

Manchester Town Hall
25 July, 12 noon

This SUPPORT conference has been called by sacked workers and supporters in an attempt to build solidarity and a fighting body to win our demands.

Called by Ancoats Casualty sit-in, Ardrbride supporters, Senior Coleman strike committee, Gateshead workers' support group, Ardrbride sacked workers, and Trader sacked workers.

For information contact: Gateshead Workers Support Group, 180 Two Ball Lonnen, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE4 9SB

LABOUR LEADERS MUST FIGHT THATCHER!

The time
for waiting
is over!

THE entire working-class movement must be mobilised NOW against the Tory government: this is the urgent question of the hour.

Those millions who voted Labour in the election must reject out of hand Neil Kinnock's talk of 'preparing for the next election'.

Kinnock is a traitor. It was his mis-leadership which handed the Tories victory in the election.

He might be able to wait five years — but the working class cannot afford to wait a minute to deal with the many grave problems it faces.

● **UNEMPLOYMENT** will soar under Thatcher's new wave of privatisation and asset-stripping. The world economic downturn by the end of the year — now increasingly expected in capitalist circles — will strike a devastating blow at an already chronically run-down British manufacturing industry.

It is vital that the struggles of 10 million trade unionists are united with the 4 million unemployed. The trade union leaders are bitterly opposed to any policies to bring about such unity. What steps must be taken?

● The unemployed must be given full rights as union members, with no conditions attached.

● A campaign for the 30-hour week, without loss of pay, must be launched throughout the movement as a means of providing jobs for the unemployed.

● Whatever powers Labour authorities have must be used to create public works schemes as an immediate step to reduce unemployment.

Since the 1983 People's March the Labour leaders have refused to mount any national campaign against mounting unemployment.

The People's March was begun by Liverpool activists in defiance of the Labour leaders.

The National Conference on 25 July, called by strikers at Ancoats, Ardrbride, Senior

Colman and other groups must urgently consider launching a national campaign against unemployment — to unite all those who oppose the Tory government.

● **THE RIGHTS OF MILLIONS OF TRADE UNIONISTS** are threatened by the new Tory government. Trade union rights have been taken away from 250,000 teachers. Thatcher is preparing the same fate for every other trade unionist.

Since 1979 the trade union leaders have said: wait for the next Labour government to repeal the Tory laws.

● **We say: The time for waiting is over!**

Throughout Thatcher's last government, these leaders capitulated every time the laws were used or merely threatened: at Warrington against the National Graphical Association; at Austin Morris in 1984; against the National Union of Mineworkers in South Wales and Yorkshire during the miners' strike; and at Wapping.

Electricians' union leader Eric Hammond threatens to leave the TUC if no-strike deals are banned. His black-mail must be rejected. The movement must demand the expulsion of Hammond and all those who stand for scab unionism.

Trade unionists have a stark choice: a movement 'united' with the Hammonds and Roy Lynks of this world to bend the knee to the Tory masters, or a movement prepared to defend the interests of its members by whatever means necessary.

● **HEALTH, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SERVICES.**

The campaigns begun by health workers and London busmen must be extended. Full support must be given to those civil servants and teachers who last week were out on strike in defence of their rights and wages.

The Tories have made clear that they will take away all rights from those Labour councils who do not obey their every wish.

What are the Labour leaders going to do in defence of Glasgow, Manchester, Bradford, Liverpool and Leicester where not a single Tory candidate was returned?

Kinnock now plans to purge the Labour Party of every vestige of opposition — from the Militant Tendency to the supporters of Black Sections. His justification? That this is the only way to win the 'respectable' middle class vote.

But such opportunism was tried in the election and, as in the past, failed miserably. The middle-class vote Kinnock tried to attract remained with Thatcher and rejected Labour right-wing policies and those of the SDP.

Kinnock pretends that Thatcher has a mandate to govern:

'Naturally we will argue against that (the Tory offensive) and resist it wherever possible through the democratic system . . . but the way to resist it was . . . through the ballot box' ('The Independent', 13 June).

Thatcher has no mandate for her savage attacks on the working class, the unemployed and the poor. Only 13 million voted Tory out of the 43 million registered voters. Thatcher secured support from only 41 per cent of those voting.

In Scotland of all places, Kinnock last week proposed an 'all-party' rally to support the Scottish Assembly Bill Labour moved in the last parliament. He intends to join hands with the Tories — who were so badly mauled by the Scottish workers that they are unable to staff the Scottish Office!

● **TURN TO PAGE 2**



Angry teachers stop
London traffic — see
page 16

**Workers
Press**

Words and deeds

THE NEWLY elected MP for Brent East, Ken Livingstone, has declared that following the general election the fight against the Tory government must move outside Parliament.

Livingstone must be asked what he means by this. For instance, is he asking the working class to fight the Tories while the Labour MPs remain closeted in Parliament?

It is especially important that the movement demand answers from Livingstone after he betrayed the struggle of the Greater London Council under the last Tory government. Having made his peace with Kinnock and secured his well-paid seat on the parliamentary benches, Livingstone now appears to be telling the working class they can resume their struggle.

One thing is clear: ever since 1979 the working class have fought the Tories tooth and nail while the vast majority of their Labour representatives in Parliament have sided with Thatcher on every major issue — from the Malvinas war to the miners' strike. The question is not whether workers will continue the struggle against the new Tory government, but what role Livingstone and other newly elected left MPs intend to play in this fight.

Are they for unity with Kinnock and the right wing in the Party? Or will they break from those treacherous leaders who are responsible for the sufferings of millions of Labour voters under a third Thatcher government? The working class do not need Livingstone to spell out the issues they face after the election.

THE privatisation drive will intensify. The Tories are to privatise the British Airports Authority before getting their claws into electricity supply. Thousands of jobs will be lost, conditions undermined and trade union rights attacked in these former nationalised industries.

THE attacks on trade unionism will continue. The teachers have been stripped of their collective bargaining rights and, as far as Thatcher is concerned, this is the future for every trade unionist.

THE drive to undermine the state education system will be pressed ahead. A kind of apartheid system will be introduced where those with money will secure an education for their children, while the children of the poor will be herded into dilapidated, under-funded schools. The Tories have announced their intention of placing the polytechnics under central government control, taking away the minimal protection they have enjoyed from Labour local authorities. They also propose to remove tenure from university teachers.

The entire history of the working class shows that it will fight every one of these attacks. Civil servants last week decided to continue their action for improved pay. Thousands of teachers have shown the utmost determination to win back their negotiating rights, whatever retreats their leaders would like to make.

So the struggles 'outside parliament' are certainly going to intensify, whatever anyone hopes. The question is: how can they be won? Winning them requires the struggle of the entire working class, united on a socialist programme, against the Tory enemy.

To regard these battles as a backdrop for the manoeuvres of parliamentarians, leaving Thatcher to get on with her attacks, would be to provide a cover for Kinnock's complicity with the Tories. The struggle of the working class cannot and will not be turned on and off like a tap to fit in with the ambitions of Labour leaders, whether left or right.

Let us put the question another way. The working class will fight outside Parliament — but what are the Labour MPs going to do *inside* that hallowed place? Every leader is now going to be tested out in the fight against the Thatcher government. If Livingstone and others who share his opinions are serious about leading the fight against the government, they must match words with deeds.

Livingstone and his co-thinkers must stand for the Shadow Cabinet in order to:

- EXPOSE all those, like Kinnock and the TUC leaders, who cry: 'Accept another five years of Thatcherism';
- USE their positions in Parliament to support every section of the working class without exception that defends its jobs, living standards and welfare services against the continuing Tory attacks.
- DEFEND unconditionally the rights of the Militant Tendency, supporters of Black Sections, and all others whom Kinnock is now determined to purge from the party.

Anything less will prove to workers that Livingstone is just the latest in a long line of left-talking frauds.

Scotland's state crisis and the way ahead

IN Scotland the election has produced a historic crisis for the capitalist state, which by its own 'democratic' standards has virtually lost legal authority.

A long process going back to the mid-1950s, during which Scotland has voted quite differently from England, has culminated in a parliament in which only ten out of Scotland's 72 MPs are Tories.

Accepted constitutional practices would make it virtually impossible to staff the Scottish Office and get Scottish business through parliament.

The need to do this reflects the fact that until 1707 Scotland was a separate nation and that the Union of Parliaments was accomplished by agreement, not conquest — leaving Scottish institutions, notably the legal system, intact.

Behind this unprecedented crisis of authority lies the devastation of the Scottish economy by successive capitalist governments since the 1960s, and the determined resistance of the Scottish working class.

Among the tremendous struggles which have shaken the foundations of Toryism in Scotland some have been nationwide, others confined north of the border.

They include the struggles of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the miners in 1972 and 1974, the Glasgow local authority workers in 1976, the firemen, the local government workers, the health service workers, the steelworkers, the

ly 1990s, he has another think coming.

And if the Scottish 'lefts' think that the SNP can be written off because their successes in this election were confined to rural 'Tory' seats, they are in for a big shock.

Campbell Christie, Scottish TUC general secretary, is talking about putting pressure on Scottish Secretary Malcolm Rifkind to change course on policies towards Scotland.

Others are demanding a Scottish Assembly or mini-parliament, a policy against which Thatcher has set her face.

But Thatcher, with her 102-seat so-called 'landslide', is much more likely to listen to voices such as that of Michael Forsyth, the Neanderthal MP for Stirling, who narrowly escaped electoral defeat, that the Tories' troubles in Scotland stem from too little 'Thatcherism', not

too much.

Any Assembly that Thatcher might agree to (and the 'Economist' anticipated the election a few weeks ago by telling her she might have to consider one) would be predicated on using the Labourite reformists' political bankruptcy to secure an appearance of authority for such policies.

Any nationalist tendency within the working class in Scotland arises from the betrayals of the Labour Party and the Stalinist (Communist Party) leaders.

Left to Kinnock, McGahey and their henchmen the 'Scottish question' would become a source of bitter division.

A discussion must be launched throughout the entire British working class to ensure that the fight in Scotland plays its part in rallying the whole movement to take power and smash the capitalist state.

BY OUR SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENT

miners in 1984-1985, and the Caterpillar workers recently.

It was these struggles, waged in the teeth of opposition by the Labour leaders, that led to defeat for the Tories in Scotland and the electoral support for Kinnock — which does not mean acceptance of his pro-capitalist policies.

But while the class basis of the crisis the Thatcher government faces must be stressed, it is also vital for workers throughout Britain to grasp that, in Scotland, it takes a specifically Scottish form.

'Educate, Organise, Smash the British State!' shouted the small Scottish National Party contingent at the miners' gala last weekend. And even SNP members who reject this radicalism are asking Scotland's unprecedented contingent of 50 Labour MPs what they are going to do.

If Kinnock thinks he can control this situation with promises of another slick election campaign in the ear-

Workers Revolutionary Party

London Public Lectures

Every Friday, 7.30p.m.

Duke of York, York Way, N1

near Kings Cross Station

June 19: Marxism as a Scientific World Outlook

June 26: The Communist Manifesto

July 3: The Russian Revolution

July 10: Stalinism and Trotskyism

Labour leaders must fight Thatcher

● FROM PAGE ONE

This is the same treacherous talk that lost Labour the election. The time for appealing to the Tories is over! The Labour leaders must be forced to mobilise the working class against the Thatcher government.

We say this without putting the slightest confidence in a leadership that:

- Betrayed the miners' strike;
- Supported Thatcher's predatory wars in the Malvinas and Ireland;
- Abandoned the fight

against the anti-union laws; ● Betrayed those Labour councillors who fought the Tory plans to smash Labour control of local authorities.

But we will fight alongside every section of workers who will now come into battle against Thatcher in defence

of their rights, jobs and living standards.

In the course of this fight we will expose all those in the workers' movement who now refuse to fight the Tory enemy. This is the way to build a new leadership in the working class.

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.

JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.

EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.

GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.

JOHN McCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.

ANDY MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461576.

PATRICK MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461575.

NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.

PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.

GERRY McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.

PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.

TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence, 69204.

PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

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

HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.

NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B71644.

ALBANY

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

MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.

HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638.

BILLY GRIMES, 20-year sentence, 341418.

SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661.

GARTREE

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

RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.

STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence, 758663.

JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635.

ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Braxside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085.

BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662.

PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.

CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.

MICHAEL J McKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.

EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.

BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.

PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE

DONAL CRAIG, 4 years.

VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON, Life sentence, D25134.

ELLA O'DWYER, Life sentence, D25135.

REMAND PRISONERS:

BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.

G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, L48616

LIAM McCOTTER, LB83693

PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694

LIAM QUINN, 49930

WORMWOOD SCRUBS INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719,

HM Prison Styl, Wilmslow,

Cheshire

PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.

PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.

JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.

HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.

JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison Long Lartin.

BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.

RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

We thank An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for supplying and updating this information.

NALGO swings left, defies anti-union laws

THIS year's conference of NALGO (National and Local Government Officers' Association) swung sharply to the left when it carried anti-Tory resolutions in the teeth of the leaders' opposition.

Delegates slapped the national executive in the face when they decided to ballot on the political fund and defy Tory legislation over the disciplining of union members.

The resolution on the political fund, which required a two-thirds majority, was passed overwhelmingly.

The issue of the political fund, and affiliation to the Labour Party, has been raised before in NALGO, but was always voted down on the basis that the trade unions should not be 'political'.

Laws

Under the bite of the Tory's anti-union laws — which ensured that one union member prevented NALGO from carrying out its Make People Matter campaign in the run-up to the general election — there has been a great leap forward in NALGO members' consciousness.

They have responded to the Tory attack by accepting that their union must now take its place in the political arena.

Perhaps even more significant was the vote to disobey the projected law relating to the disciplining of union members. This was lost on a show of hands, but carried by 345,000 to 290,000 on a card vote.

A significant section is now stating openly, like the teachers and the civil servants, that it is prepared to take on the full force of the state.

The NEC and the union as a whole also expressed its total opposition to the new Job Training Scheme, the latest stage in the Manpower



Delegates at the NALGO conference voting on the Palestinian resolution to disaffiliate from the Trade Friends of Israel

Services Commission campaign to force the unemployed to work for benefits.

The NEC was massively overturned on a resolution criticising it for delaying and sabotaging a report from the Positive Action Working Party, set up to ensure that all sections of the membership were represented on the union's committees.

But mingled with the shift to the left on many issues was a clinging to the old trade union methods of dealing with problems.

Resolutions to withdraw co-operation with Commun-

ity Programmes and Youth Training Schemes were decisively lost, despite the decisive opposition to the Job Training Scheme.

A resolution on Ireland, calling for the withdrawal of troops and an end to partition, was amended to read 'by peaceful means' — a qualification which would never be placed on a resolution about South Africa.

Rule changes which would mean the active recruitment of unemployed, with full membership rights, were also defeated. And a resolution on a national anti-

deportation campaign was amended to ensure that the emphasis was left on individual cases.

There still remains a strong tendency to see each problem individually and in isolation. No connection is made between the JTS and the other MSC schemes. Deportation is tackled at the level of defending individuals, and not as a question of overturning racist laws.

Socialists in NALGO still have a lot of work to do. But this conference can be seen as a step forward.

City Group fights picket ban

By Terry O'Halloran
press officer of
City Group Anti-Apartheid

The 11th anniversary of the Soweto massacre was marked by a London demonstration organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. The demonstration was part of the Non-Stop Picket which has been going on since 19 April 1986.

The Metropolitan Police celebrated the anniversary by arresting 33 demonstrators for attempting to demonstrate directly outside the embassy.

Those arrested included Norma Kitson, for the fourth time since 6 May. Norma Kitson has been taking part in the campaign to demonstrate directly outside the embassy. Since 6 May the Metropolitan Police have banned all demonstrations outside South Africa House: 123 arrests have taken place since that day.

The police ban began on the day of the whites-only election in South Africa. It is part of the collaboration between the Metropolitan Police, the British government and the apartheid regime.

In 1984 at a time when Botha was attempting to achieve international respectability and was visiting Britain, the police tried to ban City Group's pickets from the embassy.

After more than 160 arrests

and five people going to prison, City Group won their campaign against the police. A magistrate ruled that City Group had the right to demonstrate directly outside the embassy.

In 1987 as the struggle of the black masses in South Africa reaches new heights the police are again trying to destroy the effectiveness of City Group's protest against the South African embassy.

At the demonstration on Soweto Day, Paul Boateng, newly-elected MP for Brent South, pointed out that President Botha was the first person to send congratulations to Margaret Thatcher. He said:

'This international gangster recognises that Britain under Thatcher is his main protector in the world,' and called for the building of 'a fighting movement against government policies on South Africa'.

Every Friday evening — 5.30p.m.-7.30p.m., there is a mass defiance rally. City Group is calling on all anti-apartheid activists, all trade unionists and all who wish to defend democratic rights, to join the campaign on the Friday night pickets and help to win back the right to demonstrate outside the embassy.



CITY GROUP's lunchtime picket to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising opposite the South African embassy on 16 June was as defiant as ever — despite determined police efforts since 6 May to demoralise the pickets with mass arrests

WRP delegation attends Lutte Ouvrière festival

A FIVE-STRONG delegation from the Workers' Revolutionary Party ran a stall at the festival organised by the Lutte Ouvrière (Workers' Struggle — LO) group over weekend of 6-8 June as part of the party's international work.

This festival is held every year in the huge wooded grounds of a chateau about 30 miles from Paris.

The festival, billed as three days of entertainment, spectacles, scientific discovery, cooking and politics, attracts thousands of LO supporters and members of numerous other political organisations.

The WRP stall was a major centre of attraction, selling large quantities of literature and making numerous political contacts.

There was special interest in our selection of historical copies of 'Labour Review', 'Newsletter', 'Workers International News' and other well-known Trotskyist publications of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

Throughout the event the WRP collaborated with comrades of the International Workers League (LIT), the GOCQI (Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International), the LOR (Revolutionary Workers League of Belgium) and LSR (Revolutionary Socialist League of Italy) in putting the case for a world conference of Trotskyists to re-organise the Fourth International.

Printed copies of the call for the world conference were distributed in French, English, Spanish and German.

This resulted in a well attended forum on the conference call given by Bob Archer, which attracted an audience of about 60. At least four other groups organised forums either attacking the call or discussing their differing ideas on the fight for the future of the Trotskyist movement.

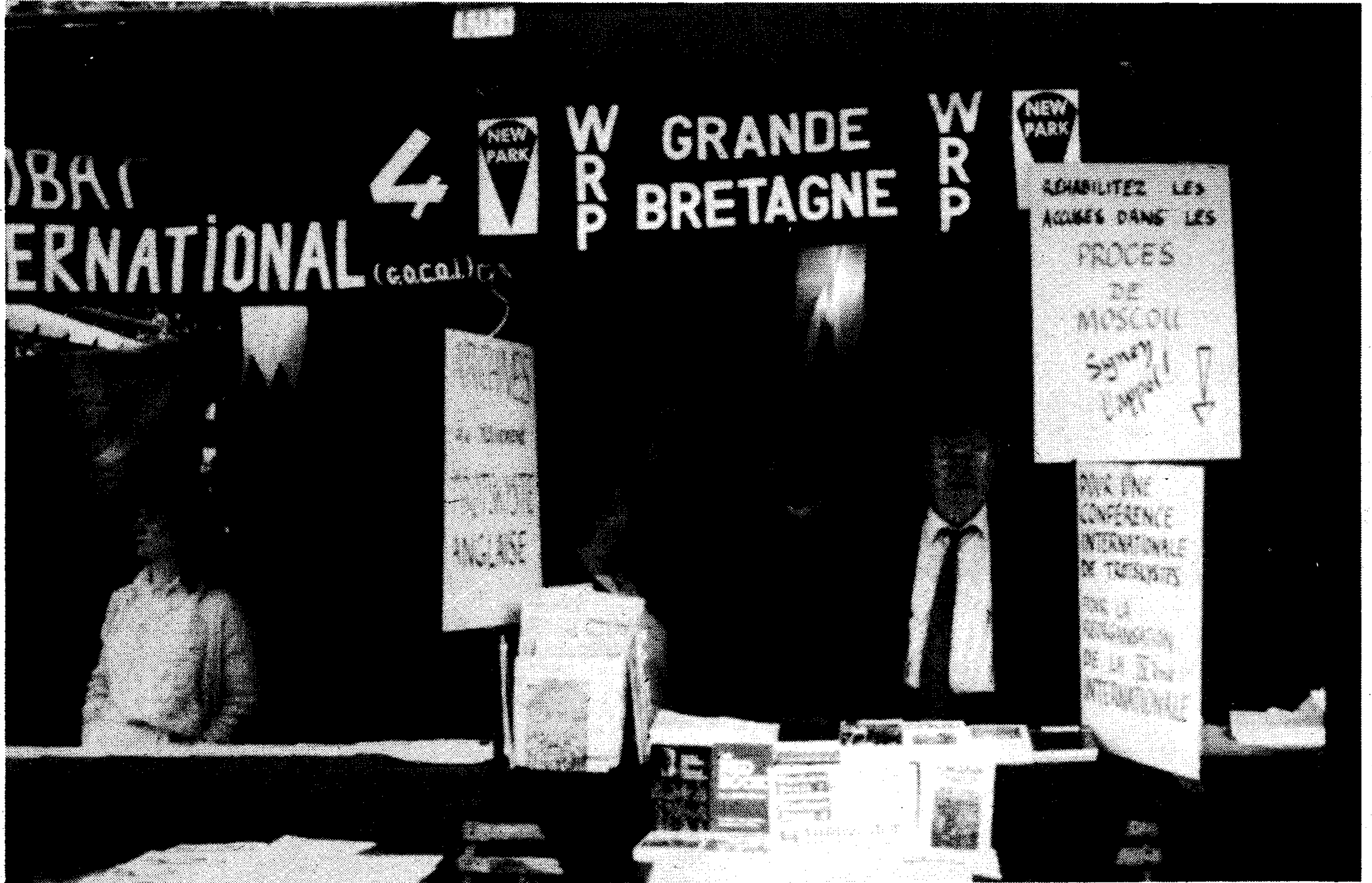
One group, the GOR of Italy, even went so far as to issue a pamphlet stating that the real aim of the call was to bring about a conciliation with the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and to prepare the way for the re-entry on to the political scene of one G. Healy.

All in all the intervention of the WRP and our co-sponsors of the call was a great success with well-attended meetings on the Simon Bolivar Brigade and the recent crisis in Argentina organised by the LIT and on recent developments in Yugoslavia by GOCQI.

Besides the huge variety of side-shows, film-shows, pop groups, classical musicians, food stalls and scientific displays, the Lutte Ouvrière organised a series of discussions on the French railwaymen's strike, the Algerian war, social security problems, the student movement and the women's question.

They also organised debates on the break of the so-called 'Renouvateurs' group from the French Communist Party and other topics.

All those who went look forward to a bigger and better intervention at next year's festival and thank the comrades in France who offered us hospitality.



WRP stall at the 'Lutte Ouvrière' Festival

Moscow Trials campaign wins wide backing

THERE is growing support in the labour and trade union movement, and in the universities, for the statement demanding that the victims of Stalin's infamous 1936-1939 frame-ups be cleared.

Sponsored by Leicester and District Trades Union Council, the call to the Soviet government to reopen the cases against these men is backed by eight Labour MPs and MEPs, as well as several Labour candidates and local councillors.

Several of the signatories were active in the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s. They include Reg Groves, Harry Wicks, Charlie van Gelderen and Roma and Bert Matlow. Fenner Brockway and Frank Ridley have also given their support.

Writers on the history of the movement who have signed include Al Richardson and Sam Bornstein (authors of books on the history of Trotskyism in Britain), Tamara Deutscher, Louis Sinclair,

Brian Pearce, Walter Kendall, and Raymond Challinor.

Support from Ireland includes Limerick councillor Joe Harrington; Matt Merrigan, former president of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions; and playwrights John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy.

Hungarian socialist George Krasso and author and journalist Peter Fryer have signed the appeal, as have novelist Mervyn Jones and writer and TV producer Tariq Ali. Stafford Cottman, who fought with the POUM in Catalonia, has given his backing.

Academics on the list include economic historian Tom Kemp; Professors Meghnad Desai and Fred Halliday, of the London School of Economics; theoretical physicist Felix Pirani; and historian Edward Acton.

A most important group of names has come from the Durham coalfield. Signing in a personal capacity, these include Jim Perry and Bill Etherington, respectively Durham NUM president and secretary; David Hopper, Merton lodge secretary; Dave Temple, a member of the Durham mechanics' executive; and George Gibson, secretary of Tursdale mechanics.

Further backing from individuals and organisations in the trade union movement is expected.

The text of the statement is as follows:

It is now over fifty years since the infamous Moscow Show Trials. It is astounding that, at a time when the Soviet government is at

pains to emphasise its concern with 'human rights' and proclaims the need for 'glasnost', the accused in these trials, with a few exceptions, are still considered guilty of being paid agents of Nazism, and other crimes.

Among these men were numbered several who played outstanding roles in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The reputations of founders of the Soviet state like Zinoviev, Radek, Trotsky and Bukharin were besmirched or expunged from the history books.

Today, no one doubts that the 'confessions' at the trials — the sole basis for the prosecution — were utterly false.

Seven defendants in the third trial, Krestinsky and others, have been both judicially rehabilitated and politically exonerated. So have the military leaders, Tukhachevsky and others, whose military trial in 1937 was held in secret.

But the admittedly false evidence against these men was inseparable from the charges against all the other accused.

None of the accused, of course, is alive today. Many were executed immediately after their trials. Others died in prison or camps. Leon Trotsky, the chief accused in all three of the trials, was murdered in exile in 1940.

However, families of some of the defendants are still living in the Soviet Union. Some also suffered imprisonment and exile. It is worth recalling that a review of all these cases was promised by Khrushchev, but this promise was broken.

We the undersigned therefore call on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice, as took place with Krestinsky.

We are confident that all those accused in the Trials of 1936-1938 will be shown to have been innocent. They should immediately be rehabilitated, their honour restored, their families compensated and their graves marked.

Signed by: (Dr) Edward Acton, Tariq Ali, John Arden, Sydney Bidwell MP, Paul Boateng MP, Sam Bornstein, Fenner Brockway, (Dr) AB Campbell, Raymond Challinor, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Igor Cornelissen, Stafford Cottman, Margaretta D'Arcy, Terry Davis MP, (Prof) Meghnad Desai, Tamara Deutscher, Linda Douglas, (Rev) Dr Tony Ellis, Bill Etherington, Glyn Ford MEP, Peter Fryer, George Gibson, Mildred Gordon MP, Reg Groves, (Prof) Fred Halliday, (Cllr) Joe Harrington, Eric Heffer MP, David Hopper, (Dr) Martyn Jones, Mervyn Jones, Tom Kemp, Walter Kendall, George Krasso, Eddie Loyden MP, Oliver MacDonald, John McIlroy, Bert Matlow, Roma Matlow, Matt Merrigan, Ian Mikardo MP, Stan Newens MEP, Brian Pearce, Jim Perry, (Prof) Felix Pirani, Al Richardson, Frank Ridley, Louis Sinclair, Cyril Smith, (Cllr) George Tasker, Dave Temple, (Cllr) Nigel Todd, Charlie van Gelderen, (Cllr) D.A. Weir, (Cllr) M.A. Weir, Harry Wicks, David Winnick MP. Sponsored by Leicester and District Trades Union Council.

AFTER THE ELECTION: MAJOR STRUGGLES AHEAD

'People were determined to get rid of Thatcher'

THE NORTH-EAST

'IN THIS area there was an increased majority', said Hatton councillor Florence Anderson. 'Although it's a safe Labour seat, people were that determined to get rid of Thatcher.'

'People here rejected Tory philosophy and politics, yet we are having Tory rule imposed on us. But the country is polarised. How much longer can people believe in this process? The democratic process is not working for people here.'

Robert Anstey, who is on a community programme scheme (he has nine O levels and three A levels and this is the only work he can get) said: 'We feel despair. The majority of MPs returned by us have no effect on the government and so there is this sense of depression.'

Julie Heron, whose husband is a miner and works at Murton, said: 'The most obvious thing in the north-east is that every Labour MP doubled his majority. People made an effort to go out and vote to get Thatcher out but their votes are ineffective.'

'Everybody is feeling so depressed. My husband works for the NCB, and I have a terrible fear that she will sell the NCB; and private pits will mean profit before safety. I think she'll do away with a lot of the conditions the NUM have fought for.'

I'm also fearful for my children because of cuts to education. Private education will mean parents paying. Up here with wages so low I can't see how we can afford to.'

Julie's 14-year-old daughter Juliana, said: 'The teachers' strike will now continue. That means that teachers are always off school and we are missing a lot of our work.'

'If I leave school without the O level grades I need it will make it very difficult for me to get a job.'

Glen, Julie's son, who is a student at Sunderland Polytechnic, said: 'This is the worst thing that could have happened for the north-east and the whole country. The welfare state and nationalised industries will all be destroyed.'

'As a student I think it is terrible because the Tories are only interested in what they call reforming the education system, which is really cutting back on facilities.'

'Grants will be cut back, and things like science labs. In Sunderland the Labour Council has already been forced to cut teaching staff at the Polytechnic.'



The legacy of Thatcherism: desolate premises at now-closed Eppleton pit

South Wales miners refuse work in water

BY TRAVIS GOULD

UNREST IS continuing in the South Wales coalfield. For the second week, miners at Trelewis Drift colliery are out on strike against harsh working conditions.

They came out on the afternoon shift on 8 June after management refused early notes for working in water.

The problems are in the south-east dip headings (two old headings), where there is a potential 180 metres of coal, a relatively small amount.

Lodge secretary Terry Davies told Workers Press: 'The men are working in a tremendous amount of water. You can't work with Wellingtons, you need waders. And that's with all the pumps working as well. In

most pits you can get water notes without any problem.'

The Board are adamant that there will be no negotiations until the men return to work in those conditions.

According to the Board Trelewis Drift, which made just under £1 million pounds last year, lost £400,000 last week and expect to lose the same amount this week.

Davies added: 'The pit has lost £800,000, all because management refuse to give a

note to change three-quarters of an hour early. They have the same attitude they had four or five years ago, the last time we pulled out of those headings due to the conditions.'

Holding

'The Board are holding a gun to our head — either go into work in those conditions or they will sterilise three to four years' coal reserves which lie beyond the headings.'

'At £1 million a year, losing this will put the future of the pit in jeopardy.'

The Trelewis Drift men are also adamant — that they will not work in these adverse conditions.

● South Wales miners' gala — SEE PAGE 16

200 women workers strike against pay cut

BY SUE GWYER

SOME 200 women workers at the H.R.Howard's factory in Ashton-under-Lyne have refused to take a pay cut and have been out on strike since Monday.

The machinists and examiners, who make underwear for Marks and Spencers, say they have been told they are being sacked because they are flatly rejecting the company's pay plan.

The women, who are members of the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, say management proposed both a wage cut — from £103 to £87 a week — and changes in production practice which would reduce earnings still further. They rejected the deal in a secret ballot.

At the weekend dismissal notices were issued, some expiring on Friday, stating that not a penny will be paid in redundancy or compensation. The women are picketing the firm's premises in Oxford Street, Ashton.

Apartheid child torturers but Thatcher keeps links

THE MOTHER could not recognise her son when she went to the police station.

The South African police had battered his face too badly.

A Defence of Children International Organisation (DCI) report last week reveals the full horror of the Apartheid regime's treatment of black children.

● A twelve-year old girl described how she was repeatedly raped while in police custody.

● Children were suspended by the wrists in chains and spun round in circles — it's called the 'helicopter' treatment.

● A man was given electric shocks to the genitals, in front of his 16-year old son, to force the boy to give information.

Systematic torture involving electric shocks to the genitals, beatings with rifle butts, suffocation with wet nylon bags, rape and other methods, is being used in an attempt to intimidate youth into giving up their struggle.

The report's author Michael Jupp, who was sent to South Africa by US churches, says Reagan's 'constructive engagement' policy has not persuaded the South African racists to change their ways.

'But in fairness to the US they've had a stronger position than the United Kingdom.'

Put less politely, Thatcher remains a leading supporter of the South African racists. She entertained Botha in Britain, and the British govern-

ment has regularly used its veto in the UN to protect the racist regime from sanctions.

Children as young as eight have been detained by the South Africa police force, the report gives a number of personal accounts by the victims of the assaults they sustained. The brutality of the police is so savage that South African courts are issuing injunctions to stop the assaults.

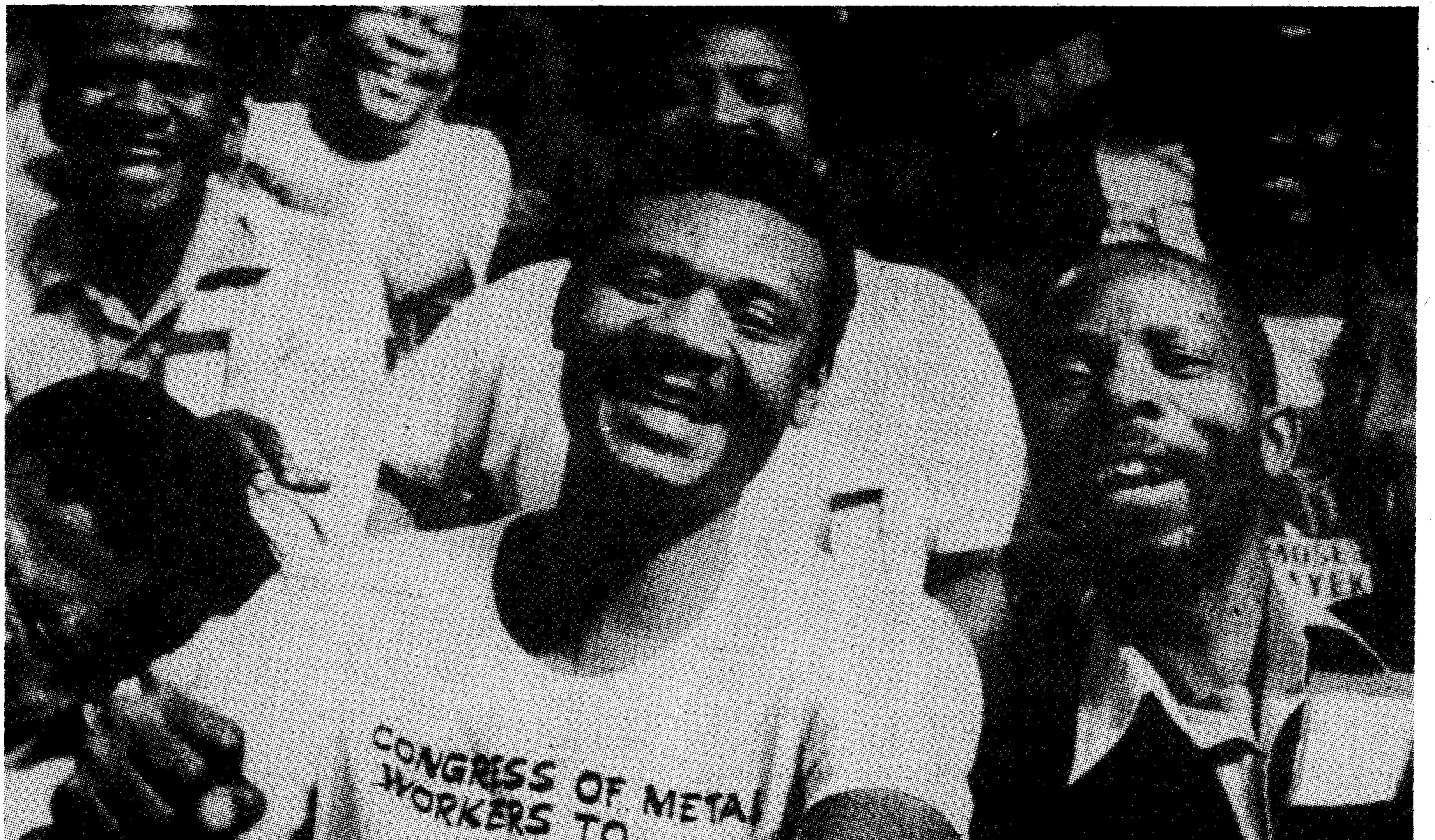
Over the past twelve months more than 10,000 children have been held in custody. They can be picked up and held without trial for belonging to a school youth organisation, for wearing the wrong t-shirt, or merely for being out in the evening.

In the past two years more than 350 children have been killed by police gunfire and 950 have been wounded.

A regime which has to sustain itself through the suffering and death of children is one whose days are numbered.

That suffering will be cut shorter the sooner Black South African workers have a party that can lead the struggle for power, and the sooner we render them effective solidarity, in the course of building the movement to wrest power from Botha's capitalist allies in Britain.

Meanwhile, next time you hear anyone, white or Black, defending Toryism, remember they are also defending the child-torturers of South Africa.



Metal workers hammer racists!

BLACK metal workers in South Africa have united in one big union to fight for their rights, and immediately challenged the racist regime by unanimously electing jailed leader Moses Mayekiso as general secretary.

Three unions — the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union and the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union have merged.

The new National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), launched at a congress on 22-24 May, begins with a paid-up membership of 130,000. It is opening a recruitment and organisation drive to expand further.

Workers' leader Moses Mayekiso, detained last year under Botha's state of emergency, is probably South Africa's best-known trade union prisoner.

Accused of plotting the overthrow of the state, because of his community activity in Alexandra township as well as his union work, Moses faces 'treason' charges which could mean the death penalty.

By unanimously voting

him as general secretary, union delegates have fired a resounding, warning shot across the bows of the Apartheid state. It must be echoed in practical solidarity by trade unionists around the world.

Now second only to the Mineworkers' in size, the new union will represent workers in the motor industry, engineering, and metals right across South Africa, confronting employers and the government with a powerful voice.

Its demands include a

national 'living wage' of R4.50 an hour, the 40-hour week, six-months paid maternity leave, and extension of job and training opportunities for women and youth.

The NUMSA founding conference also took a clear political stand for freedom and socialism for the workers of South Africa.

It adopted the 'Freedom Charter' of the African National Congress, as 'containing the minimum political demands that reflect the view of the majority of metal workers' vision of a free and democratic, non-discriminatory South Africa', though not uncritically. Several delegates pointed out the charter did not include the right to strike.

At the same time, the congress insisted that the freedom struggle and workers' rights could only be achieved through 'the practical leadership of the industrial working class.'

It said it would produce a 'workers' charter', developed through discussion in the factories and among the youth, aiming at 'true socialism and democracy', based on workers' control of government and industry.

The unions coming together in NUMSA represent a significant convergence of varied traditions. Two of them were for a time suspicious of 'political' alignment as a diversion from shop floor militancy, while another was linked from the start to the United Democratic Front.

Jay Naidoo, delivering fraternal greetings from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) with which NUMSA has affiliated urged delegates not to be trapped by labels such as 'workerist' or 'populist'.

'Such labels destroy open and democratic debate and distract us from our goal of building working class politics and fulfilling our historic role of leadership in the liberation struggle.'

And in Namibia . . .

WORKERS delegates' from over 30 firms in Namibia have formed a new Metal and Allied Namibian Workers' Union, under the slogan 'Organise or Starve'.

With possibly 8,000 members, the new union is joining the Namibia Food and Allied Workers' Union and the Mineworkers' Union of

Namibia to form an umbrella National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW)

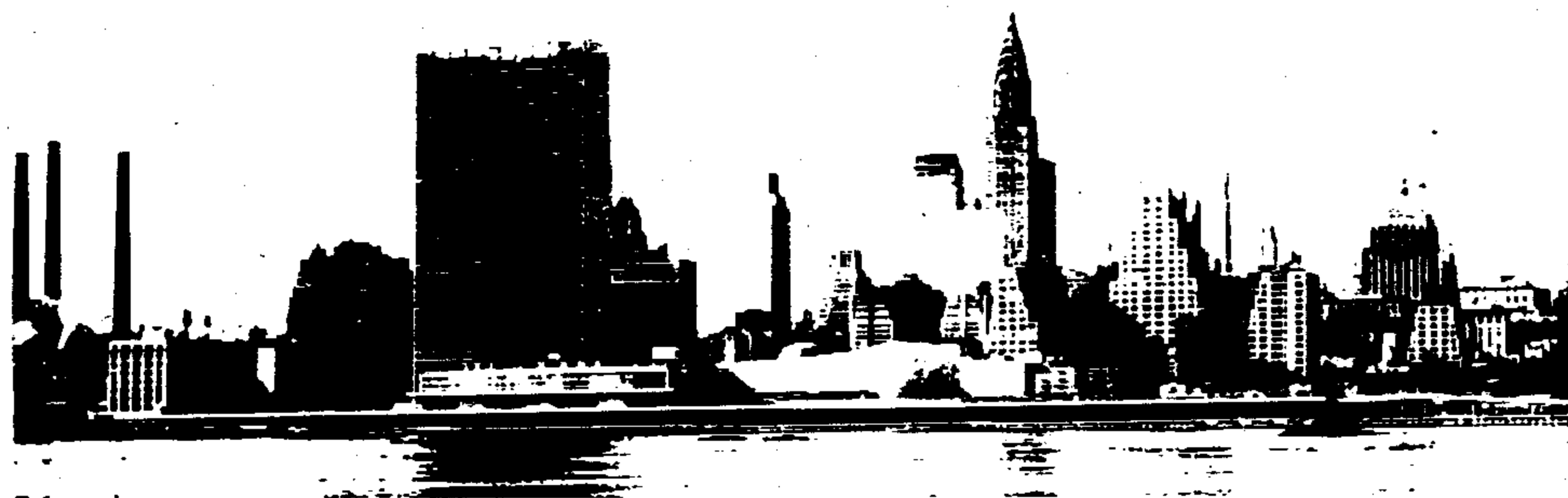
Workers' growing confidence in this mineral-rich, South African-occupied country was demonstrated on May Day when an estimated 25,000 workers marched under the NUNW banner.

Soweto remembers

JUNE 16 saw a massive movement of South African workers, despite the repression of Botha's racist dictatorship. This was the 11th anniversary of the 1976 uprising by school youth in Soweto, the black township near Johannesburg.

Over a million black workers stayed away from work in Johannesburg, largest city in South Africa, on what the apartheid regime has been forced to accept as an unofficial holiday.

Letter from America



AFTER 80 years two militants of the famous American trade union, the Industrial Workers of the World, have been posthumously pardoned and it has been tacitly accepted that their trial and conviction for murder was a frame-up.

The IWW, known as the Wobblies, led many strikes especially among migrant workers and miners in the period before the First World War.

The full powers of the state and the employers were unleashed against militants and union organisers and many were condemned by the courts on trumped up charges.

Among them were Morrie Preston and Joseph Smith who led a strike in the small mining town of Goldfield in Nevada.

They were framed on a charge of having murdered a restaurant owner during the strike and both served prison terms after a trial which was a national sensation.

Six months after the trial Federal troops were brought in to crush the Wobblies and run all union organisers out of the area.

A recent book has shown conclusively that Preston and Smith were convicted on perjured evidence given by hired gunmen and a convicted murderer.

The whole trial was organised by the mining tycoons under the direction of George Wingfield, a local political boss.

Now, in a unique ruling, the Nevada Pardons Board has exonerated the two unionists of being guilty of murder.

It appears that Preston fired in self-defence in the course of picketing a restaurant over a labour dispute.

Smith had called for the boycotting of the restaurant for having victimised a waitress.

Preston was sentenced to 25 years for murder, serving seven years. He died after falling from a telephone pole in 1924.

Smith got ten years for 'involuntary manslaughter' and served five and died in poverty during the depression in 1935.

A number of his descendants were in court to applaud the posthumous pardons of the two labour class war victims.

The episode testifies to the vicious methods employed by the American ruling class in dealing with its opponents; it has not changed.

George Lormin

Israeli MP defies law

LEFT-wing Israeli MP Charlie Biton has been served with a police summons on arrival back with a fifteen-strong delegation from talks with Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) representatives.

It is the second time within months that Israeli socialists and peace campaigners have challenged their government's ban on contacts with the PLO — what they call the 'anti-Peace law'.

Four people are already facing trial for attending a meeting in Bucharest, Romania, last November, at which PLO members were present.

Biton, a leader of the militant Black Panther movement of Oriental Jewish youth in the 1960s, sits in the Knesset on the joint 'Democratic Front' list led by the Israeli Communist Party.

He said he would use his parliamentary immunity to ignore the summons, and that meetings would continue in defiance of the 'anti-democratic' law.

At their meeting last week with PLO executive committee member Mahmoud Abbas and others, the Israeli

delegation issued a statement calling for recognition of the PLO as 'sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.'

● Several hundred people, Israelis as well as Palestinians, marched through east Jerusalem on June 14 to protest Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the annexation of the city.

● Yael Lotan, one of the Israelis facing a possible jail sentence for attending last November's meeting with Palestinian representatives, will be speaking in London on Tuesday evening.

Michael Lowry, of the Alternative Information Centre in Jerusalem, raided by Israeli police and closed down this year, is also due to speak at the meeting, organised by the Campaign for Freedom of Expression for Palestinians and Israelis (CFEPI); 7.30, Tuesday, June 23, at Friends' House, 23 St. Martins Lane, WC2.

Arms dealer death probe

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

WAS Iranian arms dealer Cyrus Hashemi murdered in his London flat by sophisticated professional assassins?

And if so, which government employed them, and why?

According to the official autopsy report, Hashemi, 47, died of a rare form of leukemia. But the dead man's family were not convinced. They said he had been in good health.

Now a US Senate investigator looking into the White House arms-for-Iran scandal has reportedly visited Britain for confidential talks with government and medical authorities about Hashemi's death on July 29 last year.

At the time of his death, Hashemi, a banker with contacts in the Khomeini regime, had agreed to act as an informer for the US Treasury Department, in return for a promise of immunity from Manhattan district attorney Ralph Giuliani.

He helped set up the 'sting' that trapped Israeli reserve-general Avraham Baram, arms dealers Guri and Israel Eisenberg, and others including British subjects. Saudi arms magnate Adnan Khashoggi's name was linked to the case.

Five people were grabbed after going to Bermuda to finalise an \$800 million arms deal with Iran. But while one wing of the US government was organising the arrests, another — linked to Reagan himself — was preparing even bigger arms deals, and using the proceeds to finance equally illegal arms for the contras fighting Nicaragua!

Hashemi's death removed the key witness for the prosecution of the Baram gang. There were suggestions that the Israeli Mossad might have been not displeased. General Baram had made remarks implying his government had backed his deals.

Another theory put around in the press was that the Iranian regime might have regarded Hashemi as a traitor for co-operating with US investigations.

Revelations about Hashemi's previous dealings with the US, and the scale of the 'Irangate' scandal, which helped solve one mystery — how Baram and the Eisenbergs could guarantee delivery of Hercules transport planes, TOW missiles, and Skyhawks (all US-manufactured).

Might they not suggest an answer to the mystery of who might have wanted Hashemi out of the way? A powerful government, whose intelligence service has long specialised in sophisticated assassinations. A government whose 'special relationship' allows its agents free range in London?

According to a 'Guardian' report (June 15) US customs officers think Hashemi 'may have been "bumped off" by Government agents' to protect the Irangate operation.

The paper quotes a Senate committee source as saying: 'There are lots of sophisticated methods these days. Given all the circumstances, we'd be ignoring our responsibility if we didn't follow up what is, at the very least, a mysterious death of an important link.'

TEARGAS BATTLES RAGE IN OLYMPIC CITY



VIOLENT student demonstrations continued to hit South Korea throughout last week with over 60,000 students in 45 universities clashing with riot police.

Thousands of students at Yonsei University in Seoul fought riot police with firebombs, stones and bricks, despite repeated tear-gas attacks.

The escalating battles in Seoul must pose big question marks over the Olympic Games due there next year, and over the future of the right-wing pro-imperialist regime, whose sweatshop-capitalism is so much admired by Margaret Thatcher.

President Chun Doo Hwan called an emergency national security council meeting to deal with the mounting crisis.

This followed the ending of the six day siege of Myong-

dong Cathedral in a truce negotiated by the priests. But the occupying students agreed to accept the police amnesty after several votes and only following the release of 60 students who had been seized earlier when they tried to leave the Cathedral.

The departing students pledged to continue the struggle to topple the government and demanded the freeing of the 6,000 detained and the 220 formally arrested since 10 June. Public support for the departing students was overwhelming — some 10,000 filled the narrow streets near the Cathedral where many chanted anti-government slogans. Many others joined in from office windows and showered those below with confetti.

President Chun and the military are loathe to declare martial law in a country preparing to stage next year's Olympic Games. The regime has made much of the Games which the opposition sees as being used to confer legitimacy on a brutal regime.

Spontaneous reaction of East Berlin youth

BY TRUDI JACKSON

LAST Monday week saw the third evening of a 3-day rock concert in West Berlin near the

Brandenburg Gate, attended by 60,000 fans.

On the other side of the Wall in East Berlin, 4,000 youth had gathered as they had also done on the

previous days, to get as near as they could to the sounds and to participate in the atmosphere of the concert.

When 1,000 of the youth broke through a police cordon political slogans were

heard and the police started to hit out with their batons. The 'International' was sung and the police arrested over 50 of the participants.

On Tuesday the East Berlin News Agency called the reports 'fantasies of Western

correspondents' but everybody in East and West Germany had seen for themselves the West German television coverage of the scenes, witnessing how young people and reporters had been beaten up.

Events were finally admitted by them on Thursday but in a distorted version. 'Some provocations by a small group of individuals had played into the hands of Western correspondents' it said.

The journalists were blamed for the disturbance, not the action of the police.

Most of the youth were representative of the average East German youth and had never before been involved in any political activity. Driven by developments they learned very quickly. Feelings were expressed which contained all the hopes for the future and were confronted with the way the police operate.

The state tried everything possible to intimidate the potential for protest but cracks have now appeared in the 'stability' about which the SED has been so proud.

The image of law and order is beginning to crumble by this movement amongst the youth which historically has already anticipated a movement within the working class.



ARGENTINA'S

BY RAE HUNTER



Rae Hunter (WRP) in conversation with one of the Mothers

MY NAME is Dora Rückauf de Falco and I am the mother of a young girl, 19 years old, who 'disappeared' in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on 18 April 1978.

She was dragged out of our home in the early hours of the morning by a group of six heavily armed men, who did not identify themselves.

They entered by sheer force, insisting (as they have done in all the cases) that they had to interrogate my daughter.

The method used in all 30,000 cases of 'disappearances' was the same: detention, kidnapping and disappearance. . .

All efforts to find out about the 'disappeared' were in vain; nobody knew anything.

They weren't listed as 'detained' in any place, nobody had ordered their arrest. It was as if the earth had swallowed them up.

We pleaded for help to the police, the barracks, the military, the trade unions, the Church, and the politicians . . . nothing . . . nobody knew anything.

Crazed with grief and with running around, we realised that it was important to form a group and start action together.

Thus sprung up such human rights groups as 'Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo'; 'Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo'; 'Families of those Detained and Disappeared for Political Reasons'.

Each group had its own characteristics. Very few lawyers helped us in our activities; among the first were Enriquez Broken and our own beloved Luis Zamora and Marcelo Parrilli.

Others were themselves added to the list of the 'disappeared'.

Many years in the struggle against the military dictatorship had heightened our awareness, bringing us to a realisation of the following: all that was going on conformed to a sinister plan orchestrated by the great centres of economic and political power.

It was not easy to impose an economic plan which would advance and deepen dependence (the external debt) from inside a regime wanting to do battle with a working class alive and fighting, which possessed a huge, brave vanguard; a country with a great number of well-known militants who from their various positions in society denounced persistently this advance and deepening of dependence imposed by capitalist imperialism, by means of Argentinian collaborators.

Thus we understood why more than 30,000 people 'disappeared', why approximately the same number were murdered, why another 8,600 were imprisoned in inhuman conditions and another 100,000 driven into exile.

Hard, everything was very hard.

From that time and when democracy was returned, we mothers began to find our own place: some in political parties, like myself; others, the majority, only in human rights organisations.

I belong to the Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement for Socialism or MAS). Why is this? Partly because of political development and partly because the MAS, from its foundation, was constantly and has continued to be with our struggle.

It is active and has always showed a clear political understanding of the problems. It never wavered in its convictions nor entered into compromises with other parties — a characteristic of the



Section of the march at a recent MAS demonstration.

S 'MOTHERS'



Mothers of Argentina marching behind a banner of the MAS

entire political leadership in Argentina.

It stays strong in the struggle and persistently denounces the sell-out politics of Alfonsín's government.

It would take too long to relate everything which happened but I shall try to give the main points.

From 10 December 1983 when 'democracy' was restored in Argentina, Alfonsín's government together with his accomplices in what was called 'the opposition' began to give a wide berth to the murderous dictatorship, issuing a decree that only the first three juntas would be judged.

As this brought about bad feeling within the armed forces this decree was reformed within a month by the Military Code of Justice, passed and approved by parliament.

This stated that the murderous military would only be judged by their peers — the juntas of the armed forces applying military justice. This is unconstitutional.

In the interim period the government created CONADEP, a slow and ineffective organisation in dealing with judicial action.

There is no need to list all the information about the kidnappings, the disappearances, the torture, the nazi-style concentration camps, the assassinations. I say 'no need' because all the human rights organisations have this information.

After almost two years the Supreme Council vindicated the murderous repression of its peers.

Repression was exalted and the perpetrators exonerated.

The government, seeing that it had failed in its intention to save the military, gave way to its own law and passed the judgements to the Federal Camera (parliament or assembly) of Buenos Aires, where within one year the crimes committed by the military were heard and denounced with hundreds of witnesses.

Then things became absurd and the sentence of life imprisonment was passed on only four of the military; others were given minor punishments and the rest were absolved.

This judgement produced a wave of consternation in the people.

After so much horror this sentence was like a joke. But it was part of the agreement which the radical government had with the military.

On the insistence of our lawyers and our Party and because of the incessant struggle of the affected parties and a large part of the people, other organs of the judiciary began to function, although slowly, and called for those accused of torture and crime to be exposed.

This worried the armed forces who put pressure on Alfonsín, his government and the bourgeois political leadership.

In the record time of one day, they put through parliament 'La Ley de Punto Final' (The Law of Final Point) which permanently proscribed crimes against humanity, starting from 22 February 1987.

This resulted in a 'boomerang' effect for the government, as the public prosecutors, feeling pressurised and 'ordered and obliged' to deal with thousands of cases, began to deal in full with everything that had been lying on shelves for years.

Thus approximately 500 members of the military were rapidly cited in court.

This produced paroxysms in the armed forces which planned the uprising of various bodies of the army. Alfonsín was forced to give in to the law of amnesty.

During Easter week, Alfonsín together with his accomplices within the political leadership of Argentina, including the Communist Party, signed the Act of Capitulation right before the traitors.

Parliamentary approval was also obtained for 'La Ley de Obediencia Debida' (The Law of Proper Obedience), which is virtually an amnesty. This law lets the murderers go scot free, enshrining the terrible and tragic inequality whereby the stealing of a cassette is a convictable offence — but not torture, kidnap, assassination which are unimpeachable.

Hard times for Argentina: assassins go unpunished; rebellious traitors are rewarded; dependence is deepened by payment of the external debt.

Never mind, we are here — the Movement for Socialism — and we will never abandon our fight in order that all this will be overcome.

To the final victory, socialists.

TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Magazine of Marxist Theory
Volume 1 Number 1 March 1987

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'FRONT OF THE PEOPLE' — ITS RISE AND FALL

5. What conclusions did the MAS draw from the 1985 elections?

IN a 'balance sheet' of the electoral campaign drawn up on 21 November 1985, the MAS pointed out that the break from Peronism had not been reflected to the extent they had expected in the elections.

The MAS also stated, self-critically, that its electoral tactics had not taken sufficient account of the 'existence of an embryonic workers' vanguard which, we believe, can be turned once again to the process of struggles against the bureaucracy and for the leadership of the unions', a task it described as 'one of the most important problems of the Argentine revolution' (*Conceptos políticos*, p.66).

But the election campaign had positive aspects: it 'enabled us to become an objective fact of national politics'; 'all our cadres were confronted with the obligation of discussion with other political forces, of carrying out joint actions, of drawing up joint proposals, of holding meetings in which we were turned to a different audience from that of which our members and supporters had traditionally consisted'; it had deepened the MAS's connection with the working class.

As to the front's future, 'we can maintain it as an electoral alliance or agreement, as a platform for political declarations on developments of the class struggle in which the constituent organisations are in agreement, always within the bounds of the programme which we adopted, which we maintain, and with which we will turn to the next election.

'We do not hold that there is any possibility of constructing a permanent front with the CP, not only because of our different programmes, the different strategies and histories of our two parties which are the front's two most important components — but also because in the class struggle, in general, we are on different paths.

'To construct a stable front re-

Part II of Simon Pirani's report on the Argentine Trotskyists' electoral campaigns.

quires a common participation in the class struggle on the side of the workers against the bosses, the government, imperialism and the bureaucracy. As long as this doesn't exist, there is no way such a front can exist, and so the "Front of the People" can only be an electoral alliance.' (*Conceptos políticos*, p.67).

6. How did the MAS characterise the 'Front of the People' politically; what scope did it see for it as a tactic?

'We characterised the front as a working-class electoral front between ourselves and a party which is objectively counter-revolutionary but has influence in the working class,' MAS Central Committee member Jorge Brunello said in an interview with Workers Press. 'On an electoral level we were attempting to develop the "united front" conception of the Communist International.

'We thought it was correct to organise a working-class electoral front that might eventually become a political means to group those forces breaking from Peronism.

'The CP never wanted to do this. They wanted a front with bourgeois parties, not with the Trotskyists. They tried for some time to make such a front and failed. In the end they had to accept a programme that was a transitional programme for the struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

'There is nothing in the "Front of the People" that could fit Trotsky's term, the "popular front" with which he described the Stalinists' fronts with bourgeois parties. Not only is there no bourgeois party in the front, there isn't even a shadow of the bourgeois parties in it — despite the CP's efforts, for two years after it was formed, to bring such forces into it.

'Even before the issue of the Easter struggle, a major dispute arose because the CP wanted to deny the working-class character of the front; they wanted to select as election candidates bourgeois politicians who were not known to the masses. We were insisting on the principle advanced by Trotsky, that within such a front line it should be "one man, one vote" to decide who the candidates should be.'

7. What did the Argentine bourgeoisie think of the front?

THE 'Front of the People', and the Trotskyists' strength within it, did not please Argentine president Raul Alfonsin.

He spent the whole of a major speech on 17 January 1986 attacking the front as 'people with fascist conceptions, who are only interested in attacking the Argentine people and their liberty' and in 'finding ways of imposing their own standards and overturning democracy'. (*La Nacion*, 18 January 1986.)

He accused the CP of 'breaking from its strategy of decades' in order to 'join with forces to its own



left, with Trotskyist forces in the country like the MAS, to agitate against and undermine democracy.' The MAS were only interested in 'accelerating the contradictions, with their vile purpose of looking for people to use as cannon-fodder, for their ultimate purpose of taking power.'

Juan Carlos Pugliese, a leader of Alfonsin's Radical Party, pointed out in the Chamber of Deputies that the front was a 'strange' union, the products of the CP's 'need to get hold of anything rather than disappearing'. He added that the MAS 'has overtaken the CP as far as recruiting working-class cadre is concerned: at least they have been able to stop factories, something the CP has never been able to do anywhere'. (*Tiempo Argentino*, January 1986.)

Not even the most jaundiced bourgeois journalists could miss the fact that the MAS had the upper hand within the front. When the front had a joint May Day rally in 1986, *La Nacion* reported: 'The audience was clearly weighted in favour of (MAS leader) Luis Zamora, while the Communist leader Iscaro, whose speech lasted 40 minutes, was faced with demands to step down by the youth of the MAS who were grouped on Avellanda Street.'

According to the *Buenos Aires Herald*, Zamora, who 'lambasted the current labour leadership', got 'the most applause'.

8. How did the changes in world Stalinism affect the front?

'PART of the reason for the present split in the front, we believe, is a decision made in Moscow,' says Jorge Brunello. 'Alfonsin, who plays a part in the "Group of Six" non-aligned countries, is a more important piece in Moscow's chess game than the Argentine CP.'

'The CP's right-wing turn, which has caused the front to split in this way, is part of a general right-wing turn by Stalinism.

'At a recent meeting of all the CPs in the southern cone, representatives from Moscow declared that local developments affected east-west relations in one way or another. They said that there was a "struggle for peace" which the Latin American parties should not do anything to disrupt.

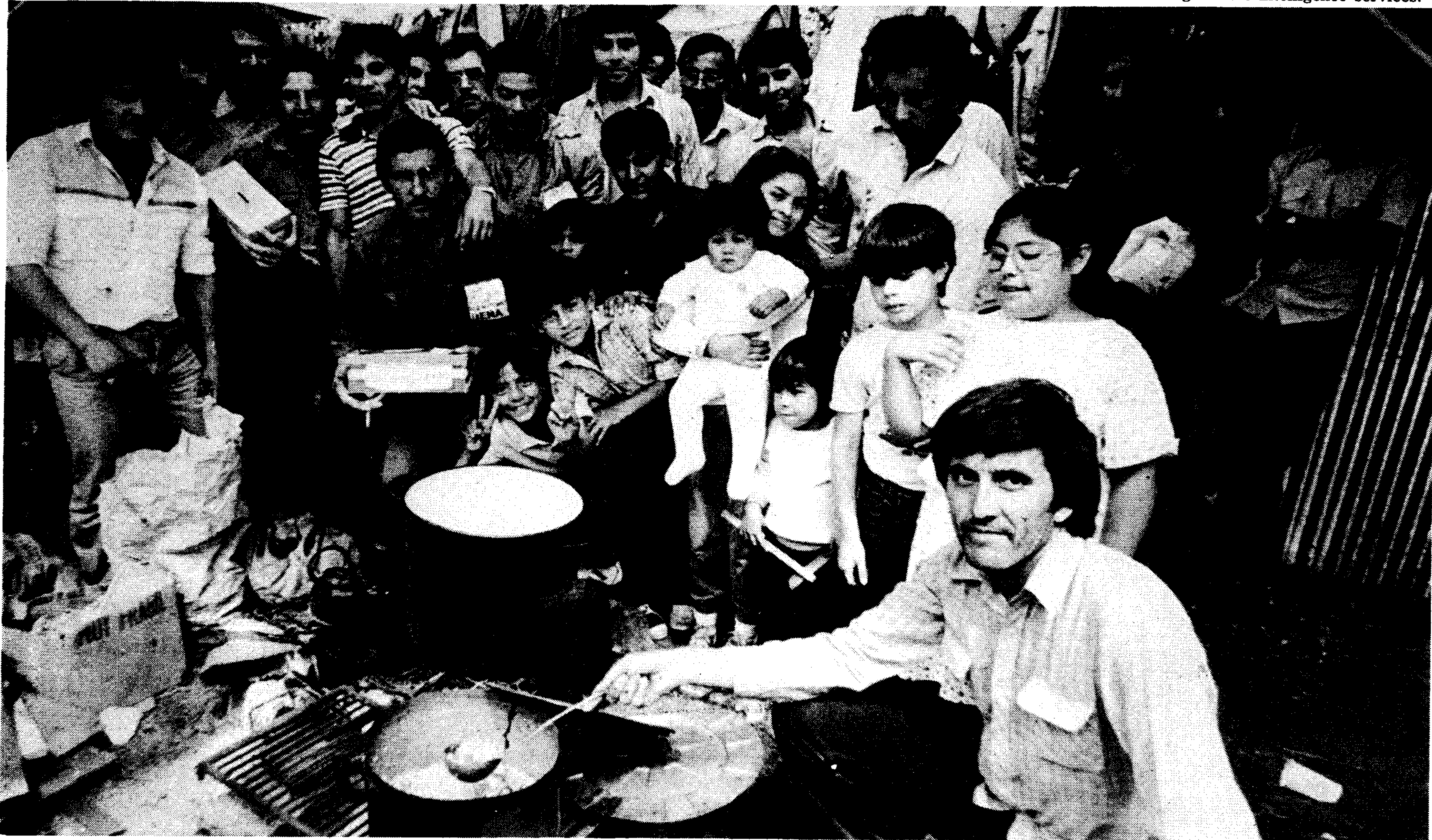
'There was resistance from the Latin American CPs. This led to a public polemic between the Argentine CP and Viktor Wolski of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. In the course of this Wolski insisted that the slogan of non-payment of the external debt was dangerous, and destabilised the world as a whole!

'Nationally there is another problem for the CP: as they give up their left turn, they leave the way to the masses open for us. Argentina is atypical in that respect, in that here the forces of Stalinism and Trotskyism are very much equal.

'The leftward turn of 1985 was an attempt firstly to win back the members they were losing, secondly to block our road to the masses. Both these processes could be reversed in the present situation.'

9. On what concrete issues was the front dividing before the Easter struggles?

LET us hear from an independent source — albeit a biased one: *El Informador Publico*, a right-wing magazine connected directly with Argentina's intelligence services.



Argentine metalworkers' communal kitchen

'Profits were put before safety'

— ferry inquiry told

BY BERNARD FRANKS

THE Zeebrugge ferry disaster inquiry, now in its eighth week, continues to amass a damning weight of evidence about the capsizing of the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' in particular and ferry operation in general.

Three main subjects have been under scrutiny: the sinking, the operational systems and ship design.

Before the inquiry even began, Sir Jeffrey Sterling, parent company (P&O) chairman, went public to blame 'avoidable human error' for the sinking.

Subsequently, counsel for Townsend Thoresen complained of 'unfair treatment' following accusations of incompetence and deceit. The claim that human error was the cause was then reaffirmed.

Counsel for the 149 survivors however, looked elsewhere: 'The philosophy of the company, as passed from management, was to carry as many passengers and as much freight as possible with as quick a turnaround as possible, with as few deck officers as possible, and with scant regard for the effects.'

Counsel for the National Union of Seamen found that the company 'put profits before safety', adding: 'Whenever the company management was probed it was found wanting. Whenever operating systems were examined they were found to be deficient.'

Aspects of this so far indicated include:

- lack of time to close bow doors and adjust ship's trim before sailing;
- lack of proper inventory to prevent overloading and excess passengers;
- pressures of work, short-cuts and short-comings that made mistakes inevitable.

Witnesses and counsel have pointed to a mass of failsafe devices which could have made the human error question near-irrelevant.

These include sensors on bow doors which indicate status and movement (used by Britannia Ferries), video cameras on car decks, bridge warning lights to show door status, and moveable transverse bulkheads to compartmentalise the car decks.

Rebuffed

It has also been shown that demands for more safety have regularly been rebuffed:

- The captain of a sister ship had asked for door warning lights but received no reply;
- There were 35 complaints by

ship's masters concerning overloading and over-crowding (in one case nearly 300 passengers too many). These were dismissed as insignificant compared with the thousands of sailings each year;

● An officially-recognised research organisation failed to interest any British ferry operators in a study of improved safety measures five months ago.

A Townsend director has had to admit that he lied on oath when telling the inquiry that bow door warning lights had not been raised prior to the 'Herald' sinking.

Action

It has also been revealed that senior officers on the sister ship, the 'Spirit of Freen Enterprise', took industrial action in 1982 to get a chief officer put in charge of the deck area and closure of the doors.

They were successful, but the 'Spirit' was transferred to a different route and the procedure dropped on the grounds of expense.

Now the inquiry has heard that the 'Herald of Free Enterprise' itself may have been overloaded by 27 tonnes according to tests made with the sister ship.

In regard to ship design, the roll-on, roll-off vessels have long been recognised as potential death traps by seamen. A breach of the main car decks running the length of the ship need only let in water to a depth of eight inches to lead to instant overturning.

In the case of the 'Herald of Free Enterprise', it is now known that the water rushing in the open bow door when the vessel picked up speed led to it capsizing in 45 seconds with the loss of 188 lives — not 135 as regularly stated by the company.

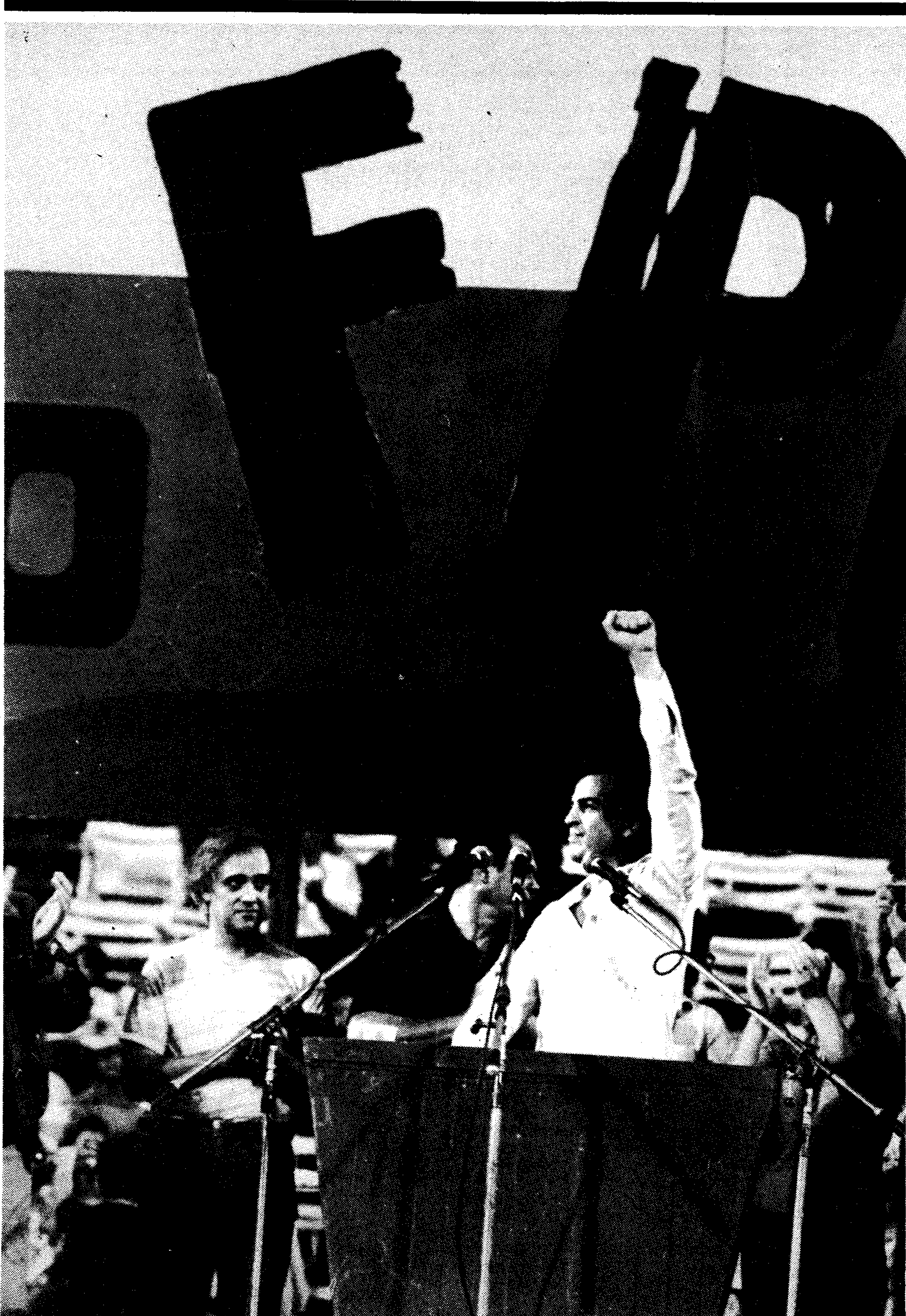
The fitting of moveable transverse bulkheads has been rejected by ferry companies as slowing down loading and unloading and being too costly in terms of loss of turnaround time and fitting — £140,000 per ship.

This year P&O announced record profits of £174 million for 1986 (£125 million in 1985) and forecast £260 million for 1987.

Shareholders were awarded a 19-per-cent increase in dividend in consequence.

The inquiry continues.

'The philosophy of the company, as passed from management, was to carry as many passengers and as much freight as possible with as quick a turnaround as possible, with as few deck officers as possible and with scant regard for the effects.'



Joint 'Front of the People' May Day rally, 1986: the audience 'clearly' favoured MAS leader Luis Zamora, said the bourgeois press.

'On the one hand, the MAS ... demands that ... Zamora is the candidate with the greatest support on the whole Argentine left' and are insisting he should stand in the province of Buenos Aires, although they would 'not cause problems as to the candidate for provincial governor, as long as a Peronist candidate is not imposed.'

Secondly, reported 'El Informador Publico' in September last year 'the CP proposes an election among all groups that form the FP, regardless of the number of members they have. Their slogan is "one group one vote". The proposal of the MAS is different: "We want internal democracy; the whole left has to vote so that each member will elect, directly, the candidates they want".'

Thirdly, 'the CP proposes the creation of an "Open Front" with Radicals, Peronists, Socialists, Christians and all the sections of the left that coincide with the slogans of unity against the economic policy of the government, but the MAS wants to launch an electoral campaign on the slogan "A front of the workers and left", giving emphasis to the class character of the front.'

It is difficult to give a more accurate description of the issues around which discussion raged throughout last year between MAS and CP rank-and-files: the MAS conception of a workers' front with elected candidates, versus the CP conception of bourgeois candidates imposed in the name of 'opening' the front.

10. How did the split over the Easter events take place?

'THE military uprising meant the absolute failure of the Alfonsinist policy, which consisted in a gra-

dual covering-up for the genocidists of the dictatorship,' stated an open letter of the MAS to the CP Central Committee dated 25 April this year, after the Easter events.

It quoted leaflets issued in the first days of the Easter confrontation, in the name of the front, which stated: 'We are against any kind of concessions to the military', and demanded 'the most energetic and exemplary punishment of all the coup-makers and their accomplices'.

One leaflet called on the masses to mobilise against the military, and 'to exercise all their rights to fight the coup-makers, including the one foreseen in Article 21 of the National Constitution, which states that "every Argentine citizen is compelled to be armed in defence of the Fatherland and of this Constitution".'

The MAS letter condemned the 'decision to surrender to the coup-makers' to which the CP put its signature. The 'democratic compromise' supported 'without restrictions' the 'normal functioning of the institutions of the state' and opened the way for a compromise with the military, it said.

The letter derided the CP's claims that it signed the document 'under protest'. 'There are no "half" signatures, just as a woman cannot be "half" pregnant. Either she is pregnant or she is not. If she is pregnant "under protest" she is pregnant all the same. There are no half-way houses.'

'The declaration is the declaration of surrender to the coup-makers. You, with your signature, try to pretend the opposite: that the declaration is progressive and it had to be signed.'

The letter compared the CP's capitulation to the military with their support — also with 'reserva-

tions' — for Videla's military dictatorship in the late 1970s. It contrasted the CP, who claimed they had signed the act to avoid 'isolation', with the stand of Karl Liebknecht, in isolation, against the first world war of imperialist Germany.

The letter pointed out: 'Points 17, 18 and 19 of the FP programme are all dedicated to the judgement and punishment of all genocidists, to the democratisation of the armed forces, and to the need to respond to a coup by a mobilisation of the working class and popular masses.'

'The new front that you are proposing ... started by throwing overboard the FP programme in order to agree with Alfonsin, Cafiero and company, at the precise moment when they were surrendering to the coup-makers ... Is this what you mean by a "qualitative leap" of the new front in relation to the FP? Yes, it's a qualitative leap — backwards.'

The letter, signed by Luis Zamora and Jorge Guidobono for the MAS Central Committee, ends: 'Change your attitude and take away your signatures from the declaration, and return to the FP to enlarge it, with all those who agree with its programme and not with the surrender to the coup-makers and the two-party system.'

The letter went unanswered and the joint rally planned for May Day was cancelled. The MAS held its own internationalist May Day rally in opposition to that of the CP, which is now trying to build its new 'broad front' under the title 'El Frente Va!' (the front goes forward.)

Wherever the CP's front goes, it will clearly come in constant collision with the MAS's struggle for an independent working-class policy, and for internationalist socialism.

LETTERS

Letters do not necessarily reflect the view of the Editorial Board. Letters over 500 words will normally be cut. Letters should arrive by first post Monday at: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS, and should include sender's address.

Other shadows in the past

THANK YOU for running Charlie Pottins' 'The shadowy past of Shamir, Part 1' in your 16 May issue.

I think I can explain why Alex Mitchell didn't run my May 1985 letter to the News Line re the documentation of Shamir's pro-Nazi past.

In January 1970 I visited Ireland as part of my solidarity work on behalf of the national struggle in Ulster, and then went to London to get the opinions of various left groups on the question.

When I went to the Socialist Labour League, none other than Healy himself granted me an interview.

He started in immediately denouncing the rest of the left and it took me all of ten minutes to realise he was a head case; whereupon I told him that the interview was terminated and walked out.

The interview took place in the presence of a typist, and Healy is not one to let someone put him down in front of a follower without him having the last word. Thereupon he sat down and wrote an article, denouncing me, under the name I then used, Lenny Glaser, as a police agent. (Glaser was my stepfather's name.)

I read the article, months later, in the US but ignored it as no one I knew on the left in Britain or the US or Ireland had the slightest doubt about Healy's obvious paranoia.

In late 1981 I met Vanessa Redgrave in the Middle East and she decided she was interested in doing a documentary of my then forthcoming 'Zionism in the Age of the Dictators', which details the history of Zionist collaboration with Hitler.

She knew me as Lenni Brenner, Brenner being my born family name, under which I now write and by which I am now exclusively known.

The entire British left, except the latter day Zionists at 'Socialist Organiser', the American left and

the Soviet Union hailed the book when it came out.

Given the link-up with Redgrave, News Line was perhaps one of the most generous left publications in terms of favourable reviews and interviews.

When my next book, 'The Iron Wall: Zionist Revisionism from Jabotinsky to Shamir', came out in 1974, the paper had me in for another interview at its plant. But while I was being interviewed Healy came into the room.

As many Britishers know from the recent 'Diverse Reports' debate over Jim Allen's 'Perdition', I have a full beard, which I've grown since the last time I saw Healy and I figured he might not remember or recognise me over a period of 14 years after a ten-minute meeting.

At any rate, we chatted for a minute and then he left with no sign that he recognised me and the interview went on.

When no review or interview appeared, I assumed that he did recognise me.

Anyone who reads the 'Jewish Chronicle', the 'Jerusalem Post', 'Commentary', 'The New Republic' and other Zionist publications knows that they hate me, particularly for 'Zionism in the Age of the Dictators'.

Any sane person who has read the book and the attacks on me could only laugh at Healy's charge that I'm some kind of agent.

Similarly anyone familiar with my constant exposés of the failure of the American anti-war movement to take on the Zionists would find that ludicrous. But I knew that a paranoid like Healy would never admit that he was wrong.

That is why I decided not to challenge his crazed notion when we met again in 1984.

I calculated that if he didn't recognise me then, perhaps someday Redgrave and I would be able to make the documentary. I am still firmly convinced that I did the only thing that could be done when dealing with a

wacko like Healy.

My belief is that, given the favourable left reception of the book, and my reputation as a revolutionary, Healy did not dare run another article claiming that I am an agent.

Instead I simply became an unperson as far as the paper was concerned. That, I suggest, is why they decided not to run my reply to J. Garnel's letter in the 15 August 1984 issue and the subsequent letter by one of your readers which also exposed Garnel's nonsense.

Ithaca Press will release 'Perdition', with an accompanying essay by me, sometime this summer. The controversy over the play will flare up again and I look forward to joining with Workers Press and others on the left in further discrediting the Zionists and their helpers in the capitalist press.

For a democratic secular Palestine in a democratic secular world!

Lenni Brenner

Another child victim of the Nazis

THANK you so very much for having given prominence to the photograph of 'The Children Who Never Grew Up' (Workers Press, 23 May 1987). All of them lost their lives in Auschwitz at the hands of Barbie!

A letter to my friend Shàia Schächter, to her family; to the Rosenbergs. To all of my Jewish friends who never came back. . .

Shàia arrived one day in 1939. She was 13 and wanted to go back to school again. Her family came from Poland, had crossed Nazi Germany and finally reached our little town of Spa in Belgium.

When she was introduced into our classroom, she crossed the room and sat on my bench. We soon became good friends.

In May 1940 she disappeared.

Her family had decided to go to Antwerp where they hoped to find a ship to the US.

Shàia wrote to me saying that they were trying to escape once again! With no more news, I thought they had made their way to liberty!

But they had not!

In 1942 I suddenly saw Shàia before me in a street in Spa. I wanted to kiss her but she said: 'Don't approach me, Marie-Jeanne; it is dangerous for you. I'm a Jew and marked by this yellow star which I must wear. Do you see it?'

I kissed her and took her in my arms.

I insisted that she should come with me to our farm where we could employ her and provide her with everything she would need.

She smiled. 'Thank you for your sincere friendship, Marie-Jeanne but I know things you don't know yet. Then she left, so alone, so brave in her distress.

We were both 16!

Shàia, where are you? Where is your nice mother, and your father? And your little sister and brother?

Remember how quickly you learned French? You were very intelligent. Strong at mathematics, and so on. Before the war we had happy days together. After the war we searched for you everywhere: through the Red Cross, in the displaced persons' camps. No trace of you anywhere.

Like millions upon millions of people you had gone forever. Too late to explain to you why and how. Dear Shàia.

All I may say is that if you were still alive today, you would surely rejoin our ranks. Those of the revolutionaries, to the socialism!

Thank you Shàia, I am proud to have known you!

Marie-Jeanne Guermant
1939 Spa
Brussels 1987

Vietnamese Trotskyism

'THE ABC lesson of the 1917 revolution is that tactical alliances with bourgeois governments, under certain definite conditions, are permissible and necessary,' I wrote in 'Workers Press' (25 April 1987).

The 'sole condition' for such alliances is 'not allowing either the organisations or the banners to become mixed directly or indirectly for a single day or a single hour', said Trotsky in a quotation I used, 'and in not believing for an instant in the capacity of readiness of the bourgeoisie either to lead a genuine struggle against imperialism or not to obstruct the workers and peasants.'

Such a tactical alliance was proposed in early September 1945, by the Vietnamese Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste Internationaliste, to the Stalinist Vietminh administration formed in insurrectionary Saigon.

They said they would 'support and assist' it, 'if the government declares itself prepared to defend national independence and safeguard the people's liberties.' The Stalinists never made such a declaration, and the Trotskyists never supported or assisted them.

Both before and after including this call to the Vietminh in a manifesto, the Trotskyists fought for the formation of a workers' and peasants' government, based on soviet-type 'popular committees'. They formed 150 such committees, a conference of which was broken up and delegates placed under arrest by the Stalinists.

After that time, the Trotskyists did not support the Stalinists, 'critically' or otherwise, but withdrew to the countryside and waged guerrilla warfare against bands of Vietminh assassins.

Comrade Conlon raises the question of Bolivia, where in 1971, the 'left' Torres government was overthrown by the military coup of Banzer.

It would have been correct to oppose the coup — with methods of working-class struggle. But Guillermo Lora and the POR placed political confidence in the bourgeois Torres regime to lead the fight against Banzer. They hoped Torres would give the workers guns; he didn't. The working-class vanguard was massacred.

This was a political crime — especially because the Bolivian working class had previously suffered, in 1952, when the revisionists of the USFI advised the Bolivian Trotskyists to place political confidence in the bourgeois nationalist Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR).

Finally comrade Conlon raises the question of the Russian revolution. He correctly criticises me for saying that the Bolsheviks 'supported' Kerensky's government against Kornilov; I should have said they 'allied themselves temporarily' with Kerensky, that they fought against Kornilov alongside Kerensky, placing no confidence in and making no compromise with Kerensky or his government.

'It is no wonder that the masses led by the Bolsheviks in fighting against Kornilov did not place a moment of trust in Kerensky. For them it was not a case of defending the government, but of defending the revolution.' (Trotsky, 'History of the Russian Revolution', p.741.)

Simon Pirani

A newly-translated document from the Vietnamese Trotskyists

AN English translation is now being made of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam' by Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, originally published in Paris, in French, by the Fourth International in 1947. (English translation copyright New Park Publications.)

This work consists of a Marxist historical analysis of Vietnam before and during the French conquest, the class structure of Vietnam, an outline of the development of nationalist movements from their origins in the 1890s, and of the Stalinist and Trotskyist movements in Vietnam.

It concludes with an estimation by the author, a Vietnamese Trotskyist who work-

ed in Paris after World War II, of the nature of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

We are not able at present to print this material. However, this work is invaluable for the study of the Vietnamese revolution, and of importance for the study of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries in general.

We are therefore offering Xeroxed copies of this document (approximately 100 A4 pages) for £5 plus postage (Special offer for WRP members £2.50).

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ing class, of women and youth, of developments in the Labour Party and Communist Party. . .

PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

On the track of tradition

IN 1945, which seems a very long time ago, I spent six months working as a labourer in a Hull pottery factory, casting pedestals for wash-hand basins.

When I recruited six of my work-mates to the Communist Party and, worse still, was elected shop steward, management took the view that they and I were not, perhaps, ideally suited to each other. I didn't last long after that.

In those six months I learnt a lot about working-class traditions and customs, including those unwritten rules of the class struggle that are impressed on every young worker from the first day he steps on the factory floor.

To my shame, I've forgotten a lot of what I learnt. But I do remember being told, as Rule No.1, that you never, in any circumstances whatever, work flat out.

'Never let them know what you can do', said my Yorkshire mentors. 'Always keep a bit in hand.'

I was delighted to find, when I told this story to workers in Argentina last autumn, that precisely the same warning is given to greenhorns there.

Obviously, many working-class traditions and customs, especially those whose function is to preserve solidarity against greedy bosses and ambitious foremen, transcend national boundaries.

Others, of course, are purely local; others again belong to a single industry and, among miners and fishermen for instance, often reflect the particular perils of their particular trade.

Covering an election in West Fife in the 1950s, I was warned never to try to interview miners, or sell them literature, before the shift. As they left work, it was a different matter.

In those days a Fife miner going to the first shift who met a woman with a squint, or a man with a wooden leg, would turn round and go straight home again. And a miner who went back home for something he'd forgotten would never go back into the house but would stand at the door until it was brought to him.

It's sometimes claimed that working-class traditions and customs are a lot weaker now than they used to be. I'm not sure that this is true, however.

Some traditions have disappeared, certainly. Others — like builders' topping-out ceremonies and various kinds of initiation ceremony — have survived unscathed.

Can any printworker tell me if

there's still a 'banging-out' ceremony for the apprentice printer when he comes out of his time? And has anyone heard 'rough music' lately?

'The History of the Mystery'

READERS who have been looking up Lenin's 'Imperialism' to find my Cecil Rhodes quotation last week will have seen that Lenin cited, as his authority for it, an article by Max Beer in 'Die Neue Zeit', the journal of the German Social-Democratic Party.

Beer in turn gives, as his source, a book by W. T. Stead entitled 'The History of the Mystery, or The Skeleton in Blastus's Cupboard'.

This literary curiosity appeared in 1897 as the 'Review of Books Annual' for that year. It has become what second-hand booksellers call 'excessively rare': there is no copy in the British Library, and it took me a long time to track one down.

At last a friend who lives in Cambridge found a copy in the University library there and sent me a photocopy of the relevant pages.

Rhodes figures as 'the Hon. Robert J. Cecil' — a transparent enough pseudonym — and the passage in question reads like this:

'Last night I went down to a meeting of the unemployed in the East End. . . .

The meeting last night, the wild speeches, which were nothing but semi-articulate wails for bread, and the hungry look on the faces of those present, gave me a bad turn, I can tell you. . . .

Never was I so convinced as last night, when I walked home from that meeting, . . . that the very existence of your people depends on us beyond the seas. . . .

My great idea is the solution of the social problem, which, being interpreted, means that in order to keep your forty millions here from eating each other for lack of other victuals, we beyond the seas must keep open as much of the surface of this planet as we can for the overflow of your population to inhabit, and to create markets where you can dispose of the produce of your factories and of your mines. The Empire, I am always telling you, is a bread-and-butter question. If you have not to be cannibals, you have got to be Imperialists. ●

Allowing for cannibalism having

been politicised into 'civil war', which is understandable enough, this passage has not, I think, suffered unduly from a series of re-translations.

Both Stead and Beer, by the way, are interesting figures.

It was Stead who, in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of 1885, exposed the traffic in young girls for Continental licensed brothels; his articles led to the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of that year which brought the traffic to an end. He was drowned when the 'Titanic' sank in 1912.

Beer, a journalist and historian, was born in Galicia when it was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and spent about a quarter of a century in Britain.

His 'History of British Socialism' (1919-1920) is a rather old fashioned but still very readable account — though, with Teutonic thoroughness, it starts with Seneca, in the first century AD, on 'primitive communism' and doesn't get to Chartism until about page 350.

Beer's autobiography, 'Fifty Years of International Socialism' (1935) is fascinating and well worth the effort spent hunting it down.

There are first-hand pen-pictures of Marx's daughter Eleanor; of Engels ('I stood before Engels as a subaltern before a general'); and of Lenin and Krupskaya ('one week he swept the room and kitchen, made the beds, prepared the food, and the next week it was her turn to care for the house').

If a really enterprising left-wing publishing house ever emerges to fill the gap left by recent defections, it could do a lot worse than republish both 'A History of British Socialism' and, especially, 'Fifty Years of International Socialism'.

On the map

A SCEPTICAL reader has challenged my statement that English military maps of Ireland were being produced in great numbers in the early 17th century.

My authority for this is a standard work: E.G.R. Taylor's 'Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650' (1934), pages 42-43.

It's a mistake to assume, as this reader seems to do, that military mapping of the British Isles began only in 1791, when, under threat of a French invasion, the Ordnance Survey (or Trigonometrical Survey as it was called at first) was founded to prepare a map of Great Britain on a scale of one inch to one mile.

Earlier military maps were not so accurately drawn, but drawn they were. And they were an essential adjunct to Britain's occupation of Ireland.

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Street, Wednesday, 24 June. 6p.m.-7p.m.

CEILIDH — SENLIK Irish Prisoners Appeal — Turkish Solidarity Campaign. Joint Fund Raising Garden Social. Saturday 20 June, 7.30p.m. till late. Excellent food, drinks, music. Admission £2 waged, £1 unwaged. 52 Josephine Avenue, Brixton SW2.

SOLIDARITY WITH MICHEL WARSHAWSKY Halt political repression in Israel and Occupied territories! Public meeting, 7.30p.m., Tuesday 23 June. Friends House, 23 St Martin's Lane, WC2. Organised by Campaign for Freedom of Expression of Palestinians and Israelis (CFEPI).

REMEMBER BOBBY SANDS MPI March and Rally to commemorate Irish Hunger Strikers. Saturday 27 June. Assemble 12.30p.m. Finsbury Park. Speakers include representatives from Sinn Fein, Black Liberation, Irish PoW Repatriation Committee and PAC.

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.

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY Solidarity with African National Congress! Friday, 26 June 7.30p.m., Friends House, Euston Road, NW1

GAY PRIDE RALLY AND FAIR March leaves 2p.m. from Hyde Park Corner to Jubilee Gardens, Saturday, 27 June.

IRELAND — TIME TO GO Public Meeting on August delegation to Belfast. Wednesday, 24 June 7.30p.m., St Mathews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill, SW9. Organised by South London Troops Out Movement.

Workers Revolutionary Party

Weekly Public Meetings

7.30p.m. start
Starting Thursday 25 June

1. The Founding of the Fourth International
2. The Fourth International after World War II
3. The Fourth International and Revisionism
4. Re-Organisation of the Fourth International

Liverpool Polytechnic Students Union
Haigh Buildings
Maryland Street, Liverpool

Wall Street roulette

LAST year an issue of the journal 'Business Week' carried a cover story entitled 'The Casino Society':

'No, it's not Las Vegas or Atlantic City. It's the US financial system. The volume of transactions has boomed beyond anything needed to support the economy. . . . The result: the system is tilting from investment to speculation.'

But the 'Business Week' journalist was too cautious. The money system has not merely overstepped the bounds of what is required by the capitalist economy. It is now parasitic on the manufacturing sector, increasingly sucking its life-blood.

The mania for financial gambling both reflects the debt explosion and stimulates it. Felix Rohatyn of the top investment bank Lazard Freres recently referred to 'the most unfettered speculation seen in this century since 1929'.

In 1975, an average of 19 million shares were traded daily on the New York Stock Exchange. In 1985 the average was 109 million. Over the same period, trading in government securities quadrupled to \$76 billion a day. Over \$100 billion worth of trade is now transacted each day in the New York foreign

exchange market.

It is not just the speed of this expansion which is important, but its increasing divorce from the 'real economy'. The expansion is more and more self-driven, and takes place at the expense of investment in the production of goods and services.

Take the rise and fall of exchange rates, for example. Any company engaged in exporting will find that its profits are either doubled or wiped out by the movements of the foreign exchanges. And these ups and downs have nothing to do with the firm's product.

It can depend on the latest British opinion poll or the state of the President's gut. So the movement of Reagan's bowels determine whether factories open or close.

In the past five years the stock markets have come under the domination of the futures market. It is interesting to note that the buying of future agricultural crops was introduced to cushion US farmers against the effects of price fluctuations.

Now, gambling on these future prices is itself a major source of economic uncertainty. You can gamble, not just on all kinds of commodity prices, but on exchange rates, stock exchange indexes, interest rates — anything that moves. You even have futures on

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

options — a future on futures. (An option gives you the right but not the obligation to buy or sell at a certain price by a given date.)

This new gambling is global in character — betting on the world's stock and commodity exchanges. But this is only possible because of the use of the most modern communications and computer technology. The City of London's 'Big Bang' was a step in this direction.

There is a growing literature on the futures and options markets. Books like 'Winning in the Futures Markets' and 'You Can't Lose Trading Commodities' are now selling in Chicago like hot cakes.

The names of these learned treatises may be a little misleading, however. Futures gambling is a bit more risky than being a bookie at the dogs, and the stakes tend to be in the billion-dollar bracket, rather than the '50p each way' variety. The rule seems to be that 90 per cent of the money is won by 10 per cent of the players and most of the market is controlled by half a dozen giant brokerages.

It is not surprising that in Chicago the latest electronic wizardry is combined with a fascination with astrology and mysticism.

In the last ten years, US industrial production has increased by a modest 25 per cent. Meanwhile, the

volume of futures trading has shot up by 370 per cent. These figures reflect the kind of change which has taken place in some of the largest companies in the world.

General Motors used to be the world's biggest car manufacturer. Early this year, GM announced the closure of five final assembly complexes by Christmas. Meanwhile, the car finance corporation General Motors Acceptance Corp. (GMAC) has reached the size of the fourth largest US bank.

Last October, GMAC clinched the deal of the year, when it 'securitised' its debt, turning thousands of car loans into instant cash.

The power of American imperialism, its domination over world markets and its ability to re-establish European and Japanese capitalism after 1945, were based on twin pillars. On the one hand, US industry was the most advanced in the world. On the other Wall Street took over from the City of London as the centre of world capital.

At the beginning of the century, these two supported each other and made an invincible team. But the 1970s and 1980s have been marked by the intensifying conflict between them. Today, finance is eating industry alive.

So in 1984 a single Wall Street investment bank, First Boston Corp., handled \$4.1 trillion-worth

of business. That was more than the US Gross National Product that year.

In the old days, speculation marked the high-point of the industrial boom, foreshadowing its collapse. But the present unprecedented speculative craze, which is driving the entire world economy, is bound up with the destruction of industry.

It is interesting to recall something that Karl Marx wrote over a century ago, when the simple joint-stock company was still a novelty:

'This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within the capitalist mode of production itself, and hence a self-dissolving contradiction, which prima facie represents a mere phase of transition to a new form of production. . . . It reproduces a new financial aristocracy, a new variety of parasites in the shape of promoters, speculators and simply nominal directors; a whole system of swindling and cheating by means of corporation promotion, stock issuance and stock speculation. It is private production without the control of private property.'

The 'exotica' of Chicago and Wall Street today have gone far beyond Marx's dreams. But he certainly saw the way things were going.

ROBSON'S CHOICE

Not by tennis alone. . .

THE television schedules get progressively light-minded as we head towards summer, as if the programmers were responding to the pollen count rather than to the needs of a discriminating viewing public.

This week the sacred fixture of Wimbledon takes over from general election jamboree, and there are repeats, many of them, but only one worthy of mention.

But here and there one can find a little something, just enough to give me job security for a further week.

On **Saturday**, at 7.30p.m.(C-4), **Bandung File** examines the odious programme of 'Racism Awareness Training' which holds that making people aware of their inherent racism will help eradicate racism in Britain. The basic premise of this crude form of psychotherapy assumes that racism, as described by one of the participants, is 'genetically determined'.

At 8.40p.m.(BBC2), **Almeida Festival** presents the first of two live broadcasts (the second is on Monday at 10.15p.m.) of modern Viennese music (with simultaneous stereo emission on Radio 3). The first broadcast introduces the work of Hanns Eisler, friend and collaborator of Bertholt Brecht and pupil of Schoenberg who was once a fugitive from Nazi Germany only to be deported from America by the Un-American Activities Committee in 1950.

If you happen to be a fan of the actor Klaus Kinski, don't miss **Nosferatu the Vampire**, at 12.45p.m.(C-4).

On **Sunday**, at 7.15p.m.(C-4), part three of the excellent series **Struggles for Poland**. This episode looks back at the life of Polish Jews between the wars and during the Nazi occupation up to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943. At 9.20p.m. on BBC2, a welcome revival of Harold Pinter's 1958 play, **The Birthday Party**.

Monday offers more choice. At 8.10p.m.(BBC2) **Horizon** investigates the world of light technology in **In The Light of New Information**.

At 8.15p.m.(Radio 4), The **Monday Play** presents **Shades of Blue**, which actress Juliet Stevenson describes as about 'the new hard Right at home', in other words, about Thatcherism.

At 10.55p.m.(C-4), **Britain: The Lie of the Land** looks at the exploitation of women workers in declining industrial regions of the country and the problems faced by elderly members of ethnic minorities in Britain today. At 11.10p.m.(BBC1), **Two Nations** looks at the changing patterns of 'employment' in Britain as a way of explaining the massive growth in unemployment.

On **Tuesday**, **Brass Tacks**, (8.30p.m.BBC2), looks at the plight of Viraj Mendis and the ruling class's naughty-boy-of-the-month, Fr. John Methuen, who has given him sanctuary 'in defiance of the law'. At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), another chance to see Michael Palin's comedy **East of Ipswich**.

On **Wednesday**, at 11.20p.m.(BBC1), **Back from Beirut**, an interview with Susan Wighton, the Glasgow nurse who spent six months in the besieged Bourj al Barajneh refugee camp.

On **Thursday**, at 7.40p.m., Radio 4 presents **The Arab World**, which this week discusses the Palestinians. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), the first of a three-part serial by Leslie Stewart called **Boogie Outlaws**. Might be worth a look.

At 11p.m.(C-4), the highly acclaimed documentary **Juvenile Court**, made by Fred Wiseman in 1973.

If you are really short of things to do, or happen to work a suitable shift, you can see **McVicar** on ITV at 2a.m. on Friday morning.

At 3.30p.m.(C-4) **The Other Side of the Afghan War**, a film report made in 1984. If you are interested in the mid-life crisis of the 'successful' American middle class look at **Elia Kazan's The Arrangement** at 11.10p.m.(BBC2).



Starving children in the Warsaw ghetto: the story of Jews in Poland between the wars and during the Nazi occupation is told in 'A Different World', the third film in 'The Struggles for Poland' series, Sunday 21 June at 7.15p.m. on Channel 4.



Isabelle Adjani is horror-struck in the atmospheric 1979 version of the classic horror film 'Nosferatu the Vampire', also starring Klaus Kinski as Dracula: Saturday 20 June 12.45a.m., Channel 4.

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

The Haymarket massacre

FOLLOWING the shooting-down of workers at the McCormick plant, August Spies issued a leaflet calling for a protest meeting to be held the following evening in Haymarket Square.

Spies was furious when, on receiving a copy of the leaflet he noticed someone had added to the bottom:

'Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!'

He withdrew the leaflet saying that it would only be used as a diversion. The leaflet was reprinted leaving out the offending words. The discovery had been too late — 300 had already been distributed and were to be used against him later.

According to Spies there was a disappointing turn-out for the meeting because only 3,000 assembled to hear the speakers.

The meeting was nearly over when the rain that had been threatening all evening started. A large proportion of the crowd left the meeting and headed for home, leaving several hundred to listen to Fielden wind up the proceedings.

The protest had been made. The strike, would be continuing the following day. Those who had remained were now preparing to make their way home or to the local bars for a beer.

Then to the great surprise of everyone and for no apparent reason, 186 policemen led by the hated Captain, John 'Clubber' Bonfield and Captain Ward charged into the square in military formation.

They stopped short of the platform. Captain Ward, called out at the top of his voice. 'I command you in the name

of the people of the state of Illinois, immediately and peaceably to disperse!'

Fielden, bewildered, stopped talking. At this point the meeting was at its smallest and quietest. Staring at Ward, Fielden said: 'The meeting is finished and we are peaceful.'

There was a flash and a terrific explosion — the bomb had been thrown — one policeman was killed instantly and seven more were to die from their wounds.

It was about 10.30 p.m. and dark. People were running about wildly in their attempt to avoid the bullets and the blows of the police. The police were clubbing without mercy everyone in sight.

The police, as one official report said, 'behaved like a maddened mob'. Some, from fear and others from hate, ran amok and fired wildly into the groups of workers who were trying to escape from the square.

The policemen who died or were wounded by gunfire had, according to official records, been shot by fellow police officers.

Six other policemen were to die of their injuries over the following weeks. A further 67 officers of the law were injured. An eye-witness said 'the police were emptying their revolvers into each other'.

The reporter for the 'Chicago Sun' said 50 or more civilians lay dead or mortally wounded. The total injuries were estimated at 200.

The area around Haymar-



The Haymarket bombing as portrayed in Harper's Weekly, 1886

ket Square, Desplains Street and Randolph Street was like a battle ground. The dead, dying and injured lay everywhere.

The 'Chicago Herald' reporter said the scene and the groans and the cries of the injured were reminiscent of the civil war.

It was all over in a matter of five minutes. Instead of

the time from the end of the meeting being used by the workers to go home, it was taken up with carnage and slaughter.

From the beginning, there were many who were convinced that the bomb had been thrown by a paid agent. It really did not matter who threw it. From the morning of Wednesday 5 May it was clear who benefitted from the bomb.

The first major 'Red Scare' in American history got under way. The press kept up a constant barrage whipping up hysteria against socialists, communists and all supporters of the eight-hour demand.

'The European assassins have to be brought to justice,' screamed the press. 'Hang them first, ask questions afterwards,' demanded the lovers of 'law and order'. The bosses' press was spewing out, fear, hate, and racism.

Within a few days, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg and Oscar Neebe were indicted for conspiracy to murder Mathias J. Degan, the

patrolman who was killed by the bomb.

Parsons, who had been in hiding at the time of the indictment, walked into the courtroom and gave himself up so that, as he put it, he 'could stand trial with his innocent comrades' — knowing full well that the state was determined to kill them.

Originally 31 were indicted but several bought immunity by becoming state witnesses. Others were released on bail until after the trial.

Another, Rudolph Schnaubelt, was able to make his escape and was never brought to trial. He settled in Buenos Aires with his family.

R.H. Baugh, writing in 'The Spectator', said, that if the unthinkable happened and the accused were acquitted then they should be hanged by the mob. He wrote: 'A vigilance committee will take the law into their hands, and restore social order, by suspending civilisation for three days.'

The police, urged on by the press and the pulpit embarked on a vicious campaign against the Chicago labour movement. The printing presses of foreign lan-

guage newspapers were smashed.

Offices of trade union and other working-class organisations were raided. The homes of anyone who supported the eight-hour day were raided, broken into, the contents smashed and many of the occupants arrested.

The jails of Chicago were packed with workers, the majority being immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Anyone with a 'funny' accent or a 'funny' name was in danger.

Many of those arrested were tortured or bribed to become witnesses of the state.

The terror spread to other strike-bound cities. Again the main target was the eight-hour-day movement.

During this period, Lucy Parsons was arrested at least six times and was, she said, 'subjected to indignities that should bring a tinge of shame to the calloused cheek of a hardened barbarian'.

It was in this atmosphere that the trial was to take place.

Next week: The trial, the verdict, the execution.

Attention Workingmen!

GREAT

MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

AT THE

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplains and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

Massen-Versammlung

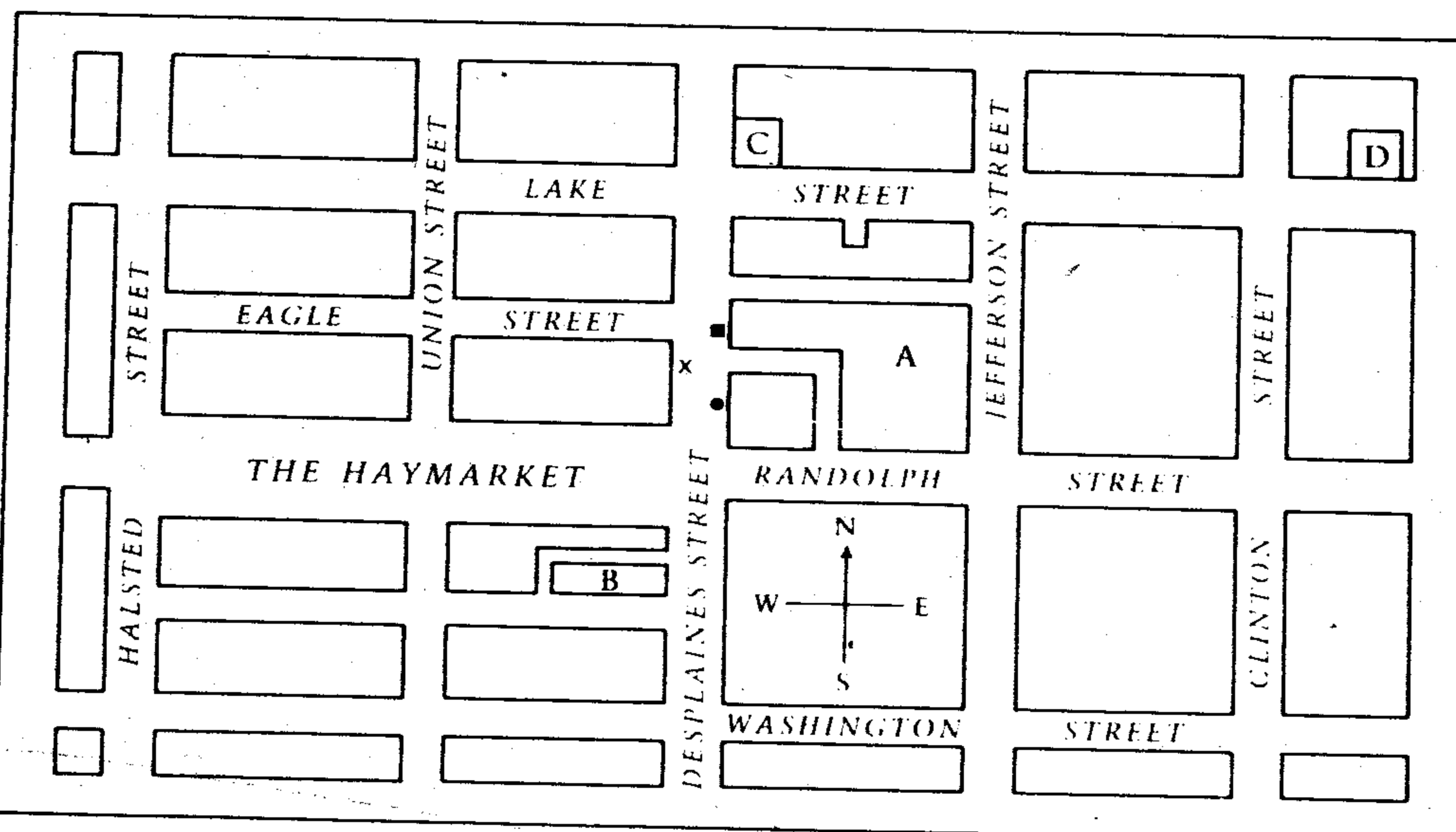
Heute Abend, 7 1/2 Uhr, auf dem

Seumarkt, Randolph-Straße, zwischen Desplains- u. Halsted-Str.

Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei, indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschöß, geißeln.

Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!

Announcement of Haymarket meeting



A map of the area round the Haymarket

A Crane Brothers Factory
B Desplains Street Station

C Zepf's Hall
D Greiff's Hall

● Speaker's wagon
● Where the bomb was thrown

x Where the bomb exploded

Workers Press

Saturday June 20 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

Angry teachers stop traffic

BY PAM HENRY

TRAFFIC was halted to allow about 5,000 Inner London teachers to march to a rally at Central Hall on Tuesday, to protest at the Inner London Education Authority's compulsory redeployment policies.

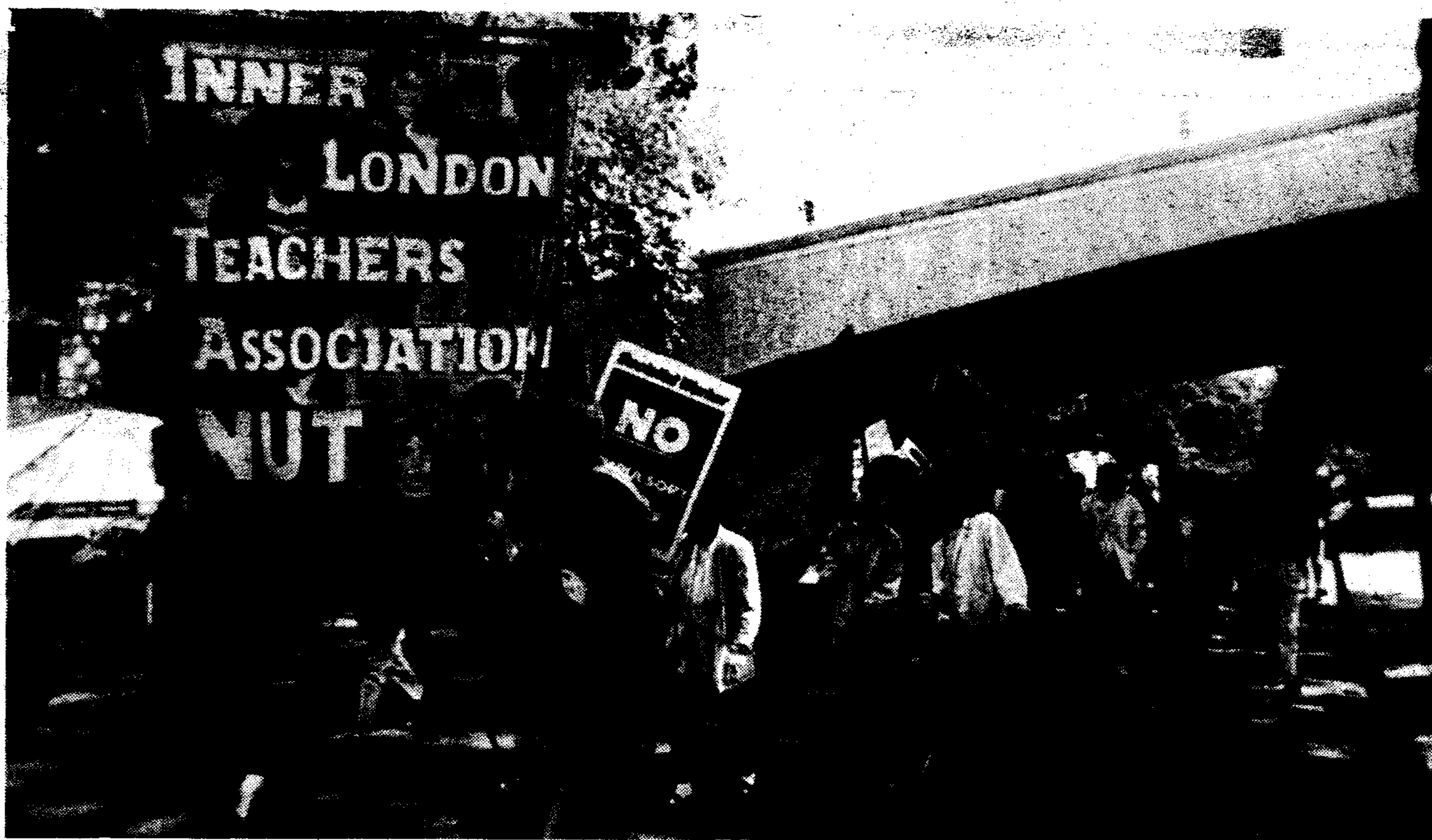
According to ILEA, 150 schools were closed and a further 158 disrupted by the action of the National Union of Teachers Inner London branch.

This was the first protest with the backing of the NUT Action Committee, which enabled all NUT members to participate. The protest on 2 April had been limited to the Teachers Above Authorised Numbers (TAANS), who were identified by the head teachers.

At Tuesday's meeting angry and determined teachers heckled the two executive members on the platform: Labour Party supporter Dick Boland and June Fisher, a Stalinist.

They blame the NUT executive for sabotaging the fight against compulsory redeployment and the fight against the Baker Bill.

ILEA secretary Mike Loosley told the meeting that



Inner London teachers marched through central London last Tuesday to a rally in Central Halls, Westminster

out of 117 posts circulated to TAANS, only 43 had been filled by 31 May. Now ILEA had to face a much bigger problem of over 500 resignations, since there is an impossible mis-match of secondary specialist teachers to mainly junior posts.

Mike Loosley failed to mention that the NUT executive had expelled and suspended eight of the ILTA leaders, including ILTA's main negotiators.

Ann Kane, a 'TAANED' teacher from Holloway school, where she has worked for 17 years, described the chaos and cuts resulting from the redeployment exer-

cise and condemned ILEA's short-sighted policy in offering only a few places for retraining in the primary sector.

Redeployment would mean considerably increased class size, lack of special need support for slow learners or bilingual pupils, and closure of units for emotionally disturbed or disruptive children.

Kane said the campaign against redeployment should have begun in April when the numbers of redeployed teachers were first announced — about half the total staff in some secondary schools — and teachers were

taking unofficial action.

Bessie Hunter was cheered when she said the march, the first since the election, showed that teachers were not going to be cowed by the government. Teachers would not give in as McEvoy had done.

All sections of teachers, including primary and special needs teachers, had united against redeployment. They had not acted just out of self-interest, but out of the need to defend the quality of education in schools.

Though teachers recognised the need to defend ILEA against the govern-

ment's wish to split it up, ILEA must recognise teachers' just demands. ILEA had imposed compulsory redeployment just as Baker had imposed his Bill.

Bessie Hunter reiterated the main demands of the campaign: (1) to withdraw all threats of compulsion; (2) to de-designate the 'TAANED' teachers.

A resolution was passed repudiating McEvoy's statement and pledging to continue the fight against Baker and for the reinstatement of the expelled and suspended ILTA members.

MINERS' GALAS

Kinnock in Edinburgh:

'Leave it to parliament'

BY TERRY BROTHERSTONE

NEIL KINNOCK, the man who turned his back on the striking miners in 1984-1985 — and who had just led the Labour Party to its second-worst general election defeat since 1935 — received not one but two standing ovations at the Scottish miners' gala last week.

The man whom many miners hold partially responsible for the rundown of the Scottish coalfield to 3,000 jobs, and for the continued victimisation of almost 100 Scottish pitmen sacked as a result of fighting for jobs in the strike, responded in a way that seemed about to shake into life the extinct volcano that presides over Edinburgh's Holyrood Park.

The gala was a long way from being the largest ever, but it was certainly the most extraordinary.

Kinnock had his rhetorical moments, to be sure. This was not a time, he proclaimed, to be sulking in his tent; the place for him was

in that tent (in fact it was more of a marquee), rallying the Scottish miners for the next general election campaign.

Mrs Thatcher had stood on the steps of 10 Downing Street holding up three fingers.

'She said it was one for each term', Kinnock mocked. 'It is indelibly marked on my memory as one for each million unemployed.'

Scotland, he enthused, was 'the land where you have turned Tory representation into a rump'. The secretary of state for Scotland, Malcolm Rifkind, was no longer a real secretary, 'more of a temp'.

Even the victimised miners, studiously ignored by Kinnock during the election campaign and the two previous years, got a mention as victims of the injustice of 'Thatcher's Britain'.

But none of this explained the reception, especially as the core of Kinnock's speech was a clear, if convoluted, statement of his determination to continue the process of divorcing the Labour Party from the class basis of the unions and turning it into a Social Democratic Party Mark II.

This is the reality, not very heavily disguised, behind Kinnock's talk of being 'willing to move to accommodate to the new realities for the advancing of the people, instead of colliding with them because we refuse to face up to them'.

Some say that, rather than describing the Labour Party as being based on 'Methodism, not Marxism', it should now be called 'Madison Avenue not Marxism'. Perceptive observers at Saturday's gala understood that the correct motto is 'not Marxism but "Marxism Today"'. That glossy magazine ped-

dles bourgeois sociology and advocates cross-class 'popular movements' in place of 'old-fashioned' class analysis and class politics. And this is the reactionary theory underlying Kinnock's plans for the next five years.

Appropriate therefore that he should have been heralded last weekend by retiring NUM Scottish president Mick McGahey and his anointed successor and fellow-'Marxism Today' com-

munist', George Bolton.

Much physical embracing took place on the platform, but it is the warm political embrace that serves warning to the working class.

It was clear that Kinnock's sole purpose in visiting the gala was to ensure that Scotland's mass hostility to Thatcher's Tory Party, revealed in the general election, is kept safely within the channels of parliamentary protest.

Scargill in Swansea:

'Stand up and fight back'

ARTHUR SCARGILL was given a rousing ovation at last Saturday's South Wales miners' gala when he attacked working conditions at the proposed new Margam mine.

'I was not elected president to argue for an extended working week', he declared. 'We should be fighting for a four-day week.'

Rank-and-file miners who applauded him do not want to travel down the road along which the South Wales executive

are leading them.

After South Wales president Des Duffield had a slight back at Scargill, saying no one had a right to question the action of the union in South Wales, he reiterated the position of the South Wales miners that they will adhere to the decisions of the NUM conference.

Earlier in his speech, referring to Margam, Scargill told the rally: 'You don't succeed by backing away from the Board, you stand up and fight against these type of policies.'

Later he bitterly attacked the Labour Party for keeping them away from election rallies, and criticised the euphoria surrounding Labour's election campaign.

He said that if the campaign had been as successful as everyone was claiming then the Labour Party would have won the election.

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