

# Workers Press

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A PICKET called by the International Communist Party against the imprisonment of Trotskyists in Sri Lanka was supported by the LTTE, and WRP/Workers Press. A member of the High Commission told an ICF representative that 'they could picket until the cows come home and nothing would be done.' He claimed that the members of the picket were being paid to attend. See story, page two

# DON'T WAIT FOR KINNOCK!

**THERE IS one question left hanging in the air after the TUC. Why doesn't Kinnock call for a general election?**

**The message of the TUC and labour leaders to workers from Brighton was clear. Wait two years for a Labour Government and your problems will be solved.**

**No pledge to repeal the anti-union laws; no pledge to restore the cuts in the health service, education, social services, etc.**

If you are waiting for hospital admission, or your children have left school and are getting enmeshed in the 'Restart' scheme with the prospect of never getting a proper job, that's too bad.

If you thought that the Labour leadership were there to carry out the policies of the party, decided at conference, it seems you were wrong.

Quite the opposite: Kinnock boasts that he will not be a rubber stamp for the trade union movement —

and that even what he pledges will 'take time'.

Their strategy is clear. Soft-soap the working class with the promise of a better future — provided it toes the Kinnock line.

Don't promise to do too much at once in case any of your audience has too long a memory — but hold back the movement of the class at all costs.

The pledge for partial 're-nationalisation' of British Telecom is no more than a sick joke.

BY DAVE BRUCE

What about the thousands of jobs at stake as the management brings in new technology to destroy traditional skills? Will these workers get their share back at £1.30 a go?

Meanwhile, Kinnock can wheel and deal with the state, the multi-nationals, nod and wink with governments who might, just might, make the mistake of taking what he says a little too seriously. (Nuclear bases in Britain?)

He can reassure every-

body who is anybody that any huff and puff is for vote catching only — not to be taken seriously.

Behind the scenes, things are different. Opposition within the Labour Party has to be politically broken and the dissidents expelled.

The 'Militant' witch-hunt is just the start. The purge cannot stop until all potential opposition is well and truly cleaned out.

Make no mistake. If we fail to mobilise now against this Tory government, the working class will fall into Kinnock's trap.

The issues at stake cannot wait for two years. Already this week, 1,500 jobs have been axed by General Motors in Luton and Bedford.

British Coal's new man-

agement has started a brazen programme of wage cutting (See story, back page).

The north-east of England is suffering a rapidly sharpening economic carnage — the blitz of entire industries like coal and shipbuilding.

Every day, the South African workers suffer the misery of the Apartheid system, its brutality, torture and killings.

The Loyalist pogrom against the Catholic population in northern Ireland is stepped up even as 'thieves fall out' over the Anglo-Irish Accord.

All sections of society are under attack, from old-age pensioners, youth, immig-

rants through to well-paid printers and even hospital consultants.

For most people, it is easier to get to Heaven than own your own home.

What is Labour's response? The NEC of the Labour Party discusses but one topic at their meetings.

Is it how to deal with the crisis of the Thatcher regime? No — their only worry is how to expel the Militant tendency!

The Workers Revolutionary Party said in its Manifesto that the demand of the hour is to 'Force Out the Tory Government!'

The experience of the TUC confirms that call. To build this campaign is the responsibility of every socialist.

## VIGIL PROTESTS SA HANGING - P16



## Wednesday at Wapping

WEDNESDAY evening's demonstration in support of the sacked News International print workers was organised by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils and saw many trade council and Fleet Street Chapel banners.

Printworkers and their supporters sang their songs and danced all along the route — giving lie to any suggestion that they are ready to give in.

When the march reached the plant, a number of speakers were organised to speak but this plan was upset by a police provocation against the Lambeth Trades Council members and their banner.

Police started to jostle the Lambeth contingent which angered the rest of the demonstrators who rallied around.

March leaders claimed that Police Officer Harris, who was on duty that night, was the source of the provocation.

The printworkers soon took up the usual chant of telling PC Harris to go home in no uncertain terms.

Tom Durkin, Secretary of Brent Trades Council said: 'We in Brent have a debt to pay to you for the way printworkers helped those victimised Asians who worked at Grunwicks a few years ago.'

If the trade union movement had been mobilised

long ago, Grunwicks and Murdoch wouldn't have happened.'

Durkin also said: 'What is happening in Ireland will happen here, because it is the same enemy.'

In an obvious reference to the News International talks he said: 'Stop doing a deal, what we need is more action.'

### Deal

At this point the fracas occurred putting a stop to any more speakers.

Croydon, Greenwich, City of London and Westminster, Hammersmith and Fulham, Barnet, Lambeth and Hackney Trades Council banners were there as well as Croydon NALGO, Hackney Print Support Group and political banners in addition to Fleet Street chapel delegations.

## ACCORD AND DISCORD IN AUSTRALIA - P6

# SA meeting urges 'No sectarianism'

'WE WANT no point-scoring against any organisation,' said Bronwen Handyside, chair of Lambeth trades council's Brighton fringe meeting on trade union sanctions against South Africa.

She was addressing an audience of local workers and TUC delegates which included Notts NUM secretary Henry Richardson.

Bronwen, assistant secretary of Lambeth trades council, said there was no room for sectarianism of the left. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss how to carry the campaign back into the unions and other groups.

She explained that action had originated from Birmingham and Lambeth trades councils in organising a lobby of the TUC general council after Willis and Todd had visited South Africa.

This was followed by the September 1 Brighton lobby on the first day of the TUC conference.

In five weeks 20 trade union and labour organisations had come together in this campaign. Bronwen was confident many more would follow.

A meeting had been called for December to start a national campaigning body.

The first speaker was Billy Etherington, secretary of Durham Mechanics NUM and the Justice for Mineworkers Campaign, who pointed out one third of investment in South Africa came from Britain.

'Thatcher is a hypocrite to condemn sanctions because of the jobs that would be lost,' he said. 'Under her more jobs have gone than in living memory!'

South Africa knew sanctions would work, he insisted. 'They take action themselves on the countries surrounding them.'

'What do our class in South Africa want? They want one man, one vote and democratic organisations.'

Billy demanded that Labour MPs Roy Mason (NUM sponsored) and John Cunningham make public statements severing all connections with South Africa.



FRANCES KELLY

Frances Kelly from the Namibia Support Committee said there was a blanket of silence about Namibia, a country the size of Britain and France.

She explained 100,000 South African troops were illegally occupying the country. They were interested in

the minerals such as diamonds and uranium.

Frances spoke about the campaign against the Namibia Uranium Contract.

Preston trades council had passed resolutions of support, conferences had been held with speakers from SWAPO and a jailed miner from Rossing mine.

Springfield nuclear plant had been leafleted, calling for blacking. The workers were opposed because of fear of losing their jobs.

Ways had to be found to protect jobs while nuclear power was phased out and workers taking action must not be isolated, she said.

Help was needed from the transport union, who transported the uranium.

Frances referred to the TUC resolution passed that day promising support for action against South African goods. 'This has to be taken up,' she insisted.

The final speaker was David Kitson, who spent 20 years' in South African jails for opposing apartheid.

September was the second anniversary of the uprising of the South African masses, he said.

The Sharpeville shootings took place 26 years earlier, bringing many people into



Chair Bronwen Handyside with Billy Etherington and David Kitson

opposition to the regime. He was one of them.

Workers were faced with an organised state which was heavily mechanised. British connections were seen in the import of South African coal, steel and textiles.

'South African workers have called on the world for sanctions,' Kitson said.

The TUC had made denunciations but had given little support. Grass roots action was needed.

The Dunne's shopworkers in Dublin were an example. A mere dozen workers had got the Eire government to change their policy on the import of South African goods.

Workers in the US had

picketed the South African embassy since 1984 despite 4,000 arrests.

In concluding, Dave appealed to the meeting:

'Concretise the feeling of revulsion of British workers. Whatever splits there are in the movement, put sanctions first. Unite to end apartheid.'

Speakers in the discussion from the floor included

Richard Roques from the non-stop picket of the South African embassy; Viraj Mendis who is fighting his own deportation from Britain; suspended ANC member Norma Kitson and a TUC delegate from Manchester USDAW.

● Contact No. for trade union sanctions campaign: Bronwen Handyside 01-274 7722 ext 2010

A Brighton Anti Apartheid member asked the meeting for financial help for South African metalworkers sacked after striking for union recognition. They have set up cultural, health, agricultural and T-shirt and button co-ops and need money to sustain these projects.

They printed the T-shirts for the founding conference of COSATU. For inquiries about T-shirts and buttons write to: The T-shirt Co-op SAWCO PO Box 18109, Dalbridge Natal 4014, South Africa

## Energy lies

A FRINGE meeting on the need for the development of safer energy resources heard of the barbaric conditions in the Namibian uranium mines.

The meeting, organised by the Socialists Environmental Resources Association (SERA), was told by Sacky Amunyela: 'I worked in a uranium mine for 18 months at Rossing.'

'Dust is everywhere — you can't even tell the colour of your own overalls.'

'Houses are right next to the mine, but no one is told of the health risks and there are no medical supplies.'

Amunyela said most of the workforce at the Rio Tinto Zinc-owned mine was recruited from northern Namibia as contract labour for 18 months.

'If you return and are unfit, they don't re-employ you. There is no compensation and no independent inspections.'

Ken Cameron, secretary of the firemen's union, spoke of the government's reliance on the fire brigade, 'although they have yet to say exactly what scenario we would have to face.'

Seamen's leader Jim Slater said he was opposed to the dumping of nuclear waste in the North Sea: 'It is only when accidents happen that you can get the truth out of the management.'

A recent case was when a ship sank in the north Atlantic. 'The cargo was supposed to be medical supplies,' he said.

'This later turned out to be uranium hexafluoride, used in making bombs.'

Slater criticised the chauvinism of some union leaders who were more worried about jobs than the safety factor.

Sacked Silenight striker Mark Newton told the meeting: 'We have been victimised for defending trade union rights — and will stay on strike to defend them.'

## MEDIA MANIFESTO LAUNCHED

RADICAL changes in the regulation of Britain's press, broadcasting and telecommunications were set out in a Media Manifesto launched by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom at its Brighton fringe meeting.

The manifesto suggests ways of making the media more representative and responsive to legitimate grievances, while allowing journalists greater freedom to

report and investigate.

The meeting was told by Broadwater Farm legal advice worker Martha Osamore: 'When we talk of Broadwater Farm we have to look at the planning of the area.'

'There were no nurseries around, no places for under-fives. You had to walk one-and-a-half miles for shops.'

Now youth associations had been set up, shops and laundrettes had been opened.

'The local media dubbed it "Crime Estate",' Martha said. 'Broadwater Farm is still occupied by police.'

During last year's riots there were 364 arrests: 162 were charged but 180 were released without charge.

Sledgehammers were used to smash many doors of the 271 premises searched and people were kept in cells for hours.

'We have now developed links with the miners who experienced the same truncheons we've been getting for years,' Martha concluded.

National Union of Journal-

ists general secretary Harry Conroy said: 'News is a commodity, sold like every other commodity. Consequently the quality and standard goes down.'

Sacked NGA printer John Bailey brought fraternal greetings from the Wapping pickets.

'I'm proud I stopped producing "The Sun" over Scargill's picture being misused during the miners' strike.'

'When we go back we won't just go back to print the same old thing. We've got to link up with SOGAT, who are prepared to support us by continuing the dispute.'

Paul Routledge, 17 years a 'Times' journalist, was despatched to South-East Asia as a correspondent due to his coverage of the miners' strike.

'The only real freedom a worker has is the right to strike,' he told the meeting. 'Lack of freedom in the press reflects the lack of freedom in society.'

'They're weeding potential activists out of the NUJ — Murdoch wants a non-union company.'

## SRI LANKAN TROTSKYISTS HELD

TWO SRI-LANKAN Trotskyists, members of the Revolutionary Communist League, have been arrested in a continuing campaign of harassment in the Chilaw area.

One of them, B Perera — who was jailed earlier this summer together with R Perera and Wije Dias — has been re-arrested and charged with resisting arrest.

One of the leaders of the RCL's youth section has also been arrested and is being held under the Jayawardene regime's draconian State of Emergency laws.

The original arrests were made when the police raided a public meeting organised by the RCL on June 26.

The three men were held for several weeks and then released on bail, but charges are still hanging over all of them.

The RCL and other left-wing organisations, particularly those who have supported the Tamil struggle for national self-determination, have been subject to constant attack by the regime since the State of Emergency was imposed.

A campaign has been launched for the release of the jailed Sri Lankan Trotskyists and for the dropping of all charges, by the RCL, which is a section of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI).

The Workers Revolutionary Party central committee last week lodged a protest with Sri Lanka High Commissioner in London over the arrests.

A letter sent by Simon Pirani on behalf of the WRP Central Committee, said: 'This is a blatant use of the emergency laws for repression against political opponents of your government and for that reason we demand that these charges be dropped and ask you to convey this demand to the appropriate authorities in Sri Lanka.'

The protests must be kept up until all charges are dropped. People are asked to join a picket at the Sri Lankan High Commission on Thursday at 12:00 pm.

● Letters from trade union branches, political and other organisations should be sent to the High Commission for Sri Lanka, 13 Hyde Park Gardens, London W2.

## RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

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

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

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

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

**KENT**  
**TERRY FRENCH:** Betteshanger — Four year sentence

from January 1985. B73383, Wandsworth Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18

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

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

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

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

## PUBLIC MEETING & DISCUSSION 1974

● The events surrounding the expulsion of Alan Thornett from the WRP  
Date to be announced  
1.00pm to 6.00pm  
East Oxford Community Centre  
Princes Street, Oxford

For Details, ring: Oxford 717821 or Swindon 724714

# The 1986 TUC - a delegate's view

**SUNDAY:** After booking my hotel, I make my way to the Brighton NALGO club where the AEU delegation was meeting to decide on the resolutions forward for this year's TUC congress.

At 2.30 the meeting begins. The AEU is dominated by the right wing who have been desperately seeking amalgamation with other unions, particularly those with right-wing leaderships.

The Executive Council has a vote at the preliminary meeting and states its position on every resolution. Clearly, the right wing intend to stampede their views at congress.

Composite No.1: Bill Jordan, newly-elected right-wing president makes it clear they support this deal with the Labour leadership, including support for legislation on secret ballots which the AEU has opposed over the years. This is carried with only three of us opposing it.

## Right wing

Resolution No.3: The TASS motion is immediately attacked by the right wing. Only 12 of us (out of nearly 50) vote for it despite the fact that this resolution adapts to the right wing on 'trade union democracy'.

Resolution No.11, the now-famous NGA resolution: Jack Whyman, EC member responsible for Fleet Street, admits the EETPU recruited men from Southampton to do our members' jobs at Wapping, then recommends the AEU vote against this resolution because now the EETPU is involved in the talks. As delegate covering Wapping and our members who had lost their jobs through EETPU action, I speak in favour of the resolution: 'How can we not support a resolution which congratulates AEU members involved at Wapping?' The right wing move the vote, the resolution is defeated by 34 votes to 11.

On nuclear power the right

are adamant: no disarmament. You must vote for the pro-nuclear resolutions. This is AEU policy.

Many left-wing delegates express opposition on Silentnight, YTS, South Africa, and low-pay. The meeting finishes.

That evening I attended a packed meeting of the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign. To everyone's surprise, jailed Kent miner Terry French was present, allowed out of prison for the weekend. When asked to say a few words he spoke very passionately about the miners' struggle.

Afterwards in the pub Terry and his wife Liz were welcomed by all. The discussion continued until midnight.

**MONDAY:** Delegates are met by a mass lobby demanding trade union sanctions against South Africa and support for the sacked printers at Wapping. This dual lobby swamps delegates with leaflets, papers and stickers.

Congress begins at 10a.m. How will the bureaucracy present this stage-managed event? Will they be able to contain the opposition? What opposition? The Labour lady mayor speaks on Brighton's poor, dilapidated housing, its unemployment. A refreshing speech.

Congress presents awards. Amongst them, Dorothy Hadley from the National League for the Blind and Disabled, who despite her disabilities, has worked for the rights of blind people for over 20 years.

The youth award is to young miner Mick Davies of the Notts NUM Executive. He played a decisive role in the miners' strike. He speaks of the sacked and jailed miners and of Terry French who was sitting in the visitors' gallery.

The afternoon's main debate is on the industrial relations law. The TUC is all set for its dirty deal, with the support of the T&G and, of course, the AEU right wing. Norman Willis assures con-

**REPORT BY JOHN SIMMANCE**  
TUC delegate, AEU (Division 25, North and West London)

1-5 September 1986, Brighton

gress that 'ballots are here to stay' and supports the resolution that a Labour government would keep this law on the statute books - with TUC support.

The weak TASS resolution No.3, calling on the TUC 'to draw up guidelines' on trade union democracy and discuss them with the Labour Party, is heavily defeated.

## Rules

It is clear the bureaucracy has made a deal with Kinnock for anti-union laws to remain, setting the tone for the congress, and not the Wapping dispute which came next on the agenda. The election of a Labour government is the main business of the TUC: a Labour government with anti-union laws, interfering with the rules and independence of trade unions.

Resolution No.11, 'News International Dispute' moved by the NGA, is only a cover for the earlier betrayal.

The print unions already know they are assured of support. Almost every resolution at the TUC is decided beforehand by manoeuvres in the bureaucracy. The resolution contains no promises of suspension or expulsion of the EETPU as suggested earlier by the NGA. In fact the seconders of the resolution, SOGAT, stress they are not calling for such action, only to make the EETPU act as 'good trade unionists'.

So, despite Jack Whyman of the AEU coming to the EETPU's defence in the debate, congress votes by 5,823,000 to 3,132,000 to support resolution No.11.

Congress is jubilant. Many, including myself, convey the message to the hundreds of trade unionists lobbying outside, who welcome

the decision with mass applause.

The left wing think they have defeated the right, but many have not even read the resolution. Even before the vote, Willis stated: 'We will continue as in the past.' The continuation of the talks shows the real dangers to the sacked Wapping workers. Left words is all they got.

That evening, with my suit and tie on, I went to the AEU cocktail party. I had discussed participation in such an affair with my union branch and the left-wing delegates. It was agreed it might be an experience well worth reporting back to our members.

All the bureaucrats were there and so were many company directors. But it was an experience. As I was talking to someone from the Manor House hospital, formerly supported by the trade unions but now an openly private hospital, EC member Jack Whyman, responsible for Wapping, passes by (staggered).

I said to him: 'Didn't go very well for you today, Jack.' He wiggled his finger indicating he wanted to speak to me. I stepped forward and politely said: 'Oh by the way, Jack, the Wapping lads will be lobbying again tomorrow.'

He then replied: 'You can tell the Wapping lads from me to get ...! Anyway, you are only a Trot.'

Taken aback by this (with my suit and tie on) I replied: 'Better a Trot than a traitor'. (The level of debate is now rising, as you can see.) He slurred a few more words of the same. Then a comrade from the EETPU leadership intervened and said: 'Fine speech you made today, Jack. It showed experience and age.' I replied: 'Shows he's a traitor!' and walked away.

I reported this to some of

the left-wing delegates and decided I had had enough of this and left.

I then went to the Brighton trades council dance and met Geoff Hartnell, one of our comrades sacked during the miners' strike in the Durham Mechanics and discussed with him how we should proceed with the campaign for jailed and sacked miners.

**TUESDAY:** I get in early to give all our delegation leaflets on the Silentnight dispute. We had not decided on this resolution which called for the Co-op to black Silentnight beds. The method is to pass a pad from one delegate to another to mark whether he supports a resolution or not. Unanimous to support the Silentnight motion. I convey this to the FTAT delegates, to their surprise. In the event the general council does not oppose this resolution and it is passed.

## Fanfare

This is to be the big day. Unity at all costs. Neil Kinnock is to address congress this afternoon amid a planned fanfare of so-called unity. By mid-morning conference is ahead in the agenda. With Kinnock arriving later, congress and the media are concerned with little else.

At this point I asked AEU EC members if it was all right if I spoke on paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the general council report, on the lifting of Crown immunity in the NHS.

My prepared speech demanded that Crown immunity should be lifted not only in relation to food hygiene, but throughout the health service. Many shop stewards were determined to fight now to remove this legal barrier.

This sent our EC members into a quandary. General secretary Gavin Laird was absent. It is not very often

(hardly ever) that any delegate wants to speak, or is allowed to speak. Morgan, the right-wing member, consulted others and didn't know what to say.

It took the Stalinist EC member Jimmy Airlie to say: 'Oh no, lad. You can't speak. If you wanted to speak, you should have asked on Sunday.' (Jimmy and I had not met since he and Jimmy Reid, now a 'Daily Mirror' columnist, threw me and other members of the Young Socialists physically out of the Upper Clyde Shipyards when we were critical of their policy in 1971.) I asked him to produce the rule book and he then backed down and said OK.

In the event I didn't speak, because I wanted to speak on the YTS debate which was later.

The afternoon session was to begin. I made it clear to the left AEU delegates that in no circumstances would I stand up for Kinnock. One experienced delegate, a Communist Party member for over 20 years, said it wasn't a question of principle. I said it was.

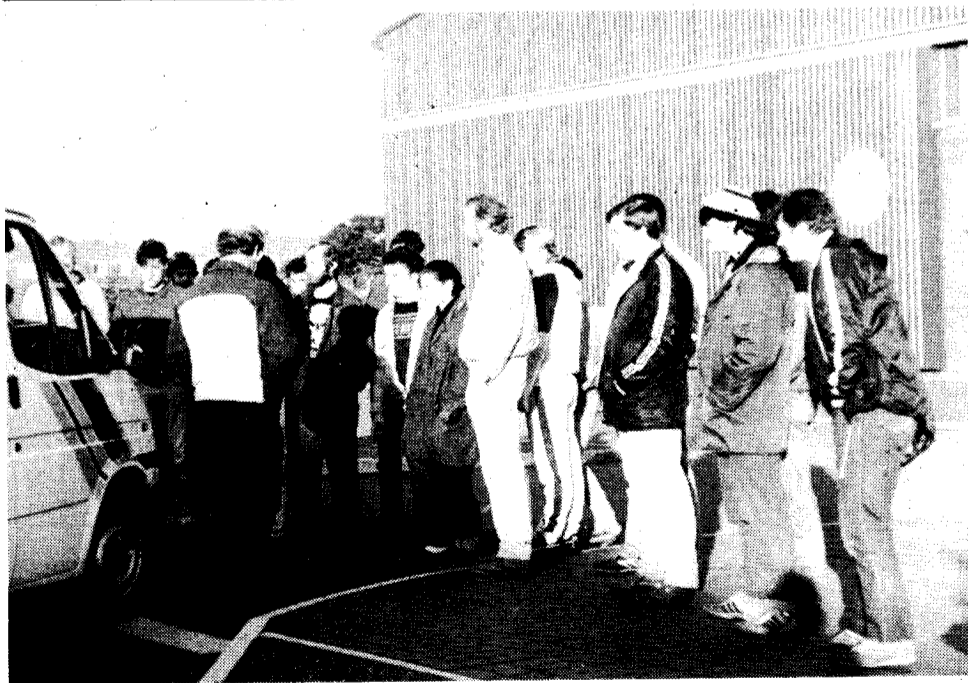
Kinnock was welcomed to the platform in a fanfare by chairman Ken Gill. The AEU delegation was right in the front of the conference. I remained seated, along with a handful of the conference. CP members stood up and clapped more than anyone.

Kinnock's speech, as expected, ridiculed the opposition in the labour movement, justified his expulsion of Militant, and made clear there will be no real fight for socialism. He finishes. Another standing ovation. Again, the Stalinists rise to their feet, clapping madly.

The resolution on NHS democracy was debated later, and passed, but no one indicated how this would be implemented with the likes of Kinnock as leader of the Labour Party.

**TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK**

## TUDOR GARDEN PICKET



BY TRAVIS GOULD

A MASS picket was organised outside Tudor Garden Products in Port Talbot last Monday (September 8).

The 12 workers who have been sacked are determined to continue their struggle for better wages, conditions, and the right to organise in the trade unions.

Support from the labour movement is coming in from far and wide and spirits are

high especially following a public meeting last week involving the community, the strikers and representatives from local factories including Fords in Bridgend.

A campaign was launched there to boycott all the company's goods and USDAW have circulated all their branches with a list of suppliers and retailers in an effort to stop the company's products being sold.

About 40 trade unionists attended the mass picket and it is hoped to build this up week by week, increasing the

pressure on the company and the few scabs who are attempting to carry on production.

Fears are also growing among the strikers who are convinced the owner of the factory, who also owns two other factories in South Wales, is preparing to shut down and pull out of Port Talbot completely, and look for slave labour elsewhere.

● Donations for the strike fund should be sent to the District Secretary, AEU, 25 Victoria Gardens, Neath, West Glamorgan, South Wales.

## NF's Loyalist links

**BRITAIN'S racist National Front members are boasting of the 'new games' they've been learning in Ulster as they team up with Loyalist 'hard men' there.**

The Front has appointed one of its directorate, John Field, as full-time liaison officer in Northern Ireland.

Asked about sectarian murders, Field has said all Sinn Fein supporters are 'legitimate targets'.

Two of the defendants in the Glasgow UVF gun-running case earlier this year were National Front members.

The manager of a left-wing bookshop in Birmingham recently got a threatening postcard signed 'Yours For Race and Nation, B'ham NF' and posted in Belfast.

'Having a smashing time over here, learning some new games', they said, adding 'later UDA+NF+White Power'.

A few days later he had to fight off an attack by two thugs armed with clubs with nails in the end.

National Front members from England were selling their papers on the Apprentice Boys march in occupied Derry in August and the antifascist magazine 'Searchlight' points out that the Loyalist paper 'Ulster Sentinel' is being sold in NF bookshops and branch meetings here.

Alongside adverts for Ku Klux Klan publications from America, the 'Ulster Sentinel' has carried material that would not look out of place in Nazi journals.

'Ulster's struggle is just a

Nazi just like to use 'Zionist' as a posher-sounding word for 'Jew'.

The British racists and Ulster Loyalists may be exchanging more than just propaganda phrases.

According to 'Searchlight', some National Front members from Britain are going to Ulster for training with Loyalist paramilitary outfits, while known UDA members are in Britain.

The guards at the National Front's Croydon headquarters were provided from Ulster.

Northern Ireland Secretary Douglas Hurd this week charged Ulster Loyalists with using 'fascist' methods.

The British security services will undoubtedly know more than he is saying.

Recalling French experience of the Algerian settlers' OAS terror, the labour movement in Britain must be alert to the danger that a Loyalist-Racist alliance could bring here.

**Announcement for WRP members**  
**WRP Irish Commission**  
**WEEKEND SCHOOL**

Saturday-Sunday September 27th-28th  
College of Marxist Education, Derbyshire

**DISCUSSIONS ON:**  
**IRISH SOLIDARITY WORK**  
**THE IRISH WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE**  
**PROSPECTS FOR TROTSKYISM IN IRELAND TODAY**

Cost £12 plus fares from areas. Please make bookings with WRP Irish Commission, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.

# A statement by the Viraj Mendis Defence Cttee

THE Tory government's new visa restrictions to be imposed on Ghana, Nigeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India is but a further escalation in the blatantly racist British immigration controls.

These restrictions of course have already been imposed on Sri Lanka in a concerted effort by the Home Office to prevent the immigration of Tamils fleeing Jayawardene's fascist regime.

The controls will make it almost impossible for fiancé(e)s, or husbands and wives, in the restricted countries to visit their partners in Britain or to attend their appeals for entry here.

Even the shadow Home Secretary Gerald Kaufman has called the action racist, which indicates how much an escalation in controls these restrictions really represent.

Kaufman has consistently refused to put his name to Viraj Mendis' appeal, saying it would be irresponsible of him as shadow Home Secretary to do it.

Paul Boateng's pledge to invite Viraj to speak at the

House of Commons one month after a Labour government is elected is currently being circulated to Labour MPs and prospective Labour candidates.

Kaufman refused to sign this pledge and called Boateng inexperienced in an attempt to discredit him for making the pledge.

Viraj's MP Bob Litherland, who has signed the pledge, will meet David Waddington (Minister of State for Home Affairs) after the parliamentary recess to make his final representation on Viraj's behalf.

Waddington then has the power to stop the deportation or approve it.

In the latest controversy over the proposed removal of two-year-old Khuran Azad, Waddington is quoted as saying that his main concern is for the well-being of the child.

Yet he threatened to deport the child and separate it from its mother!

Waddington's hypocrisy knows no bounds. In ascertaining a person's right to political asylum the Home Office have to investigate whether that person's well-being would be affected if he or she were to be deported.

In Viraj's case there is no doubt that he would face persecution. The VMDC is continuing to fight for Viraj's right to stay here.

Viraj spoke at the TUC fringe meetings in Brighton last week to bring attention to his fight.

The campaign in support of Viraj will be supporting the national anti-deportation demonstration organised in Leeds by NALGO this Satur-



A LIVELY campaign against the deportation of Viraj Mendis was staged in Glasgow last weekend, and hundreds of signatures collected for the petition demanding he be allowed to stay in Britain.

A stall was set up outside the Immigration Appeals Office in Glasgow's George Square. Announcements were made by loudspeaker and members of several left-wing groups worked together collecting signatures and explaining Viraj's case to the public.

Further activity in Scotland was to be decided at a meeting later on last week.

day September 13.

This demonstration is called primarily against the deportation of Rose Alaso and her son Brian back to Uganda. Rose is a computer operator and a member of NALGO.

All anti-deportation campaigns should attend this demonstration.

- Viraj Mendis must stay!
- Deportations no way!

A LIVELY march shouted and sang its way in London from Woodgreen to Islington last Saturday.

Banners of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!, Kings Cross Women's Centre, Black Women For Wages For Housework, WRP/Workers Press and The Campaign Against Police Repression highlighted the need to fight the racist immigration laws

and to stop the deportation of Viraj Mendis.

The march was part of a national day of action organised by the VMDC with rallies and marches in several cities throughout the country.

One thing that stood out from speeches at the rally afterwards was the need to link up the fight for sanctions against South Africa with the fight against racist immigration laws here.

## Anwar Ditta's family must not suffer for their fight!

THE ANWAR DITTA Defence Committee have called for financial support towards the legal expenses of the campaign.

Anwar Ditta fought for five years to be re-united with her children, Karan, Imran and Saima after coming to Britain in 1975 with her husband Shuja Uddin.

The children were born to Anwar and Shuja in Pakistan where Anwar had gone to live as a child with her grandparents after leaving England, her country of birth.

Anwar and Shuja left the three children in Pakistan with relatives until they were able to fetch them.

When they applied for permission to bring their children to Rochdale, not long after their arrival in Britain, the Home Office insisted they were lying.

'You never went to Pakistan,' they claimed.

When Anwar proved otherwise they declared: 'These are your sister-in-law's children.' So Anwar arranged

BY SUE GWYER

for a family photo back in Lahore.

There were Jamila's six children plus Anwar's three.

Anwar produced birth certificates which showed that some of her children were born within three to four months of Jamila's.

They could not be her sister-in-law's children! The Home Office were unmoved.

Anwar travelled up and down the country, to the Labour Party conference, to the Socialist-Feminist conference, to CARL (Campaign Against Racist Laws) and to countless other meetings

After eighteen months of campaigning countrywide and years after they had sent for their children, 'World in Action' sent a camera team to Pakistan.

They interviewed the Imam (priest) who married Anwar and Shuja, the three midwives who delivered Karan, Imran and Saima, and even an old lodger.

They all gave corroborating evidence.

Blood tests provided 99 per cent proof of parenthood.

The Home Office gave in — the children arrived in 1981, five years after their parents had applied for them to come.

The struggle to bring Anwar and Shuja's children home not only took a great deal of time and effort, but was particularly costly to Anwar's family.

They are still struggling to make ends meet.

The initial expenses came to something like £6,000 — Anwar has been personally threatened with court action for debts.

The Defence Committee feels strongly that the money should not come out of the family budget as they continue to suffer financial hardship.

The Committee is therefore asking for financial contributions from organisations and individuals towards the costs of legal expenses, no matter how small.

● Donations should be sent to: Anwar Ditta's Defence Committee, 127 Crawford Street, Rochdale.



THE RISING Phoenix Republican flute band defied right-wing violence last weekend to march in Edinburgh commemorating the great Irish socialist James Connolly.

As the band set out through the Craigmillar housing scheme with about 50 supporters, a handful of Scottish Loyalists ran screaming in to the front line of marchers and were arrested after a scuffle.

A much larger crowd of Loyalists continue to yell abuse and throw a few missiles — but once their initial assault had been repulsed, they could not stop the pro-Republican band and their supporters. There were 12 arrests.

A Connolly commemoration rally had been planned in Edinburgh in May, exactly seventy years after the wounded Connolly had been tied to a chair and executed by a British firing squad, following the failure of the 1916 Dublin uprising.

But the event, sponsored by the John Maclean Society with labour movement speakers, singers and poets was cancelled after threats from the 'Scottish Protestant Army', which was undoubtedly an assumed name for the extreme right-wing Scottish Loyalists.

Edinburgh has a history of attacks on left-wing or pro-Republican meetings on Ireland, including an incident when the Trades Council offices were besieged by a right-wing mob.

The Rising Phoenix band decided on last week's march to show they would not be deterred by threats — and their courageous action was a fitting tribute to Connolly, who came from Edinburgh and played a leading role in the labour movement there before moving to Ireland in 1896.

**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

**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

**Workers Revolutionary Party**  
West of Scotland branch

**LECTURE SERIES**

**MARXISM AND THE WORKING CLASS TODAY**

Tuesday September 16th, 7:30 pm:  
'Ireland and the national question'  
Tuesday September 30th, 7:30 pm:  
'The Scottish working class and its history'  
Tuesday October 14th, 7:30 pm:  
'The family and the struggle for socialism'

**All lectures at the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow**

# Fight looms over STUC's games policy

GLASGOW Trades Council has expressed its 'concern' at the Scottish TUC's support for the Commonwealth Games while the anti-apartheid boycott was in progress.

This rebuke comes on top of a growing row in the Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), where Stalinist and 'left' officials also opposed the boycott.

The trades council unanimously endorsed a resolution from the EETPU Glasgow branch, expressing concern with the STUC's role in appealing for funds for the Commonwealth Games Organisation in view of the increasing privatisation of these games, and the boycott by many nations due to the British government's failure to enact economic sanctions on South Africa.

EETPU delegate Charlie Montgomery explained to the trades council that his branch had been disturbed by a circular from STUC general secretary Campbell Christie, asking for funds for the Commonwealth games.

Christie, along with Stalinist Scottish AAM secretary Brian Filling, Scottish AAM chairman Labour MP Bob

BY SIMON PIRANI

Hughes, and other eminent politicians, put their names to a letter to the Scottish daily newspapers calling on Commonwealth countries not to join the boycott.

The letter, which appeared when only Nigeria and Ghana had pulled their teams out of Edinburgh, argued that since 'Scotland had not elected the Thatcher government, and the people of Scotland were against apartheid,' Edinburgh should not be made to suffer the damage caused by the boycott.

There was an immediate and hostile reaction to this cringing parochialism from trades unionists and socialists.

Labour movement activists from Stirling wrote to

the papers supporting the boycott, and arguing that it was a small price for the Scottish working class to pay in order to strike even a small blow against apartheid.

Indignant protests from anti-apartheid groups brought forth a report from Scottish AAM vice-chairman John McKinnon explaining that the Scottish AAM committee, together with the STUC, had pursued an 'alternative strategy' to the Nigerian-led boycott — consisting of pleas to Thatcher to implement economic sanctions.

On July 15 the Scottish AAM committee wrote to Tory Scottish secretary Malcolm Rifkind, begging him to speed up a climbdown by Thatcher on sanctions, which they appeared to believe was coming anyway.

'It seems likely to us that the British government will have to indicate some change of position at the Commonwealth Heads summit at the beginning of August,' they wrote to Rifkind, 'and so we feel that if that change of position was indi-

cated now, the Games would not be jeopardised and the countries currently boycotting would again participate.'

The appeal fell on deaf ears, the boycott of the games reduced their sporting value to virtually zero, and co-incided with a demonstration against Thatcher who travelled to Edinburgh to congratulate those nations that took part.

Then the STUC wrote to the press explaining that: 'The alternative strategy which was proposed was this: that by coming to the Games en bloc (following Scotland's efforts to declare itself "friendly territory" on the sanctions issue), the Commonwealth countries could make a political gesture of solidarity against Mrs Thatcher's position, thereby further isolating her even within the UK.'

(How did they 'propose' this alternative strategy? Were there any talks with representatives of the nations concerned?)

For the African nations — particularly Zimbabwe and



CAMPBELL CHRISTIE

Zambia, about two-thirds of whose trade goes through South Africa — a blockade of South Africa would mean economic devastation. The black bourgeois governments there can not take this issue lightly, and for them the Edinburgh boycott was a

minimal gesture. For the cringing reformists and Stalinists in the leadership of the labour movement in Scotland, even this was too much. This must give an indication of their future reaction to workers' sanctions against apartheid.

## US workers defy courts in SA sanctions fight

WORKERS PRESS has received material from a correspondent in the United States about the efforts of trades unionists to impose sanctions on South African goods in recent months, which we summarise below. We plan to keep readers regularly informed on this campaign.

SYMPATHY for the struggle of Africans for freedom in South Africa is widespread among American trade unionists, where there is, of course, a large percentage of black workers.

A few months ago, when 350 San Francisco longshoremen refused to work on cargo for South Africa, they did so even though they knew that their action could mean heavy penalties for the local branch of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen or for the individual dockers involved.

These could include federal injunctions for the violation of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act, which outlaws secondary boycotts.

The action continued for eleven days, even though an injunction against the union 'local' was handed down by a Federal Court making the boycott and picketing illegal.

The strike ended when the police broke up the picket of dockers and anti-apartheid supporters at the dock

council (an equivalent body to a trades council) unanimously supported the action and many international unions sent telegrams stating their solidarity.

The big American unions have condemned apartheid. The Teamsters Union Convention in May passed a resolution condemning the system of racial segregation and slave labour.

The United Mine Workers of America has a native of South Africa, Nomonde Ngubo, as a representative of the union at Washington D.C., the seat of the American Government.

As in Britain, however, while union leaders make their demands for government sanctions of South Africa and pass resolutions against apartheid, they refuse to use the strength of their unions.

Demands for action come up from the rank and file.

15,000 members of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers local two in San Francisco passed a resolution declaring that 'the continuance of apartheid is repugnant to labour in the United States



An anti-apartheid rally in St Louis, 1985

as well as the rest of the world' and that 'thousands of US trade unionists had demonstrated against apartheid and the US government support for the apartheid regime.'

They called for a national one day stoppage by all labour in the United States.

● As in Britain the fight for workers sanctions and class solidarity with African workers is a fight against the resistance of trade union leaders.

## SA MURDERS ALL-NIGHT VIGIL

BY NORA WILDE

AN all-night vigil was held last Monday in front of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square.

Directed against the intended hanging on Tuesday morning of three ANC members, Andrew Zondo, Sipho Xulu, and Clarence Payi, by the South African racist capitalist state, the vigil also condemned the refusal of the British government to intervene.

Called by the ANC, Anti Apartheid and SATIS (South Africa The Imprisoned Society), it was attended by youth, workers, the unemployed and individuals from the Labour Party and left-wing organisations.

Spirits were kept high throughout the night by singing powerfully inspiring

songs of Azanian struggle and opposition to the Botha regime.

Reflecting the most profound desire of Azanians to be rid once and for all of the hated apartheid regime, ANC speaker George Jonnes warned Thatcher and Botha that whatever the mounting crimes committed against the Azanian people, the struggle would intensify until victory was theirs.

Shortly after 6.30 on Tuesday morning, three wreaths were placed on the steps of South Africa House expressing grief and sympathy for the families of the three murdered fighters.

But above all they were laid down as a pledge to deepen and carry forward the struggle against apartheid and imperialist capitalist exploitation of the Azanian working class

### Advertisement Dayschool on South Africa

Saturday, 20th September  
10.30 am till 5.00 pm  
The Gilbert Richards Centre,  
Broadway, Earlsdon, Coventry

#### Agenda

- 10.00 — 10.30 Registration
- 10.30 — 12.30 1st Session  
Introduction by Charlie van Gelderen, a South African exile.  
Discussion will concentrate on the nature of South African society and the history of the various anti-apartheid organisations.
- 12.30 — 1.30 Lunch (food provided)
- 1.30 — 3.15 2nd Session  
The Black Trade Union Movement, COSATU  
A speaker from COSATU will outline the development of COSATU. Another speaker, who has recently arrived from South Africa will talk about the latest situation.
- 3.15 — 3.30 Coffee break
- 3.50 — 5.00 3rd Session  
Solidarity work in Britain  
● John Lister — work inside the trade unions  
● Speaker from Lambeth Trades Council (invited)  
● Dave Rees from Birmingham Youth Against Apartheid (personal capacity) — work inside the Anti-Apartheid movement and A.T.U.O.U.  
● Coventry Anti-Apartheid (invited)

Registration fee £1.00/50p  
Creative facilities are available (please contact us in advance)  
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**ACT AGAINST APARTHEID  
RELEASE MANDELA NOW!**

**MAJOR RALLY OF 154th DAY & NIGHT NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE**  
Friday September 19, 7pm  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn Tube)

Speakers: Richard Balfe, MEP; Sharon Atkins, PPC; David Reed, FRFI; Viraj Mendis, Carol Brickly, City A.A.; Dr. Maire O'Shea; Ted Knight + Picketers

Exhibition — 100 days of picket  
Liberation songs by City Group Singers with audience participation  
Launching of Norma Kitson's Autobiography *Where Sixpence lives*

**AT 10pm MARCH AND TORCHLIGHT RALLY TO SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE**

# ACCORD AND DISC

## Australia's Labor government launches major offensive against the working class

IN MARCH 1983, the Australian labour movement was overjoyed by the victory of the Labor Party after 7½ years of Liberal (Conservative) Rule.

It had been dumped from office on November 11, 1975 in a legal coup by the Governor General, the Liberal Party and the Chief Justice of the High Court.

Seemingly committed to policies of wage maintenance, of a national health scheme, of increased welfare spending, of an anti-nuclear programme and many more reforms, expectations ran high.

As well, Labor had won most state governments, strengthening the belief that the reforms started by the earlier Whitlam Labor would be returned to.

But even the seasoned critics of reformism were astounded by the stampede to the right by the Labor leadership.

The first to go was the ban on uranium mining, then aboriginal land rights, then wage maintenance, then the dollar was floated, limits on housing interest lifted, then the outlawing of a militant union.

It is an almost impossible task to list the anti-labour actions of the Hawke Labor Government.

Others include the introduction of identity cards with photographs, allowing state police to tap telephones, letting capitalists take unions to court for damages.

These actions have been mimicked by the state Labor Governments with hospital closures, reductions in government employment and cutbacks in local welfare spending.

The latest budget is a continuation of this openly capitalist programme with attacks on pensioners by delaying their pension increases six weeks to 'save the Government \$147.7 million'.

Overall welfare spending was reduced by \$384 million.

Yet, in the tax reforms announced last year, the rich are to have their maximum tax rate reduced from 60 cents in the dollar to 49 cents in the dollar.

As well, dividends, formerly included in personal

taxable income, are to be exempt.

When the right wing leadership are asked what they think they are up to, they reply (if you are lucky enough to get one) that the economy of Australia is 'outmoded', 'inefficient', 'not enough wealth to go around'.

Australia 'must become more affluent' before reforms can take place.

The public sector of the economy 'cannot produce much wealth' so the private sector must be allowed to flourish.

In short, the rich get richer and the crumbs from their table will, in the distant future, somehow finance reforms to benefit the working class and welfare recipients!

Like all reformist parties the Australian Labor Party is bedevilled by the problem of which master it serves: the working class or the capitalist class?

### Reforms

As any student of reformist politics will know, when in power, the reformists will concede a few reforms but continue to administer the capitalist state and economy.

In Australia the Hawke Labour government has not even bothered to go through this pretence.

How has the Labor Leadership been able to go so far right without at least some opposition from the labor left or the trade unions? The answer to this lies in several areas.

One is that a middle class careerist layer has permeated the industrial and political sections of the Labor Movement.

Another is the fact that the union leadership were bought off with a prices and incomes deal called the 'Accord'.

But more on the Accord later.

Australia has a highly developed legal process, called the Arbitration System, in setting all aspects of wages and conditions of all unions.

It is something like the UK wages councils but much much wider in scope and operation.

There is a never ending number of compulsory conferences and hearings to attend.

In the early sixties the universities began churning out graduates in politics and industrial law.

Many found jobs as industrial officers and researchers in the trade unions.

Most were openly professionals in the 'industrial relations business'.

They joined the Labor Party forming a layer that had only careerist links with the working class.

Initially sounding left with their talk of 'restructuring society', 'redistribution of wealth' and the like they moved into the administrative apparatus of the ALP and gained endorsement for many parliamentary seats.

This layer was further enlarged during the era of the Whitlam Labor Government of the early seventies.

Whitlam launched a series of reforms preceded by dozens of commissions, committees of inquiry, advisory boards and hundreds of individual advisers.

Many of these people moved into the ALP reinforcing the middle class layer already developing there.

The economic crisis of the early seventies hit Australia with a thump with inflation and unemployment skyrocketing overnight.

Whitlam, under pressure from the local capitalist class and the United States, rapidly wound back the reform programmes, sacking his leftwing ministers and attempted to reduce the

wage gains the workers had won during the first 18 months of the Labor Government.

Even this was not enough for the capitalist class and, after a hysterical anti-labor campaign, the Whitlam Government was dismissed by the Governor General, ostensibly because the upper house, the Liberal controlled Senate, would not pass the Budget.

### Elections

After handing over the Prime Ministership to the Liberal Leader, Malcolm Fraser, elections were immediately announced.

Neither the Right, Left nor Center factions of the ALP had any policy to mobilise the Labor Movement despite the fact that, spontaneously, the working class in their hundreds of thousands poured out of the factories and off the building sites demonstrating outrage at the sacking of Whitlam.

Hawke, then President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the leading representative of this middle class layer, was on radio and TV within the hour calling on workers to 'be calm' and not to take undue action.

All factions in the Labor Party and Trade Union Leadership sought to minimise or stop the strikes and demonstrations and turn the struggle for the reinstatement of the Labor Government into a normal election campaign.

A severe defeat was the result and the ALP lost heavily to the Liberals in all seats.

The middle class layer looked in awe at the apparent power of the capitalists and their media and began to move right, saying things like 'we moved too fast with reforms' and 'Australians are conservative people and we have to trim our programme accordingly'.

This of course was really a move to accommodate the interests of the capitalist class.

The old traditional right wing had been weakened by a major split in the fifties when an extreme anti-communist group directed by a right wing catholic organisation called the National Civic Council attempted to seize control of the ALP.

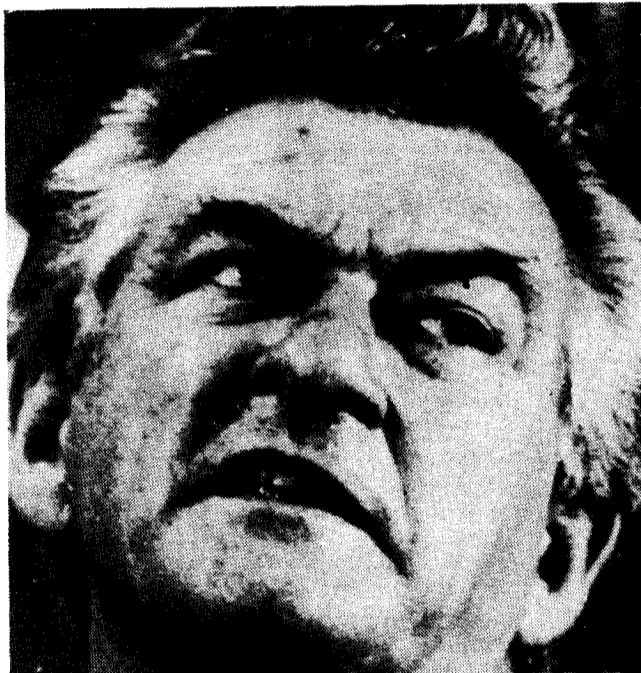
### Expelled

They were expelled and, forming a 'Democratic Labor Party', helped keep Labor out of office until the Whitlam led ALP won the elections of 1972.

With Labor in government, the DLP waned as a

The Hawke Labor government in Australia has, under the name of the so-called 'Accord', launched a far-reaching attack on the living standards and rights of the Australian working class. The importance of studying the role of a Labour administration in carrying out these attacks, and of the changes within the Australian Labor Party over recent years, need no stressing here.

We thank our correspondent in Australia, himself an active participant in the labour movement, for this article.



BOB HAWKE

force in Australian politics eventually disbanding.

But the well-funded National Civic Council continued to exist and redirected its supporters into the ALP.

Eventually this strengthened the right wing of the party and laid the basis for a coalition between it and the middle class layer.

The Fraser years were ones of austerity with the Liberals cutting government spending in all areas.

Unemployment and pension benefit increases were kept well below the inflation rate.

Medicare, the national health scheme, was disbanded.

### Wages

The Arbitration Commission was told it was expected hold back wages.

It did. As the buying power of workers income decreased, pressure built up in the labor movement for real wage increases.

The Trade Union Leadership was desperate as it was locked into the legal industrial system and had no programme of fighting for wages outside of it.

In fact they didn't want to have one as this would entail a blood and guts struggle with the employers and eventually with the Liberal Government.

One union, the Builders Labourers Federation, which did take action on the job for increases, was harassed by the Fraser Government and got little support from the other trade union leaders.

By 1982 it was obvious that an impasse had been reached.

Workers were demanding better wages, the trade union leadership unable to deliver and the hated Fraser stonily refusing any deal.

It was expected that at the next election the ALP would win office.

Bob Hawke was by now out of the ACTU and in federal parliament, where he openly associated with the right wing faction.

There Hawke and other Labor leaders, together with the top trade union leadership, put together a scheme called the Prices and Incomes Accord.

Neither the rank and file nor even the lower echelons of the trade union movement had any say in its content.

Under this Accord the Trade Union Leadership would, in the event of an ALP victory, agree to limit any wage demands to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) and to have six monthly reviews of wages.

In return, an ALP government would support increases up to the CPI, limit prices and increase the 'social wage'.

The fact that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to control or limit prices didn't deter these people from putting it in the Accord.

The social wage is a theory that argues the real income of a worker or welfare recipient is not just what is received in the pay packet or benefit cheque.

### Drains

Under this concept national health benefits, social welfare, government housing and even items like roads and drains are included.

In Australia the theory has an interesting history in that it was promoted by right



A recent Aboriginal Rights march in Perth, Western Australia

# ORD IN AUSTRALIA



A Builders Labourers Federation march — their militant union has been the subject of a ferocious attack instigated by the Labor government



BLF leader Norman Gallagher

wing social democrats and the Communist Party!

The Accord was seized upon by a desperate trade union officialdom and foisted on the working class as the solution to the impasse.

Never mind that it did not give back lost buying power of wages lost under Fraser.

Never mind the fact that the Federal Government had no power to control prices.

Never mind the fact that the Accord gave no commitments in actual real terms to the so called 'social wage'.

Virtually the entire political spectrum in the Labor Movement including the Communist Party union officials threw in their full support to get it accepted.

In fact, the Metal Workers official and leading Communist Party member Laurie Carmichel was one of the initiators of the Accord.

In Australian business circles Carmichel is actually referred to as 'Mr Accord'.

Events in the ALP leading up to the election included a restructuring of the parliamentary leadership where the right, assisted by the left, ousted Bill Hayden and installed Hawke as leader.

Within days, Fraser called

an election and Hawke, waving the Accord and speaking of how great Australia would be under him, launched a vigorous campaign.

After winning the election on the Saturday, Hawke came out on Tuesday claiming the Liberal Government had not disclosed that the budget deficit had blown out from \$3.5 billion to \$8 billion.

He solemnly announced that the Labor Government would have to reassess its promises and commitments.

The first and only real reform of benefit to the working class was the reintroduction of a national health scheme called Medicare.

## Shadow

It was, however, a shadow of the old Whitlam Government's Medibank.

Less benefits and lower standards characterised it, many finding themselves much worse off than under the private health funds.

To maintain any reasonable standard of health cover, one had still to take out

extra insurance.

A one per cent levy was added to personal income tax to pay for it.

Hawke and Co then announced that medical services would be taken off the Consumer Price Index so that the cost to the worker (one per cent of taxable income) would not be reflected in any wage increase!

The silence of the Trade Union Leadership was deafening.

Since then the CPI increase due to the working class has been 'discounted' on a number of occasions with little objection from the same leaders.

In his Budget Speech during August, the Treasurer and leading right winger Paul Keating openly boasted that since Labor came to power in March 1983 'real labour costs have fallen by more than 7 per cent'.

Unlike the workers, reforms have been lavished on the capitalist class and overseas investors.

In the tax reforms announced September 1985, the wealthy had their top rate reduced from 60 cents to 49 cents.

As well, exchange controls were scrapped allowing a massive outflow of capital and inflow of borrowed money.

This led to a series of takeover bids dramatically increasing the number of giant monopolies and increasing the wealth of rich capitalists many fold.

For instance, the wealth of Kerry Packer has swollen from \$100 million plus in 1983 to \$400 million last year! Yet under Labor wages have reduced 7 per cent!

This monetary policy has led to a position where Australia's overseas debt has risen to \$A100 billion and we had last week the spectacle of Keating pleading with Moodys Investor Service (USA) not to downgrade Australia's AAA credit rating.

## Deal

How then has this Government gone so far to the right without an explosion in the ranks of the ALP and the Labor Movement? The major reason is the Accord.

Fear of upsetting this deal was injected into the ranks of the Party and trade unions.

Union leaders sitting on the various councils of the ALP voted with the right wing on almost all issues.

Many of the middle class layer described earlier formed a separate faction calling itself 'Center Left'.

A misnomer if there ever was one.

Fearful of losing their privileged positions, they also lined up with the right on every occasion.

With this line up, the right launched a series of attacks on the various sectional interests one after the other.

First came the uranium policy when the Hawke Cabinet announced that it could not uphold Party Platform banning uranium mining.

Arguing it was impractical, they managed to change the policy at the next National Conference of the ALP.

Many anti-nuclear people then left the party in disgust.

This set the pattern to rid the party of people who supported various single issues.

Then one by one came aboriginal land rights, environment and conservation issues, the civil liberty platform, the accepting of In-

donesia's domination of Timor and its harassment of the Melanesian population of West Irian.

The banning of the militant Builders Labourers Federation is another example as is the postponing of due welfare increases.

On Monday September 8, Hawke announced that all work practices and conditions must be reviewed.

## Market

The cry from Australian capitalists and their seniors overseas is the 'freeing up of the labour market'.

Hawke, a vain man who wants to be liked by every Australian, now has to really put the axe into all the conditions won by the Australian working class.

This will not be an easy task as resistance is growing to the cutbacks.

Already, elements in the Labor Movement have held a National Fightback Conference reflecting the beginning of serious opposition to the rotten Accord and the policies of this pathetic servant of capitalism, the Hawke Government.

## RELEASE GUTTIEREZ!

NCE last year's General Strike in Bolivia the Government has been engaged in a programme of persecution against working class militants.

One of those being held in prison is Eleuterio Gutierrez, a militant miner and active member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), led by Guillermo Lora.

Eleuterio was arrested eleven months ago and charged with the theft of mining equipment, although there is no evidence to support the charge except from two well known management stooges. No date has been set for the trial.

It is clear that Eleuterio has been framed for his political activities.

During the general strike of 1985 he was a leading

organiser of the miners' march on La Paz and has been active in organising miners to resist the threatened closure of private sector mines.

In August this year a mass meeting in Oruro, where Eleuterio worked and stood for Council election for the POR, initiated a renewal of the fight against the Government and called for Eleuterio's release.

The Campaign to free Eleuterio Gutierrez is organising a picket of the Bolivian Embassy, 105 Eaton Square, London SW1, on the first anniversary of his imprisonment — Tuesday September 30, 11 am till 2 pm.

Messages of support and donations for Eleuterio's legal defence in Bolivia can be sent to Steve Masterson, BCM 7750, London WC1N 3XX.

## Bolivia miners confrontation

BOLIVIA'S 21,000 tin miners are in 'a state of alert' and their union is planning further action against the government, according to union leader Walter Delgadillo.

The miners at 23 state-owned mines walked out recently after the government had declared a state of siege to stop a march of 7,000 miners on La Paz, the capital.

Civil rights were suspended, the army was put in charge and nearly 200 trade unionists and churchmen arrested.

In the following week police raided college campuses and arrested Left-wing students.

The Bolivian Labour Confederation has voiced concern that the intervention of US planes and troops in supposed anti-narcotics operations this Summer — without even being invited by the government — could be an ominous precedent for operations against workers and peasants.

Over 7,000 have been sacked since President Paz Estenssoro took office a year

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

ago, as the fall in world tin prices hits Bolivia's main industry.

In 1985, mining exports earned only \$50 million for Bolivia, compared to \$641 million in 1980.

At the same time, there is a crisis over foreign debt repayments.

Recently the government announced plans to close two mines and lease out nine others.

Unions have warned that thousands more jobs are threatened.

In August the government tried to close two local television stations in the mining and smelting city of Oruro.

because they had allowed people to speak out against closures and privatisation.

Protests in the area escalated to a general strike and on August 15 a mass meeting in Oruro called for an indefinite general strike.

The workers demands included keeping open the threatened TV stations, stopping mine closures and the release of jailed trade unionists and peasant leaders.

Following the recent miners' strike and halting of the march on La Paz, it was reported that detainees were being released.

The miners returned to work.

But it was then learned that over 30 detainees were being sent to internment camps in the jungle and the Interior Ministry said others would follow.

The Planning Ministry said it would ask church leaders to arrange talks with the unions.

But Roman Catholic Bishop Julio Terrazas com-

plained that by its repressive measures the government was humiliating the miners.

'Their demands are just and they should not have been treated this way', the bishop was quoted in the church paper 'Presentia'.

Others commented on the way US troops had been let in, ostensibly to fight drug traders, while Bolivia's own army was being used against the miners.

Paz Estenssoro led the nationalist MNR in Bolivia's 1952 revolution, helped into power by armed miners.

It is a matter for historic debate whether the Bolivian Trotskyist POR, influential among the miners, ought to have fought for working class power then.

A succession of military regimes later, Paz Estenssoro is back in office heading an austerity government against the workers.

As workers fight back under more desperate conditions, the struggle for power is posed again.

# STALINISM

**LAST WEEK, PETER FRYER** described how he came to be a socialist and to work on the Communist Party paper, 'The Daily Worker', which sent him to cover the notorious Rajk show trial.

The climax of his disagreements with the Communist Party came after the rehabilitation of Tito and Rajk without explanation and after the Khrushchev speech revealing the crimes of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Fryer was sent to cover the crisis in Hungary while actually working out his notice on the paper. His reports of the suppression of the uprising were themselves suppressed.

This week, he describes the impact of these events on the Communist Party in Britain and how the Trotskyists reacted to the crisis they produced.

**YOU EARLIER said something about the rehabilitation of Tito. What impact did it have in the CP?**

I WAS at a Party school on philosophy: they were turning me into a philosopher. I went to Klugman with my draft prepared and I wanted to call it 'Social Development'.

He said: 'let's call it Historical Materialism: let's use the standard phraseology.'

So I said: 'What's all this about Tito?' and he said: 'I haven't had a postcard you know'.

And this was the guy who had written 'From Trotsky to Tito'! He was just keeping

bland until he knew what the line was.

I thought if there is anybody who can tell me how to explain the new facts which conflict with my theoretical framework, so that I can re-shape the theoretical framework and understand what is going on it's James Klugman. I was still very loyal, you see.

So by the end of 1955 I for one was in a state of some confusion. I had begun reading.

**YOU started reading Trotsky at this time. Why was that?**

WELL, I read some Deutscher. I read Deutscher's 'Life of Stalin' and his life of

Trotsky and I read Trotsky's 'Life of Stalin', which I found extremely bitter.

I didn't like it at all. I thought it was personal and bitter.

I went to the library. These books which one had formerly avoided as political pornography: I thought this is interesting. My mind was more open.

I read Trotsky on Stalin because it happened to be there.

It was in Hampstead Library, at the corner of Arkwright Road and Finchley Road. I met Ellis Hillman one day there. We insulted each other.

We had debated or something a year or two before. He hissed in his jocular way 'Stalin' at me.

I frankly hadn't come off terribly well because he knew more about the things than I did.

**THEN came the Khrushchev speech. Did this have as big an impact as Hungary later on?**

THE REPORTS of the Khrushchev speech didn't start appearing until the March.

It was this which for me killed the whole thing stone dead and started people wondering and thinking.

You are comparing chalk with cheese here. It's very hard to make a judgement.

I would guess that Khrushchev's speech started a process and not many people left over it. A hell of a lot of people left over Hungary. I think about a third of the membership.

Although, as Brian Pearce said afterwards in one of his more acerbic moments: 'it squeezed out a lot of water as well.'

We are not talking about two discreet events. We are talking about a process which began with the Khrushchev speech.

But Hungary was the natural climax, the culmination after six or eight months of questioning and conclusion, disarray and wondering and conflict within the Party.

**WHAT followed the Khrushchev speech?**

THIS WAS followed by the rehabilitation of Rajk. This was the bombshell for me.

That came into the 'Worker' office on the Good Friday and I was at the Party Congress at Battersea Town Hall.

This incidentally was where I first saw G. Healy, standing outside giving out leaflets. I was covering the Congress.

People who had been in the 'Worker' office, colleagues, came into the Congress and said that when this news about the rehabilitation of Rajk had come in, Walter Holmes had put it on the spike.

There had been a 'to do' in the office.

After some of them had gone to the editor, they pulled it off the spike and gave it a few paragraphs, tucked

away. This made me very cross.

**YOU spoke at the Battersea congress. Can you say a little about this?**

THERE was a private session on the next day, on the Sunday, on the Khrushchev speech.

And I thought by hook or by crook, I'll speak. I'd never spoken at a Party Congress before.

I wasn't a delegate to the Congress. But I sent my name to Johnny Campbell who was chairing the private session.

In the lavatory before the session he said: 'You want to speak do you?'

I said: 'You won't like what I've got to say.' But he said he'd call me. He was fair.

Pollit (CP secretary) spoke. You know, the crap about the Soviet Union putting its house in order.

Andrew Rothstein denied that there had ever been Lenin's Testament and he spoke at that Congress as though he invented it all almost.

Willie Gallacher spoke. He'd been Communist Party MP for West Fife and he said he had met this wonderful Georgian who could solve every problem; he could not believe that this magnificent comrade had become a monster.

Maurice Cornforth said that Stalin's theory back in 1937 that the class struggle sharpens after the victory of socialism was a false theory.

I had to practically fight my way on to the platform because I had no delegate's credentials.

The security people did not want to let me up.

I said I thought that everybody in the Congress wanted to ask — how was it we weren't told, how much did you know, Pollit, and what guarantees are there that this sort of thing won't happen again?

There was a hell of a support in the Congress, although I was told afterwards that Isobel Brown turned to a neighbour and said 'That lad won't last long in the Party'.

I've still got the text of that speech somewhere.

Pollit's answer was that he practically ignored this. It was a bland reply.

Some questions were

asked but I put the questions that had to be asked and pretty sharply.

I felt I had a moral right and responsibility to do so.

I had reported the Trial and in a sense I had sent the guy to his death because I had written and told the readers that this was a genuine confession and this man was a criminal and a traitor to the working class.

And I made this point very sharply. At that stage we all thought that a somewhat more independent stance would be taken (in the British Party) but as the year went on it became quite clear that that was not going to happen.

They sent a delegation to the CPSU and kept trying to stop the discussion but the Reasoner was published.

This came from Hull and Halifax edited by John Saville and Edward Thompson.

I can't remember when the first issue came out but I fancy it was somewhere in the summer of 1956.

**YOU came back to London and got involved with the production of a paper called the 'Newsletter'. Can you tell us what happened?**

WELL, let me try and fill it in briefly. I never went back to my desk at the 'Worker'.

I did a resignation statement. I rang Campbell. I read it to him.

He said: 'You don't expect us to use that do you?' I told him that if he didn't I'd give it to someone else.

He said: 'Tribune I expect.' I said: 'No, the Manchester Guardian'.

So they used it and Allen Hutt, chief sub-editor, said those on the 'Worker' who thought the Manchester Guardian would not use it were crazy.

The 'Worker' printed my resignation statement and used it with a much longer piece slugging me off.

Then I had a phone call from Gerry Healy who asked whether I would meet him.

He said: 'You know who I am don't you. Doesn't that worry you?' I said it didn't worry me.

So I met him and he told me that he could fix up meetings for me.

As I said, I saw him outside the Battersea Congress,

giving out a leaflet which said the season for reading books had started. We didn't take a lot of notice at the time.

I was there when he had a conversation with Johnny Campbell and he said to Campbell 'What are you going to do about 'From Trotsky to Tito'? — this was by Klugman.

Campbell in a gesture pointed to the drain and pulled the chain.

So I knew of Gerry Healy. He was name dropping at that time: It was Christopher (Hill) and Malcolm (McCewen) and he was going to make out that he had met more people than he had . . . that sort of thing.

I met him at St Giles Circus in a pub — I don't know if it still exists — it was near to the British Museum and we had a half pint of beer or something.

He said: 'You know we have an organisation, we have a print shop. First of all we can organise meetings for you. Would you be prepared to speak?'

I was accepting any meetings I was given. A lot were organised by The Group (the Trotskyist organisation at that time) and I was like a man on fire.

I think I did 40 meetings in just over a month. I went everywhere. About half these meetings were for The Group.

Having made that approach to me, he then said that the main thing was my appeal against expulsion. I was expelled for publishing 'Hungarian Tragedy'.

It was published by Denis Dobson and I was expelled for going to a capitalist publisher.

The interesting thing was that the previous book done by Dobson had been Paul Sweezy's 'Theory of Capitalist Development' and he did another book by the Hon Ivor Montague, a CP stalwart, so I was in good company.

They expelled me under a clause of the Constitution which was designed specifically for swift action against police spies. I was really cross about this.

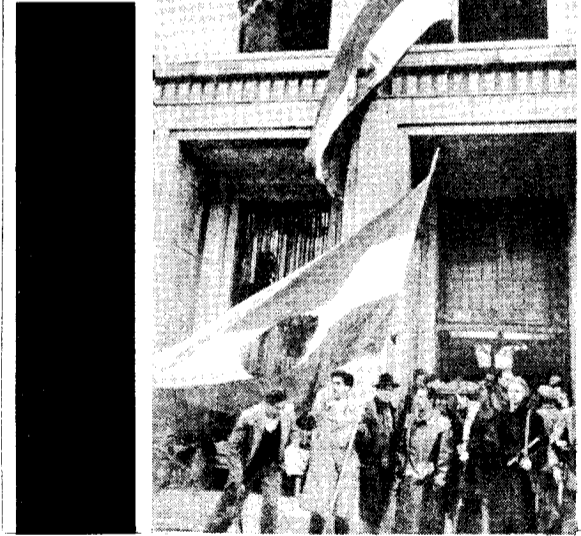
Healy asked me what I was going to do about publishing my appeal. 'We'll print it for you' he said.

So right, I sent him the copy and he printed it for me. There was a very purple final passage in it. It was

## 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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Announcing a service to socialists

## THE NEWSLETTER

1, Seymour Terrace,  
London,  
S.E.20.  
April 1957.

DEAR FRIEND,

On May 10 I am publishing the first issue of a weekly newsletter that will contain news and documents of interest to socialists.

The Newsletter will not be a journal of opinion. It will not be a forum. It will not provide a platform for any one group or organization.

Its main concern will be NEWS and primarily news which the Daily Worker and the capitalist Press alike, for their various reasons, distort or mutilate or suppress altogether.

A host of topics have lately been engaging our attention:

The continuing crisis inside the Communist Parties of Britain, the USA and other countries;

The rapid growth of the socialist forum movement in which communists, ex-communists and others are coming together to discuss the advance to socialism;

The apparent 're-Stalinization' process in Russia and Eastern Europe;

The fate of Harich, Hay, Dery and other victims of Stalinism;

The rise of the mass movement in Britain.

It will have a correspondent in the Lobby of the House of Commons.

It will keep subscribers in close touch with the discussions and decisions of the Labour Party and Communist Party Executives and of the TUC General Council.

Accurate and lively industrial reporting will complement accurate and lively political reporting.

Accurate — because The Newsletter will make a decisive break with the bad old practice of tampering with disagreeable facts.

Another frequent and important feature will be news from the Colonies.

At first The Newsletter will normally contain 5-6 printed pages, containing approximately 5,000 words. When important documents are run, extra pages will be added. There will be six or eight pages.

The Newsletter will be posted to readers on Friday mornings.

The subscription of ten shillings for 12 issues free includes a quarterly index which will help subscribers to make the best use of this service.

The letter from Peter Fryer announcing the launching of the Newsletter in April 1957



# IN CRISIS

## The challenge for the Trotskyist movement



Tito: the sudden change in the Communist Parties' line about him was an early sign of their crisis



The Workers Council in Győr, during the revolution in Hungary in 1956

published as by me from my address.

It was printed in the shop at the rear of Clapham High Street, down the alley.

### HOW did Healy strike you when you met him?

WELL, I compared notes with Brian Pearce on him. I suspected his name dropping. But you see, the Rajk Trial, the slanders — I felt a certain responsibility. You know how it is.

After all, we had put shit in their pockets in the factories, blueprints in their pockets and then told the gateman.

All sorts of things and nastiness. So I felt the very least I could do was to talk to him and see what he had to say.

We used to meet every Tuesday afternoon — him and me and Pearce — he used to come and meet us out of the British Museum (I was reading CP history at the time) and we used to go to the tea shop — I don't think its there any more, have a cup of tea and talk.

After the first or second of these meetings I said to Brian, 'What do you make of him?' and Brian said 'In my opinion he's the best type of worker-organiser.'

I knew Brian in the Party — he had been a copy taster on the Daily Worker.

Healy provided certain services for you. His line was slightly flattering: 'You're interested in theory ... that sort of thing.'

'You want to be a Communist. We have the tradition: this is the season for reading books.'

You want to hit back at those bastards who lied to you. We have a print shop and so on.

So when he produced this appeal I was very glad; it would have cost me a packet.

He was doing something comradely, putting a weapon into my hands if you like. So I was seduced in that sense.

### WHAT did Gerry Healy give you to read?

HE GAVE me Felix Morrow on Spain, 'Stalinism and Bolshevism', 'The New Course',

'First Five Years of the Communist International', 'Revolution Betrayed'. This was the basic reading course.

Reading them the scales fell from my eyes, in the sense that I have never gone much for Thompson's 'Socialism with a Human Face'.

I was still a Marxist and I didn't want to abandon the Marxist method and I thirsted for some explanation for what had gone wrong and when it had started to go wrong, and why it had gone wrong.

Although I had reservations when I joined the organisation about Trotskyism qua Trotskyism I had a great respect for Trotsky.

I found Trotsky as a stylist — his 'Life of Stalin' is a sport, an exception — very seductive and gripping, even in translation.

And as far as I was concerned the depth of explanation, the profundity of explanation and also Trotsky's 'Literature and Revolution' overwhelmed me.

The depth and breadth of these man's writings 'beyond these heights new peaks will rise' and so on.

It's a vision that somebody like me was waiting for.

But with GH it wasn't just the books. He had a movement.

As John Archer has said: 'He wasn't wrong, there was a sense in which he was absolutely right'.

It was almost overdetermined that I should accept.

In fact someone once said to me, darkly, on one occasion: 'You know that Gerry is featherbedding you, you and Brian Pearce'.

I didn't know what she meant at the time but when the oven started heating up and I wanted to get out of the kitchen I understood what she meant.

### What other left groups were around at the time?

OH, about 57. Every group used to go to every meeting.

We had meetings at the Cora Hotel. You ran the gauntlet going to meetings.

Many more than now.

Socialist Current, the Kent Socialist League — a very great number of branches off from the Trotskyist tradition.

We had Forum meetings. It was a kind of ad hoc organisation, a kind of safety net.

GH also said he was providing a safety net but this was a kind of broad movement.

The core of it was people who had come out of the CP. They organised a meeting at Wortley Hall which was a free for all; everybody was welcome, although I remember Ken Alexander saying '(John Daniels is here)'. He didn't approve of the freedom of speech for Trotskyists. The Forum Movement was a loose heterogeneous movement of ex-CPers who wanted to keep discussing, didn't know where they were going but didn't want to lose touch with each other for the time being.

As a matter of fact GH did his best to smash it. He saw it as a threat, as a rival. Eventually we gave over the first issue of the Newsletter to an account of Wortley Hall.

Where do we go from here? This was the kind of question. You got that at the Wortley Hall meeting.

Should we build a new Party? Should we go into the Labour Party? How do we keep together? How do we promote socialism?

There was a decreasing amount of confidence and a decreasing amount of cohesion. It was already a tendency to fragmentation.

**HOW many of those who left the Communist Party came to the Trotskyist movement?**

THIS is difficult. Quite a lot of individuals did.

Some in Edinburgh. There was Daniels, there was Coates, and Pat Jordan for a time in Nottingham. We had one or two branches in Liverpool.

GH played his cards very close to his chest on membership figures. We never knew the figures; I suspect at the outside somewhere about 200-300 members in 1957.

It might have doubled by the time I went in 1959. I

don't think it was much beyond 500.

I suspect that there were a number of the old Trotskyist cadre, leaving GH aside, who didn't want to recruit too many of these Communist Party members.

They feared dilution. They thought we were basically centrists.

Some were very gloomy and had great reservations about us lot.

There was a resistance to recruitment of the type favoured by Healy. But I'd like to hear other people's views on this.

The workers (in the Communist Party) were not moved greatly by Hungary. The Party had made great efforts throughout 1956 to drive a wedge between the workers and what they called the spineless intellectuals.

Their line was: what a luxury these discussions are for these Reasoner people. Really the job is the working class struggle in Britain.

When Hungary came I think it had much more impression on the intellectuals than the workers.

### YOU mentioned the Newsletter. How did it start?

THERE was an engineering strike or lockout. This was March. It was some factory in London I think.

GH wanted to do a special on it. He asked me to come in and knock it into shape for them.

They had no trained journalists at the time.

The Trotskyists had no paper at that time. They were operating largely through Tribune.

GH had a very good relationship with Michael Foot. They were putting out 'one offs'.

GH said at our next meeting that he had a proposition for me. He told me that when I had come in and done this job for him it was like putting his hand inside a glove.

He said 'We've got this print shop, we need somebody like you.'

The thing that actually clinched it was the Hammersmith Congress (of the CP). I think Cliff (Slaughter) was there.

We got about three hours

sleep and we put into that Congress every day a thick Bulletin, an almost complete (I hope somebody has got this: I'd love to see them) report of the previous day's proceedings.

We worked through the night on it and it caused consternation among the delegates.

When (Hyman) Levy spoke we had a report in the next day. Levy spoke about anti-Semitism in the USSR.

GH then said: come and work with us; we'll give you £6 a week — this was the Party rate on the Worker.

What I suggest you do is put out a weekly paper aimed at 'providing a safety net so that we can catch them for our movement'.

I'll give you a free hand, he said. So we decided to go ahead, imitating Claude Cockburn's The Week in our pitch.

The idea was to provide a paper that would tell people what was going on in the Communist Party.

From the beginning the intention was to broaden it out to industrial news, eventually making it into a socialist paper. We called it The Newsletter; A service to Socialists.

It was on subscription at first. It wasn't sold. That's how it started.

The first issue was a full report of the Wortley Hall conference. I forget how many the subscription list was. We got some that were obviously MI5.

But for a number of months I was practically by myself. I worked from eight in the morning to twelve at night day after day on that.

It was a joy to do it. GH was delighted. He gave me a fairly free hand.

I haven't been through a file of the Newsletter lately. My impression was that for the first few months it was alright but it wasn't what it later became.

After about six months the industrial coverage was improving enormously and we were building up correspondents among the members of the Group.

We prepared a style sheet — you know put the news in the first paragraphs, use clips not pins.

The great peak was Shell

Mex and with (Brian) Behan's help we really got into the stewards and then the Rank and File Conferences.

I know its been called syndicalist, Behan was trying to make it syndicalist but his wasn't the predominant voice.

There was a lot of dissent because I insisted on including theatre notices and a bit of culture and a number of people didn't care for this much.

GH as a sop to me included them. He sat on the fence. He didn't want to lose me, but he didn't want to lose them.

Because in a sense it was my baby I am inclined to defend it.

There was also Labour Review at the time.

There was an article by Thompson in the New Reasoner which made what I thought was a dishonest attack on Lenin because he was taking bits from quotation and if you read the text you found that Lenin answered the very points he (Thompson) was making. Thompson was being really fraudulent.

### HOW do you now see the events of 1956? Do you regret what you did then?

I REGRET none of it, including the Newsletter. Many of the things I did were overdetermined in the Freudian sense.

Somebody who at the age of 22 had been pitched into the Rajk trial and then somewhat later found that this was all false from beginning to end could not have acted differently from me.

I wanted to put right what I had done wrong. I think with hindsight I perhaps fell into GH's embrace a little too quickly: perhaps I should have been circumspect and thought rather more deeply.

But I'm not a politician, I was a bit emotional. I responded with my heart rather than my head.

But none of the main decisions I took, however impulsive they might have been, would I change.

The pamphlet (Peter Fryer's Appeal against expulsion from the CP) was irresistible to me.

I'd been slandered; the stuff I'd written had been suppressed. I wanted to put my case.

# WORKERS PRESS talks to JOE AUSTIN vice chair, Sinn Fein in the six counties



JOE AUSTIN

This week Workers Press publish the second part of an interview with Joe Austin. In the first part of the interview he discussed the role of the electoral struggle and Sinn Fein's policy of changing the traditional relationships between elected representatives and those whom they represent.

This week he discusses the importance of the national struggle, the divisions between the Irish working class as they are perpetrated by British Imperialism and the importance of the armed struggle and its relationship to the political struggle.

Next week the interview will continue and discussion will include Sinn Fein's prognosis for the Irish revolution and how it views the responsibilities of British socialists.

## CAN YOU tell me something about your strategy to end the British occupation.

WELL, WE are involved in, and have historically been involved in, a campaign of armed resistance to British occupation.

But we are very conscious that the armed resistance to British occupation, in itself, cannot and will not remove the British, let us say British imperialism, from Ireland.

But a parallel campaign of political resistance that popularises Irish Republicanism, that popularises the need to bring about the changes we have spoken of, will not only lead to a British withdrawal primarily, but in the long term will lead to the building of a democratic republic.

So what we're involved in is political, economic, social and cultural resistance to British occupation.

One of the things Republicans are very conscious about is that the strategy of the Republican movement has had three main component parts, it has had a militaristic part, it has had a constitutional part and it has had a revolutionary part.

I would suggest that probably since the period of 1916 this has been the first phase of our struggle for national liberation where the revolutionary component part has been in leadership. Has been, if you like, in control.

Consequently the old taboos that would have been in ascendancy during the phase when the militaristic leadership was there, that armed struggle was sacrosanct and that everything had to be tailored to the armed struggle, and that politics and the like would come later on, have gone.

The taboo of the militaristic leadership, that electoral intervention would lead to constitutional sell-out, has also gone and we have a situation now where we actually see the armed struggle being relevant only when it complements the overall struggle.

You don't keep one away from the other, but they are all part of an overall ability to resist.

Part of our theme is that

politicisation takes place in the form of the sort of economic resistance that we spoke of and also in the form of the massive cultural revival in terms of the Irish language.

A national identity taking place right across the north where they took the culture from us as a weapon, and the language was seen to be the property of the middle class; if you spoke Irish you had to be a school teacher, smoke a pipe and grow a beard and that was the middle-class badge of distinction.

Now we say that the language is a weapon which is the property of the working class because primarily they are the people who carried the language and in many cases the people who sacrificed to keep that language.

But the language is only a weapon in terms of the overall national identity and that's used as such.

Again there are small examples of that being successful.

We contested the Assembly elections in 1982 and for the first time included in any manifesto north or south a complete section in Irish.

We were of course successful to a large extent in that campaign. So successful were we in terms of our manifesto, in terms of having a section of our own language in it, that in the January by-election this year the SDLP included in their manifesto a section in Irish.

Now if we wanted to be very cynical, which of course, comrade we're not.

But that was an example of pressure being brought from the ground and how it affects the SDLP.

We embarked on a whole campaign in support of the local re-naming of streets and in fact whole areas are now named in Irish.

**YOU SEEM to give a lot of emphasis to the fact that many of your electoral campaigns have put pressure on the SDLP to take certain positions which you see as positive.**

**Is there not a danger that the capitalist state or the British imperialist state will simply use your campaigns in order to learn how to adapt itself to**

## something which would give some satisfaction to the nationalist population.

WELL I mean there is always that danger.

There's also a danger of us being sucked into clientism — ie delivering social services.

There's a danger as well that even limited successes in terms of highlighting any area of social injustice leads a small group of people to believe that if you pressurise hard enough and you push hard enough you can reform the system, where actually you can't at all.

The demands that we make of the state are demands that we make in conjunction with the resolution of the national question.

They are in conjunction with our demands to resolve our English problem and that of course is the problem of occupation.

That's why we say in part of our manifesto that all these issues that affect the nationalist population, or affect the Irish population, the whole question of deprivation, the whole question of repression, all of these are part of the national question and can't be seen in isolation from it.

The economy is run for a section of the Irish people, the capitalist section, supported by British imperialism. That is the reason why we have unemployment and all of those things.

I believe we successfully resist. I think you can see the success of that in the fact that 17 years on in this current phase of the struggle the Brits have been forced to bring in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, to work against the political strength of Sinn Fein and the successful continuation of armed resistance.

Now I think that that's an indication that we have in fact got it right, that we are not simply a party (which we were described as not that long ago) of protestors or as being the negative state of Irish politics.

I think from the point of view of capitalism and of those who support British occupation we present the real threat.

That threat is not simply a militaristic threat which they can live with.

But they can't live with a threat that comes both in terms of armed and physical resistance and also psychological and political resistance that is extremely deep rooted and that isn't simply calling for a tampering with the state or limited reforms but in fact is asking for everything.

Now I think that when people ask Sinn Fein what do you want, the answer's very simple: everything.

That demand enjoys popular support. Along with minimum political demands that don't only start and stop with Sinn Fein but with the entire working class nationalist population, that is why the state is running in panic.

I think that we have got it right. That isn't to say that we've got everything right and that isn't to say the Brits are going to leave this time next week but I think that at this phase of the struggle that combination is correct.

The politicisation has a long long way to go, both in terms of how Sinn Fein perceive events and change and also how the nationalist population perceive what is to be their way of life.

What are the changes, what are the restrictions, where does the conspiracy come from, that all has to take place?

It hasn't reached its conclusion, it probably will never reach its conclusion but

that is the direction that we're heading in.

The British imperialist class can live with militant physical resistance. They have an army, a very large army with unlimited resources.

What they can't live with and what they haven't been able to either intimidate or coerce or buy is a deep-rooted political resistance to British occupation in Ireland.

That's why the Accord's in operation, for no other reason.

If you're looking to what people like King says or even what Thatcher says on occasions, that's what they're worried about and that's what the Accord's aimed at.

It's aimed at separating the nationalist population from the militant political revolutionary demands that Sinn Fein make and that's what's happening at the moment.

That's their strategy and they have to date been successful.

**IN APPEARANCES, at least, it seems that the armed struggle threatens the British state most of all, particularly when it is taken to Britain.**

I DON'T for a minute separate the armed struggle from the political struggle and I think that if the IRA were struggling with the belief that simply by force of weapon they could drive the British

army into the sea, they would be wrong.

From what the IRA have said, from statements they make and from what one reads about them I am convinced that isn't their particular strategy.

I think it is a combination of military resistance, operations that have a military success either in the short term or long term, and the political resistance that manifests itself within the ranks of Sinn Fein, and in many cases is led by the local populace.

I think it is that combination and getting that combination right that will eventually lead to victory.

You have to look, as we do of course, that simply getting rid of the British presence is the first step.

It's a very major step, but it isn't the end. To a large extent it's the beginning of a process.

And I think the guarantee that that process will continue has to be found in the politicisation of huge sections of the working class north and south. That is the business we're in as well as resisting the British army presence.

Resistance to the British occupation and the class question are, as Connolly said, two sides of the one coin.

**CAN YOU tell me how you see the role of the armed struggle.**

WELL THE armed struggle





The campaign of armed resistance to the British occupation of Ireland has a long history from which many lessons have been drawn. The continued economic domination of the South by Britain has taught Sinn Fein of the necessity to combine the armed struggle with a political one.

of course is number one a resistance to the armed repression that's raised against the Irish people by the British occupation forces and supported by British capitalism and to some extent supported and collaborated with by Irish capitalism.

So it is number one armed resistance.

Number two it is a way of demonstrating clearly and a way that people can understand that there is resistance to British occupation in Ireland.

It is a way of ensuring that the question of the British occupation of Ireland will always be to the forefront — at least in front of a huge section of an English or a British audience, who might not (partly for their own reasons but also because of the nature of English politics) always understand what Sinn Fein is doing.

But they certainly understand when operations like Brighton take place or the RUC or British troops are killed or injured in successful IRA attacks.

**SINCE I'VE been here I've been making comparisons with other national struggles, particularly Vietnam and Nicaragua, and it has seemed to me that those struggles have paid more attention to the armed side of it, that there was in fact a mobilisation of the people involved to arms.**

WELL I think both of those struggles, Vietnam particularly, now looking back on it historically, were the classic armed guerilla struggle.

I think that the economic, political, cultural and geographical location is completely in contrast with where we happen to find ourselves.

I think that oppressed people everywhere have the right by whatever methods are available to them, and whatever methods they find appropriate, to resist oppression, nationalist occupation or attacks on a culture.

I think that in terms of the terrain in Vietnam that you can't actually compare the two struggles other than to say that the basic ingredient, that is the right to resist, is similar.

Nicaragua is again a different situation because of where it's situated, because of the open support that those Latin American liberation struggles have got from

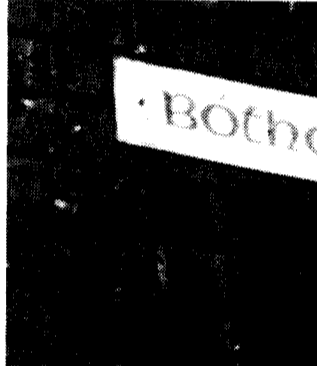
sources that are in the business and are quite able to, on a huge basis, support an armed liberation struggle. It's a different situation in Ireland.

But the same common denominator is that right to resist.

I think that again the nature of the IRA is different.

We happen to be, unfortunately, on England's doorstep.

We happen to be in the



St. James Crescent — Many of the street names in nationalist areas have been changed to Irish.

middle of Europe. We happen to be in what's called a civilised society, which is not civilised of course, and we happen to be in a different culture and geographical situation.

The IRA don't need large battalions of people to resist British occupation.

It's nature and part of it's success, is the IRA's ability to move in small units, to operate almost at will and to inflict casualties on the British occupation forces, despite the overwhelming size of that force.

This, supplemented by the whole need and the whole ongoing campaign of popularising that struggle is the success story.

Its not how many armed personnel you have but the very fact that you can wage a revolutionary struggle on Britain's doorstep.

I think that's the guarantee of success.

**HOW DO you see the Protestant community here fitting in with your strategy.**

WELL OBVIOUSLY the Protestant Community, I mean the protestant working class community are themselves a victim of the partition of Ireland.

We spoke earlier on about the psychological division, that of course was a very conscious thing.

The Loyalist community or the protestant community, in terms of their present economic situation, are the victim of capitalism.

They're slightly less the victims than the nationalist population are, there's a marginal difference in terms of unemployment levels, in terms of housing.

The formation of the state in the north was very clearly built on sectarian pillars, the original statelet of Northern Ireland was of course nine counties.

When the sectarian headcount was carried out the leadership of the Loyalist community, or the Unionist

something like 170,000 Loyalists, cut them off.

So the Loyalist working class are primarily a tool of the system.

They have been led to believe that there is an aristocracy of labour and they are it.

They have been led to believe that their interests lie with, not only the link with Britain but also of the capitalist statelet in the north.

They have, to a large extent, been neutralised in terms of employment practices and employment condi-

tions, wages, strike levels, etc.

That's why when we spoke earlier on about the sectarian attacks that were taking place, apart from the fact that sectarianism is wrong, sectarianism is a way and a means in which that coming together have been effectively blocked.

We have a moral and a political and a revolutionary responsibility to do nothing that will damage that.

We're not in the business of blocking that class unity we're in the business of building it.

That's why we won't become involved in either sectarian retaliation or sectarian utterings or sectarian political positions.

Now we recognise that we have that responsibility in

attempting to bridge that sectarian gap.

Before you can cure an illness you have to properly diagnose what it is.

We believe we've done that.

But to effect a cure you have to remove the illness.

The divisions in Ireland, particularly among the Irish working class, are being perpetrated by British occupation and I mean the Loyalist working class obviously are Irish.

The Loyalist working class obviously have a class interest, which they may not have realised in this phase of our struggle, but it is our responsibility as it is theirs to try and bridge that gap, to try and bring about that sort of class interest to bring it to the forefront.

I know that with all the difficulties that we're facing at the moment, that we have recognised that responsibility and are very conscious of it.

I don't think that we can talk in terms of being successful in that coming together while there is British occupation.

## REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

**WAKEFIELD**  
HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.  
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.  
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.  
PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.  
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B716444

**ALBANY**  
HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.  
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.  
BILLY GRIMES: 20-year sentence, 341418.  
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.

**GARTREE**  
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.  
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.  
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635

**FRANKLAND**  
HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085  
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.  
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.  
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.  
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

**LEICESTER**  
HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.  
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.  
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.  
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

**HULL**  
HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

**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

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225.  
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.  
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.  
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

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

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

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire  
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.  
PAUL HILL: 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.  
GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.  
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.  
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.  
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.  
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.  
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs  
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.  
They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

# On Popular Front and world classes

RUNNING through Brian Pearce's response (Sept 30) to my letter to Workers Press is an ambiguity, the essence of which is a rejection of the foundations of historical materialism and the theory of permanent revolution.

Pearce takes me to task for allegedly '... (seeing) it as an invention of the Stalinists that popular revolts have taken place within the framework of particular nations.'

He adds: 'Yet this is a simple fact of history.'

At the level of form, this is true: at that of content, it is profoundly incorrect.

In commonsense terms, popular revolts do usually occur within national frameworks. How could it be otherwise on a planet divided into nation states?

Since, presumably, a popular revolt is at least in part a form of rebellion against established political power, the national framework is its immediate context. Every event must happen somewhere!

But the logic of Pearce's polemic goes beyond this truism.

Let us reconsider the two main themes of my letter.

Firstly, I drew attention to the abuse of an important text of Engels by Hobsbawm.

On my specific charge that Hobsbawm selectively quotes from Engels' 'Peasant War in Germany' so as to present the latter as a popular frontist rewriting of the great sixteenth cen-

tury events in Germany, Pearce remains silent.

Until he challenges the argument as it stands, so shall I.

Secondly, the major part of my letter concerns Stalinism and the dogma of 'people's struggles' that this blight on the labour movement has been churning out since the mid-1920s.

Here I argued that the politics of the popular front make little sense except in relation to the doctrinal monstrosity of 'socialism in one country', the origins of which I outlined.

In response, Pearce seized upon the superficial form of 'national' political movements in order to bury their international content.

According to his account, 'the French revolution' was 'influenced by' developments in other countries, and had 'effects' throughout Europe.

Note the vagueness of those verbs. Note the assumption that France, Britain, the USA, etc were (are?) basically self-developing national entities, connected by influences and consequences.

We are out of Marxist analysis and into the realm of multi-factorial bourgeois historiography.

Of course, any nation state will and must have distinctive features, or 'peculiarities'.

For historical reasons that only concrete analysis can clarify, the bourgeoisie rule in different ways in different

places at different times.

But increasingly within capitalism these forms of rule interpenetrate. Britain is not South Africa.

But only an incorrigible methodological nationalist would try to analyse the development of class relations within each in isolation from the other.

Workers Press readers (and contributors) should hardly need reminding that 'there is a history of humanity which has become all the more a history of humanity since the productive forces of man and therefore his social relations have been extended.' (Marx to P.V. Annenkov, Dec 28, 1846).

Within the imperialistic stage of capitalist development above all, nation states lose their exclusivity: not by becoming identical, but rather insofar as bourgeois class formations develop generally.

The two great classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat are in essence world classes, united and opposed through a contradictory relationship which for the first time in human history is universal.

It is in connection with this movement that popular revolts with a national character reveal their relative peculiarities.

Yes, to the extent that the bourgeois revolutions of 1789, 1848 and 1905 were based on the collaboration of the oppressed masses of town and country, they embraced the entire 'people' within the countries where they occurred.

So we can indeed, in short,

thand, speak of 'the French revolution'. No account of that collision can sidestep the stage of historical development in that country which culminated in the temporary political unification of the emerging class of capitalist society against the feudal estates and their monarchy.

But how French were these developments? The great revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed in various specifics.

Notable is the alliance of an important section of the nobility with the bourgeoisie in Britain which was not repeated in France a century and a half later.

But in neither case are we considering events which merely display similarities and dissimilarities.

Marx summed up their real connection thus:

'The revolutions of 1648 and 1789 were not English and French revolutions; they were revolutions of a European pattern... Still more than expressing the

needs of the parts of the world in which they took place, England and France, these revolutions expressed the need of the whole world as it existed then.' (K Marx 'The Revolutions of 1848', Penguin, 1973, pp192-3).

Each bourgeois revolution had its specific features and tempo, but each more fundamentally was part of a common process.

In both Britain and France, the bourgeoisie stood at the head of popular movements against the old political order in favour of bourgeois relations and development.

Moreover, the unity of those two revolutions embraces intellectual and cultural as well as specifically political components of the rise of the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels rightly analyse the evolution of the utilitarian doctrine, for example, as a combined product of the English and French experiences capitalist development and the reflections of progressive intellectuals of both upon their

common experience (as well as that of the Dutch bourgeoisie earlier). ('The German Ideology', Lawrence and Wishart, 1970, pp109-114).

Pearce's matter of fact and commonsense characterisation of the events of 1789 as 'primarily a French revolution' is fundamentally wrong.

He appears to have forgotten the significance of 'The Permanent Revolution', where Trotsky reaffirms the materialist principle:

'In reality, the national peculiarities represent an original combination of the basic features of the world process.' ('The Permanent Revolution', New Park, 1962, p23).

As for Pearce's quotation from 'Where is Britain Going?' — 'In Cromwell, Luther joins hands with Robespierre' — my response is: what a thoroughly and correctly internationalist formulation, the antithesis of Hobsbawm's (and presumably Pearce's) approach!

R. Bobinska

## The Brighton lobby

I was rather disappointed with the relatively small numbers of us who attended the TUC lobby in Brighton.

Considering how many party members there must be in London and how close London is to Brighton, one would have thought that more people could have made the effort.

I understand that the Par-

ty will have a presence there all week, though, so perhaps being there for one day was not enough to get the right impression of our representation.

Also, it was obviously not like previous lobbies in which we have called for a General Strike and in which we have been the sole participants.

I suppose the fact that it was on a Monday night meant that

many had to be at work, but this has been the case in the past and has not prevented us from organising much bigger attendances than we had this time.

If I can come all the way from Exeter, surely more people can come from London?

John Doe  
Exeter

## Is the Unified Secretariat a 'Poisoned Well'?

ALAN Thornett (Workers Press July 12) spends nearly a whole page dishonestly slandering an interview I gave to Workers Press (May 31) where he says that I 'slag off', 'cast aside' (etc), the miners support groups — a very serious accusation against anyone active in the labour movement and especially a Trotskyist.

I replied (July 19) with a detailed exposure of Thornett's dishonest polemic on the MSGs.

However, unlike Thornett, I put the paper's readers in

the picture regarding Thornett's motives in initiating such an attack and this has stung him where it hurts!

In a second letter (August 9) he gave up with the MSG lies. 'I won't repeat the (MSG) arguments here.'

'The burden of Masterson's letter, however, is not dealing with this point.'

This 'burden' is only one-sixth of my letter whilst five-sixths does deal precisely with his MSG lies.

His motives for the attack which I outlined briefly are

his worries that Workers Power will spoil his unprincipled manoeuvres to pull as many WRP members into the Mandel-led USFI, following the well-worn footsteps of Pablo.

Before dealing with Thornett's manoeuvrist approach to the WRP, it is necessary to correct some of his distortions and 'mistakes' regarding the Workers Power history of the Fourth International.

He twice describes our 'Fifth International' position, yet gives no quotes, no details!! Why?

Because nowhere in any of our literature or at any meetings have we called for or advocated a Fifth International.

He is inventing Workers Power positions in an attempt to scare off WRP members from a discussion of our real positions.

He also writes, 'Workers Power consider that the Fourth International collapsed into centrism in 1949 after one (wrong) vote on Yugoslavia.'

Comrade Thornett: perhaps you should read our material at some point in between scribbling letters. The Fourth International did not collapse into centrism in 1949 and the 'wrong' vote on the Yugoslav resolution at the FI congress was in 1951, not 1949.

In our book, 'The Death Agony of the Fourth International', we describe how from 1938 to 1948 the Fourth International was an international revolutionary party armed with a revolutionary programme and, despite its size, was a beacon to militant workers throughout the world.

Whatever mistakes made by the FI during this period, and those by the constituent groups in the Movement for

a Fourth International (pre-1938), we are dealing with a fundamentally revolutionary movement.

Workers Power states clearly that the FI collapsed into centrism in 1951.

It didn't happen out of the blue, on one 'wrong' vote, but was a process spanning 1948-51 — the Yugoslav vote being the last straw negating Trotskyism, i.e. a dialectical break from revolutionary Marxism into centrism.

Crucially, not a single vote was cast against the 1951 position on Yugoslavia.

That is, the entire movement sanctioned an explicit break with the Trotskyist Programme of political revolution with regard to Yugoslavia.

This was no mere trifle. It was not just a case of a mistaken vote.

It signalled the adoption of a centrist method which has led the fragments of the Trotskyist movement to commit similar errors of capitulation to characters like Mao (Banda), Gaddafi (Healy), Benn (Thornett), Matgamna and the British USec, Castro (the SWP-US) and the Sandinistas (Mandel), etc etc.

He attacks 'the Workers Power approach of intervening to rip off a few (WRP) members'.

This is simply throwing back the accusation I stung his group with.

In response to my accusation of a manoeuvrist approach to the WRP, Thornett replies: 'From the outset we have approached the WRP as a whole... we have posed from the outset the possibility of regroupment and particularly our hope that ourselves, the WRP and the International Group could be part of it' (my emphasis).

This is indeed hot news. Despite being 10 months since the 'outset' this is news for the vast majority of WRP members (not to mention Thornett's SG and also IG members).

This must be the first mention of such a regroupment in any journal, paper or at any meeting open to members of any of the groups involved.

And he's only admitted it now because I've accused his group of it in Workers Press.

Where are the documents which 'posed' regroupment? Where and when in the last 10 months did members, within or between, the three 'democratic centralist' organisations mentioned discuss and debate such important matters? What does 'approached the WRP as a whole' mean?

I do not doubt 'discussions' have been going on, a great many, but between whom?

Fortunately WRP members have experience of an honest and revolutionary approach for regroupment from Workers Power to measure against the quiet back-room chats to twos and threes, which are not minuted, of course.

Workers Power have, from the 'outset', published and openly distributed to WRP members, acres of historical, political and organisational documents aimed at the WRP.

From a lengthy open letter towards regroupment, handed out at WRP meetings, to numerous leaflets, and consistent political interventions in more or less every WRP meeting, at day schools, and even educational cum discussions meetings with various branches and regions of the WRP, Workers

Power have consistently and openly 'posed' regroupment on a principled basis for all to see.

It was that approach which convinced me, and others, of the revolutionary nature of Workers Power.

I can do no better than to quote as a final warning, Thornett's position in the late 1970s.

His group, the then WSL wrote:

'The USFI, the biggest international grouping claiming the name Trotskyist remains, as we have shown, in the grip of a centrist leadership whose method and programme are not those of Trotskyism but that post-war perversion of Trotskyism that we have analysed as Pabloism.'

As a result the USFI — for all its pretensions — represents in our view neither the political nor organisational continuity of Trotskyism.

Rather, through its obstruction of any serious international discussion on the historical problems of the Fourth International, it stands as a block to the reconstruction of the FI. ('The Poisoned Well' p12, my emphasis).

Since these lines were written, the USFI has become even more brazenly right-wing, nowadays hailing Nicaragua a dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Thornett has changed even more: from left-centrist, as Workers Power characterise his group in the late 70s, when they wanted to fill in and dam up the poisoned well of the USFI; to today's attempt to jump down the poisoned well and drag the WRP with him.

Join our fight against this. Steve Masterson  
Workers Power

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## LETTERS

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

# 'Fresh air and labels' from the Revolutionary Democratic Group

WE BASE ourselves on the theory and practice of revolutionary working class democracy (or revolutionary social-democracy).

In the present crisis on the left we believe a dialogue is necessary between all working class democrats with the aim of building a new unity around the questions of programme, tactics and organisation.

The debate which has opened up around the WRP is a breath of fresh air.

The WRP had a reputation for being hopelessly sectarian and dogmatic. Many revolutionaries considered it 'lost' to our movement.

All non-sectarians must therefore be encouraged by the process of re-examination which has opened up since the expulsion of Healy.

It is from this constructive angle that we would like to contribute.

We came originally from the British SWP. We are also going through a process of re-examination and critical assessment of our tradition.

Uprooting the bogus aspects of that heritage,

whilst simultaneously maintaining the best aspects, is a difficult experience.

We are in sympathy with your struggle and believe it is an absolutely necessary process.

The present crisis facing our movement has produced a whole series of divisions, for example the CPGB/Morning Star, the SWP/RDG, as well as Workers Press/Newsline.

The negative aspects of these splits have also a positive side in drawing lessons for the future.

The 'Leninist' (July 12, 1986) observed correctly in our view that 'what is needed for a positive resolution of this crisis is an objective assessment of the method of the various Trotskyist groupings'.

We would add — why not the method of Marxist-Leninist organisations as well?

We have asked ourselves some very basic questions, for example are we a Trotskyist organisation? We concluded that we are not.

Even this simple question

must be asked for it is a deeper question about method.

There is on the left, what appears to many, a mysterious collection of labels like Maoist, Leninist, Trotskyist and Stalinist etc which intellectuals have applied to themselves.

For they have converted the life and work of comrades like Trotsky into a dogma.

It provides them with plenty of scope to slog it out with their rivals for the true version of orthodoxy.

This is a short step to Healyism. If Trotsky is our dead god, then even if it is never stated, Healy is our living one — the Pope who interprets the word.

Now the cult of Healy has undergone a dialectical transformation, a devil hated with as much vehemence as he was once revered.

When Ramsay MacDonald entered parliament to head the first Labour government he got down on one knee and kissed the King's hand.

An insignificant incident,

perhaps, but symbolising the slave mentality of the reformists.

To call yourself a Trotskyist or Leninist means a similar psychological enslavement. It symbolises nothing less than workers on their bended knee before intellectuals.

Even without theoretical training, workers have an understanding of 'working class democracy'.

Without theory such understanding will be narrow and distorted by bourgeois ideology. But workers are instinctively suspicious of 'Trotskyism' or 'Leninism'.

It sounds mysterious, as if the intellectuals are playing games. This instinct is a sound one.

For this very reason the ruling class attempt to manipulate these instincts and turn them into reactionary prejudice.

Marx once said that he was not a Marxist. This was a profound philosophical statement. Lenin by the

same token was not a Leninist.

Neither was Trotsky a Trotskyist. We are not god-builders. We are atheists. We relate our politics to Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Mao etc critically.

To call yourself Trotskyist is to depart from the critical essence of revolutionary social democracy. It will leave you in a never-ending search for a golden age.

Doomed to wander like a lost soul in the wilderness. As the 'Leninist' urged, you must break out of the Trotskyist paradigm.

We have drawn some conclusions. First we accept the term Trotskyist for any group which calls itself by that title.

Second, we should avoid attaching these personality labels to groups who don't accept them. We feel this is a sectarian practice.

For example, the Proletarian group recently called the Leninist (of the CPGB) a Trotskyist group — a piece of pure sectarianism.

And the word 'Stalinist' is banded around too liberally as well.

Third, we should reject all these traditional labels as part of an incorrect and uncritical method.

Trotsky made a great contribution to the theory and practice of revolutionary working class democracy. We owe it to him to critically examine his contribution and that of his imitators and god-builders.

The concept of 'Trotskyism' is deeply imbedded in the psyche of the WRP. To break with it may prove impossible.

We urge you to do this if you really want to break from its theoretical straight-jacket.

From this, we must then return not to Trotsky but to the Russian revolution, the high point in working class democracy and the root of all present day theoretical confusion.

**Dave Simpson**  
Revolutionary Democratic Group

## Regroupment of the FI — Does history matter?

THE letter from Paul Stevens of the International Group raises questions which are vital for the future of the world Trotskyist movement.

There is no doubt that the expulsion of G.Healy from the WRP opened the way for the movement internationally to discuss its problems openly and honestly, for the first time in several decades.

This is not to exaggerate one man's personal position. The revolution in the WRP reflected the emergence of objective conditions in which the position of Trotskyism in the workers' movement can be immeasurably advanced. The upheavals in many other organisations throughout the world, among them the IMG, expressed the same conditions.

However, I think the violence of last year's explosions forces us to dig much deeper than Comrade Stevens seems prepared to go.

Let me agree wholeheartedly with Stevens on three points before I begin.

(i) I think that the term 'revisionist', once a term with scientific significance for Marxists, has now become just a term of abuse.

(ii) We should stop using the designation 'Pabloite' in talking about the organisations associated with the United Secretariat. It can only foul up the discussion.

(iii) The characterisation of Cuba as some kind of bourgeois state (we never really explained just what kind) is nonsense.

Moreover, when it comes to describing just how to go about the reorganisation of the International, I find myself disagreeing with many of the points raised in the letter.

Should we seek unity on the basis of a few programmatic points? Surely, the history of the United Secretariat itself contains enough lessons to answer this question with a decisive 'no'.

It is not enough merely to try to overcome the 'damaging dispersal' of the move-

ment. To pose the problem this way is to suggest that the fragmentation of Trotskyism was caused by the failings of individuals.

Were we just cantankerous, argumentative or big-headed? (Of course, Healy easily disposed of the whole problem: it was all the work of agents of someone or other.)

I think that we are obliged to undertake a really objective study of the International's history, not just to find out who was to blame for its difficulties, or establish just who did what to whom, but to prepare a fundamental advance in theory.

In particular, the split of 1953 must be carefully examined. At the start, we merely rejected Pablo's innovations and defended 'orthodox Trotskyism'.

Later, we began to deepen our understanding of the problems faced by the FI. But, as with so many such discussions, this work was broken off and submerged in the small change of inter-group manoeuvre.

The tendencies to adapt to Stalinism, social democracy or petit-bourgeois nationalism, which have characterised many in the FI since the late 1940's, were not the responsibility of Pablo or any other individual. They must be traced to the objective situation in which the movement found itself after the war.

We tried to fit the new world situation, in particular the apparent strength of Stalinism, into the framework of Trotsky's pre-war analysis. But this could not be done without major development of Marxist theory. Instead, we had at best some terminological experimentation, and at worst a series of attempts to find short-cuts to the building of revolutionary leadership.

Central to this was the tendency to place the responsibility for revolutionary leadership on to any shoulders other than our own. This implied the debasement of the whole of Marxism, its entire world outlook, and

even the conception of socialism.

I was particularly struck by Paul Stevens' statement: 'It seemed to be implied that only a section of the Fourth International could lead a successful overthrow of capitalism, a fundamentally sectarian theory.'

Now, we cannot deny that capitalist property forms have been overthrown, and states set up to prevent their return, under the leadership of Stalinist parties, and, in the case of Cuba, of a petit-bourgeois nationalist one. In some cases, this involved the mobilisation of masses of

workers and peasants, but always under careful bureaucratic supervision.

None of these overturns, in my opinion, constitutes a proletarian revolution like the Russian. In not one case has the proletariat been led to take state power through its independent class action, since the year 1917.

Call me sectarian if you will, but I contend that the transition to a socialist world demands the independent, conscious movement of the working class, and this is impossible without the construction of bolshevik parties, based on the most adv-

## The Coventry deal is a sell-out!

THE NUT executive met at Hamilton House, London on Friday September 5 to rubber-stamp an agreement made nationally between the union negotiating panel and Local Education Authorities.

National Secretary Fred Jarvis stated at the TUC that, as a result of the teachers' action, they had secured one of the biggest pay increases in the public sector and presented the deal as a victory.

He was quoted in the Guardian as saying 'If Baker (the Education Secretary) and the government do not come up with the money there will be an explosion in the schools and a renewal of the dispute on even more bitter terms than before.'

The issue is not how the government will respond but why the NUT executive reneged on the promises it made at National Conference and how the rank-and-file should respond.

About 40 teachers lobbied Hamilton House immediately after school closing to protest that they did not see the deal as a victory at all.

They might well have seen Jarvis earlier that week applauding a speech proclaiming that if teachers could reach a deal with Labour

authorities this clearly demonstrated that 'peace and calm' could be 'restored' in our schools under a future Labour government.

In other words, the pay and conditions of teachers, and indeed the whole fight to defend the education service, should be subordinated, or rather ditched, in favour of electing a right-wing Labour government led by Kinnock and Co.

At the time of going to press a union representatives meeting will have been held at County Hall, London, to discuss the response of the unions in Inner London.

Let us look briefly at the history of the deal.

On August 28, without consulting the membership, the NUT executive voted to accept a deal on pay and conditions agreed at the ACAS talks in Coventry.

Debate was cut short after only 20 minutes and resolutions opposing the deal were not taken.

The Socialist Teachers Alliance (STA) correctly pointed out in a recent circular that Houghton pay levels agreed in 1974 had been abandoned and that cover (filling in for absent colleagues) and assessment had been agreed.

The annual extra incre-

anced theory. Only the Fourth International, fighting to take forward the theoretical work of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, can accomplish this task.

Unless we make this conception the bedrock of all our work, theoretical and practical, Stevens' 'programmatic planks' are reduced to decorative ornaments.

So, while we must welcome wholeheartedly the renewed discussions about re-unifying the Trotskyist movement, I don't think Paul Stevens' approach to the question will do. An unkind observer could caricature it as 'find the lowest common denominator and

let bygones be bygones'.

There is no way to grasp the chance now offered for constructing a unified International without tracing the history of the movement since the war, because only in this way can we uncover the objective problems which that history expressed.

We have to bring our theoretical armoury to the level demanded by the objective situation. Then we will be able to realise the opportunities which, I believe, have been in existence for three decades without being fully grasped.

Cyril Smith

ment of pay to which teachers are entitled has now been made conditional upon an annual assessment of 'performance'.

Sir Keith Joseph will be delighted that Kenneth Baker, his successor, and Jarvis have achieved what he sought to bulldoze through in the protracted teachers' dispute.

Most teachers currently on the bottom two salary scales will earn only an extra £200 per annum in addition to the £750 lump sum promised for January 1987.

At Conference the NUT agreed there would be no entry grade for teachers entering the profession.

At Coventry they agreed a two-year entry grade and a Main Professional Grade (MPG) only after assessment.

Only those on the top increments with about 10 years experience behind them gain any significant increase in salary, or those about to receive pensions.

The deal offers nothing to primary school teachers where non-contract time and class size have become burning issues.

The Labour-dominated ILEA recently consulted lawyers concerning where it would stand if it chose to

enforce disputed areas such as 'cover' and 'after school meetings'.

This resulted in a threat that teachers could have their pay docked if they refused to cover for absent colleagues.

This could be a signal for a series of unofficial actions in defence of conditions established in struggle.

Teachers have to be warned that, in the absence of any lead given by the union, this may be the only option open to them.

We now have an interim agreement on cover agreed for the Autumn term which local authorities will use to head off any attempt to oppose cover.

Teachers must reaffirm:

1. Pay agreement to restore Houghton with no strings attached!

2. No cover. Demand that local authorities improve conditions of service for supply teachers and employ more supply teachers.

3. The attack on teachers is an attack on the education service as a whole. Defend the education service against the Tory government.

4. Expose all Labour authorities who refuse to support the struggle!

Phil Edwards

# 75 years since the 1911 Llanelli Railway Strike

## The day that Churchill let loose the troops

BY MIKE BURROWS

Newspaper accounts in the years preceding the events of August 1911 shockingly present the gruesome nature of everyday life.

Death is acceptable due to short life. Newspapers regularly reported the discovery of shallow unmarked graves containing skeletons of babies.

Suicides were common: the most certain method being to cut the throat from ear to ear.

The demands of the railway workers were mild — an eight hour day, 2s a week rise and an adjustment for working Bank Holidays.

Small grievances like the use of paraffin oil for lamps were also at issue but did not alter the fact that Britain in 1911 depended entirely on rail transport.

Months of strikes and revolt by seamen, miners and dockers had already alerted the editorial writers to this fact.

On August 15, 1911 one claimed: 'It is the grimmest of satires to contrast the pomp and pageantry of the Coronation with the reality — the state that stands cowering and impotent while mobs run wild in its streets, sacking and burning; the power that can subdue 400 million people and shrinks from grappling with a few thousand roughs whose majestic capital (London), the mightiest work of human hands in any eye, is ever within a week of starvation.'

The use of troops was second nature to the Liberal Government of the day and Home Secretary Winston Churchill.

Two men were killed in Liverpool by the 18th Hussars 'using rifle and sabre'.

This was reported in the Llanelli area two days before the railway strike began officially.

Sir James Inglis, General Manager of Great Western Railway, scorned the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. 'We would rather close down the whole system,' he said.

Every soldier in Aldershot was put on duty at the railways, cavalry to patrol the lines.

The 'Liverpool Express' reported their orders,

'It is feared that firing over the heads of the people may involve the lives of innocent persons and will, moreover, give heart to the rioters.'

'The soldiers have therefore been ordered to waste

no bullets; to pick out the ringleaders in any disturbance and shoot to kill.'

On Friday, 'the railway war' commenced 'in dead earnest'. Up to 40,000 people attended an open air meeting in Swansea. Their leader Joseph Thornhill read the telegram from national union leaders.

'Your liberty is at stake; all railwaymen must strike at once; loyalty to each other means victory.'

No mention of the orders of the army. 'A short sharp battle,' the chairman said, predicting settlement by Monday.

The mood of the men was innocently jovial. The Chairmen said the course was now clear for them.

In Llanelli the response was swift. More than 2,000 blocked the Swansea to Fishguard line and, reinforced by tinplate workers, overwhelmed the 12 policemen attempting to open the gates at 5.00 am.

A few hours later 120 of the Lancashire regiment arrived from Cardiff by special train.

The strike committee held a meeting at the station gates and said that they had decided to act upon the advice of the Trades and Labour Council and to call out every trade unionist in the town.

These trade unionists soon became 'a mob of men' in press reports.

The Irish mail had now been held up for 12 hours. The men's leaders appealed to allow the Irish train though but their appeals were ignored. That evening 250 men of the Worcester regiment arrived.

The local leaders further appeals got a lively reception. 'We have come to a critical period' exclaimed Mr Sequence, Chairman of the local committee, 'and this crossing must be completed.'

'There is sufficient military at hand to clear this crossing tonight. Is it worth

THE LLANELLI Railway Riots 75th Anniversary Committee are to be commended for organising a march and rally on Saturday, supported by Llanelli Trades Council, ASLEF, NUR and Llanelli CPP, to celebrate an important landmark in the history of the working class.

It is in that spirit that this account of the shooting of John John and Leonard Worsell in Llanelli on August 19, 1911 is written — to encourage others to go to their local library and study the newspapers of the time, to understand the class nature of this history and to consider the methods which are used to analyse such historical development from the living events of today: how history appears to repeat itself, yet it doesn't.

shedding blood for the sake of preventing a few trains through?

'Don't allow the dignity of Llanelli to be dragged into the mire by having bloodshed without cause.'

Other speakers followed, the crowd began to sway to and fro. Finally two volunteers jumped on the train and proceeded to Fishguard.

The police cordon strove hard to keep the line intact and received nasty blows.

When the Worcester and North Lancs regiment took up their positions at the crossing the rage of the crowd became even greater and 'a section commenced singing the Llanelli Rugby Football war song 'Sospan Fach'.

Meanwhile a strike committee meeting was held deciding to allow four mail trains a day. The alternative, the crowd was told by a labour leader, would have been the reading of the Riot Act.

The struggles reached a new climax on Saturday afternoon August 19. The Sergeant of the Worcesters described the scene.

'The gates at the crossing were, of course, closed, but directly we had returned to the station, the crowd burst open the gates and ran up the line in the direction the train had taken.'

'We made up the line after the crowd. The crowd had got hold of the driver of the engine and started badly handling him.'

The crowd split and ran up the steep embankments either side of the train. The soldiers stood round the engine and were pelted by stones, bricks, pieces of wood and coal.

A Major Stewart pleaded with the crowd, already having sent for the magistrates. They read the Riot Act 15 minutes later and the order to fire was given.

'The first shot, a single

one, was fired in the air', said the Worcesters' Sgt. 'They simply jeered and called out "We don't mind your shots, you've only got blank cartridges". Then the second order to fire was given and this time several men fired.'

Two young men behind the garden wall were killed, John John, aged 21, a tinplater and Leonard Worsell, 20, unemployed. 24-year-old John Francis was wounded in the neck and chest. J Hanbury, aged 19, was also hit.

'I was running away towards the outhouse, when I heard a shot and a bullet hit me on the thumb and knocked down John John standing right behind me... The soldiers were only about 15 yards away when they fired and none of the four men in the garden interfered in any way with the soldiers.'

Worsell's brother, overcome with grief, wrote on a slip of paper for a reporter 'L Worsell, 40 Parish Lane, Penge, SE London "Murdered!"'

The reaction to the killings swept through Llanelli and the area.

Colliers flooded into the town from surrounding villages. Several hundred burst through the station gates whilst thousands surrounded the streets.

Men and women and even children ransacked a goods train. There was no policeman or soldier to be seen to interfere.

Cases of beer and mineral waters were drawn for refreshments, bacon, biscuits, whole cheeses, butts of butter, were openly removed.

Soldiers' coats and belongings were set on fire. But one of the trucks had three cwt of blasting powder for GCG colliery and it exploded and a quantity of calcium in another quickly followed.

A number of people were killed on the spot and fearful-



WINSTON CHURCHILL — Home Secretary at the time

ly mutilated.

Meanwhile a group had wrecked 'in the most leisurely fashion' the premises of Mr Thomas Jones, grocer and Mr Wilkins, ironmonger, the magistrates associated with the reading of the Riot Act.

At midnight, 600 of the Sussex regiment, 'released to protect the 50 local and special police', made a bayonet charge.

Dawn broke before 'the carnival of lawlessness' ended.

Two days later, King George's message read 'Rejoice to hear the railway strike has been declared at an end. Congratulate representatives of men so successful termination of negotiations...'

The settlement was (1) union recognition in discussions (2) full reinstatement, no victimisation (3) a Royal Commission to be appointed.

This was after a strike that lasted a weekend and 19 were killed, 450 injured, 300 arrests, 50,000 troops used, 6,000 special constables, affecting 6 million passengers, costing £700,000 to the owners, £300,000 goods traffic, £200,000 of dividends, from 53,972 miles of rail track being paralysed.

The editorial of the Daily Telegraph had a familiar message on August 21, 'only the fear of the soldiers has kept terrorism in check

Mr Matt Giles, a Swansea ILP figure, addressed a meeting afterwards.

'We are sorry for what happened in Llanelli, but it was due to the military firing on the people.'

'The people had been incited by the press, which represents the capitalists. When are you going to have your own press?' he asked.

The Coroner's opinion on the shootings, on August 30 was that 'it was quite immaterial whether those young men were actual rioters or not'.

The jury's verdict was 'justifiable homicide', despite four jurymen later publicly claiming that they wished for manslaughter verdicts.

It was also shown that the magistrates did not have a proclamation of the Riot Act and read a supposed copy handed to them by Major Stewart.

The ASRS resolution on September 11, moved by Mr S Quelch, condemned 'the murderous action of the government in placing state-maintained military at the disposal of private companies.'

He called on workers to combine politically as well as industrially.

It was this attitude that generated the rise in membership of the Labour Party that followed.

The TUC Congress on September 11 in Newcastle was also greatly affected by the rail strike. The congress discussed a resolution by the Glassblowers Union on a Citizens' Army.

Mr Thorne MP was its chief advocate and Mr Ward MP its opponent who declared that anything which increased the number of drilled and disciplined men was a tendency towards militarism to the state and danger to civil institutions.

Mr Seddon (Shop Assistants) said Labour's best weapon was the powers to prevent war by stopping productivity.

Mr Stanton (South Wales) said the conduct of the military under autocratic officers in South Wales made him a firm believer in a citizens' army. Card vote for Army was 93,000; against 1,500,000.

On October 24 1911 it was announced that the King had been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr Winston Churchill (Home Secretary) to be First Lord of the Admiralty.

A commentator said 'Mr Churchill found the bounds of Home Office a good deal too cramped for his superabundant energies; and committed a large number of indiscretions which brought down much ridicule upon his head and did not entrance the dignity of his department.' (The confused man theory of history!)

But Kaiser Bill was a growing danger for the empire and more suitable for Churchill's superabundant energies and indiscretions. Which is where we come in...

Questions for discussion.

What is a riot? Are there good ones and bad ones? What is the relationship of a strike to a riot? When is a 'riot' an uprising? What is the relationship between a strike, a riot, an uprising, a revolt and a revolution? What are the qualitative differences?

In 1902 Lenin wrote in 'What is to be done?' (p. 31) that the "spontaneous element" in essence, represents nothing more nor less than (socialist) consciousness in an embryonic form. In 1986 has the advance of the world working class meant that the embryonic form of socialist consciousness has developed a 'baby' element in spontaneity of workers?

How does this relate to the Justice Campaign for Jailed and Sacked Miners and the defence of basic rights in any case that is threatened by the capitalist state?

Are the royal family capable of rioting? Can Prince Charles run amok in Buckingham Palace?

Was it necessary for miners to wear tee-shirts and gymshoes at Orgreave against the paramilitary police?



'THE WEAPONS of the working class are very poor indeed compared with those at the command of the exploiting class' — Dai Davies, socialist, Llanelli, 1909 (Quoted by the Llanelli Railway Riots 75th Anniversary Committee)

## REVIEWS

## Two reminders of the German Revolution of 1919

## Portrait of a class fighter

'Rosa', directed by Margarete von Trotta, at the Lumiere Cinema, St Martins Lane, London WC.

This film about the Polish revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg shows her as a resolute enemy of imperialist oppression.

In the opening shots we see her incarcerated by the Kaiser in a military fortress during the First World War.

From there the films describes her revolutionary career in a series of flash-backs.

She is seen jailed by the Czarist authorities in Warsaw in 1906, witnessing the execution by firing squad of Polish revolutionaries.

She herself is brutally interrogated and subjected to a mock execution.

But she never gives an inch to her opponents, whether they are police, jailors or renegades within the workers' movement.

The film shows her agitation in the German Social-Democratic Party for a proletarian internationalist stand on the coming world war.

BY BOB ARCHER

We see the fine words at International Socialist Congresses about action to prevent war.

Then we see the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, like all the reformist leaders in other countries, filing into the Reichstag to vote money supplies for the war machine.

Rosa Luxemburg was one of that select group who called for a revolutionary socialist 'war against war', thus preparing the way for the German revolution of 1918 and the founding of the Spartacus League, later to be the German Communist Party.

Rosa Luxemburg's personal life is presented as being entirely inter-woven with her political struggle.

Her lover of many years was the Polish socialist Leo Jogiches.

The film explores her relationships with other leading women in the socialist movement — Klara Zetkin, Luise Kautsky and Sonja Liebknecht.

But it is not a film about the 'women's question'.

At one point the SPD leaders invite Rosa to get off their backs and devote her attention to women's issues. She taunts them that Klara Zetkin and herself are 'the only men left in the Party'.

Released from imprisonment by the revolution of 1918, Luxemburg throws herself into the struggle to build the Spartacus League. The film shows her fight against adventurism in the new and relatively inexperienced party.

In the credits at the beginning of the film, she is wrongly described as a 'pacifist'. In fact she was an irreconcilable fighter for the abolition of capitalism. It was for that stand that she and Liebknecht were murdered by reactionary soldiers acting under the authority of the social democratic leaders.

The end of the film is a very sober and factual re-enactment of those terrible murders. It brings home strongly that the choice facing humanity is socialism or barbarism.



Rosa Luxemburg, played by Barbara Sukowa, speaking at a pre-war SPD rally

Although the film does show Luxemburg as an agitator, teacher and polemicist, it is fair to say that it

fails to convey her stature as a theoretician. Another shortcoming is that there is no reference at all to the

Russian revolution of October 1917.

Go and see the film, though.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMINTERN

The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power; Documents: 1918-1919; Preparing the Founding Congress. Second volume in the series The Communist International in Lenin's Time, edited by John Riddell. Published by the Anchor Foundation and distributed by Pathfinder Press. £8.95

THIS volume is vital reading for revolutionaries.

It brings together, from a wide variety of original leaflets, newspaper articles, pamphlets and minutes, much otherwise unobtainable source material for a study of the struggle to build and train the Communist International.

The largest section provides a concise documentary history of the German revolution from November 1918 to January 1919.

The account starts correctly by establishing the international importance of the German revolution as the first major European uprising following the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917.

It then traces the main political forces at play in Germany.

The leaders of the Majority socialists (SPD) deliberately set out to defeat the revolution in alliance with the high command of the former Kaiser's army.

The leaders of the Independent socialists (USPD), Kautsky, Haase and others, were centrists.

They had authority over large numbers of revolutionary workers, like the Revolutionary Shop Stewards in Berlin, but they used it blunt and confuse revolutionary

action by the working class.

Thus the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils that sprang up in the German November revolution of 1918 abdicated their power to the caretaker 'Government of People's Deputies' which contained both socialists.

Both Majority and Independent leaders opposed the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 as premature and 'undemocratic'.

The revolutionary Marxists, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, struggled to set up and train the German Communist Party in the middle of the tumultuous events of the revolution.

The main part of the documentary material deals with how they set about this task before their murder, in

January 1919, at the hands of army troops brought into Berlin by the Majority socialist leaders Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann.

The extracts dealing with the formation of the German Communist Party (KPD/Spartakus) show the considerable problems the Spartacist leaders faced.

Many of the forces they attracted — the most revolutionary workers and youth — were politically inexperienced.

There were strong ultra-left and adventurist tendencies to contend with.

The section 'Towards a Worker-Peasant Alliance' shows that the German revolutionaries had carried over from their time in the SPD a formal, doctrinaire attitude on the land question.

The material on the Ger-

man revolution is keyed in with the second section of this volume, which deals with the preparations for the setting up of the Communist International.

In fact, the emergence of the German Spartacus League, Lenin said, meant that the Communist International had already become a reality.

The documents show how the revolutionary internationalist nature of the new organisation was established.

From the very outset, the leaders of the Third International recognised that the fate of the Russian revolution depended on the progress of the world revolution.

On the one hand, the fight was on against all reformist and centrist opponents of revolution in the workers' movement.

A very important chapter counterposes extracts from Karl Kautsky's 'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat' (actually an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat) with the full text of Lenin's 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky'.

On the other hand, the struggle for the Communist International was not a paper debate.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks set out resolutely to win sections from centrist and even outright reformist parties for the new movement.

It is well worth studying Lenin's notes to Chicherin (printed on pages 443-445) on how to approach the work for the founding congress of the Communist International.

The great merit of this book is that the selection of documents from many angles, as it were, gives a three-dimensional, living picture.

This is also helped by the

terse and factual historical commentary by the editor that links the documents together.

One word of caution: the method of presentation, while not dogmatically forcing 'lessons' on the reader, does provide a clearly marked analysis of the political forces involved — Bolshevism, the German Spartacists, the centrists and the outright reformists.

This is valuable, but the reader should avoid the impression that this kind of history exhausts the knowledge that we can draw for the construction of revolutionary leadership from the experiences of Communists in 1918-1919.

In many ways it is just a starting point. Readers should be stimulated by this material to study yet deeper theoretical questions.

In particular it would be worthwhile to contrast the way Lenin and the Bolsheviks took up the defence of Marxism as a science and a theory of knowledge against opportunism and revisionism in the Second International with the way that Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring shouldered this task.

Luxemburg and Mehring undertook a firm defence of historical materialism against both explicit opponents of Marxism and those socialists who tried to turn Marxism into a dead letter, a 'harmless icon'.

It was left to Lenin to undertake the development of dialectical materialism in the theoretical crisis brought about by the advances of modern physics.

Riddell's monumental work should provoke a serious study that does full justice to all those who struggled to make Marxist theory a guide to the revolutionary action of the working class.



The re-enactment of the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in the film 'Rosa': Barbara Sukowa plays Rosa Luxemburg and Otto Sander plays Karl Liebknecht

## Support sacked trade unionists! MASS RALLY & MARCH

Friday 26 September  
ASSEMBLE 4p.m. at A1 Feeds, Lyster Road, Bootle  
MARCH to Streed Ltd RALLY 6p.m. at Nove Leather  
Workers at A1 Feeds, Streed Ltd and Nove Leather have been sacked for joining a union. Scab labour has been used in an attempt to maintain production and break the unionised workers.  
Show solidarity with the sacked trade unionists by organising for the march and rally.  
Further information: Mike Carden, Transport House, Liverpool 3; tel 207 3388  
Fieldworkers Office, MTUCURC, 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool 1; tel 709 3995  
More details in next week's Workers Press

# COALFIELD ANGER ERUPTS

ANGRY miners throughout the Durham coalfield are voting on a series of one day strikes which could start next week.

The result of the ballot will be announced next week and, if the men vote for action, lightning stops will hit every pit and workshop in the coalfield.

On the same day, results of a ballot of NUM members on whether to impose an overtime ban will be announced.

The men are set for a confrontation with British Coal following the announcement by BC's new chairman, Sir Robert Haslem, that miners who stayed out on strike will lose 10 months of a pay rise.

Durham Branch of the Mechanics has asked its members to vote on four counts:

1. sacked miners who are

BY HUGHIE NICOL

not being reinstated, including Geoff Hartnell who has not been given his job back despite an industrial tribunal ruling

2. British Coal's threat to close the Seaham colliery

3. lack of conciliation and consultation by British Coal

4. the issue of backdated pay to last November

The mood of the men

makes it almost certain that the vote will be overwhelmingly in favour of strike action.

Billy Etherington, Durham Branch Secretary of the Mechanics told Workers Press:

'The award of this money has not made any difference and we are going ahead with the ballot.

'We are very displeased that there is no backdating element. This was supposed to have been dealt with by

the courts to find out whether we or the Board were right about the pension payments.

'What these people have done is filched money from us.

'There is also the divisive element with the scab union getting all of the money. There is very little conciliatory action from the Board.

'If the ballot is successful, and I have every reason to believe it will be, there will be strike action on a guerril-

la basis and it will be starting straight away.'

The decision to give miners who worked during the strike the bonus is the one which has angered NUM leaders.

David Hopper, Durham Secretary of the NUM said:

'He is dividing the workforce by dividing the people who stayed out in the strike and those who went back. You can forget the talk of Mr Nice Guy. There are no Mr Nice Guys in the Coal Board.

'The men will be pleased to get an increase but I would imagine there would be great bitterness. They are trying to open up divisions which were created by the strike. They have tried to smash the union, they have found they can't do that so they are trying to penalise those who stayed out.'

Leaders of South Wales 13,600 miners have voted to continue their overtime ban in protest over their proposals.

## Apartheid murder victims

### THESE WERE OUR PEOPLE!



BY BOB MYERS

**TUESDAY September 9: Pretoria Central Gaol. Three young liberation fighters are taken from their condemned cells and hanged.**

Siphon Xulu, 25, Clarence Lucky Payi, 20, and Sibuyiso Zondo, 19, were murdered by the racist regime for fighting against apartheid.

The hangings were supported by the Thatcher government. The Foreign Office issued a statement saying that the three had been properly tried and convicted.

British trade unionists be warned — those who fight the state's anti-union laws here, as did Des Warren and Terry French and other miners — will also be 'properly tried and convicted'.

The cry on the miners picket lines was 'To fight for jobs is not a crime.'

In Soweto, in Alexander township and in all the South African slave labour camps the fight for freedom is not a crime.

The hangings of Xulu, Payi and Zondo must be reversed not just by the African people but by the working class internationally.

They were our people.

Two weeks ago, at the TUC congress in Brighton, the air was full of praise for the ANC, full of denunciations of apartheid, full of applause for those who fought against Botha.

But, with the exception of Bill Morris and a few other leading members of the T&GWU who stood outside the South African Embassy to protest against the hang-

ings, no leading Trade Unionists lifted a finger to save the lives of the young ANC supporters.

The Brighton rhetoric meant nothing.

Outside the South African embassy in London, crowds gathered throughout the evening and night before the death sentences were carried out.

The supporters and banners of the African National Congress were there and the City of London anti-apartheid group whose members maintain a 24-hour non-stop picket of the embassy.

These hangings come after the week in which the people of Soweto gave scores more lives in the fight against Botha and were then prevented by the troops from burying their dead.

British Trade Unionists must organise to halt all trade with South Africa.

They must demand that the trade union leaders impose workers' sanctions immediately.

One of the slogans of the non-stop picket organised by City Group must also be taken up by the entire labour movement.

'Close down the racist embassy!'

Nobody will expect Thatcher's pro-apartheid government to throw out Botha's ambassador.

On the contrary the Special Branch are busy supplying him with information on the movement of ANC members.

But the coming Labour Party conference and Labour Party branches must insist that the first act of a Labour government is to close down this embassy and throw the racists out.

If 'Consensus Kinnock'

finds that a bit too hard let him go with them.

Siphon Xulu, Clarence Payi and Sibuyiso Zondo were fighters against capitalism.

The South African trade unions and liberation movements have called for British workers to act now.

Halt all trade with the racist murderers.

Close down the S.A. Embassy and hold a labour movement inquiry into the joint activities of the S.A. and British secret police.

The ANC claimed that BOSS agents (S.A. secret police) set up Xulu and Payi to murder Ben Langa, former leader of the S.A. Students Organisation and a founder member, with Steve Biko, of the Black Consciousness movement.

Langa's family have denied that he was an im-fortner.

Despite the conditions of near civil war in S.A., every effort must be made to establish the truth behind the killing.

If this was the work of Boss agents, where and how did they operate to send Xulu and Payi on their mission?

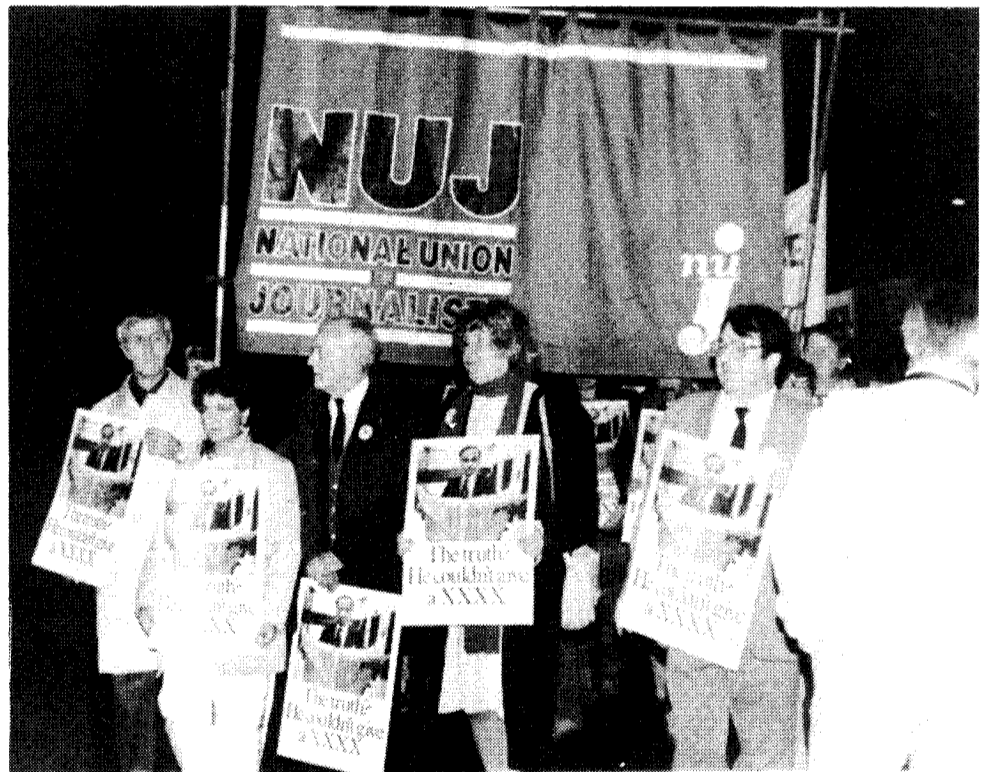
Or, if this was the elimination of a political rival, who authorised it?

Our support for all the liberation movements and organizations of the S.A. working class is unconditional.

Our fight here in Britain is to cut S.A.'s economic life-line but the issues of infiltration or silencing of opponents are of vital importance both to the S.A. and British working class and cannot be covered over.

The struggle to continue the fight of these three young comrades against apartheid must include the facts of Langa's death.

## Another show of strength at Wapping



**LAST SATURDAY, September 6, the National Union of Journalists banner led a march of approximately two thousand printworkers and their supporters from Tower Hill for a rally outside Rupert Murdoch's fortress printing plant at Wapping.**

**It was another demonstration of strength and defiance by some of the six thousand printers, cleaners and clerical workers sacked by News International at the end of January in defence of their jobs and their unions.**

BY ALAN CLARK

Strength because for over seven months they have demonstrated and picketed against an employer who has been backed by the Tory Government and the State for his union busting operation, yet they remain strong and determined to beat him.

Defiant in the face of their own national leadership's cowardice before the courts and which has seized on every opportunity to play down and undermine the dispute, preferring to rely on a useless boycott campaign instead of turning to the rest of the working class for physical support.

In particular, they refuse to bring out the rest of Fleet Street in support of their sacked colleagues.

Nevertheless, every Saturday and Wednesday night,

and on occasions during the daytime, hundreds of the sacked printworkers have demonstrated outside the plant giving the message to Murdoch and their union leaders that 'We're not going away!'

The main guest speaker at the rally afterwards was Tony Benn, who said he was at Wapping on May 3 when the police ran riot. He went on to say Murdoch's papers were Thatcher's greatest weapons.

He received great applause when he said that Thatcher divided men against women, black against white and, in Ireland, Catholic against Protestant.

Francis Morrell, leader of the ILEA Labour Group, said that her authority would not be placing any advertising with Murdoch's papers and urged other authorities to do the same.

Alf Parish, NGA National Officer, said 'Tonight's march, led by the NUJ is a turning point of the dispute.'

'The talks with News International, which started before the TUC had begun to talk about jobs in Wapping, might just have been a manoeuvre to stop the NGA motion at Congress.'

'If we win this dispute it will mean victory for mine-workers as well as printworkers. We must remain here.'

Keith Sutton, a journalist who refused to go to Wapping and who now works on the Wapping Post, also stressed the need for the pickets to stay at Wapping.

'The Wapping Post was born out of the lies that are going on in there. (Murdoch's plant).'

'We have to make it clear to Murdoch that we are talking about jobs. We must settle this dispute and get unions back into Wapping.'