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Socialist OUTLOOK

INSIDE

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FORTRESS BRITAIN**

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FORTNIGHTLY. No 48, September, 1993 ● 50p

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Joy Gardner murdered...

RACIST COPS



RACIST STATE!

**Stop Racist
Violence!
Close down BNP
Headquarters!**

Join the UNITY
DEMONSTRATION

Sat OCTOBER 16
1pm Plumstead Common

Indiscreet charm of the Bundesbank smashes ERM

Maastricht in flames?

By Phil Hearse

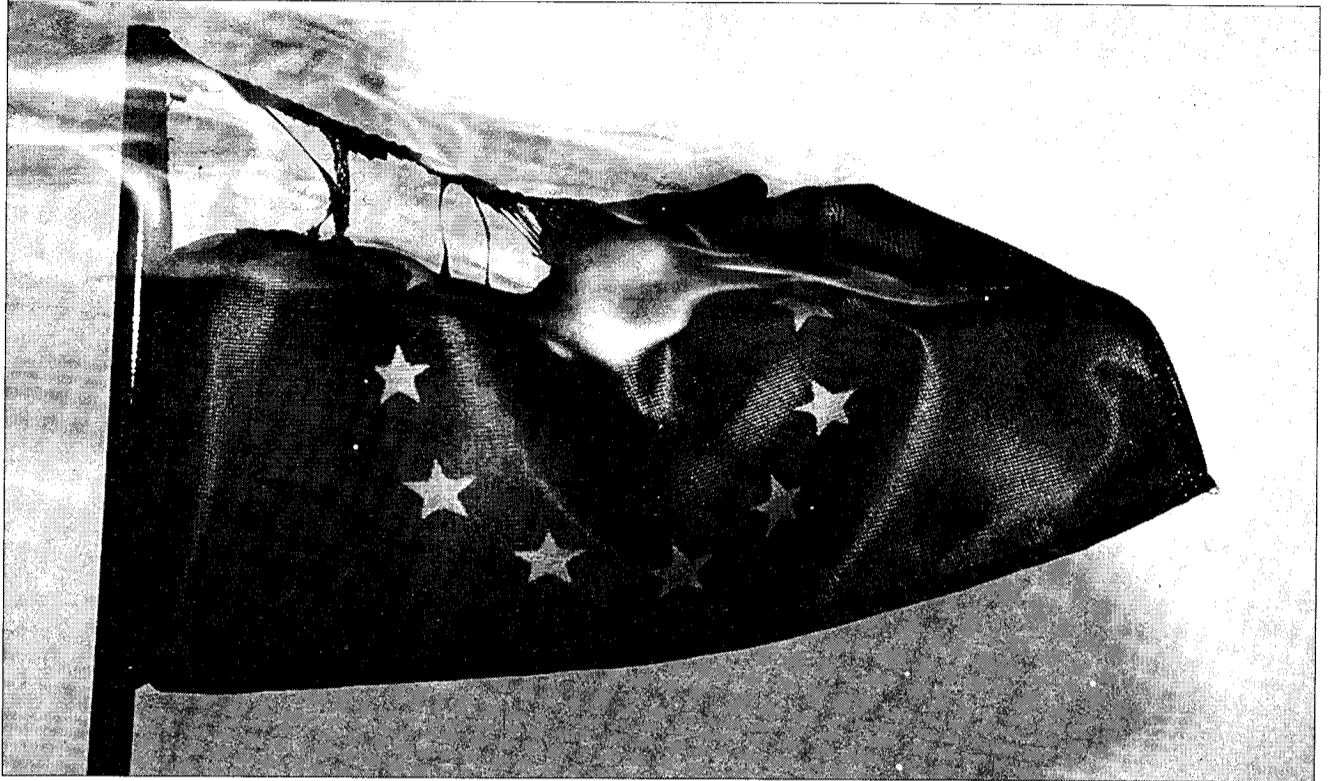
THE DECISION to allow the European Exchange Rate currencies to operate in new 30 per cent margins means the temporary abandonment of the drive to a single European currency.

A single European currency goes to the heart of the vision of the European capitalist unity. To compete with Japan and the United States, leaders of capitalist Europe want to see Europe eventually become a single economy. A single economy means common laws. And common laws eventually point the way to a common state.

The plan for a single currency has been put back for years. It reveals 'fault lines' not just in the ERM, but in the whole Maastricht process itself.

The fatal flaw in Maastricht has always been that although the European capitalists see the need for further integration to fight Japan and the US, the immediate needs of the different European states vary widely. Thus the question has always been *on whose terms* will unity be achieved?

Because Germany is the economically most powerful European state it has always been likely that German views would prevail. That means a strong deflationary, 'Euro-monetarist' line, restricting growth.



Germany needs high interest rates to suck in investment to complete reunification with the east and combat inflation. The ERM could only survive if the rest of Europe accepted high interest rates, further pushing their own economies into recession.

There have always been huge obstacles on the Maastricht road, but writing off the drive to European capitalist integration is premature.

There are huge stakes for the European capitalists. Not only

do they have to face bitter competition from Japan and the US, but there is the prospect of China emerging as a major world economic power. The only state which has other potential options is Germany.

Debate

Indeed there is a fierce debate in the German political establishment on just this point. The alternative to economic and political European union is the option of trying to dominate

central and eastern Europe.

This however is fraught with political dangers. France would react violently by any attempt by Germany to go it alone.

It would mean an attempt by Germany to hold its own as a major imperialist power at the expense of its near neighbours – a course which resurrects unfortunate historical memories for the European capitalist classes.

Two weeks ago France cut its interest rates. Effective de-linking of the currencies opens the

possibility of renewed growth policies in some European states.

It means that there is a chance, but only a chance, of avoiding some of the worst excesses of deflation and attacks on the working class which Maastricht monetary targets would have imposed.

But without a working class fightback we shall see one form of capitalist attack, the Maastricht road, only replaced by another.

TUC '93

From failure to irrelevance?

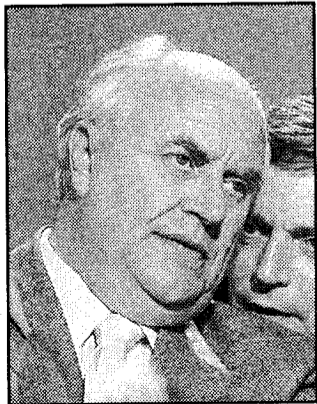
By Paul Clarke

THE LAST year has seen major challenges affecting Britain's trade unionists, each of which the TUC has monumentally failed.

These include the miners' struggle, vital local struggles like the Timex dispute and Burnsalls, the 1.5 per cent pay freeze in the public sector, rising unemployment and closures, rail privatisation and more attacks on the NHS, the question of the Labour-union link and the effects of the 1992 anti-union law.

By any yardstick this was a full agenda for the TUC to get its teeth into, and one full of opportunities for delivering blows against the Tories.

But where there were victo-



Monks: behind Willis

ries, as over school testing, it was entirely because the TUC had nothing to do with them.

At the same time major structural changes are taking place in the union movement; the NALGO-NUPE-COHSSE merger has taken place to form UNISON

and the TGWU and GMB are discussing merger.

These changes are in the process of rendering the TUC semi-redundant as three or four major union federations dominate the movement.

The most gigantic failure of TUC has been the miners' struggle, a fitting epitaph to Norman Willis' period of office.

The days when the TUC brokered relations between the unions and the state, and the unions and the Labour Party are finished. Thus the Congress House bureaucracy is reduced more and more to a research, education and information role.

Illusions that the TUC's problem was Norman Willis will be shattered by the experience of a few months of John Monks as general secretary.

The fact is that the TUC had a

"Illusions that the TUC's problem was Norman Willis will be shattered by the experience of a few months of John Monks as general secretary"

role when it could deliver deals with government; since the advent of Thatcher such a role has been excluded.

Alternatively it has a role when it could, on rare occasions, act as the 'general staff' of the labour movement (and that only because of irresistible pressure at the base).

The threat of a general strike over the imprisoned Pentonville Five in 1972 was the last occasion it played this role.

In the epoch of new realism and mega-federations, relations between the unions and the Labour Party will go directly via individual union leader and not the TUC. Bill Morris, John Edmonds and Bill Jordan don't give a fig what the TUC thinks.

In this new order of the labour movement, debate on the left about how to respond is very underdeveloped. The creation of new super-federations is a major challenge, and this is highlighted by developments in UNISON.

The new federations are potentially extremely powerful weapons of struggle. But the gap between potential and reality is

enormous as in the short term the grip of the bureaucracy is strengthened.

In UNISON the previously strong NALGO left can find itself marginalised as the NUPE leadership increasingly takes political control.

The conflicts between leaders like Morris and Edmonds with the Labour leadership over the link demonstrate that British trade unionism is some way off collapsing into American-style business unionism.

But it would be foolish not to understand the trend. The new realist right has made all the running over the past decade. The NUM is all but destroyed; the left is very weak.

In Brighton at the beginning of September the assembled bureaucrats will go through the pantomime ritual of portentous resolutions and amendments whose only function is to filed in the basement of Congress House.

The sleep-walking will only start to be broken by a fight from below and the organisation of the left.

Bosnians, Kurds, Marsh Arabs

New World Order equals ethnic cleansing

GEORGE Bush proclaimed a 'New World Order' in the wake of the Gulf War.

By this he was announcing two things simultaneously: the proposed political and military domination of the United States as the world's only superpower, and a new era of peace and freedom in which injustice would be quashed by the 'international community'.

Of course only the first was the reality, the second pure propaganda. Since the two things are indeed contradictory, Bush's vision was always likely to unravel as people saw the reality.

Somalia

Nowhere has the propaganda hype unravelled more than in Somalia, where it is becoming obvious that the US intervention is far removed from any attempt to secure aid for the ordinary people.

The New World Order is being exposed in numerous other places. In ex-Yugoslavia western intervention has meant an arms embargo on Bosnia, disabling resistance to Serb and Croat 'ethnic cleansing'.

But ethnic cleansing is the fate of the people of Kurdistan and of the marshlands of southern Iraq as well.

The Marsh Arabs face the short-term destruction of their community, one which has existed for at least

5000 years. The Kurds are under threat on three sides. And the West, above all the United States, is complicit in the genocide being stored up for these peoples.

The Marsh Arabs have been under furious assault from Saddam Hussein's forces for months. They are being targeted as a dissident force because of the role of the predominantly Shia community in the post-war uprising against Saddam.

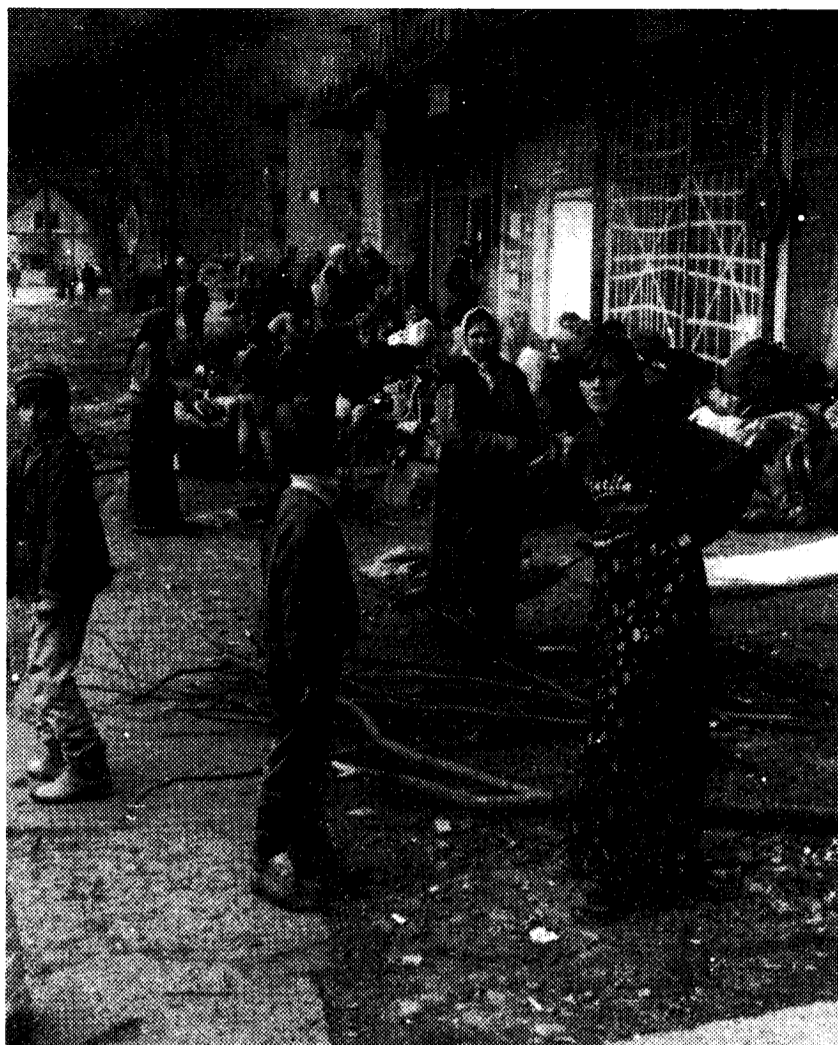
The marshes are being drained, depriving the Arabs of their livelihood and even drinking water. A unique ecology is being vandalised to destroy a people, and open new areas for agriculture and oil exploration. Daily the Arabs are bombarded by shelling and missiles. Tens of thousands have fled to Iran.

Saddam's forces have continued to exert pressure on Kurdistan, preparing an all-out assault which the West's 'no fly zone' will not prevent.

Offensive

Turkey and Iran both have continued military operations against the Kurds in northern Iraq, while Turkey continues its military offensive against the Kurdish community in its own country.

Thousands of people are dying, and hundreds of thousands could die



in the marshes of southern Iraq. But the West is not sympathetic to their plight, and actively opposed the uprising against Saddam after the Gulf war. Why?

George Bush wanted Saddam removed but only from inside his own entourage. Popular rebellion against Saddam, especially one aided from Iran as the revolt in southern Iraq undoubtedly was, sent shivers down the spines of the Gulf oil sheikdoms which the West was defending.

And an independent Kurdistan threatens to destabilise the imperialist order on the borders of Turkey, Syria and Iran.

Like the Palestinians, both Kurds and Marsh Arabs, as well as Bosnians, are entirely dispensable as far as the West is concerned. Far from being identical with the New World

Order, the ideals of peace, freedom and justice are in complete contradiction to it.

The West in general, and the United States and United Nations in particular are not just failing to prevent ethnic cleansing, they are its active agents.

Almost by definition, ethnic cleansing takes place against those who have little or no power.

Sanctions

The Kurds and Marsh Arabs, the Palestinians and Bosnians, the Iraqi people suffering disease and hunger at the hands of UN sanctions.

All these people need active solidarity from the working class movement in the West. That's why we need a new anti-imperialist movement.

Build October 16 demonstration: unite against racist violence

Challenge state murder of Joy Gardner

THE CONSISTENTLY combative Steve Bell published one of his most savagely brilliant cartoons in the *Guardian* on 11 August. It showed 'Little Irma' being brought into an airport, passing by a gagged and manacled illegal immigrant being carried out.

The connection is very direct: Britain has allowed in a tiny number of Bosnian refugees, let alone severe medical cases, compared with any other major European state — an index not only of ruling class cynicism towards the fate of Bosnia, but of blanket

racism over immigration and towards black people here.

Public inquiries over Joy Gardner's death are beside the point: Joy Gardner may not have been deliberately killed, but her death was a by-product of the casual brutality meted out by the police and immigration authorities to black people.

Barbarism

And in a sense, the medieval barbarism of the restraining belt, manacles and masking tape is not the key point either. Liberal hand-ringing over what kind of

force is 'permissible' in dealing with 'illegal immigrants' evades the fact that Britain's immigration laws are an exercise in racist thuggery and legitimise numerous forms of harassment of the black community.

In June more than 50 'illegal immigrants' were rounded up on a fruit farm in Kent. Many were from ex-Yugoslavia. They lived in tents and were paid pitiful wages. Prey to the immigration squads.

But harassment goes way beyond such desperate groups of people. Immigration offences, particularly suspicion of overstaying, is the

new 'Sus' law which is being systematically deployed against the black community. Black motorists stopped by the police (and if you are young and black and drive a car then you will be stopped by the police) will now be routinely checked to see if they are 'overstayers'.

Illegal immigration is the excuse for growing numbers of raids on sweatshops and factories, and the excuse for violating the homes and communities of black people.

Racist state

Recently the anti-racist movement has been focussed on racist murders and the role of the fascists. However justified that is, Joy Gardner's murder is a reminder of the deeply ingrained racism of the British state. State racism remains the key enemy of black people and a key ruling class weapon to divide the working class.

Media coverage has been grotesque, and not just the openly racist papers like the *Sun* and *Standard*. The 'liberal' *Guardian* published an odious piece which concentrated on attacking the far left and apologising for the police. As Trotsky put it, when liberals talk about morality, hang on to your wallet.

To grasp the racist hypocrisy of British officialdom and the British media, compare the death of Joy Gardner with that of PC Blakelock. Official enquiries will bury this case, and the police who killed Joy Gardner will get off scot free; and the media will forget it.

The left and anti-racists must prepare a massive response. The Unity Demonstration on 16 October provides the opportunity for a huge display of protest against racist murders and all forms of racist violence and harassment — by fascist thugs or the thugs in blue.

EDITORIAL

Burnsall strikers in GMB appeal

By Bob Smith

THE BURNSALL'S strikers are appealing against the decision of GMB regional organiser, Geoff Wheatley, to call off their dispute.

To publicise their demands, the strikers decided to picket the GMB HQ last Monday afternoon along with London and Birmingham supporters.

They hoped to get a better response from GMB General Secretary John Edmonds who was 'indisposed' on a previous visit when a flunky was sent out to say it was a shame that nothing could be done.

Edmonds praised the strik-

ers' courage and determination and pledged support at the GMB's conference. The strikers are demanding he fulfills his pledge and the GMB gives full support for the continuation of their struggle.

Fourteen of the strikers have signed the statement: '...GMB officials...informed us that the dispute was closed and we could do nothing...They then said if we attended our rally 3 July, criticised them or talked to the press they would stop our industrial tribunals and court cases...We asked if we could discuss the issues democratically, and take a vote.

'They refused...During the strike we had little contact with GMB members and did not even

have union cards or know what branch we were in. We feel if we had been white we would not have been treated in such a shabby way.'

Certainly the role of the GMB hardly encourages low-paid, unorganised, black, women, young and grossly exploited workers to take the labour movement seriously.

The strikers ask sympathisers to get resolutions through their organisations demanding the GMB reinstate the dispute and carry out their demands.

Send copies to Geoff Wheatley, West Midlands GMB, Wilthorn House, 2 Birmingham Road, Halesowen, B63 3HB, as well as to the strikers and John Edmonds at GMB



Crucial struggle of Burnsall's workers was sold out

HQ, Worpole Road, Wimbledon, London SW1.

For further information Balvir Singh on 021 - 565 5416 or write 82 Rosefield Road,

Smethwick, B67 6BX. Donations to Burnsalls Strike fund: c/o 27 Thursvale Road, Lindale park, Wednesfield, Wolverhampton WV11 3CN.

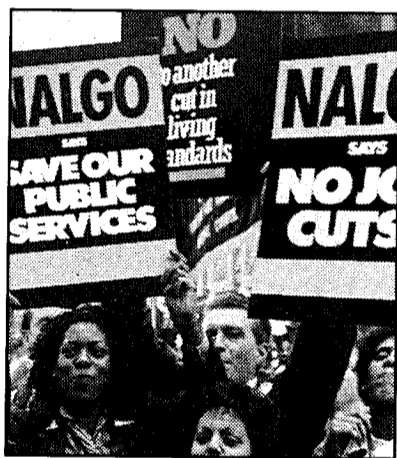
UNISON - council staff must prepare strike action

THE 500,000 white collar local government members of UNISON have voted 'no' to the government's 1.5 per cent pay limit.

This is despite the offer being put out to ballot with no leadership recommendation. The outcome has triggered another ballot on industrial action. Its outcome will be known at the end of September, and if there is a 'yes' vote then action will start on 4 October.

The UNISON ballot result was rapidly followed by the leaking of a letter apparently written in February from then-Environment Secretary Michael Howard to Michael Portillo.

This accepts a 3.5 per cent limit on any increase in local government spending, which



Melt their pay freeze!

implies big cuts in services.

The letter warns that unless pay is held down the cuts will be enormous.

Whether the leak was deliberate is not known. But it is certain

to be used as ammunition by the local government employers.

The argument will be that if they have to spend more on pay, it will translate into even bigger job cuts.

Firefighters are holding a special conference on 2 September to discuss industrial action against the 1.5 per cent limit.

The imposition of this effectively tears up their pay formula, which links them with manufacturing work-

ers. ■ By a huge majority thousands of BBC workers in BECTU have also rejected the 1.5 per cent offer.

Timex crunch

By Helen Shaw

TIMEX strikers face defeat unless union leaders are prepared to act in the face of the imminent closure of the plant.

Despite calls for an international boycott and messages of solidarity the process of closure continues. At the Monday 9 August demonstration speakers and many of the strikers spoke of occupying the plant.

Much of the work to close the factory will have to be done by unionised workers and their leaders must defy the anti-union laws and call on them to refuse to work for Timex.

Already the laws have been challenged. Dundee postal workers have refused to deliver mail to the factory. BP workers

struck in support of the Timex strikers, and Strathclyde bus workers refused to have anything to do with Timex supplier Young and McMillan (the catering firm that supplied their company) forcing management to go to another firm. The anti-union laws have not been used against this action.

The sacked workers are speculating that the plant may be closed in two weeks as another 49 people were paid off by the company on Friday 13 August.

A demonstration, backed by the STUC has been called for Saturday 21 August assembling at 10.30am in Dudhope Park.

But if the dispute is not to go down to defeat, occupation and refusal by unionised workers to have anything to do with Timex is the way forward.

'No, minister!' CPSA bites back

By Shaun Cohen

WORKERS in the Department of Environment and Department of Transport held a successful one day strike at the end of July.

The mood was buoyant and the strike solid with CPSA and NUCPS members out.

The strike was about three issues; market testing, privatisation and proposed changes to redundancy agreements.

Support for the strike surprised even union activists with areas that had never taken action before coming out.

However the stakes are

high. According to a leaked letter between Waldegrave and McGregor the creation of new agencies through privatisation and market testing is intended to lose jobs.

Also in the pipeline, from April '94 each agency will be responsible for negotiating pay and conditions. Already in place in the Inland Revenue this will mean the end of national collective bargaining.

This creeping process of privatisation is pulling people into action who have never been on strike before.

Activists must now concentrate on building for nationwide strike action on November 5 which involves all unions and departments.

No shift by Cardiff UCW strikers

By Helen Shaw

1,000 POSTAL workers are on strike in Cardiff against the Royal Mail's decision to impose new shift patterns. They have been out for over two weeks.

The Cardiff workers are furious about management trying to treat them like robots introducing fixed duties without any consideration about friends, family, and social life.

The changes they want to introduce mean workers would be assigned to one shift permanently. At present most workers rotate their shifts which

means no-one works unsociable hours or in bad delivery areas all the time.

Fixed duties would make it easier for management to cut bonus payments for evening and night work.

Solidarity

Solidarity has been widespread with offices in Bristol and Bournemouth launching an unofficial overtime ban to make sure no Cardiff mail passes through their area.

Newport, Swansea, Barry and Brigend offices have said they will not handle Cardiff mail and at Worcester and Oxford workers have voted to

strike if asked to touch work from Cardiff.

UCW activists must push for the strike to supported nationally - Cardiff is the first to be attacked and if defeated the same will happen across Britain.

Messages of solidarity and further information from UCW Cardiff strike HQ, phone or fax 0222 456988

REVELL & GEORGE
Support GPMU strikers
SAT SEPT 4
Cow Lane, Salford
(off Oldfield Rd)

Labour lets Tories cheat on 'Happy Families'

by Peter Purton

TORIES in trouble seek easy targets. Their concerted attack on single parents, driven on by the budget deficit, is a rare combination of two of their favourite themes: that poor people are parasites on the 'productive' part of society, and that moral values can only be secured by 'proper family life'.

The Labour front bench has once again shown that no policy the Tories promote shall pass without being emulated by the opposition.

Recent speeches by spokespersons such as Tony Blair and David Blunkett have reflected a media campaign by liberal columnists demanding a Labour 'family policy'.

Childcare

In fact a fifth of all families are single-parent (involving 2.2 million children). Nine-tenths are headed by women, and the vast majority would work if childcare were available.

Although the teenage birth rate is high, only 4 per cent of single parents on benefits are teenagers. The chief cause of single-parenthood is divorce and separation, accounting for 70 per cent.

For the Tories, this is a problem. Even though the individual benefit payments leave most of their recipients in dreadful poverty, the total bill is large.

The Tory solution is to attack the victim, the most recent measure being the Child Support Act. But the situation also



Photograph: Paul Mattsson

Most people live outside the 'nuclear family' set-up

defies Tory philosophy. John Redwood (Welsh Secretary) says 'the natural state should be the two-adult family caring for their children'.

The Tory position is traditional. Labour's echo of it establishes a consensus which leaves the vast numbers living outside the ideal Tory family without a voice, and subject to whatever further material and ideological attack comes next.

The Tories know they can rely on Labour not to challenge the fundamentals, for fear of (alleged) electoral unpopularity.

Failure

Tony Blair – one of Labour's Bible-bashing 'modernisers' – declares that 'the task of a modern policy for the family is to develop public policy that helps create the best circumstances for the family to prosper'. He recognises that one parent can

be as good as two, and that the balance between men and women has changed – but the fundamental question of the family itself remains unanswered.

Tories argue that social breakdown and disorder and high crime rates are caused by the breakdown of the traditional family. Labour's version is: they are caused by the breakdown of the family, which is caused itself by poverty and deprivation.

The argument not only disregards all except working class crime, it also ignores the other side of the question: an immense proportion of crimes are committed *inside the family*, as



Photograph: Andrew Ward

Bible-basher Blair

has been frequently proven.

Rape, abuse of all kinds, and indeed a high proportion of assaults and murders, are committed between family members – and always have been. The idea that if we just get people jobs and better housing family life

will be restored to its 1950's 'Persil' image is utopian.

That preaching by politicians, church and community leaders will 'restore' the sanctity of the family is demonstrably mythical.

Campaign

From the left, the response should be to campaign for measures such as a woman's right to control her own fertility and proper childcare, and equality in all spheres for lesbians and gay men, and everything else which enhances the struggle of women and of lesbians and gay men against their oppression.

Our goal is not the 'restoration' of family values, because the family is itself oppressive, but ultimately the liberation of social relations and the development of better forms of organising our lives as part of a socialist society.

Is prejudice inherited?

Born to be gay?

by Pete Purton

SO SOME scientist claims he has found the gene which 'causes' homosexuality! Now we know, we can...do what, exactly? Eliminate gays at source? Or since we can't help it anyway, seeing as its genetic, should we treat it as any other inherited misfortune?

The media splash about this 'discovery' demonstrated only that rational debate on sexuality is almost impossible.

Rational people substitute prejudice for reason, while the bigots relish another opportunity to revel in their ignorant vitriol. 'Scientific' newspaper reports, radio phone-ins, television interviews with respectable figures from the Stonewall Group, we've had them all.

And most of it was a load of nonsense. The scientific nature of the discovery is, at best, questionable. They found that *some of* a sample of brothers who were both gay had genes which 'predisposed them that way'. What a surprise! In truth, scientists have made similar discoveries time and time again – only for the research's conclusions to be proved fallacious, or lead nowhere.

What about lesbians?

But what about lesbians? Do lesbians have the same special genes as gay men? If they do, why haven't they been discovered? If they haven't, does it mean that lesbians aren't homosexual?

What about the countless numbers of people who are lesbian or gay who aren't related to one another, or who haven't or can't come out, for reasons of feared discrimination or because they are

trapped into a heterosexual relationship?

It seems pure prejudice that no one has drawn another possible conclusion: if sexuality is genetic, surely most harmful deviant behaviour in the world comes from heterosexual males, so maybe its the heterosexual gene which is defective.

There has been a predictably depressing response from so-called spokespersons (actually men) from the lesbian and gay movement. The staid, lobbyist Stonewall and the radical direct action group Outrage share a common view for all their differences. They also think sexuality is biologically determined.

Peter Tatchell of Outrage, in arguing that we are a valuable part of society, repeated the unoriginal myth that gays are predisposed to be more peaceful, artistic and creative than heterosexuals.

Lesbians apparently don't count. It's merely the other side of the popular myth that all ballet dancers are 'fairies'. The political method involved is that of accepting that society is as it is, and that all we want is to be accepted into it.

Revolutionaries have a different approach. We do not have a pet theory as to the 'cause' of homosexuality. Or indeed of

heterosexuality, which is a no less valid question. But there is plentiful evidence – such as thousands of years of history – that *all sexuality is socially constructed, not biologically determined*.

There is also ample evidence that the oppression of homosexuality is not an accident. We believe it is a consequence of the establishment of heterosexuality as the dominant sexuality, with the nuclear, straight family as its current form, deliberately upheld and secured by the state as part of the structure of society which best serves the needs of the capitalist class.

While struggling to gain every possible improvement in the legal and social position of lesbians and gay men, we believe such reforms are steps on a road and will not in themselves totally eliminate discrimination.

Liberation

Our liberation can only come about through a transformation in the social order brought about by socialist revolution. In a new social order, things which now appear 'natural' and 'inevitable' like the family and heterosexual dominance will undergo dramatic changes.

Then we will be able to create conditions in which human sexuality can develop in directions which we cannot now predict.

HOME NEWS



Susan McHugh addresses Dublin 'Peace 93' Rally

Anglo-Irish accord in tatters

Labour's plans for partition

By David Coen

THE LEAKING of the Labour leadership document 'Options for a Labour Government' in the run up to the Maastricht vote came as no real surprise.

It was not that the document or the proposals were new: it was prepared in expectation of Labour winning the 1992 General Election.

Of other 'options' we haven't heard, it contained only one – joint London/Dublin sovereignty over a legally independent Northern Ireland for a period of 20 years.

The nine Ulster Unionists led by James Molyneux saved the Tories from defeat on the Social Chapter opt-out clause in the Maastricht Bill and kept Major in office.

The terms of Major's deal with the UUP seem to involve a parliamentary select committee on Northern Ireland and some more consultation on 'security'.

But most importantly for the Unionists it gives them leverage over policy. 'There'll be no more of that John

Hume/Kevin McNamara/Dick Spring nonsense' Ken Maginnis of the UUP was quoted as saying.

The Mayhew talks are now seen to be dead. The British can hardly continue the pretence of neutrality; and the Unionist veto is back at the centre of British politics in a manner not seen since the break up of the Conservative and Unionist Party of Great Britain and Northern Ireland after Heath abolished the Stormont Government in 1972.

The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, hated by the Unionists because of the involvement of Dublin, is also under threat.

Six month deadline

The McNamara document tried to break this logjam by threatening that if no agreement was reached in six months, a Labour Government would talk to Dublin about joint sovereignty.

The venomous tone which greeted McNamara's document was surprising given the mildness of what was being proposed.

In essence, his proposals mean the continuation of British rule for another 20 years with the active involvement of Dublin, which would be required, in return, to drop its claim to the North.

The North of Ireland would be given independent legal status with EC recog-

nitition and governed by a five-person Executive Joint Authority, three elected from the North by Proportional Representation and one each from London and Dublin.

'Security' would be under joint British and Irish control and there would be a Bill of Rights.

Inbuilt majority

So, instead of a bold step towards facing down the Unionists the Options document is another attempt at a British solution. This is a **partitionist** solution. The original border was drawn so as to give the Unionists an inbuilt majority and their policies of discrimination.

After 20 years of direct rule from Westminster and with up to 45 per cent of the workforce employed directly or indirectly by the British State, discrimination in employment has hardly changed.

Several Unionist local councils have recently been prosecuted for their discriminatory policies.

In other words, a Labour government is simply not going to be able to make the sectarian statelet work in such a way as to bring about its own demise in 20 years. The record of the past 70 years is against it. Sooner or later it would have to face down the threat of armed action by sections of the Unionist population.

"In essence, Labour's proposals mean the continuation of British rule for another 20 years with the active involvement of Dublin..."

To succeed, the Unionists would, as with the Curragh Mutiny of 1912 or the Sunningdale Agreement of 1974, have to rely on support in Britain – the Tory right and some elements influenced by the Orange Order in England and Scotland. But these elements are now much weaker than in the past and could be defeated politically.

A Labour Party which campaigned for Irish unity would attract massive support. After all, opinion polls, even after IRA 'mistakes' such as Warrington, show a majority in support of withdrawal.

To succeed, Labour will need to state openly that it will not allow the Unionist veto to stop progress to Irish unity. There is a possibility that some elements in the state apparatus will try to obstruct such a policy in the manner of South Africa but the only way to minimise this risk is an open political campaign.

There should be no hidden agenda which can be leaked at the whim of the Secret Service for purposes of political de-stabilisation.

Dangerous

McNamara's proposals are dangerous even though they may not even become Party policy. While they represent for the first time ever an attempt to confront the Unionist veto and break with the bipartisan approach which has characterised British policies since Partition, their effect would be to copper-fasten British rule and partition.

It is in this light we must also look at the proposals coming from the Labour Party Irish Society, many of whose members have come from the virtually defunct Labour Committee on Ireland.

Their recent document, 'Ireland – Time for Peace' is almost the same as the McNamara document (not surprising, given that some leading advisers to the LP are also members of the LPIS), the only substantial difference being that the LPIS call for withdrawal after 20 years of joint sovereignty.

The PTA is not mentioned and the document evades the issue of Diplock Courts, shoot to kill and the whole apparatus of repression which underpins the Unionist veto. Presumably a more 'caring' version of the same policies would be implemented under Labour.

It is not surprising that in the massive policy vacuum following the obvious failure of the latest British initiative, many other forces should now be attempting to force their way on to the stage.

Opportunities

The closet Unionists of Democracy Now, the Campaign for Labour Representation and the various 'peace' movements all recognise the opportunities presented by the political upheaval in Britain.

Supporters of withdrawal and Irish unity in the Labour movement, and there are many, could well face an onslaught designed to persuade them that joint sovereignty is the only realistic path to unity.

The big danger is that, given the absence of leadership and organisation, these people will be attracted by the McNamara bandwagon or its lesser version, the LPIS.

The latest crisis of British rule provides us with a historic opportunity; we shouldn't let it slip.

HOME NEWS

Poverty sparks cholera, diphtheria outbreaks

A PREVIOUSLY unknown strain of cholera is sweeping Bangladesh. World Health Organisation officials are warning that it could become a world epidemic.

The new strain is believed to have originated in the squalor of Calcutta and spread across the border.

Meanwhile holiday companies have cancelled trips to Russia because of an outbreak of diphtheria in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

This outbreak is obviously connected to the growth of mass poverty, homelessness, food shortages and the semi-collapse of many health services in the ex-USSR.

The new epidemics come hard on the heels of the cholera outbreak which swept much of Latin America in the last three years.

Cholera is carried in dirty water; the only sure way to stop it is to provide clean water – something which millions in the 'third world' have no access to.

If AIDS is included, the new epidemics are the third and fourth in the past decade.

The cholera epidemics are certainly attributable to worsening economic conditions, as is the diphtheria epidemic in the ex-USSR.

It is difficult to imagine a more damning indictment of the effects of the world capitalist crisis.

Palestinians face political stitch-up

By Roland Rance

ISRAEL'S latest *blitzkrieg* in South Lebanon left at least 130 Palestinians and Lebanese killed, with about 500,000 driven from their homes.

But this has been followed by renewed US shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East and talk of an imminent agreement between Israel and Syria.

Meanwhile, Israeli cabinet ministers have for the first time had an official meeting with a PLO representative, while prominent Palestinians have threatened to withdraw from the delegation to the Middle East peace talks.

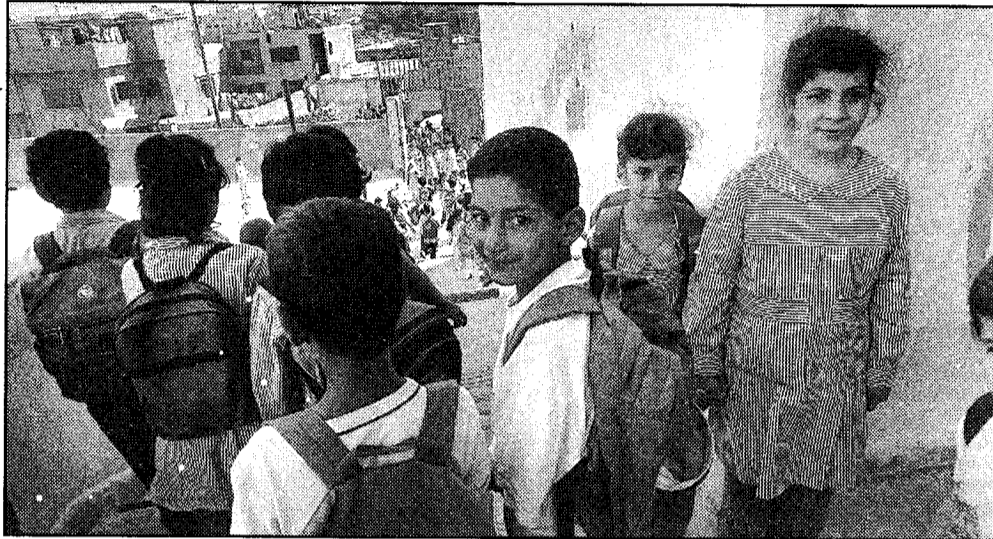
What is happening behind these apparently contradictory events?

Political targets

In fact, it is precisely these political developments, rather than any territorial gain or even the destruction of *Hizbullah*, which were the purpose of Israel's attack.

Israel has shown its intention and ability to dictate the terms of any agreement in the Middle East.

It expects Syrian President Hafez el-Assad to bring *Hizbullah* under control and accept a US-brokered settlement on the lines of the 1978 Camp David Treaty between Israel and Egypt. US Secretary of State



Anger at Israeli attack pressurised PLO leaders



Arafat

Warren Christopher is now working out the details.

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, by apparently signalling his willingness to accept Israel's terms for Palestinian 'autonomy' in part of the 1967-occu-

pled territories, sparked off a resignation threat by three members of the Palestinian delegation to the 'peace' talks (Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and Saeb Erakat).

Unlike delegation leader Dr Haider Abd el-Shafi, a veteran nationalist respected by the Palestinian left (who had previously resigned but been coerced by Arafat into returning) the three were considered Arafat loyalists.

Many believe that their threat, and Arafat's reported promise to consult the delegation more closely in future, were a ploy designed to restore the delegation's waning credibility.

According to a recent poll,

half the Palestinians in the occupied territories favour withdrawal from the talks.

A key to understanding recent developments was unwittingly given in the *Jewish Chronicle* by writer Chaim Bermant, who argued that dictators such as Assad, like Sadat at Camp David, could find it easier to make peace with Israel than would the relatively democratic PLO.

Repression

The truth is that 'peace' on Israel's terms can only be enforced by military strength and domestic repression.

The latest machinations demonstrate clearly that the rights and liberation of the Palestinian people are inextricably linked with the struggle for the liberation of the whole Arab world.

Enraged youth plot revolution

By Duncan Chapple

With our own brand of beer, our own currency and state power for one week in a Swedish forest, the Fourth International's July youth camp was a massive success.

More than 800 young rebels from 15 countries came together to debate the way forward for revolutionary youth.

Now in its tenth year, the camp marked a new stage of success – it was the youngest camp and the most politically lively.

The average age of the 200 Swedish Young Socialists, for instance, was just over 17. Only a minority were already members of the Fourth International.

To even out the different values of European currencies, we produced our own money – the Peng. The less rich the country you came from, the more Peng

you got for your money. This meant that young people from Eastern and Southern Europe could buy things at the camp more cheaply.

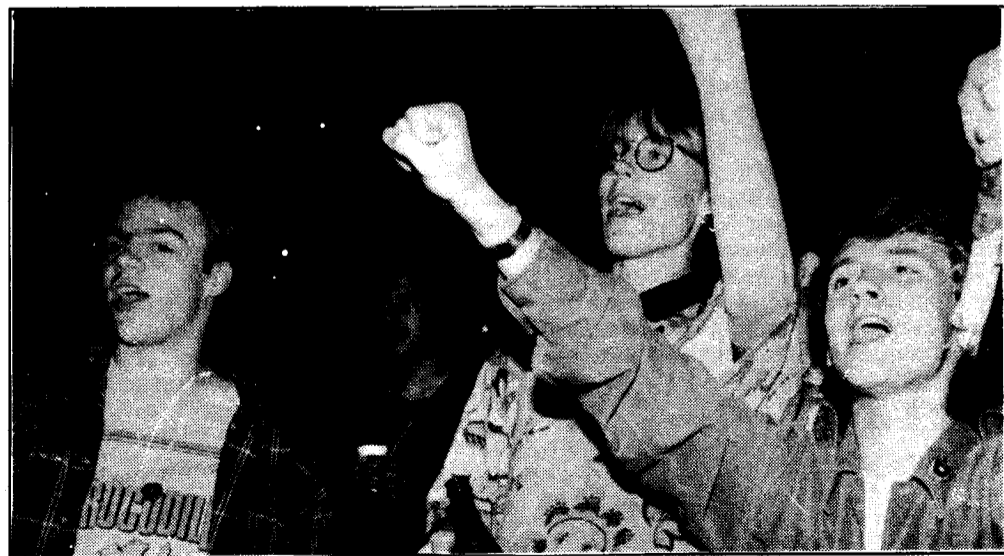
As well as our own food, *Revolution* beer and *Cuba Cola* were made for camp – sold at special bars run together by all the different national delegations – during our own licensing hours!

To keep the fun going, there were discos every night, a concert with two popular Swedish rock bands and a lesbian and gay night with a French rapper, a wild Portuguese group and lots of fun party games.

Even Jan Hammerlund, the Scandinavian Billy Bragg, dropped by to do a gig in English, French, Castilian and Swedish.

With so many people at the youth camp for their first time, the political programme improved too. Ideas were explained more clearly and vividly than before, and our political tasks outlined more sharply.

Speaking at the final rally



'The most subversive, the most intransigent, uncorrupted by capitalism'

Claude Gabriel, from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, explained that a new political generation is arising in Europe. 'We have to be the most subversive, the most intransigent, uncorrupted by the capitalist system' explained the French revolutionary.

The unique feature of the camp is its democracy. The camp is run by representatives from every delegation and, because the cleaning, cooking and other work is shared between the campers, it means everyone has an incentive to make sure problems get sorted out quickly!

All in all, the camp is a unique and fantastic experience. Next summer the camp will be a lot closer to Britain – and cheaper to travel to.

To put your name down for a brochure for next year's camp, write to *Liberation now!* PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

WORLD NEWS

Joy Gardner – another victim of ‘Fortress Britain’

By Kathy Lowe

POLICE burst into Joy Gardner's house at 7.40am to deport her because she was an 'overstayer'. The police were able to do that because under the 1988 Immigration Act overstaying has been made a criminal offence, and thus overstayers can be arrested without a warrant and quickly deported.

There have been several cases where solicitors have had to try to intervene on the airport tarmac.

As well as 'overstayers' there are several other groups of people who can be rapidly expelled. These include people who have come into the country for a specific purpose and are deemed to have strayed beyond it – for example students who get a part-time job.

'The basis of the "Fortress Britain" strategy is racism pure and simple. There is no rational economic or social consideration behind it.'

Then there are asylum seekers who can be immediately kicked out. The fourth group is non-British citizens who have served a prison sentence whose presence can be deemed 'not conducive to the public good' and thus immediately removed. But police have most license against overstayers because it is a criminal offence.

Deportation figures have been rising sharply.

In 1991 more than 5000 people were deported, more than twice the number in 1987. The use of the deportation weapon has been made much simpler by

the severe restrictions put on the right to appeal by the 1988 Act.

Deportation is part of the government's 'Fortress Britain' strategy. It's a dual strategy: it aims to severely restrict immigrants and asylum seekers coming into the country, and at the same time to enable those who have made it into the country to be quickly ejected.

Apart from the 1988 Immigration Act, the new Asylum Act is a key part of that strategy. The key point of this Act is to speed up the process of rejecting asylum applications, to institute a 'fast track' approach to turning people away. Once an asylum application has been turned down, there's only 48 hours to lodge an appeal – something which many applicants don't know.

In addition there's a new policy of treating asylum seekers already in the country as 'illegal entrants'. Of course you are meant to apply for asylum before you enter the country, which many asylum seekers don't know.

The basis of the 'Fortress Britain' approach is racism pure and simple. There is no other rational economic or social basis to it. This racism hits people who try to come into the country and black people here.

New 'sus' law

Suspicion of overstaying is being used as a new 'Sus' law. It is now very common for black people to be stopped on the street and taken into custody – even kept in jail for several days – on 'suspicion' of being overstayers.

Unless they can produce proof of identity immediately which can be checked, black people are in effect subject to random arrest and detention.

In addition there have been a lot of cases where people have been kept in custody for several days, thinking that the sole basis

Photograph: Louise Holloway



of their detention was an alleged offence, only to be suddenly rushed to the airport and thrown out – without even time to pick up their belongings or tell their family and friends.

The Fortress Britain strategy is being reinforced with the massive use of detention against potential immigrants and asylum seekers with up to 10,000 people locked up at any one time. The London prisons are being used as an overflow for the detention centres.

People locked up can be held for anything from a few days to 18 months. They don't know how long they will be detained, and often find themselves summarily deported at the end of it. Usually they find it very difficult to get information about the progress of their case, even if they have been detained for months.

Detainees find it very difficult to get help, and frequently no one knows that they are being detained, or where they are. Sometimes they are put in places which are very remote from any family and friends who know they are being detained, for example in the Verne

Citadel on Portland. They are often moved around between prisons frequently, so their solicitors and immigration advisors find it very difficult to keep track of them.

Those who do get 'help' are often ripped off by unscrupulous solicitors who take the legal aid money and then do nothing to help them.

In effect, in 1993 Britain we have a form of internment without trial. It is used not only against people who are newly arrived, but also against people who have been here some time.

Once again, detention is being used disproportionately against black people.

There is a lot of evidence that the threat of detention is being used to force people out of the country. They are threatened with prolonged detention unless they agree to a 'supervised departure' – ie to go quietly.

Increasing numbers of people have been told that their appeal has no chance of success, that they will be imprisoned for months one end, and thus have opted for a supervised departure.

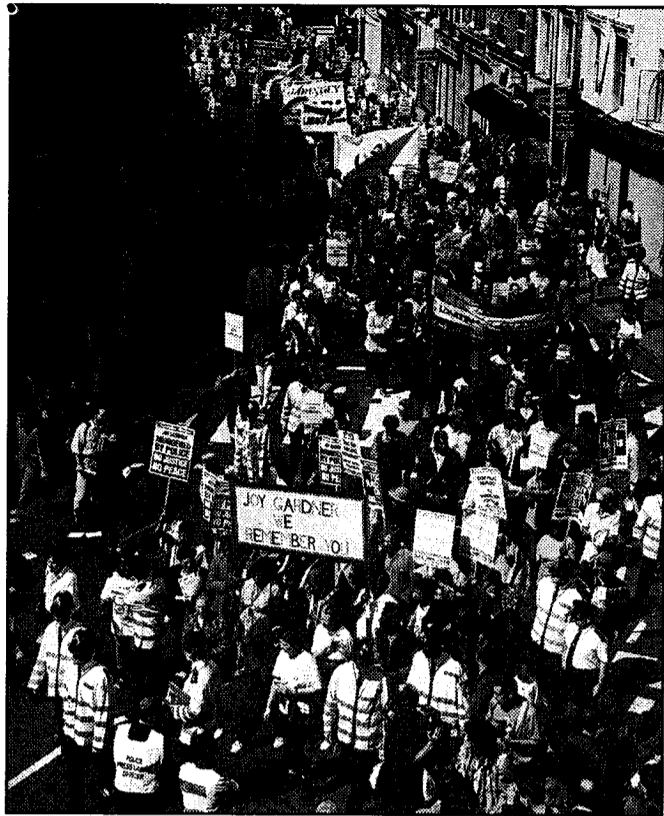
'With over 10,000 people being detained for immigration and asylum offences, Britain is operating a form of internment without trial – on a massive scale.'



Photograph: Andrew Ward

FIGHTING RACISM

Photograph: Andrew Ward



Photograph: Andrew Ward



Over 20,000 black people and anti-racists packed Burgess Park 7 August. Now the movement must build the 16 October 'Unity' demo

'Because of the 1988 Immigration Act overstaying is now a criminal offence, allowing people to be arrested without a warrant and summarily deported.'

The procedures and strategies discussed so far relate to the domestic end of the Fortress Britain strategy. But the first outposts of Fortress Britain are the embassies and consulates responsible for issuing visas to those who want to come to Britain.

Visa applications are dealt with in an utterly racist way, with black countries – the Caribbean, Africa and the Asian sub-continent – targeted with cumbersome procedures, endless forms, prolonged and detailed interview, before visas are issued.

Fraudulent

The aim of course is to trip people up; to try to prove they are not coming to Britain for the stated purpose, that they are lying when they say their family is here, that they are making a fraudulent application.

Once asylum or refugees seekers get a visa, of course that is not the end of the matter. In the past an application for asylum overrode every other consideration; they were given 'exceptional leave to remain'. Now, if they come to Britain, even with a visa, they can be treated as 'illegal entrants' even if they make an asylum application.

Faced with this Fortress Europe strategy the anti-racist and labour movements cannot limit themselves to protesting against the most brutal tactics of the police and the state.

The whole framework of immigration legislation has to be challenged. This means the demand for an end to immigration laws and an end to deportations; demanding the right of appeal, access, and legal help is just treating the symptoms.

A first step would be to highlight the situation of the thousands of detainees. There have been pickets outside Penton-

ville prison were many detainees are held, and outside the Harmondsworth detention centre near Heathrow Airport.

But the campaign against deportations and detention needs to be taken much more deeply into the labour movement.

Over the past two years we have seen the rise of a big campaign against racist murders inspired by the propaganda of fascist groups.

Now that work needs to be built on to challenge the much more difficult problem of winning labour movement support for the fight against state racism.

That means challenging the underlying arguments about why there are immigration controls in the first place – the argument that there are too many people in the country already, that the cause of unemployment is immigration, as well as the openly racist arguments about 'Britain' being 'swamped'.

One campaign which can be taken up immediately is that against the building of a new detention centre at Kidlington near Oxford.

Symbol

It is a symbol that Britain intends to continue its policy of interning people without trial in large numbers – the Tory policy of 'Fortress Britain'.

A further campaign which needs highlighting is the Manchester-based Campaign against Double Punishment, which is fighting against the deportation of people who have served a prison sentence.

Double punishment is a symptom of the ruthlessness with which the Fortress Britain strategy is being implemented.

● *Kathy Lowe is the author of "Britain's Forgotten Prisoners", published by the Detention Advice Service.*

Build 16 October demonstration

Unite forces to fight racism

OVER THE LAST month it appeared that there would be two major anti-racist/fascist demonstrations taking place on 16 October – the Unity demonstration to the BNP's south London headquarters and another organised by the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA) in central London.

This was the unfortunate outcome of an attempt to get unity between three major anti-racist organisations, ARA, the Anti-Nazi League and Youth against Racism in Europe (YRE).

Two competing demonstrations on the same day would have been an absurdity. Thankfully this situation has now been resolved by the cancellation of the ARA demonstration, apparently because of the withdrawal of support by the family of murdered black teenager Stephen Lawrence.

ARA however has made no statement of support for the Unity demonstration, and on past form is unlikely to.

Since the development of the new wave of anti-racist organisations and activity, this newspaper has argued for support to ARA but also to initiatives of the ANL and YRE. Factional divisions disrupting unity in action only weaken the impact of the movement.

There are a number of factors which made the creation of ARA a big step forward. The breadth of its support has been impressive, including national trade unions and a wide range of other organisations. Its commitment to the

leading role of black people has also been important.

Although with significant mobilising potential, both ANL and YRE are tightly controlled by the left groups behind them – the SWP and Militant respectively. They are not committed to a genuinely open and united front approach. The ANL in particular is little more than the SWP with yellow lollipops.

Seige mentality

On the other hand ARA has little democracy either; and some of its leaders are developing a paranoid seige mentality against the ANL and YRE. Alarming evidence of the distribution of unsigned factional attacks on the ANL and YRE circulating in the labour movement has come to light.

Irrespective of the causes of the original plan to have two demonstrations, ARA should now come behind the Unity demo.

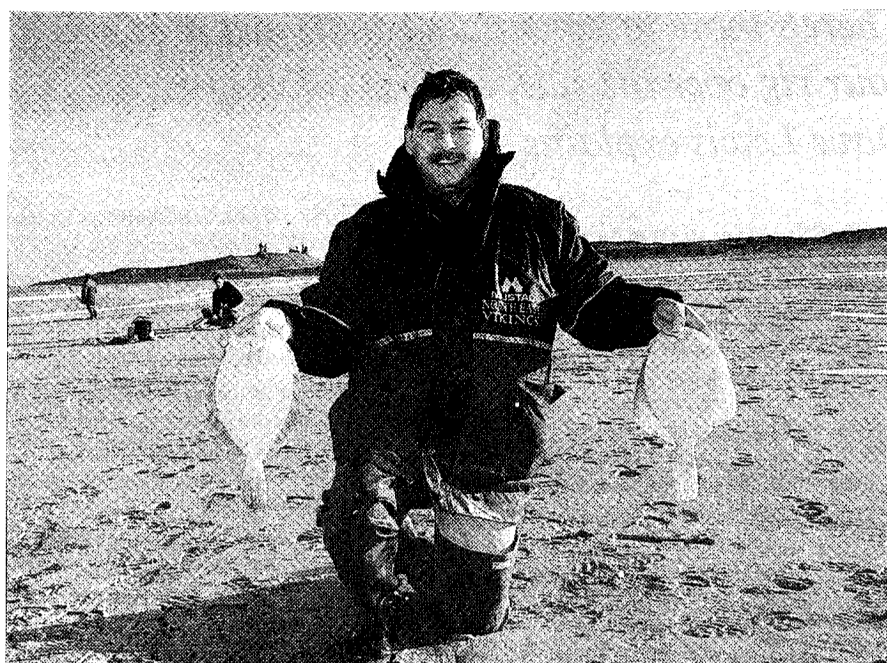
The murder of Joy Gardner has spotlighted the evident need to build a movement which combats state racism and not just fascism; such a movement needs to construct the maximum unity in action.

But anti-racism/fascism is such a gigantic question in British politics that there is an enormous political space. This means that no single organisation can present itself as 'the' anti-racist movement. This kind of self-aggrandisement will not only increase divisions, but in the end, fall flat on its face.

FIGHTING RACISM



At last! Number 4498!



Must hobbies separate us from others?

Strange Passions – men and hobbies

Some thoughts after reading *Feverpitch* by Nick Hornby.

By Helen Shaw

IF YOU WALK into any large newsagent to look for a magazine, it is obvious what takes up the most shelf space; a large section of mostly generic 'women's' magazines – and row upon row of specialist magazines on men's interests.

Set aside the soft and not so soft porn for a moment: the range of less noxious obsessions is staggering. Fishing, guns, football, trains, cars, different categories of cars... the list is endless in its categories and sub categories.

Surrounded

Entitled 'general interest', these shelves are nearly always surrounded by men flicking through the pages.

Why do men have such obsessions? Why are men's hobbies invariably concerned with knowing vast amounts of fact and detail? And what does this say about the socialization of girls and boys?

Why are men's hobbies invariably concerned with knowing vast amounts of fact and detail?

Football is a good example. Nick Hornby's excellent book 'Feverpitch' provides an interesting insight into this phenomenon. Writing about the difference between boys and girls he says,

'...most of us were defined only by the number and extent of our interests. Some boys had more records than others, some knew more about football; some were interested in cars, or rugby.

'We had passions instead of personalities, predictable and uninteresting passions at that, passions which could not reflect and illuminate us in the way that my girlfriends did...and this is one of the most inexplicable differences between men and women.

'...I have met women who have loved football, and go to watch a number of games a season, but I have not yet met one who would make that Wednesday night trip to Plymouth. And I have met women who love music, and can tell their Mavis Staples from their Shirley Browns, but I have never met a woman

with a huge and ever expanding and neurotically alphabetised record collection.

'They always seem to have lost their records, or to have relied on somebody else in the house – a boyfriend, a brother, a flatmate, usually a male – to have provided the physical details of their interests. Men cannot allow this to happen...

'I am not saying the anally retentive woman does not exist, but she is vastly outnumbered by her masculine equivalent; and while there are women with obsessions, they are usually, I think, obsessive about people, or the focus for their obsessions changes frequently'.

This is a phenomenon which is also rife on the left. There always seem to be men in organisations who can quote chapter and verse from the historical writings of various class heroes. Or men who can recite the family tree of left wing groups and their divisions of sub divisions as easily as falling off a log.

Obsessions provide the opportunity for social contact without intimacy. The feeling of belonging and comradeship without the prospect of having to talk about yourself.

In a dysfunctional capitalist society this may be the only opportunity some people have for any of the enjoyment and warmth that comes with human contact. It's safe to debate about different types of aeroplanes, about who won the League in 1956, about which car has the better fuel injection engine.

Many men become fanatics about their chosen hobby and devote all of their spare time

and money to its pursuit. This attention to and obsession with detail serves a purpose.

It makes people experts, it gives them power and social standing in their particular milieu. It can also give structure, meaning, purpose and fulfilment in what otherwise would be a pretty dull and empty existence.

To be the most knowledgeable amongst a small group gives a sense of power.

Again Nick Hornby is illuminating,

'I am aware, sometimes, in my group of Arsenal-supporting friends, of an understated but noticeable jockeying: none of us likes to be told something about the club that we didn't know – an injury to one of the reserves, say, of an impending alteration to the shirt design, something crucial like that – by any of the others'.

Many hobbies are fun, and the social contact is good. Some interests have a purpose which is useful and necessary.

Detail

What is interesting though, is the particular way men go about pursuing their hobbies. There is a premium on absolute attention to detail and ability to remember obscure bits of information is amazing – a quality and skill which could be used to real advantage.

It would be foolish and paranoid to believe that this manner of socialisation is all some sinister plot hatched out by the bourgeoisie; but it does serve a useful function. Where people are atomised, each absorbed with their particular obsession, and spend every available minute of spare time becoming more expert, they are not thinking about anything else.

A friend tells a story about a trip to France. On arrival at Charles De Gaulle airport he was travelling in the shuttle

and standing next to a group of five or six very ordinary looking men in their 30s and 40s.

He was able to overhear their conversation and discovered that they were *plane spotters*, on a day trip to spot some more planes for their records. The yuppie version of train-spotters!

What possesses a group of men to spend by no means small amounts of money to travel to airports to spot planes?

And what of a friend who recently had to wipe the game 'Civilisation' from his computer because being 'Red **** – Emperor of the Trotskyists' was becoming more important than getting down to work?

Some people would say this phenomenon and the oppressive nature of its consequences is evidence of inherent badness in men.

But it isn't inherent in anyone to be isolated from other people or to be so attentive to detail – it arises from the ideological nature of childrearing and the reproduction of social functions which benefit the ruling class.

Women would be more powerful had they the time to become experts. Instead many wind up washing, cooking and cleaning for a man whose every leisure moment is consumed by a hobby.

Men would be less alienated if their hobbies were shared and less obsessional.

Capitalism divides us from one another and alienates us from our lives. The magazine and leisure industry, with their massive advertising role, certainly serves that boss, reinforcing and exploiting our perceived needs.

Buying a magazine will never feel the same again!



Carous

What real changes for Chinese women?

Wild Swans: Three Daughters Of China By JUNG CHANG
Published by Flamingo (£6.99)

Reviewed by JODLEY GREEN

THIS STORY of three generations of Chinese women starts in 1909 at the time of the Manchu Empire with Jung Chang's grandmother's feet being crushed by binding.

Chang goes on to tell the story of her grandmother (Yu-fang), mother (De-hong) and herself from the days of the Chinese republic through to Mao's death and the fall of the Gang of Four.

The personalities and policies of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Great Leap Forward

and the Cultural Revolution are described but remain distant.

Similarly the peasant communities in which Jung Chang did her 'Thought reform through Labour' remain anonymous.

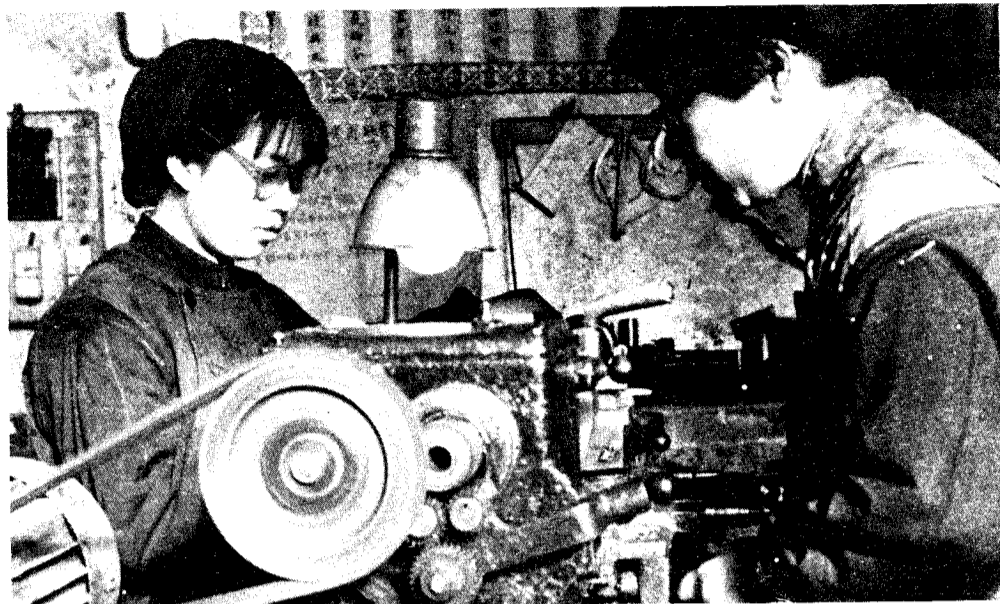
These fuzzy images on the edge of the family world enhance Chang's portrayal of her isolated upbringing as the daughter of two Communist Party officials.

Two chapters cover the period 1958-62. One documents the famine which accompanied back-yard steel production during the Great Leap Forward. The other, titled, 'In a privileged cocoon' records Chang's own experiences in those years.

Bureaucrat

Throughout *Wild Swans* the experiences of women are at the forefront. Yu-fang's lack of power as a concubine and then a wife contrasts sharply with De-hong's rise as an official in the Communist Party.

However, the family re-



It's too polite to equate survival with heroism

mained the organising principle of society with little change for the position of women within it.

This book highlights the failure of the Chinese revolution to encourage the emancipation of women, especially in personal relationships.

Told in almost detached tones, the majority of the book is a tale of great hardship, terror and violence.

Brief descriptions of De-hong's work for the communist underground during Japanese and then Kuomintang rule, of the short period after the revolution and before the Anti-Rightist campaign, and of the Chinese landscape prevent Jung Chang's painful rendition becoming intolerable.

Weaving together the disintegration of normal life during the Cultural Revolution and the disintegration of her father's sanity, Jung Chang describes her gradual disillusionment with the regime.

Heroism

It is only when both her parents are detained in camps that she dares to blame Mao for their suffering. Having suffered greatly and survived without losing their humanity, who can deny the heroism of Chang's parents?

This book is beautifully written, moving, evocative and serves as a crash course in twentieth century Chinese history and geography to the un-

initiated, but I am left uneasy about its tragic-heroism and the references to Chinese tradition as an explanation.

All great tragedies demand heroes, but was the heroism of Chang's family – a passive resistance for the most part (for example turning in fewer names than the quota during the Anti-Rightist Campaign) – so singular an occurrence amid other more enthusiastic purges and denunciations?

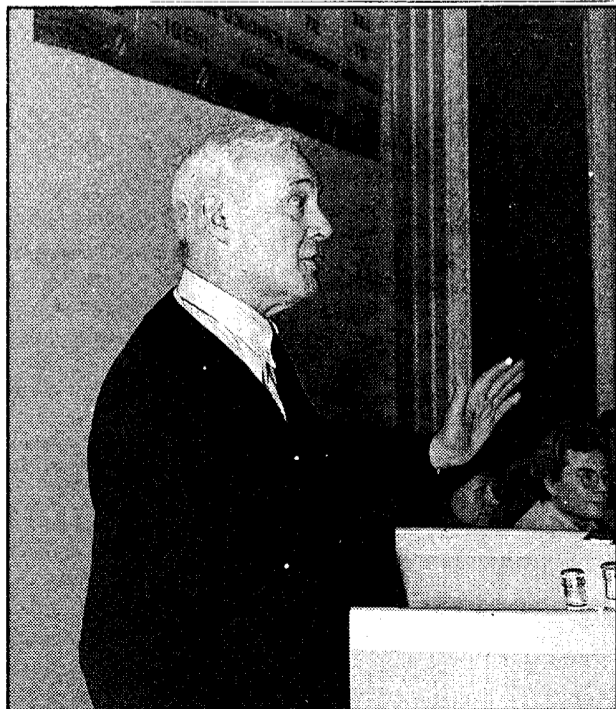
It is far too poetic, not to mention simplistic, to equate survival with heroism, Mao with past emperors and to explain the cruelty of ordinary people as a particularly Chinese characteristic developed under centuries of arbitrary rule.

Tony Benn's faithful road to socialism

The moral basis of socialism and its relevance today. The Eric Heffer Memorial Lecture – by Tony Benn.

Reviewed by Helen Shaw

THIS PAMPHLET is a little gem encapsulating the humanity, passion and style of Benn's socialism and a fitting memorial to his comrade Eric Heffer.



Benn: 'Any oppression angered Heffer'

It begins with an overview of Heffer's life and commitment to socialism and is a fitting tribute to a man who in Benn's words 'got very, very, angry at any oppression or any injustice...he rumbled like a volcano, like Mount Etna before it spewed forth its molten lava'.

It goes on to refute those who saw the fall of the Berlin wall as the end of socialism and like Fukuyama proclaimed the end of history.

Benn says:

'I happened to be in Calcutta when his [Fukuyama's] book came out and there were the hungry, starving people on the streets.

'If the book was to be believed they were always going to be hungry, and always going to starve because history had ended and capitalism had won. Socialism and the ideas of socialism are out of date, we are told.'

Anecdote is liberally used throughout the pamphlet and makes particular impact when talking about the reasons people become socialists.

Central to the text is the analogy Benn draws between socialist morality and 'true' Christianity.

He claims that the book of Genesis in the Christian bible introduced into the world a revolutionary idea with its statement 'I am my brother's keeper'.

He also highlights the difference between a hierarchy which is concerned to protect its power and the faith that brings a church or political party into existence.

He states that at 'the root of all socialism is some perception that you should judge decisions that have to be made not by profit and loss but by right and wrong'.

As in many of Benn's speeches, the subject matter covered is vast and touches on

many common themes that appear in lots of his speeches – democracy, the heritage of the Levellers, the lack of democracy in the Labour Party.

It encapsulates Benn's politics, and the Christian socialist tradition in which he is rooted. It is worth reading for all that is good about Benn's politics and – for marxists – illuminating about what is wrong with a socialism based on faith.

Commitment, sense of moral indignation and a feel for history may not be enough – but they are all valuable commodities for socialists!

(Available from North Oxfordshire Socialist Campaign Group)



Benn's speech summed up Heffer's socialism

Slow progress for Yeltsin's counter-revolution

THE LONG running Punch and Judy show between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the majority of the country's Congress of People's Deputies seems set to reach a climax this autumn. The Congress now routinely countermands Yeltsin's decrees and has set up parallel constitutional, economic and anti-corruption initiatives. COLIN MEADE reports.

ACCORDING to the speaker of the Congress, Ruslan Khasbulatov, at issue are two economic models, 'one advocating radical reform, the other socially orientated reform under strict state control'.

The heavy battalions of the military industrial complex assembled in the Congress are chafing at the restrictions on their freedom of economic and political action imposed by Yeltsin's abject kowtowing to Western interests.

Recently, for example, Yeltsin was ready to bow to American demands to cancel a rocket technology deal with India which Washington insisted infringed disarmament agreements, while Russian arms exports are at an all time low.

Abolish forum

Yeltsin, meanwhile, is planning to abolish his critics' forum; he has announced a new draft constitution, which would enable the president to dissolve the congress and call elections and which does away with the post of vice-president, currently occupied by one of his leading critics, Alexander Rutskoi.

Beneath the grand reform plans and rhetoric about democratic procedures issuing from both sides lies the frustration of the military industrial complex, with their country's loss of status and their ambition to regain control of the territory of the former USSR.

Vice-President Rutskoi for example openly looks forward to the day when his country will 'again become a superpower that can guarantee peace'.

Developments over the past two years in the so-called Dniester Republic, a region of the newly-independent republic of Moldova are instructive. This region, which borders on the Ukraine is occupied by the rogue Russian 14th Army under General Alexander Lebed, backed up by Russian and Cossack volunteers.

Last August Yeltsin sent in some 3,000 Russian 'peacekeeping' troops but



Nationalist leadership of mass dissatisfaction would threaten remaining social gains

no attempt had been made to recall Lebed, a vocal proponent of the need to reassert Russian domination throughout the former Soviet Union.

The peacekeeping force is accused of siding with Lebed by the Moldovan government who are now calling for an international force to intervene.

Something similar is happening in Georgia, with reports of freelance Russian involvement on the side of the Abkhazian separatists and a proposal from a Yeltsinite minister for a 'three-way force' to defend peace.

Lebed played a key role in the August 1991 coup attempt by military conservatives against Yeltsin - on both sides. He led a paratroop battalion to the Russian president's White House, allegedly in possession of a plan to storm the building.

However, under orders from General Pavel Grachev, now Yeltsin's defence minister, he joined the defenders. Subsequently he went to join the troops in the Dniester Republic before being appointed to the job by Yeltsin.

Army reform

Grachev, along with his deputy Boris Gromov and Lebed, is a veteran of the Afghan War. Based on what he was involved in there, which included extensive experiences of what is politely described as 'pacifying the civilian population', rounded out with conclusions drawn from the Gulf War, he favours a radical reform of the army.

He foresees the formation of rapid intervention forces with particular attention given to the threat of 'Islamic fundamentalism' - thereby neatly dovetailing Russian military doctrine with current US obsessions.

As Grachev explains, 'one cannot forget that on the territory of Russia there

live some 20 million inhabitants who profess Islam.

If the flames of war are not put out in Tajikistan (which borders of Afghanistan and where Russian troops are already in action), then there are possible dangerous consequences even in Russia'.

Independence

One of the centres of the Rapid Deployment Force is to be the North Caucasus region where Chechnia has declared its independence of the Russian Federation.

As presidential advisor Sergei Stankevich has explained Russia's historic task is now to stabilize itself in its present borders and then conduct a gradual economic and cultural expansion into the 'near abroad'.

Yeltsin is not merely a tool of the militarists. His recent denunciation of the Congress' claim on the Black Sea port of Sevastopol, now part of the Ukraine, for Russia, is a sign of that.

His rise to power was based on a double-sided appeal to anti-bureaucratic sentiment and to Western imperialism, drawing the teeth of the former by promising miracles from the latter.

Why embark on an anti-bureaucratic revolution when Western aid and Western economic models were going to provide US living standards in a matter of a few years?

However it is clear that the military industrial party decided two years ago that they have to work through Yeltsin for the time being, owing to their own unpopularity - shown by the confident use Yeltsin makes of the 'threat' of elections and the convenience of laying the blame for the suffering caused by the first round of blows to the welfare system and full employment on the hapless president.

Yeltsin's popular support, however, is fading away under as the emptiness of his extravagant promises becomes apparent. His response is to attempt to combine concessions to the programme of the military industrial party while ruling - or pretending to rule - by decree.

At the same time he rushes from summit to summit, extracting promises from Western leaders to underpin his position. Indeed, he has now gone so far as to contemplate American involvement in conflicts on the territory of the former USSR. American President Bill Clinton is reported as looking favourably on this idea.

Strike wave

Recent weeks have seen a brush fire of strikes protesting against the threat of unemployment in mining and defence-related industries. However, there is evidence of bureaucratic manipulation of these movements.

For example a recent one-hour warning strike of defence workers in the Urals came two days after a joint conference of managers and unions in the industry and demanded among other things a 'clear strategic doctrine'.

Defence of the legacy of the October Revolution - social rights, especially full employment and the national rights which were the basis for the powerful nationalist movements that erupted in the late 1980s - requires political independence from the nationalist schemes of the military industrial party.

Nationalist mobilization against external and internal enemies would provide a propitious climate for finishing off egalitarian traditions and worker combativity.

Exposed: UN atrocities in Somalia

By Phil Hearse

THE LONDON-based organisation African Rights has produced a damning indictment of the role of United Nations forces in Somalia (UNOSOM).

The report confirms in detail a catalogue of murders, beatings, robberies attacks on hospitals and children, by American troops and those of several other nations.

Brutality against the civilian population is much more widespread than generally reported in the Western media.

African Rights' report has to be seen in the context of the political and military goals of the United States which have led to a re-interpretation of Chapter 7 of the UN charter which allows for the 'use of force in certain circumstances'.

Enforcement

'Peace-keeping' has been replaced with the newly-proclaimed doctrine of 'peace enforcement'.

The most spectacular UN operations started in Mogadishu after the killing of 23 Pakistani soldiers in three battles with local militia.

On June 12 a US helicopter

attack was launched on the headquarters of 'warlord' Aideed. As Africa Rights reports:

'In a remarkable display of precision bombing, the house next door to General Aideed's was comprehensively demolished'.

Aideed's headquarters was almost undamaged. At the same time rockets were fired into civilian areas killing several people.

On the same day UN Pakistani troops fired on a small civilian demonstration on the Afgoy Road near the UN compound, killing several demonstrators.

Meeting

On July 12 another helicopter attack was launched on the house of Abdi Abdiid, a senior Aideed aid. Inside a political meeting was taking place of which the UN had been told in advance.

Fifty four people, including nearby civilians were killed. Among the dead were well-known political and religious leaders from different Somali clans. There is no evidence that there were weapons in the house, and the attackers were not fired upon.

On 17 June a combined force of French, US and Moroccan forces launched a combined attack on Digfer hospital in central Mogadishu, which they claimed

was being used by militia forces, and killed nine patients and other civilians. UN forces used Tow missiles and artillery to attack the hospital.

The report details a long list of individual, and often random, killings of civilians by UN forces. Among the most brutal have been the Belgian garrison of Kisimayo. More than 100 people have been killed by the Belgians in that town.

Despite the conflict between Italy and the US over the goals of the Somalia operation, Italian forces have themselves been involved in killings and acts of brutality in the town of Belet Weyn, where there are also numerous documented cases of theft from civilian houses by Italian troops.

Brutality by UN troops is par for the course in imperialist interventions. The UN/US operation in Somalia, in addition to attempting to stabilise the regions for Western interests and fight Islamic fundamentalism (Somalis are Muslims), has detailed political objectives in the short term.

The Americans' hate-figure General Aideed is just one of several major clan leaders; he leads the Hawiye clan. Western accusations that his forces 'destroyed Mogadishu' are disingenuous:

Dictator

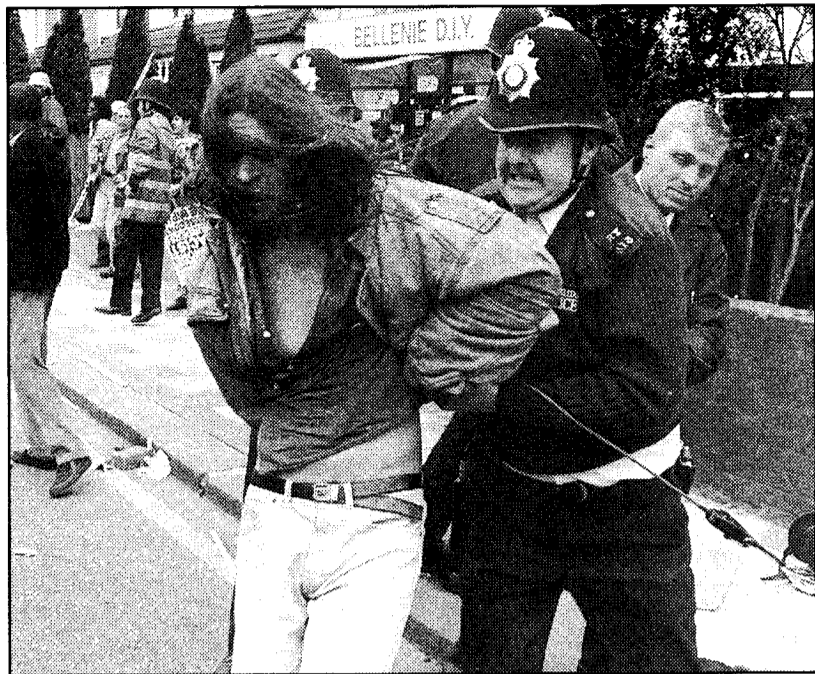
Aideed's forces were central to driving out the former Western-backed dictator Siad Barre, and it was during the final battles of that campaign that Barre's forces destroyed much of Mogadishu.

The US intervention is aimed at sidelining the Hawiye clan and promoting the Majerteen. The Majerteen are a Darood clan, and Barre was also Darood: key Majerteen leader Mohammed Abshir, whose forces control part of the South, is pro-American and being promoted by the US as the 'next president' of Somalia.

When the details of US strategy are examined, the precise aim of 'Restore Hope' can be clearly seen: it is about the time honoured practice of putting the US's man in control.

Somali politics are clan politics. Aideed is a clan leader, and someone whom socialists would oppose.

But he is no more or less a 'warlord' than is Mohammed Abshir, the US favourite, and his demonisation and effective UN death-sentence passed against him are part of a propaganda smokescreen which is wearing increasingly thin.



It's bad enough the police brutalise the left

Oppose all violence in the labour movement!

By Chris Brooks

THE AUGUST 7 Anti-Racist Alliance event saw over 20,000 anti-racists converge on London's Burgess Park.

But there was a bleaker side to this successful event. ARA stewards, backed by security men in para-military uniforms, violently stopped supporters of the 16 October 'Unity' anti-racist march running a publicity stall outside the gates of the park.

The stall of one socialist group was smashed up, and attempts made to overturn another. Threats were made that money collected at SWP and ANL stalls would be seized and given to ARA.

The political motivation for these attacks was obviously hostility by certain sections of the ARA leadership to other anti-racist groups like ANL and YRE, and in particular to the October 16 demonstration (see centre pages).

Intimidation

While no one was struck, something which would have happened if ANL supporters had not made a hasty retreat, this use of intimidation is totally unacceptable and an attempt to limit discussion and democracy within the anti-racist and labour movements.

In some ways more serious than the ARAfest events is the allegation that two supporters of Socialist Organiser were assaulted by SWP members at Marxism '93.

Despite the publication of detailed testimony about these events, including by people who are not Socialist Organiser supporters, the SWP has made no public comment about the allegations.

This in itself is unacceptable behaviour from a revolutionary

organisation. The allegation of the use of violence against members of other socialist groups is a most serious charge.

The SWP must make a public statement about these events, pledge its opposition to the use of violence in the labour movement and take disciplinary action against any of its members who participated in violence.

Endemic violence

Revolutionaries in countries like Turkey and Japan have explained many times how the endemic violence on the far left, including assassinations, started with minor scuffles between different organisations which became the norm.

While of course we are a long, long way from anything like that, the wrong lessons are learned as soon as any form of violence is tolerated or winked at by the leaderships of the groups concerned.

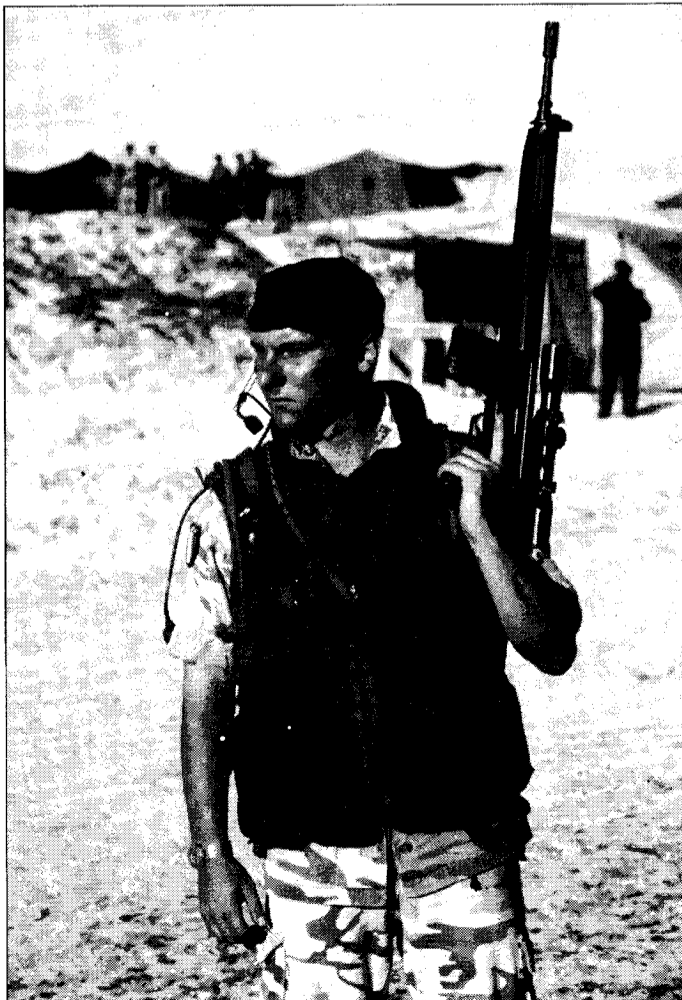
But there is a much wider and connected problem among the British far left. Loutish and intimidatory methods of debate and discussion are depressingly common; and this is a political problem.

Campaigns and organisations which attempt to engage in a dialogue with the labour movement and win wider support only repel people when they become the arena of hysterical factionalism.

The responsibility for dealing with this problem lies with the leaderships of left organisations.

Right now particular responsibility lies with the SWP leadership. Their members were intimidated outside the ARAfest.

But how can they expect anyone to take that issue seriously, when they refuse to take seriously allegations that their own members are responsible for violence?



ANALYSIS



INSIDER DEALER, investment analyst for the Socialist Outlook staff pension fund, send readers a summer holiday fax from Italy

A holiday you can't refuse

HELLO Proles! While you've been spending your drab vacations in Blackpool and Bournemouth, or perhaps even the Costa del Sol if you're fortunate enough to be in work, I've been chilling out by the swimming pool in my villa in Tuscany all month.

God I love Italy; the corruption over here is so bracing.

Only last month, Gabriele Cagliari, chair of state energy group ENI, was found dead in Milan's San Vittore prison with a plastic bag over his head. I know the cops in this country are none too subtle, but this was apparently a genuine suicide.

Cagliari had been held on remand since March, facing allegations of corruption and illegal funding of political parties. He quit his job after his arrest, admitting he had funded both the Socialist and Christian Democrat parties. Nothing like hedging your bets, I guess.

I know how much you lefties like nationalisation, so I should inform you that ENI is Italy's second-largest public sector concern. Several other officials were also arrested last march.

Three days after Cagliari topped himself, Raul Gardini, former head of the Ferruzzi chemicals, shipping, media and agribusiness empire - Italy's second largest private company - was found in his central Milan flat with a gun wound to his head and a pistol by his side. He died soon

Fingers In the TILL

after being rushed to hospital.

It seems that Gardini dished out bribes to top politicians to the tune of 135,000 million Lire, a cool £56m. Sums like this make even UK Tory corruption pale into insignificance.

Wonderful! Gardini had been involved in joint ventures with ENI, before becoming embroiled in bitter rows with Cagliari, who eventually bought him out. The truth about the whole affair goes with the two men to their graves.

It seems Ferruzzi operated a set of dummy books to hide its vast commodity trading losses, sort out takeover finance, and subsidise the controlling family's somewhat extravagant lifestyle.

Cagliari's funeral was held

tions and advertising outfits which rely on state business are also implicated.

Even Fiat has admitted paying kickbacks at its bus, railway, gas turbine and construction subsidiaries. Some Fiat executives have had to extend overseas 'business trips' indefinitely in order to avoid interrogation. Others are temporarily indisposed in San Vittore.

I'm glad to say that the Italian stock market is weathering the bad news well enough. It is up by almost 30 percent this year.

This is a tad surprising when you realise that Bruno Pazzi, retired head of Italy's stock market watchdog, has also been busted on kickback changes.



Nadir: has company in his island retreat

just two hours after Gardini's death, within a few hundred yards of Gardini's flat. Spooky, or what?

More top Italian business names have been revealed as bent as a nine bob note. Only days after Carlo De Benedetti, chairman of Olivetti, declared that the computer group had never paid bribes, he was forced to admit to Milan magistrates that this claim was, shall we say, departing from the strict path of veracity.

Bribery, the Italian yuppie buddies tell me, is particularly rife in the construction and pharmaceuticals sectors, where companies are dependent on public sector contracts. And it's not just the big boys that are in trouble.

Thousands of small building companies that act as sub-contractors are also in deep doo-doo. Public rela-

New company for Nadir

PS: I was amused to hear that business crook Gultekin Mustafa Ben absconded from Stanford Hill open prison in Kent to join Asil Nadir in the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'.

Ben had done five months of a five year sentence for a piffling £12.5 million tax fraud, involving setting up bogus businesses and then selling false invoices to clients.

After being granted home leave, he picked up the wife and kids in Sidcup and caught the next jet out pronto. Grand stuff.

Kate Truscott

THE MANY comrades in Britain who knew her will be deeply saddened by the death in South Africa of Kate Truscott, after a long battle with cancer.

Kate became active in revolutionary politics in Britain, but at the time of her death was a member of the Central Committee of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), the South African revolutionary organisation.

She was responsible for WOSA's women's commission and helped produce its newspaper and theoretical journal.

Her first involvement in

politics in the late 1960s was in the Vietnam and women's liberation movements and in the National Abortion Campaign.

As a militant shop steward in the NHS she participated in an 18-month hospital occupation and joined the revolutionary organisation Big Flame.

Later, after working in Socialist Unity election campaigns she joined the International Marxist Group and moved to Zimbabwe as a supporter of the Fourth international.

In Zimbabwe Kate was a founding member of the Zimbabwe Women's Action group and worked as an organiser of

rural women's organisations.

Working with exile South Africans she entered that country as a courier, establishing contact with early COSATU and clandestine socialist groups, before deciding to move to South Africa permanently.

Kate was genuinely non sectarian, actively pluralist in her socialism, passionately anti-racist and uncompromisingly anti-sexist.

She was an accomplished poet, singer, painter and photographer. Before her death she bequeathed her legacy for the foundation of a socialist education centre to promote the politics she believed in.

WHERE WE STAND

Facing mass unemployment, rampant employers equipped with savage anti-union laws, and a war on hard-won education, health and welfare services, the working class in Britain faces a real crisis - an avoidable crisis created by the historic failure of its official leadership.

Socialist Outlook exists to fight for a new type of working class leadership, based on the politics of class struggle and revolutionary socialism, to tackle this crisis.

The capitalist class, driven and politically united by its own crisis, its requirement to maximise profits at the expense of the workers, has been given determined, vanguard leadership by a brutal class-war Tory high command.

The Tory strategy has been to shackle the unions with legislation, and to fragment and weaken the resistance of the working class and oppressed, allowing them to pick off isolated sections one at a time, using the full powers of the state.

In response, most TUC and Labour leaders have embraced the defeatist politics of 'new realism', effectively proclaiming total surrender on every front, while ditching any pretence that they offer a socialist alternative. Every retreat and concession they have made to the employers and the government has simply fuelled and encouraged the offensive against jobs, wages, conditions and union rights.

New realism is the latest form taken by the politics of *reformism*, seeking no more than improved conditions within the framework of capitalist rule.

Socialist Outlook rejects reformism, not because we are against fighting for reforms, but because we know that the needs of the working class - for full employment, decent living standards, a clean environment, peace and democracy - can never be achieved under capitalism.

Nor, as we argued long before the collapse of Stalinism, could these demands ever be achieved under the bureaucratically deformed workers states and degenerated USSR, whose regimes survived only by repressing their own working class.

We are a *marxist* current, based not on the brutish totalitarian parodies of state marxism, nor on the tame, toothless version of 'marxism' beloved by armchair academics, but the *revolutionary* tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Our socialist alternative is not based on parliamentary elections or illusions of peaceful legislative change. We fight to mobilise and unleash the power of the working class - the overwhelming majority of society - to topple the corrupt and reactionary rule of capital and establish its own class rule.

We struggle against fragmentation by building solidarity, working to link and unite the various struggles of workers, the unemployed, of women, of pensioners, of the black communities and ethnic minorities, of lesbians and gay men, of students, of youth - and of those fighting imperialism in Ireland and throughout the world. *Socialist Outlook* is above all an *internationalist* current, in solidarity with the Trotskyist Fourth International, which organises co-thinkers in 40 countries world-wide.

Unlike some other groupings on the British left, we do not believe a mass revolutionary party can be built simply by proclaiming ourselves to be one. Too often this degenerates into sectarian posturing and abstention from the actual struggle taking shape within the labour movement, playing into the hands of the right wing.

Nor do we believe that the demands of women, black people, lesbians and gays or the national demands of people in Scotland and Wales should be left to await the outcome of a socialist revolution. The oppressed must organise themselves and fight now around their own demands, which are a part of the struggle for socialism.

But propaganda alone, however good, will not bring socialism. The fight for policies which can mobilise and politically educate workers in struggle, must be taken into the unions, the Labour Party and every campaign and struggle in which workers and the oppressed fight for their rights.

To strengthen this fight we press for *united front* campaigns on key issues such as fighting racism and fascism - in which various left currents can work together for common objectives while remaining free to debate their differences.

If you agree with what you see in *Socialist Outlook*, and want to join with us in the struggle for socialism, readers' groups meet in many towns across the country. Contact us now, get organised, and get active!

YES, I agree with much of what I have seen in Socialist Outlook, and want to know more about readers' groups in my area.

Name

Address

Phone

Send to: *Socialist Outlook*, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

What's HAPPENING

WANT YOUR event included? Send details to What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

As planned, we are about to skip our second issue this summer. We return to the fortnightly schedule in September. Deadline September 10.



October 16 will be the highpoint of the autumn

AUGUST

Wednesday 18

SUPPORT Springdale Nursery's occupation - public meeting 7pm Red Rose Club Seven Sisters Road N4 Finsbury Park tube
WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia public meeting 7.30pm Leigh Miners' Welfare Twist Lane

Thursday 19

SUPPORT University College Hospital workers! Demonstrate 5.30pm-6.30pm front door UCH Gower Street. Euston Square or Warren Street tubes
WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia public meeting 7.30pm Manchester Town Hall

Saturday 21

SAVE SOUTH London's hospitals demonstrate 2pm Ruskin Park Denmark Hill SE5
DEMONSTRATE against Nigeria's military regime 1pm from Kennington Park to Trafalgar Square
DEMONSTRATE against fascist terror in Germany!

1pm Piccadilly Gardens Manchester

Sunday 22

FIESTA with Maximo Jimenez and Rafael Perez organised by Colombian Committee for Human Rights 3pm-11.30pm St. Peter's Heritage Centre 310 Kennington Lane entrance on Tyers Street nearest station: Vauxhall tickets £4/£3

Monday 23

HARINGEY Workers' Aid for Bosnia discussion meeting with Geoff Ryan 7.30 Asian Action Centre 30 Willoughby Road Turnpike Lane tube

Wednesday 25

PTA and the Irish community IBRG meeting 7.30pm Hand and Heart Far Gosford Street Coventry

Thursday 26

WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia public meeting 7.30 Brent Town Hall Fourty Lane

Friday 27

LEICESTER Workers' Aid for Bosnia public meeting with Jim Marshall MP 6pm Highfields Youth and Community Centre

Saturday 28

SOCIALIST Outlook summer school opens north Wales tickets £95/£35
OILC conference opens Stirling details 0224 210118

SEPTEMBER

Wednesday 1

WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia public meeting with Kevin Hargreaves Indijana Harper and Vaughan Thomas 7.30pm Haringey details 081-888 3421

Thursday 2

WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia public meeting with Glenda Jackson MP 7.30pm Camden Town Hall

Fri 3 - Sun 5

NATIONAL Hazards conference Aston University Details 021 236 0801

Sunday 5

WORKERS' Aid for Bosnia national march with convoy 1pm central London

Monday 6

TUC: RALLY in suport of Workers' Aid covoy 9am

NO PAY FREEZE in '94 lobbies organised by Public Sector Alliance 9am and 12pm Brighton Conference centre rally 10.30am Fisherman's Hard

START the fight now! March 11am The Level Lobby 12.30pm Brighton Conference Centre rally 2.30 The Dome New Road

Sunday 26

SOCIALIST Campaign Group Fringe meeting at Labour Party conference 7.30pm Royal Albion Hotel Old Steine Brighton £1/50p

Monday 27

ARA fringe meeting 7pm Bedford Hotel Kings Road Brighton

Wednesday 29

BIRMINGHAM Socialist Outlook public meeting on Bosnia with Geoff Ryan 7.30pm Trade Union and Labour Club Pershore Road Selly Park

OCTOBER

Sunday 3

EVENING for Mordechai Vanunu with Harold Pinter, Julie Christie 7.30pm Hackney Empire E8 details 071

387 5096

Saturday 9

FIGHTING the employers' offensive conference sponsored by Oxfordshire Trades Councils 10am-5pm Ruskin College Walton Street Oxford £2/£1

CITIZENS' income and the left Socialist Society conference 10am-5p SOAS Thornhaugh Street WC1 £4.50/£2

Saturday 16

CLOSE down BNP HQ! National demonstration called by ANL, YRE, Rolan Adams & Rohit Duggal Family Campaigns

Saturday 23

RED-GREEN Network day-school 10am-5pm Vaughan College St. Nicholas Circle Leicester details 0533 556369

Sat 30 & Sun 31

SOCIALIST Conference Chesterfield, freephone 0800 581611

SEND US

details of your event. Write to P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU

Bus militant victimised

By Helen Shaw

LAST WEEK Willesden busworker Gerry Downing was sacked for 'unreasonable behaviour: intending to disrupt normal business and industrial relations'!

Downing was charged on the evidence of four union members who believed he was 'behind' an oppositional newsletter called 'Busworkers Punch'.

They believed the newsletter was causing T&G members at Willesden to vote against deals with management over the introduction of worse pay and conditions.

There has been particular resistance at Willesden with workers rejecting the latest deal on July 30 despite pressure from union officials to accept. Since July 30 management have stepped up their harassment of drivers at Willesden and several other

workers have been victimised and sacked.

Willesden TGWU rep Elvis Vaughan solicited reports from two other union members about Downing and passed them on to management along with his comments and those of TGWU Metroliner unit chair, Harry Foley.

It is obvious that the union officials and management had a common interest in getting rid of 'troublemakers' and militants like Downing.

The actions of these two union officials in going to management and asking them to sack a political opponent is scandalous.

A Defence Campaign is calling on activists to pass resolutions demanding the T&G acts to remove their credentials and fights to reinstate the victimised bus workers.

Resolutions should be sent to Region 1 Committee of the TGWU. Contact the Defence Campaign on 081-450 5161.

Solidarity with race victims

A PICKET will be mounted outside Birmingham's Victoria Law Courts to support the victim of a brutal racist attack. Joseph Gibbins, an Afro-Caribbean, went into the Queen's Head, Erdington, in April to play pool. A group of racists objected to his presence and hit him over the head with pool cues. Joseph was forced onto the street and battered unconscious into the gutter.

The picket will demand Joseph's attackers receive serious sentences and that this is clearly identified as a racist attack and not just another of the pub assaults prevalent in the area. Another picket, of Birmingham's Housing Department will demand that victims of racist attacks are adequately rehoused in secure accommodation in an area of their choice.

Socialist Movement Network

Sixth SOCIALIST CONFERENCE at The Winding Wheel Chesterfield Saturday 30 & Sunday 31 October 1993

THE SOCIALIST Movement/Network presents a weekend of non-sectarian discussion, debate, information, ideas (... and fun). Looking beyond the Age of the Individual and the Free Market, the theme of the conference will be **Opting In ...**

● the fight for democratic public services
 ● and a sustainable and equal economics to pay for them.

Confirmed speakers so far:

TONY BENN MP, new book - *Common Sense*
 MOSES MAYEKISO South African National Civic Organisation

HILARY WAINWRIGHT, new book - *Arguments for a New Left*

Plus many activists from trade union and community campaigns to defend and improve public services; and socialist, green and feminist economics working on alternative economic strategies. Space for self-organised workshops. **Creche.** Disabled access.

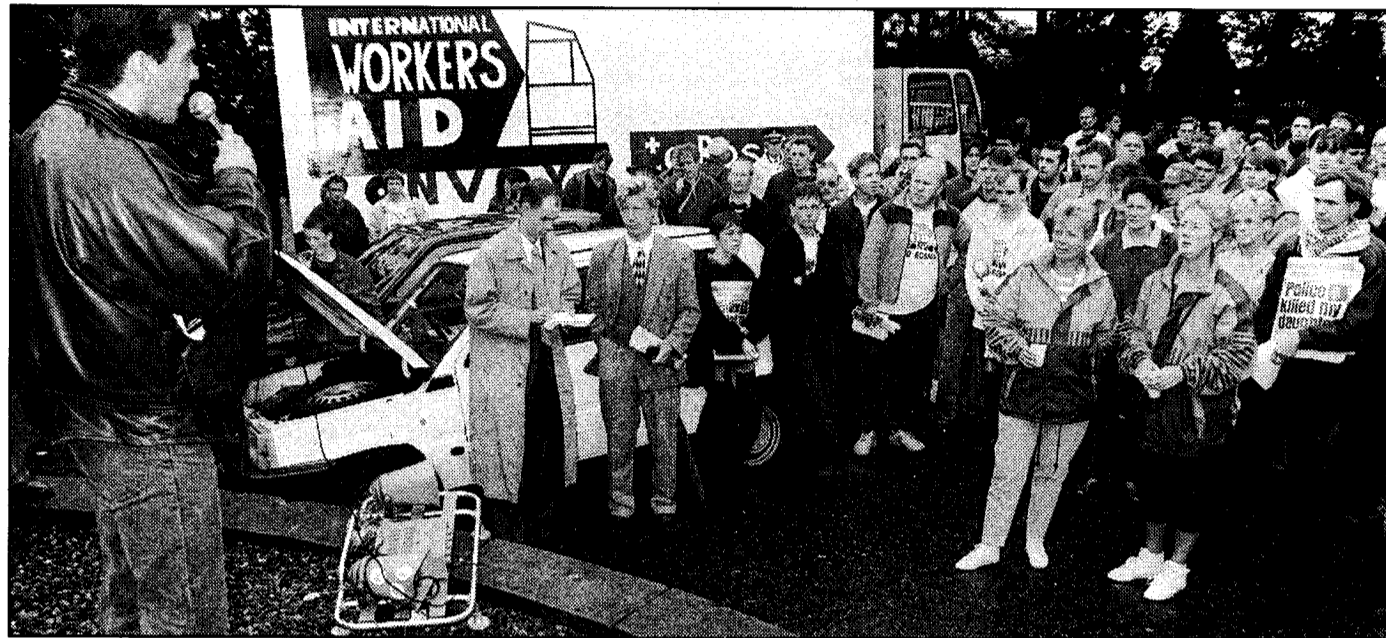
Food and bars. Saturday night benefit for the Chesterfield Labour Club Appeal.

Socialist Movement/Network 1 Newton Street Manchester M1 1HW or Freephone Answerphone 0800 581611.

HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

THE CONVOY will be in Greater Manchester: Wed-Sat 18-21 August. West Yorks: Sat-Mon 21-23 August. Sheffield: Tues-Wed 24-25 August. Nottingham: Thurs 26 August. Leicester: Fri 27 August. Birmingham: Sat-Sun 28-29 August. South Wales: Mon-Tues 30-31. London: Wed-Sun 1-5 September. Crawley: Sun 5 September. Brighton: for TUC conference, Mon 6 September.



worth of new tracksuits and trainers to the convoy and Muslim organisations in Newcastle donated £2,000 worth of dried milk. On Saturday 14 August £3,000 worth of goods were donated to the convoy at the Islamic Cultural festival in Chapeltown.

In the evening £5,000 was collected at a U2 concert and the band have offered the campaign the opportunity to have a Bosnian speaker at their next concerts.

The convoy will arrive at the TUC Conference on Sept 6. It then sets off for France and travels through Europe to Bosnia.

On its way it will stop at many towns, picking up food and aid collected by the various local campaigns.

The convoy is to take food, medical aid, money and solidarity to the large mining communities around Tuzla. Tuzla is a multi-ethnic town where miners freely donated a day's pay each month to striking miners during the '84-85 strike despite being impoverished themselves.

The message of the convoy, at a time where the ruling class all over Europe increasingly turns people against each other in classic divide and rule tactics is simple: it is for

Back Bosnia aid convoy!

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PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

HUGE support is building up for the Workers Aid convoy to Bosnia. Not only has support been flooding in from Britain, but workers from as far away as Argentina, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden and the United States have signalled their support and begun collecting money and other material aid.

The convoy set off from the Timex plant in Dundee on 9 August with full support from the strikers. It has travelled from Dundee, through Edinburgh, Glasgow, Newcastle and Leeds collecting thousands of pounds en route.

Workers from the threatened Swan Hunter shipyard donated £1,000

international workers solidarity and against this barbarism and denial of humanity.

The RMT in Dover have managed to negotiate free travel from Sealink for the convoy across the channel. In Liverpool and Leicester the T&G have managed to get free diesel fuel for the convoy.

Workers Aid groups are also being set up internationally - throughout Europe and in the United States. The campaign wants to build the biggest possible support for the convoy as it arrives at the TUC.

It is crucial is to try to get more trucks onto the convoy, supported by as many trade union, Labour Party and community organisations as possible.