



# TORIES IN POLITICAL TURMOIL AT CRASH

Anti-apartheid march — see page 3



BY THE EDITOR

**THE WALL STREET** share collapse has plunged the Thatcher government into a full-scale crisis. Throughout the whole of last week Chancellor Lawson grappled with the question: should the sale of BP go ahead?

Thatcher's crisis looks like this:

- The BP sell-off is likely to trigger a further stock exchange slide. The American banks who have heavily underwritten the deal have made clear that they will unload their shares at a loss when trading starts on Friday. This will drive down the BP price and could prompt a further wave of panic selling.
- If Thatcher proceeds with the sale the government risks the wrath of the American banks, four of whom stand to lose £300 million. Lawson was under intense pressure all last week from chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, Alan Greenspan, to scrap the sale.
- This in turn could wreck future Tory privatisation measures which rely on underwriting by the financial institutions.
- If the Tories can't sell state assets their budget plans will be thrown into crisis. It is the sale of financial assets at knock-down prices which has alone prevented even greater slashing of government spending, especially to finance unemployment benefits.
- Some 250,000 small savers who took up the offer to buy BP are likely to lose £50 million as a result of the crash. These losses will be substantially greater if BP plunges in price next week. These are the middle-class people that Thatcher set out to win with her fraudulent 'people's capitalism'.

Workers Press was amongst the few in the labour movement to insist that the Thatcher government was a regime of crisis. Its election victory was made possible by the bribes handed out to sections of the middle-class and by the refusal of the Labour leaders to mount any opposition to the Tories, before or during the general election.

The Wall Street crash has exposed the fragility of the Iron Lady. It has also underlined the great possibilities of building a new leadership in the working class.

We ask all our readers to join the WRP and realise these possibilities.

What lies behind the Wall Street crash? — see pages 8&9

**£5,000 Special Fund**

**£1,000 to raise in the next week!**

**IN SO FAR: £4,097.05**

TIME is running out for our Special Fund. By next weekend's meeting to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution we must have reached our £5,000 target. We urgently need this money to pay bills already incurred in preparing the meeting and to expand our international work. It is now up to our readers and supporters. Please do not let us down! It will be a serious blow to our work if we do not make it. We simply appeal to every reader to make the maximum sacrifice to enable us to complete the fund.

Please send donations to:

WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

## Workers Press

# Chesterfield and the Workers Revolutionary Party

It was a happy accident that the Socialist Conference at Chesterfield took place at the end of the first week of the share market crash.

Not that the crisis was much reflected in the contributions to be heard there. With only a few exceptions, the thoughts of the 2,000 people who turned up at the conference seemed far away from the revolutionary implications of the crash.

The political groups represented ranged from Labour Party activists, Labour councillors and MPs, to most of the groups on the left, both inside and outside the Labour Party. On the surface, their aims were sharply contrasted. Benn and his friends want to see some kind of umbrella organisation in which all kinds of socialist groups would participate, including those outside the Labour Party.

But he is mainly concerned at mobilising Labour Party opinion behind left leaders like himself. He studiously avoided any mention of Kinnock and the existing Labour leadership. He employed odd bits of Stalinist ideology ('the socialist countries') as a substitute for a real examination of the role of Labour governments in sustaining the capitalist state — including those governments in which he had been a minister.

In apparent opposition to Benn, were groups on the left who loudly denounced the Labour Party and called on its members to leave it. But, throughout the history of the Labour Party, the firm control of it by right-wing bureaucrats has always relied upon the existence of left critics of this kind. For all their noisy rhetoric, these tendencies have basically the same conception of the world as those they attack.

In its own way Chesterfield expressed the fact that reformism is in a profound crisis. This is a serious matter for the ruling class who for decades have relied on a gang of subservient Labour and trade union leaders as the main prop of their rule. It is clear that a new centrist movement will be needed if the working class is to be diverted in the coming period from the revolutionary path.

Most of those attending the conference have come to accept the idea that capitalism is here to stay, and that their role is to denounce it. The fact that the new manifestation of the economic crisis heightens the necessity for revolutionary leadership and the development of revolutionary theory — that is quite outside the framework in which many of them think about politics.

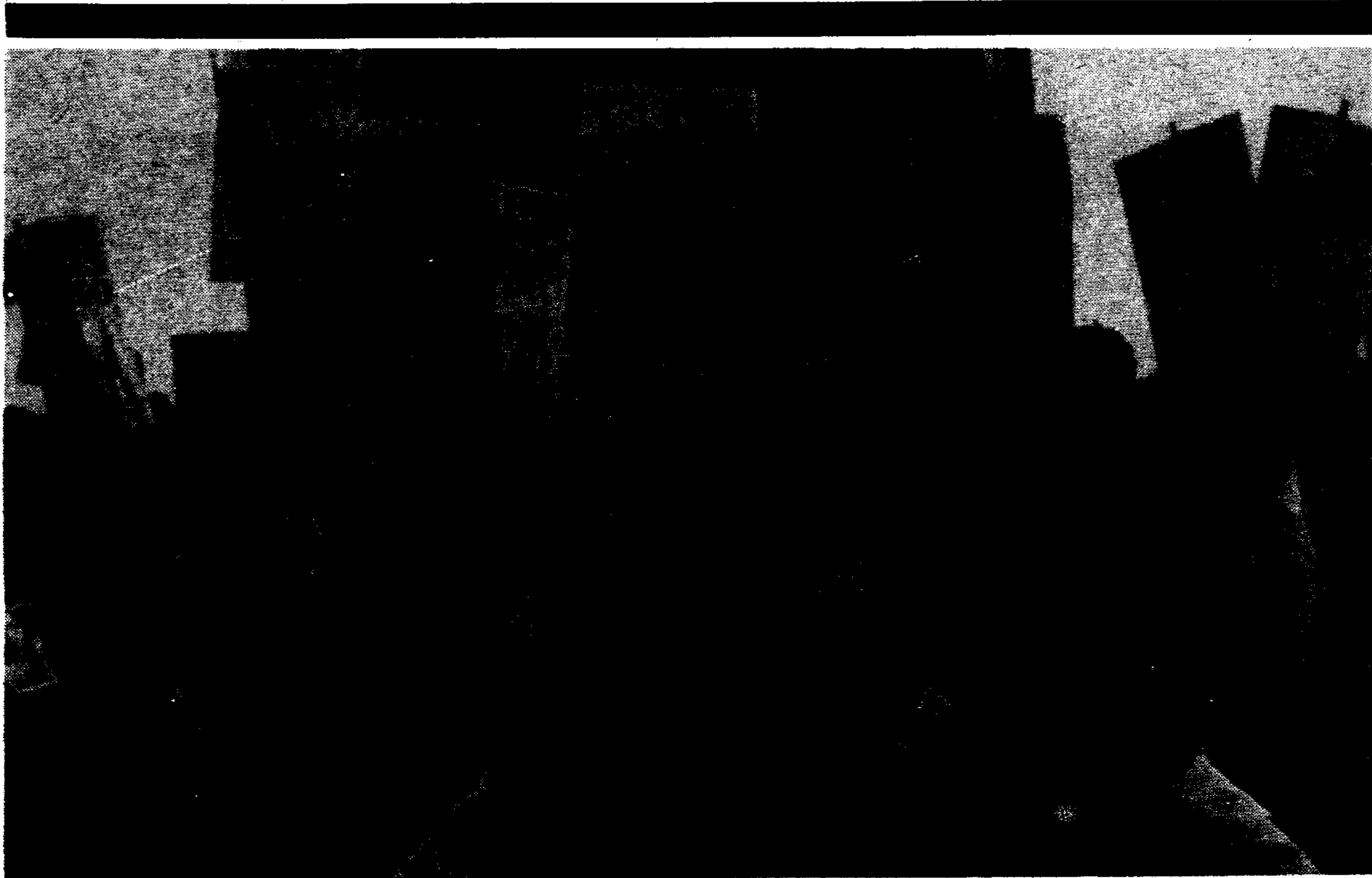
Nonetheless, the considerable interest shown in the Chesterfield Conference must not be ignored. The Workers Revolutionary Party participated in the discussions and distributed its contributions to the delegates.

Whether those attending recognised it or not, the conference did take place in an extraordinary situation. Labour councillors, for example, now find the old conceptions of reformism leading them to act as the agents of the Thatcher government in attacking the working class, and justifying their actions with the old refrain: 'If we don't carry out the cuts, somebody worse will.'

The eruption of the economic crisis will intensify these problems for those who think in the old terms — and that also includes many fighters who think that militant action will be enough to protect working-class living standards. The experiences of the next period will transform the thinking of many such people. They will also enable Marxists to make great advances in their own theory and practice.

That is why, whatever confusion may reign among those represented at Chesterfield, and however strongly we disagree with them, the WRP will take part in the regional and national gatherings that will follow up this conference.

The discussion has only just begun. If we fight for the theoretical development needed to penetrate to the revolutionary core of this crisis, we shall understand the confusion as a reflection of it, and of the vital shifts taking place in the working class as it breaks from its old leadership.



## March condemns Thatcher

**IN FINE WEATHER** an estimated 70,000 people took part in the Anti-Apartheid March in London on Saturday 24 October. At the rally in Hyde Park, speakers condemned the Tory government's opposition to sanctions.

Labour MP Bernie Grant said Thatcher had proved herself the enemy of black people throughout the world. Glenys Kinnock recounted the harrowing testimony of children who had been tortured by the South African regime.

After referring to the way the South

African press had praised Thatcher for her stand, Labour MP Joan Lester called for people to keep protesting 'until we change her mind'.

But Transport and General Workers general secretary Ron Todd (seen above marching among banners demanding 'Free Moses Maysikiso') said that if the government would not implement sanctions, we must do it ourselves. He called for the apartheid issue to be raised in every union, factory, office and shop to persuade workers to take action against South Africa.

Although still respectably large, as befits the strong feeling on the apartheid issue in the labour movement and especially among youth, the demonstration was much smaller than in previous years.

With reduced media coverage of struggles in South Africa, an Anti-Apartheid Movement leadership which sticks to moral gestures and 'changing Thatcher's mind' has plainly failed to keep up the momentum of the movement.

The heroic struggles of the black working class in South Africa deserves something better from supporters in Britain.



## Community fights new threat

**HUNDREDS** of demonstrators took to Whitechapel High Street again last week to counter a new danger, just two weeks after a march to oppose savage cuts at Mile End hospital, East London.

They had heard the local health authority was to reconvene to vote on a new package of measures including closure of the casualty unit and a reduction of beds by between 70 and 85.

The marchers were predominantly young people including students, school

pupils and nurses, grouped behind a variety of union, tenants', community and hospital organisation banners.

After a lively rally on the steps of the London hospital, Whitechapel, they packed the health authority meeting chamber to see the committee vote by nine votes to three (with 16 abstentions) to reject all plans to close Mile End accident and emergency unit.

However the committee went on to accept the principle of cuts by agreeing that medical areas should find 'savings' of £700,000 by 1 April, rather than leave it to the administrators to wield the axe. This is equivalent to saying: 'We don't want the government and its agents to cut our throats — leave us to do it ourselves.'

Only one hand was raised against cuts being applied by anyone.

Local Labour MP Peter Shore took the line that 'savings' could be made in a less drastic way than that proposed, meanwhile he would plead to the minister that Tower Hamlets was a special case. As a nursing delegate pointed out, in health matters everyone is a special case.

The fact is no 'savings' can be found to fit within government parameters because budgets are deliberately set to undermine and destroy services, to pave the way to a return to private health provision with a second minimal tier based on charity and volunteers for the poor and even not so poor.

At the Tory conference

Health Secretary John Moore named pathology labs — which test for AIDS, Cancer and other diseases — as well as portering, building maintenance, nursing homes and sections of the ambulance service for the next round of privatisation.

Well-meaning fund raisers might better serve the sick by fighting to defend and extend the state services provided as of right rather than by leading the way back to the pre-1945 horrors of dependence on flag days and ability to pay.

Clearly in the community battle to save hospitals lies the basis for a much larger unified union and community struggle to overthrow the plans to destroy the public health service and the government that has advanced them.

### LEICESTER

## Tenants prepare defences

BY PAUL HENDERSON

**BRAUNSTONE** is a large working class housing estate on the outskirts of Leicester. Along with other estates, Braunstone, in spite of the presence in Leicester of a Labour council, is under threat that future Tory plans will lead to the large scale selling off of whole areas of the estate to private landlords.

A public meeting on the effects of this form of privatisation, and was addressed by the secretary of the Tenants' Association in Leicester, Walter Lindsey. The video pointed out how 100 estates had been sold off as whole units to private developers throughout the country, and that the movements for this kind of money making was gathering pace.

Walter Lindsey told the meeting that a few people were aware of the drastic nature of the Tory plans for housing. 'The only thing of interest to these people is profit,' he told the audience. 'Under the proposals being made, prices in the area would rise from £37 to £84 per week. They are talking of choice. What they mean by this is that tenants would be free to pick their own landlord, as long as it is not the council. They want to destroy council housing and the plans for the sale of council houses is just the beginning.'

Leicester had been singled out for attention, he said, because Leicester had returned Labour MPs in the General Election, and was something of a Labour stronghold. 'They want to try it on here,' he said, 'because they think if they win here they will win in other parts'.

Reminding the meeting that in war-time, soldiers had had to fight the enemy using 'pitchforks and petrol cans', Walter Lindsey went on to say that the fight against the Tory plans would have to be just as determined.

Trevor Wright, from the Committee of the Tenants' Association, said after the meeting that if whole areas of the estate were bought up by developers the housing situation would be worsened. 'What chance has a person with kids?' he asked. 'There seems every chance that these houses would be pulled down and rebuilt as private houses. If this happens the rents are bound to go up by the sort of amount that has been mentioned, and that would be a calamity.'

The tenants made plans for supporting a national demonstration to parliament on 3 November, as well as local support for a Day of Action, on a date yet to be determined by the Tenants' Association.

Feelings were summed up by T.Harris of the Tenants' Association, who had chaired the meeting. 'We want more than just petitions,' he said. 'To me, 200 determined people are worth more than 2,000 names on a piece of paper. We have to take action.'

**A THIRD** suicide was reported last week after losing most of his fortune in the stock market crash.

Retired Canadian businessman Vernon Lamberg cut a fuel line carrying petrol to a heater and was killed by the fumes.

Heavily in debt, Lamberg had made millions from spectacular share deals but saw most of it disappear in the crash.

Two people were killed and a third critically injured in Miami earlier in the week when a heavy loser on the stock exchange shot dead an executive of the investment company responsible for his share deals.

## Camden workers to strike against cuts

By our Local Government Correspondent

**A ONE-DAY strike of over 4,000 white collar workers in the Labour controlled borough of Camden was called for last Thursday.**

A special meeting demanded by members of NALGO (National Association of Local Government Officers) voted almost unanimously for the action against the massive cuts in jobs and services agreed by the council last week.

With a freeze on recruiting new workers into empty jobs and a ban on overtime already in force these cuts will mean the virtual annihilation of some services. There is a strong rumour that several council committees will be wiped out — high on the list is the Womens, Race and Lesbian and Gay committees — what is left of the services they provide will be amalgamated and centralised.

Workers in some social services departments, the homeless persons, the boiler section and libraries are already taking industrial action against management attacks on jobs and trade union agreements.

At the Nalgo meeting one member of the branch executive compared Camden council's new management style to Ruper Murdoch in Wapping. 'They are using the courts and Tory law and by-passing the whole negotiating structure,' she said.

Branch secretary, David

Eggmore, reported that the existing agreements on redeployment have been scrapped — management will try to move council workers to any job of their choice without consultation or right of appeal. All existing union agreements are under attack as the council rush to make cuts in departments ranging from 20 to 35 per cent.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the right-wing leadership of Camden's Labour Group is using the financial crisis to try to assert political control over the council workforce and over community groups. The original group of nine Labour councillors fighting the attack on jobs and services has been joined by two more.

The 11 call themselves the 'Manifesto Group' because of their commitment to carrying out the manifesto upon which all Camden's Labour councillors were elected and which committed them to a fight against the Tory government attack.

In a statement recently issued by the group they say: 'Many cuts will be needed next year and in following years... Unless we develop a political strategy of resistance, in unity with those communities and workers who will be bearing the brunt of the Tory government's proposals, there will be nothing left to defend in three years' time.'

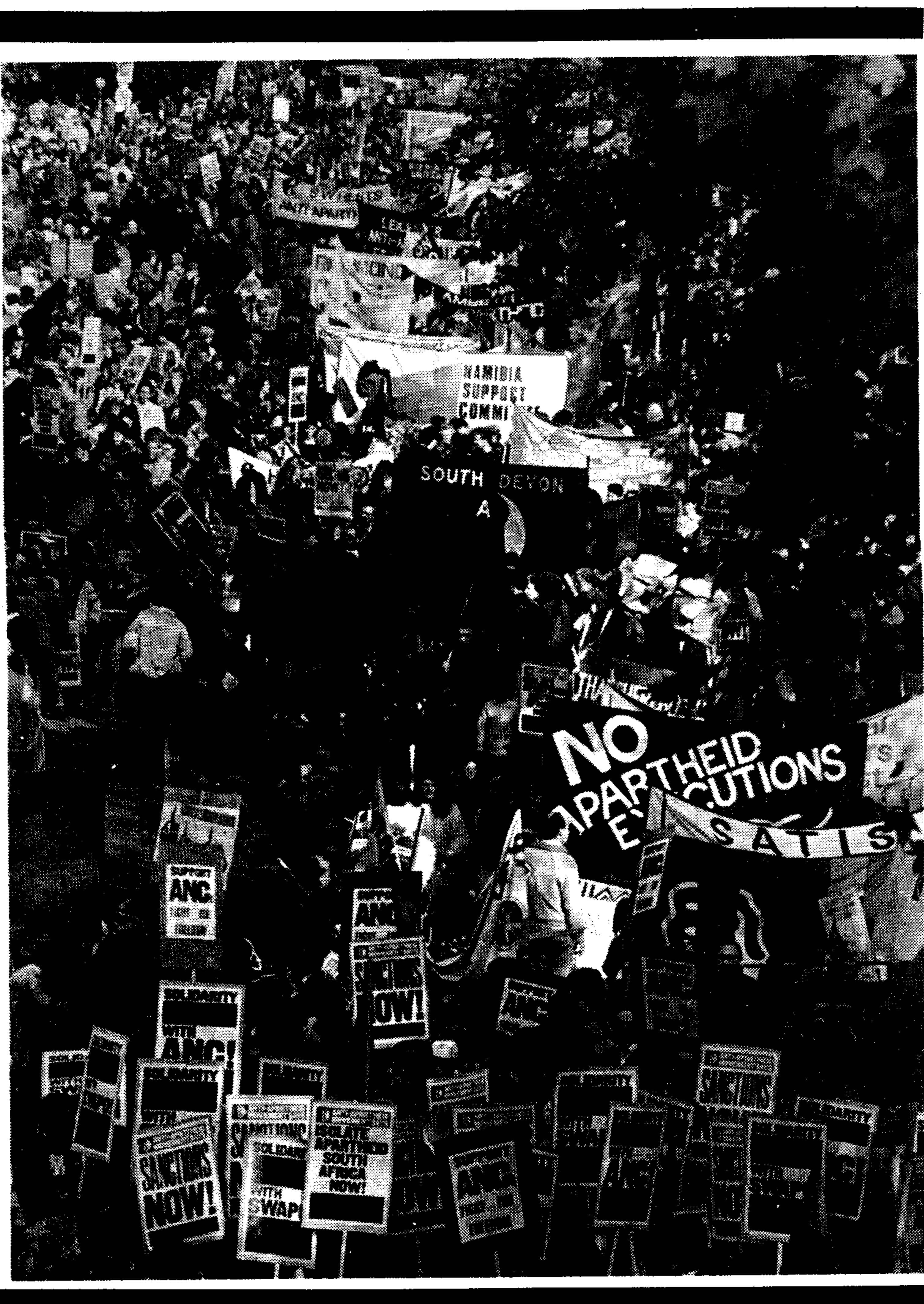
The attacks being carried out by the council will 'divide those who need to be united; attack those who are most vulnerable and oppressed and savage those who are prepared to fight.

'Our allegiance as Labour councillors and as socialists is to those who are on the receiving end of these policies, and we align ourselves totally with those who are campaigning against the council on the basis of resistance.'

against the tax which its organisers, MP Brian Wilson, admitted in a television interview does not even have the principle of defying the law. It has not even challenged those Labour councillors throughout Scotland who are meanwhile busily preparing to apply the charge at the behest of their Tory masters.

● A special Scottish Labour Party conference on 21 November will include on its agenda an item on the poll tax, and the Glasgow Smash the Poll Tax Campaign will discuss at its next meeting a lobby of this conference and the organisation of its own delegate conference in the new year.

The meeting is at 2p.m. on Saturday 14 November at the Partick Burgh Hall, Glasgow. All are welcome.



## 'Smash poll tax' campaign is launched

**SHOP stewards, Labour Party and trade union members and representatives from many left-wing groups attended a founding meeting of the Smash the Poll Tax Campaign in Glasgow last week.**

Introducing the meeting, Derek Owen of the Revolutionary Communist Party outlined the effects on the community of the introduction of the poll tax in Scotland in 1989.

The average working-class couple, he said, would lose £10 per week, with the unemployed and students, who are currently exempt from rates payment, particularly hard hit.

Warrant sales, the barbaric practice of forcibly selling a debtor's household property which is still law in Scotland, would be used against those who could not or would not pay the new charge.

A member of NALGO local government union told the meeting that Strathclyde regional council had already installed the new computers to process the collection of the community charge. 'Snoopers' whose job would be exclusively to check on the registration and payment of the charge by local families had been engaged by the council on 13 October.

While NALGO's official policy was to resist the implementation of the poll tax, she said, no action was actually being organised at the workplace where these preparations were being made.

The meeting centred on a discussion of how to involve trade union branches, tenants' associations and immigrant organisations in a campaign against the tax. Asian communities in the west of Scotland would be inflicted with colossal financial burdens under the new law, with extended families and often more than one family living under the same roof.

A shop steward from the

Western Infirmary in Glasgow said that education was vital to explain to workers the enormous implications of the poll tax. It was decided to produce an 'action pack' containing this information, inviting unions and other organisations to affiliate to the campaign, and including a model resolution for trade unions opposing the introduction of the tax and pledging support for those who opposed its implementation.

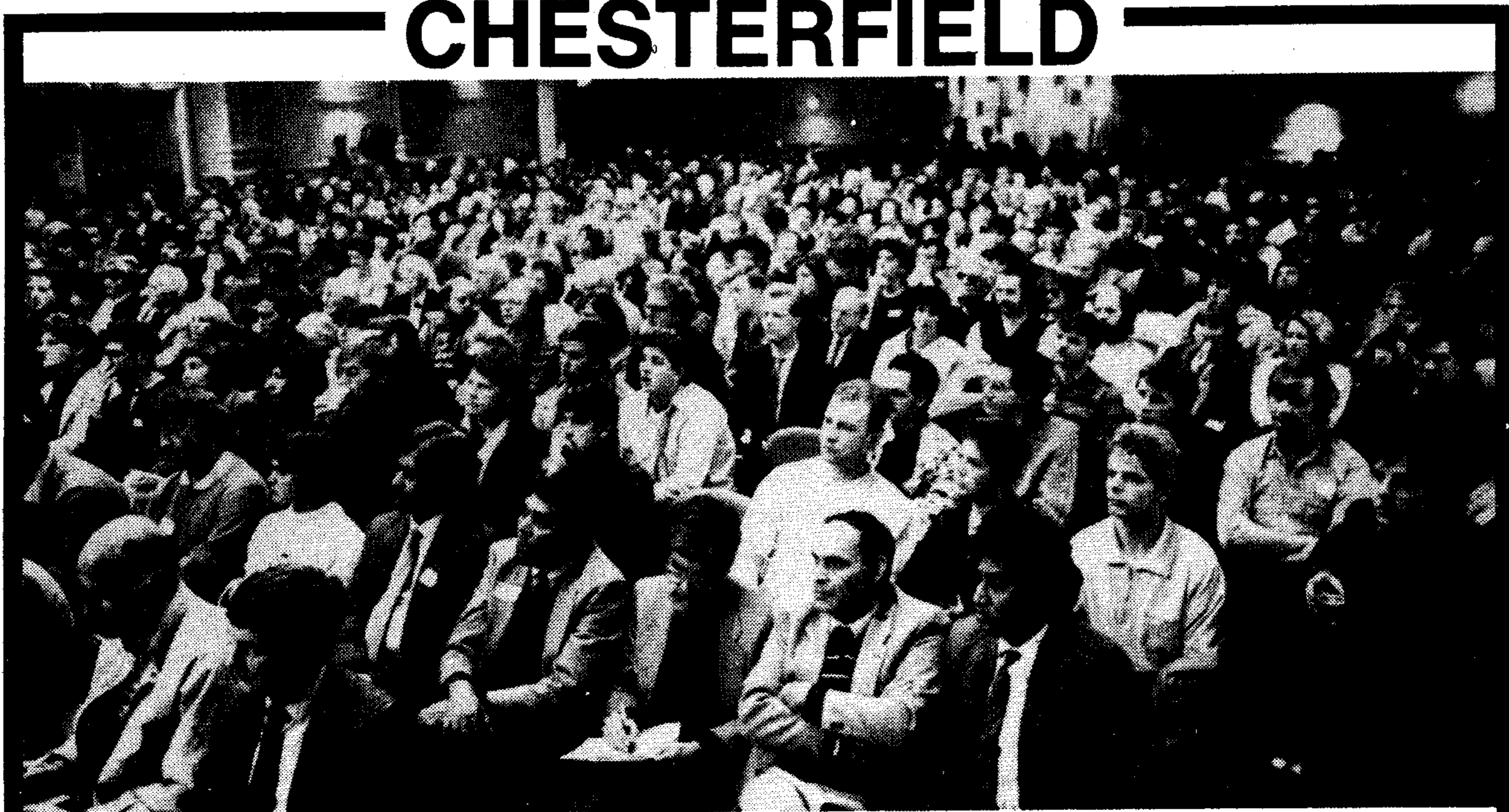
The majority of the meeting voted to name the campaign 'Smash the Poll Tax'. A minority had put forward the alternative 'Won't Pay the Poll Tax', but most of those present believed

that the campaign had to have as its immediate aim the non-implementation by the unions of the charge, rather than to accept its imposition and leave resistance up to individual tenants and householders.

The demands of the campaign are:

- Working class action to smash the poll tax.
- Defiance of the Tory law, which they have no mandate to impose.
- Defence of those victimised for non-implementation or non-payment of the law.

The Scottish Labour Party has mounted a toothless campaign



Some of the 2,000 participants in last weekend's Chesterfield Socialist Conference. Delegates came from a wide range of organisations: the Labour Party, trade union branches and several left-wing groups, including the Workers Revolutionary Party. Platform speakers included Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Ralph Miliband and Arthur Scargill. The conference was organised around three main workshops — on peace, internationalism and development, on the economy and on democracy. It was agreed that Conference will reconvene next May and that regional conferences would be held over the next six months. See editorial — page 2

# Working for 'Big Mac'

## — super exploitation in the High Street



'Have a nice day'... ?

**ARE McDonald's young employees really eager to please or just desperate to keep to a specified high-speed customer processing routine?**

Do they run to grab fries and shakes with a desire to provide a quick service or to keep to laid-down timings that ensure maximum profits for their employers?

In McDonald's 231 fast-food outlets in Britain the latest factory assembly-line methods are combined with the most modern kitchen technology and with the very latest Japanese-style flexible working and strict labour-discipline systems to revolutionise high-street catering.

Time and motion study, updated by industrial engineers to include computer modelling and scheduling, has been used to break down fast food operations into the smallest component parts which can then be routinised, learned in minutes and carried out in seconds at running speed.

Customers have been timed from the moment they enter a store up to the time they are served and a standard set which the 'crews' are expected to achieve — the 100-second sale.

All the skills of quality cooks and the need for apprentices and cookery school graduates are wiped

BY BERNARD FRANKS

out by the combination of high tech equipment and standardised work patterns.

The report 'Working for Big Mac' from the Transnationals Information Centre explains:

'There is no room for creative chefs in this factory. Workers from Ealing to Outer Mongolia perform exactly the same repetitive tasks to prepare the same Big Mac.'

Such de-skilling enables a cheap-labour, casual-labour, high-turnover policy to operate, based on rapid hire-and-fire and irregular hours of work to fit with fluctuations in demand.

Nor is the rationalisation programme — which seeks cuts in staff and timings — ever at an end.

The latest innovation is the 'clam-shell' grill which cooks burgers on both sides at once, cutting cooking time from 130 seconds to just 40.

As for that well-known computerised till, it is a terminal of a system which automatically totals cash and stock, transmitting the information to head office so that 'on any given day corporate HQ outside Chicago can tell you the demand for chicken McNuggets in Guam or Fillet-o-Fish in Alaska.'

Nowhere is the Tory

cheap-labour no-rights policy more fully operated than under McDonald's flexible labour system.

The company target is to keep labour costs below 15 per cent of revenue from sales at any individual outlet.

This is achieved by requiring high-speed production from a part-time, temporary workforce, mostly comprising young people, women, ethnic minorities, students and overseas visitors.

The significance of this staffing mix is that it is made up of those already vulnerable and under a variety of pressures, so in a weak position to resist low pay, unsocial hours, irregular working, a hire-and-fire policy and anti-union pressures.

'If sales are down,' one manager explained, 'labour costs must come down; you have to cut the staff and make those remaining work harder.'

Another manager explained: 'A really high-volume store could run at 10 per cent labour because bodies are always in motion. But in a quiet store you still have to keep a foundation crew, which is why labour slips up occasionally to 16.5 per cent.'

An average McDonald's store has 80 workers on its payroll of which 80 per cent are part-timers.

The company claims that an average crew member works 25 hours a week but the Transnationals Information Centre believes they

work many more.

Nobody has a standard working week. Shifts are fixed by managers each week and are totally irregular, lasting six to eight hours any time between 7a.m. and 2.30a.m. next morning. 'We schedule for our needs not theirs,' said a manager.

One result of this system is that workers find it difficult to claim state benefits to supplement their low income because the DHSS demands exact details of working times.

Where a breakfast trade operates, staff are in the store round the clock, 'cleaning through the night for a 6.30a.m. opening'.

This tends to the absolute form of flexible working — where part-time on paper is full-time in practice, where no such thing as unsocial hours or overtime rates exist because any time is normal time, and where employees are phoned to come in or are laid off according to current sales levels.

As McDonald's 'crew handbook' states: 'Your hours of work cannot be permanently guaranteed because the number of staff we can employ depends on how busy the restaurant is.'

'Sometimes it is necessary to increase or reduce the number of hours you work to take these fluctuations into account.'

Apparently it is deliberate policy also to retain only a skeleton staff on each shift to keep costs down and the pressure up.

### Pay

THE report explains that McDonald's depends heavily on the employment of young people to hold labour costs down: some 32 per cent of the workforce is under 18 and 75 per cent under 21.

Hiring an under-18-year-old saves the company a

further 52p an hour.

'We're under pressure from head office to hire as many under-18s as possible', said one store manager, 'even if we give 20p an hour extra to keep them on, we cut costs'.

A 17-year-old in a McDonald's outside London gets £1.58 an hour, in London £1.62 and in London's West End £1.76.

A system of 'incentives' and competitive gimmicks operate, involving the award of badges and stars tied to small financial rewards, all designed to 'keep the workers smiling at the customers but at each others throats'. Few stay long enough to get the maximum five stars.

McDonald's has consistently paid only the appalling low legal minimum wage rates set by the unlicensed Places of Refreshment Wages Council.

Now even these are threatened following the 1986 Wages Council Act which destroyed all protection for young people in terms of a minimum wage and holiday pay and all adult workers' rights to extra shift pay, unsocial hours, money, Sunday and rest day working rates and holiday pay.

### Employment rights

McDONALD's incredibly high staff-turnover rate and employment solely of young people ensures that virtually no one qualifies for employment protection.

In the first month of employment seven out of ten new employees drop out. In London turnover approximates 200 to 250 per cent a year.

Said one manager: 'No-one ever stays more than six to nine months unless they want to go into management.'



Familiar scene on many high streets

# TURKEY

## Deaths in detention at Diyarbakir prison



One of the prison dormitories

By E. REGIK of Workers Front

### KURDISH prisoners from Turkey's Diyarbakir prison have prepared a detailed list of comrades who have died in detention under the right-wing regime.

1. On 17 May 1982 **Ferhat Kutay, Necmi Oner, Mahmut Zengin and Esref Anyik** from No.33 dormitory burned themselves to death with naphtha in protest at their treatment. They had been brutally tortured by the guards.

2. On the same day, following these deaths, warders attacked all dormitories. **Bedil Tan** was so badly beaten that he too died.

3. On 21 March **Mazlum Dogan**, in No.35 dormitory, committed suicide in protest at the torture.

4. A hunger strike was carried out between 14 July and 4 August 1982 to protest at the torture and oppression of political prisoners. **Kemal Pir, M. Hayri Durmus, Akif Yilmaz and Ali Cicek** died.

5. While they were on hunger strike they were refused drinking water by the warders. **M. Hayri Durmus** was forced to lie on the stone floor without bedding. A prison doctor and psychiatrist were present when the torture was carried out.

6. On 23 January 1984, **Necmettin Buyukkaya**, from dormitory No.24 died from torture carried out by **Ali Osman Aydin, Abdullah Kahraman** and other military personnel. **Birrol Sen** was the chief officer at Diyarbakir Prison and was in control of the torture team.

7. When **Remzi Ayturk**, from dormitory 23, heard of **Necmettin Buyukkaya's** death, he committed suicide in protest.

8. In March 1984, hunger strikers **Keskin both died**. During their hunger strike they were beaten and tortured.

9. In January 1984, **Yilmaz Demir** from No.10 dormitory was injured when prison warders attacked all prisoners. He, too, committed suicide.

10. In May 1986, **Suphi Cevirci** had informed on some of his friends under torture. He later made a statement on Turkish television but suffered so much remorse that he eventually killed himself.

11. **M. Ali Eraslan** died as a

result of beatings by prison officers, the exact date is not known.

12. **Ismet Karak** died under torture, date unknown.

13. **Abdurnahman Cecen**, from dormitory No.36, died under torture on 16 May 1981.

14. **Ramazan Yayan and Medet Ozbadem**, both in need of medical attention, were refused hospitalisation. They were starved by the prison warders, made to do compulsory exercise and regularly beaten. **Yoyon** died in January 1983; **Ozbadem** died in May 1983.

15. **Ali Saribal**, from No.3 dormitory, died under torture in October 1981. He was denounced for his political activity by prison warders whilst in detention.

16. **Abdullah Kilic** died in detention in 1982. He was tortured by prison guards, chained by the feet to the ceiling and his body repeatedly swung against the wall of his cell. A falsified report was made on his death, substantiated by three other prisoners under torture.

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18. **Mehmet Emin Akhplinar**, in dormitory 16, was unable to speak Turkish. Because of this the guards constantly tortured him. He died in 1982 after attacks by military personnel.

19. **Onder Demirok**, from dormitory No.18, refused to pass on information about other prisoners. He was tortured and beaten. Guard

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The wall of Diyarbakir detention prison

24. **Aziz Ozbay**, in dormitory No.16, was about 50 years old. Unable to learn by heart the Turkish military songs, he was continually tortured and died in 1982.

25. **Kenan Ciftci**, from dormitory No.9, had his left leg broken during torture by the guards. Other prisoners found his corpse on his bed one day when guard **Ahmet Sahin** had been torturing him.

26. **Onder Demirok**, from dormitory No.18, refused to pass on information about other prisoners. He was tortured and beaten. Guard

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**Mehmet Ozer** took him out of the dormitory and beat him up in the corridor. Prisoners heard his screams and later found him tied to his bed.

32. In April 1981, **Ali Ereik**, No.35 dormitory, refused to sing the Turkish national anthem or recite a speech from **Kemal Ataturk**. He was punished by being refused food. He died in his cell.

33. **Ibrahim Helli Baturalp** died in April 1983 after being beaten up by guards.

34. **Huseyin Yuce** was in No.23 dormitory which was attacked on 18 January 1984 by guards. He was injured and lost consciousness but was refused permission to attend the prison hospital. In May 1984 he committed suicide.

35. Another prisoner died on 27 December 1984 following torture.

36. **Aziz Buyukertas** from No.27 dormitory died under torture from guards.

37. In June 1987 **Mehmet Kalkan** and **Ali Bozkurt** were detained for interrogation. **Mehmet Kalkan** died during interrogation. **Ali Bozkurt** received death threats and has been isolated from other prisoners because he criticised **Kalkan's** death.

'It's the pressure, heavy hours, awful pay and it's a degrading job — scrubbing tables and scrubbing floors in front of all the customers — and always having to smile. People get really fed up.'

Why should McDonald's worry about high turnover as long as young people still apply and as long as so-called Employment Protection laws require a part-timer (working 16 hours a week) to be with a firm for five years before they qualify for redundancy or maternity pay, time off for trade union activity or the right to claim for unfair dismissal?

The report warns that the situation may worsen if the latest Tory White Paper 'Building Business not Barriers' becomes law.

This includes proposals to raise to 20 hours a week the definition of full-time work while extending from six to 13 weeks the disqualification period for unemployment benefit for those leaving employment voluntarily or being sacked for industrial misconduct.

### Joining a union

McDONALD'S is 'virtually and successfully anti-union'. The corporation's chief management consultant, speaking of the US said: 'It's the 150,000 kids out there that make us tick. If the unions succeed at McDonalds then my job has failed.'

In Britain the company boasts that it knows of no union members in its stores or working for its suppliers. Possibly one reason is that anyone trying to unionise is booted out.

However, internationally, in a number of stores, the McDonald's man has had to eat lead.

In San Francisco in 1973, union action successfully stopped the company using lie detector tests to discover potential trade unionists when hiring staff.

In Sweden and Ireland McDonald's have had to concede union rights.

In Mexico City, after a three-week struggle in 1985, the hotel and catering union won full recognition, with agreements on sick pay, holidays and paternity leave.

In Nicaragua the union has won sole negotiating rights, paid time off for union reps, paid leave to attend union education programmes and various welfare provisions part-paid by the company.

In Britain the position is a shocking one.

In the country where mass trade unions originated, here is a company which openly flaunts its use of the very worst aspects of modern capitalist exploitation, yet the trade union movement as a whole — not just the catering sector — has done nothing to eradicate this blot on its traditions.

Even the very worst conditions do not lead automatically to organisation by the workers involved, and certainly not to their understanding of the hidden mechanisms which ensure that employers will be seeking ever more ruthless systems for extracting the maximum output from the minimum workforce.

Yet the main 'strategy' of today's union leaders is to wait on a Labour government to hopefully supply favourable legislation to make such employers toe the line. Even if they get in, from the likes of **Knock and Co.** you can say: 'Some hope'.

Clearly there is a need today for a new revolutionary trade unionism: one which has broken entirely from participation with employers and the state in organisations for exploiting

working people i.e. the 'noddies' and the MSC: one which involves and is run at every level by women, ethnic minorities and above all young people, the most exploited sections of workers today; and one which has as its dominating theme the exposure and overthrow of a system which rests on the super-exploitation of the great mass of people by a small minority class of company owners and controllers.

The recently published report is vital reading for anyone involved in the struggle for the rights of young people and of catering workers.

'Working for Big Mac', available from the Transnationals Information Centre, 9 Poland Street, London W1 and enclose £1.50 (this includes post and packing).

● One in ten young people walk straight from the classroom into the hotel and catering industry.

● McDonald's made \$1.32 million profit every day in 1986. It spans 45 countries with 9,410 outlets, and opens a new store every 17 hours and is now penetrating into Eastern Europe.

● In the UK over 19,000 people work for McDonald's and it is one of the capital's largest employers with a staff total of 7,000 in the Greater London area.

● In 1955 milkshake-machine salesman **Ray Kroc** took out a franchise on a hamburger store owned by two McDonald brothers. Today McDonald's is the largest fast-food operation in the world. It is also the largest owner of retail property with \$4.88 billion on the books. Founder **Ray Kroc** is believed to have amassed a \$571 million personal fortune. In effect, 'McDonald's' is a property company which sells hamburgers'.

● There are 573 McDonald outlets in Japan, 515 Canada, 245 in West Germany, 183 in Australia and 7,272 in the USA.

● As a wholly-owned subsidiary of the US Corporation the UK chain does not have to publish annual reports in Britain.

'McDonald's eliminated all demarcations and any career structure based on training and skills. The chef, the assistant chef, waitress, cleaner have been levelled down to the uniformed crew member. Everyone at McDonald's eats, goes on the grill, on fries, on lobby. This enables the corporation to follow the "flexible workforce" strategy on which its profits rest.'

### Who owns what in the High Street?

■ **United Biscuits:** Wimpsey, Pizzaland, Perfect Pizza.

■ **Trust House Forte:** Happy Eater, Little Chef, Kentucky Fried Chicken (under franchise from Pepsi co).

■ **British Rail:** Casey Jones.

In many countries McDonald's is under franchise or joint ownership. In Britain the chain is almost completely owned by the US parent company.)

WORKERS PRESS would be glad to hear from anyone who has personal experiences of working for 'Big Mac' or any other sector of the catering and retailing industry and also from anyone employed where flexible working systems operate.

# Fascist bomb trial — ninth attempt

**LEADING neo-Fascist Stefano Delle Chiaie has gone on trial for murder in Catanzero, southern Italy, in connection with the December 1969 bombing of a Milan bank. The case is expected to last for some months.**

It is the ninth attempt by the Italian judiciary to bring someone to justice for the bombing of the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura, in which 16 people were killed and 88 injured.

Originally, police blamed the outrage on anarchists. A railway worker, Giuseppe Pinelli was interrogated, and fell to his death from an upper floor of the Milan

police headquarters. (Some evidence indicated he was dead before he 'fell'.)

This inspired Dario Fo's hit play, 'Accidental Death of an Anarchist'.

Five investigations and eight court hearings have failed to officially establish guilt for the Milan bombing, the start of a campaign of terror intended by fascists to prepare the way for a military coup.

In 1972, two fascists were arrested on explosives charges, and the Milan bombing was added to the list, but the suspects were helped to escape while on bail. Stefano Delle Chiaie, who had gone underground after questioning, went to Spain, and later Chile.

Delle Chiaie's activities have been linked to sinister conspiracies financed by

businessman Licio Gelli, Grand Master of the P2 masonic lodge, who escaped from a Swiss prison four years ago when facing extradition to Italy, but surprised Geneva authorities by turning himself in this September.

There have also been suggestions that top CIA man James Jesus Angleton, long-time associate of Delle Chiaie's fascist coup leader Prince Valerio Borghese, had a hand in the 'strategy of tension'.

Angleton was responsible for much of the 'Red'-hunting disinformation taken up by M15 in its efforts to destabilise the British

Labour government.

For seventeen years, officially wanted by Italian police, the fascist terrorist Delle Chiaie travelled several countries. He operated for a time in Bolivia with Nazi war criminal and CIA agent Klaus Barbie, setting up a mercenary gang called the Fiances of Death.

In March this year, Delle Chiaie was arrested in Caracas, Venezuela, and deported to Italy. Besides the Milan charge, he and co-defendant Massimiliano Fachini are on separate trial in Bologna for the August 1980 railway station bombing in which 85 people were killed.

# Tamil Tigers defiant

**AS Indian commanders claimed last week to have won the battle for Jaffna, where firing and mortar shells could still be heard, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam vowed to wage a tireless guerrilla war against them.**

'There will never be normalcy in our areas,' a Tamil Tiger leader using the nom de guerre 'Mahattya' told reporters. While about 200 Tamil fighters continued harassing the 8,000-strong Indian force sent to subdue Jaffna, another 1,500 were reported regrouping in jungle area to the south.

The Indian army admitted it had lost 159 men killed in the fifteen days of fighting for the Tamil town, with 555 wounded and 38 missing.

The Tamil Tigers said 43 of their fighters were killed, seven of them women, and another 50 wounded. They had taken 23 Indian soldiers prisoner.

The main victims of the Indian 'peacekeeping' force's all-out offensive were clearly civilians, who died in hundreds. Refugees, many with shrapnel wounds, spoke of heavy shelling from Indian artillery and tanks, strafing by helicopter gunships, and bombing, either by Indian or Sri Lankan planes.

There have also been several reports of deliberate atrocities. One man who got to a hospital, with bullet wounds in his back, said he had been one of six civilians made to lie face down in the road, and shot. He had survived by pretending to be dead.

Tamil Tigers accuse Indian troops of having killed hundreds of people at Jaffna teaching hospital, and rap-

ing nurses. There were also reports of fleeing refugees being strafed from the air.

In the eastern area around Batticaloa, Indian troops went on the rampage after three of their men had been killed in an ambush on 23 October. Twelve people were killed, and homes set ablaze, in what an Indian official later described as a 'cordon-and-search' operation carried out together with Sri Lankan police.

An underground Tamil radio station went on the air last week saying it intended to counter lies broadcast by both Sri Lankan and Indian radio. Accusing the Indian government of having 'never had the genuine aspirations of the Tamil people at heart', the broadcast said Indian troops were waging war 'to appease Jayawardene and his Sinhala racist regime.'

'The Indo-Sri Lanka accord served to bolster India's international position, and so it is determined to tenaciously cling to it. If this accord is to survive, India must ensure the political survival of Jayawardene. It must bow to his demands.'

'Because of their one-sided position, the interests of the Tamil Eelam people were thrown to the winds.'

The Indian army's onslaught has not only wrecked the city of Jaffna, but it appears to have finally wrecked any chance of the Tamils complying with the 'peace' accord the troops were supposed to be defending.

The Tamil Tigers had already accused Sri Lankan forces of intending to betray the deal. Now with more support from an embittered people they are telling India's Rajiv Gandhi what to do with his promised concessions and 'participation' in administration government.

'There will never be any civil administration in our areas', Mahattaya said last week. None of the Tiger leaders had been captured. Commander Velupillai Prabhakaran was reported with a force forming in jungle area south-west of the Jaffna peninsula.

Outlining the way the war with Indian forces would proceed, Mahattaya said:

'Now we are fighting face to face like two armies. The next step will be to allow the Indians to advance a certain distance. Then we will use footpaths and bylanes to get behind them and attack. The third step will be to start suicide missions.'

He said the Tigers had captured 150 weapons, thousands of rounds of ammunition, and five military vehicles.

Rajiv Gandhi's 'Tiger hunt' for his friend Jayawardene is proving a costly adventure for the Indian army, in men, arms, and morale. The Tigers may yet prove the end for Gandhi and Jayawardene.



The struggle of Tamil people in Sri Lanka forced the government to sign a pact with India and pull back troops. Now the Indian military is attempting to collect arms of Tamil fighters such as these.

## BRAZIL

# First deaths

BY JOLYON RALPH

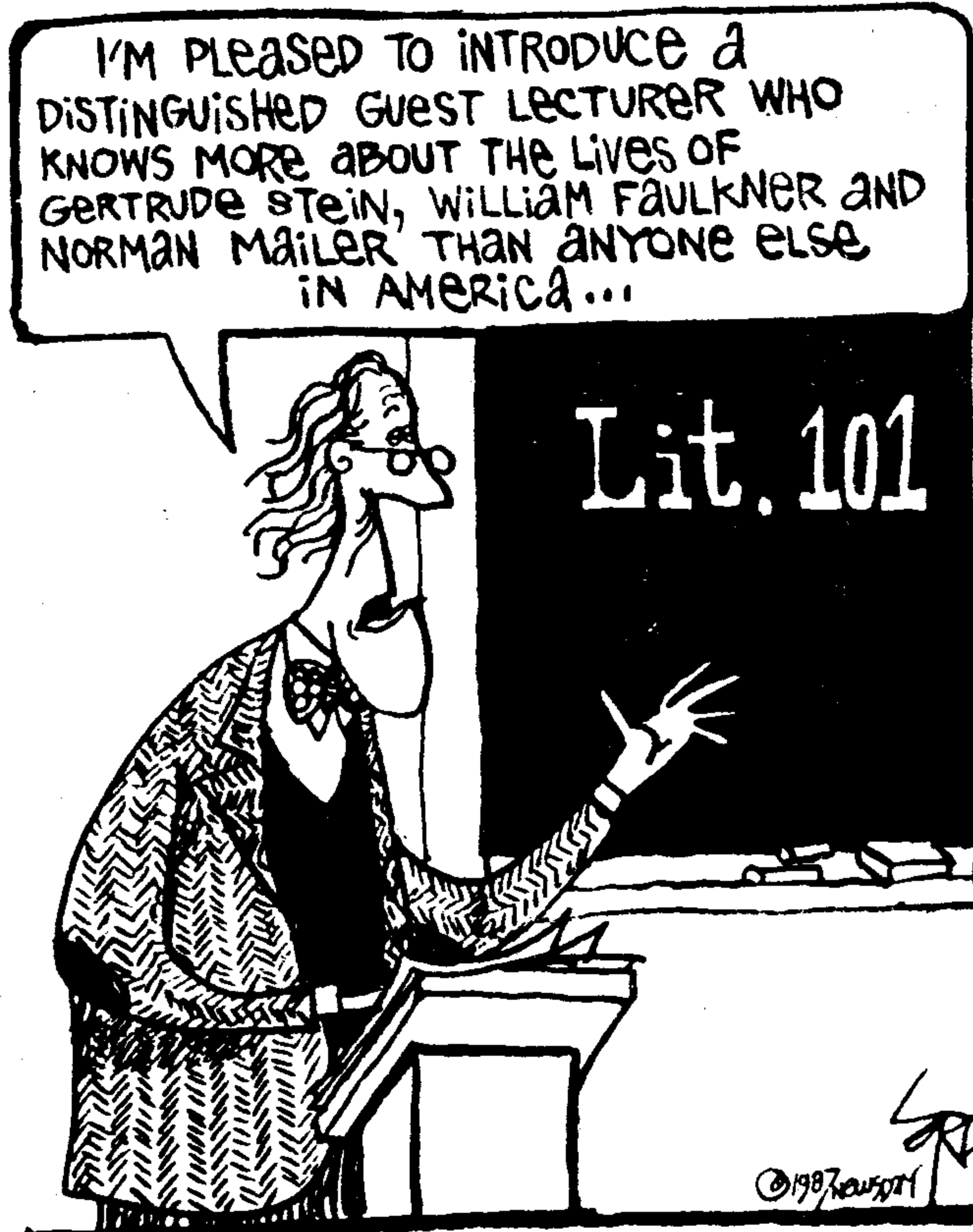
**THE FIRST casualties of the Brazilian nuclear radiation leak have been buried in lead coffins encased in seven inches of concrete.**

The radiation leak occurred when a scrap-metal merchant bought a cancer treatment device from a scavenger.

When he smashed it open he found a 100-gram pellet of highly radioactive caesium 137. He showed the glowing pellet to his friends and family — his wife and niece were the first to die.

Three have now died in the military hospital in Rio, where nine more badly-irradiated people are being treated. It has been officially admitted that 243 people have been contaminated, although the accurate total is many times higher than that, including government officials who were sent to clear up the radioactivity wearing no protective clothing and given plastic bags to contain the deadly material.

The Nuclear Energy Commission of Brazil, which is controlled by the president's office and the armed forces, has declared the area 'completely safe'.



**AMERICAN poet William Carlos Williams was turned down for a job as poetry consultant to the Library of Congress in 1952, after a 'security' check. Did they suspect subversive sonnets, or fear he'd pinch library books?**

'I don't know a thing,' Williams said in an interview two years later. 'What did they find? They never did give me any indication . . . for heavens sake, what kind of country is this?'

J. Edgar Hoover knew. The FBI chief had been notified: 'Applicant was not appointed because of an unfavourable report.' The FBI had provided the report.

They'd opened a file on Williams, William Carlos, back in 1930 when he wrote a letter to 'New Masses' magazine and enclosed a contribution.

FBI files obtained by US writers Natalie Robins and Herbert Mitgang show the FBI kept tabs on virtually every US Nobel prizewinner for literature, starting with the first, Sinclair Lewis.

His novel 'Kingsblood Royal' was described as 'the most incendiary book' since 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' because it constituted 'propaganda for the white man's acceptance of the negro as a social equal'.



Pearl Buck, winner of a Nobel prize in 1938, went on file the same year. Her dossier notes her membership of the American Civil Liberties Union (listed as a 'Communist front organisation') and opposition to race discrimination. Hemingway, Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, and John Steinbeck were all targeted for FBI surveillance.

It was recently disclosed that FBI agents had tried to persuade librarians to inform on library-users. John Studer, of the Political Rights Defense Fund observed: 'It surely suggests that the FBI would like to snoop on what people read, as well as what they write.'

## Korean candidate runs gauntlet

RIGHT-wing South Korean presidential candidate Roh Tae Woo has had to run a gauntlet of angry protestors wherever he shows his face, but especially in the town of Kwangju.

At least 200 people were killed there seven years ago when President Chun Doo Hwan's military regime used troops to put down popular opposition, and the citizens will neither forgive nor forget.

When Roh Tae Woo, hand-picked by the president as his Democratic Justice Party's candidate for successor, went to Kwangju on 21 October, he was met by angry women chanting 'Down with dictatorship' and 'bring back our husbands'.

Roh got a taste of his government's own medicine, too — somebody threw a teargas canister.

More teargas was used the following day, this time by the police as usual, as they broke up a group of about 50 youth demonstrating outside a hall in Jongjo, where Roh was arriving to give a speech.

The right-wing candidate had been due to hold an outdoor rally in his home town of Taegu on Saturday 24 October, but announced on the Thursday that all his meetings would be indoors from now on.

Opposition candidate Kim Young Sam attracted 500,000 supporters to a rally in Pusan the previous weekend, while 300,000 turned out in Kwangju to hear rival oppositionist Kim Dae Jung.

# Rabuka suspends rights GUN LAW IN FIJI

NEWS smuggled out of military-ruled Fiji of torture of political opponents, repression of trade unions, and random brutality against the Indian population, is beginning to sound like the early days of Nazi rule in Germany.

Political meetings and newspapers have been banned. Imperialist-backed racist Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka has suspended basic rights, contained in Fiji's 1970 Constitution, in a decree which outlaws strikes and imposes harsh penalties for breaking the military regime's emergency laws.

The British-trained colonel has given his troops virtual immunity from prosecution if they kill anyone while using 'reasonable force' to maintain order.

They can shoot to kill while making an arrest, preventing an escape, defending property, or suppressing riot, the regulations say.

Since Rabuka took power, news from the islands has

## Suffer little children

FIJI's military rulers banned all Sunday activities except church-going, when they took power. It fitted 'born-again' Colonel Rabuka's vow to establish 'Christian values', provided an immediate way of stopping opposition gatherings, and effectively discriminates against non-Christians — most of the Indian population.

At Ba, on Viti Levu, 17 children were arrested for breaking the Sabbath. According to the Fiji Independent News Service, they were stripped, and 'inflicted with corporal punishment' until they could no longer stand up. They were then made to rub their noses on a concrete floor until they bled.

In Britain, Colonel Rabuka and his fine upstanding officers have been praised in Tory papers like the 'Sun', and 'Express'.

been censored, but reports smuggled out last week detail army and police brutality. In Suva, the capital, Labour Party spokesperson Richard Naidu was among several political detainees severely beaten up, they said.

In Labasa, the centre of a sugar-growing area on Vanua Levu island, with a large Indian population, farmers, civil servants, a doctor and a magistrate were victims of army violence. People had been forced to stand up to their necks in sewage for hours.

At Ba, in the west of Viti Levu island, a nurse was raped by an armed soldier while two children were made to watch. In Laukota, a housewife was raped by a soldier in front of her children. Another housewife at Ba was attacked by four soldiers, but saved by workers who had been cutting sugar cane nearby.

Colonel Rabuka is backed by the anti-Indian Taukei movement which is believed to have received funds from the American CIA and other imperialist agencies, concerned at the Fijian Labour Party's anti-nuclear stance. He has been taking advice from CIA officers, and is also now getting support from France.

The colonel also has the blessing of some Methodist churchmen on the islands who have acclaimed him as a 'born-again Christian'. Maybe beating and raping women is considered all part of 'God's work' if the victims are the wrong religion?

The underground Fiji Independent News Service says its reports were checked for accuracy. 'All cases have been confirmed from a number of independent sources.'

A senior church worker who investigated reports of torture said they were not



British-trained coup leader Col. Rabuka

exaggerated. 'Law does not apply here any more.'

A letter which reached the Australian High Commission also detailed brutality by soldiers, and said innocent people were being taken to the barracks and beaten. 'Most of the victims needed hospital treatment. We are now at breaking point and need immediate help', the letter added.

Trade unionists in Australia and New Zealand have begun action against goods and planes to and from Fiji, in solidarity with the sisters and brothers suffering Rabuka's brutal regime.

Workers in Britain, the US, France and elsewhere must also respond to the call for help from Fiji by organising demonstrations and, wherever appropriate, industrial action.

## Battle for Okinawa

JAPANESE riot police rushed to the village of Yomitan, Okinawa, last Monday after villagers fought a gang of fascists in military-style uniform.

Police on Okinawa, south of the main Japanese islands, had been reinforced and put on full alert during the visit of Crown Prince Akihito. They claimed information of an assassination plot.

The fight broke out after a villager burnt a Japanese flag. Local people had been demonstrating against the raising of the flag, and the visit of the prince, next in line for the imperial 'Chrysanthemum throne'.

Emperor Hirohito had originally been scheduled to visit Okinawa, to open the national games, but cried off due to stomach illness.

During the closing months of World War II, an estimated 150,000 people were killed in Okinawa as Japanese troops fought the invading Americans.

At Yomitan, Japanese officers ordered 82 Okinawan civilians sheltering in a cave to blow themselves up with grenades. Elsewhere, there were many cases of frustrated Japanese troops murdering Okinawans, whose dialect they could not understand, as 'spies'.

On the eve of Prince Akihito's visit, local groups placed advertisements in the press denouncing the Emperor and Imperial family's responsibility for the war.

In some villages, people said they'd been warned not to speak their dialect, or mainland police would be suspicious. Police also warned them not to indulge in 'unnecessary walking' at night.

# Moscow Stalinists back Rajiv Gandhi

AS evidence continues to come out from Sri Lanka of the brutality and atrocities committed by the Indian 'peacekeeping' force against the Tamil people, it is also becoming clear that the Soviet bureaucracy and its Stalinist followers are backing Rajiv Gandhi.

We have already noted how the British Stalinists' 'Morning Star' uncritically accepted Indian army statements on the fighting for Jaffna, and blamed Tamil Tigers for all the bloodshed. ('British Stalinists cheer onslaught', Workers Press 10 October.)

The 'Morning Star' is not alone in the Stalinist galaxy.

The Cuban paper 'Granma', in its English-language weekly edition for 11 October carried a full page on India, singing the praises of Rajiv Gandhi's government.

Arnaldo Musa of 'Granma's' international staff said 'Indian-Sri Lankan bonds of friendship were strengthened' by the July 29 accord and plans for joint development at Trincomalee.

The treaty puts an end to four years of fratricidal war

sabotage of peace efforts.

But Tamil aspirations were not his main concern. The main issue for 'Granma' was that by this accord, they hoped, US, British, Israeli and other mercenaries would be withdrawn from Sri Lanka, the US would lose its Voice of America transmitter on the island, and so forth.

'India voiced its concern about US interest in the Trincomalee base, to which Sri Lanka gave assurances that it will never permit its port facilities to be used against its neighbour.'

Only after dealing with such strategic issues did the Cuban paper turn briefly to mentioning the 'fratricidal war' the treaty was supposed to end.

And the article expresses optimism for 'an atmosphere of peace and friendship between India and Sri Lanka, two neighbouring nations that were founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries...'

In other words, the Tamil people and their aspirations are expendable, and must not be allowed to get in the way of efforts to bring Sri Lanka back into the 'Non-Aligned' fold, at the price of ensuring the Jayawardene regime's security.

Behind this appeasement policy is the Soviet Union's fully justified fear of Reagan's war build-up in the Indian Ocean area; and the Kremlin's traditional Stalinist answer — the attempt to

bolster 'neutral' buffer-states, however reactionary their regime.

We need only cite the efforts being made to woo the Indonesian dictator Suharto, who has butchered workers and peasants on a massive scale, and keeps communists locked up on death row.

On 3 July, Rajiv Gandhi was guest of honour at a luncheon in the Kremlin where Gorbachev spoke warmly of 'shared human values' and the need for a 'comprehensive system of international security'. The same day, Gorbachev had unveiled a monument to Indira Gandhi in a Moscow square.

'A patriot in the loftiest meaning of the word, she dreamt of a great and strong India,' the Soviet leader said, 'and made an invaluable contribution to translating her dream into reality. She acted resolutely and vigorously to protect the unity and territorial integrity of India and uphold its sovereignty.'

Recalling the Soviet-Indian treaty of 1971, Gorbachev spoke of 'mutual striving for peace' and praised Indira Gandhi's 'commitment to the ideas of equality of peoples and solidarity with freedom-fighters' all over the world.

Gandhi had talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and politbureau member Ryzhkov, in which the two sides 'noted that the active intervention of the USSR and India in the world arena has become an important stabilising factor on a global scale, playing a substantial role in normalising the international situation in Asia...'

Within a month, Gandhi had signed the accord with

Jayawardene, whose repeated offensives had failed to crush the Tamil struggle for self-determination. Indian troops arrived in Sri Lanka and began disarming the Tamil Tigers.

When the latter began to realise that the Sri Lankan regime would not keep even its limited promises under the accord, and provocations began, the Indian 'peacekeeping' force stormed Jaffna, inflicting heavy civilian casualties and deliberate atrocities to try and succeed where Jayawardene had failed.

And the Stalinist press dutifully fell into line to slander the Tigers and applaud the Indian army's action.

So much for Gorbachev and Gandhi's 'shared human values', so much for speeches about 'solidarity with freedom-fighters'; when the supreme aim is 'stabilisation'.

On the front page of the 11 October 'Granma' is the headline 'Che Lives', with a photograph of the legendary guerrilla fighter killed in Bolivia 20 years ago, described as 'the flag of struggle and a persevering symbol for new generations'. Inside is the photograph of Rajiv Gandhi and a fawning interview headed with his quote: 'Terrorists have neither religion nor principles'.

These are the two faces of Stalinism's international policy as presented for struggling so-called 'Third World' peoples. The generations inspired by the — betrayed — Guevara, whom the Cuban leadership and their fans have made an icon, can be betrayed any time for the sake of 'stabilisation'.

That is the warning from what has been done in Jaffna.

## Curfew on 'paradise' islands

FRENCH riot police reinforcements and Foreign Legionnaires were rushed to Tahiti in the Pacific last week, and a strict curfew imposed in the capital Papeete and four neighbouring towns.

The island 'paradise' where Gauguin went to paint in peace last century reeked with teargas after police battled striking dockers who had halted the port. Fighting spread to an industrial area, and some buildings were burned.

The dockers went on strike on Thursday, 22 October, demanding extra labour recruitment and higher pay for handling cargoes being sent from France's Pacific Experimental Centre to the nuclear test site at Mururoa atoll.

### Fighting

They occupied the port area, and it was after 200 police sent to evict them on the Friday stormed the gates that the fighting began. Many people were reported injured, and over 100 arrests made.

A state of emergency was declared. In Paris, Overseas Territories Minister Bernard Pons claimed the police had the situation 'under control', adding that a senior officer had been sent to investigate political involvement in the strike.

## SCOTTISH JAILS

# Frustrations exploding

**A DEMAND for an end to the application of the Official Secrets Act in prisons was heard at a meeting in Glasgow last week organised by the Scottish Prison Reform Group.**

Mick McCallum of the Scottish Prisoners' Support Committee, said that frustration in the prisons was exploding because there was no channel for grievances to be heard.

Letters from prisoners to the press had not reached their destination, letters which documented not only the routine brutality meted out by staff, but abuses such as mail being opened, lack of visits, showers and decent medical treatment.

All the other platform speakers, representing the major political parties, totally ignored the implications of McCallum's opening remarks, speaking as they did of the 'exceptional' cases of brutality rather than acknowledging that this is routine, and recommending cosmetic reforms which would do nothing to change the situation in Scotland's jails, even if they were implemented.

Speakers from the floor attacked Tory councillor Bill Aitken's assertion that those prisoners involved in the recent rooftop protests were 'terrorists'.

The real terrorists, said one speaker, were those who condemned working-class people to live in squalid housing schemes without jobs, where their only resort was to what capitalist society called crime. The meeting, he said, should express full support for the prison protestors in their battle for rights.

Labour Lord Hugh Morton was also fiercely heckled when he asserted that crime 'was not a class thing'.

'The basic element of most crime is selfishness,' he added arrogantly, claiming that working-class areas had a high rate of crime because the inhabitants were committing offences against each other.

### Prisoners

The platform was challenged by a member of the audience to support the Peterhead prisoners' demand for a public inquiry into jail conditions and the aftermath of the protest there. 'The SAS went into Peterhead and beat some of them to pulp,' she said.

A speaker from the floor who worked professionally with Strathclyde offenders pointed out that Scotland's adult prison population was four times higher than any other European country, and that 49 per cent were jailed for the non-payment of fines.

'Those with plenty of money are imposing fines they know working-class people can't pay,' added McCallum from the platform. 'They know they will have to go to jail.'

Labour councillor Ken Murray, who chaired the meeting, was until recently head of the Special Unit at Barlinnie prison in Glasgow, which, he said, had found a way to treat prisoners with respect.

But such pioneering regimes were not being extended, and overcrowding in the jail was being used as an excuse to do nothing.

He cited the case of a

BY HILARY HORROCKS

Peterhead inmate who had been beaten by prison officers after making complaints, and ended up in Aberdeen hospital with a ruptured spleen and other severe injuries. He had later been charged with assaulting prison staff. The case came to light only because his wife, who had been told he was having his appendix out, made vigorous protests.

Prisoners, said Murray, were having to resort to horrendous techniques like the dirty protest to make their grievances known.

### Demands

At the meeting the Scottish Prisoners' Support Committee issued the following 22 point list of demands:

1. Parity with prisoners in northern Ireland.
2. An end to the secrecy surrounding the penal system.
3. An end to the use of control units, particularly the 'cages'.
4. Increased and improved facilities, and open visits for all.
5. An end to the censorship of prisoners' correspondence.
6. The prison medical service to be administered directly by the NHS.
7. Unrestricted access to legal advisors, the police and the courts.
8. The immediate setting up of an impartial and independent body to investigate serious complaints by prisoners.
9. The abolition of the Visiting Committee and Board of Visitors.
10. Conjugal visits for long-term prisoners.
11. The abolition of parole, and the introduction of half remission.
12. Mass programmes of education for prisoners and prison officers.
13. Yoga and meditation classes to help long-term prisoners come to terms with their sentences.
14. Prisoners in all prisons should be allowed to have musical instruments sent in.
15. An end to the jailing of petty offenders.
16. A proper wage for work done in prison: money to be deducted for keep, criminal injuries board, and support of prisoners' dependents.
17. An independent social work unit in the prisons, responsible to the local authority.
18. Permission to receive parcels.
19. No restriction on the number of photographs prisoners are allowed to have (at present ten).
20. More involvement between prisoners and the local community.
21. A full-scale and public investigation into the administration of the penal system, to eliminate all abuses of authority which are rife.
22. An end to the jailing of pregnant women and girls.

# WHAT LIES BEHIND WALL STREET

**THE collapse of the world's stock markets over the last three weeks has brought to a head a crisis in the capitalist system which can no longer be contained.**

Whatever the immediate movements of the markets we say to every Workers Press reader: this is a crisis which will involve the destruction of productive forces throughout the world that will make the events following the 1929 crash look like a minor recession.

The jobs, standard of living and lives of millions, in both the big industrial capitalist countries as well as the so-called colonial countries are now threatened. More than ever we can say humanity faces a stark choice: socialism or barbarism.

BY PETER JEFFRIES

Revolutionary struggles are now inevitable throughout the world, including those countries which constitute the very heart of imperialism.

The capitalists themselves have little control over what one broker referred to as a 'systemic collapse' of the system.

Chancellor Lawson, a supposed tough man in a tough government, pleaded with the speculators: 'Don't panic'.

The London 'Evening Standard' gave him their reply the following night: 'Sell, Sell, Sell' it screamed from its front page — not that anybody needed encouragement.

'The economy is fundamentally sound,' said politicians around the world, a harrowing phrase that must have terrified those who remember President Hoover's words on the eve of Black Thursday, 24 October 1929.

All that was missing was the announcement from Henry Ford that he was buying stock to drive the market through the floor. But these are early days and no doubt we will hear some such pronouncement in the coming days.

Lawson's advice, in any case ignored, was without relevance. For the Thatcher government has no power to do anything to curb the panic, the source of which is

America and Wall Street.

Such are the realities of power in world capitalist economy that Europe and Japan could do little but sit and watch terrified as prices on the New York Stock exchange plunged by a third in the space of days.

The immediate source of the crisis was twofold:

- A widening American current account balance of payments, running at an annual rate of some \$150 billion.
- A chronic US budget deficit. Of every dollar raised in tax some 15 cents now goes to pay the interest on the US national debt.

### Fictitious

Overlying the whole world economy is a colossal volume of fictitious capital on which nobody now expects to get a cent in return.

For the past six years — when the great bull (rising) market of the 1980s got under way — the rest of the world has financed these deficits by a huge injection of capital into the American markets.

The Reagan administration was able to finance its growing deficits without raising taxes. Government expenditure was slashed, but far less than would otherwise have been necessary.

The increase in share values over the six years after 1982 was staggering. Taking the world stock markets as a whole, the nominal value of shares rose from \$2,000 billion to \$8,000 billion.

Every major centre saw huge increases in share values:

- The Dow Jones (America) went up 250 per cent.
- The Financial Times ordinary share index leapt by a similar figure (and by 1,200 per cent from its 1974-1975 low).
- The Hang Seng (Hong Kong) index went up 300 per cent.
- The Nikkei in Tokyo went up by 287 per cent and
- The Sydney index rose by 400 per cent.

This rising share market has seen a feverish increase in takeovers and mergers. In 1982 mergers and acquisitions in America amounted to under \$50 billion; in the first nine months of this year the figure has shot up to \$161 billion, not far short of the total for the whole of last year.

Most of these deals are financed by a combination of shares and debt. But the growing use of junk bonds (bonds representing no real values) has helped boost the number of takeovers and buy-outs.

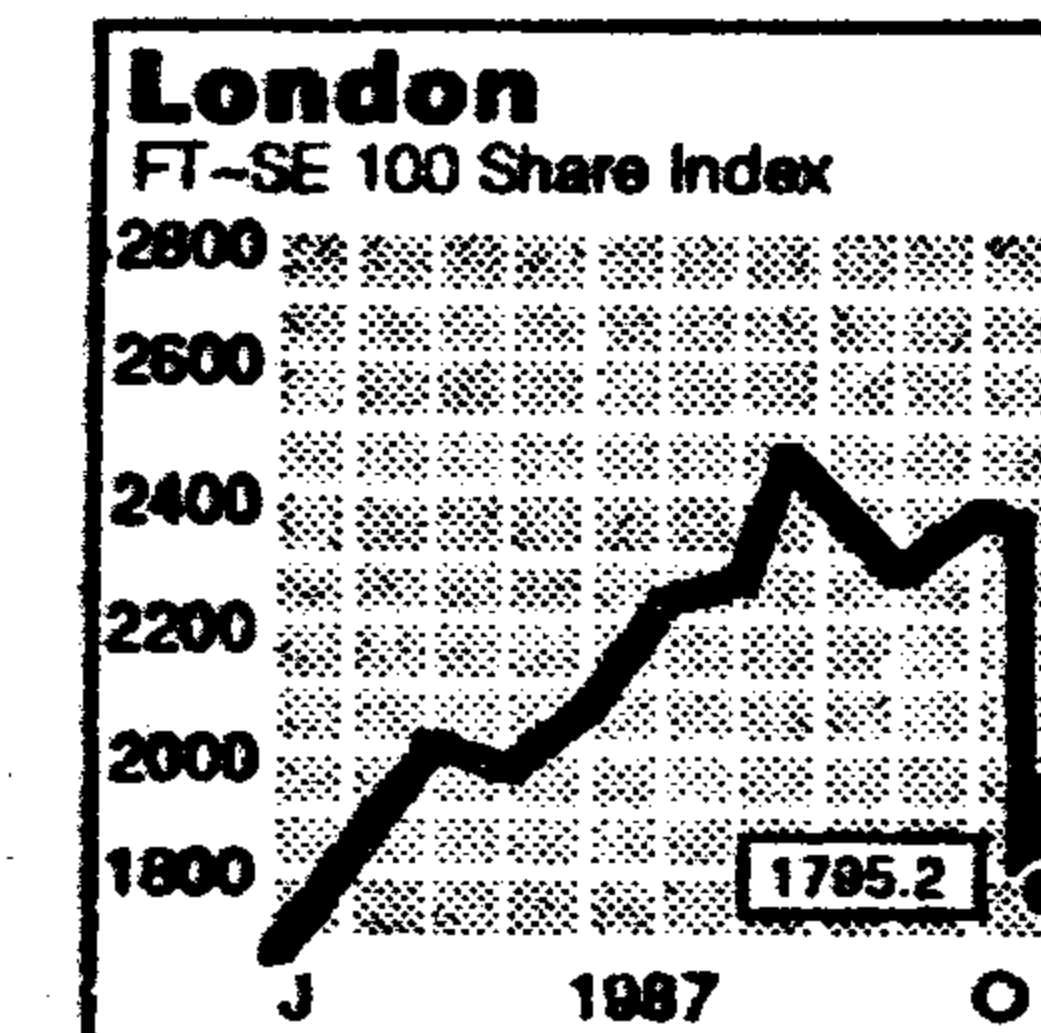
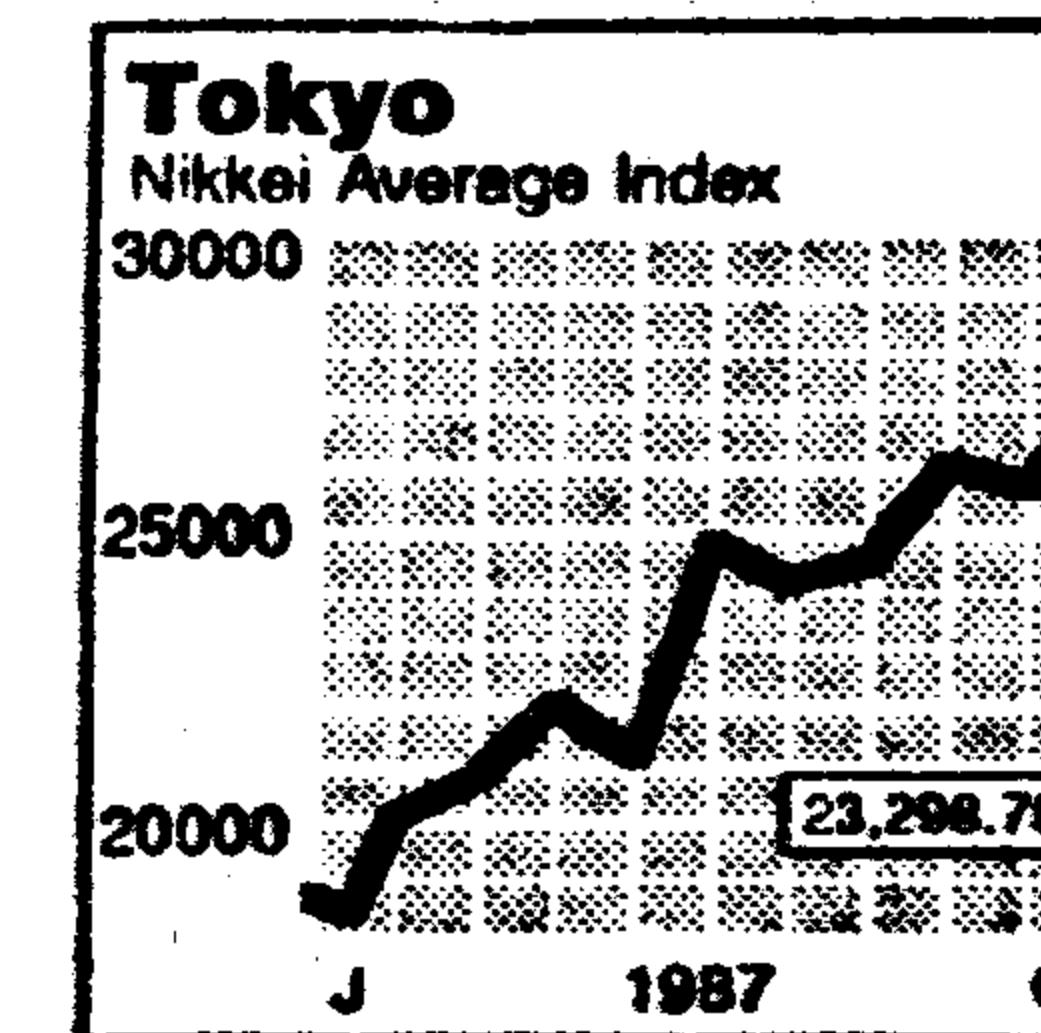
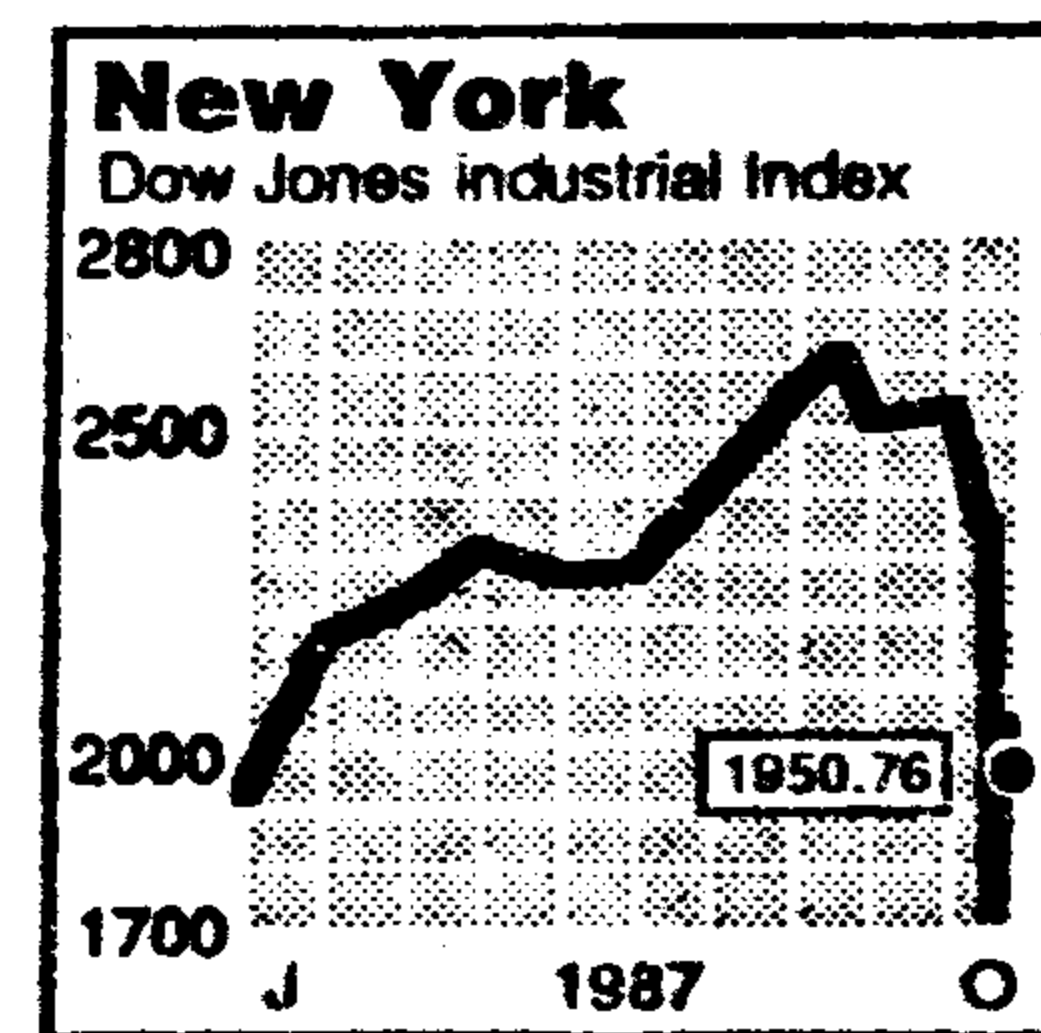
Many such bids were

STAMP  
MONDAY, 26 OCTOBER 1987 20p

Shares crash  
SCRIP  
BP  
CIT

AS SHARE prices crashed in London again today awesome pressure was building on Chancellor Nigel Lawson to withdraw the giant £7.2 billion BP sell-off.

Last Monday's London 'Evening Standard' share issue: 'Politically disastrous'



The 'Financial Times' printed tables showing how share indices worldwide have fallen during 1987



# BEHIND THE CRASH?

## STANDARD

TONIGHT'S WEATHER: WET

h again on Big Bang birthday

# CRAP THE ISSUE, Y BEGS

Patrick Wecker  
... have called a...  
... the very last...  
... represent...  
... underwrite the...  
... the man in the...  
... SE Index

Standard' highlighted the government's dilemma on the BP but economically necessary' to pull out, said one broker.

much of it must now be destroyed, bringing carnage for millions.

The case of Thatcher's Britain is only the most glaring example of a trend towards parasitism throughout the capitalist world. Over the period when share prices went up by 250 per cent, industrial production stagnated in many sectors and declined in others.

Unemployment, especially in manufacturing, rose dramatically (more than 2 million jobs in manufacturing have disappeared since 1979, representing almost a third of total jobs in the sector).

OVER the last two weeks the European and Japanese financial institutions have in effect said: No more!

No longer were they prepared to allow America —

transformed during this period into the world's greatest debtor — to finance its overspending at their expense.

And for good reason. Two weeks ago speculators were buying shares at dividend yields averaging some 3 per cent in London, 2.6 per cent in Tokyo and 0.5 per cent in Tokyo.

To buy shares at these yields speculators were borrowing money at rates of 15 per cent in London, 16.5 per cent in New York and 5 per cent in Tokyo. And those rate were edging up.

### Deficits

American capital has to tackle its twin deficits — the budget and that of the external accounts — in several ways:

- By raising taxes and slashing government

spending. In his crisis speech Reagan made promises in that direction. But such a policy will intensify the trend towards slump already evident in the American economy. For it would reduce demand not only for domestically produced goods but for imports into the US.

- By allowing the dollar to slide much further. Earlier in the summer the leading capitalist nations met in Paris and agreed, in the Louvre declaration, that they would seek to stabilise the dollar's exchange rate.

That policy is on the edge of collapse. A falling dollar would have two simultaneous effects. First it would cheapen US exports in world markets (allowing American exporters to sell more) and second it would raise the price of European and Japanese exports to America.

It has been estimated that the dollar would have to fall by a fifth to bring the external payments position into anything approaching balance. Such a fall could have disastrous implications for the export industries which remain heavily dependent for their survival on an expanding American market.

### Collapse

A collapse of the dollar's exchange rate would bring strong inflationary pressures and cause serious disruption to a world monetary system no longer underpinned by the Bretton Woods arrangements.

- The Reagan administration could put up the shutters to imports from Japan and Europe, provoking a trade war along the lines of that following the 1929 Wall Street crash.

Such a policy is already favoured in powerful circles within the Republican Party and is bound to gain in strength in the wake of the events of the last two weeks.

- A final possibility is that America allows interest rates to move up in the hope that this would attract funds to the US and help stem the rising budget and external payments deficits.

Not only would increased interest rates act as a severe deflationary force in the metropolitan countries, it would add to the already crippling debt burden of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a burden even now threatening the sta-



At a ball celebrating the launch of the Stock Exchange 'Big Bang' one year ago this week, punters bid for a day's grouse-shooting in an auction for charity. Maybe some of the punters will be shooting themselves this year?

bility of banks and other financial institutions who have lent massively to such countries.

By the mid-1980s the total debt of what economists euphemistically call 'the developing countries' amounted to \$686 billion, with interest payments approaching \$60 billion.

From 1970 to the middle of the present decade, the debt burden of these countries rose from an equivalent of 14 per cent of their Gross National Product to over a third. Some 3 per cent of all income is now needed to service the external debt.

This is a quite new factor, not present in the 1920s and 1930s and one adding enormously to the instability of the entire system.

The fictitious capital accumulated over the last several years has taken two principal forms:

- The growth of stock prices quite out of line with the growth of real capital and
- The mushrooming of state budget deficits. Again interest is paid to the holders of this state debt but it does not represent interest on real capital.

In any event, one thing is certain: capitalism will now be forced to destroy much of this fictitious capital. Entire industries are now threatened by the gravity of the crisis.

Throughout the last two weeks fears were repeatedly expressed that a number of large industrial or commercial conglomerates had been deeply involved in stock market speculation over the last several years and were now faced with financial disaster in the

light of falling markets.

Kenneth Fleet pointed to some of these dangers in his column in 'The Times', (23 October) especially in connection with Tokyo:

'In Tokyo there is a new source of potential collapse in the pyramid built by companies using their cash — and even money raised through share issues — to buy shares in other companies, for instance through the Tokin funds.

'Since profits from this incestuous business form a significant proportion of the profits of many Japanese industrial companies, there is a triple sequence that might result in a downward spiral.

'Firms may be forced to sell stock in order to take cash from the market; their losses on securities could curb their business investment; and the loss of profits makes their own shares worth less.'

Facile comparisons are being made with 1929. In fact the share price collapse then was far more drawn out than in the recent days.

### Large

Even more important however is the fact that the large institutions — pension funds, unit trusts, insurance companies — have replaced the rich individuals who had much more relative power 60 years ago.

These institutions are far more interlocked, the fate of each depending on the stability of all others, than was the case before World War II.

Here is expressed the growing socialisation of capitalist production, the ever closer drawing

together of separate individuals and institutions in a web that entangles the entire world and one from which no country, bank or financial institution can escape.

In 1982, for instance, only some 12 per cent of British pension funds were invested abroad; that figure is now 20 per cent. Of the 26 primary dealers in gilts in London, 14 are now foreign owned.

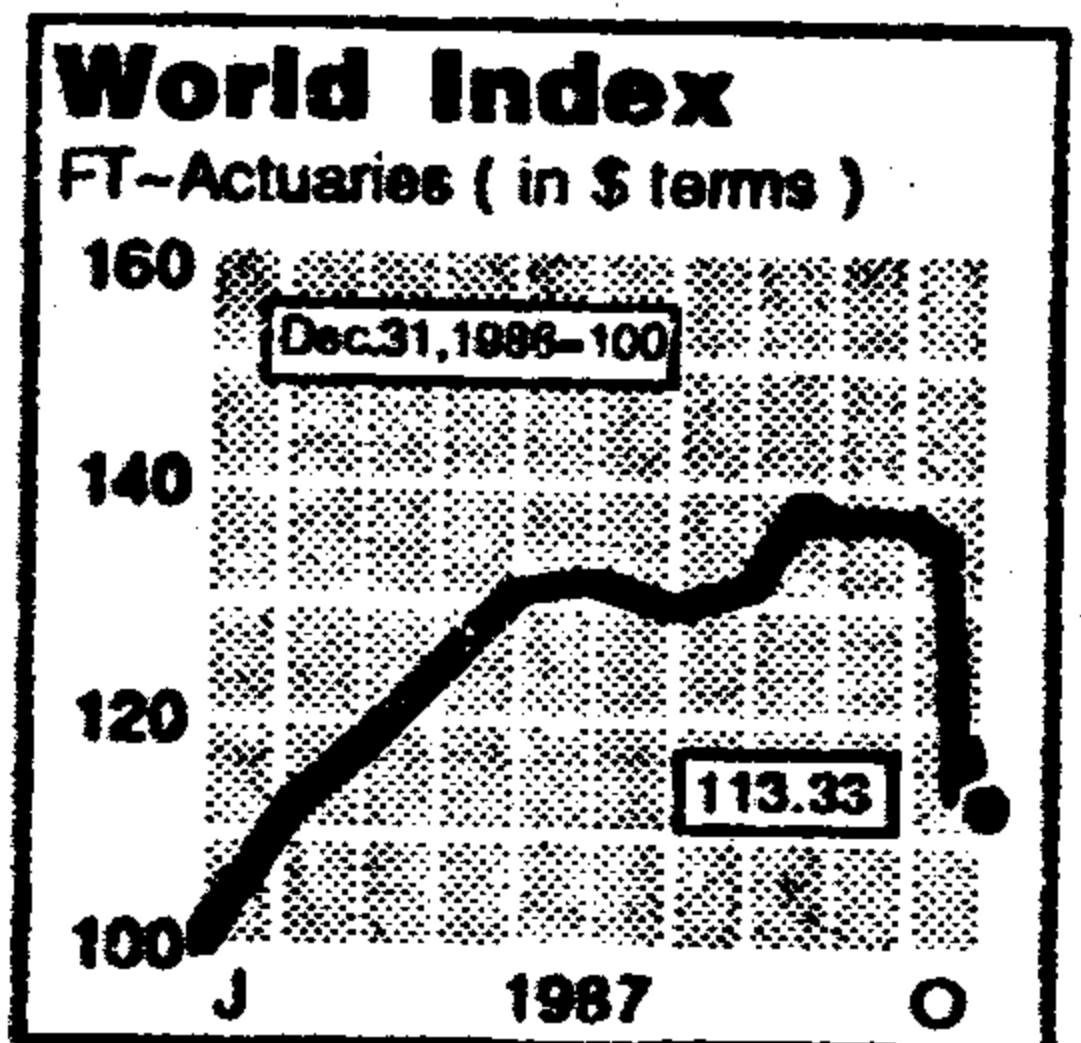
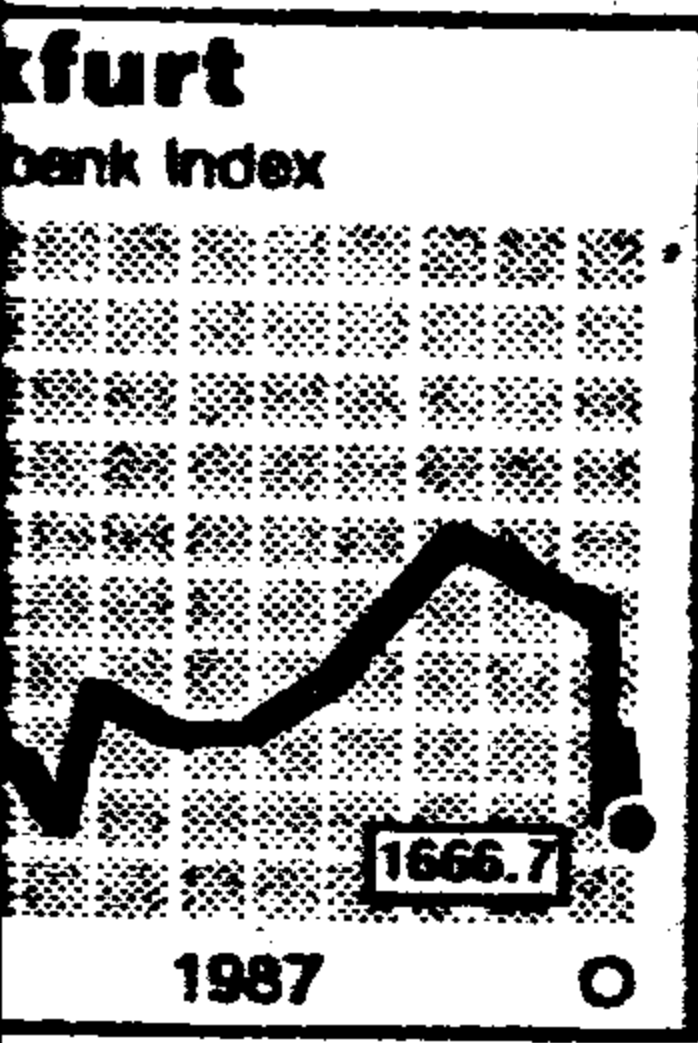
This has happened only since 1984-1986 when London opened its stockmarket to all comers. The official daily trading of international shares in London has risen from virtually nothing in 1980 to more than £1 billion today. Similar developments have occurred in New York and Tokyo.

No longer is it the case that when New York sneezes London catches a cold: pneumonia is the more likely result.

The stock market crash vindicates the struggle of Marxists in the working-class movement who continually warned that capitalism remained inherently crisis-prone, that such crises would become ever more violent and could only be ended with the abolition of private property.

It is a crash which at the same time exposes the shallowness and opportunism of all those like the right-wing Labour Party leadership who only a few weeks ago at Brighton extolled the virtues of 'popular capitalism' and a Thatcher-style share-owning Britain.

Now is the time to fight for a new revolutionary leadership in the working class that can fight for a policy and programme that matches the depth of this crisis.



# New light on history of American Trotskyism

## PART I

**THE interest of Alan Waud's new book is wider than might be expected from the title.**

In fact, the New York intellectuals with whom he is concerned were primarily those attracted to Marxism in the 1930s often, in the first place, joining or becoming fellow-travellers of the Communist Party but then, in many cases, linking up with the anti-Stalinist revolutionary movement under Trotskyist leadership.

Almost all these intellectuals were, sooner or later, lost to the movement, some of the more prominent moving violently to the right and ending up in the camp of ultra-conservatism.

These shifts were obviously more than the reaction of individuals, to be explained by their personal biographies.

While individuals did evolve in a variety of ways, as Waud shows, the historian has to look for the deeper social forces which governed the general direction of the movements.

The radicalisation of a substantial section of the American intelligentsia in the 1920s and 1930s came in the first place as a response to the Russian Revolution and then to the Great Depression, which brought American capitalism to the brink of collapse.

Jobs for the educated young men and women coming out of the colleges were scarce. Many suffered from the poverty of their families and from unemployment. It was easy to blame the system and compare prospects in capitalist America with those supposedly being opened up in the Soviet Union.

Before the 1930s were out, the ranks of the radical intellectual left began to thin. The Moscow trials shocked many, casting

doubts on the nature of the Soviet Union and opening the way for the theory that Stalinism was an inevitable product of Bolshevism, thus justifying a break with communism in any form.

Further confusion was caused by the outbreak of World War II, the Soviet move into Poland and the invasion of Finland.

Under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion, some abandoned the principle of the defence of the Soviet Union, others lined up behind their own ruling class in the patriotic frenzy which followed the entry of the United States into the war.

Then, when the war was over, instead of the expected relapse into depression, the economy revived and entered a long period of prosperity, bringing plentiful opportunities for jobs and careers.

### Rampant

With the onset of the Cold War, rampant anti-communism, the McCarthyite witch-hunts and persecution wore down even the most committed. The CIA and well-heeled private foundations provided ample funds for journals and conferences, notably through the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Many 'left' intellectuals, to their shame, jumped on the anti-communist bandwagon and, forgetting their one-time commitment to the revolutionary cause, reappeared in a new guise — as

**TOM KEMP** reviews an important new book by Alan M. Waud: 'The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to 1980s'. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London. pp 440. 1987. Paper, \$12.95



Substantial sections of the American intelligentsia in the 1920s and 1930s were radicalised as a response to the Russian Revolution and then the Great Depression, which brought American capitalism to the brink of collapse. Above: Hunger marchers in the United States listening to Communist Party speakers

ideologists of American imperialism and propagandists of the American dream.

One-time 'Marxists' who, in some cases, like Sydney Hook\*, had written learned books favourable to Marxism, now renounced their own past or conveniently 'forgot' it.

### Occupy

Later they turn up as supporters of Nixon or Reagan, or occupy the most reactionary positions with the radical right. This stampede was one of the most shameful apostasies in recent times.

Incidentally, as Waud points out, one of the best Marxist critiques of Hook's most famous book 'Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx' appeared in the SWP's (Socialist Workers

Party) theoretical journal 'New International' written by a young intellectual, Ruben Gotesky, who had been expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism.

He also, within two years of writing his review, not only left the movement, but became an 'expert witness' in the 1940 witch-hunt of Communist teachers in New York.

A literary critic as well as a social historian, Waud writes as a Marxist seeking explanations for the gyrations of so many radical intellectuals in the past as well as lessons for today.

His book, as well as being extremely well documented from printed sources, makes considerable use of interviews with, and statements from, a number of participants or those who knew

them.

He is thus able to shed fresh light on the political evolution of certain individuals and show what happened to them after they broke away from a movement to which, in some cases, they had devoted many years of their lives.

### Trotsky

Unlike others who have been attracted by the same theme, he places the Trotskyist movement, and Trotsky himself, at the centre of a fresco of people, some famous, others long forgotten, which makes up much of the substance of his study.

It should be noted that many of them were second-generation Americans from a Jewish background, young men and women who, in the

Depression, found it difficult to get decent jobs and who suffered discrimination.

Their sensitivity to anti-semitism may be judged by the fact that many of them (or their parents) adopted Anglo-Saxon sounding names. It should be remembered that Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and their descendants, made up an important segment of the working and lower-middle class of New York city at the time.

### TO BE CONTINUED

\*The deflation of the pretensions of Sydney Hook is one of the most valuable features of Waud's book. The learned philosopher later suffered from amnesia regarding his former role as a Trotskyist supporter in the 1930s. He has recently published a weighty autobiography seeking to present himself in a favourable light.

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

**Sugar and Modern Slavery: A Tale of Two Countries.** By Roger Plant. Zed Press, £7.95.

HAITIAN migrant labourers are effectively 'sold' each sugar harvest to the plantations of the Dominican Republic.

Roger Plant prepared this book for the Anti-Slavery Society for Human Rights. He describes the sub-human conditions on the estates and what amounts to forced labour.

It is a bitter paradox that a country with massive urban poverty and unemployment should nevertheless import workers from an even poorer one because its own people regard cane cutting as slave work.

The economy of the Dominican Republic is dominated by the agricultural exports, and clearly aid is less important than the sugar cane price. With sugar beet heavily subsidised in western Europe, the banks have been turning the screws on the Dominican economy.

Plant predicts further repression in the sugar industry and against the entire population, whatever facade of democracy exists.

Plant lists those with 'a measure of complicity in this tale of modern slavery': not just Duvalier, de-

posed dictator of Haiti, but the Dominican civil and military officials, the 'Washington politicians who have made or broken the sugar quotas of Third World sugar producers' and the 'EEC technocrats' who have subsidised European sugar production.

**Cushla and her Books.** By Dorothy Butler. Penguin, £3.95.

BORN physically and mentally handicapped, this New Zealander had a special advantage: her parents read her books from the very beginning (her grandmother, Dorothy Butler, wrote the classic 'Babies Need Books').

Cushla could never be as well coordinated as other children, and this held back her writing, but her reading was remarkable. Long before so-called normal children, she knew when a book was being held upside down, and when only six she was able to read to her little sister.

This is a classic story which challenges too easy categorisation of handicap, and its publication in paperback is welcome.

LONDON · GLASGOW

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# They cannot tell the truth about Trotsky

**A CRITIC has said that when I quoted present Soviet spokesmen repeating the old Stalinist GPU slanders against Trotskyism I used statements from bureaucrats who were resisting 'glasnost' and were old-guard Stalinists opposed to Gorbachev and change.**

To be sure, the most vicious opponents of Trotsky and Trotskyism in the Soviet Union today will be this section of the bureaucracy who believe that the way to preserve their privileges can only be by a continuing repression maintaining the bureaucratic relations as before.

We will certainly see them using 'Marxist' criticism of Gorbachev in the same way as in Britain a few years ago Rothstein and the Stalinists around the 'Morning Star' used 'proletarian internationalism' against the Euro-Communists of the Communist Party.

However, the fear of Trotsky is universal among the bureaucratic leadership. No section can do anything else but resist the truth about Trotsky for a very simple and profound reason.

Trotsky's life, the struggle, policies and programme of Trotskyism (a name which means modern Marxism) represent a rallying axis for the working class in the Soviet Union and the world.

And Soviet bureaucracy, because of its own bureaucratic relations, can only resolve the present crisis of production in the Soviet Union by undermining state monopoly and state planning.

In turning to regulation of the Soviet economy through world market relations and capitalist norms it must attack the working class.

Together with the attacks on the Soviet working class must go the most counter-revolutionary treachery in making agreements with American imperialism to undermine revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Central America.

'Glasnost', which cannot be separated from 'perestroika' (restructuring), is not simply explained as being brought about by the pressure of the working class.

To believe that is profoundly wrong, not to say foolish. The Soviet working class in the future will not only be defending their living conditions but will be involved in a struggle for workers' democracy to defend conquests of the Russian Revolution.

Let us give a quote from an article in the 'Soviet Weekly' of 24 October. It is by Soviet academician and economist Abel Aganbegyan, and was first published in 'Izvestia'.

It is a very long quotation but it sets out the meaning of 'glasnost' and 'restructuring' with telling examples. Abel Aganbegyan writes:

'The mechanism of acceleration should be based only on one principle — to stimulate those who work well. It means equal demands by society upon all enterprises. If demands are equal, those who work well will also earn more.

'Perhaps some enterprises are simply afraid of being closed down and for this reason alone they are sticking to their old ways.'

One can conclude that there is a great deal of apprehension about 'restructuring', from his following sentence.

'Despite suppositions,' he says, 'I think that this process in our socialist country will be human, although protracted.

'The likely scheme is as follows: first the enterprise gets into debt, takes credit, then is denied credit. After this, the ministry comes to its aid. Finally, the ministry's patience is also exhausted.'

Then he tells us quite clearly what will happen to the workers.

During all this time the

wages of workers at such enterprises steadily decrease. They are deprived of bonuses. There will be staff reductions. For workers, an unprofitable enterprise is rather painful. The same applies to management, because it is being changed.

Only if the safety measures prove futile will the enterprise be closed down.

'It is very good, if some big organisation can take it over. But sometimes the enterprise is in such a state of neglect that it cannot be renovated, it is more logical to build a new one.

'A special commission has been set up for this. The workers of the old enterprise are paid their wages for three months and go wherever they are most needed.

'The property of the enterprise is sold and the money

## The bureaucracy must attack the working class

goes to the creditors. This is what happens in Poland, Hungary and China.

'This is envisaged by the Law on State Enterprise, although any closures will not be on a mass scale. At first isolated cases will be more likely. Only time will tell. In the USSR there are a few thousand unproductive enterprises and nothing will save them. They must be closed in the interests of society.'

'It is a difficult process to provide the workers released from them with new work,' says our economist, servant of the bureaucracy and for whom there is only the choice between bureaucratic planning or domination by market forces.

Although he has said that closures will not be on a mass scale, he goes on to describe precisely that, declaring: 'In Donbas there

are about 30 mines consuming a large amount of resources and producing a scanty amount of coal. If these 30 mines are closed down, the money released would be enough to produce three times as much coal.

### Subsidised

'The former, accepted, set-up, does not allow this and the mines continue to be subsidised from the state budget.'

'To my mind, closure must not be an extraordinary, isolated event. Out of 46,000 enterprises operating in our country, only those capable of developing under their own steam must be left.'

He then, by wilfully distorting Lenin, and giving him a theory of monopoly above class, dismisses the basic conquests of the Russian Revolution — the state planning and state monopoly

of foreign trade.

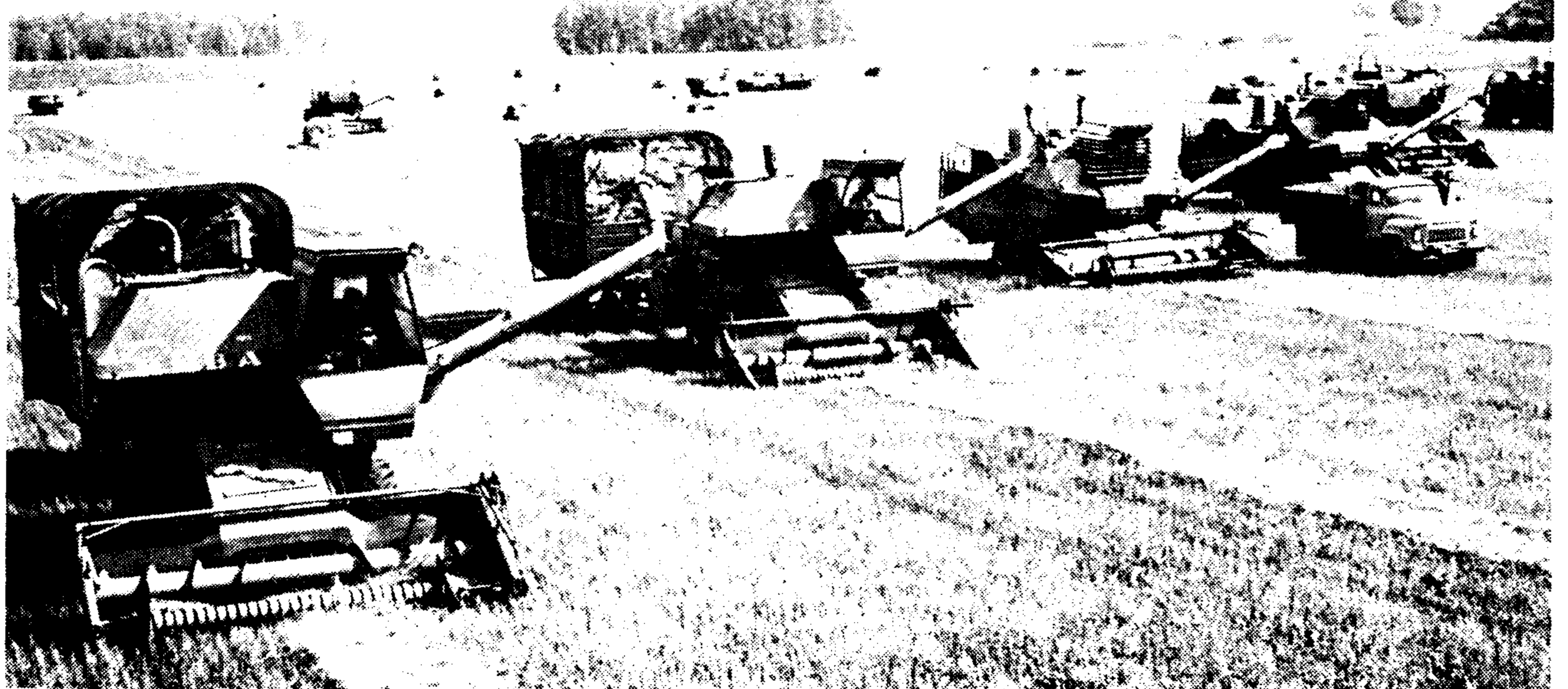
Thus, he says, 'with its "gifts" the state artificially created a very harmful trend — the domination of enterprise-monopolies. Lenin warned that any (you understand, any not only capitalist) monopoly leads to stagnation.' (*His emphasis.*)

He ends with the statement: 'When life calls for changes, they take place sooner or later, no matter whether people like them or not. Therefore, a deficient economy with a producers' diktat shall be broken without fail.'

A producers' diktat? In fact, the control of the producers in the Soviet Union was usurped by a parasitic bureaucracy.

It is, of course, a real 'producers' diktat', a workers' democracy, that the bureaucracy fears.

CONCLUDED



*The Soviet bureaucracy can only resolve its present crisis of production by undermining state monopoly and state planning . . . In turning to regulation of the Soviet economy through world market relations and capitalist norms it must attack the working class*

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

**Anne Frank Remembered.** By Miep Gies with Allison Leslie Gould. Bantam, £10.95.

THE DIARY of Anne Frank would never have survived without Miep Gies, one of those who made it possible for the Franks and another Jewish family to live in the secret annexe behind an office in Nazi-occupied Amsterdam.

Had Miep read the diary when she rescued it from the scattered mess left after the sudden discovery and arrest of her friends, she would have destroyed it to protect those who had hidden the annexe for so long, who had bought extra food for two families without rations (with the unspoken understanding of shopkeepers).

But she respected Anne's privacy, and only handed the diary to Anne's father when it was confirmed that

he alone had survived the concentration camps, and that Anne and her sister had succumbed to typhus on the eve of liberation. Even then it was some years before the diary was published — and translated into countless languages.

Miep's simple story from outside the annexe tells a side of the Anne Frank story which Anne herself did not know.

**Man Masters Nature: 25 Centuries of Science.** Edited and introduced by Roy Porter. BBC, paperback, £4.95.

SEVENTEEN scientists from history (from Aristotle to Alan Turing), whose lives and work, and especially conflicts with church and state, are explored by contemporary scientists.

To be published on 23 November 1987

## Crocodiles in the Streets

By Peter Fryer

The British public knows little about Latin America, least of all about recent working class struggles in that continent. This illuminating book is a report on a visit lasting six-and-a-half weeks, during which Peter Fryer met Brazilian gold miners, Argentinian meat workers, Bolivian tin miners on strike, Peruvian metal workers and Colombian trade unionists under threat of death from paramilitary fascist squads.

In all five countries he also met activists and leaders of the Trotskyist parties organised in the International Workers' League (IWL). Fryer lets the people he met speak for themselves. This is a unique account of a continent seething with resistance to capitalism.

Paperback, 84pp. £3.95.

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# John Archer writes on BERT MATLOW

OUR old comrade Bert Matlow, whose death at 89 you reported, was won to Trotskyism in 1932-1933 in his mid-30s.

He had already been active for over a decade in the Labour movement in the East End of London, where he was brought up. He was a brilliant schoolboy, but for him, as for his first wife (May) and many others, there could be no access to a university at that time.

At the end of World War I he was on the point of being called up into the armed forces and of declaring himself a conscientious objector.

He joined the Independent Labour Party, which until 1932 was an affiliated part of the Labour Party and in early manhood moved in the left-reformist circle round George Lansbury.

The ILP, which in 1925 could still express approval of MacDonald's government by a majority of three to one at its 1925 Annual Conference, was far from homogeneous; in some places it included large branches which ran the local Labour movement, as in Gateshead, and elsewhere, as for instance the branch in Bow, it held regular meetings attended by two — Matlow and one other!

The experience of MacDonald's second government of 1929-1931 helped to polarise the ILP between the supporters of the parliamentary reformists and Parliamentary Labour Party, who wanted to cut unemployment benefits, and the who could not stomach it.

Despite the left-reformist confusions spread by such as Maxton, Brockway and John Strachey, the split was precipitated by the sharp conflict over unemployment pay and over self-determination for India.

Matlow became a personal friend of Dr C.K. Cullen, Medical Officer for Bethnal Green and revolutionary who devoted his life to fighting tuberculosis and its causes in poverty and bad housing. In 1931 Cullen recognised the need to break from parliamentary reformism and for a world party of socialist revolution.

He proposed the ILP should end its affiliation to the Labour Party and, because it was far larger and more deeply rooted in the working class than the Communist Party, should try to force its way into the Communist International, in the hope that it would educate the Kremlin bureaucrats out of the mixture of sectarianism and opportunism which rendered the Communist parties impotent and endangered the Soviet Union.

These proposals caused some stir in the ILP and contributed to the formation of an organised group, the 'Revolutionary Policy Committee', in which supporters of the Kremlin and of Trotsky, as well as many other ILP militants, participated.

In the event Maxton and the left-reformist MPs tailed behind the Revolutionary Policy Committee; they only came out in favour of disaffiliation when they could see that if they did not do so they would lose their basis and be at the mercy of the Labour Party if they stayed in the Labour Party, but to them disaffiliation meant no serious change outlook.

In 1932 the most advanced workers in Britain supported disaffiliation, and the opponents of disaffiliation who left the ILP to stay in the Labour Party at first represented a hardened right wing. However, Matlow knew the Labour movement well enough to feel uncertain about the wisdom of disaffiliation without a clear perspective. He saw the reformist right, after leaving the ILP, form inside the Labour Party the 'Socialist League', which was to 'instruct' the British working class.

They did not last long and within two years the Socialist League had become important as a centre of opposition to the plans of British Labour Establishment, led by Arthur Henderson, Walter Citrine and Ernest Bevin, to subordinate the independent class aims of the work-

ers in a coalition with the British bourgeoisie in the coming imperialist war.

Meanwhile, Matlow became active in the Clapham branch of the disaffiliated ILP, where he came into close collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists of the 'Balham Group', the British Section of the International Left Opposition, who came from the very different background of the Communist Party in the late 1920s. He made great efforts to help them to integrate themselves among trade unionists in South-West London.

Matlow could see better than many others that the past of the ILP leaders had trained them in petty parliamentary manoeuvre but by no means in revolutionary politics. He enthusiastically supported the efforts of the Communist League and their paper 'Red Flag' to raise the slogan inside and outside the ILP of 'Labour to Power'.

In autumn 1933 Trotsky proposed that the Communist League enter the ILP as a body, in order to test the possibility of winning it, or at any rate its best militants, to breaking from Stalinist ultra-leftism, penetrate the rank and file of the Labour Party, who were already beginning to ask whether the policies of the leadership did not make victory more difficult, and declare for the Fourth International.

Matlow's influence among the younger and less experienced members of the Communist League went strongly in favour of Trotsky's proposal. Some 15 comrades left the Communist League under the leadership of Denzil Harber to join Matlow in the ILP, and they there organised 'The Marxist Group in the ILP' which a year later had 100 members.

He was soon in collaboration with the West Indian revolutionary C.L.R. James in the attempt to convince the ILP to support the people of Ethiopia against the aggression by Italian imperialism, by developing a movement inside the British trade unions to stop military and economic supplies to Italy — while the USSR continued to sell oil to the Italian war-machine without interruption.

This involved a ferocious battle against the pacifists in the ILP (who had Maxton's support), who wanted 'not to take sides' between the oppressed African nation and its imperialist oppressors. In this struggle, Fenner Brockway was to distinguish himself by betraying not only his own earlier calls for a trade union boycott of Italy but also C.L.R. James and Matlow by supporting that the 'Marxist Group' be banned!

In Summer 1936, Trotsky was again to applaud Matlow, who recognised that the experience of working through the ILP had exhausted itself and must be closed by a shift of the forces which the Trotskyists could command to working inside the Labour Party and the Socialist League, and drafted the statements which Harber presented to the 'Geneva Pre-Conference' in July 1936.

Matlow naturally became involved in defending the political honour and the physical existence of the Trotskyist leaders against the slanders, which came from the Kremlin by way of the 'confessions' of capitulators to Stalin in the Moscow Trials, that the Trotskyists were 'agents

of Hitler'.

He spoke at a public meeting in London (which the Communist Party did its best, without success, to break up), jointly organised by the three groups then claiming to be Trotskyist in Britain, in support of the Trotsky Defence Committee.

Matlow was one of the most experienced and responsible cadres of Trotskyism in Britain in the 1930s. He had much to teach the young, inexperienced Trotskyists in those years. Nobody could sneer at him as an 'intellectual' and it was hard to convince anyone that this product of a large Jewish family was in 'Hitler's pay'.

However, temperamentally he was happiest in a current of active, militant workers, where he could apply his great organising talent in campaigning. Already by the late 1930s he found uncongenial the inevitable isolation of the Trotskyists, whose audience was inevitably contracting as the reformists and the Stalinists seemed to have accepted that war was inevitable and to be preparing 'national union' with the bourgeoisie to wage it as Churchill would want it waged. Even then, however, he and May were able to make the Norwood Labour Party a centre of opposition.

He also disliked the sharp differences which arose from our real difficulty in knowing how to work during and against the war. However, in 1945 he was actively engaged, on behalf of his local Constituency Labour Party, in looking for the best possible Labour candidate available to fight the general election.

In their middle age, Bert and May Matlow were by no means the only former Trotskyist militants in Britain, or elsewhere, to retire from a struggle which was proving to be more complex than they had learned to expect. For a time he gave help to the efforts of 'Socialist Outlook' to draw together leftward trends in the Labour Party in the 1950s to challenge the pro-American and anti-working class orientation of the Labour Establishment, with its efforts to impose 'wage-restraint', to repress the movement of colonial peoples and to re-arm British and German imperialism.

We may all ask the question today why Trotskyist historians have not already studied this remarkable experience.

The selective myopia of the Labour or Communist Party writers is less surprising. It is part of the process of 'de-Healyisation' to break the deliberate block which he placed on any historical work which might challenge his own account of our past — and vital to the discussion of relations between the revolutionaries in Britain and the militants of the Labour Party and the unions.

Bert Matlow continued to work as an unattached militant in the Labour Party until old age overtook him. He retained his lively, cheerful working-class outlook until the end and fortunately died peacefully in his sleep.

His (second) wife Roma, whose brother was the late Hugo Dewar, (a pioneer of Trotskyism in Britain) was in the leadership of the Left in the Labour Party League of Youth in the 1930s. We extend to her our sympathy in her great loss.

October 1987

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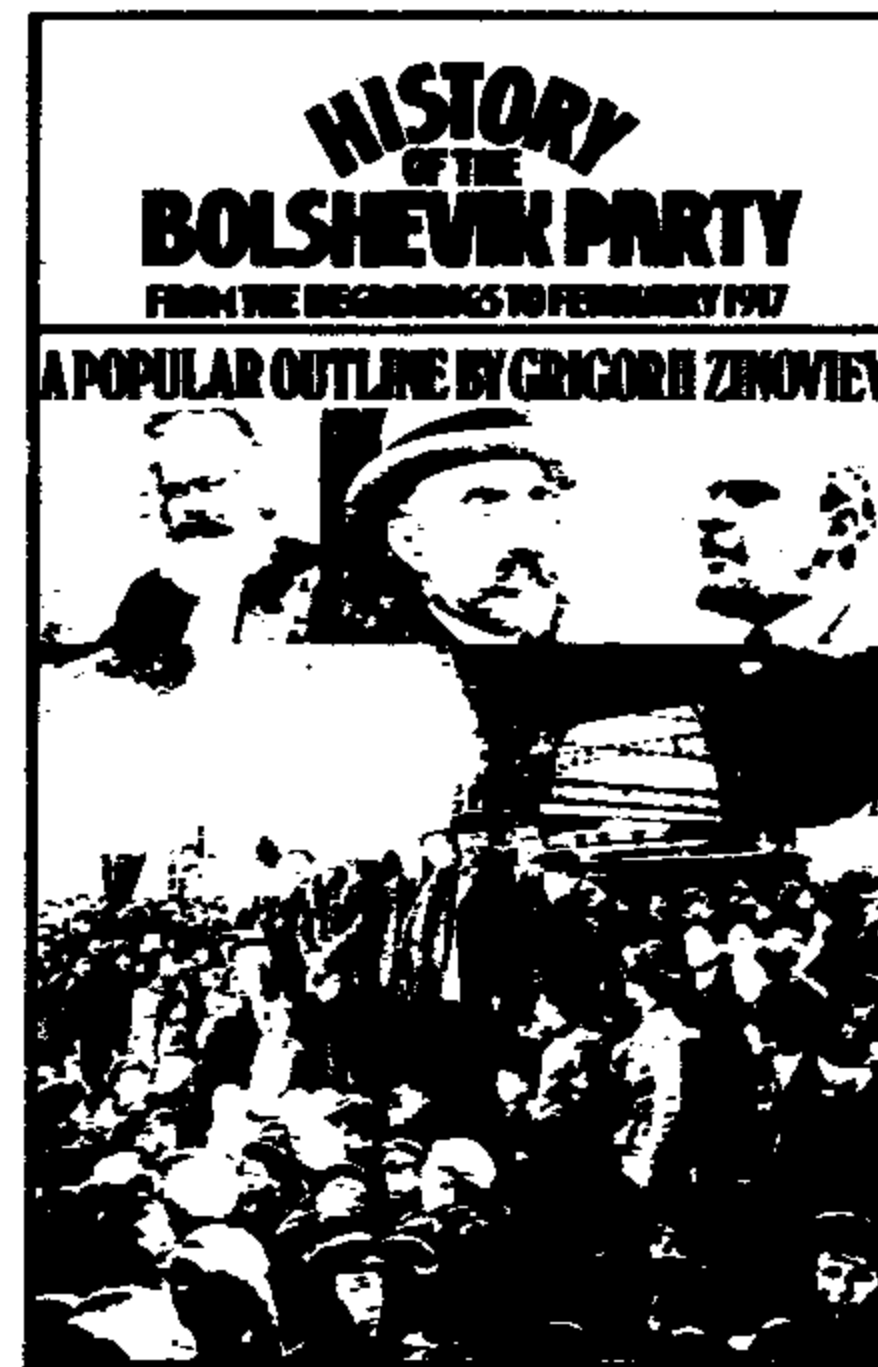
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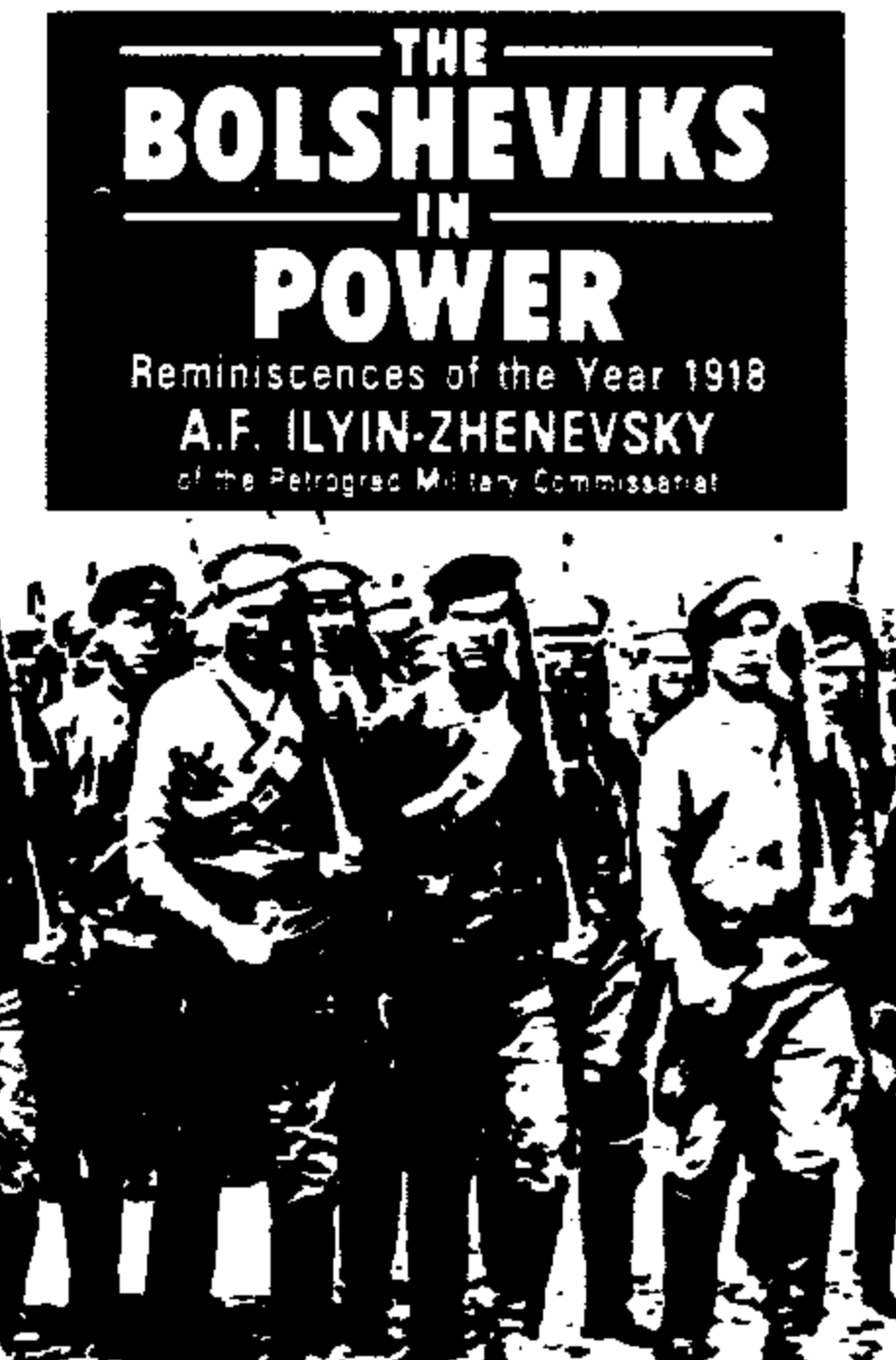
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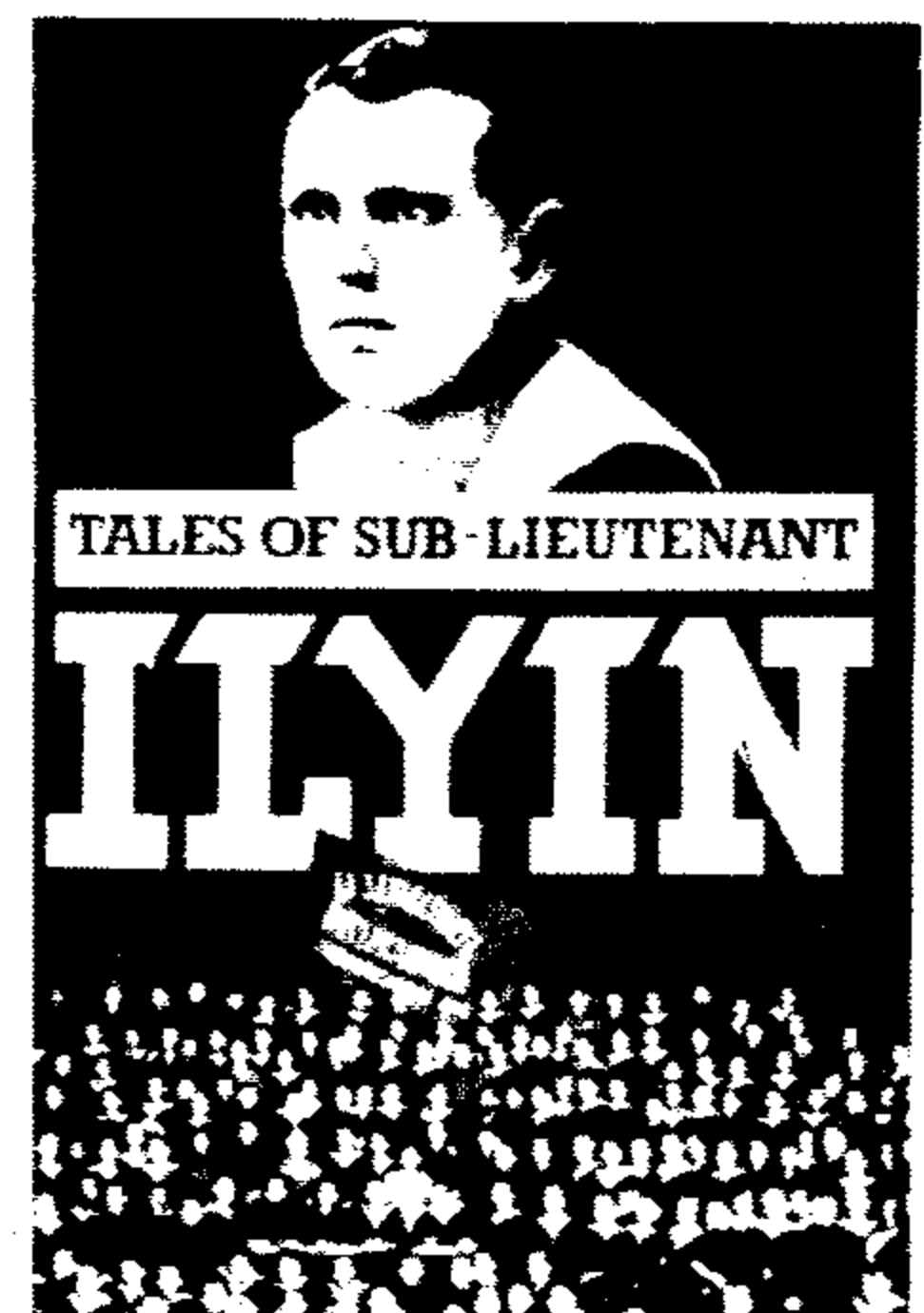
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| <p><b>ALBANY</b><br/>HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS<br/>MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.</p>   | <p><b>WORMWOOD SCRUBS</b><br/>HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE<br/>DONAL CRAIG, 4 years.</p>   | <p>They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.</p>  |

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

## PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

## The Leeds Convention

IN his snide report of the Chesterfield Conference in last Sunday's 'Observer', that paper's political editor, Robert Harris, quoted a platform speaker who described the gathering as the biggest of its kind in Britain since 1917.

'On that occasion', Harris obligingly explained, 'British socialists met in Leeds to celebrate the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.'

Now, this is a real howler (but, alas, only to be expected in a once 'quality' newspaper that no longer knows, or even cares, how to spell 'desiccated' and 'relevant').

The Leeds Convention met in June 1917, five months before the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

It was called by the United Socialist Council 'to congratulate and encourage our Russian comrades' on the victory of the Russian Revolution of March 1917, which swept away the tsar and saw the re-emergence after some ten years of workers' councils ('soviets').

Whatever comparison Ralph Milliband drew at Chesterfield, there were many important differences between last weekend's Socialist Conference and the Leeds Convention of 70 years ago.

The Leeds Convention has become part of British Stalinist mythology. One Communist Party writer, R. Page Arnot, regarded it as 'a great success'.

So it was, at first glance. The 1,150 delegates represented 371 trade union branches and workers' committees, 209 trades councils, 294 branches of the Independent Labour Party, 86 branches of the British Socialist Party, and 184 women's

and co-operative organisations.

And one of the resolutions carried by these delegates called for the creation of workers' and soldiers' councils in Britain. It was moved by W.C. Anderson, MP, a member of the ILP.

But this resolution remained a dead letter. The movement for setting up workers' and soldiers' councils in Britain came to nothing.

My friend Raymond Challinor, in his often controversial but always well-researched book 'The Origins of British Bolshevism' (Croom Helm, 1977), explains why:

*'Most of the leading spokesmen of the Leeds Convention were right-wing politicians on holiday, indulging in the rare luxury of revolutionary speechifying. From their standpoint, this fitted the needs of the times. By adopting a left posture, they hoped to increase their own credibility among British workers, who were becoming more and more disgruntled. With an extremist stance they aimed to steal the thunder of the real militants, retain control of working class organisations, and steer the movement into harmless channels.'*

W.C. Anderson, Challinor goes on, had already given the game away with a Commons speech three weeks before the Leeds Convention, in which he had warned of 'the deep revolutionary feeling springing up among many of the workmen of this country' and had told the ruling class: 'Unless you are very careful, you will bring the country to the very verge of revolution.'

In moving the motion calling for workers' and soldiers' councils, says Challinor, Anderson wasn't hoping to create the basis for soviet power. His aim, on the contrary, was to nip in the bud any movement in that direction.

Abroad as well as at home, the right-wingers thought they could make real gains from a few leftist phrases: 'By sending congratulations to the Russians

and by appearing to be genuine revolutionaries themselves, MacDonald and his friends thought it might give them greater influence with the Russians.'

I don't see eye to eye with Challinor about everything; but here he is clearly absolutely right, and the present-day movement should thoroughly digest the lessons of the Leeds Convention's failure.

For failure it was. Though four members of the Council of 13 elected by the Convention were BSP members, the rest were ILP members and pacifists. Heavily influenced by the demagoguery of Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, they did little to follow up the Convention's decisions.

Six follow-up regional conferences were planned, but the police 'persuaded' the owners of the halls to cancel the bookings at short notice, except in Glasgow, where they invoked the Defence of the Realm Act and simply prohibited the conference.

When a London regional conference was arranged at a last-minute alternative venue, the Brotherhood Hall in east London, Sir Basil Thomson, head of Special Branch, had leaflets distributed telling East Enders that a pro-German meeting was taking place and urging them to 'remember the last air raid and roll up'. A mob of 8,000 wrecked the hall while the police looked on.

The middle-class organisers of these regional conferences — none of whom, except the BSP member Tom Quelch, had any connection with left-wing organisations — abjectly caved in to this police-sponsored violence. And nothing more was heard of workers' and soldiers' councils.

The political editor of the 'Observer' really ought to do his history homework, but I don't suppose he will. Socialists seriously concerned to learn the lessons of history — above all, the lesson that reformist leadership always plays havoc, often very cunningly — ought to do their homework, too, and I hope that many of them will.

## An English Utopian?

I THOUGHT Eric Hobsbawm piously over-praised 'A People's History of England' (1938) in his 'Guardian' obituary last Saturday of that book's Stalinist author A.L. Morton.

'A People's History' has always struck me as a pretty dull bird's-eye view. Perhaps the fact that the bird in question was wearing popular front spectacles (wouldn't it have been called 'A Workers' History' four or five years earlier?) helps to account for his book's lack of sparkle.

Worse than its pervasive flavour of cold porridge are the mistakes and misjudgements in 'A People's History'. For instance, discussing the 1848 defeat of Chartism, Morton asserts that 'politically, the next 20 years are almost a blank in the history of the working class'. This is simply untrue.

Cromwell is patted on the back for concluding that 'no basis existed in 1649 for a leftward extension of the Revolution'. The role of Parnell in the Irish liberation struggle is oddly mis-stated.

And Morton regurgitates without question the racist view that African culture is a matter of 'brutality, fear and superstition'.

Much superior, and much more mature, is Morton's later book 'The English Utopia' (1952), though it's marred by a crude attack on Orwell.

Orwell's 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' (1949) is labelled 'degraded' and 'sordid'. On the other hand, 'the fantasies of Cokaygne, the projects of Bacon, the anticipations of Ernest Jones are in effect being translated into facts in the Stalin Plans which are now changing the face and the climate of the USSR!'

## 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.

**A LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE** Solidarity with workers in the Eastern Bloc. Saturday 7 November 11a.m.-5p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Speakers include: Zbigniew Kowalewski (exiled former leader of Solidarity); Eric Heffer MP, Chris Mullin MP.

**TWENTY YEARS OF THE ABORTION ACT** National Abortion Campaign: Twelfth Annual Conference. Saturday/Sunday 31 October/1 November Wesley House, 4 Wild Court, London, WC2B 5AU. Speakers include Jo Richardson MP, representatives from Committee in Defence of Women's Rights in Iran, Tamil Women's League and Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Creche and Disabled Access.

**CRIMINAL JUSTICE — TOWARDS A SOCIALIST AGENDA** Day Conference, Saturday 14 November. Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Organised by Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice. For further details phone Ruth Allan, Northwood (65) 24666; Bron Roberts, 01-903 4921; Chris Naylor, 01-226 3396.

**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 Jonson House, 40 Bull Street, Birmingham B4. Registration £5. Contact: M.Arkwright 01-521 4130.

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

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR)** Weekly planning meetings every Tuesday 7.30p.m. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All welcome. Con-

tact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938.)

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

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

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

**BULLETIN OF THE IRISH HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE (BIRMINGHAM)** Now available on subscription: £2 per year (3 issues incl. pp). From: Tiofaidh Ar La c/o IHSCC, PO Box 540, Sparkhill, Birmingham, B11 4AU

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# 50 years since Hitler's 'degenerate art' policy

**A SEASON of art exhibitions, theatrical and musical events is currently taking place in Dusseldorf to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Nazi policy of suppressing and destroying all forms of cultural expression which it considered 'degenerate'.**

The most important of these is a small selection of painting and sculpture being shown at one of West Germany's new public galleries — the Art Collection North-Rhine Westphalia.

Entitled 'Museum of the Present — Art from Public Collections Until 1937', the exhibition comprises 45 works by many of the 20th century's finest artists: Kirchner, Beckmann, Kandinsky, Corinth and Nolde among them.

It represents, of course, only a fragment of the total, estimated to be between 16,000 and 20,000 works of art confiscated from German museums at the time on the order of Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda.

'All artistic productions with cosmopolitan or bolshevist tendencies . . . are to be thrown out . . . They should be shown first to the public, the purchase price and the name of the museum officials responsible made known, but then all must be burned,' declared an official Nazi proclamation in 1933.

In a Nuremberg speech in 1935, Hitler stated: 'One will no longer discuss or deal with these corruptors of art. They are fools, liars or criminals who belong in insane asylums or prisons.'

'Entartete Kunst', the infamous 'Degenerate Art' exhibition, opened in Munich in the summer of 1937. It included virtually all the modern German artists as well as many other important names such as Gauguin, Matisse and Braque.

In order to discredit their work to the maximum, paintings by inmates from mental institutions were hung alongside. The exhibition was the subject of violent attack and ridicule by the controlled press.

Very little, however, which was not publicly auctioned off abroad to help finance Hitler's war preparations was not burned. Most of it mysteriously 'disappeared', finding its way into wealthy private collections.

Artists were sacked from their teaching posts, many of whom were forced to emigrate because of the growing persecution.

Music, film, literature, art, theatre and radio broadcasts — all came under the repressive censorship of Goebbels. 'Cultural degeneration' was declared to be the work of the enemy.

Inaugurating the 'Great Exhibition of German Art 1937' in Munich to demonstrate the superiority of what was proclaimed 'true German art' over 'degenerate, Bolshevik and Jewish art', Hitler declared:

'Cubism, Dadaism, Futurism, Impressionism, etc., have nothing

BY TRUDI JACKSON

to do with our German people. 'For these concepts are neither old nor modern, but are only artificial stammerings of men to whom God has denied the grace of truly artistic talent, and in its place has awarded them the gift of jabbering or deception.'

This was no uninformed barbaric attack but a propagandist necessity on the part of the Nazis to discredit and destroy any independent development of artistic technique and choice of subject.

The Nazis were familiar with the debates and tendencies and their reactionary approach still finds expression today.

**THE theory of 'cultural degeneration' has its roots in the 19th century where the word degeneration was first used to discredit ethnic groups.**

The most extensive consequence emerged out of the writings of Max Nordau (1849-1923) who systematically and historically applied the notion of degeneration to the artistic culture of Europe and America.

His books were translated into all major languages. In 1893 he met Theodor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism. He became his closest confidant as one of the most influential Zionist politicians. He replaced Herzl after his death.

In the 19th century the limits of individual and abnormal behaviour were mainly understood in relation to the notion of genius.

In the 20th century more artists started to integrate into their works three features:

- 'Primitive' art — the art of the colonial peoples
- Children's drawings
- Products and experiences of the mentally ill.

It was around these three points, elements which were unacceptable to the bourgeoisie and not taken seriously, that the defamation by the Nazis was built. (Childhood, for example, although idealised was only regarded as a transitional stage.)

'Where is the difference?' was the Nazi comment when they hung up drawings of the mentally ill next to paintings such as those of Werner Gilles.

This question still arises today. The difference can be explained and also leads to what they have in common — touching areas of



Lovis Corinth's 'Ecce Homo', 1925 (oil and canvas)



Ernst Ludwig Kirchner: 'Soldiers Bathing', 1915 (oil on canvas)

creativity: dreams, the subconscious and fear — not as a dilemma of humankind in general but in the context of history and specific conditions in society.

So we can see that this objection

to modern art was not solely a fascist syndrome, existing before in the prejudice and reactions of the bourgeoisie.

For the effort required to understand contemporary art one cannot

start from a fixed position. One always has to strive for it in a fresh way.

Without the participation of art the most important questions of social life will not be solved.

# ROBSON'S CHOICE

**ON Saturday**, at 2.10p.m.(BBC1), a love story banned in the Soviet Union for 20 years, Kira Muratova's *Short Encounters*. At 10.35p.m. (BBC2), stronger meat from the Soviet Union, Mikhail Ptashuk's *Sign of Disaster*. At 1a.m.(C4), Andre Cayatte's *Verdict*.

**On Sunday**, at 2.30p.m.(ITV), a Walt Disney presentation: *Winnie the Pooh and the Honey Tree*. Also starting at 2.30p.m.(C4), Frank Capra's *Lost Horizon*. At 5p.m.(BBC2), *Music in Camera* features pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy.

At 7.15p.m.(C4), a drama-documentary, *Baka — People of the Rain Forest*. At 7.50p.m.(BBC2), *The Great Philosophers* features Immanuel Kant. At 10p.m.(ITV), *Spitting Image*. At 10.25p.m.(C4), Charles Vidor's *Ladies in Retirement*. At 11.30p.m.(ITV), *American Documentary* looks at hunger amid the

glitter of Beverley Hills in *Hunger in the Promised Land*.

**On Monday**, at 6p.m.(BBC2), the classic Robert Wise science fiction film, *The Day the Earth Stood Still*. At 8p.m.(BBC2), first in a new series on the pioneers of modern surgery, *Nerves of Steel*. At 11p.m.(C4), second film in the series *The People's Flag* (see caption). At 11.15p.m.(ITV), *Beginners Please*.

**On Tuesday**, at 7.20p.m.(Radio 4), *File on 4* presents the first of three reports on the Soviet Union. *The Revolution without Shots*, looks at some of the gains but also asks ordinary people how they feel about the prospect of higher prices and unemployment in the Gorbachev-managed economy. At 9p.m.(C4), *Apartheid — Part 3: Divisions*. At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), a drama by Simon Gray, *After Pilkington*. Also at 9.30p.m.(BBC2), *Footsteps* follows the path of explorer John Seely (1788-1824) to the rock-hewn temples of Ellora, in India. At 12.30p.m.(ITV), Werner Fassbinder's most moving film for my money, made in 1973, *Fear Eats the Soul*.

**On Wednesday**, at

9.25p.m.(BBC2), first of seven episodes in a new series based on a John Le Carré novel, *A Perfect Spy*. At 9.30p.m.(BBC1), the second of two programmes titled *Mafia Wars*. At 11p.m.(C4), Richard Eyre's film about poet Tony Harrison called, simply, *V*. It could well be worth watching — Mary Whitehouse tried to have it censored!

**Thursday**, belongs to Channel Four. At 6.30p.m., John Lloyd presents *The Sharp End*. At 8p.m., *Equinox* looks at Earthquake Country, Southern California, where nature will sooner or later finish the job that Wall Street started ten days ago. At 10.50p.m., a documentary made by Gertz Franc in the Soviet Union: *The Highest Court*. At 12.30p.m., Max Ophul's 1950's classic, *La Ronde*, based on Arthur Schnitzler's play of the same name.

**On Friday**, at 7.50p.m.(Radio 3), *The Golden Years* presents the world premiere of a hitherto unperformed play by American playwright Arthur Miller, *A New World Tragedy*.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON

The second film in the series 'The People's Flag', (Monday, 11p.m., Channel Four) written by Stuart Hood and directed by Chris Reeves is called 'Fascism and War'. It covers the years between 1931 and 1945, charting the progress of the British Labour movement during the 1930s, the rise of European fascism and World War II. It looks at the militant struggles of the unemployed, anti-fascists and supporters of Spanish republicanism. The film also looks at the continuing class struggle during the war and its radicalising influence.



## BOOK REVIEW

# Waltzing with a dictator

**IT COST \$50 million to get Marcos re-elected president of the Philippines in 1969 — \$16 million more than it cost to get Nixon elected in the United States the year before.**

'Everyone I spoke with said the election was just crooked as hell', said the director of Philippine affairs at the State Department, or, as Raymond Bonner puts it in this book: 'What votes Marcos couldn't buy, he stole, not very subtly.'

Armed men stood over the ballot boxes; the Marcos campaign manager hopped round the islands in an air force plane dispensing envelopes of money to mayors and other local officials.

This was the US policy of 'transplanting democracy' to the Philippines in practice.

Bonner examines the process from the installation of 'America's boy' and anti-communist President Magsaysay (who never made a foreign affairs speech without consulting the CIA's man on the spot) to the downfall of Marcos, the man the Americans needed to fill the gap after the (accidental) death of Magsaysay.

### Poison

The CIA prepared a bottle of poison for Magsaysay's principal opponent, a senator named Recto, but never used it. They maintained US domination by other means, which ranged from planting stories to distributing packets of condoms with pinprick holes labelled 'Courtesy of Claro M. Recto — the People's Friend.'

And when Magsaysay's helicopter-crash death interrupted their plans in 1957, they despatched agent Joe Smith under civilian air force cover with instructions to 'find another Magsaysay.'

They eventually found Marcos, whose presidency

**Waltzing With A Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy.** By Raymond Bonner. Macmillan, £16.95.

began in 1965 an era of 20 years of unprecedented scandal, greed and corruption. Ferdinand Marcos quickly saw which side his bread was buttered, and exercised considerable political acumen to court the right friends.

Kissinger, whom Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos saw as the real power in US foreign policy, was entertained lavishly and given special attention by the theatrical Imelda Marcos.

Bonner describes her giving the charm treatment to Chiang Ching, Zhou Enlai and Gaddafi.

When US officials came calling, Imelda selected from her unequalled wardrobe a skintight leotard, in which she would inveigle funds for welfare schemes for the growing poor — and to suppress communism.

The United States was worried about the political effects of deepening poverty in the Philippines, where 5 per cent of the population owned 95 per cent of the wealth.

It is hard to reconcile with the Imelda Marcos's spending sprees, which could involve a million dollars for an afternoon's shopping, or a single piece of jewellery worth \$11 million.

Treated like visiting royal

ty on their foreign tours, even by those who privately regarded them as a 'conjugal dictatorship', the Marcoses attracted increasing hatred in the Philippines.

Marcos introduced martial rule in 1972 after stage-managing bombings and shootings to exaggerate the danger from the New Philippines Army, the Communist Party-led guerrillas.

Opponents were rounded up, including Marcos's rival for power, Benigno Aquino, who was perhaps most threatening to Marcos because he was as pro-US and virulently anti-communist as Marcos.

Martial law increased the scope for grand scale larceny and corruption. Imelda Marcos had acquired the habit of going to businessmen and demanding 10 per cent of their companies; after martial law she upped her cut to 25 per cent.

### Tax

Those who objected were likely to fall foul of the tax collector, the justice department or some other government department.

They began with no inherited wealth; for years Marcos had a salary of less than \$6,000, yet they became the richest couple in Asia, or perhaps in the world. If the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua was a 'kleptocracy', what was this, asks Bonner.

The CIA knew only too well the corrupt nature of their friend in the Philippines; in 1972 \$39 million for Philippine aid in Vietnam was pocketed by Marcos.

But US national interest could coexist with this corruption, as it could with the lack of democracy; Marcos posed no threat to the US military bases or policy in the region, which, as Bonner makes clear, took precedence over 'human rights'.

Nor did Marcos threaten business interests. Just days after declaring martial law

he overturned court rulings that foreigners could not own farm land or exploit oil, rulings which had threatened the multinational oil companies and the massive US agribusinesses which had bought vast estates of sugar, bananas and pineapples.

Yet the US loved to present the Philippines as a show-piece of democracy in Asia. When Marcos secured 86 per cent of the vote in 1981 by his usual means, vice-president George Bush came visiting for the inauguration.

Bonner describes what the 'New York Times' called 'a real clanger even by the Reagan Administration's solicitous standards to allied dictators.' Draped in garlands and wearing Philippine

dress, Bush lifted his wineglass and proposed a toast.

'We love your adherence to democratic principle and to the democratic processes,' he said.

Bonner's book is a fine illustration of the single-mindedness of the US. Its method is anecdotal rather than analytical, but Bonner is well-placed to make comparisons with US policy towards other dictatorships such as the Somoza regime in Nicaragua.

### Interviewed

He used 3,000 previously classified documents and interviewed scores of politi-

cians, diplomats, military and intelligence officers.

But his weakness comes when he deals with the downfall of Marcos after the murder of Benigno Aquino and the rigged elections of 1986.

Bonner attributes it to the 'scales falling from the eyes of the US' as they realised that far from holding back the growth of a mass opposition of the urban and rural workers, Marcos had fuelled it, to an extent which even threatened the security of the vital US bases.

Bonner does not go into details, but US backing switched to Aquino's widow, Corazon Aquino.

Chris Dixon



US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger dances with Imelda Marcos aboard the Philippine presidential yacht on a return trip from Corregidor Island, December, 1975.

# Workers Press

Saturday October 31 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

## Commemorate the Russian Revolution

**TROTSKYISTS** will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution at an international public meeting on Sunday 8 November in London.

The struggle for international socialist revolution, of which the 1917 victory of the Russian working class was the first stage, is today centred on the task of building the Trotskyist Fourth International against Stalinism.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, which after Lenin's death usurped power in the Soviet workers' state, is today shaken by a profound crisis. What it fears above all is the developing political revolution in the Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe.

Gorbachev and the bureaucracy as a whole is terrified by the striving of the working class to re-establish Soviet democracy and get rid of the parasitic caste which now more than ever threatens the gains of 1917. Gorbachev's response is glasnost — 'openness' towards Ronald Reagan and other imperialist leaders, and economic reforms which threaten to undermine the nationalised economy.

He sees the so-called 'openness' in the press, culture and education as a safety valve for the hostility of Soviet workers, youth and oppressed nationalities to the bureaucracy. But reports from the USSR indicate that an uncontrollable flood threatens to bust the valve. Soviet workers are protesting at the wage cuts and unemployment caused by economic reforms; the struggles of oppressed nationalities are being expressed in street demonstrations and riots.

Especially significant are the demands by Soviet students and youth for the freedom to study the history of the USSR and the Stalinist error of the 1930s. For in such a study lies the key to continuing the struggle for international socialism begun by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, and cut off by Stalin with his counter-revolutionary 'theory' of 'socialism in one country' and the subordination of the Communist International to the counter-revolutionary requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The aim of the Stalinist terror and the Moscow Trials — about which Soviet workers and students are today demanding the truth — was above all to destroy those Bolsheviks who fought against Stalin's bureaucracy for the continuation of the revolution internationally.

*Stalinist terror failed! The Left Opposition survived the show trials, death squads and labour camps; it won to its ranks the best communists and went forward to form the Fourth International in 1938.*

The Bolshevik struggle was continued in the struggles of Trotskyists, against Stalinist repression and against revisionism inside the FI itself. Today it goes forward in the rebuilding of the Fourth International as the leadership of the revolutionary struggles of the working class.

Speakers at our meeting will include Trotskyists from western Europe, from Eastern Europe, from Latin America and from the Middle East; other comrades struggling against imperialism and against the bureaucracy will also be invited on to our platform.

The Workers Revolutionary Party, being privileged to host this meeting, invites all Workers Press readers and supporters to attend and extends a warm invitation to all our international comrades to travel to London for the meeting.

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Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

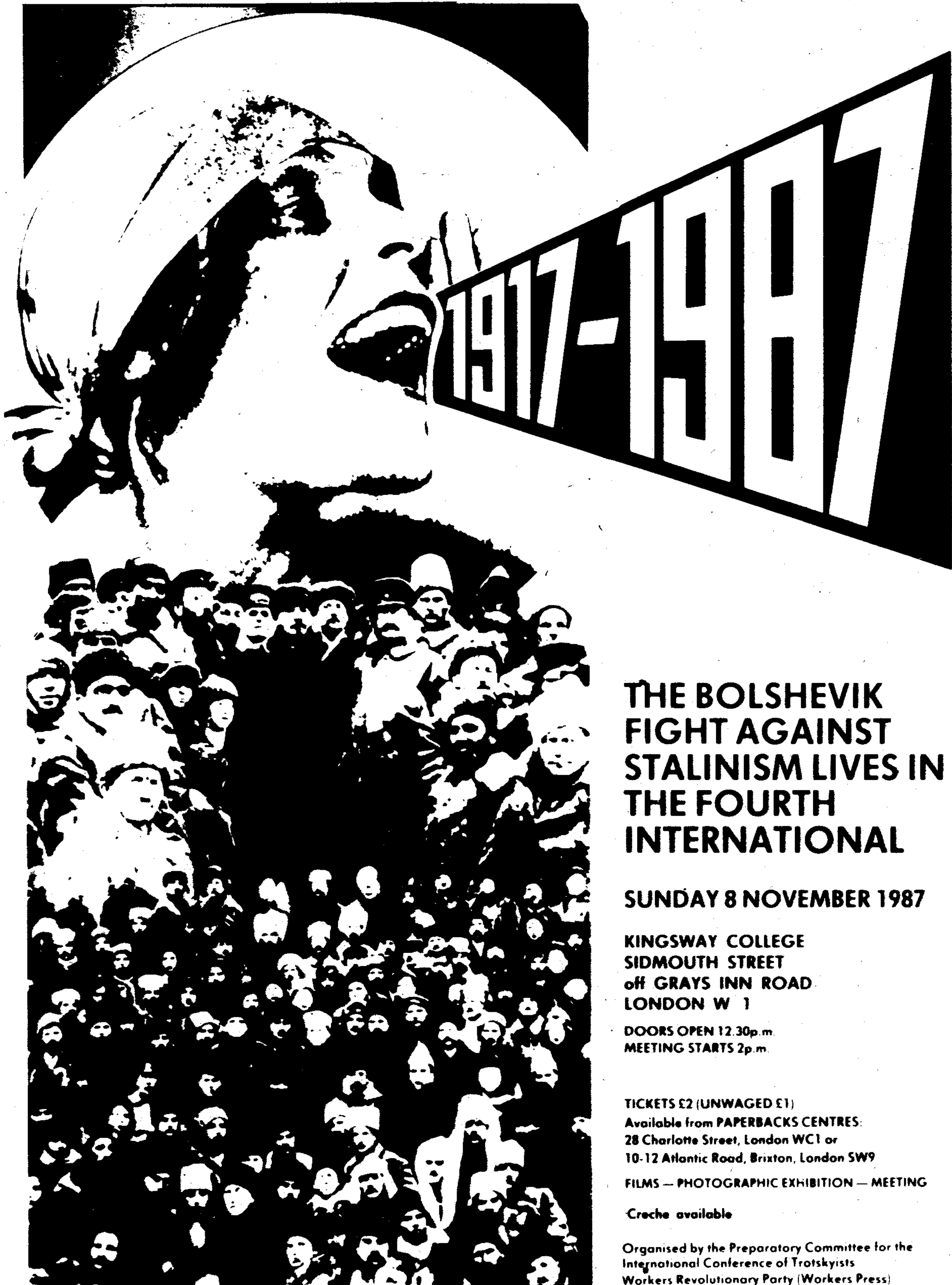
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## ALL OUT FOR NOVEMBER 8!



## 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

### THE BOLSHEVIK FIGHT AGAINST STALINISM LIVES IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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#### SPEAKERS:

- Cliff Slaughter — WRP Central Committee
- Jean-Phillipe Dupont — International Workers League (Fourth International)
- Michel Varga (Balasz Nagy) — Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International
- E. Refik — Workers Front, Turkey
- Speakers from the organisations on the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists
- Paul Trehwela — Former South African political prisoner

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### Books on the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION — P 11

### They cannot tell the truth about Trotsky — P 12

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