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## South African miners ballot

South African gold and coal miners look likely to reject all attempts at a negotiated settlement to end their 16-day old strike when they go to vote later tonight. The re-opening of talks by the Chamber of Mines, which was seen as a climb-down, has proved unsuccessful in breaking the miners resolve. No offers had been forthcoming regarding the crucial wages issue.

# MINERS REJECT DISCIPLINE CODE

## Ready for new fight

THE massive vote for industrial action against British Coal's new disciplinary code is a powerful blow against those who said, after the 1984-5 strike, that the miners were finished.

The big 'yes' the recent NUM conference, giving the from South Wales at miners' executive pow-

### BY THE EDITOR

er to call industrial action — probably an overtime ban in the first instance — against the new code.

This is the first time since 1974 that all the coalfields have voted together on a major issue; it is also the first time since then, and since Scargill took office as president, that they have voted for national industrial action.

The lead against the code was given by Frickley miners who, in defiance of the Yorkshire area executive, staged a strike last month and stopped ten other pits with flying pickets.

Like the Frickley strike and the conference decision against six-day working, the ballot result is a snub to those forces — the right wing in the union, the 'lefts' and above all the Stalinists of the Communist Party — who have sought to isolate Scargill on the NUM executive and accept the 'new reality' of Thatcher's tyranny after the strike.

This unholy alliance has made it no secret that they want to get rid of Scargill, break up the unity of the national union, negotiate area deals and adapt to plans for privatisation and 'streamlined' exploitation.

Now the miners have made it clear that they have other plans in mind: to resist Thatcher, and new British Coal chief Sir Robert Haslam who masterminded 'flexibility' and the break-up of trade union rights in the steel industry after the 1981 strike.

Far from isolating Scargill as British Coal hoped, this vote strengthens the national union.

It is not so much a personal victory for Scargill as an expression of the unbroken capacity of the working class to struggle.

The miners have taken their decision in the aftermath of a bitter year-long strike which virtually every faint-hearted wrote off as a definitive defeat.

The Workers Revolutionary Party insisted that the miners had lost a battle but not the war. By voting for action against British Coal's plans, thousands of miners who after the strike are still up to their ears in debts, unpaid mortgages and HP have proved this very point.

What is at stake is not wages but conditions fought for in the mines before and throughout the period of nationalisation.

The NUM is demanding that British Coal's new prop-

osed 'code of conduct' is withdrawn while a joint working party discusses it. In particular the union is insisting on:

- The right of members to be represented at disciplinary proceedings by officials of their choice. The board are saying that they will vet representatives — some of which are NUM pit officials sacked for their part in the 1984-5 strike.
- A disciplinary procedure which lasts for no more than 14 days.
- The appointment of independent appeals procedure in each area.

British Coal faces the fiercest opposition to a section of the new code which would give them the right to discipline miners for offences committed away from the workplace — even if it is not proved in a court of law that the offence was committed. They are thus attempting to put down on paper the policy they adopted during the strike — of sacking miners for alleged, unproven 'offences' carried out on picket lines or in villages many miles from their workplaces.

British Coal say the proposed code gives miners more rights than the code which governs the NUM's internal discipline. But in the NUM, lay members are elected to disciplinary and appeals committees: thus miners are 'tried by their peers' if accused of scabbing or other anti-union offences.

Would British Coal allow miners' committees to decide on disciplinary cases in the pits? This demand should be raised in opposition to the new code.

With nationalisation in 1947, miners' hopes of controlling their own industry were raised — but workers' control was never part of nationalisation. Working conditions and other questions were often settled by compromise between union officials and 'benevolent' managers.

With Macgregor, benevolence and compromise went out of the window and the 1984-5 strike ensued. With Haslam, aided by right-wing forces in the union, the Tories are cracking down on conditions.

Every miner who voted for industrial action against the new disciplinary code has struck a powerful blow against these plans.

The vote reinforces our conviction that conditions exist to build a new revolutionary leadership in the working class.

● See 'Nationalisation: The dream or the nightmare?' — page 12



The Workers Revolutionary Party joined an International Day of Solidarity, with the struggles against imperialism in Ireland and throughout the world, held in Glasgow last weekend. See back page.

## Lobby TUC next Monday

### 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!

### Youth for Socialism PUBLIC MEETING

12:15pm Monday 7th, September  
Helmshore Hotel, 28 Charnley Rd,  
Blackpool.

Speakers — Tim Perkins — MSC  
scheme worker  
Jim Bevan — Mid-Glamorgan District Secretary AUEW (in personal capacity)  
Speaker from Youth For Socialism



# Workers Press

## RUDOLPH HESS

THE CEMETERY where Rudolph Hess, Hitler's former deputy, was to have been buried attracted large numbers of sympathisers wanting to pay their last respects to the 93 year-old fascist. Die-hard fascists from the Hitler period as well as those of more recent vintage — including a British contingent — journeyed to the village of Wunsiedel to mourn the death of this butcher of millions.

If nothing else, this fact alone signifies the claim that the Second World War was the 'war to end fascism' is as bogus as the claim that the First World War was the 'war to end all wars'. While capitalism survives the danger of fascism will remain.

It was the lie of Stalinism, together with social democracy, that the last world war was one of 'totalitarianism' against 'democracy'.

Fascism — the unbridled, violent rule of capital which strips away all rights from the working class — and parliamentary democracy are two forms of bourgeois rule. Marxists do not of course conflate these two forms of rule. But we recognise that the one grows out of the other.

In times of relative class peace the capitalist class is willing to maintain its rule through parliamentary institutions. In times of acute crisis such forms are abandoned. They are replaced by police-military rule which unleashes a reign of terror against the working class. The aim of such rule is to atomise the working class and, through murder, imprisonment and torture to behead it of its leadership.

Fascism is a product of imperialism, the stage capitalism reached at the beginning of the present century. For Marxists imperialism represents the epoch of capitalist decay in which the productive forces have historically outgrown the capitalist relations of production.

Eventually, capitalism is no longer able to rule in the old way. In acute crises, it does not make way peacefully for the working class, but turns to fascism. This represents an organic need, and is not the product of 'irrationality' or 'mad men' of the Hitler type, as bourgeois ideology pretends.

In the twentieth century, America emerged as the richest capitalist power extracting enormous super-profits from the rest of the world. Although experiencing chronic decline, British imperialism still remained a mighty force in the 1930s with a vast empire 'on which the sun never set and wages never rose'.

Sections of the British ruling class certainly toyed with the idea of financing a big fascist movement in the 1930s. But given their wealth and the complicity of the Stalinist and labour leaders, they found that this was unnecessary and would-be British Hitlers such as Oswald Mosley were ditched.

Germany was in a quite different state. Stripped of her colonies by the Versailles Treaty after the First World War and forced to pay unbearable reparations payments to the victorious capitalists, France especially, by the early 1930s she found herself in acute economic social and political distress. Hitler represented the way out for the German capitalist class.

But on Hess's death we should not forget that the victory of Hitler would have been impossible without the crimes of Stalinism. It was Stalin's 'social fascism' formula — social democrats, both leaders and members, were denounced as social fascists — which split the working class and allowed the Nazis to come to power in 1933.

After this disaster Stalinism swung to its Popular Front policy in which an unholy alliance of 'anti-fascist forces', including sections of the petty bourgeois and bourgeoisie, was sought, and the independence of the working class suppressed.

The Spanish Revolution was betrayed, and fascism won. Failing to win the Western imperialists to 'collective security', Stalin turned to the infamous 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact, which helped Hitler take Poland and prepare for the invasion of the Soviet Union.

Fascism cannot be stopped by trying to appease its godfathers, the capitalists. Only a working class jealously guarding its class consciousness, political independence and strength can ensure that fascism does not pass.

Only the successful establishment of socialism can rid the world of the bestiality of fascism. This is what must be remembered on Hess's death.

# Cuts meeting points way forward

**CUTS, which will mean sackings and closure of services before the next election, are the subject of a consultation meeting in Lambeth at which council trades unionists are staging a lobby.**

The meeting, entitled the Borough Conference, takes place on Sunday June 13 from 12.0 noon to 5.0 pm at Lambeth Town Hall. It is the only chance people will have to show what they think of the cuts before the council implement them.

The Lambeth Joint Trade Union Committee will be holding a lobby and is calling for maximum participation at the meeting — to which community organisations such as tenants' associations, Labour Party ward branches etc etc are entitled to send two voting delegates each. All Lambeth trades unionists may attend but not vote unless delegated.

While other south London boroughs, Lewisham and Southwark, are preparing to sack workers and shut services like libraries in 1988-89, Lambeth should be able to scrape through with a £60 million 'gap' in its budget.

But it will continue to grow — and on its present course the council will have to use the knife in two years' time at most.

Other councils are increasing rents and charges for various council services, maintaining a 'vacancy freeze' on jobs that fall vacant, and using other 'creative accounting' devices.

Breathing down councils' necks is the prospect of the Thatcher plan to make inner cities 'enterprise zones' which will no doubt mean a privatisation binge. Profit before people is the name of the game.

The dilemma for Labour councils — who were elected on a mandate of refusing to sack workers or close services — is they can not juggle their way through the problem for ever.

Lambeth may be able to scrape through 1988-1989 without sacking workers and without closing down services like libraries (as Lewisham and Southwark are already prepared to do).

Eight out of 40 Labour councillors in the borough have voiced their willingness to fight, and voted against the cuts budget passed for 1987/88.

The trades unions aim to turn those eight into a majority determined to resist, and the lobby is the first step.

The consultation itself is a step forward. In other



"NO, MATE, THIS IS TEMPORARY HOUSING.... THE NEXT ONE ALONG IS COMMUNITY CARE...."

boroughs where councils do not intend to hold such meetings, the demand must be raised that they do.

In Lambeth, as elsewhere, councillors were elected on condition that they pledged to follow the 31 former councillors down the road of illegality and surcharge, and that they would suffer no cuts in jobs and services.

The fight must be built up in the working class movement to ensure that the maximum resistance to all cuts is organised.

Already, in Lambeth, cuts in the housing repairs budget mean that approximately 12,000 repairs are outstanding and no Priority 4 work (the lowest priority) is done at all.

Lack of technical officers is causing problems with major repairs, such as damp, which is frequently raised by tenants' representatives.

The shortage of safety inspectors means for example fairs may not be properly checked. £250,000 has been cut from the estate lighting programme because of staff shortages — this has bad implications for the safety and peace of mind of women particularly.

his home in Redbridge, where he was BNP organiser. There was also a 'hit list' of various people such as Labour MP Greville Janner.

According to 'Searchlight' magazine, murder squad detectives investigating the arson killing of Mrs Shamira Kassam and her three young children at their home in Redbridge in July 1985 questioned Lecomber. (Searchlight, August 1987).

The magazine claims that two men who provided Lecomber with an alibi for the night of the firebombing were both former British Movement members.

At his trial for the Clapham case, Lecomber claimed he had driven across London merely to test a homemade nail-bomb, and had not intended to use it against the WRP. The more serious charge of intent to endanger life was dropped, and Lecomber was only found guilty of possession.

## LECOMBER OUT SOON

CONVICTED neo-Nazi bomber Tony East, alias Tony Lecomber, is likely to be out on the streets within a few months.

There were rumours last month that Lecomber, serving three years in Wandsworth for possession of explosives, might be out sooner. Following concern expressed by MPs and members of the public, this was denied.

But with a year's remission, the east London British National Party (BNP) activist is due for release in November.

Lecomber was injured by one of his own bombs flaring up in his car, not far from premises then used by the Workers' Revolutionary Party, in November 1985.

Police found detonators, grenades and other items at

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## South Africa: 32 face execution

THERE are now 32 South Africans awaiting execution following convictions on charges related to their involvement in trade union and political struggles.

The vicious repression launched by the South African regime under the 'State of Emergency' has claimed countless victims.

The police and the army have been responsible for massacres in many places including Soweto, Uitenhage, Duduza, Mamelodi. Police and their agents, the armed vigilantes, roam the townships, harassing kidnapping and often shooting on sight.

Young children have been shot whilst playing in the backyards of their homes. Trade union leaders and spokespersons of local organisations have been found murdered in mysterious circumstances. No one has ever been arrested and charged for these crimes.

Since 1963, 90 people held in political detention have died in police custody. These include Steve Biko and Neil Aggett.

Political opponents of the regime and trade union activists are being brought to trial on framed charges carrying heavy sentences. Many

# DON'T LET THEM HANG

face the death penalty.

This political persecution and legalised murder of activists and militants in South Africa must be opposed by socialists and the labour movement worldwide

Don't let them hang!

**Six from Sharpeville, sentenced December 1986:**

1. Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa (30)

2. Reid Malebo Mokoena (22)

3. Oupa Moses Diniso (30)

4. Theresa Ramashomola (24)

5. Duma Joshua Khumalo (26)

6. Francis Don Mokhesi (29)

**Two from Tzaneen, sentenced June 1986:**

7. Solomon Mankopane Maowasha (20)

8. Alex Matshapa Matsepane (23)

**Three from Oudtshoorn, sentenced September 1986:**

9. Patrick Manginda (23)

10. Desmond Majola (27)

11. Dickson Madikane (26)

**Two from Sebokeng, sentenced September 1986:**

12. Josiah Tsawane (29)

13. Daniel Maleke (19)

**One, sentenced in Jansenville:**

14. Elille Webushe

**Two from Kwanobuhle, sentenced November 1986:**

15. Moses Mnyanda Jantjes (21)

16. Mlamli Wellington Mielies (22)

**One from Colesburg, sentenced 1986:**

17. Paul Tefo Setlaba (22)

**Four from Addo, sentenced January 1987:**

18. Mziwoxolo Chritopher Makaleni (22)

19. Makheswana Menze (43)

20. Ndimiso Silo Siphenuka (26)

21. Similo Lennox Wonci (22)

**One from Durban, sentenced to death three times, April 1987:**

22. Robert McBride (23)



**Three NUM members from Vaal Reefs mine, sentenced to death four times, May 1987:**

23. Tyeluvuyo Mgedezi (28)

24. Solomon Mangaliso Nongwati (38)

25. Paulos Tsietsi Tshelana (38)

**Six from Queenstown, sentenced June 1987:**

26. Mzwandile Gqeba (22)

27. Mzwandile Mnzini (27)

28. Theminkosi Pressfeet (30)

29. Wanto Silinga (27)

30. Monde Tingwe (23)

31. Lundi Wana (20)

**One from Soweto:**

32. Bekisizwe Ngidi (19)

## OCTOBER 10: All out for Mayekiso!

**THE MOST important test of strength between capital and labour anywhere in the world at the moment is taking place in South Africa in the gigantic strike of the gold and coal mine workers.**

The terrorist state, representing world capital, replies to the enormous growth of the workers' movement in South Africa with its treason trial of the metalworkers' leader, Moses Mayekiso, and four comrades.

This hanging trial is a direct attack on the whole world working class. At the same time, the campaign in Britain for the immediate release of this proletarian fighter and his comrades — Mayekiso is a former miner and a metalworker — is the first time the South African workers' movement itself directly becomes the object of the international solidarity movement.

Mayekiso's defence is a matter of urgency and a point of honour for the whole class. To defend itself, the class must successfully secure Mayekiso's release.

All the more puzzling to workers, then, will be the Socialist Workers Party's refusal to take part in the March for Mayekiso organised for London for 10 October.

In a letter dated 4 August 1987 to the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, Sheila McGregor on behalf of the SWP has written — amazingly — that this march 'can only weaken (!) the opposition to the apartheid regime'.

On the contrary, the SWP's refusal to strengthen the March for Mayekiso can only weaken the fight for Mayekiso and his comrades.

Through some perverse logic known only to itself, the SWP leadership through Ms McGregor declares that the March for Mayekiso requires to be counterposed to the demonstration in London by the national Anti-Apartheid Movement on 24 October.

**FROM PAUL TREWHELA**

It escapes Ms McGregor that a rousing March for Mayekiso on 10 October can only be the best possible mobiliser for a really powerful contingent calling for Mayekiso's freedom on the national AAM march a fortnight later.

Activists in the unions, in AAM branches and in the Labour Party should try patiently to convince SWP members and supporters of the Friends of Moses Mayekiso of the folly and irresponsibility of a sectarian approach on this matter. They should campaign for Mayekiso on both demonstrations.

This is no issue for sectarian posturing.

**To City of London Anti-Apartheid Group**

Dear comrades,  
IN REPOSE to your letter, notifying us of the formation of the March for Mayekiso committee and the demonstration called on October 10th, we believe that it is important to build the maximum support for the national Anti Apartheid demonstration on October 24th. The cause of Moses Mayekiso and his fellow accused, as well as that of all other detainees will be best served by taking part in that demonstration. To attempt to build a demonstration on October 10th, only two weeks before the main demonstration can only weaken the opposition to the apartheid regime. Hence we are not prepared either to sponsor the demonstration on October 10th, nor send delegates along to the March for Mayekiso committee.

We will of course continue to support the campaign by the Friends of Moses Mayekiso for his unconditional release and that of his four comrades.

fraternally,  
Sheila McGregor  
on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party

## With 'friends' like these...

A MEETING demanding the release of Moses Mayekiso, the black South African trade union leader on trial for treason, came under fire last week from Anti-Apartheid Movement officials.

The meeting, organised jointly by the Hammersmith and Fulham Trades Council and the local Anti-Apartheid group, was well-publicised and well-attended. But leading AAM officials spent all their energy undermining it.

First, officials of the Hammersmith and Fulham AA group insisted that Terry Bell from the 'Friends of Moses Mayekiso' be removed from the list of speakers — on the grounds that his organisation is sectarian, endangering the lives of South Africans by having direct links with trades unionists.

This is the classic accusation of the Stalinist AAM leadership against trade unions which by-pass the blocking machinery set up by the AAM, African National Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions, against such direct links. The fact that Terry Bell had written to these organisations inviting them to participate in the campaign was ignored.

Moses Mayekiso himself, general secretary of NUMSA (the second biggest South African trade union) and instrumental in setting up the trade union federation

COSATU asked, when he visited Britain, for direct links to be set up.

The Friends of Moses Mayekiso was formed spontaneously the day before Moses left Europe in the certain knowledge that he would be detained immediately he arrived in South Africa.

Terry Bell, a member of the National Union of Journalists who had met Moses, initiated the campaign. It has petitioned for his release, raised the issue in the unions and plans an advert in the 'Guardian'.

The activities of the campaign contrast to that mounted by the AAM, ANC and SACTU — which is zero.

Nevertheless, the SACTU representative at the meeting, AA's substitute speaker for Terry Bell, took the opportunity to denigrate Bell and his work. It was reminiscent of the AAM AGM where SACTU and ANC speakers were wheeled out to attack solidarity activity not controlled by the AAM — in that case by the City of London AA group.

The Stalinists in the AAM are determined that any solidarity must be tied to the bourgeois forces that infest their movement — Tories, Liberals, and priests. And so at last week's meeting, aided by a force of bulky-looking stewards, they: (1) Tried forcibly to pull down a banner put up by the trades council which showed the heads of Nelson Mandela



and Moses Mayekiso side by side, on the grounds that Mandela represented the South African people, and (presumably) that Moses Mayekiso did not.

(2) Screwed up leaflets advertising the 10 October March for Mayekiso, on the grounds that it is organised by the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

(3) Deliberately failed to applaud a speaker from the BTR Hangers dispute because he appealed for unity between the trade union movement and the AAM. (He illustrated his call with a story of how, when the Hangers workers held a picket of BTR headquarters, a short distance from Shell where the AAM was to hold a picket later, the AAM refused to join in the Hangers picket because it was not organised by them. The strikers happily went down to Shell after their own picket had finished.)

(4) Put forward a leading member of the London Committee of the AAM who used his speech to attack Steve Blease, the Hangers speaker.

The trade unionists present had a much less naive appreciation of the role of the AAM and SACTU by the end of the meeting. They, along with the ANC representatives in Britain set themselves up as the sole possessors of the South African struggle, and it is not so much that they support it or participate in it but that they own it. Anybody who does solidarity work uncontrolled by them becomes their sworn enemy.

As evidenced by their performance at the Hammersmith and Fulham meeting, the AAM is losing its grip on its personal possession of the South African struggle. It is of enormous significance that this should manifest itself around support for Moses Mayekiso who is an important leader of a massive and intransigent trade union movement now engaged in a huge miners' strike.

The ANC and the South African Communist Party is terrified that movement will evade its grasp and achieve independence from the bourgeois forces they are determined to tie it to.

The antics of the Hammersmith and Fulham AA group reflects this fear of the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois in South Africa and is a measure of the panic the Stalinists in the AAM feel about the growing independent movements of working class solidarity in Britain.



# THE 41st EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

## Questions to be pondered

TERRY BROTHERSTONE  
AT THE FESTIVAL

**A QUARTER** of a century ago the Marxist drama critic Jan Kott called William Shakespeare, who died in 1616, 'our contemporary'.

As a Pole who had lived through Nazism and Stalinism, Kott knew a thing or two about the real-life drama of the 20th century.

Any doubts in Britain today about his conviction in Shakespeare's direct relevance should have been dispelled by brilliant productions at the Edinburgh festival last week.

Two of the greatest English playwright's greatest tragedies, 'Hamlet' and 'Troilus and Cressida' were stunningly realised by the Moscow Studio Theatre of the South West, and the Berliner Ensemble.

Also on show was the Dublin Gate Theatre's marvelously naturalistic reinterpretation of Sean O'Casey's modern tragedy, 'Juno and the Paycock', which is set in the Irish civil war of the early 1920s.

Although 'Hamlet' was not strictly a Festival event — it was performed on the now famous, enormous and archaic 'Fringe' — these three bold productions more than confirmed the international excellence of director Frank Dunlop's second world theatre season.

They fully compensated for the manifest weaknesses of Dunlop's own, Scottish-based production of Schiller's grand, romantic tragedy, 'Maria Stuart'.

### Unease

And they removed the lingering sense of unease left by the Gorky Theatre of Leningrad, whose first-week performances of Chekov and dramatised Tolstoy were moving, thought-provoking and excellent, but had an air of established authority and lack of risk.

**NOT SO** the Moscow 'Hamlet'. The company, whose permanent home is a basement theatre in a housing estate, brought a grandeur and irresistible energy to the play that may sometime be equalled but is unlikely soon to be surpassed.

The Danish castle of Elsinore was reduced to an empty, all-black set, embellished only by five swinging, multi-purpose columns at the back. The actors found their way (sometimes with difficulty given technical problems at the first performance) into individual pools of light, where they spoke with a fierce intensity, either addressing the audience direct, or each other across a dark divide.

The action, swept along as if choreographed by the goddess of tragedy herself, was backed with loud, contemporary music which might have come from a Hollywood movie.

It was as if a great statement of Renaissance humanism — an assertion of the necessity of a moral order

higher than individual interest — was being brought together with the best in 20th century mass entertainment.

In V. R. Belyakovich's production the usurper king, Claudius (played by the director himself), stands centre stage, becomes a rounded character trying to act as a sort of master of ceremonies, for whom, however things are destined to go disastrously wrong because, in reality, he is criminally involved.

Larissa Uromova's queen, Gertrude, is statuesque in the background, concerned for her son Hamlet, whose father Claudius has murdered, but sensing danger. Ophelia (Nadyezhda Badakova), loved and discarded by the prince, goes through her own real tragedy, finally driven to suicide by the gossip of the incestuous court.

The courtiers Rosencrantz and Guildenstern for once come into focus from early on. They are well defined, fully deserving of their come-uppance, and in no need of rescue from obscurity by Tom Stoppard or anyone else.

Almost everything comes over as if new, yet this remains Shakespeare's play, with Hamlet's tragedy at its centre. And Victor Avilov's visually striking and far from youthful prince is no Victorian drip or sub-Freudian manic-depressive.

He is rather a potential contender for power whose own insight (aided by the best-presented ghost of his father I have ever seen) and self doubt keeps him immersed in the game but ruled out of the possibility of any personal fate other than tragedy.

The contemporaneity — timelessness would be quite the wrong word — of 'Troilus and Cressida' is of a different sort.

Shakespeare set his tale of lovers split asunder against the background of the Graeco-Trojan war of classical antiquity but had the Anglo-Spanish conflict of his own time in mind.

The Berliner Ensemble's beautifully simple production — the set consists mainly of a great sheet which serves as the sky, tent, ceremonial garb or lovers' bed as required — provokes thoughts about the general theme of senseless war and human pain and folly, the precision of which will depend on the degree of political understanding of each audience.

But that is not the main point about this production.

In what I would take to be a truly 'Brechtian' (much misused word) way it brings out the unique strength of what could be seen as the messy weakness of the play — its eclecticism and apparently unresolved ending.

In Manfred Wekwert and



Frank Dunlop (centre), artistic director of the festival and director of 'Mary Stuart', at the Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, introducing the cast to the stage at the first rehearsal

Joachim Tenschert's interpretation we are confronted with two war-torn and cynical armies, led by characters costumed from different times and places stretching from the classical world to the 20th century and apparently taking in mediaeval Japan and the Wild West on the way.

### Camp

The tragi-comedy they enact — seldom can quite such a camp Achilles as Peter Brause's have sulked in his tent with pretty Patroclus (Manuel Soubeyrand), or so blockheadedly loyal an Ajax as Alejandro Quintana's have limbered up in the background for his duel with the Trojan hero Hector (Hans-Peter Reinecke) — proclaims its modernity not only in these human details through which it is assembled, but also by the unresolved abruptness with which it ends.

Martin Seifert's Troilus is no doomed lover meeting a dramatically satisfying end, but an erotically obsessed youth seeing nothing beyond the evidence of his own eyes, who is left to soldier on, having learnt little.

Corinna Harfouch's Carri-da — traded for a Trojan prisoner out of Troilus' bed but fetchingly fair in a film-star fur — is left to her neurotic survival-plan, trying to work out the difference between romantic love and whoredom in a world of bullish masculinity.

And Hector's end — which, unlike his main story, Shakespeare took from Homeric legend — is reduced to a sordid, behind the tent ambush by Achilles' thugs.

The scheming Pandarus (Arno Wyzniewski) on the Trojan side, and the bluntly cynical Thersites (a gruff, witty Ekkehard Schall) for the Greeks, act almost as comperes of the proceedings throughout.

Their tale ends with a sud-

denness which left the audience wondering if the time had come to clap; but there was the experience of a challenging evening of theatre to ponder on.

Above all there was the thought that it had to be pondered on — which was surely Shakespeare's intention.

**THERE** is little space for O'Casey, which is probably fortunate for the man who has claimed to be the first topflight working-class playwright would need a study in himself.

His political thinking — born out of the begun but far from completed Irish revolu-

tion and the onset of Stalinism in the Soviet Union — appears to have been far from lucid.

But 'Juno' is a fine play, and every character in Joe Dowling's rightly acclaimed production — with the significant exception of the crudely presented Republican 'Diehard' — has been rethought and rescued from the destructive orthodoxy into which they had, by all accounts, congealed in recent presentations in the 26 counties.

**OF THE** Festival's attempts to grapple with one of the three figures from Scottish history every tourist knows,

Mary Queen of Scots (executed 400 years ago this year), more next week.

(The others of course are Bonnie Prince Charlie and Robert Burns. Only for Workers Press readers and potential readers does the revolutionary John Maclean top the bill.)

Edinburgh Festival Drama: 'Hamlet'. Moscow Studio Theatre of the South West. Assembly Rooms. 'Troilus and Cressida'. Berliner Ensemble. Kings Theatre. 'Juno and the Paycock'. Gate Theatre, Dublin.

## 'Lenin's Death'

A PLAY dealing with the events surrounding the death of Lenin is to be performed by the most famous theatre in the German Democratic Republic, an Edinburgh conference heard last week. Called 'Lenin's Death', it was written six years ago by Volker Braun, a resident playwright with the Berliner Ensemble, the company's leading actor Ekkehard Schall said later.

There were political problems in putting it on when it was originally written, but none now, he claimed. Barbara Brecht, daughter of the playwright and now a leading adviser of the ensemble, said that she had not read the play but confirmed it was now in the repertoire. She stressed, however, that at least four productions were scheduled ahead of 'Lenin's Death' and that it would be seen towards the end of 1988 'at the earliest'.

The Berliner Ensemble is the company established for Bertold Brecht in the GDR — after he had been hounded out of the United States in the anti-communist witch-hunt after World War II. The ensemble was in Edinburgh to perform Brecht's 'The Caucasian Chalk Circle' and Shakespeare's 'Troilus and Cressida' as part of the 41st annual Edinburgh Festival.

The public conference was held in Edinburgh's world-renowned 'Fringe' theatre, the Traverse. Responding to a question on whether Brecht had studied Leon Trotsky's 'Revolution Betrayed' and, if so, how important this was to interpreting his later

plays, Schall said he did not know the content of Brecht's library, but that Trotsky's work was certainly amongst his own books and was studied by members of the ensemble.

He then referred to the forthcoming production of 'Lenin's Death', saying that it would portray not only Trotsky, but also Karl Radek and other leading figures in the Bolshevik party at the time. Schall also stated that the Marxist literary critic Walter Benjamin, who committed suicide while trying to escape from the Nazis in the early months of World War II, was the best guide to Brecht's work.

In the course of a wide-ranging discussion on acting in general and the work of the ensemble in particular, Schall referred to the need to study Lenin, Marx, Engels and Hegel in order to develop a genuinely dialectical approach to the theatre: it could not be done simply by dramatic theory and theatrical work as such, he asserted.

This was in marked contrast to the comments of the Soviet cultural delegation which had been in Edinburgh the week before, and which, in the course of prolonged discussion had scarcely, if ever, mentioned Lenin or Marx. Schall declined to comment on the impact of the Gorbachev bureaucracy's glasnost and perestroika policies, saying merely that he approved of them but that they were the internal affair of another country.



# THE 41st EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

## MOSCOW TRIALS A studied non-priority

**IN THE interests of strict accuracy, may I correct one small mis-statement in Geoff Pilling's article 'Healy's movement disintegrates' (Workers Press, 22 August 1987).**

The assertion that Victor Karpov, first secretary of the Writers' Union of the USSR, speaking at the Edinburgh Festival, 'made clear that a re-examination of the cases of the Bolshevik leaders framed in the infamous Moscow trials was not a priority for the Stalinist bureaucracy', is, in my view, essentially correct; but it should be made clear that the words used did not issue from Karpov's own lips.

Karpov was the clearly acknowledged leader of a platform party comprising, in addition, the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko — who praised him at one point as someone who had suffered under Stalin during the 1940s; Vitaly Korotich, editor of 'Ogonyok', a literary magazine in which, I understand, many of the discussions associated with glasnost and perestroika have been pioneered; and Yuri Zamoshkin, a professor of sociology specialising in American and Canadian studies.

Zamoshkin was the only person to speak directly in answer to the question on the Moscow Trials. He spoke at this point in English, but Karpov was equipped with a

Marxism the greatest distortions of history took place? And will not glasnost be nothing but hypocrisy as long as those victims — many of whom played a major role in the culture of the Soviet Union also in the narrow sense of the term (Leon Trotsky, author of the finest history of the Revolution, Karl Radek, Nikolai Bukharin, many others) — are not rehabilitated, and it is acknowledged that the charges that they were collaborators with Nazism were trumped up and sustained solely through 'confessions' gained through torture. . .

**CHAIRMAN (Gus MacDonald):** I think they have got the point. . .

**QUESTION:** 'Can I finish the point I'm making? Their descendants in the Soviet Union today still don't have full citizen rights, they are still in unmarked graves. Will glasnost not be hypocrisy until these matters are rectified in the Soviet Union?'

A campaign on these questions was recently launched in this country and I call on Western intellectuals and others here to support it.'

**ZAMOSHKIN:** There should be an examination. I have tried to do it myself. I don't



Photo credit: Alex 'Tug' Wilson

**Ekkehard Schall, leading actor with the Berliner Ensemble, in front of his own portrait by Scottish artist, John Bellany (right) at the Edinburgh Festival last week. Bellany, whose work was the subject of a major exhibition at last year's festival, is best known in England for a controversial picture of cricketer Ian Botham, in the National Portrait Gallery.**

## Festival Footnote

BY HILARY HORROCKS

**TORY COUNCILLORS in Glasgow are outraged at the Labour Group's decision to help finance performances of the Moscow Studio of the South West's 'Hamlet' in the town, following their appearance at Edinburgh.**

Demonstrating that the entrepreneurial spirit so beloved of his Party does not

extend to the arts, Tory leader Ian Dyer opined: 'The Bard would turn in his grave if he knew his works were being performed to people who couldn't understand them.'

Perhaps he has taken his cue from The Leader who showed true critical discrimination when she visited Edinburgh last week.

Amid a wealth of interna-

tional culture, all Mrs Thatcher was interested in seeing was a portrait of herself at the National Portrait Gallery.

Breaking away from the official tour, she studied the work grimly, eventually pronouncing it 'all right down to the mouth'.

A comment that many of us might endorse of the sitter herself.



PHOTO: SEAN HUDSON

**Soviet cultural delegation at Edinburgh's King's Theatre. Professor Zamoshkin is speaking**

translating device which he appeared to have pressed to his ear throughout. (Yevtushenko and Korotich both speak admirable English.)

No dissent from Zamoshkin's views — which in the light of the importance of the matter I reproduce as accurately as reasonably possible below — was expressed by Karpov or anyone else, either at the time, nor in the final session of the conference, when Karpov summed up the positions on cultural questions that the Soviet delegation had been trying to put over during the week. He did not take the opportunity on that occasion to re-address himself to any of the key questions of Soviet history.

The relevant exchange was as follows:

**QUESTION:** I would like to ask a question relevant to Professor Zamoshkin's broader definition of the meaning of 'culture' and its relationship to history.

I would like to make it clear that I ask it from the standpoint of the belief that the October Revolution was the most conscious single step forward in the development of human culture that has yet taken place, and that we suffer today from attacks on that culture by leaders such as Thatcher and Reagan in large measure because of the failure of that revolution to extend in the 1920s.

In that context, could we stop beating about the bush? Could I ask some questions on behalf of the campaign for the rehabilitation of those accused and murdered during and after the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938?

Is it not the case that in the name of

have ready answers. . . I am interested in the charges about their role and I would say that I don't have ready answers. That is why I welcome in 'Literary Gazette' quite recently a full-page article by a friend of mine on the discussion in 1929 between Stalin and Bukharin.

It was the first time the questions of 1929 had been discussed and the author was on the side of Bukharin. It was done as a kind of dramatic dialogue.

I tried with Bukharin, because he was a sociologist. I made some studies which I compared with studies organised by Bukharin. I was the first man after the war to pronounce my verdict on these issues, as well as about Trotsky. I had a lot of doubts about Trotsky as a personality. It is my personal opinion he was very much like Stalin only worse. But that's another question.

But I definitely agree we should go back and we should make it the subject of open discussion on the questions about Stalin. . . all the different opinions must be expressed.

Zamoshkin then referred briefly to documents concerning Stalin which had been published and concluded by saying:

Historians are dealing with this. Economists are dealing with this. It has started. That's all.

It must be said that the accoustical circumstances of the exchange were not ideal, that I was unable to pick up every word, and that there may be minor errors in the above report. But I believe it to be accurate in its essential drift and in the vast majority of its detail.

## IRA 'LET FENN GO'

THE IRA last week made it clear that it chose not to execute Mr Nicholas Fenn, the British Ambassador in Ireland, despite being in possession of a confidential Garda document outlining his movements.

The Irish government first attempted to stop television programmes from running the story. They then claimed that the IRA had never had the internal document in the first place.

The IRA say they had the Garda document two days before Fenn's arrival for holiday

in County Kerry on August 9 and could have struck had they chosen to do so.

In a statement the Irish Re-

publican Publicity Bureau said: 'The Dublin government knows full well the reluctance of the Irish Republican Army to engage in any activity which allows it to present the IRA in the public perception as a threat to the state.'

## NEW HEALTH CHARTER

THE Public Health Alliance — a recently founded organisation bringing together health authorities, trade unionists and community groups — have launched a 'Charter for Public Health'

The charter sets out what are seen as basic rights to health of the whole community. It states that 'despite all the social and medical progress this century, we are still faced with as many avoidable hazards to health as ever before.' The charter cites 'decent housing' and 'properly rewarded work' as essential conditions for public health alongside public health services and health education.

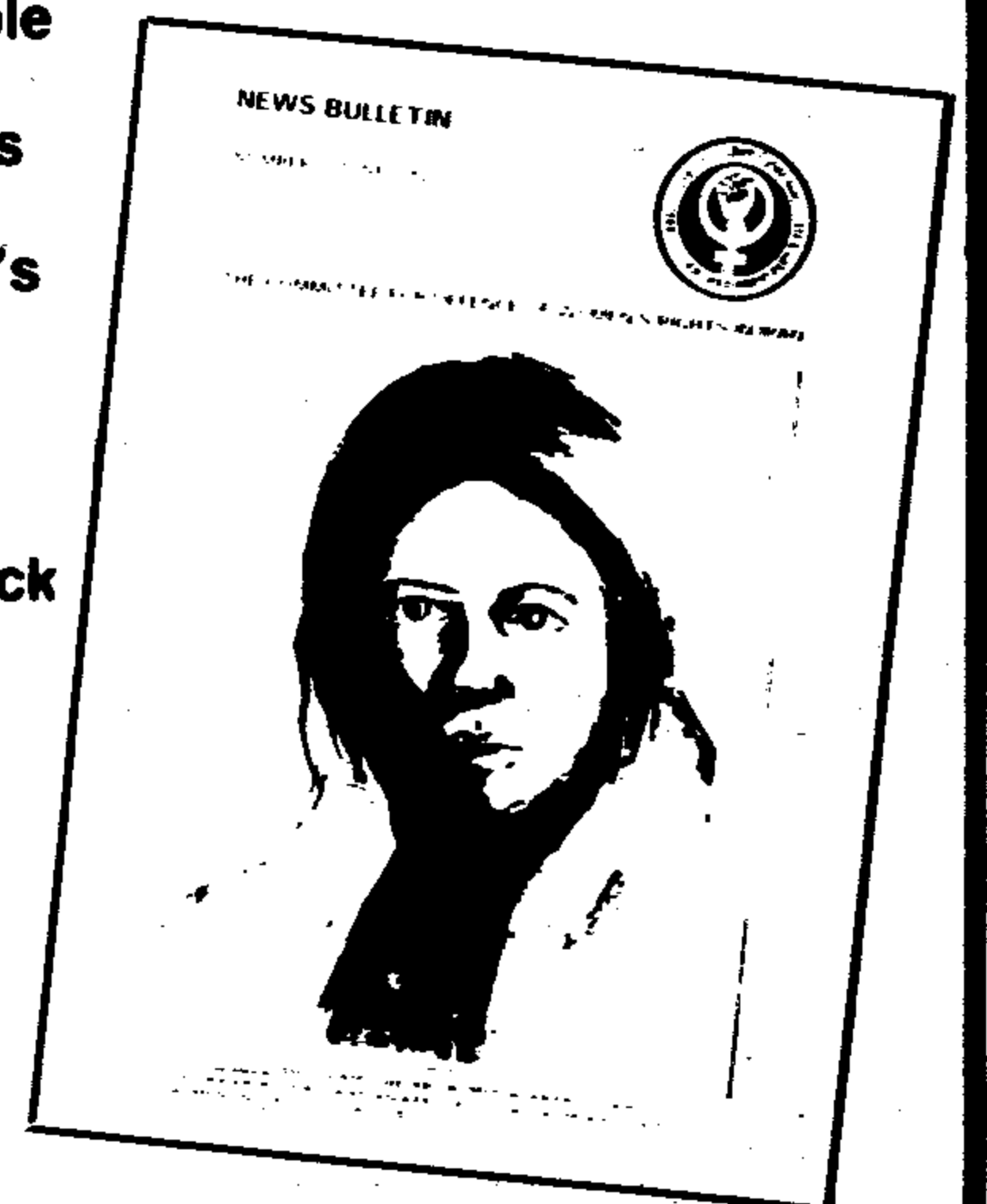
'Public health is fast losing out, as responsibility for health has been shifted from the public to the private domain,' says Shirley Goodwin, General Secretary of the Health Visitors Association.

## 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





# US Airlines crisis and disaster

BY PIERRE DUMONT

**DETERIORATING** conditions for the workforce, disasters for passengers and crew; that's America's deregulated airline industry today, in the desperate scramble for profit.

All 154 passengers and crew were killed in the Northwest Airlines DC9 crash at Detroit on 16 August. It was the second worst air disaster in US history.

The plane, fully laden with fuel for a flight to Phoenix, Arizona, crashed after an engine caught fire as it was taking off. Hitting the ground near interstate Highway 94, the airliner exploded into a fireball.

Workers at Detroit's Metropolitan Airport say they've been concerned at deteriorating safety standards ever since a series of airline mergers gave Northwest two-thirds of all Detroit flights, that's 250 a day.

Competing with equally big rivals like Continental, the company has tried to cut costs by reducing maintenance and servicing, at the same time blaming workers for delays and inefficiency.

There was even an inspired story put around the media straight after the DC9 crash that 'disgruntled employees' might have sabotaged the engine. This was soon scotched by the investigators.

Northwest's mechanics,

baggage handlers and other staff at Detroit and other airports had been fighting layoffs, compulsory overtime, and harassment. The company suspended union vice president Al Wojcik in July, for leading this fight.

While the airline claimed it could not afford remedy pay discrepancies (staff from the taken-over Republic Airlines got lower pay), nor employ more staff, workers noted that chairman Steven Rothmeier received a \$250,000 rise this year.

## Contract

The company also recently signed a \$20 billion contract for 200 new European Airbus planes.

Frequently, workers have been expected to work an extra shift when the company declares an 'emergency' because there is no-one to cover. The union, the International Association of Machinists, says this is no way to ensure safety.

Mechanics, pilots and other staff last month declared a 'safety first' policy, insisting on sticking firmly to all Federal Aviation Administration regulations. This resulted in delays on 90 per cent of flights. Northwest faced FAA fines and customer complaints.

US airports have been increasingly unsafe since the Reagan administration smashed the air traffic con-

trollers' union, PATCO, in a bitter struggle, sacking all the controllers.

There are a thousand less controllers working now than in 1981, and four thousand less who are fully-trained.

In 1981, there were 395 near-misses reported by the FAA. In 1986, the figure was 839. In the first seven months of this year there have been 611, leading to a projection of 1,044 for this year.

In the week before the Detroit disaster, there were two near-misses over the airport, and one crash on the ground between a vehicle and a Northwest jet.

The nearmiss seven days before the crash was caused by a traffic controller mistaking two flight numbers. At the time, there were two controllers on duty in the tower, one of them handling three different jobs, taking traffic into Metropolitan, City airport, and Windsor airport, Ontario, at the same time.

## Rights

Northwest is not the only airline attacking union rights, jobs and conditions, with possible risk to safety. On 30 June, an Eastern Airlines flight from Miami was delayed 12 hours because mechanics told management the plane was unsafe. The

airline eventually ordered the flight out anyway.

A ramp worker was suspended five days by Eastern for taking one second longer than allowed to place a passenger ramp alongside a plane. A mechanic was fired for allegedly eating left-over food. Flight attendants are being subject to frequent 'appearance checks' and forced overtime.

All these and more pin-pricks may be aimed at softening up the workforce. Eastern has a plan that may sound familiar to London Transport workers. From 28 September, it wants to transfer all 5,000 union cleaners, ramp workers, baggage handlers and refuellers to a new company, Airport Ground Services.

It could then claim that all pay contracts and conditions negotiated by the IAM were invalid. On 2 July, the union won a restraining order on this move, the judge accepting that Eastern was trying to illegally change work rules and deny workers' union rights.

But the company is not going to give up. Meanwhile, workers too are getting more determined. The air traffic controllers are attempting to unionise again, airport staffs are defending their stewards, and pilots are resisting move to split them off. The battle of America's airports is on.

# Sri Lanka: A conspiracy against Tamil struggle

## Statement from the Revolutionary Workers Party of Sri Lanka

**THE JAYEWARDENE-GHANDI** Accord, purporting to inaugurate a settlement of the Tamil national problem, is the outcome of a conspiracy between the Jayewardene regime and Rajiv Gandhi to disrupt the struggle of the Tamil people for their liberation from the Sinhala bourgeois oppression they have suffered for several decades now. In conspiracy with Jayewardene, Rajiv Gandhi has transported 3000 Indian troops to force the Tamil militants to end the armed struggle and surrender their arms to the Jayewardene regime.

This Jayewardene-Gandhi accord is without the consent of the Tamils engaged in the Liberation Struggle. For Jayewardene, this accord with Gandhi is helping him to disarm and defeat the Tamil Liberation Struggle that has been heroically waged by the Tamil militants with the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of their best fighters, and the killing of thousands of innocent Tamils by the Sinhala armed forces.

For Gandhi, the accord has given India the image of a hegemonic role in the South Asia Region, and has elevated the standing of the Gandhi regime in relation to US imperialism. And Gandhi has got rid of the problem of the 100,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees presently in South India, regardless of their future fate in Sri Lanka.

Jayewardene's offer of so-called regional autonomy through a Provincial Council to the Tamils of the North and East is a fraud. Although the Jayewardene-Gandhi accord has been signed, and the militants are being forced to give up their arms, there is not even a draft document of the provincial Council that will show the devolution of power. Tamils will not get any measure of autonomy for their region that could be called real. The anti-Tamil and discriminatory policies of Jayewardene has not changed. Jayewardene and his Cabinet of Ministers, his UNP Parliamentary group and his party remain as anti-Tamil and Sinhala chauvinist as ever before.

The most objectionable and dangerous aspect of the Accord is the provision for the stationing of Indian troops in Sri Lanka. These Indian troops are stationed in the North not for the protection of the Tamils, but for the disruption of the Tamil Liberation Struggle and to prop up the hated Jayewardene regime. This means that the Indian troops are in Sri Lanka to protect Jayewardene and his regime, when the workers and toilers throughout the country, sooner or later, launch struggle to overthrow it.

What is more, this Gandhi-Jayewardene alliance to keep the Indian armed forces in Sri Lanka as a 'peace-keeping force' has opened the door for US imperialism to send its armed forces to help militarily the Jayewardene regime, or any other bourgeois regime in the coming anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles.

Recent events have shown that the Sinhala bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opposition forces that have embarked on a struggle against the government, is virulently anti-Tamil in

character. These forces are using the genuine class hatred of the working class and toilers among the Sinhala people, against the oppressive Jayewardene regime to strengthen their Sinhala chauvinist forces.

Anti-Tamil Sinhala chauvinism is no answer to the oppressive Jayewardene regime. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP), anti-Tamil Buddhist monks and the opportunist, conservative, chauvinist Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) cannot provide an alternative to the capitalist Jayewardene regime. The only alternative is an anti-capitalist Workers and Peasants government.

Sections of the Tamil masses in the Northern and Eastern provinces could well be happy that the Sinhala armed forces have moved out of some of the Army Camps in the North. In any event, such a moving out can only be temporary. On the other hand, the Indian troops are not at all the friends of the Tamils in the North. They are in the North to help Jayewardene and to prop up his government.

Rajiv Gandhi is not only helping Jayewardene to break up the Tamil Liberation Struggle, but is even now, helping him to suppress the workers and toilers in the south by giving Jayewardene a chance of transferring Sri Lankan troops to the south by stationing of Indian troops in the North. It is clear, in terms of this Accord that if the masses in the south and other parts of the country revolt against the oppressive Jayewardene capitalist rule, and if the Sri Lankan armed forces cannot suppress the masses, the door is open for the Indian troops to intervene to break up such a revolt.

— Down with the Gandhi-Jayewardene Accord!  
— No Disarming of Tamil Militants by Indian Troops!  
— Tamil Militants Do Not Give Up Your Arms!  
— Tamil Militants Resist the Indian Troops with All Your Might!  
— Indian Troops out of Sri Lanka!

— Sinhala workers and toilers, the struggle we need is the Anti-Capitalist Struggle under the leadership of the working class to throw out the Fascist UNP regime!  
— Revolutionary Workers Party, Sri Lanka 3rd August 1987

TWO DOZEN people were injured, several of them seriously, when French police using tear gas and truncheons attacked a peaceful demonstration in Noumea, New Caledonia, on 23 August.

'We are not a repressive government,' claimed France's Overseas Minister Bernard Pons, 'we are a government committed to law and order. The police acted with vigour, but when they are called in to do a job, they do it.'

Six members of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front were jailed for holding a banned gathering. France has 7,000 troops and police in the Pacific island territory, and is sending 1,000 more.

## Australian miners' strike threat

**AUSTRALIAN** coalminers last week threatened a national strike if 300 suspended workers are not reinstated.

The victimised miners were suspended on Sunday evening at a New South Wales colliery for refusing to work an eight and a half hour shift instead of the normal seven hour shift.

The strike threat comes in the midst of considerable unrest in the Labour Party after Prime Minister Bob Hawke's call for the party to adopt a 'flexible policy on privatisation' of big state corporations.



## No longer good friends

**AUSTRALIA's** dwindling Communist Party has decided to quit pretending, and get its name changed, by marriage to another rightward-moving bunch of 'Lefties' to form a new party.

Partner-to-be is the somewhat younger Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), previously linked with its cousin of the same name in the United States, and part of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International until its divorce a few years ago.

We don't know whether Jack Barnes of the SWP (USA) will be coming to give away the blushing bride.

The SWP (Australia) broke from the revisionist alliance pleading irreconcilability between its changing outlook and its erstwhile comrades' continued claims to Trotskyism.

The CPA, which in the 1940's had 40,000 members is now down to just over 1,000. In a split over Czechoslovakia in 1968, more hard-line Stalinists formed the Socialist Party of Australia.

The new merger is sup-

posed to aim at a 'new mass party and electorally relevant party to the Left of the Australian Labour Party.'

That's a most unlikely issue from such partners. During the Australian elections on 11 July, the SWP celebrated its freedom from such 'outdated' Trotskyist notions as the class struggle by urging a first preference vote for the Australian Democrats, an anti-trade union Liberal-style capitalist party.

It's not known whether the Democrats will be 'best man' at the impending un-

ion, which was announced in the weekend colour magazine of the Fairfax-owned 'Sydney Morning Herald', under the heading 'The Party is over'.

Asked whether the new party would keep the word 'Communist' in its name, Victoria CPA chairman Michael Evans said:

'My personal prediction is that the name will be eliminated. It could be strategically wrong to have "communist" in the name. It does alienate people unnecessarily.'

Evans said 'in the 30s and 40s our members thought socialism was just around the corner', but nowadays 'capitalism has proved to be extremely resilient.'

We're glad that in these days of political divorces and cohabitation these two have decided on an honest union. We hope they'll be very happy together. They deserve each other.



# Baltic rallies — Pravda blames 'CIA'

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

**DEMONSTRATIONS** took place in the three Soviet Baltic states — Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania — last week, demanding publication of the truth about the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact, under which they were taken over by the Soviet Union.

According to the Moscow daily 'Pravda', — echoed by the 'Morning Star' — the demonstrations were just stirred up by 'the CIA'.

Both Stalinist papers tried to smear the demonstrators, linking them with 'nazi collaborators' ('Morning Star', 25 August) and 'war criminals' ('Pravda').

Under secret protocols of the Nazi-Soviet so-called 'non-aggression' pact, the Soviet Union was accorded a free hand in Estonia and Latvia, while Lithuania was initially placed in Germany's 'sphere of influence'. After Hitler invaded Poland, and the Soviet army entered from the east, all three Baltic states were incorporated into the USSR.

Although the deal was mentioned during the Nuremberg Trials (see p.8-9), details have still to be made available to the Soviet public.

About 500 people gathered in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, on Sunday, 23 August, the 48th anniversary of Stalin's pact with Hitler. They sang patriotic songs, and laid flowers at the statue of 19th Century poet Adam Mickiewicz, a symbol of national freedom for both Lithuanians and Poles.

A woman who described herself as a Communist Par-

ty member expressed support for Gorbachev's 'glasnost' policy, and said she wanted Lithuanian independence, but without bloodshed.

A Russian speaker was warmly applauded when he said he sympathised with Lithuanian aspirations because his own father had been sent to a labour camp by Stalin.

In Riga, Latvia, organisers claimed 2,000 people had taken part in a rally at the war memorial, and that others had tried to reach it but been kept back by police who cordoned off the square.

A young man who held up a placard demanding 'Publish the facts about the Stalin cult' was hauled away by police, and there were about a dozen more arrests.

In Tallinn, the Estonian capital, organisers claimed 2,000 people had taken part, although the official TASS news agency put the numbers at a few hundred.

During the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, some Baltic nationals were recruited into Nazi units and committed atrocities. Several of these war criminals are



now living in Britain and the United States.

Doubtless they and their CIA patrons will be hoping to exploit any unrest in the Baltic countries for their own reactionary purposes, particularly as there have been extradition demands threatening them.

However, unrest and national feeling in the Baltic states today reflects genuine popular opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy's policies and methods, much of it from a generation that has grown up under Soviet rule.

To attribute all this to 'CIA agents' as 'Pravda' does, or

'Voice of America' broadcasts (Mike Ambrose in the 'Morning Star'), betrays all the cynicism we have come to expect from Stalinists who have not changed, 'glasnost' or not.

Trying to smear the Baltic peoples' struggles by reference to 'nazi collaborators' is reminiscent of the way the Hungarian working class were slandered as 'fascists' in 1956. 'Perestroika' (restructuring) has not reached the 'Morning Stalinist'.

And let's not forget that in the years leading up to his deal with Hitler, Stalin slandered Leon Trotsky and the victims of the Moscow

Trials, all leading Bolsheviks, as 'Nazi agents'. During the war, the British Communist Party tried to incite hatred of Trotskyists with the same vicious libel.

Ambrose's article, claiming to 'set the record straight about the popular struggles which united Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to the Soviet Union', could not bring itself to even mention the demonstrators' demand, that the full text of the Hitler-Stalin pact be published for the Soviet people.

That's one of many records the Stalinists are still unwilling to 'put straight'.

## Vanunu urges anti-nuclear struggle

ISRAELI nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, facing treason charges for exposing the Zionist state's nuclear weapon programme, has urged his fellow-citizens not to fall for what the government tells them.

In a letter smuggled from his cell in Ashkelon prison, Vanunu, who was kidnapped by the Israeli secret service after speaking to the British press, says:

'An act like mine teaches citizens that their own reasoning is no less important than that of their leaders. Don't follow them blindly on crucial issues like nuclear weapons. If there is a case which calls for civil disobedience, this is it.'

Vanunu, who formerly worked at the Dimona nuclear plant, has revealed that Israel has a stockpile of 200 nuclear weapons, and may be developing the neutron bomb.

In his letter, he compares his action with that of Israeli soldiers who spoke out against the Lebanon war and refused to serve, saying he hoped to undermine confidence in the leaders as they did.

'Most people supported the war and today this has been reversed. The majority now know that it was not a war but simply bloodshed caused by a few leaders who wanted to "impose order" in a neighbouring country by the use of force.'

'I knew the truth from the first day of that war. I wouldn't buy the announcements of the Israeli government and I developed a general criticism, including what is being done in the nuclear field in this country.'

'I had to overcome many personal barriers to do what I did. The chief barrier was the sacrifice of my private life to exposure and slander, and of my future plans, on this altar.'

Vanunu's letter was sent to journalist Yael Lotan, herself facing prosecution under Israel's new 'terrorist contacts' law — the 'Anti-peace Law' as many call it — for having joined a delegation that met members of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

● In London last week, Meir Vanunu, brother of the kidnapped technician, expressed concern that his brother would not get a fair trial, since the case — due to open on 30 August — will be heard in camera, after a barrage of orchestrated attacks on his brother in the pro-government media, and without his having the opportunity to reply.

Addressing a meeting organised by the Jewish Socialists' Group, Meir Vanunu said he himself had been threatened with action under official secrets laws for talking about how his brother had been kidnapped.

'My brother is neither a fool nor a traitor,' he said. 'What he did, he did for peace.'

## 'A rose . . .'

AFGHANISTAN's government has announced the country is to be officially called 'the Republic of Afghanistan', and not 'the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan', as the latter title was causing 'misunderstandings'.

# Ukrainian miners voice anger

**A GROUP** of Ukrainian miners have written to Pravda attacking their living conditions and criticising the 'serious shortcomings' in the social sphere in their home town of Gorlovka in the Donbass region.

The article, which appeared in Pravda, was examined by the Collegium of the Ministry of Coal Industry and the Executive of the Donetsk Oblast of Peoples Deputies who promised to resolve the problem with the Ministry of Coal, admitting in its reply that: 'Today 116,000 people are living in dilapidated housing stock. There is a shortage of 23,000 places in kindergartens. Amenities are being provided at a low rate in towns and villages' and that 'this problem is acute for the whole of the Donbass'.

The protests in Pravda and the authorities admission that all is not rosy in workers' lives once again highlights the discontent among the Ukrainian workers of the Donbass and the bureaucrats dilemmas in controlling it.

Conditions of mineworkers have been going from bad to worse and the arrival of Gorbachev has made little difference to their plight, in fact the only reforms introduced under the new leadership made matters worse.

At the 27th Congress of the CPSU it was decided to make the open-cast coalfields of Russian Siberia the priority for 'concentration' despite the problems of output there as opposed to the Ukrainian fields.

As a result the regime in the Ukraine under competition from their fellow bureaucrats have been burdened with maintaining the needed levels of output to meet planned production 'norms'. The real burden however, has fallen on the Ukrainian miners who are forced to work ever greater depths and in reconstructed mine faces without the needed investment in the

gas explosion 'entailed a loss of life'. Despite 'Glasnost' the number killed was not disclosed.

The authorities did take the situation seriously however.

Alexander Lyashko, Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers made an appearance on state television to say that 'All the casualties received aid. No family will be left without attention' and the regime also said they were 'taking measures to eliminate the consequences of the accident.'

The only effort made to remedy the situation by the high level Commission if Inquiry was to carry out a mini-purge of management — five senior executives were expelled from the Communist Party and another eight were put under criminal proceedings.

The accident itself was blamed on the 'low level of discipline and violations of safety regulations'.

## Korean battle

SOUTH Korean workers, angered by the police killing of a young trade unionist, have fought pitched battles with riot police sent to attack their strikes.

At the Daewoo naval dockyards on Koje island, workers fought back with stones and petrol bombs after police firing tear gas stopped them marching from a rally.

The day before, 22 August, 21-year old Lee Suk-Kyu had died after being struck in the chest by a tear gas canister. Riot police had tried to stop 3,000 workers marching on the hotel where the

The same thing was said several years ago by the 'trade union' paper Trud which put most blame for accidents on the managers who ensured safety regulations were adhered to 'only when it was known that the inspector' was visiting.

No sooner had the authorities got one explosion out of the way and been able to avoid an outburst by the workers, than a second followed within six months of the first.

At the end of May a methane gas explosion ripped through the Chaikino mine in the Donbass, resulting in 'loss of lives' again.

This time the indications are it was bigger than the first one, with 'office workers' included in the death toll.

Condolences came this time from the 'Central Committee' of the CP, the 'Supreme Soviet' and the 'Soviet Government'.

Again the number of

deaths was not disclosed and again a commission of inquiry was formed but the authorities realise that continually replacing one corrupt official by another will not keep the discontent under control. So do the workers themselves.

Back in 1979 alone over 150 people were demoted or dismissed by inspectors for violations. Hundreds more got off.

To the worsening conditions and increasing accidents, the authorities have nothing to offer and no real answers to the complaints which can now be found in the official press.

In Pravda Ukrainy women workers from Donetsk asked the question: 'Work in excess of time set on days off became the rule a long time ago. How long must this practice go on?'

'When will attention at long last be paid to the workers' opinions, wishes and expectations?'

## Wheels halted

It is an unusual strike. It may be even saving some capitalists money! In CANES, on the French Riviera, 130 croupiers are on strike at the Palm Beach casino.

The croupiers, who depend on tips, say introduction of fruit machines and a new miniature roulette is cutting their earnings and increasing management's profits.

The casino is one of seven owned by a new Anglo-French consortium, with a combined turnover more than half France's annual £85 million gambling 'take'.

Daewoo company president was staying.

At the hospital mortuary, workers set up an altar and received mourners, but turned away officials with wreaths from Labour Minister Lee Heun-ki, from the company, and from the local police chief.

In Seoul, there was a two-hour clash between riot police and Yonsei University students who were trying to hold a march in support of striking workers. The strike wave, over wages and democratic union rights, spread to Seoul's Kimpo airport and the capital's bus services last week.



# RUDOLPH HESS, NUREMBERG

THE DEATH of Rudolph Hess, former deputy to Adolph Hitler, has reopened a number of important questions about the nature of fascism and the character of World War II.

As part of the clarification of these questions we publish three items from 'Socialist Appeal' at the time of the 1946 Nuremberg Trial where Hess and other Nazi leaders were convicted. 'Socialist Appeal' was the paper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. In the first article Bill Hunter exposes the nature of the war and the way in which the British ruling class had assisted those they were claiming to put on trial at Nuremberg.

The second article deals with the relationship of the Nuremberg Trial and the Moscow Trials. At the Moscow Trials Trotsky had been accused of collaboration with the Nazis, including Hess. The RCP demanded the right to be represented at Nuremberg so that these charges could be put to Hess to establish whether Trotsky or Stalin was lying.

RCP general secretary Jock Haston wrote to Labour Prime Minister Clement Atlee making this request (item three). The Labour government, then in collaboration with Stalin, rejected the proposal.

## Nuremberg: Death to Nazi criminals

### TRIAL SERVED TO COVER ALLIED WAR GUILT

BY BILL HUNTER

THE Nuremberg Trial, which began on 20 November 1945, has ended. Goering, Ribbentrop, Streicher and others — leaders of Fascist Germany, supported and encouraged by Allied statesmen in their day — have been sentenced to death or to long terms of imprisonment.

But Shacht, von Papen and Fritsch have been released. Their guilt, like that of the big financiers of Germany, is no less than the guilt of the other Nazi gangsters.

But like their counterparts in other countries, the industrialists and big financiers who profited from the war, they are to escape their just deserts.

#### Battle against German workers

FASCISM systematises and accentuates all the repressive brutalities and horrors of capitalism in decay.

A harassed and desperate ruling class, utilising the sweepings of human rubbish, reaches ghastly lengths of bestiality.

That much was known by every socialist worker, long before the Nuremberg trial, but the catalogue there of Nazi atrocities, of tortures, of the systematic working to death of slave labour, have served to underline it.

The working class of the world, and least of all Germany, have no cause for tears over the fate of the Nazi leaders. The statement of General von Fritsch, quoted in evidence at Nuremberg, made it clear that one of the major Nazi aims was 'to win the battle against the

working class'.

The German workers experienced to the full that aim, experienced it in terms of torture and executions, police repression and concentration camps.

They experienced it at a time when members of the British and American ruling class, now parading a new-found love for democracy and a profound disgust at the Nazi atrocities, were to be found at Hitler's banquets, hailing the bulwark against Bolshevism.

#### The real purpose of the trial

FOR over ten months, the Nuremberg trial has run its course. It has focused the attention of a mixed army of international jurors, and the gradually waning interest of the working class.

The stated purpose of this display of legal talent, this accumulation of evidence, of accusation and counter accusation, of film, radio and press publicity; was the bringing to book of the criminals responsible for the last world slaughter.

However, it is clear the real reason for the trial lies not in its stated purpose. It is clear that the events in that Nuremberg court room, during the 300 days, were a performance staged by those equally war guilty with the Nazis but attempting to hide their guilt by hypocritical denunciations of their fellow bandits.

The balance sheet of six years' war shows a tremendous expenditure. Millions of lost and shattered lives, of broken bodies and minds; and now, amidst the devastated economies, rage the followers of war, pestilence and famine.

Nuremberg was an effort, on the part of the Allies, to convince the world working class that once the Nazi leaders pay their reckoning, the account is closed. It was an attempt to shift the blame they share, completely on to the shoulders of the Nazis.

It is this real reason for Nuremberg which justifies us in calling the whole trial a farce, a hundred times more farcical than Al Capone indicting and trying Dillinger for gangsterism.

Workers of All Lands Unite

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Revolutionary Communist Party BRITISH SECTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

Price 2d.

### NUREMBERG: DEATH TO NAZI CRIMINALS

# TRIAL SERVED TO COVER ALLIED WAR GUILT

By BILL HUNTER

### RELEASE THE PARATROOPERS

Officers Should Have Been on Trial Not Men

BY G. NORSIDA

A storm of protest is sweeping through the organs of the Labour movement in Britain against the vicious sentence imposed upon the Paratroopers at Nuremberg. Just 10 of the 253 Paratroopers, sentenced at the court martial, 8 were originally given 5 years plus discharge, with "furlough". The remaining 247 men, received 10 years imprisonment and similar discharge. All the sentences were later reduced to 2 years hard labour — to be served in the East — and ignominious discharge.

THE NUREMBERG TRIAL, WHICH BEGAN ON NOVEMBER 20, 1945, HAS ENDED. GOERING, RIBBENTROP, STREICHER AND OTHERS — LEADERS OF FASCIST GERMANY, SUPPORTED AND ENCOURAGED BY ALLIED STATESMEN IN THEIR DAY — HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO DEATH OR TO LONG TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT.

BUT SHACHT, VON PAPEN AND FRITSCHIE HAVE BEEN RELEASED. THEIR GUILT, LIKE THAT OF THE BIG FINANCIERS OF GERMANY, IS NO LESS THAN THE GUILT OF THE OTHER NAZI GANGSTERS.

BUT LIKE THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, THE INDUSTRIALISTS AND BIG FINANCIERS WHO PROFITED FROM THE WAR, THEY ARE TO ESCAPE THEIR JUST DESERTS.

**Salute the British Soldiers!**  
Protest at War Against Indonesians

RDAM — 21st Sept., 1946.

g the second week in September, the soldiers at a camp near Amsterdam, Holland, were informed that they were to embark for Indonesia.

**Battle Against German Workers**

## Hypocrisy of Allies

DURING this ten months, while the prosecutors of Britain, France, America and the Soviet Union listed the sickening crimes of Nazism, world events showed the hypocrisy of the prosecuting Allies.

Even while the aggressions of the Nazis were being recounted, British imperialism was maintaining a regime of terror and oppression in Greece, suppressing the colonial peoples struggling for freedom and strafing Indonesian villages.

The British prosecutor prated about justice. Meanwhile, Dr Kieselsbach, according to 'Tribune' September 6, declared opponent of de-Nazification — was placed by British imperialism, in charge of the German 'Central Office of Justice'.

While the courtroom resounded with castigations of Nazi oppression and racial discrimination, American imperialist suppression was active in the Philippines and lynch law was rampant in the southern States.

The prosecutors denounced the occupation methods of the Nazis. Yet, even while the French prosecutor mouthed phrases of indignation, the agents of French imperialism were torturing the people of Indo-China and burning their villages.

The miseries of slave labour under the Nazis were related to the court at the same time as 10 million Germans were uprooted and wandered homeless as a result of the wholesale expulsion policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In face of world events during the trial, who can deny that at Nuremberg the pot called the kettle black, blackening itself still further while doing so?

## Our rulers assisted Nazis

AS THE trial dragged on, crimes of the Nazis since 1933 were catalogued by the prosecution. That the British, French and American ruling class held up their hands in horror at the war preparations of the Nazis was a blatant hypocrisy which must have been evident to every politically conscious worker.

It is common knowledge in the Labour movement — the facts have been repeated from a thousand platforms — that the British, American and French rulers gave political, financial and moral support to Hitler, regarding the Nazi barbarians as the saviours of civilisation from the menace of Bolshevism. They assisted Hitler to strengthen himself by the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia for the purpose of making war on the Soviet Union.

Goering taunted them for their role during this period when he declared that 'all foreign governments had recognised the Hitler regime and the entire diplomatic corps came to the Nuremberg rallies'.

Before the war, the chemical, plastic, oil and rubber monopolists of America aided their German counterparts and divided the world up between them. That was shown in a recent Government anti-trust enquiry in America. Gunter Reiman in his 'Patents for Hitler', disclosing that Sir Henri Deterding of Royal Dutch Shell was one of the earliest financial backers of the Nazis, gives as his reasons that 'he was interested in discovering those forces which would eliminate once and for all the dangers of social and colonial revolutions'.

This sums up the attitude of the British ruling class. Part of the profits of Royal Dutch Shell together with a stream of political and financial aid went to bolster up Hitler as a barrier against revolution and for war on the Soviet Union.

It was only when it became evident to the rulers of Britain and America that German imperialism had decided to match its strength against them first, that this policy was ended. Hitler's greatest crime in their eyes was that he double-crossed them.

## Stalinists stand guilty too

THE Soviet bureaucracy also stands guilty of aiding the Nazis. Stalin's cynical disregard for the world working class led him into a pact with Hitler.

In violation of the Leninist principle of self-determination for all

nations and open diplomacy, he made a secret agreement for the division of Eastern Europe.

It was revealed at the trial that, in this Pact, Hitler and Stalin defined their spheres of influence in Poland, Finland, the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Stalin agreed not to permit an active hostile position to be taken up by Turkey, or permit the passage of British or French warships through the Dardanelles.

We can comment, in passing, that recently Soviet propaganda against Turkey attacked her for remaining neutral during the war and taking up the very position which Stalin in 1939 guaranteed Hitler he would ensure.

During the World War I Lenin was a consistent and bitter opponent of secret diplomacy. When the Russian workers and peasants made their revolution, the Bolsheviks immediately opened the Tsarist archives and published the secret international agreements to the consternation of world imperialism.

That the Soviet bureaucracy felt the same consternation when reminded of this pact with the Nazis was shown at Nuremberg when the Soviet prosecutor objected to it being taken as evidence as 'the court was investigating the case of the major German war criminals and not the foreign policy of the Allies'.

This secret agreement divided out Eastern Europe and the Soviet bureaucracy thus covertly agreed to the invasion of Poland by Nazi imperialism. At Nuremberg, the



Hess and Hitler in 1939



# G and the MOSCOW TRIALS



From 'Socialist Appeal' July 1946

Nazis ironically introduced evidence to justify this invasion by quoting the approving telegram which Stalin sent Ribbentrop when the pact was signed.

'The friendship of Germany and the Soviet Union is based on blood commonly shed and has all the prospects of being enduring and steadfast.'

Later in 1939, Molotov could talk of the permanent friendship with Germany and sharply attack the British blockade for violating international law.

## 'I shall shake hands with Stalin' — Hitler

TODAY it is the Nazis whom the Soviet bureaucracy accuse of violating international law. However, it was with these same Nazis that the counter-revolutionaries of the Kremlin negotiated their secret agreement.

On 22 August 1939, Hitler spoke to his commanders, stating: 'Our economic position is such because of our restrictions that we cannot hold out more than a few years.' Then he declared, in triumph: 'Within a few weeks I shall shake hands with Stalin, and undertake with him a new distribution of the world.'

It was that handshake, that secret pact, hidden from the masses, which let loose the second world slaughter.

## Embarrassing evidence hidden

HAD ALL the war criminals been on trial in Nuremberg, prosecuting

and prosecuted alike would have been in the dock. In his concluding speech, General Rudenko, with almost lyrical hypocrisy, declared that, on the battlefield the Allies had determined the sublime and noble principle of international cooperation, morality of mankind and the human rules of social community.

The mud slinging, the recriminations at the new thieves kitchen of the United Nations Organisation which were a continuous background to the trial, were giving the lie to this statement even while it was being uttered.

The trial at Nuremberg steered a way to prevent any echo from the squabbles at UNO entering the courtroom. At the same time it kept a quick eye for any revelations embarrassing to those in high places in Britain, America and the Soviet Union.

The contents of the German Soviet pact were refused as evidence. Likewise, a statement of Rosenberg's relations with the Hearst press and his connections with members of the ruling class of Britain, was ruled out as irrelevant.

## Purpose of Nuremberg: to whitewash Allies

IT IS evident that, during the ten months of Nuremberg, there was no real attempt to sift out those guilty of the monstrous crime against the working class, which the past six years of slaughter represent.

How could there be when those

responsible for the indictment were as guilty as those indicted? The Nuremberg trials were not meant to create a basis for future peace, their purpose was to whitewash the Allied criminals.

Yet the workers can learn from Nuremberg. From the recital of the crimes and atrocities of fascism they can learn that there is no brutality or horror to which capitalism will not stoop in defending its decadent system.

And let no worker believe those brutalities could not happen here. The thin veneer of capitalist civilisation soon disappears in a capitalist state rendered desperate and endeavouring to find a way out by crushing the working class.

We must learn also that the genuine struggle against the war criminals is a struggle against imperialism the world over, and the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy.

As war criminals, responsible for the suffering of millions of the world's workers, we must indict, not only the Nazis and the ruling class of Germany, but the landlords, financiers, monopolists and their politicians ruling the Allied capitalist nations and with them the bureaucrats in control of the Soviet Union.

## Press silent on Moscow-Nuremberg link-up

THE leading spokesman of the Soviet delegation to UNO is now 'Comrade Vishinsky', ex-Menshevik and former opponent of the Bolsheviks, who has found high favour and a very good living in the Russia of Stalin.

He is familiar to us in another role: as the man who prosecuted and sent to their death the majority of Lenin's comrades in arms in the Russian Revolution during the infamous Moscow trials.

The capitalist press has almost unanimously recalled that Vishinsky was a famous prosecutor. They have mentioned him in connection with the trial of Metro-Vickers agents in 1933. But not a whisper about the role of Vishinsky in the most sensational trials that have ever been staged — the Moscow trials.

Even A.J. Cummings, who had a lot to say on the Moscow Trials as an anti-Bolshevik and pro-Stalinist, had a conveniently blank memory on this occasion. Was it because of the embarrassing questions that would immediately spring to mind of his readers if he dared to mention the Moscow trials?

The alleged evidence upon which the cream of Lenin's Political Bureau were convicted and slaughtered by Stalin was that these old Bolsheviks made a deal with Hitler and the Nazis. That they were plotting against the Soviet Union together with the Nazis!

Now, it is possible to test the truth of the alleged evidence presented at the Moscow Trials, in the courthouse at Nuremberg. All the Nazi conspiracies it is claimed by the British, American, French and



Julius Streicher

the Russian governments are being brought out into the light of day.

Every national daily and political weekly received copies of the letters from the secretary of the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), comrade Jock Haston, to the Prime Minister; to Hartley Shawcross — the British prosecuting counsel at Nuremberg — and to the Russian prosecutor, recalling the confessions made in the Moscow Trials and demanding that these confessions be verified or refuted by the evidence now in the hands of the Allied intelligence at Nuremberg. But our letters were met with a conspiracy of silence.

We publish below the letter from comrade Haston to Major Attlee and his reply.

Here we will conclude by asking Vishinsky, who will read this issue of the 'Socialist Appeal': Why don't you complete your task of 1936-1937 and 1938 when you sent to their death the old Bolsheviks, and prove at Nuremberg your foul slander that Trotsky was allied to Hitler? Is it because the fake 'evidence' you presented at Moscow will not stand the slightest independent investigation?

And to the editor of the 'Daily Worker' we ask the questions: Why don't you, who were so eager to slander Trotskyists as Hitler's agents, answer our letter on the Moscow-Nuremberg trials?

Why are you so silent about the alleged link-up between Trotsky and Hess at the present moment? Why don't you demand, together with the Trotskyists, that for the sake of justice and historical truth, a special committee of working-class representatives be set up, to investigate in public during the trial at Nuremberg, the alleged connection which you were writing about only a few years ago?

## Letter to Attlee

Revolutionary Communist Party  
British Section of the  
Fourth International

General Headquarters  
256 Harrow Road  
London W2  
23 December 1945

Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
Westminster, London

Dear Sir,

In 1936-1937 and 1938 a series of trials took place in Russia in which it was alleged by the prosecution that old Bolsheviks such as Kamenev, Zinoviev and others, connived with Leon Trotsky, together with the German General Staff and the Government of Hitler, to act as quislings in a war

against the Soviet Union.

These trials were universally condemned by all but the Communist Parties and the agents of Stalin as frame-up trials. This was also the verdict of the independent Commission of Inquiry set up in the United States headed by the famous educationalist Dr John Dewey, which investigated all the available evidence over a period of many months.

During the war, the Stalin regime and its agents in the country through the 'Daily Worker' have assiduously spread the story that there were no quislings in Russia because they were all exterminated during the Moscow Trials, and this line of argument has been taken up by even wider circles.

Now that the Nuremberg Trial is taking place, it is possible in open court, before the public gaze of the whole world, to prove either that the charges levelled against Trotsky and the other collaborators of Lenin in the October Revolution of 1917 were in fact true, or that the Moscow Trials were a gigantic frame-up.

It is alleged by the prosecution at Nuremberg that the secret Nazi preparations for war are being brought out in public court. If this is true, then there must be documents in existence proving or disproving the vast conspiracy alleged by the Prosecutor at the Moscow Trials. Vishinsky (who is also attending the Nuremberg Trial) to have existed between the Nazis and Leon Trotsky.

Our Party, and all the sections of the Fourth International have a vital interest in this case. For many years we have been the object of a world-wide slander campaign directed against us on the basis of the 'evidence' at the Moscow Trials.

We believe that this is an opportunity not only to vindicate ourselves, but the memory of Leon Trotsky. Whatever you, your Party or your Government might think of his theories and political ideas, he was, you will agree, a distinguished socialist revolutionist, who dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of the working class from the wage slavery of capitalism.

In the interests of truth and of history, of the struggles of the workers for socialism, your government, as the representative of the British Labour movement, has the moral duty to pursue this matter so that the validity or otherwise of the Moscow Trials can be established once and for all in the eyes of the world working class.

We ask you, through your representative at Nuremberg, to bring out the relevant issues in the Moscow Trials, to call upon the Russian representative to produce the 'evidence' relating to the connection between Leon Trotsky and his son with the Nazis, as a vital part of the present Nuremberg Trial.

We further request you to make it possible for the Revolutionary Communist Party to have legal representation at the Nuremberg Trial with (a) a watching brief; and (b) the right to intervene and question witnesses as well as some of the accused at Nuremberg, who were directly linked with Leon Trotsky by the prosecutor Vishinsky in the infamous Moscow Trials.

Yours sincerely,  
Jock Haston  
General Secretary  
Revolutionary Communist Party

## The reply

10 Downing Street  
Whitehall  
21 January 1946

Dear Sir,

I write to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Prime Minister of December 23 and to inform you that it is not possible for His Majesty's Government to take action in the manner suggested therein.

Yours truly,

J.M. Addis





# Vietnam: the price of imperialism's blockade

AFTER three decades of war, Vietnamese people are expert at the art of survival but have missed out on the know-how that only free exchange with the rest of the world can promote. Their ingenuity and tenacity are impressive but their isolation has already deprived and will continue to deprive them of their share of development expertise and of the rest of the world's advances in scientific, technological and medical fields.

With 4 million dead — more than half of them children under the age of 16 — Vietnam has paid a very high price. Today millions of children, undernourished and sick, still pay the price. The article below is taken from an account of a visit to Vietnam by a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) worker.

**AS THE plane approaches Hanoi, the landscape is pockmarked with craters from B-52 bombings. Filled with muddy water they break up the geometry of the paddy-fields.**

In the capital, avenues lined by lush tropical trees, the spacious residences with wrought-iron gates slowly falling into disrepair, are symbols of the old colonialists' need to recreate French elegance in the far corners of the world.

The air is extremely hot and humid. The place is austere. It is also said to be infested by rats. Bicycles, rickshaws and a few battered buses are the main means of transport.

However, the consequences of 30 years of war, first against the French, then against the Americans, cannot only be seen in the environment. They are seriously affecting everyday life and the long-term development of 80 million people: Vietnam desperately needs international aid.

Since 1979, when the Vietnamese army overthrew the Pol Pot regime in neighbouring Kampuchea, Vietnam has been deprived of aid.

Outside the Soviet Union, only Sweden, the United Nations and, more recently Australia, have been providing some of the much-needed and eagerly awaited funds to rehabilitate this tragic country and its people.

'The aid just dried up overnight,' remembers one European aid worker.

Vietnam has been forgotten, and it is easy to assume that this small Asian country can overcome any difficulty and must be thriving.

Now, with virtually no telephone, telex and mail, it is like living on the moon. The lack of communications exacerbates the isolation in which most of the world has placed the Vietnamese people.

The country lacks everything: transport facilities, machinery, medical drugs, surgical instruments, pesticides, fertilisers, paper, books . . . and cash; but smaller items, too, like batteries, candles, soap, matches, pencils are often unobtainable.

For example a hospital may have an X-Ray machine but no plates, let alone the chemicals for developing X-Ray films; or with only half the cat-gut needed for surgery some doctors in the rural areas have to use cotton to stitch wounds.

**A VISIT to the paediatric wards at the Bach Mai hospital in Hanoi, built by the French next to a noisy steam railway line, ends with a sad impression: deprived of most basic drugs and equipment, its highly-trained and dedicated staff can often offer only temporary relief.**

Rheumatic heart disease, bronchial pneumonia and anaemia are widespread as well as rickets, malaria and dengue fever. The plague is endemic, and 30,000 new cases of tuberculosis are reported each year.

Because of the shortage of drugs the mortality rate is high. Many children develop the meningeal form of tuberculosis with a high incidence



Post-war generation at the 19th May crèche. Because of poor nutrition young children are easily exhausted and need regular rest periods during the day

of cerebral damage.

To palliate this severe shortage of drugs, people rely on traditional medicine and the use of medicinal plants which are widely grown, even in schools and training colleges. People pride themselves that 'there are no side-effects' in natural medicine.

But to the paediatrician at the Bach Mai hospital, with penicillin only to stop the fatal progress of a whole list of deadly diseases, the use of plants cannot replace strong antibiotics.

**Malnutrition is widespread. The average diet of the Vietnamese worker is 1,940 calories per day; the internationally accepted minimum is 2,300 calories.**

According to the National Institute of Nutrition in

Hanoi, half of Vietnam's pre-school children are chronically undernourished, most of them in the one-to-three age group.

A staple diet of rice, deficient in proteins, lipids, vitamins and minerals, makes children very vulnerable to infections and stunts their growth. A young boy appears to be a five-year-old malnourished child — he is nine. . .

A one-year-old who has been hospitalised two months with congenital malnutrition weighs only 4.5kg (10lbs). Born to an undernourished mother, the foetus did not grow properly. She was a low-birth-weight baby and her prospects are bleak.

Normally, this child needs to be fed five small meals daily consisting of milk,

meat or fish, green vegetables and fruit. Instead her mother can only give her a bit of milk and rice three times a day.

The hospital cannot provide food and it is up to families to find and bring food to their sick relatives. Due to undernourishment lactating mothers lose their milk after three months and the weaning practice of giving a baby thin rice gruel to which is gradually added small amounts of meat and vegetables is often nutritionally unsatisfactory.

**THE literacy rate is very high — between 80 and 100 per cent in the north. With lack of mechanisation, production is labour-intensive and relies heavily on women.**

Most children attend crèches and nursery schools from six months onwards. Vocational training, carpentry, metalwork, pottery, sewing, etc. play an important role in education which is compulsory for six years.

Books are in short supply and paper is recycled again and again. . . In crèches and nurseries, teachers must provide all the ideas and motivation as toys are few. The walls are bare, there are no posters, picture books, swings or climbing frames.

At the 19 May Crèche (Ho Chi Minh's birthday) in Da Tong village, little children gracefully mimed a song about the late President Ho Chi Minh who had no children but was visited by many who sat on his knee and stroked his beard.

It is the hot season and most of the toddlers suffer from boils. Because of poor nutrition young children are easily exhausted and need regular rest periods during the day to recuperate their strength.

Although it is summer break at the Teachers' Training School in Hanoi, students are busy bookbinding and illustrating teaching books by hand in preparation for the next school term. Others make electricity sockets out of clay moulds.

As in most developing countries, sanitation is a big

problem and many children suffer from parasitic worms which, coupled with malnutrition, impair their growth and sap their energy.

In the rainy season, the area of Tan Mai in Hanoi is often flooded and water can reach up to half a metre inside houses. A plan to improve drainage and sanitation is now underway with the support of UNICEF. New latrines and handpumps will be built. One old latrine still has an unexploded bomb inside it.

**LED by their war veterans and in a determined effort to overcome malnutrition, the government launched the national VAC movement.**

VAC is the acronym of three Vietnamese words: *Vuon*, the garden, *Ac*, the pond, and *Chan Nuoi*, animal husbandry.

Families are encouraged, outside the collective economy devoted to rice culture, to transform their own home gardens (50 sq m per person) into a small but compact eco-system, linking fruit and vegetable production with fish culture and pig or chicken raising.

The system relies entirely on the recycling of human and animal waste and on the work of the older and younger members of the extended family. Gardening is less tiring and time-consuming than working in the fields which needs whole workdays.

Supported by UNICEF, the VAC project also involves nutrition education, sanitation and health programmes. Surpluses can be sold as added income for the commune and the families.

Traditionally Vietnamese do not eat enough fruit, but new orchards with citrus trees will provide more vitamin C for Da Ton village, the showpiece of the VAC movement.

Although VAC will not eradicate malnutrition altogether, it has great potential and the first results have been very encouraging. Overall, people in rural areas are marginally better off than the urban population who do not have land to grow their own food. ■



Vietnam: an isolated country, lacking everything despite the tenacity and ingenuity of its people



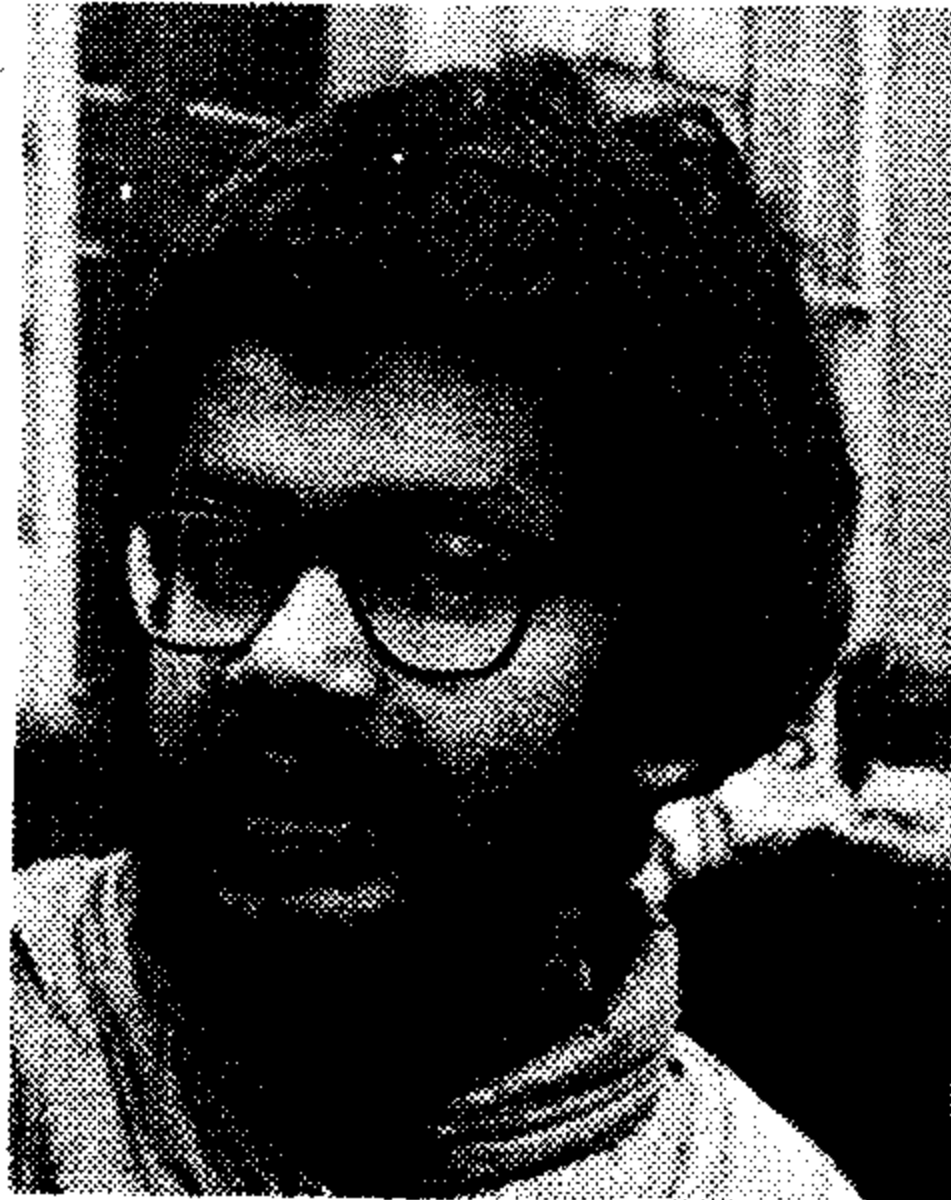
# DEPORTATION FIGHT GOES ON

EVERY FRIDAY evening for the last three weeks the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign has held a demonstration and rally starting in Manchester city centre.

Over 60 people marched last week in a vociferous demonstration which caught the attention of the public and finished at the Church of Ascension where Viraj is in sanctuary. The marches were organised after Viraj lost his appeal against deportation to Sri Lanka.

The main speaker at the rally was Sharon Raghip, the wife of Engin Raghip who, along with Mark Braithwaite and Winston Silcott has been framed for the murder of a policeman and jailed for life. She told the rally 'Carry on the fight and you will win. I need the support of VMDC and VMDC needs the support of the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign.'

BY STUART CARTER



asked to grass other people up so that they could be brought in.

My husband is in jail with Paul Hill, one of the Guildford 4. He has been in jail for 13 years sentenced to imprisonment for the rest of his natural life.

'Recently I read Robert Kee's book on the Guildford 4 and I was astonished at the similarities between their case and that of Ergin's.

The judges summing up was using the same words. If enough pressure is put on the State they may get out at the appeal instead of waiting 13 years. But the frame-up has had the effect in my area of making some people frightened of voicing their opinion.

'Two weeks ago I went on

the Troops Out Movement delegation to Belfast. Some papers there gave me excellent write-ups, others were only interested in asking why I was supporting the IRA.

'I won't go into the evidence of the case. It is all in the leaflet except to say there was no real evidence. The trial took place in a situation where Alastair

Mills of the Star said about Mask that the last time he saw a face like that it was in a cage.'

Mike, speaking for the RCG, said 'Mrs Thatcher will go to Russia and tell them about freedom but she doesn't talk about freedom here, freedom from unemployment, bad housing and frame-ups. So black people are deported every week while 50 unwanted nazi war criminals are allowed to stay here.'

Likat Ali, who is now under threat of deportation himself, spoke next.

'I came here in 1978 as a student, got married in 1982 but the marriage broke up. In 1986 I married again. Although my wife is allowed to stay here the Home Office says that if we want to stay together we should move to Pakistan.'

'I need support to force the Home Office to allow me to

stay on compassionate grounds.'

Viraj then spoke and said that Broadwater Farm frame-ups and the immigration laws were both aspects of the racism in this country. He said that the Manchester Evening News had deliberately stirred up attacks on the church with headlines such as 'Mendis Swaps Letters With IRA Thugs'.

## Stream

There has been a steady stream of threatening letters and phone calls to the church. A recent letter from Column 88 said 'It's over for Mendis. Wog out now'. It is also rumoured that the local police have set up a special unit in preparation for an attack on the church to get Viraj out.

# NAZI IN GUN TRADE

WHILE most people were still reeling from the horror of the deaths in Hungerford, some were waking up to the fact that weapons like the AK47 are being sold as 'sports guns' in Britain, and one man had his own message.

'The private citizen has been left defenceless by the tight laws that govern gun ownership,' claimed businessman Michael McLaughlin. He wants not fewer guns around, but more!

'I believe that if people all carried guns then this sort of thing we have seen in Hungerford would not happen,' he told reporters from the 'London Evening Standard'.

'In Georgia in the States everyone has a gun and you would think twice before you started banging off at them.' ('Standard', 20 August).

Of course, as you might guess, Mr McLaughlin has a particular interest in bringing American backwoods gun-law to the streets of Britain.

He happens to be in the business.

McLaughlin runs a shop called 'Rucksack 'n' Rifle' from Wrexham, North Wales, providing everything from sheath knives to rifles for well-dressed 'Rambo' gunfreaks. And in the wake of this lethal trade comes Michael Ryan, a 'quiet unassuming' young man... with a problem.

McLaughlin also runs a paper called 'The Survivalist', advertising paramilitary style courses for gun owners, with country ranges equipped with human-like figures as targets.

'Rucksack 'n' Rifle' uses an advertising logo showing a snarling 'Rambo' character, complete with headband, knife and ammunition pouch on his belt, and firing an automatic rifle.

## Witnesses

Not unlike the way witnesses described Michael Ryan as looking.

According to the 'Standard' report, 'McLaughlin, 44, was checking today to see whether Ryan subscribed to his newspaper, Survivalist.'

Well, while he was at it, Workers Press was checking on Mr Michael McLaughlin. We thought he sounded familiar. We were right.

Back in the 1970s, McLaughlin had a more peaceful occupation, as a milkman in Bebington, Cheshire. But for Michael McLaughlin, opportunity knocked in 1974, when Colin Jordan stepped down as leader of the neo-Nazi British Movement, and McLaughlin took over.

The British Movement carved out a place for itself on the far right as the most violent and openly Nazi organisation. In 1979, McLaughlin was sentenced to four months for offences under the Race Relations Act.

In 1981, another British Movement member, Rod Roberts, was sentenced to seven years on charges of racial incitement, arson, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition, including a sub-machine gun.

# Healy, apologist for Stalinism

By Geoff Pilling

AFTER disappearing from public life for almost two years, Gerry Healy, expelled former member of the Workers Revolutionary Party, made only his second public appearance when he spoke last weekend on the platform of the 'Marxist Party' at the Riverside Studios, Hammersmith.

Workers Press obtained a transcript of Healy's speech.

At one level it is a rambling, confused performance, full of downright historical inaccuracies.

At another it underlines the fact that Healy has now broken completely from any connection with Trotskyism and the Fourth International and has become an unashamed, if confused, apologist for the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policy of glasnost.

No doubt stung by criticisms from his opponents Healy protested hollowly: 'I'm not a pro-Gorbachev man. That's nonsense! I'm a communist.'

Yet there was one thing this 'man of principle' quite failed to mention: What his new Marxist Party was, where it had come from, or where it was going. This is not surprising. Healy also said nothing of his expulsion from the Trotskyist movement. In October 1985 he was removed from the WRP for systematic sexual abuse of female comrades, for violence inside the Party and for slander against opponents. Virtually everybody in his hundred-strong audience knew this to be the case. Yet of the events lead-

ing to his expulsion Healy said precisely nothing.

At the same time Healy spoke in stentorian terms: 'when we speak of history, we speak of the truth of history'. Healy is a fraud: about history in general and his own history in particular. Healy is a fraud.

He is also the latest recruit to that body of reformists and revisionists who are zealous advocates of glasnost (openness). But there was little sign of openness at the Riverside last Sunday. All known political opponents were excluded from the meeting by specially imported stewards and all attempts to question Healy were suppressed.

Healy failed to mention his past but he had much to say about the current situation in the Soviet Union, and very revealing it was.

'When we're speaking of the progress of the Bolshevik revolution, how has it been possible for this political revolution to make progress unless there is an enormous discussion and a most widespread discussion? Now we know that 'Pravda' is trying to dampen things down. I think that is a mistake (a mistake!!) Many good things (!!) are now appearing in Pravda, but it's a mistake to

dampen the discussion down.'

So Pravda, the organ of Stalinism, is guilty of 'mistakes', although to be fair it does carry 'many good things' (on these good things Healy was not surprisingly somewhat coy).

Healy had earlier said that the Soviet Union had to 'buy time'. 'It has to buy time because it has to change, now, all the forms that were established by the Stalinist bureaucracy by bringing the working class and the intelligentsia onto the scene again, and introducing them to freedom of criticism, democratic rights and the election of their own committees of control(?). No more disenfranchisement of the soviets.'

What is this 'Soviet Union' that Healy says must now change and democratise itself? His abstraction is that of an evader. There are two fundamental forces in the Soviet Union: the working class and the Stalinist bureaucracy which represents the interests of imperialism in the first work-

ers state. There can be no reform of this bureaucracy. It must be overthrown by the working class, led by a section of the Fourth International.

It is this question, that of the political revolution, which has separated all those who have fought for the continuity of the Fourth International in opposition to those who claim that the bureaucracy can be reformed, that it has 'positive'



G. HEALY

and 'negative' features.

Healy has clearly placed himself in this camp, an apologist for Stalinism, at a time when it is in mortal crisis. This is why his expulsion, together with that of his closest collaborator, Michael Banda (also an advocate of Stalinism) was of such great historical significance for the Trotskyist movement.

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If every reader was to give something to this appeal, however modest — and ask others to do the same, it would make a big difference.

PLEASE send donations without delay to: WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS



# NATIONALISATION

## The dream or the nightmare?

### PART II

THIS year is the 40th anniversary of nationalisation of the coal industry. To mark the event, Durham Miners' Association produced a commemorative souvenir brochure for their Gala, giving an incisive account of what nationalisation has meant to the Durham coalfield. As a union they feel it is important to raise questions as to why a whole coalfield has been virtually destroyed under public ownership while millions of tonnes of coal have been sterilised. To battle against privatisation, they say, they must understand how they have fared under state control.

In 1947 nationalisation seemed like a dream, but in the 1980s that vision seems tarnished. The Durham Miners Association hope their analysis is of benefit to those who may, once again, have the chance to bring their industries under public ownership. WORKERS PRESS is pleased that the Association has given us permission to reprint their account. Copies of the souvenir brochure are available from them — see advert right.

### The dawn of a new era

**THE Labour Government of 1945 was elected with a clear mandate to nationalise the coal industry.**

Even the Mine Owners' Association accepted the matter with good grace — provided, of course, that they were suitably compensated for their losses.

But the miners were still held to their pits by the Essential Work Order until August 1946 and were told that they were still required to act in the 'national interest' — a phrase they were to hear a great deal more of in the years to come.

Manny Shinwell — MP for Easington — was the Minister of Fuel and Power and persuaded the union to elect a National Production Officer and regional counterparts to oversee labour in the mines. The union was to be used as a 'policing' organisation to ensure miners kept up the pace of production.

Former Chopwell lodge official Will Lawther was now National President of the NUM. He told the June 1946 conference:

'The Labour government, resting on the loyalty and class conscious awareness of the mineworkers in this country have saved the industry from catastrophe.'

The Durham resolution to the same conference called for the conferences with management to achieve 'a new industrial morality to secure friendly discipline in the industry'. Durham delegate J. Foster reflected a spirit of optimism when he said:

'You will remember at every conference that has been held nationalisation has been mentioned as something we have been looking for, dreaming about and hoping for. Today it is almost upon us.'

But hanging in the wings was a deep division between the dreams of some miners and the wishes of the Government. On January 17, 1947, Shinwell said at a conference in Glasgow:

'Nationalisation is not intended

to primarily benefit the miner. There is the coal consumer to be considered, the interest of the nation, our export trade and all that.'

But he was keen to reduce the price of coal only 'so far as is practicable' to retain decent standards of living for those employed in the industry. Shinwell's idea of 'practicable' did not go very far towards meeting the demands of The Miners' Charter put forward by the union. He refused:

- Setting a national standard wage.
- A second week's paid holiday.
- Compensation for industrial diseases.
- Seven hour shifts.

Even the conciliation agreement for the industry was turned down at first because Shinwell hoped the pit production committees would stay.

His hard line carried over into his attitude as to who should control the industry. The MFGB always stopped short of demanding full control of the nationalised industry, but called for equal representation with government bodies. Even the Sankey proposals would have allowed one-third union representation on the board.

But Shinwell was adamant. The national union committee minutes of June 14, 1946 reported:

'The minister (Shinwell) has concluded that he is not prepared to consult the union in the Board as a whole. He pointed out that persons so appointed would be representing the capitalist interests — Lord Citrine, former TUC secretary and architect of the miners' betrayal in the 1926 strike and Ebby Edwards, secretary of the MFGB. Edwards resigned his secretaryship of the MFGB to join the Board.'

One of the most distasteful appointments, as far as the miners were concerned, was the chairman, Lord Hyndley. He was made a Baronet by the Tories and was the hated former head of the Powell Duffryn Coal Company — the firm which inflicted such misery on the South Wales miners.

The stage was then set for the future of nationalisation. Miners, through their unions, were to have very little say in how the state-run enterprise was run. They were being told that they would still have to work in 'the national interest'. It was clear to Shinwell that the national interest was the same as that of the capitalist class.

### The first ten years. . .

**THE first decade of nationalisation was marked by an acute shortage of coal which brought havoc to the post-war economy.**

The National Coal Board was charged with the duty of producing as much coal as possible to feed the economy made hungry by the need for reconstruction.

The immediate modernisation and the mechanisation of the mines was held up by the overriding need to maximise production. That production would have been disrupted by attempts to introduce new methods and machinery. Any other improvements were hampered by:

- Shortage of capital.
- Shortage of mining machinery in Britain.
- The need for full production to feed the fuel crisis.

The NCB had been saddled with

a massive bill for compensation to the coal owners of £394 million — and this at 1946 prices. That was at a time when miners earned around £300 a year!

No wonder the coal owners laughed all the way to the bank. The state through the NCB had rewarded them over and above the odds for an industry which the government's Reid Commission said was 'investment starved, undermechanised and hopelessly inefficient'.

The coal owners made a profit purely by keeping down miners' wages. Now it was the turn of the government to do the same. They artificially kept down the price of coal, restricting the NCB's profits and in turn depressing miners' wages at a time when there was full employment and a desperate need for coal.

In Durham there was a shortage of miners — everyone in the county over the age of 40 will remember the Bevan Boys, who were conscripted labour in the mines during and after the 1939-1945 war.

At national and local level the union collaborated with the employer (the NCB) to keep the workforce under control. The NUM leadership was determined to make sure nationalisation worked — almost at any price.

Some miners felt differently. St Hilda's lodge in South Shields refused to take part in the Vesting Day celebrations. They were reported as saying: 'It (nationalisation) is just a different play with the same old actors.'

The financial terms under which the NCB was born were far from favourable. The board borrowed the money for compensation and the interest repayments alone meant that the NCB operated at a 'loss' for five of its first ten years. The government also forced the board to buy coal on the world market at inflated prices

when coal was short.

They were ordered to sell it in the UK at domestic prices — thus making yet another loss.

Desperately under-capitalised, the board's managers set about drawing up the first Plan for Coal in 1950. The plan forecast that output in Durham would be the same in 1961-1965 as it had been in 1949.

But between 1950 and 1965 they planned to shed 28,300 jobs, still leaving a total of 80,000 in the county's mining industry.

Durham coking coal was renowned for being 'the best of its kind in the world' and 226 million tons of it lay below the west of the county. Twenty-three of the West Durham pits were expected to continue mining for at least 50 years!

Nearly all of them were, however, technologically backward (the last survivor of the original 23, Sacriston, was still working with pit ponies when it closed in 1985).

As we have seen, compensation charges and interest repayments left the board with little or no money to invest in new machinery. Crippled by this burden, almost 20 years after nationalisation, the coal board still owed £334.5 million, and was paying £25 million in interest charges in 1965.

That turned a possible operating profit of £0.2 million into a loss of £24.8 million for the year.

**So, who was making the profit out of public ownership of the mines?**

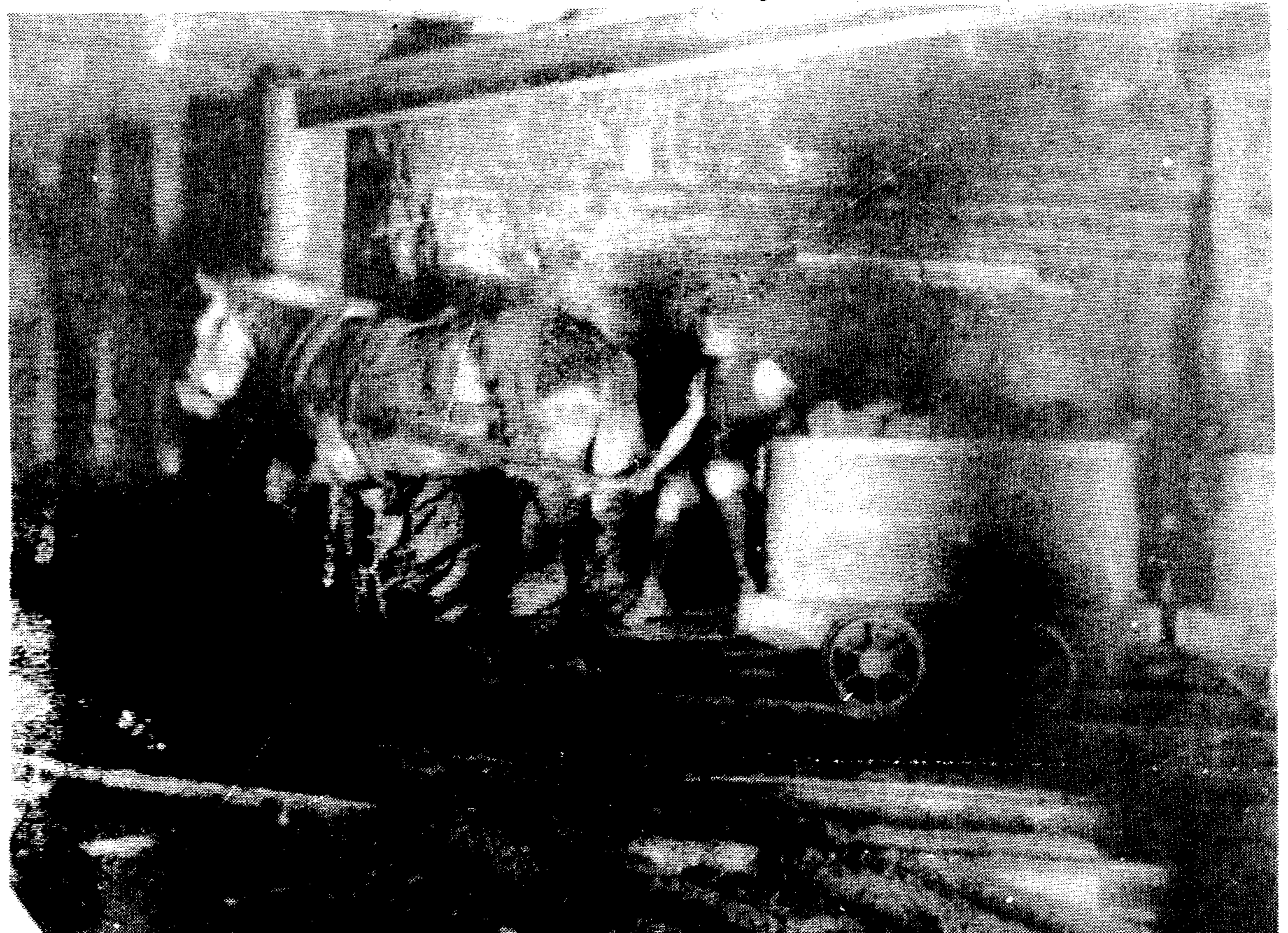
The coal owners had invested their compensation wisely — largely in mining equipment and machinery firms. Coal merchants and distributors were also running up huge profits with their mark-up on prices. The NCB could have totally nationalised distribution, machine manufacture and equipment supplies, but the NCB chose not to.

A huge and lucrative sector of the industry was left in private hands. The relationship between public and private capital led to a series of scandals in the board during the 1960s. In one such scandal NCB chairman at the time, Lord Robens, was implicated in allegations of dubious deals over a powered support company in which his own son had shares.

And in 1972, two NCB employees revealed that major supply companies were involved in a scheme in which spare parts for roof supports were altered and charged to the colliery books at a higher price. One of those who blew the gaff was sacked for his attempt to cut costs.

Every Durham miner had a story to tell about brand new machinery arriving in the pit before closure, to prove that a colliery is 'uneconomic', at least on paper. Suspicion of corruption within the board ran high for many years, and questions are still being asked about the board's eccentric accounting system.

**TO BE CONTINUED**



Investment-starved pits struggled on with out-dated technology to maintain production



# ROBSON'S CHOICE



JACQUES TATI directs and stars in the classic French comedy 'Monsieur Hulot's Holiday' (1953), Saturday 29 August at 1p.m., Channel Four.

**Tom Scott Robson and Peter Fryer are also on holiday.**



Nationalisation did not mean security for all. Hetton Lyons miners lodge opposed their colliery closure in 1950

## LISTINGS

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

**FREE THE FRAMED IRISH PRISONERS** Committee meeting on **Wednesday 2 September 7.30p.m.** at Camden Town Hall, Bidborough Street, NW1.

**TRADE UNIONS AGAINST MSC** Conference to co-ordinate opposition to MSC schemes and government policies on unemployment through the trade unions. **Saturday 7 November, 9.30a.m. — 5p.m.**, Dr Jonston House, 40 Bull Street, Birmingham B4. Registration £5. Contact M.Arkwright 01-521 4130.

**OUR JOBS AND SERVICES ARE NOT FOR SALE** Conference, **Thursday 10 September, 10a.m. — 2p.m.** Camden Centre, Bidborough Street WC1. Organised by London Authorities Joint Trade Unions. (01-274 7722 extn. 2001).

**FREE MOSES MAYEKISO** Free All South African Prisoners; Hands Off COSATU; End British Collaboration With Apartheid. March to South Africa House, Trafalgar Square. Assemble mid-day **Saturday, 10 October** Clerkenwell Green, London EC2 (nearest tube: Farringdon)

**UNEMPLOYED? FIGHT BACK WITH THE UWC** Demand TUC Breaks From MSC and Supports Organisations of the Unemployed. Lobby in Blackpool, **8 September**. Details: UWC, BCM Box 928 London WC1 3XX (01-431 3135).

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

**THE LONG MARCH** Sarmcol Workers Co-Operative Presentation, Hackney Empire, Mare Street, E8. **15-19 September 8p.m.** In dispute with British Tyre and Rubber Company since May 1985 — See Their Play, Hear Their Story.

**MARCH FOR MAYEKISO COMMITTEE** Open meetings every **Wednesday 8p.m.**, preceding 10 October, to organise national demonstration in support of South African trade unionist Moses Mayekiso. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn.

**THE ALIENS ACT REVISITED** Exhibition on immigration history, racism, and laws. Davenant Centre, 179-181 Whitechapel Road, London E1.

**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.

**CITY OF LONDON AA SUPPORTS VIRAJ MENDIS IN SANCTUARY** Trip to Manchester, **Friday, 28 August**, to join March for Viraj Mendis. Details: 01-837 6050.

## MARCH

**Moses Mayekiso must not hang!**

ADVANCE NOTICE:

**March for the release of Moses Mayekiso Saturday 10 October London**

The March for Mayekiso Committee meets every **Wednesday, 8p.m.** at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 to organise the march

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# LETTERS

## The Communist Party and the 'Morning Star'

IT WOULD have been more sensible and more honest for Geoff Pilling to have looked at the Communist Party Executive's report of work — freely available — before rushing to repeat, without acknowledgement, the 'Morning Star's' factional distortion of its contents.

The sale of the Communist Party's weekly 'Seven Days' back in 1983 were much better informed and more coherent than Geoff Pilling's unchecked titbits lifted from the 'Morning Star' and the 'Financial Times'.

The report of work shows it to have been at around 6,000 for the last year, as well as indicating the rise in 'Marxism Today's' sale from an average of 11,000 in 1982 to around 14,500 today, on which Pilling and the 'Star' are silent. (By the way, when will we be told the sales figures of Workers Press?)

'During this period there have been many expulsions and two large party districts — in London and the north west — have been shut down,' Pilling tells us. Also untrue.

The Executive's report shows that in London a district congress was closed down in November 1984, with another one being successfully held subsequently.

In the north west the former district committee was dismissed by the Executive for not implementing national decisions. A new district committee was elected at the north west district congress last November.

The report also shows that the number of members expelled by the Executive Committee over the last four years was 33. (How many people have been expelled from the much smaller WRP over that period? And when will the WRP publish its membership figures?)

In view of the fact that the previous relationship between the Communist Party and the 'Morning Star' was broken by the 'Star's' editors several years ago, what does Geoff Pilling mean when he writes: 'Should the (CP) executive succeed in changing the rule committing members to read and help circu-

late the 'Star', 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 (sic)?'

Incidentally the Executive's proposal for the change in rule was put forward before the announcement of the selling off of the 'Star's' building, not after, as Pilling writes.

I'm sorry to have to say so, but the unspeakable Alex Mitchell's accounts in the 'News Line' of the breach between the Communist Party and the 'Morning Star' back in 1983 were much better informed and more coherent than Geoff Pilling's unchecked titbits lifted from the 'Morning Star' and the 'Financial Times'.

Monty Johnstone

We will reply to this letter next week — editor.

## 'Fidelio' and the British state

WHILE THE judicial machine grinded on over the lives of City Group protesters this July in the Bow Street Court, the cultural wing of the British bourgeoisie enjoyed the uplifting experience over the road at the Royal Opera House of 'Fidelio' — Beethoven's hymn of tribute to the political victims of the Bastilles of late feudal society, a tribute also to their revolutionary liberation, personified for Beethoven in his heroine, Leonore.

'Fidelio' in London, and side by side with it the real practical enforcement by the British state of the interests of the hangmen, torturers and jailers of modern South Africa.

Tunde, Simone and Cat are up in court again in bourgeois London for seeking what Leonore accomplishes in 'Fidelio': emancipation of the political prisoners of a despotic system. Outside in the street, posters invite Londoners to concerts by Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Hugh Masekela, and a birthday celebration for Nelson Mandela.

Inside the court, the impersonal dehumanised

apparatus drones on in its routine fashion over the misery of this society. Two worlds, two nations, in a single room. Images from Hogarth, and from Dickens: this bleak house of bourgeois justice, antechamber to the prisons, the grotesque inhuman comedy of it.

Before Tunde's case is called (the 16th, or is it 17th arrest of this son of Africa, for the crime of demanding the emancipation of a continent), a youth still in his teens is called into the dock for the crime of begging at their Piccadilly Circus, only two weeks after having arrived in London from the destitute north: no fixed abode.

Physical proof of the inner truth of Anatole France's comment, that the law in its magnificent impartiality forbids rich as well as poor from sleeping under bridges at night.

The bourgeoisie, whose court this is, address each other according to a foreign incomprehensible code in the courtly accents of the city sharks, whose cousins and brothers they are.

One after another, the unfortunates of this society — les misérables, whose agony is celebrated in another West End music extravaganza for the delectation of the upper crust — shuffle into the cage before the bench, above which stands the emblem of the British monarchy.

In this the imprisoned harp of Ireland lies under the lion's claws. 'Dieu et mon Droit': God and my right.

The god of capital and the right of conquest here oversee the daily process by which the sores and horrors of bourgeois society are regulated and administered by a well-paid stratum of functionaries, for whom this misery is their daily bread and butter.

It is this running sore of the imperialist world against which Tunde, Simone and Cat appear as the accusers. These courts smell the same wherever you are, with Mandela in Pretoria in 1962 or with City Group on trial in Bow Street, 1987.

All power to the young accusers of this world, the incarnation in modern times of the ancient régime against which great Beethoven in his day composed 'Fidelio'!

Paul Trehwela

# REVIEWS



Turn Left at Lands End By Alan Dalton. Red Boots Publications. £2.95.

AFTER covering the Cornish tin industry crisis for Labour Research, Alan Dalton decided to combine a walking tour along the Cornish coast and interviewing people who live and work (or are out of work) there.

There are useful tips on Boscastle (over-rated and swarming with tourists in summer... see it out of season... with waves breaking over the rocks'), Cornish pasties (good in pubs or bakeries, poor in seaside cafes) and Perranporth ('place with little character and dirty toilets').

We meet tin mine shop steward Ray Roddan; blacksmith Bill Norris and his wife Renee, who at 68 helped start a local Labour Party at Port Isaac; Edwin Eddy, victimised after a fight for union recognition in Newlyn's fishing industry; Anne Blackmore, shop steward for women flower farm workers.

There's Falmouth CND campaigner Betty Levene; Jim Connor, of the 'Breadline' youth centre in Penzance; and traffic warden Bill Reeves, who gives the lorry drivers a union membership form.

Incidentally, is Jack Hendy, now 71 and Mayor of St. Just, the same Bro. Hendy whom some of us remember from the ETU in London?

In the course of his ramble, Alan Dalton reflects on such matters as land ownership (25,000 acres of Cornwall are Prince Charles' allotment), second homes and housing shortage, jobs, the use of land for military purposes and nuclear waste, the fight for union rights — did you know the GCHQ fight also involved workers in Cornwall?

Combining a rambler's book with socio-political study is clearly an experimental venture (the only thing it reminded me of was some of the reporting I did from the Scottish Euro-March, although it's better of course).

Whether or not it comes off satisfactorily, I'm not sure. Personally I'd have liked more landscape and more history, and longer interviews, though it would make a heavier book. This should fit in your rucksack side-

pocket lightly enough.

Alan Dalton's book is both a breath of fresh country-and-seaside air into socialist reading, and a welcome change from the stale anti-quarian, mock rustic petty-bourgeois, county guides one usually has to put up with. Hopefully 'Red Boots' will publish more like it.

C.P.

If Not Now, When? by Primo Levi. Abacus.

A RAGGED bunch of Jewish partisans fight their way through the forests and marshes of Eastern Europe, coping with Nazis, Polish nationalists, and Soviet commissars — for survival, dignity, and 'a couple of lines in the history books'.

There's tension, passion and action all the way, till they wind up in Primo Levi's native Italy, en route for the Palestine they have come to dream of.

Himself having fought with the Italian partisans, and survived Auschwitz (see his 'If This is a Man') not just physically but morally, Levi could feel genuinely for these people, just as in 1982 he did for the Palestinians.

Although not his best book, 'If Not Now, When?', drawn from a true story, is clearly one Levi felt he had to write. For more of Levi himself, the anecdotes in his unusual 'The Periodic Table' (he was a chemist by profession) are also available from Abacus, and are fine reading.

But 'If Not Now, When?' is exciting, and well-worth reading. Sadly, the author is no longer with us. He would have had much more to contribute.

Juniper, by James Murphy. Malvern. £9.95

SUPPOSE that Lord Louis Mountbatten had emerged as a likely champion of CND? Suppose that the British intelligence service decided he would have to be eliminated, and found a renegade IRA man whom they could use to do it? Suppose that meanwhile they were manipulating the press with stories of a Soviet terrorist fifth column called Spetz-natz?

James Murphy's rip-roaring tale of intrigue and mayhem is as bad (or as good, according to taste) as some of the spy-stuff that makes million-dollar movies and TV series. Some of the violence is over the top.

But the plot's not as far-fetched as some of the crap that's fed to us in the capitalist press, or as 'non-fiction' (inspired by the intelligence services) in the library. He depicts the guardians-of-Western democracy as the murderous reactionary bastards they are. So if you want something light, and are into 'thrillers', but sick of the 'usual', you might enjoy this one.

To The Is-land. By Janet Frame. Grafton, £3.95.

CHILDHOOD and adolescence in New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s; the novelist's classic autobiography available in a new edition. A very intense book, memorable for its encounters with love and death.

All God's Children Need Travelling Shoes. By Maya Angelou. Virago, £3.95.

YES, fifth volume of autobiography from the successfully self-advertising but thoroughly remarkable black American. In this episode, she goes to Ghana to look for her roots. All human life is here.

Tenant's rights: A Citizen's Advice Guide. By Jeremy Lealand. Optima, £3.95.

PRACTICAL and straightforward guide to the legal rights of the tenant — and the landlord — by a Citizen's Advice Bureau worker who knows the maze of housing problems.

In Search of the Dark Ages. In Search of the Trojan War. By Michael Wood. BBC Books, both paperback at £8.95.

NOT SINCE '1066 and all that' has Ethelred the Unready been a household name, but Michael Wood has changed all that.

These well-illustrated books are a model of popular history. Critically Wood works his way through the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with countless illustrations and scholarly criticism of the evidence which is never in danger of becoming dull.

He turns his attention to Troy. Did Helen exist? We 'can at least conclude that she is possible.'

And the wooden horse? If it is a 'fairy-tale motif', it was invented long before Homer.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ  
LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.  
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.  
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338.  
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.  
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.  
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.  
JOHN McCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.  
ANDY MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461576.  
PATRICK MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461575.  
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.

#### PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX  
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.  
GERRY McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.  
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.  
SEAN McSHANE, B75898.  
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence 69204.  
PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

#### WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG  
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.  
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.

#### STRANGWAYS

HM Prison Southall Street, Manchester 3, Lancs.

NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS  
MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.  
HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638.  
BILLY GRIMES, 10-year sentence, 78647.  
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661.

#### GARTREE

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

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Braxside, Durham  
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085.  
BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662.  
PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.  
MICHAEL J MCKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.  
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722.

#### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ  
PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.  
BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.  
PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

### WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE  
DONAL CRAIG, 4 years.  
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

#### DURHAM

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

### REMAND PRISONERS:

#### BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.  
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, L48616  
LIAM MCCOTTER, LB83693  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694  
LIAM QUINN, 49930

### INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire  
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.  
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.  
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.  
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.  
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.  
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.  
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.  
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.  
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.  
PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.



# East-enders organise against racist attacks

**BLACK residents in the London Borough of Newham are organising to defend themselves and their families, homes and businesses against a rising tide of racist terror.**

The Forest Gate Black Residents Network is determined to meet the racist thugs on their own terms in the absence of any police protection.

The attacks bear the hallmarks of an orchestrated campaign. It is Newham council's policy to move black tenants into previously all-white estates in groups of threes and fours, but there are frequently 'reception committees' of racists waiting for them ready to shout abuse, throw stones and other objects and to threaten the tenants in the most serious manner with violence and even death.

There are clear indications that the notorious 'Inter-City Firm', a gang of so-called football supporters well-known for extreme violence, are responsible for instigating and carrying out many of the attacks which take the now-familiar form of putting excreta through letter-boxes, smashing windows, shouting abuse and threats and scrawling offensive graffiti.

Many incidents, however, are even more serious.

An Asian family in Plaistow has been threatened and harassed over a period of three years. They have re-

BY ALLAN JONES

ceived many threatening phone-calls and an anonymous caller finally informed the family that their 14-year-old daughter had been kidnapped and that she would be gang-raped then crushed to death by a car; the whole of this would be video-taped and the tape sent to the family.

The incident did not occur in reality but of course the family have been emotionally and psychologically devastated.

Many Asian shopkeepers have had their premises smashed up and have suffered physical attacks, in some instances with iron bars. A young man was attacked at a party attended by black people and consequently lost an eye.

Many of these incidents have been reported to the police and their statistics show that racial attacks have soared from 42 in the first quarter of 1986 to 102 in the same period this year.

The Newham Monitoring Project, based in Forest Gate, say that this is 'the tip of the iceberg', that the real level is 'likely to be 20 times higher, meaning that there is

one racial attack every hour in Newham.'

A recent Harris survey shows that one-in-two black people have been attacked in Newham in the past 12 months. However, only one in every 20 such attacks were reported to the police and over 90 per cent of complainants were dissatisfied with the police response.

The police have formed a Racial Incidents Squad and reduced the role of Home Beat Officers, but the few prosecutions which have reached the Courts have been thrown out owing to a lack of properly prepared evidence.

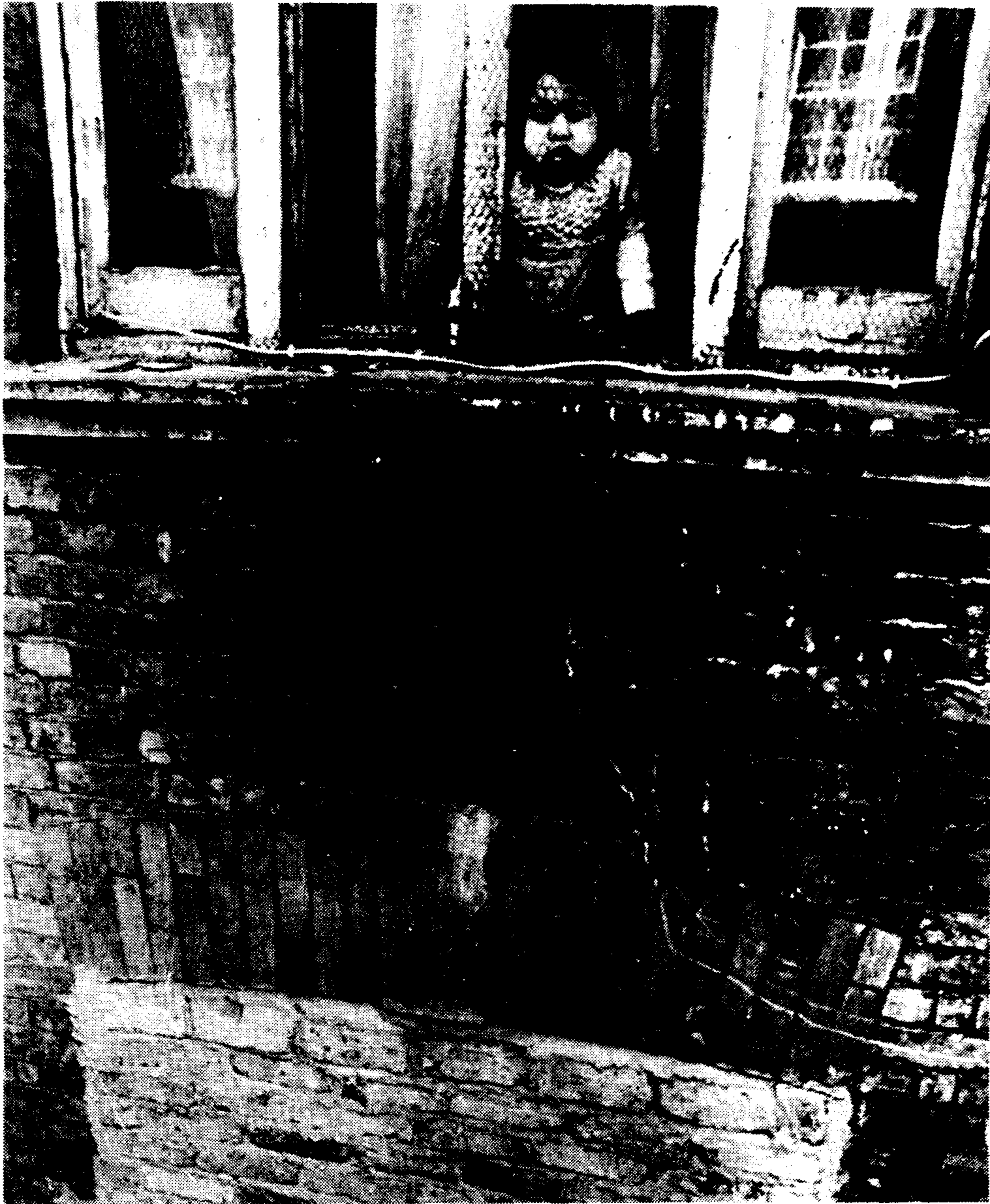
## Thugs

An Asian shopkeeper returned home after one such Court hearing to find a gang of thugs waiting for him with iron bars. He was able to escape injury or worse by running away, but was afraid to return to his home.

Some shopkeepers are employing private security companies to protect their premises, but the way forward is more likely to be the organisation of workers' defence groups like the Forest Gate Black Residents Network.

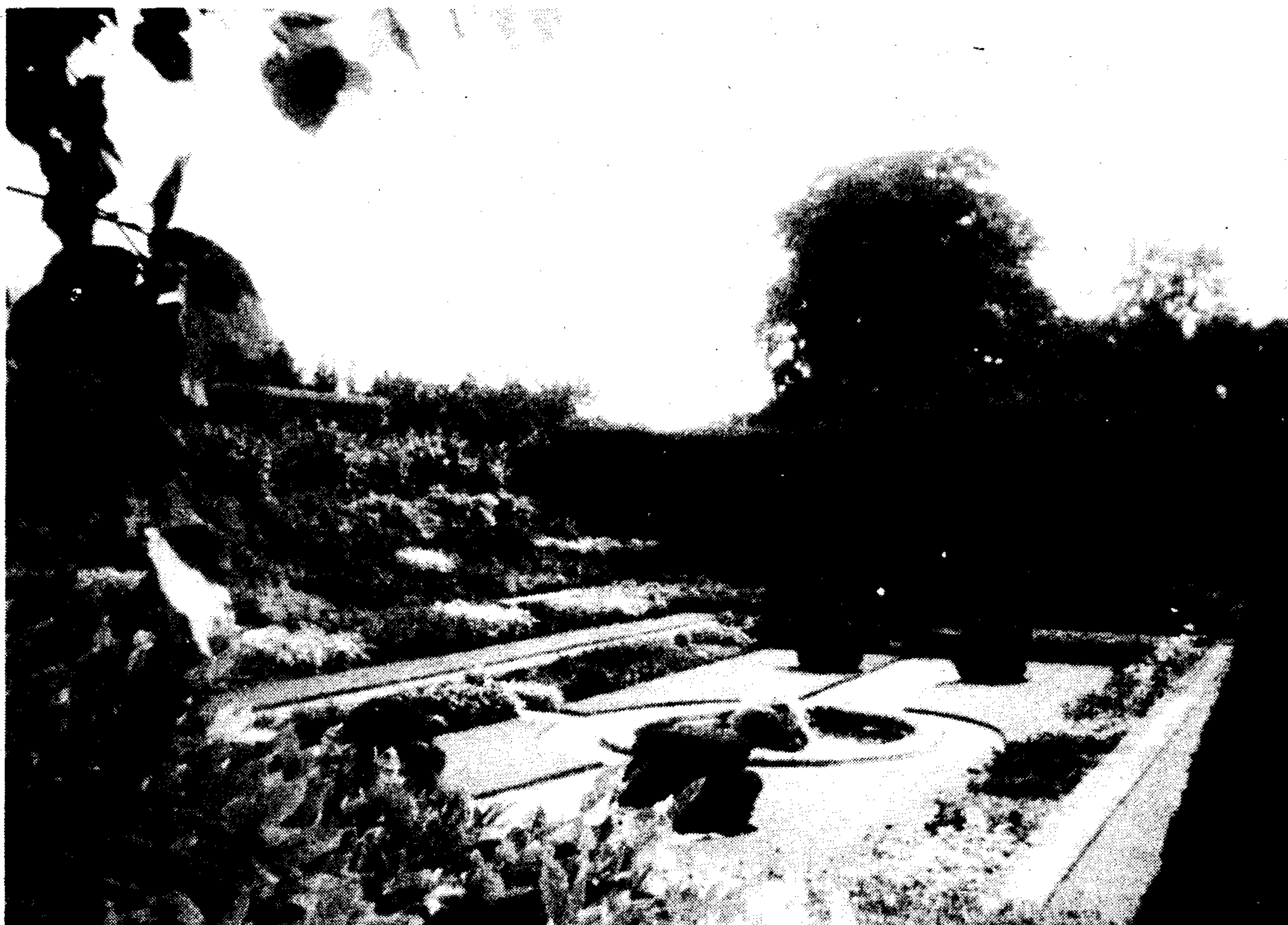
The Newham Monitoring Project says: 'The local community has been forced to take desperate measures to try and improve the situation given the police failure to respond.'

These measures must receive the fullest attention and support of every section of the labour movement.



Bricked-up ground floor windows and wire protection on upper floor — is this how all Asian families will have to protect themselves against racist attacks

## Threat to gardens



IF THE weather's nice this Bank Holiday weekend, one place Londoners — as well as tourists — will flock is Hampton Court, with its park and gardens by the Thames (above). Enjoy it while you may — Thatcher may soon be planning to take that pleasure away. Following the appointment of a retired Army major as administrator, GMB union members have expressed fears of privatisation. The Department of the Environment wants a five-year business plan for Hampton Court. The union suspects the Tories might hive

the gardens off from the Department's Royal Parks and Gardens, put the gardening out to tender, and introduce admission charges.

'Queen Victoria gave these gardens to the public to enjoy free of charge,' says GMB Regional Organiser Jerry Tilston. 'They should stay that way. I am sure that the British people would agree with the union that heritage is not something that should be exploited for profit.'

## Party seminar on Workers Press

WORKERS PRESS came under the microscope on Sunday 23, August, when members of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) met in a seminar to discuss the contents, production and future of the paper.

The weekly paper took the place of the daily News Line as the Party's paper. Members have come to realise that this has given them the chance to build up a network of regular readers around each branch while at the same time giving them the opportunity to carry out the theoretical work of the party.

There was a serious discussion on the relationship of the Workers Press to the Party. The editorial board is to be strengthened as a means not of 'getting the paper out' but of training more Party members to take responsibility for the paper, and therefore the development of the WRP itself.

Reports of strikes,

occupations and campaigns are pouring into the editorial office, and the seminar discussed the necessity not just to report on workers' actions, but to ask branches to start much more consciously to analyse such struggles and attempt to draw out the general lessons.

Members welcomed the news and analyses from on-the-spot Trotskyist reporters on struggles internationally and saw the work of the Preparatory Committee for the organisation of the International Conference for the reorganisation of the Fourth International as the means of developing these kind of reports.

There was a lively discussion on the necessity for Workers Press not to be confined just to struggles of the working class, but to aim at the widest possible coverage of artistic and cultural events and scientific questions. The reports from the Edinburgh Festival were cited as an example of this direction.



# Workers Press

Saturday August 29 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

**ENQUIRY  
DEMAND  
BY ANTI-  
RACIST  
MARCH**

A CALL has been launched by The Movement for Civil Rights and Justice for an official public inquiry into what really happened at Broadwater Farm on 6 October, 1985.

Jointly organised by Broadwater Farm Youth Association, Defence Campaign and Residents' Association, it is demanding also the immediate release of the innocent youth framed and convicted following the uprising.

Failure by the police to put their 'Contingency Plan' into effect, an operation they had prepared since the early 1980s to take control of Broadwater Farm, made clear that they were kept out by the youth and thereby lost the struggle in which one of their ranks died.

A sinister 'investigation' was subsequently begun. The police patrolled the Farm twenty-four hours a day, carrying out armed raids on nearly 300 homes and making 400 arrests.

Youth and even young children were held in police cells for days with no access to legal representation or any contact at all with the outside world. 167 were charged, 70 tried at the Old Bailey. The only 'evidence' gained was through forced confessions. 40 youth have so far been convicted with sentences ranging from 12 months to 30 years minimum. The Campaign is determined not to stand back and watch their rights being smashed and the state unleash wholesale revenge.

Weekly 'working meetings' are held at 7p.m. every Wednesday at 12-16 Tangmere, Broadwater Farm, Willan Road, Tottenham. Further information can be obtained by ringing 808 1667 or 885 3752.

**Ireland,  
S. Africa,  
Nicaragua,  
Mid-East**

A FORTIFIED POLICE station, built like a bunker into the lower storey of a tenement, presides over the scene. The annual demonstration of the Scottish Republican Bands is assembling in Blackhill, Glasgow. The theme this year is International Solidarity Against Imperialism.

Out of a peaceful silence, broken only by the sound of taped, Republican songs as windows are thrown open, the walk assembles.

It is large, serious but friendly, and disciplined. 'Back on the pavement' shouts a steward to the assembled supporters as the bands march off. For all the actual walkers are activists — flautists, drummers, banner-bearers, paper-sellers. Supporters go alongside, sometimes merging with the main parade to create the impression of a mass mobilisation.

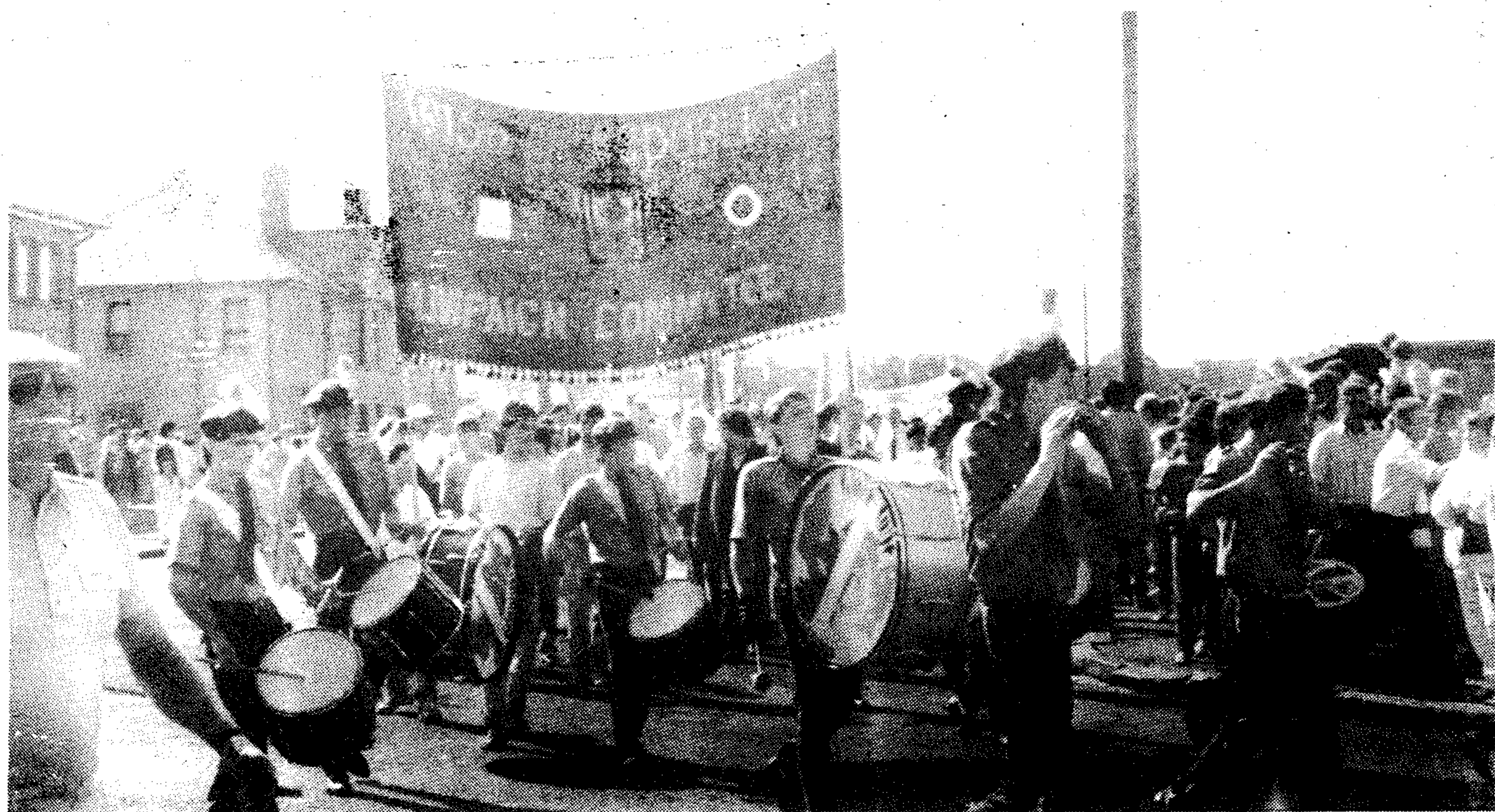
But the abiding image is of colour, music and a sense of irrepressible purpose.

There are eight bands: the Sons of Ireland, Young Republican, Wolfe Tone, Kevin Barry, James Connolly, H Block Martyrs, Billy Reid, and Crossmaglen Patriots. There are the flags of the provinces of Ireland — all Ireland — as well as tricolours and Scottish saltires.

At the head is the banner of the Bands Alliance, an impressive red creation from which the heads of James Connolly and the Scottish Marxist John Maclean look forward in unity.

Banners on the walk include those of the Troops Out Movement, the Irish Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee, the Irish Republican Campaign Committee.

There is a silhouette of Che Guevara, inscribed in large



The Republican POW Committee banner had pride of place on the march

# SOLIDARITY!

black letters 'Hasta La Victoria Siempre.'

And bringing up the rear is the banner of the Workers Revolutionary Party, from which the heads of Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky look forward over the whole parade.

In the heat the march seems long, but there is only one outbreak of ill-temper at the end, leading one bandsman to demand of his comrades: 'Stick to your ranks! No-one gets involved.'

The speeches are brief, staged beneath a great tower-block in the Roystonhill area. The first big cheer is for Simon Pirani, who introduces the speakers, when he proclaims that this is an international day of solidarity. 'Support for the Irish struggle to rid Ireland of British imperialism,' he proclaims, 'is part of one great struggle, the struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples all over the world.'

Then there is a clear, strong speech from Jimmy O'Neill for the Bands Alliance. He welcomes comrades from South Africa, Iran and England. Where there are 'marches against oppression in Scotland, England or Ireland, and even the USA, you will find the bands, he declares. Six weeks ago they were marching through occupied Portadown in solidarity with the people there.

He refutes the charge of sectarianism. Sectarianism is all on the side of the Establishment, he says: the state

authorities and their supporters, the police, the Labour councillors, the priests. Anyone who supports national liberation throughout the world can join the Bands movement.

He particularly mentions the struggles in Azania, Nicaragua, Guatemala and the Philippines, and ends with a call for republican socialism and national liberation.

Then there is Busi Noma-dolo from the Pan African Congress. Today he is the only black person present and he gets an appreciative reception. The armed struggle in Azania represents the same struggle as that of the people of Ireland, he says, calling on everyone to put pressure on their own governments to demand the withdrawal of the death sentences hanging over his fellow freedom fighters at home.

Comrade Yasmin from the Campaign Against Repression in Iran takes the stand to say that the struggle in Ireland is one of the longest running struggles against imperialism anywhere in the world. She speaks warmly of the 'perseverance' of the Irish people.

The struggles of revolutionaries in Iran are very difficult, she explains, because of the anti-imperialist rhetoric of the Islamic regime. But that regime arrests communists and socialists and represses the national rights of the Kurds.

She speaks against Western military intervention in the Gulf, while at the same time calling for the exposure of the reactionary nature of the Khomeini regime.

Moving messages of solidarity are read from the platform: from Ella



A banner commemorating the Irish hunger strikers

O'Dwyer condemned to Durham prison following the Brighton bomb trial; from Leon Perez of the International Workers League (Fourth International) and veteran of the Simon Bolivar Brigade in Nicaragua; from Gerard McDonnell, Republican prisoner of war in Parkhurst jail, Isle of Wight, who was arrested in Govan, not far away across Glasgow; from the Scottish Republican Socialist Party; from the Dundee Committee for a United Ireland, whose banner is on the march; from the Irish Freedom Movement; and from Viraj Mendis.

Earlier there were solidarity greetings from the Kashmiri Independence Movement and the Kurdish Workers Association.

The final speaker is Eddie Caughey of the Republican Prisoners of War Committee in Birmingham. Most of the demonstrators stay right to the end.

'Real freedom and real democracy can only exist in Ireland when they re-found the socialist republic first declared on Easter Day,

1916,' declares Caughey, who goes on to launch a bitter attack on the Social Democratic Labour Party who act as the main prop of the British occupation of the six counties.

But his speech is all confidence and optimism. 'The nationalist people are now in the strongest position they have ever been in,' he claims. There can be no sell-out now. The British presence in the north divides the Irish working class, and the political movement must be built to dismantle the Orange state.

He pays tribute to the courageous struggle of the IRA. 'For the first time in history the Republican movement has the resources to boot the British back to Britain.'

Everyone disperses quickly. A much-pipped police officer instructs his shirt-sleeved followers to 'start following them down Royston Road.' But there is no trouble. The international day of solidarity is over. International solidarity goes on.

## Third bus strike

THE third 24 hour strike of London's bus crews and engineers took place on Friday August 21, resulting in all London's red buses staying in the garage for the day.

The strike decision was taken on Thursday evening by a delegate conference following a report of the 40 hours of talks at ACAS earlier in the week.

In spite of management statements that they had improved their proposals for those working at the Norbiton garage where routes had been won by tender, the

strike vote was overwhelming.

Conference heard that the average rostered earning was unchanged, and London Buses still wanted the right to roster crews for up to 9 hours per day — a compulsory 45 hour week.

The Norbiton drivers, who had been threatened with the loss of their jobs and the closure of the garage if they rejected the offer, voted on the day of the strike by 97 to 28 to reject London Buses' offer made through ACAS.

In the middle of the ballot, London buses management sent a message to Norbiton

drivers that as a result of the strike they were withdrawing from the tenders and handing the routes back to London Regional Transport.

Over the heads of the union's elected London Bus Committee, Ron Todd — Transport and General Workers' Union General Secretary — arranged to meet Sir Keith Bright — head of London Regional Transport — for informal talks on Tuesday evening.

In spite of London Transport statements that wages had to be cut to ensure the routes were not won by competitors, no one has come

forward to run the Norbiton routes.

It does seem that there never were other bidders for the routes, and that the whole tendering process in London is a fraud. The aim is to split the workforce by setting up individual garage-based companies, and break up the union by imposing cuts in wages and conditions through separate local agreements for each company.

The busworkers' fight is therefore integrally linked to that of public service workers in the health authorities, schools and local government, where privatisation is being brought in as a way of 'overcoming' the cash crisis, and giving fat profits to private companies.

## WORKERS PRESS AUGUST FUND

In so far: £2,004.32

A last minute appeal around the branches as we were putting the finishing touches to this week's paper has resulted in our achieving the monthly fund with a day or two still to spare. Our thanks to everyone concerned. Keep it coming in!

- Increase the delivery total of Workers Press in your area.
- Introduce the paper to friends and workmates.
- Expand the monthly fund at branch level wherever possible.

Use the paper to recruit new members to the Party. We can reach the widest cross-section of workers through the pages of our press.

Donations urgently, please, to: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS