

## EXCLUSIVE

### 'A SHORT DOSE OF DISCIPLINE' — STOCKPORT MOBB RULE —

# LEFT PURGE STEPPED UP

THE LABOUR PARTY right-wing is stepping up its witch-hunt to purge the party of opposition to Kinnock's capitalist policies.

A Stockport councillor has been suspended by the Labour group — because he appeared on a Militant platform and was prepared to defend the right of Militant supporters to be in the Labour party.

Bob Boyd's suspension was endorsed by Stockport's Labour group at a meeting on July 7.

Councillor Alan Mobbs led the pack against Boyd.

He said that Boyd's 'whole attitude to the group and to the Party has been one of contempt, and a short dose of discipline has been suggested as a means of bringing him into line.'

### Charged

Three councillors were charged after not following the Labour whip at a council meeting to decide on whether a new parish school should be built.

Ann Coffey, Maureen Rowles and Bob Boyd were internally disciplined.

However only Boyd was suspended.

He is not allowed to use Labour facilities or go to

Labour whip meetings.

What 'crime' had Boyd really committed against socialism to bring this suspension?

He appeared on a Militant platform criticising the Party leadership attack on Militant.

He is not a member of Militant but is prepared to defend them against witch-hunts.

Labour councillors cannot 'be seen to be promoting or enhancing in any way Militant in Stockport' said Philip Harding, District Labour Party secretary.

He added, 'we are not having any Militant activities publicly supported by our people in Stockport'.

Whatever is driving Mobbs, it is not concern for upholding political rights within the Labour Party.

One week earlier, David Bowman of the SDP deman-

BY MARTIN RALPH

ded to know what action Mobbs was taking against Boyd. He quoted Mobbs as saying Boyd should be expelled!

One question that Labour Party members and supporters should be asking of Mobbs is — who does the Labour Party in Stockport represent, the SDP or the tenants and workers on the estates in Stockport?

Boyd is unemployed and lives on the Adswold council estate. He has considerable local support.

On July 5 Cllr Boyd was one of the few councillors to help with the Viraj Mendis march.

His support was given on a principled basis of fighting to keep Mendis in this country and campaigning against the immigration laws.

## WHAT THAT LETTER SAID

Stockport District Labour Party's Chairman wrote to Bob Boyd:

Dear Bob

I cannot advise you too strongly NOT to go to Liverpool next Saturday if this involves any Militant connection whatsoever.

To do so would be to contravene the firmly expressed view of the District GMC which was spelt out only a week ago . . . 'that no district councillor or district party delegate should appear on Militant platforms or be seen to be enhancing or approving Militant in any way'.

(I can't swear to the exact words as I don't have a copy but that's good enough for me and it should be for you too).

It is necessary for all of us to accept party discipline and I ask you to do precisely that in this case.

We all expect and require your full-hearted co-operation in avoiding everything and anything to do with Militant.

That is party policy over the whole of Stockport district as I explained to you this evening on the telephone.

Councillors are accountable to the district party — as you know.

Faternally

Jim

Jim Siddelley, Chair, Stockport District Labour Party.

## LABOUR CHIEFS' 'KNUCKLE-UNDER' TAUNT



### WENDY CLEARED

WENDY Savage and Ian Mikardo MP led a march of over 500 last Thursday demanding the immediate reinstatement of Dr Savage at Mile End Hospital.

Earlier the same day Dr Savage had been cleared of 54 of the 58 complaints of professional incompetence which had been brought against her more than fifteen months ago.

As a result of the complaints Dr Savage was suspended from the London Hospital.

Of the four complaints which remained Dr. Savage said: 'They are the ones I have already made of myself.'

### LOBBY THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL

- FOR WORKERS SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA!
- BLOCKADE THE APARTHEID STATE!

WEDNESDAY JULY 23 8.30am  
CONGRESS HOUSE, GREAT RUSSELL  
ST  
LONDON, WC1

(Nearest Tube: Tottenham Ct Road)

# NHS IN CRISIS

## TYNESIDE CARNAGE!

**TWO REPORTS** on the state of the Health Service in the North East paint a devastating picture of unemployment, illness, health cuts and poverty.

In Newcastle, 300 of the city's leading doctors, drawn from virtually every medical specialty, put their names to a 'statement of concern' to protest against shortage of funds and the resulting cuts in Newcastle's patient service.

This is the first local branch of a national body set up to defend the Health Service from underfunding and the erosion of services.

The Statement said Newcastle's Health Service is in special danger.

Although underfunding is hitting the NHS throughout the country, Newcastle faces an unprecedented financial crisis.

This year, Newcastle Health Authority has had to endure £7 million of cut-backs.

Leading the rebel doctors is Newcastle's Professor of Dermatology, Sam Shuster, who warned:

'I perceive no NHS in Newcastle in five years time; it is now clear beyond any doubt that this government is cutting back the NHS around the country and it is doing so by stealth to conceal its real plan, which is to dismantle the NHS and replace it by private medicine.'

Even bleaker is the report compiled by Michael Meacher, Shadow Health Secretary, and John Prescott, Shadow Employment

Secretary, at the request of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (Northern Region).

The report demonstrates a strong correlation between the declining health of the region and unemployment, claiming that unemployment has killed 1,300 in the North East since 1979 and that another 227 will die this year.

It claims that unemployment itself puts pressure on the Health Service because medical problems are far more prevalent.

High unemployment and fear of redundancy has led to a massive rise in family illness.

Admissions to hospital out-patients are 60 per cent higher for families anticipating or experiencing unemployment.

Blood pressure rises in

BY FIONA NICOL

anticipation of redundancy as do cholesterol levels. Both are major factors in heart attacks and strokes.

At the age of two, children of the long-term unemployed are up to an inch shorter than their peers.

Under the government proposals to alter the DHSS payment system, 50,000 children will lose their right to school meals.

As male unemployment in several areas of the North East climbs to over 50 per cent, the cost of treating unemployment-related disorders is astronomical and soaring, while the health budget is cut back year by year.

As the Health Service unions engage in struggles against the privatisation of cleaning and catering services and against ward and hospital closures, doctors in the North East are told to slow down on surgery and hospital admissions because money might run out before the end of the financial year.

Patients over 40 who need

### PHYSICIANS SHOCK REPORT

IN THIS thirty-eighth year of the National Health Service, Aneurin Bevan's dream becomes nothing short of a nightmare as Thatcher's government cuts further and further into the health budget.

The latest report from the Royal College of Physicians claims that Britain is now one of the sickest nations in the developed world.

- The United Kingdom has the highest death rate from heart disease in the world.
- Life expectancy after the age of 45 is the worst in any developed country.
- Infant mortality, which is brought down by every improvement in health provision, nutrition and welfare, has fallen less than in other European countries.
- Diseases like measles, whooping cough and rubella, which have been wiped out in other developed nations, still cause death and disability in Britain.
- The death rate for cervical cancer has hardly changed over the last 15 years, although it has been halved elsewhere in Europe.
- The Royal College of Physicians conclude that 'Good health is a basic human right and the government must commit sufficient resources to that end.'

organ transplants are not considered — except for heart transplants which are still at the guinea pig stage.

For capitalism, workers over 40 are past the peak of their work performance.

How long before unemployed people and their families are denied vital operations, following the same criteria?

Successive Tory govern-

ments sustained the National Health Service because they needed a large and healthy workforce able to withstand the daily toil of heavy industry, healthy women to breed the new army of workers, and healthy children as the workers of tomorrow.

This government sees little purpose in spending vast amounts of money on health

care for a workforce which is no longer needed.

Trade unionists, unemployed, youth and pensioners must rally to the cause of defending the NHS — a battle which is being fought daily by those working in our hospitals and clinics.

Every opportunity must be seized to mobilise the working class to drive this Tory government out of office.

## LONDON'S AMBULANCES:

# DEMAND WILL OUTSTRIP SUPPLY

London shows a steady increase in demand for health services, yet the Regional Health Authority plans to make a staggering five per cent cut in ambulance services.

The London Ambulance Service has abandoned standards drawn up in 1974 and has a new 'Strategic Plan' which slices £1.8 million from the annual budget of £36 million and makes cuts which will, in its own words, 'leave some patients outside of the Ambulance Service' while 'eventually, demand will outstrip supply.'

Tens of thousands of elderly, disabled and seriously ill patients will be denied ambulances. Mothers in labour will have to get taxis to hospital.

The service has already suffered frightening cuts, according to a report researched by Radiance Strathee and Alan Thornett with the ambulance crews' convenors and London Health Emergency.

In the four Thames regions, overall cuts in the NHS annual budget amount to £27 a head in inner London and £5.70 a head in outer London.

In the last ten years, 40 casualty departments have

been closed. In the first half of 1985 only 11 units were open continuously.

The average journey to take an emergency to hospital has increased by 10 per cent since 1978.

Beds are drastically reduced; on March 4, 1986 the North West Thames area went on 'Red Alert', admitting only emergencies. The same area plans to lose another 2,000 beds.

Notices have already been posted in London hospitals which say 'Most patients should make their own way to hospital.'

In the South West division, 117 ambulances have been cut back to 76.

BY BRIDGET DIXON

Crews are subject to increasing stress as their workload increases.

This shows up in a soaring rate of sickness and absenteeism — which of course aggravates the problem.

London's ambulances carry half a million emergency patients a year — and two million non-emergencies.

This part of the work is increasing as beds are

The population of London may be going down but the number of elderly people is on the increase.

As people live longer, more suffer from senile dementia and physical handicaps and still 95 per cent of retired people live at home.

The Ambulance Service often ends up filling the gap left by cuts in other social services.

When an elderly or disabled person falls out of bed, they often have no alternative but to call an ambulance.



London already has 15 per cent fewer geriatric beds than the national average and this is being reduced still more by the application of the 'Resource Allocation Working Party' system.

The most worrying conclu-

sion of the London Health Emergency report is the secrecy which surrounds the plans for the service.

The abolition of the GLC — which funded this study — has removed any democratic accountability of the Lon-

don Ambulance Service. *Ambulance Alert: a report on the growing crisis facing the London Ambulance Service. Available from London Health Emergency, 335 Grays Inn Road, London WC1, price £3.*

Nearly eleven million people in Britain now live on or below the poverty line according to estimates for 1986 produced jointly by the Low Pay Unit (LPU) and the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG).

The two organisations see the absence of official figures as a cover up for the full effects of government policy and as a blatant disregard for the worsening conditions of the poor.

Using available official data, the LPU/CPAG find a startling increase in numbers sinking into poverty since 1979.

In that year, according to the the Department of Health and Social Security, over 6 million people were found to have incomes at or below supplementary benefit level, usually taken as the poverty line.

Today the LPU/CPAG analysis finds that 9.35 mil-

lion people are in this position — an increase of 53 per cent.

Even this, say the researchers, may be an understatement of the true position, because the figures leave out many people who are out of work for less than 13 weeks.

A more realistic total, they think, would be just under 11 million.

In addition, another nine million people are probably

on the margins of the poverty line with an income between supplementary level and 40 per cent above it: so 19 million people in total are in poverty or near it.

The two organisations blame the economic recession but also specific government policies for this rapid deterioration in conditions.

In particular, they argue that tax and social security policies since 1979, over and above the dismantling of

wages and employment protection for the low paid, have hit the poor more than anyone.

LPU/CPAG are demanding that the government publishes the overdue figures for 1983.

However, if the system for calculating the number of unemployed is anything to go by, these will in any case have little relevance to the true situation.

Bernard Franks

**TORIES  
HIDE  
POVERTY  
FIGURES**

# 'NEW REALISM' REARS ITS

## PRINTERS SUPPORT MEETING BECOMES VOTE CATCH JAMBOREE

BY TONY GODFREY

THE SOUTHWARK Printers Support Group held a public meeting last Tuesday (July 8) at the London College of Printing.

Southwark Council's Labour leader, Anne Mathews, told the meeting that the borough's libraries would not take News International titles — but did subscribe to the Wapping Post.

Southwark is campaigning for the next Labour government to make police forces accountable to elected local authorities: to stop the 'state organised thugs' being used against workers in struggle.

Harriet Harman, Labour MP for Peckham, pressed for the boycott campaign to be stepped up so that 'negotiations leading to reinstatement' of those sacked could succeed.

She said that police who 'should be patrolling the beat' could be taken off 'special duties' (a euphemism for strike-breaking) and put 'back on the estates where they were needed'.

As one of your constituents, Ms Harman, could you ensure they keep off my estate!

Jenny Walsh, from the London College of Printing, explained the students'

struggle to support those who were sacked after they campaigned against Stanley Baldwin, a law lecturer at the college.

Baldwin, who is employed by News International, became infamous among the students with the statement 'I'd rather be a scab than a running sore.'

They boycotted his lectures, and demanded a new lecturer for their law studies, an integral part of their course.

Despite threats that they could fail their final exams, they stuck to their principles. The college had to find a replacement lecturer.

An NGA official, speaking of the change in public attitudes to the anti-union laws, concluded that, as opinions were 'tilted in the union's favour' and the 'propaganda battle was being won', then

'repeal of the legislation was now an electoral asset to the Labour leaders.'

He said support for the boycott should be extended, adding 'we are entitled to full support of the TUC in our demands that Hammond and the EETPU be expelled' unless they campaign for print jobs at Wapping and trade union recognition.

Strike leader Mike Hicks, emphasised the courage of women workers who took up a front-line position on the Wapping picket in their struggle with a union-busting employer.

He reminded everyone that a union could be 'liquidated by law' with the removal of all officers and officials and spoke of how the picket had been threatened by Common Law legislation dating from 1154.

He knew that the injunctions served on him by a union-hating employer would be heard by a union-hating judge.

He urged the trade union movement not to wait two years for a Labour government that could not be guaranteed, but to 'come out behind us and help break those laws.'

The speakers put the ugly

## UGLY HEAD



HARRIET HARMAN

head of Labour's 'new realism' on public show and deliberately used the meeting to canvass support for a future Labour government.

It was not just because the two Labour MPs, two prospective candidates and the leader of Southwark council were there: they all made identical calls for 'police accountability' and putting all efforts into the boycott campaign.

It is an illusion to imply that the police could (and would) accept accountability to local authorities elected by the working class.

## KINNOCK PLANS TO HAMSTRING TRADE UNIONS SEE PAGE 4 WORKERS BOYCOTT OF S AFRICA SEE PAGES 8/9

Apart from their saying 'yes, we did break up your picket and protect scabs', what could be done to prevent them doing it again?

The police are part of the state and are responsible for the protection of that state.

Social democrats are their 'workers in suits' who will never lift a finger to threaten the capitalist state.

Hicks, a leading member of the Communist Party who promote the 'friendly bobby' image of 'community policing' also goes along with this treacherous position.

The continuing 'brothers in new realism' alliance between Stalinists and social democrats is a major force preventing workers from winning the struggles they enter into.

What damns him, however, is his refusal even to mention the call of the Fleet Street Support Unit to get the Fleet Street workers out.

It is the FSSU which has fought to give a principled lead in this battle: their call for a strike on Fleet Street deserves the support of printers serious about defending the sacked men.

# Nalgo branch wins Round 1 in MSC battle

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

AFTER a bitter and prolonged struggle waged by Waltham Forest NALGO, joined in the latter stages by Waltham Forest UCATT, the newly elected Labour council has agreed to the complete phasing out of the bogus Community Programme in the borough.

The fight began for the local NALGO branch when a Community Programme project for the elderly was summarily closed down by the MSC after workers refused to accept a wage cut of £1.16 a week.

Alarm bells rang and workers began to ask why, if the project was as necessary as the MSC claimed, the MSC had no hesitation over shutting it down over the question of such a paltry sum.

It became clear to the workers on the scheme, and to the NALGO branch, that the project had really been set up to capture people demoralised by lengthy periods on the dole and to train them to accept low pay

and lack of job security for the rest of their lives.

Very real questions were raised, particularly concerning hundreds of clerical, administrative and other jobs deliberately left unfilled by the previous council.

Vacant posts leave large gaps in the services provided by the council which can then be invaded by the MSC using the cheapest of labour.

By exploiting the desperation of the long term unem-

ployed, they can undermine the pay and conditions of council employees.

Waltham Forest NALGO recently pointed out that one in four local Job Centre vacancies are for temporary schemes while hundreds of posts remained unfilled in the council workforce.

They also noted that hundreds of craft and manual workers were made redundant from the previous council's Direct Labour Force at the same time as the MSC was pushing their temporary job schemes.

The problem that NALGO and UCATT came up against in Waltham Forest is not a local question.

There is a national conspiracy by the Tory government to get workers out of proper permanent employment — where they can join and be protected by the trade union movement — into unorganised low-paid temporary jobs.

Thatcher does indeed want to return to Victorian values: the days when employees had no rights at all and no possibility of organising to get them.

Waltham Forest NALGO fought at their recent national conference for a motion calling on all NALGO branches to have nothing more to do with the Community Programme.

Unfortunately it was defeated.

Plans are now afoot to call an informal NALGO conference to try and bypass the bureaucracy and raise the issue nationally.

Two important lessons have been learned in Waltham Forest.

A joint union approach to the destruction of the Community Programme is necessary and unions must demand proper jobs with training and retraining to replace the Community Programme.

## SILENT NIGHT STRIKE NEEDS HELP

SILENTNIGHT strikers are now into their second year of struggle. They demand the right to a trade union, to a job and to a decent rate of pay.

The workers at the Silentnight bed-making factory said in their latest news bulletin that the struggle has become a byword in the fight for trade unions everywhere.

'Not a motto but a way of life'. 500 have been sacked since July 22 1985.

The company had given a guarantee in January of that year that there would be no more redundancies.

Eight weeks later they announced another 52. The workforce voted for a work to rule; it was then that all the dismissal notices were sent out.

Many of the families in the dispute are now in desperate need of assistance.

They are asking that support groups, union branches and trades councils consider 'adopting a family', taking over some responsibilities of supplying food, clothing and help with household bills.

● If you can help, contact Mr Williams, Tel: 0282 814566. If you need a speaker from the Silentnight strikers, contact Terry Bennett, 22 Garrick Street, Nelson, Lancs, BB9 8JA. Tel: 0282 603055.

# Pathologist to assist in death probe

ANOTHER campaign is under way to find out the truth about how a man died in police custody.

Ray Moran (19) was arrested in Southport with three friends on January 23 this year.

They were coming back from a club and had stopped for fish and chips when they were picked up by the police.

Moran's solicitor alleges that Ray was assaulted in custody.

He died from his injuries.

The Chief Constable of Merseyside, Ken Oxford, has denied Ray Moran's body showed extensive bruising.

But his mother, Irish-women Bridget Moran, is determined to fight what she believes is a cover-up.

She is being helped by pathologist Professor Alan

Usher.

He carried out the independent investigation into Jimmy Kelly's death at the hands of Liverpool police in 1978.

The three arrested with Ray have made statements, but the whole matter is sub judice.

Police told Moran's mother they were dropping the charges of theft against the three friends arrested with Ray Moran.

The Director of Public Prosecutions has decided to take no action against the police officers concerned in

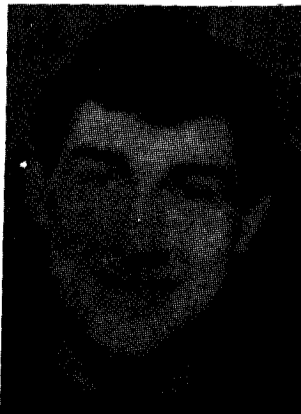
Moran's arrest and custody.

Anxieties are increased by an earlier incident in Southport, which led to the jailing two months ago of police sergeant Alwyn Robert Sawyer for the manslaughter of Henry Foley, a retired bus driver.

He also died in police custody, and in court it was stated that he died from terrible injuries to the abdomen, caused by kicking or stamping while lying helplessly handcuffed.

Bridget Moran has started High Court proceedings and served a writ on Ken Oxford.

She told the Irish Post: 'It seems to me to be just one big cover-up. I'll fight all the way.'



Above: 19-year-old RAY MORAN — died in police custody. Right: Ray's mother, Bridget. She will brook no cover-up



# WORKERS PRESS UNION CONFERENCE NEWS

## MINERS: LESSONS OF TENBY CONFERENCE

# NO TO UDM DEAL!

BY DAVE TEMPLE

IN REPORTING the national miners' conference last week, the media was generally agreed that Scargill was isolated.

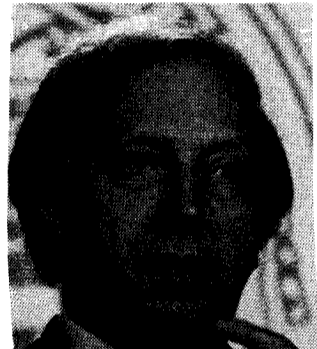
Isolated from whom, we should ask?

The National Union of Mineworkers Conference is unlike most union conferences in that it is not truly representative of the rank and file of the union.

The NUM conference is an historical anachronism born out of the federal structure of the union, which only partially solved the problem of area autonomy.

As a result, delegates to conference are mostly area leaders and full-time officials.

Rank and file delegates are in a minority, a situation



SCARGILL

which would not be tolerated by most unions.

Scargill's so-called 'isolation' is in fact a split in the bureaucracy of the NUM.

We may have many differences with Scargill — from his evaluation of the strike to the degree of confidence which he puts in the election of a Labour government.

Scargill is not a Trotskyist — and that's official.

However, in his opening speech, he addressed the class nature of the 1984 conflict and correctly noted that the only action employers respond to is industrial action, which must therefore be considered again.

He went on to say that, if we are contemplating action in defence of jobs, there can be no compromise with the scab organisations.

Spearheading the opposition to this line was the Scottish Area of the NUM with their standard Euro-Communist position.

Their argument is that, since the working class as an independent force has been defeated and since class action is out of the question, we must throw ourselves at the mercy of liberal elements in the ruling class.

We therefore accept the 'new reality' and negotiate fusion with the UDM.

Incidentally, this is also the best way to secure their bureaucratic positions and privileges.

The conference debate on unity was central to this split.

The main question was, 'Do we negotiate with the scabs and bring them back into the union *en bloc* or do we fight it out with them to the finish?'

The final vote in favour of an amended resolution, on which only the Durham Mechanics voted against, produced a paradoxical unity which had no agreement on the central issue.

This is not a small question if you want to build a fighting organisation.

Bolton and McGahey could not bring themselves to state their positions clearly.

### Statements

For all their press statements about talking to scabs or forgetting they were scabs and forgiving, they could not bring themselves to spell these sentiments out to the conference.

The closest Bolton came was to re-iterate disgraceful remarks he made to the



HIGHPOINT of the NUM conference — delegates from the South African NUM issued a firm call for trade union sanctions of the Botha regime. The labour movement is obliged to respond: the African workers have earned the right, in struggle, to issue an instruction

Scottish conference — that the fundamental difference between Spencerism and the UDM was that the latter did not want to leave the labour movement.

What most of us saw as a fundamental weakness — that the Labour party would not deal with the scabs in its own ranks — Bolton saw as the saving grace of the UDM.

However, in the end, the position for fusion was never put concisely.

The Scottish area shocked everyone by finally accepting the Notts amendment after first refusing to do so.

When the vote was taken, confusion reigned. Some areas voted for the resolution on the understanding that unity did not mean talking to or recognising the UDM while others voted for it in the knowledge that acceptance of the UDM was implicit its wording.

In the debate, McGahey made a passionate plea to conference that, in the fight against Spencerism, compromises had to be made.

In the interests of historical accuracy and using Page Arnott as our guide, let us refresh our memory.

On April 4, 1937, 49 years before miners gathered at Tenby, 11 years after the crushing defeat of 1926 and only one year after the Jarrow unemployed had their now famous protest, British miners voted with a massive 98.9 per cent majority to strike to smash Spencer's scab union.

The executive committee of the Miners Federation backpedaled from the start.

### Decide

On April 30, 1937, a special delegate conference was convened to decide whether to go ahead with the strike or to accept the recommendation of the executive committee for a proposed amalgamation with the scab union.

At the height of the debate, J Newton of Durham cried:

'We have come here for one thing and one thing only, to get rid of Spencer.'

'What are we afraid of? We have decided unanimously throughout the country for notices to be handed in (to strike).

'Carry out the dictate of the country and dispose of Spencer.'

After many speeches supporting this view, a recommendation for a merger was resoundingly defeated by 343 to 192.

May 22 was set for the national strike to begin but the demands of the rank and file were not taken up.

Following a passionate plea from none other than Stanley Baldwin, leader of the National Government, the NEC of the National Federation of Great Britain postponed action for one week to give time to effect a fusion with Spencer.

Spencer sensed that the miners' leaders were retreating and refused to meet unless a fusion was agreed to in advance.

Unable to defy the national conference to that extent, instructions were sent out to begin the strike on May 29, but on May 20, under re-

newed pressure from a frightened government, the principle of fusion was again endorsed by the executive.

On May 26, 1937, provisional terms for the amalgamation of the Spencerite scab union with the MFBG was drawn up, the amalgamated body to be called the Nottinghamshire District Miners Federated Union.

G A Spencer was to be the principal officer, guaranteed

not prevent us drawing the correct lessons. If we are preparing to fight again, then on the question of the UDM there can be no compromise.

We have reason to be grateful for the plain speaking of our comrades from the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa; for inspiring the conference with their courageous determination to struggle.

## KINNOCK TIES UNION NOOSE

NEIL KINNOCK, supported by the right-wing of the Labour Party National Executive and the TUC secretariat, is drafting a policy document intended to shake up the unions.

Determined that Thatcher cannot argue that a future Labour government would hand power to trade union leaders, Kinnock's plan is worse than Barbara Castle's 'In place of strife' — which involved legal restrictions on striking unions.

The proposals include trade unions losing tax relief and other benefits if they refuse to hold secret ballots for strikes and elections of their executives.

A TUC code and model rule book would be drawn up covering these ballots for industrial action and internal elections.

A member who felt that his or her union was not carrying out 'democratic' procedures could appeal to a commission which would have the power to remove the certificate of independence from a union, thereby depriving it of tax advantages.

This sanction is similar to that in the Industrial Relations Act of 1971 which the TUC opposed vigorously.

The proposals are scheduled to go before the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party conference — for endorsement as part of Labour's programme for the next general election.

a position on the National Executive.

Contrary to what McGahey told the conference, the compromise of 1937 was not at all forced on the executive committee but forced by the executive committee on the membership.

This compromise was the source of the 1985 split in the National Union of Mineworkers: Spencerism was never destroyed but was incorporated into the NUM.

We paid the price for that compromise in 1984.

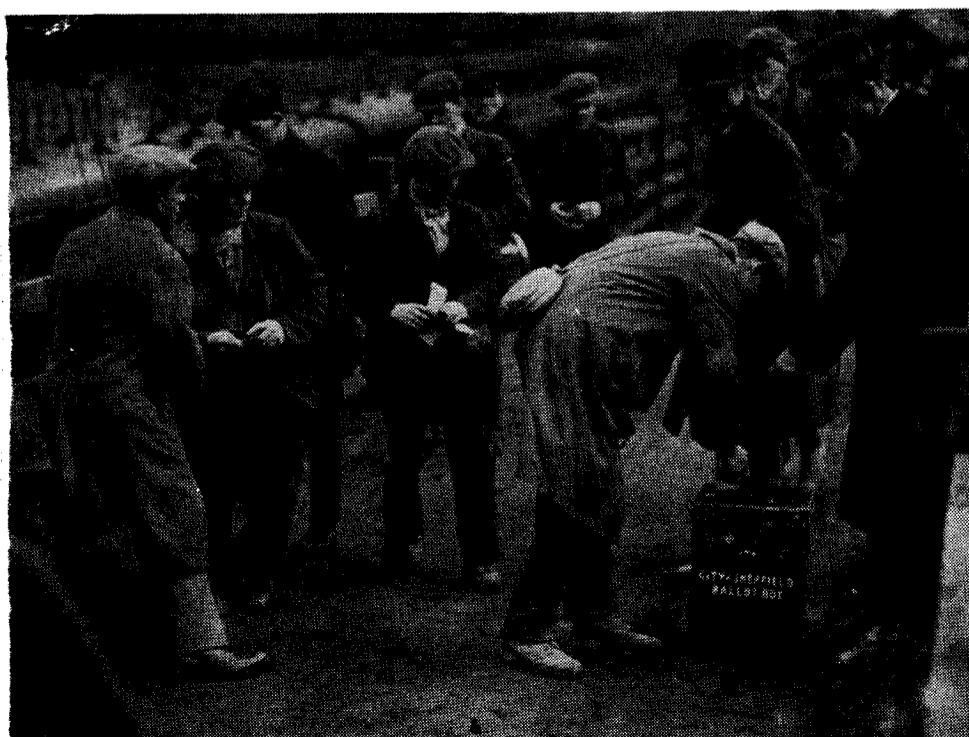
McGahey and Bolton can-

Men who were facing imprisonment and possible death clearly spelt it out to all of us.

'In the past you have inspired us with your militancy but the entire labour movement in Britain stands on trial.

'Thatcher will not invoke sanctions, you must do it yourself. The whole South African working class is watching.'

● Rebuilding the strength of the National Union of Mineworkers must be seen in the context of this international duty.



This photograph shows miners voting in the 1937 Spencer ballot

**BUILD  
THE**

# JUSTICE

**FOR  
MINERS  
CAMPAIGN**

## North East coast leads

'THE WHOLE trade union movement should rally round to protect the victimised men,' David Hopper, the Durham 'Justice' secretary told Workers Press in a special Gala appeal for the Campaign.

'We still have 75 victimised and sacked men in the Durham area. Of these men, 28 are from the "privately owned" drift mines and were sacked during the strike simply for refusing to cross picket lines.

'Most of these men have families to keep and are facing real hardship.

'We were on strike for one year and these men have been victimised and sacked for a further sixteen months since the end of the strike.

'They face real difficulty and are unable to obtain credit to buy items for their homes.

'We feel it is the responsibility of the miners to see to these men.

'But it has been proven that the miners' fight was on behalf of the whole working class. These men are class victims whose only

crime was to fight for jobs.

'The whole of the state machine confronted the miners in that strike.

'Every other section of the trade union movement could well suffer the same fate.

'We only have to look at the printers' struggle at Wapping to see this.

'If we have not been politicised by now we never will be.

'We must build the campaign from this Gala and we are looking to a better commitment from the Labour

government for these victimised men.'

An intensive campaign is being waged on Tyneside around the Justice for Mineworkers campaign.

Support must also be built for the Miners Solidarity Fund which is used solely for the relief of hardship among jailed and sacked miners and their families

### NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINERS CAMPAIGN

Affiliation fees

National organisations	£50.
Regional Organisations	£25.
Local organisations	£5.
● Cheques payable to:	
National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign	
and sent to: NJMC, c/o NUM,	
Durham Mechanics Association, 26 The Avenue,	
Durham, DH1 4ED.	

Mobile teams have been touring the area speaking to convenors, shop stewards and branch officials. Support has come from shop stewards committees where sacked miners have spoken.

who have to be supported financially until they win reinstatement.

A regular cash flow is urgently needed to ensure they receive this.

Affiliates to the Justice

campaign in the north-east include Newcastle Trades Council, Durham County Association of Trades Councils, Spennymoor and District Trades Council, Gateshead Constituency Labour Party and the COHSE branch at Newcastle General Hospital.

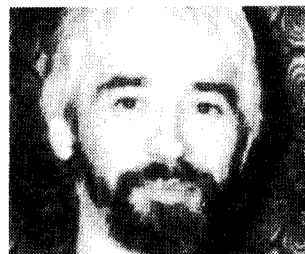
The campaign recently moved to Wearside where it met with immediate success.

The Austin and Pickersgill shipyard has already affiliated. Speakers from the campaign are to attend meetings at Sunderland Polytechnic and Harton General Hospital in South Shields in the near future.

Sacked miner Geoff Hartnell who has been touring around the area along with unemployed activists told Workers Press:

'The response we've received from shop stewards committees and union branches so far has been great.

'There are still 480 miners



Geoff Hartnell

sacked and 8 jailed.

'6,000 printers have been sacked, members of the NUR have been threatened with the sack.

'If we are to fight to defend jobs, we must be prepared to support those of us who are victimised.

'I wish to appeal to all working-class organisations to affiliate to the Justice campaign at both local, regional and national levels.'

● The first issue of the Campaign's newsletter, 'Justice', has just been published with articles from Arthur Scargill, Billy Etherington, Liz French and Tony Benn.

Copies can be obtained from the address opposite.

Please include £1.50 per 10 copies — affiliates receive copies free.

## BRITISH COAL SEEKS FOUR-DAY WEEK — NINE HOURS A SHIFT!

BY HUGHIE NICOL

**MINERS leaders from Durham and Northumberland are to oppose plans by British Coal to increase the working day for miners — from seven and a quarter hours to nine hours.**

British Coal wants the north-east miners to be the first in the country to work a four-day week.

This will be made up of four nine-hour shifts instead of the present five seven-and-a-quarter hour shifts.

Management are insisting that changes are necessary to guarantee the long term future of the region's six coastal pits.

British Coal claim that the shift changes will mean

greater efficiency and will reduce the time lost by miners travelling to and from the pit faces.

Westoe pit in South Shields is seven miles under the North Sea.

British Coal argue that it is not unreasonable to ask that miners work an extra one and three quarter hours each day to increase their productive time on the pit face.

NUM officials have accused the coal board of riding roughshod over the men and trying to bypass trade union negotiating machinery.

Alan Mardghum, NUM lodge secretary at Wearmouth said, 'The reaction to this already has been hostile.

'The lads don't like it at all.

'Lots of these men are travelling up to 50 miles to work as it is and this would mean they would be away from their homes even longer.

'In the 1890s, our forefathers in the north-east pits went on strike because they tried to lengthen the working day, so we would just be going back one hundred years.

'Since the McGregor regime they have ignored every procedure for consulting with the unions.

'There has been a very brittle relationship with the Board since the strike.

'But trying to impose this sort of thing just spreads discontent.

'They are trying to pressure the men into it and, seeing it's a job on their

terms, it's disgusting.'

Mr Dennis Murphy, President of the Northumberland miners, said:

'We have a National five-day agreement and I cannot see it changing in the near future.

'If British Coal want to discuss it, they should talk to the NUM at national level instead of trying to appeal to the men first.'

Mr David Hopper, General Secretary of the Durham Miners, said:

'I am totally opposed to the idea and I intend to fight it all the way.

'The Board are only bothered about cost; they are not concerned about the effect it will have on the men, who will have to work longer hours each shift.'

**THE FIGHT for trade union sanctions against Botha's apartheid regime in South Africa is rightly a major issue in trade unions in this country.**

And sacked miners are taking the question of the miners victimised after their strike into trade union branches and shop stewards committees

Meanwhile, the Justice for Miners Campaign is fighting for this year's Labour Party conference to adopt a firm resolution on reinstatement of all victimised miners by a large enough majority to have it put in the party manifesto.

Support for trade unionists and oppositionists jailed by the Jaruzelski military regime in Poland is also vital.

Scores of Polish workers were murdered during the military coup that drove 'Solidarnosc' underground, while hundreds are now in jail for illegal union organisation and distributing underground literature.

Trade union organisations should write to the Polish government to protest about this and about the recent arrest of underground 'Solidarnosc' leader Zbigniew Bujak.

But they should also adopt 'Solidarnosc' bodies in Polish factories, trades and regions and make concrete links with trade unionists in struggle in Poland.

The shop stewards committees at Govan Shipbuilders and Austin and Pickersgill on Wearside are considering adopting the workers at shipyards in Gdansk.

The shop stewards committee at Basildon tractor plant are considering twinning with the militant Ursus factory in Warsaw.

NOTICE TO WRP MEMBERS

### Weekend School for Trade Union members

White Meadows, Parwich  
Derbyshire

Saturday July 19, 12 noon  
Sunday July 20, 3pm

**Subjects:**  
Saturday — Marxism in the Trade Unions  
Speaker: Geoff Pilling

Sunday — Lessons of the Miners Strike  
Speaker: Kenny Thompson

Cost £12 plus £6 pooled fare

To apply for places at this Weekend School write to WRP (T.U. Dept.), 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT

### RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

**SOUTH WALES**  
DEAN HANCOCK: Oakdale — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

RUSSELL SHANKLAND: Taff Merthyr — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

**KENT**  
TERRY FRENCH: Betteshanger — Four year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Weald Wing, Maidstone jail, Kent.

**DURHAM**  
JOHN MATTERSON: Murton — Two years and three months youth custody from December 1985.

JOHN HEMINGWAY: Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

JOHN ROBSON: Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

ROBERT HOWE: 22 — Affray, attempted not guilty (judge refused to allow change of plea) 21 months.

ANTHONY RUTHERFORD: 24 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

JOHN ROBINSON: 21 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

GARY BLACKMORE: 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody.

ANTHONY HOWE: 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody.

WILLIAM BELL: 20 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months Youth Custody.

**YORKSHIRE**  
MARTIN HODGSON: Wakefield — Three year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

NIGEL HODGSON: Wakefield — Three year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

PAUL WRIGHT: Saville — 18 month sentence. G76424. Kirkham Jail, Freckleton road, Preston Lancs.

CLIVE THOMPSON: Frickley — Three year sentence from April 1985. G79348. Ackington Jail, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF.

**N. DERBYSHIRE**  
DAVID GAUNT: Shirebrook — 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71037. A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dodington Road, Wellingborough.

**RELEASE  
THE JAILED  
MINERS!**

**SOLIDARNOSC**

**FREE THE  
SOLIDARNOSC  
MILITANTS!**

# FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR!

## Prisoners cannot be left to rot— Just because we cannot co-operate

A PACKED meeting in London gave a standing ovation to Liz Hill, sister of Paul Hill who is one of the Guildford Four, when she told of the treatment of the Four who have been in jail for 12 years.

Liz said: 'Today Carole Richardson, Gerard Conlon, Paddy Armstrong and Paul Hill have suffered 12 years of agony and torment for something they did not do.'

'They are incarcerated, they cannot help themselves, nor can they free themselves, they are totally dependent on this campaign to secure their release.'

The meeting in the Holborn Library last Wednesday was called by the Free the Guildford Four Campaign to demand a public enquiry into the trial of the Guildford Four.

Chairing the meeting Maxine Williams said:

'It's not enough for truth to be on our side. We've got to really build up the pressure

BY LYNN BEATON

His outrage at the connivings of the police and the lack of objectivity of the courts was a convincing testament to the Four's innocence, especially since by his own admission he had confidence in British justice before taking on the defence of this case.

He said the only evidence produced by the prosecution was statements made by the four defendants — statements with a minimum of 100 inconsistencies.

### Different

'You have four people going into different places at different times, different cars being driven by different people, containing different people, going by different routes to different destinations, being parked in different places, different people going into public houses planting different bombs of different shapes and sizes at different times and getting back at different times to different places in London.'

The 'Balcombe Street' Active Service Unit, who later explained in detail how they and not the Guildford Four carried out the bombings, were able to give information which no-one who had not been involved could have possibly known.

Logan gave examples of police connivance. One example was their claim to have three eye witnesses.

In fact the eye witnesses were never produced and didn't in fact seem to exist, but by then the damage had been done.

The media had used this statement in itself as proof of the guilt of the Guildford Four.

John McDonnell, former deputy leader of the now abolished GLC, pledged support for the campaign.

He said that he was also looking forward to a campaign to free the people who are in prison for actions they

## POWERFUL LONDON MEETING



ALASTAIR LOGAN speaking at the packed meeting last Wednesday



PAT REYNOLDS

on the British authorities because too many top people's reputations were built during the Guildford Four frame-up.'

The meeting was a strong indication of the support and concern which the plight of the Guildford Four has aroused.

The Four were framed by the police and were clearly innocent, but received the longest sentences ever handed out by the British justice system.

Many of the speakers talked about the anti-Irish atmosphere in 1974 and asserted that the Guildford Four were guilty only of being Irish.

The first speaker was Alastair Logan, defence solicitor representing three of the accused.



JOHN McDONNELL

carried out in the fight to achieve the self-determination of the Irish people.

He said the right to fight for self-determination is something which 'the British Labour Party and other politicians in this country are willing to give to the freedom fighters of Nicaragua and South Africa but not to Ireland'.

'I will ensure that we write to every Labour councillor in London, every Labour leader across the country, to put motions through councils — to give support to those in prison, to give financial support to the families, to build up a lobby in local government, the Labour Party and the Trade union movement.'

Phil Penn of the Workers Revolutionary Party said 'Political prisoners, whether they be innocent frame-up victims or not, cannot be left



FRANK O'NEILL

to rot in jail because we on the left cannot co-operate with each other in a campaign for their release.'

### Sections

Calling for all sections of the left and the labour movement to work together on this campaign he said 'Political differences cannot be underestimated, but that debate must not be allowed to prevent us fighting together against our common enemy.'

Pat Reynolds of the Irish in Britain Representation Group said the reason the campaign took so long to be launched was because the Prevention of Terrorism Act 'had been used to silence the Irish community in Britain which had been left isolated and vulnerable by the Brit-



JEREMY CORBYN

ish left and the Labour Party.'

To prevent this happening again, he said: 'We need to go out to the Irish community and the labour and trade union movement.'

Frank O'Neill from the Troops Out Movement reminded the audience of the other innocent frame up victims in jail, the Birmingham 6 and Judith Ward.

The Stalker Frame-up, he said, shows the lengths to which the state is prepared to go in the War in Ireland.

Rosemary Sayles of the Labour Committee on Ireland, which has just affiliated to the campaign, said the Labour Party bears a heavy responsibility for what's happening in Ireland.

She said from now on we will be working alongside you in this campaign.



ROSEMARY SAYLES

David Reed of the Irish Solidarity Movement, quoting Karl Marx, said only by making common cause with the Irish people fighting British oppression will we be able to liberate ourselves.

Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn brought a message to the meeting from Paul Hill whom he had recently visited in Hull Jail:

'He asked me to bring his greeting to the meeting and said that he looks forward to the day when a public enquiry is held into the case, not just a private Home Office enquiry.'

● The campaign continues with a picket of the Home Office on Monday July 21 at 5pm.

## CHILEAN WORKERS DEFY PINOCHET

A TWO-DAY national protest strike at the beginning of July served notice on the 13-year-old fascist military regime in Chile.

Up to 50 per cent of the workforce stayed away from work.

Barricades were thrown across roads and ditches dug to keep out the army even in some of the most desirable residential avenues in Santiago.

Strike breaking buses were stoned, schools and universities gave up classes and hospitals attended to

emergencies only.

Combat troops patrolled the streets and fired warning gunfire on a scale not heard since the 1973 coup.

At least eight were shot dead and more than 1000 arrested.

The breadth of support was in contrast to previous anti-Pinochet protests.

The strike was called by the National Civil Assembly which is a broad coalition of labour, professional, middle class and small business organisations.

Some of these, notably the

lorry owners, were the very groups utilised by the CIA to destabilise the Allende government in the run-up to the coup.

Key sections of industrial workers were not fully mobilised, though there were short go-slows and canteen boycotts in the oil refineries, copper mines and public utilities.

Rodolfo Seguel, leader of the main CNT union confederation, said:

'Oil, copper and the rest are the big guns. They've suffered mass sackings in

the past for strikes when they weren't supported.'

He went on to predict: 'Now they'll come out when everyone else does, and when that happens the dictatorship will fall.'

The leaders of the National Civil Assembly are in hiding, wanted by the government on state security charges for calling the strike.

Dr Juan Luis Gonzalez, a moderate Christian Democrat who heads the assembly, issued a tape-recorded message saying 'this was a magnificent display of uni-

ty, beyond our expectations.'

An estimated 85 per cent of the population are thought to oppose General Pinochet's intention of perpetuating himself in power through a single-candidate plebiscite scheduled for 1989.

The Popular Democratic Movement wants to move rapidly towards a new strike, but the Communist Party has 'flexibilised' its conditions for a 'transition', even dropping its demand for 'advanced democracy.'

A CP Central Committee spokesman announced at a secret press conference that his party would 'support negotiations with the armed forces and a military government of transition, so long as Pinochet himself goes.'

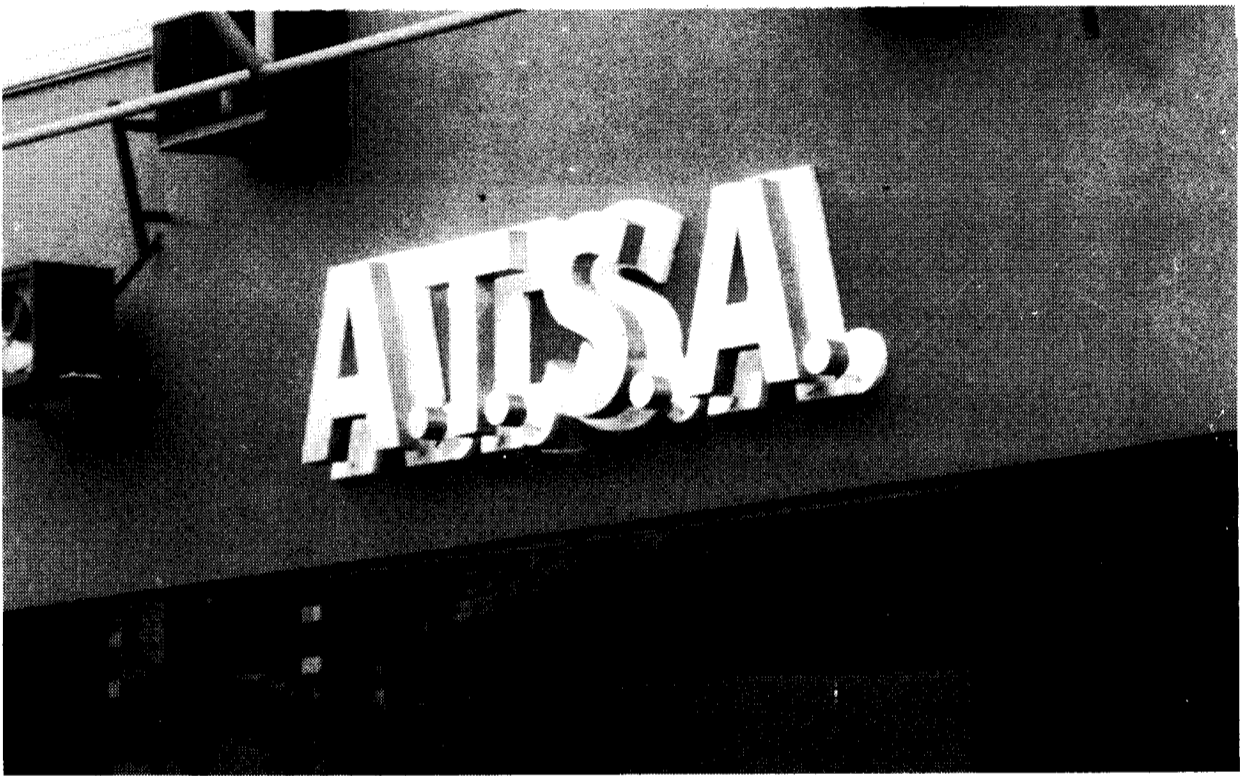
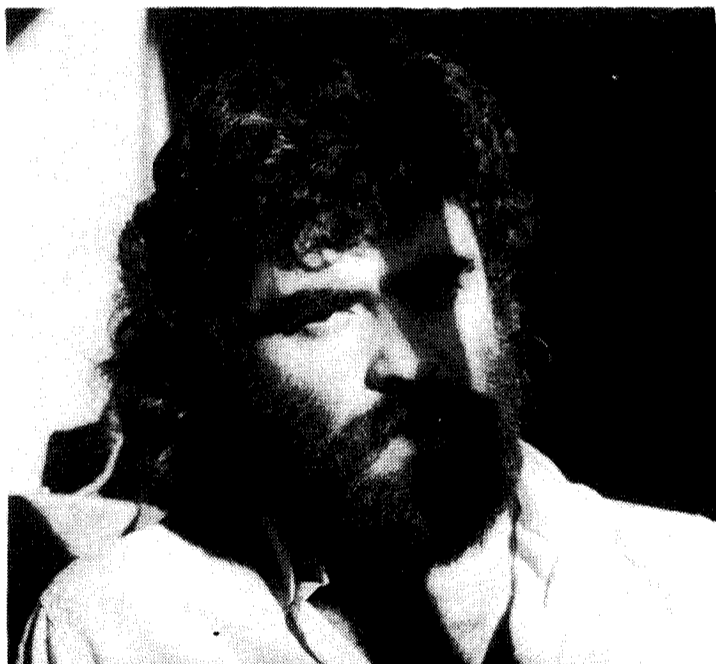
This looking towards the military to oust Pinochet is major adaptation to the Chilean bourgeois opposition like the Christian Left Party, and a viciously treacherous position at a time when the mass movement against Pinochet is burning like a forest fire.

# ARGENTINA IN FOCUS

## TRADE UNIONS: THE JUNTA AND BEYOND



Our series on Argentina continues this week with an interview conducted by correspondent JUAN RUFA with EDUARDO GUINI, who is joint general secretary of ATSA (Asociacion de Trabajadores de la Sanidad Argentina), the private sector health union, and a well known member of MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo), the Argentinian Trotskyist movement.



Left: Eduardo Guini. Above, the ATSA headquarters — loaned by the bureaucracy to the Junta — who used it as a torture centre. Top: an Argentine cartoon showing one face of the military for Alfonsín and another for Galtieri

### HOW big a union is ATSA?

As unions go it is relatively small. We are responsible for the welfare of 115,000 workers in the private health sector of which approximately 40,000 are our own members.

We organise in private hospitals, clinics, laboratories, chemist shops and pharmaceutical manufacturing **WHAT about workers in the public sector?**

Health workers in state institutions are organised by the Association of Public Employees (ATE) or in local municipal unions

On the whole their remuneration is higher than that of our members, not necessarily in terms of wages but certainly in terms of benefits **WERE you yourself a health worker?**

Yes. I worked at the Israeli Hospital for six years before getting drawn into trade union work.

(Community hospitals are common in Argentina, largely because of the low standards that prevail in public sector hospitals which traditionally have been starved of government funds).

**HOW did you become a full**

### time trade union leader?

It really came about as a result of an — for me — unavoidable confrontation with my old leadership at the Israeli Hospital

Meaningful union activity had been reduced to nil as a result of years of bureaucracy and close relations with employers

Most of us serving in the union today got here as a result of struggles waged in their workplaces.

I won my post because of my frank opposition to bureaucracy at the hospital which culminated with my leading a strike in 1984 to which the then union leadership was totally opposed.

By 1984 I was one of the few activists not linked with the bureaucracy.

This coincided with the publication of the Orange List, an alternative list of candidates standing for union office in opposition to the official list drawn up by the self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

**YOU use the word bureaucracy often. What exactly do you mean?**

When we speak of bureaucracy, we refer to those trade union leaders

who have sold themselves to the employers and who reject all aspects of trade union democracy.

Our predecessors had been in office for thirty-one years. During that time, they had come to amicable 'arrangements' with all the different managements and had gone as far as establishing special relations with the military dictatorship itself.

Our union was one of the very few that escaped intervention at the time and it's no wonder — given that the leadership was one of the first to invite representatives of the government to a lavish banquet on union premises less than one month after the military coup — it didn't take them four weeks!

Given this fact, it was hardly surprising to discover that the union was also linked with the Triple A (the Anti-communist Association of Argentina)

Specifically we know that the massacre of 1973 was organised from these premises with the collaboration of General Osine.

They also stored arms here and, while the new offices were still being built, they were used as clandestine torture centres

This is thoroughly documented in a book on human rights in Latin America in which witnesses reported what had been done to them at Saavedra Street 166.

We raised all these issues during our election campaign against the bureaucracy. By now the facts are widely known.

**WHAT particular problems confront workers in Argentina today?**

The problems differ from sector to sector. Drug manufacturers, for example, supply themselves with labour via agencies which they themselves own.

This gives workers little or no leverage over their real employers when it comes to fighting for better conditions

Affecting everybody, however, is the question of redundancies and starvation wages.

The average wage in the health sector is A80-A100 per week when the 'family basket' stands at approximately A400.

The gap forces many of our members to work double-shifts to make ends meet or to get a second job.

Doing guard duty or

porterage at a second hospital is very common.

This increased pressure on our members is made worse by the governments so-called 'Plan Austral'.

The fall in real wages since the IMF-inspired package was introduced in June, 1985 has been in the region of 50 per cent. You can imagine the consequences for our members.

**HAS the CGT proposed any action?**

Well, they have just announced a new round of 'talks' with the government, but their recent cancellation without consultation of a planned 48 hour general strike has greatly angered workers and made them even more suspicious of their leaders.

The greatest problem we face today is the vacuum of leadership in the workers movement

The working class will to fight is not in doubt.

A bourgeois daily, *Ambito Financiero*, a paper comparable to the *British Financial Times*, recently introduced a centre-page spread listing the strikes taking place on a particular day. The list gets longer by the week.

Recently we calculated that in any one week between one and one-and-a-half million workers were on strike.

That's a measure of workers will to fight.

**DOES the Peronist or Communist Party offer workers any plan of action?**

No, they are in no position to do any such thing

The Peronist movement is split into two warring factions.

The only thing that unites them is that they are both bureaucratic through and through, and both answer to a boss's party.

Before the founding of the People's Front, the Communist Party was inseparable from the bureaucracy (in the mid-seventies they dubbed one of the most notorious butchers, the great catholic General Videla, a 'progressive'), but recent events have forced one of its three factions to the left for its own political survival.

It is an enormous contradiction, is it not, that despite their hatred of Trotskyism, these Stalinists have had to block with us or face extinction!

# COURAGE IS THE ANSWER TO THE SANCTIONS



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA and James Motlatsi brought the authority of the international working class to the NUM annual conference when they called on the British working class to enforce sanctions on the Apartheid state.

Ramaphosa, leader of the South African National Union of Miners, said that Britain stood between the black workers of South Africa and liberty.

He stressed that the might of the British trade union movement must act to deal a blow for the black masses struggling to topple the racist state.

As the two spoke, they knew that fellow-trade unionists were already in detention and that their return to South Africa will mean certain arrest. Neither this nor the fact that hardship and unemployment will follow sanctions deterred them from their struggle.

## BIRMINGHAM TRADES COUNCIL CALLS TUC COUNCIL LOBBY

1. This Trades Council requests the regional TUC to inform the TUC nominees on the DHAs that this Trades Council disapproves of any Health Authority purchasing South African goods for patient and staff consumption and requests the RHA and/or the DHAs to boycott South

African products.

2. In the light of the appeal by the General Secretary and President of the South African National Union of Mineworkers for more concerted action from the TUC and its affiliated unions, this Trades Council:

a. reaffirms its commitment to fighting for action against apartheid, including a union boycott of goods and services to and from South Africa;

b. resolves to organise a lobby of the TUC Congress and the July General Council for TUC action to organise such a boycott campaign.

THE INTERNATIONAL Metalworkers Federation has recently visited South Africa to report on the struggle for trade union rights and political freedom in South Africa.

Their report was compiled before the present state of emergency.

The IMF delegation was given photographs of people soon after they were released from police custody.

The photos show they were whipped by the police — but these are the lucky ones because they survived.

1,500 people, amongst them members of metal unions or relatives of metal workers in South Africa, have been killed in the past 18 months, many thousands have been wounded.

114,000 lie in prison.

But the report of the International Metalworkers' Federation shows metal workers and their unions are fighting back.

We reproduce sections of their report as a powerful account of the background to the sanctions call of the South African trade unions.

## BEATINGS . . .

METAL WORKERS living near Pretoria have been whipped, beaten, detained and threatened by the local police because they were wearing union tee-shirts.

The police have also attacked children and unemployed people.

Girls have also been raped by policemen and in a climax to the violence police opened fire on a peaceful community meeting killing 18 people and wounding 200.

Photographs taken by union lawyers of people assaulted by the police will be used in court cases to try and put a stop to the attacks.

The attacks have taken place in Bophuthatswana one of the so-called homelands, nominally under black rule but actually carrying out the apartheid state's policy.

The administration in Bophuthatswana has banned unions from organising in its territory which consists of several areas of land near Johannesburg and Pretoria.

As a result, multinational companies and several small South African engineering firms have opened factories near townships in Bophuthatswana.

The factories are in South Africa but the workers must live in the homelands. They are union members at work but in theory cannot be a union member when they re-

turn to where they live.

Andrew Molopyane, a member of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, was riding home from work on his bicycle when without warning he was thrown to the ground by two policemen.

He was asked why he was wearing a union tee-shirt and when he replied that it had nothing to do with them, he was told MAWU was the cause of the trouble in the schools.

Molopyane was taken to GaRunkuwa police station where he was beaten together with about 30 young people.

After his beating he was thrown into a police cell for 24 hours.

Upon release he was taken to a hospital in Johannesburg where he remained in intensive care for three days because his kidneys had stopped functioning as a result of the assault.

Other MAWU members were detained for wearing a

union teeshirt or having a MAWU badge or sticker on their hats.

Many of the statements made by the victims agree that during the worst period of the assaults the whole prison mortuary was caked in blood.

The union and its lawyers collected almost 140 sworn affidavits about police brutality.

In retaliation the police arrested Jerry Moropa, a MAWU shop steward, who worked at the partly Swedish-owned company Asea in Pretoria.

The police denied holding Moropa and refused to acknowledge a court order of habeas corpus ordering them to reveal where Moropa was being held.

By pure coincidence union lawyers were present at GaRunkuwa police station at the moment when Moropa was being hustled into his cell.

They insisted on being allowed access after having seen him, forcing the police to admit they had him.

This may well have saved the shop stewards' life.

## TRADE UNION BOYCOTT IS THE ISSUE

THREE WEEKS ago we asked the News Line, paper of the Healy group, a question:

'As you are demanding British trade unionists raise money for arms for the South African workers, where should this money be sent?'

In reply, the News Line screamed, 'Scratch a right wing revisionist and you'll find a pacifist opponent of revolution and apologist for imperialist repression. These people (that's us — BM) oppose the smashing of the Botha state and the overthrow of capitalism.'

The News Line establishes its revolutionary credentials by repeating this slogan, 'Arm the African workers', on every occasion.

The same article did half answer our question though. 'The Stalinists and nationalist states must arm the ANC, PAC, AZAPO and all other forces fighting apartheid.'

The paragraph then continued the original demand that trade unionists must raise money for arms.

Now let's get a few things straight.

There will be no peaceful overthrow of Botha or capitalism in South Africa.

But this fact, no matter how many times it is repeated, does not solve the problems African workers are facing.

Nor does it form the basis of a campaign in the British labour movement at this moment.

The call for the stalinists and the frontline countries to arm the South African revolutionaries is correct.

Doubtless the sections of Healy's vast 'International Committee' in those countries will get to work on it. What about here though?

Now we know where the money is to be sent — the ANC and PAC.

Very good, but again a small practical problem. If a union branch sends money to the ANC, how does it make it clear that it is for arms?

Write 'for guns only' on the cheque?

### COMMENT BY BOB MYERS

And if we raise money 'for arms' for the ANC, don't we have a responsibility to say something about the ANC and the armed struggle?

The ANC has had an armed wing for nearly three decades. It has for that time recruited many of the most courageous and revolutionary fighters from South Africa, particularly after the Soweto uprising, when many youth saw the need for arms after battling with the police with stones.

It has sent these recruits either to camps outside South Africa where they kick their heels (in much the same way that the ZAPU forces of Nkomo did), or to Eastern Europe — where they are trained and educated in the 'theory' of the two stage revolution.

First there is to be the 'popular, democratic fight against apartheid' and then, and only then, the fight for socialism.

They are also trained to oppose and eliminate the 'Trotskyists' who call for 'socialism now'.

So when we repeat the seemingly revolutionary slogan of 'Arm the African Workers' in straight language we get — raise money for the ANC and the stalinists, who might buy a gun with it to use against the South African revolution.

No amount of Healy's dialectics can alter that.

The millions of young black South Africans who are daily facing Botha's guns today are not leaving the country.

They are staying and they are fighting with whatever they can get their hands on.

Hundreds of union leaders are imprisoned. Their members are taking strike action to demand their release.

They must have the support of the British trade unions. We intend to fight for that support.

Unlike News Line, we will not indulge in a slanging match.

We will not say that Healy is a 'right wing apologist for Botha' . . . just that 'scratch an unthinking supporter of the "armed struggle" and you'll find someone who has no serious intention of making the trade unions here act'.

The British trade unions and working class took action in the past both in support of the fight against slavery and in defence of the Russian revolution.

They can and must be made to act in defence of the South African revolution.

We are organising a lobby of the next General Council meeting of the TUC to demand a trade union blockade of South Africa.

When a resolution to support this lobby was raised on the Lambeth Trades Council, News Line supporters moved an amendment calling for money to be raised for arms.

This was passed and they collected £20. What to do with this money no one knows.

Meanwhile the amended resolution goes to the Greater London Association of Trades Councils — where all those who want to cover up the role of the TUC will be able to vote against the lobby because of the inclusion of 'money for arms'.

So, instead of a campaign for the lobby to turn to the enormous strength of the whole trade union movement, we get — £20.

Let us repeat the point we first made. The slogan 'Arm the African Workers' is a cover for doing nothing.

It has nothing to do with Trotskyism or the struggle to support the African working class.

Its emptiness is completed with the News Line's call for 'Victory to the Azanian workers and peasants'.

Somebody tell them that the peasantry is virtually non-existent in South Africa.

One final question to News Line.

Why not 'Arm the IRA'?

● We urge all our readers to join the lobby on June 23 and fight in their unions for a blockade of South Africa.



# OUR CREDENTIALS

## WE CALL! AFRICAN WORKERS DEFY BOTHA'S APARTHEID BRUTALITY

NAME	ORGANISATION	COMMENT
01760	American visitor	
01301	TRASCO	Mother of
01344		UDF exec
<b>Acconville</b>		
01438	UDF	
<b>Alexandra</b>		
01538	Alex A.C.	
02942	Alex A.C.	
01669		
02943	Alex A.C.	
01727	UDF	
01469	ASCO	
<b>Atteridgeville</b>		
01448		
<b>Benson</b>		
01562		
01563		
01715		
01941		
<b>Bricks</b>		
01324	Bricks Action Comm.	
01348	Bricks Action Comm.	
01455	Bricks Action Comm.	
01342	Bricks Action Comm.	
01503	Bricks A.C.	
<b>Duduza</b>		
01841	Duduza C.A.	
01356	Duduza C.A.	
01840	Duduza C.A.	
01843	Duduza C.A.	
01457	Duduza C.A.	
01842	Duduza C.A.	
01302	Duduza C.A.	
<b>Germiston</b>		
01559		
<b>Johannesburg</b>		
01605		
01917		
01603		
01745		
01845		
01750		
01751		
01752		
<b>J1731</b>		
01607		
01944		
01302		
01566		
01326		

### Persons known to be in detention since June 12

Below is a portion of the Detainee Parents' Support Committee list of people detained under Emergency regulations. The list — covering only the Transvaal and the Cape — was provided with names blacked out to comply with the law. The full list includes over 1 000 names

NAME	ORGANISATION	COMMENT
<b>TRANSVAAL</b>		
01506	Mamelodi Y.O.	
01709	CUSA	
01512	Randfontein	
01354	Mohlakeng PCC	
01698	Sebokeng	
01817		
01816		
02014	Vaal S.C.	
01814		
01704		
02013	Vaal S.C.	
01459	Vaal C.A.	Exec: Vaal C.A.
01815		
01820	VAAL C.A.	Executive mem. VCA
01821	VAAL C.A.	Executive mem. VCA
01940		
01799	Sharpville	
01980	AZANYU	
01671		
01749	Soshanguye	Nephew of father S Mkhataba
01774		
01775		
01773		
01769		
01770		
<b>TRANSVAAL COUNTRY</b>		
01808		
01811		
01364	Klerksdorp	Indep. church minister
01433		Diakon Bishop
01528		Priest
01697	Leandra	
01343		
01358	Leandra A.C.	
01363		
01362		
01675		
01674		
01361		
01512		
01468		
01698		
01699		
01817		
01676		
01482		
01485		
01695		
01490	SACC	
01491	Lowveld Youth Mov.	
01696	Lowveld Youth Mov.	
01515	LOYOMO	
01820	LOYOMO	
01821	LOYOMO	
01801	LOYOMO	
01799	LOYOMO	
01798	LOYOMO	
01748	Seisgruit	
01774	N.T.V.L Advice office	Fieldworker
01775		
01773		
01769	NGWU	Lowveld Youth Movement
01770		Lowveld Youth Movement

NAME	ORGANISATION	COMMENT
<b>EASTERN CAPE</b>		
01854		
01875		
01892		
01897		
01898		
01514	Duncan Village R.A.	
01513	Duncan Village R.A.	
01518	Duncan Village R.A.	
01869		
01902		
01857		
01457	East London	
01948		Suspended Teacher
01532		JSR Commission
01908		
01909		
01906		
01907		
01908		
01403	Middelburg	
01402		
01303	Midlands C.C.	Teacher
01401	Midlands C.C.	Primary School
01402		
01522		
01400	Midlands C.C.	M.C.C.
02010	P. Ellenbeth	
01621		
01620	PEWO	PEWO
01330	UDF	
01983		VISNEWS Journalist
02007	PEYCO	PEYCO office bearer
02008	PEYCO	PEYCO office bearer
02009	PEYCO	PEYCO office bearer
01982		ITS Journalist
01472	Motor A.C.U.U.	N.A.C.W.U.
01478	UDF	E. Cape UDF
<b>NORTHERN CAPE</b>		
01623	Uitenhage	
01467		
01624	Uitenhage	
02027	Uitenhage Y.C.	Union organiser
02028		
02026		
02025		
02024		

Last week's issue of the Johannesburg Weekly Mail listed names of those detained in the Transvaal since the State of Emergency — but every single one had been blacked out to comply with the censorship.

The plight of the thousands arrested by the South African state forces is monitored by the banned Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

They have issued a list of 1,034 people known to be in detention, although South African censorship makes it an offence for their names to be made public.

The list includes 115 students and teachers, 65 trade unionists, 255 members of community

or political organisations, 44 churchworkers, 12 journalists, 12 lawyers — and over 500 whose affiliations are not known.

The round-up of activists was the most far-reaching yet experienced in South Africa, with shop stewards and street committee members even from small towns included in the net.

In addition to those arrested, who may well total 10,000 now, at least five people a day have been killed in South Africa throughout this year.

The toll of deaths has doubled since last year — and it is rising.

At least 45 have been killed in 'political violence' since the State of Emergency began.

## TORTURE . . .

**FORD CARWORKER Leslie Mangoteywe describes how he was tortured by the security police in Port Elizabeth:**

'After a while Lt. Coetzee told Nziyani to get me handcuffed. He said I was to be put into the helicopter because I refused to talk the truth.

'I was handcuffed with my arms passing underneath the stick and my hands in front of my shins.

'I was then lifted and suspended between two tables.

'This position is a very awkward one.

'Firstly one is suspended with one's head hanging down causing blood to rush to the head.

'Secondly one is constantly trying to keep one's head up causing a great deal of pain in the neck.

### Weight

'Thirdly one's weight is suspended on one's wrists held by the handcuffs at the back of the legs.

'The handcuffs were tight leaving the hands numb. The back of the knees ached.

'Fourthly one would pull with one's arms on occasions to relieve the pressure on the knees with resulting strain on that part of the body.

'Fifthly one would sweat which would run into one's eyes and one was unable to clear them.

'Sixthly in lifting the head a pain developed in one's

asked me further questions.

'I could not move. Any movement caused me terrible pain. I was exhausted, helpless and in a dazed state.

### Punched

'I remember even then someone punched me. I was forced to stand up and I could not do so. I was pulled up forcibly by Nziyani and forced to stand even though I was very shaky on my feet.

'The questioning continued and so did the assaults. I cannot remember when Sgt van Wyk returned and he too hit me while standing there.'

Photos: Courtesy AEU Journal



## AND MASSACRE . . .

### Massacre at Winterveld

**THE ORGY of violence in Bophuthatswana came to a climax on March 26 1986 when a large number of police opened fire on a peaceful community meeting held at a football ground in Winterveld.**

**The crowd consisted mainly of old men and women and young children. Eighteen were killed and over 200 wounded, some very seriously.**

After the shooting the 'search and destroy' mission. A number of persons

were seriously assaulted. The police arrested 2,500 people who were kept in jail over the Easter weekend.

Two days after the massacre the Bophuthatswana homeland government set up a judicial commission of inquiry into the shooting.

Although MAWU in common with other South African unions rejects the homeland system it was felt that

to allow the police to present their version of the massacre and the brutality leading up to it would amount to a whitewash.

So the union told its lawyers to prepare a case and put together witnesses and evidence about what had happened to expose in public the brutality of the police towards workers, their communities and children in South Africa.

# IRELAND'S FREE

## — And Healy's 'Brit-Left' Chauvinism

**WHEN the Workers Revolutionary Party expelled its former leader, Gerry Healy, last year, and brought to an end his regime of financial and personal corruption, we had to face the fact that his clique leadership was only the most grotesque result of the deep-going problems of Trotskyism.**

Healy had effectively destroyed many young fighters who joined the movement, descended into opportunist relationships with 'left' labour leaders and sought financial favours from bourgeois nationalist governments in the Middle East. At the root of the problem was the movement's political degeneration: the theory of permanent revolution, formulated by Trotsky out of the experience of the Russian revolution to show how struggles for democratic and national aims flow into the international socialist revolution, was referred to in articles and speeches but never developed to answer the problems of the post-second world war era.

The developments in the class struggle — particularly the expansion of Stalinism in eastern Europe, the Chinese revolution and the various national liberation struggles — did not fit neatly in to the formulas worked out by Lenin and Trotsky.

They couldn't have foreseen how the crisis of imperialism and the crisis of working-class leadership would express themselves.

The Healy leadership, while claiming to 'defend' Trotskyist theory, often simply repeated empty slogans and tried to find shortcuts to solve the crisis of leadership.

### Junked

And so the WRP and its forerunner the Socialist Labour League called for the military victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam — but junked any attempt to analyse the treacherous role of Stalinism there and glorified Ho Chi Minh: it not only supported the Palestine Liberation Organisation against imperialism but ended up defending Yasser Arafat's diplomacy from left-wing Palestinian critics, and supporting the bourgeois Iraqi Ba'ath regime in its repression of Stalinists.

But the most scandalous betrayal of Trotskyism took place with regard to Ireland.

The Healy leadership was unwilling and unable to grapple with the problem of a national struggle on Britain's doorstep.

There was no consistent effort to build an Irish Trotskyist movement, and the most basic task of British socialists regarding Ireland — building support for the Irish struggle in the British working class — was ignored.

Policies and analysis were replaced by simplistic slogans like 'unite British and Irish workers', and then by outrageous attacks on the Republican movement which expressed the pro-imperialist mentality of the British labour leaders.

Having expelled Healy, the WRP resolved at its 8th Congress this year to change its stance and bring to an end the 'inactivity and disinterestedness on the Irish question which reflected the most corrupted arrogance of the British labour aristocracy' (Workers Press, March 22).

Of Healy's closest followers, who were expelled along with him, felt no such need to re-examine the past.

For them it was 'business as usual'.

### Attitude

Now their attitude to Ireland has been set out in an article, 'Ireland and the Permanent Revolution', by Paddy O'Reagan, in their magazine 'Marxist Review'.

It is twisted social-chauvinism under the guise of 'Marxism'.

The best way for us to start a discussion in the WRP on the Irish revolution, and the responsibility of British

socialists to it, is to expose O'Reagan's lies and distortions.

He has worked out a fixed path for the Irish revolution:

This revolution which carries through the bourgeois revolution, unites Ireland, and completes the agrarian revolution, can only be carried through under a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat and must pass over the socialist measures of the nationalisation of the major industries and banks.

It will be interconnected with the British socialist revolution and be a part of the European socialist revolution.

And how will this very desirable state of affairs be realised? By 'building a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International' in Ireland.

And what policies should this organisation pursue?

'You have to have a theory, based on the development of the dialectical method, which enables us to begin from the world crisis of imperialism, and a practice which enables us to grasp that the whole of that crisis is contained within the part, of the Irish national

**The Healy leadership was unwilling and unable to grapple with the problem of a national struggle on Britain's doorstep.**

liberation struggle with all its implications for the struggle for a United Ireland.'

But what should the 'practice' be? How does it relate to the national liberation struggle? O'Reagan doesn't say — he simply puts up 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' against a falsified version of the Republican movement's policy.

O'Reagan pontificates against Sinn Fein's tactic of 'the armalite in one hand and the ballot paper in the other'.

He writes: 'Without . . . the vital political struggle for the revolutionary unity of the working class in the north under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, the ballot box will inevitably lead to the road blazed by the Offi-

cial: that of capitulation in front of imperialism in favour of a regional settlement, as opposed to a united socialist Ireland.'

First of all, O'Reagan, whose mentor Healy had a cowardly fear of the state, has an incredible nerve to lecture anyone, especially the Republican movement, on 'capitulation to imperialism'.

### Tactic

Besides, there is nothing 'inevitable' about the politics of a national liberation movement that arises from them adopting an electoral tactic, certainly not 'capitulation to imperialism'.

Why doesn't O'Reagan accuse the Sandinistas or the PLO, both of whom use electoral tactics, of 'capitulating to imperialism'?

Because 'inevitably' he will heap praise on national movements that are far enough from home and attack Irish fighters at the same time.

Secondly, O'Reagan's claim that Sinn Fein's electoral policy leads 'inevitably' to 'a regional settlement' is absurd, because it was introduced in order to

No. The Officials, under Stalinist influence, did put down the gun and this was the main point of the split.

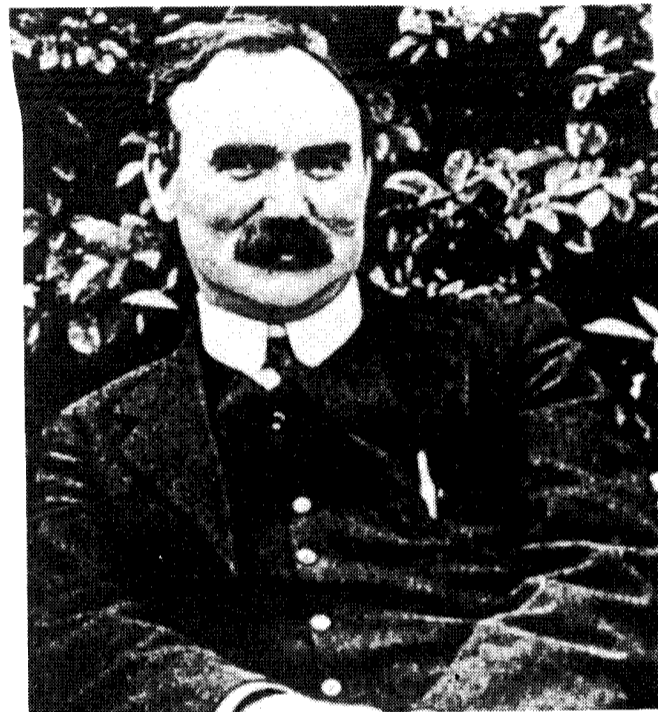
Having informed Republicans that they will 'inevitably' capitulate to imperialism', the arrogant O'Reagan goes on to say that 'the gun in the other hand can lead under conditions of frustration . . . into actions which serve to help drive back the Protestant workers in to the arms of British imperialism.' Really?

'Actions' with guns usually involve shooting.

Since the IRA have for the last few years specifically declared their opposition to sectarian killings and

of the major capitalist countries even began their development as nations; the unique relationship of Ireland and Britain, the oldest capitalist country; the resulting severity of the economic backwardness imposed on Ireland over centuries, and the high price paid by Ireland for the slow development of the British working class movement and the opportunist treachery of its leadership.

(The source of this is the corruption of the British labour aristocracy by imperial plunder, which was already marked in Britain in Marx's time, before the working class existed as an



JAMES CONNOLLY

attacking civilian targets, by which shootings will Protestant workers be 'driven back into the arms of British imperialism'?

O'Reagan doesn't say. This phrase is just a cowardly get-out for O'Reagan who will, with Healy close at hand, decide whether IRA actions are 'driving Protestant workers' and condemn them accordingly — while doing nothing to raise the demand for Irish self-determination in the British working-class movement.

### View

I am not trying to speak for Sinn Fein or the IRA; they can do that themselves.

Besides they have a different view of the national struggle and of socialism from ours; they are not Marxists and don't claim to be.

But as Marxists we are obliged not to take formulas — 'Sinn Fein equals bourgeois nationalism equals capitulation to imperialism', or even 'the working class will lead the peasantry to complete the tasks of the bourgeois revolution' — and impose them on reality, but to study reality, developing our theory in accordance with it.

To understand the Irish revolution, we must examine, in relation to the international development of capitalism and of the working class, the particular twists and turns of Irish history. Some of the main factors we need to study are:

1. The fact that Ireland has been subjected to colonial oppression long before most

organised force in Ireland.)

2. The means by which Britain aggravated and deepened religious divisions in Ireland, starting long before Irish capitalism or the Irish working class was on the scene; the way in which Britain granted economic privileges to the Belfast Protestants, gave guns and uniforms to the sectarian gangs; the way that partition has been imposed and the resulting 'carnival of reaction' correctly forecast by James Connolly; the special importance this gives to the national question in Ireland.

3. The struggle of the Irish working-class movement, led by Connolly and James Larkin at the beginning of this century, and the unique relationship of socialism and nationalism in Ireland epitomised by Connolly; the revolutionary struggles of 1913 and 1919-22, and the way that the British labour leaders turned their backs on them.

### Treachery

4. The treachery of Irish working-class leadership, i.e. the reformists from the ill-fated Irish Labour Party to the present-day SDLP bootlickers, and the Stalinists under whose influence the Official IRA and Workers' Party have done such criminal damage, and the discrediting of Irish socialism as a result; the way in which the Republican movement, the origins of which lie in petty-bourgeois nationalism, has won the leadership of sections of the working class to an extent comparable to, or perhaps greater



Catholic youth confront the British army in 1971. On the wall in the background it says, 'You are now entering Free Derry'. By this time, the Provisional IRA had gone on the offensive.

# DOM STRUGGLE

## Simon Pirani replies to 'Marxist Review' on Ireland

than, the PLO or the Sandinistas; the reasons why no sizeable Irish Trotskyist movement has ever been built.

Trotskyists in Ireland will surely be able to tackle these questions not academically but by entering the struggle, alongside the Republican movement, advancing their own programme to the working class.

British Trotskyists have

down the road of bourgeois nationalism i.e. to capitulation to British imperialism and its partition of Ireland. And to prove this, he says that in 1969, when the British army moved in, both IRA trends supported the sending of British troops to the north, that 'the position of the IRA reflected the political bankruptcy of the Irish bourgeoisie and its position that British imperialism was

events of August had caught them unprepared.

'Apart from the shooting in Divis Street, the IRA's only contribution to the crisis was a badly bungled attack on Crossmaglen RUC barracks on August 17 when it was all over.

'Known IRA men had been jeered at in the ghettos because they were unable to defend their own areas. They were determined it wouldn't happen again.

'Old IRA men who had little interest in politics and had dropped out because of the new political line rejoined. And there was a steady stream of recruits from young men who had seen houses and streets burned down by Loyalist mobs and who'd been unable to prevent them.'

### Command

Farrell then explains how three 'hard-liners' who were determined to defend the communities at all costs were elected to the Belfast command.

These men played a leading role in the Provisional split a few months later.

This split was precisely a reaction to the drift away from the armed struggle by the Officials, who were under Stalinist influence.

Patrick Buckland, a right-wing academic, writes: 'The events of August 1969 caught the IRA totally unprepared.'

'The leftward and political trend pursued since the failure of the armed campaign of 1956-62 had left Republicans with neither the organisation nor the arms to defend the Catholics of Londonderry and Belfast when they came under loyalist attack in the summer of 1969.

'IRA - I Ran Away' was chalked up on the walls of the beleaguered ghettos.

'A sense of impotence and humiliation led some members of the Belfast IRA to take independent action.

### Brigade

'In September 1969 the staff of the Belfast brigade reorganised itself and broke away from the official Army Council, and three months later, in December, the split was formalised when the Army Council in Dublin voted by three to one to give at least token recognition to the three parliaments at Westminster, Dublin and Stormont.

'The minority seceded and set up a Provisional Army Council.' ('A History of Northern Ireland,' p 143).

Dealing with the split, Buckland writes that 'both wings of the IRA had several aims in common' including 'the withdrawal of troops from Ireland'.

He writes of the Provisionals: 'For them the one vital issue was the overthrow of British authority in the north and the re-unification of Ireland.'

'Once this was achieved, they assumed that all other problems, such as relations between different communities, would be resolved in a new democratic and socialist Ireland.'



JIM LARKIN

an even clearer duty: to build principled support for the Irish struggle in the British working class, and confront at every point the pro-imperialist labour leaders, who are the greatest enemies of Ireland.

### Legacy

In the WRP, we have a legacy of equivocation and social-chauvinism to overcome.

At least our split last year separated us from obscene sectarians like O'Reagan who imperiously demand 'that the Irish working class stop capitulating to imperialism' and start 'developing the dialectical method' to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Trotsky wrote in a polemic over the Ukrainian national question a few months before he died:

'We must proceed from facts and not from ideal norms... The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle, cannot be suspended by bare reference to the future world revolution' - 'Writings 1939-40', p 76.

O'Reagan doesn't just ignore the facts, but deliberately lies.

The evolution of the IRA, he claims, 'confirms that a national revolutionary movement which does not go over to the struggle for socialist revolution, through the struggle to build the revolutionary party, is forced

an acceptable arbitrator in the national struggle', and that 'both IRA groups attempted to work with the British forces for some time'.

Disproving this lie is like proving that human beings have two legs. There is so much evidence it's hard to know where to start.

Michael Farrell, journalist, former internee and civil rights leader, and a member of the Peoples Democracy (Irish section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International), writes about the barricades put up in Belfast in August 1969:

'On 11 September a Central Citizens' Defence Committee delegation of (Fr Padraic) Murphy, (Catholic businessman Tom) Conaty and the local MPs Gerry Fitt, Paddy Devlin and Paddy Kennedy, saw (prime minister) Callaghan in London and agreed to take the barricades down.'

### People

'The move was unpopular with the people in the ghettos and there was serious opposition when they got home, led by some Republicans, Frank Card, Billy McKee and Leo Martin.' ('Northern Ireland, the Orange State, p. 267).

Having shown how it was Republicans who opposed taking down the barricades, Farrell writes about how some Catholics were 'bemused' by propaganda about the army protecting them, and continues:

'But behind the scenes the Republicans were re-organising and re-arming. The



BELFAST, JUNE 1986: If O'Reagan cannot see the affinity between the Irish National Liberation struggle and the fight of the Palestinians and the South Africans, the revolutionary women of Belfast certainly can. This mural, photographed two weeks ago, shows an IRA Volunteer alongside armed fighters from Palestine (left) and South Africa (right)

'Our aim', the Provisional Army Council declared in Easter 1970, 'is to make the Irish people masters of their own destinies controlling all the wealth of the nation, material and spiritual, in an independent republic of 32

opposed the troops going in. As for the SLL's 'campaign', it consisted of demonstrations and newspaper articles - but not a finger was lifted to build links between the British working class and the Irish struggle.

## ... Not a single word about the role of the British working class, its special responsibilities towards Ireland. ...

counties, in which protestants, catholics and dissenters will have equal rights.'

At first they insisted they were acting only defensively, to protect the Catholic community from outside aggression by loyalists or the Crown forces, but in February 1971 went unequivocally on the attack, undertaking, as they put it, 'an offensive campaign of resistance in all parts of the occupied area' (p. 144).

O'Reagan's slanderous distortion of the Provisionals' origins are combined with an assertion that 'only the SLL opposed and campaigned against the sending of British troops to Ireland'.

Apart from the Provisionals, who opposed them in armed struggle, the International Marxist Group also

Finally, there is a stark omission from O'Reagan's article.

He says not one single word about the role of the British working class, its special responsibilities towards Ireland, nor a single word about the failure of the British working class movement to unite in action with the Irish struggle for more than a century, and the enormous impact this has had on Ireland.

Marx, who mobilised tens of thousands of British workers to demonstrate in support of the Fenians, doesn't get mentioned; O'Reagan concentrates on attacking Daniel O'Connell.

The defeat of the Dublin general strike of 1913 'exposed the class essence' of the politics of right-wing Irish nationalist Arthur Griffith, says O'Reagan - but he

says nothing about the British TUC who, led by veteran dockers' leader Ben Tillet, refused to support the strike and destroyed a unique chance to build the unity of British and Irish workers.

Likewise O'Reagan denounces Griffith's treacherous role in 1916, and in 1919-22, but says nothing about the British labour leaders' role then.

At the time, the Communist International told the newly-formed British Communist Party that its practical support for the Irish struggle was a make-or-break question: for O'Reagan, Ireland is no real concern for the British working class.

### Nothing

No wonder, when he gets to 1969, he says the Provisionals 'capitulated' - but says nothing about the Labour MPs 'left' and right who supported the army.

O'Reagan lays the responsibility for the fate of Ireland on the Irish bourgeoisie, and ignores the role played by the working class internationally, and particularly in Britain, the country which oppresses Ireland.

For the social-chauvinist O'Reagan, the British working class and its leadership bore no responsibility for Ireland's past and have none for its future.

Here is the real abandonment of the theory of permanent revolution.

## LETTERS

# Don't denigrate the Miners' Support Groups

CAN I comment on the interview with Steve Masterson (as secretary of the Union of Print Support Groups — UPSGs) published in Workers Press on May 31?

He raises several points I would like to take up in relation to the work of the UPSGs.

First he claims that 'what we've managed to achieve with the UPSGs is to change the whole concept of what support groups were about.'

'We have made them more political with the concentration on direct action, i.e. picketing, rather than collecting money or beans.'

This is a reference to the miners' support groups set up during the miners' strike — many of which still exist and continue to be active in support of the victimised miners.

I would be interested to know where Steve Masterson gets his knowledge about the nature and limitations of the miners' support groups to slag them off in this way.

I was very active in these groups during the strike and since and I never came across him.

I assume he was a member of the WRP under Healy during the miners' strike and therefore under instructions not to work in support groups.

It is not a very convincing background from which to tell us that they were confined to collecting money and beans!

Let me put the record straight.

First of all, in the miners' strike, collecting 'money and beans' was a very important thing to do.

The miners were out for a year. The funds of the NUM were sequestered after six months; the miners themselves were disqualified from supplementary benefit and had £15 deducted from anything received by their dependants.

Many of them relied on food raised by the labour movement and the support groups; the strike could not have continued without it.

The political development of the strike would not have been an issue because there would not have been a strike.

At the same time there was a constant political struggle going on in the support groups over the progress and strategy of the strike.

The Socialist Workers Party took a national decision to enter the support groups in October and immediately brought in a range of political ideas based on crude rank-and-file conceptions which caused heated debates in many groups.

They had Saltley Gate as a model and argued that the strike could be won through more picketing.

## Mobilise

In reality the problem was the political problem of how to mobilise at rank-and-file level to break the stranglehold of the leaderships, both in the individual unions and at the TUC, and to break the isolation of the miners.

It is the great unresolved problem of the British trade union movement — how to release the movement from the dead hand of the official leaders in times of great struggle.

The SWP were a serious blockage to that kind of development and some of the same conceptions come through in what Steve Masterson is now saying.

He quite rightly argues that the print support groups should have a political approach to the dispute, but what he puts forward is more militancy and more picketing.

He does not tackle the real political problems either.

The miners strike was presented with a range of poli-



COLLECTION of food WAS vital to the continuation of the miners' strike, says Alan Thornett, and it is flippant to belittle it

tical problems, from the role of the Communist Party to the role of the Kinnock leadership of the Labour Party, to the development of a strategy which could actually win the strike.

Much of this was discussed in the support groups.

I was in the Oxford Miners' Support Group which held special meetings to discuss the politics of the strike.

These meetings debated resolutions to be sent to both national conferences of miners' support groups held on 9 December 1984 and 2 February 1985.

These dealt with the problems of the TUC and the breaking of the isolation of the miners.

Steve Masterson can read a full account of this in 'The Miners Strike in Oxford' which also carries an account of the mass picketing of Didcot power station carried out by the support group.

In some ways, the role of the print support groups is not directly comparable with the role of the support groups during the miners strike, particularly, perhaps, on the question of money.

Collecting money remains

important for the victimised printers; those sacked, however, are only a small section of the unions involved.

The unions still have their full funds at their disposal (SOGAT was only sequestered for a short time) and they put levies on their members who are still working.

Under these conditions, most of the print support groups have spontaneously recognised that the money they are collecting should go mainly towards picketing activities.

It is a bit much for Steve Masterson to claim it as a conceptual development arising out of his work with Workers Power.

The other point which Masterson raised, which has been a fetish within the UPSGs leadership, is rank and file.

He claims that the UPSGs position 'in support of rank and file printworkers against the leadership has forced political fights in every group'.

He presents it as if this is some new development which he has just introduced as an innovation.

Again, he misunderstands the role of miners' support

groups. Does he think they did not relate to rank and file miners?

They worked with the miners that came into their areas and built links with the pits involved.

Many of those still exist and are very strong.

Many of those rank and file miners were hostile to the conservative area leaderships and some of them challenged the inadequacies of leadership at national level.

They worked with the support groups on that basis.

This was very much the case with the South Wales miners that we worked with in Oxford. This was important, but it was also a natural, spontaneous development.

As a matter of fact, those most strongly arguing for rank and file during the miners strike left the support groups as soon as the strike was over.

They are now no longer involved in the support work, which still continues on behalf of the 500 victimised miners.

And for the benefit of Steve Masterson, it is still a highly political struggle — and if he

wants proof of this he should study the proceedings of the recent meetings of the National Justice for Mine-workers Campaign.

There is, of course, no disagreement about working amongst the rank and file.

Every Marxist must relate to the rank and file of the trade unions; it is crucial that a serious politically-based rank and file movement is developed in the trade unions.

That, however, is a difficult political task given the history of the Marxist movement in Britain over the last 30 years. It cannot be resolved by a few platitudes.

To build a movement amongst the rank and file is not the same as rank and file, which turns its back on the crisis of leadership in the trade unions and a struggle to resolve it.

In arguing these points, it is not my wish to play down the work of the UPSGs.

## UPSGs

It has done a useful job for the printers.

I have supported it, particularly its demand for an all-out strike on Fleet Street.

The Oxford Print Support Group supports it and I have attended as a delegate.

All I am arguing is that Steve Masterson should not try to tell us that its orientation has a general political significance that it does not have.

Nor should it be used as a stick to beat the miners' support groups with.

They, particularly the women's support groups, were an important development which played a major role in the strike, and which could have played an even greater role, on the lines of councils of action, if the strike could have been spread beyond the mining industry.

To use the UPSGs platform to cast them aside as simply collectors of 'money and beans' is a disgrace.

Alan Thornett  
Socialist Viewpoint



MINERS' wives in Mansfield — April 1984

## South Africa — News Line's forked tongue

Over the past couple of weeks, the Rump's paper News Line has been calling on the TUC to raise money to arm the black South African workers.

Oh really?

Why doesn't the News Line ask the TUC to raise money to buy arms for the IRA in its struggle against British imperialism?

But then, in the eyes of Healy and his camp followers, the IRA are terrorists.

Remember the Brighton bombing, when Healy, Mitchell et al went over the top to condemn the IRA because it dared to attack Thatcher and the government — the same government which put to death ten young hunger strikers in 1981

and persecuted the Irish people over very many years.

In our WRP branch in Kilburn in 1984, Sheila Torrance told us we couldn't invite a speaker from Sinn Fein to speak on a party platform.

This is the same scum who are now calling on the TUC to arm the African workers!

As an Irish person, I stood

with the majority of the WRP last October in expelling Healy from our ranks.

It is only since getting rid of Healy and his followers that the WRP has corrected its wrong position on Ireland and restored, at last, principled support for the struggle against imperialism in Ireland.

Charlie Walsh

## PUBLIC MEETING & DISCUSSION

### 1974

- The events surrounding the expulsion of Alan Thornett from the WRP

SUNDAY AUGUST 31

1.00pm to 6.00pm

East Oxford Community Centre  
Princes Street, Oxford

For Details, ring: Oxford 717821 or  
Swindon 724714

## WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

### DAY SCHOOL ON MARXISM & PHILOSOPHY

Saturday July 19, 10.30am to 4.30pm

Steve Biko Room, (Corner Lounge)

Cornwall House, Exeter University

Morning Session: Why Marxists Study Philosophy

Dave Bruce (WRP Central Committee)

Afternoon: From Hegel to Marx: How Marx became a Marxist  
Ian Hampsher-Monk

Admission 50p: Refreshments Available

# LETTERS

## On the 1921 trade union debate and on the Marxist movement in Ireland

IN WORKERS Press (June 21) Phil Sharpe of Workers Power made a number of wrong claims.

He defies Lenin on the question of the trade union controversy with Trotsky by reducing everything to a 'false methodology'.

He ignores Trotsky's analysis of those events and then accepts Stalinist mythology.

No, it was not 'Lenin, left; Trotsky, right; Bukharin, centre.'

Trotsky did wrongly propose to subordinate the unions to the workers' state, thereby violating their independence. But why?

The Soviet state had been bled dry by war and civil war from 1914 to 1920.

Its economy was driven down to 13 per cent of its pre-war capacity.

To overcome terrible conditions of near-famine in the country, Trotsky proposed in February 1920 a return to the market economy in the field of basic necessities.

His proposals, in the face of opposition from Lenin and Bukharin, were defeated 11 to 4 on the Central Committee.

He therefore sought an alternative — trade union subordination.

At the Tenth Congress in 1921 Lenin did hesitantly put forward a limited form of New Economic Policy, but not until 1922 did the NEP emerge as a full-blown Marxist tactic.

This policy meant the mar-

ket was restored in consumer goods but the commanding heights of industry remained in state ownership.

It was the lateness in adopting the NEP tactic that led to the trade union dispute and, more terrible, to the tragedy of Kronstadt.

Was Lenin, then, to blame?

The party was in the middle of a furious internal struggle with the Workers' Opposition creating all sorts of ideological confusion in its ranks, and Bukharin capitulating to them.

Eventually Bukharin went from being 'more left than Lenin' to being more right than Stalin.

So let us not pass these academic judgements on fighters with the benefit of



Lenin



Bukharin



Trotsky

hindsight, with no regard to the living reality.

This brings me to the Dublin meeting.

Perhaps we erred on the side of adaptation to Republicanism.

But it is not permissible to refer to the likes of Bobby Sands as 'petty bourgeois nationalists'.

Lenin proposed the term 'national revolutionaries', and that is much better.

The comrades from Workers Power made two claims that were far from living reality.

One was that the strength of republicanism reflected the weakness of revolutionary Marxism, and the other was that they did not see why it was that in 1969 the Provisional IRA, and not revolutionary Marxism, took the leadership of the Catholic workers.

If this annoyed me, it is because I knew that the strength of republicanism reflected a big anti-imperialist movement in the masses.

The Provos took the leadership in 1969 because they came forward with guns to

defend physically the Catholics of Bombay Street and West Belfast against marauding B-Specials and RUC men.

If revolutionary Marxists had come forward then, they would have a far higher standing in the masses now.

Finally, I did not make the remark that Sinn Fein was an 'adequate blunt instrument' of revolution in Ireland, nor would I propose so confused a position.

I do not remember if anyone else did.

Gerry Downing

## Some points on the PCI

WE HAVE read in 'Workers Press' some letters from comrades who, in one way or another, advise the WRP to follow the example of the French PCI (ICR) of P Lambert, or at least, to be inspired by them.

Being ex-members of the Belgian sister organisation of the OCI/PCI (or more exactly its pale replica), we were amazed by such propositions.

Having worked for years in the GTB/OSI, we would like to mention some events that we have experienced or that we have knowledge of.

This letter is an enumeration of some of them.

**1972:** Expulsion of Michel Varga, member of the Political Bureau of the OCI and leader of the Hungarian LASH as, at first, a double-agent of the CIA/KGB and later as a CIA-agent.

For years, members of the Varga-group have been physically assaulted by the OCI in France and Spain.

An international investigation commission, recognised by neither Varga nor the OCI, could not find any proof of the accusations of the OCI.

**1974:** Expulsion of Avant-Garde (Israel) from the OCRFI — motive: 'support for Zionism'

**1979:** Expulsion of Política Obrera of Argentina (now Partido Obrero) and the majority of the Chilean group (the so-called Roberto Grammar-faction) — motive: 'watchdog of fascism' (i.e. support for the military dictatorship of Pinochet and Videla).

The Bolivian POR (Lora) rejected these methods and left the OCRFI in solidarity.

**1981:** Richardo Napeeri, general secretary of the Peruvian POMR, expelled: for allegedly refusing to hand over to the party his salary as a member of parliament (i.e. 'capitulation before the bourgeoisie and its institutions')

In France, the followers of Moreno have been expelled by the OCI/PCI. One of these people supported a provocation (in relation to the 'terrorists' of Action Direct).

**1984:** Stephane Just, historical leader of the OCI/PCI, and his supporters expelled for 'aiding a Stalinist provocation'. Principal accuser, the historian Pierre Broue.

Stephane Just himself has expelled in Germany (Frankfurt) members who refused to recognise 'the unconditional right of the German people to reunification'. The people were reintegrated after their capitulation.

Each expulsion of any importance is initiated by the PCI/OCI, which uses all the small groups gravitating around it as an international cover.

In the national sections, there are no political debates about the politics that led to the expulsion: only agents exist.

Only the leaderships know what it is about.

There is no international discussion bulletin for the membership. Methods of blackmail are used frequently.

Discussions tend to be 'democratic' so long as they rest within the framework of the politics of the leadership, i.e. the OCI/PCI.

National groups have no

possibility at all of discussing and determining the politics of the OCI/PCI.

When members are expelled, there is no political argument — only that the OCI/PCI, which started the fight against Pabloism, is 'under attack.'

All members who vote against 'place themselves outside the organisation' — and even outside the working class.

In Belgium, with the expulsion of PO, members were named before the discussion, or even the report had been given, that they would be expelled if they opposed PO's expulsion.

A very convenient way to achieve unanimity!

All this takes place against the background of what we call the 'besieged fortress.'

The enemy wishes to destroy the OCI/PCI and is everywhere.

There were different scales of monthly contributions according to whether one was a factory worker or something else, and this was kept secret.

Political contacts between militants from different regions are not allowed.

The 'Lambertist' current, even when it swears on the banner of the Fourth International, is separated from it by its politics, which legitimise social democracy, and by its organisational practices, which are Stalinist.

Comrades should inform themselves about the politics and practices of the OCI/PCI (or ICR).

J P Goethuys D Modica  
Brussels

## CROYDON-NABLUS LINK



**MEMBERS** of Croydon Trades Union Council and their families met last Saturday evening (July 5) to formalise the twinning of Croydon TUC with the trade union organisation in Nablus on the occupied West Bank in Palestine.

Trade union leaders in Nablus were arrested three months ago following their meeting with an official delegation from the Transport & General Workers Union led by its Executive Officer Larry Smith.

There is still no news of their release.

At the ceremony, enlivened by Palestinian songs, music and dancing, Mary Walker, leader of the Labour group on the Croydon council made clear her support for the Palestinian cause and for the right of the Palestinian people to independent trade unions.

David Evans, Secretary of the Labour group brought greetings from the Labour Party and Peter Gibson, Treasurer of the Trades Council asked those from Nablus to take the greetings of Croydon TUC back to the trade union-

ists and their families on the West Bank.

'We have more in common with those miners still in jail in Britain, with those South African trade unionists being shot, beaten and imprisoned, and with those trade unionists imprisoned in Palestine than we have with any boss in Britain', Gibson told the meeting.

Photographs and written messages from Saturday evening's ceremony are to be delivered to Nablus in the coming weeks.

### LISTINGS

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO THE NORTH OF IRELAND.** Belfast, 8-11 August. Delegates invited from individuals and groups, to stay as guests of local people and discuss the Irish labour movement, Irish culture, plastic bullets, strip-searching and show-trials with political and community activists. Join the Belfast Internment Commemoration march and rally, Sunday August 10. Details from: Delegation Organising Committee, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

**MARCH: Close Britain's Concentration camps! Troops out of Ireland! Prisoners out of jail!** Saturday August 9. Assembles 1 pm, Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London N1.

**ALTERNATIVE BOOKFAIR.** New and secondhand books

and pamphlets. Saturday September 20, 11 am — 5.30 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

**THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY** will have a stall selling secondhand and old Trotskyist books and journals at the Alternative Bookfair on September 20. If you have anything suitable you would like to donate, please telephone 01-622-7029.

**NON-STOP PICKET OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY.** Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid, the non-stop picket for the release of Nelson Mandela and sanctions against the apartheid regime continues outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, London WC1.

**NELSON MANDELA'S BIRTHDAY.** Celebration on the non-stop picket, Friday July 18, with special events from 1 pm to torchlight rally at 9 pm.

**IRISH PRISONERS APPEAL COURT PICKET.** Support Jo Tully, who was charged with obstruction while picketing outside the Old Bailey during the recent trial of 5 Irish Republicans. Tuesday July 22, 9.30 pm at the Guildhall Court, London EC1.

**TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS ANNUAL RALLY.** Sunday July 20, in Tolpuddle, Devon.

**BROADWATER FARM DEFENCE CAMPAIGN MARCH AGAINST POLICE HARASSMENT.** Sunday July 20, assemble 12 noon underneath Tangmere, Broadwater Farm, London N17. March 1 pm from Willan Road to rally at anti-racism festival in Finsbury Park.

**DEMAND POLITICAL ASYLUM FOR GARNETT KORLER.** Contact the campaign for political asylum for black South African Garnett Korler, who will be in danger if the Home Office succeed in deporting him to

South Africa, c/o Manchester Law centre, 584 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester 12; phone 061-225-5111.

**NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY.** Day School and rally to commemorate the 7th anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. Followed by films and disco. Saturday July 19. Nelson Mandela Hall, Kings College Students Union, Surrey Street, London WC2. Details from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, telephone 01-359-8982.

**LAMBETH PRINT WORKERS SUPPORT GROUP BENEFIT.** Benefit gig, Thursday July 17, 7 pm to 11 pm. Live bands. Brixton Town Hall, Acre Lane, London SW9. £3, £1.50 concessions.

Please send details of your meetings and events to Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT, to arrive not later than the Monday before publication

**JOIN THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

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 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
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 DATE SENT \_\_\_\_\_

# 'We have found our convict station — here in England'

Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: The story of Indians in Britain 1700-1947. By Rozina Visram. Pluto Press, £8.95.

IN A PRE-ELECTION speech in 1979, Thatcher set out to steal the National Front's votes with her lying claim of Britain being swamped by immigrants.

In making that speech she articulated something which is at the heart of British imperialism — racism.

The subsequent passing of the Immigration Act, deportations, humiliating 'virginity tests' for Asian women at airports, the splitting of families, racial attacks — all have their sources in the capitalist system.

A system which is based on exploitation of man by man found no difficulty in arrogantly proclaiming its superiority over 'backward nations' and their people.

Rozina Visram has written a thoroughly researched account of the relationship between those Indians that travelled to Britain and the attitudes towards them of the ruling class — and the workers — in the period before Indian independence in 1947.

The first Indians to come to Britain were the servants (usually the nannies, ayahs) and sailors (lascars) who came as a consequence of British economic domination of India.

In the eighteenth century, these servants were often slaves.

The ayahs were brought to England particularly as maids and nurses for their children and partly to decorate the estates of retiring bourgeois.

Sometimes they would find themselves abandoned and penniless after the return journey from India, discarded as unnecessary baggage.

Some were able to stay at the Ayahs' Home in East London, where they might be engaged to accompany a

family making the outward journey to India.

The lascars were pressed into working for the East India Company.

Rozina Visram graphically describes the conditions which led so many of them to flee their ships as soon as they reached British ports.

The 'benevolent' East India Company found the expense of sending the sailors home not to their liking.

As a consequence many were left destitute and at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords.

Some moved away from the dock areas and found factory work; others ended as beggars and vagrants and Rozina Visram found some were transported to Australia.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the demand for Indian freedom grew.

To keep a tight grip on Indian administration, the British decreed that only those Indians educated in Britain could enter the civil service.

As a consequence many of the future nationalist leaders found themselves thrust into a student environment where radical nationalism and socialism were eagerly discussed.

## (Indian soldier in the First World War)



Under the supervision of British officers, Sikh troops at the battle of the Somme

Dadabhai Naoroji was elected to parliament in 1892 as a Liberal; his gradualist views about a transition to a form of Indian independence did not stop the Tories or the rabid press from making the most obscene racial attacks upon his candidature.

By 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji had abandoned his illusions in British fair play — though he made loyal speeches in 1914 calling for Indian troops to fight for Britain.

Indian regiments were slaughtered in World War One battles like the Somme.

After attending the International Socialist Conference in Amsterdam Naoroji began to agitate for self-rule as a right.

To frustrate the growing independence movement the Tories cynically found themselves a 'safe' Indian to stand for parliament.

Mancherjee Bhownagree won the Bethnal Green seat for the Tories in 1895 with the full weight of the Tory Party machine and the press barons, his brown skin temporarily forgotten.

Profits were at stake.

He became so identified with imperialism in India that he was ridiculed with names like 'Bow-and-agree' or 'Bow-the-knee'.

Shapurji Saklatvala was a parliamentarian of a different stamp altogether.

Standing on behalf of the Labour Party and taking inspiration from the Russian revolution he confounded all his critics by winning the Battersea North seat campaigning on clear communist policies.

He was a founding member of the Communist Party

and won the seat again in 1924 standing as a Communist.

Rozina Visram's brief sketch of Shapurji Saklatvala shows a dedicated international class fighter who made the connection between the strivings of India and Ireland for freedom from British imperialism and fought inside and outside parliament.

The book makes excellent reading, showing the lives of the generations of Indians in Britain over three centuries. **Martin Westwood**

## Trade unions in the Occupied Territories

**BOOKS**

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**BOOKS**

**Workers in Struggle: Palestinian trade unions in the occupied West Bank. By Simon Taggart. Editpride £3.**

BEHIND the statesmen's clichéd statements, and the Bible-class ballyhoo of Zionist propaganda, what is it really all about, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank? Behind the demonstrations and clashes that occasionally get a mention in the news, what is daily life like for Palestinian workers?

How do they struggle and organise?

If you've wanted the answers to questions like those, Simon Taggart's highly informative little book is a valuable guide to what's really going on in the occupied territories, West Bank and Gaza.

It's about Yousef, a brickie, who was refused a lift to hospital when he was injured at work, and who was arrested a few days before his wedding, just for being a trade unionist.

It's about Samed, who has worked since he was 12 and is now at 14 earning £3.50 a day as an agricultural labourer.

He shares a room in a hostel with three other workers, there is no heating and no hot water. Every fortnight he visits his family and gives them £22.50 a month.

It's about workers who rise early to travel long distances to work, but as in South Africa are not allowed to stay near their workplace.

Workers who are denied safety and health rights, who are sometimes denied wages they have earned, and who are prey to brutality from police and racist hoodlums.

It is also about the Arabic word 'Samud' — 'steadfastness' — and how Palestinian workers interpret it in their practice.

Palestinian workers began organising in unions in the 1920s, but they have always had to fight on two fronts — as Palestinians, as well as workers.

Early battles were fought against discrimination by the Zionists, including the Histadrut unions.

The Palestine Arab Workers Society was involved in the 1936 General Strike, which lasted over 6 months.

In 1945, it had to fight to get admitted to the World Trade Union Conference in London.

The Israeli occupation authorities today use a combination of repressive legislation — British Emergency Laws from the Mandate period, Jordanian laws, Israeli laws, and military decree.

Strikes can be banned by military command in the

'public interest', and there have been attempts by the military to decide who can hold office in the union, annulling election results.

Taggart points out the colonial nature of Israeli rule, the pattern of discrimination, interference and exploitation, which has the effect of crushing independent development and forcibly making Palestinians a subject proletariat — a reserve army of labour for the Israeli economy.

He describes how workers have to cope both with national and class oppression, and how their unions have to develop policies in this situation for such issues as migrant labour, 'nationally-minded' employers, and so on.

The unions' role is certainly not restricted to wages or working conditions.

Health and education are major issues.

The Tulkarm Women's Committee has organised holidays for women workers, the Hebron Shoemaker's union actively resolves disagreements between local people, the unions all have sports and social committees, and the Bethlehem Labourers' Union organises reading groups and a small union library.

There are two main union groupings, the General Fed-

eration of Trade Union (GFTU) which is more nationalist-oriented, and the West Bank Labour Federation (WBLF), which is declaredly socialist.

Within the latter the Progressive Labour bloc organises Marxist education classes.

In practice, it appears differences between the two federations are not that sharp, and there have been moves towards unity.

Both federations have links with the Palestine Trade Union Federation (PTUF) in Tunis, affiliated to the PLO.

'Every single union expressed its wish to see the creation of a Palestinian state led by the PLO', Taggart found.

Palestinian trade unionists have also developed a keen international awareness, he found, following events like the British miners' strike or the struggles in Latin America.

It's time this was reciprocated by more awareness and solidarity from us.

Taggart's book attempts to remedy the ignorance that is one obstacle, and he also suggests some ways in which we in the British labour movement can give real, useful help.

**Charlie Pottins.**

**REVIEWS**

# The Story of Money

**BEGINNING** his talks on Marxist economics, Cyril Smith would always start with the apocryphal tale of an un-named professor of economics at the London School of Economics.

This academic would introduce his first year students to the subject by pulling a pound note from his wallet.

Waving it in front of his audience, he would ask 'what is this?'

The reply was invariably 'Money'.

At which point he would fold up the note, replace it in his wallet and announce 'Well, now you all know what money is, we can start to discuss economics.'

This dismissive approach to the real content of money, which can only be grasped through an understanding of Marx's theory of value, is also evident in this otherwise important and informative exhibition.

The introductory section gives us a sociological description of money as 'any object (or record of that object) which is regularly used to make payments according to a law which guarantees its value and ensures its acceptability'.

The laws which actually govern what is and what is not money are however never probed. They are accepted as self-evident, or reduced to the legal utterances of rulers.

This inability to explain the evolution of money as a form of exchange based on the equivalence of different types of labour, raised to the level of a 'universally' accepted equivalent, is a hindrance to following through the actual logical-historical evolution of the 'money form' as Marx called it.

The various exhibits are arranged under a variety of

disparate headings: Origins, Manufacturing, Uses and abuses, etc which although providing a framework of sorts for the exhibition do not bring out the underlying development.

The exhibits themselves, however, do emphasise the development of money from



ritual payment, through lumps of precious metal (usually gold or silver), to coined bullion and finally the intrinsically worthless token coinage and paper money of today.

The most startling vindication of Marx comes from the earliest known reference to money, a cuneiform inscribed pottery cone of 3,800 years ago.

This explains the equivalence of commodities to silver during the reign of Sin-

**Money: A Special Exhibition at the British Museum. Until October 26. Monday to Saturday 10 am - 5 pm, Sunday 2.30 - 6 pm. Admission FREE.**

Kasid, king of Uruk (1865-1804 BC) as follows:

'In the course of his reign one shekel of silver on the local standard was worth the same as three measures of barley, twelve mina of wool, ten mina of copper or three measures of sesame oil.'

'How prosperous his reign was!'

Anyone familiar with Marx's Capital will recognise here the transition from the general form of value to the money form.

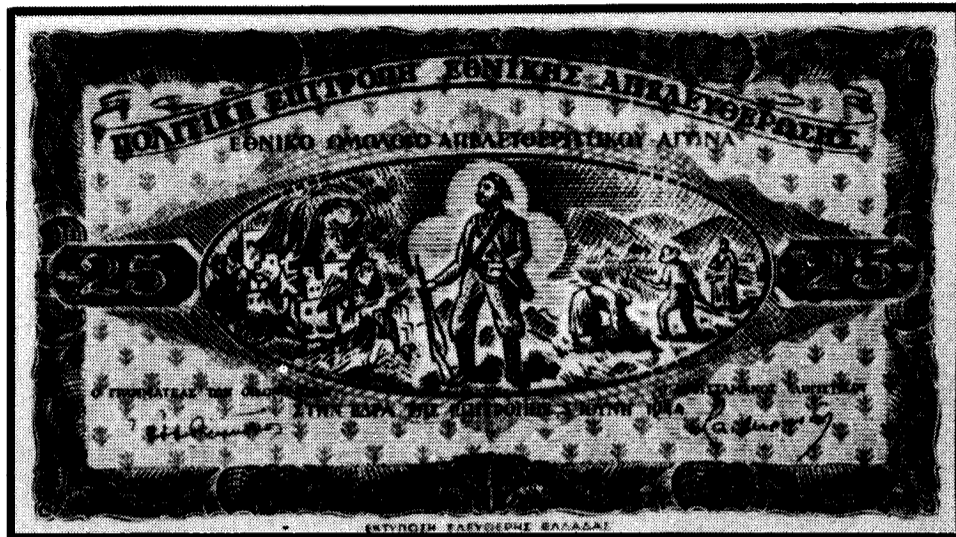
The origins of money can be seen in the forms of ritual payment in primitive society.

In such societies 'money' did not play any part in trade, but acted as a method of discharging social obligations within the tribe, a sort of social cement.

This 'ancestral' form of money is difficult to identify in pre-history but survived until this century in remote areas and is most well known as the huge stone discs from the island of Yap, the largest of which were 12 feet in diameter.

The advent of money as we know it could not arise until class societies were well established.

Then weighed amounts of metal, especially gold and silver, but also copper and iron, came into use as



**Both imperialists and revolutionaries have issued 'emergency money' to pay for supplies in the areas they controlled. A note for 25 okas of wheat issued by the Greek Partisans in 1944 and (below) a 6d note used by British troops in North Africa during World War 2. The coins are 'Peninsular Pennies' made to remedy a shortage of small change amongst British soldiers fighting under Wellington in Spain (1813)**

embodiments of fixed amounts of labour power which could be exchanged for other commodities.

This part of the evolution of money is particularly well represented in the exhibition.

The transformation of bullion money into official coinage is well documented for the region of Lydia, in what is now Turkey.

About 600 BC, lumps of a naturally occurring alloy of silver and gold called electrum were first stamped with seals of authority, presumably to guarantee their metal content, much as bullion bars are marked today.

Within 50 years advances in metallurgical technique enabled separate gold and silver coins to be produced so that the more commonly occurring silver could be used for smaller denominations.

The advances in coining technology were so rapid that within another 30 years the city state of Athens was producing beautifully crafted silver stateres which are recognisable as fully modern coins.

The design of Athena and the Owl was such a well-recognised guarantee of the quality of the silver that it persisted for the following three centuries.

Bronze and copper coinage followed as a market economy developed and the need for large amounts of smaller change ensued.

The story is followed

through centuries of attempts to reorganise the coinage by various states, to fob off a debased coinage on the population, and take draconian measures against forgers and coin clippers.

One of the most interesting aspects is the introduction of paper money which enabled trade to expand — but always with the danger to those who accepted such promissory notes that they might turn out to be 'not

real value led to their rapid demise.

A similar fate was to befall the notes issued by the Equitable Labour Exchange of the utopian socialist Robert Owen.

They were based on labour time — his one hour note was declared to be equal to sixpence.

The scheme failed along with his co-operative venture.

The lack of a Marxist perspective is most evident in the final section 'Money today and tomorrow'.

Here the mass of forms of credit available today is confused with money, as though a bank cheque or credit card without a bank balance was worth anything at all.

The difference between a credit rating and cash in the bank is probably more obvious to the Nationwide Building Society, who sponsor this exhibition, than to the numismatists of the British Museum who put together this display of some of their hidden treasures.

Mike Howgate

**MONEY, A MARXIST VIEW**  
A guided tour of the British Museum exhibition followed by a discussion. Sunday July 27. TOUR: meet at the steps of British Museum, 4.30 pm.

**DISCUSSION:** at the Duke of York pub, York Way, by Kings Cross, 7.30 pm.

**Leader and speaker Mike Howgate. Organised by North and West London WRP.**



worth the paper they were written on'.

Examples of German 1923 inflation money for billions of marks brings this point home with a vengeance.

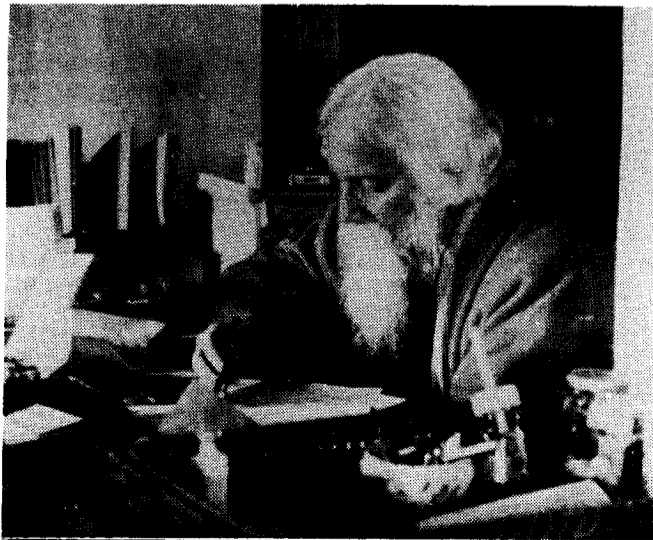
Of particular interest in this respect are attempts to base money on other forms of wealth than precious metal.

The 'assignat' of the French Revolutionary Government was backed by land confiscated from the church.

Overproduction coupled with uncertainty as to their



## TV Preview



Rabindranath Tagore, subject of a documentary by Satyajit Ray which opens a new series of Indian films on Channel 4, Sunday July 13, 2.30 pm

Saturday July 12 6

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **20/20 Vision: The Nuclear Gulag.** This film, secretly shot in the USSR over the past four years, supposedly produces evidence that the bureaucracy has been working prisoners to death in dangerously unsafe uranium mines. Particularly apposite in the light of the Chernobyl disaster, the programme says convicts have been used as slave labour with virtually no protection against radio-active contamination. Cancer, leukaemia and daily suicides have taken a massive toll of the trainloads of prisoners which eye-witnesses say have arrived at the mines. The programme also includes new amateur film of prisoners and labour colonies in the Soviet Gulag.

Sunday July 13

2.30 pm, Channel 4. **Rabindranath Tagore. bw.** This documentary, made in 1961 by the celebrated Indian director, Satyajit Ray, heralds a season of films by Ray, based on Tagore's writings. Chiefly known in the West for his poetry, he is known equally well in India as an educator of great originality, as a fine musician, as a painter, and as a writer of novels, short stories, essays, sermons, and dramas, making up 60 volumes of work. Satyajit Ray spent several years studying art at Tagore's university in the 1940s, and in this documentary speaks the commentary using documents and rare archival film, together with reconstructions using live actors.

3.30 pm, Channel 4. **Monihara. (The Lost Jewels.) 1961, bw.**

(In Bengali with English subtitles.) The 'Ray on Tagore' season starts with this macabre ghost story.

Monday July 14

10.00 pm, Channel 4. **Commodities: White Gold, Black Market.** The first of a new series of six programmes devoted to six of the massive tea, sugar and coffee industries on the world economy and world history. The programme looks at, for example, the European invasion of tea production in China, and coffee production in Ethiopia. Multinationals made their fortunes at the expense of the producer nations, creating on their way... a world economy which will need more than Sport Aid and Live Aid to

deal with the crisis

Wednesday July 16

10.00 pm, Channel 4. **The Bad Sleep Well. 1960.** Channel 4 continues its season of films by Akira Kurosawa, with this powerful contemporary story of graft and corruption in high places. Kurosawa said of it, 'I wanted to make a film of social significance. At last, I decided to do something about corruption, because it has always seemed to me that graft, bribery, etc, of a public level are among the worst crimes possible. These people hide behind the facade of some great organization and no one ever knows how dreadful they are. Exposing them, I believed, was a socially significant act.' Big business is seen to be a modern reflection of the tyrannical power of the mediaeval war lords.

Saturday July 12 1986. Newsdesk 01-720 2000



THE MARCH, after a successful rally, heads off down the Oxford Road towards Stockport

# SUPER SEND-OFF!

**Saturday July 5**  
Manchester to Stockport

**THE VIRAJ Mendis Defence Campaign march was ven a rousing send-off from Manchester by four movement organisations and individuals vovled in the fight against racism.**

**Speakers discussed how to continue the struggle against deportation, racism and fascism.**

Graham Stringer, leader of Manchester City Council, brought greetings from the Council and pledged to continue the fight against racism in the city.

Garnett Korler and Manda unda welcomed the march and spoke about their fight against deportation.

The Home Office are threatening to send Garnett back to South Africa — where he would be in great danger because of his opposition to the apartheid regime.

Kursad Kahrananoglu described the setting up of an anti-deportation working party.

There are a growing number of people in Manchester threatened with deportation.

No-one knows the actual number of deportations because the Home Office does not release figures.

After speaking, Glyn Ford, Euro-MP for Greater Manchester East, said he was organising a meeting on July 16 in Manchester Town Hall to launch 'SOS Racism' in the UK.

This organisation, under the leadership of Harlem Desire (president of SOS) had a march of a quarter of a million in Paris three weeks ago.

He said this 'broad based' organisation would take up the fight against deportation, racism and fascism.

It has many national sections on the continent. Scepticism was expressed

by a member of Anti-Fascist Action who is taking part in the march:

'Why are they setting this up when Anti-Fascist Action exists? Do they disagree with our method of direct action?'

'If they seriously want to oppose fascism they must confront it.'

John Owen brought fraternal greetings from the WRP and read out a letter of support from Stefan Bekier of the Polish Workers Opposition.

The letter said that attempted deportations and unemployment were also the reality of life for Polish exiles.

It also pointed out the danger facing Polish workers as the Jaruselski regime allowed increasing imperialist investment in Poland.

The march began at 2 pm, and made an energetic exit from Manchester.

It was met in Stockport by delegations from the Labour Party, Bangor UCATT branch, Anti-Apartheid supporters and the Peoples Band.

Anwar Ditta was a surprise speaker at the lively meeting in Stockport.

She outlined how she had struggled against this racist

state for over 6 years — and won the right to stay in Britain.

Rick Sumner spoke on behalf of the Justice for Mineworkers campaign.

He mentioned the links made with black workers

during the miners' strike, and the support the miners had gained from them.

He said this had helped to smash racist attitudes held by some miners prior to the strike.

**Sunday July 6**  
Stockport to Macclesfield

THIRTY people are now on the march all the way to London.

It arrived in Macclesfield in the afternoon to the tune of 'Viraj Mendis must stay.'

At the meeting that night, John Kelly from the local Labour Party wished the march well while June Plyman, Labour County Councillor, wished 'to fight the deep-rooted prejudices' by changing the immigration laws.

Cameron Mashadi, him-

**Tuesday July 8**  
Crewe to Stoke

TODAY produced the best results so far.

The district Labour Party and Community Relations Council met the march at Kidsgrove.

Stoke Council, which is dominated by Labour, provided the use of the Town Hall.

Jawed Siddiqi (CRC) explained how support was built for the march.

The initial contact came through the old Miners' Support Group, who then contacted the CRC, and they raised support in the Labour Party.

In a break from all the problems that arise on the march, such as punctured tyres, blistered feet, lack of sleep, hunger and so on,

self threatened with deportation, explained to the meeting the march is to show the racists and the Home Office that black people are here to stay.

'I came from Iran in 1980,' he said, 'and like Viraj my safety is threatened by deportation.'

The meeting decided that all those supporting the march, organisations and individuals, should send letters to the Home Office protesting at Viraj's deportation.

Viraj Mendis outlined how the Home Office dealt with him at last Thursday's final appeal in London.

The Home Office lawyer, eagerly watched by five other representatives of the Home Office, quoted 'Time' magazine in trying to prove that Sri Lanka is a peace-loving democracy.

Viraj replied that while the article was being written on June 24, 1,500 Tamils were moved from the north to the south and put in refugee camps.

Viraj said 'it was apparent that the Home Office had only contempt for me and my supporters.'

The Home Office will announce their decision on Viraj's appeal on July 17.

## THIS WEEK'S ROUTE

**SATURDAY JULY 12**  
Handsworth, 2.30 pm  
Booth Street Playground  
March to a Rally at Clock Tower  
Birmingham Centre

**SUNDAY JULY 13**  
Coventry  
March to Speakers Corner and Rally, 6.30 pm

**MONDAY JULY 14**  
Leicester  
Public Meeting, 7.00 pm  
Old Moat School, Melbourne Road  
Speakers from  
Women under Threat from Deportation  
Naya Javan, Red Star

**TUESDAY JULY 15**  
Rugby  
Rally in Town Centre 4.00 pm to 6.00 pm

**WEDNESDAY JULY 16**  
Northampton  
**THURSDAY JULY 17**  
New Bradwell, Milton Keynes  
Labour Hall, New Port Road,  
New Bradwell  
Meeting organised by  
the local Labour Party

**FRIDAY JULY 18**  
Bletchley  
Rally 1.00 pm  
Organised by the Asian Community

**SATURDAY JULY 19**  
Luton  
REST DAY

# MENDIS MUST STAY