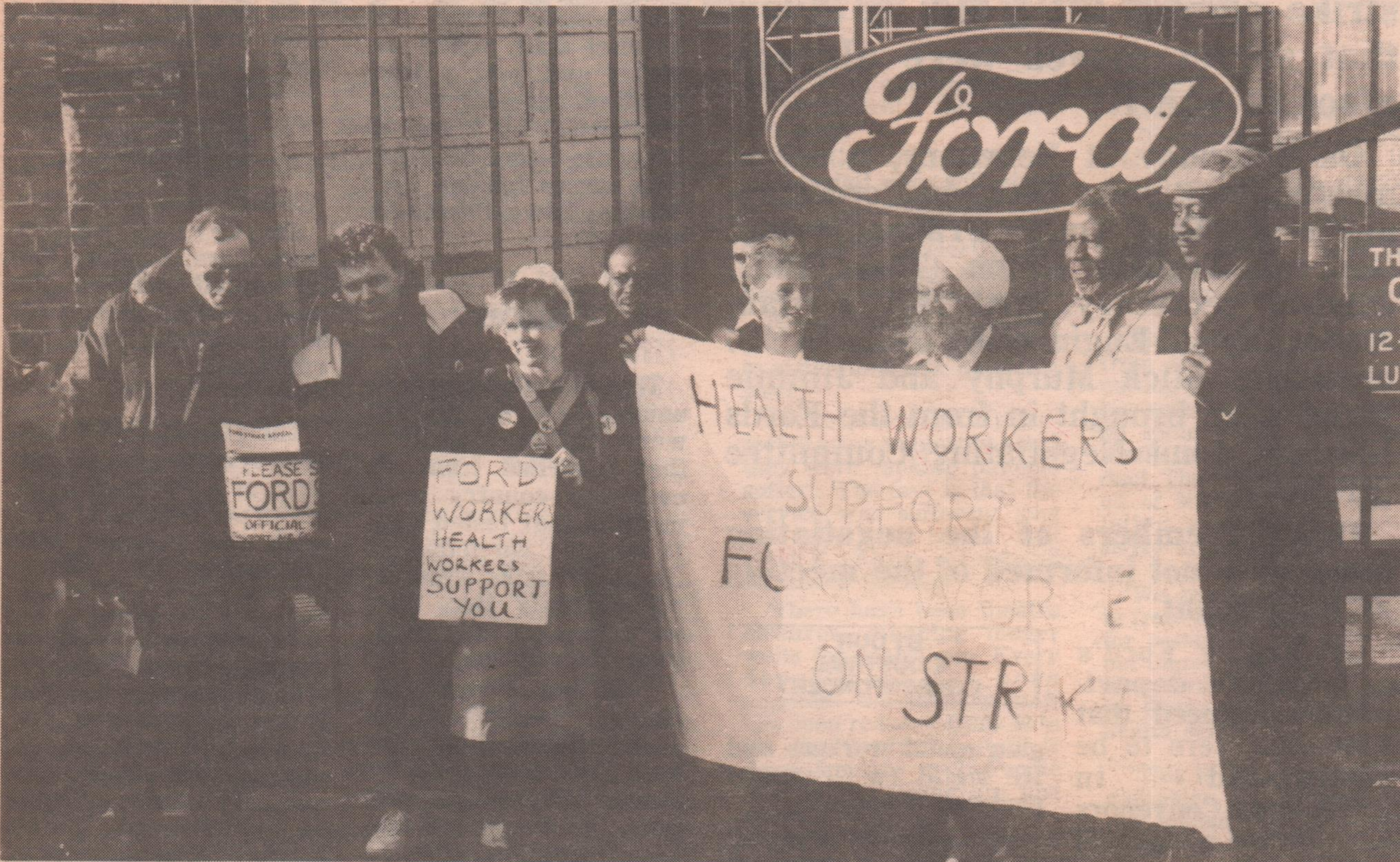


# CAMDEN SACKINGS



Hospital workers on Ford, Dagenham, picket line

**CAMDEN NALGO members last week voted on whether to take all-out strike action following the Labour council's 'sign or be sacked' ultimatum.**

The same meeting voted 21-6 for £3.50 across the board rent increases.

While they were voting, the ruling Labour group on the council threw out the 11 Manifesto councillors from the group for refusing to sign standing orders.

Individual NALGO members got letters from Martin House, Camden's personnel chief, threatening them with the sack if they refused to sign the new compulsory re-deployment scheme.

The council's proposed changes in the existing agreement would give management the right to move council workers at will and change job descriptions without negotiations.

The month's notice runs out on 15 March.

The were elected on a 'no cuts' manifesto and have refused to sign the standing orders which would tie them to Labour's reversal of this policy.

The 5,000 NALGO members were given one month's notice following the breakdown of negotiations between the Labour council and the union.

At a meeting of the Labour group last Monday, the council's redeployment policy was re-confirmed in a 19-5 vote.

Camden's redundancy terms are even worse than Rupert Murdoch's at Wapping where enhanced redundancy payments were offered to those who chose to leave Murdoch's company.

● **Camden Fightback** is holding a public meeting on 24 February to discuss the way forward in the fight against the cuts in jobs and services. The meeting is at Swiss Cottage Community Centre, Winchester Road NW3. 7.30p.m.

**DON'T LET THATCHER KILL OUR KIDS**

# TUC MUST CALL GENERAL STRIKE

BY THE EDITOR

MILLIONS of people have been inspired by the determined struggle of health workers to preserve the NHS from Thatcher's plans to butcher it.

Last week ten hospitals in London came out on strike and many other actions took place throughout the country.

In response to the proposal by Sheffield nurses for a general strike to coincide with budget day, the London hospitals' strike co-ordinating committee

has voted for a pre-budget day (14 March) action, a call supported by COHSE.

The Charing Cross Hospital joint strike committee has circu-

lated thousands of letters throughout the movement calling for support for this action.

The TUC's planned 5 March national demonstration must be made the springboard for extending the 14 March call.

The tragic death of Matthew Collier has again made clear that the future of this struggle is quite literally a matter of life and death.

The Conservative-controlled Social Services Select Committee will report later this month that the NHS has been systematically underfunded to the tune of £1.8 billion since 1980.

The Tories demand complete privatisation of health care. Only the rich will get proper treatment. The poor, the old, the unemployed will be left to suffer and die. If the Tories remain in office there will be many more Matthew Colliers.

Over 100 children are now waiting for urgent heart surgery in the Birmingham area alone. They cannot get

it because of the shortage of skilled nursing staff.

The strikes and demonstrations already held by nurses and other health service workers deserve the support of every ordinary person. Unless the NHS is protected the lives of millions will suffer.

The Tories have shown they will not listen to mere protests. They have already said that the March budget will give no extra funds for the crumbling NHS. Instead millions will be handed out to the idle rich of the City of London — the very ones who will benefit most from Thatcher's privatisation measures.

Defence of the NHS requires bringing down the Thatcher government. No other way is now possible.

But how is this to be done? The nurses are not fighting alone.

● Ford workers have shown that the working class is on the move against the Thatcher government. Their strike has shaken the government, the labour leaders and big business internationally.

They are fighting for the same thing as health workers: for the defence of conditions secured by the working class in long and bitter struggles.

● continued on page 2

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### LOBBY THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL

WEDNESDAY, 24 FEBRUARY 1988  
Congress House, Great Russell St.  
London WC1  
Assemble 8.30 a.m.

**CALL A GENERAL STRIKE!  
FULL SUPPORT FOR NHS  
WORKERS!**

**Workers  
Press**

# Permanent terror

THE TORIES' plan to replace the Prevention of Terrorism Act with a permanent piece of legislation is the latest example of the continuing destruction of democratic rights in Thatcher's Britain.

The PTA was introduced by the Labour government in 1974, a week after the Birmingham pub bombing. The Home Secretary at the time, Roy Jenkins, described it as 'draconian' and 'unprecedented in peacetime'.

It gave the police powers to hold suspects without charge and without the right to legal representation. The IRA was declared illegal, later followed by the Irish National Liberation Army. The Home Secretary was given the right to prevent individuals from entering the country. The police were empowered to make tighter checks on travellers to and from Great Britain and the north of Ireland.

But the Labour Party leaders are, of course, democrats. So they placated some of their left critics by making the new law renewable every six months.

By 1976, this was changed to every year, and in 1984, to every year for five years. On Tuesday night, the last of these renewals went through and a new Act will be introduced in a year's time. In any case, renewal has always gone through, almost without opposition.

Last year, 225 people were detained in this country under the PTA. Of these, only 25 were ever charged with any offence. But in the north of Ireland it is used against over a 1,000 every year.

The Labour leaders are now arguing against the new Tory proposals — but only because they say they are ineffective in the fight against the IRA. Meanwhile, they voted as always for the continuation of the Act.

The main use of the PTA in this country is to harrass and intimidate Irish people. Police can pick up and hold them without any reason being given.

The RUC murders denounced by Stalker are to go unpunished. The appeals by the Birmingham Six are turned down. The Terror Act is made permanent. These actions of the Tories become more and more dangerous to the entire working class.

The most dangerous aspect, however, is the attitude of Thatcher's Loyal Opponents, the leaders of the Labour Party. Their devotion to what they call 'democratic methods' has always been used to weaken the fight in defence of democratic rights.

These people defend every action of British imperialism against the people of Ireland. In doing so they undermine the position of the whole of the working class, both in Britain and in Ireland.

Today, we are witnessing a new wave of working class struggle against the Thatcher government, one that is winning support from important sections of the middle class.

It is vital that this is linked at every possible stage to the battle for the freedom of Ireland. Only in this way can the rights of the entire working class be defended.

# FORDS

## AN INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

AS THE first week of the Ford strike closed, little did we know that secret moves were already afoot to end it!

On Thursday 11 February, a secret meeting took place between Ford management, Ron Todd, Transport and General Workers Union (T & GWU) general secretary, and Bill Jordan, Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) president. Mick Murphy and Jimmie Airlie were brought in from the Fords National Joint Negotiating Committee (FNJNC).

Other members of the negotiating team were not informed of the meeting or its content.

On Friday Ford's propaganda department announced that 3,000 jobs were to be eliminated in Dagenham. Convenors had warned about this before and the company had denied it!

T & GWU officials, convenors and lay delegates met in Transport House, the union's headquarters, but were not informed of the secret talks. Afterwards Ron Todd announced that the TGWU had £6million to back the Ford strikers.

Mick Murphy had 'a change of heart' and said he would not sign a three-year deal.

Meanwhile in Genk another 7,200 Ford workers were laid off as the strike hit Europe.

Solidarity messages were recieved from Bel-

BY OUR  
INDUSTRIAL  
CORRESPONDENT

gian metal workers and IG Metal (W.Germany) pledging support.

On Saturday morning 30 Dagenham strikers bolstered the Enfield picket in response to reports that attempts would be made by management to get out facias to supply the European plants.

### Transport

A young supporter collected £70 for strike funds on a train going to Sheffield, only to be arrested by transport police who confiscated the money and refused to give a receipt.

Monday morning saw Todd's secret talks revealed in the press which reported that a two-year

deal was in the air.

At Dagenham's Kent Avenue, 25 nurses and hospital staff joined the picket and held a joint meeting, agreeing to support action on 5 and 15 March to defend the NHS. The nurses handed over £50 they had collected for the strike.

### Union

That morning the trade union side of the FNJNC were called together; they travelled from all over the country to a meeting that lasted only 15 minutes. No details of the secret talks were reported, only that they were to meet the company the next day.

Todd and Murphy cancelled a meeting of the International Metalworkers Federation called to discuss international support, just as the international impact of the strike became clearer.

On Dagenham's Thames Avenue, Engine Plant pickets collected £50 off Ford office staff going in to work and a deputation from Rolls Royce brought £100.

News was spreading fast that a two-year deal was to be put on the table on Tuesday. Pickets quickly organised a lobby of the talks.

On Tuesday it was reported that Ford plants in Duren, W.Germany, and Azambuja, Portugal, were near closure and that Cologne and Saarlouis would soon be hit.

Ford workers were just

beginning to realise their power, and their leaders were rushing to do a deal after just a week and a half on strike.

### Strikers

Strikers from Dagenham, Basildon and Halewood lobbied the talks in Bayswater. After 9 hours of talks the details came out.

The FNJNC voted 26 to 16 to recommend acceptance of a two-year deal, seven per cent each year, with the strings still attached.

The attempted sell-out was underway. Full-time official Murphy declared it an 'historic victory'. James ('I'll only sell you out if it's absolutely necessary') Airlie called it 'a significant break through'. The majority of convenors voted against. The recommendation was to be put to mass meetings and a ballot on Thursday. On Wednesday the Halewood shop stewards voted to recommend rejection of the deal.

The T & GWU 1/1107 branch reported that support and donations were still pouring in.

Afterwards the Ford Workers' Forum met for the first time in Dagenham to bring together all union members.



● Tens of thousands of workers in local government will get the sack as a result of Tory cuts in local authority budgets. 5,000 NALGO workers in Camden will be sacked next month unless they sign a document which, amongst other things, gives the ruling Labour council the right to move them to any other job the Council chooses.

● The miners are fighting Tory plans to privatise the industry. This would mean the loss of thousands of jobs and the destruction of many more mining communities. The task of the hour is to unite these forces into a movement to bring the Tory

government down.

Only the trade union and Labour leaders prevent the organisation of such a movement.

Although we fully back the TUC call for a national demonstration on 5 March, we must be clear that they want this to be limited to a useless protest action.

The 'sign or sack' policy of Camden's Labour council is revealing the real face of such leaders to thousands of workers.

These are the same sort of leaders who conspired with the Tory government to isolate the miners' strike in the hope that it would end in disaster and the miners

would be beaten.

The Labour leaders must not be allowed to do to the health workers what they tried to do to the miners.

During 1984-1985 support committees were built in all parts of the country.

Thatcher's attack on the NHS has already produced similar defence, action and strike committees. These committees must bring together nurses, doctors, ancillary workers, patients and all those millions in the communities determined to defend a national health service as a basic right.

They must be now be made part of a unified movement

directed at the principal enemy: the Tory government.

The TUC General Council meets on Wednesday 24 February. All those coming into struggle with the Thatcher government must be represented at this lobby.

These well-paid TUC chiefs must be told: lead the fight against the Tory government or make room for those who will.

The lobby must demand that the TUC mobilise the working class for a general strike to bring the government down.

Nothing less can now halt Thatcher's butchery of the NHS.

# All out on the 24th!

## While the rich live the poor will die

**STRIKES** against privatisation in Scottish hospitals are being decided on by overwhelming majorities, even without recommendations for action by shop stewards.

Workers are straining at the leash of the Scottish TUC's 'guidelines' for the anti-privatisation campaign. Union officials' suggestions that childrens' hospitals retreat in the face of 'bad publicity', and desist from striking, have been treated with scorn.

The wave of revolt in Scottish hospitals has been provoked by privatisation of ancillary services, which was introduced in England and Wales — with relatively little opposition — just after the 1981-1982 NHS pay dispute.

Only the most demoralised sceptics in the workers' movement would deny that this is proof of how profound-

ly the working class' struggle has matured in the intervening five years.

'Private firms in England are being fined for doing work that is not up to standard', pointed out Margaret Goddard, shop stewards' committee secretary at Ruchill hospital. 'It is the patients that will suffer at the end of it all.'

'Now it is the membership that are pushing the union, not the other way round. The anger is so strong that people are not prepared to keep within the STUC guidelines.

Apart from emergency cover for patients, the strikes are solid.'

Mrs Goddard, picketing the hospital along with about 50 other workers last Wednesday, said: 'A lot of members feel selective action is not enough, that 24-hour strikes will not do it.'

Workers at Stobhill hospital decided by 650 votes to 50 to strike for three days last week.

Pickets scornfully rejected press suggestions that they were making patients suffer: 'The fact is that the service was suffering long before the strike began', said NUPE shop steward Raymond Stirling.

'There have been theatre closures, meaning longer waits for operations. Every department has been affected: the laundry staff has been reduced from 40 to 28; the gardening staff is down from 28 to 9. People leaving or retiring are just not replaced.'

Mrs Jean Donnelly added: 'We are always painted as the bad ones. But we are here fighting for the health

service.'

At Gartloch mental hospital, NUPE shop steward Bert Paterson has more than 100 complaints on file against the Director of Nursing Services, under the Professional Code of Conduct, over the hospital's failure to ensure safe cover for its patients.

'The director, on orders from the Health Board, is cutting staff willy-nilly — it has gone down by 25 per cent on some wards. They blatantly break the code of conduct. Then the Central Council of Nursing sends out a letter complaining about strike action!

'We see standards falling in front of our eyes, we ask for resources and they are not there. They are not nibbling away. They are actually dismantling the whole health service.'

'This is the most emotive campaign yet, because people realise that the choice will be what it was pre-war: the rich will pay for treatment; the poor and the young will stay ill.'

## Specimen of future!

**HOSPITAL** shop stewards in Glasgow have been touring factories in the city asking for support for the 24 February Scottish Day of Action against privatisation in the health service.

Indications are that they are winning massive support. At the Southern General hospital in Govan, pickets reported that workers had pledged strike action at Govan Shipbuilders, Rolls Royce Hillington, the Shieldhall Co-operative depot and the council sewerage works.

Striking mailroom staff and drivers at the main gate were turning back everything except essential food and pharmaceutical supplies. Senior doctors could be seen gingerly carrying specimens through the hospital grounds, and managers doing the drivers' work had reportedly backed more than one vehicle into a wall, as the ancillary workers entered their second week of strike.

They decided last weekend to prolong their week-old action to create the most problems for the hospital managers, who had expected other sections to take over the strike.

But care had been taken to minimise difficulties for the patients, both in the current rolling strike and on the day of action.

'We have offered to come in for an hour without pay on 24 February,' said NUPE shop steward Willie Scott, who works in the hospital mortuary. 'This means we can release bodies to the undertakers so that grieving families won't suffer.'

But the hospital management have been accused of

trying to provoke an all-out strike by intentionally creating 'emergency' situations. 'They are trying to get RCN nurses to take back the rubbish to the main gate where the public can see them,' said Scott. 'And they are deliberately opening the mailroom every morning after the picket is set up when they know post men with specimens won't cross the picket line.'

Stewards at the General accused Glasgow Health Board director and ex-Sainsbury boss Laurence Peterkin of coming in to do a 'MacGregor style' axe job on local hospitals. 'Before he came,' said Willie Scott, 'there was a written agreement by the Board not to engage private contractors.'

This was confirmed by COHSE area official Jim Devine, who released a document issued by the Greater Glasgow Health Board in 1983 rejecting privatisation on the grounds that ancillary services 'require a degree of flexibility and a level of understanding and dedication to duty which is not likely to be forthcoming from contractors operating a strict commercial contract.'

Exactly what the unions are now arguing in their fight against the Board and the government!

## Dons back health workers

**ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY** lecturers — themselves fighting massive government-inspired cuts in jobs and courses — will back Scottish health workers on their day of action in defence of the National Health Service on 24 February.

With only a handful of abstentions and no votes against, this decision was taken at an emergency general meeting of Aberdeen Association of University Teachers (AUT) last week.

The meeting was demanded by AUT members to discuss the latest slap-in-the-face delivered by the University Grants Committee (UGC) and the Tory government to everyone in the university and the local community fighting to save this 500 year-old educational institution with an excellent academic record from the ravages of Thatcherism.

A majority of senior staff had previously accepted in good faith assurances from the university administration that the UGC would grant cash to enable proposed cuts to be accomplished by 1993 rather than 1990, if they would cooperate in getting 130 academics, and about as many other staff to 'go quietly'.

When the agreed plan was submitted, however the UGC ruthlessly endorsed the proposed job losses but said no promises had been made about the extended period!

In these circumstances, the lecturers have declared that they do not regard themselves as having any further moral commitment



Scottish health workers on the move

to the so-called plan, which was simply a financially determined cutting exercise in the first place.

They are calling on everyone in the university to reschedule classes and other work on 24 February to permit full participation in the protests over the rundown of the health service, being organised by the Scottish TUC and the trades councils in support of the health workers' unions.

And they are demanding of their own AUT leaders that

they get moving and organise a similarly high profile campaign in defence of higher education, putting the situation of Aberdeen and other victimised universities at the centre of it.

This new stage in the Aberdeen University campaign began two weeks ago when students organised a city-centre demonstration to highlight the situation, which attracted 3,000 people.

It was attended by representatives from Newbattle Abbey, the adult education

college near Edinburgh, arbitrarily scheduled for closure by Scottish secretary Malcom Rifkind, and every Scottish university.

Aberdeen International Relations professor, Paul Wilkinson — the well-known media commentator on 'terrorism' said: 'I have been asked why I am opposed to negotiating with terrorists but in favour of continuing to negotiate with the UGC. It is not a question which I find it easy to answer.'



Scottish NUPE members strike to defend the NHS

## Baker gets a caning

**A FORMER** headmaster of the ruling class academy, Eton College, has accused the Thatcher government of undermining free enquiry and expression; and of seeking to 'nationalise' the universities.

Michael McCrum, now Master (head person) of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has circulated his views to former members of the college in a letter calling on them to protest against the current Education Reform Bill.

McCrum, whose letter is part of a widespread campaign by the higher education establishment to get the government to modify one of the most crudely dictatorial measures it has yet introduced, says that the Bill will allow Education secretary, Kenneth Baker, 'to tell universities what and what not to do'.

The 'freedom to determine themselves, their programme of teaching and research in the light of the developments and advances in the various disciplines has been central to the concept of a

university from the earliest times' he adds.

He goes on to say: 'The bill does not provide adequate protection for freedom of enquiry and expression in universities, which is fundamental to their effective functioning'.

Press reports at the weekend suggested that the government would have to move to head off such criticism, by making at least cosmetic modifications to the relevant parts of their squalid bill.

But the signs till now have been that the liberal academic establishment — led by the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals — is more than ready to collaborate with government cuts and attacks on academic tenure (the presumption of security of employment for all experienced dons regardless of their views or research interests: provided its own immediate interests are not threatened).

# Parents defend ILEA

ILEA faces the biggest threat ever as the Tory government prepares to legislate it out of existence. Baker has taken up the proposal made by Tebbit and Heseltine with the backing of 120 Tory MPs to table an amendment to the Education Bill which completely supercedes the original 'opting out' proposals and instead will force ILEA to disband itself by 1990.

Last Thursday (9 February) ILTA (The Inner London Teachers' Association) organised an official strike and demonstration with the backing of the NUT executive to protest the proposed 12 per cent cut in ILEA's budget.

This would mean a huge cut in resources and the loss of 8,000 jobs including 3,000 teaching jobs. By the time of the march the issue had become one of defending the very existence of a unified London-wide education service.

Instead of backing the action, Neil Fletcher, ILEA leader and Labour Party member, issued an official letter to all Heads and teachers condemning the strike and calling for teachers to return to work.

William Stubbs, ILEA Education Officer, only days before had admitted accepting the offer of a new £50,000 a year job from Baker effective once the new Tory legislation had gone through. The most ardent defender of ILEA's education service overnight became a 'bought man', and was called on by Fletcher to resign immediately.

On the day of the strike action, only 2 ILEA members sent their support. It is clear to growing numbers of teachers and parents that the ILEA, NUT and Labour Party leaderships have played a treacherous role throughout.

Don Winters, National Treasurer of the NUT, was still calling for a referendum of parents in London, as he addressed a rally in Central Hall following the march on 9 February.

He proceeded to whitewash the whole record of the NUT by saying: 'We are the union which does something'. This was met with heckling from the audience.

June Fisher, newly appointed NUT vice president, a Stalinist who had supported the sell-out negotiated settlements on pay and conditions at Coventry and Nottingham, met with similar hostility.

BY PHIL EDWARDS

Tony Brockman, secretary of Haringey NUT, spoke on behalf of Haringey teachers who have been on 5 weeks of sustained strike action against the massive cuts being implemented by the Labour dominated council.

Teachers had been instructed not to distribute leaflets to children and were not allowed to book school halls to meet parents. They were also threatened with the police if they leafleted outside school gates.

Parents are occupying 2 primary schools in Haringey at present.

Rachel Millard, a parent from Gazebrook school in Hackney, said that they had filled a bus to overflowing and still had to leave parents behind who had wanted to join the march.

Other speakers included Graham Steel, London NALGO branch secretary, and Jim Brinklow, convenor at Ford's Dagenham, who called for solidarity actions with the Ford strikers.

The best reception was reserved for a COHSE health worker who spoke of the emotional blackmail faced by hospital workers and teachers.

If we wait for the trade union or Labour Party leaders before taking action, he said, we risk the loss of the NHS and state education.

There was resounding applause as he repeated the call by nurses and other health workers for the TUC to back a general strike!

After the rally 200 teachers and parents went to a lobby at the House of Commons. Others went to lobby an ILEA members budget debate at County Hall.

Of the six MPs in the Commons answering



A small section of workers in Lambeth have won a major victory against the cuts of the Labour council. Eighty-two members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) went on all out strike against the council two weeks ago. They have been given moral and financial support by the other Lambeth unions, including a £2,000 donation towards their strike fund by Lambeth NALGO.

They refused to accept cuts in staff demanded by the council, even at the point when they were offered everything else they wanted in exchange for the loss of 10 posts. This small group of workers had shown the way for all local government unions. They remained united throughout the strike and in the end won everything they demanded.

From left to right, Brian Gard AEU, Bert Beecham NUPE, Sylvester Smart AEU, Freddy Cox AEU picketing during their strike outside Lambeth Town Hall

## How many more

THE UNCLE of Matthew Collier, the four year old who died last week is convinced that the delay in his heart operation contributed to Matthew's death.

'If doctors said that Matthew needed an operation in September then he needed it then, and not in January.'

'I saw him every day. You could tell he was deteriorating.'

Thatcher has ignored yet another angry protest held in the centre of Birmingham by the parents of the 111 heart children who are left on the waiting list.

Birmingham Children's Hospital has announced that because of staff shortages no new emergency admissions would be allowed.

Thatcher is saying to the parents of these children that the only way to get them off the waiting list is for them to die.

The editorial board of Workers Press expresses its deepest sympathy to Matthew's parents and family.

questions, only Mildred Gordon, for Bow and Poplar, backed the call for further industrial action.

MP Jeremy Corbyn pointed to a shortfall of over £40 million in the budgets of boroughs like Hackney and Islington if they were forced to provide for their own education.

A new wave of strikes involving teachers, healthworkers and car workers indicated, he said, a new level of industrial unrest which could prevent this and make the government fall 'like a pack of cards'.

Neil Fletcher's treacherous role was brought up by several people in the audience but the response of MP Joan Ruddock was that it was not their job to question other members of the Labour Party.

## Deport the Tories

THIRTEEN year old Salema Begum, who was forced to take sanctuary in a Manchester church, like Viraj Mendis, in order to avoid deportation, has now been proved by 'genetic fingerprinting' to be her parent's daughter.

Timothy Renton, minister of state, has therefore decided to take the 'exceptional step' of waiving entry requirements.

He does not seem to have considered taking the exceptional step of compensating Salema and her parents for the months of anguish they have endured while waiting for the decision.

Word is that the genetic fingerprinting test which has been used successfully on several occasions to prove parentage for immigrants is going to be deemed too expensive by the Home Office to be used in future.

## Son of Murdoch

TV-AM announced last week that it would be sacking the 229 technicians who have been locked out for three months after taking one days strike.

Bruce Gynge, managing director is now threatening to bring in scab labour. The National Union of Journalists chapel at tv-am has warned that it will not work with scab technicians, and will be balloting its members over strike action in support of their sacked colleagues.

The television station delayed its announcement until 10.30 pm so that no other channel would be able to carry the news before the following morning.

Gynge follows in the profit-mongering footsteps of Rupert Murdoch, who sacked 5,000 printers and provoked the year-long Wapping dispute.



Lewisham nurses lobby outside Number 10, after marching from Temple Gardens to Waterloo. They presented a petition to the Iron lady, who is looking a little rusty. Ros Sewell, a COHSE shop steward from Lewisham hospital holds the megaphone

# An unholy alliance

BY MICHEL VARGA



GORBACHEV



REAGAN

## AN INTRODUCTION

'Ramos and co.' (see below in text) refers to the political organisation led by A. Ramos, the Assouline brothers, G. Laffont and others which calls itself the Fourth International.

This organisation was formed in 1976 out of a struggle against the abandonment of Trotskyism by Lambert's International Communist Party (PCI) in France.

This group then included Michel Varga (Balazs Nagy) the author of this article and a number of comrades from eastern European countries. In 1984/1985 these comrades and their supporters were bureaucratically excluded from the organisation. Principled differences had developed, particularly on

the issue of the political revolution against Stalinism.

Besides the example given here in the text, Ramos developed a position of accepting all political parties (including bourgeois ones) in the workers' councils and recognised the rights of the bureaucracy to enter these councils against the position of the founding programme of Trotskyism: 'Legalisation of Soviet parties! Drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the soviets!'

The comrades who were excluded are now organised in the Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International (GOCQI) which works along with the Workers Revolutionary Party in the Preparatory Committee for the Organisation of an International Conference of Trotskyists.

## WORKERS throughout the world must take very seriously the satisfaction with which the bourgeoisie and Stalinist bureaucracy greeted the latest meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev.

This fact alone should sound a warning to the international proletariat, to the youth, and to the oppressed peoples — you must increase your vigilance!

A leap has been taken in the counter-revolutionary collaboration between imperialism and the bureaucracy, so-called 'peaceful co-existence'.

The intensification of the crisis of world imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy has pushed them even more into each other's arms.

They have always seen their best hope of success in their mutual rapprochement. This obvious fact only deceives those who want to be deceived — or who want to deceive other people.

Despite indications of a manufactured tension between them, reported with anguish by bourgeois commentators. Reagan and Gorbachev have not simply had a reunion, but have deepened their collaboration.

### Power

Imperialism and the bureaucracy have a natural and constant tendency to turn towards each other, today more than ever, as they find themselves confronted by a mortal crisis which feeds off their very existence. World imperialism finds it more and more difficult to defeat workers and the oppressed peoples who are strengthening their resistance and struggles.

The power of the Kremlin bureaucracy and their satellites shudder and crack before the demands more and more strongly expressed by workers who refuse to tighten their belts. However after the huge shock given to the imperialist system by the financial and monetary crash of last October all arguments had to be suspended, and all business set aside. They had to throw themselves into each other's arms. (The crash of October is not over by any means.)

World imperialism had to be urgently stabilised, as its death agony was abruptly intensified. This stability is also the overriding desire of the Kremlin bureaucracy, of which Gorbachev is a splendid example. If the dollar collapses, it will blow apart the whole Comecon system and plunge all of the economies of those countries, including the USSR, into a major crisis. Above all in political terms, what happens to the middleman if the boss is in trouble?

In other words, the intensification of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, in which the struggle of the oppressed peoples plays a part, drives the struggle of the soviet workers and the other Eastern countries like a powerful motor.

The fundamental problem of the bureaucracy, its ancient fear is the stability of imperialism — the foundation of its own.

It is their mutual need for each other, so brutally revealed by the aggravation of the crisis, which has pulled them so precipitously towards each other. It is urgently and immediately necessary to readjust 'peaceful co-existence'.

The depth of the crisis is such that a mere juggling around of this unholy alliance is not enough.

### Agreement

The Reagan-Gorbachev meeting has turned 'peaceful co-existence' into a veritable co-operation. The first and most visible proof of that is their agreement — publicly blazoned but also genuine, on all the points discussed. The only disagreement is on how to carry them out.

'Peaceful co-existence' is an unholy alliance between imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy against the working class and the people. Stalin's old class col-

laboration has changed into this co-existence, duly codified and institutionalised during the war, sealed by the physical liquidation of Bolshevism and by that of almost the whole of its continuity incarnate in the Fourth International. That is the basic fact.

In spite of that, the bureaucracy was not able to integrate itself into imperialism, because its existence was tied to the workers' state, upon which it was parasitic. That is what explains the sudden changes of tactics by the bureaucracy, which are secondary inasmuch as neither the doctrine nor the practice of class collaboration, 'peaceful co-existence' (based on that of socialism in one country) has ever been abandoned.

After the war, these zig-zags were seen to take the form of the so-called 'cold war' during which the bureaucracy and imperialism realised more fully their mutual interdependence.

That is how the 'inexplicable' is explained: the enormous goodwill with which the authorised representatives of world imperialism, Adenauer and Eisenhower recorded the assaults of the Kremlin tanks on Berlin and Budapest, equal to the enthusiasm the French Stalinists used to vote military credits to strangle the Algerian revolution. But the 'peaceful co-existence' also practised in the height of the cold war is a very unstable alliance.

The class war constantly brings it into question, while underlining its necessity for its protagonists. That is why it is in permanent crisis, and why it is necessary for imperialism and the bureaucracy to constantly readjust it, according to their needs.

To say that Ramos and co. wanted to make us accept their rotten analysis of a 'peaceful co-existence' already 'finished' and 'at an end' — so that, in consequence, the bureaucracy was preparing itself (this was in 1984/85) to defend the workers' state against the threat of war being cooked up by the imperialists against the USSR. This was the song they sang to us, with all their typical arrogance and pretentiousness.

### mistake

These fantasies fit in very well with their ramblings on the 'dual nature' of the bureaucracy, and they rein-

force each other.

It is not accidental that Ramos-Assouline's ideas have so faithfully reproduced Pablo's on the 'dual nature' of the bureaucracy and on the 'coming world war'. In both cases, they are dressed up with the impressionism that the petit-bourgeois mistake for realism.

In Pablo's case, there was the 'cold war' and even the hot, in Korea. But after Pablo, and after the struggle led against Pabloism, for people to fall stupidly back into this old centrist rut, they really do have to keep sight of the 'dual nature' of the bureaucracy.

### build

Today we see the bastard offspring of this concept in Assouline's alignment behind Juquin, even if Ramos the chameleon — as usual — wriggles out of it and manages to deny paternity. The rottenness of the claim that 'peaceful co-existence' is finished is even more apparent since the Kremlin bureaucracy has deemed it necessary to build it up again, and has chosen Gorbachev to do so. What does Ramos the chameleon do then?

Of course he swears that he has nothing in common with the terrible Assouline. This did not prevent him from hurriedly organising our exclusion in 1984 for trumped up reasons, thus dealing another blow, after Lambert's, to the construction of the Fourth International in the Eastern countries — a real gift to the bureaucracy. At the same time he concealed until the end (until December) Assouline's voyage into the bosom of Juquin, and he maintains relations of the utmost benevolence with them. Exactly as Mandel did with Barnes.

A set of links is formed. Ramos holds Assouline's hand who holds Mandel's, who in turn gives his to Barnes. To think there are certain comrades, admittedly confused, who wanted to join in this merry dance.

But Ramos 'and his Laffont(s)' do other things besides whirling around in this merry-go-round.

They hold out their other hand, the left, towards the rebuilders of the Fourth International and their Preparatory Committee. That is another reason why they cover their burial of 'peaceful co-existence' with a thick smoke-screen, in the face of the bitter denial of their theories by the facts.

No chameleon rejects a change of colour. Ramos and his friends have quickly discovered the 'bad' bureaucrats, personified by Gorbachev.

Even better they have found a real masterpiece of camouflage: it is M. Varga who is supposed to be a supporter of Gorbachev... behind this attack, which is completely contemptible and ridiculous, there is something more important.

What we have is the typically petit-bourgeois incapacity to understand that, with or without Gorbachev, wreathed in the smiles of 'peaceful co-existence' or making threats, it is always the same bureaucracy 'peacefully co-existing' with imperialism and liquidating the conquests of October. For the Ramos group, Tchernenko defended the USSR, whereas Gorbachev threatens it. The zig-zags of the same Kremlin bureaucracy are an indecipherable mystery for these experts in mechanical formalism. They follow them slavishly, and as soon as they have adapted to the 'zig' of the bureaucracy with Tchernenko, they vilify the 'zag' under Gorbachev.

They define themselves al-

### reflect

ways in the terms of the bureaucracy and its twists and turns (which are typical of it), and not in connection with the working class, with its struggle and its revolution, which the various zig-zags of the bureaucracy can only imperfectly reflect, in a counter-revolutionary manner.

Gorbachev brought into being the new stage of 'peaceful co-existence' in initiating a veritable partnership: economic, political — and military — with world imperialism. But he did it on behalf of the whole of the Kremlin bureaucracy, not for himself, or for his section

of it. This move shattered all the fantasies of the opportunists like Ramos about the supposed end of 'peaceful co-existence'.

In order to cover up their counter-revolutionary purpose, Reagan and Gorbachev talk of peace and disarmament. But it is a trap. Being armed, indeed being armed to the teeth is an integral part of the imperialist system. It has become the very foundation — more and more inflated (and vulnerable) — of the functioning of its parasitic economy.

### appeal

The production and generation of wars is the essence of the existence of this system, the principal mode of its politics and its diplomacy. How could it disarm?

Reagan 'concedes' evacuating his missiles from Europe, because he has the IDS system which he wants to maintain and perfect. He cynically proposes that Gorbachev does likewise, and build an IDS system (to maintain 'equilibrium') knowing full well that the Kremlin bureaucracy cannot succeed in sustaining its existing military programme. It is an appeal to Gorbachev to travel further down the path of capitulation.

For the Kremlin bureaucracy it is out of the question to compete with imperialism. On the contrary, a considerable lightening of the burden of military expenditure is vital for it in order to meet the mounting demands of the Soviet workers who claim more and better food, clothes, housing etc. It is in order to avoid the explosion of their anger that the Kremlin counts on producing disarmament, a costly and cowardly reform, and makes concession after concession to imperialism while the latter conceals nothing of any importance.

Together they proceed by eliminating from the arsenal of war what is expensive or superfluous, while presenting this exercise in refurbishing imperialism's arms as the building of peace, the one and only aim of their meeting. Lies and hypocrisy!



# NURSES DEFY TORY LAW

**NURSES in Canada's Alberta province have come under double attack from the Tories and hospital authorities, using the courts to smash their union.**

More than 100 hospitals have been affected by a strike involving 11,400 members of the United Nurses of Alberta (UNA) since 25 January. The nurses, fighting the Alberta provincial government's health cuts, defied its anti-union legislation and court injunctions.

The Attorney-General asked courts to strip the union of all its assets. Hospital authorities have laid civil contempt charges against UNA officers and nurses which mean big fines.

Nurses' union president Margaret Ethier vowed the fight would continue even if the courts seized union funds. She said other unions had pledged significant donations.

Last year, Alberta Tories cut health allocations by three per cent, and this year they are only being in-

creased 1.5 per cent.

Like their class colleagues in Britain, Alberta's Tories have tried to blackmail the nurses. Hospitals Minister Marvin Moore said any increase in nurses' pay would 'have to come from scaling down the number of employees ... closing more beds.'

Now they try to legally bludgeon them into submission. The nurses' defiance of Tory law deserves the backing of other unions. They should take industrial action to hit the Alberta govern-

# ZIONIST TERROR

BY CHARLIE  
POTTINS

**ISRAELI state terrorists have murdered three Palestinian officials in Cyprus, and are assumed to have carried out the 'Rainbow Warrior'-style sabotage of the ferryboat Sol Phryne in Limassol harbour.**

The ship had been chartered by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as their Ship of Return, to take over 130 Palestinian deportees and their sympathisers on a voyage to Haifa, challenging the Israeli deportations policy and the exclusion of Palestinians from their homeland.

A limpet mine blew a four foot hole below the ship's waterline on Monday, the same day that would-be passengers were being flown to Cyprus. The bombing was claimed on behalf of New York-born fascist Meir Kahane's Kach movement, but looked like a professional job.

The three top PLO officials killed in a car bomb explosion in Limassol on Sunday included two members of the PLO's Occupied Homeland Command, which was thought to have hired the Sol Phryne.

Muhammed Buheis and Muhammed Sultan al-Tamimi were involved in planning activity in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The third man killed was Marwan Kayyali, a member of the PLO's military council.

The Israeli government had said all along it would try to stop the voyage of the 'Return'. The Zionists upset by the striking parallel being drawn with the Jewish refugee ships that ran the British blockade faced the frustrating prospect that sending their navy to halt the ship would only make this worse.

They tried pressure on the Greek government to stop the Palestinians sailing from a Greek port. The Zionist Histadrut labour unions shamefully assisted their government, by telling the Greek merchant navy officers' union Greek shipping would be blacked if they cooperated in the Palestinian voyage.

It must be pointed out, incidentally, that most of the building of Zionist settlements on land grabbed in the occupied territories has been carried out by the Histadrut-owned Solel Boneh building firm.

The Histadrut has stood for job discrimination against Arab workers, refused to do anything for super-exploited workers from the occupied territories, and connives at Israeli government suppression of Palestinian unions.

Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a Labour Party leader, who coined the 'Iron Fist' brutal repression policy for the territories as good as admitted responsibility for the Limassol operation, saying just before news of the explosion was announced:

*'We decided that within the limits of certain constraints we would not permit them to attain their goal.'*

In the territories however, the struggle continued. Riot police opened fire on demonstrators in east Jerusalem, while in the West Bank village of Kafr Salem, Israeli officers apparently accepted the report that their troops had deliberately buried four local people alive, using a bulldozer.

The unrest spread to the Golan Heights, where police used batons and tear gas to break up demonstrations by the Druze population in Majdal Shams. Objecting to Israel's illegal annexation of the Golan six years ago this month, Druze demonstrators carried placards reading 'The Golan is Syrian', and 'We shall liberate the Golan in blood and fire.'

With many Druze from pre-1967 Israel serving in the Israeli forces, Druze rebellion is a worrying development for the Zionists. Meanwhile there have been more violent clashes in Nablus, always a centre of Palestinian militancy, where two youths were killed.



## American bad dream

BY GEORGE LORMIN

**'THE DAILY diary of the American dream' — that's what they call it, in the publicity. 'The Wall Street Journal'.**

With numerous editions and a circulation of over 2 million it is the most widely read financial daily in the world.

Many businessmen from Seattle to Boston could not begin the day without it. It is full of arcane information about the working of the capitalist system in America, not to speak of pages and pages of stock market and commodity market statistics which some readers must follow with the same passion as a punter studying form.

Since 19 October 1987 they have had some rude shocks.

Not only that. American dreams are not all good and some are nightmares.

Take the story in 1 February issue under the headline: 'Small Town in Florida is Shaken by a Favourite Son's Alleged Fraud'.

It concerns the activities of one Stephen L. Smith, a third generation businessman, 'a highly regarded native son, a pillar of the community' who no longer dares to show his face in town.

Stephen Smith ran a business called SH Oil and Gas Exploration. Its assets have now been frozen by a circuit judge and it is under criminal investigation.

Investors were attracted to Smith's firm by its exceptionally high earnings and the regularity of its payments over the past nine years. He claimed to have 'a secret agreement' with the oil giant Amoco, which the latter denies.

Smith owes \$109 million to about 600 investors, most of them living in the small Florida town of Winter Haven. Many of them virtually lined up to get a piece of the action, re-assured by the cast iron reputation of the Smith family.

The town's mayor put in \$100,000. A former auto dealer invested more than 1 million dollars. Others entrusted Smith with their entire family nest eggs and now find that they have lost their life savings.

One man entrusted Smith with a fortune of \$11 million.

At the most SH Oil & Exploration earned \$7,000 per month, but Smith was paying out millions in supposed earnings.

He did it with the oldest trick in the book. He simply paid out to existing 'investors' what he was collecting in from new ones!

Meanwhile, a good deal of the proceeds was going to maintain his super-rich life-style: three Aston-Martins, a Rolls-Royce, a private jet, a stable of thoroughbred racehorses and a luxury seaside home.

If anyone raised any doubts about their investments he would restore confidence by simply writing a cheque.

Now the whole community of Winter Haven is devastated. People caught by the Smith swindle are being forced to sell their homes and their jewellery. Retired people are being forced to look for jobs.

One man mortgaged his house and put in his life savings. Now he has a huge mortgage and no money in the bank and is looking for a second job.

'My wife cries every day,' he told 'The Wall Street Journal'. 'All the dreams we have been allowed to dream are gone.' For them it was the daily diary of the bad dream — not exactly what was intended.

Of course, such victims of the American dream do not deserve sympathy. Like Smith, they were driven by greed. They took a gamble and lost.



Some of the 30 million files at the Berlin Documentation Centre

# Nazi files stolen

BY BOB ARCHER

**SOME 80,000 files on leading figures in Hitler's Third Reich have been stolen from an archive in Berlin.**

The thefts have been going on for a number of years. Since at least 1980 leading US and German politicians have known of the thefts, which have been hushed up.

The 'Berlin Document Centre' is the world's largest and most important archive on the Nazi period.

Many of the documents that have disappeared are still on the 'top secret' list. Investigators claim that an organised gang has systematically plundered the archive and used the stolen material to blackmail prominent figures with a Nazi past.

The 'Berliner Morgenpost'

speculates that more than £6million has been made from the thefts.

One report states that the entire file on Martin Bormann has disappeared.

The Berlin Documentation Centre is housed in bunkers below No. 1, Zehlendorfer Wasserkafersteig, the former Gestapo phone-tapping headquarters.

Of the approximately 30 million files there, the most important contain data on 10,700,000 former Nazi party members. The archive was set up by the US occupation

authorities 40 years ago and is still under US supervision.

The director is the American, Daniel Simon.

One of his deputies is under suspicion.

In recent years, there has been an intensive but secret search in private collections, auction rooms and odd places throughout West Germany. Many missing documents have turned up, but it is feared that an enormous amount of irreplaceable information has gone missing for ever.

# WALDHEIM CRISIS

**AUSTRIA'S President Kurt Waldheim was near last week to bringing down the Social Democrat-Conservative coalition government by his arrogant refusal to step down following exposure of his Nazi past.**

'The credibility of our fatherland is at stake,' Waldheim told Austrians last week, having declared: 'a head of state cannot bend to defamations, hateful demonstrations and generalised condemnations ... let us not endanger the self-esteem and self-confidence of our state.'

Waldheim has been proved a liar who concealed his part in the Nazi slaughter-machine in Greece and Yugoslavia, to make his way in the UN and world politics.

Thousands of young people

battled riot police outside the Vienna State Opera on 11 February, to protest the President's visit. On Sunday, 5,000 people turned out demanding that Waldheim go. They carried banners saying 'Go, Kurti, Go!', and 'Never Again, "doing one's duty"!'.

Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, who previously insisted Waldheim be given benefit of the doubt, has joined calls for his resignation since the historians' commission reported on his record. So has Socialist Party ex-President Bruno Kreisky.

Chancellor Franz Vranitsky has been embarrassed by remarks made by former Foreign Minister Karl Gruber, denouncing the historian's commission as 'socialists and people of Jewish stock', just out for 'revenge'. The Tory ex-minister was responsible for Waldheim's first appointment as a diplomat.

Vranitsky said he would consider resigning himself if the controversy continued. Many Socialist Party members and MPs demanded Waldheim resign

# Australia's Aborigines on march

BY DEREK MOORE  
in Sydney

**MORE** than 30,000 people marched through the streets of Sydney on 26 January, in support of Aboriginal land rights and sovereignty. It was one of the biggest marches and rallies seen since the sacking of the Whitlam Labour government in 1975 and marked a significant new stage in the struggle of the Aboriginal people.

Aborigines from all over Australia attended the march, held to mark the 200th anniversary of the invasion of black Australia by Britain.



Tribal Aborigines from Northern Territory travelled across Australia to proudly take their place at the rally.

In the first stage of the march Aborigines gathered in Redfern, one of the main black suburbs in Sydney and musicians and dancers performed before an enthusiastic crowd.

Led by traditional tribal elders, some 10,000 Aborigines marched to Belmore Park in the city, to be greeted by an emotional welcome from white supporters gathered there.

The huge crowd marched to Hyde Park, Aboriginal flags and banners flying, where it was addressed by a series of speakers and heard messages of greetings from other oppressed peoples.

The chairman of the Northern Lands Council, Galarrwuy Yunipingu, said: 'I've never seen so many faces, black and white, at any funeral. It's the biggest crowd I've ever seen to mourn the injustice of the past in the hope that there will be a better future for all of us in this nation.'

'This gathering is expressing one simple message: that Aboriginal people have survived and we will continue to survive.'

## Total

To loud applause, Yunipingu continued: 'The land is total life to the Aboriginal people and we are trying to make this clear to the government. This land is older than 200 years and it does not deserve a birthday part.'

'This land is more powerful than the man who landed here on behalf of the King of England and it is stronger than the present rulers of this country.'

Among the greetings to the rally was one from the head



Some of the 30,000 demonstrators who gathered on 26 January to march through Sydney.

of the Palestine Information Office, Ali Kazak, speaking on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organisation: 'I would like to extend to our Aboriginal brothers and sisters our support and solidarity with your legitimate struggle and demand for land rights.'

'There are many things in common between the Aboriginal and Palestinian people. As you have been dispossessed of your land the Palestinian people have been dispossessed and been denied their rights to live in their own country.'

## Solidarity

'We wish you all the very best in your struggle. Long live the solidarity between our two people!'

'Socialist Press' spoke to some of the young Aborigines taking part in the

march. Charmaine Harris said: 'It's not a day of celebration, it's a day of mourning for when the white man came to Australia.'

'They've got to stop the deaths of Aborigines in police custody and they've got to give us back the land they took from us. I don't want anything to do with the official celebrations but I'm happy to see white people supporting us here in Redfern.'

According to Wayne Tomkins: 'The march means a lot to me. It means bringing black and white people together and it's a good feeling. I've never seen it happen before.'

'It's the first big march we've ever had and it's really good. This will get the message across to everyone.'

'We're not celebrating today, we're mourning the fact that we've been slaughtered and jailed over the years.'

Kevin Johnson travelled 400 kilometres from Echuca in Victoria to come to the march: 'It's a great march and I'm glad I've come here to be part of it. This is a day of mourning to get together and hopefully change the government's attitude to us and change the laws.'

## Votes

The government just uses us as a stepping stone for votes. They are full of contradictions. They said they were going to introduce laws to help Aborigines but they are still debating about it, even though this was one of the things that got them into power.

'It's great to see the number of people here and the various groups supporting us. We want sovereignty for our land, that's our main demand.'



'They've got to give us back the land they stole from us,' said Charmaine Harris (right), with her cousin Melissa Broome.

# INDIAN ARMY MOVES

**INDIAN** troops have begun moving through eastern Sri Lanka, in a sweeping hunt for supporters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Twelve Tamil fighters were reported killed in a with Indian troops north of Batticaloa.

Meanwhile thousands of troops moved through the east coast town making house-to-house searches. Thousands of people were herded past a hidden informer who indicated which were to be detained.

Over a hundred were reported held by the Indian force. Two Tamil Tiger leaders were killed, one escaping arrest,

another taking a cyanide tablet. However, top Tiger military commanders in Batticaloa, Karuna and Dileep, were believed to have evaded the net.

Since the Indian 'peacekeeping force's' murderous onslaught on Tamils in the northern city of Jaffna last year, the Tigers, fighting for a Tamil Eelam state, had made Batticaloa and the east a centre of activity.

They launched a civil dis-

obedience campaign in the area to make government impossible, and last month launched a highly successful raid on Batticaloa prison, overwhelming guards with no trouble, and releasing the prisoners.

The Indian forces took up positions guarding government buildings the next day, and in the ensuing weeks, Indian troops began concentrating in the east.

Rajiv Gandhi's government is stepping up its forces in Sri Lanka, intending to fly in huge reinforcements. This is releasing the Sri Lanka

## Notorious

government's notorious SAS-trained Special Task Force, responsible for anti-Tamil atrocities in the past, to move into the south.

Human rights groups in the south have reported several disappearances of people since the STF moved down there. Such sinister events were linked to it when it was active against the Tamils.

## Unique

The STF has a unique position, being controlled neither by the army or police command. It is reported to be directly run by Ravi Jayawardene, son of the Sri Lankan president, although he holds no official post.

The way Indian troops have taken on a brutally repressive task against the Tamils, alongside the Jayawardene regime as ally, has begun to arouse concern and opposition in India.

## Trident 'Suicide'

BRITISH purchase of Trident nuclear submarines would be 'a trigger to commit suicide', retired US Admiral Eugene Carroll has warned.

Accusing big powers of being 'addicted to new nuclear weapons', Admiral Carroll warned they were no safety. 'Sooner or later they are going to be used.' He said Britain already had enough nuclear weapons to destroy all Soviet cities. Trident would increase first strike capability, but not prevent retaliation.

## Inquest fraud

GUYANA'S left-wing Working People's Alliance WPA has rejected a government inquiry into the 1980 bomb death of its founder Walter Rodney as a show inquest that left the incident unsolved.

According to the official report, Rodney died accidentally when a bomb he was holding exploded. Most people believe Rodney, a firm opponent of the oppressive Burnham regime, was murdered. The WPA said last week that a 'proper inquest' has yet to be held.

## S.A. troops killed

SOUTH AFRICAN army admitted last week that four of its soldiers had been killed in Angola during a counter-attack by Angolan government forces.

General Jannie Geldenhuys claimed South African-backed Unita forces were continuing an offensive, but admitted the promised withdrawal of South African troops would be 'slower' than originally anticipated.

# Who leads the Capitalist World ?

**THE DAYS** when the answer to this question might seem obvious have gone.

**In the 20th century leadership passed from the hands of British imperialism to the United States.**

The dollar superseded the pound sterling as the key currency in international trade. Wall Street took the place of the City of London as the leading financial centre. The great political and strategic decisions were made in Washington, not in Westminster. The American century had arrived.

That is how it seemed until the late 1960s. Then the Vietnam imbroglio, from which the American eagle returned with its feathers sadly ruffled, began to change the balance of forces. The dollar came under unwonted pressure and, in August 1971 President Richard Nixon waved the Bretton Woods system goodbye.

Since then nothing has been quite the same. The US economy soon lurched into its worst recession since the end of World War II. The economy was gripped by a new palsy of inflation and recession at the same time.



*Crippled US veterans of the Vietnam war*

After stagflation came Reagan and, within a few years, the budget deficit was reaching new heights, whole sections of US industry had collapsed and there was a yawning trade deficit. Washington began calling on its allies to bear a larger share of the arms burden with absolutely no success.

While the rhetoric of anti-communism reached a stridency not heard since the 1950s, by 1987 Reagan and Party Secretary Gorbachev had met and worked out the semblance of an agreement for the mutual reduction of intermediate nuclear missiles.

Meanwhile in many industrial fields US capitalism was being outclassed. Productivity of labour was growing more slowly than in Japan and other advanced capitalist countries. While in the 1960s, Europeans, fearful of the growing power of the US, had spoken about the 'American challenge', now it was the turn of Americans to get worried.

While growth in the US slowed and factories closed down, Japan, in particular, was bounding ahead. From a sickly ward of the U.S. in

early post-war years, it had become a formidable rival. Japanese products dominated the market in a number of high tech fields. The success of Japanese products meant a huge Japanese trade surplus.

Many of these dollars were used for investment in the US. Japanese banks and business firms began to set up their branches. Japanese investors helped finance the national debt. Japanese firms were buying themselves into the American market, taking over US firms, acquiring real estate.

Such a sharp reversal of positions, given the relentless drive of Japan's economy, has upset the whole balance of the capitalist world, making it impossible for the US to continue in a leadership role. A country on the decline can hardly command the respect and obedience due to a leader.

The situation is causing disquiet, not because the Japanese aspire to take the place of the US — at least for the present — but simply that there is a lack of leadership; and for capitalism that can be dangerous. Louis Uchitelle, writing in the 'New York Times' (31 January) voices these fears.

Without firm leadership, he writes, 'The dollar and other major currencies would go on fluctuating dramatically in value, perhaps into the 21st century, because none of the industrial nations can agree on fair exchange

rates and the US lacks the clout to impose standards as it once did.

'Trade disputes would persist, with neither the US nor Japan able to dominate each other or their various trading partners. As a result, the free trade system that the US imposed after World War II could founder, with the world breaking up into competing trading blocs.

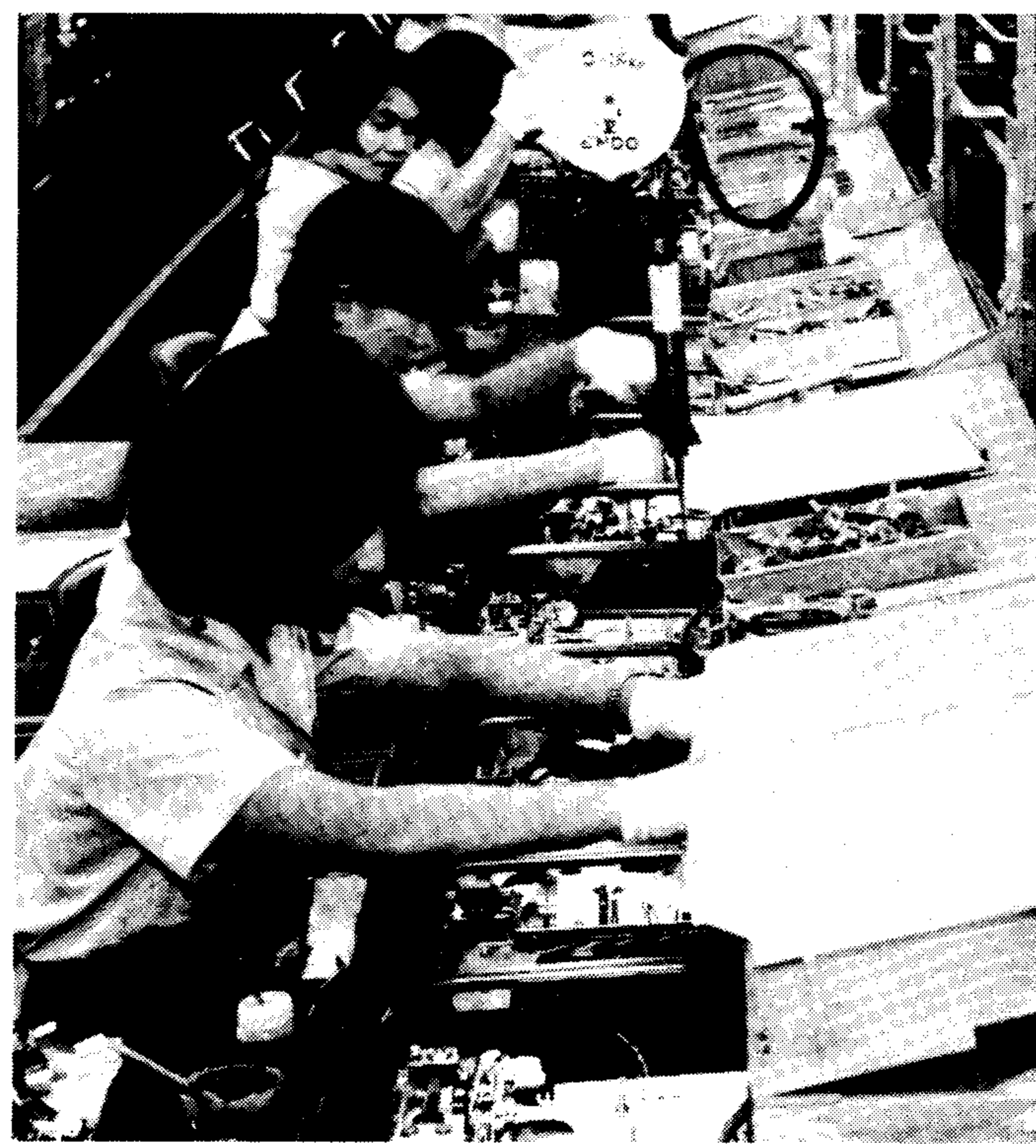
'Overcapacity in manufacturing, already a problem, could worsen as each trading bloc or major industrial nation . . . tried to develop a full set of industries.

'The total output would be much more than the world's consumers could possibly buy.

'Recession and unemployment might result.

'The loss of economic power may also cause US military and political influence decline in such strategic areas as the Middle East and Latin America. . .

'The West, in sum, would fall into the



*Japanese electronic assembly plant*

fractiousness and prolonged economic distress that plagued the 1920s and 1930s.'

Uchitelle is obviously no Marxist. He is warning about possible dangers with the hope that they might be avoidable, given changes in policy. It is remarkable, however, that when supporters of capitalism try to take a long view, and peer into the future, they have to abandon the imbecilic optimism which permeates many forecasts about the immediate future.

It is certain that world capitalism faces a period of deep uncertainty and insecurity, more like the coming crisis which Marxists foresee, than the continuous growth assumed by many of its supporters.

People like Uchitelle, and economists that he consulted, such as Charles Kindleberger and Edwin O. Reischauer, are, of course ready with their advice to the US administration, the Japanese and anyone else prepared to listen.

Kindleberger, for example, says that capitalism has to have 'a hegemonic force', although he says that he comes to that conclusion reluctantly.

Who is to be that hegemonic force?

Professor Reischauer says 'Superpower statues has always required a sense of mission that the Japanese lack . . .'

According to these seersayers, declining America can no longer exercise hegemony and growing Japan does not want to.

There is, therefore, much groping around to find some other way to avoid the splitting up of world capitalism into rival trading blocs.

What disquiets the American experts is the relentless way in which the Japanese adapt themselves to every change in the world situation and continue to pile up their economic power. While the US is becoming a large-scale debtor country, huge amounts of capital are flowing into Japan or are being invested in other countries.

In purely economic terms, Japan seems irresistibly determined to become No.1 in the capitalist world, a superpower of a new kind.

But while Japan become an economic giant, key sectors of Japanese industry depend upon

**BY TOM KEMP**





# For an International Conference in 1988 for the Re-organisation of the Fourth International

## Leadership must be international

THE most urgent need of the working class now entering such great struggles, not only in Britain but internationally, is for a leadership which can take the working class to its own power, for the building of socialism.

Such a leadership, a Marxist party, must be international. It is the job of the Workers Revolutionary Party to build for that leadership in Britain.

The first task is to participate in rallying all those forces, internationally, who will fight to rebuild the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky.

Since April 1987 the WRP has worked as part of the Preparatory Committee for the organisation of an International Conference to rebuild the Fourth International.

A series of meetings in preparation for the conference is being organised in all countries where there are member organisations on the Preparatory Committee and others where we have yet to build for the conference.

We invite all those who support the Call and its ten points to attend and discuss at these meetings with the purpose of building for the conference.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR RE-BUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## THE WAY FORWARD

### GLASGOW

Sunday  
March 13th, 11:00 am,  
Blythswood Hotel,  
320 Argyle Street

### Cardiff

Thursday  
April 7th, 7:30 pm,  
Brownhills Hotel

### LEICESTER

Wednesday  
March 23rd, 7:30 pm,  
Unemployed  
Workers' Centre,  
Charles Street

### LONDON

Sunday  
April 17th, 2:00 pm,  
Kingsway Princeton  
College,  
Grays Inn Road  
(corner of  
Sidmouth Street),  
London WC1

### MANCHESTER

Sunday  
March 27th, 2:00 pm,  
Committee Room 10,  
Manchester Town Hall,  
St Peters Square

the US market for a large proportion of their sales. Without that market the economy would slide into depression and unemployment.

At the same time, while military spending accounts for six per cent of the American gross national product, for Japan the proportion is only one per cent. In fact, since the beginning of the Reagan administration the increase in military spending approximately equals the budget deficit. US bases span the world as part of America's 'hegemonistic' role. There are more servicemen serving overseas than there were in the entire American armed forces in 1940. The costs for the taxpayer are heavy; but there is plenty of gravy for the big corporations which have the bulk of the contracts with the Pentagon.

## Exports

Even the fall in the dollar has so far done little to choke off Japanese exports to the US and nothing at all to increase American exports to Japan.

At present, it seems, Tokyo is happy to accept the situation as it is. According to Uchitelle, 'Japan not only shuns political assertiveness and military power; it also worries that America's economic decline might also erode its political and military power'.

Whether this attitude will continue into the future remains to be seen. History shows that when hegemony changes hands it does so amidst war and great social upheaval.

Meanwhile socialists can take comfort from the fact that the world capitalist ruling class is locked in a crisis of immense proportions.

The questioning of American hegemony and the growing power of countries like Japan and West Germany, as well as the rise of newly industrialising countries in Asia, pose immense problems of world historical dimensions.

It is evident that there is a growing vacuum of leadership in the capitalist world. It is a symptom of the fact that the capitalist mode of production (and with it the rule of the bourgeoisie) has long outlived its historical usefulness.

## Fight at crucial stage

THE CAMPAIGN for the restoration to their rightful places in history of the old Bolsheviks, slandered and murdered in Stalin's infamous frame-up trials is now at a crucial stage.

Earlier this month the Soviet Supreme Court announced that it had cleared the victims of the third and last of these trials, that of Bukharin, Rakovsky and others in 1938. Reports from Moscow indicate that the court will proceed to the second trial, the 1937 Radek-Pvatakov frame up.

Yagoda, the organiser of the earlier show trials, shot after the 1938 trial, was excluded from the Supreme Court decision.

The issue is therefore not just the rehabilitation of Bukharin and his Right Opposition, whose views might be taken to bear some relation to Gorbachev's Glasnost and Perestroika. Now that Rakovsky, the closest of Trotsky's supporters has been declared an innocent victim of the Stalin lie and murder machine, the question of the historical role of

the Left Opposition cannot be avoided.

This is the background to the calling of a public meeting by the Moscow trials Campaign.

It will take place in the Kingsway-Princeton College, Sidmouth Street, off Greys Inn Road, on Sunday, 20 March. The meeting will be chaired by Eric Heffer MP, and a platform representing a wide spectrum of Labour movement opinion will be announced shortly.

## £20,000 Special Fund

THE FUND STANDS AT: £1,272.10

THE Ford strike has revealed that new technology, creating the possibility for integrated international production has strengthened the hand of the working class.

The strike in Britain immediately affects production throughout Europe.

The development of unity in struggle of Ford workers throughout Europe is a big step to building an international struggle of the working class against the common enemy.

Only socialism can create the conditions for an international plan to use technology for the benefit of mankind.

The Marxist leadership required to lead such a struggle for socialism can only be developed through the rebuilding of the Fourth International — the continuity of Bolshevism which led the Russian Revolution and Trotskyism which leads the fight against Stalinism.

The Preparatory Committee for the organisation of an international conference of Trotskyists is an important step towards building this leadership.

Meetings are being held to discuss this conference and the principles on which it has been called.

We need funds to carry out this work and that is the purpose of our fund. Please make collections and send in donations to: WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

# When stars explode

BY MIKE HOWGATE

ONCE IN a while a new star appears in the heavens.

Not really a 'new' star (NOVA, from the Latin nova stella, means that), but to the ancients it appeared 'new' so the name stuck.

A nova becomes much brighter because for a brief moment of its life it emits thousands of times as much energy as it did previously. It is quite understandable that before the telescope and when astronomy was in it's infancy such a mistake was made.

Ordinary novae are relatively common in our galaxy - the Milky Way. One or two are recorded every year and probably ten times as many go unobserved. A nova is a small event for a star. Generally it is only the outer gaseous layer that is blasted into space - releasing huge energy - but leaving the star in much the same shape as before.

This happens in double star systems where a smaller denser star strips matter from its larger companion until it becomes unstable. It then blasts off this surplus material to produce the nova.

In a supernova however up to 90 per cent of the mass of the parent star, which must be 8-10 times the mass of our sun, is lost in the explosion. Only a tiny neutron star 10-12 kilometres across is left behind - but the mass of the this object is an unbelievable 10,000,000 tons per cubic inch.

An ordinary nova may increase the luminosity of its parent star (progenitor) by 10,000 times - in a supernova this can be over 100,000,000 times.

The programme 'Death of a star' (Horizon, BBC 2, third week in January) gave some spectacular figures. Imagine all the energy given out by the Sun in it's 10,000,000,000 year life, multiply that by 100 and you have the energy released almost instantaneously by a supernova.

If you cannot handle all those zeros then try to get to grips with the entire energy output of the observable universe, all the stars in all the galaxies we can see in the most powerful telescopes, in one second. Then you have it.

It's not surprising that astronomers get excited about supernovas, especially when they haven't seen one close up for nearly 400 years.

Supernovae in other galaxies are relatively common, over 500 have been recorded to date. These galaxies are thousands if not millions of light years away but these exploding stars are easily picked out. A supernova in the

Andromeda galaxy increased the brightness of the galaxy by 10 per cent, although the progenitor star could not have represented more than one millionth of one per cent of the original brightness.

Only eight supernovas have been recorded in our galaxy, and even though the earliest records go back to the second century A.D., they can be matched to Supernova Remnants (SNR's) today by astro-archaeologists. The first two recorded observations in A.D. 185 and A.D. 393 were noted as guest stars by Chinese astronomers.

However it wasn't until the spectacular supernova of 1006 that European and Arab astronomers were able to overcome their Aristotelean preconceptions about the perfection and unchanging nature of the extraterrestrial universe and recognise the 'New Star'.

It was difficult to miss. In both Egypt and Syria it's brightness was compared to that of the moon. The Chinese noted that its light was bright enough to see by.

The next two supernovas in 1054 and 1181 were missed in Europe and the Middle East but were noted by both Chinese and Japanese astronomers. The 1054 event can be matched to the classic SNR - the Crab Nebula.

By the time the next supernova appeared in 1572, European astronomy had emerged from the Dark Ages while Chinese and Japanese astronomy had gone into a period of decline.

Tycho Brahe in Denmark was able to pinpoint the exact position of the supernova and estimate the variation in its brightness. When the next supernova occurred in 1604 it was Brahe's

pupil Johannes Kepler who was on hand to record it, as did Korean astronomers.

And that was the last nearby supernova until February last year when an American and a Chilean noticed a new star and telegraphed the world that a presumed new supernova had been sighted.

The astronomical world immediately swung into action. Not only was the object brought under scrutiny, but records were scoured to see if anything had been picked up earlier.

In the event two crucial records turned up - A photograph of the same part of the sky taken hours before in Australia, and a record of the neutrino emission which accompanied the explosion picked up in Japan and the U.S. An earlier apparent burst of neutrinos picked up by a Neutrino 'telescope' beneath Mont Blanc has been discounted by most astronomers. If true, this may indicate that the remaining mass has undergone a double collapse firstly into a neutron star and then into a black hole.

Detailed measurements established that the progenitor was the star Sanduliak situated in a satellite galaxy of the Milky Way and only some 200,000 light years away (close, in astronomical terms).

Observations to date indicate that the theories about how supernovas work are in all essentials correct and in all essentials dialectical.

The transformation of a massive star into a tiny neutron star exhibits those basic laws of dialectics: the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, the interpenetration of opposites and the negation of the negation.

The supernova progenitor has to be of a sufficient size - 8-10 times the mass of our sun. If it is less then its evolution will be entirely different and it will not produce a supernova. But if there is enough mass (quantity) then the development will be a catastrophic (qualitative) change.

Compared to a main sequence star such as the sun, a supernova progenitor, which is a blue or red



Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe



Four ways of looking at the Crab nebula reveal the distribution of oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, other elements and high-speed electrons

super-giant burns itself up very rapidly. Their normal lifespan of 10 million years compares with the sun's projected lifespan of 10,000 million years.

While the progenitor star is burning by nuclear fusion it is consuming and producing elements of increasing atomic weight. Starting with hydrogen (atomic wt.1) it will first produce Helium (atomic wt.4) then Carbon, Oxygen, Calcium, Silicon and finally Iron. These segregate into density



Johannes Kepler (1571-1630)

zones with, at the centre of the star, an ever-increasing core of Iron.

During it's normal burning phase the star is a contradiction of two opposing forces. The energy produced by nuclear burning tries to blow the star to pieces while gravity counteracts this tendency and maintains the integrity of the star as a discrete body but allows radiant energy to escape. This can continue only so

long as one force does not overwhelm the other (interpenetration of opposites...). The supernova results as first the force of gravity becomes dominant, then nuclear energy (...and vice versa as Engels would have said).

As elements of higher and higher atomic weight are produced, less and less energy is released. This occurs until Iron is produced, at which point nuclear fusion comes to end. As the net energy decreases the force of gravity of the increasingly dense star becomes predominant. The star becomes unstable and collapses. From the point of instability to the initiation of the explosive phase is calculated to be of the order of 0.2 seconds - certainly a qualitative leap compared to 10 million years of gradual evolution.

Once the core collapses the main nuclear reaction was hypothesised to be the conversion of silicon into nickel 56. This was supposed to release a massive amount of energy, mainly as neutrinos, as 90 per cent of the star is blasted into space to become a nebula. The unstable isotope nickel 56 then undergoes a double decay, first to cobalt 56 then to the stable isotope iron 56. Both of these decay reactions give out energy as gamma rays of specific wavelengths which are at first absorbed by the cloud of ejected gas and re-

emitted at visible light wavelengths.

It is this that we see as a supernova not the explosion itself. The actual explosion is seen by neutrino 'telescopes'. These are massive tanks of water or dry-cleaning fluid surrounded by photomultiplier tubes and situated in deep mines or tunnels. The Japanese 'telescope' detected only a dozen of the billions of neutrinos which passed through the earth during the 13 seconds of the neutrino emission event.

It was only in August that gamma rays produced by the cobalt decay were detected. It had probably taken them six months to outpace the expanding gas cloud. This finally confirmed that the theory of supernovas was correct.

What happened to the remaining 10 per cent of the stars' mass is even stranger - it imploded to produce a superdense neutron star.

This massive energy of implosion turns the iron core into a completely different type of matter. The very structure of the atom is collapsed. If this is not a transformation of quantity into quality then I don't know what is.

So far the neutron star which theory predicts should be at the centre of the Sanduliak supernova has not been seen. It's radiation is still probably masked by that produced by the expanding cloud of debris. However, what is certain is that the theory that supernovas produce all the heavy elements of the universe is to all intents and purposes proved, as is Engels contention that the more one probes nature the more one discovers that its laws are dialectical.

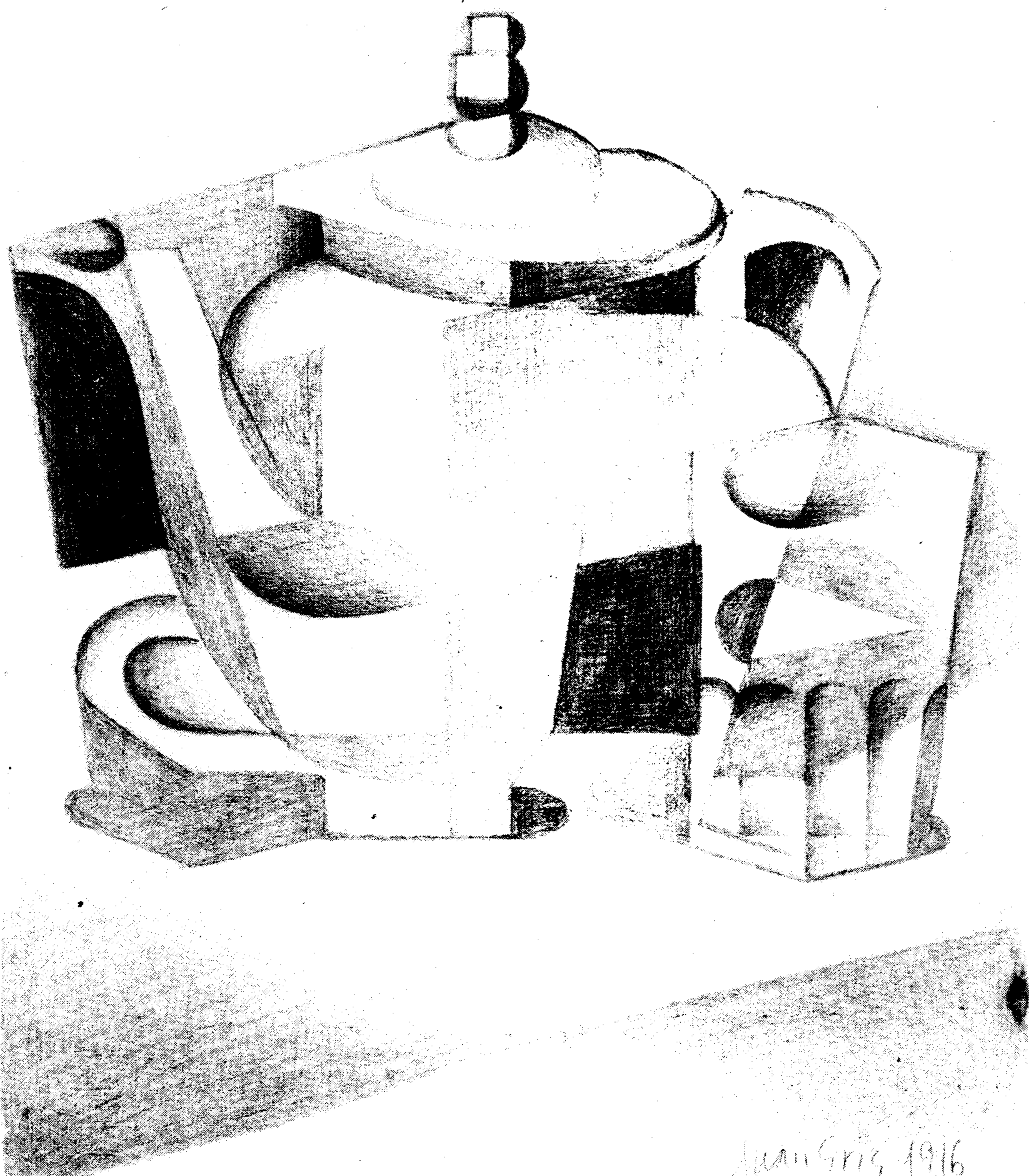
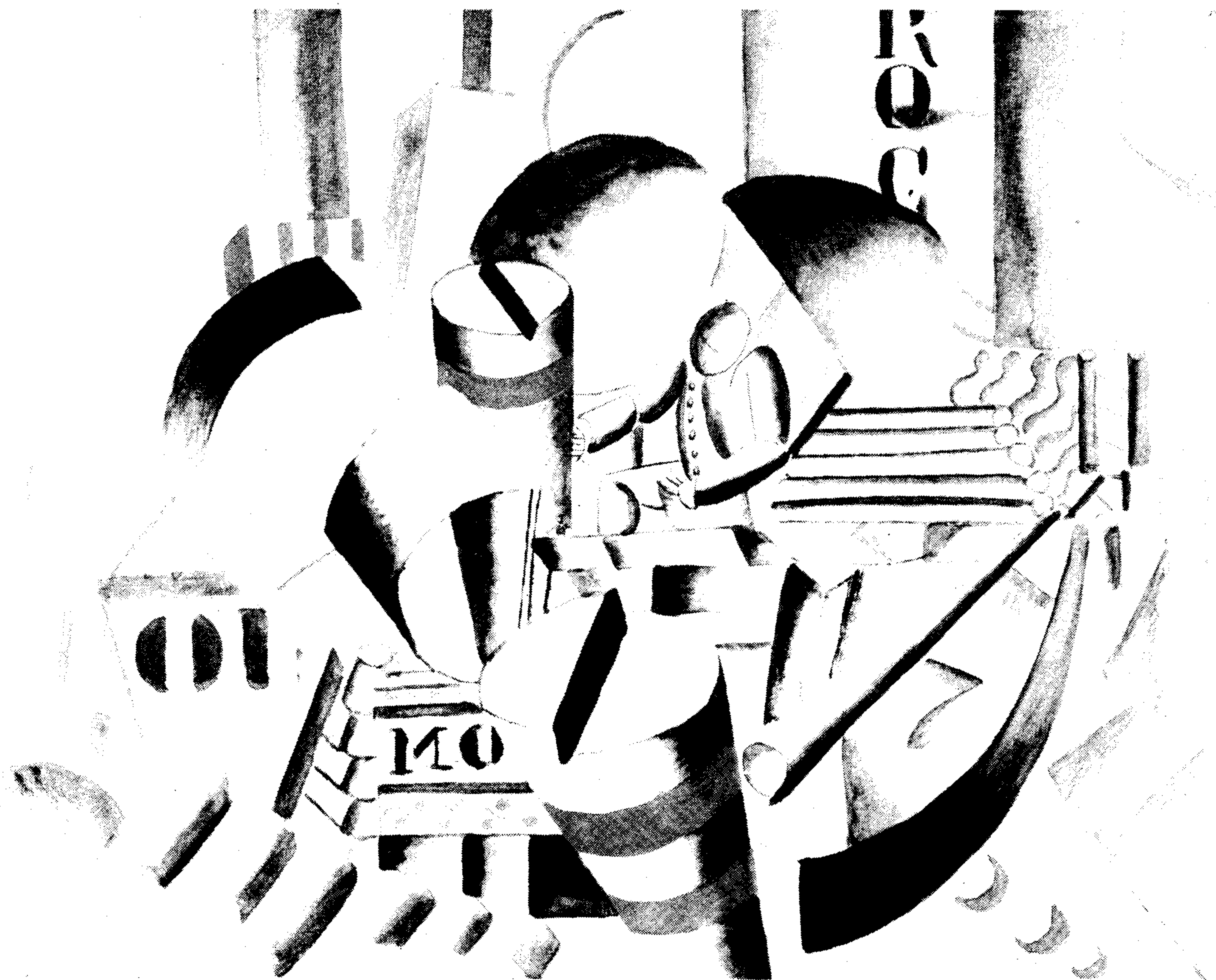
# Early Cubists at the Tate

Douglas Cooper and the Masters of Cubism... exhibition, until 4 April. Tate Gallery, London. Reviewed by Jeff Jackson.

**A SMALL but unmissable exhibition of works on paper by four Cubist masters is now on show until 4 April in the Print Room at the Tate Gallery, Millbank, London.**

**A selection of watercolours, gouaches, drawings, and collages by Juan Gris, Georges Braque, Fernand Leger and Pablo Picasso from the collection of the late Douglas Cooper.**

Fernand Leger: 'Man in a Mechanical Landscape', 1918



Juan Gris: 'Still-life: Teapot and Glass', 1916

One of the more memorable art exhibitions in recent times was Douglas Cooper's 'The Essential Cubism', also at the Tate, in 1983.

Cooper, who died the following year, devoted his energies to collecting formative works of Cubism covering the period 1906 to about 1914.

It was for him a passion which lasted from the early 1930s until the end of his life, although the bulk of his collection was more or less completed by 1945.

As well as being an authority on 19th century art, Cooper also acquired collections of work by Paul Klee and Joan Miro (both of whom are represented in this exhibition) but largely disposed of them over the years.

The friendships he formed with many artists can, on occasion, be said to have coloured his aesthetic judgement, especially when a deterioration in a personal relationship occurred — one case in particular was that of Graham Sutherland, whose portrait of Cooper is also on show — but there can be no argument about the historic importance and quality of the works he assembled around him relating to Cubism.

The present exhibition is a commemoration and acknowledgement of the contribution Douglas Cooper made in that respect.

Cooper came from a very privileged layer of society. The direction his life took was as much a rejection of his own wealthy Australian upbringing as it was a rebellion against the conservative taste of the British art establishment.

He took his inspiration from the Courtauld's collection of post-Impressionists which he had been introduced to in his earliest teens. A decade later he began to invest a large chunk of his family inheritance to pioneering the Cubist movement, which, in his view, had been scandalously ignored by British public museums, a reflection of the influence the Bloomsbury circle (Roger Fry and Clive Bell) exerted at the time.

In the 1950s, a former director of the Tate, John Rothenstein, came in for much criticism and personal abuse from Cooper on the same score.

The works in the present show include one of Cooper's first acquisitions (in 1933), a pencil drawing: 'Head of a Woman, Casket and Apple' - by Picasso from 1909.

'Still-life, with Cup and Glass' (1911) - by Juan Gris - purchased in 1935, is also here and, what is claimed to be the first Cubist collage (September, 1912): Georges Braque's 'Fruit Dish and Glass'.

During the very first days of the Cubist movement, much of Braque's and Picasso's output was almost indistinguishable from each other, so closely linked was their understanding and collaboration. They were the true innovators of the genre.

As with Leger, they were to create their finest work at much later periods. In the case of Braque, as late as the 1950s, perhaps, with his series of 'Ateliers'.

By the time Cooper began collecting, Juan Gris, the other major contributor to early Cubism, was already dead; a tragic loss at age 40. The exquisite drawings of his in the exhibition remind us that he was, at the very least, the equal of the other three.

The significance of Cubism itself in the development of twentieth century art cannot be over-emphasised and this is an excellent opportunity to re-acquaint or introduce oneself to its early stages.

It is an exhibition one can return to again and again between now and the beginning of April. Fortunately, too, there is no entrance charge!

# LETTERS

Please send your letters to Workers' Press, PO Box 745, London SW9 7QS. Letters do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Board. Letters may be cut for reasons of space.

## Fury of denunciation

THE judgement of the Appeal Court in the case of the Birmingham Six was negative. Also it was not couched in the sober words one would have expected from three experienced judges considering a case decided 13 years ago.

It contained unmeasured tones of language of denunciation of witnesses and castigation of coolly presented scientific evidence, a certain fury of denunciation, an absolutist exclusion of all apportioned grievances, a refusal to balance views against each other, indicating that this was a polemic like the second Philippic of Cicero against Anthony rather than the wisdom of Solomon or Solon.

It was the British establishment defending itself against the 'Croppie Boys'.

Regarding the plight of the Birmingham Six we must however look at the positive side:

- Many politicians, churchmen and journalists in Britain, in the USA as well as Ireland are convinced that the Birmingham Six are innocent or that there is a doubt regarding their guilt sufficient to allow their release.

- Many of the British public also believe that the case against them is doubtful.

The time is ripe for the release of these men. We believe that diplomatic pressure from Ireland, the USA and other states including the Vatican should result in their release within 1988.

Release we desire as soon as possible but that cannot be the end of the sad story. These six men cannot have the guilt of 21 murders affixed to their names nor can they be expected to resume their lives without compensation.

Therefore:

- An appeal must be made to the conscience of the police officers who beat them into signing false confessions;

- to the conscience of the prison officers who saw their bruises and injuries and added more;

- to the conscience of the IRA who bombed Birmingham to give full forensic and other historical details and in every possible way to help clear them.

- to the conscience of the prison governors and security authorities to declare publicly that they have for a long time accepted the innocence of these men and in many ways have treated them as innocent;

- to the conscience of the British government. Let every Irishman in the next election vote for the party who will release innocent Irish prisoners in jail in Britain.

Fr Denis Faul  
Fr Raymond Murray

## Dave Smith's letter is timely

I WRITE in response to Dave Smith's letter in Workers Press 23 January, calling for a much needed analysis of the experiences of the miners and other sections of the working class movement during the great miners' strike.

As Dave Smith points out in his observations on the Panorama interview, the currency of the media and after 'leftist' and right wing leaderships of the Labour movement is that the result was a defeat for a significant combative sector of the working class.

The self-fulfilling prophecy of this line is that it is

useless to engage in industrial action and to confine all opposition within the limits of parliamentary cretinism.

And so Neil Kinnock can claim that the nurses' strike was not a strike at all but a 'protest' which could no doubt give him ammunition for his ritual encounters with Thatcher at 'question time'.

The return to work did not prevent teachers from maintaining a gruelling two-year programme of work to rule, strikes and other forms of disruption, or of other workers taking action against the cuts in local authority expenditure.

It is true that one of the weaknesses of the movement at the time was its leadership, the local authority workers were unable to act independently of their reformist leadership in solidarity with the miners.

The local authority and public sector service workers still had the 'option' of a Labour government and the general thinking was that if a Labour government was returned it 'could not be as bad as the Tories'.

The crushing electoral humiliation of the Labourites is an important factor in the rising militancy of nurses, car workers, seamen and miners at this period.

What characterises this stage of the struggle both in Britain and in Europe is that the present strikes are directed against the union leaderships. The initiatives in the health service as well as at Fords have come from below. The same is true of the railway strikes in France and the occupations and civil disturbances in northern Spain.

These strikes are not the last gasp of the 'old industrial working class' as the middle class 'professional observers' would have us believe but can be the prologue to great struggles which will confront and tear apart the old order in Europe and allow us to advance with the workers and oppressed peoples of South Africa and Latin America.

However, the seafarers' dispute gives us yet again a timely warning.

The NUS leadership's supine capitulation to the capitalist courts and its subsequent sabotage of the strike demonstrates the urgency of constructing revolutionary leadership.

Dave Smith's letter is timely and affords the opportunity for class fighters to work through and distil theoretically all the rich experiences of the strike and prepare for the coming struggles.

I urge all of those who respond to Dave's initiative to collaborate in his project.

Tom Owen

## A plea to Sting and Pink Floyd

IT HAS been announced in the Spanish press that the British singer Sting, and the group Pink Floyd, will be performing in Barcelona on 25 May and 20 July 1988, in the bullring known as the Plaza Monumental.

These will not be the first occasions on which concerts will take place in such a setting, but now that Spain has entered the EEC, all people and associations who are struggling to stop bullfighting in Spain and elsewhere have a greater chance of being heeded.

Both Sting and Pink Floyd have an immense following here (I am personally a great fan of theirs), and somewhere that is usually used for the slaughter, torture and slow death of innocent beasts does not seem the most appropriate place for artistic occasions such as

these groups whose leaders, by the mere fact of accepting to perform there, seem to be condoning the insane butchery that is usually carried out on the premises.

Bullrings are not relics from the past; they thrive on the death-ridden shows that are still put on in them now. I am sure neither Sting nor Pink Floyd would perform in a slaughter house; a bullring is only a slaughter house where the animals are not only killed, but where the killers are cheered and sanctified as they inflict their nazi-type tortures on totally uncomprehending beings, thus disguising what it really is into a blood-ridden arena or, as in this case, auditorium.

Concerts are often held in football stadiums, of which there are three in Barcelona large enough to hold the audiences these musicians attract. In the name of all of us who care and fight against this bloodthirsty 'art', I am sending this plea to both Sting and Pink Floyd, asking them to please perform on other premises.

I am sure many of their followers in Britain and elsewhere will not only back me up, but will be horrified to hear that they have accepted to perform there. Groups of their standing have the power to help in this sort of cause, please don't let us down.

Sally Templer  
Barcelona

## Cambridge action against apartheid

MAY I use your letters' page to announce that we are holding a Conference in June 1988 under the heading 'Action Against Apartheid'.

This will be a rank and file conference and we would like to hear from comrades whose trade union branch, Trades Council etc have taken or are attempting to take direct action against apartheid.

We would like all those comrades to participate in the conference so that we can share our experiences; and work together in a non-sectarian and positive way to assist our brothers and sisters in their heroic efforts to confront the evils of apartheid.

If you feel you can contribute in a meaningful way to our conference please contact us as soon as possible at the Anti-Apartheid Sub-Committee, Cambridge & District Trades Council, c/o Steve Flanders (Secretary), 82 York Street, Cambridge CB1 2PY.

Bill Wells  
Vice-chair  
Cambridge & District  
Trades Council

## What do I do now?

READING through the left-wing papers I see that the slogans 'General strike' and 'Fetch down the Thatcher government' are once again high on the agenda.

As a worker I can say 'great — what do I do now?'

Go to the union branch and demand the leaders call a national strike? Even if they agree (!) it would only be one section of workers — so should we call on the leaders, to call on the TUC to call a general strike?

Millions want the downfall of Thatcher's government. If we succeed through a general strike what do we put in its place — a capitalist Labour government?

If we follow the above line we are not calling upon and depending on just those bureaucrats and leaders who have betrayed us time and again?

Are we not passing the initiative and leadership over to the very people we seek to depose from their control of the workers movement?

Is this independent working class action we read about in all the left-wing papers?

I feel it would be more consistent to urge the workers — particularly the militant strikers — to join the picket lines of other workers to show class solidarity. This would really hurt the Tory government law against sympathetic and secondary picketing.

If workers formed rank and file committees in their industry and set up coordinating committees, could we not have joint demonstrations between rank and file seamen, car workers, miners, nurses etc?

Surely this is a quicker and more direct way to build up for a general strike. (How many times and how many years have the TUC been called upon to lead a general strike?)

Also, in the 1920s the rank and file organisations were seen as the basis for a workers council system. Today we should put this perspective forward as an alternative to both Tory and Labour parliamentary capitalist government.

A. Thomas

## Uncritical defence

I AM quite prepared to take Charlie Pottins' word for it that the 'Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International' are a bunch of incorrigible sectarians in their criticisms of the PLO.

However, his reply is little more than an uncritical defence of the politics of bourgeois nationalism.

Of course those fighting so heroically against the Zionist army support the PLO and Yasser Arafat, as the embodiment of the Palestinian revolution.

Given Zionism's attacks on the PLO it would be surprising if they didn't, but that also doesn't mean they aren't extremely critical of the diplomatic strategy of the PLO, resting as it does on the Arab regimes and western imperialism.

Events such as the visit to Mubarak and the Amman Accords did not receive overwhelming support in the Occupied Territories.

Indeed it was the realisation that the activities of the PLO outside of the territories were leading nowhere that has led those inside to take up the cudgels.

For socialists this is of enormous significance as are, for example, the battles for unionisation which have been proceeding amongst the Palestinian migrant labour.

Pottins describes the call for a democratic, secular state of Palestine as merely that of the 'all or nothing brigade', a phrase usually used by reformists to denounce revolutionaries.

The simple reply in this as in other cases is that reform cannot solve the Palestinian question.

Of course the Palestinians demand the establishment of a state over any territory that is liberated, as part of the fight for a democratic secular Palestine.

But to argue that such a statelet should be a goal in itself is to argue both for the maintenance of the present State of Israel and the creation by imperialism of little more than a bantustan, de-

pendent politically and economically on the Saudis, King Hussein and the Israeli economy.

It is a demand for partition which, if realised, would mean both the expulsion of Israeli Arabs into it and the reinforcing of 2 confessional and racist states of Palestine.

In Connolly's words it would herald a carnival of reaction and the Palestinians would have gained a flag, and their own capitalists and police.

Of course, the opponents of partition in Ireland would also have been described by the Pottins of the day as 'all or nothing people' especially as the Free State did at least comprise a majority of the territory of Ireland unlike a West Bank/Gaza statelet.

I understand Charlie Pottins' dilemma as a member of the non-Zionist Jewish Socialists Group.

For the JSG a '2 States' and '2 Nations' position is necessary in order to maintain links with left Zionists and a leftist Jewish intelligentsia which will not break from its attachment to a 'Jewish State'.

What this means in practice is drawing a line of symmetry between the oppressed and oppressor and making the act of sitting on the fence into a fine art.

For a revolutionary socialist to do the same is a great pity.

Pottins is quite correct to state that the problem with critical support is that often it consists only of criticism.

That charge cannot be levelled at the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine which has consistently fought for support for the Palestinians in the Labour Movement and for the establishment of a democratic, secular state in Palestine.

We have also found that Labour Zionists have turned to supporting a '2 State' position in order to maintain support for Israel and deflect attention away from the expansionist and racist nature of the Zionist state.

For revolutionaries to have no criticism at all regarding national liberation struggles is to act merely as echo-chambers.

Tony Greenstein

## Ford Strike can be won

THE FORD strike is beginning to bite. The Ford strike can be won. This was the message coming out loud and clear during the first few days of the strike, as share prices fell and the government were clearly worried at the high point of a new wave of industrial unrest.

Following only a few months after the worst financial crash since the 30s, investors and the government became very nervous on Monday as the rock-hard solidarity of these strikers became apparent.

This resulted in the Financial Times Share Index suffering the biggest one-day fall seen this year, dropping below the psychologically important 1,700 level. This had the effect of wiping £9 billion off share values. The market was quite clearly shaken.

Indeed this strike and action taken by other sections of workers threatens to knock the government's entire financial strategy off-course. As the scab Tory Times reported on Tuesday, 'At the beginning of the week dealers expected a generous budget and lower interest rates now the expectations are for a tight budget and higher rates as the government acts to dampen down inflationary pressure.' The Ford strike is quite clearly a

major thorn in the government's flesh, for it is the Ford settlement that acts as a guide for other car workers and industries in the private sector.

Sharedealers reported running scared as the shares of major Ford suppliers also fell. GKN down 17p at 279; Lucas Industries down 15p and Pilkington down 12p. Indeed, Ford supports 100,000 component workers and 30,000 workers in the Ford dealer network. Other major suppliers to Fords who will be affected by this strike include British Steel, Dunlop Goodyear and Michelin.

Fords are particularly worried as their shares of car stocks are surprisingly low. Ford has only 50,000 cars ready and built at its factories with 18,000 in the supply pipeline. This represents only six weeks of supplies, far less than Ford's rivals. Fords are particularly worried about this as this shortage will affect their ability to compete in the lucrative car-fleet market.

The first few days of the Fords strike showed that this dispute was having European-wide repercussions. After only two days of the strike the company has laid off 100 workers at the Ford tractor company in Antwerp; 2,500 workers at the Genk plant in Belgium while production has been cut by 350 vehicles a day at the Saarlouis plant in West Germany. This European effect will heighten as Ford UK factories are the sole source of three important types of engines; the 1.4 and 1.6 litre petrol engine used in versions of the Escort and Orion; the 1.6 litre diesel engine also used in the Fiesta; and the 2.5 litre injected diesel used in the Transit van.

Indeed, as the strike entered its fourth day management estimated that more than £390 million worth of vehicles at showroom prices had been lost since the negotiations began in October.

Unlike the miners or Wapping strike this dispute starts with many key strategic advantages in the strikers' hands, this is why the Tories are so worried, this is why the Stock Exchange fell so heavily on the first day of the dispute. The message from the above figures is clear, the Fords strike is causing the company and government great damage. It is a dispute that can be won. The call must be to stand firm and to resist any sell-out deals by Murphy and Airlie.

Anton Mactonian

## An important issue

SIMON PIRANI (Workers Press letters, 30 January) states that in my letter (16 January) I accuse Workers Press of looking upon events in Scotland with 'infamous English arrogance' and 'transmitting the blind opposition of internationalism to what in this case is a progressive republican movement.'

First of all I dissociate myself from the last passage quoted by Simon Pirani. In my copy of the original letter I maintained that 'an important issue (Scottish nationalism) is being side-stepped by the blind opposition of internationalism to what, in this case, is a progressive republican nationalism.'

I did not set out in my letter to petition support for a non-existent Scottish republican movement, but to put the case for a serious discussion on an issue that has all too easily been dismissed in the past as a joke.

Again, in calling for serious discussion, I state in my letter that Workers

## Personal Column

Peter Fryer

## Allen Hutt recalled

As I struggled to find my way around the redesigned 'Guardian' the Friday before last, my thoughts went back to the man who first redesigned that newspaper a few years after the war: Allen Hutt.

Hutt, who died in 1973, was chief sub-editor on the old 'Daily Worker'. He was a historian of the working-class movement, an acknowledged authority on newspaper design and typography, editor for many years of the NUJ monthly 'The Journalist', and a ripe eccentric.

He was also, as you found out when you got to know him at all well, a consummate cynic and a deeply embittered person. Both his cynicism and his bitterness sprang, though I failed to understand this at the time, from long years of loyal service to Stalinism.

I'm not sure exactly when he joined the Communist Party, but it must have been in the 1920s, for he had studied at the Lenin School in Moscow. Run by the Communist International, this was where the most promising cadres of the various CPs were trained.

Hutt's favourite story about the Lenin School concerned the course in driving railway engines, which every student had to attend on pain of being sent home. Apparently the Russian comrades had insisted on this course being part of the curriculum, since in their opinion every revolutionary ought to be able to drive a train.

Hutt, by his own account, pointed out to his tutors that 'if we haven't got the British railwaymen with us we'll never be able to take power anyhow'. But his expostulations were dismissed as political-naive.

Hutt was old enough to remember Trotsky as one of the heroes of the October Revolution and one of the leaders of the Comintern before it came under Stalin's domination.

And he was intelligent enough to know that the accusations against Trotsky and the defendants in the 1930s Moscow trials were without substance. But the party had told him they were politically necessary and, like so many others, he toed the line.

An incident from my early days on the paper reveals the prevailing method of the British Stalinists. One Sunday the news of a Soviet currency change came over the Reuters tape machine, and Hutt, to fill a hole on a slack news day, dashed off a 'second leader' — a short editorial — commenting on this.

'The Russians', he wrote, 'have smoothly and successfully devalued the rouble.'

Soon after the page proofs had come upstairs from the compositors' department, the editor, Johnnie Campbell, burst out of his room like a hurricane.

'Jesus Christ almighty, Allen', he shouted. 'They've no' devalued the rouble, they've appreciated the bluidy thing!'

Hutt remained impassive. Pushing his glasses up on his forehead as we short-sighted folk do, he brought the offending word close to his eye.

'Oh, it's clearly a literal', he announced airily. 'The fault of our chums downstairs, as usual. "The Russians have smoothly and successfully revalued the rouble" — that's how it should read.'

It wasn't till 1956 that I realised that 'smoothly and successfully' were the first words that came into every leading British Stalinist's head to describe everything the Soviet bureaucracy did; and that this was the method in which Hutt's generation had been deliberately and cynically trained.

So when Stalin took pepper Harry Pollitt and R. Palme Dutt sneezed, and uncomplaining and talented hacks like Hutt dashed off editorials extolling the virtues of Soviet pepper, and of King Street snot.

Hutt used to relate how, during the Moscow trials, a news flash came from Moscow saying that one of the defendants had complained of being tortured.

A King Street official — Emile Burns, if my memory serves me right — was asked what the 'line' should be on this and replied: 'Well, comrades, we have to understand that there is bourgeois torture and there is proletarian torture . . .'

Half an hour later there was a second news flash from Moscow. It was all a mistranslation: the defendant in question had in fact denied being tortured.

Hutt's docility in the face of Stalinism had a disastrous effect on his historical writing, as it did on that of his contemporary and friend Wal Hannington.

Hutt's 'Post-War History of the British Working Class' (1937), one of the first books I read after joining the Young Communist League in 1942, blurs the issues on every CPGB zigzag, folly, and betrayal.

I have much more respect for his 'British Trade Unionism: An Outline History' (1941; sixth edition, 1975) — or, at least, for its first seven chapters, which describe the period from 1800 to 1924 in a lively and reliable way.

But when he comes to the 1926 General Strike he starts to go off the rails, and the discussion of the British trade union movement during World War II is a model of Stalinist apologetics and suppression of facts.

It's as typographer and journalist, not as historian, that Allen Hutt will be best remembered. His 'Newspaper Design' (1960; second edition, 1967) can still be consulted with profit by the serious student of the subject.

And it was he who, specially commissioned by what was then the 'Manchester Guardian' to conduct it into the twentieth century, transformed its front page from a grey slab of small advertisements into a modern, eye-

catching, and award-winning sheet — far superior to the mess that later replaced it, and to the worse mess that David Hillman has now put in place of that.

My happiest memories of Allen Hutt are as teacher and mentor. Though he customarily addressed me as 'you toffee-nosed scum from the Hull waterfront', and was publicly scornful of my stupidities and blunders, he taught me a lot that I badly needed to know.

I can still hear his voice in my head saying 'I want a really crisp, punchy intro on this one', and 'Pay attention to detail', and 'Take this back and check every fact and every quote again', and 'Always remember the people you're writing for'.

I remember him with affection, and a certain sadness — though it tickles me to think how scathing he would have been about the new-look 'Guardian'.

## A minor scoop?

LAST week the government disclosed that it is considering the introduction of a scheme to fit young offenders with electronic tags.

According to the 'Sunday Times', this idea has been 'exclusively revealed in so many newspapers over the last six months that you might be wondering why it has not happened by now'.

Regular readers of Workers Press will no doubt recall that the likelihood of such a scheme being introduced was discussed in this column last May 2 ('It's time to resist').

That was more than nine months ago, a few days after a brief but obviously planted TV news item about the use of electronic tags in the USA, and long before the matter was taken up anywhere in the capitalist press.

This column doesn't, as a rule, blow its own trumpet. This week, however, I think a modest toot is in order.

## LETTERS

Press had turned to the question of Scottish nationalism 'with a hint of that infamous English arrogance', viewing it with distaste if not contempt (a criticism which, in recent months, Workers Press has shown to be without foundation).

Nowhere did I criticise Workers Press for a refusal to acknowledge recent political and industrial struggles in Scotland as having nationalist motivation, since with the exception of the campaign for a 'Scottish Assembly', none of these struggles has a nationalist character.

Rab MacDonald  
Edinburgh

## The Palestinian struggle and Trotskyism

IN response to the mounting struggle of the Palestinian masses, the Workers Press of 23 January published a translation of the statement by our comrades in the Trotskyist organisation, Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International (GOCQI) (See page 5 in this issue — 'An unholy alliance').

In these comrades' words 'there will be no Palestinian liberation without the social revolution throughout the Middle East.'

They pointed out that: in the context of imperialism's mortal crisis, to believe that there can be room for a prosperous Palestine on capitalist foundations is an illusion; that Stalinism aids imperialism in imposing de-

feats on the Palestinian people; they referred to the series of defeats suffered by the Palestinian masses under the bourgeois nationalist leadership of the PLO and pointed out that a successful revolution in Palestine threatened the rulers of all the Arab states in the Middle East.

They said: 'despite our severe criticisms of the PLO and its components, we unconditionally support them against the imperialist enemy.'

Charlie Pottins then launched an attack on this statement and its authors and since he writes regular political articles for the Workers Press, it must be stated that his views in this letter are completely opposed to those of the Workers Press and the Workers Revolutionary Party. Like the GOCQI comrades, we are Trotskyists. Charlie Pottins asks about the GOCQI ('oo the heck are they when they're at 'ome?'). What is this vulgar nonsense? He knows that most of these comrades are not 'at home' at all, but in exile because of their struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Comrade Pottins is not ignorant of who they are but presumably wants to take advantage of the fact that some of his readers may not know.

Why not condemn the political statements of any and every Trotskyist group on the same grounds that they are insignificant and nobody knows about them?

He insults them gratuitously — 'Groups like the GOCQI haven't demonstrated anything', though he knows that comrade Varga, for example, played a leading role in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and has

for 25 years and more struggled consistently for Trotskyism along with his comrades, often against the vilest calumnies.

Charlie Pottins uses the words: 'bloody arrogance' because these Trotskyists dared to assert fundamental Trotskyist positions.

In relation to China in 1926—1927 there was a fight on the very same questions as those raised by our comrades on the PLO. The Chinese Communist Party, under Stalin's guidance, dissolved itself into the bourgeois KMT.

Without a Trotskyist fight then for the communists to give a lead for the working class to be the leadership of the national democratic revolution taking it forward to socialism, there would not have been any Left Opposition against Stalin, no Fourth International, no Workers Revolutionary Party and no Workers Press for Charlie Pottins to write in.

The struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition to correct the line of the Chinese CP and prevent the betrayal was not successful. The KMT then inflicted a bloodbath on the communists and their worker supporters.

The whole story should be told in the Workers Press as a lesson in how correct the GOCQI comrades were in calling for the support of the Palestinian masses while showing that for them, as for the working class in Britain and anywhere else the basic question is to resolve the crisis of working class revolutionary leadership — to build the Fourth International.

Cliff Slaughter

## Trotskyists and Palestine

I AM writing to you about the Charlie Pottin's letter published in your paper (30 January) where our group, the Opposition Group for the Continuity of the Fourth International, is suddenly violently attacked although Charlie Pottins has never taken an interest in the group before.

Already his article on Palestine, which appeared in the same issue of Workers Press as our statement on Palestine (23 January), was very ambiguous and full of obscure allusions.

His letter in the following issue confirms his surly hostility to Trotskyists discussing the programme of the Palestinian revolution. He opposes any attempt to present the programme of the Fourth International, of which the theory of permanent revolution is a constituent part, to Palestinian fighters outside our group!

But it is impossible to present the programme of the revolutionary proletariat without a basic criticism of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents of the PLO.

Charlie Pottins hurls an avalanche of contemptuous and even insulting labels at us: 'oo the heck are they when they're at 'ome?'; 'sectarians'; 'bloody arrogance' . . . But we have already heard the same bellowing many times from proven opportunists like Lambert, Ramos, Assouline, Laffont . . .

Before us Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky — all emigres, not in their 'own countries' — suffered the

same sneering remarks from obtuse, ignorant, petty-bourgeois, incapable of seeing beyond their own Yorkshire. In placing us in good company, Charlie Pottins, whether he wants to or not, chooses his own as well.

These diatribes, therefore, could not disturb us to any great degree. But it does not involve only Charlie Pottins and the GOCQI. It involves the methods inherited from the liquidators of the Fourth International, Pabloites and their offspring: Lambert, Healy, followed by Ramos-Assouline, methods which must be banished from use in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International, which the Call of the WRP states in its ten points.

This surly and demagogic tone was taken directly from Stalinism by the Pabloites. During a public debate in Paris on my study of the Palestinian question, in 1986 (Combat International No. 12, January 1986), the Pabloite representative attacked us in the same way in with the same 'argument': 'How dare you attack the PLO! You pedagogues, you sectarians!'

In fact, for them, Arafat should serve as a natural substitute for the revolutionary party, for the Fourth International, in the same way as this role was assigned to Tito, Ho Chi Min, Castro or more recently the Sandinistas.

Before them, Stalin and Bukharin assigned this historic role to Chiang Kai-shek, the butcher of the Chinese revolution. To the Trotskyists who dared to analyse the class character of these leaderships and their policies, arriving at the class independence and its expression through the revolutionary Marxist party

with specific positions, they would reply in the same way: 'You have the audacity to know better than the existing movements how to carry out a revolution', when 'all that you have is your flag'.

The father of revisionism, Bernstein, developed — almost one hundred years before Charlie Pottins — the same theory in identical terms: 'The programme is nothing, the movement is everything'.

But whatever Charlie Pottins thinks, the flag (programme) for us is not a piece of old-fashioned Trotskyist literature (as the Pabloites maintain), but the political guide for our epoch. It is for this reason that we describe the Pabloites as revisionists because, without openly renouncing the programme of the Fourth International, they revise it, they adapt it so as not to anger the existing leaderships of revolutionary movement: progressive bourgeois, Stalinist or petty-bourgeois radicals.

As they demonstrated in Nicaragua, the programme of the Fourth International and above all the permanent revolution, keystone of all revolutionary policies in underdeveloped countries where the agrarian or national question is foremost, is a good thing in time of peace but not in the course of a revolution.

In fact it is for this reason that Barnes, even more than Mandel, openly rejected the permanent revolution as a compromising factor in his flirtation with the Latin America Stalinists and their petty-bourgeois nationalist allies. He declared that

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# ROBSON'S CHOICE

## What's on this week

On **Saturday**, at 4.30p.m. (Radio 4), report on the 154th annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Science Now at the AAAS*. At 7p.m. (C4), Janina Bauman talks to Robert Kee about her book *A Dream of Belonging: My Years in Post War*

*Poland, in 7 Days*. At 8p.m. (BBC2), Part One of *The Apollo Story*, featuring Bojangles, Fats Waller et al. At 9p.m. (BBC2), *Tutti Frutti*. At 10.50p.m. (C4), *The Comic Strip Presents... The Strike*. Also at 10.50p.m. (BBC2), Yoshimitsu Morita's film, *The Family Game*.

At 11p.m. (Radio 4), part two of *Stolen Arches*.

On **Sunday**, at 2.25p.m. (Radio 3), Mozart's opera in two acts, *La Clemenza di Tito*. At 3.30p.m. (BBC2), the arts and media programme, *Review*. At 8p.m. (BBC2), part two of *The Apollo Story*. At 9p.m. (C4), *Ten Great Writers* introduces Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*. At 10p.m. (BBC2), Elia Kazan's *The Last Tycoon*. At 10.10p.m. (C4), Anthony Mann's excellent western, *Where the River Bends*. At 10.15p.m. (Radio 4) part five of *The Year of Dreams*. At 11.50p.m. (C4), Paul Leduc's film, *Frida*.

On **Monday**, at 6p.m. (C4), *Information Technology* looks at artificial intelligence. At 7.25p.m. (BBC2), John Freeman's 1961 interview with Martin Luther King in *Face to Face*, necessary viewing for those who have been watching the series *Eyes on the Prize*. At 8.10p.m.

(BBC2), *Horizon* investigates thinking and the limits of artificial intelligence. At 10.55p.m. (C4), *The Eleventh Hour* presents T Dan Smith, the working class lad who became the 'city boss' of Newcastle in the sixties, only to come crashing down with bent architect John Poulson. At 11.45p.m. (Radio 3), *A Musical Postscript*.

On **Tuesday**, at 8.30p.m. (BBC1), David Attenborough explores an oasis in the Sahara desert in *Wildlife on One*. At 9p.m. (BBC2), Carol Reed's masterly 1949 thriller, *The Third Man*. At 9.30p.m. (BBC1), a play by David Martin, *Unreported Incident*. At 10.35p.m. (ITV), the documentary *Shutdown* traces the fate of 1,400 workers one year after their workplace, a shipyard on the River Tees, closed down.

On **Wednesday**, at 11a.m. (Radio 4), final part of *The Year of*

### TV CURRENT AFFAIRS

**Panorama** — Monday 9.30p.m. (BBC1)  
**Telejournal** — Tuesday 7.30p.m. (BBC2)  
**World in Action** — Tuesday 8.30p.m. (ITV)  
**This Week** — Thursday 8.30p.m. (ITV)  
**The City Programme** — Thursday 10.35p.m. (ITV)

**Dreams**. At 7.05p.m. (Radio 3), politics and art discussed in *Third Ear*. At 7.45p.m. (Radio 4), episode two of *Lenin of the Rovers*. At 9.25p.m. (BBC2), new comedy series *A Very Peculiar Practice*. At 10.20p.m. (BBC2), the first in a series of documentaries from the north of England, *The Bigg Market*. At 11.45p.m. (Radio 3), *A Musical Postscript*.

On **Thursday**, at 7.30p.m. (Radio 3), *Handel and Vivaldi in Academy of Ancient Music*. At 8.15p.m. (Radio 4), looks at fundamental changes in the structure of British society in *Analysis*. At 9.30p.m. (C4), *Conspiracy: The Trial of the Chicago Eight*, a reconstruction of the sensational trial of

1969. Also at 9.30p.m. (BBC2), *40 Minutes* looks at the flight of British nurses to lucrative employment in the US. At 11.45p.m. (Radio 3), *A Musical Postscript*.

On **Friday**, at 8p.m. (Radio 3), second play in the series *Whose is the Kingdom?* by John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy. At 9.25p.m. (BBC2), *Arena* presents a portrait of beat poet and novelist, *Jack Kerouac*, who died in 1969. At 10.20p.m. (BBC1), *Fats Domino and Friends*. At 11.45p.m. (Radio 3), *A Musical Postscript*.

Tom Scott Robson.



Bobby Seale at the trial of the Chicago 8

## LETTERS

Trotsky was a 'leftist' and a 'sectarian' on this question. Charlie Pottins decrees the same ban on criticising Arafat and other forces in the PLO — the 'real movement' of the revolution.

The aim of our political analysis, imperfect and certainly open to criticism in many areas (between ourselves also), is to carve out the path of the Fourth International in Palestine, by beginning a discussion without concession on principles but fraternal in form, within the ranks of the Fourth International and with the Palestinian comrades.

Charlie Pottins, a blind admirer of Arafat, (which is far from being the point of view of the most advanced Palestinian fighters), wants to cut this discussion short, employing the demagogic method of preliminary disqualification. He reproaches us for 'arrogance', but who sets himself up as sovereign judge to distribute certificates with the title of revolutionary?

This is neither the time nor the place for an in-depth analysis of Charlie Pottins' political position on the Palestinian question. I will have occasion to return to it. But on the nature of the Palestinian question and our attitude towards the PLO, I urge readers of *Workers Press* to return to my analysis 'Revolution in Palestine and the Middle East' in *Combat International*, No.1 (12), January 1986, where available (in French).

It is only a first draft, written after Lambert aristocratically turned his back on this revolution, and after Healy turned the struggle to support the Palestinian people into support for the corrupt Arab bourgeoisie ('Arab revolution').

In order to achieve clarification and a common position in the ranks of the Fourth International, we must first of all have the conditions for healthy, Bolshevik discussion, and not the atmosphere of impressionistic judgements verging on hysteria which Charlie Pottins perpetuates despite

the defeat of Healyism in the WRP. Because it is hard to believe that he, a member of the WRP, is engaged in the same struggle as we are to reconstruct the Fourth International.

Michael Risticov  
Member of the GOCQI

### Gladly prepared to assist

DAVE SMITH'S letter in *Workers Press* (23 January) is timely.

The miners' strike 1984/85 spawned a whole series of articles, books and opinions.

However the strike is often regarded as a past event rather than as part of a process of struggle against capitalism.

Given the massive worldwide struggle, and the resistance of the health workers and car workers in Britain certainly a Marxist analysis of 1984/85 is required this year to guide our actions at a time when the fight of the working class is ahead of all those commentators that constitute much of the so-called British left.

We need to hammer home a series of points:

● The miners' strike was international in content precisely because it brought working class people into struggle against capitalism's attempt to smash up whole working class communities.

The strike was about the conflict between the social nature of production and the private ripping-off of social wealth produced by the working class.

● The strike, precisely because it was betrayed by the labour bureaucracy, revealed that a new leadership has to be built in our class based on the continuing ability of the working class to fight for its survival and eventual power.

If the miners had been defeated there would be no Ford strike or strike over the NHS.

● The miners' strike showed up the crippling limitations of propagandism and political posturing; only the most careful preparation in the fight for unity on the basis of principles and an unremitting struggle against all those who seek to limit action and hold back the movement can prepare the basis for a new leadership.

Dave's proposal for a Marxist book on the strike must be taken up now and we will be gladly prepared to assist in this process.

John Rees  
Geraldine Thorpe  
Pat Brady  
Tower Hamlets WRP

### Discussion on Scargill

THE EXCHANGE of letters currently taking place in *Workers Press* on our relationship to Scargill is, I believe, an extremely important debate.

Important, because it expresses many of the fundamental mistakes that have prevented generations of young Trotskyists from developing as Marxists and becoming leaders in the working class.

Cde Goldstein expresses the hope that we would never advocate hiding our politics from the working class.

That of course would be ridiculous.

But making the working class aware of our politics is but a small part of the task and very different from getting the working class to agree and to join the ranks of the revolutionary party.

All of us who joined the party as youths started out with a propagandist conception. We thought that, if only we could write the perfect leaflet and workers would read it, then surely they would see how right we were and join us.

We soon realised that workers learn through their own experience. Our earliest experiences in the trade union movement after breaking with the Labour Party was in 1965, when many workers were getting their first taste of a Labour government.

In 1966 we organised a demonstration against the Prices and Incomes Bill and attracted the support of many car workers, mainly from Oxford, who sent a large official contingent to the demonstration.

Prior to the demonstration starting, the leaders of the delegation objected to our banner which said: 'Kick out the Wilson leadership', and refused to march behind it.

We agreed to take the banner down to maintain unity with the car workers.

Had we made a compromise? Yes. But the compromise we made was not with the Wilson leadership but with the car workers. We did so in order to keep them marching with us so that, when conditions allowed, we could raise their reformist consciousness to a revolutionary consciousness.

No one in this debate has so far suggested that Bolsheviks never make compromises, or that Bolsheviks put forward their total programme at every turn.

If they were to make such a suggestion, then a cursory glance at Lenin's 'Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder', would dismiss such an argument.

What we are discussing is how to develop a revolutionary party in the working class, and what the tactics of that party should be; how it wins over the working class.

Because I tried to explain the real problems in fighting for the election of Scargill while in the same breath criticising him, Norah Wilde labels me an 'adaptionist'.

To dispel any confusion allow me to explain exactly our position.

Scargill is a centrist who is involved in a struggle which poses all the questions of working class power but remains trapped in left reform-

mist politics.

We defend him; we fight with him against the attacks of the state and the right wing.

This is essential, but we will not be tied in any way to the reformist politics he holds.

We warn that these politics in the revolutionary struggle ahead can lead only to defeat.

However, the alternative revolutionary leadership which we seek to build cannot be built by just talking about the necessity of it, even less by being able only to label and denounce every reformist and centrist leader.

We have to be in the same battles as those we seek to lead and recruit.

And we have to fight with them against the class enemy.

The correctness of our politics must be proved in that common struggle, not in words.

Since 1984 the National Union of Mineworkers has been in a state of siege.

We have always to remind ourselves of the enormity of the struggle which the NUM has weathered.

Since the end of the strike, Scargill has become more and more isolated within the leadership of the NUM.

Yet he has consistently refused to advocate policies of retreat.

He has consistently urged action against employers and against the state.

The enormous pressure from the state to continuously deny the NUM its funds; the employers who refused to negotiate; the pressure from the right wing who act as a fifth column for the UDM within the union and continually undermine its strength and the erstwhile allies in the Communist Party who prove more venomous than the right wing. It is difficult to say what demands we could have placed on Scargill without appearing ridiculous.

Norah does not enlighten us either, as to what demands she would find

appropriate at this 'most appropriate time'.

However, around the slogan of 'no retreat', Scargill, despite the problems, addressed himself to 44 public meetings packed with enthusiastic young miners; an estimated 15,000 came to see him in the space of a month.

We, as Bolsheviks, ignore this movement at our peril. If we don't touch it we can never be accused of adaptationist.

But, if we don't embrace it, we will die as revolutionaries.

Dave Temple

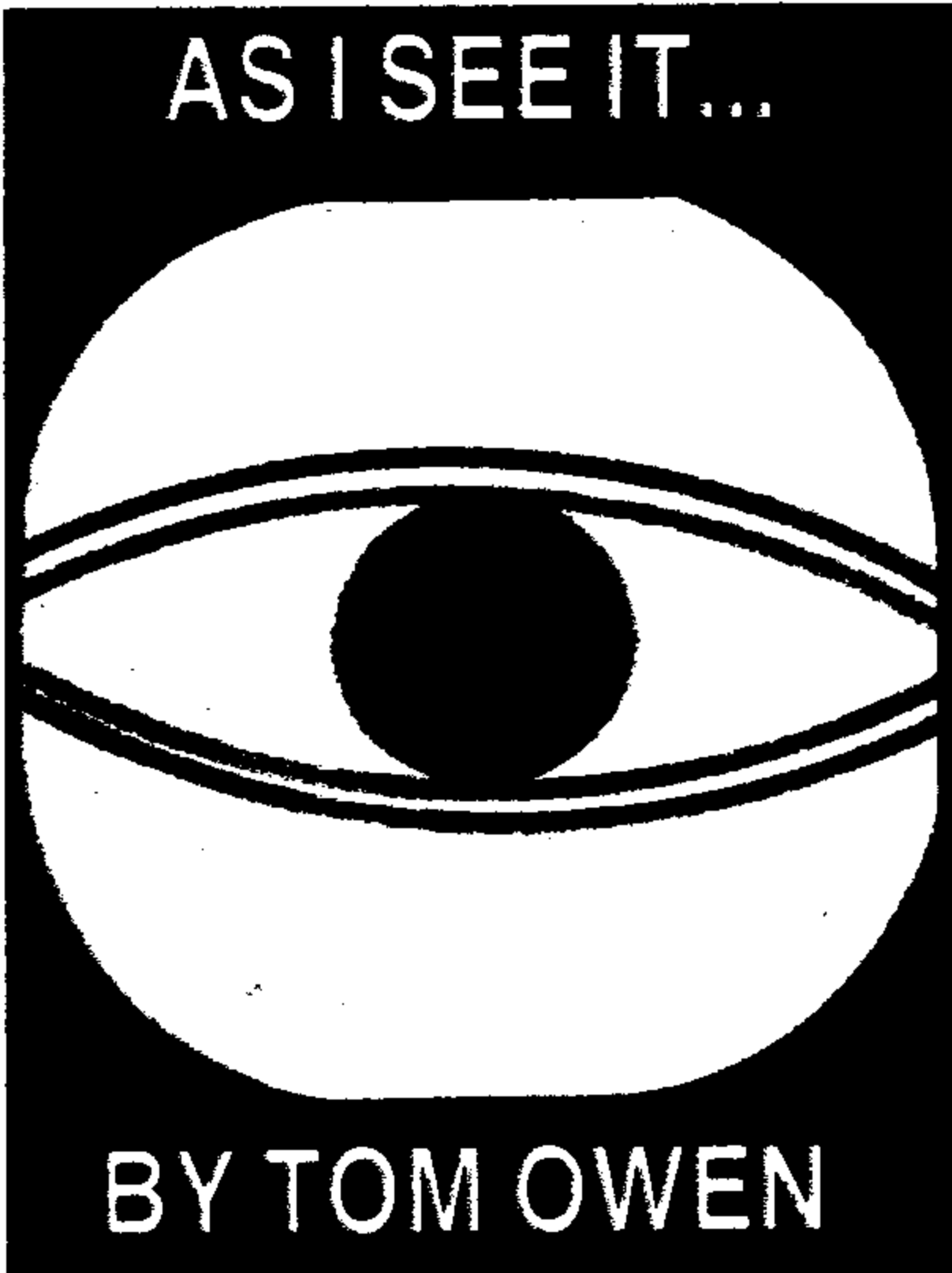
### Send your letters

WE are delighted that so many readers feel interested, sometimes angry, enough to let us know what they are thinking and write a letter to us

For the last two weeks we have produced a strike bulletin at Fords and we plan to extend this type of work to cover all aspects of the anti-Tory fight now growing throughout the working class. We ask all nurses, ancillary workers in hospitals, teachers fighting Tory proposals to privatise education, local government workers and Ford's workers to enter our correspondence column. Please try and keep your letters short: we prefer a maximum 500 words.

### PUBLIC MEETING

Manchester  
Irish Solidarity  
Justice for Birmingham 6!  
Smash the frame-ups!  
Tuesday 23 February 7.30 p.m.  
Manchester Town Hall  
Speakers: Maire O'Shea and representatives of the Steven Shaw and Birmingham 6 campaigns.



# Felt hats, gaberdines . . . and pipes

vision's Job Finder may not compete in sophistication with Radio Four's urbane Night Rider but can provide for the thinking insomniac some fascinating insights into the ideological and social perceptions of the middle classes of the immediate postwar period.

I must admit to being addicted to the 'fifties cop dramas. The ludicrous and unctuous Lustgarten in the studio lined with wall-paper legal tomes assures us of the certainties of detection, the enormous integrity of Scotland Yard sleuths, the doggedness of the lesser ranks, and the vigilant alertness of the Mr Plods.

This has as much to do with criminology or social mores as Batman and Robin. Instead we are given a pale-faced moral fantasy of the world that the 'fifties and 'sixties middle classes would like to think they lived in — protected from the dangerous classes and deviants from their own ranks by the felt-hatted, gabardined guardians of the Yard.

These moral fables are populated with the crudest stereotypes.

The uniformed Plods and junior detectives may have a pebeian brush stroke or two about them, but the chiefs are late middle aged ruminators, pipe smoking and utterly sexless.

The landscapes are often suburban, sometimes rural. There are no motorways, so the getaway routes are tortuous and hedge-routed. Villainy sometimes takes place in 'dockland', in transport cafes or in scrap yards, but as often as not it is middle-class or upper-middle-class crime that fascinates Lustgarten.

If the villains are not lumpen-proletarians they are usually either public school cads — bad eggs who live by their wits — or else scheming middle-class women who plot behind lace curtains or in night club changing rooms. The working-class villains speak only one variety of English — stage Cockney — whether in Liverpool or London, though there might be some Celtic oddities, plus occasional rural Esperanto that seems to have been culled from the Archers.

The real world of the period is the world of Flying Squad corruption, the Sheffield rhino whip case, high bourgeois decadence and expansion-age scandal — not that of the moral certainties of Dixon of Dock Green.

So why the fascination? Well, as Trotsky says in 'My Life', everyone is patriotic about their own generation, and I may have a sneaking nostalgia for Morris Minors, steam trains and the Triumph Speed Twin 500.

But there is also a question of how far the ideological constructs of the media have been revamped with the recomposition of capital in the last thirty years? How do we assess the burgeoning varieties of social images and portraits which are constantly reproduced for consumption on a scale never imagined before?

The cop movie genre (as well as the cop novel) has undergone a rapid transformation and sometimes serious transvaluation (I'm thinking of the Newman series). The same can be seen in the US

with the Mary Tyler productions.

Of course some of the vulgarities of the 'fifties crime scripts are still present and permeate entertainment generally. One has only to think of the idiocies of middle-class 'comics' such as university playboys Dudley Moore and Peter Cook with their preposterous mimicry of working-class speech, or the sniggering class snobbery of the utterly talentless Ronnie Corbet.

I have raised some issues I hope to pursue in Workers Press.

But meanwhile, what about insomniacs? Well, I could try 'Their Lordships' House' but even I could not tolerate their insolent somnolence.

No, I must get a video and enjoy the endless reproductivity it offers.

And Edgar Lustgarten? Well, riveting, riveting. . . And in the words of the ubiquitous night stalker of Hammer movies: I shall return. . .

I HAVE for some time thought of submitting a column on television and the media to Workers Press but was at a loss to know exactly what to write about.

I have a problem. I am by profession an adult and further education teacher, put less pompously a night school teacher. So like other shift workers I become a creature of the night, inhabiting the twilight zone like the shadowy phantoms of the B movie Hammer films that haunt our screens until the early hours.

A television diet of late night horrors, Edgar Lustgarten's Scotland Yard or the grim mockery of the wage rates on Yorkshire Tele-

## LISTINGS

Listings published free for labour movement organisations. Send details to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Thurs. SHATTERED DREAMS. Victor Schonfield's controversial film on Israel and Zionism. At Ritzy Cinema, Brixton, SW2. Sunday 21 February, 12 noon, followed by discussion

with director, other speakers include Nadja Hilab and Elfi Pallis.

**THE ARMENIAN CASE.** Talk by Prof. Gerard Chaliand, well-known author on international affairs. Org. by Armenian National Committee. Thursday, 25 February, 7.30pm, at New Theatre, East Building, London School of Economics, Houghton St. WC2.

**PICKET DURHAM PRISON!** Stop strip searches! End Brit-

ish torture! On International women's day Sunday March 13, 1 pm. Organised by the Irish Republican POW campaign committee.

**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. S Africa House, Trafalgar Sq — City AA.

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR)** Wkly planning mtgs every Tues 7.30pm. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Rd, N16. All welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938.)

**VMDC London Support Group** Wkly Campaign Meetings. Thursday evenings 7.30pm. Camden Town Hall. All welcome. (Further details: 01-837 1688.)

**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.

**BULLETIN OF THE IRISH HUNGER STRIKE 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, Bil

**CURRENT CONTROVERSIES IN EVOLUTION** A series of 10 lectures. Starting Thurs 14 Jan 7pm. £1 (includes light refreshments). Lecturer Mike Howgate. Venue Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London. WC1.

**BENEFIT for Irish Prisoners Appeal and Troops Out Movement, Old White Horse, Brixton Rd, Thurs 10 Mar, 8pm.** Entertainment by the 'Jacket Potatoes' and other groups. Raffle of toys made by Gerry McDonnell and other prisoners.

**DEMONSTRATION AND RALLY.** Organised by the Regional Education Alliance. Saturday 12 March 12.30pm. Assemble Victoria Park Gates, Leicester.

**WRP LECTURES:** New venue — Room 301 Kingsway Princeton College, Grays Inn Road, London WC1. — ALL START AT 7.30 p.m.

**Thurs. 25 Feb. — The State and Revolution**  
**Thurs. 3 Mar. — The Russian Revolution, Stalinism and Trotskyism**

**WATCH OUT FOR ALL DETAILS OF FUTURE LECTURES IN NEXT WEEK'S WORKERS PRESS**

## US Defence Agency book reveals

# Analyst was paymaster of GPU gang

ONE OF the gang set up by Stalin in the 1930s to track down and kill Trotsky and his supporters as well as other political opponents was a close associate of Sigmund Freud, founder of psychoanalysis, Dr Max Eitingon.

This charge is made in a recent history of the KGB (the Soviet secret police) by John J. Dziak, a historian working for the US Defence Agency reviewed by Stephen Schwartz in the 'New York Times Book Review' (24 January).

It is claimed that Eitingon's brother Leonid directed the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. Closely connected with this group were a number of better known figures.

They include Mark Zborowski, who penetrated the Trotskyist movement and played a key role in the assassination, and the Mexican artist, David Alfaro Siqueiros, who led the heavily armed attack on Trotsky's house in Coyoacan in May 1940.

This special unit was responsible for a series of murders, including that of Ignace Reiss, the KGB defector who declared support for Trotsky, Trotsky's son Sedov, murdered in a Paris clinic, and Andres Nin murdered in Spain in 1937.

A key role in the Nin killing was a young Russian named Lev Narvich. Claiming to be a supporter of the POUM (the left anti-Stalinist centrist party) he turned up at its Barcelona headquarters. The information and photographs he supplied provided the basis for the seizure of Nin and others by the

now lives in retirement in San Francisco, is better known since he confessed to Congressional investigators that he had won Sedov's confidence so that the special unit could kidnap him. There is also evidence that he played the informer in the murder of Reiss, telling the murder gang where he was hiding in Switzerland.

Little is known about Leonid Eitingon except that he was a leading figure in the special unit while acting as a foreign representative for the Soviet fur trust. His brother Max was a leading Freudian between 1925 and 1937. The source of his income in later years is not known. French police files say it was — furs. He died in Jerusalem in 1943. Of his activities on behalf of Stalin only his link with Skoblin and the liquidation of the Red Army generals seems to be established for certain.

## Mystery

His motives, like that of the other intellectuals drawn into the service of the KGB, remain something of a mystery. Schwartz concludes: 'When Stalin's men sought agents for the most criminal tasks, they found them not among brutes of the underworld, but among sensitive and cultivated people in the highest levels of the intellectual society — poets and psychiatrists who became conspirators and spies.'

What is sure is that Stalin showed no gratitude to those who had debased themselves in his service. Leonid Eitingon probably perished in a camp or prison after going to the Soviet Union and such would no doubt have been the fate of Zborowski had he listened to his handlers before being unmasked in the US.

BY GEORGE LORMIN

KGB unit operating as a law unto itself in Republican territory.

Narvich belonged to a Stalinist front organisation called the Union for Repatriation of Russians Abroad. It supplied a number of other agents, including General Nikolai Vasilyevich, Skoblin and his wife, Dr Max Eitingon, the psychologist, and Sergei Efron — all involved in the murder of Ignace Reiss. They were also responsible for the kidnapping in Paris of the White Russian, General Miller.

## Skoblin

Skoblin also had a hand in concocting the false evidence of a conspiracy between the German general staff and Red Army generals which led to the purge of Marshal Tukachevich and many other officers. The disorganisation which this caused in the leadership of the Red Army weakened it decisively at the time of the Nazi invasion in June, 1941. Dr Eitingon appears to have been the control agent of the Skoblins and provided them with funds. The role of Zborowski, who

## RELEASE JAILED MINERS

### SOUTH WALES

Harborough, Leicester.

**DEAN HANCOCK:** Oakdale - Eight year sentence. Gartree Prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.  
**RUSSELL SHANKLAND:** Taff Merthyr - Eight year sentence. Gartree Prison, Market

### DURHAM

**MICHAEL STEPHENSON:** Wearmouth - Three year sentence from June 1986. RF8756 HM Prison Acklington, Morpeth, Northumbria.

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

**LONG LARTIN**  
HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Levensham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ  
LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.  
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.  
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338.  
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.  
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.  
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.  
JOHN MCCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.  
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.  
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

**MAIDSTONE**  
HM Prison County Road, Maidstone, Kent  
SHAUN McSHANE, B75898  
DONAL CRAIG, 4-year sentence, L40579.

**PARKHURST**  
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX  
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.  
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.  
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence, 69204.  
PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

**WAKEFIELD**  
HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG  
NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B71644.  
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.  
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085

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

**GARTREE**  
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP  
RONNIE McCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.  
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence 758663.  
JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, 30-year sentence.  
ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

**FRANKLAND**  
HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham  
BRENDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662.

PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.  
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.  
MICHAEL J MCKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.  
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722.

**LEICESTER**  
HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ  
PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.  
GERARD McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.  
BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.  
PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

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

**REMAND PRISONERS:**  
**BRIXTON**  
HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.  
LIAM MCCOTTER, LB83693  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694.  
LIAM QUINN, 49930

**INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:**  
CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Slay, Wilmslow, Cheshire  
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.  
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25-year sentence, L4816, HM Prison, Parkhurst  
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, 30-year sentence, HM Prison, Gartree  
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Long Lartin.  
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.  
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.  
Wormwood Scrubs, Ducane Rd, London, W12 0AE.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention. We thank An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for supplying and updating this information.

Saturday February 20 1988, Newsdesk 01-733 3058

# NOTHING SETTLED

**WHATEVER** the outcome of the ballot on Ford's latest offer, nothing fundamental has been settled.

The Tory press desperately assured them that Ford's management had climbed down and that their officials had won a major victory.

They were joined by the 'Morning Star' which asserted that 'Ford bosses try to save face'.

The reality is quite different.

Ford have proposed a reduced deal — from one lasting three years to a two year deal, and offered slightly more money.

But the strings Ford demanded were the key issue, not money.

These strings are designed to weaken trade unionism throughout the company, transforming it into a servile instrument that could help secure increased exploitation and profit.

The latest deal leaves all the strings intact. Fords have agreed that if the strings could not be imposed at plant level then negotiations should be returned to national level.

This means nothing. The imposition of any strings always required the collaboration of the union leaders at plant level.

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

● One lesson Ford strikers have learned in the past weeks is the treachery of many of these national leaders who voted to accept the original 'with strings' three-year deal, with others such as Jimmy Airlie abstaining on the vote.

● It was TGWU chief Ron Todd and AEU boss Bill Jordan who met secretly with Ford management to cook up the latest two-year 'with strings' deal.

These union leaders are terrified by the 100 per cent response the strike won.

They are also frightened by the European wide impact of the strike.

● A key lesson in the strike is the need to democratise the unions. The Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee must be scrapped. Union representatives must be answerable to the workforce and removable if they fail to carry out the



Ford workers lobby the FNJNC talks

wishes of the rank and file. Whether the strike continues or not the struggle is now underway to clear out all those leaders who refuse to fight for their members.

From day one the strike made an impact throughout Europe.

Here is another vital lesson from the strike. The re-organisation of production over the last

decade or so has greatly strengthened the hand of the workers, not weakened it, as many superficial theories about

the alleged 'disappearance of the working class' claimed.

Because of the growing division of labour throughout Ford Europe, strike action in any one

plant has an almost immediate continent-wide repercussion.

This was well illustrated in the case of the small Enfield plant in north London which produces many of the facias for cars throughout Europe. The shut down of this plant threatens to cripple much of Ford's output in Belgium and Germany.

The revised deal is by no means certain to be accepted.

Even it does secure a majority, the workers will return greatly strengthened from their experiences.

The possibilities of building a new leadership throughout Fords are now much greater than before the strike started.



International solidarity on Fords picket line

## WORKERS PRESS FEBRUARY FUND

In so far: £385.77 We need £1,615 to complete our February fund.

Workers Press is a campaigning paper. So far we have produced two Strike Bulletins for Ford workers and thousands of leaflets calling for support for the NHS workers.

We appeal to our readers — make sure that Workers Press receives enough support to maintain its work. Sell the paper in the struggle — send in donations for our monthly fund.

Send dnations to:

WRP Monthly Fund  
PO Box 735  
London SW9 7QS

## WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Name ..... date .....

Address .....

Trade Union ..... Age (if under 21) .....

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