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# A CRUCIAL STAGE AT WAPPING

BY ALAN CLARK

**THE WAPPING dispute has now entered a new phase. The magnificent rejection by the sacked printworkers of Rupert Murdoch's 'latest, last and final' offer — worked out in a deal between News International management and print union leaders — was a clear sign, if any was needed, that the working class has not been beaten by this Tory Government.**

**But where do printworkers go from here? That's the question being asked on the picket line.**

They have stood firm outside Murdoch's plant for nearly nine months and look no nearer going inside than when they first came out.

The sacked printworkers are faced here with an enormous responsibility on behalf of the whole working class.

They have rejected the last two offers of Rupert Murdoch recommended by the union leadership.

Their decision was a tremendous boost to all other

workers in struggle.

Silentnight, NUS Ferryboat workers, London Transport workers must all take strength from the magnificent rejection of the Murdoch/Dean deal.

No other group of workers have stood so firm, under tremendous pressure, for a long long time.

The printworkers are not just fighting Murdoch here: this dispute can only be won by recognising that the fight is also with the state: the courts, the police etc.

Murdoch could not carry out his scabbing operation without their help and that of the trade union leaders, 'left' and right.

Norman Willis and the TUC have done nothing about Eric Hammond's EET-PU, and are not likely to.

Printworkers are wondering

just whose side these people are on.

They have concentrated all efforts on a phoney boycott campaign and avoided any escalation of the dispute.

It has become obvious to the rank and file that the boycott campaign hasn't worked and must now be ditched as the main strategy for winning.

Tony Isaacs and Bill Freeman, both members of SOGAT's London Machine Branch Committee, spoke last Saturday at the rally after a tremendous demonstration of three thousand printers and their supporters.

Isaacs said that Dean had indicated that she was going to see Willis and demand the trade union movement get behind the printworkers.

Freeman claimed that Dean and the NEC have been forced to recognise the reality of what their members stand for and promised, under pressure from the meeting, to send a demand to the TUC to take action against the EETPU.

Both Freeman and Isaacs reported that Dean had promised to seek approval from the NEC for a national levy.

Freeman said that a 50p levy would bring in about £100,000 and would help alleviate the hardship some of the members are feeling.

He also reported that the meeting wanted to know from Dean why SOGAT members in the provinces had not been dealt with under rule.

She was reminded that, under SOGAT rules, the EC

can go over the heads of the branch and discipline members for scabbing.

Tony Isaacs suggested that members should now give Dean another chance; he said he was willing provided she 'Leads as she did in the first five weeks and not like the last eight months'.

Dean will not go back to how she led in the beginning; not many members would want her to anyway.

Right from the start, she concentrated on the boycott campaign as a way to win.

She has twice recommended acceptance of Murdoch's offers and has done nothing about escalating the dispute from day one.

The rank and file will not accept Isaacs' suggestion. In fact, members are already

Continued on page two

## PUBLIC MEETINGS

### LONDON

Sunday, October 26, 1p.m.-9p.m.  
Kingsway-Princeton, Grays Inn Road, London WC1

1p.m. Doors open

2p.m. **Peter Fryer:** correspondent for the Daily Worker, eye-witness to the events in Hungary and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'

**Michael Varga (Balazs Nagy):** Hungarian Trotskyist; one of the former secretaries of the Petofi Circle

4p.m. Break

6p.m. **Cliff Slaughter:** expelled from the Communist Party for opposition to Stalinism after the Khrushchev speech and the Hungarian events in 1956; a Trotskyist for the last 30 years; Central Committee member, Workers Revolutionary Party

**Bob Pennington:** Trotskyist for 35 years; member of the Editorial Board of International

**Bill Hunter:** long-standing Trotskyist; Central Committee member, Workers Revolutionary Party

7p.m. WORKSHOPS: **The Moscow Trials and the Popular Front** — Cyril Smith (WRP Central Committee)  
**Political Revolution — Post Hungary** — Tony Richardson (Socialist Viewpoint)  
**Poland** — Oliver MacDonald (editor, Labour Focus)  
**East Germany** — Peter Firmin (Socialist Viewpoint)  
**Hungary & the political revolution** — Dave Hughes (editorial board, Workers Power)

EXHIBITION REFRESHMENTS CRECHE  
Tickets £2

Organised and sponsored by the Workers Revolutionary Party, International, Workers Power and Socialist Viewpoint

### GLASGOW

Sunday October 19, 3p.m.  
Ingram Hotel, Ingram Street

Speakers: **PETER FRYER**  
**Cliff Slaughter**  
**Bob Todd:** lecturer, left CP  
**Marek Garztecki:** Polish trades unionist

### MANCHESTER

Tuesday October 21,  
7.30p.m.  
Basement Theatre  
Manchester Town Hall  
St Peters Square

Main Speaker: **PETER FRYER**

### BIRMINGHAM

Thursday October 23,  
7.30p.m.  
Digbeth Hall  
Birmingham

Main Speaker: **PETER FRYER**

## 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION



# NHS sale threatens to make health workers homeless

**AS MANY AS 50,000 health workers, 7,000 of them in London alone, could lose their homes as a result of the government's asset-stripping plans to cut NHS spending.**

**A 'sale of the century' auction of supposedly surplus units of NHS accommodation threatens to push nurses, ancillary staff and other hospital workers out into private rented accommodation or onto council waiting lists.**

Existing buildings will be emptied and left vacant: newly-appointed staff will not be offered NHS accommodation but forced to fend for themselves.

Then, they hope, health authorities will be free to sell off the property.

The government target for this year is to sell £130m worth of land and buildings, with the cash used to prop up NHS services.

The results — particularly in inner London where housing queues are already at disaster levels and many waiting lists frozen — could be catastrophic for displaced healthworkers and other local people.

All of the NHS staff at risk are low-paid: most are women, and many are migrant workers, for whom racial discrimination is a further barrier to finding alternative places to live.

Many ancillary staff now face a double peril:

- Wage cuts or possible redundancy as a result of privatisation or job-slashing in-house tenders;

- And now the threat of homelessness if they lose their jobs and their homes are put up for sale.

Already in Paddington one group of ancillary workers forced out of their jobs at St Mary's Hospital by privatisation have been forced to sit in to defend their homes and resist the threat of eviction.

Their resistance has led to a partial victory. The DHA have said that they will not issue repossession orders at present and have agreed to meet with the unions and Westminster Housing Department.

Under pressure, an embarrassed Norman Fowler and Health Minister Barney Hayhoe have now ruled that the policy — dreamed up by the Marks and Spencer tycoon Baron Rayner in 1983 — must not be implemented in such a way as to issue staff with notice to quit accommodation.

## FROM LONDON HEALTH EMERGENCY

No health workers will be required to move without being offered 'suitable alternative accommodation'.

But since Rayner's target is to slash the numbers of NHS staff accommodated from 95,000 to 39,000, and since mortgages and private rents are beyond the reach of thousands of low-paid nurses and ancillary workers, it is hard to see how they can move voluntarily to other accommodation.

Health authorities, under pressure to meet targets for sales of property, will find ways of emptying buildings and pressurising staff to leave.

So far, however, wherever there has been resistance to these policies it has been very effective.

Health unions have taken the lead in urging their members to stay put, to fight

efforts to force them out, and to offer legal and other advice in opposing evictions.

In Ealing, Philippa Kelly, a nurse, fought back against notice of eviction with support from COHSE and publicity in the local and national press.

The health authority was forced to retreat and Norman Fowler made his pledge that health authorities would not use court action to evict nurses.

The whole sell-off policy is now in a cleft stick: Norman Fowler has retreated from evictions, but he has not withdrawn the financial targets, which cannot be achieved without evictions.

The plan had already been criticised and rejected in practice by some health authorities and denounced by pro-government papers such as the London Standard and The Mail on Sunday.

It is opposed not only by health unions and the RCN but also by housing pressure groups and charities including SHAC, CHAR and Shelter.

It has been imposed without consultation with local

government housing authorities and it is seen as a liability by government ministers and opposed by Labour and Alliance MP's.

A concerted London-wide outcry on this issue could force the government to drop the whole plan.

One big problem has been the isolation of the staff involved within each district and the lack of any focal point for gathering information or co-ordinating efforts across the capital.

To tackle this, a Conference has been jointly called by the Association of London Authorities and the watchdog body London Health Emergency.

All health workers living in NHS accommodation, representatives from health union branches, and all those community and political groups concerned with local authority housing are welcome to attend.

● SEE advertisement, page 7.

## Revolution and Roses!

A Silentnight Striker's thoughts on the Labour Party's new image

**Revolution and Roses!** Give them the facts  
**As everyone knows** Give them the truth.  
**A real thorny subject** Try to deceive them,  
**That continually grows.** They'll hit the roof.

**Revolution's deep red,** A Rose, nice to look at,  
**A Rose, a soft hue** Yet it is no lie  
**One trying to merge** The first sign of winter  
**As on a set cue.** Will see the Rose die.

**Create a new image,** Revolutions go on,  
**One free from strife** All round the year  
**Hardly revolutionary,** Fighting for truth  
**Or true to life.** With nothing to fear.

**Tempting the voters** Fighting for justice,  
**A move to the right** By day and by night  
**If they move any further** Constantly working,  
**They'll be out of sight** For all that is right.

**Look to the people** Fight for your future  
**At the grass roots,** Fight for your cause.  
**Don't try to con them** Don't wither and die,  
**They'll put in the boot.** Leave that to the Rose.

Terry Bennet

## Colombian T&GWU man killed

**A COLOMBIAN trade unionist, organiser of low-paid workers in contract cleaning in London, has been murdered in Colombia.**

The body of Everth Marin Cortini, aged 29, was found dumped by a roadside on the outskirts of Cali, his native city.

He had been shot three times in the head.

His face, hands and legs showed obvious signs of torture.

Everth was a well-known member of the Colombian Human Rights Committee in London, president of the Latin American Workers Association, Chairman of the Management Committee of the Latin American Advisory Committee and a full-time organiser for SWAAP (Service Workers Action and

Advisory Project).

He had returned to his home country for trade union and political work in November 1985, and was murdered on October 9, the day before he was due to return to his job in Britain.

He knew and spoke of the dangers of organising unions in Colombia.

At the founding of the MIRUG (Migrants, Immigrants, Refugees, Unionisa-

tion Group) in 1983, he clearly anticipated the kind of death he was to have, killed by the fascist Third Brigade of the Colombian armed forces.

Trade unionists in Britain picketed the Colombian Embassy on Monday October 13 to protest at the death of a determined fighter for the organisation and unity of workers in Britain and Latin America.

## Crucial stage at Wapping

Continued from page one calling for Dean to resign.

The boycott campaign has, in fact, provided a cover for Dean, the NEC and the other unions involved to do nothing; the implications of escalating the fight go far wider than they are prepared to go.

Sacked printworkers must seriously consider whether or not the boycott campaign will win the dispute; if they conclude that it won't, then it must be dropped as the main strategy for winning and the fight begun for demands that will.

The rank and file sacked printworkers and other Fleet Street printers must demand that a proper strike committee is elected to run the dispute as a start to stepping up the dispute.

Mass rallies of the printworkers must re-commence. They have to decide how the dispute should be run; no one else.

Printerworkers must recognise that this dispute cannot be won simply by the printers alone — a campaign must be built up to involve the whole trade union movement.

Just calling for a general strike will not answer the printworkers' as to what to do now. How do you get a general strike anyway?

These questions are important and cannot be

answered quite so easily.

A general strike has to be fought for. It is true that a situation is building up that will include more and more workers coming into conflict with the Thatcher Government and her state machine.

The election of a Labour Government will certainly not stop the tide of discontent.

It might even be under a Labour Government that the trade unions and working class finally take to the streets.

Neil Kinnock calls for the press to be owned by British nationals to stop another Murdoch — but every worker knows that the colour, language or sex of an employer is irrelevant; these are political and class questions that the working class is facing.

Militant printworkers in the Fleet Street Support Unit have consistently and correctly called for their colleagues in other Fleet Street chapels to join the action against Murdoch and his aim of smashing the printing trade unions.

But this demand has so far fallen on the deaf ears of Dean, Dubbins and the SOGAT London leadership.

The TUC and the Labour Party leaders have done nothing seriously to help the printers in this important dispute.

Kinnock and Willis have never been to Wapping to see

for themselves what is going on.

Workers Press has supported the call by the FSSU for Fleet Street to come out as the way of escalating and raising the level of all other struggles around the country.

Workers who want to fight the Tories must immediately campaign alongside the printworkers to get the Tories out.

'Waiting for Kinnock to come to power at the next election' is nothing but a conscious effort by all those who want to stifle working class action against this hated Tory government.

SOGAT is the front line of struggle — a decisive lead now would mean an important step forward in this fight.

There is still a lot to be done.

## DAY OF ACTION

to demand

Repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners in British jails

Saturday November 8

11.30am Assemble at the Monument, Hdaymarket, Newcastle

12.00 noon March through Newcastle

2.00pm Assemble at Frankland Prison, Durham  
 March to Durham Prison

Rally — Speakers to include prisoner relatives, NUM (in personal capacity)

**BRING YOUR BANNERS!**

Supported by Clydeside Troops Out, Republican Band Alliance, Prisoners of War Committee (Glasgow). More information from PH3, 340 W. Princes St., Glasgow G4

**SAY "NO" TO DIVIDE & RULE**

- ▲ DEFEND BLACK RIGHTS
- ▲ DEFEND WOMENS RIGHTS
- ▲ DEFEND DISABLED RIGHTS
- ▲ AND DEMAND...

**FAIR DEAL for LESBIANS & GAYS**

**DEMONSTRATE OCT 25th NOTTINGHAM**

**SCOTS GO TO NOTTS!**

DEMONSTRATE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR LESBIANS AND GAYS!

- BUS FROM GLASGOW
- DEMO SAT 25 OCT 12.15p.m.
- OLD MARKET SQUARE, NOTTINGHAM
- SOCIAL AND CRASH ACCOMMODATION

# Youth have no housing rights

**THERE ARE 80,000 homeless young people, left out of the official statistics on homelessness and with no rights to local authority housing, according to Shelter**

**A third of the people who turn to Shelter for advice are now single people.**

Young people who face the problem of mass unemployment also face problems when they try to find somewhere to live.

Many local authorities have a minimum age restriction, yet already 10 per cent of the 16 to 19 age group do not live with their parents.

Shelter groups around Britain have surveyed the problem of the young homeless.

● Bridlington, E Yorkshire: holiday let accommodation results in many young people becoming homeless at the start of the summer

● Wokingham, Berkshire: inflated house prices make purchase an impossibility for all but the richest young people. The council refuses entry to its waiting list to single people under 30

● Sutton, Surrey: Three quarters of the young people surveyed were unemployed. One quarter were sleeping rough

● Derby: 71 per cent of the young people surveyed were unemployed, and 21 per cent were from ethnic minorities. They called for emergency

accommodation and bedsit-flats — the council has one-bedroom flats, but they tend to be let to the elderly

● Ipswich, Suffolk: Though three quarters of the young people questioned had lived in Ipswich for three or more years, half of them had moved more than twice in the previous two years. Only 10 per cent of the council's stock is suitable for a single person. Private landlords are extremely choosy because there is such a shortage of rented accommodation

● Glasgow: 95 per cent of the young people interviewed were unemployed. Half had been in social work residential care at some time during their lives

● Medway, Kent: One in six had come to the area looking

for work, but ironically unemployment in the area is similar to that in the North West. Average bedsit rents are £35 a week

● Cleveland: The chronic shortage of accommodation means that young people under the age of 21 cannot register on their waiting list

Shelter's director Sheila McKechnie, launching a video resource pack designed for showing in schools and youth clubs aimed to advise young people before they leave home, said:

'Housing options for young people in this country are

deplorable.

'Councils have little to offer in the way of single person accommodation, and waiting lists are notoriously long.

'Private rented property is in short supply and landlords are frequently prejudiced against the young unemployed.

'That only leave home-ownership. Surprisingly, Britain has the highest percentage of young homeowners in the western world... more a reflection of a chronic shortage of afford-

able rented accommodation in Britain than an indication of high living standards.'

Shelter points out that the only long-term solution is to make available more decent single-person accommodation at an affordable price, but the video is part of an effort in the immediate future to help cope with the problems of leaving home.

The 'Moving Away From Home' video resource pack is available from Smith Bundy Video, 10a the Pavement, Clapham Common, London SW4, price £25 including p&p.

## Glasgow buses snarl-up

**GLASGOW CITY centre ground to a halt on Saturday. Councillor Malcolm Waugh, Strathclyde Region transport committee chairman, stated that it was 'one of the worst snarl-ups in living memory'.**

The reason was the 40 strong, two miles long jam of buses along Glasgow's main shopping street.

It meant that half-hour journeys were taking over three hours and drivers had to tell people it was quicker

BY BRIAN DEMPSEY

to walk than take a bus.

Councillor Waugh said, 'The Scottish office justified de-regulation by saying that it would give people a choice of buses, but the real choice they have now is in deciding whether it is better to walk than take a bus at all.

'This is an inevitable consequence of the buses free-for-all sanctioned by the Government under de-regulation.'

The police claimed that the chaos was due only to

'diversions', but the Automobile Association agreed with Councillor Waugh that the bus de-regulation was to blame.

This is Glasgow's first real taste of de-regulation and highlights the fears that de-regulation produces a deterioration in services rather than an improvement of choice.

The fact that it was the profitable city centre routes that were affected shows that private operators will clog up profitable routes and ignore the less profitable outlying areas.

## Indonesia Repression is stepped up

BY CHRIS DIXON

SUHARTO's military regime has stepped up repression throughout Indonesia following massive opposition to its economic policies.

The scale of the country's financial problems can be judged by a 45 per cent devaluation of the rupiah in September.

Massive demonstrations greeted the price rises that came within hours of the devaluation.

Press reports denied 'riots and car burnings' — as a way of evading the strict censorship which prevents them reporting that they had actually taken place.

Suharto runs the business of the economy by granting monopolies to his family and friends, as well as those connected with the arms industry.

Now sections of Indonesian industry have collapsed as the cost of imports soars.

The principal cause of the economic problems is the plummeting oil price.

The poverty — and growing impoverishment — of the

majority of the population is on an almost inconceivable scale.

Unemployment faces millions, and this worsens as the workforce increases by about 1.6 million each year.

This is the background to a wave of executions, book burning and brutal measures in the islands where former political prisoners have been forcibly resettled. At least five political prisoners were executed in September; dozens more face the firing squad.

Four of those shot recently were Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) members in jail since the late 1960s.

One of them, Sjam Kamaruzaman, was suspected of being an army agent who helped General Suharto's scheme to implicate the PKI in the events of October 1965.

If this is the case, it seems that Suharto is anxious to obliterate all trace of his own activities at the time of the army coup.

TAPOL, the British campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Indonesia, is joining with protesters in Holland and Australia to condemn the latest round of executions.

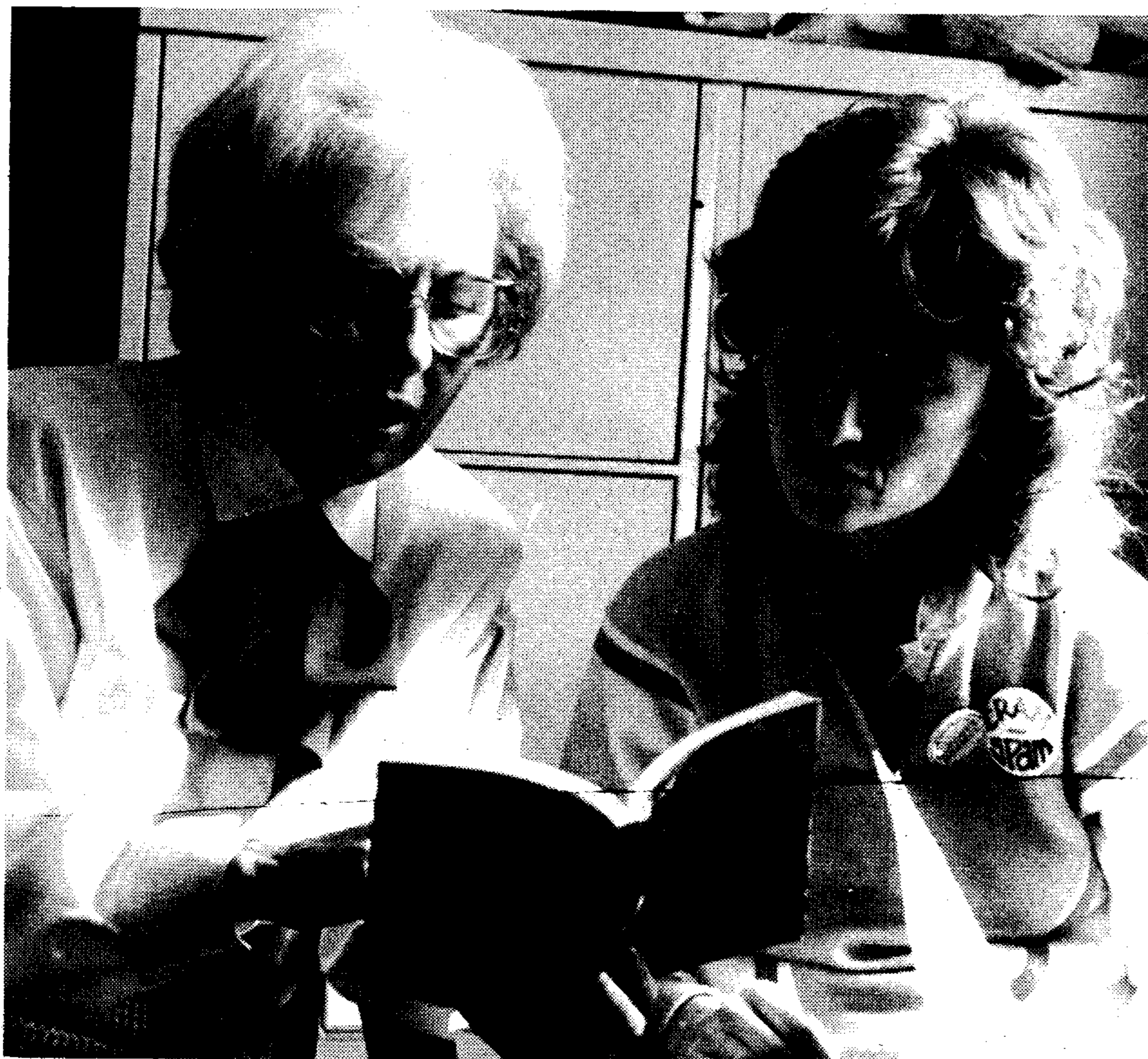
Recent horror stories to emerge from behind the wall of censorship concerned the disenfranchisement of 8,000 people in East Java and the offer that prisoners who became organ donors might get remission.

Opponents of the military regime are being brought to trial.

'Mere whispers are punishable under the anti-subversion law', said the judgement sentencing former cabinet minister H.M. Sanusi to 20 years.

Although none of the substantive charges were proved, Sanusi was sentenced for using 'strong words to condemn the general elections and the role of the Chinese in the national economy.'

## Tribute to Notts women



Joan Witham, author of 'Hearts and Minds' and Gale Sharigold a steelworker who is part of the Hormel Workers Support Group from the US.

BY ANDREW BURGIN

**PERHAPS the most courageous of all those miners who took part in the 1984/85 strike were those in the Nottinghamshire coalfield.**

Notts was popularly defined as a scab area although many thousands of Notts miners together with their families and friends supported the strike.

On many demonstrations other strikers and trade unionists often experienced surprise at the size of the Notts delegations.

Last week the Notts Miners Wives support groups met to celebrate the launch of 'Hearts and Minds', a book written by Joan With-

am on the activities of the Notts women in the strike and of the developments made.

Some of the support groups still meet and many of the women are carrying on the struggle that they started in the Coal Strike into the struggle against apartheid.

'Hearts and Minds' is important because it is a history which is generally lost, a subject of little interest to bourgeois academics.

Based mainly on first hand accounts from the women themselves it is a monument to the work of the women during the strike.

Fittingly, the venue for the book launch was the recently refurbished Notts NUM headquarters in Man-

sfield, itself a tribute to the determination of the Notts miners to smash the scab UDM.

Throughout last Wednesday groups of women from many of the Support Groups met, they included women from: Blidworth, Bolsover, Mansfield, Newark, Retford, Rufford, Warsop and Welbeck.

Betty Heathfield and Kim Young, secretary of the National Women Against Pit Closures, also came, as did Henry Richardson, Notts NUM Secretary, Paul Whetton, who was sacked just after the strike and Mick McGinty who is the Vice-President of the Notts NUM and was sacked last week. (See story, page 16) 'Hearts and Minds', Joan Witham, Canary Press, £4.95

### LISTINGS

Listings are published free by WORKERS PRESS for organisations within the Labour movement. Please send details of any function or event you want to advertise to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Friday.

**NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE.** For the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. For sanctions against the racist South African government. Outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, London. Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

**SOCIALIST ACTION: BUILDING AN ALLIANCE FOR SOCIALISM.** Weekend November 22/23, in London, a major political event with speakers, debates and discussions. Details from PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: RACISM.** The spectre haunting Europe. Aston University, Birmingham, November 2, 1986. Speakers from anti-racist organisations in France, Germany and other European countries, as well as Workers Against Racism and other British anti-racists.

**PALESTINE AND ISRAEL** See for yourself, and meet the people. Join a tour with a difference. Jerusalem and Peace Services, 13, Goodwin St. N4. (01-226-7050) for

brochure. **OPEN EYE WORKSHOP** A catalogue of work now available. Film, Video and Animation. Videotapes on Women & trade unions, International issues, Media representations. ACTT Franchised, 90-92 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1 6EN (051-709 9460)

**MARCH AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER LAWS** Taking place the Saturday after the Government's Public Order Bill becomes law. Contact Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, London N4 (01-881 2938) Creche available.

**LPYS MASS DEMONSTRATION 'TORIES OUT'** Saturday October 18. Assemble: 11.30am Southwark Park for March to Trafalgar Square —

Rally and Bands. **LABOUR CAMPAIGN FOR GAY RIGHTS** March against Nottingham County Council's discriminatory policy. October 25, 12.15pm. Old Market Square. Further details to follow.

**WORKERS POWER PUBLIC MEETING** 'British Trotskyism, 1938-1949' Monday October 27, 7.30pm. Conway Hall (small hall). Speakers: Al Richardson (co-author 'War & the International') Mark Hoskinson (Workers Power Editorial Board)

**AWATINAS IN CONCERT** Musical des Indiens de Bolivie. Saturday October 25, 7.30pm. Stanley Theatre, University Union, Liverpool University. Tickets £1.50, £3.50.

**FLEET STREET SUPPORT GROUP** calls all workers and strikers to **DEMONSTRATE**

at TUC HQ, Russell St.  
Wednesday October 22  
8.30am - 12noon

●Release Jailed Strikers  
●Expel EETPU

●Organise industrial action in support of News International dispute

# Dateline Palestine:

More on-the-spot reports  
from Charlie Pottins

# THE 'FORGOTTEN' PALESTINIANS FIGHT BACK

A modern fight  
against clearances

**BEERSHEBA** — On April 6 this year, an unusual group of demonstrators gathered outside the Jerusalem offices of Israeli Prime minister Peres.

They had come all the way from the Negev (Naqab) desert in the south, to protest police harassment and persecution and to demand their rights to land, work, homes, education and a future.

Scattered around the Negev in small communities, these Bedouin Arabs had not found it easy to organise politically.

They have been pushed around by the Israeli authorities for years and perhaps not been regarded as important enough to organise by other Arabs.

'We are the forgotten Palestinians', one of them complained here.

But now they are organising themselves and determined they won't be forgotten again.

The April demonstration was only the first of a series.

The Bedouin have plenty to demonstrate about, as I learned here.

A few miles out of Beersheba are the smart modern villas of Omer, a home for the rich and influential insofar as such people make their home in the Negev.

A few hundred yards back of Omer, sitting like a guilty conscience to annoy the smart set residents, is a miserable collection of shacks made from scraps of wood and tin.

The people who live in them have no electricity and no sanitation.

Forty to fifty families depend on one standpipe for water.

## Squat

These are the Abu Srihan Bedouin, who used to camp here seasonally long before Omer or the State of Israel were built.

Nowadays, Bedouin workers walking through Omer to the main road are frequently stopped by police — 'What are you doing here?' 'Where's your ID?' 'Show us if you have any money.'

The Omer residents complain the view — and use Bedouin land to tip their rubbish.

The authorities regard the camp as an illegal 'squat'.

There were Bedouin tribes in the northern and central Negev since at least Byzantine times, herding flocks of sheep and goats, farming, or carrying goods between settled areas.

Over centuries, it was

agreed between them and known which tribe or sub-tribe had the right to graze their animals or grow crops where and to use which wells.

The Negev was never properly surveyed by either Ottoman Turkish or British mandate rulers and so, outside Beersheba and its environs, there were no official records of land ownership.

With ancestral rights sanctified by tradition, the tribes did not need them.

But today, says Bedouin activist Nuri al Okbi, 'the main problem of the Arabs in the South is that of land, of permanent residency.'

He adds: 'Our problems started with the State of Israel.'

During the last century, Bedouin increasingly abandoned nomadism for settled agriculture or even urban life.

Beersheba, rebuilt by the Turks as a military and administrative centre at the turn of the century was the Bedouin's market town, with a Bedouin elite of town-dwelling sheikhs.

It had the Negev's only large mosque, today used by the Israelis as a museum.

You will find references in the museum's displays to ancient Egypt, Judeans, Roman rule and modern Israel — but not a word about the long period between, the people whose culture provided the building.

Prior to 1948 there were 95 tribes in the Negev, an estimated 85,000 people.

About half these people — including the entire Arab population of Beersheba — fled or were driven out, to the West bank and Gaza, in the 1947-8 war.

The remaining Negev Bedouin were placed under Israeli military rule from 1948-67.

One of the Zionist state's first acts was to claim the Bedouin were all nomads and declare most of the Negev 'state land.'

In 1951, 12 Bedouin tribes were forcibly moved from their lands in the areas north and west of Beersheba and 'temporarily relocated' to other, barren sites.

They are still in these 'temporary' camps today.



'WE WANT peace', says Bedouin leader, 'but we cannot be expected to surrender all our rights for their "peace".'

The Negev Bedouin claim 4.3 million dunams (a dunam is 1,000 square metres) of land which has been taken from them by the Zionist state.

'They confiscated land through laws legislated by the British and others legislated by the Knesset', says Nuri al-Okbi.

Under British mandate laws an officer could declare an area 'closed' for an 'emergency', Nuri explained.

'The Israelis have used this to expropriate land. They confiscate it on the pretext of "security" or that the Army needs it for a certain time.'

## Security

When the Israeli army withdrew from Sinai in 1980, it claimed it would need land belonging to the Azazmeh tribe, for security reasons.

Bedouin families were moved and then the land was handed over to kibbutz Rata-mim, south of Beersheba.

About 800 Bedouin families lost their land in 1980, the government saying it was needed for military airfields.

'The compensation they were offered wasn't even enough to build a house for a family', Nuri al Okbi says.

Ze'ev, an American-born Israeli who teaches English to Bedouin students in Beersheba, has been learning about their life and struggles.

'There is harassment on a daily basis', he says.

'Because the Israeli army

uses the Negev as a training area, Bedouin grazing their flocks can find they're in a military area.

'Officers come and tell them "you're grazing in a military area".'

'We've grazed here for years, nobody told us...'

'Well it is...'

'Then there's the 'notorious Green Patrol', he says.

'A girl of twelve who is grazing thirty goats is approached by the Green Patrol.'

'They are the police force of the Ministry of Agriculture — a sort of Gestapo. They confiscate the flock.'

'The police force is convicting people, in effect, and taking away their livelihood.'

The Bedouin are told they were 'illegally grazing on state-owned land'.

But 'the State says it's all state land.'

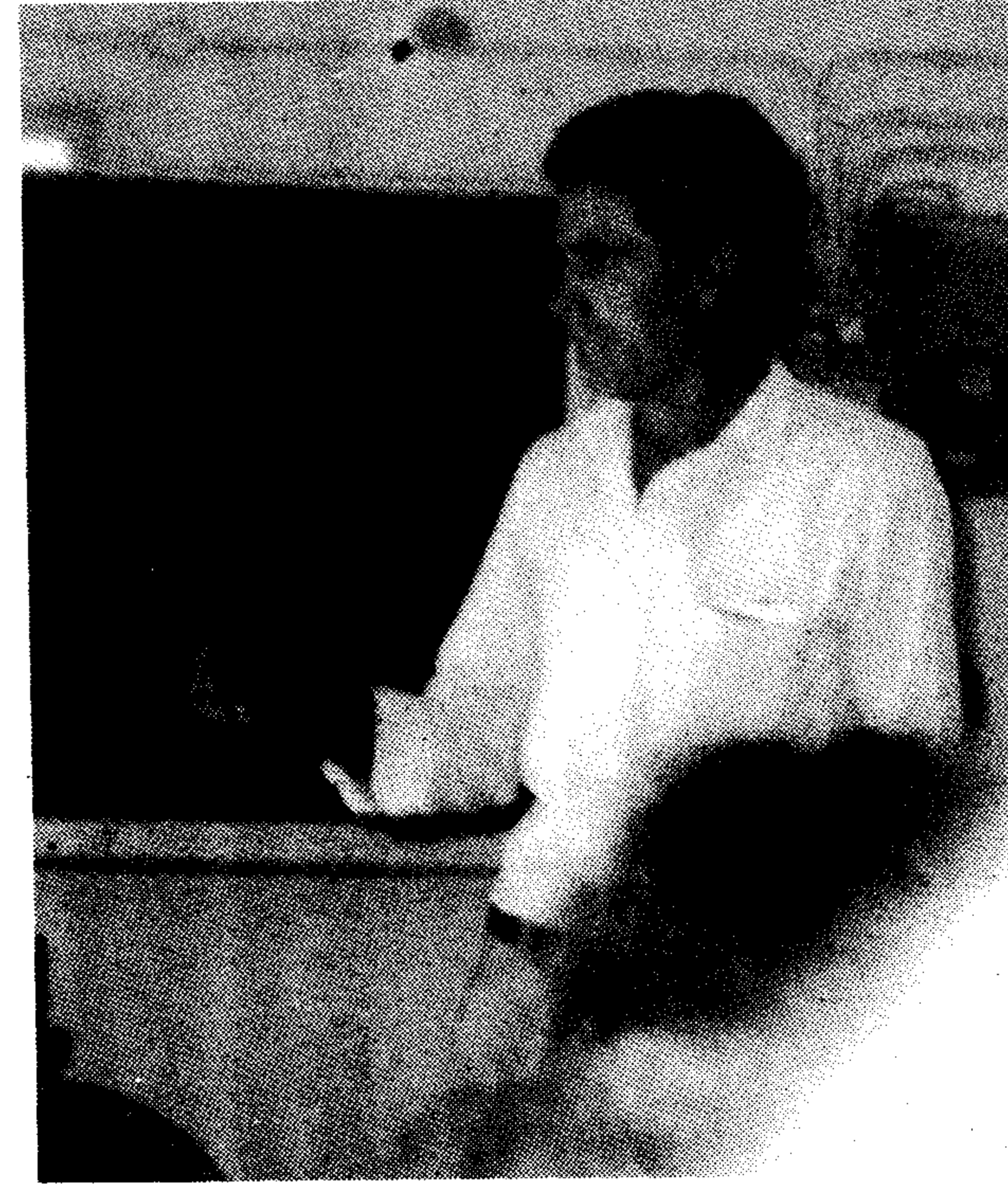
The police often sell confiscated livestock for their own profit, or keep the animals in so-called 'quarantine' until the owner pays a huge fine.

In February this year, a Green Patrol unit confiscated 400 sheep belonging to al-Orjan families, of the same Azazmeh tribe that was moved in 1980.

A few days later they took 95 sheep belonging to the Abu-Jelidan families.

On June 12 this year, Israeli troops set fire to crops belonging to farmers of the Azazmeh tribe.

They did this again on June 26. The Army said the land was wanted for a firing



'THE Bedouin in the Negev demand equality' says Nuri al Okbi, here speaking to reporters in Beersheba schoolroom.

range.

The tribe had submitted a court appeal against the requisition before the arson took place and the case was still pending in Beersheba Magistrates Court.

The Army denied responsibility, blaming individual soldiers.

Sulaman al-Bahari is 60 years old, a member of al-Hozael tribe. He inherited from his father some land north of Beersheba.

In 1974, Sulaman filed a suit with the Israeli Land Settlement Authority, so as to legally register ownership of the property.

## Complain

At dawn on February 12 this year, workers sent by the Land Administration arrived on his land and uprooted an orchard.

They did thousands of pounds of damage.

The next day, Sulaman went to the police to complain.

He was sent from one police station to another, then to the Land Administration itself, where officials said they did not take complaints.

When the Bedouin Rights Association took up this case, a Land Administration official told them there had been no mistake, the orchard was on Army property.

It was not true.

Incidentally, the Land Administration and 'Green Patrols' are supposed to be concerned with good land

use and conservation.

An Orwellian touch!

Sheik Aodi Abu Srihan recalls what happened when the Israeli authorities sent bulldozers to uproot 3,000 olive trees belonging to Bedouin.

'The trees were our livelihood. The villagers tried to resist.'

'The Army and police used firearms, smoke and gas bombs to remove people. I could not believe what was going on.'

'I stood between a bulldozer and a tree. I was arrested by the Border Police. I was held for 92 days.'

'When I was released I asked why I had been arrested. I had committed no offence.'

'The police officer told me: "You should thank God I wasn't there. If I'd been there I'd have killed you".'

On July 24, 1984, Border Police units were called out to help the Green Patrol demolish homes of members of the Abu al-Jian tribe.

They said the Bedouin had no permits to build.

Members of the tribe had thrown stones at the Green Patrol officers.

The Israeli government's official policy is to 'assist Bedouin settlement', by 're-locating' the tribes at five designated 'concentration towns'.

So far about one-third of the Negev Bedouin have gone into these reservations.

The remainder are in 200 or more scattered little settlements like that of the Abu



WHERE the original owners of the land, the Abu Srihan Bedouin live.



ELITE HOMES for the rich at Omer, near Beersheba. Residents complain of the view at the back. . .

Srihan. The government does not recognise their legal rights, treating them as 'squatters' and harassing them.

'The Bedouin resist forced transfers because they may run the risk of losing their traditional claims on land and all chance to develop agriculture,' Ze'ev explains.

'Besides, the concentration towns offered by the government have no job opportunities, no infrastructure.

### Welfare

At Rahat they have put 16,000 Bedouin in a town with no jobs, not one small factory planned and no sewage system.

'I see adverts in the papers, land and jobs in the North for Jewish settlers.

'But 15 Bedouin families living on their own land are told there is no room for them, they must move to Rahat, or Tell Sheva, and look for work in Te' Aviv, or go on welfare.

'If they go to the government's reservations they have to go on welfare and then the Jewish citizens can read it in their papers and say "Look at these lazy Bedouin, they won't work, they just live on welfare, they are parasites".

'In fact, according to the Association for Support and Defence of Bedouin Rights in Israel, many Bedouin are unaware of their welfare rights and 'bewildered by a bureaucratic maze in which

their own language — Arabic — is not generally used as an official means of communication.'

The Association points out that while dozens of social workers are employed for the Jewish population in the Negev, only three full-time posts have been allocated for services to Bedouin.

The Bedouin Rights Association sees the harassment of the Negev Bedouin from their land and the lack of employment in the concentration towns as all planned.

They quote the conclusion reached by one of the Negev Bedouin's own sons, the geographer Ghazi Falah, in his Durham University thesis:

'Planned Bedouin settlement in Israel was influenced primarily by the State's need to acquire private Bedouin land for Jewish settlement and to secure Bedouin manpower for the Israeli labour market.'

Negev Bedouin are not diehard conservatives clinging to the past.

They are simply object to being robbed of their land and rights, harassed and brutalised by the state and reduced to a cheap labour sub-proletariat.

They want to take their place in social progress, with dignity and equality.

They want decent education and a future for their children.

On June 15, as Israeli officials took the platform for a ceremony opening construction of two settlements for Negev Bedouin, hundreds of

Bedouin began heckling.

'We want agricultural villages, not camps!', they shouted.

Nuri al Okbi was among the protestors.

'The Bedouin are asking for equality', he says.

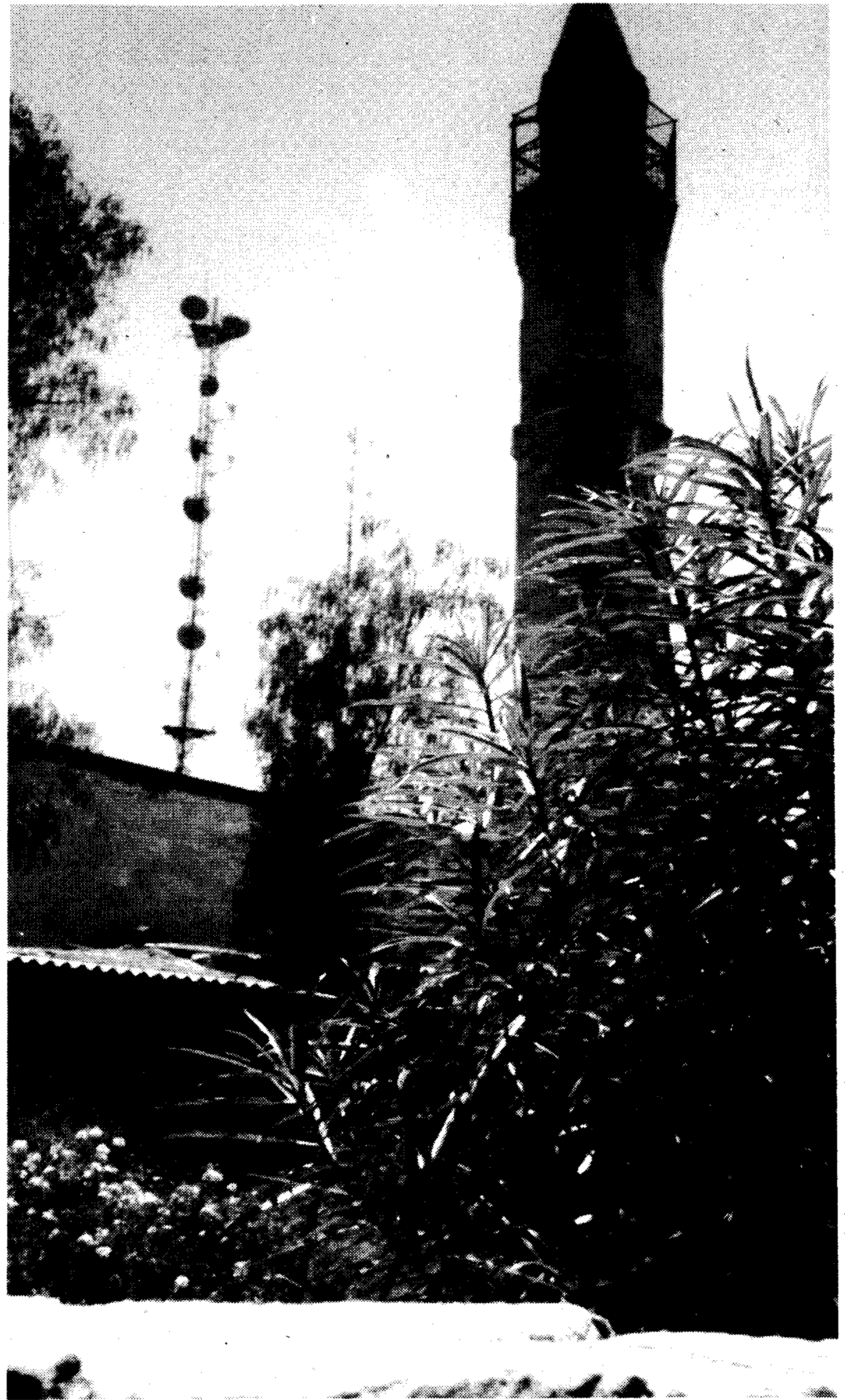
'Let us have the same rights as Jewish settlers. Let us have the chance to live as agriculturalists and not be confined to menial labour'.

The Bedouin Rights Association, organising regular demonstrations outside the Israeli prime minister's residence, has called on Israeli public opinion and in particular the youth for support.

### Demands

Their demands include:

- An end to the campaign of exploitation directed against us and a halt to the practice of arbitrary expropriation by which land has been taken from Bedouin farmers
- The establishment of agricultural villages for the Bedouin on their ancestral lands and a policy of equal treatment . . .
- Help with irrigation and development, the same as the government gives Jewish farmers and provision of adequate water supplies.
- An end to police harassment and persecution.
- Complete disbanding of the 'Green Patrol' . . . compensation to Bedouin for the damage done over the years
- Substantive improvement



THE MEDIUM is the message? Behind the silent minaret of Beersheba's biggest mosque, now used as a museum, soars the communications mast of Israeli Army Southern Command HQ

of the education system for Arab schools in the Negev. Also, an end to desecration of Moslem religious sites and restoration of the Beersheba mosque to the Moslem community.

Sheikh Aoudi Abu Srinan speaks about the land his people have lost, the olive trees uprooted, the people mistreated.

'We in the South' and I

believe I am speaking for all the sheikhs — are prepared to give up half the land we

### Peace

had, in return for peace.

'But I don't believe that's what Israel wants.

'When Knesset member Meir Avigdor came we showed him trees that were a hundred years old, that he

could see had not been planted just five years ago, as the authorities claimed.

'He replied "we know the Arabs. They would uproot trees and replant them here just to claim the land."

'What can I say? In brief, — our people are ready for peace. But it is impossible to trade all our rights in exchange for what Israel calls "peace".

# WEAPONS OF REPRESSION

## From Ireland to Britain

BY LYNN BEATON

A VISIT to several industrial centres by two members of the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets from Belfast cemented bonds between trade unionists in Britain and the struggle in the north of Ireland. Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone from Belfast were able to bring to all of those they met something of the harsh reality of life in northern Ireland under British occupation.

The building of solidarity between workers in Britain and the nationalist community of northern Ireland has been neglected and hampered in the past by political misleadership, shortsightedness, bias, and misconception. The policy of dividing the two groups by the British ruling class has been very successful.

Social chauvinism has been promoted by the leaders of the British labour movement and by most left wing parties.

The working class has largely accepted this position and whilst national liberation struggles far away have been supported, the struggle of the Irish nationalists in the six counties has been spurned.

At the same time Republicans in Ireland have tended to see everything that is British as the enemy.

This neglect has meant not only that the British working



The tour by Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone finished with a picket at Brocks Firework in Scotland asking workers to put pressure on management to stop manufacturing the lethal weapons.

class has been misled and refused to offer solidarity to the Irish struggle. It has also denied them the opportunity of learning the lessons of that struggle and preparing against the imminence of such attacks on themselves.

This situation is now changing. As the attacks of the Tory Government on the British working class become more severe the commonality with the struggle in Ireland becomes more difficult to hide.

The turning of this tide was the miners' strike of 1984/85 when not only did the British working class witness that the state would

turn its full force on them and that its repressive practices were not reserved for the nationalist communities in Ireland, but Irish nationalists also realised that they alone were not the target of British state repression and that it would be used on any section who rose to resist the attacks of the state.

Sinn Fein have made it clear that they welcome any chance to build links between their own struggle and the struggle of the British working class against their common enemy, the British imperialist state.

The Labour Party are being forced to re-evaluate

their position on Ireland and the Labour Committee on Ireland has a firm policy of withdrawal of British troops and works hard to establish links between Republicans and the struggles in Ireland with the Labour Party.

A number of unions are beginning to advance policy calling for an end to the British occupation and several delegations of unionists have visited the north of Ireland.

The more serious of the socialist parties are also re-evaluating their positions and realising that in the past they have allowed social chauvinism to be disguised by talk of working class unity between Catholics and protestants in the six counties.

It was in this changing climate that the visit by Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets took place.

Both Jim and Archie have suffered personally from the use of plastic bullets by security forces in the six counties.

Archie's 12 year old daughter Julie was killed by a plastic bullet on May 13, 1981.

Jim's wife Nora was killed on her way home from buying a packet of cigarettes at the local shop on July 9, 1981.

During their visit the two men addressed the Labour Committee on Ireland meeting in Blackpool, the Northern region TUC, a public

meeting of the Durham Mechanics, a shop stewards meeting at Austin and Pickersgill shipyards, a combined NUM and Mechanics meeting at Murton, a public meeting in Manchester as well as several small and informal meetings with activists and trade unionists in Manchester, Durham, Tyneside and Newcastle.

Everywhere they spoke the impact was dramatic. Hearing first hand accounts of the way civilians in northern Ireland are killed on the streets by the police and the army brings a living understanding to the repression suffered by nationalists in the six counties.

And knowing that the police in Britain are now equipped to murder in the same way awakens the knowledge that unity must be built between the two groups.

It was clear that while most of those who attended meetings or met Jim and Archie were aware that plastic bullets kill in Ireland they were not aware of the way these weapons are used to suppress and intimidate a whole community.

Jim McCabe pointed out that as riot control weapons plastic bullets are a total failure. In fact the reverse is true. Their use on innocent civilians creates anger which often leads to riots.

He also pointed out that only one of the fifteen killed in Ireland have been killed in

a riot situation, when John Downes was killed during a police riot.

Jim stressed that once plastic bullets are used in Britain the police will never again be able to walk the streets unarmed.

The armoury of the police will necessarily escalate until armoured vehicles are as common on the streets in Britain as they are in the six counties.

In Durham the visit was hosted by the Durham Mechanics section of the NUM.

Miners who had experienced first hand the police violence on picket lines and at Orgreave took little persuading of the dangers which face the British working class from an armed state force.

But it was clear that a great deal of education about the use of these weapons needs to take place and at all the meetings attended by Jim and Archie it was agreed that a campaign against plastic bullets was necessary in Britain to prepare the British working class and to demand an end to their use in Ireland.

Throughout the visit the meetings were followed by informal discussion which brought a powerful solidarity between the struggle in Ireland and the struggle on the mainland.

Visits like this one can achieve what teams of paper never could.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### 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.

#### 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 NORREY: Life sentence, 863532.  
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

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

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.  
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.  
BILLY GRIMES:  
SEAN HAYES: 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.

#### 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.



Left to right; Archie Livingstone (United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets), Geoff Hartnell (Justice for Mineworkers), Jim McCabe (UCAPB), Jim Kelly and Alan Iles (Silentnight strikers) all waiting to address the Northern TUC to seek support for the struggles they are involved in.

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

# POLICE ATTACK SA EMBASSY PICKET

OCTOBER 11 was South African political prisoners day and this year with 20,000 detainees in apartheid jails, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group were determined to mount a large picket of the South African embassy in London.

BY BOB MYERS

From mid-morning till evening, the 24-hour a day picket was swelled by hundreds of supporters.

Speeches were interspersed with South African liberation songs led by City Group singers, slogans, a band — and of course the police.

Thousands of tourists and passers-by gathered to watch the police riot squad make a series of unprovoked assaults on the picket.

The police were still smarting from losing an important test case in the courts the previous week.

Many of the non-stop picketers had been arrested for illegal street collections of money raised to sustain the picket and to send to the liberation fighters.

The courts decided the picket was a street meeting and that the collections were lawful.

## Writs

City Group responded with writs against the police.

But on Saturday the police were determined to prove they owned the streets.

Trouble started when the brains from Cannon Row police station declared that a rostrum was causing an obstruction.

Since the rostrum and PA system (supplied for the day by the WRP) was in the midst of the crowd, this was certainly some obstruction.

The picketers ignored the police demand and moved in round the rostrum linking arms.

The riot squad assembled in the road. Then with the wedge, known by miners and printers alike, the boot boys piled in.

Banners went flying as the demonstrators tried to hold back the mob.

They finally got to the rostrum, tore the wires from the amp and with Norma Kitson

still on top, pulled over the rostrum and dragged it off to a van.

The pickets continued chanting their hatred of apartheid and its collaborators — Thatcher and her uniformed thugs.

Speaker after speaker, now standing up on the police barriers and using megaphones, denounced the police provocation.

Speeches came from the Revolutionary Communist Group, the Workers Revolutionary Party, the International Communist Party, Workers Power and others but those from City Group in particular made it clear that they had been there for 180 days non-stop and neither the police attacks nor political attacks would drive them away until Nelson Mandela was released.

Wreaths and cards were fixed to the embassy gates. The cards with the message 'An injury to one is an injury to all' had been signed by everyone present and were to be sent to the jailed South African leaders.

One young comrade climbed fifteen feet to the top of the embassy gates and to cheers from the crowd fixed a card and a flower high above the police heads.

As long paper chains were dropped round the picket, three City Group members chained themselves to the gates.

While the police sent for bolt cutters they began clearing all press and TV crews away and preparing the riot squad for the next attack.

On the pretext of trying to arrest a comrade in the middle of the crowd, the wedge again came flying in, but this time they failed to break the resistance and had to back off.

They eventually grabbed their 'prey' from the other side of the picket, dragging

him over the lines of barriers and leaving one young man lying in agony on the ground.

The police refused to call an ambulance and the stewards had to go and phone for one.

Throughout the afternoon of continuous police provocation, the picketers remained unintimidated and disciplined. Not one lost their cool or their defiance.

The speeches, singing and chanting never stopped.

The police failed once more to silence the picket.

The tenacity and determination of the young picketers is a clarion call to the entire labour movement to act.

## Demand

In the unions, the Labour Party, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the demand of the South African liberation groups must be answered — halt the movement of goods to and from the racist state.

Speakers pointed to the stand of the picket in contrast to the silence of the Anti-Apartheid leaders (many of them Communist Party members) who have disaffiliated City Group.

Speakers also warned people to have no illusions that the much-heralded future Labour government would support the struggle.

The picket goes on — join it any time day or night.

Postscript: A small message from the WRP members present to the only 'News Line' supporter there — a photographer who hung around all afternoon.

Ask your leaders who talk about 'the state within the state' from morning to night, how can you train a revolutionary cadre that runs at the first sight of a blue uniform?

As G. Healy loved to say: 'To learn to swim you first have to get into the water.'

Pity it was always too hot.



Picket of South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square, London.

## DUNNES STRIKER HELD UNDER PTA

ONE OF the Dunnes Store strikers from Dublin was detained under the PTA and questioned for almost an hour at Birmingham Airport last week.

Brendan Barron was travelling to Birmingham to address Anti-Apartheid meetings and the Birmingham Trades Council.

He was travelling alone and was the only passenger on the flight to be detained. Police demanded to see the text of the speeches he intended to make at the meetings.

When some of the Dunnes strikers travelled to South Africa last year at the invitation of Bishop Tutu they were refused entry at Johannesburg Airport and were interrogated for several hours.

A spokesman from Birmingham Trades Council referred to this when he said:

'This is a classical example of political harassment. The only country which treats the Dunnes Stores

strikers in this fashion is South Africa.'

Alan O'Dwyer, of the West Midlands PTA Research and Welfare Association, said: 'Brendon Barron was shocked and intimidated by his experience.'

'He intends to make representations to the Irish Embassy, the Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin and the Naional Council for Civil Liberties.'

It is an ominous sign indeed when use of the PTA is now being extended and used against Anti-Apartheid campaigners.



Lobby of TUC in London calling for trade union sanctions against the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

## SANCTIONS TO STRANGLE BOTH A AND THATCHER

SCARED of the threat to their investments from the revolutionary upsurge in Africa and growing support in the US itself, the US Congress voted for financial sanctions against Botha.

In Britain, Thatcher, like Reagan, is determined to continue to support Botha.

Thumbing their noses at the spineless Commonwealth leaders, her ministry officials are making it clear to British businessmen that they will continue to receive full support for activities in the racist republic.

And in the South African embassy in London groups of City investors meet with the ambassador to discuss ways of busting any possible sanctions.

Lambeth Joint Stewards' and City Group AA, hope to launch a national TU sanctions campaign and are appealing for sponsors, delegations and donations.

The conference will attempt to bring together the many actions that are taking place in the unions now and to give a lead to implement the resolutions passed at the TUC.

Readers are urged to raise

support for this important conference in their unions, Trades Councils and Labour Party wards.

● For all information, contact the Lambeth organiser: Bronwen Handyside, 01-274 7722 extn. 2010 (office hours), 17 Porden road, Brixton, London SW2 5SA.

The conference is on Saturday December 13, 11am — 6pm, Carrs Lane Church Centre, Carrs Lane, Birmingham. Delegates credentials: £2.

**CITY AA**  
Extraordinary General Meeting  
Sunday October 19, 12-6pm  
Creche (please phone 837 6050 if required)

**NHS Accommodation Crisis**  
A Conference

Jointly called by London Health Emergency and the Association of London Authorities

Saturday November 1, 10.30 am — 3.30 pm  
CAMDEN TOWN HALL, Judd St, WC1

Creche available; Access for people with disabilities; Nearest tube Kings Cross

● All Welcome.

Contact London Health Emergency, 335 Grays Inn Rd, WC1

## Message

Emerging out of the whole charade of government sanctions more clearly each day is the message that there is only one force in Britain and internationally both capable and willing to end trade with Botha, and that is the working class.

The sanctions campaign must be clear. The aim is not only to strangle Botha, but Thatcher as well.

The organisers of the TUC congress lobby are continuing the campaign with a conference in December.

The sponsors, including Lambeth Trades Council,

## TESCO HYPOCRISY

'THERE HAS been no point in the last year when Tesco have not stocked any South African goods in spite of their public statements promising not to,' said the Black Parents Movement last week.

They condemned Tesco's statements as a hypocritical publicity ploy.

Lambeth Council leader Linda Bellos and other local and trade union leaders have been used to promote Tesco supermarkets, with Tesco making statements about 'giving instructions to all its branches not to stock South African produce' or 'instructing our buyers to purchase as little as possible and only when there is no alternative source of supply or products of similar quality'.

Even if Tesco keep their promise not to sell South African goods in their massive new store in Brixton, all the other branches around the country continue to stock goods clearly marked as South African or which have a South African origin concealed by the label:

- 'Product of more than one country' (fruit juices and mixed dried fruit)
- 'Produced in Holland for Tesco

stores' (sunflower margarine)

- 'Packed in Italy for Tesco' (tinned fruit)

Urging everyone not to buy South African goods and to support the liberation struggle in South Africa, the Black Parents Movement ask 'Who do Tesco think they are fooling?'

**South African goods stocked at Tesco:**

- Cape Starking apples
- Cape Golden Delicious
- Outspan grapefruit
- South African Valencia oranges
- Pakhan Victory pears
- South African avocados
- sweetcorn
- Josephine South African pears
- Seedless raisins
- 'Tesco' fruit cocktail
- 'Gold Leaf' tinned Cape loganberries
- 'Del Monte' tinned peach slices
- 'Tesco' tinned pineapple slices
- All tinned fruit cocktails
- 'Tesco' tinned peach slices

# ONE YEAR SINCE H

IT IS NOW a year since Gerry Healy, formerly long-standing leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party, was expelled from the party along with his closest political associates.

On October 12, 1985, Healy was charged by the Central Committee on the following counts:

1. That for many years he had subjected women comrades in the Party to systematic sexual abuse, driving many of them out of the Party as a result.
2. That he had regularly employed physical violence against Party members.
3. That he had slandered political opponents and associates, including Dave North, secretary of the U.S. Workers League whom Healy had accused of being a CIA agent.

The Committee voted to charge Healy by 24 votes to 11.

The charges were delivered to Healy's flat on Sunday October 13 and were dealt with by the Central Committee at its meeting of October 19. Healy failed to answer the charges in writing or to appear at the meeting. He ran away and has hardly been seen in public since.

The charges were found proven, in substance and in fact.

Not once over the last twelve months has Healy sought to defend himself against these charges either inside the movement or in the working class as a whole.

And this for one simple reason: he knows them to be true in every detail.

A minority of the Central Committee, including Corin and Vanessa Redgrave, former Assistant Secretary Sheila Torrance and Alex Mitchell, supported Healy.

They also knew the charges to be correct in every particular.

Also unable to defend Healy in front of the Party, this minority refused to attend the party conference called for October 26 to consider the expulsion of Healy.

Instead, the minority held its own 'conference' of what it ludicrously called the Workers Revolutionary Party.

This rump then proceeded to 'expel' the majority of the

BY GEOFF PILLING

Party and declare themselves the WRP. (It should be pointed out that none of those 'expelled' was ever presented with or informed of the charges on which they were 'expelled'!)

It was at this 'conference' that Healy was brought back onto the leading committees of this mis-named WRP.

The immediate source of the Party crisis was the letter which Healy's long-standing secretary, Aileen Jennings, had presented to the Political Committee on July 1, 1985.

This drew the committee's attention to the gross sexual abuse in which Healy had long been involved, naming 26 of his victims.

There then began a concerted effort on the part of a section of the Party leadership to cover up this letter and its political implications.

In a clear breach of the Party's constitution, the Jennings letter was kept secret from the Central Committee.

Most members of the Committee were unaware of the letter's existence until immediately prior to the charges being laid against Healy.

Despite this attempt to cover up, several Party members began to demand a Control Commission to investigate Healy's activities.

Faced with this mounting pressure from the membership, the then secretary of the WRP, Mike Banda, organised for Healy's retirement from the Party on the grounds of age and ill-health.

Under this unprincipled deal he was still to retain a consultative role in connection with the Party paper and other departments.

This attempted adjustment could not stem the mounting crisis throughout the Party.

In the presence of Torrance and others, Healy had signed a statement under-



G. HEALY

taking to cease his activities with the youth of the Party.

Almost immediately he breached this agreement and the Political Committee banned him from entering the Party centre.

Torrance, Redgrave and Mitchell conspired to reverse this decision at a meeting of the Political Committee on October 10, whereupon Mike Banda and a minority of the PC walked off the premises.

Their action was supported by a majority of comrades in the Party's printshop at Runcorn as well as by many long-standing members in the Party.

All but two of the Party's bookshop staff supported Banda's action. The Runcorn comrades who followed Banda's walk-out refused to print and distribute the Party's daily News Line.

Then followed the Central Committee which charged Healy.

After Healy's expulsion, the Redgraves and others ran immediately to the High Courts with a series of actions aimed at breaking the Party financially.

That they failed is tribute to the stubborn fight waged by the Party leadership (almost entirely new in composition) and the support

given this fight throughout the Party.

A majority of the Party membership and its leadership had united to expel Healy and his collaborators.

But it became evident that there were deep political and ideological differences among this majority.

A group, led by Dave Hyland and orchestrated by North, had no fundamental differences with the politics of the WRP under Healy's leadership.

Their objection to Healy's morality did not extend to re-examining the politics that went with it.

The principles of the Hyland group can be judged from the fact that, whereas at the beginning of the fight they were strident in their demands for the re-admission of Alan Thornett, — an earlier victim of Healy's arbitrary political methods — they swung later, on North's instructions, to an equally strident denunciation of Thornett.

North was concerned that to admit that Thornett had been wrongly expelled (as was the case) would open up the question of Tim Wohlforth.

Wohlforth had been North's predecessor as secretary of the Workers



C. REDGRAVE

League.

It was as a result of charges against Wohlforth that Healy's infamous 'Security and the Fourth International' was launched.

The Hyland group defended (and still defend today) Healy's 'investigation' into alleged penetration of the Fourth International by agents of the CIA, FBI and GPU.

The 'investigation' purported to show that the leadership of the most influential Party within the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party (USA), including, centrally, Joseph Hansen and George Novack, were such agents.

Its authors, working to Healy's brief, were North and Mitchell.

## Finished

Mike Banda — Party secretary for a decade, member of the movement for 35 years, and for long among Healy's closest collaborators — now declared that, with the removal of Healy, the movement was finished.

After the Healy expulsion, with the agreement of the Party, he went to Sri Lanka on paid leave.

From there he began to denounce the entire history of the Fourth International, declaring its leadership to have been politically corrupt from 1938 onwards.

Banda revealed himself as a thorough-going petty bourgeois.

Like Healy before him, he could not appear before the Party membership and fight to face up to his own past role within the movement.

Along with his brother Tony and a handful of followers, he was expelled for organising a secret faction in the Party which aimed to break it up.

Since their expulsion this clique has formed itself into a discussion circle, 'Communist Forum', which to the extent that it has an agreed platform, is heading rapidly towards Stalinism (See opposite).

These are the bare bones of the events which were set in motion by Jennings' letter. What are the lessons?

1. The explosion in the WRP was not a British question but one with direct implications for the future of the

whole Fourth International.

The crisis which came to a head inside the movement in Britain was a reflection of the crisis of the world Trotskyist movement; its inability to resolve a series of fundamental theoretical problems and its consequent inability to break out of a propaganda-circle existence.

2. In a manner which that tiny handful of comrades working at the Party centre who worked consciously for the bringing down of Healy in the period before July last year could never have imagined, the removal of the Healy clique has, over the past twelve months, provoked enormous international interest.

The WRP has had unsolicited approaches from Trotskyist groups throughout the world.

In the course of a series of discussions (which are still in progress), we have learned in the most concrete manner that our problems



AN ALLIANCE now rent asunder: Mike Banda (left) now seemingly heading for stalinism; Alex Mitchell, now pursuing a career in journalism in his native Australia after a 13-year hiatus; David North, picking up the tag for Healy's 'Security and the Fourth International' and seemingly pleased to do it; and the publicly disgraced Gerry Healy, whose expulsion for gross corruption catalysed the crisis in the movement

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These are the bare bones of the events which were set in motion by Jennings' letter. What are the lessons?

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# HEALY'S EXPULSION



S. TORRANCE

were by no means unique.

The expulsion of Healy and Banda has created the possibility for an examination of many long-standing political and theoretical issues in the movement's history as well as many new problems and opportunities which the crisis brought to light.

It is on the basis of this theoretical development that the possibility of the reorganisation of the movement now rests.

3. The crisis surrounding Healy's expulsion did not therefore arise by accident. It had in fact been maturing for a long time.

The opening up of Party records has demonstrated — for the first time to many members — that there was a long history of opposition to the methods of Healy, stretching back at least to the formation of the Socialist Labour League in 1959 and almost certainly beyond that.

A series of individuals and groups — including Peter

Fryer, Alan Thornett, a section of the Party in West London in the 1970s and the late Jack Gale, to name but a few — clashed with Healy at various points on a variety of issues.

Healy had been able to deal with such oppositions in the past by playing one section of the Party off against another.

It required a development in the forces within the Party to the point where there was no possibility of containing them within the old framework before the Healy leadership could be driven out.

In Healy's expulsion all sections of the Party — workers, youth, intellectuals as well as representatives from every generation within the movement — for the first time came together and cleansed the Party of its corrupt leadership.

4. Those who wanted to separate 'morality' from 'politics' were breaching a basic principle of historical materialism.

There is no such thing as a purely individual morality. All morals reflect ultimately the needs of classes.

Healy's morality, his systematic abuse of party members for his own gratification, was an expression of the most debased bourgeois outlook, which views human beings as mere objects to be employed for personal gain.

5. It was this political degeneration of the WRP under Healy which neither Hyland nor the Banda group could face up to.

For years the Party had engaged in practices which were increasingly sectarian and opportunist. The miners' strike did much to bring these problems to a head.

Throughout the strike the Party combined an opportunist, uncritical, attitude to Scargill's leadership of the strike with a sectarianism which attempted to ban members from taking part in the real movements (miners' support groups, etc.) which the strike brought into being.

6. At the same time the Healy leadership had for a long period taken a position of uncritical support for various regimes in the Middle East, including at various times those of Iraq and Iran.

One of the most decisive events in the week between the charging of Healy and his expulsion was the revela-

## The expulsion of Banda

THE WORKERS Revolutionary Party 8th Congress in July endorsed the expulsion, by the Central Committee, of former General Secretary Mike Banda and a group of his supporters.

A letter in last week's Workers Press pointed out, correctly, that this event has never been reported.

We are including this information to rectify that error.

BY SIMON PIRANI

Mike Banda was expelled on the following charges:

- Working inside the party but not participating in the work of its organisations
- Propagating the view that 'a new party has to be built' and refusing to answer the Central Committee request to discuss this view
- Failing to answer requests from the Central Committee to clarify whether or not he accepted nomination to the Committee
- Contributing to an anti-Party publication.

Shortly after the expulsion of G. Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party last year, Banda was given paid leave and returned to his native Sri Lanka.

Although he came back to Britain in June, he made no contact with the party, whose leadership he had been a part of for 35 years except to send an 'Open Letter' to members in which he called for 'a new party' to be built in opposition to the WRP.

Tony Banda, Mike's brother, was expelled on charges arising from a secret faction meeting that he organised at which a decision was made to 'go public' with attacks on the party and to set up a non-party magazine.

During an incident previously reported in Workers Press at Merseybooks, the Liverpool Shop with which the WRP was associated, books were removed from the shop for which no payment was made.

When comrades arrived to collect the remaining stock, Tony Banda reported them to the police for 'stealing' from their own premises.

tion to an aggregate meeting of the London members that Healy and Mitchell had handed over photographs of working-class political opponents to the Iraqi regime.

7. This political crisis found its expression in the Party finances.

They were in a state of chronic crisis. Healy's grandiose schemes and his increasing inability to face reality were at the source of this crisis.

Those comrades charged with day-to-day responsibility for finance who did attempt to point out to Healy the true state of the Party's finances were subjected to the same abuse and violence as were others.

8. These twelve months later, it is now clearer than ever that Healy's essential degeneration took place on the level of Marxist theory.

One great gain for the whole movement was the start made a year ago by comrades in probing to the philosophical roots of this degeneration.

Those such as Dave Good (a supporter of the Bandas) who argued that the degeneration of the Party lay in

(The police were naturally mystified.)

Tony Banda was charged with removing books from the shop which are party property, handing internal party documents over to another bookshop — associated with the Communist Party — in Liverpool, and of making accusations against party members to the police.

Tony Banda was also charged with failing to carry out a CC resolution which instructed party members who had shares in various companies connected with the party to transfer them to nominees of the CC.

This followed his refusal to hand over to these nominees shares in New Park Publications, associated with the party, for several months earlier this year.

Janet Banda, Banda's wife, was also expelled for failing to carry out the same decision and also for withdrawing party finance from a bank account without the CC's authority.

Central Committee members Carmel Dersch, Keith O'Hara, Billy Traynor, Dave Goode, Alan Cooper and Mick Bishop were expelled on charges arising from the secret faction meeting, as were Rhoda Atkin and John Spencer.

All these expulsions were carried out after reports of the secret faction work being done by the Bandas was discussed by the CC.

The faction wanted to organise secretly within the party to break it up.

It must be added that the Central Committee finally acted only after trying patiently to resolve the prob-

lem internally for many months.

It is not possible to give at this stage a comprehensive account of the political differences between the Banda group and the WRP, simply because few clear statements have been made by them.

But the material we have so far indicates that from their definite and pronounced liquidationism of several months ago ('a new party should be built') they are now moving rapidly in the direction of rapprochement with Stalinism.

Banda's first political statement after the split with Healy was his document '27 Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried and the FI Built'.

Many WRP members accepted, at first, that the document raised many im-



MIKE BANDA

portant questions about the history of Trotskyism.

But nine tenths of the party very soon became solidly opposed to the document because of its conclusions.

Explicitly it concluded that the Fourth International was 'proclaimed but never built', and that it became nothing more than a 'self-perpetrating bureaucratic clique' and implicitly it decided that Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism was wrong.

The historical falsifications of the document, aimed at proving that Trotskyists

had 'betrayed', and its false historical method, have been dealt with at length in replies by WRP members.

Our information about Banda's present activities are limited.

His supporters have established a magazine, 'Communist Forum'. Banda himself is not on the editorial board and has not contributed any articles to our knowledge.

The first few issues of the 'Forum' contained lengthy attacks on the WRP, the basis of which was that it was 'immoral' and 'anti working class' under Healy and still is.

The 'Forum' group have also organised a number of discussion meetings.

Banda refused to attend one such meeting because WRP members were present; subsequently WRP members have been excluded from the meetings.

The 'Forum' group are in discussion with various Stalinist groups, including the International Leninist Workers Party (ILWP).

Amongst the leading members of the ILWP are Royston Bull and Stephen Johns who were expelled from the WRP under Healy in 1974.

They are also in discussion with the 'Leninist' faction of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Our only indications of the position of Banda, who has written nothing since the '27 reasons', are comments he has made to WRP members and supporters who have reported them to us.

These include his dismissal of Trotsky's 'Military Writings', mentioned in last week's Workers Press as well as remarks to the effect that Trotsky's struggle against Stalin was badly timed and politically erroneous.

He has also been reported as saying that the Trotskyist movement took a 'counter-revolutionary' position after the war in Bolivia, China, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Algeria.

Opposition had waged against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

It was this fight and its lessons for today which Healy and his clique increasingly turned their backs on.

Our Hungarian meetings, to be followed by the campaign for the rehabilitation of all those falsely brought to trial by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1930s, are vital steps in the political and theoretical regeneration of the movement following Healy's expulsion.

It has also been profoundly positive in that it has provided the indispensable basis for the political, theoretical and organisational development of the movement.

We are confident that the movement in Britain can now take a considerable step forward. It is in that conviction that we appeal to all those who wish to take part in the task of building a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the working class to:

● Become regular readers of the Workers Press, and apply to join the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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Trotsky on the nature of the revolutionary situation

PAGES 6 &

# STALINISM IN

**THE KHRUSHCHEV 'revelations' and the events in Eastern Europe in 1956 posed the problem of the social basis of Stalinism and the nature of the Soviet Union.**

Needless to say, such problems had not been posed in the Communist Party at all and those who remained in it were unwilling to seek a Marxist explanation, satisfying themselves with the claim that all that had gone wrong could be attributed to the 'cult of the personality'.

Few of us knew much about Trotskyism and Trotsky's works were tacitly forbidden.

Back in the 1930s, worried about the Moscow Trials, I had taken a surreptitious look at 'The Revolution Betrayed' or C.L.R. James' 'World Revolution' in the public library, only to hastily put it away if a friend approached.

It now seemed that prejudices had to be put aside and Trotsky's views had to be examined. As we read Trotsky's analysis of the bureaucratic degeneration and of 'socialism in one country' many things began to become clear.

That still left the question of distinguishing between the different groups claiming to be Trotskyist or hav-

ing their origins in the Trotskyist movement.

There were, in effect, three main tendencies, the product of past divisions about which, at first, we knew nothing.

## Bureaucracy

One group which was led then, as now, by Tony Cliff, held that the Soviet Union was a form of capitalism in which the bureaucracy made up a new ruling class.

At some time in the past the gains of the October Revolution had been lost by counter-revolution, consolidating the power of this

**TOM KEMP** joined the Young Communist League in 1936 in Wandsworth and the Communist Party in 1939. In 1956, after a series of battles with the leadership, he tore up his Party card and made contact with the Trotskyist movement, which he joined in 1957. He has been a Trotskyist ever since.

Teaching economic history in Southampton and then Hull Universities, he is the author of many books and articles, his 'Theories of Imperialism' being especially well known, both to Marxists and in academic circles.

This is the second part of Tom's recollections of his split from the Communist Party. Last week he described the difficulties faced by the CP in the years leading up to 1956 and in response to the situation in Hungary.

'class' which regarded the means of production, nominally owned by the state, as its private property.

The idea that Stalinism could be explained as a form of capitalism did not attract many ex-communists, or not for long. The state-capitalist theory gave the bureaucracy valid title to existence.

Moreover, if a new form of exploiting society existed in the Soviet Union, why should it not spread to other countries?

Had we just left a party which was an embryonic ruling class preparing to set up a state capitalist society?

There were other variants of the 'state-capitalist' theory, notably the Johnson-Forrest version put forward by C.L.R. James and his group in the United States.

There was also the Shachtmanite 'bureaucratic collectivist' theory which also saw the bureaucracy as a new ruling class but denied that the categories of 'Capital' could be used to explain the nature of the Soviet economy.

This theory had few, if any, supporters in Britain but, despite the differences about the definition of the Soviet Union, the Cliffites distributed Shachtman's journal 'The New International'.

I remember one day I went to buy it, only to find that the current number was to be the last. Shachtman had severed his last links with Trotskyism.

I sought an explanation. 'The bastard!' was the only one I got from his erstwhile allies in Britain.

The second of the groups, for the sake of a better name, can be called the 'Pabloites'. They were officially followers of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, which, on a world scale, considered itself the most important

Trotskyist organisation.

Pablo's man in London at the time was none other than Ted Grant, later of 'Militant' fame. In 1957 he was busily trying to establish a section in Britain.

One day he turned up on my doorstep while I was out. Posing as an old friend, my wife had given him a meal and when I arrived he had his feet up in front of the fire and was regaling her with the story of his early life in South Africa.

What came of this meeting, as I recall, was a very badly duplicated copy of his reply to Tony Cliff's 'Stalinist Russia' — both originally internal documents of the Trotskyist group in Britain, (I attribute my failing eyesight in the next few years to the enormous number of badly-duplicated 'documents' that I had to read) — and an invitation to visit Pablo.

## Pablo

We have heard recently from one or another source that there was no such thing as 'Pabloism'. At the time it was very clear that there was something distinctive about Pablo and his supporters.

In their literature the main struggle was between the imperialist camp, led by the USA, and the revolutionary front which included the Soviet Union.

A clash between these contending camps was inevitable and not far off. The probable, though not inevitable, outcome would be a victory for the revolution.

This worldwide confrontation appeared to have superseded the class struggle. Mass pressure would force the Communist Parties to carry out revolutionary tasks, or as Pablo put it, 'project a revolutionary orientation'.

He speculated that as the Soviet economy expanded the bureaucracy would become more liberal and even embark upon a process of self-reform (a theory similar to that put forward at about the same time by Isaac Deutscher).

Pablo suggested that degenerated workers' states might exist for centuries in a long-drawn-out transition period.

He was not just a commentator or a journalist, he was the Secretary of the Fourth International (or more properly the International Secretariat of the FI) and thus an authoritative figure in the movement.

His proposal that Trotskyists should enter the Communist Parties and wait for the revolutionary situation to mature interests us particularly.

For those who had left or been expelled from such a party this seemed to be based upon a misunderstanding of the nature of Stalinism and was of no help in fighting it.

Trotskyists inside the CP would have to conceal their identity if they did not want to be expelled and perhaps beaten up, or worse.

Pablo had provided for this by calling for entristism 'sui generis' — of a special kind — whereby the Trotskyists would be completely submerged in a hostile milieu.

For Pablo, then, it appeared that the Fourth International should be no more than a propaganda agency bringing out Trotsky's works and its journals (as a vehicle for Pablo's own articles) rather than making a bid for the leadership of the working class.

I duly met Pablo and was able to ascertain what Grant had told me — he had neither horns nor a tail.

He greeted me by saying

'How can you support a man who six times a day turns towards Mecca and does this' (lifting his arms in the air and bowing down like a Muslim at prayer).

This was a reference to the support for Messali Hadj, leader of one of the Algerian nationalist movements, the MNA, by Healy and Co.

There is a whole history of the relationships between the Trotskyists and the national movements in this period. Healy had certainly become a firm supporter of Mesali after going to see him at his place of exile in Angouleme a few years before (though I did not know that at the time).

Pablo himself became a bagman for the FLN and saw the inside of a Dutch jail three years later as a result. Then for a time he was an adviser to the Ben Bella Government.

And all this time he was a supporter of the 'Arab Revolution', rubbing shoulders with not a few worshippers of Allah.

## Public

My impressions of Pablo were unfavourable. I felt like Queen Victoria when she complained that Gladstone spoke to her as though he was addressing a public meeting.

It was difficult to get a word in edgewise once he was carried away by his own eloquence.

I went on to meet Pierre Frank, one of Pablo's chief supporters in France. He, too, made an unfavourable impression.

He seemed to be mainly concerned with the gossip and intrigue in the small radical circles of Paris rather than what was going on in the working class.

Tracing the 'state-capitalist' and Pabloite ten-

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Young Socialists march May Day 1970.

# CRISIS

## The challenge for the Trotskyist movement

dencies to their class roots it seemed possible to say certain things.

The former, which had taken shape inside the Trotskyist movement at the time of the Korean War and had refused to support the North, seemed to reflect the pressure of petty bourgeois public opinion.

It was, and remained, a middle class tendency, pessimistic about the revolutionary capabilities of the working class. The workers that it recruited over the years were inevitably destroyed politically.

As for the Pabloites, they responded to the strength of the Communist Parties, especially in France and Italy, and to the prestige of the Soviet Union in the early post-war years.

It is perhaps difficult to appreciate today the power which Stalinism exercised over the working class and its influence in international circles.

It influenced the Trotskyist movement both by revulsion — what is sometimes called Stalinophobia, in the case of tendencies like the state capitalists, and by attraction in the case of the Pabloites.

That left one remaining Trotskyist current, a product of the split in the Fourth International in 1953 which we began to learn about — the International Committee of the Fourth International.

It consisted at this time of the anaemic French section, the American Socialist Workers Party as a 'sympathetic section', the British section (known as the Club or the Group working clandestinely inside the Labour Party) and a few other small groups in Switzerland, Ceylon and some Latin American countries.

The SWP was a great source of literature and had a strong history of struggles in the American working class and the epic defence of Marxism by Trotsky himself against the petty-bourgeois opposition led by Burnham and Shachtman.

Now we are studying 'In Defence of Marxism' — one of the books Healy gave me when I met him for the first time.

At that time it was an eye-opener which raised the basic questions of Marxist theory and the nature of the Soviet Union which we were confronted with.

But the SWP had been battered by McCarthyism and by the effects of the conservatism of the old union cadre.

The Cannon leadership had failed to see the danger of Pabloism until threatened by a revolt in its own ranks.

The SWP thus failed to make any real gains from the Stalinist crisis, moving instead into the orbit of the ex-Stalinists and other radicals.

Without knowing it, its leaders were on the way to the abandonment of Trotskyist principles and the proletarian line which had been its great strength.

Two or three years later Joe Hansen wrote to me saying that there was no one in the SWP able to follow economic questions and could I write some articles for 'The Militant' and 'International Socialist Review'.

My commitment to the British section came as a result of a good deal of shopping around to find where the continuity of the Marxist movement was.

### Fault

It was not a commitment particularly to Healy or to the other members of the 'old guard'.

It was easy to find fault with them. Many years in small groups had made them dogmatic and strident on some matters. But they were receptive and helpful to the new forces coming in from the CP, though some may have had doubts about our rapid accession to leading positions.

We were offered the facilities (small as they now seem) of 'The Newsletter' and 'Labour Review' to write and develop theory.

Healy was certainly in favour of that, whatever ulterior motives he may have had.

At this time, 'the Group' worked inside the Labour Party so we had to join and go through the tedium of ward and city meetings where there was no real political discussion and no real decisions taken.

Thus the ex-CPers were not sorry to be expelled when the Socialist Labour League was formed, while some of the older comrades had formed associations they were loathe to break.

Looking back it is clear that Healy assumed an all-powerful position within the Group. This disturbed some, especially those most exposed to his excesses of rage or sudden political turns.

John Daniels, an important recruit from Nottingham, turned back when on



Young Socialist SLL contingent commemorate 10th Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution at international demonstration in Liege, Belgium.

his way to a meeting and left the movement.

Peter Fryer suddenly had enough and left; the Control Commission said that his reaction to Healy's outbursts had been that of 'a super-sensitive individual'.

Brian Behan, whose syndicalist traits Healy had compromised with, prematurely called for an open party and was expelled amid further accusations about Healy's temper tantrums.

Some of these episodes appear in a new light today, especially with the advantage of hindsight. They certainly deserve close examination by the historians

of the Trotskyist movement.

At the time there seemed to be no doubt that the continuity of the Marxist movement was preserved by the International Committee and its sections.

### Links

In Britain links were established with the working class and the youth and contributions were made to theory. Not all the promise was to be fulfilled, but not all the gains were lost despite all the degeneration and the serious mistakes and betrayals of later years.

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# LETTERS

## BRITISH JUSTICE:

### Death Squads go free — innocents are jailed

THE OBSERVER of October 12 has published, at last, the details of the 'death squads' which the British state tried so desperately to cover up in the 'Stalker' fiasco.

In the same issue Robert Rees proves that the Maguire family and the 'Guildford Four' are innocent.

Chris Mullin and a mountain of other evidence has proved the innocence of the 'Birmingham Six'.

The British state and its system of 'justice' has seldom been so clearly exposed.

**The state assassins, proven murderers of the unarmed and innocent, will go scot free. The proven innocents of Birmingham and Guildford have languished in jail for twelve years and no indication is at hand that they will be soon released.**

The Observer editorial on these events tells us 'The misapplication of justice — however well-intentioned — (sic) only serves to undermine the moral case of those who oppose illegal methods of political action.'

Was justice 'misapplied' in the exonerations of the death squads and the jailing of the innocents?

I say no and now as the cover-up is blown all manner of scoundrels and liberals

desperately try to obscure this point.

Let us recall the context in which these events occurred.

The Birmingham Six were deliberately framed by signed confessions extracted under torture i.e. repeated beatings and death threats to their families.

Not alone were the police guilty of this crime but the prosecuting council, the judge and the jury must have known of their innocence but convicted them for political reasons on a wave of anti-Irish hysteria.

Neither were the 'death squads' some gung-ho SAS men gone over the top but the deliberate policy begun by Kenneth Newman and Roy Mason.

The final IRA/British army truce broke down at the end of 1975. Wilson deployed the SAS in South Armagh in January 1976.

Internment was ended and the no-jury Diplock court system of judicial internment followed. 'Special category' status was withdrawn in March 1976.

Kenneth Newman became Chief Constable in May 1976 and Roy Mason became Secretary of State in August 1976.

Then the present phase of the Irish war began with institutionalised torture to

feed the Diplock conveyor belt to the H-blocks and the SAS death squads.

People were murdered, like John Boyle shot in an SAS stake out in a graveyard in 1978.

Not to forget that the final spate of murders in November/December 1985 is only the same policy intensified.

But what of the 'guilty' prisoners, the active service units in the north of Ireland and in Britain who did shoot British soldiers and plant bombs?

As revolutionary socialists we must say that these men and women are courageous anti-imperialist fighters who deserve our unconditional support.

They are only 'guilty' of fighting brutal oppression, are prisoners of war and their release must be part of a British withdrawal from Ireland.

In the meantime we must campaign for their repatriation.

Since the British state murders its political enemies and locks up innocents to terrify all its opponents the working class should reject this hypocrisy and not rely on the liberals and reactionaries like Rees, Fitt, Hume etc. but build its own revolutionary party to destroy that capitalist system.

Gerry Downing



The torture of Irish prisoners in British jails has been going on for a very long time, meanwhile the Stalker investigation into the 'shoot to kill' policy of the RUC is stifled and the murder squads go free.

## No option but the Labour Party

The statement in issue No 43 of Workers Press by the Political Committee produced an excellent outline of what a future Labour Government will be like.

What it did not do, however, is offer any alternative to activists in the labour movement, on how to combat Kinnock's offensive on the working class.

The statement also claimed 'illusions' (in the Labour Party) 'cannot last for long'. This is obviously misleading.

The Labour Party leadership gave up defending the working class many, many years before I was born, yet it still maintains the support of the working class.

Illusions in the Labour Party will only be broken if there is a credible alternative within the working class, with a strong base.

The key question facing socialists today must be, how do we build this base? Inside or outside of the Labour Party?

I will first look at the proposition faced if you're outside. The first point to make is that a relatively healthy SLL left the Labour Party

and became isolated from the working class and reality for a long period of time until the recent split with Healy.

The second problem is what sort of an alternative to the working class can Workers Press offer with its limited resources and number of cadre, compared to the resources and membership of the Labour Party. The answer I believe is that it cannot provide a realistic alternative at this present moment in time.

The third problem to face is how do you relate to and support militants in unions that are facing the battle right across the movement and inside the Labour Party as well.

I think you'd find it difficult. It is also inconceivable to believe that the same battle fought in the union movement is not happening in the Labour Party.

Kinnock didn't just stitch up the Labour Party Conference, he did the TUC as well!

The article stated that 'The spirit of the working class which Labour Party members expressed during the miners' strike is what a Labour Government will have to face'. True.

What the article ignores is

that these same class fighters for the miners are still in the Labour Party, that they want to fight Kinnock, and the left needs to organise this fighting force into a credible opposition.

This left needs to be organised across the whole of the labour movement from trade unions to Labour Party branches, and also be accountable to the rank and file. It needs the support and participation of every Trotskyist in Britain.

This does mean, however, that working inside the Labour Party isn't without problems. There is a constant rightward pull on any organisation. You only have to look at the Militant Tendency to see what the dangers are.

But this is where a Unified Fourth International could help. A Unified Fourth International could act as a counterweight to the rightward pressure of working inside social democracy.

It would ensure our programme is upheld both in words and in action, allowing us hopefully to break a few illusions.

David Taylor  
Supporter,  
International Group.

## Reader quests answers

AS AN ex-member of the old Socialist Labour League I have followed with great interest the discussions in the Workers Revolutionary Party since the expulsion of Healy.

Along with many others I have greatly welcomed the opening up of your paper to a genuine debate concerning the degeneration of both the Trotskyist movement and the WRP and the degree of candid honesty portrayed concerning the revolting practices of Healy and his coterie.

For all this you are to be congratulated, for it is never easy to wash your dirty linen in public!

Be that as it may, though, I must add one basic misgiving that has troubled me, while reading your paper over the last year or so.

Like Comrade Dave Simpson whose letter was published in the Workers Press on September 13 this year, I feel that the present debate within your paper has been rather limited and needs to be expanded beyond the confines of an acceptance of the basic rationale of the orthodox Trotskyist movement; that the degeneration of the Russian Revolution only began in 1923 and that there were no significant weaknesses and flaws in the methodology and practice of both Lenin and Trotsky in the years 1917-23.

Similarly I believe that there were significant flaws in both Trotsky's conception of what was happening in the Soviet Union under Stalin AND in the rationale and perspective of Trotsky when he formed the Fourth International in 1938.

In the probing and re-evaluation that has gone on in your paper though, these basic cornerstones of the Trotskyist movement have never really been discussed, far less criticised.

Rather they have been assumed to be part of the revolutionary tradition that is beyond the possibility of either reproach or enquiry.

Such a lack of critical dissection seems to me to be almost universal on the revolutionary left, particularly concerning Lenin.

The basic problem seems to be that due to the success of the Bolsheviks in gaining power in 1917 and retaining it, that such a huge degree of prestige accumulated to the Bolsheviks, that for close on 70 years, even any attempt to see shortcomings in Lenin's and to a certain extent Trotsky's methodology and practice has led to an outcry of sacrilege and class traitor.

Such a response could be expected from a religious cult of true believers to be sure, but not surely from those who pride themselves on their materialist Marxist

revolutionary heritage!

In all the innumerable splits in the Trotskyist movement in Britain alone since 1945, despite all the bitterness and polemic, one basic assumption has been agreed upon by virtually all the protagonists, that Lenin is virtually beyond reproach and at least for the orthodox Trotskyists this applies to Trotsky also, apart that is from where he happens to disagree with Lenin!

Thus today we find the peculiar fact of something that the SWP, WRP, RCP, RCG, Militant Tendency, WSL etc etc, ad nauseam AGREE upon basically that the programme, methodology and outlook of Lenin are beyond reproach, and all we need to do is to return to the purifying essence of unadulterated Leninism that everyone else bar themselves has corrupted.

I see no sign that the present debate in the Workers Press is going to move out of this rotating cycle of uncritical assumption.

That Lenin and Trotsky were important Twentieth Century revolutionaries no one who has considered the matter can deny; but to believe that their political heritage was either unflawed or unblemished seems to me to have more to do with wishful thinking than Marxism.

I would certainly welcome any opportunity to take part in a fraternal, open discussion concerning the legacy of the Russian Revolution and the role of Lenin and Trotsky.

When such a debate commences I will perhaps be persuaded that the Leopard has indeed changed its spots and that a new era for both the WRP and the revolutionary left in Britain has begun!

Mark James Stewart,  
Scotland

### MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

Organised by Workers Power  
Every other Wednesday, 7.30pm  
Upstairs at the Landor Hotel  
Landor Road, SW2 (Clapham North )

October 22: The Popular Front in France 1936  
November 5: The Moscow Trials 1936

Anti-Fascist Action, Campaign Against Police Repression, Campaign for Homosexual Equality,  
Campaign for the Right of Assembly & Dissent, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group,  
Federation of Claimants Unions, Greenpeace London

## MARCH AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER LAWS

### The Saturday After

RALLY: THE FIRST SATURDAY AFTER THE PUBLIC ORDER BILL IS PASSED  
MARCH: THE FIRST SATURDAY AFTER THE BILL BECOMES LAW  
BOTH ASSEMBLE AT  
12 NOON, CLOCK TOWER PLACE, MARKET ROAD, LONDON N7  
(Near Caledonian Road tube, Piccadilly line)

**LETTERS**Your letters are welcome at Workers Press,  
21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.**Tory destruction of the Health Service**

'INTENSIVE CARE' originally meant one nurse responsible for one patient, and when lifting and changing, etc. four nurses might be required.

Now one nurse is responsible for two or more intensive care patients.

For many years I worked on an intensive care unit and I am appalled as this is an impossible situation.

Patients can die for lack of care and the stress becomes too much for the nurse. Nurses look for posts in Australia and other countries.

Granada TV's programme on October 9 entitled 'Nurses - Condition Critical' showed the shortage of nurses is so bad that lives are at risk.

The NHS was the great gain of the welfare state. This gain was made because workers in the forces in 1945 said, 'we are not going back to the 1930s. We have fought this war and given our lives to change the way things are run.'

The programme interviewed many nurses about the collapse - and it is a collapse - of the health service.

Pay, of course, has always been very low for student nurses and even trained nurses - if not on the top grade.

The driving force to qualify as a nurse has never been the financial reward but the desire to place 'patient care' before anything.

The programme showed that many leave nursing not because of the money, but because of stress and strain from the inability - because of the cuts - to provide the care needed by their patients.

Hospitals have been closed and nurses could not get a

job after qualifying, so some deliberately failed their finals.

Auxiliary staff in hospitals were privatised or in-house quotations were accepted for ancillary staff, kitchen and cleaning staff that were so low that hours and pay and holiday entitlement were cut so many were better off on the dole.

The cut in nurses meant that those in work were forced to work long hours and as the programme showed, private nurses had to be brought in to help.

This way of nursing is such a strain that even free time cannot be used to relax.

Now, of course, the NHS is calling out for nurses and hospitals cannot fill their training schools. The nurses suffer but the main sufferers are us - the working class, particularly children and old-age pensioners.

If you have money you can still get treatment.

The Tory Government has changed the way hospitals are run. They are run not by matrons who have been through the hard school of training, but by managers only interested in a profitable health service.

The new Health Minister, Tony Newton, is to double up as chairman of the NHS Management Board.

This means a strengthening of ministerial control of the board.

Sir Roy Griffiths, architect of the NHS managerial revolution, was brought in two weeks ago as the Board's deputy chairman.

The Royal College of Nursing welcomes these moves saying that the College has always felt that the political aspect of the Minister's role should not be separated from

the function of the Board.

But NALGO NHS Officer Ada Maddocks described it as a political move which would subject managers even further to a programme of cuts and privatisation.

An election poll of nurses has been organised by the 'Nursing Times' done by Albemarle Market Research Ltd. and carried out in late August and early September.

The poll reveals 40 per cent of all nurses would vote Labour.

Support for the Conservatives was only 27 per cent, the same as for the Alliance. These figures are significant as recent general population polls has put the Conservative vote at 34 per cent to 37 per cent.

In the 1983 election, nurses voted Tory by 42 per cent. In other words, one Conservative nurse in three has turned her back on the party in the last three years.

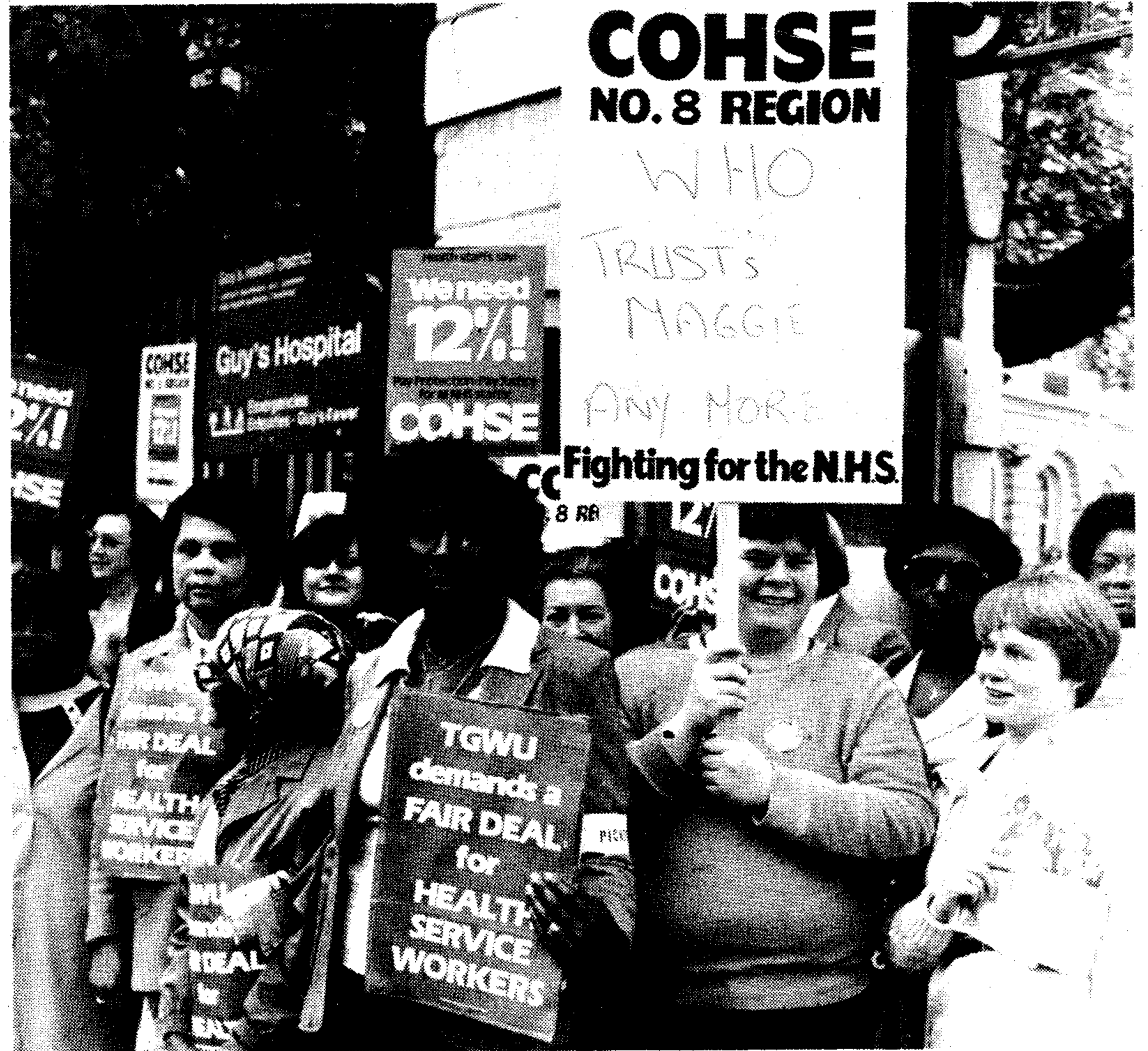
According to the poll the strongest support for Labour comes from State Enrolled Nurses, with half of them intending to vote Labour.

Labour support is strongest among young nurses.

There are big regional variations. In Scotland and the north 48 per cent of nurses intend to vote Labour.

In the Thames regions which cover London and the home counties, the Labour lead is as strong (49 per cent) but in the Midlands, East Anglia and the South west, the Conservatives hold an 11 per cent lead.

The 'Nursing Mirror' of October 8 interviews three qualified nurses, one Conservative, one SDP and one Labour.



*Attacks to NHS has been constant feature of Tory rule, it causes great strain on health workers and loss of service to the working class.*

They are sharply divided on their views on running the NHS, wages and training but both the Tory and Labour nurses are opposed to the phasing out of State Enrolled Nurses and the introduction of 'Nursing Aides'.

This move of the Govern-

ment was particularly opposed by the Labour nurse who sees 'nursing aides' as the introduction of young people from the Youth Training Schemes, i.e., cheap labour.

Such an introduction of nursing aides must be opposed by all workers in the

health service and also must be fought against by all trade unionist and Labour councillors.

Not only the youth suffer on cheap labour schemes but as patients we shall also be the sufferers.

Ray Hunter

**One damn error after another . . .**

I WOULD like to begin with two key observations concerning the three replies to my letter.

Firstly, not one dealt with my criticisms of your vulgar economic perspectives drafted by cde Kemp.

Secondly, that since the authoritarian days of Healy the WRP has turned a 'diversity of views' into a virtue.

Not only does this reflect the absence of democratic centralism in your group but it requires me to answer each letter individually, beginning with Peter Windeler.

This comrade insists that Marx did not make a distinction between commodities and capital.

To support this assertion he quotes from part 1 of volume 2 of Capital.

Comrade Windeler says: 'Briefly, the formula describes the transformation of money into productive capital (P) and then into products (my emphasis) and finally back into money (M)'.

In fact cde Windeler has misled us.

What Marx is developing in the whole section is the circuit of industrial capital and its conversion into its three forms - from money-capital into productive capital into commodity-capital.

What cde Windeler conveniently describes as products, Marx really describes as commodity-capital.

Marx used the term commodity-capital, just as he used the category money-capital, to describe the different forms that capital takes.

As Marx said: (what

money-capital and commodity-capital have in common is that) . . . they are modes of existence of capital. The one is capital in money-form, the other in commodity-form' (p48 of the 1977 Lawrence and Wishart edition).

Hence the commodity-product that results from production is really capital.

The over-production of these products is really the over-production of capital as Marx makes clear two pages later:

... if capital is stopped short in its last phase (after production cycle has been completed - BT) piles of unsold commodities accumulate and clog the flow of circulation'.

Hence it is cde Windeler who makes a 'fundamental mistake' in failing to distinguish between capital and commodities. Clearly he is unaware of the debates that have raged this century over this distinction.

Cde Franks for his part declares he is not an under-consumptionist.

The vigour with which he denies this indicates that he at least recognises the consequences of underconsumptionism.

But while cde Franks denies he is an underconsumptionist, he does not say what he really is.

I recognise over-production as a relative not an absolute category. To this I must say - over-production of what?

At best cde Franks is an eclectic, one who is an underconsumptionist and is not.

Let us examine the facts.

Does cde Franks not begin with markets? He does.

At the top of his original article we find the statement 'To bid for dwindling markets manufacturers strive to revolutionise production.'

Later he says the 'original problem' (my emphasis) was one of too much production chasing too few markets. The result is chronic over-production of commodities, of means of production (which are also commodities) and of capital itself'.

Here we have a definite link between falling markets and overproduction. If cde Franks wishes to admit that these formulations are suspect, then he can do so, but it is a bit wild to accuse me of deceit and falsification. At no time did he try to explain why markets are dwindling.

Instead we have a novel theory of underconsumptionism, a catastrophic underconsumptionist theory. It goes like this:

Dwindling markets force capitalists to revolutionise their techniques of production. The snag is (cde Franks words) that these improved techniques require longer production runs to realise profits.

Hence while production expands markets contract. The gap between supply and demand widens until finally the weight of unsold goods and raw materials is so great there is total collapse of markets.

Total collapse, an end to capitalism, catastrophism all over again.

Cde Franks says revolutionising production makes it more difficult not less difficult to improve profitability. How does he explain the

arrival of newspapers like the Independent which need only a circulation of 350,000 to break even?

In fact the new technology has reduced the print run needed to make profits. This explains the proliferation of new national and regional titles.

The facts do not fit cde Franks' theory at all. We think he will have great difficulty convincing printers as well.

Cde Franks criticises me for not being concrete. Cde Franks is so concrete that he fails to recognise the unique feature of newspapers, purveyors of news, secondly they are carriers of advertising.

Of the two advertising often brings in more income than does the actual sale of the papers. It is advertising income coupled to cheaper production (the new single stroke technology) that has allowed proprietors like Shah to pioneer free newspapers.

Part of the crisis for the national and regional papers is not a dwindling market but a changing market. These freebies have robbed them of some of their market.

Secondly, cde Frank ignores that other special quality of newspapers, namely, that they are organs of bourgeois propaganda.

Accordingly to maintain the flow of this propaganda the bourgeoisie have been willing to make substantial concessions to prevent disruption.

It is only now with the breakdown of consensus politics in Britain that the bourgeoisie have felt it expe-

dent to move against the print unions in the citadel of Fleet Street.

In reality the crisis in the print is not caused by a dwindling market for papers. There are far more titles than before. What has changed is the structure of the market.

The new technology, by cheapening production and reducing production runs has spawned new titles and freebies.

This is the challenge facing the traditional press barons in Fleet Street. What a far cry this is from cde Franks' simplistic view of the print.

To be concrete one has to introduce the specific features that distinguish phenomena. By failing to do so cde Franks is not being concrete.

This is the same point that I have tried to make to cdes Kemp, Smith and Pilling over and over again regarding volume 3 of Capital where Marx becomes concrete for the first time by introducing those specific features that distinguish one capital from another.

On the question of price movements. What I objected to was cde Franks' use of the term 'artificial barriers' to protect high prices.

This is the same formulation as those who claim that high prices are due to price fixing and bad monopolies. It is vulgar and un-Marxist.

Price movements in times of boom and recession result from the tendential laws of capitalism not boardroom decisions.

While these decisions can influence to a small degree

these movements they cannot arrest or reverse the movement. OPEC has clearly shown this.

Cde Talbot for his part criticises me for not mentioning the falling rate of profit. I can assure the cde that like him I share Marx's observation that the falling rate of profit is the single most important capitalist law.

It was a source of amusement in our group that I would ever be accused of failing to mention the falling rate of profit. It is of course the falling rate of profit that leads to falling investment and falling demand.

That is why I did mention it in criticising cde Kemp's perspectives for getting the order wrong.

I would like to conclude by saying that my original letter was part of the overall debate between our two groups.

The problem with cdes Franks and Talbot is that they, like the WRP leadership, like to change the rules as they go along.

Previously we were criticised for our lack of concern with theory including philosophy (as for example in cde Pilling's recent reply to Keith Hassell's document on dialectics).

Now that we are criticising the WRP's method we are rebuked for our lack of concern with practice.

I am sure WRP printers will correct him on this matter.

Brian Thomas  
Workers Power

## REVIEWS

# Is Marxism the science of prediction or the science of perspective?

**War and the International: A History of the Trotskyist movement in Britain 1937-49.** By Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson. Socialist Platform, £5.95.

**THIS book is the second volume of Bornstein and Richardson's history of British Trotskyism. The authors have conscientiously gone through documents and conducted a large number of interviews with Trotskyists and ex-Trotskyists.**

**Their conscientiousness does flip at the end of the book when they rely on the stories and even gossip of people who were outside the Group led by Healy.**

To be sure, the book suffers from the fact that it was completed at the time of the expulsion of Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party and the full meaning of the splits in that organisation were not clear to those outside.

Also, they were not able to go through the WRP archives. I would add here that not the least backward aspect of Healy and his clique was the contempt for the historical documents in the possession of the party.

## Archive

As Bornstein and Richardson suggest, there is need for an archive or library open to the socialist writer and student of Trotskyist history.

However, material which contradicts the facile picture of struggle in the Trotskyist movement at the end of the 1940s does exist in print and is not commented on.

The weakness of the book is shown at the beginning when it deals with British Trotskyism at the first Congress of the Fourth International in 1938.

Before the Congress there was a unification of the various groups. The Workers International League, formed by Ralph Lee, Milly Lee, Ted Grant, Jock Haston and G. Healy, split away from the unified organisation.

An accusation manufactured by Stalinists that Ralph Lee had stolen money from an African workers' organisation was used against him by leaders of the unified organisation.

The international secretariat preparing the conference of the Fourth International declared the slander was a 'pure calumny' and ordered the British leaders to exonerate Lee.

The WIL did not attend the Fourth International Founding Conference which carried a resolution condemning the split.

The authors of this book see the split as correct. 'The split' they declare 'was a break with all previous practices and habits of work from a propagandist style, to one of active intervention inside the labour movement'.

Leave aside the reality that the WIL still remained mainly a propaganda organisation, it is true that during the war it did take its propaganda into the working class and it was generally through its activity that Trotskyism was represented during the war.

However, the essence of the WIL's position was — as it was condemned by the 1938 conference — anti-internationalist.

Formally the WIL supported the formation of the

Fourth International. But they refused to participate in the consummation of the years of struggle laying the theoretical basis for its formation.

They placed personal relations above participation in a great historic act.

It was natural that young people who gathered around the WIL were chaffing at the 'inactivity and lack of drive' of old leaders, as these young workers were moved towards a struggle against fascism and war and attracted by the communism of Trotsky.

All through the 1930s Trotsky was seeking to separate the 'living creative element' gathered around the movement, from the 'hopeless product of circle life'.

The WIL was not prepared to fight through that contradiction but sought to cut loose from it. That subjective mistake and the relationships built on it remained part of their movement all through its successors and it aided the political destruction of these leaders less than a decade later.

According to Bornstein and Richardson, the WIL made a great leap in theory.

They list the theoretical conquests of its leaders after the war. By now, the two wartime Trotskyist groups had fused to form the Revolutionary Communist Party.

A full treatment of these theoretical 'conquests' will have to be made later in the discussion on the history of the Fourth International.

It is very clear, however, that Bornstein and Richardson see theory in academic terms.

## Movement

For it was during this period that these leaders were unable to maintain, lead and carry a movement through the changed circumstances after the end of the war!

The Revolutionary Communist Party was led by people among whose statements were those which were formally correct on the property overturn in Eastern Europe, on the prospect for the British economy, on the emergence of bourgeois democracy in Europe.

But it collapsed about their ears as most of them followed Haston to the right.

Sam Bornstein was a member of the Workers International League and his explanation for the collapse of the old WIL leadership is very much of the 'we wuz wrong' variety.

It is a crude explanation to imply that this leadership, together with Morrow and

Goldman in the United States, fell victim to the International Secretariat, the SWP leaders and Healy.

The book denigrates the contribution that Haston and other leaders did make for a time and contributes nothing to an understanding of the circumstances which conditioned their development and that of Healy.

The Workers International League was without a doubt a remarkable body of active young fighters, working selflessly in factories and in the forces. Its Bulletins reward a study today.

I might mention that the full report of the WIL Central Committee meetings at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 show an attempt to face the problems of the movement in relation to the unions and problems of leadership.

Healy walked out of these meetings declaring he was leaving to join the ILP.

They could well be compared with later discussion on the tasks of the party. For at this time the leaders showed a much more sober appreciation of the task of penetrating into the mass movement than they did a year or two later.

## Success

In the later period they had been lifted up impressionistically by the success of the campaign against the arrest of four Trotskyists and the big meetings of the RCP, when it stood in the Neath by-election.

These and the formation of the RCP fuelled the illusions that workers would come automatically to Trotskyism.

It was here that the subjectivity in the break of 1938 strengthened the inability to learn anything from the experience of the SWP.

It was Healy and the minority who raised the correct question in 1945 — how to meet a turn in the situation at the end of the war.

There is no doubt that there was a large element of Healy's personal egotism in his acceptance of SWP leadership at the time, but they correctly raised the question of entry into the Labour Party.

The rejection of this was made all the more furious on the part of the RCP leadership at the time because of the uncorrected mistake of 1938.

The contradiction which this book neither faces nor answers is this. While the majority leaders may have made a correct analysis it was the minority who continued the struggle for Trotskyism.

The major error of the authors of this book is the conception of Marxism as a sci-

ence of prediction.

What Trotsky said was that Marxism is the science of perspective, which is something entirely different.

For Trotsky, perspectives were unthinkable without the revolutionary organisation in the centre of them.

## Core

To be sure, the majority of the RCP leadership were concerned with predictions; the central core of Marxist perspectives was eroded away.

Even worse, what was correct in their analysis of capitalism and Stalinism was meant to bolster their *a priori* conclusions as to the strength of these forces and the supposed failures of Trotskyism because Leon Trotsky had allegedly promised them millions after the war.

Bill Hunter

## The first concentration camps



TANKS of boiled water in a concentration camp and (left) one of the inmates

**To The Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War 1899-1902.** By Emanuel Lee. Penguin, £7.95.

THE HISTORY of photography as well as the history of imperialist war is what Lee's book is about.

It wasn't the first war to be photographed, but new techniques, especially the Eastman-Kodak camera and later the simpler Brownie, meant that even as this turn-of-the-century war progressed, the immediacy of the photographs improved.

Most of the pictures in the book were taken by amateurs and taken from personal albums.

The book follows the battles, and includes remarkable pictures of the 'concentration camps' into which the British drove the Boer wives and children as well as thousands of blacks, and in which thousands died of disease, starvation and the bad winter of 1901.

What better indication of the nature of imperialist war than this wholesale clearance of land and the destruction of farm buildings!

**BOOKS**

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**BUUNS**

## REVIEWS

## CRY HUNGARY — A revolution remembered



Cry Hungary: A Revolution Remembered. BBC1, Wednesday October 22, 9.35-10.50pm.

FOR THE discriminating and the not-so-discriminating TV viewers we couldn't more strongly recommend Jeremy Bennett's documentary on the Hungarian revolution.

A lively mixture of archive film and interviews and screened on the thirtieth anniversary of the revolution, this programme offers to provide insights into the most powerful flashpoint of the struggle against Stalinism.

It will be reviewed next week.



THE STORY of the Hungarian Revolution is told through the words of participants like Danny Benedikt (above), now 46 and working as a taxi driver in Birmingham. Left: an archive picture of armed workers during the fighting against the Soviet troops

# The politics of policing

**With Extreme Prejudice: An investigation into police vigilantism in Manchester.** By Martin Walker. Canary Press, £2.50.

MARTIN WALKER'S 'With Extreme Prejudice' is a book about the politics of policing and the politics of dissent.

It is an investigation into the events following Leon Brittan's visit to Manchester University Student's Union on March 1, 1985.

Just days before the end of the miners' strike — which Manchester students had actively supported — the Home Secretary was to address a meeting at their University on law and order.

This was provocation as far as the students were concerned. They called for a demonstration against Brittan's visit and against the policies of the Tory Government.

The picket mounted on the steps of the Student Union building was subjected to extreme violence by the police, many of whom belonged to the Tactical Aid Group of the Greater Manchester police constabulary.

Officers of this paramilitary group undergo extensive team training in the use of lethal and 'less-lethal' weapons. They are deployed not just in public order situations but are also used in sieges, to escort marches and oversee demonstrations, to flood areas of high crime and mount under-cover surveillance for car thefts and burglaries.

The book is essentially an investigation into the vigilantism of these 'special' groups of officers which Walker refers to as the 'firm within a firm'.

Walker goes further than

pure investigation however. He makes a political analysis into the 'necessity' for state instituted repression.

In particular the book concentrates on the persecution of one of the students, Steven Shaw, who made plain his intention to call for an independent inquiry into the actions of the police on the night of the Brittan visit.

This singled him out to be the focus of a systematic programme of harassment, mental and physical, by certain Manchester police officers who have to this day still not been identified.

The physical harassment culminated in February of this year in a brutal physical assault on Steven in Longsight, Manchester.

At the behest of the internal inquiry team headed by Avon and Somerset police — which some constable James Anderton had himself appointed — Steven had returned to Manchester to give further evidence.

## Rupture

He was attacked on his return by the same two police officers who had escorted him to Bootle Street police station almost a year earlier and subjected him to an internal body search which had resulted in a rupture of his back passage.

Subsequently he has had to undergo two operations to remedy this damage.

The physical violence of this second attack resulted in a broken nose and considerable facial damage from constant punching and cigarettes being burnt out on Stevens cheeks.

Steven lost consciousness after this attack.

When found, he went back to London for medical treatment, for his own safety.

The internal inquiry which

Anderton was forced to instigate because of all the publicity tendered its report in June of this year.

Many of the students now feel that this inquiry was never a search for the truth but merely a highly partisan exercise in propaganda.

Based on information relayed to people by both the Manchester police and the Avon and Somerset inquiry team, Walker has constructed a facsimile of the report in the absence of the real thing.

The inquiry team are reported as saying that the internal injuries suffered by Steven Shaw were not caused by a police body search as he says, but by Shaw's homosexual activities!

As to the injuries sustained in the second incident, the police are said to have claimed that Steven inflicted these upon himself, asserting that it is a well known fact that homosexuals delight in acts of sado-masochism!

Steven is supposed to have burnt his own face with a cigarette!

It is now expected by the Steven Shaw Defence Campaign that, instead of the perpetrators of the violence being brought to justice, Steven will himself face prosecution for wasting police time!

Chief Constable James Anderton has said that he fears nothing from complaints.

As long ago as 1979 Anderton said: 'I think from a police point of view, my task in the future, in 10-15 years from now, the period during which I shall continue to serve, that basic crime such as — theft, burglary, even violent crime — will not be the predominant police feature.'

'What will be the matter of

greatest concern to me will be the covert and ultimately overt attempts to overthrow democracy, to subvert the authority of the State, and in fact, to involve themselves (sic) in acts of sedition designed to destroy our parliamentary system and the democratic Government in this country.' (BBC Question Time, October 16, 1979).

Anderton here shows that he is very aware of the future of society and he has defined what the role of the police will be in this society.

As for those who call for police accountability, such as the Parliamentary Labour Party, there can be no question, and the Shaw case is but added proof, that the police are already accountable — to the State.

Walker analyses this very clearly in his book.

## Policies

He criticises the Labour Party in this respect, accusing it of redefining its legal policies to accommodate the police.

Viewed from this perspective, says Walker, the call for accountability is a cry for acceptability from the Labour Party to the police.

As Martin Walker says, if after reading his book you choose to ignore what happened to Steven Shaw, then you acquiesce in the crimes committed against him and you help pave the way for the ultimate victimisation of us all.

Sue Gwyer

● The Report of the independent enquiry panel, sponsored by the Manchester City Council, was published in November 1985 and can be obtained from the Police Monitoring Unit, St James's Building, D Block, 4th floor, 89 Oxford St, Manchester, M1 6FG

## Nixon's genocide

Sideshow. By William Shawcross. Hogarth Press, £5.95.

A WELCOME re-issue of Shawcross's outstanding book which meticulously chronicles Nixon and Kissinger's destruction of Cambodia, a 'sideshow' to the Vietnam war, between 1969 and 1973.

They bombed deeper and deeper to eliminate supposed 'Viet Cong sanctuaries'.

Shawcross describes Nixon's 'locker-room language' in which the ruthlessness of America was expressed.

Prince Sihanouk was uncooperative, so they engineered a coup to install the

pro-US Lon Nol and armed 200,000 Khmers to fight Sihanouk and the Viet Cong. By August 1970 the entire economy of Cambodia was in ruins.

The book is also about amazing secrecy, cover-ups and lies.

Even senior Pentagon officials did not know that the B52s were devastating Cambodia, and it only emerged in the final Watergate days of Nixon's regime.

When Shawcross wrote his later book, 'The Quality of Mercy', he blamed Vietnam for creating the Pol Pot inferno in Cambodia; 'Sideshow' puts the blame on the USA, and says its policies were 'not a mistake, a crime'.

Chris Dixon

## Workers Revolutionary Party

### ARCHIVE SALE

PLUS MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

Sunday 19 October  
10a.m. to 5p.m.

21b Old Town, Clapham, London SW4

Archive material includes: Workers International News, Fourth International (1940-1980), Labour Review, SLL/WRP pamphlets, CP material, Labour Monthly, Communist International & pamphlets, International Socialist Review (SWP).

Equipment includes: Industrial bric-a-brac; fixtures & fittings, furniture, electronic and electrical oddments, various paraphernalia, etc.

Refreshments available

Admission 50p

# Workers Press

Saturday October 18 1986 Newsdesk 01-733 3058

# NOTTS

## STRONG STRIKE VOTE IN NORTH-EAST

# THE MINERS ARE BACK!

## BUT BOLTON IS RATTING SCOTTISH FI

SAVAGE job cuts are being railroaded the Scottish pits without opposition. Stalinist-dominated leadership of the NUM here.

George Bolton, Scottish area NUM vice president, repeated Coal Board claims that the merger will lead to future investment and jobs.

The closure of Comrie colliery in Fife, the sacking of miners at Monkton...

# UDM loses ground

NOTTS MINERS, the so-called 'weak-link', held a very successful 24 hour strike at Ollerton pit in Nottinghamshire on Wednesday October 15.

Ninety per cent of the men came out on strike at a pit which has about 66 per cent UDM members.

The strike was held in support of Mick McGinty, Notts Area NUM Vice-President, who was sacked from Ollerton on Friday October 10, allegedly for threatening a Deputy.

Management at Ollerton is known throughout the Notts coalfield for its strong support of the UDM.

At the beginning of this year, Mick McGinty was threatened with suspension for recruiting members to the NUM and distributing NUM literature.

The NUM sought a Tribunal hearing on the grounds that this threat by management undermined the trades union Act which allows unionists every right to recruit and distribute literature.

The hearing was set for November. Four weeks ago an argument took place between Mick McGinty and a Deputy. Several witnesses have stated that there were no threats made.

Management investigated

BY LYNN BEATON

the incident for four weeks, during which time Mick was interviewed but the evidence of the witnesses was ignored.

None of them were interviewed or asked for statements.

Last Friday Mick was given notice.

At a meeting on Tuesday October 14, the 350 NUM members at Ollerton (about 33 per cent of the total workforce at the pit) voted for a twenty-four hour strike the following day.

NUM members were delighted with the results of the strike. It shows clearly that UDM members in the heart of the UDM stronghold are becoming disillusioned with the scab union and will not tolerate the victimisation of NUM militants.

The success of the strike was admitted by the Coal Board who said that there had been loss of production.

## NUM strikes over sacking

And the 90 per cent support for the strike has been a great morale boost for the NUM in Notts who have been struggling in a minority since the beginning of the 1984/85 strike.

This is a very blatant case of the victimisation of a militant: Mick was one of the leaders of the strike in the Notts area.

Although the majority of Notts miners worked through that strike and although the UDM still has the majority of miners, the Coal Board or the UDM have never had it all their own way.

From the beginning of the UDM's history, many men in Notts have been aware of the dangers it has presented to miners — and not just those who held out in the twelve month strike.

The history of Spencerism in Notts is well remembered.

Despite the most vicious and underhand campaign by the Coal Board to try and force all Notts miners to heel to the UDM, they have never been able to squash the

strength, resistance and courage of the men who have fought to maintain the area branch of the national union — the NUM.

As the Coal Board attacks on miners increase, the NUM in Notts is picking up more and more ground.

At all pits, men who worked right through the year-long strike have joined the NUM.

The small concessions made to the Notts area after the strike are already being attacked with one Notts pit named for closure.

The success of this strike action has implications far beyond the struggles of the Notts miners.

It is a clear indication to whole of the British working class that the attacks by this Tory Government will not be tolerated.

It is also a clear indication to all those sowers of pessimism within the labour movement as a whole and within the NUM itself that the miners are far from defeated as a fighting force.



HENRY RICHARDSON

**Tribute to Notts women inside — p.3**

# Third NUM success in the North-east

THE THIRD of the Durham Mechanics one-day strikes on Monday October 13 in the NE coalfield was as successful as the first two, with UDM members refusing to cross NUM picket lines.

Tursdale Workshops which service and repair mining machinery from the whole of the Durham coalfield was the third target to be chosen in the area over the past month.

Pickets were jubilant yet surprised at the substantial number of UDM members who either stayed away or were turned back by the picket line.

After the nearly empty buses had arrived and departed wagons started to arrive carrying machinery from the pits to the Tursdale workshops for overhaul.

## Clapping

The sight of those wagons churning away as the drivers decided to respect the miners' picket brought forward loud clapping and cheering.

British Coal management from the Workshops came storming out of their offices furious at the effect of the picket line.

They accused the men of

BY HUGHIE NICOL

'trying to close the workshops down'.

But nobody needed any confirmation of the strike's success.

The Tursdale workshops have special significance since it is one of the strongholds of the UDM in the NE coalfield.

40 per cent of the 300 workers at Tursdale are members of the UDM. Pickets told our reporters; 'Although a number of UDM did turn up for work, the number who stayed away have made this strike as successful as the first two held at Murton and Westall.'

## Split

The men were overjoyed at the split in the UDM ranks

over whether to cross picket lines.

One mechanic told Workers Press 'The brother of the local UDM branch secretary even turned back from our picket line.'

## Response

Pickets also claimed that production at the workshops was cut drastically and they were pleased at the response from the wagon drivers.

The Durham Mechanics action follows a secret ballot which resulted in a two to one majority for strike action.

The men were balloted on four points:

- To force the Coal Board to pay the back money stolen from them

- to restore the conciliation machinery in the industry

- to stop the closure of Seaham colliery

- to force the board to reinstate Geoff Hartnell and all miners sacked following their victimisation for activities in the 1984/85 miners strike.

## HORMEL AT NOTTS BOOK LAUNCH

HORMEL STRIKERS from America and their supporters were in Britain last week seeking support for their 14 month old strike.

On August 17, the 1,500 union meat packers at Geo. A. Hormel & Co in Austin, Minnesota went on strike for a new contract.

Jim Guyette (former President of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P.T.) told members of the Notts mining community at a book launch in Mansfield last week about conditions in the meat packing plant.

Where there is a higher than normal injury rate, he described the plant as one where the robots would grab the workers and stick them in the machines.

The company made continuous wage cuts. Eventually the workers had had



JIM GUYETTE, Hormel workers' strike leader and a Notts miner discussing at book launch.

enough and came out.

The company 'fired' them and attempted to recruit scab labour with the support of the National Guard.

The Hormel strikers came to Britain to attend the Labour Party Conference.

Like many other workers, they could not obtain entry to the conference itself — but they spoke at many of the fringe meetings and established important contacts

with trade unionists here.

They see it as essential to extend the strike as far as possible. In the US, the Postal Workers Union and the National Teachers Union, along with other organisations, have endorsed their boycott campaign of all Hormel products.

The are asking trade union branches and Trades Councils to send resolutions of support and to boycott SPAM and other Hormel products.