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FREE MIKE HICKS!

BRING FLEET STREET OUT!

BY GEOFF PILLING AND CHRIS McBRIDE

THE JAILING of Mike Hicks for alleged assault on the police marks a new stage in the print-workers' battle at Wapping.

Every class conscious worker will condemn this as a vicious attack by the capitalist state against the legitimate right of trade unionists to defend their jobs and living standards.

Hicks is a member of SOGAT's National Executive. His jailing is immediately an attack on the union and its right to fight for its members.

Brenda Dean and the rest of the SOGAT leadership must be told loud and clear: take real action in Hicks' defence or get out of the way!

Workers Press will continue to support every solidarity action with the printers, however limited.

But the situation is urgent. Having put Hicks in Brixton prison the capitalist state will only be encouraged to send tens and hundreds more leaders down the same road.

Only the mobilisation of the full strength of the printers in industrial action, backed by other sections of the working class, will secure Hicks' release.

The whole of Fleet Street must be closed down until Hicks is freed. This is the only language that Murdoch and Thatcher understand.

The TUC must be driven to launch the widest possible campaign in defence of the latest class war prisoner.

The fight for Hicks' release must be linked with the campaign for freeing the



Printers march on Brixton prison — story page 9

Irish freedom fighters.

The responsibility for Hicks' imprisonment rests squarely with the TUC bureaucracy and Brenda Dean, Tony Dubbins and other print union leaders.

The TUC has adamantly refused to mobilise the strength of the working class behind the Wapping strikers. They have spared no effort to isolate them and open them to police harassment and arrest.

By their actions they have made their class position clear. They would rather see the Wapping strike defeated

against Murdoch and the Thatcher government.

By their cowardly and consistent refusal to act against the scab leadership of the EETPU they have condemned Hicks to spend Christmas in prison.

The TUC has spared no effort in attempting to force the printers to accept Murdoch's outrageous terms. Only the determination of the rank and file has prevented a betrayal of the Wapping fight.

Mike Hicks is a well-known supporter of the Moscow wing of British Stalinism, the chairman of the

Communist Campaign Group and a prominent 'Morning Star' supporter.

Whatever our political differences with Mike Hicks we stand shoulder to shoulder with all those campaigning for his release.

We are obliged to say that his imprisonment, the culmination of brutal police tactics at Wapping, flatly contradicts the 'Morning Star' 'peaceful road to socialism' line.

Like the miners' strike, Wapping has demonstrated that there is no peaceful resolution of struggles in which the working class is fighting

for the right to belong to unions which can defend their jobs and conditions.

The jailing of Hicks also gives the lie to those who have urged workers to lie down before the Tory onslaught and wait patiently for the election of a Kinnock government.

Kinnock and company have already declared that most of the battery of anti-union laws built up by Thatcher will remain on the statute book if they gain office.

Hicks is now paying a heavy price for this political treachery.

All workers must demand that the leaders of SOGAT and the NGA launch a campaign to bring out every worker on Fleet Street. This is the only way in which the challenge thrown down by the capitalist state can be answered.

Workers Press demands that the TUC honour its pledges to the Wapping strikers.

Up to now they have made paper promises.

The TUC must be recalled. Those leaders who refuse to act on a working class principle must be forced aside and replaced by a new leadership that will.

**Workers
Press**

STATE POWER AND NATIONAL SECURITY

ONE THING ABOUT the Sydney MI5 case is certain. Security is not the main issue. The attempt to stop the publication of Wright's book, which has involved the Thatcher government in such difficulties, involves much deeper problems.

Wright's memoirs appear to contain little on the penetration of British intelligence that has not already appeared. That a deep undermining of confidence in the future of capitalism among the upper reaches of the ruling class led them to work for the Soviet authorities has long been known.

More important are the revelations that MI5 and other intelligence institutions were engaged in plotting against the Wilson government. Their role in Wilson's resignation in 1974, and their intervention against Labour in the election campaign of that year, have also been written about before.

Wright's book is thought to give much greater detail on these matters. According to some reports, he lists a number of criminal and treasonable acts committed by MI5. Bearing in mind that this activity coincided with Thatcher's rise to leadership, her desperate efforts to keep the whole business secret may not be surprising.

It appears that the documents relating to these parts of Wright's book are not now to be made available to Wright's defence lawyers. They will remain hidden from public view.

Kinnock's attitude to the case is no more unexpected. Instead of exposing the state conspiracy against the labour movement, the Labour leaders complain that the Tories' actions are 'harmful to national security'. The Labour Party leader was deeply hurt by Thatcher's suggestion that her secrets would not be safe with him.

The Labour leaders have always pretended that the 'democratic' state stands for the 'national interest', and is above class conflict. Whenever they have exchanged their role as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition for that of Her Majesty's Government, they have maintained intact the secret machinery of state set up to attack the working class.

During the 1966 seamen's strike, Harold Wilson used material supplied by MI5 from their spying and bugging of trade unionists to make his infamous attack on 'politically-motivated men'.

It was ironic that the agency then turned the same methods against Wilson. Who serves whom? Ambitious Labour leaders and their admirers say the important thing is 'getting into power'. Reformists can never take power, they only take offices in the bourgeois state.

That is why they are incapable of defending even themselves against the dirty tricks of the intelligence agencies, let alone defending the interests of the trade unions and the working class.

The threat to those interests and the changed relationship between the trade unions and the state which has occurred under the Thatcher government, especially since the banning of unions at GCHQ, are clearly revealed in the teachers' fight.

Education Minister Kenneth Baker this week announced a Bill which will take away collective bargaining rights for all teachers for the next four years.

Under this Bill, Baker would have the right to decide teachers' conditions and pay levels after hearing advice from an interim pay committee appointed by the government. In other words, teachers' wages are to be fixed by the capitalist state.

The Labourites' stories about the democratic nature of the parliamentary set-up are exposed completely by the Sydney court case. So are the Stalinists' fairy tales of 'peaceful roads to socialism'.

Dirty tricks and phone-bugging are proceeding on a massive scale. Even Kinnock's telephone conversations with Wright's Australian lawyers were tapped!

Imperialism shows every day in Ireland that it will not hesitate to use against the British working class all the brutal methods it has learnt in suppressing colonial masses in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

But the reactionary and undemocratic nature of the capitalist state which the MI5 scandal has once more revealed expresses not the strength of the ruling class but its profound crisis.

'The present state of Britain is in part due to the penetration of the Establishment by the Russians, and the subsequent cover-up', said Wright.

'Unless the extent of the penetration was understood, nothing could be done to stop it.'

Such are the divisions within the ruling class today that this loyal, right-wing servant of the imperialist state has to be silenced at any cost.

The contradictions in the British state reveal themselves especially in the way in which sections of the middle class and even of the ruling class, on which it could previously depend, now turn against it. These political developments must be studied alongside those occurring in the United States and in France.

In America the Reagan administration attempted to deliberately bypass the Congress ban on arms shipments to the Contra forces in Nicaragua. Only deep divisions within the ruling class brought this illegal act to light.

In France the eruption of the student movement is the expression of a deep instability in French society and has rapidly brought the working class into play.

The unexpected forms and the speed at which these changes have taken place in the United States, Britain and France indicate the depth of the underlying class tensions and the possibilities for the revolutionary movement.

WHY WEREN'T WE TOLD?

LABOUR MP Greville Janner has written to Home Secretary Douglas Hurd demanding to know why police never told him his name had been found on a British National Party (BNP) activist's 'hit list'.

The list was found along with a cache of grenades and petrol bombs when police went to the home of right-wing extremist and racist Anthony Lecomber, who has been jailed on five explosives charges.

'I don't believe the police are taking these people seriously enough', Leicester MP Janner told a reporter. (*Jewish Chronicle*, December 5).

Janner, a lawyer and former president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, has also complained to the Lord Chancellor about the handling of the case by Judge Richard Lowry.

The judge is reported to have told Lecomber: 'I accept that you are not a terrorist... nor were you acting on behalf of some extreme political group.'

Janner says if the report is accurate, the remarks were 'a travesty'.

Lecomber, who also used the names 'Tony Wells' and 'Tony East', was the BNP's organiser in the Ilford area.

He was arrested after a home-made bomb went off in

his car in Clapham High Street, south London, in November 1985.

The Workers Revolutionary Party can sympathise with Greville Janner's complaints.

The explosion occurred just 300 yards from premises used by our Party.

Although the prosecution suggested in court that the WRP had been Lecomber's intended target, at no time did police contact this Party to discuss the possible dangers to our members.

The bomb Lecomber was carrying was a biscuit tin packed with nails and explosives, and could obviously have caused serious injury.

Lecomber claimed during his trial that he had driven across London with it in order to test it on Clapham Common. He maintained that his interest in explosives was as a hobby and had nothing to do with his political views.

Philip Kersey, charged with aiding and abetting, described how Lecomber had shown him some timing devices and said the target was 'Blacks in general, provos and reds'.

Lecomber was acquitted of causing an explosion with intent to cause injury or endanger life, but sentenced to three years on five counts of possessing and making explosives.

The court was told that instructions on how to make this bomb came from a book called 'The Poor Man's James Bond', by Kurt Saxon, printed in the United

States.

A reporter in the *Observer* (November 30) tells how she was able to buy this book — for £25 — in the 'Soldier of Fortune' book shop in Villiers Street, Charing Cross.

The shop also sells a six volume series called 'How to Kill', and does a natty line in knuckledusters, knives, and Nazi newsreels on video.

ACID ATTACK

ANOTHER case of someone trying the ideas in 'The Poor Man's James Bond' features in the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, whose December issue went to press before the Lecomber trial had concluded.

Ex-soldier Philip Walters, who served in Ulster, was sentenced to ten years for an acid attack on his former girlfriend Debbie Brown.

Working from a recipe in the terror manual Walters tried his acid concoction first on raw liver. It burned through the meat.

It had the same effect on 19-year old Debbie's face and body. Parts of her body are beyond medical repair.

'Probing who's behind the terror books business in Britain, *Searchlight* comes up with some interesting facts. 'Soldier of Fortune' bookshop is managed by one Timothy Danvers.

Searchlight says he was a supporter of the neo-Nazi British Movement. His shop sells *Scorpion*, a literary effort by aspiring National Front 'intellectuals' and

National Review published by the League of St. George.

'The Poor Man's James Bond', with its instructions for fire bombs, car bombs, poisons, murder and mayhem, is being offered in a 'European edition' at only £13 to readers of a magazine called *Hardcore Survival*, of which Kurt Saxon is listed as an editor.

It is sold in the National Front's bookshop.

The address given — for 'Combat Publications' — turned out to be some deserted offices in Hastings. (Incidentally, 'Combat' was the name of a race-hate sheet put out by the British National Party in the 1960s).

Searchlight checked out a telephone number given in the magazine offering typesetting and printing, and found it was Wilson Laminates, the Uckfield, Sussex, printing works owned by Anthony Hancock, notorious Brighton racist and printer of the neo-Nazi book 'Did Six Million Really Die'.

Maybe the fascists and racists are all only interested in bombs and such like as a hobby, and it has no connection with their political aims. Maybe the Nazi war criminals really only ran summer camps for underprivileged youngsters in Poland?

But whatever our wonderful judges want to believe, the labour movement and ethnic communities under attack must draw their own conclusions about what is going on, and how to confront it.

AN UGLY PIECE OF RACISM

FIVE COMPLAINTS of racism were upheld against Murdoch's scab Sun this week.

The Press Council ruling, that a cartoon published on May 15 was 'studiously offensive' and 'an ugly piece of racism', followed a decision in September by the Attorney-General to forbid a prosecution under the Public Order Act.

On May 14 the Press Council ruled that although a Sun headline 'Arab pig sneaks back in' was 'intemperate, abusive and insulting' it was not racist.

The headline had appeared on January 23 above a story of the return of a Libyan, who was present in the Libyan People's Bureau (embassy) at the time of the shooting of WPC Yvonne Fletcher, to his British wife and children.

The same day, in its first edition, the Sun reported the adjudication with the Press Council qualification that 'the words were intemperate, abusive and insulting but that it (the Press Council) accepted that they were intended to refer specifically to people who were in the Libyan Embassy when a policewoman was murdered'.

The second edition omitted the qualification and was headlined 'Not racist, says

Press Council' and 'The Sun right to call Arab a pig'.

Next day (May 15) the Sun published a cartoon by Franklin showing pigs demonstrating outside the heavily-fortified Wapping plant. The caption read: 'Trouble, now the pigs object to being called Arabs'.

Five further complaints were lodged with the Press Council, including one by the Director of the Arab League office in London. He also raised the matter with Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney-General, and asked that legal action be taken for incitement to racial hatred.

According to a press report:

'On July 30, Mr David Kirk, one of the Attorney-General's legal secretaries, told Mr Geoffrey Bindman, the League's solicitor, that Sir Michael "has decided to institute proceedings against the Sun in light of the cartoon".'

'Twelve days later Mr Bindman was told by Mr Stephen Wooler, another legal secretary, that Mr Kirk's letter "did not accurately set out the position".'

'Mr Bindman was told that the police would be making inquiries. Those were abruptly ended two weeks ago on the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Mr Bindman was told then that the Attorney-General's office was in a state of "panic stations"'. (*Guardian*, September 4, 1986).

The Arab League Office was further informed that the Attorney-General refused to give his consent to a private prosecution under Section 5A of the 1936 Public Order Act.

The *Guardian* Diary commented (September 12):

'Was it simply a well-meaning mistake when the Attorney-General's office told a firm of solicitors that it was going to prosecute The Sun for its equation of pigs with Arabs, only to tell them ten days later that they had been "wrongly informed"?'.

'Or were there representations to Sir Michael Havers, leading to a change of heart? It is, after all, believed in legal circles that counsel advised the AG there was a good case.'

'The Sun's lawyers are adamant they made no approach.'

Lord Goodman, a former chairman of the Newspaper Publishers Association and a well-known fixer behind the scenes, declines to talk about the issue and gently replaces the telephone receiver.

'Even if there had been an approach, it says, it would not have affected Sir Michael's decision'.

Followed next day by:

'We suggested incorrectly yesterday that Lord Goodman might have attempted to influence the Attorney-General's decision not to prosecute the Sun for its comparison of pigs with Arabs.'

'Lord Goodman tells us: "I did not in any way influence or seek to influence the Attorney-General in any decision about this case. I have not discussed the merits of the case with the Attorney-General at any time"'. (*Guardian* Diary, September 12, 1986).

The Press Council, a body set up by the newspaper proprietors to investigate complaints against their own press (in the absence of any right of reply in the press) is generally sub-titled 'the toothless watchdog'.

However, their ruling this week further weakens the Attorney-General's decision to block all prosecutions.

With the exception of 'The Guardian', the press has generally avoided reporting the case. But justice has been seen to be done. Six months after the publication of an offensive, racist cartoon, the Sun has been quietly slapped on the wrist.

Intemperate, abusive and insulting banner headlines are presumably acceptable when they are intended specifically to refer to all the people who were inside a building when a policewoman was shot — though no mention is made of the enormous provocations which led to the shooting.

But when gentle reprimands are used as licence to churn out further racism, criminal prosecution is quietly shelved and the Press Council sighs and wags a finger.

No school for Hackney children

BY ANGELA COULTER

IN Hackney parents are regularly sent letters which ask them not to bring their children to school! This can be either for a few days or in some cases the child is excluded for more than a week.

The 1944 Education act gave all children over the age of five years the right to full-time education — or so parents are led to believe.

The act also made it a civil offence if a child frequently failed to attend school and court proceedings could result against the parents.

Yet over 6,000 pupil hours have been lost in exclusions in Hackney alone since September because ILEA do not employ enough supply teachers and are slow to employ permanent teachers for vacant posts.

The problem exists across the ten divisions in ILEA.

Not surprisingly, angry parents' and teachers' meetings have been taking place all over Hackney as parents find that the amount of time some of them are having to take off work to look after

their children, is actually their children are not getting the full-time education that they thought was their right.

This anger culminated in a meeting of 50 parents and 20 teachers who decided that they had really had enough of I.L.E.A.'s excuses about the problems of attracting teachers to inner city areas.

They decided to plan a day of action on the 12th December, to take as many parents, children and teachers from Hackney's up to County Hall to protest about the crisis in schools and to invite the press and T.V.

Halfway through the meeting there was a surprise visitor.....in walked the deputy leader of ILEA, Bernie Wiltshire, who attempted to divert responsibility for the crisis away from ILEA and onto the Tory Government,

blaming them for the abolition of the GLC and the rate-capping of boroughs.

At this point there was mayhem as one teacher told him not to come squealing to the meeting about thatcher when the Labourites themselves had 'bottled out' of the fight against the GLC abolition and further on the issue of rate-capping.

How was he going to fight for their children's rights when he and the Labourites were not prepared to take on Thatcher?

There wasn't a lot Bernard Wiltshire could say in reply to that and in fact left the meeting by the request of the parents and teachers who continued to discuss the plan for action.

They decided that since ILEA councillors had not been able to come up with a concrete plan to deal with the situation, then, they would themselves present ILEA

With their own charter of demands that they feel would help to attract more teachers to work in London.

This charter states:

1. A permanent teacher for every class.
2. Higher rate of pay to teach in Hackney.
3. Proper rate of pay to be paid.
4. Accommodation provision for teachers.
5. Class size not to be increased.
6. Nursery facilities for teachers with young children.
7. Earlier advertising and better advertising for vacant posts.
8. Payment to supply teachers on time.
9. No loss of pay when teachers' kids are sick
10. Local Job Share arrangements.
11. School support when teacher is new.
12. Proper induction courses.
13. No part-time education.
14. Full supply cover.

NEWS IN BRIEF

YTS scheme collapses

AN INVESTIGATION is to be carried out into a Youth Training Scheme which shut down without notice, putting 67 youth back on the dole and making 18 lecturers redundant.

The trainees were called into the canteen one day and told that their scheme, where courses ranged from secretarial skills to catering, was to close at once.

The scheme was funded by the MSC and the local council. Four of the former trainees lobbied the Area Manpower Board meeting last week to put their grievances, which included anxieties about the financial arrangements for the project.

They complained of a serious shortage of equipment, and alleged that the project management kept misleading records of trainees which meant that those who had recently left were still being paid for.

They said that the Managing Director of the company which ran the project, Feardean Ltd., was paid £27,240 a year — while they got £27 a week.

Street traders arrested

LIVERPOOL police are arresting over thirty street traders every day in the busy Christmas shopping period.

Their spokesman, Tommy Carroll, told Workers Press that 64 arrests were made last Thursday, and they are averaging 34 arrests a day.

'They have been detaining us for approximately 2 and a half hours' he said, 'then bailing us to appear the following morning.'

'This has already put a police station out of action. It works out that there will be 40,000 court cases by Christmas.'

'We consider it police harassment.'

'They are doing this for the big stores who have spies watching us from all the windows. We only take about a thousandth of the big stores' takings.'

Silentnight record

RED WEDGE the socialist pop group have helped produce a record in aid of the Silentnight strikers.

Strike Anthem by local folk singer Janet Cook is released on Probe-Plus records.

It is a three track EP and costs £2.50 or £3.00 including postage and packing from: Cocomus Records, 136 Knotts Lane, Colne, Lancs.

Terry Berrett, one of the Silentnight strike leaders, emphasises that supporters should contact their local radio stations requesting that the record be played to give the record and the dispute air-time.

The strikers have received official notification that the T&GWU have expelled 21 drivers for crossing the picket line.

The expulsions are the first ever for black-legs in Region 6 which covers the North West Area.

Xmas is no party

FOR some people Christmas is a time of good cheer, holidays and family get-togethers.

For shopworkers it is a time of hassles, hard work, long hours standing behind counters, filling shelves and sitting at checkouts.

That's how a delegate to USDAW's 1986 conference described Christmas, according to a report in the December issue of Labour Research.

After the Christmas rush the post-Christmas sales give shopworkers another round of the same thing.

Even the stipulation of the two retail wages councils of a 'customary' day of holiday (as well as Christmas and Boxing Days) is being ignored by some stores this year, as they have announced that they are to open on New Years Day.

NE shipyard strikes for jobs

BY HUGHIE NICOL

SUNDERLAND shipyard workers are striking to prevent British Shipbuilders carrying out savage job cuts.

By a massive 19 to one vote in a secret ballot, the 830 workers decided on industrial action in defence of jobs.

Austin and Pickersgill workers are the first to take action to prevent British Shipbuilders destroying jobs.

Of the 925 redundancies demanded on Wearside, 470 jobs have already gone. There are no more volunteers in this area of mass unemployment.

Sunderland has over 26 per cent unemployed. In Southwick near the shipyard the figure on council estates is more like 60 and 70 per cent.

The statement from the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Austin and Pickersgill was explained by Tony Carty (chairman) and Peter Callaghan (secretary):

'Our members are on strike in defence of their jobs.'

'Management want to cut the labour force to below the level that is required to build the multi-million pound order we have for Danish ferries.'

'Sunderland Shipbuilders introduced sub contract work into the yards without consultation or agreement.'

'Management are seeking to change long-standing

overtime agreements without using the national avoidance of dispute procedure.

'It is wrong to make men compulsorily redundant and at the same time to bring in sub-contractors to do their work.'

Prepared steel work brought in by management without agreement has included hatches, steel doors, lifting attachments, pipe covers and cable carriers.

The management plan is to sub-contract steel manufacture outside the yard, leaving the workforce to install it.

The crunch came when the shipyard bosses announced that they were laying off 50 men without pay because they refused to accept the impositions placed on them by the company.

A strike earlier this year over a similar issue resulted in a stand-off with the men being taken back on.

The shop stewards in Sunderland's Austin and Pickersgill yard are prepared for a long and bitter battle.

Stewards have already informed management that the next mass meeting is not until December 17.

Committees have been organised to deal with DHSS claims, picketing and the collection of finance.

● Donations can be sent to: Shop stewards, Austin and Pickersgill, c/o Lynas House, Frederick Street, Sunderland.



Labourites back Orange bigot

THE Midlothian Constituency Labour Party has rejected a ruling by Neil Kinnock's national executive cutting councillor Sam Campbell's indefinite suspension to six months.

The party suspended Campbell after he spoke at an Orange Order rally, describing Catholics as 'the enemy', and called for the closure of Catholic schools. Campbell also appealed to Protestants to withhold TV licence fees because of alleged Catholic influence on TV programmes.

Campbell apologised publicly, resigned from being convenor of Midlothian District Council and also from membership of the Orange Order. But he remains a councillor — and his appeal against indefinite suspension was upheld both by an appeals committee meeting in Edinburgh, and now by the national executive.

Approach

This lenient approach towards religious bigotry by the Labour leadership, combined with their witch-hunt against the left, shows the politics of a future Labour government. It will work hand-in-hand with religious sectarians, and with the loyalist bigots in the north of Ireland.

Midlothian constituency, unlike the NEC, are taking a firm line against Campbell.

'In the interests of the party locally, and our communities, we cannot, regretfully, comply with the decision of the national executive committee to restore the Whip to Council Campbell in February 1987 and the prohibition on continuing with any further disciplinary action.'

'We will be requesting an urgent meeting with representatives of the NEC to reconsider the matter when all facts relating to the question are available.'

consequence of a reduction of money from central government.

Space does not permit me to go through all the experiences in Brent, but it suffices to say that on no occasion was any attempt made to bring onto the scene the enormous forces that exist and are brought together on estates, within the unemployed, community groups, and workers.

All these sections wish to see hospitals and services open. They are limited in the means by which to do it, and have no thorough perspective of taking any fight through to the end, based on all our previous experience of campaigns and strikes to stop closures of hospitals.

Neasden: last patients removed

A PICKET failed to stop the removal of the last patients from Neasden Hospital in Brent, West London, last week.

The picket was called by NUPE members and the Brent Health Emergency campaign.

The fight to stop the closure of Neasden Hospital ended when the last patients were removed in a privately hired coach.

Ambulance crews had refused to cross the picket.

Five pickets were arrested as they tried to stop the coach.

Neasden hospital is the second to be closed in Brent, the first being Leamington Park, Park Royal.

If a third closure was announced tomorrow by the District Health Authority, a successful fight to keep open any hospital would have to be on a completely different basis.

A few years ago it might have been the case that a lot of publicity and a great deal of shouting had the effect of forcing a retreat.

But this has not been the experience of the campaign to keep open Leamington Park and Neasden hospitals, or anywhere else for that matter.

Appeals were made early on to the District Health Authority, and at one stage it looked as if they might refuse to implement cuts as a

FUNERAL GUARD



SOUTH AFRICA: A youth leader with a wooden gun guards the coffin of S'Boniso Mchunu, killed during a clash with police after a meeting of the Metal and Allied Workers Union in Durban last month. An eye-witness told the South African 'Weekly Mail': 'I saw no riotous workers. The meeting was peaceful until the police interfered. Teargas was fired and then several union members were shot with live ammunition.'

Problems of German left

BY TRUDI JACKSON

THE LEFT in the Federal Republic of Germany have got a problem. They don't know what 'the Left' is!

They know that they are the Left themselves but the question remains, where does the Left orient itself?

Towards this end, a meeting in Frankfurt last month attempted to provide a platform.

Amongst those attending were about 500 former members of the SDS (Socialist German Student Federation, which dissolved itself at the beginning of the 1970s), including its most famous figure, Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

From the outset of the three-day congress a contradiction was sharply posed: 'There is a mass consciousness looking towards change and a Left which cannot provide it with a perspective.'

It was clear that how 'to agitate against prevailing thought', which the old guard of the 1968 student movement set out for, was still to be clarified.

Debate

The very serious general debate which ensued was not, however, without its humorous interludes.

For instance, a demand to replace Lenin's 'What Next?' with the question 'How are You?'

One report of the proceedings stated that the question the congress didn't even begin to get to grips with, was 'What is Going On?'

The speaker who received the loudest applause was Ulrich K. Preuss, a professor



Daniel Cohn-Bendit ('Danny the Red') surrounded by some of his present-day admirers — all looking equally puzzled!

of jurisprudence from Bremen.

He criticised all bourgeois or socialist models of the State, including the welfare state, and outlined a vague concept of an 'ecological state' which contained the historical perspective of the religious notion 'deliverance of society from itself'.

Task

To get there, he maintained, the task would be to constitute a society which wasn't geared to production, because that had the same meaning as to destroy; and which did not desire any further growth, as that meant extinction.

Preuss therefore demanded a 'culture of dissent; of experiment; of heterogeneity'.

For the time being the basis of this 'ecological theory of democracy' was to be 'uncertainty as a base for all theoretical thinking and political action'.

In the 1960s, the SDS claimed to preserve the inheritance of Marxism within the political discussion of the FDR.

At the time it was possible to do battle with the strong and self-confident SPD (Social Democratic Party) and their Godesberger Programme.

Mercedes strike

QUESTION: Which group of workers rolled up during their last strike for their free meals at the strike centre in pristine new Mercedes?

ANSWER: The IG Metal workers at the Mercedes Benz factory in Stuttgart!

The last strike obtained for workers throughout West German engineering factories a reduction in their working week to 38 hours. Now IG Metal, their union, is demanding the working week be reduced to 35 hours with a maximum number of overtime hours of ten.

IG Metal have threatened selective strikes if their demands are not met. Similar tactics left the automobile industry paralysed in 1985.

FEAR BEHIND MUBARAK TRIP

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

FEARS of more serious unrest among Egypt's working class and poor are behind a trip that President Husni Mubarak is making to Europe.

Economic issues are likely to have been the major topic in three days of talks in Paris. It was the first state visit by an Egyptian president to France.

Mubarak was going on to West Germany and Rumania.

With badly depleted foreign earnings and crippling debts, the Egyptian government is trying to negotiate \$1 billion in credits from the International Monetary Fund, with French backing. A deal with the IMF is needed before major creditors will consider rescheduling debts.

Mubarak remembers only too well the response to austerity measures taken ten years ago by his predecessor, Sadat, to meet the requirements of the IMF and American banks.

After food price rises were announced in January 1977, thousands of workers from the Helwan industrial area marched on Cairo, where they were joined by masses of students and the urban poor in demonstrations against the government.

Poor people turned angrily on the big stores, posh restaurants and rich people's

night clubs, setting fire to the latter. The army had to be called in to help the police put down the revolt.

The Sadat regime had to retreat on the price rises, while arresting left-wing opponents.

Any repetition today could be more serious. For one thing, Arab oil states which helped bail out Sadat no longer have the same oil revenues to draw on. For another, the mutinies among Egypt's low-paid conscripts last year show the security forces could not be relied upon not to go over to the workers.

Last month, disagreements over IMF demands for more austerity measures led to Mubarak appointing a new prime minister, Atef Sidki. Both Mubarak and his prime minister have said they will not impose intolerable burdens on the people.

The economic crisis is compounded by the Middle East political situation, with militant Arab nationalists pledged to overturn Egypt's pro-imperialist regime, right-wing Arab states in disarray over the US-Iran arms deals, and the PLO resurgence.

Mubarak's inclusion of Romania on his itinerary could indicate an attempt to rebuild bridges with the Soviet bloc, so as to secure Stalinist help for his government's stability.

IMF BACKS CHINA POLICIES

BY TOM KEMP

that the drive for faster growth has produced numerous difficulties including inflation, a rapid increase in imports and a fall in foreign exchange reserves.

Deng claims that China has opened the window to let in the fresh air. But there is something of a stench at the same time: the 'microbes', as Deng himself put it, of self-seeking and money-grubbing. The low theoretical level of many of the cadres has become notorious, as has their arrogance and contempt for the masses.

Giving more power to plant managers and allowing enterprises to make their own contracts with suppliers and with marketing organisations may get better results in the short run. But in the end they meant the disruption of the planned economy and the opening up of the country to foreign capitalist influences.

The pretence of workers' participation has been abandoned and privately-owned enterprises have grown in importance. No less than 11.7 million people are working in the private sector in China, many virtually Hong Kong-style sweatshops. Some of the funds for these enterprises come from fraudulent activities in the public sector, made easier now that centralised control has been relaxed.

On paper the cadres are not supposed to have any part in family firms in the private sector, but the press is full of cases of abuse by cadres and their relations.

Undoubtedly a struggle is now going on in China between the 'modernisers' who, consciously or not, are following the capitalist road and the 'traditionalists' or

THE so-called modernisation programme inaugurated in China by Deng Xiaoping has received the full and enthusiastic backing of the International Monetary Fund.

In a press release dated 12 November, the fund announced that Beijing had been granted a standby loan equivalent to 597 million Special Deposit Receipts (a form of international credit devised by the Fund). This will enable imports to be increased in the coming year.

In making this announcement the IMF welcomed changes in economic policy which 'had considerably expanded the decision-making authority of individuals and enterprises and reduced state intervention in economic activity'.

This endorsement comes as no surprise. The road towards agreement with imperialism and the opening up of the Chinese market to capitalist penetration was initiated by Mao Tse-tung at the time of the agreement with President Richard Nixon while US bombs were raining down upon Hanoi.

The policy of giving more scope for individual incentive has proved to be entirely reactionary. In many regions it has virtually meant the end of collective agriculture and has resulted in peasant discontent. In urban areas all sorts of petty trading and dealing now flourish.

This is the year of the Tiger, but the tiger's wrath is obviously turned against the toiling masses while the beast is lying down peacefully with the rapacious representatives of capital.

In fact, the IMF loan reflects the fact that the modernisation programme is running into trouble. Not least is the growth of corrupt practices by the Party cadres — another source of popular discontent.

It has had to be admitted

WORLD NEWS

West Bank youth defy 'Iron Fist'

A YOUNG girl shot for 'inciting fellow-students to demonstrate' was the latest casualty of Israeli repression in the occupied West Bank and Gaza — the notorious 'Iron Fist' — last week.

At Bir Zeit University, near Ramallah, where troops had killed two students the previous week, over 1,000 students held a rally defying the occupiers, and chanted: 'Reagan, Reagan, you should know, we support the PLO!'

Carrying Palestinian flags, they marched into Bir Zeit town, where the old part of the university has been closed by the Israelis.

Youths as young as 12 have been shot by the army as the unrest spread through the West Bank and Gaza areas. Young Palestinians are opposing Zionist colonisation plans, and demonstrating solidarity with PLO fighters in Lebanon.

IMF price rise sparks Zambia riots

Food price rises, due to President Kaunda's government falling in with International Monetary Fund (IMF) demands, brought riots in Zambia's copper belt last week.

A dozen people were killed as police opened fire on crowds in the main towns, Kitwe and Ndola. A dusk to dawn curfew was imposed. From outlying districts there were reports that people had attacked the homes of officials of the ruling United National Independence Party.

Subsidies

To conform to an IMF programme, the government removed subsidies on maize. Maize meal is Zambia's staple food. The riots came after 100-per cent price rises were announced. Although low-grade meal has not yet gone up, stores have been accused of holding back supplies to profit from selling the higher-priced meal.

How's your Deutsch, Espanol, etc.?

THE Workers' Revolutionary Party's international links are growing. Every week we get mail and papers from comrades around the world. Workers Press wants to expand and improve its international coverage. We are particularly interested in exchanging news and articles with other Trotskyist and workers' papers around the world.

You might be able to help.

We receive publications in Danish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Magyar, Polish, Sinhala, Spanish, Tamil. If you can read and translate these or any other languages — Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, Hebrew, Japanese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Swedish, Vietnamese? — you could help with translations and research.

If you can help, please contact: Workers Press International Desk, 21b Old Town, Clapham SW4. 01-733 3058.

REAGAN'S TERRORISTS: WORLD NETWORK AIDS CONTRAS

CIA ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

THE row over secret US arms deals and backing for right-wing terrorist groups escalated last week with the news that the CIA has organised a huge airlift of weapons to South Africa.

This came after former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane gave sworn testimony that President Reagan had known all about an August 1985 arms shipment to Iran via Israel, and authorised it.

White House press spokesman Larry Speakes commented only that the President was studying the documents and 'refreshing his memory' on the affair!

The arms for South Africa, reported to include 40 tons of machine guns and nearly 20 tons of rocket launchers, may be going to the South African-backed Unita guerrillas fighting in Angola.

President Reagan had talks with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Washington earlier this year. CIA director William Casey then made secret trips to South Africa to organise the arms supplies.

A report in 'The Independent' on Tuesday, December 9 said three flights to South Africa had come to light: 40 tons of machine guns were to be flown from San Pedro Sula in Honduras, via Barbados or St. Lucia, the Cape Verde islands and Windhoek, Namibia.

Nearly 20 tons of rocket launchers were to be flown from Switzerland. An airlift of arms from Brussels to Johannesburg took place recently.

These arms deliveries are

in breach of both international and US law. But that is unlikely to stop the CIA or the Reagan administration. Reagan has made his administration a haven for the 'loony right' and the centre of right-wing intrigue and terrorism around the globe.

Contras

The Iran arms deal row and the exposure of continued US backing for the right-wing contras fighting Nicaragua has shown the 'born-again' president's regime lying to its own people and the rest of the world to maintain massive support for ruthless killers.

Millions of dollars from the Iran deal were paid into a secret Swiss bank account controlled by Reagan aide Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North for such purposes as funding the Contras.

Last week it was also disclosed that the Sultan of oil-rich Brunei was persuaded to cough up almost \$10 million for North's contra fund. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrahams made the initial request, and Secretary of State Schultz approved.

The aid was supposed to be for 'humanitarian' purposes, but officials concede that once the money passed into Colonel North's account it was most likely spent on weapons.

Now North tearfully pleads the 'Fifth Amendment' over the Iran-Contra

affairs while right-wing congressmen praise him as a national hero for his part in the invasion of Grenada.

Sacked by the Carter administration for 'insubordination', North gained prominence in Reagan's National Security Council, getting around the Congress decision to cut Contra aid by organising a 'private' fund for the purpose.

Network

Among his helpers was retired Major general John K. Singlaub, who commanded a US Special Operations Group during the Vietnam war. A couple of years ago, Singlaub became chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

This network of Nazis, Moonies, mercenaries and



Col. NORTH

Conservative students enjoys massive funding from Taiwan, South Korea and Saudi Arabia as well as from right-wing millionaires in the United States itself.

The US chapter boasted of having raised \$400,000 for the contras earlier this year.

While the WACL provides international links, big money, and propaganda,

Singlaub's old comrades from the Special Operations Group like Robert K. Brown — now editing the mercenary magazine 'Soldier of Fortune' — and Major General Heine Aderholt, provide specialist expertise.

In Boulder, Colorado, they set up an 'Institute for Regional and International Studies' — in reality a training school for mercenaries and contras.

In Florida, Major-General Aderholt runs the Air Commando Association which flies supplies to contra bases in Central America.

In May 1984, just as Congress was deciding to halt official US aid to the contras, Major Generals Singlaub and Aderholt were on a panel advising the US Defence Department. Singlaub later boasted of Pentagon help in moving military hardware and mercenaries.

Reagan himself took the decision to get around Congress by using such bodies as the WACL. A 'Washington Post' report last year said the President took advice from National Security aide Robert McFarlane, who led the Iran arms deal mission.

At WACL's convention in Dallas in October 1985 there was a message of greetings from Reagan. Salvador's far right ex-president Robert D'Aubuisson, — 'Major Blowtorch' from his days running death squads — was appointed to head a 'political institute', showing the organisation's attention to Central America.

Unita members from Angola were also present.

In Britain, the World Anti-Communist League's representatives have included well-known racist Lady



SINGLAUB

Birdwood and Don Martin, of the antisemitic League of Rights.

Another British link however comes in the shape of the Federation of Conservative Students, whose leader David Hoile went to visit Contras camps, and organised a pro-Contra conference in London last week.

The Tory students, who upset Party leaders by calling Lord Stockton a 'war criminal' and whom Tebbit has sought to disown, say they will be joining the US Young Conservative Foundation.

Linked with the far-right Heritage Foundation, this has become the youth section of the WACL. It was Major-General Singlaub who brought them in.

Last week, Secretary of State Schultz and Attorney-General Meese flew to Britain to brief Tory ministers on the 'Contragate' affair and its implications, ready for a full NATO meeting.

Worried though they may be over the effects of the Iran deal's exposure on Middle East relations, the Tories remain Reagan's most loyal and servile allies. Reagan's secret arms deals, military intrigues, and links with rabid right-wing warmongers should determine the labour movement on two things:

- Instead of Kinnock's apologetic attempt to keep in with Washington, we should insist that US forces be thrown out of Britain.

- The airlifts of arms to South Africa show the uselessness of relying on capitalist governments to carry out sanctions. Workers' sanctions and direct action are what is needed to halt the death trade!

Pro-Contra rally in London

RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS from several countries, aiming to co-ordinate support for CIA-backed 'Contra' forces in Nicaragua, met in London's Barbican Centre last weekend.

Contra political wing leader Arturo Cruz and Charles Liechtenstein, research fellow at America's well-heeled ultra-right wing Heritage Foundation were among main speakers at this so-called 'Conference for a Free Nicaragua.'

Several delegates sported South African flag-badges.

Outside the hall, about 300 supporters of Nicaragua demonstrated against the right-wing jamboree.

Inside, only a small fraction of the predicted 200 right-wing youth leaders from Conservative Parties all over Europe appeared to have turned up.

There were about 100 police to guard them and keep left-wing demonstrators away.

Invitations had been sent to various British government ministers to take part, but they did not surface.

David Hoile, former vice-chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students, was said to have initiated the conference and spoke along with Michael Waller of Young Americans for Freedom.

Mark Gordon, one of the organisers of the conference, said it was being funded by 'private individuals and businessmen who are unwilling to reveal their names'.

The campaign appears inseparable from the CIA's funding of publicity campaigns to build international support for the Contras.

Last year it was revealed that former members of Colonel Jordan's British Nazi movement were recruiting mercenaries in this country for the Contras.

US government officials have disclosed that the CIA helped fund pro-Contra campaigns throughout Latin America and Europe.

David Hoile has been a consistent pro-Contra propagandist since getting himself photographed posing with a Kalashnikov rifle during a visit to a Contras camp.

His latest initiative fits reports that the Federation of Conservative Students intend linking with the American Young Conservative Foundation, part of the World Anti-Communist League.

Strikes protest S. Africa expulsions

AFRICAN workers staged lightning strikes at a number of plants last week to protest the racist regime's deportation order on union officer Christine Bonner.

Bonner, British-born Transvaal secretary of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, was being sought by police so they could serve the order.

Her husband Dr. Philip Bonner, a professor of history at Witwatersrand University and editor of the South African Labour Bulletin, was in custody pending deportation.

The Chemical Workers' union said thousands of its members had walked out on Tuesday, mainly in the Transvaal. The union would now take 'concerted action', probably a national strike, a spokesperson said.

Grenada death sentences

Fourteen former leaders of the Grenadan New Jewel Movement (NJM) and soldiers were sentenced to death in a courtroom set up inside Richmond Hill prison on Friday 5 December.

The trial has been denounced by NJM spokesman as a kangaroo court and the sentences as judicial murder.

Grenada's former attorney Richard Hart said: 'Few, if any, trials in history have equalled the Grenada murder trial in terms of violations of the rights of the accused, disregard for the law, disregard for the principles of natural justice, hostile bias of the judge and jury, and prejudicial reports and comments in the local and international media before and during the proceedings.'

'It is no exaggeration to describe this so-called trial as a travesty of justice.'

The island of Grenada is now run by a pro-imperialist stooge regime following the invasion by American forces after Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was ousted and then killed on October 19, 1983.

Bishop, who had been im-

prisoned in a stockade, was released by his supporters and then led a march on the capital.

Troops opened fire killing many. Bishop was captured and executed by a firing squad.

Army commander General Austin Hudson declared martial law but was soon toppled by a massive invasion of American forces that had clearly been planned for some time and took advantage of the turmoil.

During the trial, which took place in the prison where the accused were held, witnesses gave evidence that contradicted their original statements.

Much of the prosecution's case rested on an account of an NJM Central Committee meeting said to have been held at Fort Frederick on October 19, where it was alleged the call was made for Maurice Bishop's death.

But when one of the late

Prime Minister's security guards testified at the preliminary hearings that there had been no such meeting, he was simply dropped as a witness.

The accused were not properly represented, so could not call this man as witness for the defence.

In fact, for much of the trial, the accused were not all present. When later they asked for a summary of evidence given against them so they could reply, the judge refused.

The official Registrar, insisting on compliance with local Statutes governing selection of juries, was dismissed, and replaced with a barrister who two days before had been in the prosecution team.

When defence lawyers walked out in protest at the proceedings, the hand-picked jury stood up and heckled them, showing hostility before the trial had even started.

The defendants said they had been tortured to sign confessions.

Those condemned included former deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and his wife Phyllis, Mobilisation Minister Selwyn Strachan, Ambassador to Cuba Leon Cornwall, Deputy Interior Minister Liam James, trade union leader John Ventour, junior ministers Colville



MAURICE BISHOP

McBarnette and Dave Bartholomew.

Also condemned were Austin Hudson and soldiers accused of shooting Bishop and ten others.

Coard told the court: 'I am

Release Brutan Perera!

THE SRI LANKAN government is now claiming that Brutan Perera, member of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, was involved in a bank robbery.

This is supposed to justify his continued detention and the refusal of bail.

The 'robbery' story is being used internationally, but inside Sri Lanka it is seen throughout the workers' movement as a crude attempt to cover a political arrest.

Perera is presently under-

confident that international bodies and organisations and the Grenadan people sooner or later will conduct a serious investigation into the conduct of the so-called trial.

Liam James said: 'For some this trial has come to an end, but for history, this trial has only just begun.'

Present Grenadan law is based on the former colonial laws, without the accused being able to appeal to the Privy Council or the East Caribbean Court.

The trial is being used to eliminate the leadership of the NJM and is a further attack on the self-determination of the Grenadan people. Only they have the right to determine justice.

stood to be in good physical condition, but recently Amnesty International has reported on the brutality of the Jayawardene regime to its prisoners, who include a number of leftists and Tamils.

- The Workers Revolutionary Party has called a picket on Saturday December 20 to demand the release of Perera outside the Air Lanka offices, 6-10 Bruton Street, London W1, between 11a.m. and 4p.m.

THE IRISH DIVORCE REFERENDUM

NOTE: For a series of technical reasons this article has been held up for some time. But given the importance of the issues raised it has been decided to publish it.

THE dust has now settled after the debacle of the divorce referendum in the 26 counties of Ireland, but I cannot let Gerry Downing's very superficial analysis ('The Divorce Fiasco', Workers Press, 5 July 1986) of the outcome go unquestioned.

His parroting of the entirely predictable loyalist shrieks of 'Home Rule', to justify their resistance to any contact with 26 county government representatives, is unworthy of one who calls himself a Marxist and an anti-imperialist.

The reasons for the apparent landslide between the opinion poll carried out only weeks before the referendum — a comfortable majority of 'yes' votes to a large majority of 'no' votes — were much more complex.

In the first place, the opinion poll asked a straight question: 'Are you in favour of divorce?' The answers were a genuine reflection of the feeling in the country.

The referendum, on the other hand, fudged the issue by introducing conditions, proof of marital breakdown for five years, submission to reconciliation counselling and machinery for financial settlements.

The result was that many people who had answered 'yes' to the straight question found themselves saying 'no' to the small print, which could have been argued over in parliament after the basic issue had been decided.

The result has to be seen in the context of the political contradictions in a parti-

BY MAIRE O'SHEA

tioned country with a Dublin government committed to wooing the loyalists to support an Anglo-Irish Accord which had not delivered any of the promised reforms of the repressive system in the six counties and facing defeat at the polls for its vicious anti-working-class policies.

A 'yes' vote was seen by many as a vote for the coalition government. Some saw the referendum only as a distraction from mass unemployment and emigration.

The Fitzgerald government propaganda on the mass media was class biased, opportunist and so defensive and low key as to raise doubts about the will to win the referendum.

The emphasis was on two arguments: firstly the need for divorce to reassure the loyalists and to demonstrate Irish Catholics' tolerance of the attitudes of Protestant loyalists. 'Sod the loyalists,'

people were heard to say. 'Why should we have divorce to please them?'

The other argument was the need for compassion for the thousands of Catholics in the 26 counties who had failed in marriage, many of whom were 'living in sin'.

This made many people feel that by voting 'yes' they would identify themselves with the inadequate failures stigmatised by 'holier than thous'.

There was no public demand for divorce as a civil right to be made available to all Irish people and no appeal to working-class women who stood to gain most from divorce.

Failed

The Fianna Fail party did not campaign nationally for fear of spoiling its election prospects, though Fianna Fail TDs in the cities were allowed to campaign for a 'yes' vote.

Thus a 'yes' vote was seen by many as a vote for the unpopular Fitzgerald government.

The anti-divorce campaign was organised by an English woman, a seasoned campaigner with a successful campaign against abortion under her belt and apparently unlimited financial resources.

It was populist, gutsy, manipulative and unprincipled and used slogans which played on fears of abandonment and penury, guilt feelings about self-indulgence and disloyalty to the family.

Statistics from other coun-

tries were manipulated to present a picture of destruction of family life and irreparable damage to children and the destabilisation of society.

Placards screamed: 'You will be forced to divorce'.

From the pulpits some priests threatened with eternal damnation all those who dared to 'put asunder those whom God had joined together'. But bishops, fearing further alienation of their flock, issued a statement granting freedom to vote according to individual conscience.

Gerry Downing's naive assumption that the influence of the Church was responsible for the landslide against constitutional change betrays ignorance of Irish history.

Has he forgotten that whenever the Irish people have been faced with important issues directly affecting their lives, they have been prepared to defy the Church?

The tenant farmers pursued the struggle against absentee English landlords to a successful conclusion in the 19th century in the face of the Vatican's condemnation.

Excommunication for membership of the IRA by a number of bishops did not lead to desertions from the IRA during the war of independence.

Crisis

In his article, Gerry Downing trivialises the greatest political crisis since the establishment of the 26 county state: that of 1951. Noel Browne was forced to resign from the Ministry of Health when he refused to introduce a means test into the mother and child health service.

Contrary to the impression given in Gerry Downing's article, the mother and child health service was not a mere matter of maternity benefits.

Send a Christmas card to the prisoners of the British state!

Two printers and the three Irish prisoners on remand face their first Christmas in jail, and all the prisoners are separated from their friends and families.

It was to have provided a comprehensive health service for mothers and children, not only free at the time of delivery, as in the case of the National Health Service in Britain, but also paid for out of Exchequer funds, not by the contributions of the working class.

It was planned in order to reduce the disastrously high infant mortality rate, due as much to the existing two-tier health service as to bad social conditions.

The Irish medical association, representing doctors who earned most of their profits from the service to mothers and children, put the government under pressure to introduce a means test to protect the private sector.

The support of the bishops, themselves tax payers, was enlisted to prevent the introduction of a revolutionary and urgently needed service and the removal from office of a minister already popular for ending the scourge of TB by establishing a comprehensive free TB service.

Soon after the resignation of Noel Browne, he and his



Maire O'Shea

three supporters in parliament brought down the government by voting with Fianna Fail.

When the crisis was looming, a women's committee was set up in Dublin to campaign for the mother and child service and got the support of large numbers of ordinary working-class women as well as Republican socialists and middle-class liberals.

A street meeting in the city centre attracted huge crowds. Thousands of letters poured into the press and to the committee from women who had suffered from lack

of the mass latent support for social progress among the Irish people, if effectively mobilised, can never be suppressed by the Catholic Church.

Irish socialists in Britain must not collude with the anti-Irish racists within the British labour movement who use the power of the Catholic Church over Irish people as an excuse for failing to support Irish unity and independence and the demand for British withdrawal from Ireland.

During the century and a half of penal laws, only the hope for a better life in the hereafter could comfort a people bereft of all hope of a better life on earth.

By setting up the ecclesiastical college at Maynooth in the 19th century, the British bought the allegiance of the Catholic hierarchy, which has ever since tried to suppress any movement posing an effective threat to the British state and to impede social progress.

Partition forced on Ireland by Britain set up two sectarian states and prevented the emergence of class politics and a strong left-wing movement capable of mobilising support for social issues like the proposed change in the constitution to make divorce available.

Industrial

However, due to the massive shift of population from the countryside to the cities and large towns over the past 40 years there is now a large industrial proletariat faced with mass unemployment to which the Church has no answers.

The replacing of the overt authoritarianism of the Church in the past with the more covert, defensive manoeuvres which typified its anti-divorce campaign, demonstrated awareness of the progressive alienation from the Church of the youngest population in Europe.

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.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES:
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.
ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.
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.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

WORMWOOD SCRUBS

DONAL CRAIG: 4 years.

LIVERPOOL

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.

WANDSWORTH

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

DURHAM

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

REMAND PRISONERS: BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.
MICHAEL J MCKENNEY: L46486
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE: L48616
REMAND PRISONER: WORMWOOD SCRUBS
HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE
LIAM QUINN: L49930

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.

DEMO AGAINST SOCIAL WELFARE CUTS IN DUBLIN

BY PAT CORCORAN
Peoples Democracy Supporter

ON Saturday November 29, 3,000 marched in Dublin in protest against the Irish government's latest social welfare cutbacks.

They have been introduced under the guise of 'Equality Legislation' which is supposed to give men and women equal entitlement to benefit.

The first phase of the legislation was introduced in May 1986. Married women in receipt of unemployment or disability (sickness) benefit received an increase of £5 per week and entitlement to unemployment benefit was extended by three months. This was the good news.

The second phase of the legislation took effect from November 19 1986. This was supposed to eliminate a married woman's status as a dependant of her husband. This means married women can claim unemployment assistance in their own right.

However the department of social welfare now classify both partners as dependants. Therefore each will be paid half the full rate plus half of the adult dependant

rate. This cheats many families out of £10 per week and makes a mockery of the concept of equality.

Prior to the second phase's implementation, married men in receipt of unemployment or disability benefit were entitled to claim an increase in benefit for their wives and children regardless of whether their wives were working or in receipt of benefit.

Under the new legislation families where the wife was working and earning more than £50 per week would lose £26 per week benefit for the wife plus half the benefit for any children.

As the cuts were implemented there was an explosion of anger amongst



The Dublin march against social welfare cutbacks

those receiving social welfare. The coalition government which has a tiny majority came under tremendous pressure.

Two Labour Party TDs (members of parliament) threatened to vote against the government in the Dail on a motion relating to the cutting of the Christmas bonus to social welfare recipients.

Under this pressure the government buckled and introduced alleviating measures. But 20,000 families still stand to lose between £6 and £16.60 a week.

This U-turn by the cabinet

was enough to satisfy the Labour rebels and so the entire Labour Parliamentary Party voted to cut the Christmas Bonus.

The march was organised by the Dublin Council of Trade Unions. However the bureaucracy did nothing to organise for the march with the result that only a few trade unions were officially represented.

The biggest contingents marched behind the banners of unemployed action groups and those of Sinn Fein.

At the end of the march the crowd was treated to pious platitudes from the

bureaucracy on how they were not going to tolerate more cutbacks.

John Carroll, president of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions crowed about how the coalition could last only another two months in office. But he said nothing of the alternative that needs to be built.

If the coalition is defeated the government will be formed by Fianna Fail, the major bourgeois nationalist party.

It would adopt a less monetarist approach and would be more amenable to concessions to the bureaucracy. So they prefer to see it returned

to office rather than attempt to build a genuine workers' party.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions carries a heavy responsibility in this area. It is up to the ICU to open up a debate in the trade union movement on the political needs of the working class and to call a conference open to all workers to plan the way forward.

Such a conference would provide a forum for Irish revolutionaries to intervene. The revolutionary party will not be built from any one group. It will be forged by the coalescing of all forces who are fighting against cutbacks and state repression both north and south.



Speakers after the Dublin march in front of the Council of Trades Unions banner

No pledge from Kaufman

'PLEDGE to release the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six if you become Home Secretary!'

That was the demand addressed to Gerald Kaufman MP at his Manchester constituency surgery last Friday.

Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee sent a delegation of four to speak to Kaufman while a dozen people displayed placards outside and spoke to other visitors.

Kaufman told the lobby that he had read the books on the cases by Robert Kee and Chris Mullin, and that he was concerned about the cases of these prisoners and of the Maguires.

However, he would not agree that the framed prisoners were innocent, or

guarantee that they would be released if he became Home Secretary.

He claimed that to make such commitments would jeopardise his position — and he could say nothing until he had seen the records in the Home Office.

Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee is glad that Kaufman is paying attention to the cases, especially after the recent television programmes which completely discredited the evidence against the prisoners.

But Kaufman's position shows he is anxious not to upset the judges.

His main concern is a Labour victory, not the release of innocent prisoners framed because they are Irish.

LABOUR ON IRELAND: NO CHANGE

PETER ARCHER, Labour Party front bench spokesman on Northern Ireland, has stated that he is in favour of three judges instead of one presiding over the no-jury courts in the occupied six Counties.

He further stated that a future Labour Government would continue the pro-imperialist Hillsborough agreement, the so-called Anglo-Irish agreement.

He also added that the future status of Northern Ireland (the occupied six counties) would remain a part of Britain for as long as the Protestant majority in the six counties wanted it.

In other words a future Labour Government will maintain the illegal partition and occupation of Ireland.

It will keep the British Army of occupation in Ireland and will maintain the

A Labour Government will maintain its bi-partisan policy on Ireland

bi-partisan policy of all previous Labour and Tory Governments.

It is clear that any future Labour Government will adhere to the wishes of the minority in Ireland, vociferously led and represented by the bigots such as Paisley and Robinson and aided and abetted by the more sinister neo-nazi loyalist para-military organisations such as the Ulster Defence Association, the Ulster Volunteer Force and the organisation called Ulster Clubs.

These bodies recently held a joint meeting in the Belfast city hall where they formed a new right wing umbrella organisation called Ulster Resistance.

Socialists in the Labour Party who support the withdrawal of British imperialism from Ireland have been

warned again about the policy a future Kinnock government will follow.

The Fitzgerald-led Coalition Government in Dublin is also in favour of three judges presiding over the no-jury courts in the six counties and have regular negotiations with Thatcher and King on this issue.

Deal

However a deal is possible because Fitzgerald and his Foreign Minister Peter Barry have said that in return for an increase in the number of judges their Government will make changes in the Republic's extradition laws ratifying the European Suppression of Terrorism Act in which IRA and INLA suspects will be handed over to the British police.

Alice Glenn TD a member

of Fine Gael (Fitzgerald's party and the major partner in the coalition government) has resigned from the party over the extradition issue (Fitzgerald has claimed that he expelled her).

Glenn said that she wouldn't vote with the Government on the extradition question unless and until the frame-up cases of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Maguires and Judith Ward are thoroughly investigated and resolved by the British Government.

She is saying that no Irish person extradited to Britain could be guaranteed a fair trial and might similarly end up being framed by the British state unless the British Government is forced to come clean on the above cases.

To pretend that the three judge, no-jury court is an

improvement for the Nationalist community in the occupied six counties is to assume that a reform such as this is sufficient to clean up the anti-catholic image of the judicial system in the loyalist state.

During the past seventeen years especially, this judicial system has been used without mercy or any pretence of justice against the catholic community in order to try and smash their resistance to the jackboot tyranny of British rule in Ireland.

'Reforms'

Fitzgerald attempts to persuade Thatcher that such 'reforms' are necessary to convince the Catholic community that something is being done in their interest and that the Hillsborough Agreement has something to offer them.

However the prospect of ratifying the European Suppression of Terrorism Act could well have a decisive bearing on the forthcoming general election in the 26 counties.

This is especially so now that Sinn Fein has at its recent Ard Fheis (Conference) decided to end its absenteeism from and boycott of the Dublin Parliament.

Glenn's expulsion or resignation from Fine Gael means that Fitzgerald no longer has a majority in Parliament and an issue such as extradition could well bring his Government down.

Fitzgerald is due to have talks with the British Government this week while a debate in the Irish Dail (Parliament) over the proposed change will also be taking place.

THE PRINT

Printers picket TUC

LAST Monday sacked printworkers began a picket outside TUC headquarters at Congress House. The picket has been called because of the conflict between the TUC leaders and sacked printworkers, expressed in the General Council's decision not to support the printworkers. Six workers at a time will picket for an indefinite period. They are demanding a recalled TUC conference to expel the EETPU and to organise real support throughout the trade union movement.

Ron Gillem, sacked printworker from the Sun Printers' Chapel was stewarding the picket. He told Workers Press the picket was set up to make the TUC take action in support of the sacked printworkers who have been out for nearly a year.

Asked what action should be taken in relation to the EETPU Gillem said: 'Expel them from the TUC and take action against the AUEW officials who back them up — but there are engineers and electricians who do not support their leaders. 'These people have to be looked after, along with the printworkers.'



Women on the picket line

'Women Against Murdoch' (WAM) was formed only a few weeks ago but already it has made its presence felt at Wapping, not only on the picket line but at demonstrations as well.

Workers Press spoke to Pat Porter and her sister Debbie Rudd. Both have been active from the beginning of the dispute and are now playing their part in helping WAM.

We asked them about the future plans of WAM and the role of women in disputes in general.

'WAM was set up to raise funds and to support the sacked printworkers' families, also to build up financial and physical support in the struggle against Rupert Murdoch.

'WAM also allows women to express their views on the dispute and how it is affecting their everyday lives. Its aim is to be a listening ear to the many problems everyone is experiencing and to be a voice to publicise our dispute.'

'It also hopes to help assist financially in hardship cases and with organising demonstrations, like the one on December 13. We will also be organising a "Women-only Picket" evening in the near future.'

'Our stall at Wapping is

raising money so that we can buy Christmas presents for the children — they must not suffer because of the dispute,' Pat and Debbie both said.

'Our stall has become a centrepiece with the pickets and our supporters. They call there to buy some of our special bread pudding and our cheese or ham rolls. Some call just for a chat.'

'Many of the sacked printers will be feeling the pinch this Christmas and it is going to be hard having to tell the kids they won't be getting the new bike or any new clothes this year,' Pat and Debbie stated.

'Nevertheless we must keep our spirits high and look to the future and try and forget Murdoch on Christmas day and the bitterness he has instilled in our hearts.'

They stressed the importance of being seen to be as solid as ever in the New Year and insisted that women want to play an active role in the dispute, though they had

sharp comments about Brenda Dean.

'Dean seemed to support the cause. The sacked workforce felt confident she would bring the dispute to a quick end.'

'But she gave everyone false hopes by saying she was stopping the distribution of Murdoch's papers throughout the provinces and the rest of the country.'

'This she did not do, but faded away and accepted defeat. She did not count on the London branches standing as firm as they did.'

Pat and Debbie emphasised the role of women.

'Women are not satisfied with just staying at home worrying about their men. It is right that we should be at their side on the picket line.'

'Irrespective of gender, when you are demonstrating either on the picket line or on a demonstration you are another "body". And every woman knows, the more bodies you have the more effective the demonstration.'



'Star' comment

BY CHRIS McBRIDE

THE 'Morning Star' has failed to call for real solidarity action from Fleet Street workers.

The purpose of the sacking of the Wapping printworkers is like the attack on the miners — to smash the strength of the unions.

The Morning Star has constantly peddled the illusion that with 'pressure', the TUC will fight on behalf of the print unions.

Where will this 'pressure' come from? What will it lead to?

The 'Star' has correctly called for 'support from the rest

Pat Porter and her sister Debbie Rudd of Women Against Murdoch

of the trade union movement on national demonstrations.'

But printers must now demand that the SOGAT NEC and the leadership of the print union chapels stop the Fleet Street presses in support of the jailed NEC member.

DEMONSTRATE THIS SATURDAY
December 13

NATIONAL PRINT SUPPORT GROUPS DEMONSTRATION
Assemble Aldgate East tube station 8.30pm

WOMEN'S MARCH AGAINST MURDOCH
Assemble Butchers Row junction with Commercial Road 8.30pm

FREE MIKE HICKS! BR

ERS' FIGHT



Tony Richardson speaking at the Wapping march last Saturday



Our picture shows some of the 150 children at the Camden Printworkers Support Group Christmas party held last Sunday. The SOGAT singers provided light entertainment later in the evening for the sacked printworkers. Everyone joined in when they sang 'We'll raise the union banner triumphantly', a song from their successful Glasgow to Wapping march earlier in the dispute.

Wapping march condemns jailing

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

THE Wapping march last Saturday night saw the jailing of printers' leader Mike Hicks as a major attack by the state.

On Friday December 5, SOGAT '82 executive member Mike Hicks was jailed for four months on a charge of assaulting a policeman. (The sentence was one year with eight months suspended.)

At the meeting in the Highway at the end of the march, speaker after speaker condemned the jailing.

Tom Durkin, veteran trade unionist who spoke on behalf of Brent Trades Council, referred to the jailing of the Pentonville Five in 1972.

Mike Hicks had played a key role in getting printers out on strike in the wave of strikes that resulted in the five dockers leaders being released. Such a campaign was now needed to get Mike Hicks released.

Oxford Carworker Tony Richardson explained how the Trades Council had organised picketing of TNT depots in Oxford.

But he said he wanted to

bring some fraternal criticism: Mike Hicks's chapel should have been called on to strike and Fleet Street should have been out that night and joined the picket.

This received a good response. Richardson spoke of trade unionists like miners Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland who were in jail for life and Terry French who had received four years.

The EETPU had to be expelled and the TUC split if necessary if it was going to condone scabbing.

Bernie Steer, one of the Pentonville Five dockers, attacked the attitude of trade union leaders who stand back from the struggle using the excuse that once Kinnock is elected everything would be all right.

'The TUC should be acting in full support of the printers as its conference decided,' he said. 'The only way to get rid of the government is to take it on.'

The principled intervention of Tony Richardson, although well-received by the majority of the audience, clearly worried those so-called leaders who are trying to hold back the movement.



Printers march for Hicks

'FREE Mike Hicks' was the call of this week's 800-strong march (above) from the engineering union headquarters in London's Peckham to Brixton Prison where Hicks is serving a four-month sentence.

The jailing is a political decision aimed at undermining their principled struggle for jobs and trade union recognition at Wapping.

The marchers caught the police by surprise and were able to steward themselves for the first 45 minutes.

Sacked printworkers fe

the police presence was

strongest between Brixton's 'Front Line' and the prison.

Cries of support came from the pavement of Brixton's Black community who have been subjected to the same police violence as the printworkers.

A delegation from Lam-

both NALGO joined the march with their banner along the last stretch of road.

The march ended with a 'Duke of York' up and down the back of the prison, while the deafening sound of 'release Mike Hicks' rang in the air.

NG FLEET STREET OUT!

VIETNAM AND TROTSKYISM

United front versus 'peop

THIS week we present the second part of a Workers Press series on the history of the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam, one of the countries where the Fourth International won the leadership of decisive sections of the working class.

The Trotskyists played a major role in the Vietnamese revolution in 1945, when soviets mushroomed in Saigon and armed workers fought to prevent France re-establishing imperial control after the defeat of Japan in the second world war. The welcome extended to the 'allied' imperialists by the Vietnamese Stalinists, and the massacre of Trotskyists and others resisting the allies perpetrated by them, will be dealt with in future issues of 'Workers Press'.

This week we give an account of the rise of Vietnamese Trotskyism in the 1930s, by Simon Pirani. We are indebted to comrades of the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire (Workers Revolutionary League) in France, who collaborated with historical research that we have carried out.

MAY 22nd, 1930. Paris police broke up a demonstration by Vietnamese students, protesting against the massacre of nationalist insurgents in their country by the French colonial police.

Among those arrested were the Trotskyist student leaders, Ta Thu Thau and Phan van Chau, who were deported back to Saigon within a week.

Ta Thu Thau, born in 1906 in a poor but educated family, and active in Vietnamese nationalist circles in Paris from 1925, joined the International Left Opposition in 1929 and formed a Trotskyist group within the Annamite Independence Party.

The rapid growth of Ta Thu Thau's influence, and of the student paper 'Vanguard' which he edited, was not surprising.

In August 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International had rubber-stamped Stalin's disastrous policy of unconditional support for the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang in China, even after the massacre of the Chinese Communists at Shanghai and Canton.

Trotsky's searing criticism of Stalin's Chinese policy, of the 'stages theory' of revolution that had guided it, and of the 'socialism in one country' ideology with which it was bound up, was being disseminated by Trotskyists in Europe.

So was the news that, for opposing Stalin, the founder of the Red Army and co-leader of the Russian revolution, Trotsky, had been deported from Russia in January 1929.

The largest section of the Left Opposition outside Russia sprang into existence in China itself; the Indochinese section was also inspired largely by Trotsky's writings on the Chinese revolution.

Ta Thu Thau, and others who returned to Vietnam from Paris as convinced Trotskyists, were soon confronted with the need to develop a Marxist strategy in opposition to the opportunist zig-zags of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP).

The 1930-31 revolt

In May 1930 the country erupted. A slump in grain prices had hit the economy.

First came strikes in the textile factories, railways and rubber plantations; then a peasant revolt which rapidly escalated from peaceful protests to violent

attacks on municipal buildings and the killing of landlords.

The ICP, led by Nguyen Ai Quoc (later to be known as Ho Chi Minh), acted in accordance with the ultra-left 'third period' of Stalinist policy, i.e. the decree from Moscow that struggles for power had to be launched without delay.

As the peasant revolt declined under the hammerblows of the French colonialists, the Stalinists formed peasant soviets at Nghe-Tinh and Ha Tinh, which they claimed would be the basis for the seizure of power.

This adventurist project was drowned in blood as the French cracked down.

In total 10,000 people were killed and 50,000 deported to Poulo Condor, the island concentration camp.

A year of 'white terror' ensued throughout 1932, and the leaderships of Stalinist and Trotskyist organisations alike were decimated.

The Trotskyists likened the Indochinese CP's ultra-left policy to that of the Chinese CP in the 1927 Canton commune, during which they had made an equally disastrous bid for power on Moscow's instructions.

Their critique, and their call for the ICP to turn towards Vietnam's embryonic working-class movement instead of organising exclusively among the peasantry, won a sympathetic hearing among rank-and-file Stalinists.

VIETNAMESE workers' organisations were set up in France during and after the second world war by Trotskyists.

The French Trotskyists' opposition to 'popular front' politics, and their consistent defence of Vietnam's national rights, enabled them to recruit some of the best militants among the super-exploited and largely illiterate Vietnamese immigrant community.

When Hitler's armies conquered France, the Vichy regime subjected the majority of the 15,000 Vietnamese workers to militarised labour.

Working barefooted, eating a bowl of rice a day, and receiving less-than-subsistence wages, they soon rebelled with strikes and demonstrations.

Many of the Vietnamese interpreters — these were crucial, since most Vietnamese workers could neither speak German or French, nor could they read — sided



Viet Minh at time of British occupation after World War II

The Trotskyists' political strength, and the conditions of brutal colonial suppression, gave rise to an exceptional relationship between Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam during the 1930s.

The 'Struggle' Front

A 'united front' agreement reached between Ta Thu Thau's Left Opposition group and the Stalinists, to carry out joint electoral work and publish a joint legal newspaper called 'Struggle' ('La Lutte'), lasted for four years (1933-37).

Both sides maintained separate illegal organisations.

The other major Trotskyist tendency, the October group ('Thang Muoi'), led by Ho Huu Thuong, rejected such collaboration with the Stalinists and published an independent illegal newspaper in Vietnamese, 'The Spark' ('Tia Sang').

The first success of the 'Struggle' electoral front came in the April 1933 Saigon council elections, when the Stalinist Nguyen Van Tao

and the Trotskyist Tran Van Trach were both elected.

In May 1935, they regained their seats while another Trotskyist, Ta Thu Thau, and another Stalinist, Duong Bach Mai, joined the council.

But the Comintern was working to knock the Indochinese CP into line.

A key article in the French CP's journal indicated that the Indochinese CP was at odds with Moscow's line, and that 'such action is incompatible with the principle of democratic centralism, with iron discipline, and with the Comintern' (quoted in 'Marxism in South East Asia', ed. F. Trager, Stanford University 1960, p. 136).

The inherent message — that joint work with the Trotskyists had to be dropped — was spelled out more clearly in the months that followed.

At this time the Comintern was swinging from the ultra-left policies of the 'third period' to the class-collaborationist 'popular front' line, according to which the danger of fascism was to be staved off not by the independent mobilisation

of the working class, but by allying with middle-class and bourgeois 'democratic' forces.

In France, the Communist Party formed a 'people's front' together with the Socialist and Radical parties, which came to power in June 1936.

Marius Moutet of the Socialist Party was appointed Minister for the Colonies; in Indochina certain political liberties were granted.

Both Trotskyist groups seized the opportunity provided by these limited freedoms to carry out mass agitation in strike movements, campaigns against colonial repression and for the right to union organisation.

The Trotskyists were active, alongside the Stalinists, in more than six hundred 'action committees' of labour and peasant organisations set up at this time, and in the 'Indochinese Congress', a broad nationalist front.

But with the Comintern breathing down its neck, the ICP was embracing the

'popular front' policy — and the French imperialist 'popular front' government — wholesale. In July 1936 its Central Committee formally adopted the 'popular front' line.

An article in 'Communist International' warned critically: 'Sectarianism has not been completely eliminated ... (There are) too sharp attacks on the Constitutionists ...' (quoted in Trager, p. 140).

Acceptance of the 'popular front' meant abandoning the demand for national liberation, and falling in line with the French Communist Party policy of administering the French empire.

The justification for this, spelled out by French CP leader Maurice Thorez at the party's 1937 congress, was a claim that the interests of the colonial people were in a 'free, trusting and paternal' union with 'democratic' France; to forge this union was 'the mission of France all over the world' (quoted in Trager, p. 142).

In April 1937, the 'Struggle' candidates again came top of the Saigon poll.

Under Vichy France's jackboot

with the revolts.

Each of the imperialist powers hoped to use the Vietnamese workers to their own ends.

The Germans tried to win Vietnamese support on the grounds of a common interest against France; their attempts to recruit for an Indochinese branch of the SS were unsuccessful and only a small number of Vietnamese bourgeois nationalists would do business with them.

The French Stalinists, on the other hand, tried unsuccessfully to win support among the Vietnamese workers for De Gaulle's 'fight against fascism'.

While rejecting this policy, a number of Vietnamese, independently, did fight alongside the French resistance.

The Vietnamese Trotskyist Hoang Don Tri was meanwhile organising the militarised workers around defeatist policies of Vietnamese national independence.

He recalled: 'The vast

mass of Vietnamese and other immigrants well understood the French and British colonial oppression which they had previously experienced. They knew nothing of German, Italian or Japanese oppression — and even less of their barbarism.

'To make propaganda among the Vietnamese without denouncing French colonialism, under which they had suffered and been humiliated their whole lives, would get nowhere.

'They were only moved by, and mobilised around, anti-colonialist slogans.' (quoted in CERMTRI Notebooks no. 23, 'The Indochinese workers in France during the second world war', by B. Stora, Paris 1983, p.21).

Most of Hoang's propaganda work was done by word-of-mouth.

There were however some leaflets; one distributed in early 1943 explained that 'the anti-colonialist struggle and the anti-Nazi struggle is the same; oppression is not limited to one country; bar-

barism and savage exploitation are the doing of fascism, which exists in different proportions in all countries' (quoted in Stora, p. 24).

Hoang recalled: 'This propaganda of our internationalist beliefs created a movement in all the barracks and Vietnamese workers' camps.

'We brought the right message at the right time.' (Stora, p. 25).

Strikes

At the end of the war a strike wave engulfed France: the French Trotskyists led the main Renault factories out in opposition to the Stalinists, who were desperately working for the reconstitution of bourgeois democracy.

The Trotskyist-led Vietnamese workers' organisations, 15,000-strong, joined the movement and played an instrumental part in setting up the General Convention of the Indochinese in France, which defended and fought

for the immigrant workers' rights.

The first meeting of the General Convention in June 1945 passed a resolution stating:

'The revolutionary road doesn't stop at the point of the reconstruction of the trades unions, but proceeds straight to the building of autonomous organisations: action committees, soviets, which will push past the bureaucratic apparatus, which the social-traitors are trying to rebuild in order to block the mass movement.' (Stora, p. 29).

This perspective, of turning the post-war mass movements into social revolution, was not realised due to the treachery of the Stalinists.

But the movement around the General Convention had two important results: it strengthened the immigrant workers' organisations in France for years to come, and provided a number of cadres who returned to Vietnam to take part in the 1945 August revolution.

Part Two of a Workers Press series

le's front'

But the ICP was now set on a course of building a popular front of its own with the Vietnamese bourgeois parties, of conciliation with the colonial authorities, and of a breach with the Trotskyists.

In May 1937, the ICP launched a new paper, 'Vanguard', attacking the Trotskyists; simultaneously an anti-Trotskyist witch-hunt was instigated by the Popular Front government in Paris.

The 'Struggle' front was finally broken up in June 1937; the Trotskyists took control of the 'Struggle' newspaper, and Ta Thu Thau was jailed for two years for writing an editorial on the 'popular front of treason'.

The liberalisation policy of the Paris government disappeared as quickly as it had come a year before.

The police round-ups affected trades unionists, peasant leaders and even rank-and-file Stalinists, as well as the Trotskyists.

Before the War

The climax of Trotskyist activity in Vietnam came in the months before the outbreak of the second world war.

'The Spark' was appearing daily, and the 'Struggle' group were also producing a paper in Vietnamese, 'Tranh Dau'.

In April 1939, the Saigon council elections gave the 'Struggle' group an opportunity to test their policy — based on national liberation, land reform, and the struggle for socialism — against that of the ICP, who were calling for a 'broad national union' with the bourgeois parties, and support for 'democratic' French imperialism against fascist Japan.

In their 'Action Programme', the Trotskyists proclaimed opposition to all imperialist war preparations; direct action to force social legislation in Indochina including collective bargaining, a 40-hour week, and a sliding scale of wages; for the formation of action committees against the fascists; unconditional national independence; and 'alliances of workers, peasants and the middle classes in action committees, in factories, in neighbourhoods, among peasants and soldiers to prepare for the workers and peasants government' ('Struggle', April 14th, 1939).

The Trotskyists won over 80 per cent of the votes; the bourgeois parties shared the rest, and less than one per cent went to the discredited Stalinists, whose Saigon organisation split.

'You must be acquainted with the results of the colonial elections', wrote Phan Van Hum, Tran Van Thach and Ta Thu Thau to Trotsky in Mexico.

'Despite the shameful coalition of the bourgeoisie of all types and the Stalinists we have won a stunning victory

'We went to battle, the flag of the Fourth International widely unfurled.

'Our victory is one of the whole Fourth International over the bourgeoisie, naturally — but above all over their social democratic and Stalinist agents.

'We have faith in the final victory of the proletariat, that is, in the victory of the Fourth International.

The letter continued: 'Today, more than ever we understand the importance



Ta Thu Thau as a young man: he was deported back to Vietnam from Paris in 1930.

not only of the programme of the FI, but also of your struggle of 1925-28 against the theory and practice of socialism in one country, of your struggle against the Peasants' International, the Anti-Imperialist League, and other show committees, Amsterdam-Pleyel and others.'

'We want to say to you that even in this remote corner of the far east, in this backward country, you have friends who agree with you, comrades who struggle for that which you have devoted your life, for socialism, for communism,' concluded the letter ('Socialist Appeal', paper of the American SWP, August 11th 1939).

Trotsky was equally enthusiastic.

A few weeks later he wrote in his 'Open Letter to the Workers of India': 'In a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries, sections of the FI already exist and are making successful progress.

First place among them is unquestionably held by our section in French Indo-China, which is conducting an irreconcilable struggle against French imperialism and "People's Front" mystifications.'

After quoting from 'Struggle', Trotsky went on: 'Owing to their bold revolutionary politics, the Saigon pro-

letarians, members of the FI, scored a brilliant victory over the bloc of the ruling party and the Stalinists at the elections to the Colonial Council held in April of this year' ('Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-9', p. 39).

Ho Chi Minh, writing at the same time on 'The Party's Line in the Period of the Democratic Front', stated: 'For the time being, the Party can not put forth too high a demand (national independence, parliament, etc).

To do so is to enter the Japanese fascists' scheme. It should only claim for democratic rights . . .

'To reach this goal, the Party must strive to organise a broad Democratic National Front. This Front does not embrace only Indochinese people but also progressive French residing in Indochina, not only toiling people but also the national bourgeoisie.

'The Party must assume a wise, flexible attitude with the bourgeoisie, strive to draw it into the Front . . .

'There cannot be any alliance with or any concession to the Trotskyite group.

We must do everything possible to lay bare their faces as henchmen of the fascists and annihilate them politically . . . (quoted in 'Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam: A Spartacist pamphlet', p. 12).

The outbreak of war brought blanket repression from the French authorities; both Trotskyist and Stalinist organisations were subject to savage repression.

Ho Chi Minh sought refuge in Chiang Kai Shek's China, from where he organised the guerrilla forces which became the Vietminh.

Ta Thu Thau spent the war imprisoned at Poulo Condor, emerging, severely physically disabled, in 1945.

In that year, the year of Vietnam's August revolution, Ho's forces annihilated the Trotskyists — not politically, but physically.

NEXT WEEK: Vietnam's August 1945 revolution.



Papers of the two main Trotskyist groups in Vietnam: 'Tranh Dau' and 'Le Militant' from the late 30s.

Indian Workers paper writes on Moscow trials: Stalinist lies continue

BY PAUL HENDERSON

WHAT action can be taken on behalf of the dead of nearly 50 years ago — honourable communists, who still find themselves slandered and lied about in the pages of the Stalinist press?

Read *Lalkar*, organ of the Indian Workers Association (Great Britain), and this question springs before your eyes.

The October 1986 edition carries a three-page article (the third of four) on the Moscow Trials.

It claims to deal with 'the links between the Trotskyites and foreign imperialist powers', and is intent on putting their own question: 'If the Trotskyites had come to power, what kind of government would they have established?' and providing their own answer: 'A government of capitalist restoration'.

According to *Lalkar*, this is in fact 'the only answer', as 'the quittance of Trotsky's "theory of permanent revolution" is that "if the world revolution does not follow the revolution in a given country, then . . . destroy the revolution in the country in which it has taken place."

This assertion is backed by a statement alleged to have been made by Radek, in what is disgustingly referred to as 'his last plea': ' . . . I perceived that Trotsky himself had lost faith. The first variant was a concealed way of saying: "Well, boys, try to overthrow the Soviet power by yourselves, without Hitler. What, you cannot?"

'Trotsky himself already felt his complete internal impotence and staked on Hitler. The stake was now on Hitler. The old Trotskyites had held that it was impossible to build up socialism in one country, and that it was therefore necessary to force the revolution in the west.

'Now they were told that revolution in the west was impossible, and so destroy socialism in one country, destroy socialism in the USSR. Yet nobody could help but see that socialism in our country had been built.' (Emphasis by *Lalkar*.)

Methods

The article is a caricature of the methods of the Moscow Trials.

First, the sole 'evidence' comes from the accused. Thus *Lalkar* tells us that:

'Proof relating to the agreement concluded by Trotsky with Nazi Germany and Fascist Japan is also to be found in the testimony of Sokolnikov and Radek'.

And again: 'Speaking of Trotsky's letter of December, 1935, the existence of which was confirmed by Pyatakov and Serebryakov'

And yet again: 'That the Generals actually were involved in the con-

spiracy to overthrow the Soviet government, that they did plan a coup d'etat, that they did commit wrecking acts, was made amply clear by the evidence of various of the accused at the Moscow Trial.'

Second, *Lalkar's* readers are kept in the dark about evidence that discredits their fabric.

Many 'confessions' are quoted at length without mention that those quoted have been subsequently rehabilitated, either by the Soviet Union itself, or by Communist Parties in various parts of the world.

Take Krestinsky, described as a 'Trotskyite', whose 'last plea' started thus:

'In 1921 I accepted Trotsky's proposal to take part in the illegal Trotskyist work which he was then commencing, mustering forces and cadres for subsequent open action.'

Aside from the fact that 1921 was rather early for Trotsky to have foreseen that 'world revolution (would) not follow the revolution in a single country', there is the awkward fact, not mentioned by *Lalkar*, that Krestinsky was fully rehabilitated by the Soviet Union as long ago as 1963! . . .

I find it difficult to believe that *Lalkar* is ignorant of this fact.

Similarly Bukharin, the call for whose rehabilitation was supported in 1978 by the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, is said to have 'confessed' in the following vein:

' . . . We all became rabid counter-revolutionaries, traitors to the socialist fatherland. We turned into spies, terrorists and restorers of capitalism.

'We embarked on treachery, crime and treason. We turned into an insurrectionary band, we organised terrorist groups, engaged in wrecking activities, wanted to overthrow the Soviet government of the proletariat.'

This statement is alleged to have come from a revolutionist who had been a member of the Bolshevik Party from 18, had been arrested in Russia (twice), and also in Austria and Sweden.

He had led the 1917 insurrection in Moscow, and was editor of *Pravda* for 13 years. He had also been a Party Central Committee member from 1917 to 1934.

Finally, a technique is used that will be familiar to all observers of Healyism, to assume conscious malice behind the objective consequences of alleged actions.

Thus Grinko (whose rehabilitation in 1963 is of course ignored by *Lalkar*) is accused of so 'organising' the Savings Bank business 'that depositors had to wait an enormous amount of time and encounter unpleasantness and insolence, rudeness and lack of attention; every attempt was made to incense public opinion and turn them

away from the Savings Bank.'

Chernov, who was also rehabilitated in 1963, 'confessed' that 'he acted under instructions from German intelligence and that 'the German intelligence service made a special point in the organisation of wrecking activities in the sphere of horse breeding.'

One Zelensky 'confessed' that he deliberately destroyed 50 carloads of eggs to create a shortage in Moscow.

The urgency for Stalinism to search for scapegoats in protection of their own privileged positions can be seen in the following quote from *Lalkar* in which they nearly give the game away.

'These wrecking activities,' they say, 'were designed to incense the public and stir up feeling against the system of economic management in the USSR, against the Soviet system, against Soviet power.'

'These wrecking activities provide a clue as to why the Soviet people in those days had to suffer from shortages of necessary food articles from time to time, which shortage was at the time blamed on the Soviet economic system by the bourgeois enemies of socialism.'

In the next paragraph *Lalkar* says, with no intention of humour, 'take Sharangovich . . . he . . . undermined the peat industry'.

Destroyed

Ivanov, we are told in one terse sentence, 'destroyed the paper and cellulose industry.'

Ivanov was also rehabilitated in 1963, although the readers of *Lalkar* will have to find this out for themselves.

Ironically, this farrago of lies and slanders appears in the same issue of *Lalkar* as a speech made by Arthur Scargill to the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, and sent by the Haldane to *Lalkar*.

The speech is entitled 'British Justice — the myth exposed' and Scargill begins his speech by saying:

'Never has there been a more appropriate time for a trade unionist to challenge and expose the authority of British justice.

'Never was there a more appropriate moment in history for members of the legal profession to confront the truth . . .

I agree with Scargill but I wonder if he knows about the company he is keeping? For myself I can only say that I fully welcome the campaign for the full political rehabilitation of all the victims of the Moscow trials.

The full answers to the slanderers and liars of Stalinism can only come with the building of parties of the Fourth International all over the world and their accompaniment — the political destruction of Stalinism as a leadership in the international working class movement.

Zhukov death threat

A SOVIET War Hero was marked down for execution by Stalin as part of the purge of the commanding heights of the Red Army.

The only thing that saved Marshal Georgy Zhukov was his brilliant command of Red Army forces which defeated the Japanese at the Battle of Kalkin Gal in 1938.

Marshal Zhukov served in Spain on the Republican side and was even more lucky to escape death as Stalin considered all those who had fought during the Spanish Civil War as having been 'ideologically

contaminated by access to the western European left' according to a report by Martin Walker in the *Guardian* (December 2).

The explosive revelations are contained in the Marshall's previously censored memoirs in the official Soviet Magazine *Ogonyak* (*Little Flame*).

Marshal Zhukov represented the strata of officers previously loyal to the Tsar who, encouraged by Trotsky, came over to the Bolsheviki, a policy which Stalin opposed.

CAMPAIGNS IN SCOTLAND

TEACHERS:

THE threat of a legally-imposed settlement to the Scottish teachers' dispute, including new constraints on trade union rights, hangs in the air over negotiations.

A new deal, due to be worked out two days before Christmas, has to go before the Secretary of State for Scotland, Malcolm Rifkind. If he doesn't like it, he is ready to impose his own.

The Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) leaders are working desperately to find a compromise solution. They have agreed to the setting-up of two separate working parties, on pay and conditions, which will report back to the Scottish Joint Negotiating Committee on December 23.

By this sleight of hand, they hope to agree a deal on the one hand, and on the other, claim that they have kept to the EIS conference policy of 'no trading off conditions for pay'.

The union leadership worked hard to maintain their image at last week's 10,000-strong demonstration through Edinburgh, claimed by EIS president Kathy Finn to be the largest-ever turnout of a single union there.

'No Main: no Rifkind: no sell-out' warned hand-drawn placards amidst the impressive Association banners.

John Pollok, EIS general secretary, drew an enormous cheer when he said: 'Unless there is a settlement acceptable to members of the EIS, the campaign will go on.'

But harping on a favourite theme of those who are desperate to end the action quickly, he said: 'We have to show the public that we are willing to enter negotiations for an honourable end to this dispute.' (For 'public', read 'Kinnock-ite Labour bureaucracy', who are anxious to get this dispute out of the way as election time gets nearer).

After the march, the recently-formed Scottish Federation of Socialist Teachers held a public meeting.

Geraldine Gould from Edinburgh pointed out the stark contrast between the fiery speeches given by the EIS leadership prior to the Main enquiry, and the si-

BY SIMON PIRANI AND JANE LYNCH



Scottish teachers show their anger: the latest settlement offer has been rejected and the teachers will fight against Malcolm Rifkind if he tries to impose one.

lence that ensued following that body's report.

At a time when the clear role of the leadership was to outline the dangers of acceptance, they failed to do so — and the socialist teachers' federation had taken on this task themselves, leafleting every Scottish school with clear warnings of what Main could mean.

Ian McCalman, from Glasgow, warned against being over-optimistic about the 84 per cent ballot result for rejection of the Rifkind package. The federation had so far been successful merely in limiting the damage. The fight to ensure that any attempt to worsen conditions is rejected was still in front.

Norman Bissell from

Lanarkshire reminded the meeting that the EIS council had consistently resisted attempts to reject outright any trade-off of conditions. The latest development, the working groups which will look into teachers' pay and conditions, was nothing more than a cosmetic exercise.

The most fundamental issue, he insisted, and the one

on which the federation must alert the membership, was the attack on trade union rights.

The right to take industrial action against unfair conditions, and to improve working conditions, was being threatened. In losing the right to take action, teachers would lose their most powerful weapon.

VIRAJ MENDIS

Scots Trade Union Support

'THIS government is collaborating with a fascist regime in Sri Lanka to hand me over,' deportation-threatened worker Viraj Mendis told trade unionists in Dundee. 'The only people I can ask for support are the working class people.'

Addressing delegates at the Dundee Trades Council on December 3, Viraj said his ten year 'overstay' and ties in Britain might normally be considered as favouring his right to remain here. But the authorities 'say my conduct should be weighed against that.'

Questions raised by the adjudicators had shown this was political. 'The Home Office look upon me as a troublemaker.'

At the same time, Sri Lankan-born Viraj pointed out that his case was not unique. Deportations were now taking place at the rate of fifty a week.

The Trades Council has agreed to back the Viraj Mendis campaign. Trades Council secretary Jim Torrence said: 'What's behind this case is racism. It's incumbent upon us to recognise that racism is a part of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class.'

Trades Council delegates agreed to order copies of the 'Viraj Mendis Must Stay' pamphlet for their branches and to raise the issue there. A member of the Scottish TUC Youth Committee said he would be raising it in the Scottish TUC.

Viraj Mendis also announced that a march in his support was being planned as soon as a date was set for his deportation. Trades unionists were urged to support it.

● An all Scottish speaking tour has been arranged and a full report will appear next week.

LIVERPOOL

DEPORT THREAT TO WALTER YAO

BY PHYLLIS MAGINNIS

WALTER YAO came to Britain in 1972, since that time he has been in full time employment except for 3 years when he studied at Liverpool Polytechnic, his degree being awarded in 1984. He is currently employed by Shore Fields Community and Education Trust as an Education Liaison Officer.

On Friday December 15 he was phoned by a immigration officer from the Home Office and told that he must leave the country by Friday th 12th of December.

The next day Walter received a letter forwarded by his MP Bob Parry in which David Waddington the Minister of State for Immigration upheld the decision not to allow Walter to stay in Britain.

Lived

His wife Elizabeth came to Britain in 1961 and they have lived together in Liverpool since marrying in November 1980. Late in 1984 Walter learnt that his father had

died in Ghana, it was not until the following year that he was able to take leave in order to visit his family.

He had not seen his family since leaving Ghana for England in 1972. He now left for Ghana on July 12, 1985.

While in Ghana Walter was taking seriously ill. The Police in Accra contacted his employers in Liverpool to explain his delay in returning. His wife Elizabeth travelled out to Ghana in March 1986 in order to look after Walter and arrange his return.

They travelled together to Lagos in neighbouring Nigeria. Elizabeth then flew on to England to raise the money for Walters ticket which she then sent out to him. Elizabeth met Walter at Heathrow but the immigration official who interviewed Walter initially re-

fused him permission to enter because he had not obtained a visa in Ghana.

Eventually he was given temporary clearance while the case was re-assessed now they say he must leave. Walter has lived in Britain for all but 10 months of the last 14 years. He has been married for over 6 years to a woman who has lived and worked in the country for 25 years.

Criteria

Even by the governments own criteria he has payed his way in society always in full-time work or education he supports his wife who is currently receiving medical treatment and cannot work.

Walter himself is currently under treatment at the Liverpool Royal Hospital and their doctor is amazed and angry at the implications of David Waddington's decision. So too are Walters employers who have the highest respect for his work. Bob Parry Walters MP.

has been fighting the initial decision to refuse entry and sees the fact that it has been upheld as both ridiculous and a further example of the hard-line being taking by the Home Office on immigration.

David Waddington must be forced to reconsider his decision as no good appears to be served by Walters removal from whatever position it is considered.

What you can do: Write to David Waddington at the Home Office, Queen Annes Gate, London expressing your support for Walter and asking for the decision to be reversed. The reference number for the case is Y51375-2 (F). Also write to Robert Parry MP c/o the House of Commons and publicise the case where ever possible.

For further information telephone: 051-727-2600. and ask for Danny Kyssin or Walter Yao.

As we go to press pressure groups have succeeded in halting the deportation until January 5 1987. Walter goes into hospital on Friday the campaign must now be highlighted.

PLASTIC BULLETS Dundee Hears Warning

WORKERS in Britain who fight for their rights, such as the miners and printworkers, could face the threat of plastic bullets being used against them, a meeting in Dundee was told last week.

More than 30 people, including Labour Party and Trades Council members, watched a video showing the murderous effect of rubber and plastic bullets used in occupied Northern Ireland. This featured interviews with Emma Groves, blinded by a plastic bullet, and with relatives of those killed by them.

The meeting, organised by the Dundee Committee for a United Ireland, heard Jim McCabe, whose wife Nora had been among the victims, explain the need for a campaign on this issue.

Asked whether the campaign against plastic bullets could be 'separated from the whole struggle against imperialism', Jim McCabe said it was not just a matter of solidarity with those struggling in Ireland.

'Police officers like New-man have made up their minds that plastic bullets have to be used to keep people in their place', he pointed out.

'People here, miners, printworkers and other groups might be targets, and they should take up the issue in their own interests.'

Answering a question as to how a campaign could be

'non-political', he explained that what he meant was that it need not be a party issue. What was needed was an independent campaign committee uniting people of various persuasions, and such committees could unite with the national Campaign Against Plastic Bullets.

Jim McCabe said there had been an enthusiastic response from miners and shipyard workers in the North East of England where he had been campaigning.

The Dundee Committee for a United Ireland intends to give its support to the Campaign Against Plastic Bullets. 'We will raise the issue, and encourage trade unionists and others to get involved', said committee secretary Andy McFarlane. 'We'll play our part in the campaign here.'

LETTERS

DAVID FRY— A COMMENT

LIKE ALL who knew Comrade David Fry I appreciated greatly last week's obituary by Comrade NM.

David fought with all his considerable talent and with every ounce of energy he could find to build a Trotskyist movement in Ireland, until he was struck down by multiple sclerosis.

However I want to correct, or rather add to, one point made by Comrade NM.

He says, 'To his credit, Gerry Healy took a personal interest in David and helped him to develop theoretically.'

It must say that this gives all too much credit to Healy.

What predominated in Healy's relations with comrades in the sections of the International Committee was that he abused them, treated them as subservient, and in the name of criticism insulted and belittled them.

That was an extension of his regime inside the WRP. Not only David Fry and the Irish section of the IC were destroyed in this way but also the section in Peru, more than once.

Only the heroic efforts and determination of a number of comrades in these countries against Healy and the IC have made possible the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Tim Wohlforth, leader of the Workers League in the United States, was driven out of the movement. Jim Mulgrew in Australia was hounded. Both movements were milked dry financially by Healy.

The Sri Lanka comrades were virtually totally neglected, even when working under the severest repression. Comrades trying to build a section in France were used only for financial and sexual exploitation.

All these, and German comrades who fought for many years to build from small foundations, were insulted, abused in every way, financially exploited, and then humiliated.

Where the International Committee should have been building up the comrades' confidence in serious training and mutual help, whatever the criticisms and problems, instead the comrades in the International Committee sections (as in the WRP) became more and more pushed to the margin of the so-called leading section in Britain; many comrades were even intimidated into staying in Britain for 'training', which amounted to nothing more than exploitation of every kind.

These were the processes which constituted the degeneration of Healy, of the Workers Revolutionary Party and The International Committee. Only by recognising and trying to plumb the depths of the degeneration of political line and organisation are we finding the resources to rebuild the Fourth International.

Comrade NM is absolutely right to say that, unlike David Fry's parents, the leadership of the WRP did not keep contact with David Fry once he was totally disabled by his illness, and that this reflected a total failure to recognise his great contribution. That is true.

It began before David's illness. Healy had built up total individual control over the disposition of material resources and the movement of comrades years earlier, and the movement in Ireland was for years sabotaged by his anti-internationalism.

Proposals to renew our participation in this work were time and again rejected in favour of other 'British priorities'. It is now very clear (as it should have been then) that all this was part of the WRP's retreat from the struggle in Britain to give unconditional support for the struggle for Irish

independence against the state in Britain.

Those who had any leading position in the WRP and the International Committee must carry their share of the responsibility for not finding ways of opposing and defeating Healy long before 1985, when we expelled him and his closest supporters. I count myself among those responsible, even though for more than ten years my 'secretaryship' of the International Committee was a fiction, as were many other positions in the leadership.

I would be called in to do certain jobs which Healy could not do himself (such as preparing documents for coming international congresses), even though it was understood by Healy as well as by me that I had dropped out of real leadership. The acceptance of this mockery allowed Healy to continue all the more easily his opportunist and utterly corrupt practice, the details of which were only exposed later.

failure

We owe an explanation. The explanation is not complete and it does not in any way justify the failure to stop Healy long ago.

We were convinced that the line of opposing all those who had tried to liquidate Trotskyism into Stalinist and middle class movements was a correct one; we knew that Healy's control of the party was such that opposition carried through to the end meant expulsion; and we could see no other place to carry forward the fight for Trotskyism except the WRP.

I even proposed at one point moving to Ireland in order to end the situation where Healy's approach and mine clashed so much that I felt unable to make a real contribution.

But I did that with at least half the feeling that it must be me that was at fault, and in any case it was a false solution.

We allowed all these considerations to provide a rationalisation for our putting aside differences, not fighting them through. That was a failure to carry out our responsibilities to the working class and the building of the Fourth International, and a heavy price was paid.

Only the impact of the working class in struggle, through the miners' strike, and the determined under-cover fight carried out by a handful of comrades in the WRP (to whom the whole movement owes an enormous debt), culminating in Aileen Jennings' letter to the Political Committee calling for an enquiry into Healy's vile practices, brought us to our senses, and off our knees.

I visited David Fry only twice after his illness disabled him. He was neglected, criminally, by the WRP leadership, and abused, as were many others.

Our task, and the only way to negate, overcome and learn from these abominations is to fight to rebuild the Fourth International on truly communist foundations. That is the only way to honour the memory of David Fry, and it is what he would have wanted.

Cliff Slaughter
Leeds

We are sorry that a number of letters have had to be held over this week because we did not have room for them.

We welcome letters from readers, but shortage of space means that letters over 500 words will normally have to be cut.

Please address your letters to: The Editor, Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.

Letters should arrive by first post Monday of the week of publication.

Write for the Workers Press!

Send in the news from your area or from where you work!

The Editorial Board is anxious to increase the growing number of contributors to the paper. We would like to build up regular correspondents in each area of the country who will send us reports on industrial and other developments. Tell us about any workers engaged in struggles, however big or small.

Let us know if you would like to write about television, plays or films. In the New Year we intend to publish a regular science column and would be glad to hear from potential contributors.

Send in your stories — contact us on 01-733-3058 or write to The Editor, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.



Notice for WRP members
CHRISTMAS PARTY
especially for children, but unaccompanied adults welcome

Sunday 21 December
2.30pm — 5.30pm

Phone Father Christmas for details on: 733-3058



RELEASE BRUTAN PERERA!

(Jailed member of the Revolutionary Communist League, Sri Lanka)

PICKET

Saturday December 20
11am — 4pm

of the Air Lanka Office
6-10 Bruton Street, London W1

MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

Bryant Street Methodist Centre
off West Ham Lane
(nearest Underground: Stratford)

Sunday December 14, 7.30pm
CUBA

Speaker: John Lister

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.

A STRIKING EDUCATION The story of the SILENT-NIGHT strike in photographs taken by the strikers themselves. Available for hire as a portable exhibition. To hire, contact: Josephine Kelly, FTAT Strike HQ, 9 Frank Street, Barnoldswick, Lancs., BB8 5AE (0282-816709)

NATIONAL PRINT SUPPORT GROUPS DEMONSTRATION Assemble 8.30pm on 13 December at Aldgate East Station. (South London Feeder March meets 7.30pm at St Thomas Street, outside Guys Hospital) Bring Your Banners!

WOMEN'S MARCH AGAINST MURDOCH Assemble 8.30pm, Saturday 13 December at Butchers Row junction of Commercial Road. Called by News International Women Strikers and WAM (Women Against Murdoch); Supported by SERTUC Women's Rights Committee.

NAMIBIAN WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION '86 uesday December 16, 7.00pm — midnight at Red Rose Labour Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, Islington, N7 (near Finsbury Park tube). Speakers invited include SWAPO Women's Council, ANC, Angola and Cllr Martha Osamor. Disco, Food, Stalls, Live Music and Bar. £4 £2 UB40, students.

CONFERENCE FOR TRADE UNION SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
Saturday December 13, 11am - 6pm
Carrs Lane Church Centre
(off High Street, near Birmingham Central Station)

Called by: Lambeth Joint Trade Union Committee, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group
For further details ring Bronwen Handyside, 01-274 7722 X2010 (Office hours)

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£10,000 Special Fund

IN SO FAR: £1,259.94

TARGET: £10,000

THE Workers Revolutionary Party Special Fund of £10,000 is needed by February 1, 1987.

Half the fund is needed for the international work of the party. The party is participating in discussions with groups throughout the world Trotskyist movement in a way which was never possible before the explosion in the WRP last year.

The other half of the fund is needed to cover expenses already incurred in moving the party headquarters to more suitable premises.

The collection of the fund has only just begun, and we are asking all members and supporters to find ways of helping with this very necessary fund-raising.

Please send donations to: WRP, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT

WORKERS PRESS is the weekly paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party. If you wish to know more about us or are interested in becoming a member, why not fill in this form and send it to us?

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Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name..... date.....
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SEND TO:
Secretary to the Central Committee
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BOOK REVIEWS

JUN 23, 1964

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

89



Mr. Esquilant's Short-faced Baldheads. Mr. W. Smith's White Pouters. Mr. Wiking's Jacobin, Macpie, and Swallow. Mr. Wiking's Marble and Goldfinch. Mr. Wiking's Brunswick and Nymph. Mr. Perival's Tumbler. Mr. Hayne's Carrier Cock. Mr. Harrison Weir's White Pouter.

PRIZE PIGEONS AT THE SHOW OF THE PHILO-PESTERON SOCIETY, RECENTLY HELD IN FREEMASONS' HALL.

'Great as are the differences between the breeds of the pigeon, I am fully convinced that all are descended from the rock-pigeon . . . Darwin joined two pigeon breeders' clubs in order to study species and their variations. The fancy pigeon breeds shown here were exhibited by one of his clubs in 1864

The Illustrated Origin of Species. By Charles Darwin. Abridged and introduced by Richard Leakey. Faber and Faber, paperback, £7.95.

'ALL ASPECTS of modern evolutionary biology can be seen as part of a research programme inaugurated by *The Origin of Species*,' says Leakey in his introduction to this edition of 'the most important biological work ever written.'

The enormous debt later scientists owe to Darwin is shown in full colour illustrations which illustrate and elaborate the work begun by Darwin.

* * *

The Wild Side of Town. By Chris Baines. BBC, paperback, £6.95.

GO TO THE TOP of a tower block, look down — and spot the patches of wildlife habitats — derelict railways making corridors through the town, playing fields, canals.

Go back to ground level, and observe and help preserve the wild plants and animals, urges Chris Baines, in this book which answers the question how many wild animals really live in towns — with some surprising answers.

* * *

You'll Never Be 16 Again. By Peter Everett. BBC Books, £4.95.

TEENAGERS past and present, from National Service to Band Aid, with pictures of punks and the most flowery pictures.

* * *



Scotswood Road. Photographs by Jimmy Forsyth. Bloodaxe Books, £6.95.

A PAWNSHOP sold unemployed Geordie Jimmy Forsyth his camera and he photographed the Scotswood road area of Newcastle from the 1950s.

Originally he could only afford contact prints; now there is an exhibition in Newcastle of the pictures he took of 'what I knew was going to disappear.'

The Story of English. By Robert McCrum, William Cran and Robert MacNeil. BBC Books, £14.95.

LAVISHLY illustrated book which accompanies the recent television series. It traces the currents which flowed into the English language we know today — and looks at those which have developed to some extent from it, like the Caribbean 'nation language'. It even has one chapter which uses American spellings and shows how and when American and British language diverged.

* * *

Banner Bright: An illustrated history of Trade Union Banners. By John Gorman. Scorpion Publishing, paperback £9.95.

THE MINERS' strike brought many displays of contemporary union banners, and the new edition of Gorman's book includes some of the most powerful.

* * *

Lifetimes Under Apartheid. Photographs by David Goldblatt and text by Nadine Gordimer. Cape, £15.

SOUTH AFRICA seen through the lens of Goldblatt, together with excerpts from the writing of Nadine Gordimer.

* * *

Encyclopaedia of the North American Indians. Hamlyn, £9.95.

TRIBES and their life, superbly illustrated — a book for the pictures rather than the romantic, sometimes patronising, text.

* * *

The Beatles: A Celebration. By Geoffrey Giuliano. Sidgwick and Jackson. £14.95.

THE LARGEST single collection of Beatles memorabilia, in one of the largest books about the Beatles. Giuliano recently exhibited his collection; if any foolish fans missed it, this is the book for them.

* * *

The United Artists Story. By Ronald Bergan. Octopus, £14.95.

LATEST addition to the studios-and-their-films series, just in time for Christmas.

* * *

Domesday: A Search for the Roots of England. By Michael Wood. BBC Books, £12.95.

THE LANDSCAPES and townscapes visited in the television series, for the armchair historians Michael Wood has the knack of captivating.

* * *

The Bog Man and the Archaeology of People. By Don Brothwell. British Museum. £5.95.

PRESERVED people from the past, an endless fascination to the lugubrious and the specialist, for both of whom this is the book.

ACCUSER of CAPITALISM

John Maclean's
Speech from the dock, May 9th 1918



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PETER FRYER



The Hungarian revolution of 1956 and its brutal suppression by Russian tanks was a watershed in the history of socialism.

In October 1956 Peter Fryer was sent to cover these events for the Daily Worker. He reported what he saw — only to have his despatches suppressed and to be suspended and then expelled from the Communist Party.

He saw people in arms demolish a regime of fear and poverty and take power in their own hands. He saw security police atrocities — and the people's terrible revenge. Then he watched appalled as a nation's new-born freedom was relentlessly crushed.

Peter Fryer's eye-witness account, first published in December 1956, had an immediate impact, bringing home to many things which they wished were not true.

Thirty years later his *Hungarian Tragedy*, now published by New Park Publications with a new introduction by the author, still stands as a model of journalistic insight and integrity and is as valuable now as it was in 1956.

Published on October 23 1986

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300,000 in Paris protest

CHIRAC

CAPITULATES

OVER 300,000 students workers and school pupils marched through Paris on Wednesday in protest against the police murder of 22-year-old student Malik Ousseki. Large numbers of trade unionists joined the march as well as many professional people. Over 100 lawyers and doctors in white helmets formed a 'watchdog' group to ensure the right to demonstrate. The marchers demanded an independent inquiry into Ousseki's death. Many of them carried banners bearing the slogan: 'Never again'.

The student movement — against reform of the university system — is the biggest since May-June 1968. As in 1968, so today, it was the threat of intervention by the French working class which forced the capitulation of the Chirac government, the withdrawal of the reform proposals and the sacking of the

education minister. May-June 1968 was a decisive turning point in the political history of post-war France. It represented a severe blow to the French Communist Party which has been in decline ever since.

The eruption of the student movement, the deep sympathy it evoked in sections of the working class and middle class, indicates the problems that exploded nearly 20 years ago have not been resolved. As always, the entry of students into politics, many of them for the first time, anticipates the movement of the working class into economic and political struggles.

The events of the last days and weeks underline the real possibilities now opened up of building a new revolutionary leadership in the French working-class movement.

FROM GERARD LAFFONT IN PARIS 9 DECEMBER 1986

ON 4 December, a million students from the universities and schools demonstrated in the streets of Paris and all the towns of France.

The university strike was called on the initiative of UNEF-ID. (This is the students' union led by the Socialists which has been strengthened by 400 members in the universities who recently left the PCI (Lambertiste) to join the Socialist Party. The students' union UNEF is led by the Stalinists.)

But a mass movement developed within a few days led by a national organising body. Its elected delegates may be recalled at any time by a general assembly of their Lycee (high school), faculty or education establishment.

The movement set out to defeat the university reform Bill which toughened selection procedures and blocked access to study for the most socially deprived youth.

It was immediately clear that the widespread support for the action was based on a very deep rejection by the youth: rejection of racism, of the inequalities of a society which destines a third of the youth to unemployment, of the cynicism and individualism which have become the official ideology of the government, of police control, and of the hounding of immigrant workers.

The university reform Bill was just the detonator, the straw that broke the camel's back.

From the night of December 4, a movement which at first appeared 'apolitical'

ON Monday 8 December, Jacques Chirac announced the withdrawal of the university reform Bill which had been opposed by a mass movement of students and school pupils. The climbdown came in the middle of a major political crisis for Chirac's government and under the threat that the working class would enter into struggle in solidarity with the student youth. This was a clear victory for the students. But even beyond the struggle against the Devaquet-Monory Bill what was involved was the eruption of a whole new generation on to the political scene heralding a new stage of the class struggle in France.

rapidly became radicalised.

After the demonstration, the government refused to give way to the students' demands.

'We will not withdraw the Bill,' declared education minister Rene Monory to the students' delegates.

A few minutes later police charged to disperse the tens of thousands of demonstrators who awaited Monory's reply on the esplanade of the Invalides and seriously wounded several youth with grenades: one of them had a hand blown off, another lost an eye.

The peaceful slogans of the day rapidly became politicised: 'General Strike!' 'Chirac you swine, we'll have your hide!'

The government immediately began a campaign to try and divide the movement, putting responsibility for the clashes on the student delegates involved in the talks, notably David Assouline, member of the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire and one of the delegation of the students' national committee who visited the minister.

According to the government, the delegates' intransigence and refusal to negotiate was the cause of the street violence.

The following morning the govern-

ment and bourgeois press took on the appearance of a crusade against the Trotskyists. The government at first accused them of manipulating the student youth and pushing them to violence.

On December 5, after Jacques Toubon, general secretary of the gaulist party RPR, denounced the 'Trotskyist agitator' on the radio and television. The leading bourgeois papers 'Figaro' and 'France Soir' began a campaign of calumny against Assouline.

In fact the liberal bourgeois paper 'Le Monde' which, on December 4, had accused the Trotskyists of taking control of the student organising committee, tried to counterpose the elected and radical leadership of the movement to the so-called 'moderate and apolitical' rank and file.

In reality, the election to the 56-member national organising committee of members of the LCR (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire — USec), of the LOR (Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionnaire) and the Communist Party youth movement as well as the members of the union UNEF-ID and other unaffiliated students reflected the developing radicalisation and determination of the movement.



Paris: one of the massive student demonstrations

On the night of 5 December everything was in the balance. The government's manoeuvres had failed.

Just after Monory spoke on television agreeing to make concessions and withdraw several points from the Bill, saying he was addressing the students 'from his heart', the police savagely battered to death with truncheons a student of North African descent, Malik Ousseki.

Answering the government attack with the slogans: 'Unity! General strike!' the students' organising committee met on the evening of 6 December at the Jussieu faculty after a large demonstration and decided to continue the struggle.

They gave a fresh mandate to their 14-strong national committee. David Assouline became its spokesman.

The committee called for a day of general strike and demonstrations on Wednesday 10 December, demanding the support of the trade unions.

By now several faculties had already sent delegations to the factories to seek support from the workers.

The students of Nanterre had been warmly welcomed by the workers at the gates

of Renault Billancourt, the largest factory in France.

On Sunday 7 December, the political crisis reached its most critical point. The junior minister responsible for the universities, Alain Devaquet, resigned.

The demonstrations of Saturday had been followed by serious clashes with the police after their end. The minister of the interior Charles Pasqua denounced the 'rioters, the professional subversives, leftists and anarchists of every shade and every nationality' who, according to him, had looted and burnt cars in the Latin quarter during the night.

He made a call to the gaulists to 'hold themselves ready to defend the republic'. It was almost the language of civil war.

But that evening television films revealed that the 'rioters' and the provocateurs were vigilantes of the extreme right, operating with the open complicity of the police.

Numerous later accounts called into question the acts of vandalism of police on special duty, serving the purpose of the propaganda and repressive measures of the government.

That day the Communist Party-led CGT union called for support for the students by striking on Wednesday 10 December.

The government and its right-wing parliamentary majority (UDF and RPR) began to break up. The 'coexistence' between the socialist opposition of Mitterrand and the government of Chirac, a coexistence in the framework of the reactionary institutions of the Fifth Republic, was under threat.

Mitterrand returned from London to pressure Chirac to abandon his Bill in order to halt the tide of the crisis.

The reformist union leaders, Edmond Mere of the CFDT and Andre Bergeron of Force Ouvriere, anxiously

warned the government that if they did not retreat, the demonstration of 10 December risked unleashing a movement like May-June 1968, so great had working class discontent become.

The same day, Monday 8 December, in reply to a timid call launched by the unions for work stoppages in mourning for the death of the student Malik, there were numerous strikes.

In other words there was a vast echo, unexpected by these bureaucrats, to the call in both the public and private enterprises.

Chirac announced the withdrawal of the reform Bill. The union leaders hastened to declare the action of 10 December no longer relevant. This included the teachers' union SEN.

But the students had maintained their demonstration to protest against the police brutality and the repression and they had just renewed their call to the unions for a general strike on 10 December. The CGT still supported this call.

At the time of writing, rejecting the instructions of their leadership, some unions announced they would support the students on Wednesday: for example, the Ile de France (Parisian region) of the CFDT and the postal federation of Force Ouvriere.

This showed the crisis in the unions because later whole unions rejected the cowardice of their leadership. We have heard this evening that the leadership of the SEN and CFDT, who had refused to support the demonstration, have just done an about-turn.

The Paris parents' federations, who have a Socialist Party majority, have decided to demonstrate as well and to protect the end of the demonstration (against police attacks).

With the explosion of the youth, the state of mind of the working class is in the process of changing.



A new generation of youth have taken on Chirac's government. In 1968 university students dominated the scene. Now they are joined by school students whose education prospects were threatened by Devaquet's proposed 'reforms'