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# Socialist OUTLOOK

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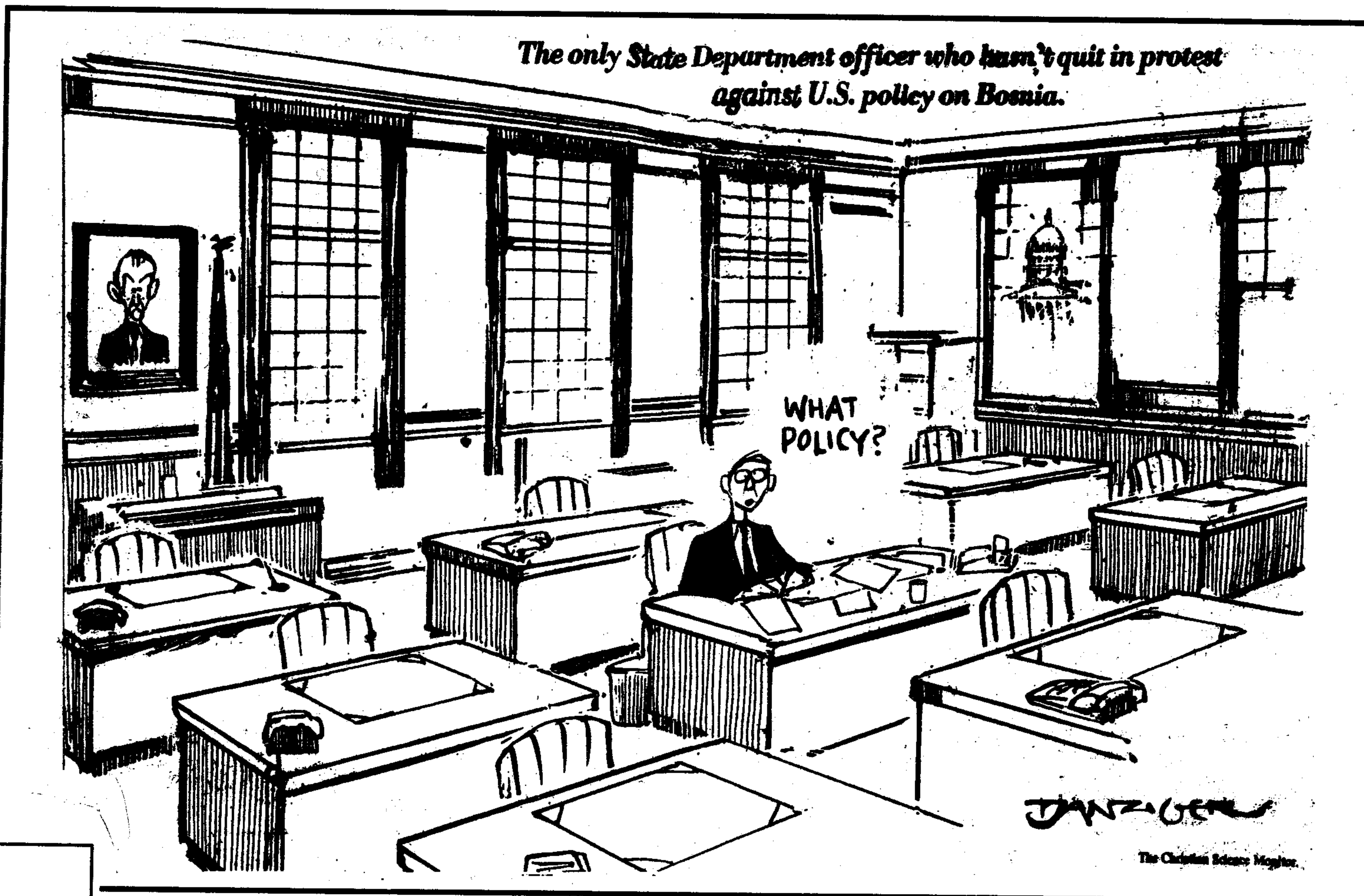
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No. 51, October 30, 1993

## Scandal as 50,000 join protest march

# POLICE PROTECT BNP NAZIS





## 1m-strong Croatian union pledges support

THE INTERNATIONAL department of the Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (UATUC), Zagreb, has written the following letter in support of the Workers Aid Convoy and issued this call to trade unions in Europe.

"THE UNION of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia, the largest trade union confederation with 26 affiliated trade unions and 81 local/regional offices, has a total of 721,000 members.

We are members of the Forum of the European Trade Union Confederation and several of our trade unions are members of international associations (PSI, ICEF, ITF). We co-operate with the majority of European trade unions.

We have stated our position about the political and war situation in the republic of Croatia in our statement of 20 July, together with another smaller trade union confederation and a federation of the public sector.

### Fundamentals

On the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina we made a public statement on 26 August. We can repeat our fundamental viewpoints concerning the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- We are for full respect of humanitarian rights and for the opening up of all roads for humanitarian aid;

- We are against ethnic cleansing regardless of the side that exercises it;

- And we are against the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into pure ethnic territories, since it would result in more ethnic cleansing.

In this sense we supported the Workers Aid action - 'International Workers Aid for Tuzla' - and we held talks in the premises of our trade union with the representatives of the convoy for Tuzla.

The UATUC did everything in its power to secure for them:

1. Logistic help in organising meetings and talks and contacting the appropriate authorities;

2. Informing the Croatian public and organising press conferences;

3. Offering the facilities of our local trade union offices (Bjelovar and Zupanja) for their use.

In all these activities, the contacts were made in the name of the UATUC by our trade union affiliate - the Autonomous Trade Union of Workers in the Power Industry, Chemical and Non-Metal Industries of Croatia (EKN).

With brotherly regards  
Jasna A Petrovic  
Our Unity is Our Power."

# A victory for internationalism

By Alan Thornett

THE WORKERS Aid convoy is currently unloading the bulk of its aid into Bosnian refugee camps in Croatia or into warehouses for movement into Bosnia at a later date.

The current military situation linked to the role of UNPROFOR has meant that it has not been able to get into Bosnia at this stage.

A small part of the convoy involving Swedish Workers Aid, Danish Workers Aid, plus parts of the convoy from Belgium and Britain are continuing to research ways of beating the blockade through developing more detailed local knowledge of the military and political situation.

The Union of Autonomous Unions of Croatia has given unstinting support to the convoy

and provided a permanent office in their Zagreb headquarters.

Over the last month it became increasingly clear that the convoy would have extreme difficulty reaching Tuzla, given the developing military and political situation in the region.

### Hardening attitude

The refusal of the Bosnian Government to accept ethnic partition resulted in an intensification of the military campaigns and a hardening of the attitude of both the Serbian and Croatian regimes as they prepared their winter campaigns with starvation as a part of their strategy.

Despite this political and military reality the convoy has been a huge success. Whilst getting through to Tuzla would have been a tremendous achievement, delivering aid to Bosnians who have been the

victims of Serbian or Croatian aggression or the victims of ethnic cleansing in occupied parts of Bosnia is consistent with the aims of International Workers Aid and indeed one of its original objectives.

It is necessary to stress again, the Workers Aid convoy has been the only working class response to one of the greatest crimes perpetrated in Europe since the defeat of Hitler.

It has raised the issue of the defence of Bosnia, the right of self defence, the lifting of the arms embargo, opposition to the policies of the Serbian and Croatian regimes and to the horrors of ethnic cleansing in the workers movement across Europe.

Possibly its greatest success has been the bonds built between the convoy and the workers movements in Croatia and Slovenia.

Reprinted on this page is a remarkable appeal on behalf of

the Bosnian people, to the trade unions in Western Europe, from the UATUC, the biggest trade union federation in Croatia. All this would have been impossible without a convoy on the road.

Workers Aid now needs to consolidate its achievements and organise to step up the campaign on a stronger and European wide basis.

The convoy has resulted in the establishment of sister campaigns in a number of other European countries which are rooted in the Labour movement and have only just begun to realise their potential.

International Workers Aid is well placed to continue to organise both aid convoys and international solidarity with the Bosnian people on an ongoing basis.

This is why the Workers Aid conference on October 30 and the international meeting on October 31 are so important.

## October 30: a vital conference

THE WORKERS Aid conference in Manchester on October 30 is shaping up to be both an interesting and productive event.

It will receive first hand reports from members of the convoy team and reports from the many countries in Europe where Workers Aid campaigns are now being organised.

There will be important international guests addressing the conference. In particular

one of the leaders of the Union Of Autonomous Unions of Croatia and a representative of the Tuzla centre in Zagreb.

The conference will also discuss proposals and resolutions on the future of the campaign in Britain, most importantly when the next convoy should be organised after the big success of the first.

The most important task facing the conference is to transform itself into a democratically structured campaign.

Since its inception the convoy has operated on an ad-hoc basis which has inevitably led to many problems of a lack of democracy and accountability.

It is vital to establish inclusive structures which can integrate local groups and supporters, supporters from the Bosnian community in Britain, as well as trade union and labour movement organisations into the campaign.

On Sunday there will be a meeting of International

Workers Aid comprised of delegations from the various initiatives across Europe.

This will discuss the structure of the campaign in Europe and how it should be organised. It will also discuss the political objectives of the campaign as well as the provision of material aid in particular how to develop the links between the labour movement which have been established in ex-Yugoslavia and organisations in the West.

BOSNIA CONVOY

# Major's Tories ride rising tide of reaction

STATEMENTS from the Tory leadership over the last few weeks, including Conservative party conference speeches by Peter Lilley and Michael Howard, have revealed government plans to embark on the most reactionary social agenda this century.

Tory Neathanderthals are pinning the blame for Britain's ills on the eldest and most vulnerable sections of society - single parents, young women, the unemployed, 'foreigners' and 'criminals'.

With a magician's sleight of hand, the victims have become the villains while the real crooks absolve themselves of the responsibility for the economic and social stagnation and disintegration which 14 years of Tory rule have brought about.

## Populist agenda

Of course at one level recent ministerial statements were designed to create a sense of party unity by giving a sop to the party's right wing after its defeat on Maastricht. It was also about trying to boost flagging government support by finding a populist political agenda.

But behind all the surface froth is something far more insidious - the attack on the welfare state.

The economic crisis has wrecked government tax income, as well as pushing social security payments through the roof. The Tories have no

way out other than big tax increases and squeezing the welfare state.

Clarke's November budget will see a big rise indirect taxes on consumer spending - always a way of hitting the poor. But in the long term the drive is on to close down the welfare state. With an aging popula-

tion and a crashing economy this is not just a matter of venal and revoltingly reactionary policy - it is a political necessity.

This requires a propaganda framework, combining 'family values' and 'self-help', designed to appeal to sections of the middle class and better off workers afraid of tax increases.

## Moralism

It is a social agenda based on crude right-wing moralism; it is anti-women, anti-youth, anti-black and of

course anti-working class. It revives archaic 'Victorian' notions of the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, topped off with sexist notions of women with loose morals wantonly having children out of wedlock in order to jump housing queues and scrounge off the welfare state.

No other bourgeois government in the world, not even the Italian Christian Democrats linked to the Vatican, would dare to trot out such garbage.

Far from outflanking the BNP fascists and other extreme right reactionaries, this Tory agenda will only feed support for them. It is a message to those who voted for the BNP in Millwall that their reactionary prejudices are right.

The new Tory agenda is only possible because of the silence and immobility of the Labour leadership. If

you leave aside the debate on one member, one vote, the Labour party conference was a total non-event. While the Liberals have been parading their electoral successes, and the Tories outline a new and deeply reactionary social agenda, Labour has nothing to offer by way of an alternative vision.

By striking out to the right in such a crude way the Tories of course are making huge sections of society - the majority - into the 'enemy within'. Even the Church of England and top judges are disturbed by this turn.

## Silence of the Labs

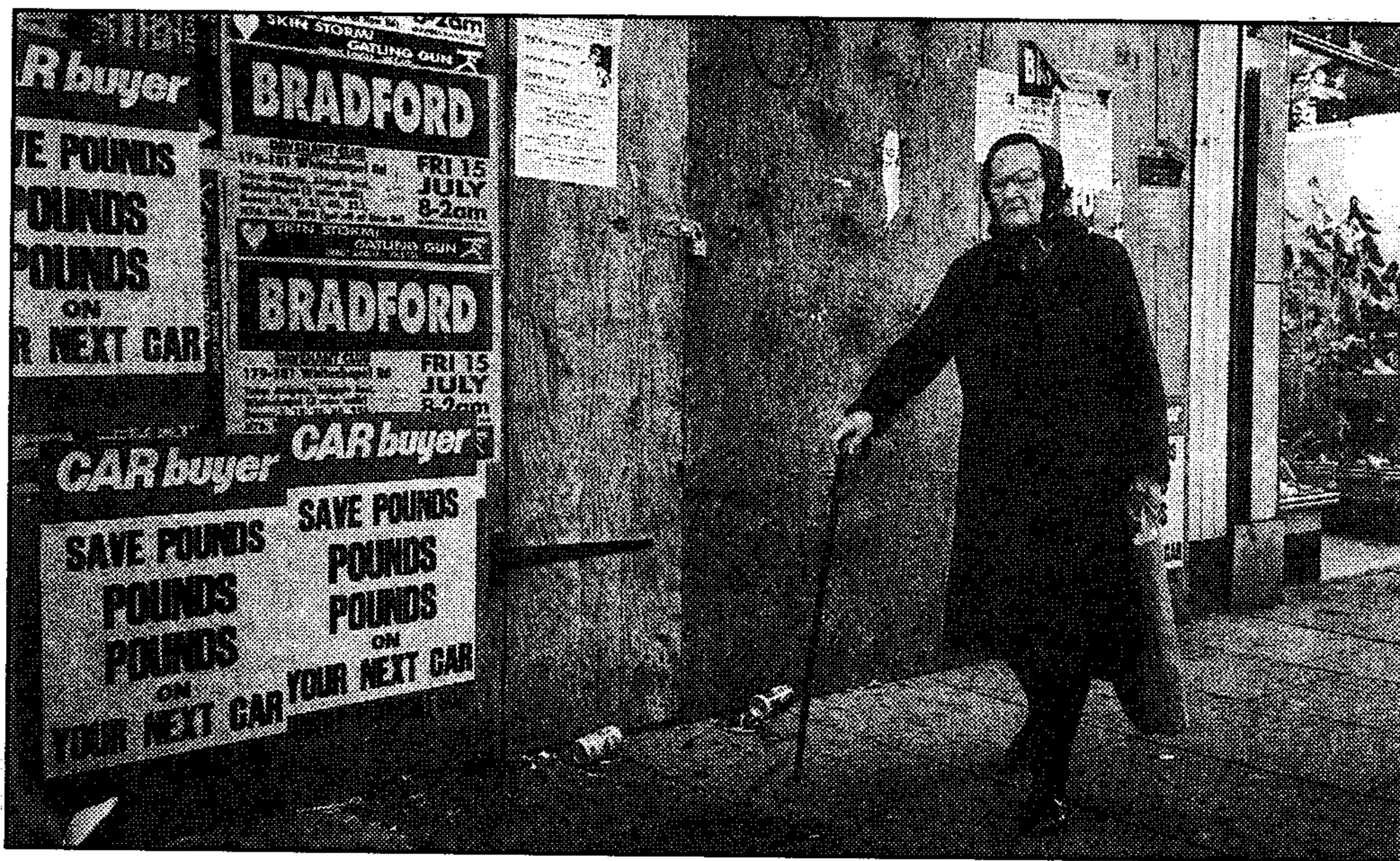
They have spoken out. John Smith and his acolytes are conspicuously silent. That is the shame and disgrace in this situation.

The Tory conference was a glimpse of what the world's most experienced ruling class is capable of doing to defend its power and privileges.

Their reactionary frenzy feeds off quiescence and defeat, and only struggle and resistance can defeat it.

That's the challenge for the left; to sound the alarm throughout the labour movement, to demand of the Labour leaders that they fight back, to organise the poor and oppressed, to give a voice to the powerless.

Fighting the fascists is an absolute necessity, but rousing the organised labour movement to throw back the tide of reaction engulfing 'official' politics is even more important.



Eking out an existence in the debris of Tory Britain will become even harder

## Liberation! steps into political breach

By Jake Farrier

**LIBERATION!** - the socialist youth paper launched by youth and student *Socialist Outlook* supporters this month - is off to a flying start.

*Liberation!* is a response to the weakness of the groups that have traditionally organised young people - the trade unions, student unions and mass campaigns.

While we argue for the existing movements to open themselves up to young people, we also want to organise the fight for young people's rights today.

The *Liberation!* masthead states that we are 'For a Red, Green and Feminist Youth Movement'. So we have been out in the colleges, on the streets and going to a number of anti-racist activities. We've had a good response in even the least expected places.

Four hundred youth snapped up copies on the recent South London anti-racist UNITY march, including 11 on the Liverpool Institute of HE bus. Twenty five copies were sold at London Guildhall University's ANL group.

We also sold out of 12 copies at Manchester University's Labour Club. More reports of sales are coming in all the time.

### Experience

For the moment, is a modest and also an ambitious project. Young people involved in producing the paper have met with activists with experience of building other radical youth organisations.

Two weeks ago a meeting of *Liberation!* supporters heard Seán Healy from the Australian young socialist group *Resistance* speak about their campaigns against censorship, in defence of the environment, de-

fending the rights of lesbians, gay men and young women, for free education and on a host of other issues.

Leaders of the *Ungasocialisterna*, the Swedish youth organisation also discussed with us and so did past leaders of *Revolution*, the youth organisation sponsored in the 1980s by young British marxists. Young militants of the Fourth International - the worldwide socialist organisation - have also eagerly read the new quarterly.

In addition, *Liberation!* supporters have participated in major gatherings outside the UK, of leaders of the revolutionary youth organisations supported by the Fourth International, and of its' ecologist militants.

Several thousand leaflets were distributed on the Unity demonstration advertising a *Liberation!* public meeting held in the heart of London's East End protesting the rise of the

**Students and youth alike, largely ignored by the trade union and Labour movement, have snapped up copies of Liberation!**



right. Asian socialist Bala Kumar and student militant Louise Whittle explained at the forum why a youth movement must be built in Britain.

A new supplement to *Liberation!* will be printed next month. Regular meetings of

*Liberation!* activists are continuing and a three-day course, including discussions, videos and classes by leaders of the Fourth International, will precede the editorial weekend for the next *Liberation!*, on 18 and 19 December.

EDITORIAL

# Following successful strike Tube union notches up a major victory

By a tube worker

RMT MEMBERS Ray Stelzner and Pat Sikorski have been reinstated as guards on full pay at Leytonstone, the depot from which they were summarily dismissed over two months ago by London Underground.

But they will not be able to return to work until final binding arbitration by ACAS is delivered Friday October 22.

Management conceded the whole union case, except for allowing them to return to work, at talks at ACAS on the Monday following the success-

ful one day strike by RMT traincrew on the Central Line on Thursday 7 October.

The day after the strike the RMT National Executive had unanimously decided to call a ballot of all RMT members on LUL and extend the one day strikes by the Central Line traincrew throughout the five week balloting period.

The strike call had been overwhelmingly supported by the RMT traincrew and even by a handful of principled members of ASLEF. However the overwhelming majority of that union and all its local branch officials crossed official picket lines.

Picketing on the east end of the line was particularly

lively and effective, with anything up to 50 workers at both Leytonstone and Hainault at the peak of the booking-on times. As a result 80 per cent of rush hour trains and 75 per cent of off-peak trains were cancelled.

The other major factor contributing to the success of the campaign was the activity of about a dozen women who organised as the Partners Support Group.

They put out their own leaflets three times every week and distributed them to every train as it went through key stations on the line.

Whatever the outcome of the arbitration Ray and Pat will get a job back with LUL.



Life on the tube would be an empty shell without Ray and Pat

In this climate this is a major victory for the union on LUL and for the movement.

Management's plan was simple and that was to behead the RMT on the tubes by victimising the District Council secretary.

It was also well known that

he was the front-runner in the current elections for a three year term on the union's NEC. As LUL gear up for another major round of attacks on the workers, their union busting operation has gone disastrously wrong.

# UNISON Left - time to get organised

By Doug Thorpe  
Islington UNISON  
'A'

THE FORMATION of UNISON with 1.4 million members has not yet brought any advance in the organisation of its left wing.

The merger brought with it an uneven legacy of left organisation. In the 1970s the NALGO Left was organised through the NALGO Action Group (NAG) and the fight for a shop stewards system.

However by 1980 the decline of NAG had begun with the split of the CP to the right and it was eventually closed down by the SWP in 1982. Militant stepped into the vacuum to form the Broad Left but despite its name both they, and since 1990, the SWP, have successively run it as a narrow front organisation with little influence outside their own membership and periphery.

The CP/*Morning Star* retained significant influence particularly in Scotland but continued to move rightwards, increasingly playing the role of left apologists for the bureaucracy particularly in their opposition to any national action to fight cuts.

In NUPE the Broad Left, controlled by Militant, was small, secretive and marginal although one or two Militant supporters got on to the NEC. As in NALGO the CP retained influence in Scotland, however the

union was dominated by the Kinnockite Sawyer/Bickerstaffe leadership.

In neither NALGO nor NUPE did the formal organisation of the left reflect the potential strength of the wider left represented by those prepared to fight on issues such as cuts and privatisation.

At NALGO conference a core of about one third regularly voted for strike action against cuts - while on specific issues (such as fighting anti-trade union laws) this often became a majority.

Even at the smaller NUPE conferences resistance was growing from about a fifth to a



Left must maintain tradition of generalised action

be obstructing branch mergers which might expose the inflated membership figures they have been using and weaken their position at the coming round of conferences.

At the first London Local Government Committee, the regional official caucused with ex-NUPE branches before going to the meeting with ex-NALGO and ex-COHSE delegates. This abuse and marginalisation of lay structures has worried even the *Morning Star*

tably the UCH strike, however this support has been successfully used to prevent any spread of these examples and to close them down eventually.

The left has not been able to break out of this framework and generalise action. The Local Government pay ballot was lost by a two to one margin. It is crucial that the left push forward branch mergers and fight to defend lay structures at every level.

In this context the formation of the Campaign for a Fighting Democratic UNISON (CFDU) is the key initiative. Formed around a statement signed by hundreds of branch activists a conference is being called on the following demands

- National action against cuts, CCT and privatisation;
- Fight the public sector pay freeze - for a minimum wage at two thirds the national average;
- Repeal all Tory anti-union laws using defiance of those laws where necessary;
- For a democratic and accountable UNISON under lay member control with full branch representation and autonomy - for rapid branch mergers;
- Defence of self-organisation for oppressed groups

This first national launch conference originally scheduled for 20 November is now likely to be postponed until January to avoid clashing with the TUC Health day of action.

At present all the groups on the left support the conferences but the SWP want a conference based on individual attendance and voting.

A delegate based conference would be more representative and encourage the campaign to be built at a branch and regional level where the decisions of the campaign can be translated into action.

### Compromise

A compromise has been reached which will allow delegations from branches and, where branch affiliation cannot yet be achieved, from branch based CFDU supporters groups. Provision will also be made to encourage delegates from self-organised groups. The conference will be open to any individual UNISON members as observers without vote.

Given the current political climate and limited channels of communication in the new union the numbers initially involved in the CFDU may be relatively small but it is important that they are as broad based as possible and hopefully involve those currently beginning to organise on the left of the NEC.

In any case the important task is to establish the Campaign as a democratic fighting force at every level of the union.

## Campaign for a Fighting Democratic UNISON

National affiliations (£20 per branch) and enquiries to Paul Harris, 6 Beulah View, Leeds, LS6 2LA

### LONDON LAUNCH CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 30 OCTOBER

1.30pm at Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, NW1  
Details from Brian Gardner, Islington UNISON A.

third of branches. In particular the strength of self-organised groups played an important role in NALGO but was never drawn into the formal 'Left' organisations.

It is early yet to assess the strength of the left in UNISON. The lack of structures has been used by full-time officials to increase their power. Ex-NUPE officials in particular appear to

supporters, previously strong at a regional level.

The 'left' on the National Executive has had some success in holding back the worst excesses of the full-time officials, but the NEC with 125 members is too unwieldy a body to be effective and day to day control remains with officials.

Some strikes have taken place with official support, no-

TRADE UNION NEWS

# Pit women see off police thugs

**By Sheila Gregory (Lancashire Women Against Pit Closures (LWAPC) and Socialist Outlook supporter)**

ON FRIDAY 8 October Parkside Women's Pit Camp was viciously attacked by 75 baton wielding riot police in an attempt to end the struggle against the pit's permanent closure. They failed.

The pit camp was initiated on 18 January by over 30 women from LWAPC and Miners Support Groups throughout the North West. Since January we have sustained a 24 hour presence outside the colliery.

We organised three occupations and various other major events. The pit camp has gained most of its support from miners support groups centred around the North West Miners Support Group Network which Socialist Outlook supporters were instrumental in setting up last December along with Billy Pye (NUM NEC) and Sylvia Pye (National Chair of Women Against Pit Closures).

Our basic aim is to keep Parkside open as its viability is not in question especially as the pit made a profit of over £5 million for the '91/'92 financial year.

## Chained

On Thursday 30 September a slow trickle of lorries began to pile up stocks of limestones to be used to fill in the pit shaft. On Monday 4 January at 5.00am 12 of us chained ourselves across



the pit entrance accompanied by a further 50 supporters.

We stopped every lorry from entering only allowing in those which were not harmful to the interests of the pit. Post Office workers also refused to cross our picket line.

After a couple of hours many lorries were piling up causing a major jam. The police decided to turn them all away. Two lorries laden with cement got in through the rear entrance.

We immediately put a picket at the rear entrance and put paid to any further management skulduggery - this rear entrance hadn't been used for over 15 years.

## Guard sacked

On Tuesday we built a small shack and a portable toilet was installed along with a brazier. There were attempts by coal lorry drivers and security guards to ram the picket line but these were unsuccessful - in fact one security guard was sacked for his actions.

On Friday morning at 2am three women occupied the pump house for an indefinite period. All three women entered unnoticed.

Later that afternoon the rear

entrance gates had mysteriously been welded together along with one tonne of concrete dumped around the gate posts - effectively stopping every lorry from entering.

That afternoon various Coal Board managers arrived periodically at the pit to discuss their next step. They laid off all contractors, the mine companies withdrew all their mine shaft filling machinery.

We later discovered that mysteriously the hundreds of concrete blocks earmarked for shoring up all the underground tunnels had been smashed.

At around 12.30am Friday night there was a lot of activity - management scurrying everywhere. They turned off all the electricity to the pit.

This was extremely dangerous, because the methane gas extractor pumps were turned off - thus allowing a dangerous build up.

Management were asked about the safety of the pit and the three women occupying. They refused to answer. We then called the police - they just said we were breaking the law.

Suddenly at 2.30am unmarked police wagons pulled up at the barrier. Riot police jumped out and surrounded us,

Protestors surge into and stage a meeting in the pump room



pushing, shoving, smashing our furniture, wielding their batons at us and told us, 'go and fuck off out of the way'.

Billy Pye was hit over the head with a riot shield. They used bolt cutters to snap our chain in two places. We all stayed calm - no one was arrested.

The thugs left in two minutes along with the management. The local police were not happy and have apparently lodged an official complaint to the Merseyside Chief Constable over their behaviour. We later fixed the chain and continued our picket.

Around 300 protestors turned up for a demonstration to support the action of the women pickets and occupiers on Sunday October 10. Billy Pye spoke and asked everyone to support a mass trespass onto British Coal property to take Sunday Lunch to the three occupiers.

## Pump house rally

We walked calmly under the pit barrier without the police stopping us. We visited the pump house and had a short rally. We all returned to the pit camps clearly showing that mass civil disobedience will work.

For over two weeks we have exercised almost complete control over the pit, stopped over 2,000 tonnes of limestone being delivered and management have fled in the most effective non-trade union action since Saltley Gate.

Better still 75 riot police couldn't defeat eight women, one NUM member and three dummies and went home with their tails between their legs.

## Prosecution

British Coal intended to have filled in the shaft within two weeks - this has not been done. Rather British Coal Management face prosecution, not only for abandoning the pit but for damage to a NORWEB sub station and illegally cutting off the electricity supply to large parts of Newton-Le-Willows.

In fleeing from the site and leaving LWAPC almost completely in charge it clearly demonstrates that direct action is the only successful way to beat back the bosses offensive.

Please send messages of support and donations to: LWAPC, Parkside Womens Pit Camp, Winwick Road, Newton-Le-Willows, Lancs. Tel: 0925-291799

# 1,000 join the Revells

**By Glenn Voris**

PRINTWORKERS at Revell and George/Queensprint have now been fighting for six months for re-instatement after being sacked for pursuing the GPMU print union's National Pay Claim.

The dispute escalated in July when mass pickets were successfully called to close down the printworks every Monday morning.

However, since July the dispute has been in stalemate. GPMU officials worried about injunctions from Revell and George management pressurized the strikers from

continuing with the pickets.

On October 9 over 1000 workers joined a demonstration in Manchester to support the sacked printers.

It finished with a rally outside Manchester Town Hall. Speakers included Tony Dubbins (GPMU General Secretary), a Timex striker, representatives from Revell and George, Arrowsmiths printwork strikers, Harvest printwork strikers and Sheila Gregory (LWAPC and Socialist Outlook). Sheila Gregory received the biggest round of applause after explaining their actions at Parkside Colliery.

Later there was a successful Socialist Outlook Open Forum meeting at the

Mechanics Institute to discuss how to take the dispute forward.

The speakers included Phil Griffin (SMTUC Chair), Sheila Gregory and Geoff Southern (deputy FOC for the Revell and George dispute).

## Anti-union laws

Fighting the anti trade union laws was a key issue for those at the meeting. Phil Griffin spoke about the SMTUC Day School held in Manchester on 24 October and resisting the anti union laws. Sheila Gregory explained how women have effectively stopped Parkside Pit from shutting.

A striker from the Harvest

dispute was amazed when the speaker from Revell and George said that they had yet to set up support groups. He explained that the day after being sacked they had formed a support group in Macclesfield to set the basis for general support in the area.

The lack of a support group for the Revell and George strike has been a major problem. The unwillingness of the FOC and deputy FOC to back any idea to set up a group reflects the politics of the SWP showing their inability to show any way forward - the only tactic being just stand at the picket line and raise money.

Contribution after contribution explained why support

groups were necessary - drawing on the experience of Miners Support Groups, Timex Support groups and a wide range of other disputes.

To get round the anti-trade union laws a Revell and George Support group can call mass pickets. The discussion was extremely fruitful and the deputy FOC at Revell and George agreed to discuss the issue with the ten strikers.

We need to make sure the support group proposal is turned into reality via further argument and our willingness to be part of it once established.

Without a support group it is difficult to envisage how the dispute can be escalated let alone won.

TRADE UNION NEWS

# Bosnia – why we take sides

By Gerry Foley

THE RECENT weeks have seen strong pressure from the 'international community' – the US and the European Community – to force the Bosnian leadership into signing a peace agreement which would accept the partition of the country into three ethnically-defined areas.

But so far no peace deal has been signed. Whether or not a deal is signed soon, which now looks unlikely, the basic facts of the situation will not change. We can summarise them as follows:

- Peace is impossible on the basis of an ethnic division of Bosnia. The three communities cannot be disentangled without massive population transfers which would destroy the Bosnia which has existed for centuries.

There are *three* communities in Bosnia. They are not separated by language but only by different historical traditions. None of these ethnic communities is concentrated in a compact territory capable of surviving by itself.

## Ethnic cleansing

This is the reason for the ethnic cleansing campaigns.

The Serbians historically predominated in large territories in eastern and western Bosnia. These two territories were divided by large areas where Croats and Muslims predominated.

The Muslims live mainly in large towns, but before ethnic cleansing they predominated in a large part of eastern Bosnia. Croats dominate in western and south-western Bosnia which is the basis of the Croat ethnic statelet, called 'Herceg-Bosnia'.

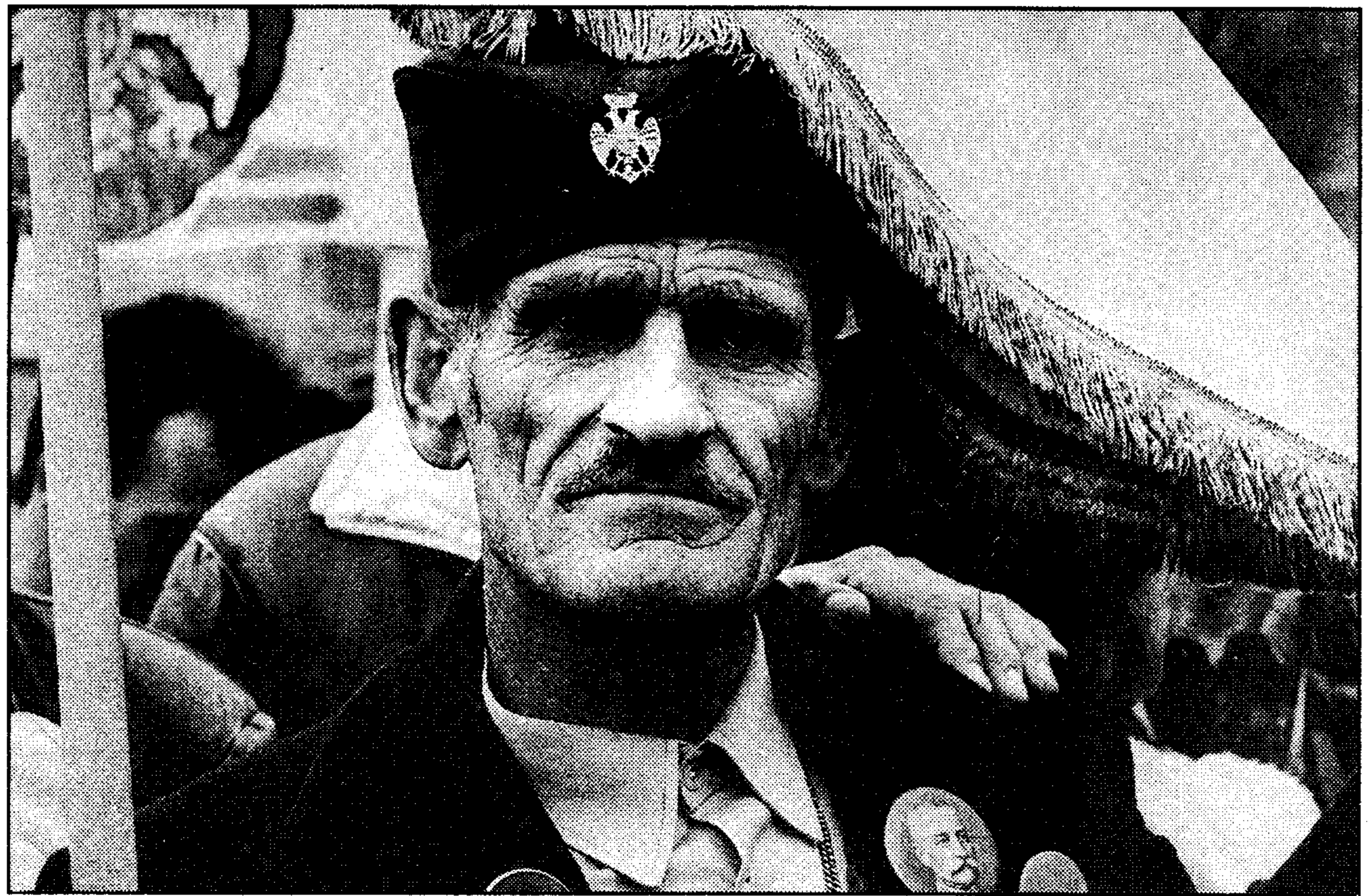
**The great majority of the population live in ethnically-mixed areas. Thus 'peace' on a basis of ethnic division means a continuation of ethnic cleansing.**

A peace treaty based on this will mean an indefinite continuation of local clashes.

- The proposed settlement will involve increased intervention by the United States and its allies. The intervention will exacerbate the conflicts in Bosnia; the intervention of the West so far has been disastrous for the Bosnian people.

The imposition by the United States and its allies of an embargo on arms deliveries disarmed the Bosnia forces against the Serbians in particular.

- At the time the Serbs launched their attack on Bosnia, the Bosnians had no regular armed forces of their own. But the Serb chauvinists inherited the equipment of the old Yugoslav army, the eighth most powerful in the world.



Reactionary Serbian nationalism must be rejected utterly by Serbian working class



Negotiating from weakness: Bosnian president Izetbegovic in more talks on carve-up

This explains why the war in Bosnia has tended to take the form of prolonged sieges of cities. Serb chauvinists have been able to rain down artillery shells on cities and towns with virtual impunity, and to drive civilian populations away from their homes by mortar fire.

The stationing of US and UN forces in Bosnia with a mandate to guarantee implementation of a peace treaty will lead to their increasing involvement in conflicts on the ground.

Experience shows that the essential weight of the interventionist forces will come down on the side of the strongest regional power – that is, Serbia.

## Imperialist intervention

The United States and its allies would intervene – ostensibly to defend the victims of Serb aggression, but in reality to support its own policy aims. So far, the so-called peace-keeping forces have mainly clashed with Croats and Muslims.

Given these realities, what can be done to aid the beleaguered Bosnian people? The left has a responsibility to act on this question; and to do that it is necessary to make choices.

We have to reject the idea that all three

contending parties share the blame for the conflict. The source of the war in Bosnia is Greater Serbian chauvinism.

**This war became inevitable when the Serbian state leader Slobodan Milosevic proclaimed the goal of uniting all Serbs in one state.**

That could only be done by wars of aggression against the other nationalities in the former Yugoslavia; it could only be accomplished by ethnic cleansing.

The socialist movement has developed a general principle for judging national conflicts. We support oppressed nationalities against oppressor nationalities.

The oppressor nation in the former Yugoslavia was the Serbians. They were also the oppressor nationality in the Yugoslav state which existed between

**Experience shows that the interventionist forces will come down on the side of the strongest regional power – Serbia**

World War I and World War II.

Although the Yugoslav socialist revolution led to a weakened Serbian domination, Serbs still dominated the police and the army in particular. Socialists defend the victims of Serbian chauvinism.

Of course, like anything in the real world, there are many complications in such broad definitions. Some nationalities are more oppressed than others; and some nationalities which are themselves oppressed oppress others.

The Albanians were the most oppressed nationality in the old Yugoslavia. We are entirely opposed to Serbian nationalism, but Croatian nationalism, at first at least, represented a struggle against national oppression. We condemn the Croat leadership for breaking the alliance with the Bosnians.

## Not consistent

In addition to condemning the Croatian rulers for not representing the interests of Croatian working people, we condemn them for not consistently defending the interests of the Croatian national struggle.

On the other hand we condemn Serbian nationalism totally. In the case of the Serbians we appeal to Serbian working

people to reject all forms of nationalism and focus on the common interests of all working people.

For this reason we also condemn the economic sanctions against Serbia applied by the United States and its allies, because their effect is to disorganise and impoverish the Serbian working class, and to weaken the Serbian antiwar movement.

The worst expression of narrow nationalism on the part of the leaderships of the non-Serbian peoples of the former Yugoslavia is the idea that a separate peace with Milosevic is possible.

This has enabled the Serbian chauvinists to oppress and attack peoples one by one, and it has even led the leadership of some victims of Serb aggression to try to make deals with Serbia at the expense of other victims – as in the case of Tudjman's recent alliance with the Serbs in Bosnia.

**The socialist movement fights for the unity of working people across national lines. But in order to prepare the way for that, it is necessary for the workers of oppressor nationalities to reject the oppression of other peoples by their own national leaders.**

# After 16 October... deepen fight for unity!

The 16 October 'Unity' demonstration against the Welling BNP headquarters was a major mobilisation success. It was the largest anti-racist demonstration since the 1970s, overwhelmingly attended by youth.

But this success was marred by two things: the serious disunity created by holding two rival marches on the same day, and the outcome of the Welling march, which went half a mile before grinding to a halt in front of police lines.

## Blocked route

The march reached an impasse because of the massive police mobilisation. When it was unable to move towards the BNP HQ the police also blocked off the route they had arranged for the march.

In effect the demonstration was bottled up, with riot police at intervals along its whole length and was at the mercy of the police. Having sealed off all possible routes leaving the marchers trapped with nowhere to go the 'impartial' forces of the state moved in to protect the BNP.

The demonstration effectively marched into a well coordinated police trap which created the kind of confrontation they were looking for.

The government and the media then tried to take the moral high ground by portraying sections of the demonstration as mindless hooligans bent on violence.

It was the most determined



Blockade prepared police attack on marchers

effort to criminalise a demonstration, aided and abetted by the media, since the Poll Tax rebellion.

## Out-mobilised

The ARA demonstration in Trafalgar Square, including delegations and banners from twenty national trade unions was much smaller, only 3 or 4,000 and the ARA were clearly out-mobilised.

The building of the Anti-Rac-

ist Alliance has represented an important achievement and it was sickening to see the ARA leaders involved in the flurry of denunciation of the Unity march.

The division of the anti-racist movement - for which ARA have the main responsibility in this case - represents a major problem for the anti racist movement as a whole.

If there had been one united march, with the sponsorship

from the official labour movement which ARA has behind it, and the youth mobilising potential of the far-left forces behind the Unity march, then a huge and united rebuff of the fascists could have been achieved.

## Unity

It would have been harder to demonise, in advance, a march with massive backing from the official labour movement and, later, employ such vicious tac-

tics and get away with it.

It is time for the anti-racist movement to reflect on this experience, address this disunity and the future activities which are posed.

A united campaign, representing the interests of the families attacked, communities under threat, protection against deportations and against the fascist threat must be created.

Another half mile walk to nowhere cannot be allowed.

# Tory right: spot the fascist!

By Dave Osler

FORMER members of both the British National Party and the National Front have started a new far-Right umbrella group inside the Conservative Party.

The Campaign for Conservative Victory held its first meeting at an undisclosed central London venue on September 4, according to a report in the first issue of *Right Now*, a quarterly review.

Among the organisations present were the Revolutionary Conservative Caucus, the Conservative Patriotic Forums, the Anti-Federal Europe Movement, conservatives Against a Federal Europe and representatives from the constituency parties and the Young Conservatives.

In the chair was Sam Swerling, a London Guildhall University law lecturer and former member of the Monday Club executive, who fought both 1974



Under fascist pressure: Major

elections as a Conservative. Mr Swerling has openly praised Jean-Marie LePen, leader of the French National Front, in an interview in the *Guardian*.

## Ulster

Among the subjects under discussion were Maastricht, 'the multicultural collapse of our inner cities', Ulster, the disintegration of public services and 'the shameful abandonment of true Conservative principles by the

modern Conservative establishment'.

*Right Now* quotes CCV's newsletter, *Victory*, as stating: 'The CCV gives all radical Right Conservatives the opportunity to co-ordinate their activities within a single organisation.'

'This structure will provide a forum and a platform for opponents of the present Conservative Party regime as we work to replace Major and Co with a patriotic, loyalist and forward-thinking political elite that will put British and Western interests first.'

The box number address quoted is shared with the Revolutionary Conservative Caucus, a group formed about 18 months ago after the demise of the Western Goals group.

RCC boasts of being '100 per cent against Major and the present leadership', advocating policies including restoration of the death penalty, a complete ban on immigration, recriminalisation of male homosexuality and restrictions on abortion. The

group works for the de-selection of those Conservative MPs who are seen as pro-Maastricht or soft on race.

It claims around 200 members, almost certainly an exaggeration. It includes Stuart Millson, a one-time Conservative student activist who defected to the BNP, now back within the Tory fold.

Glyn Ford, Labour MEP for Greater Manchester has condemned reports that RCC members distributed literature at the recent 'Bleu, Blanc, Rouge' LePen rally in France and is demanding that those responsible be expelled from the Conservative Party.

## Ex-NF members

Another of the groups mentioned, Conservative Patriotic Forums, is largely made up of former members of the NF working inside the Tory party.

*Right Now* was openly sold by Nick Eriksen, a Southwark Tory councillor, at fringe meetings at last week's Conservative confer-

ence. Elected to the council in 1990, Mr Eriksen has called for the abolition of the Race Relations Act in letters to the local newspaper.

The publication, which lists its address as a box number in London E1, reprints the text of a recent controversial speech on race by the Conservative MP for Daveyhulme, Winston Churchill describing it as 'very sensible and modest' It also analyses the concentration of immigrants by local government area.

*Right Now* describes John Major's government as possessing 'social policies and attitudes (that) would in 1953 have found echo only among the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League and the odd anarchist and beatnik'.

A Conservative Central Office spokeswoman confirmed that there were absolutely no restrictions on forming pressure groups inside the party. Because membership is by local association, CCO has no powers of expulsion, even when members back rebel candidates.

FIGHTING FASCISM

# Politics behind the Moscow clashes

WHAT did the contending forces in the Moscow military clashes represent – and what do they mean for the future? *Socialist Outlook* talked to PETER GOWAN, lecturer in European studies at University of North London and a member of the *New Left Review* editorial board.

**What is the political alliance behind Yeltsin? And who backed Rutskoi and Khasbulatov?**

THE POLITICAL forces around Yeltsin are a very powerful bloc of proto-capitalist mafias, accumulating capital through financial and commercial operations, linked to the control of political power.

This group is very heavily concentrated in the central cities like Moscow and Petersburg; it has only tenuous connections with the key industrial economic elites like that in the energy sector.

The decisive thing Yeltsin's

bloc has got is control of political power and support from Western economic and political forces.

Since the Spring Yeltsin's group has been trying hard to establish support in the industrial elites, especially in the oil, gas and coal sector; it has also been trying to court the army. But this is at a very early stage.

So in the light of the weakness of its social base, the decision of the Yeltsin group to disband the parliament was a very high risk strategy.

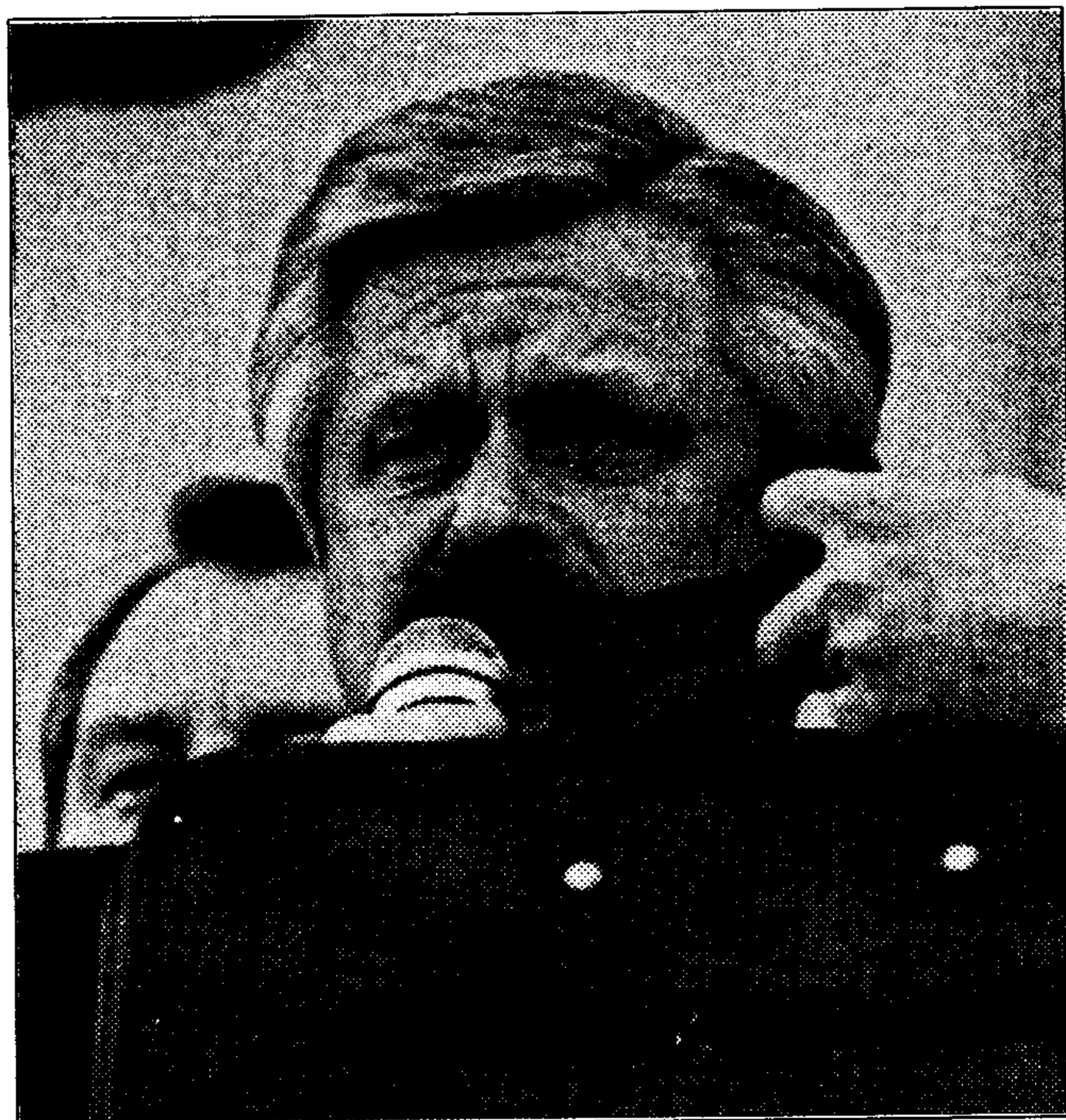
On the other side, the Khasbulatov-Rutskoi platform was an alliance united only by hostility to Yeltsin.

But you can see an *element* of unity on this side, which could be described as people wanting a transition to capitalism but in a *very different way* to Yeltsin; instead of a free market 'big bang' favoured by Gaidar, the Rutskoi-Khasbulatov position is for a 'state capitalist' transition.

In this scheme major industries would remain nationalised for a period of years in order to make them competitive on the world market, instead of being instantly privatised, which would be disastrous.

In the Rutskoi camp there were people who wanted a democratic transition to capitalism; by democracy they meant maintaining a link to industrial workers and protecting to a minimal extent the workers in the state industrial sector.

There were also people in the parliamentary alliance who wanted to maintain a socialised economy; for such people there is an obvious basis for an alliance with those favouring a 'state capitalist' transition.



Rutskoi: bureaucrat behind bullet-proof briefcase



Yeltsin: backed by proto-capitalist mafia forces

Both want to maintain a substantial industrial sector and national control over Russia's industrial resources against Western penetration.

Then there were disparate groups of intellectuals who wanted to fight Yeltsin's dictatorial tendencies, and to defend a state 'based on law'. These people were repelled by Yeltsin's dictatorial tendencies.

I would make a distinction between all these groups and the other element in this alliance which is the Russian nationalists, what you might call the 'Russian revanchist' currents, which were strongly in favour of rebuilding Russian control over the space of the former of the ex-USSR.

This is obviously a very heterogeneous coalition.

**Isn't the anti-Yeltsin alliance socially more powerful and a more strongly rooted force than the Yeltsin-Gaidar team? Why weren't they able to mobilise a larger force behind them?**

ABSOLUTELY, the anti-Yeltsin forces are more rooted in society; but the great mass of the Russian people are politically demor-

alised and demobilised.

Moreover the Yeltsin line that 'things may be bad, but civil war is worse' was very effective with the armed forces.

The proto-capitalist forces in Russia require above all a stable political and social order; and the side which seemed to embody this was Yeltsin's. So those elements tended to wait and see.

But there's no question that the tactics of the Khasbulatov-Rutskoi team were stupid and played into the hands of the Yeltsin camp.

The only logic of their armed offensive was to split the military and that did not occur. Instead there was a pathetic, half-cock *putsch*.

What the Rutskoi leadership didn't seem to grasp was that they could have mounted a formidable challenge to Yeltsin in the parliamentary elections scheduled for December; they had a broad alliance and the elements of an alternative economic strategy.

But it was touch and go for Yeltsin with the army. All he had was two crack divisions from East Germany, and other very small units; fortunately they stayed loyal and he was able to use them to storm the White House.

Though Yeltsin has won a

**political victory, overall isn't Yeltsin's project of a rapid transition to capitalism a utopian one? Can Russian industry be rapidly privatised?**

IN THE NEXT year Yeltsin faces a big problem. He has to legitimise his rule against the background of a worsening economic situation for most people, with no prospect of any respite.

He will try to simply exclude the forces behind the Rutskoi-Khasbulatov coalition. But this is a very difficult thing to achieve. In presidential elections, if they occur, he may face a challenge from younger neo-liberal politicians around a man called Yavlisky.

These people are completely in agreement with the Gaidar-Yeltsin economic project, but will present themselves as a 'new team'.

But beyond immediate political problems is the bigger question of the possibility of transforming the social relations of production. I would be very cautious about making rash judgements about whether a rapid transition to capitalism is, or is not, possible.

If you were to impose all the laws of free market capitalism on Russian industry immediately, you would have disaster - massive unemployment and de-industrialisation.

But there is a substantial accumulation of capital, in the form of money and commercial capital, and what Yeltsin has probably achieved is to group those proto-capitalist forces decisively around his leadership.

The transition to capitalism in Russia could alternatively be stretched out over a long period. Because of the strength of the energy sector, oil and gas, the external economic balances of Russia could be stabilised, given a deal with the West.

Then we could see a 5 or 10-year erosion of collectivised property taking place, as opposed to the free market 'big bang' which Yeltsin and Gaidar want. The question here is whether the West would give that approach a chance.

There are two dimensions involved in this process of restoring capitalism, not one. The first is the transition towards capitalism *in Russia*. The second is the integration of Russia into the world economy.

Insofar as you prioritise the stable transition to capitalism in Russia, the long and gradual





**Under whose banner? Old-guard stalinists and nationalists joined forces in an uneasy alliance which was united only by hostility to Yeltsin**

'state capitalist' transition is the most viable.

This would involve restructuring state enterprises over a 10-year period to prepare them for privatisation. In the short-term this would preserve the collective strength of the working class in these enterprises.

The alternative is rapid privatisation, massive unemployment and a huge shock-crisis.

The state capitalist version is the most stable perspective for a transition to capitalism in Russia, but has the disadvantage for the West that Russia would enter the world market on a very much stronger basis.

There is a big debate going on between Russia and the West. The Russians want access to Western markets, so far denied. The West wants access to Russian raw materials and energy sources. There is no agreement on all this yet.

As things stand at the moment the West is not giving Russia any significant assistance in integration into the world economy.

This is one of the reasons why you have this very significant Russian nationalist backlash. If the Gaidar approach were adopted it would be a massive rip-off and impoverishment of Russia.

**The working class had a completely abstentionist attitude to the conflict in Moscow. What does this represent?**

IT'S TRUE that the mass of the working class did not want to risk their lives in this conflict and this represents deep-rooted cynicism towards political elites in Moscow. This is especially true in the regions, because under the old system the provinces were pillaged for the benefit of the centre.

Yeltsin's own popular base

has collapsed and thus he achieved no big mobilisations on his own side. A few years ago Yeltsin had a big audience among industrial workers. But now they are deeply cynical towards him.

The provincial councils were very hostile to Yeltsin, and many of them had a strong local base and were often led by Communists. These are big forces in European and Urals Russia not on Yeltsin's side.

But the question for Rutskoi during the crisis was whether these forces could be mobilised in a general strike. But this was not possible, because the attitude of workers and local authorities was not one of positive support for an alternative, but of sticking together, not doing anything adventurist and trying to defend existing gains in a very difficult and dangerous situation.

Despite regional strains, I think that capitalist regionalism in Russia is excluded, because the various capitalist interests are trying to unite on a national scale.

**Will economic transition in the other CIS countries be de-synchronised from those in Russia? Can they be integrated into the world market separately from Russia and the CIS?**

OVERALL I would say no. The possibility of a separate integration into the world market existed for Azerbaijan, with its huge oil resources, but this has been sabotaged by Russia backing Armenia in the war against Azerbaijan.

The same thing has happened with Georgia, whose attempts to be independent of the CIS have been broken by Russian military support to the Abkhaz rebels.

Khazakstan has enormous resources in energy and precious

metals, but the domestic political situation where 50 per cent of the population are Russians, means that the Khazak government has no intention of breaking with Russia and the CIS.

The same is true of the other central Asian republics, especially the key country of Uzbekistan, which fears the operations of Muslim fundamentalists to its south.

Belorus is dependent on the Russian market, so it can't escape. Moldova could escape, but only by linking up with Romania to form a common state. That leaves Ukraine.

But Ukraine is based on agriculture, which the West hardly needs. It has tried to use its nuclear capacity as a bargaining chip, but this would only work

**Instead of a free market 'big bang' favoured by Gaidar, the Rutskoi-Khasbulatov position is for a 'state capitalist' transition.**

if there were forces in the West which needed a Ukrainian ally against Russia; today this is not the case. Ukraine is really dependent on Russia for energy; the Russians have got them by the throat.

I never thought the USSR was dominated by Russian 'economic imperialism'. But now there is a growing Russian economic imperialism in the post-USSR situation.

Russia is still the dominant economy which calls the shots in the whole space of the ex-USSR.

**The striking thing is the weakness of the left-wing political forces in Russia.**

**How do we explain this?**

IN ORDER to answer that question, you have to chart how the events in the USSR evolved, and put them in the context of the tremendous historical damage done to the consciousness of the working class by the decades of Stalinism.

The economies of the eastern bloc were never anything like as strong as the capitalist economies. The more advanced they became, the more their weakness, and their lack of integration into the world division of labour, became exposed.

The first way the Soviet leadership attempted to deal with



**Khasbulatov**

this was to clamp down on any independent political life, which further undermined support for socialism.

The second move of the Soviet leadership under Brezhnev was to try to achieve military parity with the West, and thus to force a 'reasonable' historic compromise.

The West replied with the Second Cold War during Reagan's presidency which wrecked the Soviet scheme.

The Gorbachev leadership then attempted a strategic retreat to try to revive the Soviet economy, which involved abandoning eastern Europe.

But a section of the bureaucracy moved towards accumulating capital, and that unleashed a

tremendous crisis of the Gorbachev project and a pro-capitalist drift.

The sections of the bureaucracy and Communist Party which resisted this overwhelmingly used bureaucratic-cum-militarist methods. All of this involved a tremendous disorientation and crisis of consciousness among both the working class and progressive intellectuals.

If the events in 1989 in eastern Europe and the USSR had been propelled simply by an uprising of the masses, then we could have expected the wind to be behind left wing and radical developments.

### **Collapse**

But it was not like that. It involved first and foremost a collapse - a collapse from above - of the old system.

The mass mobilisations, for example in East Germany and Czechoslovakia were a response to that collapse. It took place in a world situation in which capitalism was on the offensive, not the defensive.

All this had a profoundly disorientating effect, because we the real working class, unlike the mythical one, seeks practical solutions to its problems in the here and now.

What we are dealing with is a profound crisis of perspective which affected the working class in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, which made it inevitable that the left would be in a difficult situation.

But of course there have been and still are critical communist currents, emerging from the old parties and the old unions, which we have every interest in having a dialogue.

But there should be no illusions. We are involved in a very long-term battle to rebuild a socialist consciousness and perspective.

**Interview by PHIL HEARSE**

**CENTRE STAGE**

# Combined Pakistani opposition puts Bhutto in

By K Govindan

BENAZIR BHUTTO has again become Prime Minister of Pakistan and seems likely to form its next government amid fears that her administration will be as short-lived as her predecessors.

Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) along with its motley group of allies have the 109 seats needed to guarantee control of the Federal legislature.

He arch-rival and the previous Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, who leads the majority faction of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) is trailing the PPP but only just.

## Punjab

While Bhutto swept the provincial elections in her native Sindh it was her strong showing in the crucial Punjab province which demolished Nawaz Sharif's hopes.

Punjab is not only the most populous province it also supplies the higher echelons of the army and the state bureaucracy, dominating the rest

of the country.

The main working class centres Karachi and Hyderabad returned members belonging to the Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) who are now allies of Nawaz Sahrif.

It explodes the myth of the creation of Pakistan as a muslim nation-state that the MQM which represents those who migrated from India during the Partition grows in tandem with their frustrations.

A disparate community drawn from all parts of the sub-continent, the Mohajirs feel they are discriminated against and marginalised at all levels of society.

Confounding the expectations of the election authorities there was a low turnout for the polls of between 40-50 per cent. Kathy Evans writing in the *Observer* helps explain why.

'For many Pakistanis, the change of government (is) just another round of musical chairs among a group of elite feudal landowners, big businessmen and drug traffickers who dominate the system and conduct politics from the drawing rooms of Islamabad and Lahore'.

Prior to the elections there were many demonstrations in protest

Back in the hot seat: Benazir Bhutto faces problems as Premier



against the economic reforms of the caretaker regime of Moeen Qureshi – a former World Bank official.

The reforms led to huge price increases for bread, cooking oil and petrol.

Meanwhile Nawaz Sahrif's family company, *Ittefaq*, had its turnover multiply ten-fold over the period he entered politics and is now one of Pakistan's largest conglomerates.

## Poor record

Benazir Bhutto's record is hardly better. None of the most heinous anti-woman legislation introduced by the dictator, General Zia-Ul-Haq, were repealed during her last term in office.

The populist image of the PPP has been a sham since it brought Benazir's ill-fated father to power in

the 1970s. It has never challenged the economic system which is weighted in favour of the rich. Trade union rights were steadily eroded to suppress working class militancy.

In fact, Bhutto's husband Asif Zardari, is popularly known in Pakistan as 'Mr Ten Percent' – the reputed size of his commission in any business dealings with his wife's government.

The Pakistani left which has cowered in the PPP for so long should note a recent events in Bangladesh. Here 10 left-wing organisations have grouped themselves into an alliance asserting their class independence. They have a long way to go before they become a mass force but this is an extremely positive step for the working class and toilers of South Asia.

## East Timor Solidarity Tour Britain profits from East Timor slaughter

British made combat aircraft are leading the attack on the East Timor liberation fighters of FALINTIL. John Major's Tory government is becoming a main ally for Indonesia's Suharto regime. The "Free East Timor Tour" offers the labour movement a chance to respond to this by beginning to organise a broad-based campaign on the twin themes of the right to self determination for East Timor and an end to British arms sales. PAUL WALKER reports.



Butcher regime: Indonesian dictator Suharto (centre) with friends

NOVEMBER 12 will be the second anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor. On that day the Indonesian army murdered 200 peaceful demonstrators at a memorial meeting in a cemetery.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975 and have maintained a bloody and brutal occupation ever since. The East Timorese, against overwhelming odds, have fought politically and militarily against the occupation at a high cost. It is estimated that about 200,000 of the 700,000 East Timorese have died as

a result of the invasion and the struggle that has ensued.

From the 27 October to 14 November two representatives of the the struggle for self determination in East Timor will be speaking at over twenty meetings in Britain.

The speakers are Maria Braz, who is active within the East Timorese Womens Movement and Jose Amorim, who recently fled Inonesia after taking part in pro-independence protests in Jakarta. Jose is the European head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), which is the umbrella organ-

isation representing East Timorese resistance.

The tour has come to Britain to highlight the increasingly important role of British imperialism in Indonesia. British investment there has begun to rise rapidly in the last few years. In addition British Aerospace have recently won orders for 20 Hawk combat aircraft which have a role in fighting the East Timorese Liberation Army, FALINTIL (Forcas Armadas de Libertacao de Timor Leste).

It is argued, correctly, by the CNRM leadership that, whilst the military struggle has a role, self determination will not simply be won through the barrel of a gun. Indonesia is the world's fourth largest country – it would take a miracle for FALINTIL to comprehensively defeat ABRI, the Indonesian army.

Yet it is not impossible that a combination of military and political struggle could persuade the Indonesians to leave. Part of the political struggle has to be to build an international solidarity movement for East Timorese self determination centred on those country with a direct interest.

There are already strong campaigns developing in Portugal, Sweden, Japan and the United States, and these are leading to increased political pressure on Jakarta. The current role of Britain is to step into and exploit the gaps that are left by the success of these campaigns and to give political, moral and military support to the Indonesian leadership.

The Coalition for East Timor is the organisation which aims to place East Timor higher on Britain's political agenda. The tour and the Coalition demand and deserve the support of the labour movement and all internationalists.

# No British solution!

## Ireland UNFREE

By David Coen

AFTER THEIR second meeting towards the end of April, Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams and the SDLP's John Hume put out a statement saying their purpose was to try to develop an 'overall political strategy to establish peace and justice in Ireland'.

It went on to say 'we accept that the Irish people as a whole have a right to self-determination'. Sadly, neither peace or self-determination is the likely result.

### Losing base

The talks are mainly Hume's own doing. During the Brooke/Mayhew talks Hume realised he could no longer participate in the internal settlement proposed by the British as the risk of the SDLP's base sliding towards Sinn Fein was too great.

Saving the SDLP from Sinn Fein was the reason why Margaret Thatcher had swallowed the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Hume insists that Sinn Fein must be involved in any peace talks for no other reason than to protect his flank.

Sinn Fein are desperate to talk to anyone. There is a degree of war weariness among the Nationalists. Sinn Fein has failed to make inroads in the South and while the IRA is militarily capable of sustaining a long campaign, there is increasing recognition that the armed struggle alone is not enough.

### The 'Options for a Labour Government' document is in reality a plan to stabilise British rule in Ireland for another 20 years.

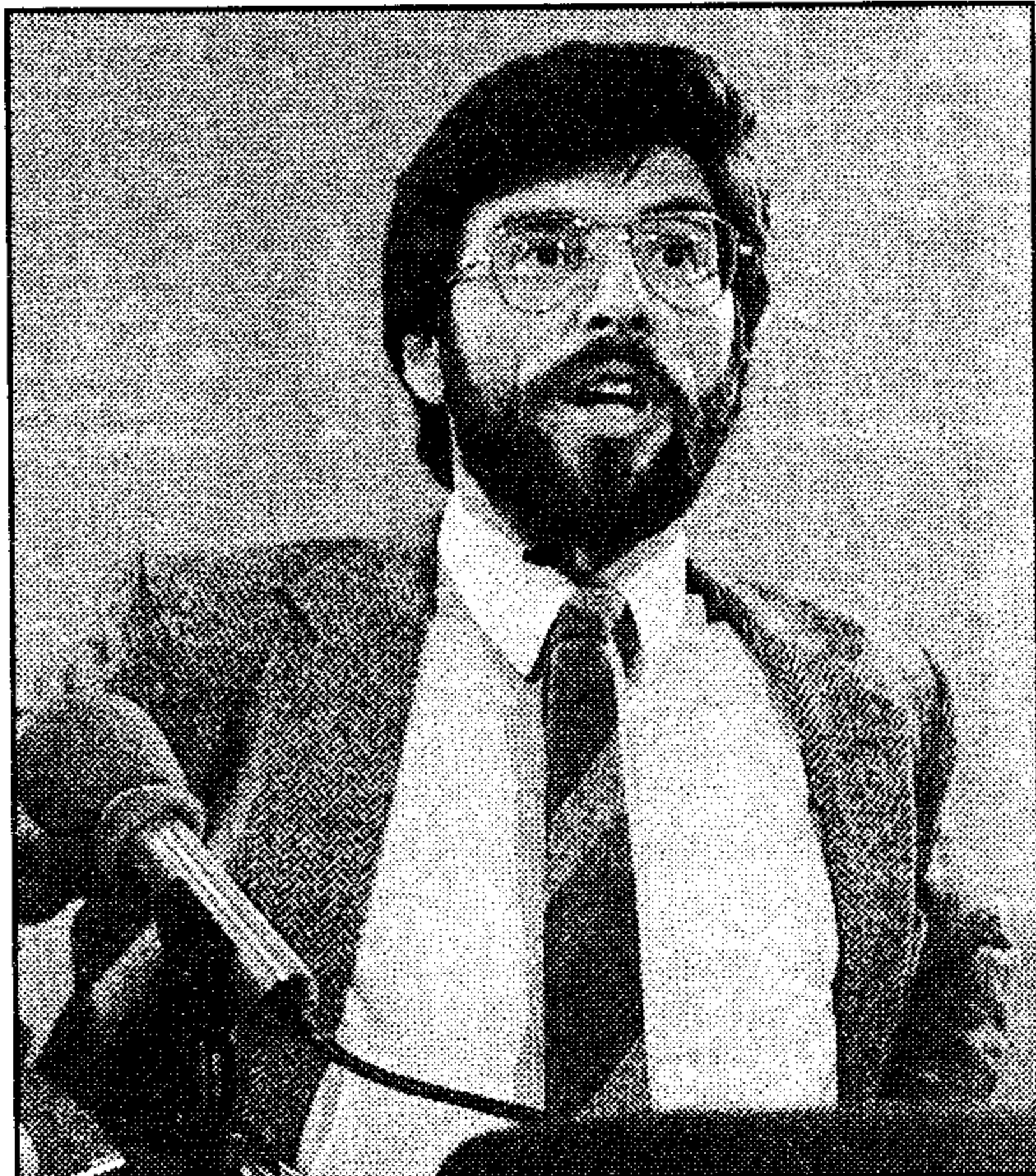
The Brits and, to a lesser extent, Dublin see Hume's talks with Adams as a maverick move but are using them to find out, as one Brit minister said, 'what Sinn Fein's price is'.

Both governments, while tacitly encouraging the talks, have kept their distance from them. Major refused a formal report from Hume and Dublin dithered between public approval and embarrassment at the ten days it took Hume to report to them on what had happened.

Denounced by the Unionists for form-

ing a 'pan nationalist front', under pressure from Loyalist attacks on SDLP members and, most significantly, losing previously unquestioning support in Dublin, Hume is pursuing a high risk strategy that is even being questioned by some leading members of his own party. The sudden suspension of the talks with Gerry Adams and the report of 'progress' is a measure of that pressure.

Hume had to talk to Sinn Fein, and he had to justify it by reporting 'progress'.



Gerry Adams: joint statement with Hume

This 'progress' has also led to speculation, not just about the conditions for an IRA ceasefire but about what kind of settlement would be acceptable in the longer run.

Thus the signs (for example, Martin McGuinness's interview in the *Guardian*) are that Sinn Fein and the IRA are feeling their way to some deal well short of an agreement by Britain to withdraw.

At the moment that is pure speculation. What is certain is that anything short of British withdrawal will lead neither to peace or self-determination.

It is here that the leaking in June of Labour's Kevin McNamara's joint sovereignty proposals, bitterly denounced by John Major, come in.

### Deliberate leak

The 'Options for a Labour Government' document suggested 'joint sovereignty' for a period of 20 years. It seems the year-old document was leaked with the deliberate intention of forcing Major to repudiate it.

While Major had his own reasons for not alienating the Unionists in the run up to the Maastricht vote, the ferocity of his attack suggests that he was being pushed into a harder line by the right as part of the ongoing battle in the Tory Party.

The Tory signal to John Hume was unmistakable - joint sovereignty is off the agenda. This is what Major told Hume at their Downing Street meeting when



"Sinn Fein are desperate to talk to anyone. There is a degree of war weariness among the Nationalists. Sinn Fein has failed to make inroads in the South and while the IRA is militarily capable of sustaining a long campaign, there is increasing recognition that the armed struggle alone is not enough."

they were supposed to be discussing the moribund Mayhew talks.

Hume's hopes now rest with Dublin or Washington. Irish Labour leader Dick Spring's earlier suggestion that, if the Unionists would not agree to a deal the two governments should negotiate over their heads, was not well received by the British.

The chances that Dublin can wring something from them are now even slimmer after Major's restatement of his unionism to the Tory Conference and his increasing imprisonment by the right.

Hume's belief that the US can be persuaded to pressure the British into making concessions ignores the fact that the Tories are depending on the Unionists to protect them at Westminster. The big question for all the pro-Brit forces is whether they can offer enough to split the republicans while keeping the union intact.

The British ruling class has other options in attempting to deal with the long crisis of its Irish policy. There are always McNamara's proposals, praised by the Labour Committee on Ireland and Labour Party Irish Society for 'opening up the debate and promoting new thinking',

but in reality a plan to stabilise British rule in Ireland for another 20 years.

Supporters of withdrawal are being urged to back McNamara against the closet Unionists of 'Democracy Now' such as Kate Hoey MP, who are held up by the LCI/LPIS as the main threat to achieving Irish self-determination.

### Stampede

The real game is to stampede the majority of Labour Party members who support British withdrawal into the 'joint sovereignty' camp or at the very least, to split the pro-withdrawal forces assembled during the 1980's. This amounts to a re-run of the politics of the old 'Time to Go' campaign at its worst.

With such a shaky government in Westminster, far seeing members of the ruling class are probably reckoning on joint sovereignty being a better bet to secure British rule - under a Labour government of course; though probably without Kevin McNamara.

In contrast to all this cynical jockeying, manoeuvring and hypocrisy, socialists stand for self-determination for Ireland. There is no British solution.

## Support Kate Magee against PTA frame-up

THE KATE Magee Support Group organised a picket involving trades unionists, socialists and anti-imperialists to support her during her trial at Sheffield Crown court on 26 and 27 October 1993.

Armagh woman Kate faces charges 'of failing to disclose information' under Section 186 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act following the shooting in April 1992 of British Army recruiting officer Sergeant Newman in Derby.

Kate's brother Joseph Magee is currently being held in Portlaoise prison in Ireland, and is fighting the British government's attempt to extradite him. He is being supported by the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee.

Kate underwent six days of questioning before being allowed to make a

telephone call to her six-year old son and was subjected to numerous strip searches while being held at Durham prison.

### 75 days

It took the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas sixteen days to locate her. She was freed on bail after 75 days in custody after two sureties of £10,000 were found. All charges except the PTA were dropped.

Ironically, while Kate was recently in Belfast to care for her seriously ill father, the RUC relaxed her bail signing on conditions to once a week. Derby police originally wanted her to sign three times a day and eventually relaxed this to once a day.

For more information contact PO Box 158 Derby DE1 9NB

WORLD NEWS

# Build TUC demo November 20

## Fight back for our NHS

By Harry Sloan

'TOO LITTLE, too late' has been the response of many

health union activists to the TUC call for a national demonstration in defence of the NHS on November 20.

### Emergency treatment?

HEALTH SECRETARY Virginia Bottomley grabbed headlines unexpectedly when London's Evening Standard reported that the showpiece Marble Arch branch of Marks & Spencer had opened early to allow her to jump the queue of shoppers.

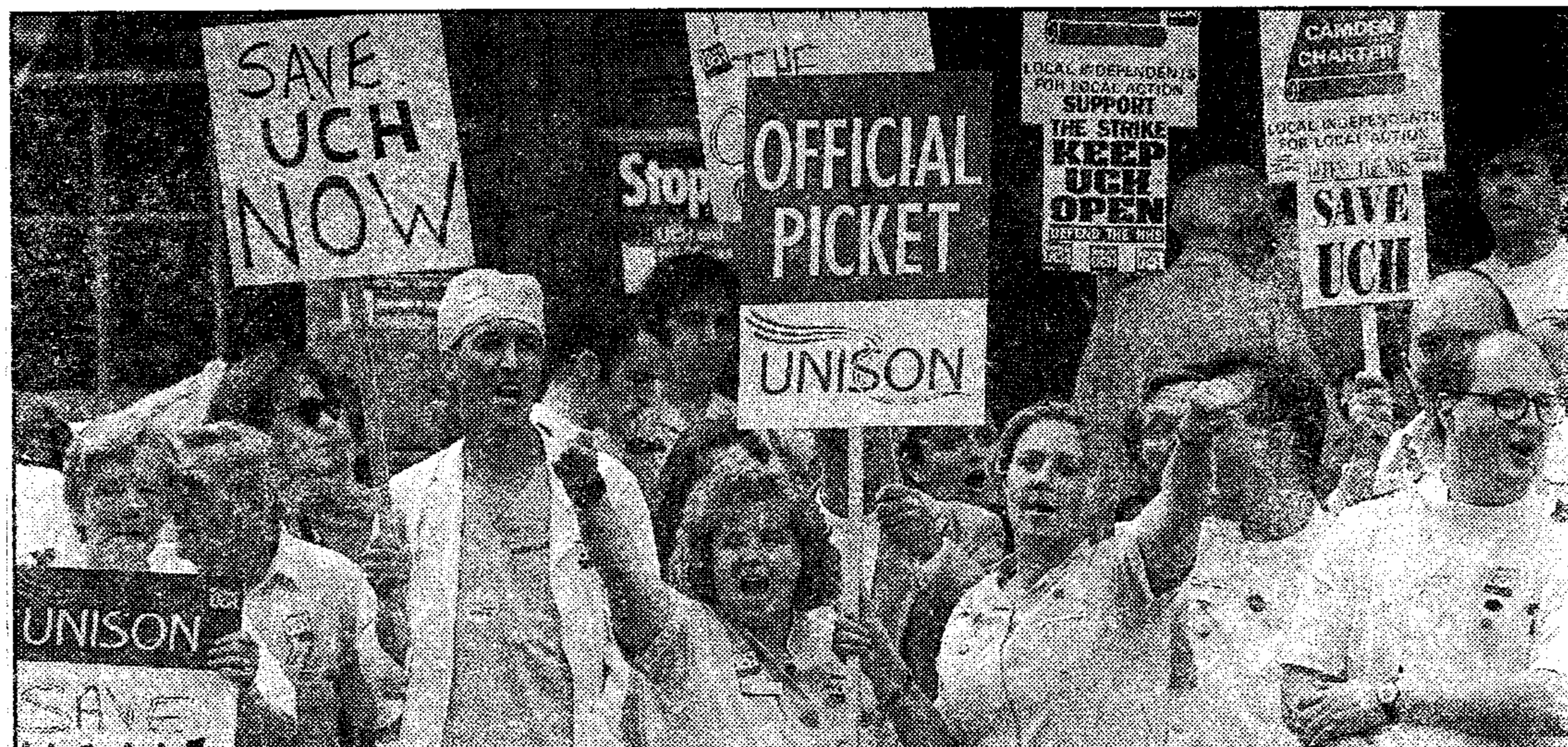
Apparently even the royal family and Margaret Thatcher have to join the queue to buy their knickers and double cream.

The national tabloids latched on to the story. The Sun's editorial grumbled "presumably she thinks she's so important that she deserves special treatment. Unlike all those patients on the NHS"

John Lister of pressure group London Health Emergency commented: "It's a relief to hear that Bottomley's influence can be used to open things up rather than close them down, as she is doing with London's hospitals. It seems that after introducing a two-tier NHS she wants to introduce two-tier shopping as well."



Urgent needs: Bottomley



UNISON strikers at London's threatened UCH hospital led the way this summer

There is no doubt that the TUC has dragged its feet on mobilising the huge potential opposition to the Tory government's attacks on the NHS.

Thousands of jobs, including nursing and key support staff, have been axed in hospitals across the country. In Warwickshire alone, three Trusts—South Warwickshire, Coventry & Warwick, and Nuneaton are axing 700 jobs this year, while health unions have done little or nothing to build resistance.

Services have been decimated by the effects of the new 'internal market' system in the NHS. In one sense the TUC demonstration comes at an especially sharp point in the growing crisis.

As the autumn leaves are turning red, so are the figures on the balance sheets of NHS Trusts, and the faces of managers struggling for survival, while there is just not enough money to sustain services.

23 hospitals in London face closure in the medium term, including five nationally-known teaching hospitals. Upwards of 20,000 jobs are at stake. Two hospitals alone—Guy's and St Thomas's—have already unveiled plans to axe a third of their staff, 2,000 posts, in the next few years, as they struggle to save £75m.

Hospitals in Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, Glasgow and other big cities are being forced to close beds, wards and services because the crazy logic of the NHS market penalises those which treat too many patients!

Last winter most hospitals imposed cuts, many restricting admissions of waiting list patients in desperate cost-cutting measures. As a result waiting lists have topped the million mark and are still rising: almost a third of the total (300,000) are in the four Thames regions.

Now, according to the medical Royal Colleges, more than

Now, as the threat of a cold winter and warnings of a flu epidemic pile pressure onto a reduced number of hospital beds, doctors will find it even harder to get even urgent cases admitted for treatment.

A new spate of closures and cuts are likely to be revealed between now and November 20, adding new weight to the public anger at Tory vandalism in the NHS.

The TUC demonstration, rather than defusing this anger can be used to focus it, with local campaigns and action to follow through the fight against cutbacks.

The worst error would be to allow anger at the TUC's slow response to undermine the support that must be given to the campaign. Without a big show of resistance, vital health services can be irreparably damaged.

UNISON, the main instigating union, is organising coaches from each area, and assigning officials to build the campaign for the demo. But it is a TUC march, and must be widely supported by all unions.

Order publicity leaflets, posters and stickers now from the TUC, from your local union office or from UNISON (071-388-2366), and get organised.

### Demonstrate

SATURDAY NOV 20,  
11am,

Jubilee Gardens,  
London (Waterloo  
tube).

Rally in Trafalgar  
Square.

half of Trusts are already restricting the admission of women for non-emergency gynaecology treatment. Some Trusts began restricting waiting list surgery as early as August, just four months into the financial year.

HOME NEWS

## Build the fightback – Unshackle the Unions

Timex  
strikers: up  
against  
anti-union  
laws



Socialist Movement  
Trade Union  
Committee  
Conference 5/6  
February 1994.  
Conway Hall, Red  
Lion Square, London.

DESPITE a renewed employers' and government offensive – and the continued compliance of union

leaderships – workers are fighting back.

Teachers, civil servants and public sector workers find themselves at the forefront of the governments latest attacks.

Workers at Timex, Burnsalls, Revell & George, Hilliers, Spillers, Tanks and Drums, Middlebrook Mushroom and Harvest Printers have led the fight against the offensive of private sector employers.

The struggle against pit closures and the heroic stand by

the women's pit camps continues. This conference will base itself in providing a united platform for the key struggles of the day.

The themes will be:

- the deepening of the implementation of new management techniques
- outlawing of industrial action in the public sector
- international and European experiences of resisting bans and proscriptions on public sector workforces

- fighting anti-union laws and developing a collective framework of positive rights for workers

- the fight against privatisation, mass unemployment and attacks on benefits
- defending the trade/union labour party links
- building on the experience of long-standing and newly emerging left formations in the unions.

### Registration

The conference is open to delegates from bona fide trade union and labour movement organisations and to individual activists. Full weekend £10, One day £6 Low/unwaged £3

Send registration and/or sponsorship details including name, address, Union or organisation to Carolyn Sikorski, 53a Geere Road, London E15.

## Working smarter means working harder!

# Women victims of new science of exploitation

'New Management Techniques' (NMTs) are sweeping every workplace both in Britain and internationally. Capitalism's drive to restructure itself and increase profits has resulted in the imposition of an increased workload on virtually every worker, cuts in jobs, and union busting. But what are the implications for women? MARION BRAIN reports.

THERE ARE FOUR basic elements to NMTs – attacks on trade unions, restructuring of the workforce, changing working practices and an ideological offensive. Combined, these form an overall strategy for the bosses to revolutionise the production process.

The separate elements are not new. What is new is the way these elements are integrated by management into a coherent approach in which each part reinforces the others.

Attacking trade unions takes different forms ranging from outright de-recognition to measures designed to break the allegiance of workers to their union and make them identify with their employers.

These include measures like performance related pay, individual contracts, binding arbitration, reduction in trade union facility time and the abolition of the check off system where union dues are deducted at source.

What impact have these changes had on women and what will they mean for women if they continue to extend into other areas of work?

### Bye bye equality

Over the past few years the vast majority of trade unions have been negotiating equal opportunities for women into their collective agreements. The destruction of collective bargaining and its replacement with individual contracts means the destruction of equal opportunities.

Even with the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act women do not receive equal pay and are still discriminated against.

Imagine the scope the bosses will have in a situation where they have managed either to derecognise the union or where they have a compliant union and are able to impose performance related pay.

No longer will there be a rate for the grade of work or the job. Each individual will be pitted against the other.

Many women are already receiving less pay than men and in some places where there is equal pay and pay is determined by grade, surprise, surprise women are congregated at the bottom of the heap.

The NMTs, whilst attacking every member of the workforce impact more heavily on those already at the bottom.

An illustration of this is in British Tele-



Not so much Jane Fonda as Henry Ford. French women employees of Canon are put through their paces before work

com. A number of years ago a new grade of commercial officer was introduced as the highest non-management grade on the clerical side. It comes as no surprise that women are a tiny minority unlike in other grades.

With collective bargaining workers can try to address the problem. Without it then the 'blue eyed boy' or 'if your face fits' syndrome will rule.

Managers will be able to pick and choose who they want. Without unions that can collectively organise and fight we remain isolated and weak.

Another feature applied in a variety of work places is team working, often with elected team leaders. The teams are promoted by management as an alternative



Early victims in the public sector: Barking Hospital strikers fight privatisation

to trade unions.

Workers are encouraged to look to their team leaders rather than shop stewards or reps to solve problems. The aim is to make it appear that pay and conditions depend on individual effort and not collective action.

These techniques demand an intensification of work levels achieved by a reduction or abolition of job demarcation. They also attempt to define jobs in terms of tasks to be completed per week which effectively introduces compulsory overtime.

Speed up often operates through team working – teams have the responsibility for checking and reporting each other.

### Part-time staff

The character of the workforce in Britain as elsewhere is changing, increasingly involving the use of part time workers, more often than not women, or short term and casual staff plus the stepped up use of sub-contracting – the development of core and periphery workforces.

There is a sustained attack on the pub-

lic sector.

Especially in local government with the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering. Management want the hard won pay terms and conditions to be bargained away 'all in the name of saving your job'.

In education, telecommunications, social services, health and publishing the use of agency staff and freelance workers with short term contracts is on the increase.

The workforce becomes divided with obvious implications for women, black people, lesbians and gay men – groups that have been traditionally discriminated against.

The different aspects of the new tech-

niques of new management techniques. A useful book published by 'Labour Notes' in the United States entitled a 'Troublemakers Handbook – How To Fight Back Where You Work And Win' explains the effects very well.

The opening paragraph highlights the fact that during the 1980s corporate management propositioned the labour movement.

Their plans for labour-management co-operation took many forms – quality programmes, team concepts, statistical process control, sociotechnical systems.

There were also many promises: an end to the adversarial relationships between company and union; workers' control over the work process; better quality for consumers and dignity on the job.

Under the guise of humanising the workplace, it is dehumanised, and workers lose their collective and individual ability to have any control over their working lives.

In reality the goal all along is to weaken the union and give management, not the workers greater control. Their objective is to reorganise the work process itself in a style that can be called *management by stress* – they aim to eliminate all slack.

After the work has been reorganised it turns out that multi-skilling is really *deskilling*, because production workers do not learn a new craft, office workers do not learn a new profession; instead they simply add another boring job onto the ones, they already do.

### Centres of coercion

Management uses the team's self study to appropriate and to break down their skills or transfer them to machines. The teams that were supposed to be models of shopfloor democracy turn out to be little centres of coercion where workers are indoctrinated into seeing the world through management's eyes.

Management's world is one where there is no human solidarity between sister and sister or brother and brother or between men and women.

Individuals are pitted against each other, team against team, plant against plant, plants owned by the same company or by other corporations are seen as the enemy.

Management's version of a humanised workplace turns out to be a world of ruthless competition. Working smarter really means working harder and faster and women are some of the greatest losers.

# Fingers In the TILL

Yes, Trots! INSIDER DEALER is back from his summer break, with more tales of how the free market system really works

## Super Mario salary

**THIS IS the deal; you don't do any work for the next three years, and we'll pay you a salary of £900,000 per annum.**

Sounds good, or what? Dr Ernest Mario, who has been given the boot as chief executive of Glaxo after reports that his 'aggressive American management style' ruffled too many tail feathers at the British drugs and baby food company, probably had to pinch himself when they broke this little choker to him.

Despite the doctor's departure, the dosh will keep on coming so long as he does not get a job with a competitor. He also retains options of 526,000 shares, worth well over £3 million at current prices, and 'compensation' under Glaxo's long-term performance plan.

And there was me thinking that anyone who relied on hand-outs while they were unemployed was a feckless little dole-scrounging bastard.

## Backs to the Wall Street

I RECENTLY made a vital business trip to my merchant bank's New York offices.

There I learned that top Wall Street firms have long bankrolled



the campaigning costs of America's local politicians, being among the biggest donors to both Democrats and Republicans running for city or state office.

Needless to say, they have not been acting out of an uncharacteristic sense of civic duty. In exchange, they get to underwrite municipal bond issues worth millions of dollars.

Publicity surrounding this little scam has resulted in fifteen major investment banking and securities firms (including Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs and Salomon Brothers) signing up to a voluntary pact ending such naughtiness.

How long this commendable self-restraint can be expected to last remains to be seen.

## An awful lot of fees in Brazil

**ON A RECENT long weekend in Rio, I heard that more than 20 members of Brazil's Congress, including acting and serving government ministers, currently stand accused of accepting 'fees' from construction companies that wanted to see their projects**

cleared in the annual budget.

Names in the frame include three state governors and a prominent adviser to President Itamar Franco.

The allegations have been made by a former government budget official, Jose Carlos Alves dos Santos, who was arrested earlier this month after the fuzz found forged banknotes at his home and cocaine in an aircraft he had used.

Mr Santos claims to have pocketed £800,000 for his involvement.

## Policy differences

FUNNY BUSINESS, that insurance lark. A government inspectors' report on the failed London United Investors group, which collapsed in 1990 in the face of claims likely to exceed \$5000 million, depicts some right rum goings-on.

It is said that over a 20 year period, LUI 'wrongfully diverted' some \$53 million into Liechtenstein and Swiss bank accounts of companies controlled by one Graham Alan Pedder Smith, for no apparent commercial reason whatsoever.

Mr Smith, resident overseas, sensibly refused to co-operate with the inquiry, so no-one knows what actually happened to the readies.

The inspectors comment: 'We cannot help but think if [Mr Smith] was able to furnish us with some legitimate explanation of what he had done with the money, he would have chosen to do so.'

Harsh words are reserved for LUI chair Ronnie Driver, who denied involvement in any misconduct and knowingly having benefited improperly from any funds. The report notes that he was not much interested in the technical side of insurance, preferring to spend his time playing polo instead.

The investigators clearly consider that he was fibbing: 'We are driven to the conclusion that on a number of essential issues he has not told us the truth'. The report is now under consideration by Hezza himself.

# 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 towns across the country. Contact us now, get organised, and get active!**

# Heave-ho for Harriet

By Bill Sutcliffe

THERE ARE still living examples of unreconstructed male chauvinist Labour MPs, given to making grossly offensive remarks about their women colleagues' bodies over a pint or three of Federation in the House of Commons bar.

The Beer-Gutted Sexist Bastard Tendency, in truth more powerful in the Parliamentary Labour Party than Militant ever were, succeeded in throwing a medium-sized spanner in the works in last week's Shadow Cabinet elections.

Changes to the rulebook meant that all members of the PLP were forced to vote for at least four women, and the BGSB boys did not like that one little bit.

Accordingly, many supported Mildred Gordon, on the twisted



Hard up at Treasury: Clwyd

logic that backing the woman the leadership least wanted to see elected – because of her age, appearance and hard left politics – would discredit the idea of quotas itself.

As a result, two soft left women lost places they might otherwise have retained. Then again, there is no doubt that both Ann Clwyd and Harriet Harman were widely perceived to have performed poorly in

their jobs, at National Heritage and the treasury team respectively.

Yet both can make a plausible case that they did not do as badly as Ann Taylor at education, or David Blunkett on health, who avoided the drop.

The poll is undoubtedly the most accurate indication available of what Labour MPs really think of each other.

New faces include George Robertson, a seasoned rightwing hatchetman with a long-time track record in the old Manifesto Group and Solidarity caucuses.

The top three places went to soft lefts Robin Cook, Frank Dobson and John Prescott.

Yet whoever John Smith appoints to whatever job in the reshuffle due as *Socialist Outlook* went to press will make little difference to a party still in ideological thrall to a small clique intent on converting into an SDP for the nineties.

**YES, I want to become a *Socialist Outlook* supporter.**

Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

Age .....

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

# What's HAPPENING

**WANT YOUR event included?**  
**Send details by 5 November to**  
**What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109,**  
**London N4 2UU.**

## October

### Wednesday 27

Workers' Aid for Bosnia meeting with Suresh Grovenor and Alan Thorne 7.45pm Ealing Town Hall

### Thursday 28

ANL benefit at The Powerhaus 1 Liverpool Road London N1

### Friday 29

PICKET Chelmsford County Court in defence of Richard Allday

### Saturday 30

WORKERS Aid for Bosnia conference Manchester Town Hall

FREE East Timor Tour lunchtime fringe meeting at Third World First conference, London School of Economics

CAMPAIGN for a Fighting Democratic UNISON 1.30pm Friends Meeting House Euston Road NW1 details Brian Gardner 071 477 4481

NAC Annual Conference

### Sat 30 & Sun 31

Socialist Conference Chesterfield freephone 0800 581611

## NOVEMBER

### Monday 1

FREE East Timor Tour meeting 7.30pm Transport House Victoria Street Bristol

### Tuesday 2

FREE East Timor Tour meeting 7.45pm Baptist Church Manvers St Bath

### Wednesday 3

FREE East Timor Tour meetings: lunchtime at Birmingham University; 7.00pm Rm 146, Aston Triangle Aston University  
 SAVE OUR Student Unions demo: assemble All Saints Park Manchester 11.30

### Thursday 4

FREE East Timor Tour meeting 7.30pm Memorial Hall St Johns Street Worksworth

### Friday 5

Free East Timor Tour meeting 1pm Derby University

All-out strike against market testing and privatisation across the civil service

### Saturday 6

DEFENDING our welfare state conference with Jeremy Corbyn and Dexter Whitfield 10am-4pm Wallsend Memorial Hall

FREE East Timor Tour meeting 8pm Bishop Lloyds Palace Watergate Street Row Chester

### Sunday 7

FREE East Timor Tour meeting 7.00pm Lancaster Friends Meeting House

### Monday 8

FREE East Timor Tour meeting at Lancaster University details Marilyn Martin Jones 0524 65201

### Tuesday 9

FREE East Timor Tour meetings: 1.00pm Biko Building University of Manchester Union; 7.30pm Manchester Town Hall.

### Friday 12

VIGIL to commemorate the Santa Cruz Massacre East Timor 5.30pm-7pm St. Martin's Church Trafalgar Square

FREE East Timor Social 7.30pm Caxton House St John's Way N19 tickets £4/£2

### Sat 13 & Sun 14

LIBERATION!committee meeting opens 11am

### Sunday 14

FREE East Timor Tour meeting at CND national conference Bradford

### Friday 19 -

### Sunday 21

Discussion weekend sponsored by SOAS students union and the Marxist University. Tickets £12/£8/£6 from MUL, SOAS SU, Thornhaugh St. WC1H 0XG

### Saturday 20

TUC demonstration in defence of the NHS 11am Jubilee Gardens, Waterloo rally at Trafalgar Square details UNISON 071 388 2366  
 Peace Education Conference 10.30am-4.30pm Friends



Students: fight back in defence of Student Unions, Manchester Wednesday November 3

House Euston Road London

Close of P&O strike ballot CAMPAIGN against Double Punishment conference Cheetham Community School Halliwell Lane Manchester

### Saturday 27

MARCH and rally before budget day assemble 10.30am Forth Street by Newcastle Central Station rally 11.30 Civic Centre

## December

### Saturday 11

CENTRE for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems AGM with Jeremy Corbyn and Carole Tongue 11am-3.30pm London details 404 Camden Road, N7 0SJ

### Weds 15 - Fri 17

LIBERATION!supporters course

### Sat 18 & Sun 19

LIBERATION!editorial meeting

## 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:

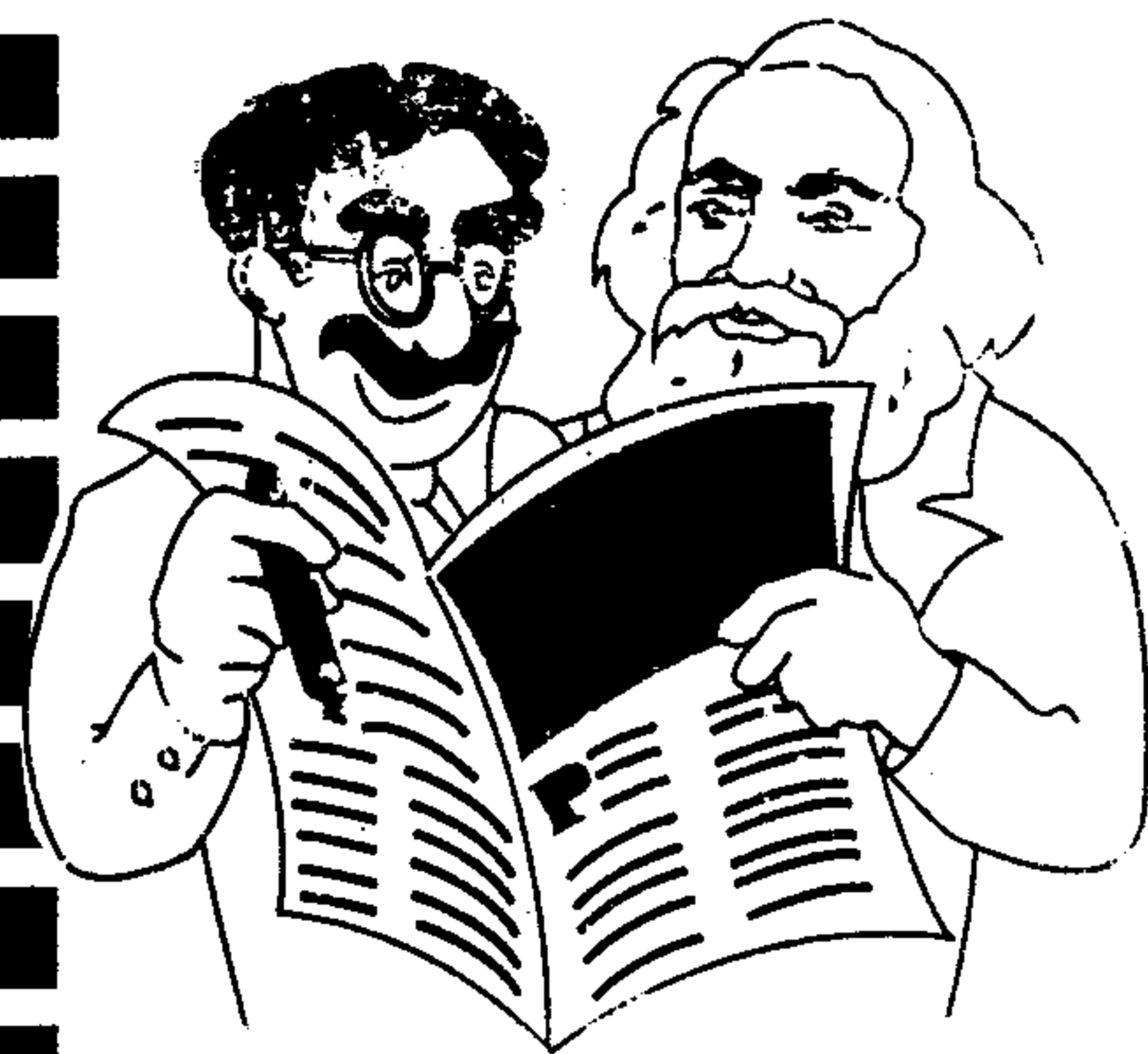
- TONY BENN MP, new book - *Common Sense*
- MOSES MAYEKISO South African National Civic Organisation
- HILARY WAINWRIGHT, new book - *Arguments for a New Left*

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.**

## Should newspapers take sides?



Socialist Outlook thinks so! We put forward a socialist, feminist and ecologist alternative to the bosses' newspapers. From Arthur Scargill's latest thoughts to the defence of Colombian telecom workers, you'll read it first in our new-look fortnightly. And as an introductory offer if

you pay by direct debit, a year of Socialist Outlook and International Viewpoint the monthly review of the Fourth International, cost just £25. A saving of £20!

Surface rate: Britain £17, Rest of world £22 for 1 year; £9 or £12 for six months.

Air Mail: Australasia and far east £38, Rest of world £30; £20 or £16 for six months.

Multi-reader institutions: £50 air mail worldwide.

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Address .....

Mail to Socialist Outlook PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

HOME NEWS

**BOSNIA Workers Aid  
Conference**

**Saturday October 30, 11am  
Manchester Town Hall**

All supporters of the campaign are welcome to attend. £5 waged, £3 concessions

# Tory press targets anti-racists

**IN THE WAKE** of the 50,000-strong anti-racist march assaulted by the police, Tory newspapers have been at the head of a media campaign to criminalise, discredit and frame-up demonstrators.

The Sun, Britain's largest circulation daily, has been printing photographs of anti-racists defending the demonstration from the police assault. £1,000 pounds is offered 'for each thug convicted'. Earlier this week, a front page spread in the right-wing paper named a 'leftie postman' who had been fingered by colleagues.

At the same time, London's Metropolitan Police have been trying to suggest that police on the march were victims of vicious attacks, and that this was the source of the conflict on the march. In fact, provocative police tactics blocked in protestors - forcing many to climb over a ten foot cemetery fence to avoid a crush.

Two eyewitnesses recall 'At the point in the march where the route previously agreed with the police met the road leading to the BNP headquarters (or 'bookshop') the march was halted. Understandably the latter was blocked and heavily policed. Unbelievably, so too was the agreed route. This left tens of thousands of us hemmed in by riot

police with no-where to go.'

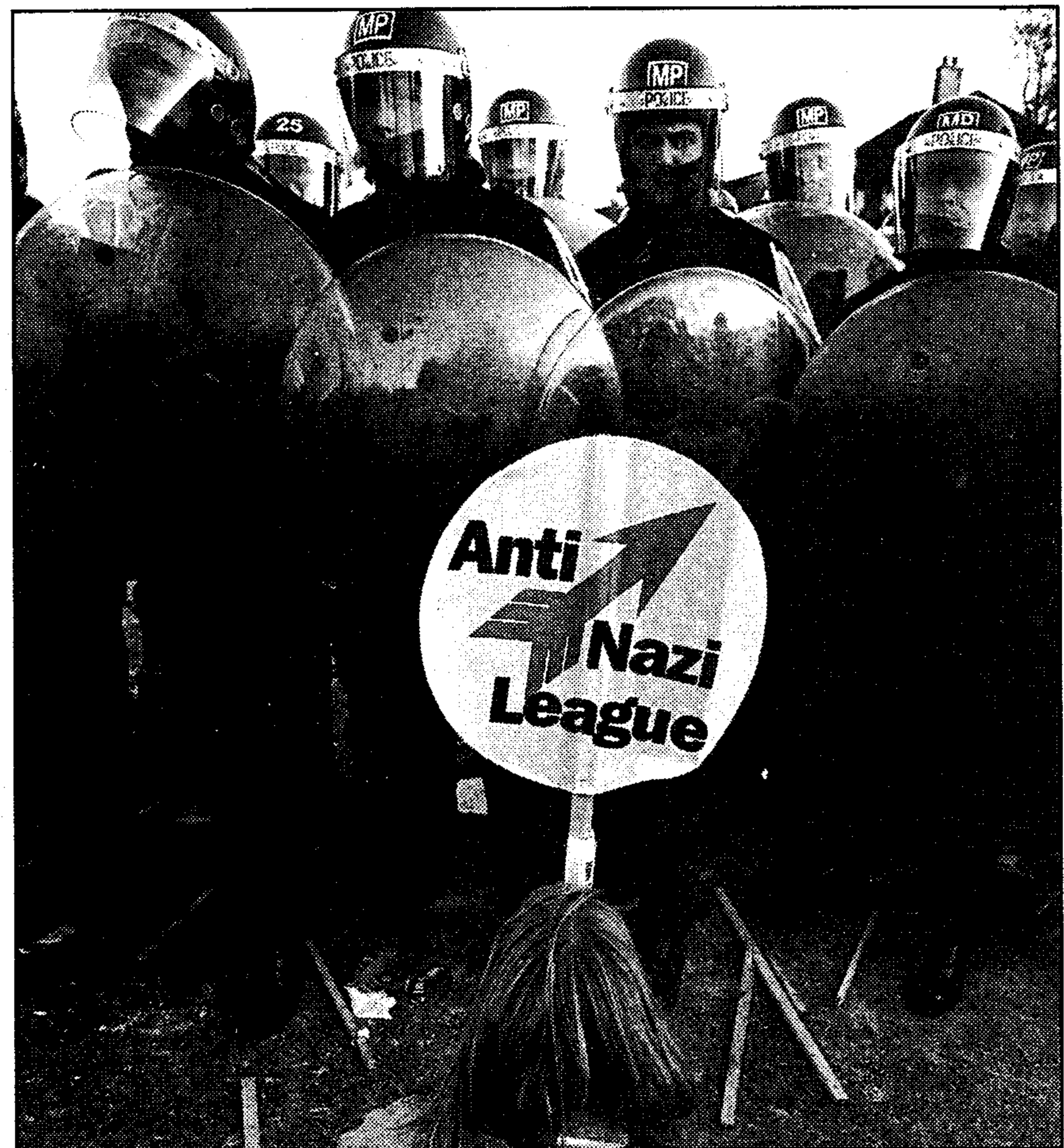
Another adds 'I was on a raised verge near the front of the march and able to see all that happened in the two hours stalemate when the police would not allow the march to proceed along their own imposed route. I saw the repeated charges made by riot police, heavily protected in full riot gear, and also the mounted police, on the defenceless crowd.'

It is clear that the police planned this violent provocation of the rising anti-racist movement in order to victimise those who were prepared to defend the marches, which included families with young children, elderly people and people with disabilities.

## **Surveillance**

Surveillance on the march was very heavy. Police systematically photographed every section of the march as it moved off. Video cameras captured every move made by demonstrators.

The whole scene was set up to pen in and provoke the demonstrators so the police can manipulate the result. This sickening farce was summed by the choice to send a black officer, Les Turner, into the front line



assault against the protestors.

More than anything, this is an illustration of the manipulative racism of the police. They set that officer up to get a beating, and then suggest that -because demonstrators defended themselves against and officer who happened to the black -the demonstrators were as racist as the BNP.

Socialists have a simple duty. We have to get the truth out to the whole working class if we are to stop this attempt by the police and Tory press to criminalise the whole of the anti-racist movement. In fact the example of the properly run campaign in 1990 about the Trafalgar Square Poll Tax rebellion shows what can be done to challenge the police's story.