

The Workers Revolutionary Party is making a special appeal to members and supporters for the Special Fund of £10,000. The party has made a number of international exchange visits with members of the Trotskyist movement in Ireland, Europe, Australia and the Americas. We need money particularly for fares. We allocated half the £10,000 fund for international work, and we have already spent a large part of it. We are sure you support this work politically but we need you to support it financially as well, either with a donation or by raising money from your branch members and sympathisers. In addition to the international work, we have allocated half the fund to move the party headquarters and printing facilities.

As well as many small contributions we have had a number of cheques for £100. We are aiming for 50 donations of £100 — to raise £5,000.

● Please send donations to: Workers Revolutionary Party PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

LABOUR THREATENS A CRISIS BUDGET

AS government figures published this week indicated jobs in manufacturing industry are crumbling, Shadow Chancellor Roy Hattersley warned an emergency budget will be necessary if Labour wins the next election.

Since 1979, 2 million manufacturing jobs have been lost, according to Department of Employment figures.

Manufacturing jobs have collapsed from their

peak of 7 million in 1979 to 5.1 million in September of last year. This represents a dramatic 28-per-cent fall.

The west Midlands, once the heartland of British manufacturing, has suffered the greatest drop. Over 300,000 jobs have gone in the region since Thatcher came to office.

Chairman of the West Midlands Enterprise Board Geoffrey Edge said: 'What these figures reveal is not just a country of two nations, but a country in which the real basis of economic prosperity is being destroyed.'

Three regions — Wales, the north-west and Yorkshire and Humberside — have all lost more than 35 per cent of their manufacturing jobs. Wales and the north-west have actually lost

service jobs on top.

Meanwhile millions are being made by City speculators and 'insider dealers'. On one day alone last week share prices rose by £4.4 billion on the London Stock Exchange.

Here are the 'two nations': not the north-south division but that between a tiny group of rich idlers who are ripping off millions in share dealings and a growing army who face winter without jobs, decent housing and social services. (See 'Thatcher's Britain', page 3)

Whatever the Labour leaders pretend, the collapse of British industry is not the result of Tory policy.

It reflects a crisis in world capitalist economy which alternates between stagnation and snail's pace growth.

Last week's decision by the Reagan government to

impose heavy duties on a range of European imports indicates the sharpening tensions in world capitalist economy which will further expose the hopelessly outdated nature of British industry.

British capital is heading for a severe balance of payments crisis in the coming year. Last September brought the largest ever deficit recorded. The deficit for October came to £35 million while the November deficit soared to £230 million.

At the Bishop Stortford strategy meeting called by the Labour Shadow Cabinet, Neil Kinnock warned of 'an even worse economic sham-ble' to come.

How does Labour propose to deal with this mounting crisis? Shadow Chancellor Roy Hattersley gave a clear answer: Tory policies will be continued.

Hattersley warned that Labour would have to introduce an emergency budget involving higher interest rates and further cuts in public services and spending. In other words Labour would carry on where the Tories left off.

Hattersley proposed a three point plan:

● Concentrate more resources on investment rather than consumption.

● Take direct action to increase manufacturing output and exports.

● Create a 'macro economic climate' conducive to the success of export industries.

The first proposal will bring cuts in the living standards of the working class and sections of the middle class. The last two are meaningless: they simply cover up Labour's bankruptcy.

The crisis which an incoming Labour government would face expresses the inability of capitalism to develop the productive forces. Industry and the skills of millions lie unused while poverty and want grows.

Only a socialist policy based on the nationalisation of all basic industry and finance, under the control of the working class, can now resolve this crisis in the interests of the working class.

Class conscious workers will place no confidence whatsoever in Labour's policies or leadership. On the contrary they will realise that any future government led by Kinnock and Hattersley will come into head-on and immediate collision with the working class.

The building of an alternative leadership based on socialist policies is now an urgent requirement.

Rump split?

READERS of Workers Press will be interested to know that the names of Gerry Healy and Corin Redgrave have disappeared without explanation from the editorial board of 'Marxist Review', the monthly journal of what was once the Torrance-Healy rump. Redgrave was formerly joint editor of the journal.

These departures come soon after Judith White's disappearance from the board. Like former 'News Line' editor, Alex Mitchell, White is now in Australia.

● VANESSA REDGRAVE: What is she up to? — see page 5

Strikers defy US multi-national

Scottish workers will not pay for the losses of an American-based multi-national company.

This was spelled out last week by 350 strikers at Hussman's refrigeration factory at Shawfield, Glasgow, who are demanding their US-

based bosses drop a plan for redundancies and pay cuts.

The plan, involving 15 job losses and a £25-per-week cut in bonus payments, was spelled out by the company before Christmas. The workers walked out last Tuesday demanding it was dropped.

Official backing has come from the AEU, and solidarity from women contract cleaners, themselves earning £1.40 an hour, who refused to cross the picket line.

'We are not going to back down,' said AEU shop steward Jack Ballantyne. 'American companies are taking over and then moving out of Scotland. Look at Chryslers, Prestcolds, Burroughs... and now we are being told to cut back.'

EETPU member William Pollock added: 'I came here seven years ago from Chrysler, where they destroyed 8,000 jobs. It could obviously happen here too.'

JACK COLLINS

AS we went to press, Workers Press editorial board received the news of the death of Jack Collins, Kent NUM general secretary. After a long illness, Jack's health rapidly deteriorated during the course of the miners' strike.

March against Public Order Act



Twenty arrests were made during last Saturday's 'illegal' demonstration against the new Public Order Act.

This was in spite of the assurances given by a police spokesman at the start of the march that they had decided not to prevent the march and they had no intention of arresting anyone. He also cynically wished the marchers a nice day!

About 1,500 people, mainly anarchist youth, and one or two left groups including the Workers Revolutionary Party,

marched from North London to the Law Courts in the Strand. In an unscheduled extension the march went on to Trafalgar Square to show solidarity with the 24-hour picket outside South Africa House. This was where all but one of the arrests occurred.

Despite the importance of this new law for the whole labour movement, the demonstration was completely ignored by most left-wing political organisations.

● See next week's Workers Press for an explanation of the new Act.

Workers Press

Costello v McLennan

STALINISM'S deepening crisis in Britain erupted again last week.

On Monday and Tuesday, the 'Morning Star' carried a two-part piece by Mick Costello, former Communist Party industrial organiser. Costello described the deep crisis in the shrinking Communist Party and launched yet another offensive against the leadership of Gordon McLennan. Monday's article was headlined 'Crisis in the Party'. On Tuesday Costello's piece was called 'Build the Party'.

Stalinism in Britain is bitterly divided between the 'Morning Star' faction, which has the direct backing of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, and the Euro-Stalinists. The Euros run 'Marxism Today'. It stands for a popular front alliance between right wing Labour, the Church, the Social Democratic Party and other sections of the middle class.

In 1983, the pro-Moscow group seized the paper by gaining control of the Peoples Press Printing Society. Together with the Soviet Stalinist leaders they have decided to bring the crisis in the party to a head and ensure that the Communist Party is, in the traditional way, subordinated directly to the policies of the Russian bureaucracy.

Costello spends a great deal of time describing the Party's crisis:

- Membership is officially down to 9,700, a fall of a fifth in the last two years.
- The Young Communist League has ceased to exist.
- Total full time Party staff is below 20.

Costello complains about arbitrary expulsions from the Party. Many members with years in the Party have been thrown out by the leadership. But he cannot analyse this crisis or the deep divisions in the Party. His silence is easy to explain.

There is no fundamental division between these two groups, however bitter the conflict between them. Both accept the basic ideology of Stalinism: the theory of socialism in one country, the parliamentary road to socialism and belief in 'peaceful coexistence' between imperialism and the states of eastern Europe, China and the USSR. Both groups are equally opposed to the building of a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the working class to prepare it to take power and establish socialism.

Thus Costello talks about the 'Morning Star's' 'left wing' and 'class struggle' policies. There is no mention of socialist policies. The real difference between these two wings of Stalinism lies in their relationship to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow. Costello speaks of the Euro-Stalinists' 'detachment' in relation to the 'problems of the socialist countries' and the 'Soviet peace initiatives'.

A division of labour exists between the two groups in covering up for the labour bureaucracy. Eric Hobsbawm, the chief theoretician of the Euros, is an advisor to Neil Kinnock. Costello describes 'Marxism Today' as a 'testing ground for right wing ideas and ideology'.

But what of the 'Morning Star'?

In practice the 'Morning Star' acts as a shield for the right-wing trade union bureaucracy which has been in wholesale retreat over the anti-union laws ever since the miners' strike. First, the Communist Campaign Group has organised no campaign against that retreat. It is neither communist nor campaigning.

Ken Gill, one of the expelled 'Morning Star' supporters, capitulated to the anti-union laws, even during the miners' strike. Members of his union, TASS, were up in arms when the miners were sequestered and facing bankruptcy. TASS members, together with members of other unions employed by Austin-Morris, were on strike. The Transport and General Workers Union refused to go to court. Gill, however, rushed in front of the judge and repudiated his members.

Principled trade unionists, who are members of the Broad Left in the engineering union, will readily declare that differences between members of these factions are only noticed at the mention of the 'Morning Star'. Consider what happened in Liverpool during the fight of the council.

Costello's wing and the 'Euros' in the council unions had exactly the same position. They both demanded that the council operate the policy advocated by Kinnock. It was 'Morning Star' supporters who at one time demanded that a popular front, including 'progressive' Tories, should be formed to solve Liverpool's problems.

Costello ends his articles by saying that the 'Morning Star' must 'strive to rebuild that party to play the part that cannot be filled by others'. All he proposes is a 'new' party based on the same corrupt Stalinist foundations as the one now in the process of rapid disintegration.

Printers still defiant



THE News International dispute of 5,000 sacked printworkers reaches its anniversary on January 24. If Rupert Murdoch thought sacking his entire workforce would finish off the printers, the Christmas-New Year period proved him wrong again. Over the holidays the printers' determination to beat Murdoch remained unbroken when they marched and demonstrated outside the scab Wapping plant. They reminded Murdoch they won't be going away, not even over the holidays.

On New Year's Eve the Wapping scabs came out on to the lorry ramp and watched as the pickets sang and danced the New Year in. Though the peace didn't last long, some of Murdoch's paper boys (police) waded into the pickets indiscriminately, for no reason. March and rally steward was Bill Freeman, SOGAT. He told the pickets Mike Hicks sent New Year greetings to everyone on the line. A mighty cheer went up with the chant of 'Free Mike Hicks! Free Mike Hicks!'

First anniversary

Striker LARRY HYETT of SOGAT 'Times' Days Committee, Fleet Street Support Unit and Lambeth Printers Support Group writes in a personal capacity on the prospects after a year of struggle



OUR strike has involved the biggest lock-out and industrial dispute to face our industry since trade unions were founded to defend workers interests in the print.

On January 24 we will have been in dispute for one year and there have been many lessons for us as strikers and for the movement to learn.

We have seen, since the determined attack on the miners in 1984-1985, that this government is prepared to smash democracy wherever it raises its head, proving that it will go to extremes to maintain power.

Unfortunately the so-called leadership of the unions involved has been weak, following the dictat of 'new realism' promoted by the TUC and Labour Party alike.

What future can we hope for under their control, even should Labour win the next election?

The way forward must be

for workers to gain confidence in themselves to challenge for control of their own destiny.

During the strike we have seen total capitulation by the leadership and those bureaucrats supported by bankrupt Stalinist ideas who have used the dispute to gain higher positions within the union movement and abuse the trust of the strikers in the process.

Only by an elected and instantly accountable strike committee can the true aspirations of strikers be put forward at mass meetings open to motions from the floor and amended as strikers see fit.

When we started to make progress along these lines and demands started coming forward, they were crushed and have never been called again. But it cannot finish there. We must demand their return, or call our own.

The movement has now been called to give solidarity on January 24 at the Temple Tube end of Fleet Street at 4p.m., and picket Murdoch's factory.

We demand that the movement generally and Fleet

Street workers especially respond. Only through industrial strength will workers achieve their natural justice, regardless of who is in power.

The Public Order Act will crumble to dust in front of determined and positive action by workers in solidarity.

Regardless of the hardship being felt and the hardship to come, we will not bend the knee: we shall continue in the struggle, but the job to be done today is to build the opposition.

It may seem at times to be a fight against the stream

but continue we must.

Every print support group, every party and workplace, must build for the 24 January.

This is to be the turning point of the strike to victory, not just for one Saturday in January, but the start of defending trade unionism in 1987, and workers' rights to organise to strike, the right to a job.

WAPPING STRIKE ANNIVERSARY

A Year of Struggle

Saturday 24 January

MARCH

Assemble: Arundel Street, Temple Tube 4pm

& RALLY

Wellclose Street E1 6.30pm

- ▶ NATIONAL SPEAKERS
- ▶ MUSIC
- ▶ SPECIAL GUESTS
- ▶ STALLS

SHOW YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE
5,500 SACKED BY RUPERT MURDOCH

SOGAT • NGA • AEU • NUJ

The Derby sackogram

EVERYONE who works for the Trader group of free newspapers in the East Midlands got a 'sack-o-gram' in the early hours of December 4.

Their boss, millionaire Lionel Pickering, sent personal letters of instant dismissal to all the NGA and SOGAT members after wage negotiations had broken down.

This followed eight months of broken agreements with the NGA, and Pickering's refusal to even meet SOGAT or ACAS.

The 90 sacked printworkers have appealed for support, pointing out that other workers are vulnerable to Pickering's tactics of sackings, followed by closure of the original company and the establishment of a new one with a different name.

They are picketing his premises at Heanor Gate Industrial Estate, Heanor, Derbyshire.

Donations and messages of support to: Trader Sacked Workers Dispute, c/o 114 Stonehill Road, Derby.

Amnesty adopts Viraj

AMNESTY International has adopted Viraj Mendis as a prisoner of conscience, and will circulate their world-wide membership to inform them of the case and their decision. They are convinced that if Mendis is forced back to Sri Lanka he will face persecution and possible death.

This move must be the signal to the trade union and labour movement to step up support for Viraj in his sanctuary campaign which has exposed the viciousness of the immigration officials. The campaign to stop the Viraj deportation meanwhile has occupied Home Office minister David Wad-

lington's surgery in Preston. Support for the campaign was expressed by local workers passing the Tory building. 'Waddington should be deported, not Viraj,' they commented.

The large number of visitors to Viraj in his sanctuary is proof of continuing support for him. A new two-page leaflet and model resolution for the trade union and labour movement are now ready. Copies are available from: Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15.

THATCHER'S BRITAIN

EDWINA Currie's claim that 'northern eating habits' were responsible for poor health are shown to be nonsense in the current 'Labour Research'.

People classified as 'professional and managerial' enjoy markedly better health and have a lower death rate than those in 'Social Class V' which includes pensioners and the long-term unemployed together with the lowest grade of casual workers.

In the south west, the difference between these two groups is shown in a death rate of 952 per 100,000 people (social class V) and 357 per 100,000 (social class I), a difference of 167 per cent.

The report shows that the increase in long-term unemployment from 22 per cent in 1981 to 41.1 per cent in 1986 means that the numbers classified as social class V has increased dramatically.

Cancers and heart disease are closely related to social class. Pregnancy-related deaths, while they are decreasing in general, were in fact higher for social classes III-M, IV and V than would have been expected on the basis of previous trends.

Men in class III-M (which includes skilled manual workers) are ten times as likely to die of heart attacks than men in social class I.



THE 20,000 reduction in the number of acute hospital beds over the last six years is highlighted in a survey carried out by Frank Dobson, Labour spokesman on health.

Waiting lists for operations in London increased by 7 per cent over the past year alone.

Mr Dobson described the situation in terms of an 'epidemic'.

Patients getting into beds that were still warm from their previous occupants; a north-west London hospital that had to close its doors to all but emergency cases for over 15 weeks; a fear by administrators that patients are put at risk by being discharged too quickly. These are just a few of the results of the run-down in the health service.

The first 'Red Alert' since the 'flu epidemic of 1973 occurred last March. The London Emergency Bed Service was forced to call it, banning hospitals from all routine surgery and making them discharge as many patients as they could.



UK2000, the much publicized Branson-Thatcher 'clean-up' campaign, has flopped only six months after its extravagant launch, claim Labour leaders.

Fewer than 900 unemployed people were mobilised in this cheap labour scheme.

Alan Jinkinson, deputy general secretary of NALGO, said: 'The project's failure confirms our view that it was a publicity stunt. We oppose it because it is unnecessary if public services are properly resourced.'



THE Government's response to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH) was described by the campaign's British director as 'disappointing'.

Lord Scarman, whose controversial report on the Brixton riots five years ago when he also equated bad housing with social unrest, warned that Britain faced a future 'slum society' with cities full of uninhabitable houses.

'Tomorrow in the UK our own children and grandchildren will find themselves condemned to live in a slum unless something is done to meet now a huge and accumulating bill for repairs to our housing,' he said.

Having sounded a note of such compassion for the plight of 'OUR' children, however, Scarman went on to elaborate on his theme.

He stated that if rented accommodation was not available for the young 'who are frequently on the move, and so they should be, (our emphasis) we shall lack mobility in our workforce.'



Charing Cross Hospital has closed down its coronary care unit indefinitely because of a shortage of trained nurses.

Patients who have had heart attacks are being sent to general wards where facilities and care for heart patients are inadequate.

Doctors have been told that if necessary patients can go to the intensive therapy unit but there is a risk that beds will not be available.

Electricians strike



Library lockout

SIXTY members of the Entertainment and Broadcasting Trades Alliance (BETA), at the Film and TV Library, Brentford, have been locked out and suspended without pay for the last three weeks after a large majority voted to take industrial action over changes in the Film and TV library.

BETA members last week joined striking electricians at the television centre to hand out leaflets.

The results of BBC manage-

ment's 'changes' will mean: a loss of earnings, particularly for the lower paid; staff will have to re-apply for their own posts, with no guarantee of re-employment; and the senior manager in the area is to be given an unearned pay rise of £4,000 per year.

Management have refused to return to the negotiating table after a phone call from ACAS.

The whole union is now being balloted for industrial action in support of the BBC management's victims.

OVER 500 electricians at the BBC are on indefinite strike to restore pay differentials with their co-workers.

At the main picket at BBC Television Centre (above), a representative of the strikers explained the situation: 'Two-and-a-half years ago the BBC granted its semi-skilled workers a pay rise of 17 to 20 per cent. We demanded the same.

'For two-and-a-half years, we have sat around the table with them, and been given nothing concrete to work with. We were forced to take

the decision for industrial action.'

A massive majority of three to one voted in favour of strike action. 'This is a total strike of the BBC electricians — all the provinces, in excess of 500 workers. It could even go further, as we have asked for the support of contracting labour.

'We are feeling our ground and hope things will step up and bring more pressure to bear. We would like to see an independent inquiry into this issue at the BBC — it would knock the top off this lot!'

UCATT anti-strike letter

IN A letter dated 17 December to Len Eaton, secretary of UCATT London Region, UCATT General Secretary Albert Williams forebade all support for his members on strike against the 'lump' at the McCarty and Stone site in Sutton.

He instructed Eaton the dispute was not official, no hardship money was to be paid to the strikers, either from the London Regional Council or from the Executive Council, despite the fact that the employers have withdrawn from the National Working Rule Agreement. The letter said, in part:

'The Executive council agreed that the London Regional Secretary should be instructed that all unlawful actions by UCATT members should cease forthwith.

'In addition, Brother J. Hardman, Assistant General Secretary was also instructed to meet Brother Len Eaton, the London Regional Secretary, Brother A. Tatam, the London regional organiser, and members involved to reiterate quite clearly the EC decision on

this issue and inform all concerned that any violation of the High Court injunction could result in the EC taking disciplinary action in accordance with the provision of general rules of this union.'

This means if members go picketing they risk expulsion from their union.

● The 'Building Worker' group is to hold a national mobilising meeting on 14 February in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, 1p.m.-4p.m. The meeting is to discuss: 'The struggle for democracy in UCATT'.

Support is pledged by many DLOs (direct labour organisations). Eric Heffer, the UCATT sponsored MP, who was warned about his conduct by the EC of UCATT after walking out of the Labour Party conference in 1985, has said he will attend the meeting and agrees with the campaign. Dominic Hehir, victimised former London Regional official, has also been invited to attend.

Art in Danger

ART galleries and museums are in serious danger of falling into decay because of government under-funding.

The Association of First Division Civil Servants, which represents the most senior curators, has produced a report called 'A Stitch in time' which shows that a significant number of the buildings and exhibits are in immediate need of funds for repair.

Director's perks

A BUILDING company director who paid himself £198,000 a year out of a turnover of only £1.5 million has been exposed by 'Labour Research'.

The 48 employees of Dennis Rye's building company were paid a total of only £535,751 in the same year, including social security and pension contributions.

Meanwhile the Rye family received a total of £615,299 in pension contributions are taken into account.

Crawley lock-out

WORKERS at APV in Crawley went on strike last Wednesday after management refused to pay a worker extra money for training a sub-contractor. A letter was issued to all strikers which said: 'Unless you are prepared to stop your strike action and to work normally tomorrow, you should not report for work.'

When workers refused to go in to work on the Thursday, management operated their threatened action.

Tube strike vote

LONDON Underground workers have voted for a 24-hour stoppage on Wednesday: 75 per cent of the workforce turned out to ballot by 7,426 in favour of the stoppage to only 1,541 against.

London regional Transport plan to put services out to tender which means butchering jobs, wages and working conditions.

If LRT fail to negotiate, the 24 hour stoppage will be followed by the ban on unrotated overtime and the ban on working on rest days on the following Sunday

RELEASE JAILED TRADE UNIONISTS

S WALES MINERS

DEAN HANCOCK: Oakdale — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicestershire

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

KENT MINER

TERRY FRENCH: Betteshaner — Four year sentence

from January 1985. B73383, Northeye Prison, Bexhill on Sea, East Sussex

PRINTERS

STEPHEN SAVAGE: SOGAT Casuals — Three months from October 1986, Sheerness Prison.

MIKE HICKS, SOGAT NEC, Imperial FoC London Wholesalers — Four months plus eight months suspended. Wormwood Scrubs, from December 5 1986.

THE TEACHERS' FIGHT

NUT suspends inner London leadership

BY ED PHILLIPS

THE NUT leadership has suspended Inner London teachers' leaders who last week called an unofficial strike against Kenneth Baker's Education Bill.

The Inner London Teachers Association (ILTA) called for strike action throughout Inner London's primary and secondary schools for Tuesday, January 13 — when the House of Lords reconvenes to discuss Tory legislation which will destroy the national negotiating rights of the teachers' union.

In a television interview on January 5 Doug McAvoy of the NUT executive was pressed about what his response to ILTA strike action would be.

Suspended

The response came immediately — with a letter from Fred Jarvis telling ILTA not to go ahead and asking for the names of the members of the ILTA council.

On January 6 ILTA officers were notified that all those attending the ILTA council meeting on December 10 1986 who voted for the strike resolution have been suspended from union membership pending a meeting of the national disciplinary committee which convenes within 21 days.

This move is under the union's Rule 8: 'No constituent association or division of the union, or members, or member thereof, shall organise or engage in a strike or industrial action without the prior approval of the executive.'

The ILTA officers were elected unopposed in Inner London where opposition to the recently agreed deal on pay and conditions was solid.

The NUT national leaders, on the other hand, have refused to mount any effective opposition to the Bill which will replace Burnham with a new negotiating machinery and give the final say on teachers' pay and conditions to the Secretary of State for Education.

He will be able to choose who sits on the advisory body, determine what it should discuss, dictate the financial constraints under which it should operate, overrule the advisory body, make differential salary awards for different areas of the country or different subjects.

The NAHT (National Association of Head Teachers) announced on January 6 that they would not carry out new financial duties outlined in the act until extra pay has been negotiated for Head teachers.

School governors, under the terms of the Act, can allocate money to schools within set cash limits and delegate power to the Head to veto spending if 'inappropriate to the curriculum'.

This would be used to justify cuts.

The continual vacillation, compromise and ultimately capitulation of the NUT and other teachers' unions have met with one snub after another from Baker, culminating in a Bill designed to drag the carpet from under their feet and attempt to neutralise the militancy built up by the teachers in their two-year dispute.

The Stalinist Morning Star on December 19, following the NUT ballot on the ACAS agreement, said that teachers had 'voted decisively for the pay and conditions negotiated with the local authority employers'.

In fact both wings of the Communist Party voted for the Nottingham sellout at Special Conference; there was only a 55 per cent turnout for the ballot which followed.

58 per cent of these voted for the agreement and 42 per cent against.

This represents a dramatic swing to the left for a movement which has until now backed the executive to the hilt.

Abstention amongst members represents a loss of confidence in the leadership and an expression of deep concern about where to look for an alternative lead.

The NUT spent £50-100,000 on four adverts in the capitalist press to call for support for the ACAS agreement.

It only called for a lobby of parliament by two members from each constituency.

Responsibility

The burden of responsibility for the current attacks and any unpreparedness of teachers nationally lies squarely on the shoulders of the executive and those Labour-dominated local authorities who called for the ratification of the ACAS deal and are now considering compromising on Baker's Bill.

This leadership refuses to defend basic trade union rights and must, in the words of one Welsh NUT member at Special Conference, be forced to stand aside for those who will.

A national campaign against the Baker deal must involve parents, teachers and all sections of workers bearing the brunt of the Tory attacks and in defence of sections taking up such a fight who are witch-hunted by the leadership.

The TUC must be challenged: will it defend union rights in education following the arbitrary removal of such rights at GCHQ and Wapping?

Local authorities like the Inner London Education Authority must be committed

not to make cuts in jobs and services which hit education.

In ILEA a £160 million cut representing 16 per cent of its total budget is to be discussed in mid-January.

If as a result of this ILEA decides to redeploy teachers and freeze job appointments, this will mean a massive increase in cover for unfilled vacancies in the absence of an adequate budget for supply teachers and will also threaten the curriculum by effectively withholding appointments to posts in areas such as Maths, Science, ESL (English as a Second Language), Mother-tongue teaching, English and music in both secondary and primary schools.

The STA (Socialist Teachers' Alliance) had planned to lobby the meetings of the executive of the NUT on January 9, and on the meeting the following day of 200 divisional representatives to discuss the current situation.

Teachers must demand immediate reinstatement of the London leaders.



Teachers remain militant after more than two years

Scottish union leaders fight for acceptance

BY JOE EYRE

CALLS by Scottish teachers' leaders, for a 'yes' vote in this week's pay and conditions ballot, are becoming increasingly desperate.

The deal recommended by the Communist Party supporters and 'soft lefts' on the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) executive will impose extra duties, limit future trade union action and knife the teachers' pay campaign in the back.

But fierce opposition headed by the union's two largest associations, Glasgow and Lanarkshire, has forced general secretary John Pollok and his supporters to resort to a hysterical campaign in the media.

Pollok, clearly scared that a majority will reject the deal, says he will resign if that happens!

The speed of the EIS leaders' attempts to push through the deal has only increased the bitterness of opposition, which is being

voiced not only in left strongholds like Lothian, but in Ayrshire, Fife and Central regions.

To get a 'yes' vote EIS leaders will have to break up the remarkable degree of unity built up over the two-and-a-half year pay campaign, which has included wide-ranging strike action and a strict work-to-rule.

In November, 84 per cent of EIS members voted to reject the terms of the Main report which Scottish secretary Malcolm Rifkind was attempting to impose.

The report would have given a modest pay rise — at the expense of hard-won conditions.

Main wanted to increase the working week, add a whole host of extra duties to the conditions of teachers, boost the power of head teachers and reward crawlers with a new post of 'senior teacher'.

Teachers not only rejected this notorious package with that massive ballot result, but went on to show their resolve to keep fighting with one of their biggest, most militant demonstrations in Edinburgh on December 4.

But this huge show of strength was rapidly fol-

lowed by a new round of talks between the executive, the local authorities and the Scottish education department.

The two joint panels set up to look at pay and conditions came up with another package which — notwithstanding some minor cosmetic changes — might have been written by Main himself.

The increased working week remained: primary teachers would be expected to work an extra three hours a week. All of the extra duties remained.

Stalinists

The new 'senior teacher' post remained, albeit under a different name. Management appraisal of teachers remained. The very modest pay rise remained.

In return for all of this, teachers were to get seven days extra holiday — which English teachers have had for years.

The EIS executive accepted this package which is clearly in breach of long-standing union policy, with six votes against. The most senior of the oppositionists, former president Kenny McLachlan, had had to use his casting vote two years ago to prevent an earlier sell-out attempt.

Having taken this decision two days before the Christmas holiday began, the executive sent out ballot papers to schools over the holiday, accompanied by glossy (and expensive) propaganda urging a 'yes' vote.

The newly-formed Socialist Federation of Socialist Teachers countered Pollok's offensive with a well-argued

four-page brochure against the deal. And Glasgow association's decision, by a 2-1 margin, to campaign against the deal, came on the first day of term.

The main architects of the deal are the Stalinists on the executive. They can't of course openly praise such a shabby offer: instead they don their 'new realist' caps (who invented 'new realism' anyway?) and claim that it's the best that can be expected in the circumstances.

In true witch-hunting fashion, they combine this bilge with vicious personal attacks on opponents of the deal — especially the six executive members who voted against.

A 'no' vote would cut the ground from under the 'new realists' and throw the executive into a serious crisis.

But no matter what form the campaign takes in the future, many Scottish teachers who have become highly political on the basis of their two-and-a-half years of experience, will demand a serious explanation of the executive's rapid climbdown over the last few weeks.

Such an explanation can only be developed on the basis of a clear understanding of the politics of Stalinism and reformism, and a knowledge of the massive betrayals which these two political tendencies have perpetrated within the international workers' movement over many decades.

In acquiring a deeper understanding of these matters, serious teachers will have to consider the pressing and vital necessity to build a new, revolutionary, leadership within the unions.

Support for London strike

STOCKWELL Park teachers NUT branch passed the following resolution on Wednesday 7 January, defying the executive decision to suspend the Inner London teachers' leaders.

'This meeting of Stockwell Park NUT welcomes the call by ILTA for a one day strike on Tuesday January 13 in opposition

to the government's bill on teachers' pay and conditions.

We call on all members to: a) support the action; b) attend the march and lobby and c) picket school gates from 8am on the day.

We urge the NUT nationally to give vigorous support to this action and to build a strong campaign against the bill.'

VANESSA REDGRAVE

What is she up to?

Despite the desperate efforts by Vanessa and Corin Redgrave, the issue of Gerry Healy's expulsion from the Workers Revolutionary Party in October 1985 refuses to lie down and die.

It has surfaced yet again with the interview given by Vanessa Redgrave to Melvyn Bragg in 'The Guardian' on December 23.

In that interview, Bragg reminded his readers of Healy's expulsion and the defence of Healy by Redgrave and her brother Corin:

'When Gerry Healy — leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party — was accused of "seducing at least 26 members of the Party and using property owned by the Party to stage the seductions" Vanessa and Corin sailed in as loyal support.'

In a letter to 'The Guardian' on 2 January 1987 (see below), Redgrave complained bitterly about the interview, claiming she had an agreement with Bragg that it would be confined to theatrical matters.

Bragg's reply on January 3 is also reproduced below. He categorically denies the claim. There were no restrictions placed on the interview and Redgrave knows this, says Bragg.

'What is she up to?' asks Bragg.

The fact is, maybe unwittingly, he touched Redgrave on a raw nerve.

Since October 1985 two stories have been circulated by the Healy rump.

According to one version the charges against Healy were without foundation.

The second story admits the charges were true but

holds that Healy's systematic sexual abuse of female party members was a 'private matter' which has no bearing on politics.

Sheila Torrance, former WRP assistant general secretary and expelled along with Healy, told both tales.

The first version is a lie. This the Workers Revolutionary Party again made clear in its letter submitted to 'The Guardian' on 5 January, and reproduced here.

Healy has never denied the charges, either in the Party or the working class. Nor has he taken legal action against those who have publicised the charges.

As to the second version, it serves to underline the reactionary ideology which informs the Healy group.

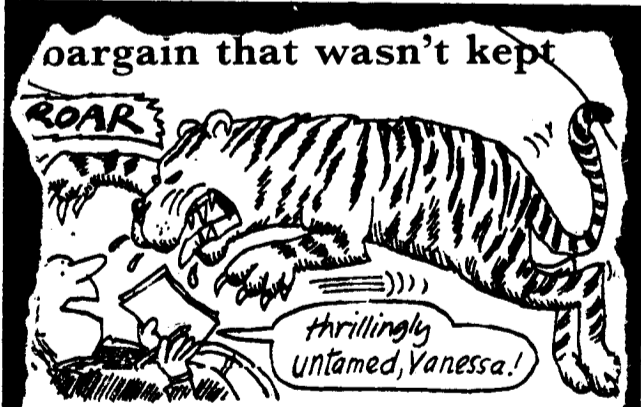
There is no such thing as 'personal morality': morality is as social as is politics. Healy's sexual abuse was a reflection of his reactionary politics which came to dominate the WRP before his expulsion and continues to dominate the Torrance rump today.

Healy's expulsion concerned fundamental questions for the working class in general and the international Trotskyist movement in particular.

It cannot be buried and we intend to make sure it is not.

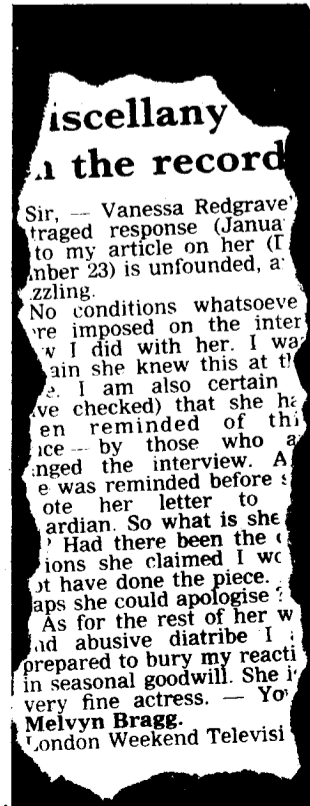


VANESSA REDGRAVE: Doing her own interviews from now on?



Sir, — I am writing in response to the article by Melvyn Bragg (Arts Guardian December 23). Melvyn Bragg has broken and abused the professional trust of the interview requested by the Guardian and arranged through Andrew Canham, PR for the Young Vic Theatre, and Lyn Kirwin Associates, the PR firm engaged by Mr Peter Baldwin, for the production of Ghosts at the Wyndham's Theatre. In his article Melvyn Bragg lied — "It was the actress I came to see." Correct, the interview was requested and read on that precise basis. During the interview on December 19, Melvyn Bragg, quite correctly, did not discuss any political questions. However, in writing up his article, he wrote two full paragraphs based on political press-clippings. I quote — "Yet when you go through the clippings — reviews

my contractual obligation. At all times, a professional responsibility. I never abuse the trust and principles involved in this work. To ensure that no one else does, I always insist that such interviews deal only with questions relating to the profession. For Melvyn Bragg to abuse an interview with an actor (or actress) based entirely on their work in drama, theatre and film in order to insert references to press clippings about political activities, views, or their personal life is the type of journalism employed most notoriously by the Murdoch press. It is a sign of the times we are living in — "Scoundrel Times" as Lillian Hellman once said. — Yours faithfully, Vanessa Redgrave. Wyndham's Theatre, Charing Cross Road, London WC 2.



Workers Revolutionary Party letter to 'The Guardian'

Dear Sir, We have no knowledge of the conditions on which Ms Vanessa Redgrave gave her interview to Melvyn Bragg in 'The Guardian' on December 23. We would however like to comment on another matter raised in Ms Redgrave's letter ('A bargain that wasn't kept', January 2). She there accuses Melvyn Bragg of repeating 'calumnies of a political witch-hunt of lies and disinformation which I repudiated absolutely as a Central Committee member of the Workers Revolutionary Party at a press conference a year ago'.

Ms Redgrave is understandably coy about these supposed calumnies. The fact is that Gerry Healy, former leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party, was

expelled from the Party in October 1985 on three counts: for acts of systematic sexual abuse against female comrades, for the regular use of physical violence, and for political slander against his opponents. He was supported by Vanessa Redgrave and her brother Corin. When Bragg in his original piece said 'When Gerry Healy — leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party — was accused of "seducing at least 26 members of the party and using property owned by the party to stage the seductions" Vanessa and Corin sailed in as loyal support', he is telling the truth.

Healy has never — either in the Party or publicly — denied the truth of these charges; nor has he seen fit to take action in the Courts; remarkable for one who in

the past has been far from slow in resorting to such means. One final point. Ms Redgrave makes false claim that she represents the Workers Revolutionary Party. She and her supporters constituted a small minority of the Party who were expelled democratically and according to the Party constitution by the majority. At the October 12, 1985 Central Committee meeting that charged Healy, 25 voted to lay charges, 11 voted against. The Redgraves and their supporters declared themselves a minority but refused to take up their rights as such. In short they ran away from the WRP and refused to face its members. Yours sincerely, Dave Temple Chairman

SOUTH AFRICA

State's violence is systematic not random

BY JEFF JACKSON

TWO short pamphlets made available in this country recently by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) summarise the degree of state terror unleashed upon the black communities, the widespread use of torture and intimidation and the effects of detention upon the victims and their families.

● The first of these*, put out by a Johannesburg-based Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC), makes clear that the regime's violence against the African masses is not mindless and random as it is often presented by the capitalist media but a systematic attempt to break organisations and disrupt communities.

An important recent development is the general attack waged against families and non-activists within the community in the face of growing resistance to the government, and the development of peoples' power.

The various arms of state terror all use similar tactics, from the South African Police to the local reservists.

Greater responsibility for carrying out repression has been given by the government to the municipal forces, 'black-jacks' as they are called, poorly trained and more trigger-happy than the Security Forces.

In many instances the police refuse to file complaints laid against them by the victims of their assaults and deliberately withhold information from families searching for 'missing' relatives.

Detention and torture, however, remain the chief forms of repression, with death-threats or re-detention.

A pattern has emerged. Short periods of detention accompanied by severe beatings is the preferred method of punishment meted out by the authorities.

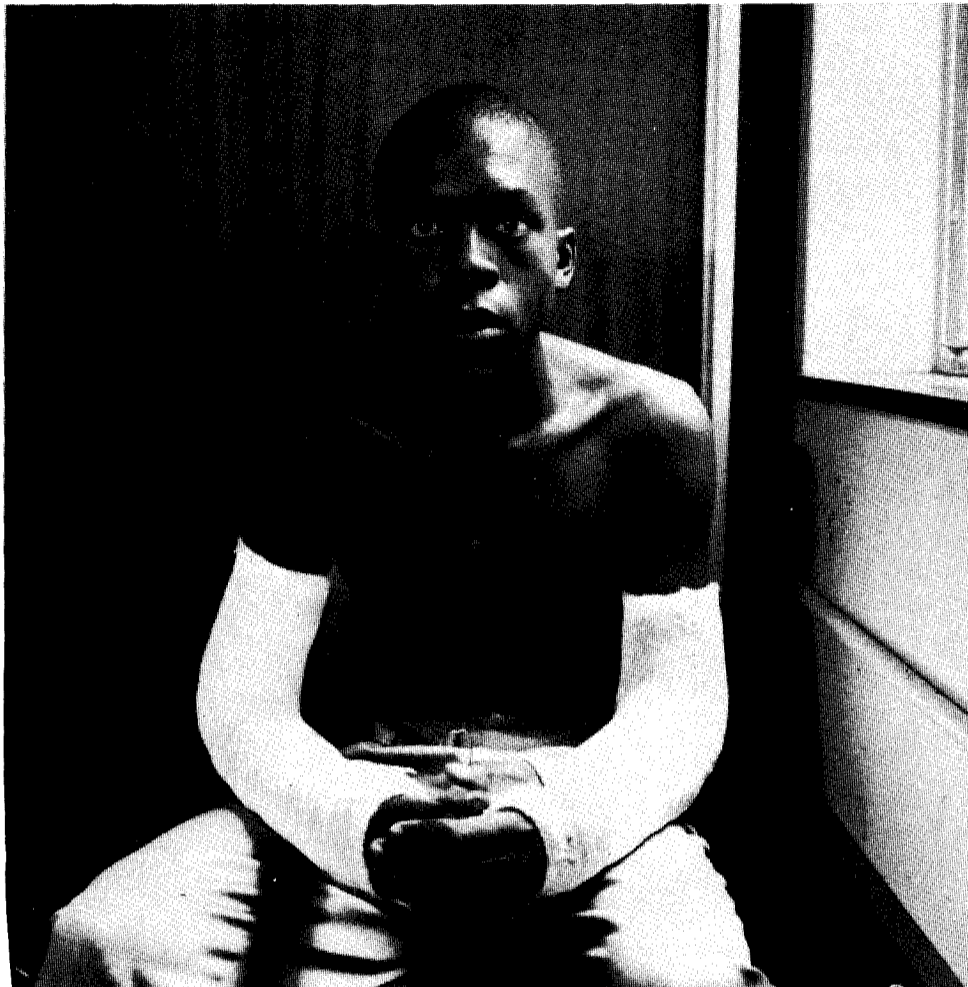
Police commonly carry out assaults in the home, in school-yards or in the back of the Hippos (police vans). Then they drive their victims into the veld and left for dead.

Systematic bombings and burnings of activists' homes are another feature. Whole families are detained as hostages to try to flush out activists who have gone into hiding.

Youth and children, some as young as nine, are the central targets of the repression and violence, a blanket assumption by the government forces being that all youth are involved in the struggle.

Unsurprisingly, prison conditions are deplorable. Moving the prisoners around so their families lost track of their whereabouts is a way of extending the punishment.

Cases of solitary confinement and electro-torture have intensified. Regulation



A recently released detainee (photograph by David Goldblatt from his book with Nadine Gordimer: 'Lifetimes Under Apartheid', published by Jonathan Cape at £15)

medical treatment for prisoners, where it is observed at all, is rare.

Despite these conditions, the report adds, in many cases detainees continue the struggle while inside by going on hunger strike.

Informal networks, usually directed towards the children, are now being re-established to try to combat the ever-increasing resistance of the black workers to the Botha government.

● The second report**, by the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) largely consists of case histories of the effects of various forms of maltreatment by the Botha apartheid state on its younger victims.

Summing up its concerns in its own words: 'our approach to management and rehabilitation', the shortcomings of this paper are nevertheless outweighed when seen as a contribution at whatever level in the struggle against a repressive regime.

One 14-year-old detainee,

arrested by the South African Defence Force, had wire wound around his fingers which was then attached to a car battery. He was shocked many times.

Extensive burns and scarring to his right hand fingers and thumb were visible. He lost the use of the hand for several weeks.

'In the surgery he sat with his head bent, avoiding eye contact and saying very little.'

In another case history, a group of 16-year-old boys and girls had been given electric shocks and kept in communal cells.

The three girls complained of pain and weakness in their hands and general body pain.

The boys, when examined, appeared physically well and, whilst none of them complained of psychological problems, it appeared evident when they were more closely questioned that they were all suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

They were very much

afraid of re-detention and a repetition of this experience.

Another boy of about 17, mentally retarded, could give no account of the treatment he had received. He would only say 'yes' and 'no', never giving free answers.

His mother said he had been very withdrawn since his release and appeared confused. She had once found him standing on a dustbin just staring in front of him.

Several other case-histories are referred to in this report and a much fuller and more detailed presentation is in preparation.

Whilst both these pamphlets are clearly limited in scope, their wide circulation should be welcomed in the fight to defeat apartheid.

Only by distributing this type of information about the atrocities taking place under Botha — even from very conservative sources — can a really firm basis for eventual victory be achieved.

'It is sobering to see a young person of this age who has come to terms with an experience of this nature and who is prepared to continue with political activity on the basis of experience gained in prison.'

'By the time they are 20 years old people like this will have 5 years of political experience,' is the astute observation contained in the second report.

*Detainees' Parents Support Committee: Press Release on Current Repression Trends.

**Report by NAMDA on Detention of Children and Adolescents. Both pamphlets available from the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF.

Trade unions resist Botha's crackdown

BOTHA'S latest crackdown in the State of Emergency will not succeed in defeating the South African working class.

Unlike the severe repressions used to crush the trade union movements in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and 1960s, this latest intensification of the State of Emergency reveals a loosening and not a tightening of the state's grip.

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

The increase in arrests and reporting restrictions means the month-long Emergency has not succeeded in the smashing of the revolt that Botha and his supporters so hoped.

In the 1960s, the re-emergent forces were crushed in a period of intense repression which lasted for a decade. The most powerful confederation of trade unions, the South African Confederation of Trade Unions (SACTU), was driven into exile or underground.

With this history of repression very much in mind, trades unionists set out consciously in the 1970s to build a movement which could not be beheaded by the destruction of its leadership.

The emphasis in rebuilding was on a very solid grass-roots organisation, from the bottom up rather than the top down, through a powerful shop-steward structure.

Their aim was to ensure, if the leadership was arrested as so many times before, that the shop-stewards could step forward at a moment's notice and assume the role of leadership so that the trade union movement could continue to function in the face of mass repression.

There are now 20,000 shop-stewards and 4,000 shop-stewards councils functioning in South Africa. (Namibia is at the moment experiencing a resurgence in the trade union movement).

The executives of the unions were also consciously structured so as to be genuinely controlled by the membership.

Whenever decisions are to be taken by union officials, they are referred back to those they represent, ensuring a very powerful united structure between membership and leadership.

Methods

This means the old methods used by the apartheid state to crush the trade union movement are no longer effective.

Botha's attack has been deliberately directed at the trade union movement: 40 per cent of the COSATU leadership is now in detention, and scores of key leadership figures have been forced into hiding.

One of those in hiding is Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU, who is quoted in an interview given to the South Africa Labour Bulletin:

'In response to Le Grange's (Minister of Law and Order) statement that no trade unionist has been detained for trade union activities, we believe that the attack on the labour movement is a political attack and our response, of necessity, has to be a political response.'

'In the South African situa-

tion it is impossible to separate the struggle for workers' rights on the factory floor from the broader struggle for political freedom.

'Worker leaders on the factory floor have a democratic right to represent and lead workers in the townships where they live.

'The fact that the vast majority of people in South Africa are denied access to the structures of political decision-making would mean that political grievances would be channelled through the only avenues available to them — the trade unions.

'Therefore leaders and workers who take up problems that face our communities — housing, rents and forced removals — see this as a legitimate extension of their activity on the factory floor.

'If the state attempts to attribute the problems of South Africa to "agitators", then that would make every union member an agitator.'

Structures

The new structures of the trade unions mean the imprisonment and persecution of the leadership can no longer succeed in disorienting and dispersing the broad movement.

On the contrary, despite the State of Emergency, COSATU membership, especially the South African NUM is continuing to grow apace.

There were mass stoppages on May 1 and June 16, 1986 in which 1.5 to 2 million workers responded to the call for strike action.

Again, on October 1, the South African NUM struck work in response to the deaths of 177 miners, notwithstanding State of Emergency and the brutal private security forces on the gold fields.

Botha is becoming increasingly desperate in the face of this hydra-headed movement. When one falls, ten others step in to take their place.

When the state imprisons and tortures 11-year-old children and invades a friendly state to kidnap and terrorise civilians, it is not showing its strength, but lashing out in a frenzy of fear.

The South African working class still has enormous problems. There are 6 million unemployed and the state uses their desperation to scab on organised workers.

There is no revolutionary party which proposes to arm the workers and lead them to a socialist revolution.

The danger of this enormous strength being used to install another ruling class committed to the exploitation of the masses has not been overcome, but there is no question that this movement of revolt will not overthrow apartheid.

WEST GERMANY

KOHL TRADES ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA

BY TRUDI JACKSON

SECRET arms deals are not peculiar to the crisis-torn Reagan administration: West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has had his fingers in the pie too, apparently.

According to one leading newspaper, blueprints of high-tech submarines worth £18 million have been illegally transferred to South Africa by HDW — the German state-owned shipyard industry.

Kohl's support for apartheid is, of course, inseparable from that of the leader of the Christian Social Party (CSU) Franz-Josef Strauss: against what they call the threat of 'interconnection with the Soviet sphere of power'.

'The Soviet Union would not only control the irreplaceable resources of raw material — indispensable for western Europe — but also the important sea-trading routes around the Cape,' Strauss is quoted as saying by 'Der Spiegel' newspaper.

No export licence was granted for the deal, and there was no official agreement from the Federal Security Council.

In addition to breaking the United Nation's 1977 arms embargo against South Africa



Chancellor Kohl visits Mrs Thatcher

ca and the decisions of the European Community, the newspaper report uncovers a complete reversal of the Federal government's own declaration that it refused any military co-operation with the apartheid regime.

So much for the integrity of imperialist rulers!

But such revelations come as no surprise to anyone, just as those of corruption on Capitol Hill didn't.

The Kohl government has no qualms about lavish exports of arms because it regards the profit from the prestige of the country's products to be higher than the political dangers involved in foreign affairs, not only by arming the South African apartheid state but also supplying weapons such as the German 'miracle tank' Leopard II to Saudi Arabia — disregarding the implications that has for Israel.

Foreign Minister Genscher (FDP Liberal Party) doesn't agree with either. 'One cannot do it,' he says.

A commission of inquiry was formed, led by the opposition Social Democrats (SPD), with the result of the forthcoming election hanging in the balance.

The CDU (Christian Democratic Party) government, however, have insisted the inquiry be extended to the time when the SPD themselves were in power, to establish what illegal arms deals took place during that period.

● Meanwhile, HDW boss, Klaus Ahlers — who subsequently quit his job — has already found himself a new post: in South Africa. Deliveries of replacement parts for the submarines arrived well beforehand.

Cherry Groce-style police raid in Bronx

MORRISANIA in New York's Bronx district ranks highest or near the top in:

- Infant mortality
- Percentage of abandoned buildings
- Incidence of heart disease
- Number of crimes per capita

BY CHRIS BAILEY

It is also the centre of an area known as 'crack city', named after the new extra-deadly heroin-derived drug being pushed in the area.

Addiction is instant, there is no cure and you don't live very long once you're hooked on it.

On Wednesday 19 November, 27 officers from the New York city police went to 1231 Fulton Avenue in Morrisania.

They were dressed in bullet proof jackets and armed with high-powered rifles: 15 of them took up posts in an alley, on the roof, on fire escapes and in strategic spots outside, while 12 went into the building.

Six of these then entered the three-roomed ground floor apartment where Regina Lewis lived with her baby and young nephew.

They were looking for the man they had nicknamed the 'Crack city terminator', wanted for the execution-style killing of at least seven Bronx crack dealers.

The man in question was the 20-year-old brother of Regina Lewis, Larry Davis.

Davis, the youngest of a family of 19 brought up single-handed in Morrisania by his mother Mary Davis, was in the flat.

But not for very long. He shot all six policemen entering the flat and then escaped in a gun fight with the remaining 21.

The next day the New York press had a field day. Davis was labelled 'a crack-head maniac'.

The 'New York Post' reported: 'Nothing is safe around him — not even the neighbourhood dogs and cats. He shoots them or slits their throats. He once roasted a dog and ate it.'

They didn't state any source for these lurid stories. The only sources they did name referred mainly to his musical talent as a drummer and on electrical keyboards.

He had played drums in church and recently appeared on a TV talent show with a pop group.

Friends and relatives did agree though that he had a criminal record for robbery and was known to hate cops and crack-dealers, hardly unusual in the Bronx.

The main emphasis in all the press however was on the dangerous life of a New York policeman.

The formation of an organisation called Citizens Outraged at Police Shootings (COPS) was announced and immediately offered \$10,000 reward for the capture of Davis.

Meanwhile over 90 of these courageous police carried out a raid on the home of Mary Davis. She was taken into hospital suffering from a heart attack immediately afterwards.

This was not however the most significant event of the day concerning New York police.

Television viewers that evening were treated to a lengthy news programme featuring Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, Phil Caruso, the head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, and New York City Mayor Koch.

With handshakes all round they announced a settlement to a two-week dispute between the City administration and the policemen's 'union'.

Earlier in the year 12 New York policemen had been arrested for involvement in drug trafficking.

Ward and Koch had announced tough measures would be taken to stamp out such corruption.

Ward had produced a plan to transfer a fifth of the department's patrol officers each year to new districts.

The police had reacted to this attack on their right to corruption by organising a work showdown (perhaps this explains why Davis escaped!) and threatening a mass march on City Hall.

Just hours before the Davis shoot-out peace talks had broken down.

Mayor Koch had now intervened to bring the two sides together and the result

was seen as a complete climbdown by Ward.

Ward dropped his plan and the 'union' agreed to allow the rotation of some rookie cops and senior officers off or on to the midnight duty tour 'for cause'.

The police seemed well pleased with the new deal. Officer Rober Manzi, a fingerprint expert in the 20th Precinct, told the press:

'The new plan is mostly rhetoric. I don't think there's going to be a lot of movement'.

For the next 17 days the Bronx was under siege. Hundreds of policemen and SWAT squads were carrying out daily raids looking for Davis.

A youth interviewed outside his local high school were treating Davis as a hero.

'Maybe he really wanted to take the Crack out of the block,' said 18-year-old Waly Calles.

'I think he probably knew somebody who was addicted,' he added.

The police finally cornered Davis in a tower block flat where he was hiding with his girlfriend and baby.

He surrendered to the police after lengthy negotiation over the telephone in which he demanded television coverage of his surrender so that he wouldn't be shot dead on the spot.

Police reported that the 'crack-head maniac' behaved 'like a frightened youth'.

New York returned to 'normal'. The Manhattan stores continued their 'anti-drugs' campaign.

Gangs of Moonies asking people to sign a petition 'against drugs and communism' invaded the subways as usual.

The Bronx was pretty 'normal' too, the only bit of news being that the Bronx Democratic leader Stanley M. Friedman was found guilty after a lengthy trial in which he was charged with racketeering, conspiracy and mail fraud and turning the city's Parking Violations Bureau into a criminal enterprise.

The crack dealers were busy as usual, safe in the knowledge that the forces of 'law and order' were available to protect them.

Just so long as they got their cut!

REAGAN'S THREE ENVELOPES

A PARABLE being told in the wake of the 'Irangate-Contragate' row concerns three sealed envelopes which former President Jimmy Carter passed on to Ronald Reagan on his succession to the White House.

Carter instructed him that these were to be opened in crises.

When the recession began to hit American jobs and industries and Reagan came under fire, he opened the first of Carter's envelopes.

'Blame me', said the message. Reagan did, and his popularity was restored.

A couple of years later, with the dollar in trouble, Reagan's administration was in trouble again. He decided to open the second envelope. 'Blame Congress', read the advice.

Reagan did, and once again was able to ride back in the opinion polls.

As soon as he realised the trouble he was in over the secret arms sales to Iran and funding for the Contras, Reagan decided to open the third envelope.

The instruction in it this time said: 'Prepare three envelopes . . .'

Partisan leader to Pop-star

VETERAN Yugoslav Communist Party leader Svetozar Vukmanovic, who commanded wartime partisans in the mountains of Macedonia, has embarked on a change of career — at 74.

Vukmanovic, better-known during the war by the codename 'Tempo', is guesting on one of the new album tracks produced by Yugoslav pop group, 'White Buttons'.

He reworks a number called 'Injustice and Violence Must Die', which used to

help raise the morale of partisans going into action against the Nazis and reactionaries during the Second World War.

'White Buttons' is no mere bureaucrats' chorus, by all accounts. Highly regarded by Yugoslav youth, the group has a reputation for political independence.

Vukmanovic, who joined the Communist Party in 1935, emerged after the war as a leading spokesman for the Yugoslav party, defending the seizure of power in defiance of Kremlin di-

plomacy, and rebutting Stalinist slanders.

Although occupying a position in the Yugoslav politbureau since, heading the official trade unions and then the Central Economic Commission, he has continued to have a non-conformist image among the bureaucrats.

The success of 'White Buttons' in securing his Vukmanovic's services is quite a publicity coup and the more stuffed-shirt members of the Party leadership are said to be 'not amused'.



Mrs Mary Davis — in hospital after a heart attack during the police raid on her home

Revolutionary st

WHICH class will lead the Irish revolution? The belief that only the working class could, united James Connolly, the left wing of the Republican Congress in 1934, and the Trotskyist movement today.

Trotsky touched on this theme in his article on the lessons of the 1916 uprising: 'An all-Ireland movement such as the nationalist dreamers had expected simply failed to materialise. The Irish countryside did not stir.

'The Irish bourgeoisie, and likewise the higher and more influential stratum of the Irish intelligentsia, held aloof. There fought and died only the workers of Dublin, together with some revolutionary enthusiasts from the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. The historical basis for the national revolution has disappeared even in backward Ireland.' (*Trotsky's Writings on Britain*, New Park edition, vol 3, p. 60).

Trotsky is saying quite clearly: the national bourgeoisie will betray; only the working class can lead the revolution to a successful conclusion, and to do this it must complete not only the democratic, national tasks (that is — abolishing the border, secularising the state etc.) but must begin immediately the socialist reconstruction of society.

This revolution cannot be completed on a national scale, clearly a hopeless task in Ireland of all countries — but can only be completed as part of the world revolution. Hence the inherent internationalism of the 'national' revolution.

Such beliefs were not Trotsky's alone. They were the theme of all Lenin's writings against the Mensheviks in Russia, where 'democratic' and 'national' tasks were also posed.

As Stalinism consolidated its hold in the Soviet Union in the mid-1920s, it put forward on the one hand the anti-Marxist idea that socialism could be built in a single country and on the other it pretended — particularly in China — that the national bourgeoisie could play a revolutionary role.

This went against everything fought for by Lenin and Trotsky — and by James Connolly, who said to members of the Irish Citizens

**DISCUSSION ARTICLE
BY GERRY DOWNING**

Army before the 1916 uprising: 'In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty.'

In contrast to Connolly, who sought to unite the national struggle with that of the working class for socialist emancipation, the trade union bureaucrats who dominated the Irish working class movement after his death worked to keep separate the militant syndicalism of the Irish working class from revolutionary republicanism.

The leadership dominated by William O'Brien (who succeeded Connolly as the Irish TGWU secretary) and Cathal O'Shannon (founder of the Irish Labour Party) performed that task for British imperialism during the independence war of 1919-1921 and the civil war of 1922-1923.

They supported the soviets that were established. But on the question of the 1922 Treaty, which accepted partition of Ireland and British control of the six north-eastern counties, they were more right wing than the 'Free Staters' who betrayed Republican ideals



The Irish Citizen Army on parade outside Liberty Hall, Dublin headquarters of the ITGWU, in 1915.

and actually signed the treaty.

The separation of militant working-class tradition from the national struggle was deepened in 1934 by the Stalinists of the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI).

In April of that year, the left wing of the IRA split from the leadership of right-wing chief-of-staff Sean McBride (who himself left the IRA in opposition to the British bombing campaign of the 1940s, founded Clann na Poblachta, entered the coalition government in 1948, and went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize).

McBride had succumbed to the clerical anti-communist witch-hunt of the 1930s, and was giving the Fianna Fail government of Eamonn De Valera, elected in 1932, almost uncritical support.

The IRA left-wingers — led by Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, Michael Price and Frank Ryan — claimed McBride had abandoned Connolly's principles. These four men issued the famous call from Athlone to form the Republican Congress, which stated: 'A Republic of a united Ireland will never be achieved except through a struggle that uproots capitalism on its way.'

But between that declaration, and the Rathmines conference in September 1934 where the Congress was set up, a complete about-turn took place in the position of all the signatories except for Price.

To understand this we need to know the foreign policy of Stalin's Comintern at the time, and the role played by the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) in destroying the Congress.

The ultra-sectarian 'third period' policy of Stalinism — which condemned all parties except the Communists, characterised social democrats as 'social fascists' and prevented the organisation of a united working-class opposition to Hitler who came to power in Germany in 1933 — came to an end in the first few months of 1934. It was replaced with an ultra-right policy of 'alliances against fascism' —

not working-class alliances, but alliances with all parties including the bourgeoisie.

Comintern policy was dictated by Stalin's desire for allies in Britain and France. The CPI were not to rock the boat. And so the Republican Congress — which had originally intended to be a new political party — was to be a 'mass united

supreme representative and leader of the class. For every class there can be only one leadership, one theoretical direction: for revolutionary Marxism, from the Communist International and the Communist Party.

'Any other party at this stage in Ireland could be established only as a barrier between the masses and the CPI, and the CPI would fight vigorously any such attempt. It is clear that a section of the leadership have such a perspective; they must be warned they will be opposed and defeated on this issue.'

At Rathmines, Michael Price, Nora Connolly and Roddy Connolly (James Connolly's daughter and son) proposed the majority resolution re-affirming their commitment to the 'Workers' Republic' slogan. But it was defeated by 99 votes to 88, by a big mobilisation of the CPI.

CPI general secretary Sean Murray used ultra-left rhetoric to cover up the right-wing position of the Stalinists, attacking the resolution for supposedly putting obstacles in the way of winning the leadership of the struggle by the working class, and failing to realise that capitalism could not be smashed without the smashing of British imperialism.

Peadar O'Donnell attacked the left-wingers for wanting to 'jump through a stage in the fight'. Arguing against the 'workers' republic' slogan he said: 'My quarrel with de Valera is not that he is not a socialist, for he makes no pretence to be one. My quarrel is that he pretends to be a Republican while actually the interests for which his party acts — Irish capitalism — are across the road to the republic.'

So on the urging of the CPI, O'Donnell had conceded the concept of revolutionary republican socialism: the republicanism to de Valera, the socialism to the CPI — and the revolution disappeared all together.

Michael Price said the O'Don-



EAMONN DE VALERA

front movement' (i.e. a popular front) standing not for a workers' republic, but simply for a (bourgeois) republic.

The Stalinists naturally made very sure that this new organisation remained firmly under their own control.

A report from the CPI in 'International Press Correspondence', the Comintern's journal, on 20 April 1934, stated: 'Any attempt to set up another political party, on the other hand, would destroy the possibility of such a united front, and reduce the Congress to the unrepresentative farce that launched "Saor Eire". There is no place for another party "catering" for the workers and farmers, but not springing from their ranks.'

'The party (i.e. the CPI) is the



JAMES CONNOLLY

Strategy in Ireland



Many of the best fighters of the Communist Party of Ireland perished on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. This group includes Frank Ryan (third from the left, back row)

nell-Murray viewpoint was based on opportunism and ran counter to the aims for which Connolly fought. History vindicated him: having gained control of the Congress, the CPI quickly liquidated it. Many of its best fighters died fighting fascism in the Spanish civil war.

This betrayal of the revolutionary side of republicanism was repeated again in 1969-1970 when the Official IRA leadership, again under the influence of Stalinism, renounced the armed struggle and again tried to separate the national question from 'social' issues.

Here I wish to make a criticism of David Reed's book, 'Ireland: the Key to the British Revolution'. This excellent book emphasises again and again the problem at the heart of the Irish revolution: the unreformable nature of the six-county statelet as the form of imperialist domination of Ireland; also first-class are its biting com-

ments on the role of the British middle-class left (including the Socialist Labour League/Workers Revolutionary Party under Healy).

But Reed denies the fact that the working class has a central role to play. So he misquotes Trotsky on Ireland (reproducing the above quotation, but missing out the word 'historical' in the last sentence, as though Trotsky simply denied the national question all together). And he claims wrongly that the Republican Congress popular-front type line was 'undoubtedly correct'.

When he comes to the Hunger Strikes of 1981, Reed points out that the National H-Block/Armagh committee did not succeed with its 'humanitarian' appeals to Thatcher via Fianna Fail, the Social Democratic Labour Party, the Irish Congress of Trades Unions etc.

He points out quite rightly that the committee's 'two aspects' strategy, 'one peaceful and the

other involving revolutionary force', collapsed in May 1981 when the dispossessed youth of Dublin took on the gardai with petrol bombs in Dublin's O'Connell Street, shouting 'Gardai-RUC!' Reed correctly states that the 'broad based' tactic shunned the 'new revolutionary force' of youth, and that their revolutionary spirit should have been built on.

But Irish history has shown that the most important revolutionary force is the working class — as Connolly pointed out. But it is the central role of this force that Reed ignores.

Reed and his organisation, the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), have rightly stressed the necessity to unconditionally support the right to Irish self-determination. But they should consider the above points before rejecting the theory of permanent revolution and the primacy of the working class.



A November 1980 demonstration in Dublin in protest at the deaths of hunger strikers

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:

BRITTON

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.

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

VIETNAM AND TROTSKYISM

This fifth article in our series on the history of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement concentrates again on the revolution which erupted in Vietnam in August 1945, with the defeat of the Japanese at the end of the second world war.

As the last two articles have shown, this revolution was effectively beheaded by the Stalinists of the Vietminh, who sought to take control themselves in north Vietnam, but hand over power in the south to the British and French imperialists, according to the deal signed between Stalin, Truman and Churchill at Potsdam.

This is the first part of an account of events, written by a member of the International Communist League (Ligue Communiste Internationaliste — LCI), one of the two Vietnamese Trotskyist organisations. It was published in 'Quatrieme Internationale', the French-language journal of the Fourth International, in September 1947, under the title 'Some Stages of the Revolution in the south of Vietnam'. Here it is published in English for the first time. The second part will be in Workers Press next week.



Vietnamese resistance fighters rounded up by French troops in Saigon, October 1945.

The War and the Revolutionary Crisis

AT 9a.m. on 16 August 1945, news of the final defeat of Japanese imperialism was announced throughout the countries of Indo-China. The following day, the Japanese general staff announced that it was handing over civil administration to the indigenous peoples.

According to the terms of the statement, Japanese imperialism surrendered all power to the legal governments of the various countries that constitute Indo-China: Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. These peoples, the statement added, were from now on independent, with the right to self-determination.

Several hours after this news had broken throughout Vietnam, from the north to the south, from town to country, from factory to street, from one family to another, a social storm arose with the power to overturn everything and smash anything.

Men and women of all ages, regardless of their political persuasion, poured into the streets in surging waves, shouting cries of hatred mingled with joy; together they swore to fight to the last drop of their blood for the complete liberation of their country.

On August 19, the workers of the Banco district of Saigon were the first to move into action and set up the first Popular Committee in the south. Some went out into the streets with army rifles they had stolen from the Japanese and hidden away for months. Others carried pistols of varied and dubious origins.

Those who had no firearm carried daggers or bamboo pikes. With their blue caps with red stars on their heads, their weapons on their shoulders, they formed armed detachments, marching together through the streets, in groups of 50, 100 or 200.

They paraded in military formation, singing the revolutionary anthem, then shouting with a voice that pierced the sky: 'Rather death than slavery! Defend the people's power!'

On the morning of August 20, throughout the Saigon-Cholon region, hundreds of Vanguard Youth Committees declared before their flag their willingness to die for freedom. Phu-Nhuan district, the largest working-class district in the city, elected its Popular Committee, proclaimed the complete abolition of the former regime and proclaimed that from then on, 10a.m. on 20

August 1945, only this Committee would be considered the legal power in the district.

During the following days, mass organisations of many social and political tendencies mushroomed and it was impossible to keep track of their numerical strength and the extent of their activities.

From August 19 onwards, the word went around the capital that there were peasant uprisings in the provinces. Armed demonstrations and terrorist acts struck mortal terror into the bourgeois and the feudalists.

On August 19, the peasants of Sadek province ransacked about ten magnificent villas belonging to their landlords. At the same time they burned down a large number of granaries full of rice.

Many dignitaries and officials were arrested by the peasants and a number of them were shot on the spot. While members of the rural police were drowned by the revolutionary masses, former officials of the French and Japanese governments, who had all been declared enemies of the people, saw all their possessions go up in flames.

In the course of a few days in Long-xuyen, an entirely rural province, 200 dignitaries and rural policemen were stabbed to death.

From the middle of August, the revolutionary peasants in central Vietnam began to drive out the royalist-imperialist mandarins and seized control of the organs of local government by armed force. During the same period, well-equipped armed detachments of peasants launched surprise attacks on Japanese milit-

ary posts, capturing arms and ammunition.

From the second week of August onwards, the landowners of north Vietnam suffered the same fate as their brothers in the south. In a number of villages, granaries, villas and land were confiscated 'arbitrarily' for the benefit of the Popular Committees.

Big landowners and former officials were brought before popular tribunals where they were tried publicly by the villagers. Several hundred former faithful servants of France and the Japanese general staff were beheaded in a few days.

The Reactionary Parties and the United National Front

Faced with the revolutionary situation that was in full upsurge throughout the country, the leaders of the bourgeois and feudalist parties known as Cao Dai-ists, Hoa Hao-ists or Nationalists were unable to find any force, either on the right or on the left, that could save their country, as they saw it, from the sword of the threatening revolution.

On August 18, these groups of political nonentities called a joint meeting, at which they decided unanimously to set up a political front that then became known as the 'United National Front'.

The day after reaching this political agreement, this bourgeois-feudalist bloc issued a joint declaration calling on the people to take part in a demonstration

organised under the leadership of this Front, at 6a.m. on August 21 in Saigon's Norodom Square, to celebrate national independence.

Who are these political parties?

The Cao Dai party: in reality this is only a semi-political religious association, based on a motley collection of mystical ideas. Essentially, its purpose was to assist the French government in slaughtering the revolutionary peasants who followed the communist movement in Cochinchina in the period 1930-1941.

But when French imperialism signed its military and economic capitulation to Japanese militarism in 1941, the Cao Dai party turned its back on its former French patron in order to play the role of political double agent for the Japanese general staff.

However, with the coup of 9 March 1945, by which Japanese militarism ousted the French colonial government, this party's position changed completely. Whilst its leaders preached loyalty to the emperor of Japan, its followers rose in revolt throughout the country, trampling God and landed property underfoot.

The second religious sect, the Hoa Hao party, which brought together more than a million poor and middle peasants, played a no less important role in support of the Japanese army.

Hoa Hao-ism differed from Cao Dai-ism in that it sought to unite politically urban workers and rural proletarians, but on the basis of total rejection of the class struggle. What the former

and the latter parties have in common is that they are both instruments in the service of foreign imperialism and are both violently opposed to social revolution.

The National Independence Party, the acknowledged instrument of the national bourgeoisie, is essentially composed of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals (academics, engineers, journalists, lawyers and former French government officials) totally devoid of theoretical and political principles. In reality it is no more than a group of socially degenerate careerists and speculators.

During the years of revolutionary upsurge, the leaders of this party did nothing to conceal their reactionary attitude and always placed themselves in the camp of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Today these petty-bourgeois take advantage of the absence of workers' parties in the political arena and impose their bogus patriotic sentiments on the confusion of the revolutionary masses.

The Party of the Fourth International and the Events of 21 August 1945

From 1939 to 1944 no revolutionary communist voice was to be heard among the masses. Hundreds of militants of the two parties (the Struggle group, and the LCI) fighting under the banner of

the Fourth International had been deported, exiled or jailed, and quite a few had disappeared into prisons and concentration camps.

But towards the end of 1944 the Trotskyist movement became active again. At first the LCI, reconstituted in Saigon in August 1944, brought together only a few tens of members, among them five founding members of the Trotskyist movement who had each experienced at least 12 years of revolutionary struggle. To this number were added a few experienced comrades sent by the section in the north.

After the Japanese coup of 9 March 1945, the LCI lost no time in issuing a manifesto calling on the revolutionary masses of Saigon to prepare politically for a revolution in the very near future.

'The imminent defeat of Japanese imperialism', said the manifesto, 'will launch the Indo-chinese people on to the road of national liberation. The bourgeois and feudalists who today are the cowardly servants of the Japanese general staff, will likewise serve the Allied imperialist states.'

'The petty-bourgeois nationalists with their adventurism will also be incapable of leading the people to revolutionary victory. Only the working class, fighting independently under the flag of the Fourth International will be able to accomplish the task of leading the revolution.'

'The Stalinists of the Third International have already abandoned the working class in order to rally wretchedly to the "democratic" imperialists. They have betrayed the peasant and no

'A social storm that could overthrow everything and smash anything. . .'

Part five of a Workers Press series

longer mention the agrarian question. If today they march with the foreign capitalists, then in the coming period they will assist the indigenous exploiting classes to crush the revolutionary people.

'Workers and peasants! Gather under the banner of the party of the Fourth International!' (*Manifesto of March 24, 1945*).

At 6 a.m. on August 21, more than 300,000 men and women, grouped in columns, thronged Saigon's Norodom Boulevard. Banners and placards blossomed above this human sea.

The Cao Dai-ist and Hoa Hao-ist peasants formed a column 100,000-strong, with the monarchist banner at their head. In opposition to the reactionary nationalist parties, the LCI boldly unfurled its huge flag of the Fourth International, three metres long by two metres wide.

Carried by the worker C., an old Bolshevik-Leninist, the flag was a proud beacon of revolutionary strength and attracted the lively attention of hundreds of thousands of slaves, who had been duped for many years by the exploiters of their country.

Revolutionary slogans were inscribed in huge letters on a series of huge placards and banners that waved above our heads: 'Down with imperialism! Long live the world revolution! Long live the workers' and peasants' front! Popular committees everywhere! For a people's assembly! For the arming of the people! Nationalise the factories under workers' control! For a workers' and peasants' government!'

Thousands of workers who had been leaderless, dispersed and demoralised during the war years, had never lost their memory of the revolutionary movement. From the first moment when the flag of the Fourth International and the slogans of the revolutionary proletariat appeared, they spontaneously recovered their political consciousness and felt their revolutionary faith reviving.

They embraced each other for joy in the midst of the crowd, they competed for the right to carry this placard or that flag. Workers arrived in waves, greeting each other with the clenched fist salute, declaring themselves redy to fight with their vanguard party. Within a few hours, the workers gathered under the leadership of a few tens of Trotskyist numbered more than 30,000.

Terrified by the violence of the revolutionary masses, the bourgeois could only grit their teeth; they were politically paralysed, and obliged to leave the field clear for the activities of the Trotskyists. While the masses marched through the streets, the militants of the LCI tirelessly put forward their policies at open-air meetings.

For their part, the peasants marching separately behind reactionary leaders listened attentively to our speeches on the national and peasant problem as they affected them.

Disregarding the political discipline imposed by their parties, they enthusiastically applauded every time the flag of the Fourth International was carried past. Inspired by the Trotskyist slogans, workers and peasants looked to each other as friends.

The evolution of the balance of political forces after August 21

After the military defeat of Japanese imperialism the bourgeois and feudalist parties had fallen into hopeless disarray and had no idea

how to put an end to the 'anarchist' terror. These political nonentities had tried to deceive the masses once again with the setting-up of the United National Front, but when they had taken stock of the situation they felt more isolated than ever.

Within a few days there emerged, in addition to these nationalist parties, about 50 other separate petty-bourgeois political groupings, each with its own headquarters and military leaders. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois disagreed and were divided amongst themselves to the extent that the political unity of the ruling classes crumbled irretrievably.

From only a few members at the beginning of 1945, the LCI saw its forces increase by the end of August of the same year to 200, each of whom played a definite part in the revolutionary mass organisations. After the success of August 21 the Trotskyists greatly increased their political influence and formed in relation to the bourgeois parties an important political force that, at

he was general secretary: 'For five years we have fought at the side of the democratic Allies . . .'

In fact, after the defeat of Japanese imperialism, the Viet-minh (the Stalinist party in disguise) put themselves forward to the bourgeois nationalist parties as an authority sanctioned by the Allied imperialists.

For their part, however, the revolutionary masses saw in the Stalinist party a force capable of leading them on the road of anti-imperialist revolution. Under these historical conditions, the Stalinist party rose spontaneously above the social conflict and thus established a bonapartist dictatorship.

At a meeting of the United National Front on the evening of August 22, Tran Van Giau, with the support of the former head of the Japanese police, Huynh Van Phuong, ordered the leaders of the self styled pro-Japanese parties to relinquish completely their official positions in the administration which were to devolve upon the Viet-minh, the 'official representatives of the Allies'.

Tran Van Giau cynically proclaimed that the 'revolution' carried out by his party was truly 'democratic' and that there had been 'no spilling of blood' (sic).

This was nothing but a lie: this was not a revolution at all, just a coup d'etat carried out with the support of all the exploiting classes and behind the backs of the revolutionary masses.

The Events of August 25th

The LCI had marched with the masses on the demonstration of August 21 organised by the bourgeois National Front. It was impossible for the LCI not to take part in the demonstration on August 25, even though it had been organised by the Viet-minh who, from the moment they came to power, sought to gauge the depth of the likely political and moral reaction of the revolutionary masses.

All social classes participated in this huge demonstration. The number of demonstrators, who arrived from every corner of western Nam-Bo, amounted to more than a million. Compared with the first demonstration, the political complexion of the second was expressed with much greater clarity and in much greater depth.

There must have been as many as 30 political organisations of various tendencies that turned up in full strength. Of these the Stalinist Viet-minh and the communists of the Fourth International were the most significant.

The class struggle had reached such a pitch that even the police, the loyal instrument of the bourgeois state, had split into two opposing political camps. The first, led by the two former chiefs of the Japanese police, Huynh Van Phuong and Ho Vinh Ky, marched under the banner of the Fourth International; they called themselves 'assault police'. The second, more numerous camp, influenced by the Stalinists, gathered under the banner of the Viet-minh.

The number of workers marching with the LCI was reduced to 2,000 on this occasion, as opposed to 30,000 on the 21st. This was not accidental, as at this time most workers felt obliged to march with their trade unions.

In spite of its numerical weakness, the LCI still remained a political force to be reckoned with on the demonstration. On the strength of its clear and truly revolutionary slogans it attracted to its ranks all the best elements of the working class.

Hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants constantly and loudly applauded the slogans 'Land to the peasants! Factories to the workers!' Faced with the stand taken by the LCI militants, the Stalinist leaders could only grit their teeth, and had no idea what to do in the face of the increasing excitement of the revolutionary masses.

● The second part of this article, which deals with the breaking-up of the revolution by the Stalinists, will be published in next week's Workers Press.

Police gun victim at Old Bailey

LAST Wednesday Cherry Groce told the Old Bailey about the events that took place after part of a 30-strong police operation smashed down her front door, shot her in the chest and crippled her for life.

Cherry Groce, a 39-year-old mother of six, was crippled when Chief Inspector Douglas Lovelock fired from close range after police smashed down her front door in Normandy Road, Brixton in September 1985.

The event sparked off the 1985 Brixton riot.

Mrs Groce told the jury 'He had the gun in both hands. He was crouching and aiming for my heart'.

Lovelock has denied unlawfully and maliciously wounding Mrs Groce during the raid in which they intended to arrest her son Michael who didn't live at the house when the raid took place.

Anthony Hidden QC, defending Lovelock, suggested to Mrs Groce that she did not remember accurately what had happened and that she had not been pushed back by

police officers before the shooting.

Mrs Groce repeated that she had.

Mrs Groce said that when the gun was pointing at her she had got frightened and tried to run out of the door.

'I was frightened and tried to dodge. I had begun to move, then it went off — the gun fired while I was trying to run.'

Sharon Groce, then aged 14, said that she had seen an officer asking her mother on the floor for Michael Groce. Some time after that she was taken to hospital.

Superintendent Beckett was a Chief Inspector at Brixton at the time of the shooting.

He said that Lovelock had twice been formally warned about the use of firearms in the search with other officers taking part.

The statutory warning said that firearms were to be used only when absolutely necessary.

The warning refers to a situation where an officer or person he was protecting was being attacked by someone with a firearm and he could not protect himself.

Seafield and mines technology

BY CHRIS McBRIDE

THE aftermath of the Seafield Colliery underground fire proves beyond all doubt that the coal industry in Britain can only be saved through the nationalisation of the industry under workers control.

The miners at the Fife pit spent their New Year working round the clock to put the fire out and save the pit from complete destruction.

The colliery's £8 million 'expansion programme', £4 million of which has already been spent on a new coal face, has suffered irreparable damage which will affect any prospects of investment in any of the other pits in the Scottish coal field.

Two or three disasters of this kind would do the Scottish coalfield irreparable damage as far as keeping pit jobs is concerned.

So what does this mean for the 900 miners normally employed at Seafield and for workers in the industry as a whole?

Profit

Any pit disaster poses the question of how safety equipment, working conditions, fire fighting facilities and mining technology in general, can be improved.

But more specifically, in 1987 the question is posed: who is to benefit from these developments which have become stunted due to the incapability of capitalism to extract profits from essential industries and develop new methods of production?

The history books of coal mining in this country are full of deaths and injuries caused by pit disasters. Some of the victims have been as young as eight years old.

Safety has only improved as a result of miners fighting for safer working conditions after tragic deaths and injuries.

This government is hell bent on destroying the miners union, in order to shut down massive sections of the mining industry and sell off the rest to parasitic private investors.

Conclusion

A Labour government with the help of its allies in the TUC will do the same.

That is why Kinnock and Co. helped Thatcher and MacGregor by sitting on the fence during the miners strike. Stalinists like George Bolton and Mick McGahey will assist them in doing so.

The struggle of the miners has intensified.

The immediate fight to keep pits open must be developed into a long term strategy for the development of the coal industry.

This must include plans to develop mining technology to improve working conditions, lessen the number of hours that miners spend down the pit, and increase coal production to levels never reached before.

Miners wages have to be improved.

These developments are far from 'Utopian' but can only be achieved under workers control.



French military commanders discuss how to crush the rebellion: General Philippe Leclerc (left), Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu and (in the background) the British commander, General Douglas Gracey.

the time, was a formidable revolutionary pole of attraction.

On August 23 the LCI unfurled its huge red flag outside its headquarters, thus legitimising its political power in the face of reaction. The LCI had its own printing shops and press, and every three hours its political directives were sent among the people in the form of communiques.

In addition to its political preparations, the LCI were actively engaged in the formation of military cadres, which was considered to be the burning question of the hour in relation to the arming of the people and the carrying out of the historical tasks of the party in the approaching decisive period.

The Viet-minh coup d'etat and the Stalinist Reaction

During the war, the Indo-chinese Stalinists had become docile servants of the Allied imperialists. On August 23, the leader of the southern Vietnam Stalinists, Tran Van Giau, notorious above all for his Trotskyist activities, called in the proclamation of the Viet-minh front.

'Your role is now finished', concluded Tran Van Giau, 'hand over to us!'

The leaders of the pro-Japanese parties bowed their heads in submission and affirmed their loyalty to the Viet-minh front. A day later, the UNF issued a statement proclaiming its own dissolution and the adherence of all nationalist parties to the Viet-minh front.

At 5 a.m. on August 25 all government posts were occupied by the leaders of the Viet-minh front without the knowledge of the people. The transfer of power was carried out quietly, behind the backs of the whole population.

The Viet-minh took power with the ruling classes and the whole of the state apparatus behind it. Nevertheless, 24 hours after the accession to power of the Viet-minh,

MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

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

Sunday January 11, 7.30pm

CUBA

Speaker: John Lister

Arm the African workers

Read WRP Manifesto

I READ with some interest both Norah Wilde's comment in Workers Press (20 December 1986) and Geoff Pilling's reply (3 January 1987) dealing with South Africa.

Comrade Wilde's comment makes some important and correct points about the roots of violence and the nature of the South African state.

Her points about the WRP, however, seem confused.

She opened her letter with: 'WRP opposition to the arming of the Azanian workers throws its political line into considerable confusion.'

Yet she is wrong in this statement.

The WRP is not opposed to the arming of the Azanian workers.

As Geoff Pilling made clear, we are opposed to a phoney campaign of collecting money for that purpose instead of fighting for workers' sanctions.

If N Wilde turns to the WRP manifesto (Workers Press 28 June 1986) she will see that:

'We stand for the victory of the African masses in the revolutionary defeat of apartheid.'

'This means overthrowing the capitalist state, not a reformist perspective to get rid of the apartheid government, leaving capitalism intact.'

Arming the South African workers is an obvious deduction from this statement as it is from the overall situation in South Africa.

I feel that it is unfortunate that my letter on this subject (published 1 November 1986) was so distorted by N Wilde.

Her comment claims that I feel '... ambiguous about the use of (armed) force by Azanian workers.'

I actually wrote: 'I feel, however, that one issue needs clarifying: that of our view of the armed struggle.'

'We have to make it crystal clear that we are in favour of the armed struggle and that South Africa can only be freed by armed revolution.'

I don't see any ambiguity in that and I don't see how Comrade Wilde can.

Her other comment on my letter follows in her same

mode of distortion.

As she says, I wrote that: 'The degree of anger runs ahead of political consciousness.' I also wrote: 'Force is often misused by blacks and it is turned against the wrong targets.'

This is attacked with the words: 'There is no truth to these abstractions.' A few words should be added to Comrade Pilling's answer to Comrade Wilde.

Norah Wilde is, no doubt, aware that my letter was in reply to an article by Bronwen Handyside (Workers Press, 27 September 1986) which argued against the arming of South African workers.

My letter was given the headline 'Defend the armed struggle in South Africa'.

It argued for workers to be armed but suggested that arms do not solve all the political problems.

On the same page as Bronwen Handyside's original article another article appeared.

It was entitled 'Union call to end Killings'.

It began: 'On April 28 1986, two union members were travelling home from a building site.'

'As they drove past Crossroads, their vehicle was suddenly stoned.'

'The vehicle picked up speed, skidded and slammed into a tree.'

'While Rashid Abrahams and David Nduke were seriously injured and trapped inside the vehicle a petrol bomb was thrown in.'

The article went on to explain how they both died.

I feel that to defend her comment Comrade Wilde really should explain why and how these killings help to liberate African workers.

In conclusion I can only repeat Norah Wilde's call for a Central Committee statement on this subject.

Such a statement should be based on and a development of our manifesto.

It would demonstrate the clear commitment of the WRP to workers' revolution.

It would help to kill off the kind of allegation and distortion put forward in N Wilde's comment.

Geoff Barr

Military questions as important as solidarity campaign

I AGREE with most of Geoff Pilling's reply to Norah Wilde, but in rebutting Norah's criticism that the Workers Revolutionary Party opposes the armed struggle in South Africa, he misses some points.

The articles mainly by myself and Bronwen Handyside on the South African campaign were written as the Party was emerging from its 'Arm the African Workers' past and starting to work inside the solidarity movement.

We came into conflict with the Healy supporters and the articles were written directly out of these experiences.

We were correct in our main position: the Healyites used this slogan to cover up their refusal to do any work on the South African question, but we were wrong to oppose the arms slogan.

We found ourselves lined up with the pacifists and the right wing. It was opposed by our own members and other sections of the solidarity movement.

We had to show to everyone in practice that the Healyites would not only refrain from all solidarity work, they would not even follow through their own demands.

To do this we had to support their demand critically.

While we did insist in those articles on our support for the armed struggle, there was an inconsistency, made glaring by the insertion into our paper of an extract from the South African electricians' union paper 'Sparky'.

This went in without comment and was an outright attack on the campaign of executing collaborators.

Yes, we did raise the question of necklacing being used as a cover for political vendettas but are we opposed to the execution of collaborators?

And I think Geoff in his reply continues a mistake I made in one of those articles.

He says: 'Those who parrot this slogan know that the Labour leaders have not the slightest intention of carrying out such a policy...'

Can this really be the

reason for opposing a demand in the labour movement?

Geoff goes on to say: 'What is required is a campaign to force the Labour leaders to organise effective blacking action'.

He must know they have not the slightest intention of that either.

So what makes the one demand right and the other wrong?

The glaring fact is that no significant part of the leadership in South Africa is calling on the labour movement in Britain for money for guns, as the Healyites on Lambeth Trades Council found when they collected £25 for guns and didn't know who to give it to!

If the liberation forces were calling for this I hope we would be responding, whatever the attitude of the Labour leaders.

But they are calling for boycotts, for breaking all links with apartheid.

We might wish the cry of the Soweto youth 'Give us bazookas' had already been translated into the development of revolutionary leadership in South Africa.

Here Norah's article is useful. It begins a discussion on the military questions of the struggle.

It is easy to see the connection between the ANC and South African Communist Party's military policy and its desire to inherit the state machine.

But what would our military policy be? What advice are we to give to those forces coming to revolutionary politics?

Healy's old answer to this question, that the means will be found when the time comes, answers nothing.

As in Ireland, South Africa shows that the revolutionary movement, faced with armed opposition from the state and its political enemies in the mass movement, is forced into military questions long before insurrection.

But the use of the slogan 'Arm the African workers' in Britain today is not just a

cover for inaction; it is also the arrogant chauvinism of the British labour movement, ignoring what the liberation forces are asking for because we know better.

Don't campaign for the boycott because we know it's a waste of time; give them guns because we revolutionaries know what they need.

Healy and others would call this bowing to spontaneity, starting from the present consciousness of the working class, kowtowing to the Stalinists.

I call it intervening in the class struggle as it really is rather than the class struggle as you see it in your head.

If nationalists and two-stage theorists dominate the policies of the liberation movement then the revolutionary movement has to fight to change that leadership.

That will not be done by shouting 'Arm the African Working Class', no matter how loud.

So I think we have to be cautious not to throw out the baby with the bath-water in Norah's letter.

Our job, as Geoff says, is to fight for a halt in South African trade and to expose those in the Labour leadership who don't want this.

But as revolutionaries we are not just 'errand boys' for the South African liberation organisations.

We have also to assist in any way we can the development of Marxist leadership here and in South Africa.

If we don't take the military questions and the nature of the armed struggle as seriously as the solidarity campaign I don't think that we will succeed in that.

Bob Myers

Sloppy attitude to the serious business of Xmas

HOW CLEVER of you to fill your Xmas quiz full of deliberate mistakes, thus giving your readers a merry time checking up in their dictionaries of quotations!

Sidney and Beatrice Webb of course wrote 'Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation?' not 'Communism: a New Civilisation?' (question 1).

The point being that, in the second edition, published at the height of the Moscow Trials, they demonstrated the prostration of true Fabians before the 'accomplished fact' of Stalinism by leaving off the question mark.

Cecil B. de Mille — unless of course you have some personal knowledge — never said that a verbal agreement was not worth the paper it was written on.

However Sam Goldwyn is reputed to have remarked that a verbal contract is not... (question 2).

Again in the absence of stated higher authority, it would be better to stick to the more usually given source for the statement about the love of money being the root of all evil.

This is not Jesus but the Apostle Paul in his first epistle to Timothy (question 16).

Recondite

The accuracy of the more recondite answers I have to leave to real experts.

One reader has suggested that the mistakes were not deliberate but due to a sloppy editorial attitude to the serious business of Xmas.

In the face of this sceptical attitude to the infallibility of leadership, I can only reply with another famous remark of the late Sam Goldwyn: 'In two words, im-possible!'

Terry Brotherstone

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What becomes apparent to us isn't always apparent to the working class

THE ARTICLE by Cyril Smith on the front page of the Workers Press (November 22) and his reply to Neil Dempsey (December 6) need to be studied in relation to the developments, lessons and experiences gained in the WRP over the last 13 months.

However, fatalistic proclamations by Cde Cyril Smith about the epoch of world revolution and the time for Trotskyism to fight, serve to hinder and confuse.

The front page article tended towards objectivism. He attempts to say what is, he attempts to say what's happening, but not what is to be done in the form of strategy and tactics for the class struggle.

Cyril is and was preoccupied with the middle class. He shows a contemptuous attitude towards the working class when he says:

'We try to set out from the objective nature of this crisis and not from the immediate consciousness of the working class.'

'Only then can we decide on action to develop that consciousness. We are opposed to those whose political mood is determined by reflection of the crisis in the actions of the labour bureaucracy.'

What a profound and sweeping statement. And where have we heard this before?

Who is Cyril talking about here - the working class, Dempsey or both?

We should listen to the working class and concern ourselves with their demands; so we can develop their consciousness in the

course of fighting alongside them.

Cyril prefers to 'deepen our theoretical understanding of the crisis of British and world imperialism'. Isn't Marxism meant to be a guide to revolutionary practices in the class struggle?

Cyril's slander against Dempsey is hardly new: 'despondency widespread on the left'.

Which left is he talking about, the Communist Party, or the Healy sect? I hardly think Cde Dempsey was putting forward the political line of these corrupt and degenerate organisations.

We should remind Cde Smith of an article he wrote in Workers Press (January 15, 1986).

In this excellent article

Cyril tore to pieces G. Healy's conception of a revolutionary party.

Prior to the split with Healy, Torrance and Banda, the WRP/SLL had treated 'What Is to Be Done' as Lenin's final word on democratic centralism and the nature of a revolutionary party.

I hope Cyril doesn't propose a return to the old bureaucratic conception of a 'Top Down' organisation.

I don't regard Kinnoch as immovable. With a correct strategy and tactics he could be defeated.

The call for a united front against the class enemy should be given importance in regards to tactics towards members and supporters of the Labour Party.

Our demands towards the

trade union movement (which is most important to any revolutionary party) should be:

- Complete and unconditional independence from the bureaucracy.

- Trade union democracy.

- All leaders in the trade union and labour movement to receive the average industrial wage.

Is it coincidence that the demand for independence from the bureaucracy was labelled 'syndicalist' by Healy?

Healy practised his own brand of Pabloism: somehow 'without the intervention of a conscious revolutionary cadre', 'with support

in the rank and file', objective forces would move sections of the bureaucracy onto the side of the WRP.

S. Torrance once said in a Young Socialists national committee meeting during the miners' strike, 'some of these people will come over to us', obviously referring to Jim Slater, Skinner and Healy etc.

The miners' strike and battle at Wapping are powerful indications of what the working class will do and sacrifice against the capitalist state.

However the miners' strike proved that with the absence of a clear revolutionary alternative, the best elements for a cadre will turn towards left reformism.

While I think it was correct of Cde Smith to call for people to join the WRP (given the line of strategy or absence of strategy he had no other choice) Workers Press should consider the entry tactic.

Kevin Townsend

LETTERS

Healy's creature Banda now Stalinism's fawning poodle

IN HIS revealing document 'What is Trotskyism?' Michael Banda refers to 'The reactionary campaign of Peter Fryer to sell bourgeois democracy to the Hungarian people'.

As a rule I don't bother to answer personal attacks on me.

But this is an attack, and a disgusting one, on the Hungarian Revolution whose thirtieth anniversary we commemorated last year.

That Banda sees the honouring of the Hungarian workers' struggle against Stalinist tyranny as a 'campaign . . . to sell bourgeois

democracy to the Hungarian people' tells us everything about his relations with his new friends.

This creature who for over 30 years did Gerry Healy's dirty work for him is now required to spit on the Hungarian working class and its martyrs, including my friend Miklos Gimes who, murdered by Kadar, lies in an unmarked grave.

Banda behaves with all the fawning devotion a well trained poodle shows to a new master.

He and the Stalinists richly deserve each other.

Peter Fryer

Teachers' fight for control: lessons from Australia

THE article 'Advisory Committee to decide all' by Mick King in Workers Press (3 January 1987) brings out the idea that the recent action by teachers has given them the power to determine their own rate of work.

This is an important aspect of the dispute and something that teachers must not hand back to their employers.

In Victoria, Australia High school teachers made significant inroads into the Education Department's power in schools over a long period of time.

At the beginning of the 1960s the children of the post-war baby boom were reaching High School age.

The Victorian Secondary Teachers Association (VSTA), a union that covered teachers in High Schools, undertook a campaign to end the disgusting conditions that existed in Victorian High Schools.

Classes of 45 and even 50, no or little time release for teachers to prepare and correct lessons, unqualified teachers, no teacher input into curriculum development and heavy handed administrations were common.

The VSTA developed a 'conditions case' which was developed at the union's Annual General Meeting.

Branches of the union existed at each school. They were encouraged to give the administration of their school one month from the beginning of each school year to comply with union policy otherwise strike action would follow.

This policy meant that union membership doubled, morale of teachers reached an all time high, inventive and challenging curriculums developed, real inroads were made in the raising of the levels of literacy and numeracy and an active union membership existed at the grass-roots level of the union.

The AGMs of the union were eagerly awaited events where discussion and debate on new policy and tactics occurred.

Over a period of 15 years class sizes were brought down to a maximum of 25, teachers' maximum face to face class contact was reduced to 15 hours per week, support services developed in curriculum and professional areas.

The VSTA developed their own registration system which ended the employment of unqualified teachers. This in fact amounted to control of employment on the job.

Extensive paid leave up to a full year was made available for teachers to upgrade their qualifications.

These policies were developed and won by strike action initiated and controlled by teachers at the school level.

Strikes of up to 20 weeks occurred at some schools as well as week-long state-wide strikes.

The teachers were vilified by the government and the media — shock-horror: what sort of example were these teachers giving to their students?

As the Australian economy took a nose dive in the 1970s and 1980s these gains have been under attack.

The VSTA membership have shown a determination to not only maintain the gains of the 1960s but to win new initiatives.

Significantly the biggest attacks have been launched under Labor Governments in both Victoria under Premier Cain and federally with Prime Minister Hawke.

The experiences in winning these gains are now part of VSTA history and are an example of what is possible when workers on the job obtain control over their working conditions away from the bureaucratic and heavy handed employers.

Gerry Beaton

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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.



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SUEZ PAPERS EXPOSE TORIES

TORY Prime minister Anthony Eden lied to the House of Commons when he told MPs on 20 December 1956 that the British government had not had 'any prior agreement with Israel' for the Suez aggression.

Later Eden personally destroyed the document of the secret agreement between France, Britain and Israel at Sevres, near Paris, for their collusion.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS
House of Commons.

Now Tory Lord Chancellor Hailsham, who was in Eden's cabinet, is being challenged over why several other key documents concerning the Suez war have been withheld from publication.

Labour MP Bryan Gould has demanded to know whether Hailsham used his present office as minister responsible for public records to have these documents suppressed, and in whose interests this was done.

Asking why the government was trying to keep the British people in ignorance, Gould linked the decision with recent episodes over Westland and M15.

'There is the same assumption that avoiding political embarrassment and protecting national security are one and the same thing, the same contempt for the principle of open government and the same willingness to lie in the

Documents released last week under the '30 year rule' show that Eden was planning resort to war against Egypt from the day President Nasser announced nationalisation of the Suez canal — July 26, 1956.

The documents also show Eden and his war faction had to meet opposition within the cabinet and from some service chiefs. It was Hailsham as First Lord of the Admiralty who ordered Mountbatten to go ahead with the invasion when the then First Sea Lord had registered a last-minute protest.

It is thought that documents that have been held back would reveal more about these divisions at the top, and Hailsham's role.

To convince waverers in his government, Eden told them among other things that there was 'impatience' among reservists who had been called-up two months before.

In fact there was wide-

spread unrest among the reservists unwillingly called up for the Tory imperialist war, as many of them remember.

The released documents also show that on October 31, 1956, the first day of the RAF bombing of Egypt, a Canberra pilot stationed in Cyprus, Flying-officer Kenyon, 'started his engines, but instead of taking off when the time came he pulled up his undercarriage and damaged the plane.'

Reporting the incident to Eden, Air minister Nigel Birch expressed concern that if court-martialled, the pilot might argue that his orders were illegal, and this might 'attract considerable publicity'.

Nevertheless, Flying Officer Kenyon was court-martialled in Nicosia in January 1957, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a dishonourable discharge.

The biggest lie of the Suez war, of course, was the Tory government's pretence that British and French troops were only going in to separate warring Egyptians and Israelis, in a sort of 'police' role.

Although nobody really believed this, and the French government of the day — headed incidentally by 'Socialist' Guy Mollet — made little pretence to it, it was this ridiculous posture by Eden that necessitated denying collusion with the



ANTHONY EDEN

Israelis or even foreknowledge of their intentions.

According to the late Moshe Dayan, who commanded the Israeli forces, France's UN delegate persuaded Israel's Abba Eban to reject a cease-fire, explaining to him that Eden was in trouble at home and needed to keep his pretext for proceeding with the invasion.

The released documents show Mountbatten appealing to Eden on November 2 'to accept the resolution of the overwhelming majority of the United Nations to cease military operations, and to beg you to turn back the assault convoy before it is too late.'

'I feel so desperate about what is happening that my conscience would not allow

me to do otherwise', he added.

By contrast, Harold Macmillan, whose passing as Lord Stockton was honoured so obsequiously by Tories and Labour alike this month, was a 'hawk' all along, insisting that Middle East oil supplies and 'the stability of our national economy' would be menaced if Nasser succeeded.

In January 1957, Macmillan was saying Suez had been a 'tactical defeat', but 'like the retreat from Mons and Dunkirk it should prove the prelude to a strategic victory. It can be done.'

The Suez war in fact proved the prelude to major defeats for British and French colonialism throughout the Arab world, Africa and elsewhere, and opened a new chapter in the class struggle in the two metropolitan countries.

Besides stubborn resistance from the Egyptian masses, the invasion awakened strong opposition to Tory war from the British labour movement and youth. This owed little to the weakened Labour leadership of Hugh Gaitskell — who disagreed with how Eden had gone about things rather than on principle.

The Trotskyist movement, simultaneously with facing up to the significance of the Hungarian Revolution at this time, played a more active part in the anti-war, 'Eden Must Go!' demonstrations

than may have been realised.

Hopefully this will be written up some time by those who were around then.

As for the Tories, what Tony Benn MP had to say last week about Hailsham and his responsibility is worth quoting, though it has a wider significance.

'He is head of the judiciary and takes every opportunity to lecture us on the need to maintain high moral standards.'

'With a general election coming, we are going to have endless arguments from people, including Lord Hailsham, about the defence of freedom, about the war on terrorism and about moral standards; and it will all really be completely hypocritical.'

Benn has called for Hailsham to be suspended from office, while a select committee hears the evidence on his complicity in the act of aggression committed against Egypt.'

We are all for suspending the entire Tory leadership, and not just from office! But the real issue is to recognise the warmongering nature of the British ruling class, end once and for all Labour's 'bipartisan' collusion in Tory war policies, and fight for a socialist international policy based on solidarity between the working class here and all those fighting imperialism everywhere.

Libraries under Tory hammer

BY BERNARD FRANKS

PUBLIC LIBRARIES are being squeezed by local authority cuts and threatened with privatisation, reports the Book Trust.

All library authorities report a serious decline in the purchasing power of their book funds.

Some have already made dramatic reductions. Tower Hamlets in London cut spending by 78 per cent in 1980/81 and Somerset stopped buying fiction completely in 1985/86.

In England and Wales as a whole the spending power of library book funds has declined by 34.2 per cent since 1978/79, yet the prices of books and periodicals has risen astronomically in this period.

From the earliest days of the independent working class movement in Britain its organisations were preoccupied with education and with the establishment of their own libraries, schools and reading rooms.

Mechanics Institutes, mining lodges and other workers' institutions were set up because existing bodies refused to allow controversial works such as those by Paine, Cobbett and Hunt.

In 1844 Frederick Engels wrote that: 'Trade unions, Chartists and Socialists have founded on their own hook numbers of school and reading rooms for the advancement of education. Every socialist and almost every Chartist institution has one and so too have many trades.'

Engels especially praised the Owenite Socialists for making available to the working class, not only progressive British works, but also those of the continental philosophers Helvetius, Holbach and Diderot.

The London of 1849 had

2,000 coffee houses, largely frequented by working people.

A quarter of them had libraries, some with as many as 2,000 volumes, according to the Chartist leader William Lovett.

Government concern to channel this interest into areas less dangerous to capitalism led to the first rate-aided public libraries in the country being established under the 1845 Museums Act.

This allowed local authorities in towns of 10,000 or more population to levy a half penny rate to set up a public museum including a library. Canterbury was the first in 1847 followed by Warrington in 1848.

An 1850 Public Libraries Act allowed councils to use the rates to set up library premises. An 1855 amendment enabled spending on books, newspapers, maps and 'specimens of art and science'.

Subsequently, the Scottish-American millionaire Andrew Carnegie poured some of the profits from his vast steel-making empire into the library systems of Britain and the United States — to help create an educated working class for modern industry.

With the onset of mass unemployment, destruction of industry and the rundown of education, the Tory government sees little need to continue this policy, in fact too much knowledge is seen as a danger.

The books in today's 4,300 public libraries are deteriorating and whole subject areas are abandoned; yet as book prices rise libraries are the only opportunity for reading and study for an increasing sector of the population, old and young.

Large cities which act as reference centres are espe-

cially affected. Liverpool has cut its book fund from £1.68 for 1984/85 to £1.06 in 1985/86 per head of population.

In fact since 1978/79 many metropolitan districts have cut their book spending by well over one-third, including St. Helens, Doncaster, Rotherham, Gateshead, Bradford and Wakefield. Dyford and Rhondda in Wales have cut back by over 50 per cent.

Durham, East Sussex and Kent have more than halved their provision as have Barking, Bromley and Merton in the London area.

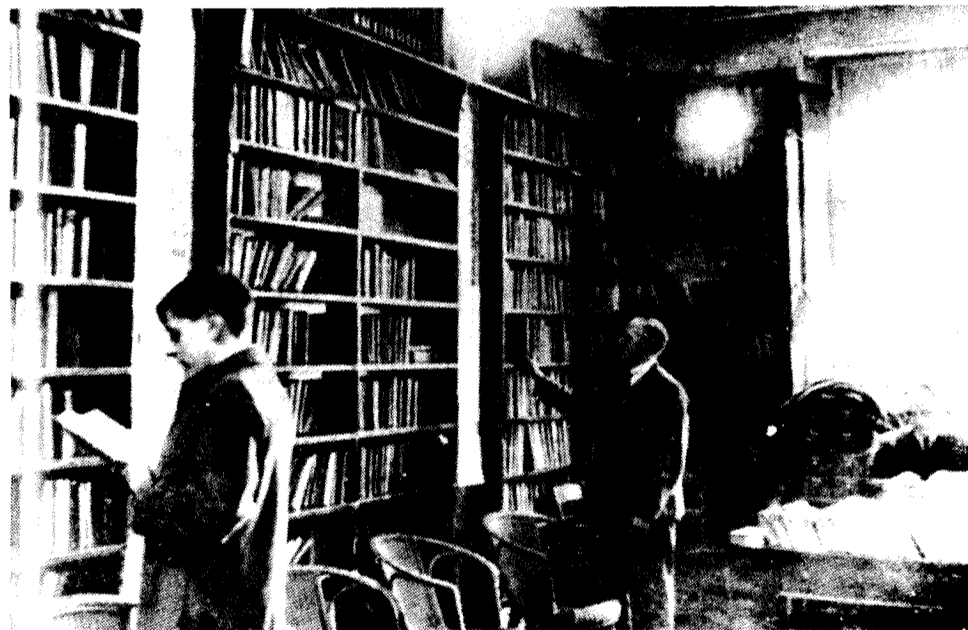
Private enterprise is being induced to make inroads into any part of the system where there are profits to be made.

The Controller of Audit Commission suggested last autumn that public libraries might consider charging for the loan of books, while the arch-privatisers of the Adam Smith Institute have recommended a subscription system.

The Book Trust report considers that whereas the word 'crisis' is sometimes over-used, it is fully justified in this case. It concludes:

'At a time when more people are becoming unemployed, when there is an emphasis on retraining and individual distance learning, when the retired population is increasing, when the primary school numbers are at last beginning to rise, when secondary schools are under pressure for money and need to provide extra support material for new examinations, when the number of visitors to libraries is actually rising, the findings of this review point to a lamentable state of affairs...'

'It is dimly apparent that, in many authorities, cutting the book fund is the only option available when reductions have to be made.'



Independent working class organisations set up their own libraries, schools and reading rooms in which they were able to study the kind of controversial literature the state found distasteful. Picture shows Oakdale Miners' Institute Library in South Wales

The report reminds the minister of his statutory obligation in regard to the library service, as if the rundown was a product of ignorance rather than of deliberate Tory Government policy.

On the contrary, the Conservatives will be happy to see from this report that their plans are right on target.

They would like nothing better than to see the comprehensive sources of information, culture and literature used by the working class, shut down and such provision left instead to the Rupert Murdochs of this world.

The way forward for library workers and users to defend a vital community service is to contact their local trade union branches, trade councils, pensioner, women, unemployed and young peoples groups, to build a defence campaign.

Labour Councillors and general election candidates must be put on the spot and asked where they stand on the need to fight Tories on this issue.

They must be asked to pledge to defend the service and reverse the rundown process under a Labour Government. The campaigning must go on irrespective of what party is in power or bidding for it.

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BOOKS

REVIEWS

Unstoppable wave of revolt



An early picture of the de Beers compound where black diamond miners lived, taken from the conning tower with Kimberley in the background Inset: Winnie Mandela helps carry a coffin at one of the many funerals used by the ANC as a demonstration of defiance

Apartheid: a History. By Brian Lapping. Grafton, £12.95

THE WAVE of revolt now breaking in South Africa is greater and more sustained than any before.

In 1960, after Sharpeville, strikes and demonstrations subsided after 12 months.

The outbreaks of protest sparked by Soweto schoolchildren in 1976-1977 took the government two years to suppress.

The nationwide uprisings which began in 1984, and feature in our television programmes every night, show no signs of abating, despite the imposition of an increasingly more savage State of Emergency.

As Lapping says in the introduction to this book, 'South Africa is on the verge of civil war or revolution.'

What we are observing is the final act in a drama which began with the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652.

Lapping attempts to explain in historical terms the

reasons for the long conflict between the Boers (Afrikaans speakers of Dutch descent) and the traditionally more 'liberal' English speaking Europeans, and the motivation behind the Afrikaners' progressively more narrow-sighted obsession with the system of apartheid, fuelling the imminent explosions in South Africa.

He explains how the policy of segregation of races was used universally throughout the colonised countries of the world, though it was only in South Africa that it became enshrined permanently in the constitution and legislation of the state.

For economic progress, capitalism needs a skilled, well-educated workforce able to settle in urban areas close to factories and workplaces.

The ruling class in South Africa has steadfastly refused to recognise this reality, perhaps because the economy has been based for so long on the farms and the

mines where these qualities in a labour force are not so necessary, but in so doing they have dug their own graves, economically and politically.

The reasons, for Lapping, lie in the Boers' historical development of a bitter and constantly frustrated nationalism, which began in the years of the Great Trek 1795-1854.

The Cape, under British rule at the time, became progressively more intolerable for the Dutch settlers because of the relatively liberal English attitudes towards the blacks.

For the Dutch farmers it was necessary to have what was more or less a slave labour force.

The British were acting under the 1807 Act passed in Westminster to outlaw the slave trade, and of more 'civilised' and 'progressive' ideas promulgated by the English missionaries.

They were at the same time making sure that all the most lucrative positions in

the colony were occupied by Britons.

The Boers left in their thousands, to trek north and settle in their own independent colonies where they could run their own affairs.

With the discovery of the vast wealth of gold and diamonds from 1854 onwards in the newly opened Boer areas, the British felt called upon to intervene once more.

Their extraordinarily clumsy attempts to annex this new wealth for Britain resulted in the Boer War of 1896-1902, and a victory for the British under the most brutal of circumstances.

In order to combat the guerilla tactics of the Boers, the first concentration camps in history were set up for women, children and the old.

The British succeeded in removing the fighters' base in the community, and under the appalling conditions in the camps 20,000 of the most defenceless died.

This left a scar on the psyche of the Afrikaners

which Lapping maintains has never healed.

The history of South Africa was an arena in which primarily two strands of white colonialism struggled brutally for economic supremacy.

The rights of black South Africans were for both a side issue, but according to Lapping the hatred of Afrikaners for English speaking South Africans was inextricably entwined with what the Boers saw as the English speakers' liberalism towards blacks.

Position

In this book he maps out how the connection between their privileged position and their apparently more liberal attitudes was made in the minds of the Afrikaners.

He argues that the real fear of Afrikanerdom is domination by English speakers, and that this was transformed into the rigid legislative system of apartheid, seen as a defence against English domination.

During the Second World War the pro-British Government raised 137,000 troops to fight alongside the Allies against Hitler.

At the same time the Broederbond (a Boer organisation), raised 250,000 troops openly dedicated to Nazi policies.

The Boers succeeded in their design of replacing the English as the ruling force in South African politics, but the system they were forced to embrace is now, as Lapping points out, blowing up in their faces.

Years of repression forced the African National Congress to change from an avowedly non-violent, non-communist organisation, into one which recognised that violence would have to be used to overthrow the state.

More importantly, it radicalised a whole generation of youth into a more or less cohesive force with a burning consciousness of their rights, and a determination to die for them if necessary.

The other result of this compulsion to destroy any possibility of a skilled, educated and stable workforce, is that the economy of South Africa is on the sharp slopes of decline.

Investment is being withdrawn from what is not only a volatile situation, but one which in sheer profit making terms makes no sense, if you are hoping to take advantage of an expanding industrial economy.

Do try and read this book which is a follow-on from the excellent Granada TV series.

Although I feel the explanation for South Africa lies deeper than Lapping has excavated, it is highly readable, and highly suggestive of directions in which a Marxist analysis might go.

Peter Windeler

Bronwen Handyside

Undercover soldiers for imperialism

British Special Forces: the story of Britain's undercover soldiers. By William Seymour. Grafton, £3.50.

THE FORERUNNERS of the modern SAS were personally thanked by Tito during the Second World War for their assistance to Yugoslav Partisans fighting the German army.

Later on in the war Britain's Special Forces were arrested by the same partisans as Hitler's forces were being routed.

World War II gave birth to many new forms of warfare and among them were the British Special Forces.

Today they are known as the SAS, the Special Air Service, and the SBS, the Special Boat Squadron.

On the cessation of hostilities at the end of the war Britain's Special Forces were disbanded — only to be resurrected a couple of years later to be employed in foreign wars protecting Britain's colonial interests.

Recent actions include the storming of the Iranian Embassy, the Malvinas War

and fighting Republicans on both sides of the Irish border.

William Seymour, who wrote this book served briefly in the Special Services during the war but the idea of the book came from a General in the British army.

From this it will be understood that this is not a critical examination of Britain's Special Forces, but a comprehensive account of the Special Forces from their origins early in the war.

Interesting accounts are given of the work of the Long Range Desert Group,

perhaps the most successful of Britain's Special Forces fighting in North Africa during the war.

There are also accounts of Special Forces operations in Greece during the war, where after suffering fatalities from both ELAS (the Communist dominated liberation force) and EDES (the Royalists) the Special Forces decided to fight alone.

Interestingly the Special Forces according to this account do not appear to have been involved in Greece after the war when

Britain's forces suppressed opposition to the hegemony of the West as part of the carve-up of the Balkans under the deal struck by Stalin and Churchill at Potsdam.

On the whole this is a book written for war buffs, but as it also contains maps of the principal theatres of action during the Second World War and has a high 'facts per page' rating it is also of value to anyone wishing to increase their knowledge of the military campaigns of the Second World War.

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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

£10,000 Special Fund

IN SO FAR: £7,890.00 — TARGET: £10,000

The Workers Revolutionary Party is making a special appeal to members and supporters for the Special Fund of £10,000. The party has made a number of international exchange visits with members of the Trotskyist movement in Ireland, Europe, Australia and the Americas. We need money particularly for fares. We allocated half the £10,000 fund for international work, and we have already spent a large part of it. We are sure you support this work politically but we need you to support it financially as well, either with a donation or by raising money from your branch members and sympathisers. In addition to the international work, we have allocated half the fund to move the party headquarters and printing facilities.

As well as many small contributions we have had a number of cheques for £100. We are aiming for 50 donations of £100 — to raise £5,000.

● Please send donations to: Workers Revolutionary Party PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

LABOUR THREATENS A CRISIS BUDGET

AS government figures published this week indicated jobs in manufacturing industry are crumbling, Shadow Chancellor Roy Hattersley warned an emergency budget will be necessary if Labour wins the next election.

Since 1979, 2 million manufacturing jobs have been lost, according to Department of Employment figures.

Manufacturing jobs have collapsed from their

peak of 7 million in 1979 to 5.1 million in September of last year. This represents a dramatic 28-per-cent fall.

The west Midlands, once the heartland of British manufacturing, has suffered the greatest drop. Over 300,000 jobs have gone in the region since Thatcher came to office.

Chairman of the West Midlands Enterprise Board Geoffrey Edge said: 'What these figures reveal is not just a country of two nations, but a country in which the real basis of economic prosperity is being destroyed.'

Three regions — Wales, the north-west and Yorkshire and Humberside — have all lost more than 35 per cent of their manufacturing jobs. Wales and the north-west have actually lost

service jobs on top.

Meanwhile millions are being made by City speculators and 'insider dealers'. On one day alone last week share prices rose by £4.4 billion on the London Stock Exchange.

Here are the 'two nations': not the north-south division but that between a tiny group of rich idlers who are ripping off millions in share dealings and a growing army who face winter without jobs, decent housing and social services. (See 'Thatcher's Britain', page 3)

Whatever the Labour leaders pretend, the collapse of British industry is not the result of Tory policy.

It reflects a crisis in world capitalist economy which alternates between stagnation and snail's pace growth.

Last week's decision by the Reagan government to

impose heavy duties on a range of European imports indicates the sharpening tensions in world capitalist economy which will further expose the hopelessly outdated nature of British industry.

British capital is heading for a severe balance of payments crisis in the coming year. Last September brought the largest ever deficit recorded. The deficit for October came to £35 million while the November deficit soared to £230 million.

At the Bishop Stortford strategy meeting called by the Labour Shadow Cabinet, Neil Kinnock warned of 'an even worse economic shambles' to come.

How does Labour propose to deal with this mounting crisis? Shadow Chancellor Roy Hattersley gave a clear answer: Tory policies will be continued.

Hattersley warned that Labour would have to introduce an emergency budget involving higher interest rates and further cuts in public services and spending. In other words Labour would carry on where the Tories left off.

Hattersley proposed a three point plan:

- Concentrate more resources on investment rather than consumption.
- Take direct action to increase manufacturing output and exports.
- Create a 'macro economic climate' conducive to the success of export industries.

The first proposal will bring cuts in the living standards of the working class and sections of the middle class. The last two are meaningless: they simply cover up Labour's bankruptcy.

The crisis which an incoming Labour government would face expresses the inability of capitalism to develop the productive forces. Industry and the skills of millions lie unused while poverty and want grows.

Only a socialist policy based on the nationalisation of all basic industry and finance, under the control of the working class, can now resolve this crisis in the interests of the working class.

Class conscious workers will place no confidence whatsoever in Labour's policies or leadership. On the contrary they will realise that any future government led by Kinnock and Hattersley will come into head-on and immediate collision with the working class.

The building of an alternative leadership based on socialist policies is now an urgent requirement.

Rump split?

READERS of Workers Press will be interested to know that the names of Gerry Healy and Corin Redgrave have disappeared without explanation from the editorial board of 'Marxist Review', the monthly journal of what was once the Torrance-Healy rump. Redgrave was formerly joint editor of the journal.

These departures come soon after Judith White's disappearance from the board. Like former 'News Line' editor, Alex Mitchell, White is now in Australia.

● VANESSA REDGRAVE: What is she up to? — see page 5

Strikers defy US multi-national

Scottish workers will not pay for the losses of an American-based multi-national company.

This was spelled out last week by 350 strikers at Hussman's refrigeration factory at Shawfield, Glasgow, who are demanding their US-

based bosses drop a plan for redundancies and pay cuts.

The plan, involving 15 job losses and a £25-per-week cut in bonus payments, was spelled out by the company before Christmas. The workers walked out last Tuesday demanding it was dropped.

Official backing has come from the AEU, and solidarity from women contract cleaners, themselves earning £1.40 an hour, who refused to cross the picket line.

'We are not going to back down,' said AEU shop steward Jack Ballantyne. 'American companies are taking over and then moving out of Scotland. Look at Chryslers, Prestcolds, Burroughs... and now we are being told to cut back.'

EETPU member William Pollock added: 'I came here seven years ago from Chrysler, where they destroyed 8,000 jobs. It could obviously happen here too.'

JACK COLLINS

AS we went to press, Workers Press editorial board received the news of the death of Jack Collins, Kent NUM general secretary. After a long illness, Jack's health rapidly deteriorated during the course of the miners' strike.

March against Public Order Act



Twenty arrests were made during last Saturday's 'illegal' demonstration against the new Public Order Act.

This was in spite of the assurances given by a police spokesman at the start of the march that they had decided not to prevent the march and they had no intention of arresting anyone. He also cynically wished the marchers a nice day!

About 1,500 people, mainly anarchist youth, and one or two left groups including the Workers Revolutionary Party,

marched from North London to the Law Courts in the Strand. In an unscheduled extension the march went on to Trafalgar Square to show solidarity with the 24-hour picket outside South Africa House. This was where all but one of the arrests occurred.

Despite the importance of this new law for the whole labour movement, the demonstration was completely ignored by most left-wing political organisations.

● See next week's Workers Press for an explanation of the new Act.