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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Ten years after his release —

Des Warren's TUC message
to the trade unions — page 3

SANCTIONS ON SA NOW!

ANOTHER
HORROR
KILLING IN
BELFAST
Report page 16

AS THIS YEAR'S TUC Congress considers the growing attacks by the Thatcher government on every aspect of trade union rights, there is one burning issue which the movement here and internationally must confront and act on now — South Africa.

Only last week, Mr Owen Biber, president of the US United Auto Workers, reported that he found in South Africa that the majority of detainees, now running at well over 1,000, were trade unionists.

Biber had gone to South Africa on behalf of the International Metalworkers Federation to visit Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, but was unable to contact him.

Mr Biber said, 'He is kept in a cell with lights on twenty-four hours a day and TV cameras monitoring him at all times. He has been denied basic necessities such as reading material'.

Most of those interrogated have been questioned on their trade union work and many have been tortured.

Union officials are in prison or in hiding, their offices empty — many of them gutted by fire bombs.

Yet still the working class of South Africa refuses to bow down before the apartheid slave labour system.

The State of Emergency has been met with continuous resistance. In Soweto last week civil war type conditions prevailed.

School children are refusing to go to classes with the

BY BOB MYERS

police and army patrolling their schools.

Demonstrations are indiscriminately fired on by the army. Scores have been shot and injured. 13 at least have died.

And that is in one township in one week.

Various motions for discussion at the TUC this week call for action by the unions.

Dunnes strikers showed the way but, while last year's TUC gave them sympathy and praise, it would have been better if less time had been spent in praising them and more in working out how to expand their type of action.

South African trade unionists have made it abundantly plain that they expect solidarity action from trade unionists here.

'Workers sanctions is a necessary act' says a letter from the South African Congress of Trade Unions to an AEU convenor which is

quoted on page 2 of this issue of Workers Press.

In San Francisco, 300 Longshoremen recently refused to touch South African cargo on a Dutch ship.

Many thousands of people were inspired by their action and rallied at the dock gates. The Council of Unions of South Africa sent them one of their solidarity awards, declaring:

'To win the decisive struggles there must be international solidarity.

'For that reason we honour those who have demonstrated the highest type of solidarity and sacrifice.

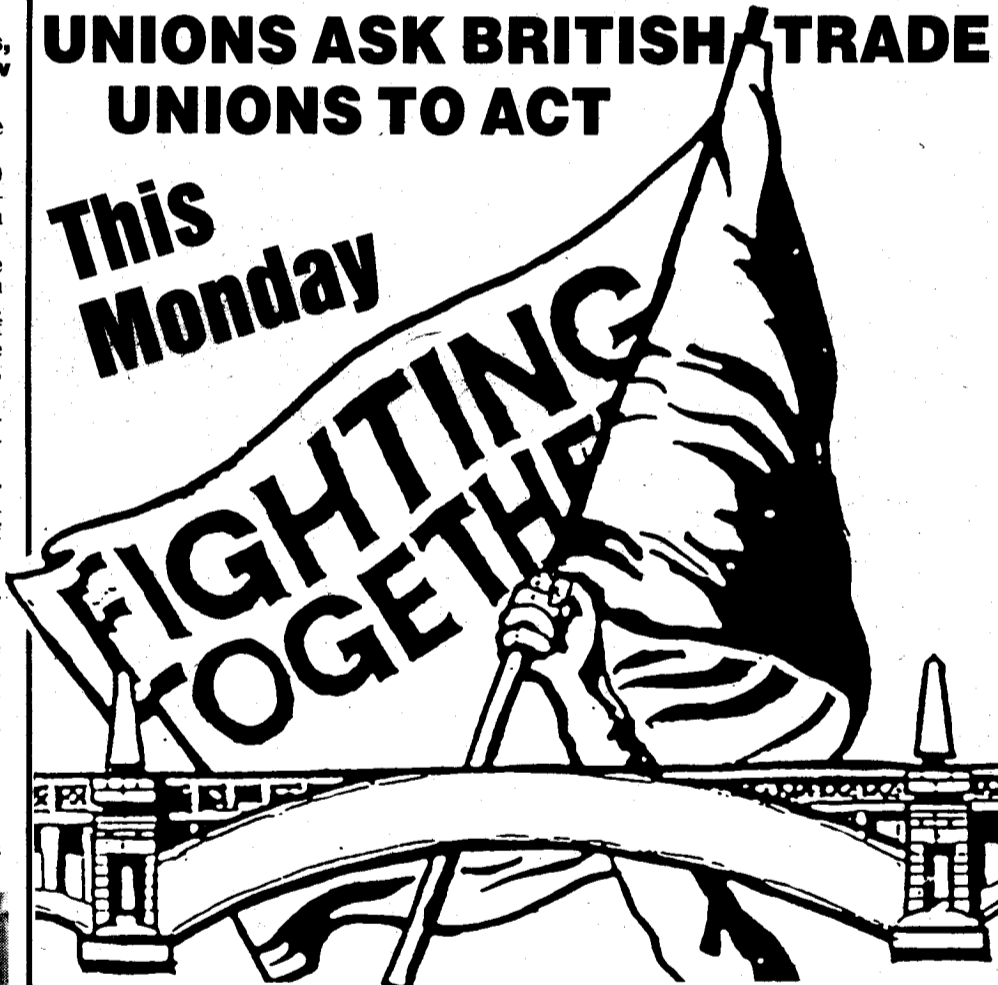
'This certificate is awarded together with our heartfelt thanks.'

How long will it be before the British Trade Union answer the call of their South African brothers and sisters, including ANC leader Oliver Tambo, for workers sanctions.

Cease the pleas to Thatcher. The power to halt trade lies in the hands of the trade union movement.

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE
UNIONS ASK BRITISH TRADE
UNIONS TO ACT

This
Monday



LOBBY THE TUC FOR TRADE
UNION SANCTIONS

Brighton

(Conference Centre)

Monday 1 September 8.30am

Sponsored by: Lambeth Trades Council, Chelsea
AUEW Charing Cross Hospital Shop Stewards Ctee

LAMBETH TRADES COUNCIL FRINGE MEETING

'Trade union sanctions against South Africa'
THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 4th, 7.30 pm
Royal Albion Hotel, Old Steyne, Brighton



SOGAT's National Executive Committee backed the printworkers' march from the Temple to Wapping last Wednesday.

But the good humour shown on the march by Fleet Street and other printers turned to anger when SOGAT general secretary Brenda Dean spoke at the end of the march, despite her frantic pledges that the News International workers would not be sold out.

Other speakers included SOGAT-

sponsored Labour MP Ron Leighton who promised the forthcoming TUC would deal with the EETPU electricians' union which has organised scabbing at the Wapping plant.

Manchester SOGAT branch secretary Gerry Foley promised a donation of £10,000 for the dispute fund and said: 'Once the working class are on the move, no one will stop them'.

Our picture shows Mr Justice Floggem with sidekick Otter Lockemup on the march.

Plastic bullets WILL come to Britain — report p 6&7

'The casualties of apartheid... have a right to prescribe remedy'

RON TODD, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, and chairman of the TUC International Committee, was a member of the recent joint trade union delegation to the South African trade unions.

The visit only lasted three days, but Todd returned deeply shocked by the experience.

He points out in his union's journal, the T&G Record:

'I have been involved over the years in protests and demonstrations against apartheid.

'I, like you, have witnessed the brutal scenes on our TV screens, but I can tell you honestly, I was not prepared for what I saw in Alexandra.'

The delegation visited the world of white South Africa which Todd describes:

Comforts

'A world of... salubrious homes, adjoining swimming pools, with all the comforts that modern life in the 1980s expects and demands.'

But, only 20 kilometres away, he visited the township of Alexandra:

'A community of unbelievable poverty and squalor comprised of tin huts and makeshift wooden shacks similar in size to the type we would see in the garden of

any home in Britain, but in this case required to shelter a black worker, his wife and his family.

'Water was provided out in the dirt roads by standpipe taps and the toilet areas could only have been witnessed in Britain during the era of Charles Dickens.'

It was during this visit to Alexandra that armed South African troops travelling in trucks known locally as 'hippos' were ordered to escort the delegation out.

In Soweto Todd met Thami Mcerwa's mother.

Thami works for the Council of Trade Unions in South Africa, and his mother had not seen or heard from him since June 17.

The last time she saw him was in the police station where she saw the police beating him.

Todd goes on: 'Having seen the courage and determination of our comrades in South Africa it is crystal clear to everyone (except maybe Mr Reagan and the British prime minister) that apartheid is doomed.

'That is in no doubt, the question merely is when and (while the long-term commitment of the British Trade Union Movement to the abolition of apartheid has never been in doubt) I believe we have to mount the greatest campaign in our history to ensure that we played our part in establishing a democratic multi-racist society in South Africa.'

Sanctions

Todd makes the point that 'nearly all trade unionists and other black working people we met were in favour of economic sanctions by the outside world against the South African government.

T&G leader Ron Todd reports his SA trip to union journal

'One Council of Unions in South Africa officer put it most eloquently:

'The casualties of the inhumanity of apartheid have the right to prescribe the remedy.'

Todd says: 'They know better than we do what further suffering effective sanctions will bring on them, but they do want sanctions which they see as hastening the end of apartheid.'

The question for Ron Todd, the TUC and all of us is: How are we going to answer this call?

The TUC must break all ties with national governments, organise trade union sanctions here, and launch a campaign throughout the international labour movement to respond to the demand from South African trade unionists.



RON TODD meets the children of Alexandra

THE SECRETARY of the Andalusian Farmworker Union, SOC, has been jailed because he led a deputation to present workers' demands to a local landowner.

Diego Canamero, only full-time officer of the struggling union, went onto the landowner's property with supporters last January.

Crawley AEU workers form SACTU links

WAGES OF African workers employed by the Low and Bonar Group are at starvation level, some as little as £39 a month.

Bill Holdsworth, AEU shop steward at Bonar Brentfords in Crawley, told Workers Press that this information had been received in a letter from the South African Congress of Trades Unions (SACTU).

This was after the Shop Stewards Committee had instigated an inquiry into the conditions of workers in the Low and Bonar Group of factories in South Africa.

The 150 workers at the Crawley factory — part of the Low and Bonar PLC group of Dundee — are 100 per cent organised by the AEU and EETPU.

Holdsworth said that after the South African Mineworkers' Union representative spoke at the NUM conference in Britain earlier this year, and called for action

by British trade unionists, the Bonar Brentford shop stewards decided they must take up the challenge.

First a letter was sent to the company asking for information concerning the terms and conditions of the South African employees of the Group.

The companies involved are: Bonar Industries, African Oilskin Industries and Bonar Covacor — all 100 per cent owned by the parent company; Bonar Staflex — 90 per cent owned; Simvac Plastics — 80 per cent owned, and Bonar Bodyguard, about which little is known.

The reply from the Group's directors stated that the terms and conditions of the African workers complied with EEC regulations and some workers could even save 15 per cent of their wages.

The shop stewards were not satisfied. They wrote to SACTU.

Holdsworth told us: 'We weren't surprised at the reply.

'Our committee had already decided to support the lobby of the TUC in Brighton on September 1 calling for trade union sanctions against apartheid, and this letter has only made us more determined to take up the fight.'

SACTU revealed that, contrary to the directors' statements, none of their holdings comply with the minimal provisions of the EEC; three

of their plants only recognise the pro-apartheid Trades Union Congress of South Africa affiliates; one is said to have trade union access which does not appear to be recognised, one has an industrial council, and there was no information about the other one.

All 332 African workers at African Oilskin and Bonar Covacor in South Africa receive wages below the poverty datum line calculation used by the EEC code — the Supplementary Living Level (SLL).

Another 330 are paid below the so-called Minimum Living Level — a calculation which stands at 50 per cent below the SLL.

SACTU points out that 'even compliance with this code has very little meaning

'The EEC code does not challenge in any way the criminal system of racist minority rule.'

SACTU also make it clear that 'the SLL is set at only half the average household's level of expenditure and does not cover the bare necessities of life for workers and their families as social beings.'

Holdsworth told us that the directors of Low and Bonar had said they intended to withdraw from South Africa.

In view of the exposure of their doubletalk on the conditions of their African employees, the shop stewards agreed with the comments by SACTU that it would be very surprising if they were really planning a withdrawal of their investments from South Africa.

would be making their inquiry public.

He said that they had heard that other shop stewards on the Crawley factory estate were making investigations into the South African connections of their employers.

The SACTU letter to the shop stewards calls upon them to pursue the question of the withdrawal of the company's investments in South Africa.

'If there are no clear and straight answers, industrial action in support for the demand of disinvestment and the implementation of workers' sanctions at your plant should be considered as a necessary act in support of fellow workers and trade unionists in South Africa.'

'There is no way that black workers earning starvation wages are "happy" about exploitation, hazardous working conditions and lack of union representation — given such conditions as they have to put up with daily, they expect your solidarity action and are prepared to pay the price of disinvestment.'

'The South African people cannot suffer any further than we already do the indignity of the barbaric apartheid system.'

'Low and Bonar is in South Africa to exploit the cheap labour that apartheid provides.'

SACTU ends their letter: An injury to one is an injury to all.

NUR LOBBY CALL

MARYLEBONE NUR (1002) Branch agreed at its August meeting to support the lobby of the TUC for sanctions against South Africa.

Branch secretary Granville Jones told Workers Press: 'In the past you couldn't get the

question of South Africa discussed in the trade union movement.

'There has been a change amongst the rank and file, and our branch has agreed to send our banner and a delegation to the lobby.'

in the South African context, where the majority of the workforce is super-exploited.

'The code is there simply to provide a veneer to their operations which rest on making super-profits from apartheid.

Copies of all the letters received from the directors and from SACTU as well as the letters sent by the shop stewards are now on display in the factory for every worker to read.

They have every intention of pursuing the matter, and

TRADES unionists and working-class organisations are being urged to protest to the Sri Lankan High Commission about the jail threat to three members of the Revolutionary Communist League.

The three — Wije Dias, B. Perera, and R. Perera — were seized by police on June 26th at a meeting called by the Revolutionary Communist League in Chilaw.

After a campaign of protests in Sri Lanka and other countries, they were released on bail but still face

charges under the Jayawardene regime's draconian state of emergency.

The Revolutionary Communist League, the Sri Lankan section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is among those socialist organisations which have been singled out for especially severe repression because of their support for the struggle for Tamil self-determination.

Letters protesting against their treatment, and demanding that charges are dropped, should be sent to the High Commission for Sri Lanka, 13 Hyde Park Gardens, London W2.

ISRAELI secret service officers have got two East Jerusalem Arab newspapers banned by the High Court.

Accepting that the daily 'Al Mithaq' and weekly 'Al-Ahd' threatened the security of the Zionist state, the court reversed a previous interim decision that the papers could resume publication.

The court session was in camera.

The papers had appealed against a closure order from the Ministry of the Interior earlier this month.

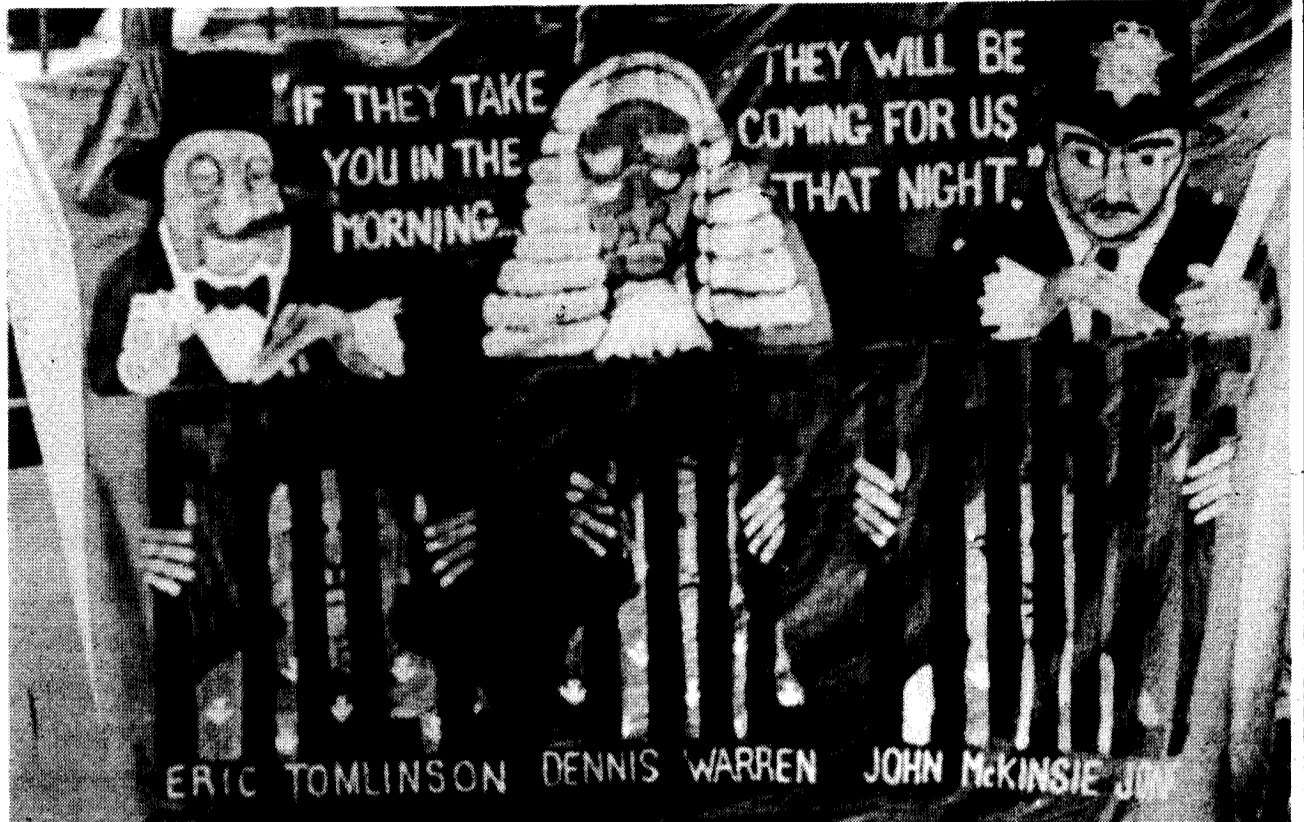
Both papers' editors denied any PFLP connection.

PUBLIC MEETINGS
30th Anniversary
of the
HUNGARIAN UPRISING
Speaker: **Peter Fryer**
correspondent for the
Daily Worker, eye-witness to the events in
Hungary and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'
London
October 26 1986
Manning Hall, University of London
Union,
Malet Street, London WC1
Glasgow
Sunday October 19, 300pm
Ingram Hotel, Ingram Street
Manchester
Tuesday October 21, 7.30pm
Basement Theatre, Manchester
Town Hall
St Peters Square

Release
Sri
Lankan
Trotskyists

Ten Years since Des Warren's release

A Message to the TUC from Des Warren



IF THEY take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night. . .

THEY'VE BEEN COMING FOR US EVER SINCE!

TEN YEARS AGO this month I was released from Leicester prison.

I had spent nearly two and a half years in ten prisons, with a total of eight months in solitary confinement.

I had been jailed as a result of a conspiracy by the building employers, the Tories and the state, following the first-ever national building workers' strike in 1972.

It is not yet fully realised, I think, how extensive was the scale of the state's attack on picketing in 1973.

When I was tried at Shrewsbury in October 1973, there were six of us in the dock, accused, amongst other 'crimes', of 'conspiracy to intimidate'.

But this was only one of many trials of building workers at that time.

1973 was the year when the state laid down an extensive barrage to lay the basis for its offensive to criminalise picketing.

Before the Shrewsbury Trial, there were no less than five trials of building pickets at Mold, in North Wales.

After our trial at Shrewsbury, which lasted almost three months, another eighteen pickets were tried in 1974.

Violence

The state was learning in these trials.

One of the major lessons for trade unionists to take on board is how it learned to create an atmosphere of violence, by provocation, as we have witnessed in the recent miners' strike.

We were accused of being violent men.

This slander was wholly manufactured by the press and the court.

I documented that in my book: 'The Key to my Cell'.

In 1974, a demonstration of trade unionists marched to the court in London where Ricky Tomlinson and myself were appealing against our sentences.

At the front of the demonstration was a big banner with a drawing of an employer, a policeman and a judge on it.

The banner declared: 'If they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night!'

The salient fact before the Trades Union Congress this year is that they have kept coming since!

Strength

How right were those of us, inside and outside of jail at the time, who demanded that the full strength of the trade union movement be used in action to obtain the release of the Shrewsbury pickets.

If trade union leaders had not retreated at decisive times and betrayed that struggle, then there would not have been further wholesale criminalising of pickets in the miners' strike when state bodies, judiciary, press and ruling class politicians combined.

They put a ring around mining communities, provoked, picked out and restricted the movement of the foremost militants and jailed thousands.

There is the violence — without which the capitalist system cannot survive. And Kinnoek, in effect, blamed the miners for the violence!

A prime example of crass leadership in our experience is an incident I cannot forget.

I reported it in my book and it concerns Mick McGahey who was chairman

of the Communist Party in 1975.

I was a member of the Party at the time but I flung the 'Morning Star' across my cell when I read its report of McGahey's speech at the Trades Union Congress.

He had spoken about my being in jail and had said that if I had been a miner I would not still have been inside.

I wrote in my book about my feelings then: 'McGahey of all people should have understood.'

In my mind I said angrily to him: 'The employers aren't interested whether it is a docker, miner or building worker.'

'It is the whole working class they are after, including you and your members, McGahey.' I was angry.

But I learned, from painful experience that McGahey was not just suffering from sectional blindness.

Stalinist

He was playing on sectionalism in carrying out his stalinist policy, which subordinates the independent struggle of the working class to collaboration with the trade union bureaucracy.

The Communist Party, I learned, was unable to carry a real campaign, even for its own members, who were class war prisoners.

It is a lesson, that is there again, in the scandalous treatment which has been handed out to David Kitson by the Communist Party-influenced leadership of TASS.

Now, the trade union leaders are holding the struggle back on the promise of a Labour Government.

What was the experience of the Shrewsbury pickets in relation to that?

Almost every trade union in the country — except the Prison Officers' Association — passed resolutions for our release.

I commented in 'Key to my Cell': 'Labour Party Conference, Trade Union Congress, manual unions, white collar unions, Medical Practitioners' Union, Tribune MPs etc., etc., were all supporting our release — but we were still in jail.'

Campaign

This campaign of words, with workers reduced to a protest force, got all the trade union leaders off the hook.

It guaranteed every opportunist leader that he could make radical speeches without having to put his money where his mouth was.

But, without action, even a resolution from the Holy Ghost wouldn't have got us out.

When I was finally released, there had been a Labour Government in for two years.

It was a labour Home Secretary — Mr. R Jenkins — who made a personal decision to keep me in solitary confinement for six months without any charge.

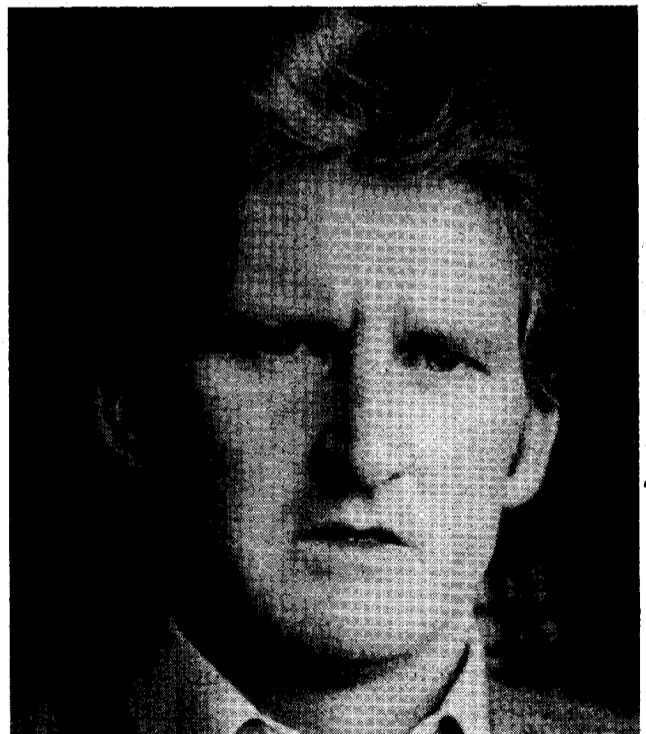
Jenkins has departed for the SDP, but can any trade union member stand up honestly and say that the present leaders would act any differently?

Fight

We did not remain in jail because of any lack of fight from the working class.

We have to look to leadership for the reasons we were not freed. It is the same problem today.

The well-produced official



Des Warren

'History of the TUC, 1868 — 1968', which calls itself a 'Pictorial survey of a social revolution', described this so-called social revolution as meaning that, in 1968, 'bargaining with the government — any government — is day-to-day TUC business'.

The height of ambition of this type of leadership is not the emancipation of the working class.

The rights of the working class were won despite this type of leadership, which sees advances solely in terms of the positions they personally have arrived at in collaboration with capitalism.

We are now in a situation where schools are being closed, hospitals going; infant mortality rate is rising; social services are being

stripped; life expectancy for the over 47's is lower in Britain than other countries in Europe.

Youth apprenticeships and training are being destroyed and exploitation of youth intensified.

The majority of working class youth are now 'surplus to the requirements of capitalism'. There are five million unemployed.

Capitalism is destroying the working class as well as its organisations.

In this situation we have this type of trade union leader who wants only to be a partner with capitalism.

Out of this Trades Union Congress must come the beginnings of a new leadership to replace them.

The TUC belongs to the working class and not the bureaucrats.

COMPUTER BUGS BRENT WORKERS

BRENT COUNCIL manual workers have voted to occupy their workplaces for three days each week if the council cannot get their paypackets correct in two weeks.

The proposal for the occupation was agreed overwhelmingly at a mass meeting in the town hall last Tuesday.

The cause of the anger was the council's inability to discharge its elementary responsibility to pay the wages correctly since the new computer was installed on April 1.

In spite of assurances given to previous mass meetings, pay slipped to two weeks in arrears.

Compensation was paid for distress caused.

Yet five months later the same errors recurred.

All the council workers have received from Merle Amory, the new council leader, is a letter which includes this gem:

'On a week by week basis the accuracy of the payroll is improving as staff are appointed and experience gained.'

The only possible reply is industrial action, but the sorry state of union organisation has been revealed.

The entire platform was

BY GERRY DOWNING

booed by the meeting at the beginning, and then from the chair NUPE convenor Kevin Lawton announced that whatever the meeting decided, he was going back to his own members to have their own meeting.

This splitting tactic so outraged the meeting that he was forced to leave the chair.

Similarly the EETPU rep Tom Stensen and Mary Turner of the GMBATU made it known that the mass meeting was not an official meeting.

Stensen in particular came under severe attack for the original package which he had forced through when most manual workers could not attend on the basis that it was a 'final offer'.

He had to apologise to the meeting.

While the leadership on the platform tried to abdicate responsibility and expressed universal hostility to any form of industrial action, a dustman moved the occupation resolution from the floor.

It was greeted with loud applause and carried, but no manual worker believes that the leadership will fight to carry it out.

They should be forced to resign and a new leadership elected.



WORKERS at the Meri-Mate bottling plant at Wester Gourdie, Dundee, are entering their third week of strike action against the victimisation of engineer George Foley.

The strike, which 220 workers voted to continue at a mass meeting last week, has turned into a battle for union recognition and against poor conditions and a dictatorial management regime.

It has been made official by the AUEW and EETPU, but not the GMBATU.

'Instant dismissals is one of the tools management use all the time,' strike committee chairman Jim Macaulay told Workers Press.

'If you are disliked or they think you are a union activist, you're straight out the door.'

'When an engineer was sacked instantly six months ago,

the men decided they would have to do something. By the time action was taken against George Foley two weeks ago, we were ready to take a stand.'

With the strike threat, management reduced their action against Foley to a written warning. But the strike went ahead against management's attitude, described by strikers as 'penny-pinching'.

This employer, who appears to be in the Thatcher anti-union tradition, is facing a workforce with a long and militant trade union history.

● As we go to press, we hear that the strike has been settled — we will keep you informed.

Story: ANDY MACFARLANE; Photo: JOE JORDAN

75 years since transport strike

ON THIS, the 75th anniversary of the 1911 Transport Strike, an exhibition of photographs of the struggle is on display in the Liverpool Unemployed Centre.

The strike started in July and was described as a 'Festival of Strikes' at the time.

Seamen were the first to come out. The strike then spread to the carters and other workers, and many became unionised for the first

time as a result of the battle.

One of the highlights was 'Red Sunday', August 13, where Thomas Mann, one of the strike leaders, issued a general strike call, whereupon the police and the army, who had been drafted in at the request of the Lord Mayor, waded into the pickets.

The dispute, though, was a victory on Merseyside and strengthened trade unionism in the area.

FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR! REPATRIATE IRISH PRISONERS! 2,000 march in Scotland

THE BRITISH state sentenced people to a lifetime in jail for the 'crime' of being Irish, Marion Hill of the Free the Guildford Four Campaign told a rally in Coatbridge, Scotland, last week.

'The Guildford Four were given their horrific sent-

ences during a time of very heavy anti-Irish hysteria in Britain,' she said.

'Three of them were guilty of being Irish. And Carole Richardson had an Irish boyfriend which in itself was a crime to the British courts.'

Marion was speaking after

two thousand people marched demanding the release of the Guildford Four, who were framed up for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings in 1974.

The march also demanded repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners to their own country.

'My brother Paul is

doomed to spend his whole life in prison,' Marion told a hushed crowd. 'He is 32 now; he was 21 when he was sentenced.'

'He has spent 1,438 days in solitary, and has received £750 in damages for beatings he received in Hull after a rooftop protest.'

Marion explained how MPs, the solicitor in charge of the case and others had supported the demand for the release of the four.

Rally chairman Martin O'Leary told the crowd: 'The Guildford Four is one of Britain's injustices against Ireland.'

'There are hundreds. The Irish people need your support in their struggle.'

The march, organised jointly by the West of Scotland Guildford Four Campaign and the Republican Bands Alliance, included twelve bands.

There were also contingents from the Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press, Revolutionary Communist Party, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!, Ireland's War, the Labour Committee on Ireland, Clydeside Troops Out, and the Scottish Republican Socialist Party.

Prisoners' relatives send a message:

A message from the Irish Political Prisoners in English Gaols Relatives Committee to the march offered apologies for not being able to provide a speaker.

'Because of domestic complications the relative who was coming over had to withdraw.'

It is situations like these that highlight the need for the repatriation of the Republican Prisoners of War in England.

'If the prisoners were home in Ireland many of the problems over visits could be overcome and the need to travel to England under stressful circumstances would be ended.'

'The demand for repatriation is one the POWs ask you to support not for themselves,

for as soldiers in the Republican army they are prepared to serve their time in one hell-hole prison or another.'

'They demand repatriation for the sake of their families who are sentenced to life-times of travel, harassment and separation, and are used as political and emotional hostages.'

Innocent

The message also expressed support for the campaign to release the innocent prisoners being held hostage by the British state.'

'No doubt you will have speeches on the brutal treatment of the Guildford Four

and we urge you to support this campaign', it said, 'but we would ask you also to remember the six men framed for Birmingham and the innocence of Judith Ward wrongly convicted of the M62 bomb.'

'Furthermore we would like to add that we believe that all the Republican POWs are innocent.'

'These men and women volunteers are not guilty of any crimes, they are soldiers fighting for the freedom of Ireland against British oppression and as such are POWs.'

'We urge you to support the prisoners; they are the heart of the Republican struggle, and are paying the price for our hopes and dreams. *Tiocfadh ar la.*'

RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

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)

DEAN HANCOCK: Oadby — Eight year sentence. Garrae maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicesters.

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

TERRY FRENCH: Betteshanger

— Four year sentence from January 1985. 573983, Weald Wing, Maidstone Jail, Kent.

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

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

PAUL WRIGHT: Seville — 18 month sentence. G78424, Kirkham Jail, Freckleton road, Preston Lancs.

DAVID GAUNT: Shepperton — 2 1/2-year sentence from December 1984. E71037. A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dodington Road, Wellingborough.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY PUBLIC LECTURES

All on Thursday evenings start 8.00pm sharp
The Shaw Theatre
Euston Road, London WC1
PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIALISM
Lecturer: Cyril Smith
September 18 - Sceptics and Dogmatists
September 25 - Knowledge and the labour process
October 2 - What is a human being
To be followed by classes on
Marxist Political Economy - G Pilling
The State and Revolution - B Archer
The Revolutionary Party - D Bruce

New union shop faces stern test

A STRIKE at Nova Leathers at Canning Place in Liverpool by a recently unionised workforce has been going on for six and a half weeks. Twelve are out on strike.

The dispute started on July 3 when Janet Bowman was elected shop steward. The next day she received a registered letter saying 'Due to a cash flow problem you have been made redundant'.

Four days later the rest of the unionised workforce took strike action in support of Janet and they were all sacked that day.

The police have provoked one of the strike supporters

over an alleged assault on the manageress.

The management have said they only want six people back with no shop steward. The workers there make leather belts, ties and dickie bows, general accessories for jackets.

One of the strikers, Jimmy Oaks, who has worked there for two and a half years, said: 'We are staying out

until we get full recognition and all our workforce back'.

Dave McFarlane, deputy shop steward, said 'We have been trying to get USDAW workers in Littlewoods, who are the major buyers of our goods, to boycott the products.'

'At the moment I have two summonses against me for alleged assault against two scabs. The management put them up to it to frighten us off'

'The police are escorting the scabs in and out of the building.'

The strikers urge people to come and support them on the picket line which is at Canning Place, behind the Dolphin Hotel, Liverpool, from 7am to 5pm, 7 days a week.

● Send messages of support to Nova Leathers Strike Fund, c/o Tony Hayes, T&GWU, Transport House, Islington, Liverpool 1.

● Social at Dolphin pub, Canning Place, behind 'Holiday Inn', Friday August 29, 8pm Disco, Late Bar, Live Music. £1.50 waged, 75p unwaged

Lessons of Liverpool

PART THREE OF A SERIES
BY BILL HUNTER

The 1985 'budget' struggle Unions and blacks were alienated SUPPORT FRITTERS AWAY



Its predominantly Militant leadership has failed to face up to its principal task in bringing the overwhelmingly determined working class into the battle with the Tories.

Throughout 1985, instead of mobilising the community, its leadership instead concentrated on manoeuvring its way out of the budget crisis.

The Militant supporters evidently had the illusion that there could be a repeat of the previous year and that a final compromise with government could be forced.

Only a very small number of trade unionists criticised the Council for doing a deal with Tory Environment Minister Patrick Jenkin which resulted in a legal fate.

The Council began its struggle over the 1985 budget with a great deal of support.

However this struggle saw the break-up of the Joint

Shop Stewards Committee of Council workers.

The movement towards a strike of Council workers was defeated by the right wing of the labour and trade union bureaucracy with the assistance of Communist Party and Morning Star supporters.

The struggle also brought a reactionary witch-hunt by Kinnock and the Labour Party leaders.

On many aspects of its policies and activities, the Council leadership gave weapons into the hands of the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracy organising opposition against the struggle of the Council.

NALGO and the NUT whose members formed a large part of the Council employees came into conflict with the Council.

The leading official of NALGO is a member of the 'Morning Star' wing of Stalinism and that of the NUT a

member of the Communist Party.

Both sections had a policy which was to the right of the Council, as we will detail later.

However, it is quite a condemnation of Council leadership that, at a time when teachers were most militant in a dispute with the government, they were brought into opposition to Liverpool Council.

The NUT leadership declared that the Council did not 'see the NUT as a real trade union and that virtually its first act in office was to threaten 200 teacher redundancies.' ('The Teacher', September 20 1985).

The NUT membership voted against a one day strike on the cuts and did not come out.

The Council took a decision to stop all teachers' pay for that day, which, of course, incensed teachers who saw it as dictatorship by their employers.

This effectively helped to build opposition to an indefi-

nite strike of Council workers later.

NALGO had come into conflict with the Council over grading and conditions of its members.

The major, longer running dispute, was over the employment of Sam Bond by the Council as a Principal Race Adviser.

He had worked in the Surveyors department of Brent Council.

Representatives of black groups — known as the Black Caucus — protested at the way the appointment had been made, declaring that a local black person should have been appointed.

The representative of NALGO had withdrawn in protest from the interviewing panel.

Deputy Council Leader Derek Hatton agreed to re-advertise the post after representatives of the black community lobbied his office.

He confirmed this decision with NALGO.

A resolution reversing this was pushed through the City Labour Party on the basis that Hatton had been intimidated.

Liverpool Trades Council

voted to re-advertise the job, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee carried a resolution to re-advertise, and meetings in Liverpool 8, mainly of black men, women and youth opposed the appointment.

NALGO members then boycotted all work in relation to Bond and the boycott was officially backed by the union's National Emergency Committee.

The Council has continued since that time to maintain the appointment as a 'principle'.

Such bureaucratic stubbornness, the inept activity, confusion and struggle surrounding it, could only come from a leadership which did not centre everything on the main task of developing an anti-Tory movement, particularly among the most oppressed sections in Liverpool.

It was because of this that the Council succeeded in bringing itself into conflict with a large number of groupings in Liverpool who were in favour of a struggle against the Tory government and its cuts.

There were the Co-operative Housing Associations, for example, and

groups opposed to the cuts which the Council did carry out in certain areas.

While the Council did maintain Council jobs, the day-to-day running of the Council in line with financial restrictions brought the Council into several disputes with its workers.

There was resistance to speed up and rationalisation.

In January 1985, while some Council members were still declaiming about the 'magnificent victory' in 1984, the Council declared that it faced a financial crisis worse than the previous year.

To balance the books would require, according to the statements of Council leaders, either 6,000 job losses or a 220 per cent rate rise.

The Council announced a campaign to 'secure the necessary cash from the Tory government'.

A resolution of the City Labour Party declared the Council was refusing to set a rate.

Cracks appear in the MSC facade

AS TRADE UNION opposition to the MSC schemes of YTS and the Community Programme grows, the MSC and their managing agents are devising ways to by-pass unsympathetic trade unions.

Major differences have emerged recently between the trade union movement, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and the Area Manpower Board (AMB) over the recognition of 'relevant' trade unions covering industries that employ youth on YTS and the Community Programme (CP) schemes.

In a circular to the Northern TUC (Policy & Monitoring Group) the AMB Trade Union Group explain how the MSC and managing agents plan to deal with trade unions who oppose YTS/CP or show indifference to their proposed introduction into the workplace.

The policy of the MSC is that only a 'recognised' and 'appropriate' union need sanction a scheme which is proposed by a managing agent.

However TUC policy is that schemes should have the support of 'relevant' unions.

This is an important difference which could mean the sanctioning of schemes even if the majority of unions in workplaces are opposed to the schemes.

BY KEVIN TOWNSEND

This is made clear in the Managing Agents Handbook (this constitutes part of the contract between the managing agents and the MSC). Section 1.43 states:

... where a potential managing agent has the support of some but not all recognised and appropriate trade unions lack of complete support need not invalidate the whole proposal but may invalidate part of it'.

This leaves the door open for right wing trade union bureaucrats to allow these cheap and forced labour schemes to operate in places where they have been by-and-large opposed, whether at national level or rank and file level.

It may also be indicative of

a move towards union deals like those made by the AEU at Nissan in the North East and the EETPU single union deal with Hitachi.

The trade union group circular complains of several instances of trade unions not responding to requests for approval of YTS/CP schemes.

The circular continues: 'The impression given by a non-response is of indifference (or incompetence) and the AMB has adopted a practice of assuming there is no objection if no reply has been received after a reminder'.

Trade unions should have a positive response: by demanding trade union rates of pay for the job and trade union conditions, together with a positive response of non-approval if these demands cannot be met.

But the charge of indifference and incompetence lies at the door of the TUC bureaucracy who refuse to give a lead in a campaign against exploitation of young people.

The TUC leaders' policy nationally and at regional level over the whole network of the MSC's enlisting programme has been guided by the most obscene case of class compromise and class collaboration.

The sinister 'Restart' scheme

THE NEW MSC-funded 'Re-Start' scheme is off to an expensive start with a series of three-minute adverts on television!

Behind promises of 'great new opportunities' are the governments sinister plans to create a mass army of cheap labour to be developed into a powerful scabbing operation.

The scheme is the result of the government's failure to enmesh Britains millions of unemployed young people into a web of various cheap labour schemes such as YTS, YES, and 'Community Programme'.

What is different about the Re-Start scheme is that it is to be compulsory slave regimentation for all, yes all, unemployed workers who have been out of work for more than twelve months.

This is forty per cent of the unemployed population: and that is on the official figures — which do not take into account people already grafting on existing MSC schemes.

The television advert says that people will be receiving a letter from their local 'Job Centre' asking them to attend an interview for Re-Start.

It fails to point out that failure to co-operate with the government's demands on more than one occasion will result in loss of thirteen

weeks supplementary benefit.

Trade unionists and unemployed workers beware! We cannot rely on the next Labour government to stop the mass exploitation of millions of unemployed workers through state organised cheap labour.

After all, it was a Labour government led by Callaghan which introduced the 'Youth Opportunities Programme'.

This was added to by the Tory government which set up the Manpower Services Commission — a direct attack on the very existence of the trade union movement.

All talk of 'reforming' the schemes can only be described as waffle. They do nothing to help to provide jobs with trade union rates of pay and conditions.

In fact, they do the very opposite as can be seen in the case of the Tyneside Contracts clothing workers.

They were on strike for twelve months in an heroic struggle for trade union recognition.

During this dispute MSC-funded cheap labour was employed to drive the hundred women workers back to the machines without union recognition.

The blame for the introduction of the new compulsory cheap labour operation

lies with the trade union leaders who have collaborated with the Tories and who sit on the MSC organising boards and committees.

Trade union opposition to the MSC is growing rapidly.

This is a positive development but can only be made effective if co-ordinated in a way which involves co-operation between both employed trade unionists and unemployed workers as well as workers who are on MSC-funded schemes.

This means the right to trade union membership for all unemployed workers with reduced membership fees, and compulsory trade union membership for MSC 'trainees'.

The campaign must involve the most important demand of a complete trade union break from the MSC.

Trade unionists in the Civil Service should refuse to co-operate with any MSC related work, or any legislation which threatens loss, suspension, or reduction of unemployed workers benefits.

Trade union branches must demand that all union officials must be withdrawn from MSC co-ordination boards and committees.

● Unemployed workers must not be left on the scrap heap by the trade union movement.

No discrimination between employed and unemployed workers

TUC must break with MSC!

WEAPONS OF

Plastic bullets will come to Britain!

**PART ONE OF A SERIES
BY A REPORTER IN BELFAST**

— says Belfast campaign

THE PLASTIC bullet is not a riot control weapon but a weapon of repression.

This is the message from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets in Belfast.

Jim McCabe, from the Campaign, told Workers Press: 'It does not stop riots and it does not deter people from rioting.'

'When plastic bullets are introduced the riot will get even more vicious and people will be much more determined to succeed in their protest because someone has been hurt.'

'But most of the 16 people who have been killed here by plastic bullets have not been involved in riotous behaviour, have not even been in a riot situation.

'The plastic bullet is being used as a weapon of suppression, to drive people off their own streets, to make them stay at home and to make them bow to the will of the government.'

Seven of those killed here by plastic bullets have been children, too young to be a threat to the security forces, and none of the victims of the bullets has been accused of breaking the law.

Deaths

As well as the deaths, there have been hundreds of people wounded, often with permanent injury, blinding, or brain damage.

Plastic and rubber bullets are not being misused here, but used for the purpose for which they were designed: in situations where the authorities want to use force, but where the use of live ammunition would cause a storm of criticism and therefore be politically counterproductive.

Plastic bullets serve very

well for the purpose of repression because the people here, who are the targets, know full well the damage that can be inflicted.

The rest of the world is led to believe that a plastic bullet is a tiny piece of plastic the size of a live bullet.

In fact it is three and seven-eighths inches long and one and a half inches in diameter and weighs four and three quarter ounces.

It is flat at both ends and so the damage it inflicts on impact is often not immediately obvious.

The bullet has a muzzle velocity of well over 160 miles per hour and an energy level above 110 foot pounds if fired from 50 yards.

When fired at five yards range the plastic bullet has an impact energy of 210 foot pounds.

Weapons with this amount of punch cause serious skin lacerations, massive skull fractures, rupture and destruction of the kidney, fracture and fragmentation of the liver, haemorrhages, necrosis and rupture of the heart when fired at the heads of baboons and the bodies of small pigs.

These sort of injuries suit the purposes of the security forces.

Whilst the damage is enormous people usually don't die till a couple of days after they have been shot, when the spontaneous anger at the shooting has died down.

The media report that someone was wounded and neglect to report the death when it occurs a couple of days later.

This American research was done between 1973 and 1975 and the results were made available to the British government.

In August 1981 an International Commission of Inquiry investigated the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland.

One of its members, Dr Tim Shallice, wrote in the New Statesman:

'The conclusion seemed inescapable to members of the Commission: the Northern Ireland authorities were knowingly allowing widespread, indiscriminate and illegal use of a weapon whose lethal potential was well known.'

Bullets

The Campaign Against Plastic Bullets believes the same. Jim said:

'The armed forces and the security forces are not made accountable for the rounds of plastic bullets that they fire in as strict a way as they are for lead bullets.'

'This can be seen from the fact that so many are fired. The media and the police cannot give and will not give an exact number.'

'They will sometimes say two were fired, three were fired, when people who were there know that hundreds were fired.'

It is estimated that in 1975, the year the plastic bullet replaced the rubber bullet, 3,500 were fired.

A further estimate is that there has been one death for every 4,000 rounds fired.

The US research showed the lethal nature of plastic bullets when fired within regulations.

The British army rules recommend that plastic bullets be fired 'at a range not less than 20 metres', and that they are fired below waist level.

However, in at least six of the fatal shootings the bullets were fired from a much closer range than 20 metres.

When Brian Stewart's mother took an action about her son who had been killed, the soldier who had killed him was asked if he was aware of the firing instructions for plastic bullets.

He said, no. Despite this he was commended as a very competent and able soldier.

They are also clearly fired above waist level. The then Northern Ireland Secretary Humphrey Atkins replied in an answer to a parliamentary question that, in three months in 1981, 110 people had received hospital treatment for plastic bullet injuries.

Of the 45 who were treated as in-patients, 31 had head injuries.

Of the seven people killed by plastic bullets in 1981, five died from head injuries, one from a chest injury and one had both head and chest injuries.

Of those injured that year, four lost an eye, several had fractured skulls, one had epileptic fits after the incident and two are likely to remain partially paralysed.

1981 saw a savage escalation in the death toll and rate of serious injuries.

This was the year of the hunger strikers and many of the deaths took place after protests about hunger strike deaths or just after their funerals.

The authorities were using plastic bullets not to disperse riots but to intimidate the republican communities.

Of the seven people killed, three were children, one was a 30-year old housewife and three were men in their forties.

The use of plastic bullets here has very grave implications for the whole of the British working class.

Not only must we take the responsibility to work through trade unions, political and community groups to force the British government to stop their use in the north of Ireland, but we must also fight now to prevent their use in England, Scotland and Wales.

The police in Britain have been issued with plastic bullets and their use is imminent.

Riots

After the Brixton and Toxteth riots in 1981 the then Home Secretary William Whitelaw said that plastic bullets would 'mean inflicting injury or even death on rioters'.

This despicable hypocrisy shows the callousness and the determination of the British imperialist authorities to the so-called citizens of Northern Ireland.

On the one hand they admit the lethal nature of the bullets while they continue to

use them, killing innocent civilians.

In February 1982 Whitelaw admitted to the House of Commons that:

'Some 3,000 baton rounds and 1,000 CS projectiles (gas) of approved types are now held by police forces in England and Wales for anti-riot purposes.'

There have already been reports of plastic bullet guns being sighted on the picket line at Wapping. We cannot wait until the death toll begins to show itself, we must act now.

There is no doubt that the British ruling class will use these weapons on workers who threaten its rule.

So far they have been reluctant to use them in Britain because they are afraid of the outcry it would cause and the solidarity it would bring to the nationalist communities in the north of Ireland.

But we must not overestimate or be duped by that reluctance.

The admission that the police are already in possession of the weapons, propaganda about their use as merely instruments of riot control and police provocations such as we saw in Brixton a few weeks back all point to the imminence of plastic bullet shootings in Britain.

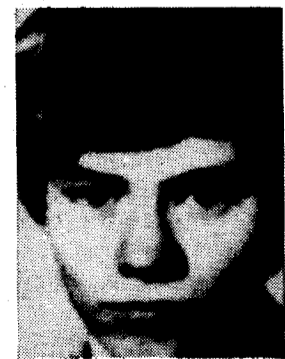
● The British labour movement must unite with the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets to stop their use in Ireland to prevent their use in Britain and to demand that those responsible for the murders of innocent civilians in Ireland are made to face justice.

Plastic and rubber bullets — the death toll

Francis Rowntree, aged 11½, died April 23, 1972

Hit in the head by a rubber bullet near the Divis Flats on the afternoon of Thursday April 20.

The bullet was fired by soldiers in a Saracen armoured vehicle. The bullet had been hacked in half, with a torch battery replacing the missing half.

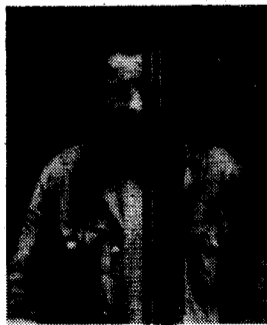


Tobias Molloy, aged 18, died July 16, 1972

Struck in the heart in the early hours of Sunday July 16 by a rubber bullet fired at point blank range by soldiers near a British army check-point on the border.

Youths returning across the border from a dance in Lifford were stoning sol-

diers. Friends said Tobias was not involved.



Thomas Friel, aged 21, died May 22, 1973

Hit on the head at around midnight on May 17 by a rubber bullet fired by British soldiers at about 25 to 30 yards range.

Thomas was on his way to his home in Cregan Heights, Derry. His brother, who was with him, said the area was quiet at the time although there had been rioting earlier.

Stephen Geddis, aged 10, died August 30, 1975

Hit on the side of the head by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers from the Royal Anglian regiment, near his home at Divis Flats, West Belfast.

A patrol tried to remove

two cushions on fire in the road. Some boys stoned the soldiers. A bullet was fired and hit Stephen who was playing about 40 yards away and not involved in the stoning.

Stephen was the first killed by a plastic bullet and his



case was reported in the 'Sunday Times' by Derek Humphry who wrote:

'By all accounts Stephen was not one of the city's wild youngsters. He was withdrawn and rarely went outdoors, spending most of his time playing with toys and learning the guitar and mouth organ.'

Brian Stewart, aged 13, died October 10, 1976

Hit in the face by a plastic bullet soon after 6pm on October 4.

He had just left his home in



Turf Lodge, West Belfast, and was standing on a corner. There was no rioting in the area at the time. The British army made a number of contradictory statements to justify the shooting.

Michael Donnelly, aged 21, died August 10, 1980

Hit in the chest in the early hours of Sunday August 10, the weekend of the anniversary of internment.

A social worker who worked with both Catholic and Protestant youth, he had just come off duty at the Ballymurphy Community Centre in West Belfast.

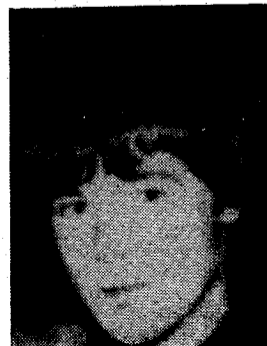
He was walking home

through the Lower Falls when he was hit by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers at 15-20 yards range as he walked up Leeson Street, where troops had earlier been firing plastic bullets at youths.

Paul Whitter, aged 15, died April 25, 1981

Hit by a plastic bullet fired by a policeman in Derry at around 8.30pm on Wednesday April 15.

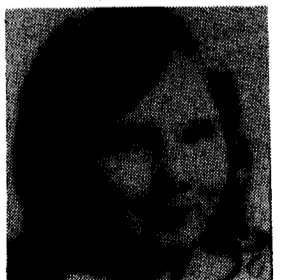
A group of boys had been stoning the RUC, who retreated into a bakery. The boys began stoning an electrical



shop and then, with the exception of Paul, moved away. Paul was alone when an RUC man emerged from the bakery and shot him in the head from about seven yards.

Julie Livingstone, aged 14, died May 13, 1981

Hit on the head by a plastic bullet as she walked towards her home in the Lenadoon



area of West Belfast at 7pm, on Tuesday May 12.

She was returning from an errand with a friend. A group of women and children were banging bin lids in a protest following the death of hunger striker Francis Hughes. Two British army Saladin armoured vehicles came up the road. As the protesters ran for cover, plastic bullets were fired from the Saladins. Julie was found lying on the ground, fatally injured.

Carol Ann Kelly, aged 12, died May 22, 1981

Hit on the side of the head by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers in a jeep at about 9.30pm on Tuesday May 19,

REPRESSION

The united campaign against plastic bullets

THE UNITED Campaign Against Plastic Bullets has two aims: to ban the use of plastic bullets and to demand justice and bring to court those who murder people with plastic bullets.

The Campaign was formed in Belfast in 1984 after the killing of John Downes at an anti-internment rally.

Some of the victims of plastic bullets and some of the relatives of those killed decided that too many had been killed and injured already.

The Campaigners have picketed Brocks Fireworks who manufacture plastic bullets, demonstrated outside police stations and held vigils on the anniversaries of the deaths.

Video

They have made a 60-minute video which shows plastic bullets being used and the actual killing of John Downes. It includes interviews with 13 relatives of those killed.

The campaigners are very willing to make their knowledge available to the British working class.

Jim McCabe, one of the Campaign leaders, said, 'The British government have been trying to get the message across that to control ethnic minorities or trade unionists in riot situations plastic bullets are necessary. We are trying to educate the people of Britain into realising that the plastic bullet is a failure as a riot control method.'

The Campaign believes it is wrong to see plastic bullets as separate from live ammunition.

Jim said, 'If the rules gov-

erning the use of lead bullets were broken as often as the rules governing plastic bullets and if as many people died in the same circumstances with lead bullets, there would be a public outcry.'

Another member of the campaign said, 'In any case, the punishment for rioting is a few months jail and the punishment for kids throwing stones at armoured vehicles should be a clip over the ear; but here people are killed and most often there is not even any riot at all.'

Jim said, 'The pain and torture doesn't stop when your loved ones are killed, you've then to go through a period watching nothing being done. You've to go through the whole legal process. You have to take out a civil action in most cases. I think that's the case with everyone except John Downes where the killing took place in front of world-wide television coverage.'

Innocent

'We've had some compensation and the people who've been killed have been cleared as innocent, none of them have been accused of breaking the law.'

'Yet the people who caused their death are not even charged.'

'In many cases witnesses

are threatened that they will be prosecuted by the RUC and charged with riotous behaviour.

'The Coroner is hostile towards them, he has no sympathy for anyone taking a case against the security forces.'

'The Public Prosecutor is not sympathetic either. He has brought civilians to court who are serving long terms of imprisonment on the flimsiest of evidence. In many of these deaths he has a great deal of evidence, of eye-witness accounts and so on, but still no charges are laid.'

Britain

The Campaign has no doubts that it is just a matter of time before plastic bullets will be used in Britain.

'We're trying to prepare the British people before it happens to them,' they said. 'We want to stop it before someone is killed.'

'The Loyalists here thought they were safe because of the loyalties of the police and the army who were using them, but it wasn't true and if people in Britain think they won't use them there either, that isn't true either.'

'The media are introducing the idea of plastic bullets in Britain now. There was a television programme recently about the introduction of plastic bullets into Britain.'

'They didn't contact anyone from our Campaign and when I asked why, they said that the Northern Ireland situation was not germane



to the problem of plastic bullets in Britain.

'How they can say that I don't know. I can only assume that they didn't want us there because we do actually know what plastic bullets will do and how they are actually used.'

● Members of the campaign would welcome invitations to speak in Britain. They can be contacted at 195 White Rock Road, Belfast 12.

The video is available from the same address for £30.00 plus £2.00 postage or can be borrowed from the Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, 25 Horsell Road, London N5 Tel. 607 9615.

REPUBLICAN POWs

LONG LARTIN
HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ
LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.
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
HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75882.

WAKEFIELD
HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG
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.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

GARTREE
HM Prison Gartree, Leicestershire, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP
ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635

RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

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.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75880.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL
HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

DURHAM
HM Prison, Durham.
MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

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 Humberside
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.



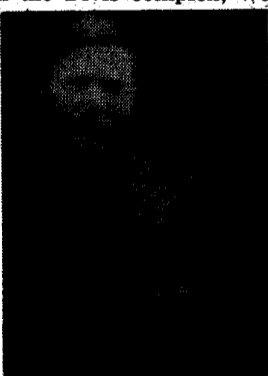
his home in the Creggan area of Derry when he got caught up in rioting in the Bogside in the wake of hunger striker Patsy O'Hara's death.

Nora McCabe, aged 30, died July 9, 1981

Hit on the head by a plastic bullet at about 7.45am on Wednesday July 8 in West Belfast.

Youths were throwing stones following news of hun-

He was standing in the kitchen of his first floor flat in the Divis complex, West



Stephen McConomy, aged 11, died April 19, 1982

Hit by a plastic bullet in the back of the head fired at Bishop's Gate, Derry, on April 16.

There was 'insufficient evidence to suggest that he was actively involved in rioting'; the soldiers who fired from a Saracen armoured car were not in 'any great danger'; Stephen was shot at a range of 17 feet when the minimum recommended range is 60 feet.

John Downes, aged 22, died August 12, 1984

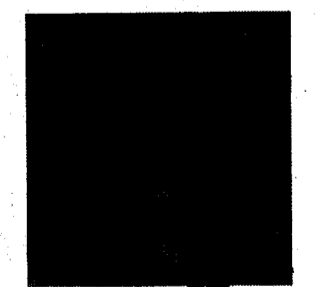
Shot at point blank range at an anti-internment rally when he went to the aid of a friend who was being batoned to the ground by police officers.

The rally was a peaceful protest, but the RUC stormed into the crowd firing plastic bullets in an effort to capture the rally's main speaker, Martin Galvin, a spokesperson for NORAI.

Keth White, died April 14, 1986

Struck by a plastic bullet fired by the RUC at an Apprentice Boys demonstration in Portadown on March 31.

He was the first Loyalist victim and witnesses claim that he was an innocent bystander to the riots which were taking place.



ger striker Joe McDonnell's death. Nora, who had two boys aged seven and two and a three-month old baby girl, was walking towards the Falls Road with a friend to get cigarettes when an RUC jeep approached and a policeman fired at her from a range of about six feet.

Peter Magennis, aged 41, died August 9, 1981

Struck in the chest by a plastic bullet soon after midnight on Sunday August 9, the internment anniversary, in Bawnmore, a tiny nationalist area in North Belfast.

He and his wife had come out of their house to protest to young rioters who had thrown a petrol bomb into their front garden.

Two RUC Land Rovers appeared. The rioters disappeared, leaving Peter, his wife and a friend in the street. A Land Rover drew alongside them and Peter was shot at point blank range.

ten days after the funeral of Bobby Sands.

She was returning to her home in Twinbrook, on the outskirts of West Belfast, with a carton of milk for her mother.

Witnesses were adamant that there was no rioting in the immediate area. They said that when the army jeeps came into the area, the soldiers were very agitated. Five soldiers had been killed by the IRA in South Armagh, and the soldiers were shouting at the residents, 'We'll get you for our five mates today'.

Henry Duffy, aged 45, died May 22, 1981

Hit by plastic bullets in the chest and on the left temple soon after midnight on Friday May 22.

Henry, a widower with seven children, was returning from a city centre pub to

STILL FIGHTING

The trade unions have a special responsibility to their members like David Kitson who are jailed for fighting for the movement

says BOB MYERS

Like many members of TASS I read with disgust the Daily Mail interview in May this year where Ken Gill announced the ending of support for Dave Kitson.

Many Trade Unionists will remember the 1964 trial of Dave in South Africa, particularly those in his own union, then DATA now TASS.

Throughout the end of 1964 and 1965 every issue of the union journals carried news of Kitson, appeals for finance for his defence, letters supporting his struggle and articles on South Africa. Go back through these

journals and you will see how the donations poured in from every sector of the labour movement. Read the letter from his lawyer:

'Mr Kitson was not willing to compromise either on his political beliefs nor on his opposition to the Nationalist Government.'



David Kitson on the Anti-Apartheid picket line outside South Africa House in London, shortly after his release in 1984

'Mr Kitson accepted the verdict (20 years) with great courage and fortitude and asked us to express to you his great appreciation for the generous financial assistance which you gave.'

The appeal for £3,000 for his defence opened in November 64 and passed its target by February the following year. Money continued to come in and over the years more was raised to assist his family to visit him from Britain.

The December issue of The Draughtsman reports the protest of the Executive Council of the AEU to the South Africa ambassador. They received no reply.

Campaign

A Kitson Committee was formed in the union to campaign for his release.

Only one letter appeared in the correspondence columns of The Draughtsman opposing the union's support of Dave and the following issue (April 65) reported the defeat by 33 votes to 8 of a resolution in the Bristol branch moved by the correspondent.

Every year at Xmas the journal would appeal for readers to write to Kitson.

Finally in 1984 Kitson's release and return to England and speaking tour on behalf of TASS and the African National Congress (ANC) are given front page coverage.

Fight

Now you will find no mention of him in TASS News.

Dave, now 67, has continued to fight as determinedly as ever for the ending of the apartheid regime in South Africa. 20 years in prison has not broken his

beliefs or his spirit; but as far as the leadership of TASS is concerned he is now a 'non-person'.

Ken Gill tells the Daily Mail that financial support for Dave is to end and that is it.

Against this attack on Dave the No.16 Division of TASS (Coventry area) through their full time official (now retired) George Hope have written to all TASS branches. In part it reads:

'David Kitson is a TASS member of some 38 years standing but for 20 of those years he was incarcerated in a South Africa jail for his activities against the vicious apartheid system.

'During the period Dave was in jail TASS undertook to pay for his fare back to England on his release and to sponsor a Research Fellowship at Ruskin College.

Fellowship

'He was finally released in May 84 and subsequently began a Research Fellowship in December financed by TASS.'

'Regrettably after only 18 months the TASS Executive Committee has decided to cease sponsoring him. No.16 Division of TASS of which Dave is a member has continually since October 85 tried to find out what 'crime' he has committed that his future livelihood should be taken away by our union (remember Dave is 65 with no pension or savings). All I want and All No. 16 Divisional Council want is for TASS to honour its commitment to assure that Dave can work and should not spend his declining years in penury after such an outstanding contribution to the struggle against apartheid.'

Where this appeal has been raised in branches it

has met with organised abuse from the union leadership. John Jones, the Assistant Secretary sent out a document in which Dave's 'crime' is outlined.

'Regrettably Dave Kitson is now at odds with the ANC and has been suspended. This is a tragic development since he is no longer involved in the organisation to which he devoted more than 20 years of his life.'

Suspended

'We support the ANC and cannot give our name to a fellowship for an individual who has been suspended from and is in conflict with the ANC.'

When Bro. Jones was asked at a Full Time Officers meeting whether the union had asked the ANC why Dave had been suspended he replied that the ANC had told them that it was an internal matter.

So here is a union member who was supported for fighting for union policy, not because he was a member of the ANC now being penalised because of an undisclosed decision of an outside body to which TASS is not even affiliated. In fact Dave only became a member of the ANC on arrival in England in 1984.

Gossip

But what is this conflict with the ANC which forms the basis of the whole attack on Dave? Inside the union this question is not answered and instead gossip, innuendo and rumour is spread thick on the ground.

Dave was born in South Africa in 1919, did military service as a sapper during the war and came to Britain in 1947 and became active in the A.E.S.D branch in Hadfield and was active at diffe-

AFTER 20 YEARS IN A SOUTH AFRICAN JAIL

rent times on Trades Councils there and in Holborn and Oxford.

He went to Ruskin for two years but found that 'the politics and economics put forward by the University of Oxford authorities were designed to give a mental attitude which was not really suitable for a member of the working class'.

Blacklisted

After Ruskin he worked for BOC where he met his future wife Norma. He was offered promotion on condition that he gave up his stewards position which he refused to do. Blacklisted and unable to get a job he and his wife returned to South Africa in 1959.

1960 saw the Sharpeville massacre where 69 people were killed and in 1962 Dave joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, formed by the ANC to carry out sabotage etc in 1961) Then after the arrest of Walter Sisulu and other leaders in 1963 he became part of the High Command.

By the end of 1963 Dave was being hunted and for 6 months he evaded arrest but in June 1964 he was held under the 90 Day laws. His wife and 2 children demonstrated against his detention and she was also arrested and held in solitary for 4 weeks.

He was kept in solitary throughout two 90 day periods and allowed neither paper nor lawyers. Kept in filthy conditions and interrogated endlessly, once for 36 hours nonstop he was finally charged with sabotage.

Events

At his trial he explained why he had joined the South African Communist Party and Umkhonto because of the events that were taking place.

'I could run or stand. So I stood. It was natural in view of my past to find a home in the South Africa Communist Party. At least my participation would show that I stood alongside the Africans and their fellows.

'I joined Umkhonto for the same reasons set forth at length by Nelson Mandela in another court, namely that there were no lawful methods of effective opposition which remained open.'

Kitson stood. Others ran and some have never even got their hands dirty. He got 20 years, some of it spent on Death Row at Pretoria Central. In 1982 his sister in law, his only family contact in S.A. was murdered.

He took 53 courses in different subjects, got degrees in Economics and political science; BSc in mathematics and Operations Research to add to the degree in Mechanical Engineering he already had. He also learnt Zulu.

His wife and children had come to England and were

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G APARTHEID



Mrs. Norma Kitson and her two children. The money contributed by DATA members has helped to maintain Mrs. Kitson and her two children during recent months. When he lived in Britain Mr. Kitson was an active member of DATA and held the Association scholarship at Ruskin College, Oxford. He is an opponent of apartheid.

TWENTY YEARS' IMPRISONMENT FOR DATA MEMBER DAVID KITSON

His crime: a leader in the African civil rights movement

DATA member David Kitson has been sentenced in South Africa to twenty years' imprisonment. He and the others who were tried with him—another European, an African and two Indians—are being imprisoned under laws which have been condemned by the United Nations and which can be likened only to the racial and repressive legislation passed by Hitler before the war.

Kitson and his colleagues were found to have "conspired" with Nelson Mandela, who in the Rivonia trial last year was condemned to life imprisonment. According to the judge, Kitson and his colleagues formed the new 'high command' of the African civil rights and resistance movement after the arrest of Mandela.

Government responsibility

In June of last year, immediately following the Rivonia trial, the British TUC issued a statement expressing shock and grief at the savage sentences passed on Mandela and others. The TUC pinned the responsibility for the situation squarely on the shoulders of the South African Government. They said:—

"The whole British trade union movement will be shocked and grieved to learn that Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Walter Sisulu, and six others charged in the Rivonia trial have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The ninth defendant was discharged, and was immediately detained again.

Both prosecutor and judge have said that the acts of those convicted were treasonable, and that they had plotted to overthrow the Government. Over many years the South African Government have enforced policies which have denied ordinary rights to most of their people and have inevitably provoked continuous and mounting opposition. They have sought to crush their opponents and to stifle their critics by denying them any legitimate means of expression, by curtailing their freedom, and by preventing the people of South Africa from hearing their case.

At the same time they have contrived an elaborate structure of laws, including

the Sabotage Acts invoked on this occasion, which the judiciary find themselves compelled to apply and which are necessary only because the Government must find the means to drive from sight the discontent created and fostered by their awful policies. Those policies and the means by which they are buttressed and enforced have been condemned the world over—and cannot be defended. They affront human dignity, and they have led inevitably to a situation in which men are ready to face the severest penalties, to put their liberty and indeed their lives at risk in defiance of them"

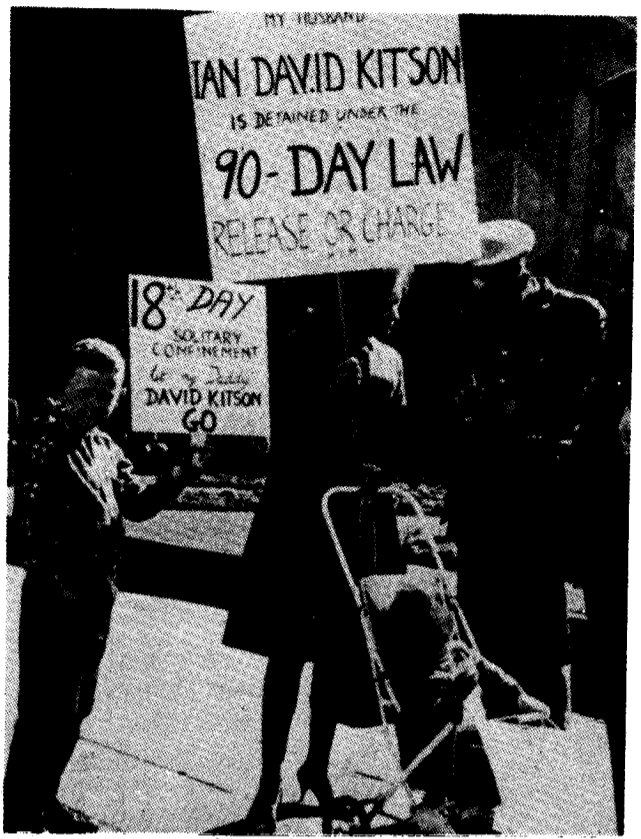
Protest

Immediately after the sentencing of David Kitson to twenty years' imprisonment the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners, whose chairman is Conservative M.P., Humphrey Berkeley, whose secretary is Liberal M.P., Jeremy Thorpe, and whose Labour representative is Ivor Richard, M.P., said:—

"These men were sentenced for sabotage, but their activities arose out of the denial of democratic rights to the majority of South Africans and the impossibility of carrying on lawful protests.

Once again the South African Government is ignoring the demand of the United Nations for the release of all political prisoners."

At the first sitting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, following the sentencing of Kitson and his colleagues, nearly two-thirds of the representatives of the world's nations walked out when the South African Foreign Minister rose to speak.



This photograph has only just been received by DATA Journal. It shows Mrs. Kitson in the summer of last year protesting in Johannesburg against the detention of her husband. Mr. Kitson is a member of DATA. He spent more than 130 days in solitary confinement. Following her protests Mrs. Kitson was herself detained for four weeks without charge and without trial.

The representatives of about 70 countries—according to reports in *The Times*—took part in this demonstration.

ILO condemnation

Last year the International Labour Organisation, representing Government, employers and trade unionists throughout the world adopted a declaration condemning the official policy of apartheid of the South African Government. It called upon South Africa to respect human freedom and dignity and to repeal all statutory discrimination on grounds of race.

The declaration also appealed to Government, employers and workers in

all International Labour Organisation member countries to apply all appropriate measures to induce South Africa to abandon apartheid.

£3,000 IS NEEDED

AT least £3,000 is needed for legal fees and to help Mrs. Kitson and her two children. Please take collections in all offices and please give generously. All money should be sent to the General Secretary, DATA (Kitson Fund), Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond, Surrey.

DAVID KITSON WRITES TO DATA

THE following is an extract from a letter recently received from Mr. David Kitson. The letter was sent during the trial of Mr. Kitson in South Africa and before the sentence of twenty years' imprisonment had been passed. Mr. Kitson said:—

"... What has really made me grateful, and proud to be a member of DATA, is to read of the scale of your support for me. Even while in solitary confinement I had some inkling of it with a wonderful uplift for my morale, for although I was alone it made me realise that the world was with me. I have heard that letters came for me by the hundred although I did not receive any.

Thank you very much indeed. Please thank for me the E.C., for its financial support to my family, and all those members of DATA

who took up cudgels for me. I am most grateful to you all.

Ever since DATA was good enough to send me to Ruskin College I have felt a sense of responsibility to the Association, even during those times when I appeared to have disappeared into limbo. I have always tried to hold dear those ideals to which I know DATA aspires. This attitude has been buttressed by the day by day experiences I went through as an active DATA member in England. It is just that in this country different procedures have to be applied to achieve the same ends. Whatever other condition my head may now be in, in consequence, one thing is certain—it is still unbowed. I thank you all most earnestly for helping me to keep it that way.

Yours sincerely,
Dave Kitson."

The reports in 'The Draughtsman', the DATA (now TASS) journal of Kitson's detention in 1964

active in the anti-apartheid movement. In 1982 they helped organise, with the City of London group of the Anti-Apartheid movement, an 86 day non-stop picket of the South Africa embassy in London to demand the release of Dave and all South African political prisoners and to demand the improvement of prison conditions for Dave as his health was suffering from the cold and damp.

The non-stop picket attracted huge support especially young people, but it was also the beginning of a rift between the City Group and the AAM leadership.

The AAM didn't like the picket and did nothing to support it. It went against the 'tried and trusted' methods of work.

Picket

The picket ended when Kitson and his colleagues were transferred to another prison.

The city group continued to develop its activities and led the successful opposition to the police's attempt to ban demonstrations outside embassies.

Again the AAM did nothing to help. They did not like so many people getting arrested.

When Kitson was released private words in his ear suggested he criticise the City group and that his future would be fine if he used his prestige to stop their activities.

He refused. 'I'm not going to jump through any sectarian or ideological hoops or join any witch hunts.' He

called for support for all solidarity action being taken by anyone.

The leadership of AAM sought to restrict the City Group's activities, including making the South Africa embassy outside of their area.

At the AAM AGM in September 1984 Dave and Norma Kitson stood for the National Committee.

A letter was read out from the London ANC stating it was not supporting Dave's nomination. He spoke in support of his and Norma's position and on the basis of this received a letter from the ANC suspending his membership for 'challenging the authority of the ANC regional political committee'.

The City Group was subsequently disaffiliated by the AAM though it has continued to grow and is currently again holding a non-stop picket of the South Africa embassy to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

Written

Dave is not a member of City Group. He has written repeatedly to the ANC both in London and the headquarters in Lusaka to ask for a meeting to resolve his suspension. He has stated he has no differences with ANC policy but has been unable to get a response from London ANC.

But London ANC's word is good enough for Ken Gill and John Jones, who said, 'We have urged him to re-



Amanda, Norma and Steve Kitson on the non-stop picket in 1982, joined by members of the band UB40

solve his problems with the ANC but to no avail.'

Dave has got the support of staff and students at Ruskin who are concerned not only that TASS has not kept to its original commitment but also what they see as an attack on academic freedom.

Shortly after his release Dave published an appeal to the British labour movement to support the struggle in South Africa

'We call for the total isolation of the racist South Africa regime at all levels and

more assistance to the ANC. Your help is needed by our people at home.'

The leadership of TASS and the London ANC seem more interested in isolating Dave Kitson.

Paid

In a TASS booklet entitled 'One Union's Fight Against Apartheid' Ken Gill says in the introduction written in 1984:

'Dave Kitson has paid a heavy price for principles

and ideals which he shared with many of his TASS contemporaries. I knew him well as an active member at a time when the union was establishing itself as a progressive and campaigning organisation . . .

'So it came as no surprise when he carried out that struggle, albeit in an altogether more hostile environment when he returned to South Africa'

'Now he is free. And our resolve to free all political prisoners in South Africa remains undiminished.'

Certainly, as anyone who knows him or has heard him speak, Dave Kitson has not changed his principles or ideals. He is still fighting.

Leaders

With Moses Mayekiso and many other leaders of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (to which TASS is affiliated via the International Metal Workers Federation) in jail or in hiding in South Africa, the leaders of TASS have the opportunity to show their resolve.

I think their attacks on Dave Kitson suggest they will do little more than talk.

Dave's experience and standing in the labour movement could and should be used to campaign in the labour movement for solidarity action. Instead of this he is being forced by the leaders of TASS to defend himself and his own record.

Jailed

The trade unions have a special responsibility to their members who are jailed for fighting for the movement, whether they are miners, fighters against apartheid or opponents of British rule in Ireland.

Des Warren and Dave Kitson have both been abandoned by their union leaders.

Every member of TASS and the wider trade union movement must sign the Kitson petition and demand that TASS keeps its promise to support this man whose courage and determination should be an inspiration to us all.

STALINISM I



MEMBERS of the dreaded AVH, the Stalinist police force, captured outside their by-now demolished headquarters. Moments later they were shot at point-blank range

SOME KEY DATES

1944-45 Soviet Army occupies Eastern Europe, but Yugoslav CP leads partisan victory
Coalition governments set up. East European CPs purged
1947-48 Coalitions collapse. Nationalisation of industry, collectivisation of agriculture
July 1948 Tito denounced by Moscow as 'imperialist agent'
Sept 1949 Laszlo Rajk, Hungarian Stalinist minister, executed after show-trial confession
1949 Peoples Republic of China declared
March 1953 Stalin dies
June 1953 East Berlin builders' strike grows into East German uprising, suppressed by Soviet tanks
Krushev begins programme of 'de-stalinisation'
Soviets make Imre Nagy Hungarian prime minister; hard-liner Rakosi stays party secretary
1954 French defeated at Dien Ben Phu. Krushchev engineers partition of Vietnam
Jan 1955 Nagy pushed out of office by Rakosi
May 1955 Krushchev and Bulganin fly to Belgrade and apologise to Tito
Nov 1955 Nagy expelled from Hungarian CP
Feb 1956 CPSU 20th Congress hears Krushchev denounce crimes of Stalin
May 18 Rakosi admits frame up of Rajk
June 18 Mikoyan in Budapest. Rakosi replaced by Gero
June to August 1956 Polish workers force removal of old CP leadership
October 1956 Gomulka, disgraced since 1949, installed as Polish leader
October 6, 1956 Reburial of Rajk attended by massive demo in Budapest
October 14 Nagy reinstated as CP member
October 23 Budapest student demonstration attracts half million people. Street fighting; workers councils formed throughout Hungary. Gero removed, Nagy government formed
October 30 Soviet troops, in Hungary since 1945, withdraw
November 4 Soviet tanks re-enter Budapest. Kadar forms government, fierce fighting throughout Hungary
November 22 Nagy and Julia Rajk kidnapped from Yugoslav embassy
June 1958 Nagy executed

I WAS employed in 1956 in the Leeds clothing trade as a cutter in John Barran's Factory. I had joined the trade in 1944.

I started there after failing a medical for work on the railways.

I came from a railway family: my father, mother, grandfather and uncle were railway workers.

My brother is still employed by British Rail and has just completed his 37th year.

When I left school at 14, I started work in a small cabinet-making factory.

After a few weeks they put me on a woodworking machine. My father heard of this and, because it was not a trade union firm, he encouraged me to leave.

This must have been my first introduction to trade union principles.

I was born in Leeds in 1929 into a working class family.

I have early memories of the war and became politically motivated during my first years in the clothing trade.

In the election of 1945, when there was a landslide victory for the Labour Party, Charlie Powell, one of the older workers at the factory, approached me on the morning of the election after the result was announced and said:

'Norman, don't let anybody take away from you what we have just achieved'.

You see, Charlie had been a campaigner for socialism since the early 1900s and he thought that we had just taken power.

Forces

I was called into the forces for my national service in 1947. I was in the RAF — I think it was August when I was called up.

After basic training, I was sent to Germany where I was to be in Hamburg for more than 18 months working on the Berlin air lift.

I went to Germany with the idea that I had collected from war time propaganda that the only good German was a dead one.

Many workers had come back from the war where they had been radicalised and joined the Communist Party or had become fellow travellers of the Party.

This laid the basis for one of the largest CP factory branches in Yorkshire with a correspondingly large Daily Worker sale.

There was an atmosphere of change in the factory — this was already apparent when I left for Germany.

During my stay I made many German friends: ex-submarine crew, north Afri-

ca corps and Panzer men.

It was from some of these that I had my first political lessons.

Two of the older ones, Herr Lange and Erich Hagerdorn, told me that the people who had suffered most of all were the workers from different countries fighting each other for the profits of the employers.

Opposition

I was later to learn that Hamburg had been a working class area where there had been a powerful opposition to the Fascists.

In fact in 1948, whilst I was there, there was a dock strike and a very large May Day demonstration had been held.

During these events we had been confined to barracks.

I saw the bombed out ruins of Hamburg and Dresden as well as the Belsen concentration camp, by then a museum. I realised that millions had been slaughtered not just by Hitler but also by the RAF under the leadership of Bomber Harris (a war criminal if ever there was one).

It was he who formulated the policy of mass bomber raids with the sole purpose, as he put, of killing as many Germans as possible.

When I arrived back in Leeds in 1949 and returned to the factory, I was anti fascist, opposed to the mass killings of German civilians and was opposed to the Communist Party line of keeping East and West Germany separated.

United

They said the West Germans were still somehow still Fascist inclined and East Germany had to be protected from them.

This smacked of the same idea that the Education people, who gave us lectures, told us: that is it was the German military mind that had created fascism and all that it meant.

I advocated that the workers of East and West should be united in one socialist country.

The CP could not shift me from this.

But to their credit they

THE HUNGARIAN uprising, although one of the most important events in post-war Europe, was not an isolated event. Stalinism as a political force has never been free of crisis. Nonetheless, the period around 1956 was an important turning point.

The uprising followed hard on the heels of the rehabilitation of Tito and the shattering revelations of the crimes of Stalinism which Krushchev sought to lay at the feet of one man in his speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This process was reflected in a deep-going crisis within the Communist Party in Britain. As part of a re-evaluation of the Hungarian events in this, their thirtieth anniversary, Workers Press is interviewing some of those who were active in both the Trotskyist movement and the Communist Party at the time. This week, we talk to life-long Trotskyist NORMAN HARDING.

He discusses how the events appeared to the small movement of the time and of how they changed for good the relationship between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

kyists, Ray and Paula Bradbury.

They were teachers in Leeds who had moved into Crossgates. Ray had become Secretary of the Ward Labour Party and had noticed my name in the minutes.

I told them that they might not agree with me as I was a Bevanite.

They convinced me to re-start activity in the Labour Party and we became political associates.

They explained Trotskyism to me, discussing, at first, in their house.

I later met some of the Leeds Trotskyists — Jack and Celia Gale, John Walls, John and Mary Archer, Lance and Lily Lake, Charlie and Dulcie Yelland, Norman Atkinson, Bob Pennington: all to varying degrees active in the Labour movement.

I hadn't yet been invited to join the Group, as it was then known.

But it was on the basis of a series of experiences with Communist Party workers that I was eventually invited to join the movement.

Khrushchev was soon to make his famous 20th Congress speech where he was to denounce Stalin and his crimes.

The night I saw the news-eller's placard in Briggate announcing the speech, I remembered my first national meeting of the Group where Gerry Healy, the leader of the group, had said that 'they may even have to denounce Stalin'.

That night, we had a meeting in Jack Gale's house. Present were John Archer, Lance Lake, Jack Gale, Celia Gale, John Walls, who was either convenor or a shop steward at George Manns engineering factory, and myself.

John and I were advised that when we went into work the following morning we had to be modest and not to shout our mouths off.

I went into the factory the next morning, rather nervous, rather excited.

You have to understand that up to then we had had to argue it all from the books. Now it was becoming something else: it was now coming from Moscow, a leading Stalinist denouncing Stalin.

About half an hour after starting work, one of the leading members in the factory (his family had had connections with the Spanish Civil War) shouted:

'Who is going to be the first to admit that Norman was right on the questions of Stalin and Trotsky?'

The manager left the room and left us to it.

The discussion went on for days and days.

Communication with everyone in the cutting room was difficult as the room was some 75yards wide and 110 yards long (the size of a football pitch).

We now made some real inroads into the Communist Party in Leeds.

I was involved in a rather special telephone call.

Jack Gale had by chance picked up his telephone to make a call and he heard two people talking about the events in Poland.

The people talking arranged to meet when the girl had finished her tour of duty.

We assumed that the girl was a bus conductress. The young man's name was Vince Lacey.

Meet

Jack and I went where they were to meet and approached when we saw a bus conductress meet a young man.

We asked them if they were in the Young Communist League (YCL). It wasn't long before we were in a pub involved in a discussion that was to last many months.

Through them we built up work in the YCL on the question of National Service: whether it should be reduced in length as the Stalinists wanted, or abolished.

At the 21st birthday party of Challenge, the paper of the YCL, we had a discussion with a number of young miners.

Among them was Arthur Scargill, whom we visited several times.

We were invited to a Leeds meeting of the YCL where they were to discuss the question of conscription. We had a good night.

When the news of the Hungarian Revolution broke, it really threw the spanner into the works.

The Communist Party was of a fair size and at that time we had contact with many of their members.

We had meetings with them to discuss what to do at their aggregates.

I remember CP members telling me not to take too much for granted: they were sending their reporter to



NORMAN HARDING

encouraged me to read many books that were to help to build up a hatred of capitalism. Upton Sinclair was popular.

Frank Stockdale, Stan Hives Geoff Emsley are the main names that I recall as encouraging me to read.

Era

This carried me into the Tribune era as a supporter of Nye Bevan.

I joined the Crossgates ward of the East Leeds Labour Party in 1953 and I became a delegate to the Leeds Trades council from my trade union branch.

The National Union of Tailor and Garment Workers had three branches in Leeds each with 10,000 members.

I was a very solid supporter of Tribune and I used to pass it on to an uncle who had been associated with the early Communist Party in Leeds.

On one of these visits he dug out of an old chest a copy of John Reed's 'Ten Days That Shook the World'.

It was a first edition and one of my proudest possessions. He gave it to me.

I read it and took it to work to lend it to Communist Party members.

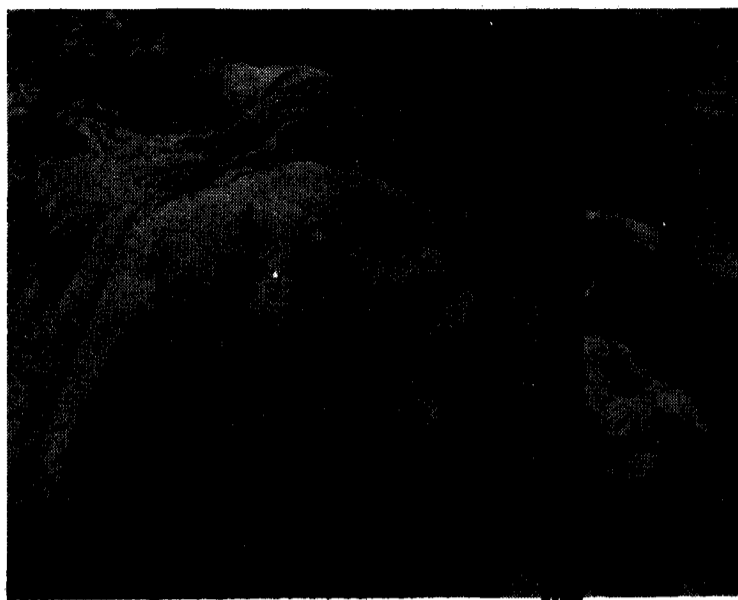
I had expressed my support for the book and was a little surprised that they had not made any attempt to recruit me.

They told me it was a good book but to take no notice of what it said about Trotsky because he had sold out the revolution.

Disillusioned with the Labour Party, I dropped out of activity in 1954-55. I then met my first Trots-

N CRISIS

The challenge for the Trotskyist movement



DUSTED with lime, a Russian tankman lies where he met his death



DEFIANCE shown in the faces of armed workers, photographed shortly after the return of the Russian troops

Hungary (Peter Fryer) and he would let us know what was going on.

The Communist Party members were in a bit of a state at this time, understandably so.

Later we organised a meeting in Leeds for Peter Fryer which was very well attended.

In preparation for the Communist Party Congress that was to be held in London, we did a lot of work trying to make sure that the Yorkshire branches of the CP sent suitable delegates.

Resolution

I moved a resolution at my union branch on the question of Hungary to get it raised at Leeds Trades Council.

The Communist Party then started a campaign for the Trades Council meeting especially to try and weaken me in the factory.

The meeting was a very large one: some 150 delegates attended.

The CP had held aggregates to discuss how to handle the resolution.

A number of Communist Party delegates voted for the resolution but the right wing followed the lead of the CP leadership and voted against.

Bert Ramelson was at that time the Yorkshire Area organiser and led the attack.

The resolution's main points were in support of the demands of the Budapest Workers Council which had called for the withdrawal of Russian troops, the disbanding of the secret police, for the defending of the socialist relations of industry and opposition to any attempt to return to capitalism.

Linked

In moving the resolution, I linked the struggle of the Hungarian workers with the international struggle of the working class.

To support the Hungarian revolution was to support the Bolshevik revolution of 1917: no crocodile tears were shed for the Hungarian workers and we made it impossible for the resolution to be turned into an anti-Soviet vote.

The Stalinists and the right-wing were thrown into each others arms.

After this we had discussions with many of those who were leaving the Communist Party and going off in all directions.

Some came towards us: Jim and Gertie Roach, the

Dobbins, Charlie Parker, the Wheatlys, Mick Dean, Ron Florey, Cliff and Barbara Slaughter and Fred (Cliff's father), Michelle Stone and many others.

(Apologies if I have made any error with these names and for those left out.)

Also during this period, we pulled toward us many of the CP fellow travellers and Labour Party Lefts.

Only a few sought to continue the fight for a Bolshevik party, to continue the fight for which they had joined the Communist party in the first place.

Others could not continue in this way and sank themselves into the Labour Party.

Organiser

Jim Roach for instance: he had been full time Yorkshire area organiser, taking over from Ramelson, who had gone to London to take up the post of national industrial organiser.

Roach had been a leading clothing worker militant in the 1920s and 30s and I believe had been at the Leeds

directly out of the conflict within the Communist Party.

Breaking

It was a forum for trying to clarify the position of those who had broken from, or were breaking with, the CP.

The Forum Movement held a conference at Wortley Hall, near Sheffield.

We were represented by Jack Gale, Gerry Healy, Ellis Hillman and myself.

Also there were Brian Pearce, Hyman Levy, Peter Fryer, Cliff Slaughter and many leading CP or ex-CP trade unionists.

These included Lawrence Daly and Derbyshire area secretary, Bert Wynn, both NUM.

Martin Flannery and Eric Heffer attended. Both are now MPs: Flannery is ex-CP.

Eric Heffer was not a member of the CP but was active in the Labour Movement.

I remember that it was the shortness of our contributions and the absence of

The Newsletter developed from a quarto six or eight page weekly to a full-blown twice-weekly newspaper.

I was expelled from the Labour Party, along with another eight comrades, for selling and associating with the Newsletter.

We had to take every opportunity to extend our work. For instance I was travelling home from Leeds on the tram when two men sitting in front of me were having a conversation.

One said to the other that it would be 'a bugger' if they had to admit that John Archer was right after all.

I followed them off the tram and noted where they lived.

As luck would have it they both lived in the same street.

The following night we organised a canvass, taking with us the large format Labour Review.

From this we made contact and were later invited to the Harehills branch of the Communist Party to discuss Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Previously unthinkable, such events soon ceased to be a rarity.

I still have the notes that Cde Jack Gale prepared on this topic for the many meetings that we organised.

Our transport then was Jack on his scooter and me on my BSA Bantam going out night after night armed with a list of Communist Party members, copies of Labour Review etc to tour Yorkshire.

One weekend Jack and I went to Hull to discuss with Tom Kemp. We found ourselves riding down a main road with no traffic: only Jack on his scooter and me on the motor bike but the road was lined with people.

I shouted to Jack, 'I know we have come to see Tom Kemp but they didn't have to turn out like this!' Apparently the Queen was due.

Up to the period of 1956/8, I and the other comrades had done little actual street work, that is street corner and factory gate meetings, pub sales and so forth.

Previously, we had agitated in our factories but we confined ourselves to the organised labour movement and following up contacts and supporters.

The turn to the CP and the recruits we made turned us to do more and more of this kind of work and enabled us to turn into the Labour Movement, tenants associations etc.

Tremors

How do I remember Hungary 30 years on? Do I regret what I did afterwards?

Not a minute. Over the last thirty years, I have of course experienced tremors and problems in the movement — anybody who says they haven't isn't speaking of life.

This was especially so under Healy at the party centre, where I came to work full-time in 1968, after

13 years of work and activity in the labour movement in Yorkshire.

We fought with Communist Party members in 1956 to demonstrate that this was not the end, it had not all been a waste of time.

Some Communist Party members wanted to escape. Their world was shattered. They wanted to get away from the stigma they associated Stalinism with Bolshevism.

The crisis that our own movement has been through has parallels with the Communist Party crisis of 1956 — and many have left our ranks for similar reasons.

Expulsion

We have seen comrades in the movement today who, after the expulsion of Healy, have asked was it all a waste of time?

There are those whom in the past I admired greatly — Mike and Tony Banda, for example — who have asked the same question as some Communist Party members did in 1956: was it all worth while?

They have decided it wasn't.

They have written off the whole history of Trotskyism to answer their own problems.

They want to start something new without going through the old.

Those who came to join the Trotskyists could only do so as a direct result of the work done by our comrades before the war, during the war and immediately after.

Communist Party congress where the setting up of the Red Unions had been an issue.

He left Communist Politics and was to sink himself into protest politics and the Labour Party.

Those who came to join the Trotskyists could only do so as a direct result of the work done by our comrades before the war, during the war and immediately after.

These comrades, including Gerry Healy, played a big part in turning the movement towards the Communist party in 1956.

We were riding twenty feet high at this time.

Active

We were active in the Forum movement, which was not a party, but came

breast beating that separated us from other non-CP organisations.

Gerry Healy simply advised people to turn to the books and read.

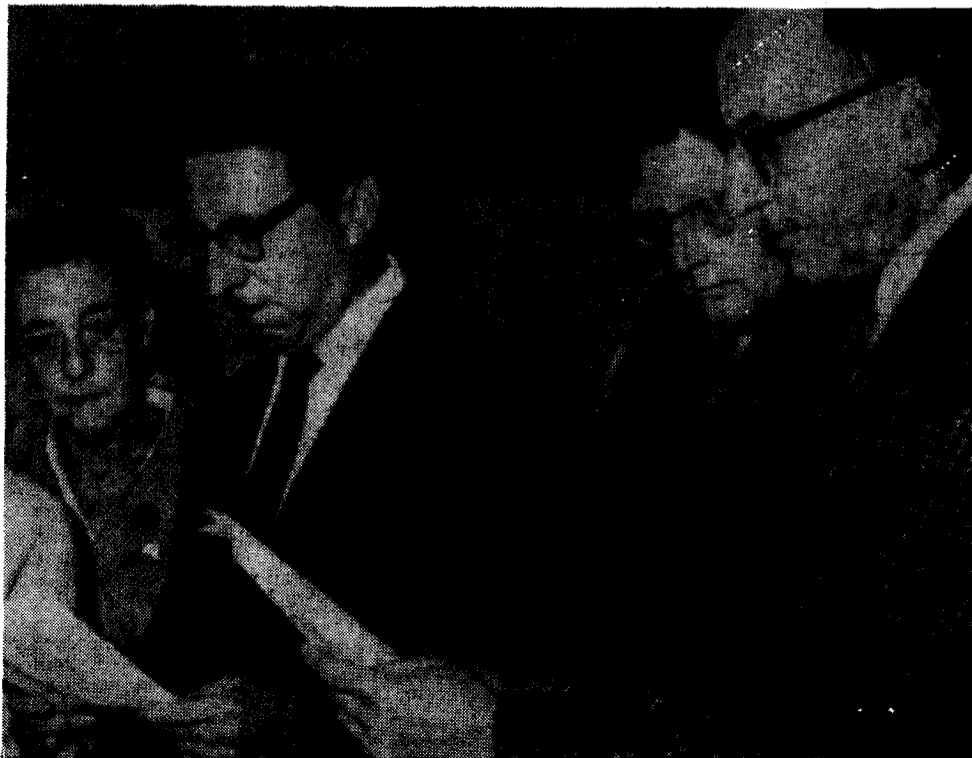
It wasn't a conference where speeches were clapped or booed: those attending were there to listen.

At this time the Trotskyists didn't have a paper: we worked through Tribune, the Bevanite paper.

We in Leeds, as one of our activities, used to sell the Tribune in Briggate. I can remember doing this during the Suez crisis in 1956.

The Wortley Forum was held weekend of May 3, 1957 and, with Peter Fryer as the editor, the Newsletter was founded on May 10, 1957.

The main feature of the first issue was a report of the Forum Conference.



NORMAN was active in the Yorkshire labour movement. Here he leads a delegation from Leeds Federation of Tenants Associations, of which he was secretary, to the Leeds City Council (1965)

LETTERS

Your letters are welcome at Workers Press,
21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.

Agreement on historical issues is not a pre-condition for Trotskyist regroupment

WORKERS PRESS (July 15) published the WRP resolution 'Perspectives for an International Discussion', which takes up the problem of the construction of the Fourth International.

As supporters of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, this discussion can only be welcomed by us.

However, there are some formulations in the resolution which would seem to prejudge the discussion before it begins.

Your resolution affirms the 'necessity to work out a definite attitude to the revisionist United Secretariat'.

But why do you have to work out a definite attitude towards revisionists if you know *a priori* that they are revisionists?

Again, the document states that the long term aim should be 'unity with all those who stand on the transitional programme, the history of the permanent revolution and the fight against Pabloism'.

Leaving aside that it seems strange to put the fight against 'Pabloism' on the same level as the transitional programme and the theory of permanent revolution, what exactly is 'Pabloism' and who, if anybody, today embodies it?

This seems a relevant question to ask, especially since the WRP under Healy used the term Pabloism as an item of ignorant abuse to evade real discussion and a serious analysis of the world Trotskyist movement.

Moreover, it was guilty of virtually every sin traditionally attributed to Pabloism — capitulation to Stalinism, petty-bourgeois nationalism etc.

Despite these reservations, the method of the WRP resolution — that of seeking a regroupment on the basic programmatic planks of Trotskyism — seems to us to be correct.

We would pose these basic programmatic planks as:

a) the Leninist-Trotskyist strategy for the conquest of

working class power in the imperialist countries, including acceptance of the method of the Transitional Programme and of the United Front,

b) the theory of permanent revolution and

c) the Trotskyist position on the deformed and degenerated workers states, including both defence of these countries against imperialism and the fight for political revolution.

We would of course add to this the organisational corollary of these positions — the fight to build the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

In our view, a regroupment of Trotskyist forces on this basis cannot go round the largest international Trotskyist organisation, the United Secretariat.

It is only natural that the WRP, in seeking to reorientate itself after the split with Healy, should seek to re-examine the history of the Trotskyist movement.

But we would add a word of caution.

A regroupment of Trotskyists is unlikely to take place on the basis of complete agreement about the history of the movement.

Provided there is basic programmatic agreement, there can be many different shades and views on the history of the movement itself.

Certainly when the attempt was made to reunify the world Trotskyist movement, which led to the 1963 reunification of the International Secretariat forces and some of these which had been organised in the International Committee, it was precisely the programmatic criterion, correctly in our view, which was used and not the criterion of a common assessment of the 1953/54 split.

To seek common agreement on the history of the movement can only be an excuse for refusing to reach a principled programmatic regroupment in attempting to overcome the damaging

dispersal of Trotskyist forces.

The separation of the comrades now organised in the WRP from the United Secretariat has its roots not only in the 1953 split, but in the refusal of Healy to participate in the 1963 reunification, along with the Lambert group in France.

It is well worth addressing the programmatic issues involved in this dispute.

In fact, the central issue was the refusal of Healy and Lambert to recognise that, during the 1959-61 period, a workers state had been established in Cuba, and their insistence that Cuba remained a capitalist state.

While Lambert's OCI has, after more than 20 years, now recognised the existence of a workers state in Cuba, to our knowledge Healy maintains his position to this very day.

This stubbornness flies in the face of the facts.

Today it is obvious that the social relations established in Cuba by the mass mobilisations which led to the nationalisation of the economy between August and October 1960 are fundamentally identical to those which exist in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — i.e. those of a workers state.

By taking this stand against the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement on this issue, Healy set his face against a living revolution and constructed a sectarian shibboleth on which to base the then-SLL's separation from the mainstream of the world Trotskyist movement.

In some of the writings in the SLL's Fourth International during that period, it seemed to be implied that only a section of the Fourth International could lead a successful overthrow of capitalism, a fundamentally sectarian theory, which did not however prevent the WRP's subsequent gross opportunism on international issues.

The opportunism of Healy towards certain bourgeois

and petty bourgeois nationalist regimes in the Middle East is well known.

Less remembered is the 'prettification' of the Chinese cultural revolution and the Vietnamese Communist Party by Mike Banda and others in the pages of the SLL's Newsletter.

But despite this latter-day international opportunism, the fundamental characteristic of the Healy-WRP was (and is today in the Healy-Torrance News Line) sectarianism, sectarianism towards real revolutions, towards the real labour movement, and towards the world Trotskyist movement.

The sectarianism towards the world Trotskyist movement was justified by the catch-all accusation of Pabloism against the main forces of world Trotskyism.

It is impossible to deal here with all the issues involved in Healy's ceaseless polemic against 'Pabloism'.

But we would insist upon one point: it is necessary to make a distinction between some of the theories and practices of Pablo, especially those in the 1953 split, long repudiated by the world Trotskyist movement, and the politics of the United Secretariat.

Healy continued to make this amalgam, oblivious of the fact that Pablo had been expelled, and that no one accepted the obviously incorrect theories of Pablo in the early 'fifties' — 'centuries of degenerated workers states', transformation of the left wing of Stalinism into revolutionary parties etc.

If the accusation of 'Pabloite liquidationism' is to be made to stick, real facts about how, when and where the United Secretariat have 'capitulated' to Stalinism, petty-bourgeois nationalism etc etc has to be produced, and real facts about how the United Secretariat gave up the fight to build revolutionary parties have to be enumerated.

Such evidence was never



PAUL STEVENS claims that Healy had a secret but abortive 'unity' meeting with the late Pierre Frank. As we reported earlier, this was not the only closet meeting with former enemies, as this picture of Alex Mitchell with Pablo shows.

For those who do not already know, Mitchell has now left Britain, if not for good, at least for the foreseeable future. No, it was not reported in News Line

produced by the Healy camp.

One final point. In 1970, Healy, behind the backs of the SLL membership and the International Committee, visited the late Pierre Frank, a leader of the United Secretariat, to propose a discussion to overcome the disunity of Trotskyists.

Nothing ever came of it, and it seems likely it was part of an ill-thought-out manoeuvre.

Healy spoke of the negative effects, especially on the youth, of the dispersal of the Trotskyist movement and the existence of competing Trotskyist organisations.

On this Healy had a good

point. But if the disunity of those calling themselves Trotskyist is caused by genuine liquidationism, centrism, ingrained sectarian politics or whatever, then of course the division is justified.

If not, then disunity on a national and international level is an obstacle to making Trotskyism a real force in the workers movement, which we should all strive to overcome.

But a real discussion to make a start on this process will be difficult if it starts with accusations of revisionism.

Paul Stevens

For the International Group

Crawley Branch WRP Day Schools

Sunday, September 21 'Political Economy' Geoff Pilling
10.30am — 4.30pm
Ifield Community Centre, Ifield Drive, Crawley
Entrance: £1 per day
Creche and refreshments available

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

Preconception and polemic

ALAN THORNETT, in the course of his reply to Steve Masterson, takes a few sideswipes at Workers Power, attacking it as sectarian.

He also explains why the Socialist Group has fused with the International Grouping in Britain and why he is prepared to recognise the USec.

Steve Masterson and WP may answer for themselves, but as a member of the WRP who has taken part in discussions with several groups, something has to be said about Thornett's method.

I also have to state that WP are the least 'sectarian' of all those who have come out of the various fragments of the FI.

What strikes me first is the tired old rhetoric of denunciation which he substitutes for serious polemic.

Masterson is 'bone-headed', 'a glutton for punishment'.

Workers Power's arguments are reduced to 'one (wrong) vote in 1949'; they 'rip off a few members' etc.

If I were to be less than serious, I could sav that one

of the occupational hazards of being in what is known as the FI, is the tendency to be not only sectarian but to suffer from advanced demagoguery.

Polemic should be sharp, but let it be accurate as well.

Those of us who have more regard for historical materialism should recognise the need to examine what went wrong with the FI as a basis for a theoretical rearming of those revolutionaries who wish to learn from those errors, so that we may proceed to build a communist international.

Treating the FI and the Transitional Programme as sacrosanct, and then blandly asserting that we are all in crisis, are we not, so let us agree to disagree on fundamental questions, is dangerous.

The FI and the TP become objects of lip service, mere covers for all manner of centrist adaptations.

Is not the history of the FI proof enough of this?

Lenin and his supporters, in the split with the Second International, had to ex-

amine its errors and their sources.

This was a vital part of the process to build the Comintern.

Another part of that process was discussion with centrists, syndicalists and anarchists in order to win them over to Bolshevism.

It involved polemic but it was conducted in a patient and scientific way.

This involves knowing how to listen as well as how to argue.

Going into a polemic with our minds made up means that we will miss what is positive in our opponents and negative in our own formulations.

The dialectic does not get a look in.

Given the nature of the organisations we have broken from and the utter rottenness they represent, is it not time we turned to this dialectical method, or used it more consistently?

Trotsky and the International Left Opposition remained as a faction of the

Comintern until it was proved in practice to be dead for the revolution.

Like Lenin before him, he and his collaborators set out to learn the lessons of the degeneration of the Comintern.

Indeed the struggle against Stalinism was continuous and informed the method of the FI.

This poses the question; did the FI itself become dead for the revolution, if so when and how? Workers Power should not be denounced for raising the question and trying to answer it.

Those who refuse to face up to the degeneration of the FI are those who will never build it, or any other subsequent international that proves necessary to be built.

These are life and death questions for the working class and peasants, indeed the human species as a whole.

To turn away from them is political cowardice.

Tim O'Halloran
SE London WRP

LETTERS

PHONE OUR NEWSDESK 01-720 2000

The 'Leninist' controversy — study what really happened in China

I AM prompted by the recent 'Open Letter' of the 'Leninist' paper and by Bob Archer's reply to make a few points.

Relevant to the discussion is a little known but nonetheless important book by the Chinese Trotskyist P'eng Shu-tse ('The Chinese Communist Party in Power', Monad Press) published in 1980.

In it P'eng points out that Mao never consciously intended to transform China into a workers' state.

He in fact denied that the Chinese working class was a revolutionary class. When his armies finally achieved victory over the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek he left the capitalist class intact.

It was only during the latter part of the Korean War, when the capitalist class

tried to take advantage of the war to undermine Mao's regime, and when US imperialism was threatening China with military attack, that Mao was forced pragmatically to expropriate the capitalists and institute changes which transformed China into a workers' state.

One of the negative aspects of the WRP under Healy was of course the refusal to consider any of the writings of all those Healy chose to label as 'revisionists'. P'eng's important book is an example.

It needs to be stated that the past attitude of Trotskyists to the post World War Two overthrow of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba etc. leaves much to be desired.

Despite formally correct



P'ENG SHU-TSE, Chinese Trotskyist. Disagreements with the American SWP should not blind us to the merits of his book, which is published under their auspices

statements that the present crisis is above all a crisis of leadership and that Stalinism is counter-revolutionary, there have been few really serious attempts to show precisely how and in what way the crisis of leadership and the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism have been expressed.

The failure of Trotskyists to face up to these concrete historical questions has no doubt contributed to the confusion that is to be found amongst the members of the 'Leninist' tendency who, I have reason to believe, are making a serious attempt to

understand their own history.

The publication of P'eng's book constitutes an important contribution. Likewise, Comrade Gerry Downing's recent article 'Vietnam and Trotskyism' (Workers Press, June 14) is a firm step in the right direction. However much more needs to be done.

Finally, it is necessary to draw attention to the undialectical theoretical approach of the 'Leninist' tendency. They use the method characteristic of Aristotelian, formal logic, selecting various empirical

'Workerism' and the study of history

R BOBINSKA sees it as an invention of the Stalinists that popular revolts have normally taken place within the framework of particular nations.

Yet this is a simple fact of history.

The French Revolution was certainly influenced by events in, and ideas from, Britain and the United States, and equally certainly it had effects throughout Europe.

But it was primarily a French phenomenon, which is why even R Bobinska doubtless calls it the French Revolution.

R Bobinska also appears to disapprove of any positive treatment of past political movements unless they were strictly 'worker-and-peasant' struggles.

This reminds me of a controversy in the Communist Party during the forties and fifties in connexion with

'facts' in an arbitrary manner.

Their argument is in effect that: 'Trotskyists state that the Communist Parties are counter-revolutionary. Some Communist Parties have succeeded in bringing about the establishment of workers' states. Therefore Trotskyists are wrong'.

To this metaphysical way of thinking must be counterposed the dialectical method: we have to start from the whole world political

Christopher Hill's writings.

'What's all this glorification of Cromwell?', demanded certain ultra-left and 'workerist' elements.

'Cromwell crushed the Levellers and his very name is a curse-word in Ireland.'

'Not Cromwell but Lilburne is our man!' (At which even prolier-than-thou voices broke in with, 'Not Lilburne — Winstanley the Digger!')

Has R Bobinska read the chapter in Trotsky's 'Where is Britain Going?' entitled, 'Two Traditions: the Seventeenth Century and Chartism'? ('In Cromwell, Luther joins hands with Robespierre')

But perhaps R Bobinska would comment: 'There's a trio of counter-revolutionary rascals for you!'

Brian Pearce.

al situation since 1917, with the interactions and interconnections of all its various aspects.

Of especial importance, of course, is the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR and the degeneration of the Communist International. Only within this context can the overthrow of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe, China etc. be understood.

John Robinson.

Has the Stalinist bureaucracy a 'dual' nature?

BOB ARCHER'S defence of the theory that Stalinism is counter-revolutionary (WP Aug 16: 'Trotskyism is Leninism') is mechanistic in its approach to the subject and contrary to Marxist historical dialectical concepts.

Archer completely ignores even the possibility of the Soviet bureaucracy having a dual nature, both a progressive and reactionary side to its being; no doubt he would credit Social Democracy with such a dual role, thus justifying Trotskyism's support for Social Democracy on a world scale.

History has time and again shown that privileged social forces in their evolutionary process reveal such a dual nature.

Marx and Engels constantly exposed the rising bourgeoisie as having this characteristic, but from the opposite point with which we deal with Stalinism.

Marx and Engels exposed the reactionary role of the rising capitalist class, while it was still an historically progressive force, in order to show the working class forces that even then — the mid nineteenth century — they could not rely upon the revolutionary leadership of the rising bourgeoisie, but had to develop as an independent class force, both ideologically and organisationally.

The bourgeoisie, in its struggle to establish its class system was compelled by the iron laws of history to play a progressive role; the elimination of feudalism and the creation of its own seed of destruction, the proletariat.

Nonetheless it hesitated

and vacillated in its revolutionary leadership, fearful of the deeper revolutionary nature of the working class, and at times drew back from the struggle, uniting with the reactionary forces to put down the advancing revolutionary petty bourgeoisie and workers.

But it continued its historical mission on a world scale of developing and extending its system and the new means of production.

The bourgeoisie, as with the Soviet bureaucracy, are the instruments of the iron laws of history, and even though both (during their revolutionary roles) are at times politically counter-revolutionary in defence of their privileged interests, both defend and extend the economic and social base which nurtures them.

They reflect in their policies the interests of their creator and benefactor according to the stage of its historical development, which in turn projects itself in the nature and subjective interests of the bureaucracy or class.

Insofar as the bureaucracy or class identifies itself with its base, it construes the defence of its own subjective interests as defence of the system it represents, and not as a counter-revolutionary act.

The bourgeoisie or bureaucracy can retard the development or weaken the system it represents, but it cannot, and it would be contrary to its interests, turn back the wheels of history.

Evidence of this historical development is plain for all to see in E Europe, Vietnam, China, Cuba etc. where the Soviet bureaucracy,

although it may hinder or retard, and even directly conflict with the revolutionary forces through their locally supported Communist Parties, does nonetheless, after the establishment of the revolutionary regime, render it full economic and military support

Reflecting their political conservatism as a privileged bureaucracy, they do not want to be seen as instigators of revolutionary action, so fearful are they of provoking imperialist aggression; they try at all times to appease world capitalism.

However, the objective forces creating the revolutionary systems coincide with the needs and interests of defending the socialised economy of the USSR; that is, the best means of defence of the socialised economy is its extension.

Revolutionaries have been urging this as a policy; extend the revolution to a world scale, whereas the bureaucracy is being forced to recognise the validity of this policy that they have opposed, on strictly practical grounds in its struggle against the attacks of world imperialism.

The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus — be they Capitalist or Soviet. This fact was overlooked by Trotsky who predicted the defeat of the USSR in the event of war. He mistook the Russian bureaucracy with all its weaknesses as the true substance of the Soviet system.

Trotsky did not penetrate below this surface and recognise that the Soviet people, the human embodiment of the Socialist system being developed, constituted the true substance of the system.

It was not for the abstract principle of defending the:

October Revolution that made the Soviet people fight so heroically against fascism.

They fought to defend the benefits of a socialised economy, the free health service, full employment, housing facilities, education and the elimination of hunger, poverty and disease that they had experienced before the revolution.

The Soviet people, the living embodiment of the socialised economy, were and are mightier than the bureaucracy.

They, as with the revolutionary masses in other countries, constitute the human expression of the objective laws of historical development, which no force can turn aside.

It is both superficial and ironical that Archer should declare that Stalinism is counter-revolutionary because of its political principles. Judging it by this standard we could declare the Trotskyist movement to be counter-revolutionary on the basis of the policy pursued by the LSSP in Ceylon and the Lora party in Bolivia, a policy adhered to by world Trotskyism and responsible for the defeat of the revolutionary forces in these countries — that of 'critical' but practical support for the 'left' bourgeoisie and for social democracy.

The policy of world Trotskyism in these countries lead to blatant counter-revolutionary results, just as the Stalinist policy in Greece, Chile etc. Would one therefore define Trotskyism as a counter-revolutionary force?

Does the above analysis of Stalinism, showing that it does defend the revolutionary conquests, justify the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist tendencies into the world 'Communist' movements? Most certainly not!

For while Stalinism defends these extensions to the October Revolution as a means of self-defence, they do not risk conflict with world imperialism by initiating revolutionary action.

The majority of CPs are dominated by reactionary class collaborationist forces, who seek unity with their own capitalist class against imperialism in a broad united front with the USSR, and this policy is condoned if not initiated by the Soviet bureaucracy.

If the revolutionary forces of Castro, the Sandinistas etc. had merged with their local CPs there would be no revolutionary states on the doorstep of the USA.

The great weakness flowing from the Trotskyist analysis of the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism, is that it deprives the movement of a world revolu-

tionary perspective, in the struggle for revolution of a backward, isolated country such as Bolivia, Ceylon etc. particularly during a period of revolutionary ebb on the world scene.

Who can doubt that the revolutions in the Caribbean would have been defeated shortly after birth but for Soviet aid? One cannot mark time waiting for world revolution; one cannot always exist in isolation.

This lack of perspective for close ties with the Soviets leads Trotskyism to hesitation, vacillation and finally to unity with dubious 'left' elements and world social democracy as an international base and protective cloak from world imperialism. The results we know only too well, as demonstrated in Ceylon and Bolivia.

Tom Cowan.

Workers Revolutionary Party
West of Scotland branch

LECTURE SERIES

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- Tuesday October 14th, 7:30 pm
'The family and the struggle for socialism'

All lectures at the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

REVIEWS

Hostages of the Irish War

Error of Judgment: The Birmingham Bombings. By Chris Mullin. Chatto and Windus, £10.95.

FIVE MEN were snatched by the police from the ferry to Belfast, and one from his Birmingham home, one night in 1974.

In Morecambe police station, they were savagely beaten, forced to sign statements — and ended up framed for murder, following pub bombings in Birmingham.

They have now spent twelve years in prison for the crime of being Irish.

Chris Mullin's meticulously researched book is a powerful contribution to the campaign for their release.

He painstakingly reviews the events which led six innocent Republican sympathisers to be incarcerated for life as IRA bombers.

The men were picked up on the way to the funeral of James McDade, an IRA officer who had been killed on active service in the Midlands.

They all planned to take advantage of the trip to the funeral to attend to their own family affairs in Ireland.

The only reason for arresting them was that they were Irish, and had left New Street Station in Birmingham the same evening that bombs had exploded in two pubs, one under the Tax Office and one in the Rotunda Building, a Birmingham landmark.

The five men who signed confessions explained in court that they were beaten and punched, hooded and subjected to mock executions, burned with cigarettes, and threatened with terrible fates for both themselves and their families.

The trial was staged under conditions of enormous anti Irish hysteria.

This was whipped up by the press who took full advantage of the deaths of large numbers of innocent civilians in what is now admitted to be a bungled attack on the two pubs in the middle of Birmingham.

Enormous confusion was created in the labour move-

ment as the press took advantage of the genuine horror felt in the aftermath of the bombings.

Longbridge workers staged a walk out carrying placards saying 'hang the IRA'

The police said in court that Billy Power, the first one to 'confess' was overcome by remorse.

This is how Power describes what he was 'overcome' by.

The police punched him in the head, shouting: 'You dirty murdering IRA bastard. You got gelly on your hands.'

His jacket was torn off, they jabbed him in the ribs and arms and kicked him.

One policeman, French, put handcuffs on his own hand like a knuckleduster and hit him six or seven times with them.

Another officer punched Power in the side of the head half knocking him off his chair.

French told Power that he had 20 years experience of this sort of thing and they could make it look like Power was in the IRA and had squealed on the others.

Alternatively they could put handcuffs on him and throw him out of a car on the way back to Birmingham, saying that he had been trying to escape. 'No one would care,' said French, 'In fact we would probably get a medal for it.'

They told Power that a wild mob had surrounded his house and the only way that the police would save his wife and children was if he confessed.

After a further beating Power was dragged away by the hair.

They shouted 'You are dead whatever happens, you might as well save your wife and children.' He was dragged to a room where six men punched and kicked him from all sides.

When he slid down the wall he was dragged back up by his hair and punched systematically. He was kicked in the stomach, then in the legs, then dragged by the hair.

This was repeated three or four times. At this stage Power fouled his trousers.

After about ten minutes of

this he was spreadeagled against the wall and someone said 'Stretch his balls.'

Someone bellowed in his ear: 'You'll never have sex with your wife again.'

This was the point at which Power surrendered.

'I screamed "okay, okay". I had to say something to stop them I could not take any more.'

Mullin shows the 'confessions' to be absurd, and proves later in the book that proving false confessions out of suspects is a necessary part of everyday life for the police.

He feels that the judge should have pointed out the countless inconsistencies to the jury.

But he goes on to show that both the trial judge and the Appeal Court judges were prepared to use their 'considerable intellect' in order to get the 'right' result despite the inconsistencies.

He shows that the evidence, apart from these confessions, was 'nothing more incriminating than a few copies of *Republican News* and receipts for ornamental clocks.'

Even the forensic evidence was discredited. Tests were done in the police station on the night of the arrests which were said to prove that the men had been in contact with nitroglycerine.

The results of these tests were taken by the police as the green light to beat confessions out of the suspects.

It was said at the trial, and much later proved, that nitrocellulose, picked up from contact with playing cards or varnished surfaces, would produce the same results as nitroglycerine.

Again only later was it to come out that Home Office forensic scientists were in the habit of cleaning their test equipment by saturating it with a solution of nitroglycerine.

Thoroughly discredited, Frank Skuse, the forensic scientist who did the tests, has since taken early retirement and referred Mullin's questions about the case to the Home Office.

The prison authorities do not regard the men as IRA prisoners.

They receive open visits, and are not moved frequently in the way POWs are.

But their lives are wrecked, in some cases their marriages have been severed; they have been behind bars for over eleven years and cannot expect to be considered for parole until 1991.

Mullin interviewed IRA officers who accept responsibility for the bombings, albeit reluctantly because there are clearly differences within the Republican movement about this particular bombing campaign, where the state targets were left intact and a large number of civilians were killed.

Mullin is clear that the Birmingham Six are innocent, and is prepared to publicise their case and that of other framed prisoners like the Guildford Four.

The book shows that the machinery exists for systematically pursuing the requirements of the state.

In this case this meant framing innocent men in order to drive a wedge between the Irish community and the Republican movement.

The same machinery plays its part in the war in Northern Ireland, by holding Republican prisoners in medieval conditions with long terms of solitary confinement in an attempt to break their spirit.

This machinery is constantly available for persecuting minorities, beating, imprisoning or sequestering trade unionists or deporting coloured immigrants.

Mullin however does an intellectual somersault on this question, which is revealed in the title of the book.

He refuses to draw the conclusion that the Law is part of the state.

He calls it an 'Error of Judgement'.

The highlight of the book is that he has been able to convince former Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins that the Birmingham Six were wrongly convicted.

He does not mention Jenkins's support for the repression of the Irish struggle and especially his key role in the hasty passage through par-



DR FRANK SKUSE — his evidence was decisive in convicting the men. Contrary evidence was not believed by the jury, although it has since been proved correct. Skuse is now discredited and has been retired from police work

liament of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Perhaps he is of the opinion that by saying that the whole thing was a ghastly mistake some important people, who are deeply implicated in the frame up, will relent and let them out.

The implication is that we will then say no more about it.

To give you an idea of the kind of people he would be trying to convince, let's hear from Lord Denning, one of the Appeal Court Judges:

'Just consider the course of events if this action were allowed to proceed to trial... if the six men win, it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted as evidence and that the convictions were erroneous.'

'That would mean the Home Secretary would either have to recommend that they be pardoned or he would have to remit the case to the Court of Appeal.'

This is such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: It cannot be right these actions should go any further.'

The campaign for their release should of course pursue every avenue and use all

the important people it can mobilise.

It should be understood however, that the main concern of some of these people will be to repair the facade of 'British justice' in order to maintain its usefulness to the state.

They have been known to make promises that they have no intention of keeping.

Along with making pleas to the Home Office for their release must come the mobilisation of the working class.

Although this is no easy task, once mobilised on these questions the class will be unstoppable, but this is the very thing that worries the likes of Roy Jenkins who would be very keen to see that it did not happen.

Lastly I would remind Chris Mullin of the words of Paddy Hill, one of the Birmingham 6.

In a message sent to a Dublin meeting earlier this year he said 'I don't want anyone to say that this was a miscarriage of justice. I was beaten and I was framed'.

The book deserves a wide readership to win the campaign for the freedom of six men who have suffered incalculably — and to explain the operation of the British state.

Phil Penn

Edinburgh Festival Fringe: 'Burning Embers', performed by the Azanian National Theatre, Johannesburg. Conceptualised and directed by Benjy Francis.

HOW DO you encapsulate the struggle raging in South Africa in a tiny theatre, with minimal props and music, and with only a four-strong cast?

The Azanian National Theatre Company, a project of the Johannesburg-based Black Arts and Cultural Centre, has succeeded brilliantly in this apparently impossible task. Their play began its tour of Britain and Ireland at the Edinburgh Festival last week.

The presentation reminds you immediately of the stylised masques and harlequinades of seventeenth-century Europe.

The 'white' characters wear skeletal masks which give them the appearance of wild beasts — and, indeed, at certain points in the play they begin to prowl on all fours and even to devour their victims — notably in one horribly vivid scene by Neville Josie.

Presiding over the action is an actress, Margaret Williams, dressed gaudily as the mythical Amasi bird, which in African folklore possesses the power to excrete a refreshing, sustaining curdled milk drink.

It is a metaphor for the unquenchable struggle for freedom waged by the black men and women in South Africa.

'Our blackness is much

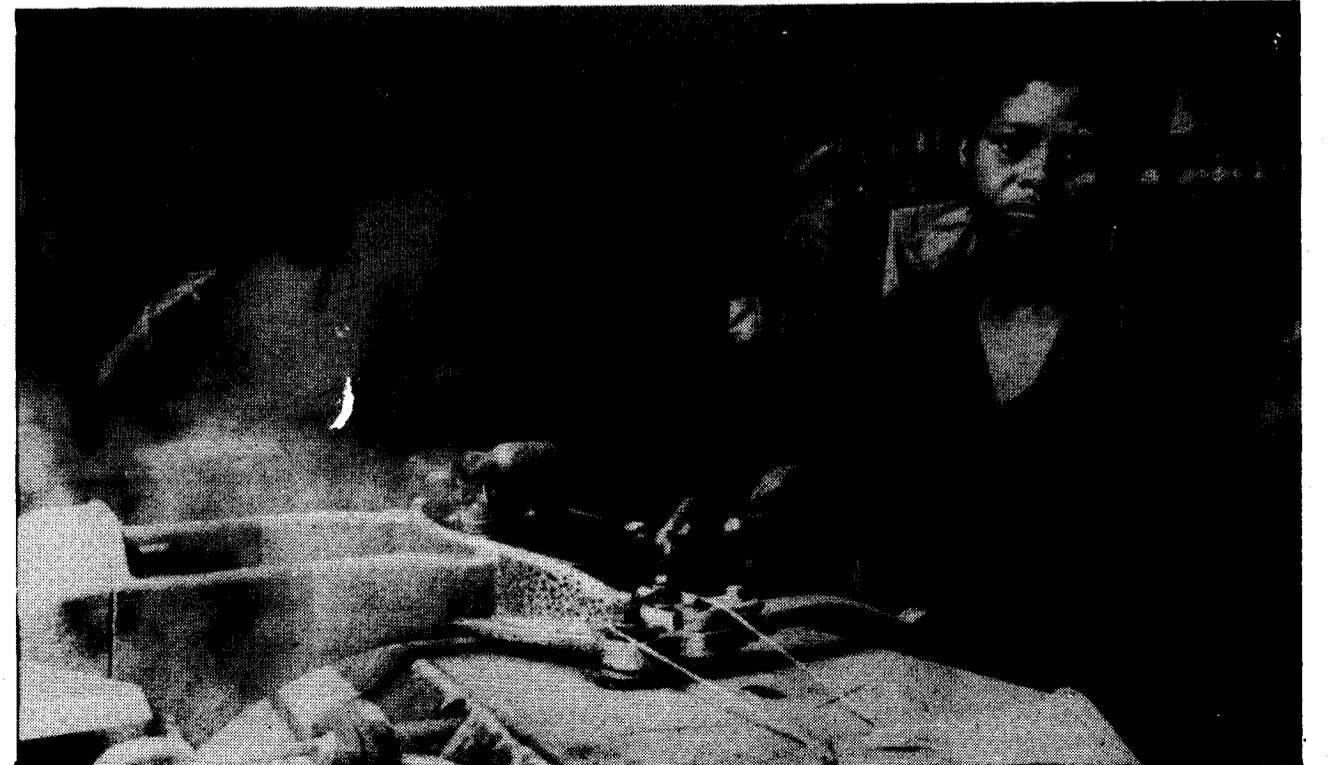
more than appearance,' the revolutionary, also played by Margaret Williams, warns the collaborator, as he visits her in prison alternately to coax and threaten her into signing a betrayal of her comrades in return for her freedom.

The black masses, she declares passionately, have no use for his 'federal' black states, his acceptance of crumbs from the white rulers which only mean the continued exploitation of the black workers by whites and the blacks who have joined the ruling class.

The play is permeated with the political conviction that the South African struggle is one of class against class, which has assumed the form only of race. Its characterisation of the collaborator (precisely delineated by Thulani Sifeni) will be recognised by workers everywhere.

And audiences in Belfast and Derry, where the company will perform next month, will as immediately understand the hooded figure writhing under torture, in an opening scene of the play.

Hilary Horrocks



Working Women in South Africa. By Lesley Lawson for the Sached Trust. Pluto Press, £5.95.

MANY pregnant women in South Africa have had miscarriages operating this heavy steam presser in a Johannesburg laundry. It is one of the photographs in a book which shows what life is like for women working in the apartheid state.

Maureen is a black nursing assistant. She slaves away on permanent nights in an old peoples home for 100 rand a month.

She gave up factory work because she wanted to be a

nurse. She has to pay for her uniform and her training — which she does in her own time two days a week when she goes without any sleep at all.

The book is full of interviews with women whose lives are like this, talking about their work which is tiring, dangerous and poorly paid. Travel to get home adds hours onto the women's 'double day.'

This book also shows women organising in unions and campaigning for rights for themselves and their families.

Victor Stockpole

REVIEWS

Much of value in this history of the Spanish Civil War

Study explodes the 'cheap import myth'

Linked By The Same Thread: The Multi-Fibre Arrangement and the Labour Movement. By Nick Chisolm, Nafia Kabeer, Swasti Mitter and Stuart Howard. Tollerance and Tower Hamlets Trade Union Council. Distributed by Third World Publications. £3.

THIS STUDY of the Multi-Fibre Agreement appears at a time when, driven by the pressures of deepening recession, the US government is adopting increasingly protectionist measures against goods manufactured in the underdeveloped countries.

The Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA), while claiming to regulate the international trade in textiles, discriminates against 'third world' products.

There has been a hysterical media campaign in the United States against 'unfair' third world competition, particularly from Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea.

Additionally, since July, in an attempt to prepare the ground for further restrictions of imports under the MFA, bilateral agreements have been arrived at with South Korea and Hong Kong which re-define categories of textiles and reduce the volume of imports.

It is already apparent that the protectionist lobby in the USA and the textile interests in particular see these new agreements as inadequate and are demanding much more restrictive measures.

Protectionism had a set back when the US Congress failed to overturn the presidential veto of the 'Jenkins Bill' which would have severely restricted third world textile imports — in the case

of South Korea by over 30 per cent.

Clearly there will be other moves, and the attitude of the United States to the recent Multi-Fibre Agreement talks was uncompromising.

They demanded that all fibres should be included, and threatened to withdraw when things did not appear to be going their way.

This book sets out the operation of the MFA in the context of the decline of the UK textile industry and the development of the South Korean, Hong Kong, Philippine and Bangladeshi industries.

However, the study demolishes the simplistic view that the decline of the UK industry can be blamed on the influx of cheap foreign goods.

Indeed in 1984 84 per cent of UK textile yarns and fabrics were imported from advanced OECD countries.

In some categories the proportion has risen, for example clothing imports from these sources increased from 43 per cent in 1981 to 48 per cent in 1984.

The decline of the UK industry must be seen in the context of the increased internationalisation of production and finance.

Concentration of ownership and rationalisation by major firms such as Courtaulds reduced UK textile production by 33.7 per cent between 1978 and 1982.

Over the same period the number of jobs in the textile industry fell by closer to 40 per cent.

The major concerns maintained and even increased their profits in spite of the overall fall in production.

Courtaulds chairman commented:

'The human cost has again

been great, particularly as much of it has occurred in regions of the UK most hurt by the recession.

'I continue to admire and appreciate deeply the sense, understanding and resilience shown by the Group's UK employees in the struggle to sustain their businesses under such difficult conditions.'

The Multi-Fibre Agreement as it has more and more discriminated against third world products has become an important weapon in the fight for protectionism and the 'siege economy.'

The authors of this pamphlet conclude:

'The MFA, and the allied campaigns of British management and trade unions in opposing rapid growth in imports, are directed only at low-wage countries.

'Yet given the evidence on the source of imports, from the viewpoint of workers in the British industry this approach has not been and cannot be very successful.

'It is also potentially damaging to workers interests in developing countries.'

The book campaigns for much-needed international trade union organisation and the development of an understanding that the problem is the international mobility of capital not the workers in the low-wage countries.

The book stresses repeatedly and forcefully that the less developed countries are not the cause of the problem, but it is clear that they do supply a major part of the market.

While it is strong on documentation and statistics, it is weak in its analysis of the role of the multinationalisation of production and finance.

Chris Dixon

The Spanish Cockpit. By Franz Borkenau. Pluto £4.95.

THE YEAR 1986 is rich in anniversaries. The Moscow Trials, Hungary, the General Strike, Suez and Spain; while they are opportunities for publishers to promote their material, new and old, they have more significance for Marxists.

We must use them to concentrate our minds on these events so that the lessons may be drawn and taken into the class struggle today.

Reverential praise for the achievements of revolutionaries and workers in the past is not enough.

Franz Borkenau was a member of the German CP and the Comintern in the 1920s.

Demoralised with Stalinism, he abandoned Marxism for liberal democracy. Yet this work contains much valuable historical detail and not a few insights that are a product of the Marxism he did manage to salvage from his political past.

His stated method approaches the civil war from the point of view that Spain's isolation from the rest of Europe lent the struggle a uniquely national character in some racial or mystical way.

He returns to this at the end of the book and counterposes it to the general laws of history.

His actual method, when

confronted with the daily events of the period he covers (August 1937 to February 1937), reveals very closely the ebb and flow of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary process.

He lays bare the impotence of the Second Republic in the face of Spanish reaction, which opened up Madrid to encirclement from the very beginning.

The absorption of the reformists and anarchists into the Popular Front (PF) government, under the pressure of the workers and peasants, is not fully understood as a tactic of the bourgeoisie, as well as a political betrayal by these organisations.

He does trace the emergence of the Stalinists from obscurity (3,000 members in 1936 to 220,000 in 1937) and their disproportionate influence in the PF government due to Soviet arms.

He also reveals their petty bourgeois social appeal which attracted many policemen. At no time did they freely win over large sections of workers and peasants.

The agrarian policies of the PF alienated and demoralised the peasants.

The disbanding of the workers' and peasants' committees (condemned by the Stalinists as 'uncontrollable') all started after November 1936, when Stalinist influence started to predominate.

This is also when the ter-

ror began in the Republican zone which eventually drove the author out of Spain altogether.

The main object of the terror was to eliminate the CNT (anarchists), the POUM (centrists) and the small number of Trotskyists.

Borkenau is scathing in his criticism of the Spanish Trotskyists, condemning them as numerically irrelevant and sectarian.

A fuller picture is available in Trotsky's writings on Spain in which we better understand the centrist weaknesses of Nin and Andrade and the Stalinist terror which left the cadre isolated.

He pays tribute to the courage of the CNT militias without being blind to their military weaknesses and utopian adventures in the middle of a civil war.

They were easily the only mass movement that could threaten the cynical manoeuvres of the Spanish bourgeoisie and the Stalinists.

This threat was eliminated by terror and fell victim to its own disorientation of the central question of the state.

The absence of a revolutionary party meant the failure to unite the poor peasants and workers in a struggle that could bring together the political and military aspects. Borkenau reveals this tragic process in this powerful and important work.

Tim O'Halloran

TV REVIEW

LAST FRIDAY night on Channel 4 saw a refreshing variation in a series showing excerpts from the great days of silent cinema, with selections out of Russian films of the 1920s.

Most of these films would never have been seen outside of Russia, and were obviously made for home consumption.

They deal with everyday life, family and social relationships in a spirit of honest criticism which contrasts starkly with the later propaganda pushed out by the Soviet bureaucracy.

The most touching excerpt comes from a film

about a peasant who lost his memory shortly after the revolution, and returns to the Leningrad of 1928, after having spent 10 years in a remote village.

He comes back to search for his wife, who has married a hypocritical NEP man. The film is a caustic attack on the effects that the New Economic Policy had on revolutionary Russia, and with the look at it now, when we benefit of hindsight, also contains the beginnings of an attack on the seeds of the bureaucracy.

The films are extremely critical, in an unmoralistic way, of those who do not

contribute to society, whether they be drunkards, gamblers, prostitutes, gangsters, or mouthy hypocrites like the peasant's wife's new husband, who gives fine speeches about the liberation of women, but treats his wife as a domestic.

One scene which must touch a chord occurs when a woman goes out leaving her husband to mind the baby while she sells apples on the street. As she stands there, another woman comes up and asks her to give a contribution to the British miners — the film was made in 1926.

Bronwen Handyside

TV Preview

Saturday August 30

3.25pm, Channel 4. **Another Man's Poison.** Wonderfully melodramatic vehicle for Bette Davis which lets her pull out all her stops. She only murders two people in this one, but the byzantine ramifications of the plot compensate for all.

7.30pm, Channel 4. **A Corner of a Foreign Field.** In this programme three men and two women from the British Pakistani community talk about their lives and their connection with home. 80 per cent of Pakistanis settled here come from a single area called Azad Kashmir, an agricultural area where strong traditional and religious values are held. This is the story of their immigration and adaptation (or non-adaptation) to the British way of life.

11.00pm, Channel 4. **Jezebel.** 1938 drama starring Bette Davis as an 1850s belle of St. Louis who outrages convention by attending a ball in a scarlet gown, but wins back her rather strait-laced sweetheart (Henry

Fonda) by nursing him through yellow fever.

Sunday August 31

9.00pm, BBC1. **The Monocled Mutineer.** Start of a four-part adaptation by Alan Bleasdale of the life of Percy Toppis, who led one of the many mutinies of the men from the trenches in World War I.

11.00pm, Channel 4. **Border-town.** Bette Davis in one of the black-widow spider parts she plays so well. In hot pursuit of a handsome lawyer, she murders her fat, impotent husband.

Monday September 1

6.30pm, Channel 4. **TUC Conference Report.** Selected highlights from the conference, intended to supplement the reports on news programmes, as a service for those who are not home during the day, produced by the same people who bring us that riveting broadcast from

the House of Lords. Let's hope it is more interesting.

11.00pm, Channel 4. **The Eleventh Hour: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk.** Documentary on the famous gay activist Harvey Milk, who was elected to San Francisco's Board of Supervisors in 1977.

One year later he and the mayor were assassinated by right-winger Dan White, who was elected at the same time. Riots erupted when he was sentenced on a reduced charge to only five years imprisonment.

Tuesday September 2

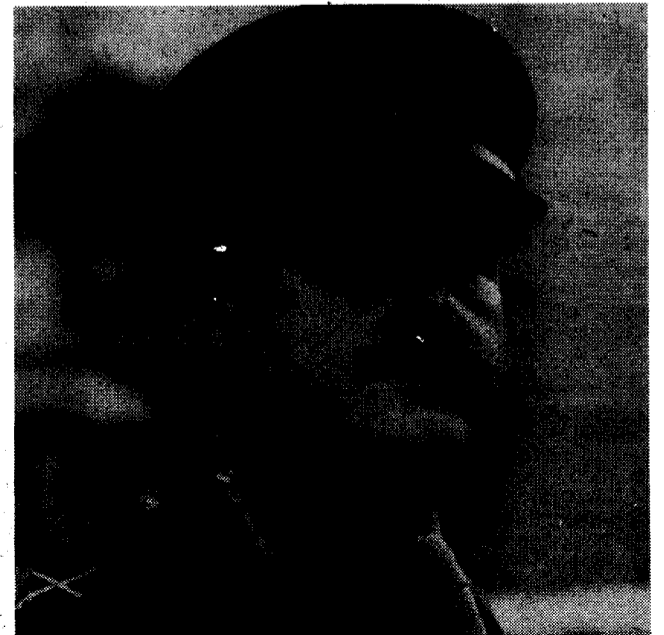
10.30pm, ITV. **First Tuesday: Come on In, The Water's Fine.** An investigation into the scandal of British beaches, where pollution, sewage and industrial waste compete for water space.

Wednesday September 3

6.00pm, Channel 4. **Flashback: Living with Strangers — the Impact of the War on the Home.** This programme looks at newsreel and documentary propaganda directed at the 'home front' during the war. It includes a remarkable documentary on nursery provision for the under-fives, which were all closed at the end of the war, when the necessity for exploiting the labour of women was over.

Friday September 5

9.15pm, Channel 4. **Bandung File.** A visit to Liverpool five years after the riots. Darcus Howe interviews the black people of Liverpool to find out how much Heseltine's 'Task Force' has done for them. He also interviews Derek Hatton to find out why the Council, which is the biggest employer in the area, only employs 1 per cent black people.



Timothy West plays Brigadier General Andrew Thomson in Alan Bleasdale's *The Monocled Mutineer* which starts on BBC1 on Sunday August 31 at 9pm.

SINN FEIN PRESS STATEMENT

THE SHOOTING of Paddy McAllister is a predictable consequence and a tragic result of the Hillsborough Agreement.

This treaty has led to an orchestrated Loyalist campaign against ordinary Catholics in north Belfast, Lisburn and other parts of the six counties. Such a campaign has been endorsed

by Ian Paisley, Peter Robinson and their cohorts, and is directed by the leadership of the UDA and the UVF.

Such actions fit with British counter-terror ideology.

It is a blatantly sectarian campaign and Paddy McAllister became a victim because he was a Catholic who happened to be a black-taxi driver and who lived in

an area convenient for a Loyalist murder gang.

If the Loyalists were attacking republican activists the logic of their actions could be understood.

The vast majority of those killed by the Loyalist terror gangs especially the UDA are ordinary Catholics, targets solely because of their religious persuasion.

LOYALIST THUGS KILL AGAIN INNOCENT MAN SHOT IN COLD BLOOD

LAST NIGHT (Tuesday August 26) I witnessed at first hand some of the horror, heartache and torture that a Catholic living in northern Ireland endures.

As I sat watching television, I heard a series of bangs. I quickly dismissed the thought that they were gunshots.

There has been a lot of building work around this district. The thought that the noises were wood being unloaded, or hammering, was so much more comfortable that I settled back to the

fantasy drama in front of me.

Last night, two men sitting in a car were seen by residents at the time of the shooting. This was the get-away car. It was chased by a

neighbour, but with no result.

A little later I heard a woman screaming and the words 'They've shot him' penetrated through the screams.

Still my mind refused to accept what it was hearing.

Alone, in a strange house, in a strange and very frightening city, the familiarity of a celluloid murder stole my attention once again.

But a little later, blue lights flashed through the window and threatened my manufactured calm once again. These lights would not go away, like the earlier sound.

The street was alive with groups of people. Some huddled together, others busily walked from one house to another, from one group of people to another.

Attention was focussed on the house directly opposite this one. An ambulance waited, its back doors wide open.

Police began to arrive and I watched them go into the house and cordon off the street.

Then there were more cries, tortured screams of horror which sent shivers of shocked reality and produced tears of compassion in everyone.

Police began to swarm, then half a dozen Saracens arrived and the army joined the swarm of uniformed intruders.

Assassins

Paddy McAllister, one of Belfast's black-taxi cab drivers was murdered by Loyalist assassins as he sat watching television in his home.

His wife and children were all out of the house when a gunman walked in and shot him.

Paddy's young son was playing on the street and rushed into the house when he heard the shots.

With incredible presence of mind he phoned for an ambulance then called to a neighbour who was talking to friends in the street.

When she went into the house and saw the body of her friend and neighbour disfigured by bullet wounds, she ran out of the house screaming.

This woman had a brother murdered in his bed in the same street five years ago. Her pain was too great, tied with her horrible memories. She went into severe shock.

For this community, the murder of Paddy McAllister

was a brutal reminder of the danger in which they all live.

Their grief at the loss of a well-loved neighbour was made bitter because his murderers had planned this attack. Everyone knew it could have been them, or might next time be them.

Last night's murder was the third in this street.

Some years ago a 45-year-old woman, Sadie Lamour, sat watching television and eating her dinner with her mother, at 6 o'clock at night.

Mother

Two gunmen walked in the front door. Sadie threw herself on top of mother and the gunmen shot her.

The two had been seen arriving in the area on a motor cycle, but they got away.

In 1981, Jim Burns was killed by gunmen as he lay in his bed.

The gunmen entered the house from a back laneway and cut a hole in the back door to let themselves into

Protestant group, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, who are known to have links with the UDA.

Two weeks ago the UFF issued a statement that they would kill black-taxi drivers and their passengers.

This includes the whole of the Catholic community as the black-taxis are their main form of transport in the city.

Directly after the warning was issued, a shot from a passing car hit a black-taxi driver, injuring him in the arm.

Last night they succeeded. Paddy McAllister is dead.

Paddy was acclaimed by all as one of the most inoffensive and harmless men you could hope to meet. He was known for his bright humour.

Last night many people told me, 'He always had a joke for everybody'.

The UFF statement claimed that Paddy was a Republican activist, but his

lives of everybody in Belfast.

It is not the IRA who endanger the lives of the people of Belfast.

It is the Loyalist paramilitary gangs which walk into the houses of innocent taxi drivers and murder them, who try to drive the few Catholics employed at Shorts or in the Department of Social Security from their jobs.

Bullets

It is the British army of occupation and the RUC who murder innocent civilians on the streets with plastic, rubber and lead bullets.

It is the courts who refuse to take the murder of any Catholic here seriously, whether it is committed by the security forces or Loyalist assassins.

The murderers of Sadie Lamour were caught. There were five men involved in the killing.

The court claimed it could not prove which one had actually fired the gun, so the stiffest sentence was seven years. The others involved received sentences of five and four years.

Last night, my own frustration and anger at what had happened led me to ask one of the men why they just don't go back and shoot in retaliation.

Sectarian

He carefully explained that Republicans abhor sectarian killings, that they will achieve nothing except a lot of heartache and misery.

The Republican movement will engage in armed struggle, but as a disciplined part of a protracted campaign to gain a united democratic socialist Ireland.

Killings like that of Paddy McAllister are always dismissed as part of the lunatic actions that come from both sides.

This is completely untrue, the intimidation and discrimination in this city is all against the Catholics — all Catholics — whether they are Republican supporters or not.

Workers Press would like to extend its deepest sympathies to Paddy McAllister's family and I would like to thank the community of St James who, despite their own grief, made sure I was not left to deal with my shock alone and extended understanding and support.

ANNOUNCING A NEW EDITION OF

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

PETER FRYER



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

In October 1956 Peter Fryer was sent to cover these events for the Daily Worker. He reported what he saw — only to have his despatches suppressed and to be suspended and then expelled from the Communist Party.

He saw people in arms demolish a regime of fear and poverty and take power in their own hands. He saw security police atrocities — and the people's terrible revenge. Then he watched appalled as a nation's new-born freedom was relentlessly crushed.

Peter Fryer's eye-witness account, first published in December 1956, had an immediate impact, bringing home to many things which they wished were not true.

Thirty years later his Hungarian Tragedy, now published by New Park Publications with a new introduction by the author, still stands as a model of journalistic insight and integrity and is as valuable now as it was in 1956.

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