

Workers Press

25p

Saturday August 15 1987

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Number 87

BUSES →

— page 3

Death of James Burnham
— pages 14-15

MI5 campaign grows
— page 3
and page 11



Pickets at Stockwell bus garage last Monday

HANDS OFF IRAN

DOWN WITH

THATCHER'S WAR

BY THE EDITOR

THATCHER'S decision to send four crack minesweepers to the Gulf means that she is now Reagan's major accomplice in the impending imperialist war against Iran.

Her move must be opposed throughout the working class movement by every means available.

The coming conferences of the TUC and the

Labour Party must be flooded with resolutions demanding that the Labour leaders mobilise the full industrial and political strength of the movement to halt her warmongering.

The American war against Iran depends critically on support from the Tory government. Without that support, such a war would have been politically impossible.

Last week 'The Guardian' reported:

'There was glee in Washington that, finally, one of the Western allies was doing something to ease the US's burden in the Gulf. Mr Weinberger, who has repeatedly floated the idea of more Allied cooperation as a means of increasing the security of the US forces, expressed his gratitude to repor-

ters... even before Mr Younger had spoken.'

This is fully in line with Thatcher's stance at every major turn in US policy. She backed the ill-fated US intervention in the Lebanon in 1983-1984 and US bases in Britain were made available for the Lybian bombing raids in April 1986.

Thatcher's action is also aimed at easing the domestic political crisis paralysing the Reagan administration. On top of the near-fiasco exposed in the Irangate hearings, there was mounting criticism in Congress that America had taken action against Iran, unilaterally, without support from other imperialist powers.

As 'The Times', welcoming Thatcher's move, noted in an editorial last week:

'The US Administration has been under heavy critic-

ism in Congress for its decision to allow 11 Kuwaiti tankers to be refuelled under the Stars and Stripes — and to provide these with US naval protection. A number of Congressmen feel, and rightly so, that the responsibility for keeping the Gulf waters open should be shared — and that countries such as Britain should play a part.'

The Americans have been searching desperately for a pretext to unleash war against Iran, just as the spurious claim of an attack on a US warship in the Gulf of Tonkin was the excuse for the bombing of North Vietnam during the Vietnam war.

The Iran-Iraq Gulf War was deliberately started by the American encouragement to Iraq's Saddam Hussein to an adventure against Iran.

Uneasy

The Labour leaders have as usual behaved like poodles, standing aside to allow Thatcher to get on with her dirty war plans.

Labour chief whip Derek Foster said: 'A wide section of the Parliamentary Labour Party will be uneasy about the government's action.'

Such pious rubbish went along with the traditional and reactionary calls for a United Nations force to patrol the Gulf — a demand supported by the liberal 'Guardian' and the Stalinist 'Morning Star' alike.

This call for UN intervention is a dangerous political fraud. The American imperialist war launched against North Korea in 1950 was transformed into a United Nations war — with the connivance of the then Labour leaders.

The UN is an imperialist institution that can no more bring peace in the Gulf than

can the Reagan administration.

Only the workers and oppressed of Iraq and Iran, supported by the international working class, can bring the Iran-Iraq war to an end.

Labour foreign affairs spokesman Donald Anderson went even further than Foster: he was unhappy with Thatcher's decision because it might prove advantageous to the Soviet Union and Iraq!

'This is a giant step towards a joint US-UK operation... My own view is that the real victors from this will be first Iraq and at a deeper level the Soviet Union.'

The Labour leaders spared no effort to herd the working class behind Thatcher's Malvinas war. That was their policy then. It is their policy now.

The fight to mobilise the movement against Thatcher — not just against her actions in the Gulf but on every other basic question facing the working class — is inseparable from the fight to replace this leadership.

- Down with Imperialism!
- Hands off Iran!
- Force the trade union and Labour leaders to break with Thatcher's war!

Finance appeal

WE ARE calling on every member and supporter of the Workers Revolutionary Party and all the readers of our paper to help us in the urgent task of raising money to consolidate and expand our work.

In the two years since the expulsion of the Healy-Torrance leadership from our Party, we have made a serious turn to the task of rebuilding the Fourth International, a task which has brought us into close working relationship with various Trotskyist groups throughout the world.

We need money to develop this work, to organise discussion and joint activity with many of the new forces — from Latin America, eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle and Far East — with whom we have established political contact.

Our £5,000 Special Fund was established to organise a Conference to Reorganise the Fourth International. We have still not reached the half-way mark and the Fund has been stagnant for too long. It now stands at £2,282.65.

This is a worrying situation which must be speedily put right.

During the past two years we have striven to develop Workers Press as a paper reporting and analysing all the major struggles of the working class in Britain and internationally. It is beginning to establish itself as a serious and principled paper in the working class but needs funds to expand its coverage.

If this vital work is to progress we need your assistance in raising extra money for our monthly fighting fund and increasing the sale of Workers Press. Our August fund currently stands at £580.86.

We are therefore asking each and every one of you to make the biggest possible sacrifice to help us. Please help us complete the £5,000 Special Fund in the shortest possible time. Can you discuss in the Party branches and amongst supporters ways in which this money can be raised?

- Send your donations immediately to: Workers Revolutionary Party, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS.



Thatcher has joined Reagan's conspiracy against Iran and its navy, seen marching above

YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM Lobby the Trades Union Congress

7 September 9a.m.
Winter Gardens, Blackpool

No trade union collaboration with the MSC!
Smash YTS and all other cheap labour schemes!

- For a massive public works programme with union rights and union rates of pay!
- For a 30-hour week with no loss of pay!
- For workers' control of skill training: a return to the apprentice system with full rates of pay!
- Trade unions must recruit unemployed and all scheme workers!
- For the unity of unemployed and employed workers!

Workers Press

The 'utility' of Mr Kinnock

NEIL KINNOCK has been philosophising about the prospects for the Labour Party. In an interview in 'Labour Party News' he has been urging his comrades not to be ashamed to appeal to the self-interest of the voters.

'We exist in order to enhance individual freedom, and the most effective way of doing that is by collective provision,' said the genial Leader. But it was necessary to explain, not just the 'decency' of this policy, but also its 'utility'.

'To some extent,' intoned this profound thinker, 'socialists have shied away from the idea of self-interest. Yet, simultaneously, our main appeal has been — support socialism and we will better your condition.' He described as 'schizophrenia' the habit of 'being pious about self-interest', while at the same time appealing to it. In a further display of psycho-analytic brilliance, he declared: 'We've had this inhibition about thinking in terms of self-interest and have been nervous about dealing with it. I think that is now changing.'

It would be carping to point out that self-interest is not exactly something Labour leaders have ever shown the slightest sign of being nervous about. Clearly, what Neil had in mind was the extension of this notion to wider circles. And it would be unkind to correlate the steady rightward drift of the Labour Party leaders with the fall in Party membership. 'Labour Weekly' — now under threat of closure — has recently announced that the 1986 total circulation was under 300,000. 'The figures for 1987 may not be so rosy,' reported the paper.

Perhaps we might be allowed instead to quote a couple of writers on the concept of 'utility', long beloved of labour leaders. Here is a comment by Leon Trotsky.

'The entire philosophy of British utilitarianism is derived in the last analysis from a cookery book. In order to make people happy it is necessary to introduce such and such reforms, such and such improvements. In order to prepare a pudding for 12 it is necessary to take 2 lbs of flour, so many eggs, so much sugar, plums, and so on. In its specifications the cookery book presupposes that flour, plums, etc., are always available in necessary amounts and ready to hand. Similarly, the empiricist-utilitarians from Jeremy Bentham down to the latter-day pragmatists consider sufficient to issue "practical" prescriptions in order to assure the salvation of society. So far as the organic laws of society itself are concerned, they prefer not to bother their heads about them.'

An old German writer was even ruder about Bentham and his ideas. Calling him 'that insipid, pedantic, leather-tongued oracle of ordinary bourgeois intelligence of the 19th century', he added:

'Bentham is a purely English phenomenon . . . To know what is useful for a dog, one must study dog-nature. This nature itself is not to be deduced from the principle of utility . . . Bentham makes short work of it. With the driest naïveté he takes the modern shopkeeper, especially the English shopkeeper, as the normal man. Whatever is useful to this queer normal man, and to his world, is absolutely useful. . . Had I the courage of my friend Heinrich Heine, I should call Mr Jeremy a genius in the way of bourgeois stupidity.'

Kinnock and his like are incapable of understanding why millions of workers and their families have fought for the party he now pretends to lead. It had nothing to do with their 'self-interest', nor with the promises of its leaders. On the contrary, its development can only be understood in terms of the movement of an entire class, whose 'interests' could only be furthered by their solidarity and self-sacrifice.

This simple fact, however, is beyond the reach of the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. He is now intent on the restoration of the Victorian values of Mrs Thatcher and Jeremy Bentham. The ideas needed to understand such matters derive, not from the Englishman Bentham, but from his German critic, Karl Marx.

Workers Revolutionary Party offices attacked

FIRST-floor windows of the Workers Revolutionary Party offices have been broken by missiles hurled from the road below.

Three times in ten days staff have heard loud bangs and then breaking glass as bricks, concrete or large stones crashed against the windows. On the last occasion one comrade narrowly escaped injury from flying glass.

No one was seen the first time, but we saw the young men and youth involved on the other two occasions. Once the car

made a quick getaway before we could stop it. On the other occasion the youth disappeared in Brixton market crowds before they could be caught.

We believe these attacks are being orchestrated by right-wing opponents of the working-class movement. We call for vigilance and unity of all labour-movement organisations to defend each other, especially the sellers of our papers on the high streets.

We will not be intimidated.



'Morning Star' building and press sold

A FURTHER split in the rapidly declining ranks of the Communist Party of Great Britain is almost certain to take place at the party's November congress.

The Party leadership is attempting to force through a constitutional change at the congress. This will no longer require members to read the 'Morning Star'. A new grouping is likely to form around the ailing paper.

The executive committee had already 'informed' the party in July 1985 that rule 15(b) — which commits members to read and help circulate the paper — no longer applies. The deletion of this rule is being sought.

Should the executive succeed, a historic break between the Communist Party and its daily paper which has existed since the appearance of the 'Daily Worker' in 1930 would be broken.

These moves come after the recent decision by the 'Morning Star's' management to sell off the paper's offices to David Sullivan, publisher of the 'Sunday Sport' newspaper.

Sullivan, with plans to turn the paper into a daily, has paid £2.5 million for William Rust House, home of the paper and its predecessor.

The 'Morning Star' is estimated to be losing £300,000 a year and printing 28,000 copies, of which well over half go to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

BY GEOFF PILLING

One immediate source of the paper's difficulties has been the demand of the print unions for high manning levels on a new £800,000 press. As a result, for most of the year the 'Morning Star' has been printed by the 'state-capitalist' Socialist Workers Party press.

The 'Morning Star' management acquired their new press on the basis that they could build a large printing concern for the labour movement. These plans are now in ruin.

Bitterness has been caused amongst the 130 staff who remain about the way in which the paper has sacked its staff with minimum compensation. In the next week or so, typesetting is to be put out to contract. This will mean the sack for another 30 workers and leave only journalists and administrative staff.

The management is looking for cheaper premises in Shoreditch, east London.

The sale of William Rust House and the printing press to the 'Sunday Sport' came as a shock to many of the staff. One member learnt from a trade union press officer that news of the sale was running on the wires of the Press Association, the national news agency.

The press officer read the item to the 'Morning Star' reporter who relayed it to a hushed newsroom. Union meetings were hurriedly called with the result that the next issue of the paper ran with two blank pages.

The new owners of William Rust House have underscored the quality of their projected daily paper. According to editorial director Mike Gabbert it will be a 'bottom of the barrel newspaper. We have no pretensions to be anything other than that and it will certainly have more colour boobs than its competitors'.

If the pro-'Morning Star' wing of the movement is in crisis, the leadership of the Communist Party is hardly in better shape.

The November Congress will receive a report of the executive's work over the last four years. During this period there have been many expulsions and two large party districts — in London

and the north west — have been shut down.

The party's claimed 10,000 membership represents a drop of 5,000 over the last four years. Real membership is in fact much lower.

The executive admits that the Young Communist League has virtually disappeared. There were only 50 YCL cards issued last year.

Party publications lost £110,000 in the last audited financial year, including a £31,000 deficit on the party weekly '7 Days'. Its sale has dropped to below 3,500.

The trendy 'Marxism Today' — house organ of the advocates of coalition with the Liberals and the late SDP — lost £19,000 during 1986.

Thousands of party members and other workers have sacrificed for almost 60 years to keep a daily paper alive. The historic break between the party and its paper is a reflection of the deep crisis afflicting the Stalinist movement throughout the world.

It is at the same time an indication of the opportunities for the Trotskyist movement to build a real communist leadership in the working class.

Water pollution

A STUDY by scientists revealing details of serious contamination of drinking water and lack of research into the problem has been kept secret.

The hydrogeological branch of the under-funded 'British Geological Survey' has reported that huge natural underground drinking reservoirs are already polluted by 'poisonous' agrochemicals and chemical solvents.

The environmental pressure group 'Friends of the Earth' has said that the situation is much more serious than has been officially admitted.

They have pointed out that despite the revelations, the government wishes to relax controls on pesticides and other agricultural chemicals.

The scientists' report re-

veals that incidents in East Anglia — whose water system is on the Tory privatisation list — have never been fully published.

Underground contamination by a large volume of solvents, even from a single spill, 'could amount to an environmental disaster'.

Pollution

The scientists who produced the report say that when pollution reaches a porous underground system subject to geological cracking, it can affect a huge area for decades.

Geological cracking is common to all British underground reservoirs. There is 'almost a total absence' of essential research in this area, says the report.

Firebombing at anti-fascist house

IN the small hours of August 4, four fire bombs were thrown through the front window of the Islington home of Anna Sullivan.

The whole building was ablaze within minutes and Anna, who was asleep at the time of the attack, managed to get out through the front door seconds before the hallway went up in flames.

The attack occurred exactly one year to the day after Anti-Fascist Action organised a march against racist attacks in the area. The march had gone past 35 Avenue Road where a number of known fascists were staying.

Anna is an active member of AFA and was one of the organisers of that march.

LABOUR WEEKLY

THE FIRST meeting to decide the future of the Labour Party's ailing paper 'Labour Weekly' ended last week when management failed to provide financial details or

negotiators.

The party's national executive last month agreed to slash 45 jobs and close down 'Labour Weekly' and 'New Socialist'.

The sackings are part of a cost-cutting exercise to save £1.8 million over the next two years following the expensive election defeat.

Manchester call for rank-and-file organisation

STRIKERS and their supporters from many parts of the country voted last Saturday in Manchester to 'call for the building on an inter-union rank-and-file organisation that embraces all those in struggle'.

The meeting, a re-call of the 25 July support conference, was attended by delegates involved in a wide range of struggles. It agreed on the following aims and proposals:

Strategy

● 'To counter the employer and government offensive, those workers in struggle must have a strategy, a programme around which to organise and fight.'

● 'Our strength is not in numbers engaged in any particular dispute, but the sure fact that millions of workers and their supporters have a common hatred of this Tory government and will respond to those who will be seen to fight back.'

● 'The past and present "sectionalism" in the trade union movement must be broken down once and for all.'

● 'We are "one class" and we must develop one movement to stop this onslaught against the hard-won rights of the working class.'

● 'We call for the building of an inter-union rank and file-controlled organisation that embraces all those in struggle.'

● 'We must begin by building a national and international network of support groups and strike committees to immediately strengthen those workers engaged in disputes. Sacked miners, movements against racialism, anti-apartheid and unemployed groups must be given full participation as of right.'

● 'Solidarity movements and community groups likewise must be asked to join us.'

● 'Joint work between areas and those in disputes must be organised, with demonstrations, picketing and propaganda as a first step

towards building such a movement.

● 'A national bulletin with up-to-date news and information must be produced.'

● 'We must continue this discussion and mobilisation over the coming months by participation in:

A demonstration outside the TUC Conference in September

The Liverpool conference 'Shrewsbury to Wapping' in September.

A national conference of support groups in Manchester on November 1.'

A sharp debate raised a series of important questions facing workers fighting Tory attacks.

The main areas of difference were over the issue of whether a fight-back should be directed at the Tory government or at 'capitalism'; and attitudes to the trade union and Labour leadership.

Argued

A number of delegates, disillusioned by the cowardice of these leaders in the face of Tory attacks on workers, argued that they could be side-stepped.

But these proposals overlooked the fact that workers taking up a fight are faced first of all by the role of their trade union leaderships. They cannot be side-stepped and the struggle against them and the challenging of their leadership is vital.

It was enthusiastically decided to produce a monthly bulletin of news and information about different disputes which would be part of a developing network of support groups.

A unanimous vote was taken to support a planning meeting in Leeds on 22 August which is building towards a national conference of support groups on 7 and 8 November.

The meeting also declared solidarity with the Moses Mayekiso lobby which is planned for the coming TUC Congress.

London bus strike solid

NOT ONE of London's big red buses ran last Monday as 15,000 bus crews responded to the call for a 24-hour stoppage.

Every one of London's 50 bus garages was closed down by the action. The only buses to run were those of cut-price contractors who now provide a service for London Regional Transport on 23 of its routes.

Bus crews had been called off the road on the previous Friday to hear management's offer to the union for those working in Plumstead and Sidcup garages.

The routes from these two garages had been put out to tender and London Buses announced they had won their existing routes, together with two routes previously operated by London County buses.

Management propose to shut the Sidcup garage — on which the GLC had spent several million pounds on modernisation — and reopen the Bexleyheath garage — closed 12 months ago because London Buses said it was too expensive to run.

Management now say the service to the public will be cut by 5 per cent despite their proposals to cut wages to drivers from £4.17 per hour to £3.30 per hour and increase the working week

BY ROY THOMAS

from 38 to 45 hours.

The feeling amongst busmen was expressed in the decision of a number of garages who voted not to go back to work on Friday. Sutton (Surrey) voted not to return until Tuesday and Norbiton, who have been on strike one day a week for the past ten weeks, voted to step it up to two days a week.

Successful

In response to the successful 24-hour strike, London Buses management have called in the conciliation service ACAS. The London Bus Committee of the union were called to meet ACAS on Wednesday last week.

Busworkers must be aware of the trap set by London Buses involving ACAS.

Peter Gibson, chairman of

the Transport and General Workers Union bus committee said in a radio interview on the morning of the strike: 'London bus drivers and con-

ductors are not available on the cheap.'

If the union really means that, there can be no deal to lengthen working hours.

Plumstead turn-out was 100-per-cent

BY ALAN CLARK

CON MCGANDY, transport union representative at Plumstead bus garage in south-east London, said there was a 100-per-cent turnout for the strike last Monday from his garage.

'In fact,' he said, 'the meeting on the Friday when all bus garages stopped work to take the vote was unanimous — so much so that a vote from the floor not to return to work was carried and everyone went home after the meeting.'

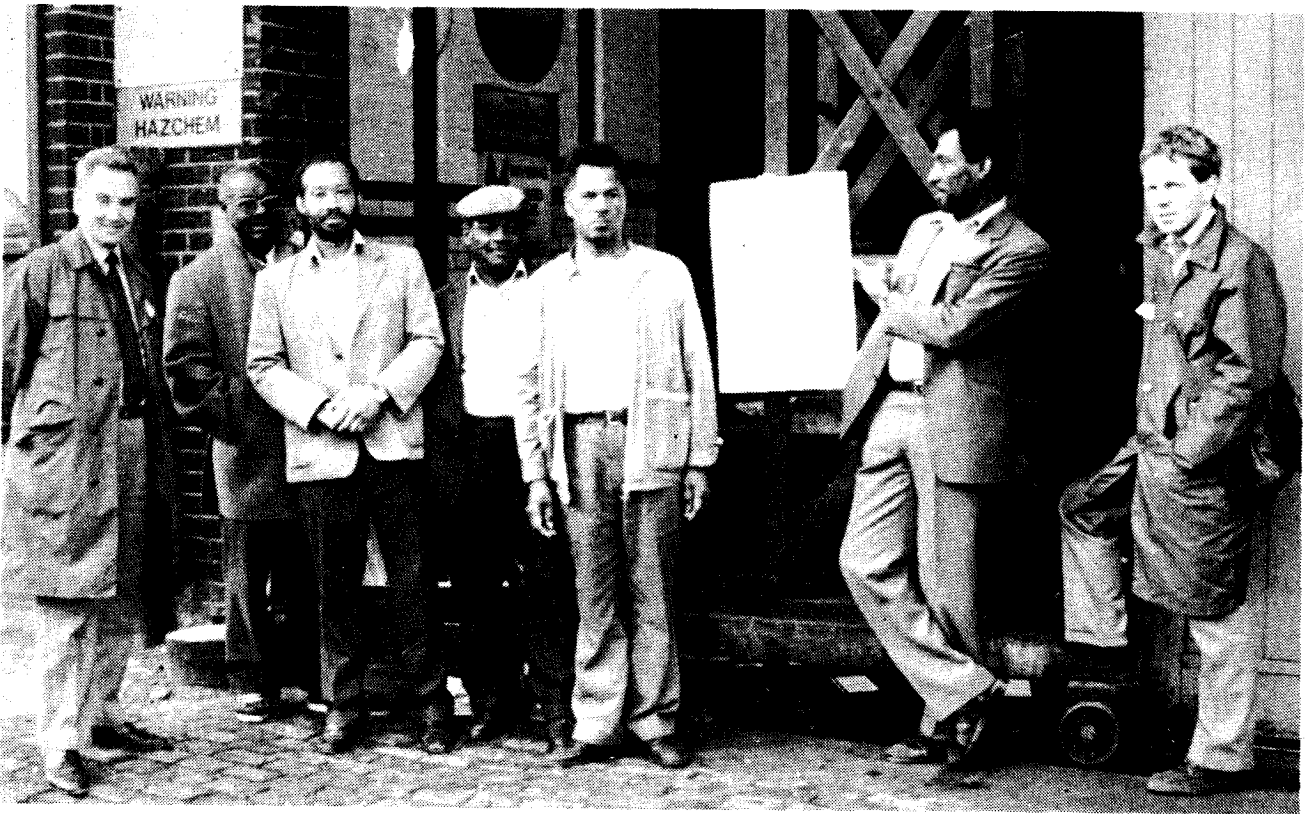
Speaking on the privatisation question, McGandy went on to say: 'We will fight this with all the resolve we have.'

Privatisation would mean places like Thamesmead and Woolwich would see a reduction in services, he said.

Bexleyheath the garage, shut just a year ago, will now reopen again in January with buses running under the new privatisation routes.

There will be an increase in services. McGandy feels this is because the service will benefit a Tory borough.

'Passengers have been great,' he said. 'They supported us in our fight against an increase in hours and a decrease in wages. If we take the trouble to explain to them what it is all about, they agree with us.'



Pickets at Camberwell bus garage last Monday

Privatisation hits passengers and bus workers

BY LYNN BEATON

AS LONDON bus workers are waging a bitter struggle against the privatisation of London services, Workers Press interviewed a Darlington bus driver Dennis Nevison about the effects of privatisation and deregulation on the services in the Darlington depot in the North East.

Price

Dennis was quick to point out that a heavy price was now being paid by busworkers and users alike in the north east, since no real fight had been waged to stop or even to regulate the privatisation of bus services. 'The fight waged by the Transport and General Workers Union leadership was pathetic,' he said.

Describing the changes to working conditions and services, he

said: 'It upscuttled things, and we haven't yet felt the full effect of it. Privatisation was introduced less than a year ago and deregulation came in six months before that.' Pay rates in Darlington had been cut and the routes had been changed.

While London bus drivers are having their wages cut openly, it took a more indirect form in the north east — in fact it was dressed up as a pay rise. The basic rate was increased from £2.76 to £3.30 an hour but special premium rates for weekend work no longer applied and access to overtime was greatly reduced.

'Management was able to foist this on the men because they played on the insecurity which the unknown future caused. It was a real cute trick, in the end you took home less and the company came in quids ahead.'

Not only were pay rates cut, but hours were effectively increased because new routes, which actually took longer to work, were intro-

duced to be covered in the old times. 'You are driving on your nerves. You have to break the law just to keep up with the times.'

'What happens is that if you don't make your times you don't get your break at the end of the route. It's illegal for a driver to work more than five and a half hours without a break. You must have 30 minutes off the bus.'

Tight

'The routes are so tight that if they are changed just a little and a few more right turns are added, then that adds minutes. This is why bus drivers get so irritable. It gets you to the point where if a passenger puts their hand out for a bus you grate your teeth.'

Passengers can never be sure these days where or when a service operates and the consequences are widespread. Dennis explained:

'Before deregulation all routes to Darlington, for example, could only pick up and set down at certain stops, but now anyone can pick up and set down anywhere.'

Competing

The private companies are so busy competing for profitable business that services are totally inconsistent. In highly populated estates, mini-buses operate almost door to door, poaching passengers from the normal services, while in relatively unpopulated areas services are run down to a minimum, or cut out altogether.

The companies are trying to work out which routes and type of service are most profitable. Therefore passengers, who for years have been used to regular services, suddenly find that some services have disappeared, timetables

change so often they are unavailable and stops and routes are actually moved.

'Congestion on the roads in the main city centres is ridiculous. In the old days of nationalised services profitable routes would cover for less profitable ones, but now each route has to make a profit, so in the end fares are bound to increase,' Dennis said. Already some unprofitable but socially necessary services are having to be subsidised by local councils. Either way the passenger is footing the extra bill.

Effects

The experiences in Darlington are a warning of the effects privatisation will have on London services. As Dennis says: 'Transport, whether passenger or freight, affects everything else.'

LIVERPOOL ROUND-UP

Closure of many hospitals threatened

LIVERPOOL District Health Authority meets later this month to decide on hospital closures.

But as far as the authorities are concerned, the decision has already been taken.

Now a campaign against the closures has begun with leaflets, demonstrations and lobbies to take the fight into the community.

The staff at the children's hospital, Liverpool Health Emergency, which operates from the Hardman Street Unemployed and Trade Union Centre, and the Labour Party Women's Council have produced a petition to protest and stop the closures.

The hospitals under threat are the Women's Hospital, Oxford St. Maternity Hospital, Mill Road Maternity Hospital and St. Paul's Eye Hospital.

To accommodate them, it is proposed to refurbish the old Royal Infirmary which has been closed for many years.

These proposals are bad enough, but the closure of Myrtle Street Children's Hospital as a serious casualty and in-bed hospital is also proposed.

A decision has not officially been taken by the Liverpool District Health Authority which meets on 25 August to take that decision — but already closure of certain parts of Myrtle Street Children's Hospital is taking place.

Struggle

Now we shall have an added incentive to wage a struggle:

On Saturday 8 August, the daily 'Liverpool Echo' had an item: 'Crisis talks at hospital', under a headline: 'Bosses broke the law'.

The item goes on to say: 'Hospital bosses have been accused of breaking the law after sick children were allegedly left without medical supervision.'

'Angry nurses say a ward was left without trained nurses for a weekend because of a staff shortage sparked off by a desperate lack of cash.'

'The budget for child care is overspent by £138,000 and now the nurses' union is calling for urgent talks.'

'They have complained to health chiefs about what they say is a growing crisis in Alder Hey Children's Hospital.'

This is the hospital to which the closed Myrtle

BY RAE HUNTER

Street Children's Hospital patients would be sent.

It is clear from this that the reasons for the proposed closure is cash.

If an overspend of £138,000 is causing a crisis in hospital care, especially of children, then the closure of Myrtle Street children's hospital must be to divert the money they receive to Alder Hey Hospital.

The article in the 'Liverpool Echo' goes on to say: 'The hospital reached breaking point when two auxiliary nurses were left in charge of isolation ward 2.'

'One RCN Official said: "This is totally wrong. It is a legal requirement that there should be a trained nurse in control of wards.'

'Not only is it illegal but it is not fair on the staff who are left in charge, who haven't had the necessary training.'

'They also say one in three surgical wards has been closed to save money.'

These are the realities facing us under the Tory cuts, the destruction of the Welfare State and privatisation.

Petition

Our children or grandchildren are the greatest sufferers. Read how the petition produced by the Myrtle Street Children's Hospital staff reads:

'The Liverpool Health Council are going to close the children's hospital in Myrtle Street and move it to Alder Hey hospital, but we in the Dingle and Toxteth area want Myrtle Street left open.'

'It takes five to ten minutes to Myrtle Street hospital. It takes approximately 20-30 minutes to Alder Hey hospital which at that distance becomes life or death for our children and also a long journey for you to visit them. So please sign this petition and help our children.'

Bank overtime ban

LLOYDS bank staff and those working for the Yorkshire Bank have won a pay rise of between 7 and 9.5 per cent, an increase on the original offer which did not include increases for the lowest grades.

Lloyds Bank admitted that

they caved-in to the union's pay claim only because of the effective overtime ban.

Staff at Barclays and National Westminster must step up their overtime ban to ensure that their banks follow Lloyds and Yorkshire Bank.



The reality of the cuts: hospital facilities already overstretched will be lost altogether

No babies should be born in jail!

BY JOHN OWEN

PEOPLE in the Toxteth area of Liverpool are upset and angry over the vicious sentence imposed recently on a young pregnant black woman, Paula Otemah, from Toxteth, who is 8 months pregnant, is serving four months for possession of cannabis, although it is her first offence. A 73-year-old judge delivered this sentence despite evidence that Paula needs constant medical supervision.

Local people feel such a severe sentence for a minor

first offence is class-based and racist. Over 100 people marched through Liverpool in protest. Slogans like 'Release Paula Now', and 'No babies should be born in jail', rang out as the march went through the city centre.

A rally, organised by the Liverpool 8 Frontline organisation, was held outside the Queen Elizabeth II law courts. After that, people spontaneously formed up for an unofficial march back to Toxteth. Feeling remains strong on the issue.

Occupation

Liverpool's deputy council leader Alan Dean had his offices occupied for three hours a fortnight ago, in response to council bailiffs forcefully evicting about 20 people from an empty building in the city centre that had been turned into an unemployed centre.

The Mutual Aid centre had organised a claimants' union to help people with benefits problems, set up a strike support group to back workers in dispute, and was running a vegetarian cafe at weekends.

The council decided to evict them, after refusing in months of negotiations to let

the group use the premises at 91, Whitechapel for a peppercorn rent.

The council argued on grounds that the building was unsafe. However, independent surveys appear to have disproved this claim.

Political

The unemployed group believe the council's action was political. Most of the group were anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist.

They have pledged to carry on the fight for the centre, despite it being boarded up again by the authority.

Moathouse rally

THE 62 workers sacked from the Moathouse Hotel for joining a trade union are continuing their fight, and want other working people and the local labour movement to keep up their backing.

The Moathouse workers and their supporters held a rally at the Pierhead last Saturday, and intend to hold these every fortnight till their fight is won. The next rally is on Saturday, 22 August, 12 noon at the Pierhead. Be there!

SOGAT workers occupy factory

BY FIONA NICHOL

ANGRY Gateshead SOGAT workers have occupied their factory in response to a shock notice of closure and liquidator being called in.

The 25 workers at Imprimer Ltd on the Team Valley trading estate, Gateshead, were given notice on Friday by managing director David Young, who told them he could no longer afford to pay them.

Young is liquidating his company whilst his wife sets up in business three miles away: Vivienne Young has opened a factory under the Enterprise Allowance Scheme with a workforce of 15-year-old school leavers.

This new factory, Presentation Packages, has received machinery and work from Imprimer. SOGAT shop steward Mandy Allen said: 'We feel very bitter indeed.'

'We were suspicious when we saw machinery being moved out to the new factory but Young assured us the new factory would not affect us.'

'We believe that Imprimer has closed to get the new business started up with cheap labour.'

The liquidators are not due into the factory until 27 August when a meeting with the creditors will be held. Solicitors and accountants have been allowed into the factory to sort the company papers and bills.

David Young has not been allowed in. 'We will continue the occupation until we have secured our holiday pay and other monies owed to us.'

Internment anniversary marches



PICTURE: THE NEXT STEP

LONDON

OVER 1,000 people marched from Islington Town Hall last Saturday demanding the release of all Irish political prisoners (left).

The march, organised by the Irish Freedom Movement, took place on the anniversary of the introduction of internment 16 years ago.

At a meeting afterwards there was loud applause when a Republican speaker accused Labour Party leaders of having scabbed on the Irish struggle. A number of other speakers from various left wing groups also spoke.

WRP central committee member Richard Goldstein pointed out that over the last 16 years the methods of repression had been refined with the introduction of strip searching, show trials and shoot-to-kill policies.

Goldstein said there had only been a small taste of such repression in Britain: during the miners' strike, the Wapping struggle and the Broadwater Farm affair where convictions had taken place purely on the basis of confessions.

He added that Kinnock keeps quiet in relation to the sinister role of MI5 and MI6, not only in Ireland but also in Britain. He emphasised that there had been no consistent campaign in the Labour Party on the issue of Ireland.

For a labour movement inquiry into the MI5

THE campaign for a labour-movement inquiry into the sinister activities of MI5, highlighted by the recent revelations of Colin Wallace (see page 11) as well as Peter Wright, is gathering momentum. Aberdeen seamen and ASTMS members in London and Leicester have been amongst the first to express their anxieties about the activities of the state security services in the labour movement. We call upon union branches, Labour Parties, trades councils and shop stewards' committee to carry this campaign forward.

ABERDEEN branch of the National Union of Seamen are writing to Jim Slater, their general secretary, over security services 'dirty tricks' against the union in the 1960s.

The branch are seeking details of operations by MI5 and other state bodies against militant seamen in the Reform Movement of the 1960s and during the 1966 seamen's strike.

Aberdeen NUS is also pressing their executive council to cooperate with other unions in a labour movement inquiry into the 'dirty tricks'.

Their concern has been triggered by revelations from Peter Wright, Colin Wallace and other former agents, of state spying, 'black propaganda' and infiltration against the labour movement, and the MI5 plot to bring down the 1974-1979 Labour government.

A MOTION was passed by the Charing Cross branch of ASTMS last week calling for a public inquiry into the illegal activities of MI5.

The motion will now go forward to the divisional council of the union and reads as follows:

6 This branch notes the revelations of the secret, illegal and anti-working class

activities of MI5, particularly:

1. The operation to destabilise the Labour government of 1974-1979;
2. The large number of 'sectarian' murders in the north and south of Ireland alleged to be part of this operation;
3. The subsequent infiltration and 'psychological warfare' operations against trade unions and labour-movement organisations, which continued during the miners strike, and the Wapping dispute and continues today.

We condemn the refusal of Thatcher's Tory government to investigate these matters in which it is alleged Tory politicians were themselves deeply implicated.

We call on the NEC and the parliamentary committee of ASTMS to:

1. Press for a public inquiry into the running of the MI5 and MI6
2. Press for the MI5 and MI6 to be made publically accountable as in the intelligence services in many other countries.

Leicester ASTMS branch has passed a similar resolution which will be forwarded to the trades council.

LAST Sunday 15,000 people defied the Public Order Act in Belfast by marching in the annual parade to commemorate the 16th anniversary of internment.

The parade began outside Dunville Park on Falls Road where a sign on top of a police Land Rover read: 'This procession is illegal, please disperse'.

Despite the massive police and army presence, the hour-long parade to Andersonstown passed off peacefully with thousands of people lining the route to lend their support.

On the march were contingents from Sinn Fein, Irish Republican Socialist Party, delegations from Noraid, the Basque Country and Troops Out Movement and several republican bands. The largest banner on the march was that of the Sinn Fein trade union department which showed the head of James Conolly along with a quote from him.

Other banners came from Birmingham trades council, the AUEW foundry section, Stop the Strip Searches, Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, Red Action, and Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee.

Many times along the route the crowds burst into applause when the delegations from America, England and the Basque Country went past. The Sinn Fein stewards noted down the visiting delegations and thanked each one individually for attending. Members of the WRP took part in the Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee delegation.

IRA VOLUNTEER Jim McKernan was shot in the back as he raised his hands, witnesses told a Belfast inquest — but the jury accepted a Royal Marine's version of the incident that he had acted in self-defence. The Marine was not in court and thus counsel for McKernan — who was killed on September 14 in West Belfast — could not cross-examine him.

In a statement read to the court by an RUC policeman, the Marine — described only as 'Soldier A' — said he had shouted two warnings to McKernan, who had reached into his jacket as if to pull out a gun. No weapon was found on McKernan's body, however, and a senior forensic scientist told the Coroner's Court that traces of firearms residual could have come from a British soldier who searched the body.

A Lisburn school teacher and a garage attendant both told the court they saw McKernan shot in the back as he raised his hands. A mother and daughter who were across the road heard the shot,

BELFAST

BY STUART CARTER

Soldiers and police were positioned with rifles and plastic-bullet launchers long the route of the march while an army helicopter hovered overhead.

After the march a rally was held outside the Sinn Fein office which began with a one-minute silence for all those murdered by plastic bullets. Ex-PoWs Jimmy McMullen and Breige Brownley read solidarity messages from Long Kesh and Magheraberry prisoners respectively.

McMullen condemned the authorities or not allowing PoW Mary McArdle to attend her mother's funeral and said: 'The men and women in jail are aware of your support.'

Noraid's director Paul Murray said: 'When internment was introduced, even comfortable castle Catholics were forced to realise that they were not Her Majesty's subjects but Her Majesty's suspects. Some American legislators have been appalled at the hypocrisy of SDLP leaders Hume and Devlin and the Dublin government who are attempting to persuade them to abandon their support for the MacBride principles on fair employment as part of the deal over the Anglo-Irish agreement.' While he spoke loud cheers went up as the Union Jack was burnt in the crowd.

Speaking for the Troops Out Movement was Wolde Selassie, a former

British soldier who absconded days before being sent to the Six Counties. He said: 'Northern Ireland is one of the last countries suffering from the colonial oppression of the crumbling British Empire which is now in its death throes.'

Igoya Madariaga brought a message of solidarity from the HB Basque national liberation movement which sent an impressive 48-strong delegation to the march. Sinn Fein councillor Carol said: 'By the reintroduction of internment in 1971, the British showed their failure to pacify the Irish people. In 1922, when Britain left the 26 counties, she left a band of gombeen people to rule, to keep the profits flowing into Britain.'

He warned that internment is still a real possibility because there are two empty blocks at Long Kesh and Magheraberry is half empty and they may be used to imprison key Republican activists. He said 800 years of repression could not crush the spirit of freedom. 'To quote James Connolly: "It is not those who inflict the most, but those who can endure the most who will win." Ireland organised through the IRA will win.'

Our delegation was accommodated for the weekend by people on one of the West Belfast states whom we would like to thank for their generous hospitality.

● We regret that because of equipment failure or deliberate interference of our film while in the post, the pictures taken by our photographer during the march were unusable.

Shot in the back

Coroner

but heard neither of the two warnings. A taxi driver told the inquest he had seen McKernan shot as he ran down the road. 'I couldn't believe what the soldier was doing because he could have caught him,' said the taxi driver.

In his summing up, Coroner James Elliot commented on how 'brave' the Marines were, noting that they risked their very lives by going into the area. He accused McKernan's barrister of prolonging the inquest and refused her request for a final address to the jury. In a condemnation of shoot-to-kill assassinations which are so typical of 'British justice' in Ireland, the McKernan family said: 'It was a waste of time and a real mock-up. We just wanted that wee bit of justice.'

Strip-searches go on

STRIP-SEARCHES are being carried out on Martina Nic Andreasa and Ella Ni Dhuibhir in Durham jail at least six times a month, Derry councillors who visited the two women were told last week.

Martina and Ella are now kept with 36 other women prisoners in a special Category 'A' wing of the 19th-century jail where conditions are 'archaic'.

Sinn Fein councillor Fodie McGuinness was refused admission to the jail; SDLP councillors John Tierney and Theresa Coyle were allowed to go in together with Mitchell McLaughlin of Sinn Fein.

Los Angeles death squads

US officials are trying to cover up the appearance of right-wing death squads threatening Latin American refugees in California.

Two women were kidnapped last month in the Los Angeles area and questioned about their political activity. One of the women, from El Salvador, was tortured and raped.

The other was told that if she did not give up criticising her country's government then 'just like people are killed in Central America, they can be killed here'.

Father Luis Olivares, whose Los Angeles parish has a large Latino population, received a death threat signed with the initials 'E.M.' — standing for Escudron de la Muerte, El Salvador's Squadron of Death.

Trade unionist Marta Rivera, granted political asylum in the United States as a victim of torture in El Salvador, received a letter threatening the lives of 19 named local activists.

After the threat to Father Olivares, the FBI said it was investigating the possibility that right-wing Salvadorean death squads were becoming active in Los Angeles.

But according to Harold Ezell, western regional commissioner of America's Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS), talk of the death squads starting up in California was 'outlandish'.

Denying any political motive to the kidnappings, Ezell remarked cynically: 'There's no question that two people were kidnapped and that one woman was raped, but that happens every day.'

In one of what the INS man wants regarded as an 'everyday' occurrence, Yanaria, 24, from El Salvador, was grabbed outside the offices of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, where she had gone to attend a meeting, and forced at knifepoint into a van.

She was blindfolded, and interrogated about her political activity and colleagues, as her captors drove around the city.

During her ordeal, Yanaria was beaten, cut with a knife on the tongue and hands, and burnt with cigarettes. She was also raped several times.

Doctors who confirmed her account said her injuries were similar to those seen before in victims of right-wing terror, from El Salvador or Guatemala.

Thousands of refugees from the right-wing regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala have fled to the United States, mainly residing on the West Coast. Many have been sheltered by churches and other religious centres, in what is known as the sanctuary movement.

Besides challenging US racist immigration laws, they are bearing witness to the

atrocities inflicted by the CIA's reactionary allies in Central America. Now, the right-wing terror is apparently pursuing them to the United States too.

'I thought when I came to this country, I would be safe from death,' said Marta Rivera. And Mark Rosenbaum of the American Civil Liberties Union says resurgent death squad activity in El Salvador has 'crossed international boundaries'.

Trying to rubbish the reports, INS commissioner Ezell said 'You have to consider the source. These are the same characters that encourage the breaking of the law... I'm saying there's an orchestrated campaign that is unique in its timing because there's a debate now in the Congress that would work well for their cause.'

A Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives calling for temporary suspension of deportations of Salvadorean and Nicaraguan immigrants. If it gets through Senate, Reagan is likely to veto it.

By his fascist-like insinuation, implying that refugees might mutilate themselves for the sake of propaganda, the INS official is both assisting Reagan and covering for the death squads.

A comment in the US Workers League 'Bulletin' (31 July) contrasts Ezell's 'indifference to the death squad activities' with the West Coast INS hounding of Palestinians engaged in legitimate political activity. Under the pretext of combatting 'terrorism' the agency used the McCarran Act to jail and attempt to deport nine people for possessing PLO literature.

Actually it goes further than this. The INS has proposed contingency plans for mass round-ups of people of Middle East-origin, and the setting up of detention camps.

During its anti-Arab drive a young woman student in southern California was taken to a basement cell and interrogated for hours under 'third degree' methods about people she knew in her area.

It would not be straying too far from such intimidation to use criminal gangs to carry out illegal terror against activists. That is what the CIA's friendly regimes did in Latin America.

If such methods are being reimported to the United States, and the INS is conniving at it, this reinforces the message that the anti-immigration cops are fronting a menace to all workers in America.

Haiti Threat

US ambassador in Haiti, Brunson McKinley, has threatened US invasion if the military-run National Council of Government fails to defeat workers' strikes and demonstrations.

Telling opposition politician Louis Dejoie that, the US would continue backing the

military, McKinley was asked 'and what if the situation becomes untenable?'

'Perhaps we'll return to the time of Vilbrun Guillaume', replied the ambassador. US marines invaded Haiti in 1915 after President Guillaume had been overthrown by a popular uprising.

Prisoner walled up in cell

LATIN AMERICA'S longest-running dictator, the Paraguayan tyrant General Alfredo Stroessner, has shown how modern imperialist military rule can be combined with medieval torture.

A political prisoner who has spent most of the past 24 years in solitary confinement in Asuncion's Guardia de Seguridade jail has been walled-up in his cell.

Napoleon Ortigoza, now 54, a former army captain, was sentenced in 1962 for a crime he always denied. He had been accused of plotting to overthrow Stroessner and killing a cadet carrying a secret message.

Captain Ortigoza is due for release on 17 December. Three weeks ago, the prison authorities removed the door from his cell, replacing it by a brick wall, with only a small



STROESSNER hole through which food can be passed.

For the past few years,

Ortigoza has been kept in total isolation, confined to his cell all day, and allowed just a visit from his family on Sunday.

There are fears for his mental condition. He has reportedly attempted suicide, and is said to be disturbed.

An opposition leader recently released from Guardia de Seguridade has described being woken in the night by 'bloodcurdling' shouts from Ortigoza's cell. He said they were like the yells of a madman. The captain kept shouting, over and over again: 'You know, my general, I did not kill him.'

The general was Stroessner, who has ruled Paraguay since 1954. When Ortigoza was sentenced to death in 1962, a priest threatened to reveal the identity of the real murderers of the young cadet.

Word has it in Asuncion that the cadet had been working for Ortigoza and was tortured to death by Stroessner's secret police.

The captain's sentence was commuted to 25 years' imprisonment after the priest's threat to reveal the truth.

It appears from the report of Ortigoza's being bricked up, published by Amnesty International, that Stroessner is determined to destroy his opponent nevertheless — by this hideous living-death treatment.



Reformist scared to touch banks

PERU's President Alan Garcia, a member of the same 'Socialist International' as Neil Kinnock, has retreated from a government take-over of the banks, because he fears a right-wing army coup.



While a Bill is being debated in the country's Congress to nationalise private banks, finance houses and insurance firms, Garcia has suspended an emergency decree appointing officials to take provisional control over the financial system.

'I remember Salvador Allende, president of Chile, used to say: "Advance without compromise"', Garcia told a rally organised by his American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA). 'I am not going to make the same mistake', he added.

The allusion to Allende, murdered in a right-wing military coup backed by big business and the United States CIA, which also brought the torture and murder of thousands of Chilean workers, was a clear indication of the fears determining Garcia's retreat.

Although bankers and right-wing

whatever the elected government, the bankers can also dictate the politics, helped by their friends in the judiciary and the military.

Relying on the military to repress rural guerrillas, such as the Maoist Sandinero Luminoso, Garcia's regime had to take responsibility for the bloody massacre of political prisoners perpetrated by the armed forces a year ago.

Now, although the bank nationalisation plan was given conditional support by the United Left alliance, and Peru's workers and peasants would oppose the right, the reformist government is frightened to call on them.

Instead, APRA leaders have begun saying the nationalisation is not necessary, and Garcia has responded to threats from the right. Luis Bedoya, of the right-wing Popular Christian Party, evoked an article of the Peruvian constitution asserting the people's right to insurrection, although it is easy to guess which people he would accord it to.

Garcia told supporters it was necessary to use realism to 'avoid judicial problems that would provide a pretext for the reactionary force to delay the historic process.' In avoiding giving legal pretexts, by relaying threats, he has provided the right with its political encouragement.

politicians had won court injunctions against the take-over, the legal issue was not decisive.

On 7 August, in fact, Peru's attorney-general, Hugo Denegri, declared that the nationalisation plan was constitutional. He ruled also that placing administrators temporarily in charge prior to the legislation was legal.

Some 10,000 people turned out at the ruling APRA party's rally outside the presidential palace on Sunday, 9 August; but instead of an inspiring speech from their president, they heard a subdued Garcia tell them: 'I will not allow Peru to arrive at a dramatic, tremendous dictatorship that kills many Peruvians.'

Garcia had previously insisted that nationalisation was necessary to deal with the power of four big financial groups which manipulated Peru's lines of credit and savings, dominating its economy.

Now he has admitted in effect that,

Contra's Israeli connection

ISRAELI involvement with right-wing regimes in Central America, and help for the CIA-backed Contra terrorists against Nicaragua, have come under scrutiny in a recent report issued in the United States.

Aid for the Contras from Israel in 1984 'became crucial to the war's continuation', according to former Senate Intelligence Committee staff director Robert Simmons, quoted in the report.

The Israeli ambassador to Costa Rica helped the Contras with passports and aliases when they were getting started, the report says. It also quotes a source in the Israeli daily 'Ha'aretz' early this year, that Israeli military advisers were training Contras at US bases in Honduras.

A memo from discredited White House security aide Colonel Oliver North noted that Israel offered military advisers in exchange for US approval of sale of Israeli jets to Honduras.

In January 1986, as soon as profits from the Iran arms deals were realized, Julio Montealegre, a top aide to contra leader Adolfo Calero, travelled to Israel to buy weapons, says author Jane Hunter.

When the Carter administration suspended US aid to El Salvador because of human rights violations, the Israeli military was ready to fill the gap. Some 83 per cent of El Salvador's military imports from 1975-79 were supplied from Israel.

In 1984, Salvadorean Air Force Commander Rafael

Bustillo admitted his force had used napalm purchased from Israel. The Honduran government announced early this year that Israel 'would provide military assistance to para-military groups in Honduras similar to counter-insurgency patrols in Guatemala and El Salvador.

During the Iran-contragate hearings, Robert McFarlane confirmed that the Guatemalan government had provided fake end-user certificates for nearly \$8 million worth of Israeli munitions to be delivered to the contras.

Published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a reputable independent research body assisting critics of US foreign policy, the report traces the relationships between US backing for Israel, Israeli services to US policies in Central America, and the interests of the important military-industrial complex in the Zionist state.

In May last year, while a previous report 'Sowing Dragon's Teeth; the US War Against Nicaragua' was being prepared, NACLA's New York offices were burgled. The Iran-contragate investigations confirmed what the report had to say; and reinforced suspicion that break-ins against organisations critical of Reagan's policies were organised by forces close to the White House.

Reagan caught out

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S demand to Congress for \$150 in military aid to the Contras fighting Nicaragua is in trouble. Five Central American presidents have accepted a Costa Rican 'peace' plan, under which aid to rebel movements would be halted.

El Salvador's Jose Napoleon Duarte, whose army and death-squads have failed to crush a resurgent left-wing guerrilla movement, promised to stop the CIA-backed contras using bases in his country.

Soviet cuts in fuel aid to Nicaragua may have helped

pressure President Ortega to a pact with the right-wing regimes. Gorbachev's great-power diplomacy reinforced the Pope's efforts.

However, the FMLN, fighting for democratic rights and land reform in El Salvador, said they had regained the initiative recently, and would not give up their struggle now.

● In Nicaragua, the Trotskyist PRT, (Workers' Revolutionary Party), insisted there could be no equation between the FMLN liberation movement and the reactionary hired contra killers. The PRT warned that the five-state 'contradora' peace plan would not bring peace.

TSUNAMI!

Strike wave in S. Korea

WORKERS in South Korea are coming out in a strike movement that is taking on the dimensions of a tsunami — a Pacific tidal wave. They are rising against their employers and the capitalist state.

Riot police firing tear gas bombs fought a pitched battle last Monday with 3,000 miners who had blocked railway tracks at Kohan, in the east of the country, for 15 hours.

On the south coast, police attacked pickets at the Daewoo shipyard, at Koje. But the workforce remained in occupation of the yard and the main office building.

On 8 August, the Ministry of Labour said 103 companies had been affected by industrial action. Coal miners, bus drivers, factory workers and broadcasting staff were among those out last week.

The huge Hyundai Heavy Industries complex at Ulsan had been hit by a four-day strike involving 17,000 workers at the end of July. Ulsan

is the centre of South Korea's motor and ship-building industries.

The workers demanded the removal of pro-company union officials, higher wages, and holidays with pay. The demand for free unions, independent of management, is a big part of all the current strikes.

Workers seized control of the Hyundai shipyard, and held company boss Chung Ju-Young for two hours until he agreed to negotiate with new elected union representatives next month, on a substantial pay rise.

Occupied

At the Daewoo factory in Changwon, 1,000 workers occupied the factory, barricaded gates, and drained management's swimming pool. They demanded bonuses and the right to form an independent union.

Labour Minister Lee Hun-ki last week blamed the acceptance on 29 June by ruling party leader Roh Tae woo of opposition calls for democratic reforms for helping encourage working class demands.

After a long and escalating series of bitter clashes on the

streets and university campuses, the government agreed to release some political prisoners, accepted direct presidential elections, and promised easing of labour legislation.

South Korea's export boom, much admired by Thatcher and other capitalist leaders, has been based on ruthless exploitation of a largely raw labour force, with company-gangsters and dictatorial right-wing government brutally repressing workers who fought for their rights.

Now, after the bourgeois liberals have been telling militant students to get back to their studies and leave the rest to professional politicians, the working class is rightly insisting that the way to safeguard rights is to use them.

The big movement has alarmed both the Korean bourgeoisie and its imperialist allies. An editorial in the 'Korea Times' sermonized:

'The social atmosphere is under the influence of the democratization mood, and people tend to assert their rights before their duties. If the nation's economy becomes engulfed by wild and violent labour disputes, the

picketing workers and the employers will go down the drain together, not to speak of the nation's march to democracy itself.'

Liberal opposition leader Kim Young-sam urged moderation on the workers, saying the unrest would 'give anti-democratic forces an excuse to hamper democratisation.'

Kim acknowledged workers' rights had not been guaranteed, but said 'however rightful these demands, they cannot be solved all at once.'

Muscle

Having discovered their muscle, the Korean working class will be increasingly less patient with the liberal attitude that rights are something 'given' by the rulers.

A worried Western diplomat told the press: 'You just have to figure that after years of oppressive labour relations, workers are going to take their cue from the protests and rise up. How far are they going to rise, though?'

Tamil struggle continues

TAMILS in Sri Lanka may have welcomed the respite from Sri Lankan government bombing and repression under the India-Sri Lanka accord. But they are not abandoning their struggle for national freedom.

Indian officers persuaded Tamil Tiger freedom fighters in the eastern port of Batticaloa to hand over weapons on 10 August. Only ten sub-machine guns were surrendered.

The previous week, 20 weapons were surrendered at Trincomalee. Sri Lankan military sources said only a handful of weapons had come in from the guerrillas in the Jaffna peninsula.

A hartal — general strike — was called by the Tigers to protest at the murder of two liberation fighters by the

government's British-trained Special Task Force after the 'peace' accord was signed.

The strike brought work and business in the Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts to a halt, showing the Tigers' strength of popular support. There was also a demonstration on 8 August in Trincomalee over the shooting of a 10-year old boy by a Sri Lankan Home Guard.

The feeling of many of the young fighters over weapons surrender was voiced in the weekly 'Notes from a Combatant's Diary' published in

the Tigers' paper 'Drum of Eelam':

'Handing over my weapon is the saddest day of my life. We collected gold from every family in the peninsula — how many girls gave us their rings and old ladies sacrificed the marriage chains from their necks? Is this the reward for our long struggle.'

There are reports that thousands of weapons have been hidden away by the fighters, rather than handed in.

Many people who suffered bombing and atrocities from

the government forces express relief that this has ceased. A Tamil Tiger commander commented: 'If the people are happy with the agreement, then we are happy.'

The Tigers have put away their weapons for now, and are discussing such options as forming a political party. The ceasefire will provide an opportunity to discuss, and move more freely among the masses. Nobody is placing any trust in the accord to provide a solution, and the fighters are not giving up their aspirations or their struggle.

Birth control imposed on oppressed

BIRTH control is being imposed on women in East Timor, invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia since 1975. Opponents of Indonesian rule say it's not being done for the women's benefit.

Opposition to contraception has been reported as being on religious grounds — there are many Catholics in the area — and advocates of the UN-backed programme

have said that high mortality rates among women can only be reduced by birth control.

Information from resistance movements in Dili, East Timor, draw quite the opposite conclusion about the link between the high death rate among women during pregnancy and childbirth and birth control, reports 'Tapol', the magazine of the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign.

Pills, capsules and IUDs are freely distributed and pressed on women, while propaganda for birth control is pushed in schools.

The mortality rate is actually being increased by the way contraception is being used. Pregnant women have been persuaded to have treatment with harmful consequences for the ovary and the foetus; treatment often leads to miscarriages.

Women with diseased ovaries, often the result of

unsupervised contraceptive use, have their ovary removed.

Newly-married women have been offered sterilisation and told it will improve their health and keep them young.

Women who practise birth control suffer anaemia, loss of blood and other disorders which have proved fatal.

Medical facilities in East Timor are rudimentary, and while contraception is available free medicine for even common ailments is in short supply and very expensive. Medical personnel are increasingly devoted to birth control, with scant attention to health care and the treatment of disease.

Suharto for Moscow

INDONESIA's right-wing dictator General Suharto, who took power in a bloody coup in 1965, massacring communists, has been invited to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

Soviet spokesmen have told the Indonesian press that Gorbachev sees an important role for mem-

bers of the capitalist ASEAN pact, and the Soviet Union hopes to rebuild good relations with Indonesia.

The Communist Party is outlawed in Indonesia. Some leading trade union members have spent a lifetime in prison, or faced the firing squad

VUKHANI MAKHOSIKASI!

Salute black South Afri



In the rural areas women eke out an existence in the absence of their men. Hundreds of thousands of women are simply starving away in the homelands. Others are forced to take up small trading activity or to become farmworkers — amongst the most exploited of all South Africa's workers.

ON Sunday, 9 August, South African women and other proletarian internationalists commemorated the march on this date in 1956, by 20,000 black South African women, on the the Union Buildings, the seat of power of the racist state in Pretoria.

Under the guidance of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) they were protesting at the attempts by the racist state to extend the Pass Laws to 'African' women.

The extension of passes had as its main objective the controlling of the proletarianisation of 'African' women and the successful maintenance of the migrant labour system.

The bed-rock of apartheid-capitalism was the migrant labour system and the pass laws. By these means the capitalist bosses were able to secure an ultra cheap and subjugated form of labour.

After years of often 'hidden' struggles on a local and regional level, the march represented the first significant mobilisation of women on a national scale and indicated a rise in political consciousness. By resisting the imposition of passes on them, they were directly challenging migrant labour and the 'reserve' system (now called the 'Homelands').

Some of them moved to towns to be with their migrant husbands; however, the overwhelming majority went because of the increasing collapse of their subsistence base in the reserves and the poverty and starvation which that gave rise to. By their actions they were boldly declaring that they were not prepared to become victims of the mechanisms whereby their husbands and sons were rendered submissive and super-exploitable.

The radicalism of 'African' women at the time outstripped that

of their male counterparts and certainly that of the male-dominated ANC leadership. Poverty and starvation in the reserves forced them on to the road of struggle; but also, unlike male migrant workers, they had not yet been brow-beaten into submission by years of exposure to these forms of control.

Large numbers of women courted arrest by refusing to carry passes and en masse burnt their passes. In response, the ANC instructed the FSAW to restrict activity to the legal realm. Their own men, with their backward notions of 'a woman's proper place', were also challenged and were criticised for being 'politically active and progressive in outlook . . . but still follow(ing) the tradition that women should take no part in politics'. (Tom Lodge)

This powerful mobilisation of the women, which was encapsulated in the rallying call 'Strydom — you have tampered with the women, you have struck a rock', was prevented from being taken to a higher level. Without a revolutionary leadership, based on a programme of class struggle, the struggle of women remained far too sectionalised instead of becoming an integral part of that of the working class as a whole.

State repression; the lack of consistent revolutionary leadership; the related turn-away from mass mobilisation to guerilla warfare; all of these factors contributed to the tragic decline of mass political mobilisation, including that of women.

Great advances in the 1980s

THIRTY years on, 'African' women are present in the urban centres in far greater numbers. By 1980 they formed 65 per cent of the total female workforce. Of the total labour force in the service sector 56.8 per cent are women; in agriculture they constitute 24.1 per cent.

Increasing urbanisation has facilitated their organisation as part of the working class. Before its merger for instance, 70 per cent of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South

Africa (CCAWUSA)'s paid-up membership was women.

However, a significant section of women are still employed in sectors which are not characterised by the socialisation of labour made possible under capitalism, and which thus makes their organisation very difficult.

According to a Domestic Workers' Association of South Africa (DWASA) spokeswoman, by 1986, 800 000 women were employed as domestic labour. Of this number, only 60,000 have been organised by DWASA, a COSATU affiliate.

In both agriculture and domestic work (in the towns and on the farms) women are in direct, individual contact with a 'madam' or a 'baas' (boss) who can easily intimidate workers with threats of dismissal. Sexual abuse under these circumstances is also rife and often economic necessity forces the women victims to take the humiliation without protest.

Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of semi-proletarian women are simply starving away in the homelands. An equal number, faced with rampant unemployment and the threat of starvation, are driven to small trading activity which yields no more than a pittance.

Many are simply forced into prostitution and other lumpen-proletarian activity. What binds all these categories of women together is the eking out of an existence according to the dictates of apartheid-capitalism.

However, as the struggle against apartheid-capitalism has intensified, increasing numbers have been drawn into unions to fight their exploitation; even greater numbers of housewives and unemployed women have become part of the struggle against oppression.

They form an important part of street/area committees; they provide the main thrust of the rent strike, as they are the ones who have to pay rents; and they have been drawn into detainees' support committees and strike support committees.

The unique position of black South African working women: a triple oppression

UNDER apartheid-capitalism, the energies of black South African women are contained by a triple yoke of oppression. But this yoke, at the same time, invests them with a great revolutionary potential.

As part of the working class they are subjected to exploitation and class oppression; as blacks, they suffer racist oppression, and as women they suffer sexual oppression and male domination.

The solution to their exploitation and oppression lies in the destruction of apartheid-capitalism; their real emancipation can only begin under the dictatorship of the proletariat which makes possible the construction of an alternative form of society — socialism. Only then can the muck of thousands of years be cleared away by laying the basis for real equality through thorough-going changes in law, education and public life.

Only then can women be freed from domestic drudgery by the socialisation of childcare and housework through the building of creches, public kitchens, laundries, etc. Only through the complete overhauling of present society can women begin to take their rightful place in society as equals and not as second-class citizens.

No separate solution to the Woman Question!

THERE can, however, be no separate solution to the Woman Question — the fate of women is bound up with that of the revolutionary class under capitalism, the working class. Women must be organised as part of that class and not separately in women's organisations.

We thus salute COSATU and the other unions which have made real efforts to raise demands relating to women workers, and through setting up women's sections have attempted to solve the problems attendant on drawing increasing numbers into the organised working class. COSATU's Living Wage Campaign for example includes demands such as childcare facilities and paid maternity leave.



Domestic work is tedious and tiring. Work starts numbers of domestic workers are unionised.

At present, in certain organisations of the oppressed, there is still a tendency for women to be used in a symbolic capacity — hence women have been made into 'mothers' of the South African 'nation'.

They have become yet another force which is used to 'pack a moral punch' at the brutalities of apartheid; their pain and sorrow have become another commodity on the international market through which to convince the people of the world (especially the bourgeoisie) of the need for disinvestment from and sanctions against South Africa.

We say: 'An end to drawing in women as mothers, sisters and wives; they must be drawn in as proletarian fighters who champion the cause of oppressed women!'

We say to the Black South African working class: 'Seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class. . . among women workers. Here you will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness and readiness to sacrifice.' (Trotsky in the Transitional Programme)

Build the Bolshevik-Leninist party! Fight for Permanent Revolution!

'The battle against capitalism, racism, and sexism cannot be fought as part of a three-stage plan . . . we are committed to . . . raising the voice of women in the national democratic struggle. . . ' (Statement in 1985 by a UDF comrade)

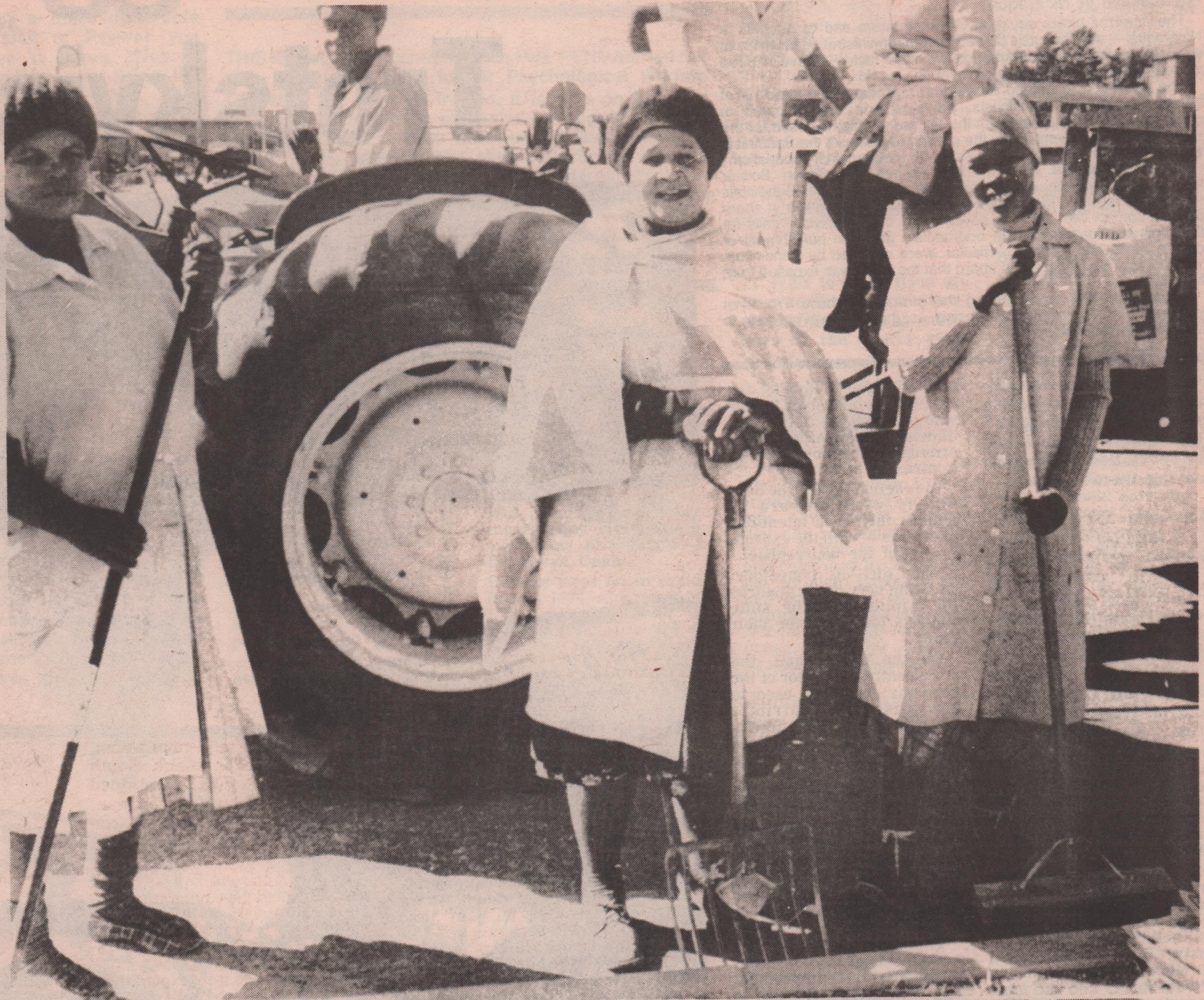
Yes comrade, we cannot have a three-stage plan. BUT can the struggle against oppression and exploitation occur simultaneously if it is circumscribed by the national democratic struggle?

ARISE WORKING WOMEN!

can working women!



early and finishes late. Only small



Women street-cleaners in Soweto

Even the workers in COSATU have been warned against 'putting socialism before national democracy'! If the struggle for socialism is now to be postponed, how long will women have to wait for their emancipation? Indeed, maybe we will before long hear of the 'solving' of the Woman Question in South Africa by means of a 'three-stage theory'!

But socialist revolution can be guaranteed only if a proletarian party is built with a programme to guide the struggle of the working class. Lenin is very clear on the importance of organising women: 'There can be no socialist revolution unless a vast section of the toiling women takes a part in it.'

In the struggle to build the party in South Africa consistent work must have to be conducted to ensure that women workers in their masses are reached out to and mobilised as part of the working class; indeed from the start they must be part of the building of the party and put their stamp on the section of the party programme which will concentrate on women's position under capitalism and which will raise transitional demands specifically related to this.

Only in this way will it become evident to the large numbers of woman activists, housewives, domestic workers, oppressed wives, low-paid workers in industry, and those trapped in the Homelands, that their struggle is against all forms of oppression; indeed, that their struggle is and can only be the struggle for the Permanent Revolution.

The party in South Africa thus must have a Women's Department, staffed largely by women communists; its main tasks will be to plan theoretical and agitational/propagandistic work amongst women.

Activists from its ranks will work in all organisations of the oppressed and exploited, agitating all the time for the construction of the party, educating women in communist ideas and drawing

them in increasing numbers into the ranks of the party as proletarian fighters.

Those activists who are in unions or other democratic organisations must fight for the party's slogans and transitional demands. All of the above will occur under the guidance of the party and on the basis of its revolutionary programme to ensure maximum unity of the class.

Finally, the method and perspective which must permeate women's struggles can only be that of internationalism, for only proletarian internationalism will finally make possible the consummation of the Permanent Revolution. Without this perspective the child of the revolution will be deformed before being born.

South African women, look at the criminal reversal brought about by the Stalinist counter-revolution of the gains for women borne by the October Revolution! Resist the efforts of the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance to carry out similar deeds in South Africa.

● Fight for a world party of revolution — join in re-organising the Fourth International!



National Automobile and Allied Workers Union members celebrate May Day 1983

**SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY
9 AUGUST
A WORKERS PRESS STATEMENT**

NICARAGUA

The struggle for Trotskyism

PART II of a three-part interview by SIMON PIRANI with **BONIFACIO MIRANDA**, leader of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores: PRT), section of the International Workers' League-Fourth International in Nicaragua.

The powerful blows struck at US imperialism and its puppets in Nicaragua — and the crisis of the Reagan administration in which its genocidal policy in central America is a major factor — have inspired workers and revolutionaries all over the world.

The campaign to defend Nicaragua from imperialist attack is of central concern to Trotskyists, particularly in the US and its imperialist allies like Britain. But the political problems posed for the world Trotskyist movement by the coming to power of the Sandinists went beyond simply the need to side with them against imperialism.

Those Trotskyists who in 1979 formed the Simon Bolivar International Brigade (SBIB) to fight alongside the Sandinists (previously reported in Workers Press), found themselves in sharp political conflict with the new government: the Trotskyists' calls for the total expropriation of the bourgeoisie and firm punishment of counter-revolutionaries, in particular, were opposed by Sandinism. This political conflict grew so sharp that the SBIB was expelled from Nicaragua.

Today the PRT is continuing the struggle to build Trotskyist leadership in Nicaragua, advancing its independent policies to deepen the revolution.

TO WHAT extent do capitalist property relations remain in Nicaragua? How much success has the revolution had in destroying them?

Bonifacio Miranda: AFTER the 1979 victory over Somoza, the masses took over the property of Somocists and non-Somocists alike, while the government expropriated only the Somoza family, the ruling clique that became rich through its control of the state apparatus.

Through these measures, the great majority of the productive forces were nationalised and became the Area Property of the People (Area Propiedad del Pueblo — APP).

In 1979 the Sandinist government nationalised the banks, established a state monopoly of external trade and nationalised most of industry. But they left the big haciendas (landed estates) in private hands and the most important export, agricultural produce, remained under capitalist control.

The agricultural capitalists cannot take their wealth abroad like other capitalists did — so they produce a minimum and reap the fruits of the Sandinists' policy of 'economic conciliation'. This section of the bourgeoisie today produces about 60 per cent of Nicaragua's gross national product.

About 80 per cent of Nicaraguan industry has been taken into state ownership. But it must be pointed out that Nicaragua has a small manufacturing sector, full of obsolete machinery, that is less important in the economy than agriculture.

The 20 per cent of industry left in bourgeois hands has a very heavy weight in the economy and contributes to the gross national product at a higher rate: this includes the food industry, the processing and packaging of coffee, sugar, bananas, cattle and cotton.

There are 46 multinational companies, including Esso and Siemens, operating in Nicaragua.

The Sandinists, from 1979, wanted to show in practice that they were building a 'mixed economy'. They wanted the bourgeoisie to cooperate with them.

But the contradictions in this bonapartist set-up intensified as sections of the bourgeoisie went to the Con-

tras — Alfonso Robelo, for example (a bourgeois leader who participated in the Sandinists' first coalition government and is now with the Contras).

In reaction to this, the Sandinists went forward — against their own intentions and plans — with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

This sort of 'transitory' situation very much disturbs the capitalists! The state controls too much for their liking.

On the other hand, the state-controlled sector of the economy has been used to subsidise the 'patriotic bourgeoisie'. All the resources of the nationalised banking system have been used to finance capitalists, many of whom have then taken their dollars abroad.

The Sandinists' attempts to continue with this illusion — that there are both 'private' and public economies in Nicaragua — has given oxygen to a bourgeoisie that is dying.

This has increased the country's problems and, together with the imperialist aggression, taken it closer to economic disaster.

This is why the Trotskyists call for Nicaragua to be 'turned into a new Cuba' — not in the sense of copying Cuba's bureaucratised state, but in the sense of the total liquidation of private property.

AFTER seven years of unrelenting imperialist attack, and the policies of the Sandinists you describe, are the masses still supporting them as strongly as ever?

AT THE beginning of the revolution, the mass movement fervently trusted the Sandinist leaders. This trust had a basis in the material conquests that the masses obtained with the Sandinists.

But a contradictory process is taking place. While the Sandinists were forced, for military reasons, to deepen agrarian reform in 1983-1984, the working masses in the cities had to bear the burden of the agrarian crisis, the aggressive imperialist war — and the Sandinists' 'mixed economy'.

This 'mixed economy' forced the government to cut back some of their previous 'reforms', cutting down subsidies and relaxing price controls. This led to shortages of the most elementary necessities.



Nicaraguan garment plant. The participation of the masses in general — and women in particular — in the political life of the country has gone down.

The government yielded to the pressure of the bourgeoisie, putting up prices of goods, cutting back health services, education and food subsidies — and giving financial incentives to the powerful capitalists who exported agricultural produce.

Of course all this is in the context that 70 per cent of the budget is devoted to the war.

On the whole, the mass movement is supporting the Sandinists despite the miserable conditions of life, which they see as a price to be paid for resisting US imperialism.

But there is a new political phenomenon — of workers splitting from the Sandinist leadership: at present only in small-scale and disparate flashes; it takes no organised form.

It appears as 'apathy': people dropping out of trade union activities or the Sandinist committees of defence. If living standards continue to worsen this trend can only intensify.

The imperialists — whose own crisis prevents them from launching the sort of all-out attack they did in

Santo Domingo in 1965 (when US marines invaded the Dominican Republic to overturn a left-wing regime) — are trying to take advantage of the unrest of the masses.

The right-wing bourgeois parties criticise the Sandinists for sending the youth to fight; they take up the question of the standard of living.

In 1984, channelling popular dissent into votes for their candidate, the right-wing parties obtained one-third of the votes. It is possible, in a future election, that they could increase this further.

But in Nicaragua, bourgeois-democratic traditions are not very deeply rooted: it is not sure when the next election will be held.

For our part, the Trotskyists regard the discontent with the Sandinists among workers not as a sign of hope for the right wing, but rather of a latent desire to break with the bourgeoisie altogether. We foresee a deepening of the revolution as a result of this.

YOU HAVE described the changes made by the Sandinists in 1983-1984: on one hand the deepen-

ing of agrarian reform and the military offensive against the Contras, on the other the worsening of conditions in the towns and the further impoverishment of workers. How has all this affected the women who played such a leading role in the 1979 revolution?

THE masses participated in the overthrow of the dictatorship, and that included the women, who were in the forefront.

But now the participation of the masses in general, and women in particular, in the political life of the country has gone down.

Women are bearing the worst burden of the deteriorating economic conditions; they are absorbed in the hardships of everyday life. It is they who have to queue in the supermarkets, queue to get gas to cook with, and administer the family's scanty income.

Perhaps one of the worst things is that the crèches opened up by the Sandinists in the early part of the re-

volution to encourage the participation of women have been cut back — no more are planned in the government's economic policy.

The fact that women don't participate as they used to can be seen in the crisis of the Asociacion de Mujeres Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMLAE), the Sandinist-controlled feminist organisation named after one of the first women martyrs of the revolution.

They give priority to middle-class women and not to working-class women.

The question of abortion must be mentioned. The old penal code — which condemns to 30 years' prison both the woman who has the abortion and the person who carries it out — is still in effect. The women's movement argued that abortion should be included as a right in the constitution, but it was not, owing to the strength of the Catholic church, the ally of imperialism.

NEXT WEEK: The Nicaraguan workers' organisations and the Trotskyist movement.

The plot against the Wilson government

What was your job in the north of Ireland?

THE security services in northern Ireland involve three main agencies — MI5, MI6 and the army. Superimposed on those is a chief who is responsible for everyone.

You also had all sorts of sub units. In the army there was the Military Intelligence Unit, Military Action Force, the ordinary Army Intelligence branch and the Psychological Warfare Unit (Psywar). I was in number two: my fake job description was head of Production Services.

News Line (the forerunner of Workers Press) warned in 1976 of the use of the Psychological Warfare Unit. Several states of emergency were also declared under the Heath government. Would this unit have been employed at such times?

ABSOLUTELY! I have no doubt at all. If you

want a more up-to-date version of Psywar you have it when Michael Heseltine was doing the run against CND. That was a straightforward Psywar project.

It was in 'Clockwork Orange 2' [the black propaganda operation that MI5 were running against Labour in 1973-1974]; it talked about the funds the miners were getting from the Soviet Union. In other words, the Red Conspiracy.

Very similar things were being said during the 1984-1985 miners' strike weren't they? Its task is to turn people away from the real issues and to concentrate on the Realm and communist conspiracies.

When did you first become concerned about the activities of the Intelligence Services?

IT WAS between the February and October elections in 1974. My work became increasingly political; my breaking point came in September 1974. I was running an opera-

THIS IS part of an interview which PHIL PENN carried out with COLIN WALLACE former Psychological Warfare Officer in the north of Ireland. It follows on from the material Workers Press published on August 1. In this second extract from the interview, Wallace speaks in detail of the plans of the state security services to destabilise the Labour government of Harold Wilson in 1973-1974. It was these events which were to lead to Wallace's disenchantment with his work, which increasingly involved activities against Labour and other politicians.

tion designed to stop sectarian killings.

We spent a lot of time finding out about the rivalries and weaknesses of different groups. With this information we could pressurise some of them to desist. Others had to be leant upon.

A lot of the information to build into this operation, instead of being purely concerned with Ulster and paramilitary organisations, began to look at Labour politicians who had links with the north of Ireland: Litterick, MacNamara, Stan Orme, people like that.

Information began to assert that groups such as

the Campaign for Democracy in Northern Ireland were communist controlled. An image was being projected which said that Labour policies were failing because the Party was sympathetic to the terrorists.

It was said that Harold Wilson was a KGB agent with KGB people all around him and that both government policy and terrorism was being manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Wallace went on to explain how in 1974, as a result of a CIA ultimatum, civil war broke out between MI5 and MI6. He said the conflict matched that of the 'sectarian' groups. MI5 won and as a result operations against the labour movement were stepped up.

Could you give me some details about the groups that were placed under surveillance?

INTERNATIONAL Marxist Group, Troops Out Movement, British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Group, Revolutionary Marxist Group, Socialist Labour Alliance, the New Left, League for a Workers Republic, Socialist Workers Movement, Socialist Party of Ireland, Irish Young Socialists. (This was formed in 1970 as the result of a split in the League for a Workers Republic.

They were linked with the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International and affiliated to the Socialist Labour League [forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party]. This is only an index. I have files which contain long essays on each group.

Can you tell us a bit more about the plans to de-stabilise the Wilson government?

OPINION polls showed that Wilson rated much higher than Heath as a personality.

It was clear that the next election would be dominated by the personality factor and that every effort should be made to exploit character weaknesses in target suspects, especially financial, sexual and political misbehaviour.

Targets were Heath, Maudling, Pym, Gilmour, St John Stevas, Wilson, Rees, Benn, Mikardo, Owen, Hart, Stonehouse, Driberg, Short, Thorpe, Byars, Foot, Heffer and Castle. Rumours were

spread that Wilson had received some £60,000 from east German sources and he had a friend in the Soviet government.

Wallace also said that Ernest Mandel's visit to Dublin in November 1972 (on flight 1645 from London) was also carefully followed.

What were you supposed to do with this stuff?

IT WAS to be written up, as a series of narratives, ostensibly given by members of the Ulster community.

They would tell of the involvement in the unrest but would paint into their narrative the Labour politicians we have talked about.

For example it says in my files: '£500 sent from KGB to Irish Congress of Trades Unions. Civil unrest, political violence and industrial disputes in Britain engineered and controlled by Soviet Union through Labour Party activists and left wing organisations. See role of Labour MPs in Campaign for Democracy in Ulster and the Troops Out Movement.'

At about this time there was also talk about a coup?

Yes, there were various people preaching the gospel that the country was falling apart and was being subverted by forces from within.

Pensions and investments were at risk, goods were not being sold overseas; these people were saying that all sensible people should get together against the real dangers of the left.

A lot of them I would call sensible people who got carried away. I would never regard Walter Walker as an extremist; he is a very straight guy who was manipulated. There is no doubt about it.

Who was he manipulated by?

THAT is the key question, one which the media has missed. Peter Wright makes one or two passing comments; he says he was approached by prominent businessmen who wanted files on Wilson.

In that period there were one or two former intelligence officers, one or two politicians who had links with intelligence sources in the past and you had one or two businessmen.

Politically, professionally and financially they all had good reason, as they saw it, to oppose the left.

If you look at one organisation after another — the Foreign Affairs Research Institute; Institute for the Study of Conflict; Society for Industrial Freedom; Organisation for True Industrial Democracy — you will find that there are people whose names appear in all these organisations at one time or another. When you look at who they were, the mosaic begins to fill out.

During the period when you were working in the north, the Littlejohn brothers were at work in the south. They were captured after the biggest robbery in Irish history. They claimed that the robbery was part of a job which included bombings being done on behalf of British Intelligence. Were they telling the truth?

YES, they were working for us. To be fair to the intelligence service, they were foisted on to us. They were recruited by Lady Pamela Onslow.

It came from such a level that there was not much we could do. At the end of the day we could only say: we told you so.

I was given a copy of 'The Littlejohn Affair' [a WRP pamphlet] by an MI5 officer.

I ran off 200 copies which were then distributed by MI5. The only possible reason we would be distributing it would be to embarrass MI6.

Wallace tried unsuccessfully to get an inquiry into the illegal activities of MI5, but to little avail. Mervyn Rees, then Labour Home Secretary, asked MI5 to look into the allegations! Wallace also tried to stop the abuse of children at the Kincora boys home, an operation run for blackmail purposes by MI5.

Being a 'conservative with a small c' Wallace will not use the word 'framed' to describe his own treatment. But he does say that the judiciary, police and press were manipulated in order to secure a conviction for manslaughter against him.

He served six years of a ten-year sentence which, he says, conveniently kept him out of the way during the Kincora cover-up inquiry.

By a strange coincidence, the very officer responsible for his arrest and subsequent imprisonment was also given the job of inquiring into whether MI5 had been involved in Kincora. He returned a verdict of not guilty.

Could the security services have been involved in the manipulations against you?

OH, VERY easy. Judging by my own experience it would be dead easy. You could do that without any problem at all. There would be no overt sign.

Someone is just called in and told that in the national interest people just do not argue in cases like that.

Do you think that the conviction of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four might have been the result of similar manipulations?

Both are very possible. The Guildford one is very odd. I think there was a political advantage in getting convictions as part of the preparations to make the IRA illegal.



Miners leaders on their way to see Heath in November 1973. At this time both the Labour Party and the miners' union were the subject of Psywar operations — the NUM was said to be receiving funds from the Soviet Union

Zionist attempt to kill the play 'Perdition'

AS YOUR readers know, Jim Allen's 'Perdition' is now available in print, and has been widely reviewed in the general press.

However, as they are not likely to read the 'Jewish Chronicle', they will be unaware of the full dimensions of the disaster the Zionists have brought on themselves by their attempt to kill the play.

It was reviewed in the July 3 'Chronicle' by David Cesarani, one of those who hounded the play off the boards. Nevertheless he had to confess that they have failed:

'Was it worth all the fuss? Had the play gone on, it would have been seen by around 2,000 people... and then disappeared.'

'In the event, the... defence bodies seemed at a loss to cope with a nasty anti-Zionist play... Personal representations coincided with the threat of a mass protest outside the theatre, the combined effect of which made it seem as if pressure were being applied.'

'Attempts by journalists and historians to expose the play were caught up in a political dogfight: calm, objective criticism was inexorably turned into polemic... are we so unaware of... Israel's place in the world that a tough piece of anti-Zionist propaganda sends us into a frenzy of insecurity?'

There is evidently need for a strategy for opposing political arguments... without resorting to heavy-handed methods... instead of instantly branding antagonists as antisemites.'

To be sure, the pedant goes on to explain to the faithful that the play is in error. But the above is the crucial part of the review.

Thanks to their stupidity, a play that would have been seen by a few London theatre goers became the centre of a nation-wide controversy, with at least 150 articles and letters on it when it was driven off the stage.

The question of Zionist collaboration with Hitler, a topic which was of interest to no more than a few thousand people concerned with Zionism, ended up being debated on prime time television.

Now many more thousands will read it than would ever have seen the stage version. One reviewer calls it 'possibly the most famous play never staged'.

As those who have bought the printed version will have noticed, the play is still censored.

One Zionist of the wartime period, Nathan Schwalb, has sued for libel, regarding a letter quoted in the play and an accompanying essay by me, on the historical background of Zionist collaboration with the Hitlerites.

Under advice from solicitors, Ithaca removed the letter, pending the outcome of court proceedings. Those readers who are interested in reading the letter can find it at page 237 of my 'Zionism in the Age of the Dictators'.

The libel suit should call attention to the reactionary libel laws on Britain's law books. If someone were foolish enough to bring such a suit in the US, the courts would toss it out in five seconds flat.

About 20 years ago the Supreme Court here, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, decided they weren't going to be bothered with such cases anymore. They just in-

timidate authors and publishers, who naturally are afraid of the expenses of even a successful defence.

Now in America, anyone suing for libel must not only prove the offending statement is not true, but that it was published with full knowledge that it was untrue.

Libel cases have become very rare, and when I tell Americans that a portion of my essay was excised in Britain, they think of it as a quaint piece of British absurdity, like wiggled judges.

Can't some Labour MPs be got to introduce a Bill repealing your present laws, and substituting a new law based on American present rulings?

Certainly such a Bill would be supported by the publishing industry. I know Labour is a minority in parliament, but most likely some Tories would vote for such a measure.

At any rate, if Labour were to present such a Bill, it would become clear that the left was defending 'Perdition' not merely because of its anti-Zionism, but out of a larger principle, that the people have a right to see whatever play or read what ever book they like, without anyone's by your leave.

**Solidarity,
Lenni Brenner
Author-Lecturer**

JIM ALLEN'S controversial play *Perdition* has at last found a home for its first reading. It will be read at the Edinburgh fringe festival — at the Lyceum Studio, one of the festival's most prominent venues.

The play, dealing with the collaboration of Hungarian Zionists with the Nazis during the war, was withdrawn from the Royal Court in January amidst a storm of protest from Zionists.

A collective task

PLEASE, comrade Gibbard. Nobody is 'accusing' anybody of anything, and nobody needs to create a 'smokescreen'. We are trying to begin an analysis of the profound changes imperialism is going through in the 1980s, and plumb the depths of its contradictions.

This is a very big job, which must be undertaken collectively by the entire Party. Whatever the shortcomings of my articles, they were intended to stimulate some interest in these issues, and in no way pretended to tell the whole story.

For this work, Lenin's 'Imperialism' is absolutely necessary — but in no way sufficient. Lenin had to take the account of capitalism given by Marx, in the unfinished Volumes II and III of 'Capital', into the 20th century. We have to take Lenin's booklet, now 72 years old, into the 1980s.

In Marx's time, the banks served the financial needs of industrial capital. Lenin pointed out 'the merging of bank capital with industrial capital', and the way banking monopolies had taken control of production.

In fact, in the very next paragraph after comrade Gibbard's quotation, Lenin says:

'We now have to describe how, under the general conditions of commodity production and private property, the "business operations" of capitalist monopolies inevitably become the domination of a financial oligarchy.'

This is the difference be-

tween Lenin and Kautsky. Kautsky saw speculation as 'the unacceptable face of capitalism', while to Lenin its domination over the capitalist economy was inevitable.

Keynes wanted the bourgeois state to check the 'Casino Economy' of his day. We know that this was nonsense, because the domination of finance capital coincides with the creation of 'the rentier state'.

Thus today, far from the US state controlling the growth of wild speculation, it is itself largely in the hands of the speculators. I think we are quite justified in saying that unchecked speculation is driving the world capitalist economy.

That is precisely why talk about 'saving Britain's manufacturing base', without disturbing the power of capital or the capitalist state, is just reformist rubbish.

Please, please, please read Lenin again:

'The development of capitalism has arrived at a stage when, although commodity production still "reigns" and continues to be regarded as the basis of economic life, it has in reality been undermined and the bulk of profits go to the "geniuses" of financial manipulation.'

And, near the end of the book:

'This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital.'

Now, when this was written in 1915, Lenin was most impressed by the fact that, in 1909, the giant Deutsche Bank controlled nearly 3 billion marks in deposits, about the same level as the total value of German exports at the time.

Today, such figures are peanuts. In 1984, just one of several investment banks, First Boston Corp, did over \$4 trillion business, more than the US annual GNP.

If we were to close our eyes to these changes, and refuse to develop our theory and practice in line with them, we would be guilty of the most disgraceful conservatism. I appeal to comrade Gibbard to help in this work.

John Crawford

Thatcher's prison hulk

PRISON HULKS are back in Britain. The ships that held hundreds of convicts rotting on the Thames in the bad old days have been restored to us by the Thatcher government.

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

These are 'Victorian' values in a very concrete form.

Last weekend 150 demonstrators protested alongside the 'Earl William', a former Sealink car ferry moored at Harwich.

They were protesting at the inhuman and degrading treatment of 65 black men and women imprisoned aboard under the racist immigration laws of this country.

Private companies are being paid by the government to provide the security and catering. Shades of a completely privatised prison system begin to close around us in Britain — they already exist in the US.

Detainees

Last Saturday's demonstration, organised by the Southwark Anti-deportation Campaign, coincided with a hunger strike by the detainees.

Initially the detainees, mostly Tamils, demanded the right to be treated, not like criminals, but as the refugees they are and to be allowed entry.

After the recent agreement for the Tamils to hand in their arms in Sri Lanka they changed their demand to a return to their own country.

A report in the Sunday 'Observer' tells the story of the Kurdish refugee denied urgent medical treatment for cancer while imprisoned on the boat.

He was examined by an independent consulting surgeon on the ferry and found to be manifesting symptoms which needed prompt medical investigation — an ultra-sound scan and possible surgical exploration. The report went to

the Home Office immediately, where it was ignored.

The Home Office only decided to release the man when embarrassed by the 'Observer's' investigations into his case.

This is only one example of the monumental and increasing indifference of the immigration authorities to horrific cases of human suffering, particularly when they are enclosed in a black skin.

● An inquest found last month that another refugee, Ahmed Katongole, had committed suicide 'aggravated by official indifference and lack of care'.

He had fled Uganda to escape torture and was refused asylum. Before he could be sent back he hanged himself in Pentonville prison.

● A few months before that tragic event another refugee from East Africa was turned away by the authorities. Amongst the tortures he had suffered was the crushing of his testicles.

Killed

As he waited in increasing despair for his appeal to be heard he first tried to burn himself to death. When that failed he killed himself by jumping from a high window.

More than a month later the Home Office sent a form asking for his asylum appeal to be formally withdrawn.

When a filing system takes precedence over a human life we are living under a sorry system.

● A refugee from South America was jailed and tortured under a series of regimes from 1977-1986. He has been refused asylum.

He was prevented from being sent back at the last

minute by lawyers putting a case based on the expert opinion of psychiatrists who say that his symptoms are typical of someone who has undergone extreme torture and degradation.

His solicitor believes that any further abuse or detention will lead to irreversible mental disorder.

He has spent nine months in detention and suspense in Harmondsworth detention centre, near Heathrow airport, while the Home Office considers his case at its leisure. He needs immediate 'asylum help and rehabilitation'.

Home Office

While considering his case the Home Office recently took him for further questioning at Heathrow. He was told to take all his belongings with him for the hour-long interview.

Treatment like this is on the increase. Two major new changes in immigration policy reflect and reinforce it.

Douglas Hurd's rulings mean there is no certainty that refugees will have time to get legal help to appeal against removal.

The Home Office says: 'They have a perfect right of appeal once they have been sent back, so long as they do it within 28 days. They were unable to explain how easy that would be from a country like Iran, but they said they would not send somebody back to the Soviet Union.'

The new Carriers' Liability legislation means that airlines may be fined £1,000 for every passenger arriving without the proper visa.

Michel Moussalli, former director of International Protection at the United Nations says: 'An asylum seeker, by definition, can't have papers which are in order. Often he has no papers at all.'

'To refuse territorial access to an individual on the pretext that he has no valid documentation, and to fine an airline that carries him, amounts to banning all asylum seekers. It is closing the border.'

CLOSING DOWN SALE

Paperbacks Centre

389 Green Street
Upton Park
London E13

MANY BOOKS HALF PRICE
BARGAINS IN ALL CATEGORIES
CHILDREN'S, SPORT, NOVELS
SPECIAL SALE OF POLITICAL AND
HISTORICAL BOOKS AND RARE ITEMS
FROM THE TROTSKYIST ARCHIVES

Sale ends 29 August


The other London shops will remain open

Paperbacks Centre

10-12 Atlantic Road Brixton London SW9 8HY 01-274 8342

28 Charlotte Street London W1F 1HJ 01-636 3532

BOOKS



BOOKS

28 Charlotte Street, London W1P 1HP
Tel: 01-636 3532

10-12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, London SW9 8HY
Tel: 01-274 8342

Hope Street Book Centre
321 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 3PT
Tel: 041-332 8881

BOOKS

ROBSON'S CHOICE

ON **Saturday**, at 2.30p.m.(C4), Fritz Lang's first American film *Fury*, with Spencer Tracy and Sylvia Sidney. At 4.25p.m.(BBC2), *King Creole* for Elvis Presley fans. At 7.30p.m.(C4), a documentary: *Baluchistan: The Gathering Storm*. At 8.20p.m.(Radio 3), PRKFV, a dramatic reconstruction of Eisenstein's collaboration with Prokofiev in the making of the film *Alexander Nevsky* in the meat in the *Proms 87* sandwich of Russian music which starts at 7.30p.m. At 9p.m.(C4), the documentary *Haiti: Dreams of Democracy*, looks at developments in Haiti since 'Baby Doc's' dictatorship was overthrown. At 10p.m.(ITV), Hal Ashby's film *Coming Home*. More uplifting, also starting at 10p.m.(Radio 3), Monteverdi's magnificent *Vespers (1610)* in *Music From Mantua*.

On **Sunday**, at 3.30p.m.(Radio 4), *Swingtime for Hitler*, a documentary showing how Goebbels's Ministry used jazz with doctored lyrics to 'demoralise the enemy'. At 4.15p.m.(C4), Charlie Chaplin in *A Dog's Life*. At 6.35p.m.(Radio 3), Fritz Kreisler plays Mozart and Grieg (recorded in 1928). At 7.15p.m.(BBC2), the celebrated French cellist, Paul Tortelier, gives a *Masterclass* in Manchester. At 8p.m.(BBC2), final part of *The Flight of the Condor* explores wildlife in the Amazon basin and the highlands of Colombia and Ecuador. At 10.20p.m.(BBC2), a comment story from New Zealand came a *Hot Friday*.

On **Monday**, at



FURY (1936), Fritz Lang's classic indictment of mob violence in the United States, stars Spencer Tracy and Sylvia Sidney, Saturday 15 August 2.30pm on Channel 4.

5.20p.m.(BBC2), the first of three documentaries on rural China, *One Village in China*. At 7.45p.m.(Radio 4), a radio version by Henry Reed of Herman Melville's classic *Moby Dick*. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), ScreenPlay Firsts presents *Careless Talk*, the first of five short student films made in Britain's film schools. At 10.10p.m.(BBC2), *The Law After Spycatcher*. At 10.55p.m.(C4), *The Eleventh Hours* presents: *Notorious Nobodies*.

On **Tuesday**, at 5.20p.m.(BBC2), part-two of *One Village in China*. At 7.20p.m.(Radio 4), *Tomorrow's Generals* a documentary about the United States Military Academy in Westpoint, Virginia, where the American ruling class educate the Oliver Norths, the Alexander Haigs and the William West-

morelands of tomorrow. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Stephen Frear's film *Gumshoe*, from an engaging screenplay by Neville Smith. At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), Dennis Potter's 1965 play *Vote, Vote* for Nigel Barton - which, if my memory serves me faithfully, is not to be missed! At 10.30p.m.(ITV), Viewpoint Special presents *Living After the Famine*, a documentary shot in Ethiopia by Charles Stewart and Malcolm Hirst. At 10.45p.m.(C4), *Sounds Surprising* presents a profile of jazz musician Ornette Coleman.

On **Wednesday**, at 1.50p.m.(BBC1), Alfred Hitchcock's *Stage Fright*, starring Marlene Dietrich. At 5.20p.m.(BBC2), the final part of *One Village in China*. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), another film school graduates work, *See You at Wembley Frank-*

ie Walsh. At 10.30p.m.(BBC1), part-four of *The Godfather*. Also at 10.30p.m.(ITV), the Australian feature film *The Killing of Angel Street*.

On **Thursday**, at 5p.m.(C4), Lewis Milestone's *Of Mice and Men*, based on the John Steinbeck short story. At 8.10p.m.(BBC2), novelist Angela Carter reports on the 1987 Edinburgh Festival in *Festival View 87*. At 10.25p.m.(BBC1), final part of *The Godfather*.

On **Friday**, at 7p.m.(ITV), Stanley Donen's delightful romp *Charade*, starring Cary Grant and Audrey Hepburn. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), *A View from a Window*, the last in the series of film school graduate films. At 12.05p.m.(BBC2), Richard Fleischer's taut B-Feature *Armoured Car Robbery*. **TOM SCOTT ROBSON**

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name date

Address

Trade Union Age (if under 21)

SEND TO:
Secretary to the Central Committee
PO Box 735, London SW9
7QS

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

GLASGOW
Saturday 22 August

9.45a.m. Assemble at Craigendmuir Street, Blackhill
10a.m. March to Royston
10.45a.m. Rally.

Speakers from: Sinn Fein; Pan Africanist Congress; Kashmiri Independence Movement; Campaign Against Repression in Iran; Republican Prisoners Committee

- Britain out of Ireland!
 - Down with British Imperialism!
 - Support all struggles for national liberation and socialism!
- Organised by Republican Bands Alliance and Clydeside Troops Out Movement
All banners welcome!

LOWTRY LTD (TU)

We can do your typesetting, print your leaflets, etc.

Example: Typesetting: £15 per 1,000 words
Printing 1,000 A4 for £25.00
Quotations also available for Web offset printing: tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, according to size and run.

Tel: 01-274 8459
Lowtry Ltd., 21-25 Beehive Place, Brixton, London SW9

Soviet historian knocks hero-cult

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

HOLLYWOOD had Errol Flynn defeating the Japanese in Burma single-handed. Soviet history had Leonid Brezhnev fighting a decisive battle in World War II.

Now Soviet historian Yuri Polyakov has announced to the public what they already knew — when it comes to official accounts of leaders' roles in history, 'it ain't necessarily so'.

After Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev in 1964, hack historians and writers were set to work depicting the previously little-known World War II battle of Malaya Zemlya, near the Black Sea, as a turning point in the war, like Stalingrad.

Brezhnev's own account of the battle, in which he was said to have nearly been killed, won a top Soviet literary prize. Moscow radio regularly broadcast a song about the battle.

'Monographs and scientific and popular articles were written about the decisive significance of Brezhnev's action at Malaya Zemlya,' observes Polyakov in an interview with the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. 'It was touched up to the utmost extent in booklets

and solid, multi-volume works.'

Brezhnev was a political commissar attached to the army during the war. His right-hand man, who briefly took over from 1984-5, Konstantin Chernenko, spent the war years with the frontier guard in eastern Kazakhstan.

Polyakov says both men had their wartime role exaggerated.

In a 1984 film 'Outpost of Youth', a man who had served at Chernenko's frontier post told how the hero's unit had tracked down a gang of foreign cattle rustlers. One trooper was killed, and another wounded, but the cattle were saved.

Glorify

Polyakov said the prestige of historical science had declined because of the habit of having to glorify the wartime role of leaders when they attained high office. 'The public lost confidence in the word of a historian.'

Meanwhile, Ronald Reagan may still be dreaming that his heroism as a fighter pilot in the Pacific war was for real and not just in a forgettable movie, and Tory propagandists are still pretending Margaret Hilda Thatcher won the Battle of Britain. If only they could hire a good Stalinist historian . . . !

More Aboriginal cell deaths in Australia

BY NORMAN HARDING

EDDIE West and Lloyd Boney are the latest in a long list of Aboriginal cell deaths.

Eddie West, 18, was hanged by his football sock in a Queensland watchhouse. Lloyd Boney, 28, was also hanged by a football sock. He was found in a police cell in the New South Wales outback town of Brewarrina on Thursday 6 August.

The authorities, as always, have claimed that the two men committed suicide. The families of both victims contest this official version very strongly, insisting there must have been police involvement in their deaths.

Prime Minister Hawke has announced that the government now deems it necessary to announce a Royal Commission, to be held with all the judicial powers that go with such an inquiry.

There is growing political pressure on the government

regarding treatment of the Aboriginals. But precious little of this is based on any understanding of their history and struggles. Their conditions of life and the land rights campaign are playthings for these political leaders.

What has really pushed Hawke into activity is an acute attack of 200th anniversary nerves.

Embarrassment

He is more worried about the 'embarrassment' that 44 cell deaths since 1980 (a small fraction of Aboriginal deaths since 1788) will cause to the preparations of the 1988 celebrations commemorating 200 years of the building of 'free' Australia.

It is this — and not any support for the struggles of the Aboriginals — that dominates.

Peter Fryer is on holiday

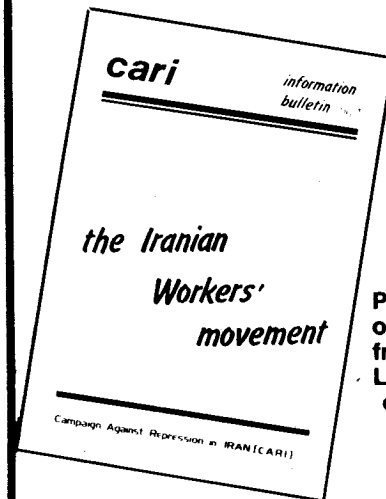
BRING BACK VICTORIA WILLIAMS! Campaign meetings, second and fourth Wednesdays of every month, 7.30p.m., UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

GREENHAM COMMON WOMEN'S CAMP To all women — we are still here; we still need your support! Near Newbury, Exit 13 on M4, or BR Newbury, Berkshire.

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

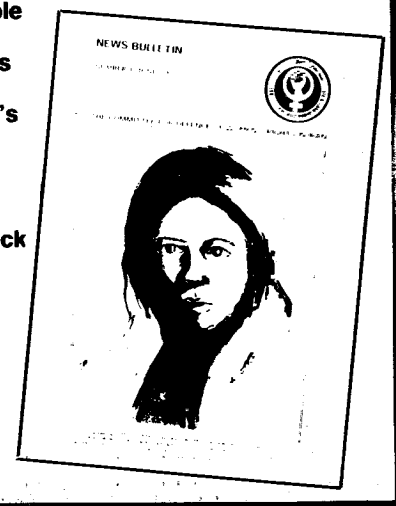
LONDON TOBACCO MASS PICKET in support of sacked women workers. London Tobacco, Chichester Road, Edmon-ton. 17 August, 7-8a.m. and 4-5p.m.

Two important pamphlets on Iran



Price: £1, obtainable from B.M. CARI, LONDON WC1N 3XX or through Paperback Centres.

Price: 50p, obtainable from Committee for Defence of Women's Rights in Iran, c/o London Women's Centre, 70 Great Queen St. London WC2b 5AX, or through Paperback Centres



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

INSIDE WALDHEIM'S AUSTRIA Talk by John Bunzl. Jewish Socialists' Group. **Sunday, 16 August 8p.m.** Friends' International Centre, Byng Place, off Torrington Place, WC1.

THE ALIENS ACT REVISITED. Exhibition on immigration history, racism, and laws. At Davenant Centre, 178-181 Whitechapel Rd. London E1.

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

Lessons for Trotskyists

James Burnham 1905-1987

JAMES BURNHAM, who died on 28 July aged 81, achieved world fame in 1941 when he published 'The Managerial Revolution'.

Burnham's thesis in this was that capitalism was indeed finished, as the Marxists said. However, it was not going to be replaced by the rule of the working class leading to socialism, but by a new and more oppressive form of class society.

The new ruling class, said Burnham, were the managers. This 'class' had already taken over in Hitler's Germany and in Stalin's Russia, and was fast growing in power in other countries.

Burnham cited the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939 as confirmation of his theory, the unity of the 'Communazis'. However, before the UK edition of his book appeared, the Nazis had invaded the USSR, for reasons he never explained.

Burnham went on to a career of extreme right-wing politics, his later books including 'Struggle for the World' (1947) and 'The Coming Defeat of Communism' (1950). Together with the notorious reactionary William Buckley, Jnr, he was associated with the 'National Review', from its inception in 1955, and he actively backed the presidential campaign of Goldwater.

Of course, Burnham's name is known to Trotskyists in quite another context. Readers of Trotsky's last book, 'In Defence of Marxism', will recall that it was directed against the Burnham-Shachtman group in the US Socialist Workers Party, which in 1939 challenged the necessity of revolutionaries to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Burnham, educated in Princeton and Oxford, was a socialist in the 1930s. As a member of the American Workers Party, led by the Rev A.J. Muste, he became part of the leadership of the Workers Party, formed in 1933 as a fusion of

BY CYRIL SMITH

Muste's group and the Trotskyist International Communist League.

After Muste returned to the Church, Burnham remained as a leading figure in the Trotskyist movement. He entered the Socialist Party with it in 1936, and helped to form the Socialist Workers Party when the Trotskyists were expelled by the right wing the following year.

Jointly with Max Shachtman, Burnham then became editor of the 'New International', the most influential journal in the world Trotskyist movement at that time, publishing many of Trotsky's writings. In 1937, his pamphlet 'People's Front: the Great Betrayal' gave a clear exposition of the Trotskyist standpoint on the Stalinist 'Popular Front' policy, and is still worth reading.

Burnham earned his living by teaching philosophy at New York University, where he became professor of philosophy in 1932.

But he did not teach Marxist philosophy. For at no stage of his evolution did Burnham accept the world outlook of dialectical materialism. And for us, this is the most important fact to be noted about him.

Burnham made no secret of his philosophical views. Indeed, he was not alone among the SWP leaders in holding them. Felix Morrow, once a student of the pragmatist John Dewey, was another leading Trotskyist who opposed Marxist philosophy. Even more significant, none of the others seemed to have regarded this anomaly as a major problem. But Trotsky did.

The January 1939 issue of 'New International' carried an article entitled 'Intellectuals in Retreat', signed by editors Burnham and Shachtman. Shachtman was an important figure in the movement. He had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 along with James Cannon, and was one of the founders of the International Left Opposition and of the Fourth International.

The article explained that, while one of its authors — Shachtman, that is — was a dialectical materialist, the other was not. It sought to persuade people to join in political action with the Trotskyists, whatever philosophical views they might hold. However, the article went further than this:

'Nor has anyone yet demonstrated that agreement or disagreement on the more abstract doctrines of dialectical materialism necessarily affects today's and tomorrow's concrete political issues — and political parties, programmes and struggles are based on such concrete issues.'

Trotsky wrote to Shachtman immediately he received his copy:

'The section on the dialectic is the greatest blow that you, personally, as the editor of the "New International", could have delivered to Marxist theory.' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 143.)

LATER that year, the dispute on 'the Russian question' erupted within the SWP. Shachtman, Burnham and others decided that the Stalin-

Hitler Pact, the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland and the war against Finland, meant that the USSR should not be defended any longer.

Soon they were challenging Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet state as a workers' state which had degenerated. They declared that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a class, not a caste, as Trotsky insisted.

In April, 1940, the Minority had split away to form the Workers Party. But, before May was out, Burnham had sent his famous letter of resignation from the Workers Party:

'By no stretching of terminology can I any longer regard myself, or permit others to regard me, as a Marxist. . . I reject, as you know, the "philosophy of Marxism", dialectical materialism. In the past, I excused this discrepancy and compromised this belief with the idea that the philosophy was "unimportant" and "did not matter" so far as practice and politics were concerned. Experience, and further study and reflection, have convinced me that I have been wrong and Trotsky — with so many others — right on this score; that dialectical materialism though scientifically meaningless, is psychologically and historically an integral part of Marxism, and does have its many and adverse effects upon practice and politics. . . Not only do I believe it meaningless to say that "socialism is inevitable" and false that socialism is "the only alternative to capitalism"; I consider that on the basis of the evidence now available to us a new form of exploitive society (what I call "managerial society") is not

only possible as an alternative to capitalism but is a more probable outcome of the present period than socialism'. (Ibid., pp 257-8.)

Less than a year after this, Professor Burnham had published the book which elaborated these ideas. Shachtman himself took rather longer to renounce Marxism, but eventually he did so.

Shachtman's efforts to avoid Burnham's anti-socialist conclusions are instructive. His description of the Soviet state as 'bureaucratic collectivism' answered nothing. Over all those who took this path hung the questions which Burnham had posed so brutally.

If the bureaucracy could really take Russian society forward, developing production under its monstrous regime, what was left of the Marxist conception that the contradictions of capitalism were the birthpangs of socialism? If the bureaucracy was able to take the productive forces forward, on what basis was the working class to take power?

From his own philosophical standpoint, Burnham was logically consistent, while Shachtman was not. For each of them, the bureaucracy was identical with the Soviet state. Trotsky was wrong to see it as a cancerous growth on the body of the state which had been born in 1917, a disease which had developed under particular historical conditions.

Burnham drew the conclusion that this was the way world society as a whole was going to develop. Socialism was a dream.

Those who have attempted to see the Soviet Union as some form of 'state capitalism' — and there have been a dozen such theories — cannot escape from the problem. Eventually, they must draw the conclusion that capitalism is capable of further development, and that its fundamental contradictions can be resolved without its overthrow. The world socialist revolution did not begin in 1917, and imperialism is not the highest stage of capitalism.

Where Shachtmanism concludes that it is too late for the socialist revolution, 'state capitalism' says it is too early. Burnham was more consistent than any of them. He decided there had never been a chance for socialism, anyway.

ANY such theory must involve the abandonment of the whole of Marxism. It must be incompatible with Marx's conception of the state, and with his analysis of the nature of capitalist exploitation. Historical materialism and its understanding of the class struggle must also go.

Every bit of Marxism — the only world outlook which makes any sense of modern history — has to be thrown in the bin. It will then be replaced by whichever kind of formalism or mysticism happens to be fashionable within decaying bourgeois culture at the time.

That is why 'the Russian question' — the analysis of the first workers' state — is not just a matter of political tactics, but lies at the very foundations of our movement. For those foundations are neither a programme of demands, nor a set of policies on 'concrete' issues, but the entire



Trotsky Memorial Meeting, August 1940

Moscow Trials not a priority

A PRINCIPLED re-examination of the cases of the Bolshevik leaders framed in Stalin's Moscow Trials of the 1930s is not a priority of Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost policies, a top level Soviet cultural delegation made clear during the opening week of the Edinburgh Festival.

Led by Victor Karpov, first secretary of the Writers Union of the USSR, the delegates, leading figures in the arts, participated in an unprecedented series of conferences on Soviet culture this week.

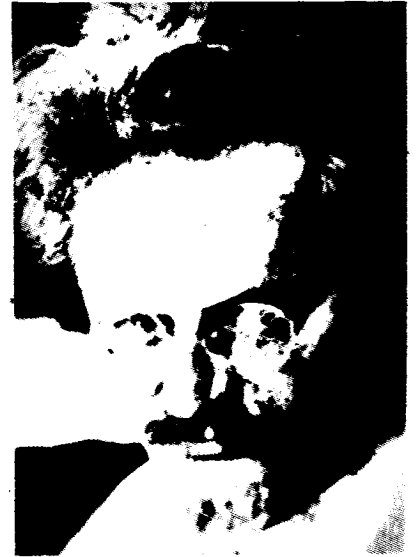
The conferences are a spin off from Festival director Frank Dunlop's pre-glasnost initiative in inviting a splendid array of Soviet musicians, actors, poets and dancers to the 41st Edinburgh International Festival.

The audience at the Festival's opening concert, given by the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra heard a much-publicised message from Gorbachev saying that cultural ties between the Soviet Union and the West are essential for the progress of mankind.

BY TERRY BROTHERSTONE

he declared, was to open out to the people as a whole, discussions previously confined to intellectuals.

He hoped there would soon be a history and a novel about the times of Nikita Khrushchev, for whom he expressed great admiration. Khrushchev's denunciation of artists had been due to 'peasant cunning' in the face of bureaucratic pressures, he suggested. The former Soviet leader had responded to Yevtushenko's criticisms of his by saying that his words 'had not harmed a hair on any artists' head.



Thatcher

But Soviet ambassador, Leonid Zamyat earlier went out his way to give Prime Minister T. atcher — one of the most philistine leaders in modern British history — much of the credit for promoting cultural progress, despite the fact that Dunlop's plans long pre-dated her pioneering Moscow visit and have been accomplished in the face of Tory cutbacks in arts funding.

The Gorbachev message was repeated by vice-minister of culture V. Kazinin at the first session of the cultural conference, a genuinely public — though ill publicised — event dominated in its initial stages by generalised statements about glasnost by Karpov, the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the editor of the poetry magazine 'Novy Mir' and a professor of sociology, Yuri Zamoshkin.

Open

Zamoshkin handled the question of the rehabilitation of the Moscow Trials victims by saying that he had no ready answers. Referring to policy differences in the 1930s, rather than the Trials themselves, he said, 'I definitely agree that we should go back and we should make it an open discussion. All the different opinions must be expressed.'

It was clear however that the rehabilitation of the Bolshevik leaders accused of being 'Trotsky-fascists' would not be a precondition for this 'open discussion', even if it were actually to take place. And Zamoshkin went out of his way to express his 'personal opinion' that Leon Trotsky 'as a personality' was 'like Stalin only worse'. He said afterwards, however, that a statement on Bukharin might come later this year.

None of the panel dissented from Zamoshkin's views, although differences of opinion were clear on other questions, which included the possibility of publishing the works of Alexander Solzhenitsin in the Soviet Union, and the extent of religious freedom.

A key role in the proceedings was played by Yevtushenko, who recently stated on BBC radio that there was now a danger of oppositionists fighting too hard in the Soviet Union, and that more time should be devoted to the love of beauty. He expressed the view that there should be no antagonism between different generations of Soviet intellectuals, since writers and thinkers from all generations had played their part in keeping alive the values out of which glas-

Moscow strike gets Glasnost blessing

THE relationship between the State and the working class has always been a thorny if not dangerous area for the official press in the USSR to report on and has previously been limited to lies of harmonious co-operation. Now however in this age of 'glasnost' the official weekly Moscow News has admitted things are not all well and raised some very important questions.

BY PATRICK KANE

V. Buzychkin, in issue 16/17, declares that 'In the past, it was considered that since there are no class antagonisms in our country neither could there be such means for overcoming them as strikes'. Without however explaining that there had been strikes but that reporting them would have resulted in probable prison for the author.

A conflict resulting in a strike took place at a factory in Moscow over dangerous working conditions. The management ignored complaints and a young worker was injured by faulty machinery. The resulting strike was regarded as important enough to be reported on Soviet TV.

Buzychkin described an official trade union representative involved as a 'spineless creature'. While admitting that the workers got nothing done through official procedures he can only see the 'social roots' of the conflict in terms of the workers thinking 'there was no other way out' and of the 'hot headedness of the youth and ignorance of their own rights and ways of exercising them'.

Moscow News suggests that the workers were partly to blame themselves for the failures of the system stating that they had 'failed to utilise quite a number of means to protect themselves', that they should have appealed directly to 'Soviet power' or elected a 'two-fisted, honest lad' as their trade union representative.

It goes on to state that the 'Workers have to protect themselves because as we know, bureaucracy can cancel out any social rights, no matter how vast they may be'.

confirmed by the workers themselves, that nobody has any faith in the existing structures defending their interests, whether they be the state-controlled unions, the soviets, or whatever.

The confidence of the workers in the Moscow factory who struck and won the changes they wanted has been boosted with one worker quoted as saying that they are 'the formerly silent majority' which has begun to 'press from below'.

Buzychkin concludes his candid account stressing the benefits of Gorbachev's policies of 'restructuring' and 'democratization' which means workers must use all the 'rights that people have at their disposal', but his criticism of workers' passivity and failure to defend themselves raises an issue he didn't deal with.

Struggles

What of those 'two-fisted, honest lads' who did lead workers struggles against the Soviet bureaucracy, those such as Aleksei Nikitin, a Ukrainian miner who died after a decade imprisoned in a mental hospital? Or another Ukrainian miner Vladimir Klebanov, organiser of the Free Trade Union Association who has remained imprisoned in a mental hospital since 1978 despite the Gorbachev amnesty?

These are workers who fought back against the Brezhnev leadership, a period so criticised by Gorbachev. If it is now safe for the working class to defend its own interests, will Moscow News now call for the rehabilitation of these workers, their release and the pay-



Socialist Workers Party leader James Cannon (left) and Farrell Dobbs in August 1941

world outlook of Marxism.

Trotsky's characterisation of the degeneration of the first workers' state was not an attempt to fit the unprecedented events of his time into Marx's 19th century ideas. It was not an 'application' of these ideas, like the application of physics to the construction of a dishwasher, or of wallpaper to a wall.

Trotsky's analysis was abstracted from the struggle within the international working class for revolutionary theory, against the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International. It was the only way to grasp the events of its time, because it was developed as an integral part of the Marxist world outlook.

Without a leadership based upon this outlook, the working class cannot mobilise itself, independently of the ruling class, as the force which would overthrow imperialism.

But for the majority of those who devoted their lives to Trotsky's struggle, the theory of Marxism was not the lifeblood of the proletarian revolution, but only a sort of optional extra.

JAMES CANNON was one of Trotsky's closest collaborators. A proletarian fighter, he spent a lifetime in the communist movement. His support for Trotsky throughout the dispute with the Burnham-Shachtman tendency was an important episode in his battle for revolutionary principles.

But in his book 'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party', describing this dispute, he refers to philosophical questions only in passing. He assures Trotsky that the study of dialectical materialism in the Party is progressing — but never actually tells anyone just what this work is about.

For Trotsky, as any reader of 'In Defence of Marxism' will know, the question of dialectics was the heart of the matter. Against Shachtman he declares:

'The party of the proletariat is a party unlike all the rest. It is not at all based on "such concrete issues" . . . Its task is the preparation of a social revolution and the regeneration of mankind on new

material and moral foundations.

'In order not to give way under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and police repression, the proletarian revolutionist, a leader all the more, requires a far-sighted, completely thought out world outlook. Only on the basis of a unified Marxist conception is it possible to correctly approach "concrete" questions'. (Ibid., pp 143-4.)

Burnham's life-story is a living confirmation of the truth of these remarks, and Shachtman's even more so. While Burnham challenged the theoretical bases of the movement, Shachtman took them as read. This inevitably led each of them to capitulate to the class enemy.

The struggle for principles, devotion to the working class and personal self-sacrifice have always essentially characterised our movement. But, in themselves, they can neither be a protection against the influence of bourgeois society, nor provide the strategy for its overthrow.

If 'Trotskyism' means political action and argument, rather than the probing and development of theory in the training of a revolutionary leadership, then Trotsky was no 'Trotskyist'. To the day of his assassination by Stalin's thugs, he warned his American supporters that they had to study the philosophical foundations of Marxism. Otherwise they would fall victim to American pragmatism.

They worked devotedly to carry out his political programme — and completely ignored its theoretical basis. Their subsequent political fates, in the changed situation after the war, are an awful warning to everyone who wants to fight for communism.

As the work proceeds towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International, we must build Trotsky's conception of the Marxist world outlook into its foundations. Today, the objective conditions exist in the class struggle which can make this possible.

That is why the renegade James Burnham, whose philosophical work will soon be forgotten by the academic world, remains a living problem for Trotskyism.

280,000 rally to South African strike

Namibian miners also on strike

OVER 4,000 Black miners at three copper mines in South African-occupied Namibia have been on strike since 26 July, demanding decent wages, human conditions, and an end to racist apartheid rule.

The strike at the Tsumeb mines is taking place under martial law conditions, in defiance of a company lock-out and police brutality.

The workers' demands include:

● A 120-per-cent rise in wages. The current rate is Rands 195 (£54) a month.

● Annual leave of 60 days. At present workers get no paid leave. They are employed for fixed term contracts, but must stay on site or miss the next contract.

● Family housing. Under the present set-up, miners live in all-male hostels. Women are not allowed entry.

● Compensation for industrial injury and for those made redundant recently.

● An end to apartheid practices at the mines.

● An end to the contract labour system.

● The company to demand South Africa accepts UN Security Council Resolution 435, ending its war in Namibia and withdrawing troops.

The Tsumeb mines are in the north of Namibia, the war zone. There is a dusk-to-dawn curfew. Since the strike began, police and army reinforcements have been moved into the area.

The employer, Tsumeb Corporation Limited (TCL), has been refusing to negotiate and sacked all strikers. It has applied for a court injunction to evict the miners from their hostels.

TCL is a subsidiary of Gold Fields of South Africa, which is 48-per-cent owned by the British mining and construction corporation Consolidated Goldfields, with pre-tax profits last year of £156 million.

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY

Workers Press statement

— see pages 8-9

Miners magnificent!



Mineworkers chant slogans at a COSATU rally

Force British Labour leaders to back the miners' strike

THE powerful class action unleashed by the 280,000-strong strike by South African miners must receive immediate support throughout the British working-class movement.

The fund launched by the International Miners' Organisation in support of the strike must be made the first step in the struggle to rouse British labour in defence of the magnificent struggle unleashed by its South African comrades against the Botha regime.

IMO president Arthur Scargill, in a statement issued last week said: 'The NUM are fully supporting the South African National Union of Mineworkers in their struggle for justice in the coal and gold fields in South Africa.'

'Both the NUM and the IMO will be giving assistance and campaigning for the raising of funds for the black South African miners.'

So powerful was the movement that production in all 46 gold and coal mines targeted by the miners' union was halted and large numbers of non-union members were drawn into the biggest class action yet seen in South Africa.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

ca. Miners at two other mines where the union was not yet recognised joined the strike.

At Sotho, east of Johannesburg, a rally of 2,500 miners last Sunday evening cheered as NUM president James Motlatsi said they must be prepared 'to strike for a long time'. The miners sang liberation songs, and defiantly waved pickhandles.

There were clashes at the nearby Kinross gold mine, owned by Gencor, when pickets were attacked. This was the scene of one of the biggest mining disasters last year, when 177 men died in an underground fire. Among the union's demands are improved death benefits and better safety.

Elsewhere, the union reported violence by mine security forces, including attacks with rubber bullets



Cyril Ramaphosa
Black miners' leader

and birdshot at the Lorraine gold mine in the Orange Free State.

Union general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said men had been forced underground at gunpoint at the Vaal Reefs mine, owned by Anglo-American Corporation. At a number of other places there had been attacks on miners who have been seeking to attend union meetings.

The union had advised miners to leave the compounds and return home, so as to be less open to provocations and police violence.

The NUM is demanding a 30-per-cent pay rise, better conditions and compensation, and an end to apartheid job discrimination.

Although the mineowners were putting on a brave face last week and saying it would take two weeks before the strike could cause serious damage, experts had said earlier that if more than 200,000 miners came out, the effect would be 'significant'. Cyril Ramaphosa said the

union was ready to continue the strike for 'as long as it takes' to win its demands.

While the gold strike could have repercussions for capitalism worldwide, the coal strike could have more immediate effects in South Africa, particularly if it spreads to the mines producing for SASOL, the state-owned fuel company which extracts oil from coal.

The strike will undoubtedly hit the South African economy severely. Gold brings in 35 to 40 per cent of South Africa's foreign earnings. Coal is the second biggest export earner.

But the strike is above all political. It has brought the working class directly face-to-face with the state. From day one there were direct clashes between pickets and state forces which echoed directly the experience of the British miners' strike of 1984-1985.

Like its ally, the Thatcher government — which also proclaimed 'non-involvement' even as it launched brutal state police assaults on British miners — Botha's racist regime is bracing itself for a violent confrontation with 'the enemy within'.

Last week the government announced new laws to curb the 'political activities' of the unions.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has warned that any state intervention and deaths or injuries to striking miners would lead to 'generalised strike action involving every COSATU affiliate'.

Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis has promised right-wing supporters that

the government intends to legislate to restore a 'balance of power' between employers and workers. This undoubtedly means further anti-union laws.

Such laws will intensify the struggle and bring out more clearly its revolutionary-political character.

Workers in South Africa and in Britain are facing the same enemy. The Thatcher government is the biggest prop of the apartheid regime.

The magnificent struggle by the black miners of South Africa — who consciously named their union after the British NUM to show their inspiration — must be the basis for real class solidarity from the British working-class movement.

Workers must demand that their leaders take up the fight against Thatcher as the most concrete way to assist the fight now intensifying in South Africa.

● The time for pious resolutions against apartheid and declarations of sympathy with the South African struggle is over. The trade union and labour leaders must be forced to act!

● The TUC Blackpool Conference must be made to give all the financial, political and moral support which the miners' struggle requires.

● The TUC must be forced to launch the widest possible industrial boycott in defence of the South African NUM.

■ All donations should be sent to Peter Heathfield, NUM (SA) Strike Appeal Fund, National Union of Mineworkers, St. James' House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield, S1 2EX