

ELECTION SPECIAL

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Please note: Because this is a special issue of the paper, we will not be publishing next week. Our next issue will be dated 13 June.

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ELECTION SPECIAL

STATEMENT
BY THE
WORKERS
REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY
POLITICAL
COMMITTEE
May 28th, 1987

THROW OUT THATCHER! VOTE LABOUR!

THE ELECTION campaign has shown that the Tory government is hated throughout the country. The reasons for this hatred are obvious:

Unemployment: Up by 1.5 million under Thatcher. Five million people are now out of work — when fiddles with the figures and the 750,000 on government so-called training schemes are counted.

Since 1979, two million jobs have gone in manufacturing industry. Over 400,000 have disappeared in other sectors, including 100,000 in coal.

Housing: A record 300,000 households are on council waiting lists. Local Authority house building has virtually stopped. Meanwhile 400,000 building workers are unemployed. Thousands of young people are homeless, forced to sleep out on the streets of London and other big cities every night, winter and summer.

The Health Service: Under Thatcher 36,000 hospital beds have been cut. Waiting lists grow while the rich avoid queues through private health care schemes. In London alone the Tories have closed 35 hospitals.

The educational system: This has been broken up by the Tories. They now plan to 'privatise' the schools and bring back the Grammar Schools. Those with money will be able to buy an education for their children, while thousands more working class children will be driven onto Tory cheap labour schemes.

The trade unions: Shackled by Tory anti-union laws. Scabs have been given the right to cross picket lines. The collective bargaining rights of teachers have been abolished. The Tories have mobilised the forces of the state, including specially trained riot police, against the miners, printers and other sections of the working class. If returned, the Tories will press ahead with their legal attacks against the unions.

Poll Tax: Thatcher has announced that the rates are to be abolished and replaced by a poll tax — a standard charge on everybody over 18, whatever their income. The heaviest burden will fall on the poor; even those on state benefits will have to pay a fifth of the tax.

Democratic rights: The

Tory Public Order Act places the right to assembly and demonstration in the hands of the police. The Tories are also determined to scrap the jury system, as they have done in the north of Ireland.

The question worrying many Labour voters is: given the Tory record, why is Labour by no means certain of victory in the election? After eight years of misery why is there the threat of a third Tory government?

The answer lies in the nature of the Labour leadership. Millions of workers and sections of the middle

No confidence in Labour leaders! Build revolutionary socialist alternative!

class have fought the Thatcher government from the day it was elected. These struggles have been betrayed by the Labour and trade union leaders. This leadership supports the capitalist system and stands four square with the ruling class in the struggle to defeat all those fighting against the government. In a period of

deepening economic crisis, Kinnock and company have come out openly against the working class, on the side of the Tories.

● Thatcher was able to build on the attacks already launched against the working class by the Wilson-Callaghan governments before 1979.

● Throughout the period of

Tory government the Labour and trade union leaders have capitulated completely to Thatcher.

● They grovelled before her during the Malvinas war against Argentina. — thanks to this cowardly support the Tories won the last election.

● They joined in Tory attacks against the miners, denouncing those who fought

for their jobs and communities against Thatcher.

● They refused to lift a finger in defence of the year-long fight of the Wapping printers.

● Kinnock has tried to drive from the Labour Party all those opposed to his plans — Labour councillors who have fought Tory cuts, those defending the right of Black Sections in the Party.

We call for the maximum Labour vote in the election. This is the only means immediately available of removing the Tory government. This is why we are opposed to groups such as the Red Front standing candidates against Labour in this election.

We know that many workers still have hopes in a Labour government. To test out these hopes a series of immediate demands must be placed on a future Labour government:

We consider these the critical demands:

● Abolish every anti-union law and ensure complete independence of the unions from the state;

● Scrap cheap labour schemes which have been used to exploit tens of thousands of young people;

● Initiate a public works programme financed by slashing arms expenditure;

● End privatisation and re-nationalise privatised firms;

● Abolish MI5 and similar bodies, whose continued existence is a threat to the future of the working class and to civil liberties;

● TURN TO PAGE 2



STUDENTS rallied to protest against police torture in Seoul, south Korea, this week: as they left, their path was blocked by riot police. See report page 7

HOW TO PLAY 'LOYALTY' CARD

DELEGATES to NUPE's annual conference in Scarborough (17-20 May) who didn't want to see Labour's election bandwagon rocked went home happy.

This was the 60th annual conference of the National Union of Public Employees, and my first. After seeing both the platform and the floor in action I couldn't help feeling that the platform had the conference mapped out long before the left had their resolutions into head office.

Joyce Winsett, in her presidential address, quoted from an emergency resolution to the union's first-ever conference:

'This Conference pledges its full and enthusiastic support to the Labour Party in the forthcoming General Election, and we call upon them to immediately rescind the anti-trade union Bill, and to immediately repeal the Local Audit Bill which has resulted in grave injustices to a large number of municipal employees and destroyed the principle of democracy.'

That was in 1929, shortly before socialist pioneer Ramsay MacDonald became prime minister. What happened to the Bills mentioned in the resolution I don't know, but I can guess.

Kinnock has removed the need to guess what is going to happen to identical demands today.

On unemployment a statement was issued by the executive, entitled: 'A job to be done' (no, not on the Tories). Point 5 of this action plan begins: 'Rethink our ideas about what kind of work people want to do and how work is organised.' Like the other points it doesn't question capitalism's property rights.

CARD

TONY GODFREY
REPORTS FROM THE
NUPE CONFERENCE

The issues where the union leaders met opposition were the traditional ones: accountability of officers; fairer and more democratic elections.

All the resolutions fell, not necessarily because the spirit of what they were calling for didn't find sympathy among delegates, but owing to the total lack of forethought when they were drafted.

What I mean by that is the simple inclusion in a resolution of something that the EC can use to say: 'We are recommending a vote against because of the cost', or 'This will be an administrative nightmare'.

It has to be realised that union leaders still command an enormous amount of trust, loyalty and confidence among the rank and file.

Not every worker feels betrayed by the leadership. Many workers feel that it is the Tories' strength, not their leaders' treachery, that is their enemy.

The leaders do manage to pull some seemingly amazing strokes when the loyalty vote is called for.

The best example of this at the NUPE conference was on the resolution calling for NUPE delegates to the TUC to pursue the demand for the EETPU to call its members at Wapping out on strike, or

be expelled from the TUC.

The EC called for a vote against this on the grounds that 'other unions don't agree with us', and by a two-to-one show of hands it was defeated!

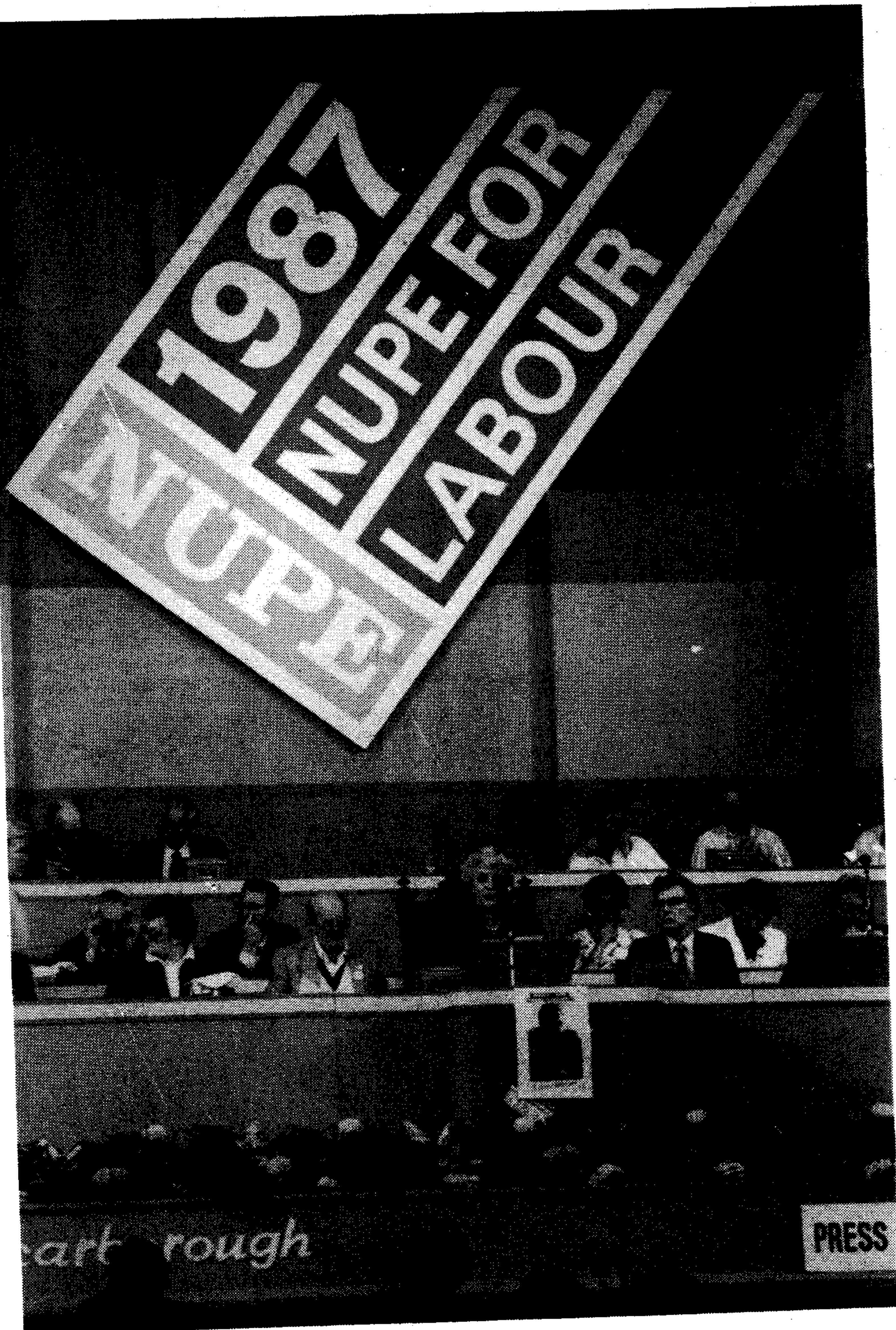
In the sectional meetings, where delegates were discussing issues closer to home, the picture was totally different.

No amount of pleading by the leadership was going to persuade anybody involved in a fight at grass-roots level to give up. And the loyalty vote was, without question, for the members involved in a fight.

Resolutions at conferences, like governments in parliament, don't decide the future of the working class. This conference met when the the coming election was dominating most people's thinking. Ranks closed, and the leadership had an easy job controlling conference.

The overwhelming majority of delegates know what to expect if the Tories get back in. They expressed a belief that, if Labour do get in, things at least won't get worse.

What happens to the loyalty vote then will be determined by the way we go forward to build a revolutionary socialist movement as Trotskyists.



Platform at NUPE conference

'Spuddy' speaks

BY JOHN OWEN

BILLY BUTLER, Radio Merseyside DJ, is the latest scab to cross the picket line at Liverpool's Mote House hotel.

The dispute, over trade union recognition, is now in its seventh week. Over 62 have been sacked for joining the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The guests in the hotel are complaining about the poor conditions, and generally supporting the pickets.

One of the strikers, Michael ('Spuddy') Childs,

21, who was the chef there, has been the picket-line comedian, keeping up the morale during the dispute. He told Workers Press:

'For 14 years it was in the hands of Holiday Inn and there wasn't any hassle. They had bonus schemes for the staff and a free weekend at any of the Holiday Inn hotels of your choice. This ended when Mote House took over.'

Donations and resolutions of support should be sent to: Sid Pearce, Bar Staff Organisation, T&GWU, 37 Islington, Liverpool 3.

Throw out Thatcher

● FROM PAGE 1

● Leave NATO, close down American war bases, and scrap nuclear weapons; the danger of a third world war does not come from the Soviet Union. It arises from the capitalist system which has plunged humanity into two world wars during this century.

● Withdraw troops from the occupied north of Ireland, and release Irish prisoners of war;

● Break diplomatic and financial links with South Africa and take punitive measures against firms who continue to trade with the apartheid regime;

● Abolish racist immigration laws;

● Release all jailed miners: they are class war prisoners, jailed by the Tories;

The question remains: whoever wins the election the acute problems facing the working class — rising unemployment, homelessness, the collapse of the welfare state, the destruction of the education system, the attack on democratic rights — will remain.

Millions of workers will be forced to fight on all these issues against any government elected on 11 June — Labour, Conservative or Coalition.

For this struggle a programme of action is decisive. The Workers Revolutionary Party has presented such a programme for discussion in the working class movement. We urge you to study it and let us have your views on it.

● See our programme of action for the crisis — P 8

Workers Revolutionary Party

Meetings

- Down With Thatcher!
- Vote Labour!
- No Confidence in Labour Traitors!
- Build Revolutionary Socialist Alternative!
Thursday, 4 June 7.30p.m.
The Carlton Centre, Granville Road, NW6
Wednesday, 10 June 7.30p.m.
The Highway Club, Dellow Street, E1
(by invitation — see leaflet)
nearest tube: Shadwell (Cable Street)

Pig tie ban

SCOTLAND YARD has banned police thugs from wearing ties gloating over their violent attacks on sacked printworkers at Rupert Murdoch's 'Fortress Wapping'.

The unsavoury items carry an emblem showing a kangaroo (Murdoch

is Australian) ruling over a moat and castle surrounded by barbed wire. Emblazoned underneath is the slogan of the notorious French riot squads: 'Cordon Sanitaire'.

It is reported that, despite the 'on duty' ban, over 200 of the ties have been made.

LISTINGS are published free by WORKERS PRESS each week for organisations in the labour movement. Please send details to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Thursday.

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

CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR) Weekly planning meetings every Tuesday at 7.30p.m. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938).

BRING BACK VICTORIA WILIAMS! Campaign meetings, 7.30p.m., second and fourth Wednesdays of every month. UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

TALK POLITICS WITH THE RCG Weekly discussion meetings every Sunday 7p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

20 YEARS OF THE OCCUPATION OF WEST BANK AND GAZA Conference, Saturday 6 June, 10 a.m.-5p.m. Speakers include Faisal Aweida (PLO), Amnon Zichroni, Akram Han-niyeh (deported editor), Harry Cohen MP, and West Bank trade unionists. Org. by 'Palestine Post'. At Royal Commonwealth Society, 18 Northumberland Avenue, WC2 (nearest tube Charing Cross). Followed by Social in the evening.

NUJ SAYS SOM RAJ MUST STAY Stop the Deportations! National March Saturday 6 June. Assemble 12 noon West Park, Wolverhampton. March to Civic Centre for Rally. (Further details: Ray George 0902 735295.)

SOLIDARITY WITH MICHEL WARSHAWSKY Halt political repression in Israel and Occupied territories! Public meeting organised by Campaign for Freedom of Expression of Palestinians and Israelis (CFE-

PI), Friends House, 23, St. Martin's Lane, WC2. 7.30pm, Tuesday 23 June.

REMEMBER BOBBY SANDS MP! March and Rally, Saturday 27 June. Assemble 12.30p.m. Finsbury Park. Speakers include representatives from Sinn Fein, Black Liberation, Irish PoW Repatriation Committee.

VIRAJ MENDIS WILL STAY! National Demonstration in Manchester Saturday 11 July (For further details ring London Support Group: 837 1688.)

VIRAJ MENDIS LONDON SUPPORT GROUP Downing Street Protest every Monday 6-7p.m. Westminster/Charing Cross tubes) Weekly Organisational meetings take place after the picket.

GUILDFORD 4 AND MAGUIRE FAMILY CAMPAIGN Speaking Tour. Speakers: Anne Maguire — served 11 years; Patrick Maguire Jr — served 4 years; Theresa Smalley — Paul Hill's aunt; Lisa Asten — chief defence witness for Carole Richardson. Friday 29 May 7.45p.m. The Trades Club, Peter Street, Blackburn (plus speaker from IBRG). Saturday

30 May 2.30p.m., Liverpool Polytechnic, Students Union, Maryland Street, Liverpool (plus speaker from Connolly Association).

Saturday 30 May 8.30p.m. Social evening. Bolton Institute for Higher Education, Students Union, College Way, Bolton. **Sunday 31 May 2p.m.**, Committee Room 5, Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester (plus speaker from Cheshire NCCL).

Sunday 31 May 7.30p.m., Trades Club, Savil Mount, Leeds (plus speaker from Leeds Council). **The tour is actively supported by the following organisations:** Connolly Association; IBRG; Labour Committee on Ireland (Leeds); Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee; Liverpool Poly Students Union; Bolton IHE, Students Union; NCCL Cheshire; Leeds Troops Out Movement; Leeds Trades Council; Blackburn Trades Council.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT Rees — Sylvia: born 26 May 1987. Welcome to the revolutionary struggle and congratulations to John, Ros, Tom and Kathie. From Pat and Caroline. Tioch-saidh a la.

Why is Labour silent on Public Order Act?

WHY IS Labour silent on the repeal of the Public Order Act? asked barrister Mike Mansfield at a recent meeting of the Campaign to Free the Framed Irish Prisoners.

None of the main political parties had done anything about such draconian legislation, said Mansfield, which had been used in the framing of Irish people, and on the Broadwater Farm estate in London.

Mansfield, who defended miners during their strike and the Broadwater Farm murder trial defendants, showed how the law which had been used against the Irish community was now being used against others too.

The Public Order Act is supported by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) which organised the mutual aid scheme during the miners dispute, he pointed out.

Response

They don't just determine the response to so called 'incidents' anymore; there are now 'target' areas which have been publicised in the Newman report, he said.

These areas are what they call trouble spots. But in fact it is really the other way around. They decide that there will be trouble so that they can flood the area with more police.

It was revealed during the Broadwater case that there was a contingency plan. This had not been drawn up out of the blue. Why Broadwater? There had never been a riot before or a serious incident of public disorder, said Mansfield.

So good had things been on the Farm that it merited a visit from a prominent mem-

ber of the Royal family. The crime statistics were falling.

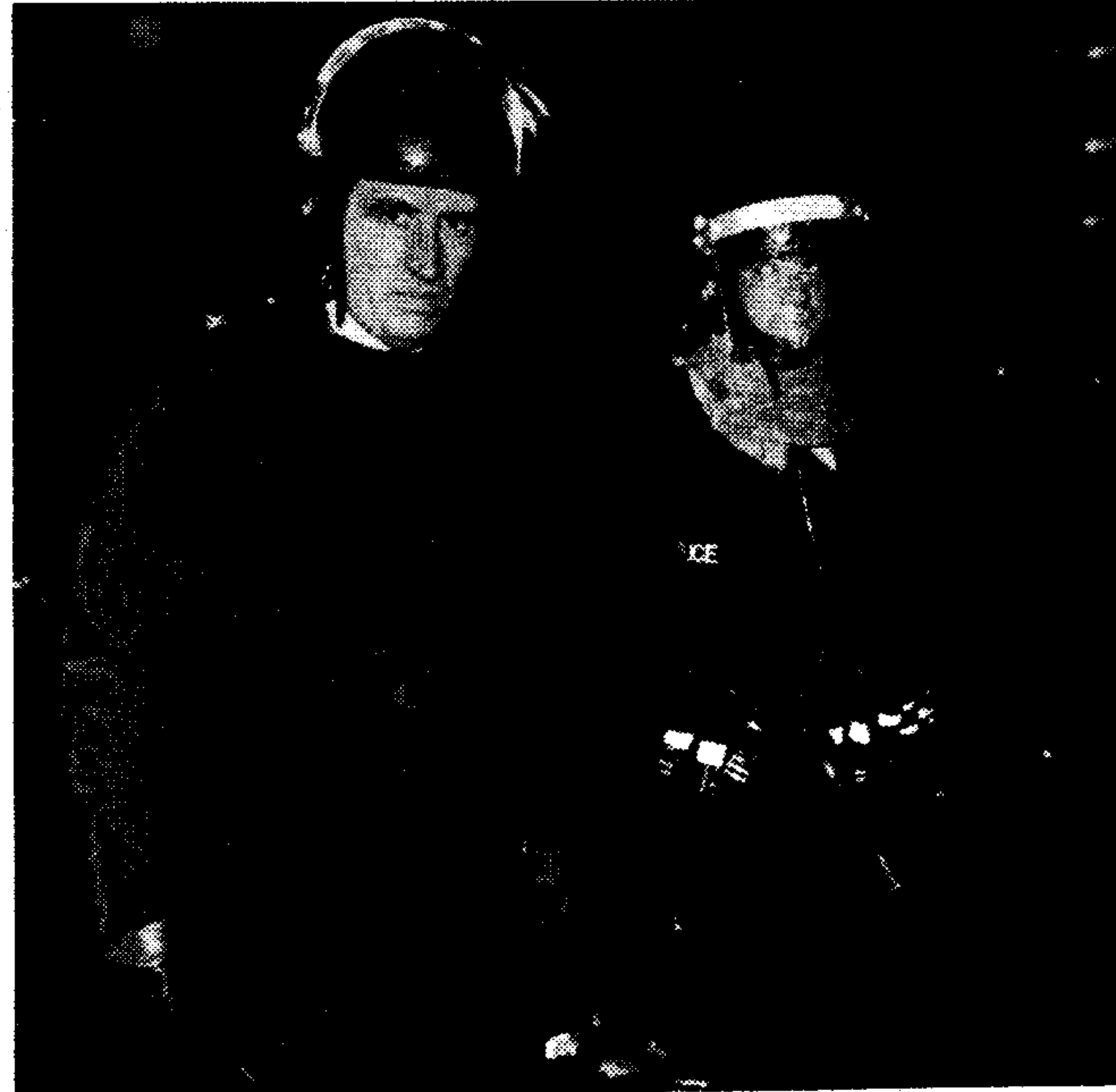
What happened at Broadwater Farm was the result of an attitude of mind best expressed by Kenneth Newman, former Metropolitan Police Commissioner and before that RUC chief constable in northern Ireland.

Newman claimed that riots at both Brixton and Broadwater Farm had been orchestrated by identified Trotskyists and Anarchists — an assertion quietly withdrawn a week later.

Mansfield described the meeting how the police eagerly used 'draconian' laws like the Public Order Act to arrest the son of Cynthia Jarrett whose car was stopped by the police. All they could find wrong was a mistake in the number on the tax disc. This turned out not to be an offence, but meanwhile he was taken into custody.

You can imagine them doing this to one of the Conservatives for instance who have recently got into a bit of trouble. None of this 'Come along to the police station when you are ready'.

They went around with the keys, and Mrs Jarrett was dead within minutes of them going in. And it all began



Police in riot gear at Broadwater farm

with an incident with a young man who had committed no offence, who was later charged with assaulting a police officer but was acquitted.

No offence, yet a woman was dead in similar circumstances to a shooting a week before in Brixton. And they wonder why people want to protest.

Meanwhile, back at the police station, there is a contingency plan, said Mansfield.

That Sunday they had a very large number of police on hand. Just the right number for the contingency plan in fact.

They were part of a highly disciplined and organised police force, who train at a specially-constructed 'riot City' in Hounslow.

It was the attitude of the police, the chief constables and the government that are the real problem, claimed Mansfield.

Any future government will have in mind the abolition of jury trials, he went on. They have been 'chipping away at it for years': then it would not be necessary to frame anybody because there would be no jury to convince.

It will all be done by assessors or judges as they do in Belfast with the Diplock

courts. They want to do away with the right to object to the line up of a jury.

Mansfield also attacked the Labour Party for its silence on the Criminal Justice Bill. Although it had been shelved, it revealed an intention to increase the number of offences that are tried only by magistrates, thereby reducing the number of trials that go before a jury.

With The Public Order Act on one side, with the provisions concerning marches and processions, combined with the attack on the Jury system there is a kind of pincer movement in operation, said Mansfield.

Maxine Williams, speaking for the Free the Framed Irish Prisoners Campaign, said that the meeting had been called to show that the framing of Irish people is no longer unique.

The framing of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire under the Labour government in the 1970s, was designed to silence the Irish community in Britain, said Williams.

Framing

The same technique is now being applied to other people in Britain who are seen as troublesome, she said.

Sharon Raghip wife of Engin Raghip, one of the Broadwater three given life following the Blakelock show trial, described the flimsy evidence on which they were framed. The evidence of the police was destroyed in the witness box. There was no

credibility in their statements, she said.

The cases of three juveniles were thrown out of court, two of them by the judge who said that they had been oppressed into making their statements.

In Engin's case our barrister made a submission to have the murder charge removed because of lack of evidence, said Sharon.

The judge ruled that the evidence only warranted a charge of common assault. None of this was said in front of the jury and when they returned the judge did an about-face and pressed for it to proceed to a murder trial.

Failed

Raghip and Mark Braithwaite both had an alibi which the prosecution tried to disprove, but failed. The only evidence against Winston Silcot was twenty six words that he is alleged to have said. This is all he was convicted on.

Gareth Pierce, solicitor for some of the Birmingham six, spoke about the need to keep the names of framed prisoners in the public eye.

She criticised those such as the prison governors who persecuted them while inside and the probation officers who know they are not guilty but remain silent.

Britain now has the kind of legislation which would support a military junta. Had it been introduced in America it would have meant changing the whole constitution. Our unwritten constitution is changed piecemeal by the Judiciary, said Pierce.

BEWARE OF FRAUDS!

An open letter to the labour movement

SEVERAL candidates are standing in this general election in the name of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP).

They are standing under a stolen flag.

These people are not members of our Party, and the policies they are putting forward are not those of the WRP outlined in our weekly paper, Workers Press.

In October 1985, the then leader of the WRP, G. Healy, was expelled for systematic sexual and physical abuse of members and for slander against political opponents.

The small minority who supported him, including Vanessa and Corin Redgrave, and most of those standing as candidates in this general election, were expelled in November 1985.

They had refused to attend a Party conference to argue their point of view. Instead, they called their own meeting, and proclaimed themselves to be the WRP. Now, with no explanation of this to the electorate, they are standing candidates in our name.

What sort of group is this?

Immediately Healy was expelled, Vanessa Redgrave took us to the Company courts, and closed down the Party's printshop in a winding-up action; months of court appearances and costly legal fees were logged up until we were finally able to save our publishing company from liquidation as a result of another action by Redgrave;

Fifteen of this group walked out of their full-time jobs for the Party's newspaper and companies, and then embarked unsuccessfully on Industrial Tribunal cases against us;

They appeared as police witnesses in court against a member of our Central Committee, Phil Penn, and he went to prison for four months on charges of assault — after he had been attacked by four members of this group.

Some of our supporters have suggested that we go to court to stop them using our name in this general election. But instead we decided to write to you to explain the situation.

We want to engage in a discussion on the serious questions of

leadership and policy which the election has posed for all members of the labour movement.

The working class is faced with a contradiction. Only by taking the power, smashing the capitalist state, and implementing policies to take over industry, the banks and the finance houses can the working class solve its problems of homelessness, unemployment and the destruction of the welfare state.

Yet we all know that the Kinnock Labour leadership will never do that.

So what must we do in this general election? We say that the most urgent task facing the British working class is to get rid of the Tory government. In the election, this means voting Labour.

Because we have no confidence in the Labour leadership the organisations of the mass movement — including support groups, community organisations, strike committees, unemployed and tenants groups — must be built up and organised around socialist policies which alone can solve the crisis.

This movement must place a series of concrete demands on any

future Labour government.

The WRP thinks these are the critical demands:

- Abolish every anti-trade union law and ensure complete independence of the unions from the state;
- Scrap immediately all cheap labour schemes which have been used to enslave tens of thousands of young people;
- Initiate a public works programme financed by slashing arms expenditure;
- End privatisation and renationalise privatised firms without compensation;
- Abolish MI5 and all similar bodies, whose continued existence is a threat to the future of the working class and to civil liberties in this country;
- Pull the British army of occupation out of Ireland. Release all Irish prisoners of war;
- Leave NATO immediately, close down all American war bases and scrap all preparations for nuclear war;
- Break all diplomatic and financial links with South Africa and take punitive measures against

any firms continuing to trade with the apartheid regime;

- Abolish all racist immigration laws;
- Release all jailed miners: they are class war prisoners, jailed by the Tories.

Our Party is not standing candidates in this election, but this does not necessarily mean that we will not stand candidates in the future.

The Labour Party was established to represent the trade unions in Parliament. The accelerating crisis of capitalism brings attacks on the unions, cuts in the welfare state, mounting unemployment for millions.

The unions are losing members hand over fist; wages and conditions are being undermined. Yet the Labour Party leadership is hell bent on saving the very system which leads to this situation.

The Workers Revolutionary Party invites everybody in the labour and trade union movement, all workers and fighters against the Tory government to discuss with us the policies and the way forward for the victory of the working class.

THE NEWSLINE GROUP AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

WORKERS PRESS

Our programme of action for the crisis

MILLIONS of workers and young people face a desperate crisis. Unemployment grows; thousands are homeless; tens of thousands are herded into cheap labour schemes; millions face the destruction of the health and education services.

The whole of society is menaced by the threat of nuclear war, unleashed by capitalism to save its dying system.

The main points of our programme of action to mobilise the working class are:

1. Complete independence of the unions from the state. Whatever government is in office after 11 June, the trade union leaders must be forced to end their collaboration with the MSC and all state bodies. Such bodies were created to police the trade unions and undermine the independent strength of the working class.
2. Workers' committees on a national scale to defend all those in struggle against the state, including those like the Caterpillar workers who occupy their plants to defend their jobs and families.
3. Immediate scrapping of YTS/JTS and other slave labour schemes. Organise a public works programme under workers' control to restore full employment. A crash programme to solve the housing problem, and to build hospitals and schools that are urgently needed. Local community committees to take over empty and misused property, to immediately house homeless people.
4. Open up the secrets of the City of London, the monopolies, banks and other financial institutions to the labour movement. Place them under the control of workers' committees. Expropriate them without compensation.
5. The breaking up of MI5, together with the police and army. The formation of a workers' militia to protect the interests of the working class.
6. Educational facilities for all who need them. Full maintenance for all students.
7. A break from all imperialist alliances, including NATO. Withdrawal of all British forces from imperialist bases, including the north of Ireland. Restoration of the Malvinas islands to Argentina.
8. The development of a world plan to use the resources of a socialist Britain in collaboration with the peoples of the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, as well as with the Soviet Union, eastern Europe, and China. This is the only basis on which problems of world starvation and poverty can be tackled.

The building of a party based on this programme is an urgent matter for the working class. We call on those who support this statement to join the Workers Revolutionary Party.

DOCKLAND

Now there are two nations on Isle of Dogs

NOWHERE in all London is the divide between rich and poor more pronounced than in Docklands in the East End.

The Isle of Dogs is the island created by a bend in the Thames and the waterways which, until the mid-1970s, were Britain's busiest docks. Thousands of local people were employed here but then containerisation was introduced, making them surplus to requirements.

Since then the asset strippers and property speculators have moved in. With the help of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) — to which Parliament has given the right to snatch land in the area — they have carved up this prime site, only minutes from the City. What little industry was left has been unable to resist the pressure to sell up for a quick profit, giving an extra twist to the spiral of unemployment.

Advertised as a cross between Venice and New York, Docklands has become a dormitory area for bankers and yuppies. Luxury apartment complexes provide everything for the discerning yuppie. One-bedroom flats at £190,000 — or, if you prefer, the two-bedroom variety offers that bit of extra comfort at a mere £230,000.

Inside his 'spacious penthouse' (everything from the ground floor up is called a penthouse) 'nothing has been spared to create an ambience of fine luxury... achieved with style and just the slightest hint of overstatement'. While his aesthetic sensibilities are massaged by the wonderful riverside walks, the yuppie is happy in the knowledge that he owns a piece of history which is very likely to appreciate in value.

But while the bankers and yuppies go wind-surfing on the Millwall Docks what has become of the working class who used to work here? What have these changes meant for them? After viewing what the developer had to offer, I went to see Kate Bushaway.

Kate lives with her husband and three children on the second floor of a block of council flats next door to one of the new complexes.

Margaret Thatcher had just launched her election campaign from her battle-bus on the Isle of Dogs, claiming that Docklands represented the Jewel in the Crown of Tory policies.

I asked Kate if these developments had changed her life for the better.

'We are at the moment trying to get in touch with the Borough Surveyor's office', she said, 'because we have a lot of worries about the safety of the blocks now.'

'The work being done on the site with the stone-crushing machine and pile-drivers, coupled with the site traffic, has damaged our buildings.'

'There are a lot of older buildings on the island which are going to have the same problem,' she said as she took me to see the damage done to the block next door.

Kate's neighbour, who has a month-old baby, is afraid to push the pram onto her balcony because of the cracked brickwork in an arch overhead.

The archway is held up with a couple of bits of two-by-two. Huge cracks can be seen throughout the building. The brickwork is crumbling and the stairs are cracked through at the top of each landing.

'At the moment the Tenants' Association is trying to keep track of all the repairs that are not being done', Kate said.

'When it started the noise was unbelievable. But the vibration

was the main thing that worried us.

'It was just like living on a train. In the early morning you would have thought you were on board a sleeper. They started work at 6a.m. and the beds would start rocking.'

'This went on all day and, believe it or not, we had to give the kids sea-sickness pills so that they could eat their dinner.'

'They have got to clean up this estate', she said when I asked her about the council's role, 'because if they don't it will depreciate the value of those places over there.'

'They are going to pretty up the flats by painting the outside, which is a bit of a waste of time because all the windowsills have got dry rot.'

'You can pick lumps of window-sill up and crumble it between your fingers.'

'They're not doing us any favours, and what little bit of benefit we can get we are going to get.'

'What they are asking for a three-bedroom house on the Isle of Dogs could buy half of north Wales, and these people in Lego-land are not going to pay those prices if all they can see out of their windows is squalor.'

'That's why one of the plans they have for this estate is to build a 30-foot wall between us and the yuppie estate.'

'They don't want us to hang washing out on our balconies any more, so they offered to provide us with a drying area on the other side of the flats.'

'But after washing and rinsing you may as well put your clothes down the chute because they won't be there when you go back for them.'

'There's no lift, and for the people on the top flight of stairs to go all the way down and around the other side its too much.'

When I asked Kate if the LDDC had brought any employment to the island she advised me to 'go up to Dod Street, where everyone on the island signs on, and have a look at the queue going in.'

'There are jobs in the area' she said. 'There are barmaid jobs — but then they are pulling the pubs down. There are caretaker jobs or cleaning jobs — but real jobs? Well, there's Asda, the supermarket; but the LDDC don't employ local people.'

'There is a red brick road which runs through the island all the way from Poplar. It took donkey's ages to build. All the bricks were made in France and Belgium, and they cost more than a pound each.'

'There was miles of it but only two local people were employed on it.'

'They advertise jobs for these sites all over the country and in Ireland, but they don't advertise them in the local papers.'

'My husband is on a Restart scheme. There is no job at the end of it.'

'He is a painter and decorator by trade but he is now teaching youngsters to do his job.'

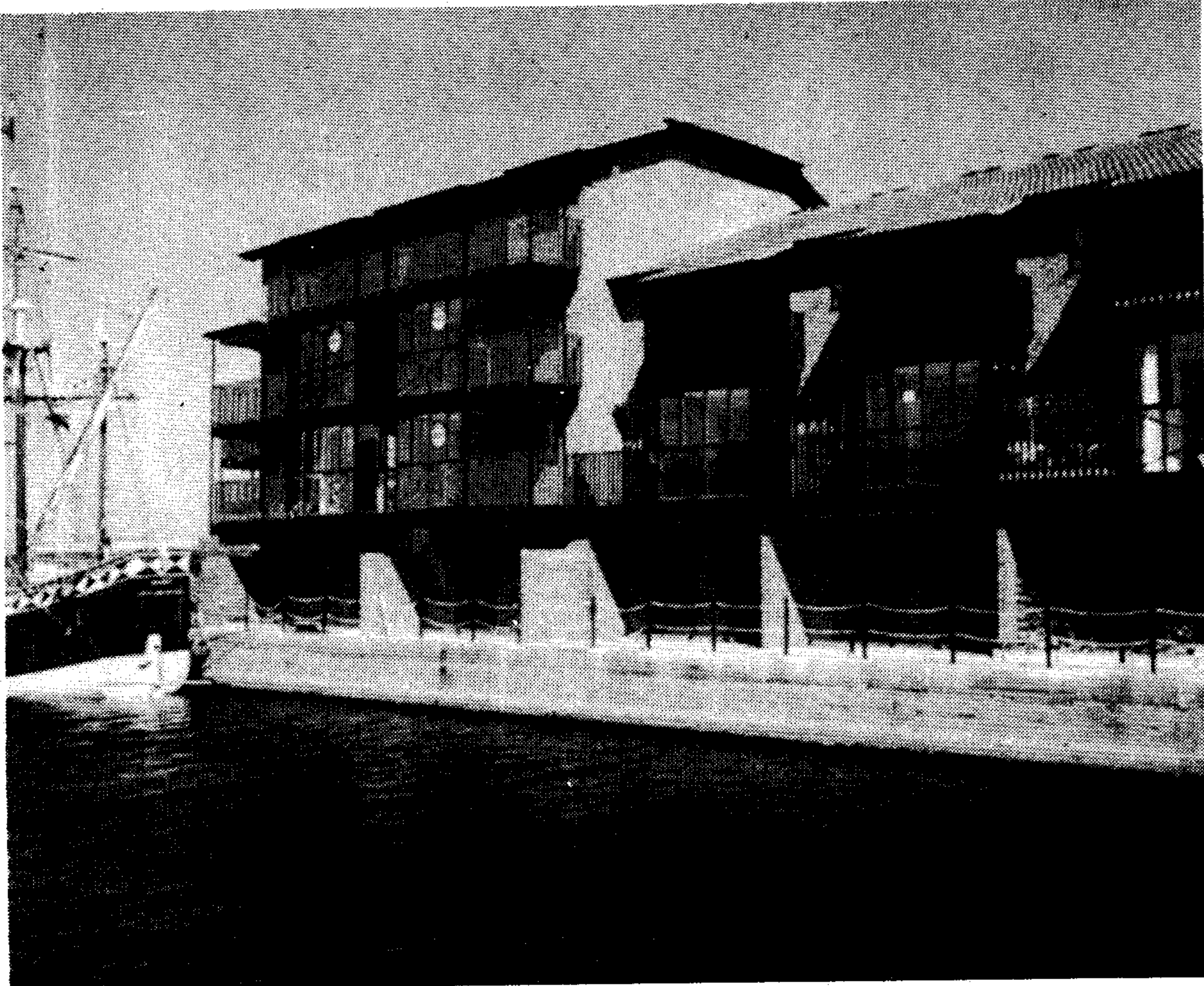
'He is now doing for £100 a week what he used to do five years ago for £200 a week, teaching



The council flats on the Isle of Dogs have been neglected for years — and now vibration from the pile drivers threatens to bring the balconies down

SCANDAL

BY PHIL PENN



£100,000 apartments overlook the docks where thousands of East Enders used to work



Thatcher declared in 1981 that the Isle of Dogs was an 'enterprise zone' — and handed the area to speculators

others who only get £60 a week, taking jobs away from tradesmen who are now on the dole.

'He doesn't like it, but it's either take it or starve.

'These schemes force people to work for less money than they can live on, sometimes less money than they can get on the dole.

'Somebody is making a lot of money!

'We now get Family Income Supplement because he is on such a low wage.

With that, they work out the absolute minimum that you can live on, take away your wages, and

what's left over, they give you half.'

When I asked her who the LDDC is run by, Kate said: 'You tell me. We can't even find out who to talk to. Whoever we talk to they say they will pass on our view, but they make it clear that they don't have any authority to deal with it.

'The LDDC are known on the island as the Local Deceive and Destroy Club. They're property speculators who have got absolutely no interest in decent housing or jobs for local people.

'Before this all began we got a letter saying that the ground was being sold and asking if anyone

had any objections. But we have found since that it does not matter what objections we have, they are going to do exactly as they please.

'There was a meeting where they were discussing the Docklands Forum. This is a document which took thousands of pounds of our money and years to prepare.

'The representatives of the LDDC didn't even want to read it.

'We have just been strung along by them from the word go. For example, there was a big piece of land called the Mud Chute which had allotments on it and a small farm. Kids could go there to learn how to milk a cow.

'They told us that if they could get the go-ahead for the supermarket and a car park there they would then landscape and re-fence the rest of it.

'But they have encroached onto the farm, which is getting smaller and smaller. There are houses on it now and we know that eventually it will go altogether and we're not going to have it at all.

'In the same way they said that they will build some new council houses, but they say they've got

to build the private houses first in order to pay for the council houses.

'We know that we'll end up with half-a-dozen houses at a rent that nobody can afford.

'Apart from the odd sweetshop you have only got one shop on the island now and that is Asda.

'They have changed the bus route, making it difficult to go anywhere else.

'Before the developers came the 56 bus used to go off the island, straight along the Commercial Road to Aldgate, turn around, come back, and all the way round the island again'.

'Now they have changed it so that it no longer goes near the major shops, the community law centre, the housing office, or the employment office. Now it heads straight along the Highgate, past Murdoch's plant at Wapping, and out towards the City.

'It's still possible to get there, but with two buses. So with a baby, a push chair, and a week's shopping to buy you're not going to fight your way on and off two buses when you can go just down the road.

'I would prefer to go to the other

shops but unless you have a car you have to shop at Asda.

'The developers don't particularly want to, but they have got to keep a certain number of council houses on the Island.

'There are still a lot of council houses, but previously that was all there was.

'Because of the influx of yuppies I don't know whether the balance of power has been shifted on the island.

'Previously no one but Labour would even bother contesting, because they knew that they did not have a snowball's chance in hell. But we may get the Alliance in here now.

'I don't agree with everything that the Labour Party have done but I think that they can't do any worse than she has done for us, and she has certainly "done for us" around here. She has killed off this area.'

Finally I asked Kate if she thought the Labour Party would put right what had happened on the Isle of Dogs.

'I don't know. . . I hope so', she replied.



Kay Thompson has to take her baby out under an arch supported by a few pieces of timber



Kate Bushaway on the balcony of her council flat — falling down while Wimpey build luxury homes next door

Simon Pirani reports from Brazil on the 10th Congress of the Convergencia Socialista, Brazilian section of the International Workers League

THE BRAZILIAN Trotskyists of Convergencia Socialista (CS) voted full support for the international conference to re-organise the Fourth International recently.

The setting-up of the conference preparatory committee was 'a great step forward' stated a resolution passed unanimously at their 10th Congress in Sao Paulo.

A delegation from the Workers Revolutionary Party which attended the Congress and participated in the international discussion was greeted with open arms.

CS, Brazilian section of the International Workers League (Fourth International) also resolved to intensify its campaign against payment of Brazil's \$110 million foreign debt.

The right-wing regime of President Sarney suspended debt payment in February, pouring fuel on the flames of anti-debt feeling which are burning throughout Latin America.

But now Sarney is set to crumble under imperialist pressure. His finance minister Dilson Funaro, who organised suspension of debt payments, resigned last Monday.

The International Monetary Fund, and the Brazilian bourgeoisie, are breathing down Sarney's neck. Brazil's rampant working class movement — which emerged from illegality eight years ago and is now 20-million strong — is kicking him in the stomach.

In February last year, prices and wages were frozen with Sarney's Cruzado Plan. Of course the capitalist class took no notice of the regulations — but at least workers could buy rice and beans.

But no sooner had the right wing PMDB won last November's election than the Cruzado Plan was junked. A new plan was brought in which allowed prices to rise, but maintained a 'trigger' mechanism ('gatilho') so that wages were augmented each month to keep up.

Opposition

The new plan provoked open opposition from Sarney's right. Not even Brazil's state governors would pay the monthly increase he decreed. The working class, for its part, replied with a one-day general strike last December.

Now inflation is galloping ahead at 15 per cent a month. 1987 began with a wave of strikes, including a particularly violent one by bank workers, where CS lead decisive sections.

Just before the CS Congress, the left-wing United Workers' Confederation (CUT), advanced an economic emergency plan including a sliding scale of wages and gave the government 45 days to implement it. If the plan is not accepted by Sarney, say the CUT, they will hold a campaign of strikes and demonstrations culminating in a general stoppage.

CS voted to concentrate its campaigns in CUT-affiliated unions, where it leads 300,000 workers, against the IMF-imposed debt.

The Trotskyists are calling on CUT leaders to go to a Latin American conference of trade unionists, called to discuss the debt, and press the movement-wide action.

The party's two delegates to the 10th international

executive will press for implementation of the general strike call. They pioneered the proposal for a general strike, but until two weeks ago were outvoted on the issue.

'Sarney Out' is CS's main political slogan. They advance a programme of a sliding wage scale, cancellation of external debt, repeal of corporatist anti-union laws, nationalisation under workers' control and agrarian reform.

Until a month ago, CS called for Brazil's national bourgeois Constituent Assembly to assume power for passing laws, and displace president Sarney — who was handed power from military dictatorship which ended in 1984.

But the Assembly expressly voted for its own subordination to Sarney. CS has now reverted to the slogan which brought millions on to the streets in 1984 — 'direct elections for president'.

Within the workers' movement the propaganda work is on the need for a workers' government. But until sections of the class rally to that call and break from their illusions in the national bourgeoisie, they do not agitate for a workers' government as an immediate perspective.

CS reflects all the vitality of Brazil's young working-class organisations. A rally of 1,300 which opened the congress on Friday night greeted delegations from the provinces with chanting, tambourines and rattles.

Banners from CS regions mingled with those from Trotskyist-led unions — the

Minas Gerais miners, the Rio de Janeiro metalworkers' opposition, teachers, bank workers and regional sections of CUT.

There were warm cheers for a delegation who had set out three days before from Belém in the north (don't forget Brazil is bigger than western Europe).

'Only With the Fourth International Can We Go Forward', 'Warning to the Stalinists — Latin America and the rest of the world is full of Trotskyists', 'Fight, Fight For Workers' Power' and 'Imperialism Beware, the Trotskyists are Everywhere' were the favourite slogans.

23 regional union presidents and several national union leaders, all CS members, were clapped on to the stage, along with Jair Meneguelli, the president of CUT. But pride of place, and a deafening round of applause, went to delegations from the WRP in Britain, the International Workers League (Fourth International), its Colombian section the Socialist Workers Party (PST) and its American section, the Internationalist Workers Party (IWP).

A minute's silence was held for the late Nahuel Moreno, former leader of the IWL(FI). His death in January was a tremendous loss and deepened the problems of leadership, said CS leader Marra Jose Lourenco.

'Despite boundless technological advances, the majority of the world is hungry,' she said. But workers across the world — she surveyed the revolutionary struggle from Latin America, Europe, the workers'

states and the Far East — were fighting back. The construction of the Fourth International as a world party was more important than ever.

Leon Perez of the IWL(FI) reported on the work of the preparatory committee for the international conference. 'We in the IWL(FI) are committed to building a world party, the Fourth International, based on the principle of democratic centralism,' he said.

Jair Meneguelli, a popular leftist union leader with a following in Brazil comparable to that of Arthur Scargill, paid fulsome tribute to CS.

Significant

'I know how you are persecuted throughout the movement, even in the "combative" sections. But no-one can deny that CS represents a very significant element in the building of the CUT,' he said.

'I wish you all the luck in the world, all the happiness; I recognise publicly the courageous struggle which you are taking up in this country. As long as there are people like you, the CUT will get stronger.'

Meneguelli contrasted CS's principled work in the unions with that of 'certain leaders who call themselves revolutionary' but had failed to support his fight to break the Belo Horizonte metalworkers' union from the right-wing CGT union confederation, which is dominated by the Communist Party and by right-wingers who collaborated with the milit-

ary dictatorship.

'In some countries in Europe they call me a Trotskyist,' he said. 'If that means I am against imperialism — yes I am; if that means I am against the dictatorship in Paraguay and Chile — yes I am; if that means I support Polish Solidarity — yes; and if that means I am for the transformation of society to socialism — yes.'

Cyro Garcia, who represents the powerful Rio bank workers' union on the CUT executive and is a CS member, told the rally how CS was pressing for the general strike proposal to be made concrete.

'People are fighting for money to buy food and land to live on. They are not concerned with the government's diplomacy; they are fighting through the workers' movement,' he said.

'The biggest problem is the leadership of the unions. The main task is to change it.'

CS leader Eduardo de Almeida compared the party's policy of a general strike to bring down Sarney with that of the Communist Party which supported Sarney on the grounds of fear of a military coup. 'To be against the military means opposing Sarney,' he said.

'The imperialists, the military and the ruling class all want Sarney in power.'

De Almeida said the general strike proposal came not from CS but from the hundreds of strikes that had taken place in the recent months.

Congratulating party branches for their turn-out,

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY



Working class moves — banks cower



The demand for direct presidential elections is an important slogan for many Brazilian workers

he reminded them of Trotsky's position that we wanted 'not just more papers sold, and more members, but a revolution in every country in the world.'

There were messages of greeting to the congress from the Black People's Movement of Rio, the IWL(FI) and its Paraguayan, Portuguese and Argentine sections, the several Stalinist and centrist groups.

Bill Hunter of the WRP told the rally of his warm appreciation of a Trotskyist movement with a young age which 'had succeeded in breaking from that isolation from the working class which always plagued our movement, particularly in Europe, and put its roots into the mass movement'. He looked forward to joint work for the re-organisation of the Fourth International with the comrades of CS.

As well as the international and national documents, the congress — attended by delegates and visitors representing 840 militants (active members) — passed resolutions on student work, the women's question and on work in the Workers' Party (PT), an electoral front aligned with the CUT.

Resolutions on the black question, the armed forces, and the agrarian struggle, were remitted to the incoming Central Committee, which was elected after a thorough two-hour discussion on leadership. The party resolved to concentrate on educational work among the large number of new comrades being recruited from the unions.

Interview with Oskar Hippe

IN 1926, seven hundred German Communist Party leaders sent a resolution to the Central Committee which took the initiative in forging solidarity with the Russian Opposition. It declared that the majority of Communist workers would support it if the real opposites could be drawn out in an all-sided discussion based on clear information.

In this struggle the Lenin Opposition fought against the perspective of socialism in one country and for the furthering of the revolutionary movement in all countries in close connection with the building of socialism in Russia until the triumph of socialism through the victory of world revolution.

'Five other points were made. One, back to Lenin and the real undistorted Leninism! This had to be the slogan of the discussion. I signed too.'

'The Stalinists replied with expulsions but not until a very far-reaching discussion had taken place. Up to 2,000 comrades participated in that discussion.'

'It was not until 1929 that the Stalinists began to dominate the Party.'

'We fought for a united front tactic with the social democrats within the KPD. Despite all inner Party struggles we preserved the unity of the Party from the outside.'

'Our members were active with us everywhere. I worked as a dustman and got sacked because of my political work. I worked as a road-sweeper, and I worked in an asylum.'

Anton Grylewicz was the leader of the Lenin League until 1930. Hippe left too. Grylewicz continued to be a leading Trotskyist and publisher of Trotsky's writings in the German language.

The wrong politics of the Stalinists had a disastrous effect on the Party. The membership shrank to a tenth of its size.

Just as they did in the Russian Party, the German Stalinists operated with slanders. It was their only method of reply to anything put out by the left.

In 1928, the excluded Left Opposition formed around a resolution, expressing a strong tendency to build an independent party. At Easter this became known as the Lenin League.

'We understood the Lenin League to be a faction of the KPD fighting to reform the Party. Many members of the KPD and other organisations came to our lectures and discussions.'

'When the KPD organised public meetings we raised the question of the permanent revolution.'

'We were labelled as agents of imperialism and the counter-revolution. They made no attempt to answer us theoretically, only with fists. We were thrown out of the meetings but the discussion continued on the streets.'

'We were able to win many sympathisers. The Communist Youth Organisation used sticks and stones against groups of opposition like us.'

Stalin's ultra-left course, called the Third Period, moved against social democracy and the German Trade Union Federation. The theory of social fascism and the building of 'red' trade unions (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition) served as a tool to abandon the united front tactic.

The demands by the social democrats for the re-opening of closed factories; the seizure of assets of big industries; seizure of all capital and means of the bosses; sabotaging of production; contracting for deliveries to the Soviet Union; the confiscation of all land for use by the farmworkers and peasants — all these were swept under the carpet as they entered a coalition government with the reactionary forces of industrialists and bankers.

Demonstrations became illegal. The police adopted a shoot-to-kill policy. These moves were defended by the social democrats. The KPD called a mass strike with slogans which encouraged workers to think they were strong enough to take the power and the ruling class too weak to resist.

The slogan of the social demo-

Part Two of a three-part interview of OSKAR HIPPE, 87-year-old German Trotskyist, by TRUDI JACKSON. Hippe joined the German Communist Party as a young man; he was one of the delegates to the 1932 Copenhagen Conference of the Left Opposition and referred to by Trotsky during the Dewey Commission enquiry in 1937.



OSKAR and GERTRUD HIPPE

crats was 'Berlin is not Rome — Germany is not Italy'.

'Fascism was not possible as it had been in Italy, they said, because the growing radicalisation of the German working class and the huge sections of the petty bourgeois would prevent it.'

But the terror of the fascists was growing. The fascist party recruited many unemployed, impoverished workers and declassed elements kept together with soup kitchens and alcohol.

'The police never attempted to come to our assistance when we were attacked because we were not "decent citizens".'

'In reply to Stalin's theory of Socialism in One Country we published, in 1931, the first issue of "Permanent Revolution".'

'Socialism in One Country is nothing less than the negation of the international character of the socialist revolution.'

'We rejected unconditionally all kinds of reformism and slogans of nationally limited socialism and liberation.'

'Against Stalinism we fought with scientific Marxism.'

When 20,000-30,000 socialist workers split from the social democrats they formed a new party, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP). The KPD called them left social fascists.

The left opposition of the Bolshevik-Leninists was expelled by the KPD and the opposite was achieved as many joined it because of this.

'We tried everything to form a united front against the fascists but the leadership of the KPD did its utmost to prevent it.'

'Our leaflets were written to a large extent by Trotsky. "What Now? Decisive Questions of the German Proletariat" was printed in an edition of 10,000.'

'Many others followed, among them "Against National Communism — Is Fascism Really to Win?" and "How Can National Socialism Be Beaten?"'

Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, regularly participated in the life of the organisation. He issued the Russian Bulletin, the organ of the Russian Opposition, which was printed by the same printers as Permanent Revolution.

'Nobody realised at the time that two brothers served as Stalinist agents and that one of them was

the mediator between Trotsky and the German section.'

'In 1932 we prepared to work underground by reorganising into small groups of five. Every comrade was clear with whom to work illegally. We were to publish "Our Word".'

'We had to obtain 300 copies from Switzerland as our printer refused to touch it. We took a photograph of every page, five inches by seven, and bought magnifying glasses at Woolworth for £1 each which we delivered to our friends and comrades. This is how they read the paper normally.'

'We had to hide 2,000 leaflets of Trotsky's "What Now?" as well as other books and documents.'

In the days when tens of thousands of trade unionists, social democrat and KPD supporters were being tortured by the Nazi police or suffering in prisons and concentration camps, the trade union leaders called on its membership to take part in a May Day Rally organised by the Hitler government.

On 2 May all trade union houses and offices were occupied by the Nazis and changed into the 'German Labour Front'.

The KPD was proscribed but the social democrats remained legal at first. In the same way as they did after the World War I, they tried to make peace with all reactionary forces. They offered to work together with the Nazis in return for the price of legality.

All other bourgeois parties agreed with the law giving the power to Hitler.

Theodor Heuss was the faction leader who agreed with this. Such gross betrayal of the German proletariat did not prevent him from being elected as first President of the Federal Republic after 1945.

'I refused to emigrate because I didn't want the politics to suffer when other leading comrades left the country. I lost my books at the time when the Nazis burned Marxist and so-called decadent literature.'

Not all books got burnt. A large amount were stored away. Most people cleared out their precious books because of the danger involved.

'In 1934, a comrade who was arrested by the Nazis informed them of my activity, and I was arrested too.'

'They interrogated and tortured me. But they didn't succeed in breaking my resistance.'

'They arrested Gertrud, to blackmail her. Three weeks before her arrest two Gestapo moved in with her in our one bedroom flat and followed her about everywhere.'

'She kept silent despite being beaten and tortured, kicked and hit with guns.'

'Cold water was poured over her when she became unconscious. Three of her vertebrae were broken. This has left her bent and never without pain since. But she has never lost her good humour to this day.'

'In the six days when they tortured me I saw them carry away

six people who had been tortured to death.'

'They made me eat three salt herrings with scales and the inside and offered water if I would speak. I told them, "If I have to eat double the amount of herring I am not going to tell you anything."'

'There wasn't a white spot left on my body but they did not succeed with anything.'

'On May Day morning we had organised to sing the Internationale at a given signal. The whole prison rang out with all three verses. Everybody in the city could hear us. The warders never discovered how we had managed to do this.'

When Hippe was released from prison in 1936, he was unable to obtain any employment. He always met with the same response: 'We haven't any jobs for people like you.'

'My wife was doing some cleaning jobs. I got a little unemployment benefit and carried on with whatever political work was possible. I was declared unfit for military service.'

'In 1937 we had decided not to send any of our comrades to Spain under the conditions where the Soviet secret service did everything to prevent the Spanish revolution from succeeding.'

'When we first heard the news of Trotsky's murder we could not believe it. It was not until January 1941 that we had it confirmed by our paper "Das Wort".'

'Most of our young comrades were conscripted into the army in 1940. Older ones were sent to fight the partisans in the Balkans. Not a single one of them returned.'

In 1943 Hippe received a summons to attend the military recruitment board. He was asked to prove his loyalty to Germany.

'I told them I knew how to distinguish between the system of rule by the Nazis and Germany, and had always lived for Germany in a politically conscious way. They told me everyone had to serve. I told them only servants would do that, not free people who only act from inner conviction.'

'After that I thought the ceiling would come down and I was thrown out.'

'I still don't know why I wasn't arrested!'

There was so much war damage Hippe was sent to repair central heating systems.

On 20 July 1944 sections of the military tried to rescue their own skins. With the defeat of Stalingrad the downfall of fascism became certain. There was a move to get rid of Hitler and replace him with military rule. Parts of the illegal trade union movement were to cover as democratic stooges.

TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Magazine of Marxist Theory

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Fifty years since the Barcelona 'May Days'

IN THE Spanish Civil War, on 2 May 1937, the Communist Party, in line with its 'Popular Front' outlook, sent in the 'asaltos', CP-controlled police, to capture the 'Telefonica', the Barcelona telephone exchange, from the Anarchist-led trade union federation, the CNT.

The working class rose to repel the assault, the barricades went up, and the last pre-war direct challenge for state power by the working class had begun.

News of the terrible mass civilian bombing of Guernica, the ancient capital of the Basques, on 25 April was just filtering through. All the problems of the construction of a revolutionary leadership by the working class were contained in the Spanish Civil War, many of them were concentrated in those brief days in May 1937.

The main political parties involved were:

- The CP; small and weak in Spain until well into the civil war.
 - The POUM; a Catalan-based party formed by a fusion of the 'left communists' led by Andreas Nin and Juan Andrade, former Trotskyists with whom Trotsky had a long political battle and the 'Workers and Peasants Bloc' led by Joacim Maurin 'right communists' followers of Bukharin.
 - The Socialist Party; with its left wing led by Largo Caballero and its right by Indalecio Prieto and its trade union federation, the UGT.
 - The Anarchists of the FAI with a left-wing led by Bonaventura Durruti and a right by Jose Garcia Oliver and its trade union federation the CNT.
 - The Republicans of various sorts like the left Republicans of Manuel Azana and the Catalan Esquerra of Louis Companys.
 - The Bolshevik-Leninists, followers of Leon Trotsky, many in the POUM.
- A Popular Front government of the Republicans and the Socialists was elected in February 1936. It was supported by the Anarchists and the POUM.

Betrayal

Trotsky denounced the POUM for this betrayal just two weeks after Franco launched his coup. The present events in Spain show how criminal was Nin's rapprochement with Azana (the Republican Prime Minister).

The Spanish workers would now pay with thousands of lives for the reactionary cowardice of the Popular Front, which has continued to support with the peoples' money an army commanded by the butchers of the proletariat (Franco had massacred 5,000 Asturian miners who were defending their Commune in 1934).

On 17 July Francisco Franco launched a coup from his base in Morocco. The vast majority of the army joined him but the Spanish workers responded with unparalleled heroism.

Almost unarmed and leaderless they attacked the fortified barracks with terrible loss of life. They won back a whole swathe of territory for the Republic.

The struggles of the workers, under the banners of the Anarchists, the Socialists and the POUM reached revolutionary proportions, especially in Catalonia.

BY GERRY DOWNING

All businesses and estates of the fascists were seized and in some places, like Barcelona the entire capitalist class were expropriated. The scene is best described by George Orwell in 'Homage to Catalonia':

'It was the first time I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flags of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with initials of the revolutionary parties.

'Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivised.

'There were no private motor cars, they had all been commandeered, and all the trams and taxis and much of the other transport were painted red and black.

'The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud.'

The bourgeoisie were powerless, having been hopelessly compromised by the Popular Front support for the army, by the refusal to warn the workers of the coup and the initial refusal to arm the workers.

The Stalinists bitterly opposed the revolution, gathering into its ranks all the lower and middle bourgeoisie who sought protection from the terrible Anarchists. They stood to the right of all the working class parties, with the possible exception of the right Socialists.

Their popular front politics were elaborated at the sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1935. This subordinated the working class to the bourgeoisie in the name of 'defence of democracy'.

It was a 180 degree turn after the disastrous ultra-leftism which characterised the Social Democrats as 'social fascists' and led to Hitler's victory in 1933. The right turn was equally disastrous.

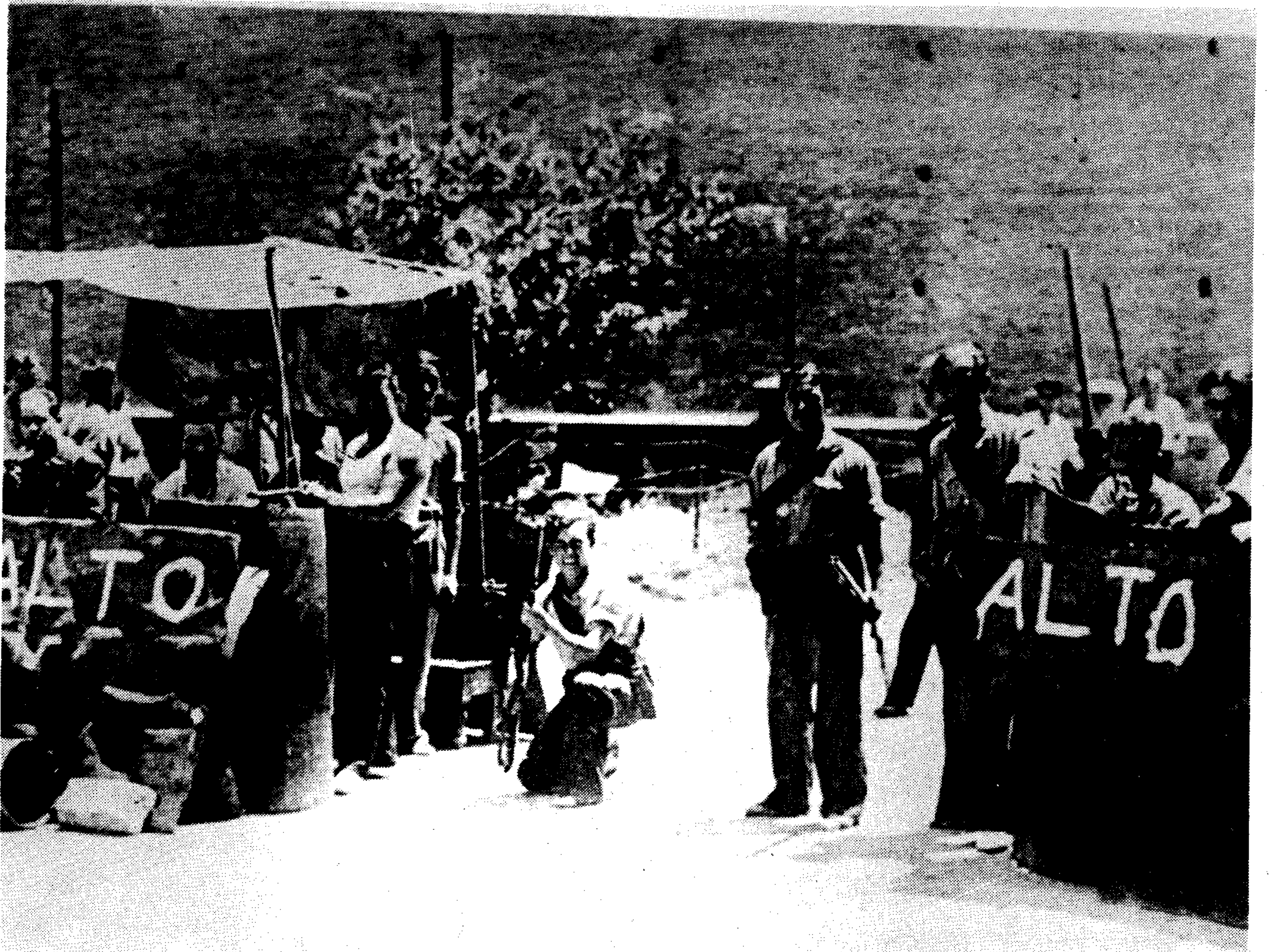
The Stalinists argued in Spain for 'first military victory and then social reforms'.

It was not a case of a theoretical argument of 'democratic revolution versus socialist revolution' but the bloody suppression of an actual socialist revolution that had already begun.

'Not seeing the difference between the two (the social programme of the republic and that of Franco) the toiling masses, above all the peasants fall into indifference. In these circumstances fascism will inevitable win because the purely military advantage is on its side.

Audacious social reforms represent the strongest weapon in the civil war and the fundamental condition for the victory over fascism'. (Trotsky, The Spanish Revolution, p243.)

For instance, Vincinte Uribe, the Communist Minister of Agriculture, published a decree in October 1936 giving the peasants all the land belonging to fascists who



Workers' militia unit at the gates of Valencia, August 1936

had fled (they had immediately seized it anyway). But he protected and restored all private property to the petty and middle-bourgeoisie who remained.

The Communists thereby established a base among those elements who wished to reverse the collectivisation movement against the landless labourers, who worked from dawn to dusk for two pesos a day.

At the battle fronts the Communists, in alliance with left Socialist Largo Caballero (who became Premier in September 1936) actively opposed all aid to the workers' militias refusing them arms and air cover.

The crime of the militias was that they abolished private property as they advanced. One of the most cherished hopes of the revolution was to take Oviedo, liberate Asturias and re-establish the Commune of 1934.

No help was sent to the Asturian miners whose leader, the Anarchist, Bonaventura Durruti had taken 5,000 of his 'dinamiteros' to defend Madrid and who died in battle, some say murdered by the Stalinists.

In contrast the president of the 'Junta de Defensa', set up to defend Madrid after the government had fled. General Miaja, a CP member, had belonged to the extreme right wing 'Union Militar Espanol' before the war and betrayed the Republic to Franco at the end of the war. He was lionised by the CP as 'the best-loved general in Spain'.

Control

But despite its great influence due to its control of the arms supplies from the Soviet Union and the military prowess of the Fifth Regiment it could not, on its own, hold back the revolution or preserve bourgeois rule in Republican Spain. Especial-

ly after the death of Durruti the Anarchist leaders defended the left Republicans, entering the government in November 1936.

That fatal flaw of the Anarchists, anti-statism, revealed itself in a real revolution as a defence of the bourgeois state.

Far from learning the bitter lessons from the betrayal of the Popular Front the POUM continued with the same policy. They entered the Catalan local assembly in September 1936 together with the Anarchists.

As Trotsky wrote 'It is a question of marshalling the masses against their leaders, who are leading the revolution to complete destruction. The policy of the POUM is a policy of adaptation, expectation, hesitation, that is to say the most dangerous of all policies during a civil war, which is uncompromising'. (The Spanish Revolution, p.243)

The POUM began to criticise the Popular Front after Franco's coup but Trotsky wrote: 'Nin cannot invoke ignorance as his excuse — because he ought to have at least read the documents he once signed'.

By Monday 3 May the whole of Barcelona was in the hands of armed workers as it had been on 19 July of the previous year. Workers, warned by the attack on the 'Telefonica', refused to leave the barricades, despite the pleading of Companys and the Anarchist leaders.

The left-wing Anarchist friends of Durruti abandoned at last their backward anti-statism and called on the workers to hold their positions, to organise for workers power and a 'revolutionary junta'.

The Liberation Youth and the rank and file of the CNT called on their leaders for help against the Stalinist onslaught and the Bolshevik-Leninists issued their famous leaflet:

Long Live The Revolutionary Offensive.

No compromise. Disarmament of the National Republican Guard and the reactionary Assault Guards. This is the decisive moment. Next time it will be too late. General strike in all the industries except those connected with the prosecution of the war, until the resignation of the reactionary government. Only proletarian power can assure military victory.

● Complete arming of the working class.

● Long live unity of action of CNT - FAI - POUM.

● Long live the revolutionary front of the proletariat.

● Committees of revolutionary defence in the shops, factories, districts.

But the cowardly centrist leadership of the POUM destroyed the revolution, as only they could. Negotiations were opened. By Tuesday 'La Batalla' the POUM newspaper was calling for defence of the barricades, withdrawal of the decree dissolving the worker patrols but 'no revolutionary overthrow of the government'.

The first two demands enhanced the authority of the POUM enormously. By Thursday 'La Batalla' was calling on the workers to leave the barricades although they were still under fire.

'The counter-revolutionary provocation having been repulsed, it is necessary to leave the streets'. The initiative was lost. Trotsky sardonically asked of Nin if he was getting ready to stop the downward-falling revolution at the democratic stage by means of hot-air brakes?

The Stalinists had conspired to replace Largo Caballero with a right socialist, Negrin who was more in line with their policy of counter-revolution. This was can-

didly admitted by Simeon Vidarle, a right socialist 'If Caballero had succeeded in this offensive (the Estremadura offensive) no one would be able to throw him out of government.'

So the Stalinists sabotaged the revolution for the war effort, they sabotaged the war effort to crush the revolution and in the name of defence of 'democracy' Franco triumphed.

Shooting

'Why should we fight Franco when the government are shooting our comrades?' said the workers. Caballero was replaced by Negrin on 15 May, a ferocious reaction followed as the Stalinist secret police, the GPU, began arresting, torturing and assassinating the entire left.

Camillo Berneri the leader of the Italian Anarchists was taken from his house on 6 May by GPU assassins and kicked to death on the road.

Andreas Nin was arrested, tortured and murdered in a fake 'escape' attempt. The POUM was made illegal on 15 June. George Orwell had to flee Spain for his life as he had been in the POUM militia.

He recounts that when he entered Barcelona in December 1936 the entire population dressed in workers overalls but by the time he fled the only safety from the GPU was to dress in a suit and shirt and tie.

This was the height of the Stalinists power. Once the Republican bourgeoisie had defeated the revolution they had little need for the 'Communists'.

All they now had in store for the workers was a 'Franco No.2' as Trotsky said. Stalinism had butchered the revolution but the centrists of the POUM had been 'The principal road-block to the formation of a mass revolutionary socialist party in Spain.'

Aboriginal life is cheap

A NATIONAL Aboriginal campaign to expose the number of black deaths in Australian police and prison custody has revealed a cover-up of legalised murder by the federal and state governments, both Labour and Liberal.

The campaign was given further impetus in April when yet another young aborigine was found hanging in a far north Queensland jail cell — the fifth to die in almost identical circumstances in as many weeks.

The 19-year-old, who had been arrested for drunkenness, was found in the police watch house at Arukun, on Cape York peninsula.

Twelve have died over the last year in similar circumstances, and over a period of years a total of 47 have died. Mostly they are young men, average aged 29.

Yet even the call by aboriginal leaders for a royal commission, limited as it is, has been rejected by the Hawke Labour government in Canberra. In its place they have offered a government inquiry.

But in Queensland the right-wing National Party government of Bjeleke-Petersen has refused to cooperate in even this.

The Committee to Defend Black Rights (CDBR) was set up after five policemen were acquitted of killing John Pat in custody in Western Australia in 1983. All five are still working in country areas with a high percentage of aborigines.

The killing and the acquittal took place under a Labour government headed by Brian Burke.

In another of the long list of prison cell deaths, Eddie Murray was found hanging in his cell in Wee Waa, New South Wales in 1981. He had been arrested only the day before.

An inquest returned an open verdict and said the killing was by a person or persons unknown although he was murdered in a police cell to which access could only be gained by police.

CDBR chairperson Helen Boyle told a packed public meeting in Sydney on 15 April that aborigines were the most imprisoned nationality in the world.

— nothing has changed in 200 years

BY DEREK MOORE

She said that aborigines made up one per cent of the Australian population. On this basis, if a comparable number of whites had died in custody there would have been 100 deaths in the last month or 600 in the last six months.

She said young blacks were being 'arrested, tried and executed in one night' and ridiculed the federal government's rejection of a royal commission on the grounds it would be too expensive.

Died

When one white baby, Azaria Chamberlain, died the government was prepared to spend millions of dollars on legal fees, she said in a reference to the prolonged trial of Lindy Chamberlain, accused of murdering her baby Azaria at Ayers Rock.

She also compared this with the Aboriginal Legal Service which was being starved of funds and threatened with its very existence.

She said the Aboriginal Legal Service played a vital role in helping the relatives of those who had been murdered in custody. Once that went they would have nowhere to go for help.

Boyle said the police had been given the green light in their attacks on the aborigines because of the attitude of the Labour and Liberal governments.



The brutality of the police, the racism, the denial of basic human rights, and the cover-up which extends all the way through to Canberra, has been exposed by scores of witnesses and relatives of the murdered aborigines.

Len Colbung is the brother-in-law of Tony King, an aborigine who was killed in Geraldton, Western Australia, in 1985 while being chased by police.

Colbung told the meeting that according to police his brother-in-law had been chased and run headlong into a fence, smashing his head and face beyond recognition.

Witnesses he spoke to said although the aborigine was breathing when they saw him police made no attempt to resuscitate him or get medical help.

Autopsies

Colbung said some families were not notified of the deaths of their relatives before autopsies were carried out. They were faced with identifying the bodies after these had been cut open.

He added that such was the contempt of police for aborigines that the bodies of those who had died in custody were often thrown into the back of a truck like dead kangaroos.

Colbung said that because he had spoken out against the killings and the ill-treatment he and his family had been harassed and bashed and forced to move to a new town. 'We have got no help from either state or federal governments,' he said.

Paul Coe of the Aboriginal Legal Service said: 'One chilling fact emerges — nothing has changed in 200 years. Aboriginal life is cheap. We are like the Bantus of South Africa except that they are in the majority and we are in the minority.'

Two hundred years of colonialism and legalised murder and what Boyle described as 'the sad story of bashings, torture and death'

will be presented before the United Nations this year.

The struggle against the oppression of aborigines cannot be left to aborigines alone. The Australian working class cannot end its own exploitation until it becomes aware of the exploitation of aboriginal people and fights to end it.

Lenin said in 'What is to Be Done?': 'Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected.'

'Moreover, to respond from a social democratic (revolutionary) and not from any other point of view. Consciousness of the mass of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete and above all from topical (current) political facts and events every other social class and all manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population.'

'Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not social democrats; for its self-realisation is indissolubly bound up not only with a fully clear theoretical — it would be even more true to say not so much a theoretical, as with a practical understanding of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through experience of political life.'

It is the responsibility of the most class conscious workers to turn the working class as a whole to ending the oppression of aborigines. The demands raised in the campaign to defend black rights, limited as they are, must be unconditionally supported.

Trotsky on Moscow stage?

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

LEON TROTSKY and Nikolai Bukharin will be appearing at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow later this year for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

They will be speaking about the negotiations which led to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918.

That's to say, the two Bolshevik leaders murdered on Stalin's orders — Bukharin was executed after his 1938 show trial, Trotsky was killed by a GPU assassin in 1940 — will be portrayed as characters in a play.

Though both were leading members of the Bolshevik Party during the revolution, and Trotsky founded the Red Army, neither has been accorded anything but vicious slander in Stalinist publications since they were ousted from the bureaucratized party.

To this day, Soviet reference works carry no biography of either Bukharin or Trotsky, though they continue to carry entries attacking 'Trotskyism'.

Mikhail Shatrov's play 'The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk' was actually written in 1962, during the Khrushchev era, but has only now been approved for publication. It appeared in

last month's issue of the literary magazine 'Novy Mir'.

The choice of topic may not be accidental. Khrushchev's abortive 'de-Stalinisation' period saw the Soviet leader's famous call for 'peaceful co-existence' with capitalism (as well as tanks crushing the Hungarian workers.)

By 1962, this had led to the split with the Chinese leadership, which adopted a 'Left' stance, accusing Khrushchev of 'revisionism'.

To produce a play dealing with Lenin's peace effort with Germany — desperately needed in 1918 — and the differences he had with Trotsky and Bukharin over this, might have seemed a safe venture at the time.

Bukharin, then a Left Communist, opposed the treaty as a betrayal of revolutionary aims, while Trotsky advocated a 'No war, no peace' policy. The author could have hoped that the bureaucracy would see this as a historical bolster for their own policy, and a dig at Peking.

Moreover, in 1962 the Chinese leaders were lauding Stalin as a great communist, apparently oblivious to his betrayal of the Chinese Revolution.

Shatrov's play, while critical of Trotsky's revolutionary zeal, depicts Stalin as a

shifty opportunist, ready to switch sides and motivated by personal envy and grudges.

However, the bureaucracy were clearly not ready for a play in which Trotsky and Bukharin were treated with some regard for their place in history as revolutionary leaders, and in which differences were shown as ones between communist comrades.

Trotsky is shown as torn between the party majority's vote against the Treaty and Lenin's insistence that he must sign it. Bukharin is shown as a young idealist, convinced that by waging revolutionary war they can spark workers' insurrections throughout Europe.

In 1983, Shatrov won a state prize for his play 'This Is How We Shall Win', dealing with Lenin's last days, worrying on his sickbed and warning of Stalin's defects as a party leader.

Following Gorbachev's remarks last February that 'there must be no forgotten names, no blank spaces either in history or literature', Shatrov is optimistic enough to try again with his earlier play.

He told a reporter recently that it was 'only a matter of time' before Trotsky and Bukharin were accorded their true place in Soviet history.

'Hardly anyone knows these men except at the level of stereotype. We don't need myths. We don't need legends. We need to sort out everything as it really was.'

Shatrov appears more sympathetic to Bukharin than to Trotsky, and again this may be pertinent. Bukharin became a Right Oppositionist in the late 1920s, having advocated continuation of New Economic Policy 'liberalism' and a soft line on the kulaks (rich peasants).

This might make him more suitable for partial 'rehabilitation' in the eyes of a Gorbachev-led bureaucracy wanting to open the Soviet economy more to capitalism.

Whether the Soviet leaders' current avowal of 'openness' on political issues will extend to accepting a genuinely true portrayal of Bukharin's life as a whole, let alone of the more dangerous figure of Trotsky, remains to be tested.

To show these revolutionaries in their true light, and show how a real communist leadership conducted its political relations and decision-making, could awaken ideas and forces in Soviet society very different from those desired by the bureaucracy.

The British crisis and the crisis of the left

A joint day school organised by the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press

Sunday 31 May

9.30a.m. — 5p.m.

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PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

The Empire strikes back

HARVEY PROCTOR, former Tory MP for Billericay, isn't standing in the present general election. He made this announcement shortly before pleading guilty to offences involving the infliction of pain on young men.

Besides being a sadist, Proctor is also a racist. Neither of these murky aberrations seems to have diminished his support among Billericay Tories, and their combination in a single individual is neither rare nor insignificant.

Deriving pleasure from other people's pain is not solely explicable in terms of sexual pathology. Flagellation forms a prominent part of the history both of the British Empire and of the 'public schools' (i.e. private fee-paying schools) where, in the days of Victorian values, the sons of the rich were trained for imperial leadership.

In 1899 a former headmaster of Harrow public school, the Right Rev. J.E.C. Well-don, summed up his duties there in these words:

'An English Head-master, as he looks to the future of his pupils, will not forget that they are destined to be the citizens of the greatest empire under heaven: he will teach them patriotism . . . he will inspire them with faith in the divinely ordered mission of their country and their race.'

But at public schools the prefects didn't just learn Well-don-style 'patriotism' and racism. They also learnt to cane their fags: the younger pupils who acted as their servants.

Many of them learnt to enjoy inflicting

pain in this way. With some, a pronounced sado-masochistic element became a permanent part of their sexuality, and they tended to gravitate towards professions where this form of enjoyment would be readily available to them — where it would be one of the perks of the job, as it were.

One such profession was colonial administration. For 25 years the person in charge of recruitment to the British Colonial Service was Major Sir Ralph Furse, KCMG, DSO, etc. A product of Eton, Balliol, and the cavalry, Furse knew that the best sign that an applicant might make a good colonial administrator was the term 'School Prefect' or, better still, 'Head Prefect' in his public school record.

After all, to quote Robert Heussler ('Yesterday's Rulers', 1963), 'leading fags at school was like leading natives in Africa or Asia . . . One form of paternalism led naturally to another . . . The attitude of officials . . . was not unlike that which they maintained from childhood towards the lesser orders at home.'

Those who became colonial administrators made much use of flogging to encourage the 'natives' to adapt to their rule. This is a matter of record.

While the Birmingham screw manufacturer and self-proclaimed imperialist Joseph Chamberlain was colonial secretary (1895-1903), 'malingering' was an offence punishable by flogging in Bechuanaland (now Botswana), as was petty theft among juveniles in Jamaica and 'committing nuisances' in the Gold Coast (now Ghana).

Chamberlain, to his credit, tried to curtail the practice of flogging. In 1897 he described it privately as 'neither more nor less than a gross and discreditable scandal'. He told his officials:

'Flogging is neither more nor less than the application of torture as a punitive proceeding . . .'

'All experience shows that the European authority is only too ready to inflict a

punishment of this kind, which costs nothing, causes him no trouble or compunction, and gratifies his sense of personal power and superiority. The liability to abuse in these cases, therefore, is very great.'

Little or nothing seems to have been done, however. In 1907 Ewart Grogan, president of the Kenya Colonists' Association, took the leading role in what was described as a 'most brutal' flogging of three Kikuyus in front of the Nairobi court-house, to assert his right to do as he pleased with 'his' Africans. This caused something of a stir in Britain, as well it might.

In 1912 the Zaria scandal in northern Nigeria, when two railway clerks were publicly flogged for failing to prostrate themselves before a petty British official — a third-class Resident named Laing — was also publicised in Britain.

It should be stressed that these were far from being isolated or exceptional cases.

As the historian Ian Duffield has pointed out, the public flogging of Africans in the nude, women as well as men, on the orders of British officials, was so common that only the most flagrant examples attracted attention in Britain.

It's worth adding that, according to H. Alan C. Cairns's 'Prelude to Imperialism' (1965), some of the worst cases of brutality and flagrant abuse of power took place on African mission stations, where missionaries were given to inflicting 'remarkably severe floggings'.

The evidence points overwhelmingly to the conclusion that the British Empire, for officials and missionaries, was a flogger's paradise.

And the disgusting mix of sadism and racism that helped to buttress imperialism survives in Tory phantasies which still, from time to time, bubble up from the depths like a bad smell.

'On the Brink'

THE election campaign has become a spectator sport: a sort of protracted horse-race, with the daily positions of the two- and three-legged contestants determined by the totally meaningless and statistically null 'poll of polls'.

This 'running average of polls which themselves utilise different sample sizes and methods of data collection' was described in Monday's 'Guardian' as 'the pinnacle of statistical absurdity'.

While the British public's attention is fixed on absurdities absurdly masquerading as democracy, real events that will affect the future of all of us are happening in the world outside.

Read, for instance, the first paragraph in the first article in the current issue of the 'New York Review of Books':

'The United States today is headed for a financial and economic crisis. What appeared to be only a possibility five or six years ago became a probability more recently, and has now become a virtual certainty. The only real questions are when and how. In addition, when the crisis occurs, it will entail, quite possibly, a worldwide recession'.

The writer who thus dares to tell the truth to a handful of his more reflective countrymen is no Marxist, but chairman of New York's Municipal Assistance Corporation and a senior partner with the investment banking firm Lazard Freres & Co.

Such a man, it may be supposed, knows what he's talking about.

He foresees 'extensive domestic and international banking defaults, a world recession, and political instability in large parts of the globe'.

His article is headlined: 'On the Brink.'

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A Magazine of Marxist Theory
Volume 1 Number 1 March 1987

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BOOKS

CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ... CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ...

Chicago the first May Day

A CONVENTION of revolutionary groups was held in Chicago in October 1881. Socialist and anarchist organisations were all invited; the intention was to build a national revolutionary organisation.

PART VI OF
A SERIES BY
NORMAN HARDING

Fourteen cities from the east and mid-east were represented. Schwab, Parsons and Spies were to play a leading role and Spies got the congress off to a good start by introducing a resolution condemning the British government for its repressive behaviour in Ireland. This was approved with acclamation.

The congress went on to denounce private property and 'wage slavery'. But it was to be on the question of politics where the main disagreement would be.

2. Establishment of a free society based upon the co-operative organisation of production.

3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organisations without commerce and profit-mongering.

4. Organisation of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

5. Equal rights for all without distinction of sex or race.

6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Between the Pittsburgh conference and 1886 the In-

not stand aloof from it. The rest of the leadership of the IWPA soon followed their example. Their names becoming household words as they became the foremost leaders of the Chicago movement.

40,000 went on strike in Chicago. 45,000 were given the shorter working day without having to strike.

May 1 was a Saturday, and usually a working day, but today there was that quietness that a solid strike brings to a busy bustling city.

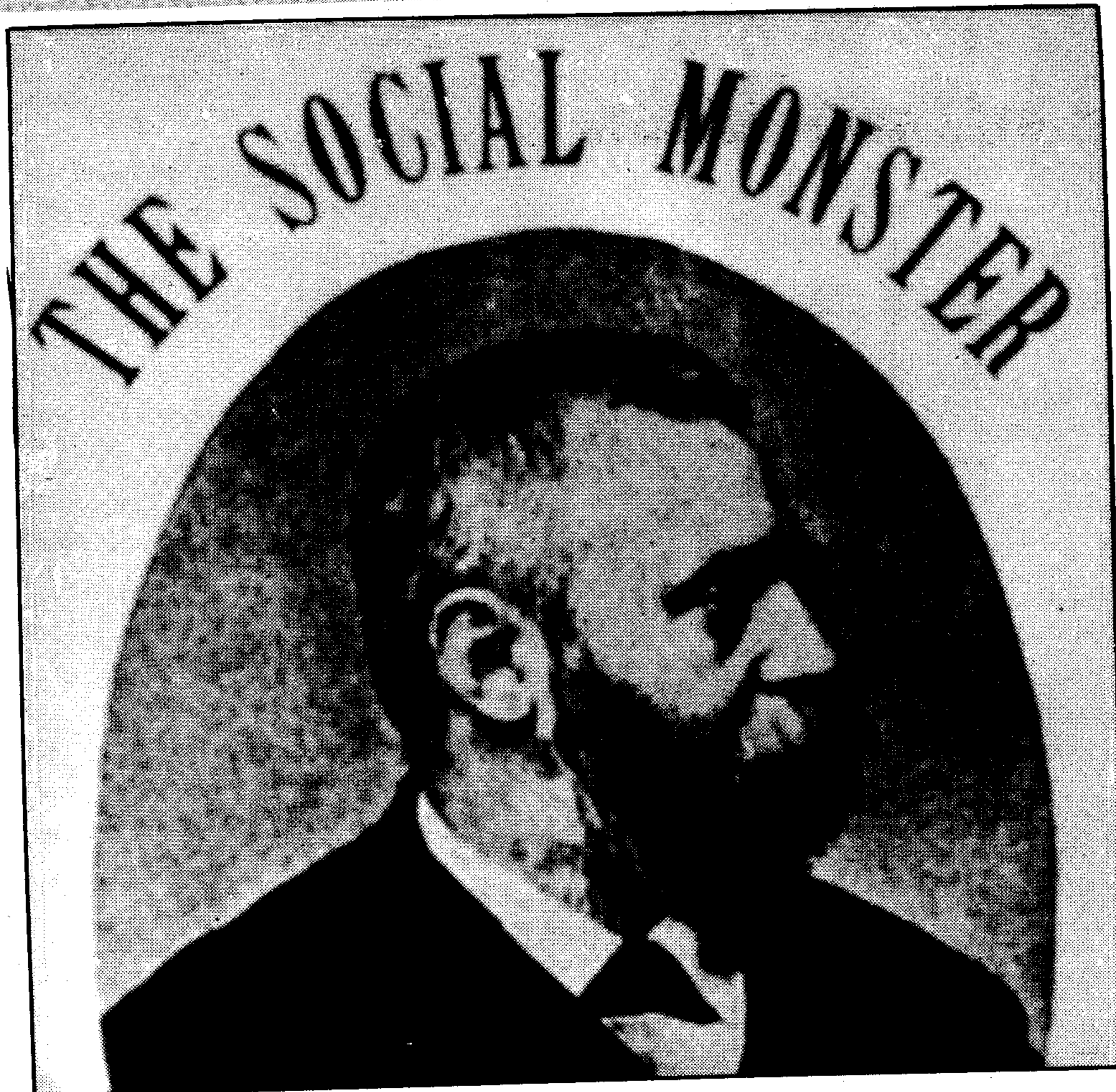
Factories and stockyards were closed. All construction work had stopped and the teamsters had answered the call.

All that day, processions and meetings took place in different parts of the City. With tens of thousands listening to speeches in English, Czech, and German.

The most impressive demonstration was organised by the IWPA and Central Labour Union. The Parsons were at the head of 80,000 workers and their families as they marched singing, arm in arm along Michigan Avenue.

The streets and rooftops along the different routes were lined with Pinkerton men, police and the state militia. The national guard was standing by armed with Gatling guns. All were determined to save Chicago from the communistic eight hour day.

There was no insurrection as the press had predicted.



John Most, as portrayed on the front of his book 'The Social Monster'

Discipline in the ranks of the workers had prevailed. The agents provocateurs had failed to do their job. The bosses and their 'bodies of armed men' made no secret of the fact that they felt cheated.

Monday May 3, the strike was still spreading. More and more were winning the shorter working day. Factory after factory became involved as strikes and lock-outs increased.

Activities of the police and other agencies of 'law and order' was, in many cases answered by mass picketing.

A gang of police waded into the pickets at the McCormick Reaper Works (International Harvesters) where the workers had been locked out. Three hundred scabs were escorted into the works. In the evening the

locked out workers gathered to greet the scabs as they came out.

Nearby August Spies was speaking at an open air meeting of several thousand lumber pushers. When the scabs came out and they heard the sound of conflict a few hundred lumber pushers rushed to help the pickets.

The police charged with drawn revolvers, fired into the crowd killing at least four and wounding many.

August Spies witnessing the massacre took immediate steps to call a protest meeting against police violence. The meeting to take place the following evening in the Haymarket Square.

Because Parsons was committed to speak at a meeting of woman workers that night Spies agreed to handle the Haymarket

meeting.

The Parsons meeting had been going for a few minutes when a breathless messenger ran into the room and told Parsons that Spies needed assistance.

Albert and Lucy with the two children went to the Haymarket where Albert took his place on the platform. The main speeches finished. It had started to rain and the crowd started to disperse.

Lucy took the children home and Albert went to Zepf's Hall, a tavern half a block away, to discuss the situation with a group of workers.

What followed was to effect the workers movement throughout the world.

Next week: Haymarket Square



August Spies

Parsons and Spies had no faith in politics or the parliamentary road. They both believed that it was a useful and necessary avenue of agitation.

A resolution to this effect was rejected by the congress but it accepted the right of the organisations represented to work in this way if they so desired.

Johann Most, a German born revolutionary, who spent his last 25 years in America, was always depicted by the press with dagger in one hand and a bomb in the other or as a wild dog.

In the words of Emma Goldman, who was recruited by Most (and was featured in the film 'Reds'), Most was a sensitive individual whose feel for the labouring masses was the mainspring for his revolutionary energy.

Johann Most wasn't at all satisfied with the outcome of the Chicago congress. What was needed, he said, was a congress that would lay the basis for an 'International, Federalistic Revolutionary Party. Without an executive or central agency'.

With this in view the Pittsburgh congress of 1883 was organised. 26 cities were represented. Twice as many as the Chicago congress of two years earlier.

Both Parsons and Spies were to play a leading role in this congress. Spies acting as the congress secretary. There was a full exchange of ideas with much discussion. Following the passing of many resolutions a manifesto was agreed. It included the following six key objectives.

1. Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

International Working Peoples Association extended its influence at a tremendous rate. In Chicago, Parsons and Spies were its driving force.

Whilst Parsons was the better orator, Spies was his equal as an organiser. Spies had a better knowledge of history, philosophy, and economics. Spies also benefited from the fact that he spoke German.

Their great strength was that they had both built a strong unity between the native and immigrant workers. Without this a movement could not be built.

The passions and prejudices of this workforce that had been building up over the years of the depression 1883-1886 exploded with the events of May 4th.

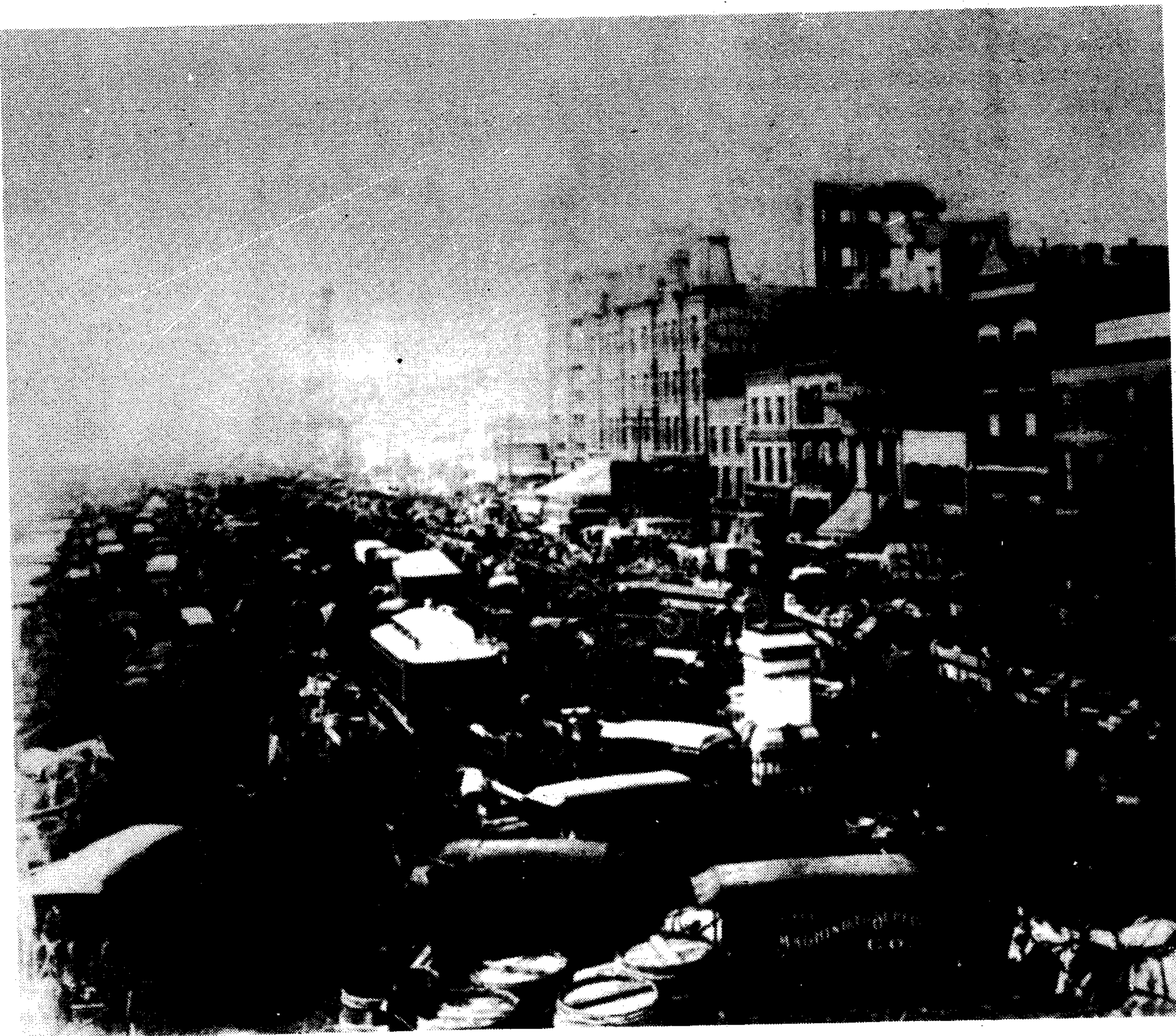
MAY 1 1890, the date chosen by the Second International for the first ever demonstration of international working class solidarity, was not just pulled out of thin air.

It came out of the battles in America for the eight-hour day. Specifically out of the events of May 1-4 1886 in Chicago.

The working class of America had been called on to rally on May 1 in support of the eight-hour day. 350,000 stopped work. One hundred and eighty thousand gained the eight-hour day.

Spies and Parsons for the past years had opposed the 8 hour campaign. Under the slogan of no compromise they dismissed the campaign as a sop to the workers.

As the movement gained support Spies and Parsons allied themselves with it. Explaining that it was a movement against class domination and they should



Haymarket Square, Chicago 1890

VOTE LABOUR — DON'T BE FOOLED!

What young people say:

LEADING Non-Stop anti-apartheid picketer Gary Rose, aged 21: 'If you are working class or you support the struggle of the oppressed you must vote Labour. But don't be fooled by Kinnock's smiling face or his phoney promises.'

'He is only interested in the more privileged section of the working class and refuses to take up the issue of sanctions against South Africa.'

'He also refuses to pull the troops out of Ireland and openly condemns the Irish people as terrorists.'

'Vote Labour because with Kinnock in power the working class have more chance of forcing issues through the trade unions.'

'Vote Labour because Thatcher simply has to go. Another term for the Tories would see all demonstrations outlawed and British police walking through areas like Toxteth and Brixton with fire arms.'

'The Alliance can't be taken seriously. If David Owen became prime minister it would be no better than under Thatcher.'

'In the early part of the century women had to fight to get a vote. In South Africa, blacks don't get a vote. We should use the vote to vote Labour and get rid of the Tories. Black South African workers will be demanding a vote against Thatcher.'

Brian Richards, who lives in a Brixton squat, said: 'The election is a sham. The Alliance are pink Tories — half of them used to be Labour or Conservative. They say they'll do this and that but I don't think it will work.'

'I hope Labour will do well. If Kinnock gets in I think it will be the same, but I hope changes are made.'

'In the end they won't deliver half of what they say. I would say vote Labour for tradition's sake because of my working-class background, but only have half-and-half confidence in the Kinnock leadership. The proof of the pudding will be in the eating.'

Asked what he would demand from a Labour government, Brian said: 'I want something done about housing. I want people to get their Giros on time and I want something more done about South Africa.'

Sharon aged 18: 'I think the election is a fraud because it doesn't make much difference what government is in — it benefits only the privileged anyway.'

'I don't think it's democracy when you vote for a government every five years and they keep the same system.'

'I'll only vote for a Labour candidate that takes a stand on South Africa, northern Ireland and Black Sections. The election is exposing the Labour Party for what they really are. They are backing down on the controversial issues.'

Georgina, aged 18: 'There's all these programmes telling us what they are going to do, but in reality they are going to do nothing at all. They'll do nothing about South Africa and Ireland.'

'The money and the power will stay in the same people's hands. I doubt whether I'll vote but if I do I'll vote for Labour.'

'Most working-class people identify with them but I know that they'll do nothing and maintain the status-quo.'

On the Workers Press election statement Georgina said: 'I can see the logic in it. It might show people once and for all that Labour is no good, then they might turn to a revolutionary alternative.'



Sharon, (right) says 'I don't think it's democracy when you vote for a government every five years and they keep the same system. Georgina, (right) says 'The money and the power will stay in the same peoples hands.'

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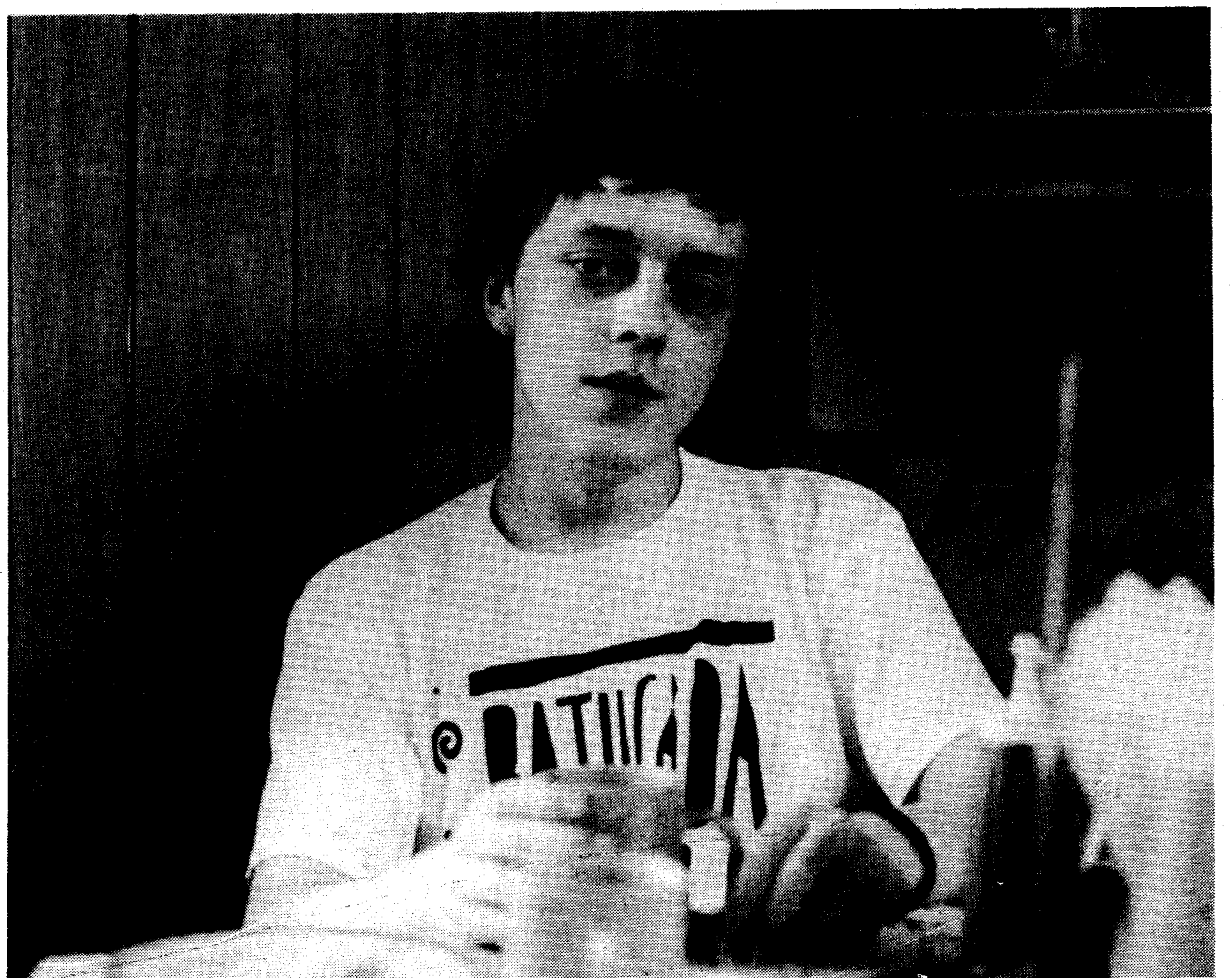
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Gary Rose's advice — 'Don't be fooled by Kinnock's smiling face or his phoney promises.'