

Workers Press

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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Congratulations to Dr Savage

TOWER HAMLETS HEALTH AUTHORITY last week recommended that Dr Wendy Savage should be reinstated after her fifteen months suspension now that charges of professional incompetence have been finally shown to be without foundation.

Workers Press congratulates all those who took part in the campaign against the suspen-

sion of Wendy Savage.

In this process they highlighted the inadequacies of the obstetric and gynaecological services and their failure to allow women to understand and choose different methods of maternity care.

An advisory group is to be set up in Tower Hamlets to consider how maternity services should be organised.

The disciplinary hearings have revealed irreconcilable differences between doctors on how women should be treated.

It now seems possible that Wendy Savage will be put in charge of the maternity unit at Mile End Hospital — but other plans are to close that unit and transfer all maternity facilities to the main London Hospital at Whitechapel.

Don't let TUC leaders off the hook

BUILD UP UNION SANCTIONS!

BLOCKADE THE APARTHEID STATE

TRADE UNIONISTS are entitled to ask after the meeting of the TUC General Council last week — Was the journey to South Africa really necessary?

The representatives of the South African trade unions who came to Britain and who described the repression of their members must be asking — Did the leaders of the British trade union really listen to us; are they completely deaf?

The General Council of the TUC met last Tuesday to hear Todd and Willis report on their visit — and then decided to mount a 'rolling vigil' outside Marlborough House next month during the Commonwealth leaders summit on South Africa!

What a proposal to shake the world!

While South African trade unionists are beaten, tortured and murdered, the leaders of millions of workers in Britain, leaders of one of the oldest and most powerful trade union movements in the world, continue appealing to anyone but themselves to do something about apartheid.

The real concern for the South African trade unionists was expressed in the lobby outside Congress House and not inside where the General Council was meeting.

Outside, trade unionists, most of whom were youth, shouted: 'Thatcher supports apartheid, the TUC itself must act.'

They demanded trade union sanctions.

The Pharisees of the TUC betray the African workers

BY BILL HUNTER

in refusing to act on that.

To declare as Ron Todd does that workers should perhaps take an hour off is a cop out.

In a recent programme on television, over 50 per cent of

'rolling vigil' and a discussion with heads of state who are worried lest the policies of the apartheid regime will mean a movement that sweeps away capitalism in South Africa.

The General Council must be condemned by trade un-

'Pool AEU's Europe call

THIS LIVERPOOL District Committee of the AEU calls on the Executive Council to organise through the TUC for a European Day of Action to demand the release of the imprisoned trade unionists in South Africa.

This action should be part of a concerted campaign for the introduction of sanctions against this brutal apartheid regime. We also call on our convenors and stewards to find out if their firms have any connections with South Africa and if so, to do their utmost to get these links severed.

workers interviewed at a GEC factory declared they would be prepared to take action against South Africa should their union call them.

If they were really concerned about the South African workers and their organisations, the trade union leaders would call their members to action and then fight to see the instructions were carried out.

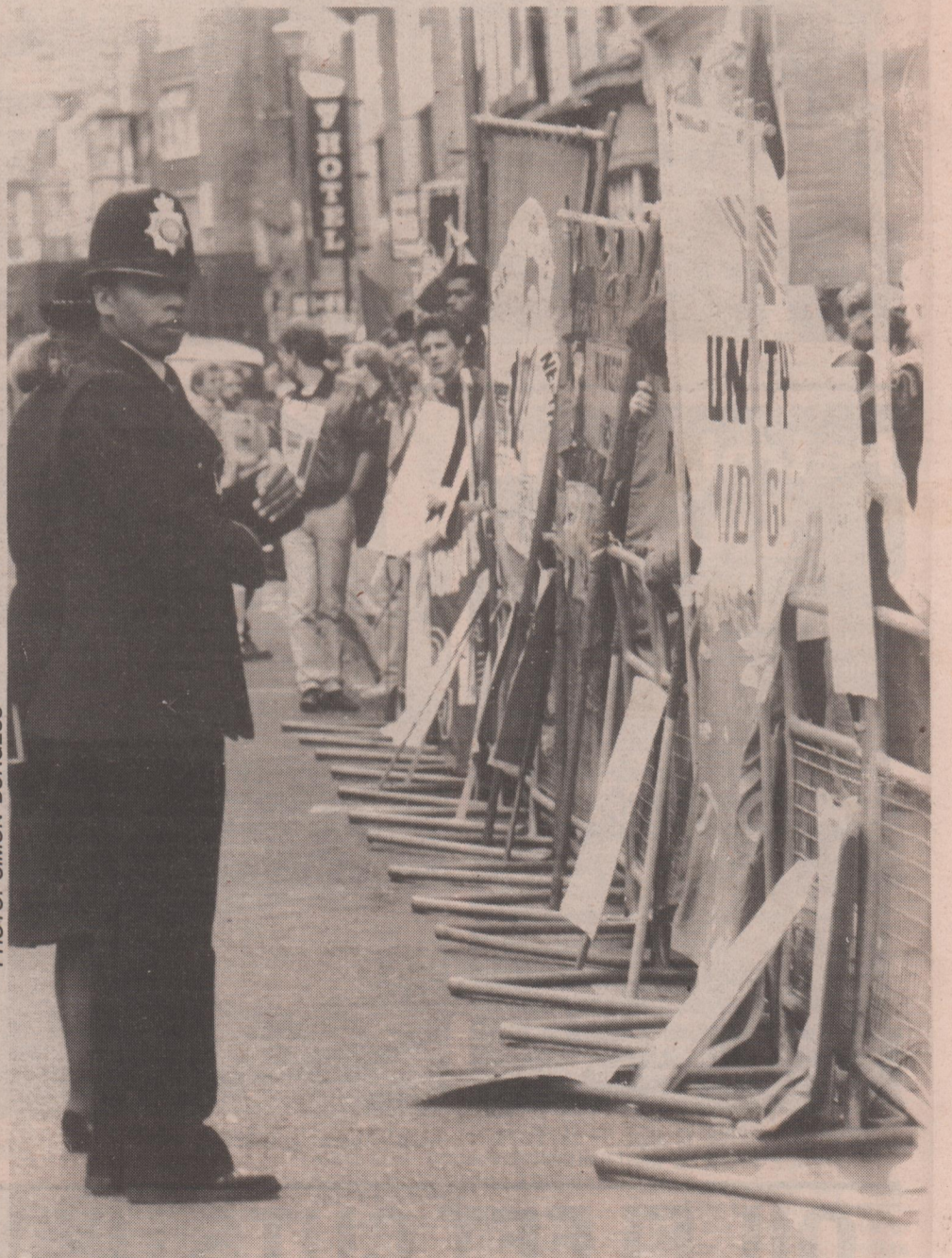
But all they propose is a

ionists throughout the country.

The Birmingham Trades Council has called for a massive lobby of the Trades Union Congress in September.

That now must be the focal point to compel the British workers organisations to act and strike decisive blows against a regime that oppresses and terrorises our brothers and sisters in Africa.

PHOTO: SIMON BURGESS



**POLITICAL
CRISIS
ERUPTS
IN
SOVIET
UNION**

**STORY
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ADVANCE NOTICE

PUBLIC MEETING
October 26 1986
30th Anniversary
of the
HUNGARIAN UPRISING

Speaker: Peter Fryer

Eyewitness to the events in Hungary
as correspondent for the Daily Worker
and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'

Manning Hall, University of London
Union,
Malet Street, London WC1

**TUC Lobby steps
up the campaign:
see Pages 8,9**

TYNESIDE SACKINGS CONFIRMED DESPITE NEW ORDERS

PRIVATISATION PIRACY!

SHIPYARD BOSSES ADMIT UNION JOB-CUTTING CLAIM

BRITISH SHIPBUILDERS are to press ahead with plans to axe more than one third of its workforce despite the £90 million order to build 24 passenger ferries for Denmark.

The 3,495 redundancies announced earlier in the year are to go ahead and some shipyards will close.

The two yards of North East Shipbuilders in Sunderland, where the 24 ferries are to be built, will lose 925 men over the next few months.

Management for the state-owned yards say the orders would keep the remaining 1,650 workforce employed for three years.

North East Shipbuilders Managing Director George Parker said last Tuesday that if they won further orders the increased workload could mean re-hiring 'for a short period' some of

the 925 about to lose their jobs.

This is the first time anyone in British Shipbuilders or the government have admitted that the workforce left after the proposed rundown might not be big enough to cope with future orders.

Labour and union leaders have repeatedly made this

BY HUGHIE NICOL

claim since British Shipbuilders announced the cutbacks two months ago.

Corporation and government spokesmen have insisted that the reduction in the workforce would not leave the industry too small to handle potential orders.

The streamlining and cutbacks in the nationalised shipbuilding industry can only be seen as part of the plans for future privatisation of 'going concerns'.

Meanwhile the shipbuild-



North-east shipbuilders came to London in the fight against sackings as recently as May this year

ing National Committee, with the full-time officials of the shipbuilding unions, have offered no lead in the fight against the closures and redundancies.

The only statement made to shop stewards is that if any yard does fight the redundancies, then they will get support from the national committee.

The shop stewards on Teesside at Smiths Dock have made no recommendation to fight the 1,300 threatened job losses.

The stewards were split when management announced that if any workers resisted the closure plan then severance and redundancies might be affected.

The only struggle against the pay-offs could well come from the Austin and Pickersgill yard on Wearside.

This yard has the largest order book in Europe with the Danish contract.

There, 425 redundancies are demanded, and only 160 'enquiries' about voluntary redundancy have been made.

Shop stewards at Austin and Pickersgill explain that of these 160 'volunteers', many have only asked to see how much they would be entitled to.

'The workforce is predominantly young here, as many of the older workers have left in earlier pay-offs. The crunch will come in September when management start to pick people', one shop steward told Workers Press.

On Tyneside, the workforce of the 'privatised' shipyards also plan to fight the pay-offs threatened.

The 2,500 hourly-paid skilled workers are already operating an overtime ban over the backdating of a pay rise and against company plans for compulsory overtime.

The unions are getting ballot papers ready to send out to the men on whether to take industrial action over their claim.

Of the 850 redundancies demanded over the next few months, just over 400 men have come forward volun-

tarily and of these again some have only enquired to see how much their entitlement would be.

The three Swan Hunter yards, Hebburn, Neptune and Wallsend closed down on Friday for the annual summer holidays, but there are fears that the Hebburn yard may not re-open.

The yard is currently on a 'care and maintenance' programme with 17 men employed, while the rest of the workforce have been transferred to the other two yards.

The management now plan to reduce this to 5 men and virtually mothball the yard, or even close it.

Two of the former Brigham and Cowen dry docks now owned by the privatised Tyne Ship Repair limited are to be filled in, allegedly to reclaim the land for future industrial use.

But local trade unionists see this move as ensuring that the docks will never again be used for ship repair, eradicating any possible future competition for the private owners.



Petrol bomb attack

FURNITURE and a metal hut used by strikers at the British Legion Club in Halewood, Liverpool, was destroyed by a petrol bomb last Sunday evening.

The seven women and one man employed by the club came out on strike against the sacking of the barman, and have been picketing for 17 weeks.

The strike is officially recognised by the T&GWU and supplies by union drivers have been stopped. They are being brought in by the chairman of the club committee and the club steward.

Ruth Comish, shop steward of the striking bar staff, said that the hut had been set on fire before. They saved the furniture, but the police had said they could do nothing.

Donations should be sent to: M Moore, c/o 156 Halewood Road, Liverpool 25.



PHOTO A DOLAN, © MTUCURC

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.

GARY BLACKMORE: 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody. (not a miner, but arrested during the course of the strike)

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. NF65 9XF.

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

OIL FLEET CUTS UK WAGES

Shell UK announced last week that its tanker fleet will be re-registered in the Isle of Man in a bid to save £12 million a year in operating costs, mainly savings on wages and conditions paid to National Union of Seamen members.

1,266 seamen on the Shell UK payroll are to be made redundant under the new company restructuring plan. Almost 1,000 of these are to be offered new jobs through

a crewing agency on the Isle of Man but at lower rates of pay and with poorer working conditions.

The seamen are also likely to lose negotiating rights through the NUS and the officers' union, NUMAST.

The recommendation from the NUS is that the seamen accept the new contracts because the terms offered by the crewing agency are the best that could be achieved in the present circumstances.

Under the new terms, tours of duty will be increased from four months to six months maximum.

Shell is following the increasing trend to flag-out and man their ships through crewing agencies.

BP recently made 1,700 British seamen redundant when it also flagged out.

The drop in oil prices and the threat this poses to profits of the oil companies and their carriers — this is what it drives them to attack

wages and conditions and to try and break up any trade union organisation or representation for seamen.

The NUS last month accepted a major setback when it conceded wage cuts and revised working conditions and paid home leave for seamen working on the North Sea offshore supply ships.

Despite a two-day strike, union leaders caved in and signed a new agreement.

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

AS COMMONWEALTH GAMES BECOME COMMON FARCE! STUC leaders oppose Apartheid ban



CAMPBELL CHRISTIE

OPPOSITION to the Commonwealth Games boycott has come from a strange quarter: the Scottish trade union and labour leadership.

Even Communist Party Stalinists are pleading for the show to go on.

As one African or Asian nation after another pulled out last week, a pathetic bleat came from the Scottish TUC and Labour Party calling for the Edinburgh games to go ahead unharmed.

Any working-class leader worth the ground they stood on would rejoice at the boycott, which has re-emphasised the international significance of the South African struggle.

If John Maclean were alive, he would organise a demonstration down Princes Street and send a message of congratulation to the

BY SIMON PIRANI

South African workers and those bourgeois national governments supporting them.

Unfortunately, STUC general secretary Campbell Christie is not John Maclean.

'We appeal to the nations who have withdrawn to reconsider', he wrote to the 'Glasgow Herald' and 'Scotsman'.

The boycott 'would be a great disappointment to the people of Scotland'.

Civic, religious, political, sporting and trade union leaders in Scotland have 'expressed their opposition to apartheid', wrote Christie.

The boycott 'would only hurt our friends', he claimed.

Christie's letter was also signed by Jim Boyak of the Campaign for a Scottish Assembly, Communist Par-

ty member Brian Filling who is secretary of Scottish Anti-Apartheid, Labour Strathclyde council leader Charles Gray and Labour, Liberal, SDP and SNP MPs.

Trade union activists in Stirling reacted to Christie's crawling approach with their own letter to the papers which stated: 'Should the people of Scotland not be prepared to sacrifice something in the campaign against the apartheid regime in South Africa?'

The letter, signed in a personal capacity by the office-bearers of Stirling Trades Council and activists in the NUM, NALGO, ASTMS, TGWU and SOGAT, went on: 'We have to disagree with the general secretary of the STUC that the people of Scotland would suffer more than Mrs Thatcher from a boycott.'

'But even if that was so, it would be a small price to pay.'

The letter, written 'to show that

not all the Scottish trade union and labour movement are opposed to the boycott', ended: 'It would be better if the secretary of the STUC and eminent persons of Scotland had been behind the real voice of the Commonwealth, its most oppressed sections.'

● The Scottish TUC General Council meets on Wednesday August 6th at 10:30 am, with the question of South Africa on the agenda.

A lobby calling for the STUC to take a lead in the campaign for trade union sanctions has been organised, following last Wednesday's highly-successful lobby of the British TUC in London.

The lobby starts at 9:30 am at the STUC offices in Woodlands Place, Glasgow.

It will be followed by a meeting in the AUEW offices, West Regent Street, at 11:00 am.

Make sure you are there!

FINE TOLPUDDLE TURNOUT BUT Maynard minces words on the miners

THIS YEAR marks the 152nd anniversary of the conviction and transportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

Six agricultural labourers who formed a union to defend themselves from their employer were convicted of taking part in an 'illegal oath' ceremony and were shipped off to Australia for seven years.

This vicious action by the ruling class provoked an enormous response from the working class which forced the return of the six after three years.

The fact that this Tory government has jailed trade unionists and banned unions at GCHQ should be cause for us to study how the return of the Tolpuddle Martyrs was effected.

The surroundings for this annual event make a pleasant change from the (de?)industrialised areas where mass trade union meetings are normally held.

The 5,000 or so strong procession started from one end of the village and marched with the band at the head until it reached the other side, when it then turned back on itself for the return journey.

This gave the marchers themselves a chance to look at all the other banners and marchers.

The rally and speeches were chaired by Oliver Trevett, a local farm workers leader, who told us that 1987 will be the 150th anniversary of the return of the Tolpuddle Martyrs.

An occasion of great importance in British trade union history — WRP members please note!

He passed on apologies for the absence of Willis and one could sense the discord in the crowd.

By RICHARD KNOTT AND JOHN DOE

If Willis had been there he would undoubtedly have had a rough ride.

First of the main speakers was Jack Boddy, National Secretary of the Agriculture and Allied Workers Trade Group.

He made a basically trade union speech outlining how farm workers are still the lowest paid group of workers in Britain.

He condemned Tory plans to abolish wages councils which would be an attempt to drive living standards down still further.

Era

The Tories were deliberately attempting to return society to the Victorian era, he said.

He also said it was crazy to reduce levels of production in this country when much of the world is facing starvation.

Surplus goods could be shipped out to feed and clothe the world's poorest people.

Next up was Joan Maynard, MP for Sheffield.

She attacked the Tories for their trade union legislation, especially the law on balloting and said that the next



Class action got the Tolpuddle trade union pioneers back from their sentences in Australia. It will take more than a Labour government to release the jailed miners

Labour government must repeal this legislation.

When Labour governments had come into opposition with the working class, she said, this always spelled disaster as was the case with Wilson/Callaghan.

It appears now, she continued, that we have Labour in opposition to the working class before being in power.

She made it clear that she opposed any form of industrial courts — but then hedged her bets on the issue of reinstating sacked miners.

She said that only those who had been cleared by the courts of any 'crime' should be guaranteed their jobs back by a Labour government, the other cases should only be reviewed by the government and the NUM.

Don't forget those miners still in jail, she said, but did not call for their unconditional release.

Her speech included a call for the working class to wrest economic power from the ruling class and she also called for the phasing out of nuclear power.

These correct issues which roused the crowd to give her the best reception, were, of course, all to be achieved under a Labour government.

Last on was Ken Gill who said nothing new and avoided answering a print-worker who shouted from the back, 'What about expelling the EEPTU?'

● Next year, WRP members must make a concerted effort to get a massive turnout at the 150th anniversary of the return of the Tolpuddle Martyrs.



Banners from all over the country came to this year's Tolpuddle Commemoration. This one is from Milton Keynes NUT

Sinn Fein's President barred from Canada

SINN FEIN President Gerry Adams has been excluded from Canada where he was to address the Irish-American organisations in Southern Ontario, Toronto and Vancouver.

Adam left Dublin on Sunday July 6 on his way to Canada.

At Schipol Airport in Amsterdam he was told by an official of Canadian Pacific Airways that they and KLM, the Dutch national airline, had been instructed by the Canadian immigration authorities not to carry him.

The airline representatives offered no explanation for the exclusion nor did the Canadian authorities make any contact with Adams directly.

In a statement issued that day, the Sinn Fein president

said that the Canadian government's actions were 'a further assault on the freedom of speech and information in North America'.

He condemned the collusion of the U.S. State Department, the British government and now the Canadian authorities.

Attempts

'This latest attempt to isolate and silence the Republican voice internationally will not go unchallenged', Adams said.

'I am reliably informed that the organisations that invited me on this tour will contest this censorship in the Canadian courts.'

● An Phoblacht/Republican News, July 17, 1986

No rights to care for disabled

SOME aspects of the appalling treatment meted out to disabled people by the Thatcher government are confirmed in a new report from the Royal College of Physicians.

The report, which concentrates specifically on medical matters, quotes evidence to prove that nine out of ten young people with spina bifida are in wheel chairs which are unsuitable or in need of repair.

Only one in eleven incontinent people receive any sort of supervised care.

The rest get no help at all although incontinence is often a reason for patients not being accepted into residential accommodation.

Services for the 63,000 amputees in England and Wales are said to be falling behind in terms of training of medical officers, supply of limbs and use of the latest technology.

BY BERNARD FRANKS

Many orthoses (special footwear, spinal supports, collars and trusses, etc) are old-fashioned and ill-fitting, while supply is slow and erratic.

Many disabled people remain in hospital because they are waiting for rehousing or home modifications or because 'community care' facilities are simply not available.

The report, however, studiously avoids drawing the necessary political conclusion or apportioning blame.

Enormous medical advances have been made in the last ten years.

Acute poliomyelitis has been wiped out, TB massively reduced, peptic ulcers are mainly treated without recourse to surgery and treatment of leukaemias and Hodgkins disease has taken major steps forward.

On the other hand, many disabling diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis, stroke, multiple sclerosis and Parkinson's disease remain incurable, affecting tens of thousands of people and causing years of great suffering.

The fact that people are living longer, including many with serious physical handicaps, means that the need for specialist care and treatment is growing, not declining.

Current estimates are that ten per cent of the population of England and Wales is physically disabled (excluding sensory and mental disorders).

Of these, a quarter are severely or very severely disabled.

The majority are over sixty-five years old but ten per cent are under forty-five.

Approximately 362,000 people have to use a wheel chair.

However, the College report finds that England and

Wales are almost alone among Western countries in having no speciality of physical medicine. Only a handful of consultants have a full-time commitment to rehabilitation.

The worst provision of all is to the 16 to 65-year-olds, who have become a deprived population.

The Royal College makes a series of recommendations such as the establishment of an effective medical disability service, of an incontinence service in every health district and special provision for disabled school leavers.

However, examining the current situation of the disabled in political terms and social, i.e. in the context of their declining incomes and

their worsening living standards, and the cuts in services on which they depend.

In contrast, a variety of organisations representing the interests of disabled people are listing the full horrors of the current onslaught on rights and conditions and are warning of the savage attack currently being prepared by the Tories proposed social security legislation.

Increasingly, disabled people themselves are demanding the right to speak for themselves and to have a deciding say in the treatment, provision and operation of the services on which they have to depend.

(Physical Disability in 1986 and Beyond: A report of the Royal College of Physicians.)

BROADWATER FARM CAMPAIGN



OVER A thousand people marched from the Broadwater Farm Estate last Sunday to an Anti-Racist Festival at Finsbury park.

The March was organised by the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign in opposition to the framing of youth arrested after the uprising which had been provoked by the police invasion

of the estate last year.

As the march made its way through Tottenham led by a loudspeaker truck, the speakers told their story of police harassment on Broadwater Farm.

One speaker warned police that residents would not sit idly by as their children were attacked and said that the police should think twice before

using plastic bullets or other weapons against the community.

When he asked the question of the marchers, 'Who are the murderers?' the reply thundered back, 'The police are the murderers.'

A large number of banners were carried on the march from trade unions and political groups.



LONDON DOCKLANDS: PUBLIC MONEY FUNDS DEVELOPMENT BOOM

THE DEVELOPMENT BOOM in London's docklands engineered by the London Docklands Development Corporation has led to worsening conditions of depression and deprivation.

This is the conclusion of a survey of the boroughs of Newham, Tower Hamlets and Southwark reported in the July issue of Public Service Action.

In its first four years, the LDDC spent £205 million.

Of that, £84 million was used to buy land and prepare sites for private developers.

The Corporation now owns two thirds of possible development sites in the dockland area.

Their policy is to force out current occupiers and clear large sites which increase rapidly in value.

This means local councils cannot afford to buy land to build homes for rent, and the developers are the only ones who gain.

Less than 10 per cent of the 6,000 new homes that have been built are for rent, and the prices of houses and particularly river-front flats are astronomically high and rising.

Wapping warehouses converted into split-level homes with spiral staircases are a snip — at prices from £200,000 up to £345,000.

Meanwhile, according to Thames News reports, local estate agents have used false addresses to qualify for lower prices offered to local residents for the cheaper houses.

They are then able to sell them on the open market — with a massive mark-up which can be 20 per cent after only a few months.

Between 1979 and 1984, the number of homeless families in the three dockland boroughs doubled.

There are 25,000 families on the housing waiting list. Unemployment in the

three dockland boroughs is well over 15 per cent, with some employment exchange districts reporting figures of over 30 per cent.

The arrival of the property speculators has brought few jobs for local people.

The PSA reports that of 1,400 new jobs in the Enterprise Zone on the Isle of Dogs, only 28 went to local people.

The LDDC claims it has created 5,700 jobs, but fails to mention the 2,000 redundancies a year!

Murdoch's News International plant is the first of a new type of move into the area, of firms who want to take advantage of the new property in the area and simultaneously shed jobs.

The LDDC also cuts away the planning rights of the local authorities, often giving local councils no time to comment on proposals which affect them.

When they have objected, the LDDC has over-ruled them — or gets backing from the Department of the Environment itself.

The LDDC simply ignores local needs and the plans which the local councils are still legally obliged to draw up.

Childcare facilities in the area are totally inadequate, while transport plans are geared to commuters and not the communities, especially the women who have the greatest need for public transport.

The LDDC has spent money on environmental and community schemes to window-dress its real aim, which, as the PSA makes clear, is to make super-profits for the speculators.

Environment Secretary Nicholas Ridley has announced another eight development corporations will be set up along the same lines as the LDDC and the

Merseyside Development Corporation

● *Public Service Action: an Anti-privatisation Magazine for the Labour Movement is available from 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R 0AT, price 50p. Information on privatisation threats and the defence of public services should also be sent to that address. Telephone 01-253-3627.*



Tories' plans stir Day of Action

MONDAY WILL BE a day of action against the Tories' latest plans to increase the misery of the millions of claimants — unemployed, pensioners, single parents, the disabled and homeless.

The day of action follows the rushing through Parliament of the Social Security Act and the derisory annual increase in benefits which will give a pensioner couple a measly 65 pence a week extra, while single unemployed will only get an extra 30 pence a week.

One of the Tories' biggest attack is on the additional supplementary benefit payments, which many people need for heating, special diets, furniture and so on.

At present £300 million a year is paid out in over 4

million payments.

The Minister of State for Social Security, Tony Newton, last week used as an argument against keeping the payments the campaigns of local authorities to tell people what they are entitled

to, estimating that they were pushing up the rate of claims to £400 million.

Now discretionary benefits are to become loans, and everyone entitled to housing benefit will have to pay 20 per cent of their own rates — out of the money they should be spending on food, clothing and other essentials.

Thatcher's majority in the House of Commons arrogantly reversed the Lords decision that this was unacceptable.

£500 million is to be clawed back from housing benefit

altogether, and many households will get none.

The poverty trap is tightening for millions of families as child benefit rates fall way behind inflation, free school meals are axed, and Family Income Supplement becomes Family Credit.

Pound

For every extra pound earned over £40 a week, 60 pence will be taken away.

Wages are expected to fall as employers know their employees are getting family

credit in their wage packet.

The package of cuts and increases that pauperise claimants — who now amount to around 5 million families — has provoked an increasing resistance.

Monday's action will mobilise thousands and raise the question of what the Tories are doing, but it is clear that it will take more than demonstrations and appeals to Thatcher to establish the right of everyone to a decent living standard.

MP Harriet Harman, tireless stuntwoman for the Kincock campaign, hopes to

lure the Fleet Street cameras to witness her delivering a sack of peanuts to Thatcher.

But the main activities of the day will involve the people most affected by the Tories' savage moves.

Pensioners will present a postcard at 10 Downing Street.

At 1 pm, unemployed centres from all over London, together with pensioners groups and groups campaigning for benefits, will join with civil service unions in a picket of the DHSS Office at the Elephant and Castle in south London.

PRINTERS 'ALTERNATIVE' WEDDING

DOMINIC STARTS UCATT OFFICERS EXPENSES QUIZ

Dominic Hehir, a leading figure in the UCATT building union in the London area, has asked the union leadership for more information about expenses claims by senior officials.

UCATT's press office told Workers Press this week that the executive council had not yet had the opportunity to discuss it.

Hehir has written a letter dated July 7 and addressed to general secretary Albert Williams, which states:

Dear Sir and Brother,
I have partly checked the books at general office last week, and I find myself in the position that I require some further information relating to the checking I have already done.

Because a number of questions about the figures occur, I am formally requesting as a matter of urgency access to the time/expenses sheets and receipts for the following:

Bro. D. Crawford — 24th July to 30th July 1985. Delegation fees of £914.00, travel/fares of £1,002, plus car/petrol expenses of £93.90 — a total of £2,009.90.

Bro. J. Rodgers — 11th October 1985 to 5th November 1985 — delegation fees of £978.75, travel/fares of £492.00 and car/petrol payments of £78.00, giving a total, including miscellaneous payments of £153.85, of £1,702.60.

Bro. J. Henry — 9th July 1985 to 17th July 1985 — delegation fees of £346.75, travel/fares of £249.70, and car/petrol payments of £27.59, a total of £624.04.

Period

Also, Bro Henry for period 5th November 1985 to 27th November 1985, where there were payments of £688.77 for delegation fees, travel/ fares of £257.00 and car/petrol payments of £19.61 — a total of £965.38.

I would also like details relating to Bro. Williams, who between July 8th and 29th last year claimed a total of £811.12 made up of £435.00 delegation fees, £319.50

travel/fares and £56.62 car/petrol allowances. Also, I am interested in a miscellaneous payment of £369.00 relating to the period January 3rd to 7th this year to Bro. Williams.

It also appears that Mr E. P. Coslett was paid delegation fees of £650 and £655 respectively on 19th April and 19th August last year. What delegations, and under what rule, were these payments made?

Hotel

I also understand that a bill of £518.19 for accommodation at the Cora Hotel was paid around the period of the Cafe Royal party for Bro. Wood — and also that this celebration cost the union a — £2,666.00 bill.

Incidentally, why and under what rule was the retired general secretary Bro. Wood paid £50 to appear at an industrial tribunal as a witness for the union?

As I first raised the question of expenses of the EC in February I would appreciate your full co-operation in this matter, and would appreciate a response on the information I am seeking as soon as possible — preferably by the end of next week. Yours fraternally, Br. Dominic Hehir

On Thursday this week, the press office at UCATT headquarters said:

'Our executive council has not discussed the letter yet. Whether they will discuss it at the executive meeting next Tuesday, I don't know.'

'So there's nothing I can say from the union at the moment. Perhaps it will be referred to the union's solicitors.'

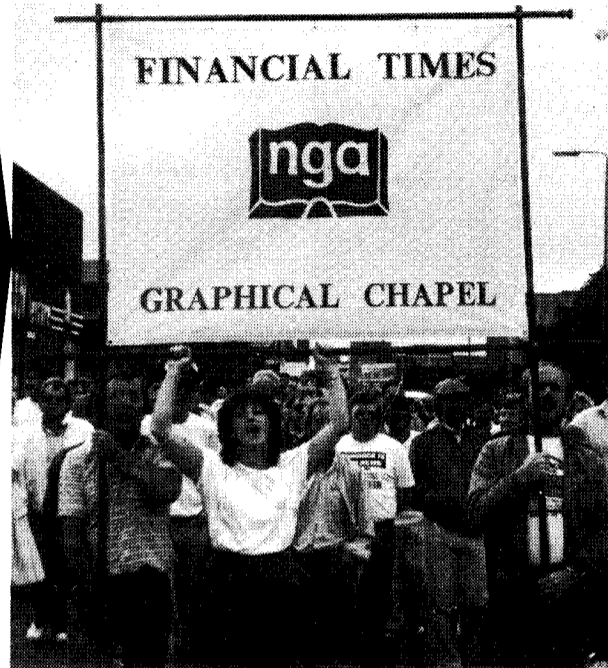


PHOTO: SIMON BURGESS

**SATURDAY
JULY 26
MARCH TO
WAPPING**

**Assemble
TOWER HILL
8 pm**

Organised by: SOGAT,
AUEW, NUJ NGA,



LAST WEDNESDAY'S 'Royal Wedding Alternative Show' attracted several thousand pickets and their families to Wapping.

Well Close Square was filled with stalls and in the afternoon the Ragged Trousered Cabaret put on a show.

It was a great success, particularly the SOGAT Singers who sang songs from the long march from Glasgow to Wapping.

That march ended on the now-famous night of May 3, when the police lost their cool and waded into the pickets.

Because of the real royal wedding jamboree, the police were noticeably thin on the ground last week and were caught out on a number of occasions as sacked printworkers

who had spontaneously organised themselves suddenly appeared from round the corner.

Several marches took place, not only along the Highway but also on the busy Commercial Road.

What the demonstrations and entertainment showed — and is nearly always expressed in chants by the pickets of 'We are not going away' — is the determination and strength of the sacked printworkers who are fighting to get their jobs back.

The attacks by the mounted police and the refusal of the union leadership to escalate the strike to the rest of Fleet Street will obviously not deprive these men and women of the will to win.

**Workers Revolutionary Party
PUBLIC MEETING**

'WHERE THE WRP STANDS'

Thursday August 21st, 7:30 pm

Central Library, Wellgate, Dundee

Speaker: Simon Pirani (WRP Central Committee)
Discussion on the WRP Manifesto 'A programme for the crisis'

**Crawley Branch WRP
Day Schools**

Sunday, July 27 'Why Marxists Study Philosophy' Dave Bruce
Sunday, August 17 'Historical Materialism' Bob Archer
Sunday, September 12 'Political Economy' Geoff Pilling

10.30am — 4.30pm

Ifield Community Centre, Ifield Drive, Crawley
Entrance: £1 per day
Creche and refreshments available

International News

CRISIS IN USSR

A SECRET DOCUMENT leaked to the Guardian this week reveals the continuation and intensification of a deep economic and political crisis in the Soviet Union.

Produced by a clandestine body called the Movement for Socialist Renewal (MSR), it demands sweeping political and economic changes in the country to prevent economic disaster and the danger of America overtaking Russia in the arms race.

Unless there is a sharp change in policy there will be 'a reverse of the present US-Soviet military parity in favour of the US and an intensification of the military threat to our country' it says.

MSR calls upon the Russian public to debate the issues in the Manifesto and to write to the Soviet press and media about its proposals.

It contains specific references to attempted mutinies in Soviet ships, to senior KGB defections as well as to the level of Soviet gold sales and debts to the west.

'The results of our analysis show that our country has reached a limit beyond which lies an insurmountable lag in economic and scientific-technical development behind the advanced industrial nations.'

'The Soviet Union lags 10 to 15 years behind the capitalist countries in its economic development, and this lag is growing.'

'The USSR is now on the path to becoming one of the underdeveloped nations' says the Manifesto.

It further claims that Soviet foreign debts to the west amounted to \$30 billion in 1983 and on the basis of current official plan figures claims that this figure will rise 600 per cent by the end of the century.

At this point the USSR will be using 75 per cent of its export earnings to service its foreign debt.

It protests that the standard of living of the Soviet people is one of the lowest in the industrialised world and that the 'living conditions of the rural population, especially those not living in the central states and collective farms, is reminiscent of the life of the Russian peasantry

BY GEOFF PILLING

in the early twentieth century.'

The Manifesto claims that food shortages are the cause of rising infant mortality levels and that the 'eternal hunt for the most basic goods and small everyday things leaves people neither the time nor the physical strength to satisfy their spiritual and cultural needs and is killing their human dignity.'

The Manifesto also calls for considerable political changes. It draws back from advocating the right of separate political parties outside the Communist Party.

'Aim'

But it demands 'different political organisations, all with the ultimate aim of building a Socialist society and the competition between them for the best programme of action in the interests of our ruling class — the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia — and for the right to represent their interests in the highest judicial and executive organs, their full responsibility to the people and control by the people.'

On the question of political change it goes on to say:

'The crisis of the economic system is closely connected to the political crisis, which concerns such fundamental constitutional principles of the Socialist state as the freedom of speech, press and assembly, of personal immunity, private correspondence and telephone calls and the freedom to join organisations.'

It is clear that in drafting the Manifesto those responsible have had access to

highly confidential economic data which suggests that this demand for reforms enjoys some support in the bureaucracy.

It may even be a product of a section of the state or party bureaucracy.

But its appearance reflects something far more profound than deep divisions in the bureaucracy, important though these are.

For these divisions are themselves a distorted reflection of the deepening antagonism between the working class and sections of the intellectuals on the one hand and Stalinist bureaucracy on the other.

The mounting economic crisis to which the document refers many times is ultimately an expression of the isolation of Soviet economy from world economy.

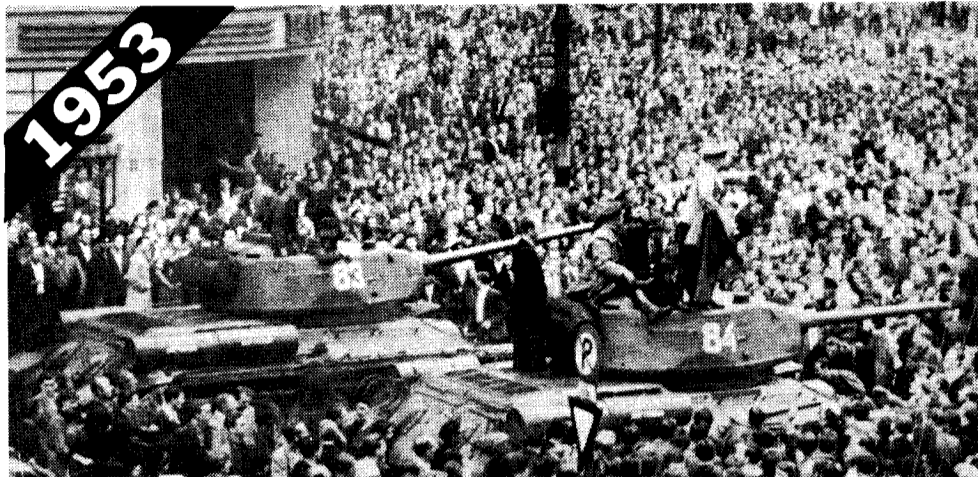
The backwardness of Soviet economy, its uneven and distorted development, its chronic inability to meet the basic needs of millions of workers, results from its isolation from the world division of labour.

In 1924 Stalin propounded the 'theory' of Socialism in One Country.

In the course of the bitter struggle against the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky this became the official policy of the parasitic, bureaucratic caste that came to dominate all Soviet economic and political life.

The corollary of the reformist theory that Socialism could be built apart from world economy and world politics was the proposition that the USSR would have to co-exist peacefully with imperialism.

It was this theory which expressed the transformation of the Stalinist



Workers face tanks in East Berlin



Hungarian workers demolish Stalin statue

bureaucracy, headed today by Gorbachev, into a counter-revolutionary instrument serving the needs of imperialism.

It was Trotsky and his followers alone who were able to provide a scientific analysis of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy and demonstrate that it was a parasitic caste, reflecting the pressures of imperialism on a workers state which had been brought into being by the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Only a political revolution

in which this bureaucratic caste was overthrown but the property relations of the USSR were preserved could provide a resolution of this crisis.

This conception, one of the cornerstones on which the Fourth International was established in 1938 retains all its vitality and validity today.

The crisis of Stalinism, coming to a head in a series of events stretching from the 1953 uprisings in eastern Germany and Poland

through the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the 1968 crisis in Czechoslovakia and not least the mass movement against Stalinism reflected in the Polish Solidarity movement today, is deeper than ever before.

This crisis poses a profound theoretical and political challenge for the Trotskyist movement: a great opportunity to overcome historical problems and build a world movement to overthrow capitalism and its bureaucratic servants.



Russian tanks on the streets of Prague



Lech Walesa talks to Polish workers

ANNOUNCING...

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PHILLY OPENS AGAIN

COMEDIAN W C Fields' old crack — 'I went to Philadelphia once — it was closed', — might have become a statement of fact if he'd lived to visit the US city this month.

Some 13,000 city workers have just returned to work after three weeks on strike demanding a 13 per cent pay rise and better health and pension rights.

The clerical and maintenance staffs, members of District Council 33, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) voted to return last Sunday, although their new contract had yet to be settled.

The previous day, striking sanitation workers went back under a court order and

the threat of mass sackings and began clearing 40,000 tons of rubbish that had piled up.

The previous week, AFSCME District Council 47, representing mainly professional employees, had agreed on a two-year contract calling for a ten per cent rise.

The clerical and mainte-

nance 2-1 vote to go back came after union officials reported 'off the record' that agreement had been reached on some issues and a settlement was near.

But the pay issue was not yet settled and the tough treatment used to get the sanitation workers back to work might have given cause for caution about the city authorities' intentions.

DATELINE:

PALESTINE

PRISONERS STAND UP TO 'IRON FIST'

**A Series of Reports by
Charlie Pottins
A WORKERS PRESS FEATURE**

NAZARETH: Chemistry student Omar Said came home a little late one evening from the library where he'd been revising for his exams.

The result was six months in prison with criminals. Omar's real 'crime' of course was that he is a Palestinian and politically conscious.

As an active member of Abn el Balad (Sons of the Village) and the Progressive movement, he was placed under a restriction order by the Israeli military commander for the Northern district.

He was forbidden to travel outside his village — Kafar Cana, in Galilee, — during the day, or to leave his home in the evening.

A second-year student at the University of the Negev in Beersheba, he could not leave his village to go to the university and for a time he was even refused permission to go to the university library in Haifa to revise.

When Omar did get permission to go to Haifa, he came home late one evening and that was enough to be judged in violation of the military restriction order and get him six months.

I heard about the case of Omar Said from Mansour Kardosh, of the Prisoners' Friends Association here, who says it is typical of many.

The rulers of Israel like to claim there are 'no political prisoners' in their State, the much-vaunted 'oasis of democracy' in the Middle East.

According to Mansour Kardosh, there are about 200 political prisoners, mostly Palestinians, from within the 'green line' pre-1967 war boundaries of Israel.

That is, Israeli citizens. (Incidentally, the maps issued by the Israeli Ministry of Tourism these days don't bother to show these borders at all!).

The number of prisoners from the occupied territories is a military secret! But it is known to run into thousands.

They range from resist-

ance fighters held for possessing arms through to people held for possessing banned literature.

They include aged people who have spent many years behind bars and youngsters of twelve arrested for throwing stones at military vehicles and thrown into crowded cells with violent criminals.

'Membership of a banned organisation is the most common offence for which people are arrested', a Prisoners' Friends Association member told me.

'A lawyer from Jenin was held without trial for three months, because they found in his office a PLO publication.'

There is no Israeli law on publications from outside.

But in the occupied territories there are many cases of arrest for possessing an 'illegal publication'.

Repressive

There, the authorities use a repressive cocktail of 'Emergency Law' inherited from the British mandate, Israeli law and Jordanian laws.

If the laws aren't enough, there's always the word of the military.

'If a military officer says such and such an organisation is illegal or dangerous, the judge can sentence', lawyer Aziz Shehadeh explained.

Once the Hebrew word 'bitachon' — security — is used by an officer, Israeli judges don't argue much.

A man from Um el Fahm went to the funeral of a relative in Jenin and in doing so broke a banning order.

He was tried in Nablus by



a military court and got three years imprisonment.

'Three High Court judges told me they sympathised with his case, but they could not intervene', Shehadeh said.

Under the Emergency Regulations of 1945 which the British Mandatory authorities introduced and the Israelis now use, there is no right of appeal.

And the Emergency powers include administrative detention, that is detention without trial or even charges, by military order.

This was incorporated into Israeli law in 1979.

For a time its use was dropped.

But in August 1985 it was revived by Labour Prime Minister Peres' government, as part of the 'Iron Fist' policy declared against the Palestinians.

'Conditions in Israeli prisons are among the worst in the world', Mansour Kardosh says.

The Prisoners' Friends Association tells of prisoners forced to take their meals on the cell floor, of prisoners

denied washing facilities or change of clothes, of diseases and refusal of medical treatment.

At Ashkelon jail the governor boasted of an improvement — a small table and two chairs provided for 16 prisoners sharing a cell.

At Juneid, the authorities refused to remove asbestos sheets covering the windows, keeping out daylight and clean air.

In Kfar Yona prison, the rusty iron bunkbeds were so bad the prisoners on the lower bunk were covered in dust and their lungs affected.

Overcrowding

In the same prison, fungal skin complaints spread by severe overcrowding and prisoners were denied treatment.

Prisoners are punished for the slightest violation of prison orders.

For small 'offences' this can mean being denied visits and forbidden reading matter.

More serious breaches of rules can mean long periods

in solitary, not to mention beatings and torture.

Gas has been used frequently to deal with any 'disturbances'.

On June 21, at Neve Tirze women's prison a fight broke out after a Jewish woman prisoner attacked a 16-year old Palestinian girl taking part in a ball game in the yard.

After separating the two groups, warders sprayed noxious organo-phosphorus gas in the Palestinian women's cells.

'The smell lasted for weeks afterwards', a lawyer who visited Neve Tirze said.

There were also reports of many youngsters requiring treatment in Ramallah prison hospital after the Neve Tirze incidents.

It is not uncommon for Jewish criminal prisoners to be incited by the 'screws' to attack political prisoners.

The Prisoners' Friends Association has protested to the authorities about youth being put in cells with hardened criminals, as happened in Damoun prison.

Some of the youngsters arrested in West Bank refugee camps are no more than 12 years old.

Palestinian prisoners have fought for their right to books and writing materials in jail.

Prisoners are not allowed to write more than one letter a month and writing paper is restricted.

At Neve Tirze it is counted a serious offence if you are caught trying to send out a letter not using the official form provided.

In June 1983, women in Neve Tirze went on strike to assert their political status.

This led to a battle when the authorities tried to confiscate all their reading matter.

Troops were called in, using tear gas and then another gas which caused skin burns.

The women continued

their strike until their demands were met, achieving their victory on March 1984 after going on hunger strike the day before.

They were particularly pleased by the date — International Women's Day.

Starting activity in 1979 and gaining legal recognition in 1984, the Nazareth-based Prisoners' Friends Association arranges legal help, provides welfare assistance for prisoners and their families and helps ex-prisoners, as well as campaigning publically on prison conditions and democratic rights.

It is one of a variety of organisations through which Palestinians within the Israeli state, as well as those under military occupation in the territories, are fighting for their democratic rights.

Workers, lawyers, journalists, doctors, women's groups are all involved.

Member

Although Palestinian-led — its chair is knesset member Mohammed Miari who recently met with PLO leader Yasser Arafat — the Prisoners' Friends Association also boasts of Jewish members and works with some Israeli Jewish lawyers on some cases.

At the Jerusalem home of one of these I met members of another group, the Committee Against the Iron Fist, which includes Israelis and Palestinians from the West Bank and has organised joint demonstrations.

During my visit I heard varied political outlooks expressed and keen discussion on strategies and tactics.

But all the Palestinians I met, within the state or in the occupied areas, appeared unanimous on one point — that the fight for democratic rights and equality could not be separated from the fight for a Palestinian state.



TRADE UNION SA

GENERAL COUNCIL LOBBY BUILDS CAMPAIGN

A LIVELY lobby of trade unionists demanded of TUC delegates to the General Council Meeting on Wednesday July 23 that they launch a campaign for immediate sanctions to blockade the Apartheid regime.

The lobby was inspired by the call for action of the British working class made at the NUM Conference in Tenby by two South African miners, Cyril Ramaphosa and James Motlatsi.

Motlatsi, President of the South African NUM, said: 'We are calling for international solidarity action all over the world.'

'We are calling on the working class of the world to take action. Workers in South Africa are starting to doubt the TUC for not taking revolutionary solidarity action.'

As delegates approached Congress House they were handed a leaflet which said:

'We must demand our leaders act on their fine words. We demand of the TUC leaders:

'That they launch a campaign now throughout the trade union movement for immediate workers' sanctions to blockade South Africa — block all goods going to

REPORT BY LYNN BEATON

and from South Africa, cut all financial and commercial links — stop the flights, post, telex, etc. (The only exceptions being links which aid the liberation movement).

'That they give immediate financial aid to the black trade unions and all the liberation movements for arms, medical aid and technical assistance.

'That they campaign for the adoption of jailed trade unionists by the British labour movement, to fight for their release and send financial aid to their families.

'That they immediately take the lead in calling for a

massive European-wide day of trade union solidarity and strike action in support of the gaoled South African trade unionists.

'That they demand the ICFTU approaches the WFTU and WCL to launch a united similar action throughout the world's trades unions.'

Cathryn O'Reilly, a Dunnes shopworker from Dublin who has been involved in direct action against South Africa for over a year said, 'I think the lobby is great. This is what the TUC needs.'

'It's no good having paper policy on South Africa collecting dust. They should be telling their members that they will support them if they take action.'

'They should be taking a lead now, making sure that their members have all the information available on South Africa. It's no good only dragging out their policies when they are entertaining visitors from the ANC.'

'They've been lagging now for 25 years. It's not enough to talk, we need action now.'

'Not only shopworkers, but all workers should start fighting. If we wait for Margaret Thatcher we'll be left waiting and waiting.'

Jim Bevan, an AEU Official from South Wales was optimistic. He said it was important to raise this issue of sanctions against South Africa as the only effective way of striking a blow for South African workers.

'I have spoken to all the delegates from my own union coming here today. They all support the call for sanctions whilst recognising that members may lose their jobs if sanctions are imposed.'

'We had a report last year assessing the number of jobs that could be lost; that is how serious my union is.'

'You can't be other than moved by the plight of workers no matter how hard you are and no matter if it causes hardship.'

Chris Brind from the Lesbian and Gays in Support of the Printworkers said,

'Our group want to see sanctions imposed now: we can't wait for Thatcher.'

Even if they did impose sanctions they wouldn't be in the class interest, they would work out some way to get around it.

'We have to rely on our own class to impose sanctions. If we build a big enough movement and get enough people calling for sanctions in the trade union movement, at branch meetings and so on, the TUC will be forced to act.'

'Our group was set up in support of the printworkers to make sure that people in lesbian and gay communities know what is happening at Wapping. We first started to organise in support of the miners during the strike.'

'We are setting up a Left Out Group in London which will be for lesbians and gays to organise around class issues and link up with a group already operating in Leicester.'

Tom Hosey, a NALGO member from Lambeth said, 'The trade union movement has a responsibility to fellow trade unionists in South Africa and I think any pressure

that the British TUC can exert in the form of sanctions by its own membership will be beneficial to workers in South Africa who have themselves made this call.

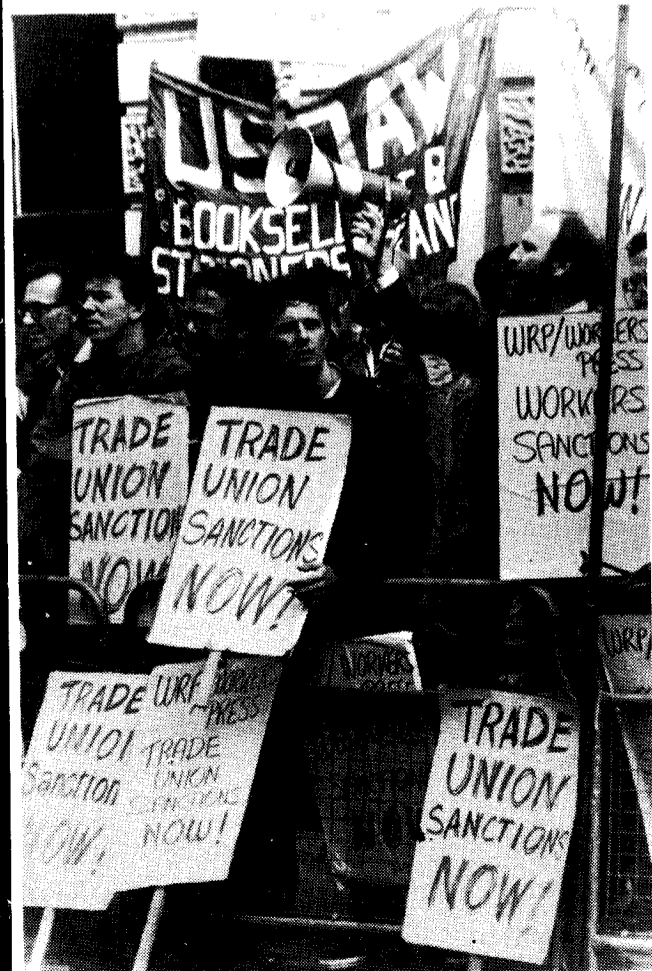
'Willis and Todd have seen for themselves first hand the real conditions in South Africa and not had to rely on filtered lies from South Africa through our media.'

'They surely must realise the seriousness of the situation and act immediately. I'm sure British unionists will respond to that call.'

The lobby of TUC delegates was supported by several trade union branches including Mid-Glamorgan District AEU, USDAW Booksellers, Newham NUT, Lambeth NALGO; Trades Councils including, Oxford, Merthyr Tydfil, Birmingham and political groups including the Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Power, International Communist Party, Labour Party Young Socialists, the Leninist supporters of Socialist Viewpoint and the International Group.



Jim Bevan (left) Mid Glamorgan AEU District Secretary with two striking Tudor Products workers



ACTIONS NOW!

It's up to trade unionists to take action says Dunnes striker Catherine O'Reilly

TRADE UNIONISTS active in the campaign for trade union action against the apartheid state spoke at a meeting of nearly 100 after the lobby of the TUC.

Andy Lavender from Portsmouth NUPE described the struggle in his branch to have South African food in hospitals blacked.

All the pressure of management was brought to bear against the principled stand of the hospital staff who refused to give South African food to hospital patients, drivers who refused to cross pickets lines and chefs who changed menus.

Every time South African goods were brought in by scab labour, i.e. management, they'd go on strike for the rest of the day.

The NUPE members realised their struggle was a small but very important stand.

Lavender urged all sections of workers to find ways of extending trade union action against South Africa.

Cathryn O'Reilly, one of the strikers from Dunnes stores in Dublin, described

their strike against the sale of South African goods.

In 1984 the Dunnes workers decided not to handle South African goods.

All workers supporting this policy were put on checkouts with a management rep standing behind them.

A woman came through with some South African fruit and the cashier told the woman that she couldn't handle South African fruit because of the union ban.

The customer was quite happy to take it back but the management rep intervened.

They ended up on strike and then they started to picket.

The Irish Republic has banned all South African



Catherine O'Reilly Dunnes striker

foodstuffs — they told management they'd go back to work but because the ban doesn't start until next year they wouldn't let them back.

'Thatcher won't do anything — it is up to trade unionists to take action,' O'Reilly concluded.

A discussion followed with



Andy Lavender Portsmouth NUPE

trade unionists talking about different ways to take action, whatever industry you are in.

The meeting passed a resolution to extend the campaign and calling for a lobby of the TUC in Brighton in September.

The only dissenting voice was a speaker from the Spartacist League who said that we shouldn't be calling for sanctions, and shouldn't be afraid to tell the blacks in South Africa they are wrong.

Cathryn O'Reilly expressed the mood of the meeting when she answered him — the South African blacks are calling for sanctions and who are we to disregard that call?

RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING

COSATU and SACTU have called for immediate trade union action in solidarity with South African workers and trade unionists.

The British trade union and labour movement must respond to this call, and we recognise that this means direct trade union action not just pressure on the Thatcher government.

This meeting on 23 July 1986 — following the lobby of the TUC General Council called by the Birmingham and Lambeth Trades Councils, and supported by many other other trade union organisations — calls for:

1. Full support for the lobby of the TUC in Brighton in September called by the Birmingham Trades Council. This lobby must demand trade union sanctions against the South African regime, particularly action against shipping, air links and telephone and communications, except those links which benefit the South African workers. It should call on the TUC to organise a day of strike action and demonstrations against the apartheid regime.

2. A campaign to be launched aimed at bringing together sponsors for the broad campaign for the lobby — MPs, trade union leaders, councillors, and local trades councils, trade union branches and shop stewards — a meeting of these sponsors to be called within two weeks to become the organising body of the campaign, which should work as closely as possible with the Anti-Apartheid trade union liaison committee.

3. Action against apartheid to be taken in workplaces — especially where the organising trade union has a policy to support such actions. In this connection we applaud the Dunnes shopworkers, Portsmouth NUPE and the Southampton dockers.

T&G BUILDERS JOIN THE FIGHT

T&GWU members in the building industry have received a call from their national secretary to apply sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa 'at the work place and market place'.

George Henderson, national secretary of the Building Construction and Civil Engineering Group within the T&GWU, calls the members 'to demonstrate solidarity with our South African sisters and brothers.'

Henderson's letter includes a pledge to send out further information and to contact all UK-based construction companies who have interests in South Africa.

'ARMS' CALL IS A FRAUD

OVER RECENT weeks, Workers Press has attacked the Healy group and News Line over its policies on South Africa.

We did this not to score points in a factional battle of words. We aimed to show in practice that this group will do nothing either to arm the African working class or to develop solidarity action in Britain.

This action is not only desperately needed by the South African masses: it would also be a blow against Thatcher and lead to the strengthening of the working class in Britain.

Furthermore, a forthright call was issued by the South African NUM delegates at the miners' conference at Tenby precisely for such action. The British working class is obliged to heed this call.

In particular we criticised the slogan of 'Arm the African workers', which subsequently became 'Collect funds for the ANC and PAC' and on July 22 became 'funds to assist the armed struggle'.

These changing formulations express the growing exposure of their utter fraudulence. But these are not the only shifting grounds.

When Workers Press first called for trade union sanctions in opposition to the general demand for Thatcher to implement sanctions, we were sneered at by the News Line.

No, they said, 'Arm the African

workers'. That was the question. Now however the News Line calls for the TUC to halt trade with South Africa.

The TUC sent Willis and Todd to South Africa. They learned that living conditions there were not fit for animals.

Having discovered this apparently previously unknown fact — in spite of the many visits over the last decade — they continue to plead for Thatcher to take action.

It would seem they might do better asking the Queen.

They propose the TUC should do nothing despite their own power to stop trade.

Their ability to perform this treachery to the South African trade unions is due in no small part to the support they receive from the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement and ANC in Britain.

This leadership, a coalition of petit bourgeois nationalists, liberals and Communist Party members, will do nothing to upset their cosy relationship with the TUC.

Their desire to keep their friends in high places, to wheel and deal in the corridors of the TUC, is more important than the fate of the South African masses who are

being rounded up, tortured and murdered while Willis does nothing.

And if anyone in their ranks gets a little impatient or speaks out of turn like City of London Anti-Apartheid group or Dave Kitson — Why! Just expel them.

In opposition to the 'grand alliance', last Wednesday's lobby of the TUC General Council calling for the TUC to impose sanctions themselves was a step in the right direction.

Everyone who seriously wants to take solidarity action with the South African working class must join in the campaign to continue the work of this lobby leading up to the September TUC and to get workplaces to boycott South African goods.

This will not be easy or quick but one thing is certain: call it a trade union boycott, blockade or trade union sanctions it will not be achieved by newspaper articles or resolutions in a few trades councils.

There will have to be a movement built of all those in the labour movement who support the call for trade union action.

Only such a broad movement will be able to break through the

rotten alliance at present whining at Thatcher's doorstep.

Today, with thousands joining the anti-apartheid movement and demanding action, with trade unionists following the lead of the Dunnes stores workers and boycotting South African goods, with Labour Councils blacking firms with South African connections — the basis for such a broad movement exists.

The News Line, however, made no mention of the lobby despite Healy's supporters voting for it at the Lambeth Trades Council.

On the lobby itself, two hours after it started and with the TUC General Council safely inside the building, two members of Healy's Central Committee arrived.

They placed three small pieces of cardboard with 'Arm the African workers' written on them against the railings — then moved down the pavement to sell their papers.

Was this a message to the TUC, to the lobby or to Taxi drivers?

It now becomes clearer that the arms slogan is a cover for abstinence from action in the mass movement on the trade union sanctions issue.

COMMENT

BY BOB MYERS

They don't want to talk to people organising a picket of a Sainsbury's store, because they declare the issue is 'guns'.

But even on this guns question they are no more serious than on the TUC trade embargo. It is just words.

They advertised a public meeting in Kilburn under the slogan 'Arm the African workers' and put a note on the door saying 'Sorry, cancelled due to illness.'

Without the development of a Bolshevik party in South Africa, neither guns nor trade blockades will achieve socialism or end apartheid.

But to move decisively the British trade unions, which can and must be done, to force the TUC to stop trade with South Africa, will not only weaken the South African ruling class but also strengthen those who are trying to establish the independence of the working class from the petit bourgeois nationalists and their 'two-stage' Stalinist allies.

The Workers Press and the WRP will work with all those in the labour movement who seek to force the TUC to act: our work will not just be writing newspaper articles and shouting slogans.

The Healyite slogans and actions are not just our own past, they demonstrate in the most extreme form many of the problems that have plagued the Marxist movement in Britain since its earliest days.

'ORGANISING A MILITANT MINORITY'

THE STRUGGLE to preserve the independence of the trade unions from the state is a central issue for the working class today. In this contribution, **KEITH HASSELL** of Workers Power argues that 'a united front programme represents a bridge from today's consciousness to a struggle for power' and that 'the organisational form of that bridge is the rank and file movement'.

Arguing from that standpoint, Cde Hassell reviews the early history of the Minority Movement, its relationship with the Communist Party and the role of the Comintern in its formation.

A second and final instalment of his article will appear in the next issue of Workers Press. It is reprinted, with minor editing changes, from Workers Power issue 21.

Discussion is invited.

The depth of the capitalist crisis, in Britain and internationally, has spurred the bosses and the Tory government into a ruthless offensive against the working class.

The need to refurbish British capitalism has led them to savage the livelihoods of workers by means of wage cuts, drastic welfare spending cuts and massive unemployment.

The scale of the recession determines the scale of the offensive.

As both intensify, so the room for manoeuvre available to the trade union bureaucracy shrinks.

Their familiar recipe of class collaboration in exchange for piecemeal reforms becomes redundant.

The reforms they seek are utopian in a climate of severe economic crisis.

The Tories know this full well and, except in isolated cases, they are bent on a course of confrontation, not collaboration.

In these circumstances, the trade union leaders have two options.

Either they can embark on a resolute defence of working class interests or they can help the Tories by demobilising the struggles of the rank and file that inevitably break out as the capitalists launch their vicious attacks.

The very nature of the bureaucracy as a privileged caste, standing above the rank and file and depending for its privileges on the subordination of the rank and file to the interest of capital, make the former option impossible.

The idea that any section of the bureaucracy can be the guarantor of the working class's vital needs is the hopeless pipe dream of Stalinists and centrists.

In reality, the bureaucra-

cy have to opt for demobilising the rank and file — containing and betraying its struggles so that after the crisis the leaders will still be in the saddle.

But for workers not to fight back now, not to take action against the bosses' offensive and to allow the bureaucracy to keep control of the unions would be disastrous.

The grim prospect of a working class, cowed by the threat of unemployment, weakened in its organisations and existing at subsistence level, will prove inevitable unless a fightback by the rank and file can prevent it.

Rich

This was the lesson of the 1920's, a period rich in experiences of the class struggle.

In the years preceding the General Strike — a defeat for which the working class through the hungry Thirties paid dearly — the possibility of defeating the bureaucracy and the bosses existed.

Sections of the rank and file engaged in determined battles, often in the face of bitter opposition from their trade union leaders.

The history of these struggles is linked intimately to the history of the National Minority Movement (NMM), led by the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).

To give programmatic

direction to the nuclei of militants willing to take on Thatcher and the trade union leaders in today's class struggle, a close study of formation and degeneration of the NMM is indispensable.

At the height of its influence, it could claim to represent some 25 per cent of the organised British working class.

The early history of the NMM remains the only principled attempt undertaken by the British left to build a rank and file movement in the labour movement.

The national organisational basis of the NMM was not laid during the severest period of the post-first World War Crisis — 1921/22.

But during these years of retreat, the CPGB, helped enormously by the Communist International, assimilated the programme and tactics that enabled it to launch the NMM on a revolutionary basis in 1924.

After the World War, the British working class experienced the relative benefits of a post-war boom which lasted until the end of 1920.

During that same period, the British Communist Party was formed (April 1920) out of an agglomeration of small propaganda sects and the remnants of the shop stewards movement.

By the winter of 1920/21, the boom came to an abrupt halt.

The coal owners reacted to

A REVIEW OF THE 1920s MINORITY MOVEMENT



Miners' leaders in 1923: (left) Frank Hodges, (centre) Herbert Smith

that crisis of markets (which had only been temporarily offset after the war by the French occupation of the Ruhr coalfields in Germany) by a wage-cutting offensive.

The miners lockout of April 1921 produced a craven capitulation by the union leaders.

With this defeat inflicted upon the most militant section of the working class, a general retreat occurred throughout 1921 and 1922.

By the end of 1921, more than six million workers had suffered wage cuts which averaged eight per cent.

Engineers, dockers and textile workers all suffered major reverses.

Working class organisation was correspondingly weakened as two million workers (a quarter of the entire membership) flooded out of the trade unions.

The young CPGB was caught unprepared.

The bosses offensive found it incapable of launching a revolutionary defence.

Organisational federalism and a syndicalist approach to workers' struggles, both legacies of the CP's leaders recent past, proved useless in combating the disarray inside a working class reeling under the impact of an onslaught on their jobs and wages by the capitalist class.

'Watch Your Leaders', a correct slogan in itself, was raised by the CPGB but was not supported by any political strategy for the rank and file.

These harsh lessons were forcibly brought home to the CPGB during the Third Congress of the Communist International (CI) in 1921.

Through the next two years the CI, under the revolutionary guidance of Lenin and Trotsky, reformed the CPGB in the image of Bolshevism.

Small

By the end of 1923, it had purged it of its organisational flabbiness and armed it with a programmatic method capable of effecting principled mass work despite its small size.

The programme that emerged from the CI through its Third and Fourth Congresses was central to the growth of the CPGB and the NMM.

It elaborated on the recognition that the revolutionary tide that had swept Europe immediately after the War had subsided; that communists were minorities inside many working classes and that the bosses were on the offensive.

In such conditions a programme was needed which had at its heart:

'The struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for demands which, in their application, undermine

the power of the bourgeoisie, which organise the proletariat and which form the transition of proletarian dictatorship, even if certain groups of the masses have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.' (Report on Third Congress of the CI)

Such a programme puts the official leadership of the working class to the test and allows revolutionaries to win the confidence and leadership of the rank and file.

It is an active weapon against reformist traitors and at the same time a programme that meets workers' immediate needs.

But an agreement for joint action to reverse the key elements of the bosses' attacks must by no means obscure the strategic, and in the end decisive, differences that exist between reformists and revolutionaries.

The CI directive of December 1921 argued,

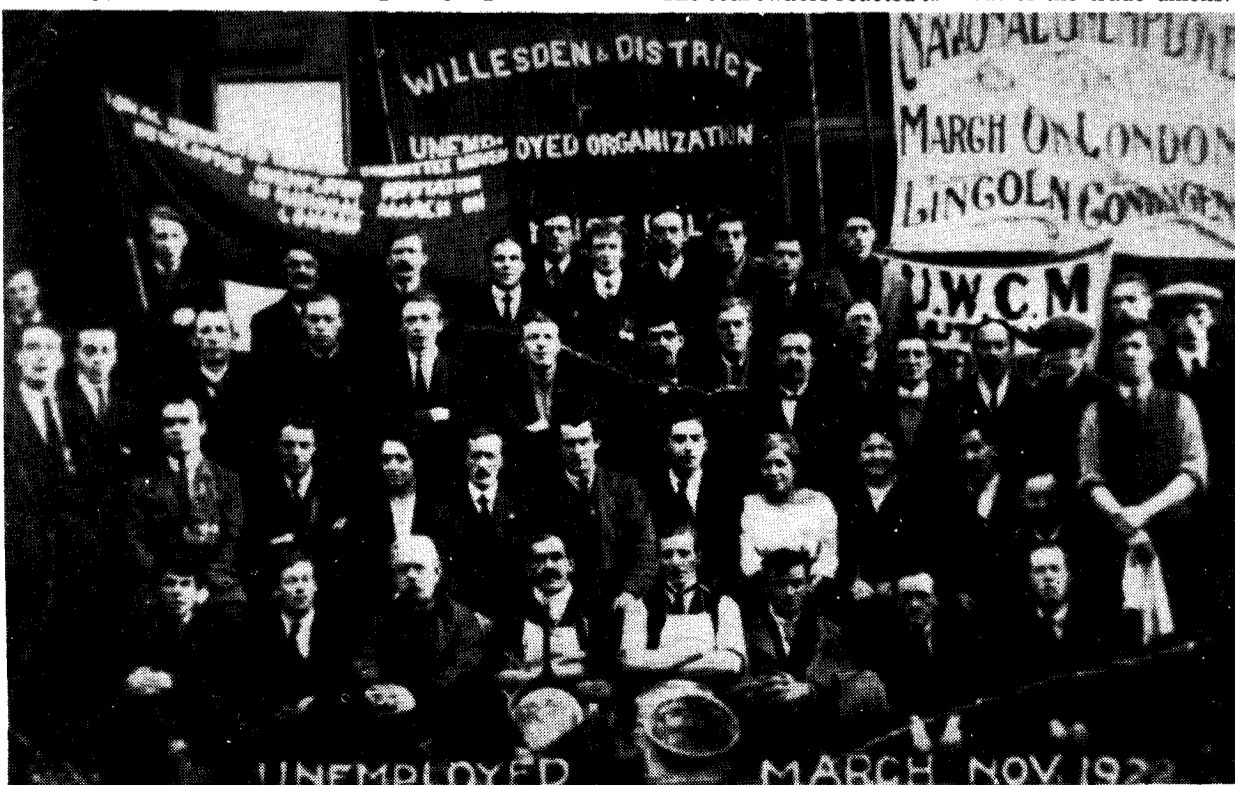
'While supporting the slogan of the greatest possible unity of all workers organisations in every practical action against the capitalist front, communists may in no circumstances desist from putting forward their views, which are the only consistent expression of the defence of the working class interests as a whole.' (J. Degras: 'Documents of the CI' Vol 1 p313).

Such a united front programme, then, represents a bridge from today's consciousness to a struggle for power under communist leadership.

The organisational form of the bridge in the trade unions is the rank and file movement.

The material basis for this organisation rests in two facts.

First, if the trade unions, in the epoch of capitalist decay, are going to be able effectively to defend their members' interests, then they have to be totally transformed.



National unemployed march in London, March 1922

Against the interests and the wishes of the bureaucrats, they have to be made into weapons of struggle for the overthrow of capitalist society.

Only the rank and file has a material interest in doing this.

Secondly, to achieve this the rank and file need to be politically independent of the trade union bureaucracy as a whole.

The material interests of the rank and file are not merely different to those of the bureaucracy, they are actually opposed to them.

Making this tactical method absolutely clear, the Fourth Congress of the CI advised the CPGB as follows:

'The aim must be to create a more numerous trade union opposition movement.

'Our aim must be that our communist groups should act as a point of crystallisation around which the opposition elements will concentrate.

'The aim must be to create, to marshal, to integrate the opposition forces, and the CP itself will grow concurrently with the growth of the opposition.' (Fourth Congress of the CI, Abridged Report p226-7).

Factors

Over the next 18 months and with considerable practical prodding by the CI agent in Britain, Borodin, the CPGB put this perspective into practice.

But a correct perspective alone cannot explain the success of the NMM.

Significant conjunctural factors played a key role in its growth.

The economic situation in Britain underwent a change at this time.

During the course of 1923 and 1924 there was a marked upturn.

Exports rose from a low of £719m in 1922 to £767m in 1923 and £801m in 1924.

Whereas unemployment had rocketed to 14 per cent in 1921, it had receded to 11.5 per cent and 9.7 per cent in 1923 and 1924 respectively.

Throughout the coalfields in particular, unemployment declined from 4.6 per cent in December 1922 to only 2.1 per cent four months later.

The overall effect of this upturn was to increase the confidence of the rank and file, to make them feel safe from victimisation and more determined to retrieve some of the ground lost in 1921-22.

Central to the impact of the NMM was the election of the Labour government in November 1923.

At one and the same time, it increased workers' expectations and their willingness to take on the bosses and it deepened the class collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy which attempted to halt the wave of strikes throughout 1924.

The resulting unofficial nature of the strike wave served to embolden the rank and file against their leadership, particularly in the

Miners Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) and the engineers union (AEU).

These unions had suffered most from the betrayals of the earlier period.

The early work of the MM also found itself intersecting with a rich tradition of rank and file organisation amongst the miners and metal workers.

Despite the ups and downs of the previous ten years, there was a definite continuity of ideas and personnel amongst the unofficial opposition such as Murphy, Gallacher and Pollitt.

In the MFGB there had been the 1911 syndicalist Charter, the 'Miners Next Step' and then later the South Wales based Unofficial Reform Committee.

Within the AEU, there was the rich, if politically limited, experience of the shop stewards struggles to draw upon (e.g. Sheffield and Clydeside Workers Committees).

Also important were the internal structures of the official unions themselves.

To some extent the bases laid down in the MFGB and AEU by the NMM and the rather limited gains made in the NUR can be explained by the differences of organisation.

Both the MFGB and the AEU had grown by a process of amalgamation.

These unions enshrined sectionalism and local separatism.

The MFGB in particular had a weak central executive, meeting monthly and possessing only two full-timers.

A high degree of decentralisation made it difficult to enforce bureaucratic control and victimise communist militants.

The metal workers could point to similar favourable circumstances.

On the other hand, the NUR was heavily autocratic, like the EETPU today.

Life

An executive of six full-time officers elected for life and with a power to dissolve branches they considered to be 'Prejudicial to the interests of the NUR' and a system of District Committees which were purely 'propagandist and consultative' both made MM progress a slower and more difficult struggle.

The South Wales coalfield was the first and strongest bastion of the NMM.

Under Borodin's guidance, a Miners' Minority Movement was built there.

Through 1923 it spread to Scotland, Durham and Lancashire.

At a conference in Sheffield, the National Mineworkers Minority Movement (NMMM) was formed.

In its heyday the NMMM had 200 groups.

By August 1925, 16 lodges were affiliated with a membership of 14,500.

Such was its influence that, by May 1926 in South Wales alone, there were 16



Early leaders of the CPGB outside 1925 trial of CP members: (left to right) Harry Pollitt, William Rust and Tom Wintringham

separate NMM pit papers.

Such was its political influence that it rallied some two fifths of the MFGB to reject the 1924 agreement with the coal owners even though that agreement represented a partial success.

During the course of 1924, Movements were formed amongst engineers and transport and building trades workers.

All were coalesced in August 1924 at the First Annual Conference of the National MM in Battersea Town Hall, at which some 270 delegates formally represented 200,000 workers.

Because the NMM was a CPGB initiative, the Party dominated the NMM leaderships at every level.

Its four officers were all members as were the leaders of the sections.

This was not the result of a bureaucratic manoeuvre, however.

It flowed from the CP's relentless fight for political leadership of the most militant sections of the rank and file.

Within the NMM, supreme authority rested with Conference which consisted of delegates from affiliated union branches, unemployed committees and trade councils (which were allowed two delegates).

Conference elected a National Executive which in turn, appointed a Working Bureau.

In the period of its revolutionary ascendancy the NMM prioritised the winning of affiliated bodies.

Individuals were only allowed 'associate membership' status and no power to decide policy.

Unlike the trade unions as a whole, the NMM was careful not to allow a privileged 'bureaucratic caste' to develop.

Full-timers, though indis-

pensable, were fully accountable and the General Secretary received a meagre £4.00 per week with even less for other full-timers.

A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

But it was not only the organisational strength and extensive trade union influence of the MM that was impressive.

Particularly instructive for revolutionaries seeking to build a new Minority Movement today was the programme and policies that the organisation was built upon.

The Minority Movement was not a gathering of rank and file militants exclusively concerned with 'trade union' issues and held together by a minimalist programme as the British SWP would have us believe.

The workers that it organised were not 'frightened off' from the movement by the avowed communism of its leaders and the references to the struggle for power in its policies.

On the contrary, they were won to the Movement in such large numbers precisely because the 'transitional' programme of the MM was self-evidently relevant to their needs.

The programme presented to the first NMM conference was sharp and principled.

Whilst not the programme of a revolutionary party (e.g. it had nothing in it about the dictatorship of the proletariat), it was an action programme whose logic and direction were revolutionary.

The NMM's 'Aims and Objects' stood unequivocally for the overthrow of capitalism.

Its nine-point Charter began with demands for improvements in wages, hours and conditions of work.

It advocated the formation

of a variety of organs of class struggle; the extension of trade unions themselves into unorganised sectors; an accountable and authoritative central leadership which had an obligation to lead workers as a class into combat.

Most importantly was the development of Factory Committees which could help overcome inter-union divisions, place power in the unions and workplaces into the hands of the rank and file and lay a firm basis for the struggle for workers control.

These power points were also seen as organs of struggle to enforce political demands on the Labour government.

First, that it should base itself on and make itself accountable to workers' industrial organisations.

Second, to repeal all anti-working class legislation, such as the Emergency Powers Act.

Such demands flowed from an understanding that the demands of the working class had to be fought for right up to the level of government.

As the position on the Labour government made clear:

'This is not a question outside trade unionism but the central question for trade unionism. . . on every side it is realised that trade unionism is not enough and that only a workers government can solve these problems.' (Report on the First NMM Conference, London 1924, p.5).

This tactic was aimed at putting the Labour government to the test of action in front of its supporters inside the working class.

Act in our interests, if not:

'the workers will not fail to recognise in such a refusal a complete betrayal of the best interests of the working class.' (Emergency Resolution on Labour Government passed at first NMM Conference).

The communists did not hide their belief that the Labour government would betray the working class but they recognised the need to place demands on it as a tactic for drawing reformist workers into joint struggle.

Significantly, the programme was shot through with working class internationalism.

Repudiation of the rapacious Dawes Plan, which aimed to solve the British bosses' problems on the backs of German workers, was demanded.

The programme also contained numerous proposals on international trade union unity.

This political action programme for the trade unions based itself on the recognition that in the course of resisting the immediate waves of the bosses' offensive the working class comes to recognise that it is capitalist private property and the capitalist state that are the major obstacles to the realisation of their demands.

At the sixth Congress of the CPGB in May 1924, this was made explicit:

'The CP has on all occasions assisted in the development of this movement and will continue to do so, but at the same time warns those active workers who participate in it, that only a revolutionary communist struggle can serve to achieve the object they have in view.'

Workers Revolutionary Party West of Scotland branch

LECTURE SERIES

MARXISM AND THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

Tuesday August 5th, 7:30 pm:

'Trotsky's Transitional Programme Today' — G. Pilling

Tuesday August 19th, 7:30 pm:

'Trotskyists, trades unions and the Labour Party' — W. Hunter

Tuesday September 2nd, 7:30 pm

'The theory of permanent revolution: its relevance today'

Tuesday September 16th, 7:30 pm:

'Ireland and the national question'

Tuesday September 30th, 7:30 pm:

'The Scottish working class and its history'

Tuesday October 14th, 7:30 pm:

'The family and the struggle for socialism'

All lectures at the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, except Tuesday August 19th, when the lecture is at Partick Burgh Halls, Burgh Hall Street, off Dumbarton Road, Partick.

Workers Revolutionary Party West of Scotland branch

DAY SCHOOL

'COMMUNISTS AND THE TRADE UNIONS'

Saturday August 16th, 10:30 am - 4:30 pm
City Halls, Candleriggs, Glasgow

Opened by: Dave Temple (WRP Central Committee, member of NUM Durham Mechanics)

Discussion on: Marxism and the unions . . . lessons of the miners' strike . . . the fight against the anti-union laws

DAY SCHOOL ON JOURNALISM

Saturday August 2

10am - 5pm

Young Socialist Centre
Lime Street, Byker,
Newcastle

Cost £1

Instruction on all aspects of
Journalism for working-class
newspapers

Tutors members of NUJ

MI5's agents on the rampage in the South of Ireland

Report by
Charlie Walsh

DUBLIN GOVERNMENT'S DUPLICITOUS ROLE

NEWS BROKE last week that MI5, an arm of the British secret service, is operating in the South of Ireland (the 26 counties) coupled with the news that telephone lines are being tapped in Co Louth close to the border.

It shows how British imperialism and its lackeys in the Dublin government carry out their dirty tricks against the Republican movement.

The allegations of MI5 activity in the South were made in an article in last Saturday's Daily Star.

Peter Prendergast, the Dublin government's press secretary, said 'It would be a matter of huge concern if it were true.'

'It would be a completely wrong thing to happen but we cannot categorically deny it.'

As if MI5 is going to inform their lap dogs in Dublin of their dirty tricks in the South!

The revelations have come as a blow and an embarrassment to the Fitzgerald coalition in Dublin which, prior to and after the so-called

Anglo-Irish agreement, has collaborated with every wish of the British government.

Republicans or socialists will hardly be surprised with the revelations.

During the past 18 years of the Irish struggle against imperialism, British intelligence services have received full co-operation from the Irish government whenever they wanted to work down south.

Prendergast's statement that the Irish government had been assured by the British government in the past that members of the British police do not work in the south — and that that included MI5 and the SAS —

is humbug.

He knows full well that the Crown forces — both uniform and plain clothes — have been found on numerous occasions south of the border: remember the Littlejohn saga and the Wyman affair of the 1970s.

The demand by independent Dail deputy Tony Gregory for the government in Dublin to 'come clean' on the issue must be supported by the labour and trade union movement.

He stressed that he did not think the government would come clean on the issue because: 'I'm convinced that the policy of this government is one of collaboration with

the British authorities'.

The Star article also stated that MI5 tried to silence John Stalker: 'The man who knew too much'.

Stalker was appointed in 1984 to investigate the RUC's 'Shoot to Kill' policy which resulted in the cold-blooded murder of five unarmed IRA men and 17-year-old youth Michael Tighe.

Suspended

Stalker was suspended several weeks ago pending an investigation into his alleged friendship with Kevin Taylor, purportedly a criminal in the Manchester area.

The Star claims that MI5 backed up the RUC in a bid to trap IRA suspects and operated south of the border at the same time.

At the centre of the controversy is a tape made by

MI5 agents in a barn where 17-year-old Michael Tighe was shot dead after innocently stumbling into a stake-out.

It was also claimed that MI5 panicked because of what was on the barn tapes apart from the shooting.

These tapes have mysteriously disappeared.

It is alleged that the tapes reveal details of at least three MI5 operations in the twenty six counties as far south as Killarney in Co Kerry.

It is also believed that British security chiefs fear that further probing would reveal how MI5 specialists were regularly sent from the north to Dublin to carry out covert operations — including burglaries of Libyans living in Dublin, considered by Britain to be 'terrorist' suspects.

The Garda (police) author-

ities in Dublin declined to comment on the allegations.

It has been alleged that 'cover-up' instructions came following a meeting of security chiefs in London earlier this month.

Stalker's investigation centred on three shoot-outs in late 1982 involving SAS-trained RUC undercover groups called Mobile Support Units.

Incidents

As Stalker began to dig deeper he realised that there may have been more 'shoot on sight' incidents than he previously believed.

The new reports claim that along with two RUC special branch men already suspended, a further two senior detectives face suspension while two other top RUC men have taken early retirement.

GUILDFORD FOUR CAMPAIGN BROADENS

Picket demands public enquiry

THE FREE the Guildford Four campaign's growing support from many different organisations was shown at a picket of the Home Office last Monday.

It was called when Home Secretary Douglas Hurd proposed an internal Home Office review into the case after the showing of the 'First Tuesday' documentary on television on July 1.

In the programme many of those interviewed, including Merlyn Rees, expressed concern that the four were innocent.

Rees said that they could have been the victims of the 'hysterical atmosphere' which had been deliberately created by the police and judiciary, aided and abetted by the press.

These admissions came as no surprise to Hurd, who called the review to take the heat out of the situation.

Alastair Logan, solicitor for three of the prisoners, has witnessed these reviews before and has called for a public enquiry into the case.

As Hurd is well aware, reviews of this kind invariably fail because of the Catch 22, 'New evidence clause.'

This enables the state to



prevent a proper airing of the beatings and frame-ups perpetrated after the arrests.

After the Guildford Four had been given life sentences, the 'Balcombe Street' men were arrested and were able to explain in detail how they were the ones who had carried out the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings.

When this new evidence was produced, the judiciary, knowing that they had imprisoned the wrong people, ignored it and ratified the original sentences.

As those on the picket explained, only a powerful campaign will win the release of the Guildford Four.

A letter was handed into

the home office by Theresa Cushman who is the aunt of Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four.

Those supporting the campaign so far are: Joan Maynard MP; Jeremy Corbyn MP; Reg Freeson MP; Alf Lomas Euro MP; Richard Balf Euro MP; Alan Clinton, Deputy leader of Islington Council; Islington IBRG; John McDonnell, Chief Policy Adviser to Camden Council; Ken Livingstone; Dr Maire O'Shea; The Guildford Four, Paul Hill, Gerard Conlon, Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson; The Hill, Conlon and Armstrong Families; Irish Solidarity Movement; Troops Out Movement; Irish Freedom Move-

ment; Workers Revolutionary Party; POW Campaign Committee, Birmingham and London; Justice Campaign for Irish Prisoners; RCG, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!; Brent Trades Council; Camden Trades Council; Dublin Bricklayers Union; Mid Glamorgan AEU District Committee; Community and Youth Workers Union, Camden branch; UCATT, Wembley branch; Charing Cross shop stewards committee; AEU Chelsea 14 CE.

A Fact Pack, price 50p, which includes a model resolution and a sponsorship form is available from the Free the Guildford Four Campaign, BM BOX 6944, London WC1N 3XX.

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.

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.

100TH DAY OF NON-STOP PICKET. Sunday July 27, 3 pm — 6 pm. Afternoon street theatre and special picket at South Africa House.

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.

NICARAGUA HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE AND PEACE — POSTER COMPETITION. New Nicaraguan News Agency invites international cartoonists and graphic artists to celebrate their seventh anniversary by entering an international poster competition. Details from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN.

'WOMEN MARCH AGAINST MALE VIOLENCE National demonstration, Saturday July 26, 1986. Assemble 12.00 noon at Hyde Park, march to Geraldine Mary Harmsworth Park, Lambeth Rd., SE1. For information contact 843 0578 or 574 5123. Organised by NOW

MONEY — A MARXIST VIEW guided tour of British Museum

exhibition. Meet Museum steps 4.30pm, Sunday August 1. Discussion at Duke of York Pub, York Way, 7.30pm. please note change of date.

DAY OF ACTION AGAINST SOCIAL SECURITY CUTS. Monday 28 July. 11 am, Pensioners Protest at Downing Street. 1 — 2.30 pm, Picket outside DHSS Office, Fleming House, next to Elephant and Castle underground station.

PICKET CROMWELL ROAD SAINSBURY'S against South African goods. Saturday July 26, 10.00am to 1.00pm. Organised by Earls Court A/A, phone 373 3726.

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. Please mark envelope clearly 'Listings'

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN HM Prison Long Lartin, S Littleton, Evesham Worcs, WR11 5TZ	year sentence, B32954. JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635 RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984. JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989. ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877. GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016. RICHARD GLENHOLMES: 10-year sentence, B32955. JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715. ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576. PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.	
PARKHURST HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX	EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637. HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636. HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638. PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603. STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663. NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225. TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
WAKEFIELD HM Prison Wakefield, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG	ANTHONY CLARKE: 14-year sentence, 726381. SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661. CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662. PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532. NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.
ALBANY HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS	VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064. SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.
GARTREE HM Prison Gartree, Leicestershire, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP	ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-
	FRANKLAND HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034. EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
	LEICESTER HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662. BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380. PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
	HULL HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humber-side MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087. ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.
	RECENTLY SENTENCED MARTINA ANDERSON ELLA O'DWYER GERRY McDONNELL PETER SHERRY PAT MCGEE INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE: CAROLE RICHARDSON: HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree, Market Harborough, Leics., LE16 2RP PAUL HILL: 462778. HM Prison Hull, Hedon Road, North Humber-side GERARD CONLON: HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs. JUDITH WARD, HUGH CALLAGHAN, JOHN WALKER, BILLY POWER, GERARD HUNTER, RICHARD McILKENNY, PADDY HILL. They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach British section, for which we thank them.

WORKERS PRESS REVIEWS A RATHER SPECIAL DISC MARIA TOLLY

Voices, Maria Tolly — Stropo Cow Records.

THIS album is a chronicle of the battles and struggles of our time.

True to the folk music tradition to which this record belongs, Maria Tolly has given the pain, the frustration, the courage and the strength of those involved in struggles a musical voice.

Music has always been a powerful part of every struggle bringing inspiration because it expresses more than the cold hard facts, it expresses the emotions which motivate action, when words only motivate complaint.

Songs play a direct role in struggle at mass gatherings when their singing proclaims and secures an emotional unity.

Sometimes the songs are battle cries, sometimes warnings and sometimes statements of solidarity with other struggles.

The other side of political song is its role as a herald of news, which excites the spirit while informing us. Through song the very depths of our being can identify with another struggle far away.

Maria Tolly's record brings us the experience of many struggles, most of the songs she has written herself. Each song is carefully researched to express the mood of its subjects.

The only two songs on the album not written by Maria place her own songs soundly in the folk genre. 'Song of the Exile' is a strong statement that political work doesn't end with exile written by Barry Gilder, a South African who left his homeland in 1976 and 'Tres Morillas' Maria introduces on her word sheet as 'the oldest song about imperialism that I have come across.'

It tells of the decimation of the Moorish people by Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand in the Iberian Peninsular.

Maria's own songs give us a range of insights into the lives of women in struggle and in the case of 'Troops Out' she delivers a cry for action.

She has obviously been deeply moved by the plight of Ulster, 'Maghaberry Jail' rages against the use of strip searching as a form of torture, 'Living a Nightmare' ponders how mothers cope in Northern Ireland with the dangers of the institutionalised violence faced by their kids as well as all the other dangers which constantly worry all mothers and 'Torn in Two' is the lament of Elizabeth Hill, mother of Paul Hill, having her son incarcerated in a foreign jail.

'A Model OAP' is light relief which is a spoof about the delights of life on the old age pension, and 'Waves' is a tribute to the



strength of struggle generally though for the composer the song was inspired by 'the strength and optimism' of 'my lesbian sisters and my Black and Asian friends'.

'Rosa' is a call to support Nicaragua and 'Mum's the Word' a celebration of the political awakening and assertion of miners wives.

'Right of Way' exposes the plight of the physically impaired and 'Hey Brothers' is a strong call from women unionists to their brother unionists for a voice in their own movement.

All of these songs have important messages to impart and Maria has clearly developed each one with care and commitment and her presentation catches the atmosphere of their birthplace.

Maria financed the record herself which is a further statement of her own commitment to the struggles she sings about.

I have heard Maria sing some of the songs from the record live and unfortunately I don't think the production of the record does her justice, but that is a problem all working-class balladeers have to live with. It is because of the power of their music, that they are denied access to the technological heights of the bourgeois music industry, and this industry has shaped our expectations.

In any case for me, folk music is for singing and not for listening to in the isolation of my own lounge room. I am therefore delighted to have access to a record full of new and moving songs which I can learn. I recommend this record to anyone who wants a testament to the struggles of this time and who enjoys the unity of singing about our struggles.

STALKERGATE

THE STALKER AFFAIR has gained its own momentum and, like Watergate, its tentacles are reaching higher and higher.

Speculation about links between the RUC, Orange Lodges, the Greater Manchester police force and the Masonic lodges have abounded but now, in a front-page expose, the Observer points a finger directly at the RUC Chief and at John Anderton, the Greater Manchester Police Chief.

It asserts that their necks are on the block over the cover-up — the destruction of the MI5 tapes which could have proved that RUC officers murdered in cold blood, the replacement of Stalker by Colin Sampson in what is now clearly revealed as a frame-up and the fact that Sampson, chief constable of

West Yorkshire, is to take over the RUC investigation as well as investigate Stalker himself.

The question now being posed is: 'Who ordered the cover-up?'

It is impossible to imagine that decisions on this level were not taken on a political basis at ministerial level, if not by Thatcher herself.

The higher placed the scapegoats, the greater the cover-up.

This affair is connected with the Anglo-Irish agreement.

As Thatcher moved to give a sop to Fitzgerald then Stalker was OK.

But now the RUC were assaulted from both sides as reactionary loyalists did battle with them to ensure their marginal privileges were maintained by pogroms on

the nationalist community.

With morale at its lowest ebb, with MI5 co-operating with Stalker and the 'shoot to kill' policy about to bring prosecutions of senior RUC officers, desperate measures were needed.


A meeting is reported to have taken place between senior RUC officers and MI5 in London where MI5 agreed to withdraw co-operation from Stalker.

● A footnote on Stalker.

He is one of the most vicious anti-IRA officers and was not at all concerned by the cold-blooded murder of IRA volunteers.

By his puritan morality, it was only the murder of an innocent youth, without warning, that awoke his bloodhound instincts.

Gerry Downing



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Republican marching band ● Phone 01-729 0414

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IRISH/ANTI-IMPERIALIST/POLITICAL GROUPS
Azania Solidarity Campaign
Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
Burnage Ward Labour Party
Chile Support Group
Hammersmith Miners' Support Group
Ireland's War Support Group
Irish in Britain Representation Group, Islington
Irish in Britain Representation Group, Manchester
Irish Prisoners of War, Albany Prison
Kashmir Revolutionary Party
The Leninist
Lewisham Action on Policing
Nottingham Irish Solidarity Group
Notts Miners' Forum
Nottingham Women Against Pit Closures
Red Youth, Bradford
Revolutionary Communist Party
Scottish Republican Bands Alliance
Solidarity Committee with Tigers of Tamil Eelam
Workers Against Racism
Workers Revolutionary Party (Workers' Press)

INDIVIDUALS
Shahid Ali, president Pakistan-Libya Friendship Association
Stefan Bekier, Revolutionary Workers' League of Poland
Ken Capstick, Yorkshire council delegate
NUM
Blanch Carpenter, chair Newcastle general hospital COHSE
Eddie Caughey
Mick Clapham, head industrial relations department Sheffield NUM
Kevin Coombes, former leader Merseyside county council
Kath Cripps, CND national council
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Oliver Donohue, vice chair Hammersmith North Labour Party
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LETTERS

The 1921 trade union debate: Was Trotsky 'remote from reality'?

I FEEL drawn to comment on Gerry Downing's reply to Phil Sharpe (Workers Press, July 12).

Comrade Downing has, in my opinion, blundered in his views on Trotsky and the Soviet trade unions.

The issue was concerned with Trotsky's proposal to subordinate the unions to the state, put forward in 1920 and 1921.

Comrade Downing urges us not to pass judgement with the benefit of hindsight on fighters.

Why not? If we exclude hindsight, we should stop studying history entirely.

We can only see further and more clearly than Lenin and Trotsky if we study their work and draw lessons from it.

Gerry tells us to regard living reality.

But the whole point about Trotsky's weakness in the trades unions debate was his bureaucratic remoteness from that reality.

Comrade Downing points out that Trotsky did have reasons for his proposals on the unions.

Yes he did. The difficulty was that Trotsky approached the problem in a limited and one-sided manner.

The strength of Lenin's position was that he attempted to account for all of the social relationships involved.

Trotsky's line in this debate contained a dangerous logic which it is important to grasp.

His key theme was that the unions should lose their independence and be subordinated to the state.

They would participate in management of the economy, but would not defend the rights of workers.

'The unions become the organizers of labour discipline'. (Terrorism and Communism).

Trotsky's position in this discussion was later taken up by the Stalinists.

They saw (and still see) the unions as primarily to help push up production and to provide certain services to workers (holiday homes, etc).

This similarity between Trotsky's proposals on 1920-21 and later Stalinism is not accidental; the same bureaucratic logic was at work.

Something that we in the WRP should consider about this debate of so long ago is that Trotsky's position of this period would have required a bureaucratic leadership within the Communist party.

The party leadership could only have imposed its policies on the unions on the condition that party members did not overthrow the policy.

Rank and file party members, close to the workers, would have had to be held in check.

If they became a majority at any point, the whole policy would have collapsed.

This point is clear today because we can see that the Stalinist regime was driven to destroy party democracy by the logic of its bureaucratic position.

A genuinely working class party could not live with an anti-worker policy.

Under Healy, the old WRP attempted to hold to a revolutionary perspective against rather than through the membership. It inevitably degenerated.

A central theme of Lenin's in this debate was that Soviet power would be threatened by a union/party split and that if such a split occurred it would be the party's fault (Collected Works, Vol. 32 pps 57-58).

What of the WRP's relations with the unions? Members heard at the last session of the 8th Congress that work

in the trades unions was carried out despite, not because of, the old Healyite leadership.

This was necessarily the case because the reality of workers' struggles conflicted with the bureaucracy in the party: a conflict which reached explosion point after the miners' strike.

The position of the WRP under Healy was closer to Trotsky's in the 1920-21 trades unions debate than to Lenin's.

The party insisted that members who were engaged in trade unions work tackled it in a bureaucratic manner.

We were unable to relate the actual demands of workers to the need for socialism via a programme of transitional demands.

Work degenerated into ultimatum and tail-ending, except where comrades pressed on despite the party leadership.

Trotsky, the great revolu-

tionary leader, quickly saw his error as soon as Lenin proposed the NEP.

He demonstrated this through the rest of his life in which he fought the Stalinist bureaucracy until his murder in Mexico.

He struggled against a bureaucratic approach in the working class movement continually in his work in leading the revolutionary movement after this episode.

On the 1920-21 period, it must be noted that the more Trotsky and his supporters pressed for a bureaucratic solution to the problems of the unions, the more this encouraged the moods in the unions for which the Workers' Opposition spoke.

Trotsky and Bukharin were wrong on methodological grounds.

They failed to grasp the relations between the state, the party and the unions.

Trotsky based his policy



LEON TROTSKY

on generalizations concerning the nature of work in a socialist society (see Terrorism and Communism).

He looked to what Russian society would need to reach socialism.

Trotsky's ideas were, however, remote from the actual situation in Russia.

His comments in 'My Life' understated the significance of the dispute but he pointed out that Lenin saw the political issues while he (Trotsky) was concerned with economic questions on the basis of War Communism.

The dispute suggests that methodology cannot be

separated from subject matter and on this occasion Trotsky was wrong on both.

While we should be careful of 'applying' bits of history dragged out of context on the basis of superficial similarities between different periods, we should be willing to learn from past mistakes.

Phil Sharpe's brief comments should not be held against him. It may be that Workers' Power pass academic judgements.

Phil Sharpe's points on the 1920-21 trades union debate don't prove it.

Geoff Barr



A MOSCOW street market after the NEP had legalised street trading

South Africa and the arms call

IN RESPONSE to Charlie Walsh's letter (Workers Press July 12), I feel that, in my opinion, the News Line is absolutely right in calling on the TUC to raise money for the black South African workers.

Yes, Cmde Walsh is correct, the TUC should also have raised money to arm the Irish working class.

Unlike Cmde Walsh, I would not specify the IRA — what about the INLA? — what about the Citizen Army of Connolly?

The British TUC has always, when the call is made, acted on behalf of the British bourgeoisie, which is why throughout the history of capitalism there has been a crisis of leadership in the working class.

Which is why we must

fight to replace that leadership — if I'm not wrong, that is the very reason for building a revolutionary party.

Part of the struggle to replace them must include exposing them for what they are.

I have no doubt that even if 'arming the South African black Workers' was overwhelmingly carried at this year's TUC, the General Council would still find some way to wiggle out of it.

The role of such bureaucrats is undubitably bound up with the continuation of the strength of British capitalism.

South Africa, being in the hands of the white majority, is a pillar of that strength.

As socialists, we all know we have a duty to do all we

can for workers in struggle, wherever they are.

Part of that duty is to arm them when they need arming.

A small party like ours would be incapable of providing much in this direction.

The power and size of the TUC would.

It is our duty to do all we can to force them to do it.

If they don't, then we have a duty to expose them for what they are.

I would be among the first to condemn News Line's attitude to our comrades in Ireland.

In fact it was the 'Irish question' and the WRP's attitude to it which prevented me for reapplying for membership until the atti-

tude had changed.

Nonetheless just because Healy's followers were wrong over that, does not make them wrong over everything.

The international working class should have armed the Irish workers, the Russian workers in 1917, the Palestinian workers etc.

It did not, these workers had to find another way to arm themselves.

Now that the South African black workers need arming, let us not make the same mistakes again.

The TUC, as the central body of the organised British working class, must raise money to arm the black South African workers.

Dave Dowsett
SW London Branch.

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'Londonderry' is imperialism's name!

WORKERS PRESS (July 5) carried a front page article on TUC members having talks with the military.

Congratulations to Workers Press for exposing yet another example of the anti-working class nature of the trade union leadership.

However I do have one criticism.

In your biographical outlines of the military personnel involved, you describe Brigadier J P Foley as a past commander of, I quote, 'The

3rd Battalion, The Royal Green Jackets in Londonderry'.

'Londonderry' is the British imperialist name for the town of Derry in the occupied six counties of Ireland.

It is ill-befitting for an organisation which, having rejected at last its previously reactionary and chauvinist attitude towards the revolutionary Irish Republican Movement, nevertheless continues to use British im-

posed names such as 'Londonderry'.

I trust future references to this town and its heroic Nationalist people will not insult them by linking Derry with the city which represents the heart of British imperialism — London.

Yours for Irish freedom,
Kirstin Crosbie

● The editor replies: Cde Crosbie is, of course, absolutely correct to point out the use of 'Londonderry' and may we

add that she is the first to write but is by no means the first to point out the mistake in the article in question.

May we also assure her that it was a sub-editing mistake: quite a few letters, articles, etc in recent months have called the town 'Londonderry' instead of its proper name, 'Derry'.

It has been our practice to correct this before publishing; this particular instance slipped through the net, for which we can only apologise.

REVIEWS

The treadmill of high-chemical farming

Gluttons for Punishment. By James Erlichman. Penguin Special, £2.95.

AGRICULTURE is the single biggest industry in Britain. James Erlichman's horrifying new book shows that the way it is organised means that poisonous quantities of drugs are building up in the food we eat.

He includes the worst cases — babies in Italy who developed grotesque sexual deformities because they had been eating veal baby food containing massive doses of female hormones and the year the Californian water melon crop had to be thrown away because it was contaminated by a pesticide which cannot legally be used on food crops.

But actually more worrying is the evidence of long-term build-up of smaller concentrations of chemicals.

Antibiotics encourage faster growth and farmers are often tempted to use them when the animals are not ill.

Now over half the antibiotics prescribed in Britain are given to cattle. Salmonella and other virulent bacteria

are becoming resistant to treatment.

Supermarkets do not monitor the chemicals on the vegetables and fruit which look so perfect on their shelves because they have been saturated with pesticides right up to the last possible moment, or, like apples, coated with preservatives so that one bad apple can't ruin a whole consignment in cold store.

There are no 'maximum residue limits' for the amount of pesticides, hormones or antibiotics which can be found in food in Britain.

This is not a book which tells the 'consumer' to watch what he buys, or which simply appeals for government regulatory bodies to be more thorough and more open in their proceedings — although it does make this demand.

It is rather an honest account of the state of agriculture and the pressures on farmers to get on the treadmill of high-chemical agriculture because they cannot otherwise achieve the growth or quality standards required by the big super-

markets which are their main customers.

'From the piglet's first oink to its last gasp Sainsbury has exercised control over its life — including which chemicals have been added to its diet.'

Hillsdown Holdings, who control Daylay eggs and Buxted chickens, is also Britain's biggest bacon-curer (Harris) and vegetable canner (Smedleys and Lockwoods).

Every year 160,000 piglets are put out to contract, with a specified range of feed and chemicals from Hillsdown's Nitrovit and Nutrikem divisions.

They believe in 'medicated meat manufacture' with growth-promoting antibiotics and occasionally prophylactic doses of antibiotics.

Hillsdown withdraw all drugs from table birds seven days before slaughter — which exceeds government regulations.

But overall in Britain, only 300 animal carcasses a year are tested for hormones and antibiotics.

Bridget Dixon

The life of Booker T...



Up From Slavery. By Booker T. Washington. Penguin Classics, £2.95.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON devoted his adult life to educating black Americans. He became in the process the most famous black man of his generation.

Washington was born a slave on a Virginia farm and in his autobiography he describes the first reactions of freed slaves.

They went away from their former masters' estates, sometimes only for a few days, just to prove that they could.

And they adopted new names because they did not

want to be known as 'Hatcher's John' or 'Hatcher's Susan' as they had been before.

His own name he chose for himself when he went to school and the teacher began to enroll the pupils.

He had only ever been called Booker and as his turn approached he felt he had to give two names.

'I calmly told him "Booker Washington," as if I had been called by that name all my life; and by that name I have since been known.'

He published this autobiography in 1901 and it reflects all the strengths and weaknesses of the black struggle at that time.

Washington writes of the need for industriousness and etiquette. He taught the young students at the Tuskegee Institute which he founded to do physical work as well as their academic work.

He writes confidently of the defeat of the Ku Klux Klan and anticipates the easy accomplishment of full equality.

It is impossible to read this book now without thinking about what has happened since Booker Washington lived, particularly the persistence of racism — and of the KKK and lynchings.

KL

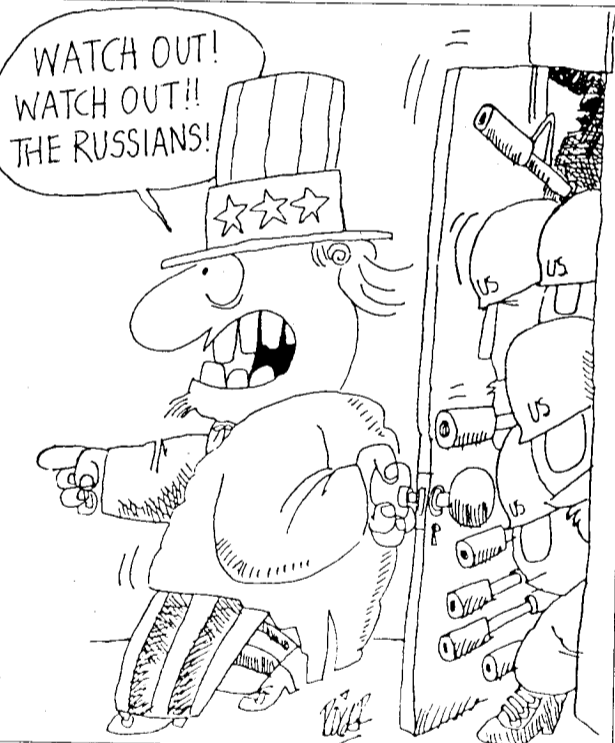
'I'm Only Doing This To Help You Calm Down'. A Collection of Cartoons by Roger Sanchez, Nicaragua's Leading Political Cartoonist. Published by Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, £2.95

Since 1979, Sanchez has satirised the enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution, both Americans (whom he depicts talking peace while evil-faced CIA men sneak up behind with gelignite) and bureaucrats and profiteers in Nicaragua itself.

Guardian cartoonist Steve Bell says in a doodled introduction: 'One of the risks of political cartooning is that, by casting your targets in a constant comic light, you end up promoting them, as harmless figures of fun.'

He says Sanchez does not do this: the simple lines of his drawings show exactly the seriousness of his subject matter.

WJB



TV Preview



BETTE DAVIS (right), HERBERT MARSHALL and TERESA WRIGHT in the Academy Award winning film *The Little Foxes* (1941); a savage story of the greed and corruption that destroys a family in the American deep south at the turn of the century. Channel 4, Sunday July 27, 10.15 pm

Saturday July 26

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **20/20 The Curative Treatment.** The treatment referred to is the corporate takeover of independent companies. Last year over £8,000 million changed hands, and only nine companies out of more than 130 bids maintained their independence. The programme examines the fate of Ever Ready batteries after it was swallowed up by Hanson Trust, one of the biggest takeover specialists in the City of London.

10.05 pm, BBC 2. **20/20 High Noon.** 1952. One of the classic Westerns in which Gary Cooper waits, deserted by all those he has fought for, to face a gang of revengeful killers arriving on the noon train.

Sunday July 27

2.30 pm, Channel 4. **Charaluta (The Lonely Wife).** This film continues the series of Ray on Tagore, and is set in a middle-class family in 1880s Bengal.

8.15 pm, Channel 4. **People to People: Please Don't Say We Are Wonderful.** An examination of the development of the Women Against Pit Closures movement since the end of the miners' strike. A powerful women's organisation has been

built, capitalising on the contacts made during the strike, and has expanded into far wider campaigns than simple fund-raising. At Darfield in South Yorkshire, the women fought for the support of local shopkeepers, and successfully prevented the closure of their pit. The programme examines the new confidence the women share after their long struggle during the strike. The transformation of these women has produced a new force in the British labour movement.

10.15 pm, Channel 4. **The Little Foxes.** 1941. Bette Davis stars in this story of greed, corruption and treachery which destroys a family living in the deep South in America at the turn of the century. The screenplay was written by Lillian Hellman, and shows Bette Davis at her evil best as she watches her husband die of a heart attack and refuses to give him his medicine.

Monday July 28

10.00 pm, Channel 4. **Commodities: Tea Fortunes.** This third of six programmes concerning the relationship between the simple commodities of tea, coffee and sugar and world economy and history, deals with the tea industry. It tells how the

British wrested the control of tea from the Chinese and Japanese, using brute force, and argues that three British companies still dominate world trade, exploiting the competition between producer countries to keep prices low.

Wednesday July 30

11.00 pm, Channel 4. **Drunken Angel.** 1948. Another rarely seen masterpiece by Kurosawa. The film stars Toshiro Mifune in the role that brought him to fame, and brilliantly captures the spirit of post-war Japan. A young hoodlum meets a doctor operating a clinic for the poor in war-ravaged 1945 Tokyo, and the two are drawn together.

Thursday July 31

4.15 pm, Channel 4. **The Frozen North.** 1922. The inimitable Buster Keaton lampoons the absurd conventions of the 1920s western genre.

Friday August 1

9.30 pm, BBC 2. **The Healing Arts: Doctors Yang, Liou and Zheng.** Filmed at the College of Traditional Medicine in China, this episode of the 'alternative medicine' series goes deeply into the roots of herbal medicine, and deals sharply with acupuncture.

Marchers meet the Met

Dave:

Jackie and I chained ourselves to the railings outside the House of Commons on Tuesday to protest at the deportation of Viraj Mendis.

It was only five or ten minutes before the pigs cut us off with bolt cutters.

We were charged with highway obstruction and our

banners and leaflets were confiscated.

After three and a half hours we were released.

We went to court in our 'Viraj Mendis must stay' t-shirts and pleaded not guilty. We have to return on August 6.

Liz:

At 12.40 pm, Nicky, Mark and I walked straight through into Thanet House, the Home Office building in the Strand where Viraj's appeal was heard.

The woman at reception asked what we wanted. We ignored her and ran up the stairs.

We carried on to the second floor where we knew rooms were empty.

We opened the window and hung out a banner for the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign and started shouting slogans and advertising the picket of the Home Office on Friday.

Ten minutes later security came up and asked us to leave.

We ignored them.

Ten minutes after that two police came and said they would record our protest if we left.

We thought we would stay.

There was a good response from people outside, and three photographers took pictures of us.

Police came back at 1.35 and said we should leave peacefully. We refused again.

At 1.50pm they came and physically removed us.

We were still shouting 'Viraj Mendis must stay!'

They took us outside and let us go. We were amazed but still shouting.

The police asked us to move.

We moved slowly away, then they grabbed us again saying they were arresting us for highway obstruction.

They didn't want to arrest us in Thanet House because it would cause attention to the campaign against immigration laws.

Chris:

I was stewarding the march on Tuesday. John and I had a long discussion with the police at the roadside at dinner time.

It was nice as pie.

We agreed all the roads to Ealing Town Hall.

Then we assembled the marchers to march into the road, and the police told us we couldn't march on the road.

When we argued that we had a right to march on the road, they said we didn't, and there were no police that could give us that permission.

After a long argument, I asked the marchers if they wanted to go on the pavement or on the street.

The marchers answered 'the street!' then we were arrested.

Kim:

We had agreed with the police to march on the road, but as soon as we started the police stopped us and said we were to march on the pavement.

After getting Viraj away, the marchers decided unanimously not to back down and to march on the road.

They arrested the three stewards right away, and then as people took over the banners they were arrested.

One black comrade was chased up the road and he escaped by jumping a fence and running across a park, with the policeman's tie.

Simone:

We argued that we had marched all the way from Manchester to London on the roads, and that it was a march and we were not going for a stroll on the pavement.

We started to march on the road, and the police started arresting marchers at the back.

The marchers at the front carried on, determined and militant, shouting and singing.

They then arrested Terry who had been prominent on the megaphone, and that meant that every policeman had made one arrest.

The marchers kept going.

The police no longer did traffic duty, and this endangered the march until the marchers took the job on themselves.

At the Town Hall, when the marchers went to take the lead banner in, the police stopped them and threatened them with arrest.

It was only when a councillor came out that we were able to get in with the banner for the civic reception.

We finally reached our destination although ten people had been arrested.

At the police station, they accepted a caution and were released three to four hours later.

They said to one of the comrades 'You've marched through Manchester, you've marched through Birmingham, and now you've reached London. End of march.'

It is typical that the Metropolitan police break up the march in London as we are marching against the racism of the British state.

LONDON WELCOME FOR MARCH

Friday 18 July

With a welcome donation of money and packed lunches from the Labour Party, the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign march set off from New Bradwell Labour Hall.

On the way to Luton, the marchers turned out for a street campaign in Dunstable.

Saturday 19 July

The day was spent campaigning in Luton for a public rally at the Town Hall.

Afterwards we all took part in a 'Marchers Revue' where a great deal of talent appeared, we were entertained by anyone who could sing, dance or play spoons.

Sunday 20 July

The main body of the march set out on the road from Luton to St Albans today, but a delegation went down to north London to take part in the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign march against police harassment.

This is something we have all had experience of, and we took the opportunity to link up with that campaign once again.

They sent a speaker to our send-off rally in Manchester.

In St Albans we stayed at the Labour Hall and had a public meeting at the Beehive Social Club.

The chairman of the local Anti-Apartheid group and trades council chairman, COHSE branch secretary Doug Landman, told us about the racism in the health service, and 'how qualifications in nursing are designed to prevent immigrants from ever getting better career prospects.'

Workers Revolutionary Party speaker Kevin Townsend brought fraternal greetings from the WRP and emphasised the need to abolish all immigration controls.

Kamron Mashadi, who is threatened with deportation to Iran, explained;

'I came from Iran as a student in 1980. Khomeini stopped my allowance — so I stopped studying.'

'Then my passport was stolen by the Home Office.'

City of London Anti-Apartheid member Simone Dewhurst told the meeting about the non-stop picket outside South Africa house, which had already been

92 days and 92 nights campaigning round the clock for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and the closure of the South African embassy.

'Six women were arrested on a 1000-strong picket to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 68th birthday — and Anti-Apartheid disowned them.'

Prospective Labour Party candidate Tony McWater aroused the anger of the meeting with this talk about 'supply and demand' via immigration controls.

Viraj Mendis explained the importance of the campaign.

'People have told me to drop my beliefs and tone down my activities — but this would be a weakness.'

'Immigration laws are based on the exploitation of the Third World — they're a necessity for imperialism. It is the conduct of my stay here in Britain that the Home Office disagree with.'

Viraj said that if he is deported he faces probable execution, due to the situation in Sri Lanka. 'Whether I win or lose the struggle has to be continued.'

Monday 21 July

We marched from St Albans to Watford to a rally in Charter Place shopping centre with speakers from local organisations against racism.

Tuesday 21 July

We left Watford Unemployed Centre and headed for Southall.

On arrival in London at Rayners Lane, the march was met by the Metropolitan Police who provoked the marchers after a stop-over by attempting to force us onto the pavement.

Resistance was followed by the arrest of ten leading members of the march, including all the stewards.

On arrival at Ealing, the police were then able to divert the march around the quiet secluded streets instead of letting us go down the high road.

This was an attempt to build a wall of silence around the question of the deportation of Viraj Mendis and mass deportations carried out by the Home Office.

Nevertheless the campaign had a meeting in Lancaster Road Community Centre with representatives of local black and Asian organisations as well as trade unionists.

MENDIS MUST STAY!



Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign march at the Broadwater Farm demonstration against police harassment

John:

The police said we couldn't march on the road, it would be impracticable.

He said, 'I just want to make sure the motorists can travel down the road without any obstruction.'

I said, 'I hope you are going to tell this to the royal family on Wednesday.'

Because I was stewarding the traffic, I was up ahead to allow the traffic to go through.

He told me not to stop the traffic, it was the police job.

He said 'I don't care what scum march on the road, I don't support any of them.' We had to sign a statement before we were allowed to phone a solicitor.

The march was more determined to carry on after the arrests.

Dave Reed:

Paul Boateng said within a month of Labour getting into power, he would invite Viraj to the House of Commons to speak on this issue.

A lot of work has been done on this march, only the WRP has marched with us all the way.

Vital lessons have got to be learned, about the attitude of the police before the Public Order Bill goes through.

We all think they are testing their powers before the law comes in.

The organisations have differences of opinion about how to expand the march and get more support.

I think the struggle against racism should not just be confined to raising support from black communities.

It should be pushed in the front of all workers' organisations, because racism is a device of the ruling class used to divide them from people from other countries.

It is the task of British workers, not just African workers, to smash apartheid.

All the left, and those who call themselves socialist, should sink their differences in the struggle against racism and deportations.

If we have to do it again, we will put all the other organisations on the spot, because they could get support from the trade unions and Labour Party to take up this issue.

Saturday July 26
12.00 am. March Assembles
Islington Town Hall Steps
To march to Red Lion Square, then
rally in Conway Hall.
Speakers, Songs, Bookstalls.

Thank the marchers who have campaigned — from Manchester to London to stop the deportation of Viraj Mendis.

Thank Viraj Mendis who campaigns for socialist policies on this issue to expose the racist nature of the British state.

DISCO

Supporters of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign are invited to — A Disco with food and drink
Hampden Community Centre
150, Ossulston Street
(nr. Camden Library NW1)
7.30 pm Saturday 26th July 1986
Nearest Tube station: Kings Cross and Euston