cricklewood, London NW2.

LECTURES: LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT. Every Wednesday, 7.30 pm. Family Lounge, Flying Picket, MTUCURC, Hardman Street, Liverpool.

Lambeth Printworkers Support Group: PRINTWORKERS' BENEFIT. Friday 25 April, 7.30-11 pm. Polytechnic of Central London, 115 New Cavendish Street, London W1. £3.50 (unwaged £2). Bands — Happy End, The Neurotics, Unholy Trinity, Seething Wells.

HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION DANCE. Monday 5 May, 8-12 pm. Irish Centre, Murray St, Camden Town, London. Music by 'Bunch of Thyme', bar and food. Tickets £2. Proceeds to Dependents of Republican Prisoners. Organised by London-Birmingham Irish Republican POW Campaign Committee.

CITY OF LONDON ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP Tel 837-6050 FOR DETAILS

NON-STOP OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE TRAFALGAR SQUARE

PICKET

■ RELEASE NELSON MANDELA
■ RELEASE ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
■ CLOSE DOWN THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY

19 APRIL DEMONSTRATE
Assemble 2pm
Bidborough St, Nearest tube Kings Cross.

MARCH TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE TO START THE NON-STOP PICKET AT 4PM

REBUILD THE WORKERS

WITH this contribution by TOM KEMP, Workers Press opens the discussion on perspectives for the Workers Revolutionary Party. We invite the fullest possible discussion on these vital issues.

Not for the first time a Trotskyist party has to take stock after a severe internal crisis brought about by an opportunist leadership and re-orient itself on a Marxist course.

The revelation of Healy's sexual abuses only brought to the surface a crisis which had been simmering in the WRP for years: a bureaucratic centralist method of organisation, a practice based on impressionism, prestige projects without real substance and sources of finance which involved compromises on principles.

The atmosphere in the party prevented real discussion or interchange of views. Theoretical work was perverted by Healy's subjectivism and false 'dialectics'.

Policy was made at the top and imposed on a membership of devoted activists without real participation or understanding. Comrades joined the WRP to be trained as Marxists and to take part in the class struggle; they became propagandists repeating slogans and made incredible sacrifices to keep Healy's show on the road.

Despite the degeneration of Healy and his clique there was no other organisation in Britain which preserved the continuity of the Marxist movement in Britain. If in a deformed manner, the WRP represented the traditions of Marxist-Leninism, Bolshevism and Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International. This is a precious legacy which must be retrieved and developed.

The challenge facing the members of the WRP is to struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership. The expulsion of Healy and the split with his petty bourgeois clique, as well as the defection of a disloyal and disoriented

minority, provides an unexpected and welcome opportunity to re-arm the WRP and re-establish it as a main contender for the leadership of the working class in Britain.

History shows that without the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party revolutionary situations will end in the defeat of the working class and the triumph of reaction.

What is required, in the next few years, as the present pre-revolutionary situation matures, is the creation of a revolutionary vanguard of a few thousand men and women ready to fight for the leadership of the working class as a trained Marxist cadre.

Forces

Such a party will have as its nucleus the 'survivors' of the old WRP and many former members who have rejoined or will rejoin the party and new forces being brought into struggle by the crisis.

This nucleus will have to re-arm itself theoretically, eschewing back-biting and subjective attempts at self-



Youth denied future by capitalism. We need to build revolutionary youth cadre. Young Socialists movement with real political content.

justification or the search for scapegoats. It can only do so by a return to the fundamental documents of the movement, including the resolutions of the first four congresses of the Communist International.

The party will have to be organised on the basis of democratic centralism in which policy and programme are thrashed out in genuine discussion and in which practice is guided by real theoretical understanding.

Without fighting for this kind of party the WRP will collapse; indeed it will have no reason to exist. Whatever happens to the material assets of the old party is entirely secondary; the human assets are invaluable and irreplaceable, at least in the short run.

This nucleus must turn immediately to re-build confidence in the working class through Workers Press, its meetings and campaigns. It must begin with the links which already exist in a number of key areas and important industries. Serious party factions must be built in the main industries and unions which can expose the labour bureaucracy and fight for a revolutionary policy. Party branches must be built in factories and other enterprises.

At the same time, the WRP must turn to the most oppressed and exploited layers of the working class and the youth, including women workers, immigrants and the low paid in the service sectors including local government.

This means the re-building of a youth cadre and the aim of mass YS branches with real political content and organisational continuity. It means mass work in the main industrial areas with Workers Press.

The aim should be to build really functioning party un-

its, predominantly working class in composition, around a programme of transitional demands as the basis for mass work. Educational classes should be a regular feature of branch activity. Wherever possible public lectures and meetings should be arranged; propaganda and agitational work should be closely combined.

Members must undertake to educate themselves in Marxist theory with the help of such classes and lectures. Theory must be taken into the working class. There is no place for activists armed only with slogans with a missionary attitude towards the working class.

Through lectures and theoretical work the party should aim to rebuild a relationship with students and intellectuals coming into politics under the pressure of

The drawing up of a programme of transitional demands is a central part of the re-arming of the party and its struggle to assume the leadership of the advanced contingents of the working class.

The following demands illustrate the lines such a programme should follow, taking up the main issues facing the working class today:

- Jobs for all at a living wage;
- A thirty hour week without loss of pay;
- Full and free education for all young people to the maximum of their abilities;
- Open the books of all capitalist firms to workers' committees;
- Repeal all anti-trade union legislation;

- End harassment of youth;
- Quit NATO, close all US bases in Britain and dismantle all nuclear weapons;
- End all ties with South Africa, Chile and other reactionary regimes; no racialism in sport;
- Full support for all national liberation movements;
- For a United Ireland: British troops out;
- No bans or witch-hunts in the Labour Party or the trade unions;
- Expel union leaders who make sweetheart contracts;
- Demand that the Labour Party organise a mass campaign to defeat the Tory government;
- Prepare the general strike.

Such demands flow from the recognition that the working class in Britain has to be prepared for bitter struggles against a rapacious ruling class and its state determined to take back the concessions forced from it in the past.

These are basic demands of a primarily defensive character which correspond to the level of consciousness developing in the working class under the pressure of Tory attacks. All the weaknesses of British capitalism arising from its history are being exposed. It is now having to lean more than ever upon American capital and technology. In the fields of 'high technology' British industry is nowhere in the international league while the Japanese and even the US are roaring ahead.

In the face of a constant deterioration in its world position British capital has to sweat more surplus value out of the working class on the factory floor, to drive down the living standards of every section of workers and cripple or destroy its trade unions.

For the past few years



NATO generals set sights on war? We say quit NATO, clear out US bases.

the crisis and the draconian cuts in education.

Recruitment of young intellectuals is vital if the party is to grow and develop theoretically, but they must be integrated into the general life of the party, while being encouraged to use their abilities and opportunities for writing and theoretical work, to develop Marxist theory as party members and assist in raising the theoretical level of the whole party.

- No shut-downs or redundancies;
- Restore all cuts made in social services, health and education;
- A guaranteed minimum wage for all, including the unemployed;
- No job discrimination on grounds of sex, race or age;
- Form defence squads in inner cities against fascist and racist thugs;
- No police on picket lines;

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REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

ussion

British capitalism has been cushioned against major shocks by the revenues from North Sea oil. The collapse in oil prices is a serious embarrassment for the Tory government, making it impossible to make the tax concessions it was counting upon to rally the flagging support of the middle class. Within a decade or two the oil revenues will dry up completely leaving British industry even more exposed than before to foreign competition because of the lack of new capital investment in recent years. Capitalist greed has predominated and the proceeds of North Sea oil have gone into foreign investment, speculation and high arms expenditure. Fortunes have been made in shifting money around, in stock exchange dealings and takeovers while industrial and technological decline has continued unabated.

The essentially short-run, get-rich-quick policies of the Tory government and its City backers show that they have little faith in the long-term viability of their system. Like tin-pot dictators of the Marcos or Duvalier type their slogan is 'après moi le deluge'.

Doomed

Meanwhile, their slogans of privatisation and the return to market forces provide no solution for the long-term problems of historically-doomed British capitalism.

Knowing that in order to carry out these economic policies they face opposition from an undefeated working class, the Tories have simultaneously built up the state machine to a pitch never before seen in Britain.

The revolutionary party has to mobilise the strength of the working class organised in the trade unions and unify its struggles around transitional demands. In the beginning these struggles may have a predominantly defensive character; but it is in winning defensive struggles that the class will come to recognise its strength and be able to gain the confidence which will enable it to go over to the offensive.

Revolutionary situations cannot be created by some act of will but arise out of objective developments in the class struggle. The subjective element, the party, can help create these conditions as well as preparing to give the leadership the class requires for victory.

All party members must study the history of the movement in Britain and internationally in order to equip themselves for the tasks of leadership. Especially important are the lessons of the General Strike of 1926, the defeat of the German working class in 1933, the Stalinist-led Popular Fronts of the 1930s, the experience of the Labour governments in Britain and of the 1984-85 miners' strike.

We are obliged to explain to workers why we are irreconcilably opposed to Stalinism and why we have no confidence in the reformists; but we also have to be able to explain the history of our own movement — including its present crisis — in order to establish our credentials. To return to first principles



Get the police away from picket lines! Miners face the power of the state at Hunterston, 1984.

is above all necessary at this time.

Marxism is based upon the fact that in capitalist society only the working class is a revolutionary class. The historic interests of the working class are diametrically opposed to the aims of a system which exploits its labour power. Only the working class can project an alternative society to that of the present form of exploitation. The working class is the crucial productive force; by refusing to work, by striking, it can bring the whole apparatus of production to a standstill, paralyse the ruling class, its army and its police.

There is no other force capable of standing up to capitalism or challenging the bourgeoisie's claim to rule. So much for the working class as a class in itself. To translate this potential into practice, to take power, it has to become a class for itself. It is the task of the revolutionary party to enable the class to make this leap in consciousness by bringing theoretical understanding into the class. Is there any other party, except the party of the Fourth International, which can provide this leadership?

Our contention is that there is no other source from which it can come. The object of the Marxist party is to raise the working class to the position of the ruling class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, making possible the establishment of socialism,

a society not based upon exploitation, which is the transitional stage to full communism.

This uncompromising position regarding the role of the working class divides us from the Stalinists, the reformists and the revisionists. It defines our attitude towards the Labour Party and the possibility of a Labour government. We warn that the historic task of reformist parties has been superseded; instead of reforms such a government will be able to do no more than manage the crisis to the dictates of the financial oligarchy and the IMF. Acting within the framework of parliament and capitalist property relations, it will try to give capitalism a more acceptable face, while offering the workers another round of austerity in an attempt to get capitalism back on its feet.

Kinnock and Hattersley will be prepared to enter some kind of coalition with the Alliance or even the Heath Tories. Neither type of government can satisfy the aspirations of the working class but must enter into conflict with it.

It is clear that the Labour leaders and the trade union bureaucracy have no intention of breaking with the bourgeoisie and leading the working class to power. If there were, there would be no crisis of leadership. We must warn the working class that such leaders will bet-

ray, as they have done so many times before.

In the event of the election of a Labour government, therefore, our task will be to warn the working class and expose its treachery. We must oppose in the working class any tendency to wait passively for the next election on the assumption that it will mean a Labour victory.

The class struggle is continuous and is not waged in parliament or through elections. The task is to break the working class from its old leaders. It is a task which is synonymous with the building of the revolutionary party. What this means in practice cannot easily be specified. Indeed, major differences between tendencies claiming to be Trotskyist have arisen precisely on this question. The temptation to look for short-cuts has caused havoc in the Trotskyist movement, bringing major revisions such as that of Pabloism in the 1950s.

The WRP itself was infected with the search for short-cuts both in substituting material assets for the human cadre and in a subjective acceleration of the historical process — dreaming up a revolutionary situation where it did not exist. We now have the opportunity to break decisively with this past, enriched by the experience, horrific as it may have been which, nevertheless, did not succeed in extinguishing the flame of Trotskyism.

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BOOK REVIEW

EL SALVADOR — fight for freedom

BRIDGET DIXON reviews 'Promised Land' by Jenny Pearce, a book which shows not only the dedication of the El Salvadoreans for freedom from the yoke of oppression, but also the building of a new society which is stringent in its determination to meet the needs of its people.

Promised Land:
Peasant Rebellion in
Chalatenango El Salvador.
By Jenny Pearce.
Latin America Bureau £6.95.

JENNY PEARCE went behind the lines in El Salvador, to areas controlled by the popular movement. She listened to the peasants' own stories, of how they came into the struggle.

Her book is an outstanding record of a popular war and the beginnings at reconstruction — or rather, at construction — of a new society.

The peasants of Chalatenango in El Salvador defy poverty, malnutrition, suffering and above all the barbaric war-crimes of the US-backed El Salvador government. The area is subject to continuous bombardment. In obvious defiance of the Geneva convention, the bombers look for any signs of peasant homes.

The guerillas control areas in spite of a terrain which does not lend itself to guerilla warfare, because they have popular support.

Farms

Jenny Pearce shows in the first chapters of her book the historical background to the dispossession and impoverishment of the Salvadorean peasants. They were driven systematically onto the worst land by the rich and powerful landowning elite over decades in which the big landowners established estates to grow coffee on the hills, cotton on the lowland and sugar cane on the rest. Half the farms are less than a hectare in size, and many peasants are landless.

The introduction of minimum wage legislation in 1965 accelerated the process because it abolished semi-feudalism and deprived the peasants of their small plots.

For generations, the landless have been obliged to go to work on the estates. They told Jenny Pearce what it is like to work on the coffee fincas.

Conditions on the estates are so bad that they describe choosing to go to the ones where they were allowed a bigger ration of drinking water.

One of them said: 'And what we earn mostly is illnesses.'

The collapse of coffee prices in 1932 led to an armed uprising led by the Communist Party. It was put down, and the participants shot in batches of fifty. It is

possible that 40,000 of El Salvador's population of a million were executed.

The CP, disoriented, abandoned the armed struggle and became increasingly subservient to Moscow. But Pearce shows how forces developed to challenge that treachery.

Masses

'Marcial' and several other dissident members of the CP set up the FPL, the Popular Forces of Liberation, in 1970. Marcial described the Stalinists' role as that of 'fireman', pouring cold water on the combativity of the masses.

The peasants became increasingly militant, increasingly organised.

Their main organisations were the FECCAS, the Christian Federation of Salvadorean peasants, and the UTC, the Union of Rural Workers. Both these grew, particularly after the thoroughly fraudulent 1972 election. Pearce presents the testimony of many who joined at this time.

It was necessary to arm, as Vidal explains:

'We saw that it was necessary to create a defence force for ourselves, but we had no arms. So our defence began with the minimum we had, with stones for example. We would hit the enemy with stones when they came, and while they were delayed for a moment, the people could get away. Or with a corvo or the machete, we took a revolver from the ORDEN man.'

'In this way we have succeeded in capturing arms by the most simple means: with a stone we captured a machete, with a machete we seized a .38 or a .22, and with this we even managed to get a rifle.'

Pearce shows the consequences of this kind of warfare for the peasants, who have had time and again to flee for their lives, women suffocating their babies to prevent them crying, in exoduses called *guindas*.

She took part in these haunting, terrifying retreats. She wrote in her diary:

'We rush out and in the night we make out a convoy of people carrying two small figures in hammock stretch-

ers. It's a dramatic and sombre sight. We learn that the children are Alfredo Lopez, seven years old, with a bad shrapnel wound in his leg, and his five-year-old sister, Maritsa, who has a lump of flesh taken out of her behind. Their three-year-old brother, Lito, has been killed in the attack and both their parents are badly wounded.

'The convoy is taking the children to the "hospital". We follow them. The "hospital" is just a converted peasant *adobe* dwelling, and the operations are carried out by candlelight. The mother arrives while we are there. She has heavy bleeding from a shrapnel wound in her leg and is in great pain. But it's not just her own pain that makes her suffer, it's the loss of her child and the sound of her other sick children crying.'

Jenny Pearce interviewed people who had suffered torture, and witnesses to the butchering of whole families just because they had the same name as one of the peasant leaders.

But it is a book which shows how the peasants are the best organised in Latin America, and the plans they have for their society. Pearce describes the formation of local councils, elected for the first time by the people themselves.

Developing

The final section of the book describes the ways in which the liberated areas are developing, with cooperative workshops and fishing, and common fields. There are no illusions about the future — the leaderships of the areas have to make hard decisions about priorities.

Both the peasants and the government attacking them with US help learned from the struggles in Vietnam.

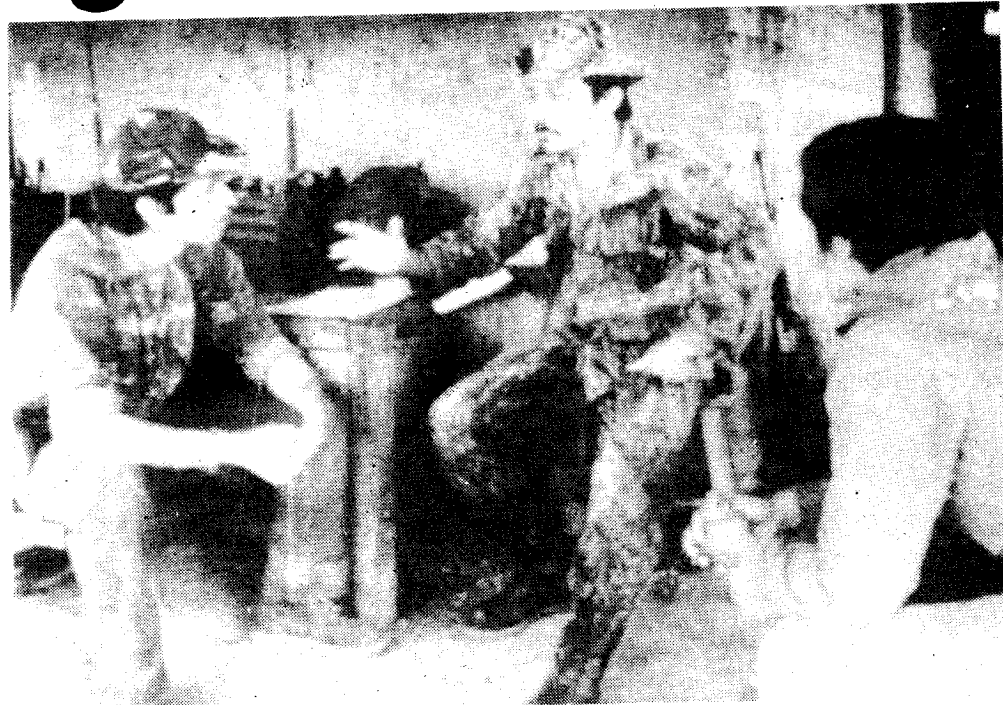
But the question of how to reconstruct the country is something which they are having to learn in the context of extreme land hunger. The women's organisation, AMES (the Association of Salvadorean Women) sets out clearly in their statements strategies to tackle their immediate problems.

'We are a group with a specific condition and a specific demand and we cannot wait for socialism and structural changes to solve our problems tomorrow.'

'The objective of the struggle is to achieve a social life in which all of us have the same value, the workers as much as the educated. That the student does not look on the peasant as though he were of less value, that we all consider each other as we really are, that we all live as brothers, that there not be any divisions. Until now we haven't had a government that truly responded to the interests of our

Now the government is only concerned with the interests of the upper classes. They depend on our labour for survival, but we have learned through the struggle that we can quite happily live without them. One day there will be a government of workers and peasants which will look after the interests of the people.'

Quique.



Comandante Ramon

'The step from being an agricultural worker to becoming a *comandante* is a big one. But the people give you everything they know, so that you learn.

I never had any intention of becoming a *comandante* or jefe when I began to take part in the struggle, but only to make a contribution to the struggle of the people. I began work with the mass organisations, I was with the UTC for a while, organising demonstrations and protests.

In 1978, I asked to be a guerilla and began clandestine work. All the guerillas are from the people, the guerilla army is born out of the people's feelings. The guerillas are mostly peasants and workers and there are some students and professional people such as doctors. The majority of the guerillas in the combat zones come from those areas that's how we can move about so easily, because we know the terrain.

We began by living secretly; from there we went on to have camps; and now we've got mobile units which are a proper army. It has cost the revolutionary movement very dear to form this mobile army with its military capability and firepower in such a small country where there are no mountains, where there's no place to hide. . .

The life of a guerilla may be hard, but

this is a question of conscience. Our principle is: first the revolution and afterwards personal interest. This manages to strengthen you.

For example, I haven't seen my mother for a year and a half, and a brother not for the last five years. I've just had a note from him, where he tells me, "I only hear your voice on the Farabundo Radio, but don't know how you are." It's just like that, in this war these things happen.

The people here have maintained a sense of humanity, of human warmth, in the midst of the war. If all the peasants are by nature humanitarian, then in the organisation this is being deepened. Here solidarity, fraternity are strengthened, you always have your thoughts directed to others, not just to yourself.

This improves you. Everyone who comes here feels good because it's a pretty different way of life. For example the soldiers who come here when they surrender say, "this is a very different life to that with the bourgeois army". A *comandante* here for instance, doesn't have any special privileges. I live with my people, eat what they eat. There are times when they worry about me not eating as I wait to be the last. ♪

Comandante Ramon.



Elections organised by the PPL (Popular Local Power)

LETTERS

The Editorial board of Workers Press welcomes letters on any topic from all our readers. Please address them to The Editor, Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London, SW1 0JT. Please try to keep your letters short — they have to be!

FAMILY'S ORIGINS — SOCIAL

MY LETTER of December 13, published under the heading 'Class Struggle and the Family' has aroused considerable controversy. This is very healthy and is what I intended. As part of the discussion comrade Bernard Franks has written a thoughtful and well-argued letter (January 15) to which I must now reply.

Bernard points out, correctly, that the ultimate and decisive factor in human history is the level of the productive forces. He also stresses the importance of the well-known quotation from Marx's 'Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' in which he points out that 'the mode of production . . . (determines) . . . social, political and intellectual life processes in general'. These 'social . . . life processes' must of course include the form taken by the family.

Bernard then goes on to argue that what Engels writes in his 'Origin of the Family' really does not contradict the above quotation from Marx. Here I must disagree.

The real point at issue, I believe, is one which Bernard does not see. It is Engels' belief that the development of the family during the period of primitive communism was determined by factors that were biological but not social. This must lead us to the basic philosophical question of the relationship of the biological to the social in man.

We need to consider briefly the origin of mankind. Engels himself, to his great credit, raised this question in his unfinished essay 'The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man'. Here he makes the statement 'labour created man himself'.

Work done by modern anthropologists tends to confirm Engels' insight. Thus we are told by Washburn and Howell that: 'The tool-using . . . way of life created the large human brain rather than a large brained man discovering (tool using) ways of life . . . the size of the brain . . . increased threefold subsequent to the use and manufacture of tools.' ('Evolution After Darwin').

Further: 'Most of the obvious differences that distinguish man from apes came after the use of tools.' ('Scientific American', September 1960).

The implications of this are clear. Labour (i.e., production), in creating man thereby created skills, know-

ledge, language, abstract thought and the ability to set conscious goals, primitive art forms and in fact all aspects of human culture including male/female and adult/child relationships.

Since labour (production) is a social process and since labour alone created mankind all social relationships must ultimately arise from production and the relations of production. To be human is to be social. The converse is also true: There can be no human interpersonal relationships which are not social, i.e., which are not derived — directly or indirectly — from production.

All significant biological features of mankind, having arisen in the first place from labour, must simultaneously be social as well as biological. In other words we are all natural, social beings. Any counterposing of the natural (the biological) to the social in man is therefore meaningless.

We now have to consider Engels' position, in his 'Origin of the Family' regarding what has just been written above. To avoid showering the reader with too many quotations from Engels himself, let us see how the matter is summarised by the Marxist anthropologist Leacock.

Writing in her introduction to the 1972 edition of 'Origin of the Family' she tells us: '(Engels made) some important misstatements

(such as that quoted below). In the Preface to the first edition of "Origin" he explicitly assumes an independent (from social factors) development of the family . . . The fact is, of course, that social forces were never new to mankind.' (Page 28) Later Leacock refers to Engels' 'confusions about biological and social forces.' (Page 29)

The 'misstatements' referred to by Leacock include the following two: 'Unless new social forces came into play, there was no reason why a new form of the family should arise from the single pair.' (Engels' emphasis, page 117.)

It is clear that the 'new form of family' referred to was monogamy (the nuclear family). About this Engels says: 'It was the first form of the family to be based not on natural but on economic conditions . . .' (page 128).

Here Engels explicitly counterposes the natural (biological) in man to the 'social' and the 'economic'. What he clearly infers is that, prior to the emergence of class society, i.e., during the longest period of mankind's existence, male/female and adult/child rela-

tionships were determined by factors that were natural and biological but not social.

It is indeed a great tragedy that Engels never realised the significance and the implications of his own statement that 'Labour created man himself'. For what is clearly implied in the 'Origin of the Family' is that significant aspects of human interpersonal relationships are determined by biological factors which did not arise in the course of man's origin through labour.

Engels makes a similar mistake in his classic work 'Anti-Duhring'. Here, when dealing with the transition from barbarism (the last form of classless society) to slavery he writes: '. . . it is a fact that man sprang from the beasts, and had . . . to use . . . bestial means to extricate himself from barbarism' (1954 edition, page 251).

But man did not 'spring' from 'the beasts'. Over a period of a million or so years man created himself through labour. For its development labour must have necessitated a very high level of social cooperation.

Engels' statement reminds us of contemporary

writers like Lorenz, Ardrey and Desmond Morris who maintain that man is no more than a savage animal covered by a thin veneer of civilisation. In both cases the social is counterposed to the natural.

If Engels' view here is taken to its logical conclusion then all class oppression and all revolutions must be — at least in part — the expression of man's 'bestial' nature. Yet Marx in his earlier works stressed that a proletarian revolution is necessary in order to make the proletariat fit to rule.

His view that the form of the family develops relatively independently from the relations of production led Engels to his disastrous conclusions about the nature of the family under capitalism. But this should really be the subject of a further letter.

Finally, it is high time we ceased to regard the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky as holy writ. Marxism is a living and developing science whose function is to provide the working class with a weapon in its historic struggle for power. It is not a religion.

John Robinson

(This letter has been cut slightly — Editor)

LET'S GET THE FACTS STRAIGHT

I refer to News Line (11-4-86), so-called Workers Notebook column, written by Mr. A. Mitchell. This informs its readers of 'documentary information about the financial affairs of Mr. David Bruce, leading whacko in the Banda-Slaughter swamp'.

Healy must be slipping! A sum of £355 (not £350 as stated) was paid by bank standing order into an account in the name of D.

Bruce for at least 15 years (not just between July and December 1985).

This was Healy's way of 're-paying' Dave Bruce his money, which was used to purchase premises for New Park Publications Limited. Healy knows, but of course does not want to remember, that all these 're-payments' have always been paid back to the Party or one of the Party's Companies for bills, etc.

The News Line goes on:

'The second item concerns 'director's fees for Astmoor Litho. How many swamp-dwellers know that Mr. Bruce availed himself of a £3000 director's fee?'

Perhaps Mr. Mitchell's readers would like to divide this £3000 by 52 weeks to get Dave Bruce's weekly wages. They would come up with an average figure of approximately £58 per week!

Interestingly, the information comes from the public company accounts of Astmoor Litho - now in liquidation as a result of a court action by Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises Limited. Maybe that is because he resigned, and supported Vanessa Redgrave's winding-up petition.

Mitchell has the dubious honour of being given the task by Healy of carrying out a character assassination on all those who expelled Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party in October 1985.

I wonder whether Mr. Mitchell's readers would like 'Mrs Dorothy (Houdini) Gibson' to go down memory lane, and speak about Mr. Mitchell's and Mr. Healy's 'earnings'.

Dot Gibson

ANOTHER UNANIMOUS DECISION



It's not that he's so big, it's that they're so small
Montage by Phil Penn

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REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, S Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119077.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX
HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.
JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence, 758663.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.
ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119073.

ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119035.
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks, WF2-9AG
ANTHONY CLARKE: 14-year sentence, 726381.
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.

GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP
ROBERT CAMPBELL: 07-year sentence, B32954.
PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, L31888.
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside
LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.

FRANKLANDS

VINCENT DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Rd, London W12 0AE
NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence, 879225.

REMAND PRISONERS

BRIXTON

HM Prison Brixton, PO Box 369, Jebb Ave, London SW2 5XF
MARTINA ANDERSON
ELLA O'DWYER
GERRY McDONNELL
PETER SHERRY
PAT. McGEE

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON,
PATRICK ARMSTRONG,
GERARD CONLON, **PAUL HILL**,
JUDITH WARD, **HUGH CALLAGHAN**, **JOHN WALKER**,
BILLY POWER, **GERARD HUNTER**, **RICHARD McILKENNY**,
PADDY HILL.

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

'THERE are many similarities between the jailed miners and our own prisoners. We are all fighting the same enemy, capitalism and imperialism.

'We are fighting our way, they are fighting theirs: but it's the same war in the end.'

That is the view of Gerry Young of Sinn Fein's Prisoners of War department, who is responsible for the welfare of 31 Republican prisoners in English jails, five remand prisoners and eleven innocent men and women who have been framed up by the British police.

'British people should give as much support as they can to our prisoners. The day is not too far off when not only the miners but other British political prisoners will be in jail alongside ours,' says Young.

In Ireland itself, either north or south of the border, there are about 1200 Republican prisoners. Many of them, including 60 still recognised by the British state as political prisoners, are incarcerated in Long Kesh, Europe's only concentration camp.

But the prisoners in English jails have a special significance: they are long distances from their families, hostages of a foreign power which is breaking its own rules to cut them off from their families.

Many are serving long sentences, life in many cases, far longer than the normal sentences for the crimes of which they have been convicted. Ronnie McCartney is doing life for attempted murder of a policeman. Other Republican prisoners have been jailed on conspiracy charges.

Plight

The Republican movement relies to an extent on its sympathisers in Britain, such as those who are picketing Brixton prison weekly in protest at the barbaric treatment of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, to draw attention to the plight of these prisoners.

For British socialists, the demand for the release of these prisoners, and the struggle against the right-wing traitors in one Labour government after another who have helped to keep them inside, must become part of the ABC of political activity. Such a campaign will help to bring home the real role of the state to the British working-class movement.



Na Fianna youth movement colour party on this year's Easter Rising Commemoration March in Dublin

In an interview with Workers Press, Gerry Young explained the five demands advanced by Sinn Fein on the question of Republican prisoners in English jails:

(1) **Repatriation on demand.** They are flouting their own rules, which state that prisoners should be kept as close to their families as possible,' says Young.

'When he was Home Secretary, William Whitelaw stated openly that the Republican prisoners were being discriminated against because if they were at home they would be treated like heroes.

'Those Loyalist prisoners, and ordinary criminals, in English jails, are brought home for "accumulated visits" and taken back again. Even this concession is not granted to Republican prisoners.'

The prisoners' isolation from their families and communities causes tremendous problems. They have been given a status which doesn't officially exist. 'Special

Category A'. Their visits are organised separately from all other prisoners, never in the main visiting area but in special heavily-supervised rooms. One of them, Martin Brady who is doing a life sentence at Long Lartin, has taken a case to the European Court because a visit from his MP, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, has been blocked.

(2) **Release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds.** Hackett was part of an IRA active service unit, and lost an arm, a leg and part of his intestines in a premature bomb explosion in 1976.

He is now at Parkhurst prison, where his defiant courage has become renowned among other prisoners. Statements issued by Hackett through Sinn Fein detail lengthy interrogation sessions, threats and beating by British policemen at St Stephens Hospital, Fulham, in 1976. His serious medical condition did not save him from intimidation and solitary confinement in Wakefield prison in 1980-81.

Hackett's relatives fear his health will deteriorate permanently if he is not released.

Release of prisoners framed by the British police.

'While we do not claim that all Irish prisoners of war are innocent of the charges against them — in fact the majority of PoWs make no attempt to conceal their involvement in various acts of war against the British state — we are concerned that at least 11 innocent people are still detained, serving sentences ranging from 12 years to life,' says a statement from the Sinn Fein PoW committee.

Hostages

'This committee firmly believes that these unfortunate people are not de facto prisoners of war but hostages held by the British state as an example to the rest of the Irish population in Britain, as to the consequences that befall anyone whether or not they are involved in the struggle against the military occupation of their homeland.' The prisoners are:

The Birmingham Six, who were arrested within hours of the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974, five of the six while on their way to Belfast for a Republican funeral. They were subjected to beatings, threats of reprisals against their families and other intimidation to make them sign confessions — which were later ruled inadmissible by the trial judge. The confessions, together with unsatisfactory circumstantial evidence, secured convictions and life sentences. Irish activists in Britain are fighting for the case to be re-opened.

The Guildford Four. Three young Irishmen and an Englishwoman, serving life sentences for the Guildford pub bombings of 1974. Not

only are their confessions suspect, but members of an IRA Active Service Unit arrested in the Balcombe Street siege claimed responsibility for the Guildford bombings and gave descriptions of the pubs in which the bombs had been planted.

Judith Ward, tried and convicted for the M62 coach bombing in 1974, despite the fact that the police produced evidence that she was working with a circus hundreds of miles away when the bomb was planted.

(4) **End of the use of solitary confinement and control units.** There are many guises for putting prisoners into solitary confinement, and all of them are used against Republicans. Home Office order 10-74 enables a prison governor to order a prisoner suspected of 'subversive activities' to a local prison for 28 days, where he is locked up 23 hours a day. This order can be renewed: in Hugh Doherty's case, he spent two years under such conditions. Paul Norney has been in Liverpool's Walton jail for the last two months.

The Home Office plans a three-tier system for solitary confinement: firstly for 'disruptive' and 'non-cooperative' prisoners; secondly for those described as 'psychopathic but not certified'; thirdly for those regarded as leaders, who politicise others.

(5) **Repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.** This legislation, used to terrorise the Irish community in Britain generally, is put to particularly vindictive use against relatives of Irish prisoners. They can be stopped on their way to a visit and lose visiting time as a result.

See list of prisoners published alongside - readers of Workers Press are invited to write to them and send greeting cards.



Prisoners of War campaign committee banner on march against strip searches at Brixton jail