

53

# Socialist OUTLOOK

Open Tuzla  
airport! - centre

KAGARLITSKY -  
exclusive interview

IRELAND: How neutral are the  
Brits? - page 6

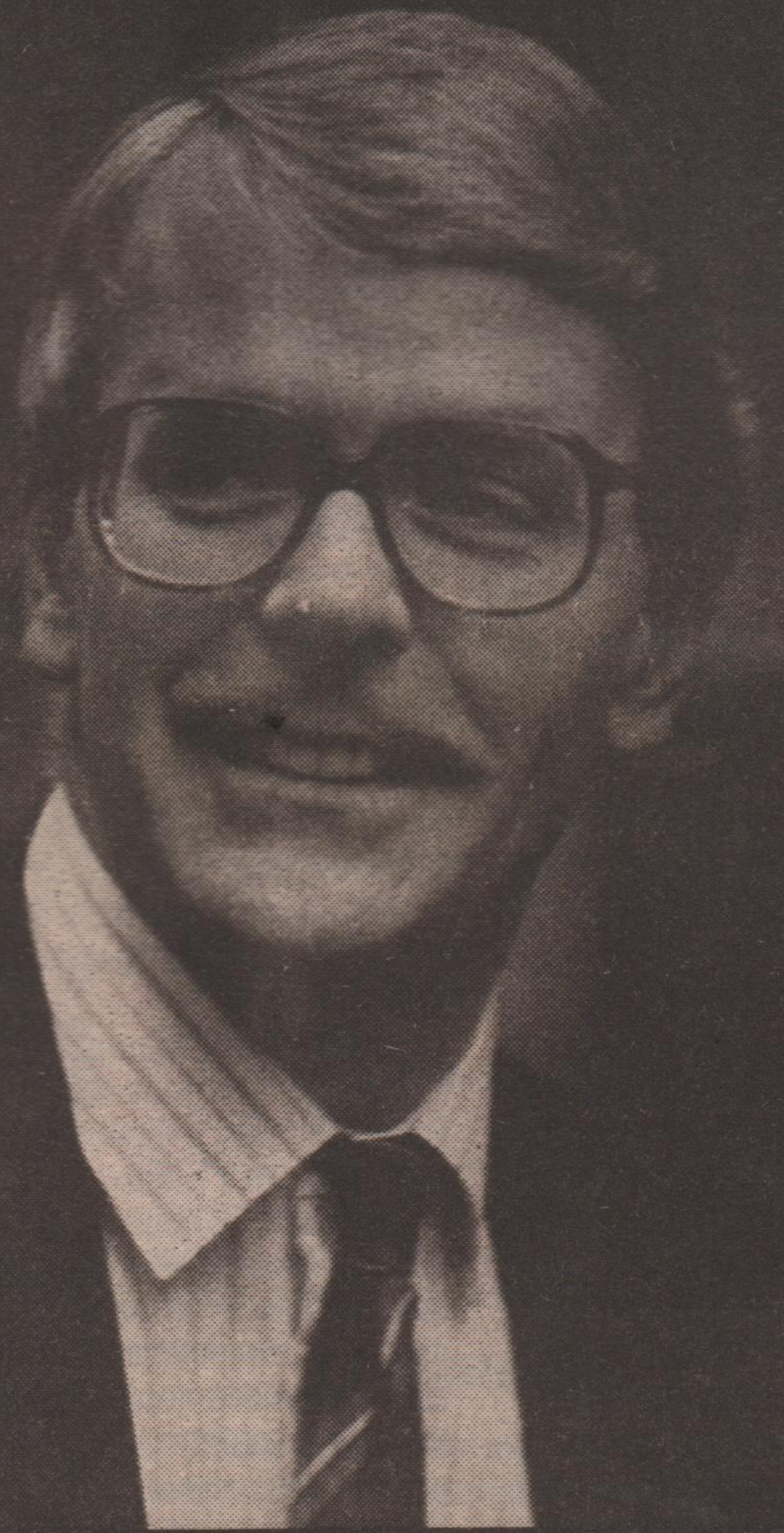
PLUS: Fighting racism - p4

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No. 53, Nov 27, 1993

# NIGHTMARE



MAJOR'S new vision ...



CLARKE'S new budget ...

# on Downing Street!

- Back to the Breadline?  
- page 3
- Back to prison - p 2
- TILBURY DOCKERS:  
back to the 1930s - p 2



Back to prison...

# Tory right goes jail-crazy

By Chris Brooks

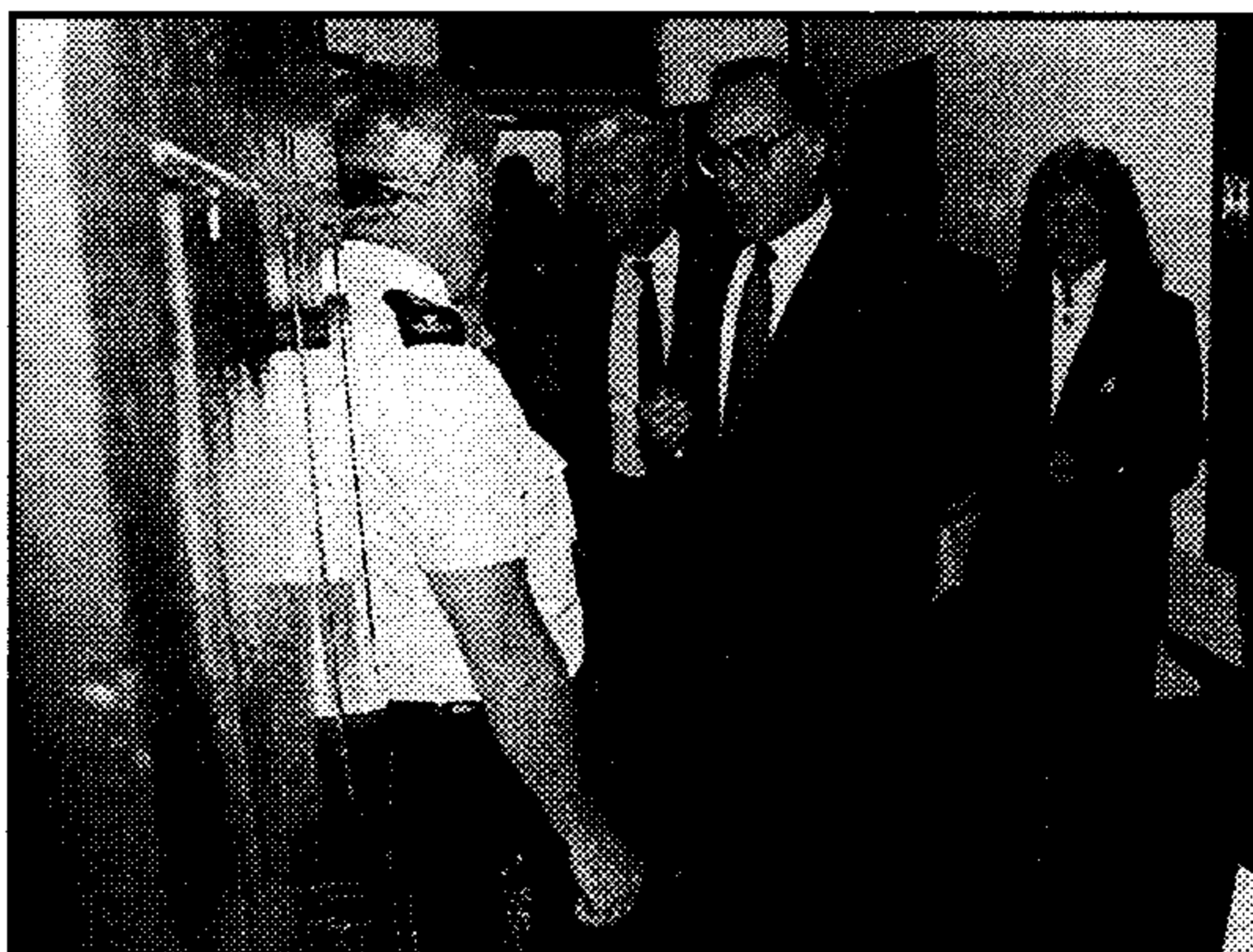
The Tory plan to dismantle the welfare state will mean more poverty and, of course, an increase in crime.

The 27-point law-and-order package announced by Home Secretary Michael Howard fits into the siege mentality of Major's 'back to basics' speech. But it also clears the way for a massive campaign of terror against the black community and young unemployed.

Howard's proposals are wide-ranging. Importantly, they threaten defendants'

right to silence. By housing prisoners in prison ships, army camps and police cells they aim to send more people to jail.

Jailing more people won't stop crime. The rise in crime is caused by poor living conditions. If people can't get jobs or food, they will steal. If people are made to feel worthless by the world around them then they will take their frustration out on that world. To stop crime we



Howard: patrolling the prisons

must stop the inequality that causes it.

Of course there may be a small connection between the harshness of punishment and

the frequency of crime. Latest Home Office research shows that the prison population will have to rise by 25 per cent to cut crime by 1 per cent.

Does it make sense to make that rise happen? Howard is preparing to increase the prison population, but not to stop crime. Britain's ruling rich have decided that instead of ending poverty they will build up the

state infra-structure needed to repress the growing army of people permanently excluded from the labour force. But like every part of the

Tory agenda it is limited by their financial crisis.

Howard wants to save half a billion pounds out of police pay packets by axing overtime and cutting back pay scales. How hard will the police fight to defend the rich if their pay is cut back? How long will their privatised prisons stay open and who will pick up the tab when they go bust or up their prices?

These attacks on our legal freedoms are a sign of the weakening confidence of Major's government. Not just the labour movement, but almost every section of society can be drawn into an alliance that defeats them.

Back to the 1930s...

# Tilbury docks forced back 'on the lump'

By Dave Osler

TILBURY dockers sacked by the Port of London Authority for their trade union activity will not get their jobs back, despite Britain's longest-ever industrial tribunal case ruling that they were unfairly dismissed.

Meanwhile, a boss the tribunal branded untruthful has bought the port at a giveaway price.

The Court of Appeal recently rescinded a reinstatement order on the grounds that it was impractical for the PLA to re-engage the Transport and General Workers' Union activists, after the authority insisted that there were no current vacancies.

The men were sacked in 1989, after a strike to secure terms and conditions equal to those enshrined in the old National Dock Labour Scheme. All unions at the port were immediately derecognised.

The subsequent industrial tri-

bunal, which ran for 197 days between 1989 and 1992, found that they had been dismissed on the grounds of their trade union activities. John McNab, Tilbury's chief executive, was singled out as untruthful and evasive under cross examination.

Only four of the workers have since secured jobs. Meanwhile, Tilbury has returned to recruiting casual labour, despite reassurances given when the dock labour scheme was abolished.

The port was privatised in March 1992, with Mr McNab leading a management-employee buy-out which paid £32 million. The terms of the deal were highly advantageous.

The PLA had previously borrowed tens of millions to upgrade facilities at Tilbury, but retained the entire debt. Moreover, it transferred £60 million of net tax-losses to the port prior to the sale, to be offset against corporation tax. The PLA will also pick up the tab for the unfair dismissals.

The National Dock Labour Scheme, established by a Labour government in 1947, ended decades of dockers plying for casual work day-to-day. The Tories hated what they considered to be a 'jobs for life' guarantee, and ended it 1989, beginning a new era of flexible working practices on the docks.

Some 7,200 of the 9,200 registered dockers took severance pay of up to £35,000 each, with the Government paying half. An independent report from Cardiff Business School attributed this to employers pushing through

compulsory redundancies to 'systematically dismiss former trade union activists, older dockers and all medically-restricted men'.

All told, the Tories predicted that 4,000 new jobs would be created; in fact, overall employment is down 11,000.

Redundant workers were rehired as casuals, with 'a marked deterioration in terms and conditions of employment, in particular extended hours of work'. New shift patterns increased work-related stress, with Tees dockers reporting feeling 'like zombies'.

Abolition of the scheme has led to no appreciable new investment or discernible improvement in international competitiveness, but has created 'instability', 'fragmentation' and over-capacity instead.

Health and safety provision has declined dramatically. While national statistics are no longer collated, within the Associated British Ports group accidents rose 33 per cent between 1989

and 1991, to reach a level double that of the early eighties. ABP profits soared from £28.2 million to £76.1 million over the same period.

For the taxpayers, its a different story. It was initially estimated that the net cost to the state of abolishing the scheme would be £25 million. The final bill was £141 million.

Yet a Department of Employment press release boasts: 'The benefits of abolishing the dock labour scheme in 1989 far exceeded the costs', with 'the removal of market distortions' meaning that 'the port users have a much wider selection of commercially competitive ports'.

The Cardiff study came to a slightly different conclusion: 'The restructuring of Britain's port industry has been facilitated by the Government, financed by the taxpayer, exploited by the major port authorities and paid for by the former registered dock labour force'.

## Liberation!

For a Red, Green and Feminist Youth Movement

**Youth against  
the racist right  
THEIR FUTURE  
OR OURS?**

**Public Meeting - All Welcome  
7pm Thursday 16 December**

Davenant Centre Whitechapel High Street  
Between Aldgate East & Whitechapel tubes

HOME NEWS

## INTERNATIONAL

### WORKERS AID

All money collected for International Workers Aid

and its projects should be sent to:

IWA, PO Box 30, London SE15 5EP.

Telephone 081 694 8848.

# 'Back to basics' — or the breadline?



JOHN MAJOR has announced a moral crusade to restore what he calls the 'old values'. And this moral offensive will run hand in hand with the austerity cutbacks expected in Kenneth Clarke's new Budget.

But how far back in time does Major want to drag us?

Top Tories tell us that many of today's social ills in a crumbling, crisis-ridden, crime-laden Britain, much of whose industry has been laid waste by Tory policies, are to be blamed on the permissive values of the 1960s.

Easy sex, easy divorce and a sagging attendance at church, they imply, has bred a generation of work-shy scroungers and criminals.

## Hacking back

By implication, it is suggested that cutting off welfare payments to single mothers, slashing the dole, penalising those unable to work through illness and generally hacking back the welfare state, would help get Britain back on its feet. By a remarkable coincidence, this is exactly the kind of measure Kenneth Clarke, Social Security Secretary Peter Lilley, and other figures on the Tory right have been suggesting as a way of saving money.

Both his supporters and opponents argue that Major yearns for a return to the social climate of the 1950s he knew as a child.

But the 1950s was a decade based on the consolidation and expansion of the new welfare state: social security offered greater levels of protection for the unemployed, for pensioners and those in need; millions were welcoming the new National Health Service, formed in 1948; and for young people there was improved higher education. The economy as a whole, growing in the post-war boom, was assisted by a newly-nationalised public sector including coal, power, gas and railways.

Every element of this world of 40 years ago is now under sustained, relentless attack — from John Major's own government.



Major: economy rests on a wing and a prayer

It's not the 1950s Major wants back, it's the 1930s — a decade in which the state did nothing to relieve massive, grinding unemployment, in which employers brutally exploited the demoralisation of trade unionists betrayed in the 1926 General Strike, and when millions on the breadline were denied even minimal social security payments by the hated Means Test.

It was a decade in which private enterprise ran (and ruined) the basic utilities; a decade before the dread concept of 'equal opportunities' had been invented, and before comprehensive schooling was even a twinkle in teachers' eyes.

## 'Traditional'

Major's defenders argue that he wants a return to a 'traditional' conservative morality based on self-reliance, the family, decency and respect for the law.

By leaving these ideas deliberately vague, and playing on the bigoted preju-

dice of disgruntled layers of the conservative middle class, the Tories intend simply to ignore the welter of factual evidence which disproves their assumptions, just as Home Secretary Michael Howard has had to ignore all his advisors to press ahead with his 'lock 'em up' offensive.

Behind all its reactionary rhetoric, Major's cabinet is pursuing a goal even more dear to the heart of the Tory right, cash in their wallets and a balanced Budget.

Having cut taxes on the rich to below the level needed to sustain services, they are now determined to cut state spending and raise taxes chiefly from the poor. That's the real reason why — as leaked documents show — the cabinet is discussing how best to begin the demolition of the welfare state, on a scale exceeding even Thatcher's attacks.

## Destroyed

After 14 years of Tory rule has reduced

the economy to insolvency, and destroyed any possibility of a new, healthy expansion based on manufacturing, they are forced to make the weak and the poor pay up to bail out the rich.

Far from increasing 'self-reliance', the imposition of VAT on domestic heating fuel, together with tighter restrictions on unemployment benefit and social security will push millions of pensioners and low-paid or jobless families from poverty into total despair.

With no jobs to go to, and no childcare available, there is no way single mothers can escape the new poverty traps being cynically created.

Some of the Tory plans under secret consideration will even damage private industry. The proposal to shift £1.4 billion of the social security bill onto employers by making them responsible for sick pay and industrial injury benefit is likely to hit firms hard. The consequence will be that many will refuse to pay up, or simply sack workers who go sick.

## Fig-leaf

Driven by a cash crisis they created, egged on by the Thatcherite right wing which still controls Tory policy-making, and donning the flimsiest fig-leaf of a moral crusade, Major's cabinet hold one trump card which makes them confident they can do as they wish.

Labour's timid front-bench team, many of them clinging to the same threadbare pseudo-religious 'moral values' as the Tories, refuse to spell out a radical root and branch challenge, or to link up with public sector unions in a full-scale fightback for the welfare state.

The labour movement must rise to the challenge, and build a sustained fightback for every threatened benefit and service. As the civil service unions showed on November 5 and the health unions on their November 20 demonstration, the slogan must be "On to the picket line, not back to the breadline!"

## Where next after 30,000 back NHS demo?

"THERE IS a danger it could yet again be 'too little, too late' from the TUC," whined the *Socialist Worker* editorial on November 20.

Such a negative approach offers nothing helpful to the 30,000 who turned out on the march, many of them travelling hundreds of miles on their weekend off to defend the health service.

Of course the march could have been much bigger — the TUC's legendary incompetence was again vividly displayed in the late notification to branches of the march, the poor profile of the campaign

in the press, and the predictable shortage of leaflets, reportedly exchanging hands at black market prices akin to Faberge eggs.

Of course a march on its own was never going to be enough to stop the Tory attacks on the NHS.

But the fact that tens of thousands have again showed their willingness to fight the onslaught on jobs and services in hospitals throughout the country is positive.

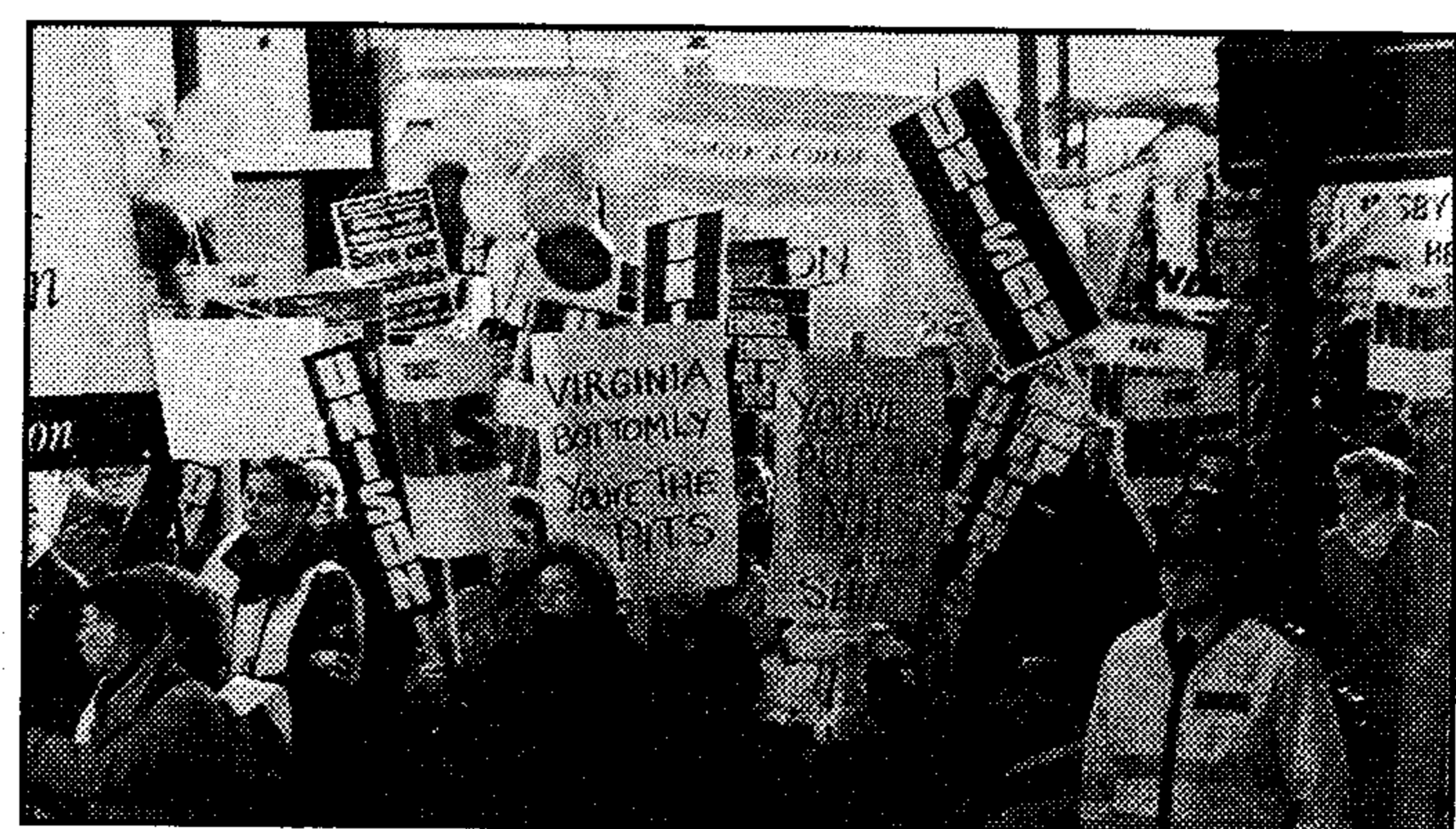
It was even enough to draw a 'left' speech from TUC General Secretary John Monks, who shocked many by talking in the Trafalgar Square rally of fighting against the closure

of every ward and every bed.

It is also reassuring to find that despite the recent mergers, there is still enough competition for NHS members to force the various health unions to mobilise, often jointly, for the march.

The lessons of joint working for the demo must be consolidated, and joint union structures reconstructed.

Equally important, the fact that thousands of those marching on November 20 were not health workers at all, but trade unionists, pensioners, students and school students, underlines the importance of building much wider alliances in every town



Thousands defied TUC leaflet shortage

to fight back against NHS cuts and closures.

Vocal, high-profile, broad-based campaigns can help encourage health workers to take a stand, including indus-

trial action, to stem the haemorrhage of jobs and keep open vital beds and hospitals.

This should be the real lesson of November 20.

EDITORIAL





National Front nazis cash in on Remembrance Day ceremony in London

## Feltham Nazis fail poll test

By Rod Marshall

ON THE SAME day that racist Tower Hamlets Liberal Councillors met to discuss their latest leaflet, the nazi National Front was soundly defeated in a local council by-election in Feltham.

Predictions of a repeat of the BNP's victory in Tower Hamlets were seen to be groundless when late in the evening on November 11 the returning officer declared a paltry 263 votes for the fascist candidate Raymond O'Conner.

But we must not forget these were 263 votes for racism and fascism. The fight to get fascism off the streets of West London has only just begun with the campaign in the weeks preceding the election.

This campaign, fought by the West London Alliance of anti-racist and anti-fascist groups was a model for future activities.

It was united, bereft of the sectarian politics that has been

so prominent in the anti racist movement recently.

It was also a local campaign that focused not just on fighting the fascists but also linked up with existing campaigns against racist attacks in the area.

It is the dual purpose of the West London Alliance - fighting both fascism and racism - which best equips it with the ability to mobilise people on the ground. And this crucially has to include those who are the victims of racism.

### Labour defeat

It is ironic that it was the Liberals who actually won the Feltham election while their counterparts on the Isle of Dogs continued to purvey racist ideas and tail the BNP.

But where was the Labour Party on the issue of racism? Clintonising the party to be bedfellows with the Liberals is no answer to racism or to any of the problems that ordinary people face.

On losing the Feltham election by 15 votes local Labour Party activist Laurie Lopez said,

'The reasons why we lost are complex. Extensive media coverage didn't help as it concentrated entirely on the NF candidate.

### Dirty work

'This brought up racism as an issue and attracted and unhealthy element from the Labour vote. The Tory vote collapsing resulted in the Liberals pushing their vote up. The Labour council has been doing the Tories' dirty work in terms of cuts.'

Another Labour supporter commented that 'the racism issue distracted us from the real issues'.

What is more real than being beaten up by racist thugs in the streets of your home town? What is more frightening than Nazis selling newspapers on your high street calling for forced repatriation?

In hiding from the issue of racism and refusing to fight it, Labour are effectively letting the right off the hook. And they still lost the election. Sounds depressingly familiar doesn't it?

## NAC fights to beat closure crisis

By Helen Shaw

THE NATIONAL Abortion Campaign (NAC) faces imminent closure due to a massive financial crisis.

They have issued an emergency appeal to all supporters to raise £11,000. They need £3,000 immediately and another £1,000 by December 1 and then another £7,000.

NAC has a long and excellent history in the struggle for abortion rights. Its main campaign has been for free abortion on demand and a woman's right to choose.

Since the 1967 Abortion Act there have been 20 attacks from private members' bills, the best known of which were the James White Bill in 1975, the Benyon Bill in 1977, the Corrie Bill in 1979 and the Alton Bill in 1988.

NAC has made it possible to fight these repeated attacks on abortion rights. It has always been fully involved in the campaigns that have emerged, uniting with all those prepared to resist any further restrictions.

NAC, working with women in the trade unions, forced the TUC to take action against Corrie in 1979. With these united front campaigns, NAC explains why its demands are correct and produces its own material on the importance of free abortion on demand. NAC argues for women to have control over their bodies as a fundamental human right.

Earlier this year an international right-wing hit squad failed to close down abortion clinics in Britain. NAC was central in the struggle to defend abortion clinics from these anti-abortion fanatics.

Organised by the US-based Rescue America, the tri-national team were aided by police. When pro-choice activists gathered outside the International Planned Parenthood Federation before an anti-abortion rally, 18 were quickly arrested while 20 rightists turned up and were

allowed to hold a press conference.

Sixteen anti-abortionists were able to form a barricade inside and out of a Birmingham clinic while 70 people were successfully mobilised to keep the clinic open.

Rescue America leader Don Treshman was served with a deportation order after an attempted blockade at a north-east London clinic.

In the U.S. these groups have gone from pickets to fire-bombings and killings. Last year marked a record for violence against clinics. There were 1,107 acts of serious violence (bombing, arson, chemical contamination, invasion, vandalism, etc.) costing nearly \$50 million. Operation Rescue carry guns and recently killed a clinic doctor.

Special camps train members to read license plates, follow people, harass them at home, illegally enter schools and leaflet children with pictures of foetuses.

In Britain, NAC has prepared for their return. The pro-choice campaign has set up a telephone 'tree' in London to quickly mobilise supporters to defend clinics.

While it is not clear when these anti-abortion thugs will reappear in Britain it is vital the campaign is organised and ready for their onslaught.

NAC has played a role in providing information about contraceptive and abortion rights, and more recently about safer sex and in lobbying MPs in defence of the '67 Act in 18 years of activity.

It has suffered from the decline of the women's movement and the active campaign for abortion on demand. Without NAC any future campaigns against attacks on the '67 Act will begin without a central organising force. In the light of the Tory moral crusade we must save the campaign from bankruptcy.

● Please send donations to NAC, The Print House, 18 Ashwin Street, London, E8 3DL

## BUILD THE FIGHTBACK - UNSHACKLE THE UNIONS!

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

This conference will provide a united platform for the key struggles of the day.

The themes will be:

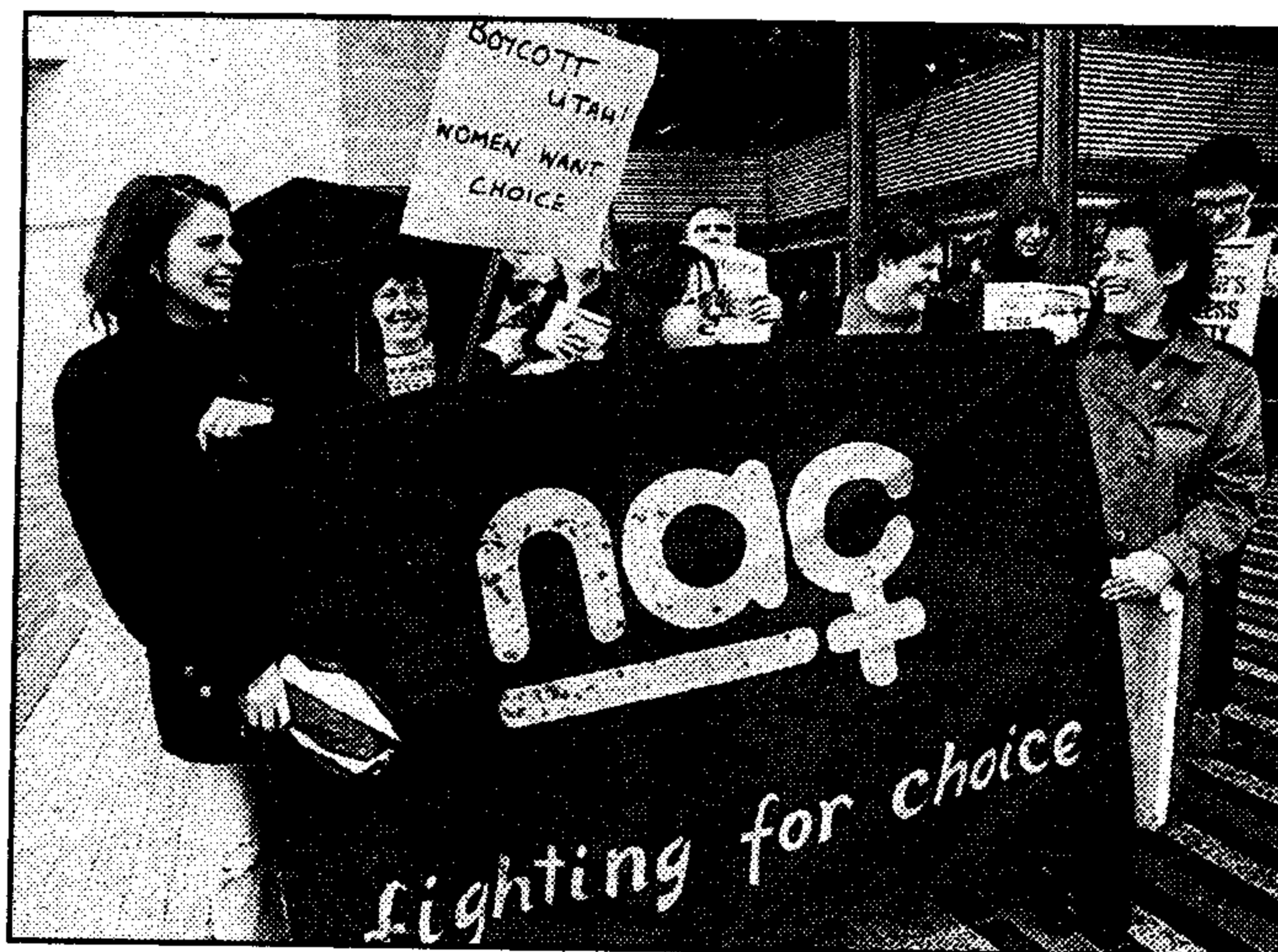
- \* the deepening of the implementation of new management techniques
- \* outlawing of industrial action in the public sector
- \* International and European experiences of resisting bans and proscriptions on public sector workforces
- \* fighting anti-union laws and developing a collective framework of positive rights for workers
- \* the fight against privatisation, mass unemployment and attacks on benefits
- \* defending the trade/union Labour Party links

### Registration and Sponsorship

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.

HOME NEWS



NAC has led pro-choice struggles since the 1970s



# Key lessons for the 'class struggle'

**Education is central to the struggle for socialism. Understanding how people learn, and facilitating access to learning for all, is a key task. So is a grasp of current Tory government strategy for education, which aims to introduce market forces, end critical thinking and invalidate the notion of equal opportunities.**  
ANN HUDSON reports.



*A one-finger salute to equal opportunities from Tory Secretary John Patten*

WE MUST develop a clear critique of the state's current policies on schooling and formal education. But we also need to develop and promote a socialist alternative.

The process of defining a set of socialist objectives for education must be based upon progressive understanding of theories of intellectual and emotional development, but must also include learning from the struggles undertaken jointly by workers in the field of education, students and parents in the communities education is meant to serve.

Actively engaging in campaigns to oppose Tory education policies and to build democracy allows dialogue and debate among and between such groups and socialists, and it is essential to developing and promoting a new set of perspectives.

## **Achievable**

We need both a utopian sense of how education might operate after capitalism and a more immediate set of achievable goals to facilitate the development of an inquisitive, literate, critical, articulate and conscious working class.

The latter is precisely what the architects of Tory education policies intend to avoid. Their current National Curriculum is designed to serve the capitalist

state. Thus it reinforces inequalities and stifles creative potential. It is intended to perpetuate and intensify social stratification and prevent the development of forms of consciousness which could enable people participate in changing it.

For socialists, education should concern the development of people's creative potential; their understanding of the natural world, the society in which they live and the work processes of that society. It should develop the capacity to work with others in controlling society's collective life.

In order to promote the growth of consciousness the curriculum must facilitate the development of abstract thought and the skills of analysis and synthesis. It must foster the ability to transfer skills and concepts from one area to another.

To this end, we need a uniform but flexible, locally differentiated system of education provision based upon universal entitlement which encompasses broadly stated curriculum objectives.

We should have a national curriculum, but one that is defined through democratic processes and takes into account the cultures, languages, experiences and needs of a multicultural, class-divided society.

It should have an internationalist perspective, cater for the

needs of students of all abilities and seek, both through its content and methods of learning to counter prejudice in all its forms.

## **Environment**

We should argue for an approach to learning which promotes an integrated view of human experience and its relationship to the environment.

We need to break down the traditional, compartmentalised structure of learning currently typical of secondary schools. We should advocate active, student centred learning at all levels.

The government's attempts to make education subject to

market forces also have the effect of developing a system in which the privileged – usually white, middle class students of Anglo-Saxon descent – have access to the skills and qualifications which will give them a head start in the labour market.

By promoting Grant Maintained Status ('opting out'), educationally unsound, externally imposed tests (SATs) and the publication of league tables, the Tories are creating a context in which the notion of equal opportunities becomes farcical.

Obviously, equality or opportunity, laudable as a goal, is not really feasible under capitalism. Recognising this reality should not prevent us from fighting – through building alliances which reach beyond those immediately involved in education – against the states efforts to deny the working class access to learning.

We should demand open and equal access to a fully comprehensive state funded education system as part of the process of working for socialism – without having any illusions about the nature of the state.

Socialists should be actively assisting teachers, parents and students in battles against Grant Maintained Status for schools and against the SATs. We should demand the reincorporation of all Grant Maintained schools, City Technology Colleges and remaining grammar schools into a fully comprehensive LEA system.

This should go hand in hand with the fight to defend public services, councils and the po-

tential for local democracy they can afford. We should also be seeking community involvement in setting education agendas locally.

While continuing to build opposition to SATs, we must insist that schools are responsible for ensuring the basic right of parents and students to full information about progress in the curriculum. This should be based upon continuous teacher assessment including records of achievement negotiated with school students and parents.

The comprehensive principle is not only about schools. It should also be applied to the post 16 education system.

What we need is access to education throughout life, and an education system which does not divide education from training, or the academic from the vocational.

We should demand an end to the existing external exams post 16, rightly defined as a hang-over from the nineteenth century.

In order to develop new perspectives on education, we have to transcend the anti-intellectualism so apparent in modern British culture.

## **Research**

We need to engage in serious research about processes of learning and to develop deeper insights into the political economy of international capitalism.

We also need to understand better the culture of this society and of youth in particular. The task is not only an academic one: the process of defining a healthy socialist outlook on education also involves learning, through struggle, dialogue and debate.

At the same time as countering the state's attempts to tailor formal education to suit its ends, we need to be developing our own longer term agenda for informal as well as formal education.



*Socialists must ensure children can learn of the world around them*

FEATURE





Would the security forces disarm and return to barracks if a cease fire was declared in the six counties? Kieran Mac an Ultaigh raises the question London and Dublin governments are afraid to answer.

MUCH has been said by politicians and the media about the killings carried out by paramilitaries in the North of Ireland after the tragic deaths on the Shankill and in Greysteel.

The British and Irish governments still refuse to accept Sinn Fein (representing more than one in eight of the electorate) as a legitimate political party and allow them to be included in any future negotiations until they either condemn the IRA's armed struggle or the IRA calls a permanent cease fire.

The British government are refusing to offer anything substantial in return for this cease fire. On the contrary they are putting increased pressure on the Irish government to end its constitutional claim to the Six Counties.

But what seems to have been ignored in London and Dublin and also by the leaderships of the respective trade union and labour movements is the role of the security forces in the six counties.

The security forces are not neutral but are the paramilitary wing of the British government. Since the beginning of the recent troubles they have operated in tandem with loyalist death squads (UFF/UVF), supplying weapons from South Africa through covert agents and providing photographs of suspected leading republicans.

The imposition of the Falls Road curfew as early as the summer of 1970 exposed the idea that the security forces were mere peace-keepers. This was soon followed by internment without trial, and Bloody Sunday at the beginning of 1972, when 14 unarmed Catholics were shot dead during an anti-internment demonstration in Derry.

#### 'Shoot to kill'

Since then the army and police have killed countless nationalists, many of them children, through random 'shoot to kill' policy and by plastic bullets. Virtually all of those murdered were unarmed and many had no connection with the republican movement. Only a tiny number of police and soldiers have ever faced charges over any of these killings.

Like the loyalists, the security forces

# Just how 'neutral' are the Brits?

view the entire nationalist community as hostile and dangerous and seem to believe that 'the only good Catholic is a dead Catholic, shoot first ask questions later'.

'Relatives for Justice' (RFJ) was set up to highlight the farce of British neutrality and to seek prosecutions and compensation. RFJ is a non-sectarian organisation which eventually aims to prosecute the British government in the European Court of Human Rights:

#### Pattern

'We're trying to ... show a clear pattern over the years so that when we go to Europe they can't say well this is a one off case because we are going to have hundreds of cases, one after the other, so that as soon as they knock back one we'll have another one to replace it...'

Many of the cases highlighted by RFJ have been taken up by Amnesty International and Liberty.

Recently Anne Bradley from RFJ toured the Midlands doing interviews, talking to MPs, MEPs and local councillors, and speaking at public meetings. Anne's first husband, Tony McA-tarsney, was assassinated by the UVF in 1983 solely because he was a Roman Catholic. Anne has learned to accept this loss with some difficulty. Tony was running a fish and chip business in a loyalist area of Belfast, and was thus regarded as a legitimate target.

Anne remarried a few years later to another Catholic, John McNeill. In 1990 John agreed to sit in a stolen car while two friends robbed a betting shop in West Belfast. Two undercover SAS sol-

diers first killed the two robbers, firing around 15 bullets into each of them. They then turned on John firing one shot into his head from a distance of twenty four inches followed by another four shots into his body.

John was unarmed - it was first degree murder, yet the soldiers identity has been kept secret and neither has been prosecuted. At most John should have had to face a couple of years in jail for his part in the robbery, not summary execution.

Since becoming involved in RFJ, Anne has had her home raided several times by members of the security forces who, on one occasion fractured her arm in two places and broke her nose. Her children have also faced harassment.

There are numerous other examples of what the security forces mean by peace keeping in the Six Counties. At least six Catholics, under the age 18, have been killed by plastic bullets fired by members of the security forces.

Of the 14 Catholics murdered on Bloody Sunday, five were under the age of 18. Of the several hundred people killed by the police and army in the Six Counties since 1969, the vast majority were Catholics and 127 were children.

#### No prosecution

Only in a couple of cases has any member of the security forces been prosecuted for any of these deaths, and even fewer convicted - a fact conveniently forgotten by the numerous so-called peace groups who protested over the tragic deaths caused by the Warrington bombing.

In all there are almost 30,000 mem-

bers of the security forces operating in the Six counties, concentrated almost exclusively on the nationalist community which totals about 600,000 or 40 per cent of the population. In total the British government spends £4 billion per year propping up the northern state.

Despite this Catholic unemployment is two and a half times as high as Protestant unemployment per head of population. Including remand prisoners, there are almost 1,600 people in prison in the Six Counties, two thirds of whom are republicans, each prisoner costing the state approximately £70,000 per year. Proportionally this represents the highest prison population anywhere in Western Europe.

Most socialists and trade unionists in Ireland and Britain support the status-quo or at best some form of devolved government in the Six Counties. Very few take a clear anti-imperial stance, their condemnations are often aimed at republicans and rarely against the British government and its agents.

The Six Counties is an undemocratic state and should be condemned as such. Campaigns such as Relatives for Justice and Equality (which highlights discrimination in employment), are attempting to show the extent of human and civil rights abuses in the North of Ireland.

Censorship and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which is aimed almost exclusively at the Irish community in Britain, are other examples of unjust draconian measures used to stifle debate on Ireland.

Peace without justice is no peace at all. The exclusion of parties such as Sinn Fein, which represents key sections of the oppressed, means that no amount of discussion on the future of Ireland can deliver a lasting peace.

#### Secular solution

In the end only a united secular socialist Ireland can achieve this, for only in such a state will people feel physically and economically secure, with equality and basic political and civil rights guaranteed.

It is vital that rank and file trade union and labour movement activists in Ireland and Britain take up the issues of discrimination and civil and human rights abuses in the north of Ireland.

The British government and its agents are not neutral. Only their immediate withdrawal from the Six Counties will lead to a lasting peace. All socialists should campaign vigorously for such a goal.

● Relatives for Justice and Equality can be contacted through Socialist Outlook, PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU or the Troops Out Movement, BM TOM, London WC1N 3XX.



## Crisis of capitalism without capital

# 'We need a Glorious Revolution of Russian socialism'

**RUSSIA is now a right-wing dictatorship that is simply too corrupt and incompetent to function efficiently, the country's best-known democratic socialist argues. Nevertheless, he believes that capitalism will not take root, and that pressure for a centre-left alternative will eventually prove irresistible.**

**BORIS KAGARLITSKY, a political advisor to the Russian Federation of Trade Unions and a leading member of the Party of Labour, last week visited London briefly, at the invitation of Ken Livingstone MP and Stan Newens MEP. DAVE OSLER discussed with him.**

BORN IN 1958, Kagarlitsky did the mandatory stint in the gulag under Brezhnev for his work on a leftist dissident journal. He is also the author of a number of academic books, and was an elected Moscow City Councillor until the council was dissolved last month.

He argues that the Russian politicians can be divided into modernisers and traditionalists, and either category can be either right-wing or left-wing. The Party of Labour represents Russia's modernising left.

It was started in 1992 as an attempt to regroup the non-Stalinist left, including left and centre-left social democrats, democratic communists and even some former anarchists: 'Heterodoxy is the orthodoxy of the party,' he quips.

So far it has around 1000 members, more impressive than it sounds given that, apart from the 500,000-strong Communist Party, no-one else has more than 5000 recruits. It has 15 branches in major industrial cities, with a congress scheduled for January, and expects to register for legal recognition next year.

The game-plan is not to build a European-style social democratic party like Labour in Britain. In Russia, argues Kagarlitsky, that would be impossible:

'West European societies [have] established capitalist institutions which more or less work, some kind of functioning welfare state, and democracy which is quite well rooted in social structures. There is some surplus you can redistribute.'

Russia faces economic col-

lapse. Neither 'the entrepreneurial groups with very different interests, which cannot be described as a class' nor the remnants of the old bureaucracy, are capable of being 'the main mortar, the main engine of development pulling the country out of crisis.'

'We were always very critical of over-centralisation of the economy, but we want the public sector to be the core of a mixed economy. The main argument is about how to form a democratically controlled, modern and efficient public sector.'

## Chinese examples

Lack of democracy aside, 'China provides us with some very interesting examples of successful reform, using the opportunities of the market for a public sector economy. There is no visible privatisation.'

Kagarlitsky's model for Russia advocates decentralised social partnership, with public enterprise co-managed by unions, local authorities and the state.

The Party of Labour has won significant trade union support. What were once 'state unions' are now in conflict with the state, Kagarlitsky points out:

'The state doesn't want any unions at all, it just wants to have an employer-dominated economy. The modernisers say we have to have proper unions, up to the task of mobilising wage labour to defend its general interests.'

Despite high hopes for independent unions such as Sotsprof in the late eighties, these groups moved rapidly to the right and have largely collapsed.



Kagarlitsky predicts widespread abstention in the elections due next month, a hung parliament and the rapid break-up of the current electoral coalitions. What are the implications of this?

'None, because the parliament will have no powers anyway,' he answers emphatically.

Under Boris Yeltsin's proposed new constitution, it will carry less clout than the Tsarist Duma, he believes. The Party of Labour will sit this one out, although some members are on various other lists.

But Kagarlitsky is adamant that the Communist Party should enter the fray, if only to underline its popular support.

I asked how October's attempted coup affected Russian politics. 'Why call it an attempted coup?' Kagarlitsky responds. 'There was a coup. Now we have no legitimate power in the country. We've got a very soft, very weak dictatorship.'

But Russia is not yet Pinochet's Chile. Kagarlitsky was arrested, threatened with death, and then released. The state confiscated his passport, but he had one they did not know about.

'I saw people who were released from jail just for bribing police. Corruption is very positive in certain cases,' he jokes.

The regime is undecided about how far it should go, or in the face of popular opposition, could go. Meanwhile, anti-Yelt-

sin forces have paradoxically been strengthened by the isolation of their extremist wing, Kagarlitsky argues.

Most of the British left supported parliament, which is as committed to capitalist restoration as Yeltsin, albeit by a slower route, and which readily linked up with fascist elements.

'It was a very bad parliament, but most parliaments that are destroyed by coup d'état were bad parliaments.'

## Legitimate

It may have been a 'weak, inefficient, incompetent parliament dominated by some very unpleasant people,' but nevertheless it enjoyed democratic legitimacy.

Parliament was wrong not to dissociate itself from the fascists, who were only a tiny minority within the parliamentary camp. This allowed Yeltsin to denounce the 'red-brown bloc' on television, then promptly implement many far right policies. 'The growth of the far right in the West is much more impressive than in Russia, especially if you compare the situation.'

'Western politicians who back Yeltsin are wrong, not just from the moral point of view. It's very stupid to back somebody who's going to fail ... The West presents Yeltsin as a kind of moderniser, but most of his support comes from the most backward, most uneducated and

*Yeltsin: his new parliament will have no real power. Elections are likely to face widespread abstentions.*

unmodernised layers of the population.'

Kagarlitsky argues that Russia is already a capitalist economy in one important sense: 'It's part of the capitalist world system. Because of this, it's demonstrating lots of the features of an underdeveloped economy, like a third world country. This is one of the first cases of the third-worldisation of a developed country.'

Yet Kagarlitsky sees Russia as basically 'a heterogeneous economy. It cannot be seen as an organic economy, capitalist or non-capitalist or socialist. There are different structures which live according to different logics.'

He rules out the successful reintroduction of capitalism: 'In this case Russia will just disintegrate into several different countries [with] some kind of statist economies with multiple heterogeneous economic systems.'

'For the consolidation of the capitalist project, you either have a colonial state or you have to have some sort of a national bourgeoisie. We have neither.'

'I don't think any of the western countries is going to conquer Russia, even economically. The level of investment needed for this purpose is just so enormous.'

## Centre-left

'There is a growing feeling that there is a need to follow a coherent alternative, a centre-left alternative bringing together some of the centrist forces, the non-communist left and quite probably also the CP ... There are certain regions where there are just no other important political forces. If you want to make the country governable again, you have to get the CP engaged.'

'The whole Russian experience was based on an attempt to build a socialist society, and this attempt failed at a certain stage and degenerated into something definitely contradicting the socialist project.'

'If you just look at British history, what was the outcome of the first British revolution? The restoration of monarchy.'

'What is needed for Russia nowadays is a Glorious Revolution of Russian socialism, reviving the socialist project, making it probably a little bit reformist but at the same time consolidating the basic characteristics and bringing it back.'

COMMENT



# Bosnia: why a Muslim state is no solution

**The British left has come up with all the wrong answers to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

**Even those who understand there is a war of aggression by Serbia and Croatia against Bosnia have taken all sorts of mistaken positions on the question of national self-determination, the role of the United Nations, sanctions against Serbia, independence from the Izetbegovic government.**

**In this issue Geoff Ryan argues why we reject the slogan of 'Support the Muslims'.**

**CENTRE STAGE**

BOSNIA was Yugoslavia in miniature. Within its borders lived the two largest nationalities, Serbs and Croats, and a large Slav Muslim population. It had a sizeable minority who defined themselves as 'Yugoslavs'.

There was a high level of inter-marriage. In the towns Catholic and Orthodox churches were sited next to Muslim mosques and Jewish synagogues.

Bosnian 'nationalism' is a very contradictory. It only makes sense in so far as it rejects Great Serb, Great Croat or Muslim nationalism and counter-poses a multi-national Bosnia, in which all national rights are guaranteed and respected. Which is precisely why multi-national Bosnia is under attack by Serb and Croat forces, with the support of the EC and UN.

The Izetbegovic government has indicated it is willing to accept the concept of a 'Muslim' state. This is a big retreat from the multi-national, multi-religious Bosnia envisaged in the 'Platform of the Presidency' published in Sarajevo, 26th June 1992. Izetbegovic has also talked about the need to create a 'Muslim' army. This weakens the fight for Bosnian independence.

A 'Muslim' state would not stop the war. A new war, between Muslims who want a purely 'Muslim' state and those in favour of a multi-national and secular state, would break out. It would be a war of the countryside against the ethnically mixed cities; of barbarism against civilisation; religious intolerance against secularism. It would create further 'ethnic cleansing'.

If a 'Muslim' state was created where would the multi-national journalists of Oslobodjene go? What would happen to



*In a Muslim state what would happen to Serbs and Croats in Sarajevo?*

the multi-national population of Tuzla who refused to accept the nationalist division of their city?

What would happen to the tens of thousands of Serbs and Croats who continue to defend Sarajevo? All those Serbs and Croats who have fought to defend Bosnia would find themselves unable to live in Serbia or Croatia or in a 'Muslim' State. That would be a defeat for internationalism and would legitimate further nationalist aggression.

## No need to wait

Only the working class - Croat, Muslim and Serb can prevent the destruction of Bosnia. This does not mean Muslims must wait until Croat or Serb workers reject reactionary Great Croat or Great Serb solutions.

They clearly have the right self-defence. However, whilst the Bosnian army has the right to drive out Croat or Serb troops from Bosnian towns and villages they also have to guarantee the rights of the Croat and Serb populations.

Islamic fundamentalists have carried out massacres of Croat civilians and driven them out of towns. In Vares the fundamentalists raised a pro-Iranian flag. Although the fundamentalist forces operate, by and large, outside the control of the Bosnian army, Croats or Serbs forced from their homes are unlikely to make such distinctions.

The temporary military victories of fundamentalist forces are massively outweighed by their negative political consequences.

The Croats and Serbs prepared to fight against the policies and actions of Boban and Karadzic are still a very small minority. The majority still support the carve up of Bosnia. However, if Bosnia is to survive they have to be convinced of the need for a multi-national Bosnia. This

can only be done if their national rights are respected.

There is growing disenchantment with the war. The recent rebellion of Serb soldiers in Banja Luka against Karadzic is a reflection of growing disillusionment.

This will not automatically lead to progressive developments. The Croatian and Serbian fascists will also try to channel discontent into even more virulent nationalism. The actions of the fundamentalists and demands for a 'Muslim' state weaken the ability to win over disillusioned Croats and Serbs to support for an independent Bosnia.

The task for socialists - inside and outside Bosnia - is to support the multi-national resistance. We have to try to rebuild links between workers throughout the former Yugoslavia.

That can only be based on support for the right of Bosnia to self-determination and respect for the rights of national minorities. We oppose attempts to create 'ethnically pure' states and reject attacks by Muslim forces on Croat or Serb civilians.

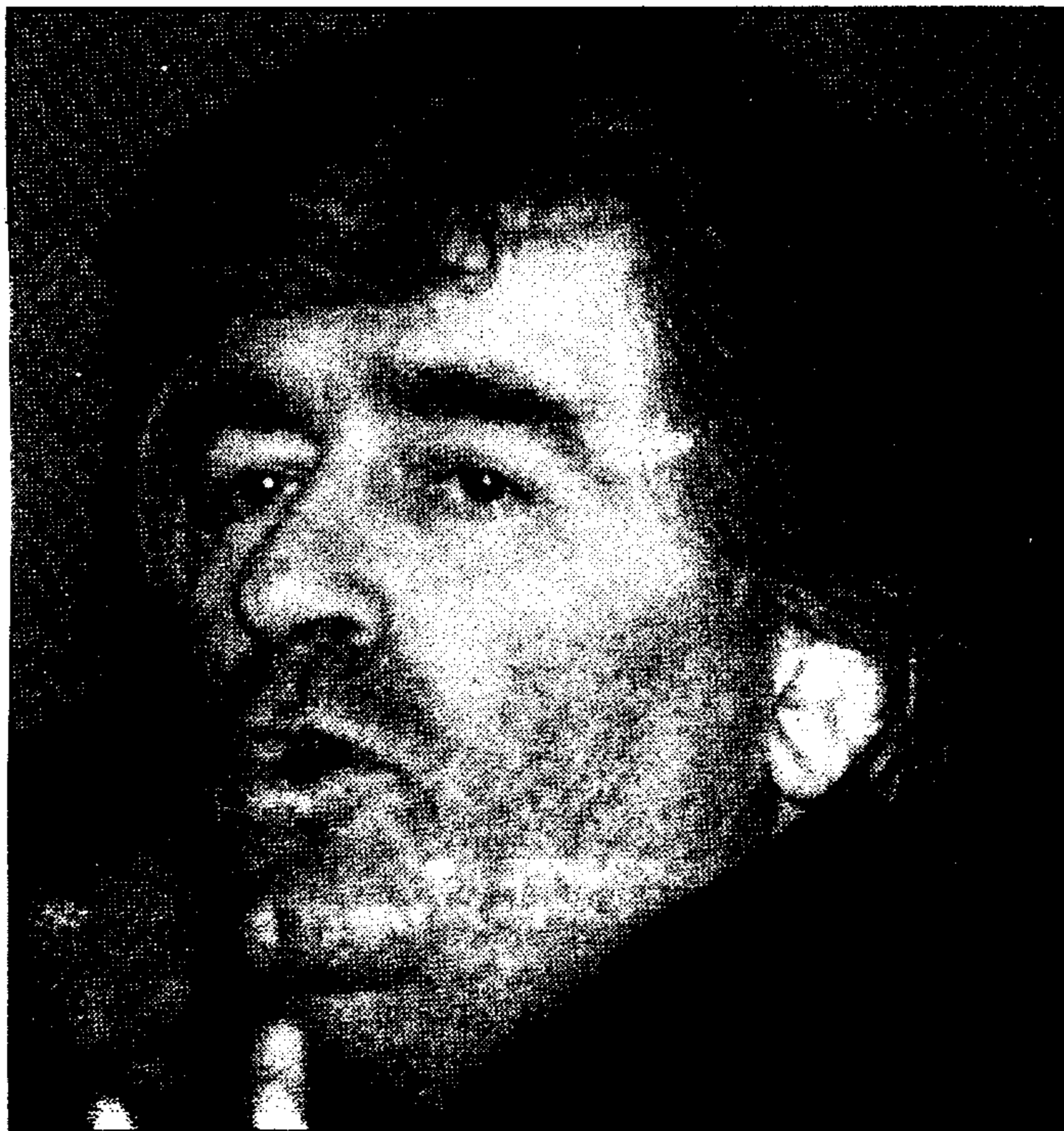
## False image

Slogans such as 'Arm the Muslims' or 'Support the Muslims' reinforce the false image of the war in Bosnia as between nationally based or religious 'warring factions'.

They ignore the multi-national nature of the Bosnian resistance. They suggest the war can be won by the Muslims alone. They make dangerous concessions to the thoroughly reactionary concept of a 'Muslim' state.

Above all they hold back the rebuilding of the workers' movement throughout ex-Yugoslavia, without which there can be no lasting solution to the national question.

*Serb leader Karadzic has already faced rebellion from soldiers in Banja Luka*





# Opening Tuzla airport: a crucial demand

By Dave Packer

TUZLA airport is the key to opening up the north of Bosnia to medical and food aid. It is the quickest way of stopping mass starvation this winter in a very densely populated area.

Some UN aid supplies have reached the city, but it is a drop in the ocean. Tuzla's original population of 200,000 (over 500,000 in the Tuzla region) has swollen to nearly a million with a massive influx of refugees escaping ethnic cleansing. Today this population is even more desperate for basic supplies than it was last winter.

Since the Greater Serbian force achieved their primary war aim in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the creation of the northern corridor linking Knin Krajina and Bosanska Krajina with Serbia itself, Tuzla has been cut off from the key northern route to Croatia and Zagreb.

This Serbian-held corridor, crucial to its whole military strategy, is now a heavily militarised zone.

## Cut off

At the same time the main alternative supply route, in the south-west from the coastal port of Split, has to all intents and purposes been cut by the Croatian HVO and paramilitary forces.

Only occasional convoys can now negotiate this difficult and mountainous route. Despite some recent military successes, the territory held by Bosnian forces is all but cut off from the outside world.

So, Tuzla airport is a key point of entry into a large population centre.

Why has the UN persistently refused to open it to commercial or aid airlifts? They claim that the use of the airport is too risky because it is too vulnerable to Serbian artillery and long-range aircraft.

However unlike Sarajevo's airport, which is even vulnerable to sniper fire, Tuzla's is not overlooked by such weapons. In any case UN aircraft use Tuzla airport regularly for military and diplomatic purposes. Why then is the UN prevaricating when the airport's closure threatens so many

## "UN aircraft use Tuzla airport regularly..."

lives?

The answer lies in the military and political objectives of the imperialist powers, who control UN policy. Their cynicism knows no bounds.

## No interest

The main imperialist powers have no strategic interests in the area, unlike the Middle East, apart from the medium term aim of dragging the Balkans into the capitalist world market and restoring the rule of the capitalist law of value with the minimum of disruption.

But they are concerned with the delicate balance in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly between Greece and Turkey and on the issue of Macedonia.

As a result we have not seen a large scale military intervention, but only one that can increase imperialism's political involvement in the region and help regulate and further their diplomatic aims.

They have not the slightest interest in the suffering of the Bosnian peoples, their democratic rights or national aspirations. The UN have, in practice, extended support to those they perceive as most rapidly bringing stability.

Increasingly the people imperialism does business with are Serbian leader Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman. The Vance-Owen plan and its successors have only legitimised Serbian aggression and ethnic cleansing.

## Arms embargo

The crucial arms embargo, far from stopping the creation of what Douglas Hurd has cynically called 'a level killing field', has only re-enforced the initial military superiority of Serbia and to a lesser extent Croatia.

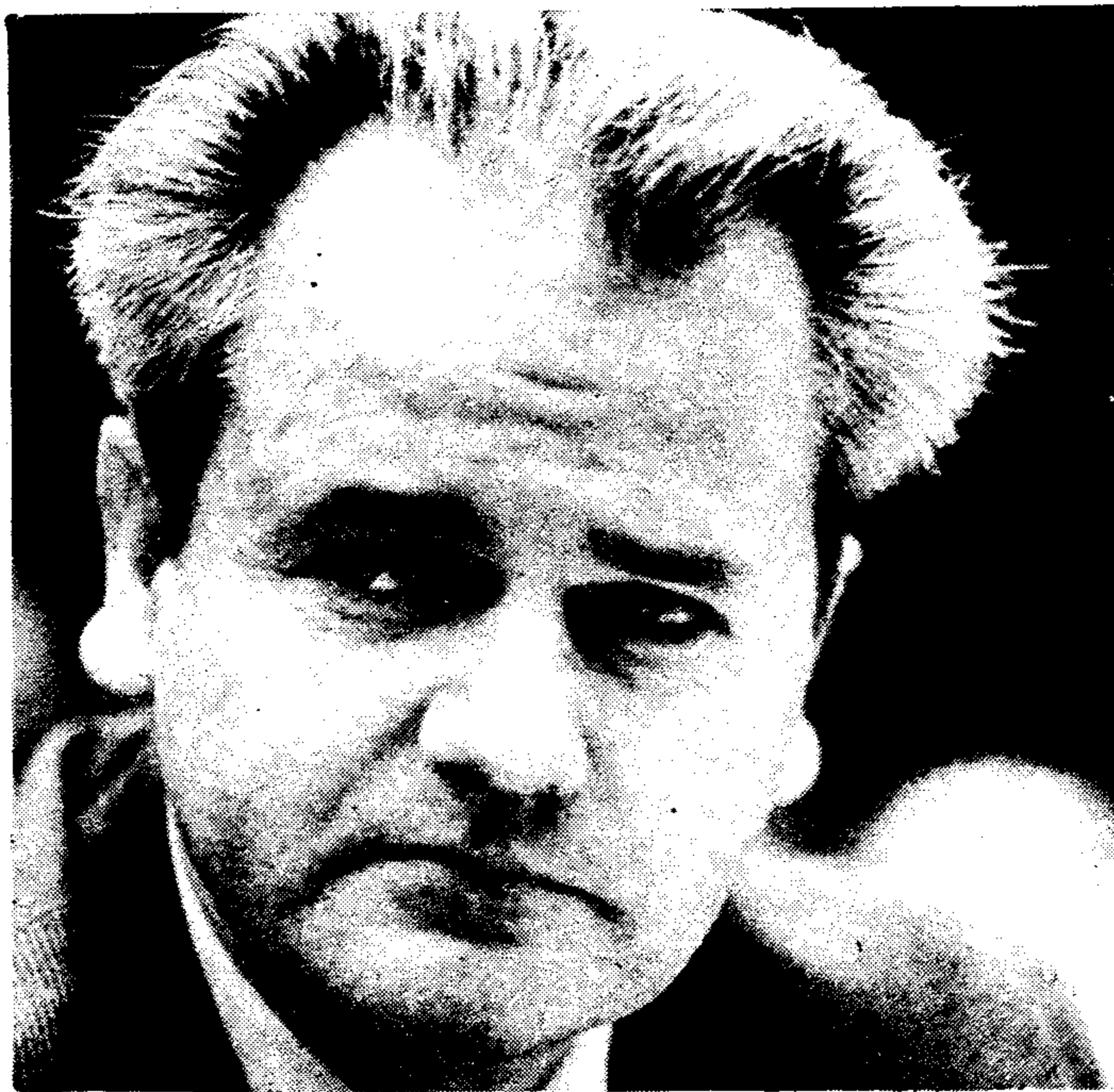
The purpose has become increasingly transparent. The arms embargo and the reluctance to let aid go through are designed to force the surrender of Bosnia and create a small, poverty stricken and overpopulated

Muslim 'bantustan'.

The continued closure and tight control of Tuzla airport is crucial for the UN's policing of the arms embargo on Bosnia. If the UN were to open the airport under the control of the Bosnian government then the arms embargo would be more difficult to enforce.

Socialists do not remain neutral in the face of ethnic cleansing.

- Multi-ethnic Bosnia lives!
- No appeasement of aggressors and ethnic cleansers
- Open Tuzla airport.



Chosen business partner of imperialism: Milosevic

# Let Bosnia



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CENTRE STAGE



# Tina turns her life around

by Sian Thomas

Tina Turner's life story, 'What's Love Got To Do With It?' is a bit more than just a mushy rags to riches tale times two.

Those who aren't fans of Tina's gritty voice will still find this soul survivor's tale inspiring. Based on the singer's bestselling autobiography 'I Tina', this film is one from the heart.

Early on in the tale Tina (performed brilliantly by Angela Bassett) meets Ike (also well played by Laurence Fishburne), her future musical and

marriage partner.

Ike needs Tina's talent to make it to stardom, and the possibility of getting rich and famous acts as a Cupid for both of them. But at this stage the question 'what's love got to do with it?', would not get the straightforward 'nothing' answer that emerges later in the film.

### Grand statement

The really great thing about the film is that it is, in itself part of the story, - it's a grand public statement against the private violence Tina found in her tiring relationship with Ike. Being able to wash the cuts and bruises in public



A battle of wills between Tina and Ike

looks like a real 'kick in the teeth' for Ike.

The fact that some parts of the film are somewhat embellished does not at all detract from this 'realism'. And a series of fabulous period mock-ups of wild live performances are skilfully blended with the plot.

The struggle to leave Ike is calmly demonstrated, the concrete practical difficulties and

the feeling of hope that it won't happen again are well counterbalanced.

Reference to the help of Buddhism in her battle against Ike has to be seen in the context of a contingent rejection of the church. And if you didn't know Buddhism was a religion then you would not guess it from the film, since it could just be an exotic relaxation technique.

Finally making the divorce court, the irony of Tina's fight to hang on to the names Ike gave her is a great poetic twist.

While not a consciously feminist film it manages, within the scope of Hollywood entertainment, to explore feminist themes, as well as personal identity, and the ingredients that make relationships. It's generally a film well worth seeing.

# 'Has anybody seen the Labour Party? ...'

Review of Rory Bremner - Who Else? Channel 4 Wednesdays and Saturdays.

by Jenny Patterson

IT'S ENTERTAINING late night viewing, with a fairly traditional format - a bit of stand up comedy, fast gags and even faster

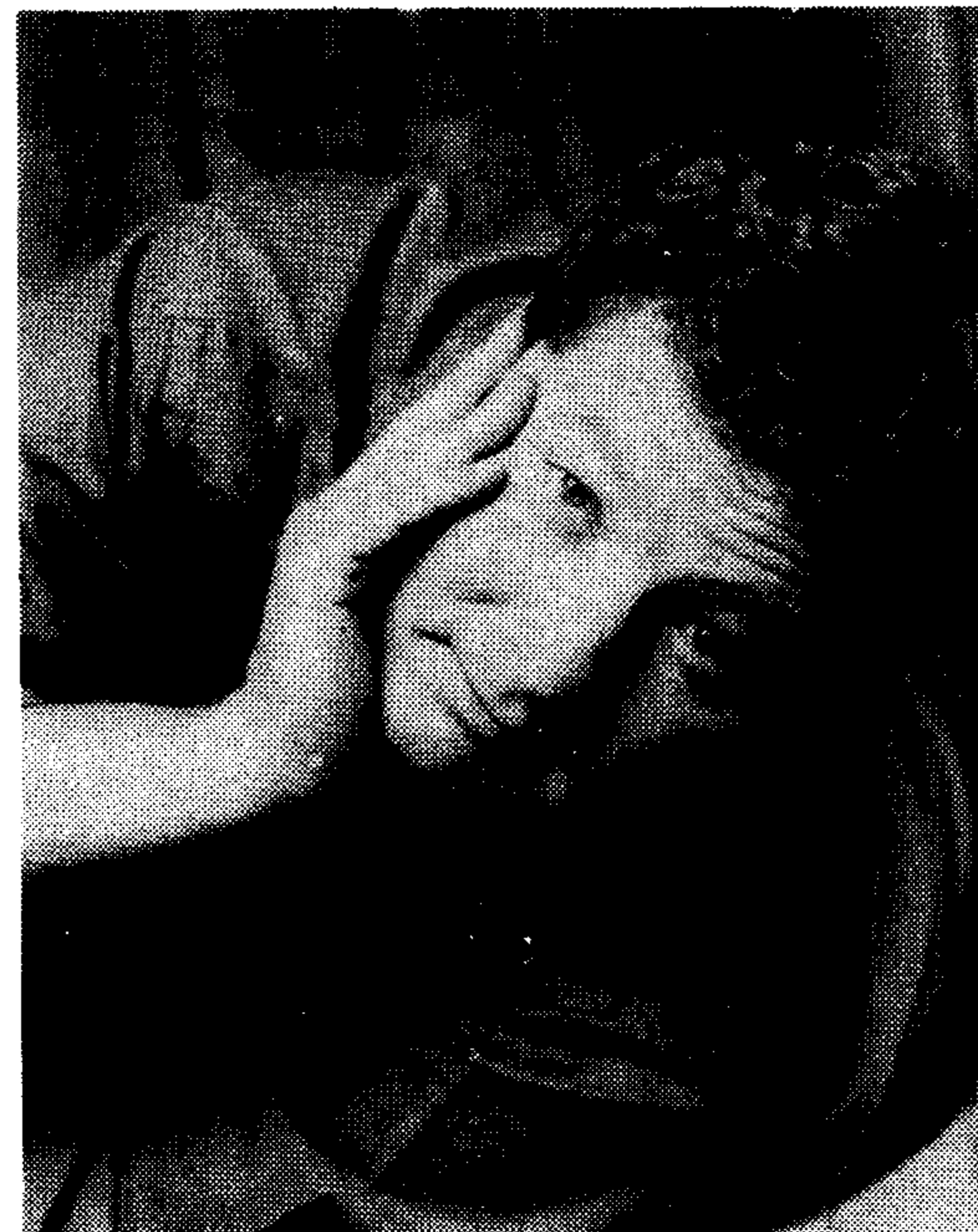
character changes, mock interview and pastiche of TV programmes.

Unfortunately the November 17 show included an ever-so-clichéd sketch on BR - leaves on the line again. Blink and you might have missed some of the visuals. According to the TV announcer, it's a political satire 'more biting than the winter chill'.

Well received by the TV audience, Rory Bremner (pity about the poppy), managed in the first few minutes as a skilful impersonator, to take the piss out of the Channel Tunnel, a Buddhist retreat in the borders, bishops, a predictable couple of royals, Thatcher, Major, Liberals, Smith et al.

He knocked Tory values of family and law and order, notably on single parents, core values and delinquents.

A particularly memorable piece started off with Dixon of Dock Green, turned into Inspector Morse then lead into a mock-serious reportage on juvenile crime, which was interspersed with real footage of Geoffrey Howe as Home Secretary, followed by a gaggle of other Home Secretaries, all ranting and raving on the benefits of the short sharp shock



treatment.

Bremner puts across a powerful antidote to the Tory lies. 69 per cent of young offenders re-offend (surprise, surprise), budgets for detection, deterrents and prevention, already a minuscule one per cent are being cut.

Prisons are very expensive (he couldn't afford to buy one). Britain has the highest prison population after Turkey. Comic relief...while he is talking he gets his car nicked.

As David Attenborough, Bremner describes the survival of an exotic species, the health and housing 'quangos', as being in the interests and control of unelected, Tory funding scavengers. He comments 'It's

a funny old world'.

Guest performers John Bird and John Frome add a touch of parody as waffling idiots in a face to face political interview - reminding the viewer of many well-known politicians, expert in deflecting questions, being as chauvinist as possible and filling the voids with verbal garbage. With comic skill it developed into a biting anti-militarist line.

To get the best out of Rory Bremner you have to be a bit of a TV buff, and know your politicians,

sports announcers and weathermen (no, not the radical US 1960s guerrilla types... more the Scottish ones with big glasses).

One of my favourite short sharp gags by the way, was the one that went like this...

'Anyone seen the Labour Party?...They never write! They never ring!'

And what about Bremner's message for the leader? 'Get your fat arse off the fence you fat Scottish git!'

Subtle? Not! Hint of capitulation to anti-Scottish chauvinism? Definitely.

Despite the criticisms, funny enough. Political rating: left-reformist.

REVIEWS

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# The next US target?

Is US President Bill Clinton preparing for an air-strike on North Korea? K Govindan reports.

In a recent interview the US President declared, 'North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb. We have to be very firm about it'.

Pentagon officials have talked up fears of a North Korean invasion of the South claiming that up to 70 per cent of their military forces were concentrated around the border.

However the South Koreans have pointed out that this has been the case since the end of the 1950-53 Korean War and is not unusual. Radio Pyongyang has denounced Clinton's remarks as being 'bellicose...when the world recognises that we have no intention to invade the South'.

In a further provocation the US and South Korea have been conducting their annual 'Team Spirit' military operations on their side of the border - an exercise designed to intimidate the North.

The furore erupted over the Pyongyang regime's refusal to allow International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) officials to inspect the Yongbyung nuclear facility.

The North Koreans claimed they wish to resolve the nuclear issue through bilateral negotiations with the United States. In 1992 the IAEA twice visited this nuclear facility finding that it was intended purely for power generation. However the US re-

jected its report.

North Korea has had a nuclear plant since 1965 and has increased its reliance on this sector enabling it in a six year period (1978-1984) to register a 178 per cent increase in the supply of electricity.

The South Koreans believe that the North is developing a nuclear weapon in order to launch an attack on the South, driving out the 37,000 US troops and re-unifying the peninsula by force. The North Koreans believe that the threat of using a nuclear bomb protects them from a US/South Korean combined forces invasion which would be better armed and have better motivated troops.

Clearly the North Koreans perceive their nuclear development programme as a bargaining lever to extract political and economic concessions in an increasingly unfavourable politi-

melted away insisting on scarce foreign exchange for their exports.

Two way trade between Russia and North Korea slumped to US\$600 million in 1992. Meanwhile the North still owes Russia US\$15.6 million in debt.

Their last remaining ally of importance is China. It too is embarrassed by its links with the Pyongyang regime and would possibly abstain on a Security Council resolution authorising United Nations sanctions against North Korea in return for favours from the United States.

The large Korean community in Japan

**"The North Koreans believe that the threat of using a nuclear bomb protects them from a US/South Korean combined forces invasion which would be better armed and have better motivated troops"**

cal climate.

The ideology of *juche* or self-reliance pioneered by the despot Kim Il Sung or 'Great and Beloved Leader' as he likes to be known has reduced the North to a desperate economic state.

The North's traditional trading partners the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have

remits around US\$600 - \$700 million each year to their relatives in the North, and this is a major source of foreign exchange.

Reports of famine and food riots in the North have been dismissed by recent visitors as being unfounded. However there is food scarcity and giant post-

ers exhort the people to 'eat two meals a day'.

So far it seems unlikely that there will be any change in North Korea's stance until the death of its absolute leader. His son, Kim Jong Il or 'Dear Leader' as he is universally known is the heir apparent and Commander of the military forces.

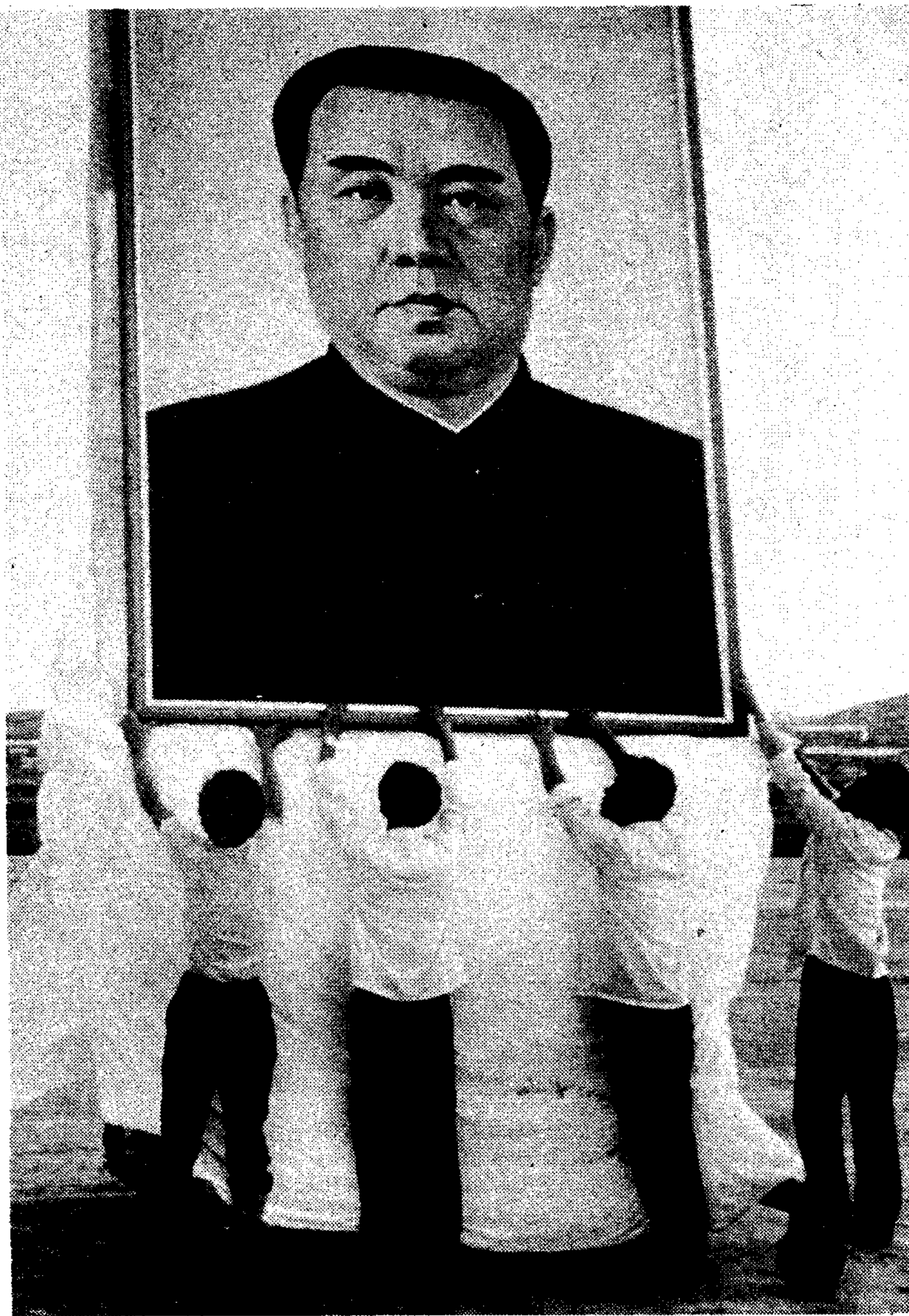
He lacks the authority of his father and could face a military revolt in alliance with sections of the *bureaucracy*.

In South Korea these events are watched with great alarm when passions for re-unification with the North have greatly cooled with the experience of West Germany in its absorption of the East.

The US fears that the Rodang 1 missile developed by North Korea will be used to target its bases in the South and as far away as Okinawa in Japan. North Korea is thought to be selling one of these 1,000 kilometre range missiles to Iran which is a major supplier of its oil needs.

The hypocrisy and motives of the US administration are clear. While allies of the US like Israel and Pakistan develop nuclear weapons a blind eye is turned to this. The US itself is free to maintain its nuclear arsenal and deploy it in the East Asian region.

US capitalism is sustained by militarism - and its next target is North Korea.



## End Indian occupation of Kashmir!

By K Govindan

**KASHMIRI** militants holed up inside the Hazratbal mosque surrendered last week to the Indian troops laying siege to it.

The one month long standoff in Srinagar cast an all too brief media spotlight on the four year long *intifada* against Indian domination which has claimed 12,000 lives.

Human rights groups have documented frequent rights violations by the Border Security Force (BSF) and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) who are among the 500,000 military and para-military forces stationed there.

These violations range from unprovoked firing into peaceful demonstrations including funeral processions, the razing of shops and homes to the ground, cases of torture and acts of gang rape.

On 22 October a demonstration of 5,000 at Bijbehara against the mosque siege was fired upon by the

BSF killing 40 and injuring 76 people.

The militants in the mosque are members of the Hizbul-Mujahedin, a group favouring the unity of Kashmir and Pakistan. They control Anantnag, Baramulla and Srinagar districts in the Kashmir valley. Like other Muslim fundamentalist groups they are armed and financed by Pakistan.

These groups have widespread popular support because they are leading the fight against the Indian army. However there is not much sympathy for joining Pakistan or for fundamentalist Islam.

Most Kashmiri Muslims belong to the Sufi faith, quite different to the radical Shi'ism of the Muslim militias.

In Pakistan-held Kashmir, a nominally independent state, there is no genuine political autonomy. The Kashmiri language and culture are suppressed.

Forest, water and mining resources are exploited by the central government in Islamabad with only little of the revenue trickling back.

The other major militant group is

the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), a secular Kashmiri nationalist group which aims to unify the Kashmiri nation embracing the Hindus of Jammu and the Buddhists of the Ladaich plateau.

The Indian government has done its best to whip up communal anxieties about a Muslim majority state driving many Hindus from the Kashmir valley to Jammu, under Indian control.

### Far right

The prime beneficiary of this policy is the far right Hindu revivalist Bharatiya Janata Party, who urge the government to take a 'get tough' attitude towards the militants. Meanwhile the JKLF has leafleted Hindu areas encouraging many to stay in the valley.

Recently an alliance of 32 groups formed the 'All Kashmir Freedom Front' to co-ordinate peaceful protest against Indian atrocities. A general strike call made by them in response to the mosque siege was extremely successful.

Much of the left, such as the social

democratic Communist Party of India has retreated to the comparative safety of Jammu. Like the ruling Congress-I Party, they bleat on about defending the 'unity and integrity' of India.

In contrast, the JKLF rightly calls for the demilitarisation of Indian-occupied and Pakistan-held Kashmir and for the right to self-determination.

The arrest last month in Belgium of JKLF leader Amanullah Khan is an issue European supporters of the Kashmiri struggle can rally around.

Ironically Khan had been invited by the European Parliament to participate in a conference on a peace settlement.

It is vital that the attempt by the Indian government to extradite him does not succeed. In 1982 Maqbool Butt, founder of the liberation struggle was extradited and hanged.

Please write letters demanding Amanullah Khan's release to Baron d'Hennin, Belgian Embassy, 103-5 Eaton Square, London, SW1W 9AB.



# Few cheers for ANC's new deal in South Africa

By Charlie Van Gelderen

SOUTH Africa's first general election based on universal franchise, scheduled for April 27 1994, is arousing none of the euphoria which greeted Nelson Mandela's release from prison two years ago.

The great hopes aroused by that historic occasion have been adulterated by the prolonged series of negotiations and the compromising positions adopted by the ANC leadership.

Indeed, most of the noise is coming from the white-racist right wing and its black allies, Buthezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party, and the heads of the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei bantustans.

The white right are openly

threatening armed resistance if their demands for an Afrikaner 'volkstaat' and regional autonomy are not met.

### Armed forces

The right wing Freedom Alliance has considerable support in the armed forces and the police who have been drilled for decades to think of the ANC and Communism as the enemy. It has been further strengthened by the threat of industrial action by the racist white trade unions in support of their demands.

The members of these white unions, mainly affiliated to the South African Confederation of Labour (SACLA), while numerically considerably smaller than the non-racial unions organised in COSATU and NACTU, occupy key positions in economically important sectors, especially iron and steel. Action on their part could inflict

serious damage to the country's fragile economy.

COSATU once showed some resistance to the compromises agreed between the ANC leadership and the National Party government.

As recently as last June, the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) congress adopted a resolution calling for an end to COSATU's involvement in the Tripartite Alliance (ANC, the South African Communist Party and COSATU), measures to strengthen socialism and the possible formation of a workers' party.

But at the special COSATU Congress in September it was agreed that COSATU would put forward a list of candidates to stand on the ANC ticket.

Moses Mayekiso, former general secretary of NUMSA, and once the foremost advocate of working class politics, is one



Not big fans of the deal: Afrikaner rightists of the AWB

of the twenty people included in the list.

These people, if elected, will not be accountable to COSATU for their parliamentary activities. They will be subject to the ANC whip.

### Careers

Almost the entire COSATU leadership, including Jay Naidoo, the general secretary, have relinquished their posts, their eyes on a future political career.

The new Central Executive Committee has announced that it is planning a general strike

against some of the grosser elements in the agreements reached by the multi-party negotiations.

These are the so-called 'Sunset Clauses' first proposed by Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, which guarantee that all civil servants will keep their jobs after the elections.

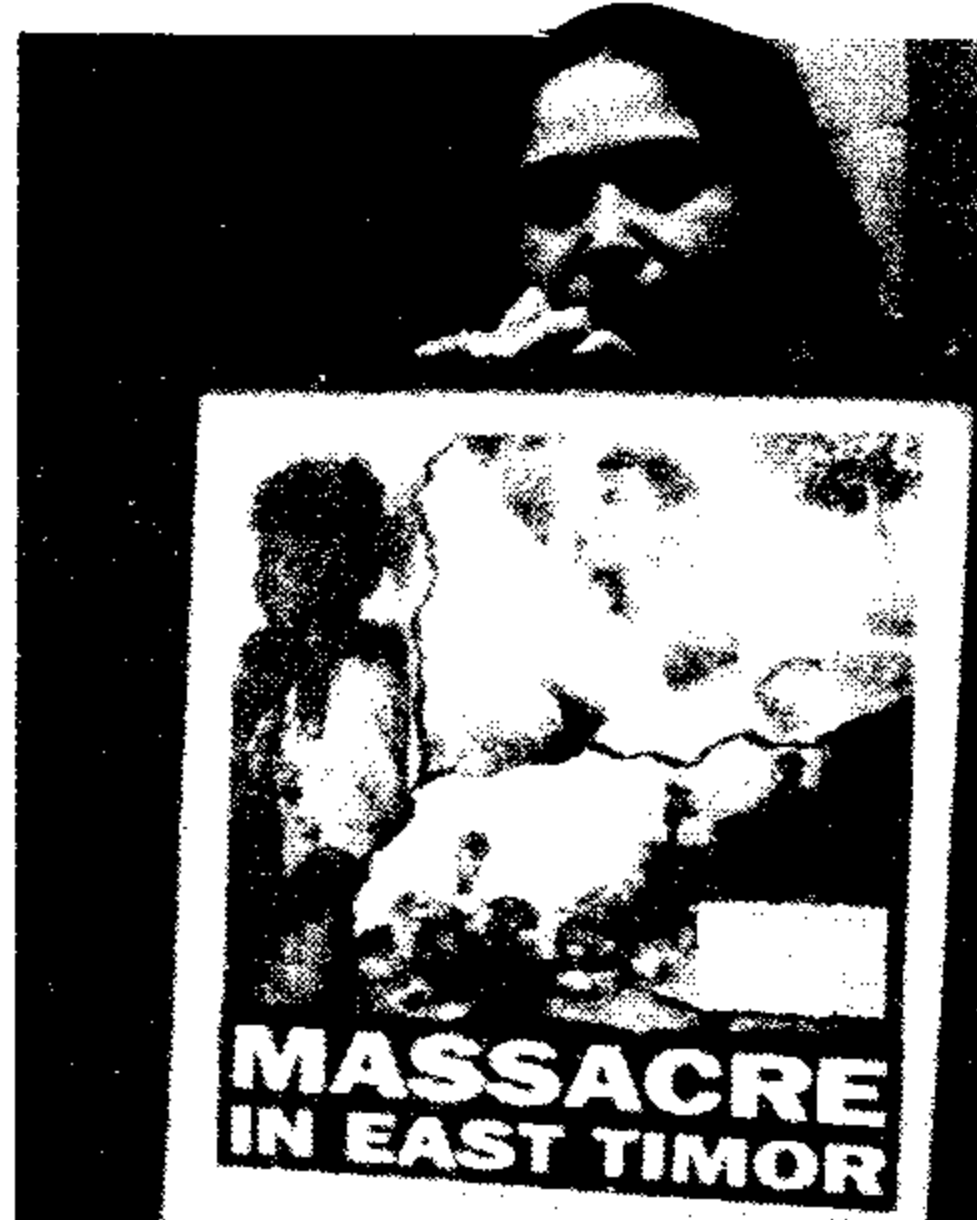
The ANC and SACP leaderships are bringing pressure to bear to get this strike call rescinded. With Sam Shilowa, a loyal member of the SACP, replacing Jay Naidoo as COSATU's new general secretary, this pressure could well be effective.

# Why there's war in East Timor

THIS MONTH'S Free East Timor tour, which *Liberation!* and *Socialist Outlook* supported, has brought that country's plight to the attention of many for the first time. In this extract from a feature in the current *International Viewpoint* Will McMahon tells the history of the conflict.

Indonesia's 18 year occupation of East Timor has claimed 200,000 lives. Indonesia invaded on 8 December 1975, supported by the United States and Australia.

After defeats in south-east Asia and Africa, the US saw East Timorese independence as a strategic threat, while Australia hoped East Timor's integration into Indonesia would open up oil and gas deposits. The historic colonial power in East Timor, Portugal, was ambivalent - while its representative in East Timor favoured self-determination, some in Lisbon saw integration with Indonesia as inevitable.



Of three main political parties in East Timor, one, Apodeti, was clearly the creation of the Indonesian military, while the UDT and Fretilin had genuine roots in East Timor. In January 1975 a pro-independence UDT/Fretilin coal-

ition was formed. Fretilin rapidly won a majority within the independence movement, taking an increasingly Marxist hue.

Indonesia developed a plan to split the UDT/Fretilin coalition, resulting in the August 1975 attempted UDT coup. The coup was defeated, but in September and October, Indonesia launched border incursions into East Timor. On 28 November Fretilin declared East Timor an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist republic.

The subsequent Indonesian attack was swift and brutal. The first months of the invasion cost around 60,000 lives. By late 1976 there were 40,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor and by mid-1977 a military stalemate had developed.

A new offensive against rural strongholds of Fretilin's military wing, Falintil, weakened but did not destroy the latter.

Indonesia turned to terror tactics against the urban population. Armed resistance was now restricted to the south and east; military defeats in the late 1970s led to political splits and defections in Fretilin, which reorganized its military strategy to emphasise mobility based on civilian support.

Indonesia responded by herding people into resettlement camps where malnutrition and human rights abuses were common, and by attempting to culturally assimilate the East Timorese.

A programme of biological population control was adopted. The Pope's October 1989 visit sparked a pro-independence demonstration. Further demonstrations followed in 1990.

In November 1991, a delegation of Portuguese MPs was scheduled to visit; although the Indonesians cancelled the visit, a mass pro-independence demonstration took place in November - the military responded by gunning down 200 demonstrators before foreign television cameras.

In November 1992 Fretilin's central leader, Xanana Gusmao, was captured and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

These events had three effects. First, the UN has become more involved in negotiations around East Timor. Second, possibilities for international solidarity have improved.

Third, and most importantly, the US has clearly begun to adopt a different strategy, as shown through the blocking of transfers of F5 fighters in August 1993 and that Congress has linked arms sales to human rights in East Timor.

### Lever

The end of the Cold War reduced Indonesia's strategic importance to the US navy. Also, human rights activists have been lobbying the Democratic party for over a decade. Importantly, Clinton now wishes to use East Timor as a lever in the debate over who will succeed Indonesia's long-time dictator, Suharto.

Even sections of the Indonesian establishment wonder if East Timor is worth it. Their doubts will be strengthened by the re-emergence of popular protests led not only by 1970s activists but by youth and students - a sure sign of Jakarta's failure to persuade them they are Indonesian.

WORLD NEWS

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**VIEWPOINT**



# Palestine deal heralds rise of the quislings

**How do revolutionaries in the Middle East view the Israeli-PLO agreement? MAHMUD HAWARI, an activist in the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen), the Trotskyist organisation in Israel, recently visited London and gave this exclusive interview to ROLAND RANCE for Socialist Outlook.**

**How do you assess the Israel-PLO agreement?**

THE AGREEMENT is qualitative and radically changes the political situation in the Middle East. It is too early to determine what its outcome will be, and it is very ambiguous, but we can make some immediate assessments.

The agreement is bad for the Palestinian people. It was dictated to the PLO leadership by Israel, Egypt and the USA, and there are many reasons why both revolutionary Marxists and Palestinian nationalists - who share an anti-Zionist analysis of Zionism, the state of Israel and the Middle East conflict - should oppose it.

It does not fulfill the minimum of Palestine national rights and does not bring justice to the Palestinian people.

The Oslo agreement was the product of two counterposed factors. The Palestinian Intifada put an end to the status quo and forced Israel, the Arab states and the international community to put the 1967 occupation and the Palestine national question on the agenda.

On the other hand, the 1990 Gulf War expressed a change in the relation of forces in the region, in favour of US imperialism and its allies. The combination of these two factors brought the Palestinian question to the fore, but with the exclusion of the PLO and with no discussion of Israeli withdrawal or Palestinian self-determination.

The PLO was faced with two options: either to accept the Israeli-US diktat and start negotiation with Israel under the most unfavourable conditions, or to refuse, at the cost of confrontation with the Arab regimes. The PLO had no room to manoeuvre, and after some hesitation accepted the diktat.

**Why did the PLO have no alternative?**

BECAUSE OF their mistaken policy for the past twenty years or more - since Jordan in 1970, in fact. The PLO wavered between guerrilla war and international diplomacy. Although it relied on mass mobilisation, this was never a central plank of its strategy, and was always subjugated to diplomacy.

The Intifada, which started as a spontaneous movement of the masses, was an indication to Israel and the PLO alike of the potential of a mass popular movement



**Still no democracy on offer** against the occupation and for Palestinian national rights.

It was later organised in the framework of PLO bodies, and then taken over by the PLO. This quelled the Intifada because of disagreements between the Unified National Leadership of the Intifada and the external PLO leadership.

**How have the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories responded to the agreement?**

AT FIRST there was widespread celebration, with mass nationalist demonstrations in support of Arafat, though not necessarily in support of the agreement.

There was a feeling that the agreement, which spoke of limited Israeli withdrawal and an easing of the occupation, could bring a change to the grim reality of people's lives.

The demonstrations were characterised in particular by the raising of the Palestinian flag, which is an important symbol; only a few days earlier, Palestinians were liable to be shot for raising it.

However, as time passed and people saw no immediate change, doubts began to be expressed. Would the agreement lead to a solution of such problems as the release of political prisoners, the closure of the Occupied Territories, the provocations by Israeli troops and settlers, theft of land and resources? There have been protest marches, sit-ins and strikes.

**How is the RCL responding in this situation?**

IF THERE were political forces with

mass support mobilising against the agreement, we would join this struggle. But there is no progressive force which could present a political alternative able to foil the agreement.

No political alternative has been put to the masses. The secular left has suffered since the Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, and has little presence in the streets.

It has failed to translate its critical analysis into a strategy. The only policy it has adopted is of a boycott of the agreement. This is a suicidal position, which leaves the arena to Fatah and Hamas.

Even Hamas, which is the best organised opposition, cannot mobilise the masses against the agreement. Its fundamentalist slogans have managed to bring only a few thousands on to the streets.

The RCL is not an organisation of political commentators or judges of history. Our role should be to assist in the creation of conditions in which the Palestinian people could better defend their rights within the new reality created by this agreement.

We have to mobilise the progressive forces in Israel, who accept the agreement, on central issues such as release of political prisoners, easing the occupation, against settlements, for Palestinian

**"Any form of self-rule on this geo-political reality will not be autonomy, but a patchwork of bantustans"**

sovereignty in Jerusalem, return of deportees.

At the same time, our propaganda role is to explain the negative aspects of the agreement, and to insist that real peace can be made only by peoples, not by governments or leaderships. We must fight against the racist approach of the Zionist left, which agrees with the Zionist consensus of Israeli arrogance, security, a Jewish majority in a Jewish state.

**Does the agreement create a situation in which Palestinian and Jewish workers will be able to struggle together against common class op-**

**pressors?**

CERTAINLY NOT in the short term, since these workers are divided by relative privilege and the agreement will not alter this radically. Palestinian workers will continue to be employed in Israel, which will have no reason to improve their conditions.

The Palestinians work in sectors such as agricultural labour, construction and services, where they do not interact with Israeli workers. Palestinians do not work in central strategic sectors such as heavy industry, or the military and petrochemical industries.

There can be no merging of the working classes while the national question remains unresolved. Of course, if the state of Israel decides to dismantle and reconstruct itself, then we could talk about the possibility of common struggle. But this is in the sphere of fantasy.

We may be facing a new situation if a Palestinian regime is established. This would be a bourgeois, neo-colonialist regime at best. Revolutionary marxist forces should continue to explain the class aspect of the struggle. The Palestinian working-class would have to start to organise against the bourgeois regime, which would be allied with Israel.

**How do you see the situation developing?**

THE AGREEMENT is only ink on paper. The Oslo agreement could create better conditions for mobilisation and struggle for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories (who are only part of the Palestinian people), and could create a readiness within Israeli society for further concessions to the Palestinian people.

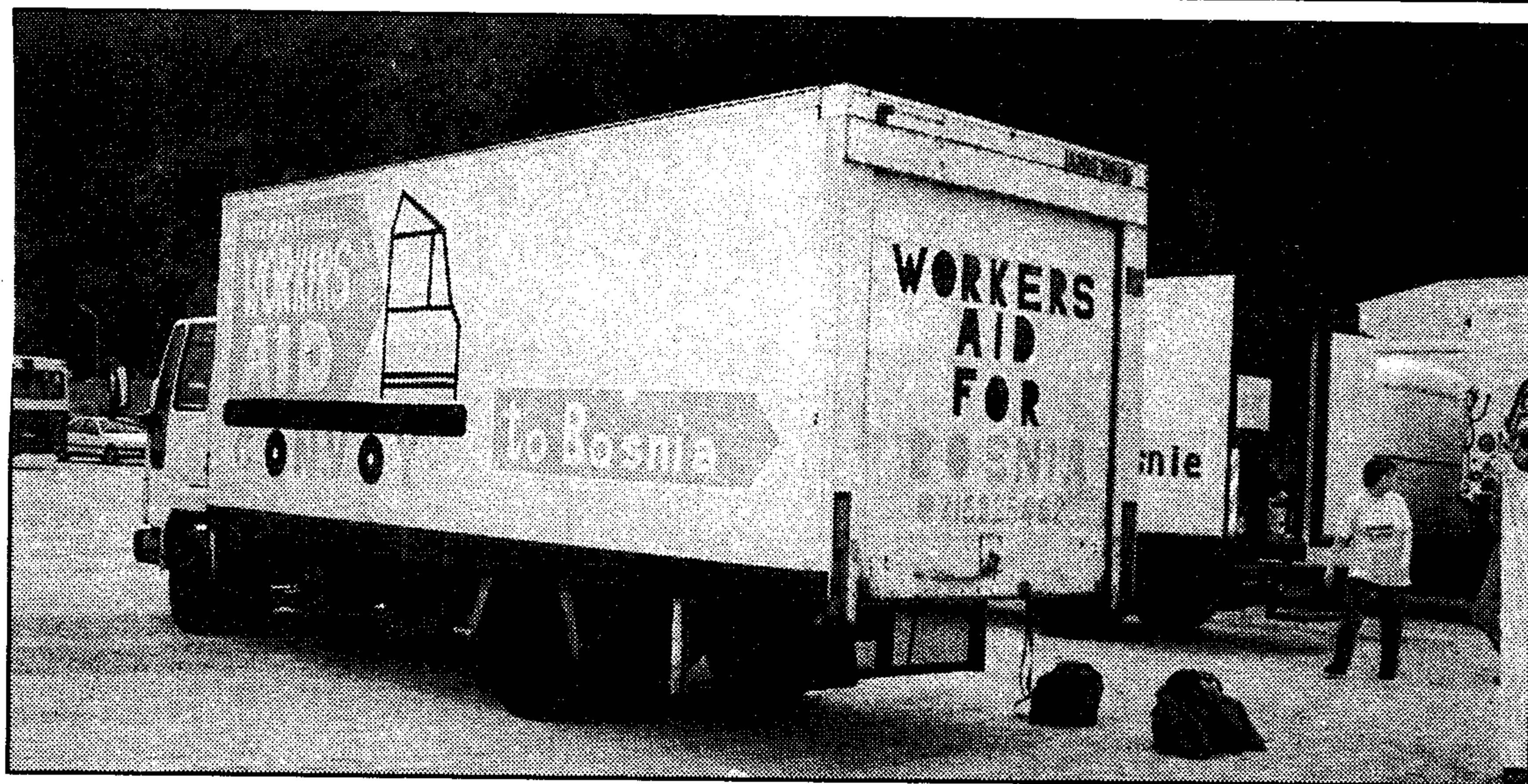
But this depends on the level of politicisation of the Palestinian masses, and to a lesser extent of the Israeli masses.

Currently, US imperialism and its Israeli ally are dominant. The occupation continues; the shooting continues.

67% of the land in the Occupied Territories has been taken over for Israeli settlements, military bases and roads. Any form of self-rule on this geo-political reality will not be autonomy, but a patchwork of bantustans. The bantustans are on the way, and the quislings are being called back to run them.

**WORLD NEWS**





## Tuzla miners' union salutes arrival of International Workers' Aid convoy

Statement from Tuzla Energy Workers' Union

**WE ARE WARMLY** grateful for the aid you have given. We are very sorry that the complete convoy has not been successful in crossing the northern corridor from Zupanja and just some of the trade unionists' representatives from Britain, Belgium and Sweden reached Tuzla. We are especially grateful to the autonomous trade union from Sweden.

Jenny Mees from Belgium, Tim Wise from London, Terry Moore and Mohammomad Abdolmohadaler from Sweden, and Mick Woods from Great Britain are heroes in that they succeeded in their aim despite a disastrous blockade. Because of that for seven and a half months nothing has

been delivered to Tuzla.

We have heard with fear the news and problems of putting into practise the idea that all the miners in Europe help miners and electricity workers in Tuzla. As the information about your humanitarian mission has been arriving our fears have been turning into great pride that we belong to that big family - the family of European workers and European trades unionists.

### Blockade

We hope that during your stay in Tuzla, seeing our mines, our power station and our struggle that you realise that our life under blockade is extremely hard. We expect disastrous consequences this winter - freezing and starvation.

We hope that on your return home you will tell the truth about our situation and build the demonstrations on

11 December which are calling for the Tuzla airport to be opened or any corridor for getting through food and fuel. If any of this cannot be done the forecast is bleak.

We, the miners and other workers in the energy industry, are doing super-human work to get some light and heat in the houses of hundreds of thousands of people in the Tuzla district. We are helpless without food, medicines, clothes, shoes and the means to produce. We believe in you, your strength, to succeed together and help us survive.

Thank you for everything you have done and want to do in the future. We will never forget it. and we look forward to the next meeting and we wish you every luck and success.

With all best wishes to win,  
Good Luck!

## "We were given a tremendous reception in Tuzla"

By Mick Woods  
in Zagreb

WHEN WE reached Tuzla two weeks ago we were all given a tremendous reception, greeted by the mayor and the miners' union of the Tuzla region.

We were tremendously impressed by the resistance of the people, the organisation of the workers and the continuing genuine multi-ethnic character of the Tuzla region.

### Parcels

We delivered all the personal parcels which had been sent from Britain. The bulk of the aid was distributed at workplaces

by the miners' union.

The situation is desperate. It was repeatedly stressed to us that the need is for the most basic foodstuffs: flour; oil sugar. The black market is rife. Coffee sells for £36 a kilo. Diesel is £11 a litre, if it can be found.

### Solidarity

We found tremendous gratitude not only for the aid provided but also for the international workers' solidarity it represented - the face that it came from the trades unions of western Europe.

We arrived back in Zagreb on 22 November. Our lorries themselves have not yet completed the journey back, since we were caught in early snow

storms on mountain roads towards Split, which made further travel without snow chains impossible.

We are meeting up within the next few days with the second International Workers Aid Convoy, which is travelling through Zagreb from Sweden.

This convoy is carrying snow chains and winter equipment for both themselves and the currently trapped vehicles, which will allow us to complete the journey. The Swedish convoy plans to travel to Tuzla by the southern route through Split.

Before leaving Tuzla were given a moving statement from the Tuzla miners union which we hope will be made widely available to trade unions in Western Europe

# 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.

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BOSNIA CONVOY



# What's HAPPENING

**WANT YOUR event included?**  
**Send details by December 3 to**  
**What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109,**  
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## NOVEMBER

### Wednesday 24

**Stop the refugee prison! demonstration against the opening of Campsfield Detention Centre 5pm Carfax central Oxford**

*Liberation!* youth forum 7.30pm Leigh Unemployed Youth Co-op Twist Lane Leigh

### Thursday 25

**Protest ill-treatment of Irish prisoners! 12 noon picket Home Office Queen Anne's Gate SW1**

People's Tribunal on Immigration and Asylum 3pm-9pm Central Hall Westminster SW1

**Europe and Ireland Troops Out Movement Public Meeting with Geoff Bell and Mary Mason 7.00pm University of East London Water Lane Stratford E15**

### Friday 26

**Benefit for Burnsall's strikers 8pm-late SOAS assembly hall Thornhaugh St WC1 tickets £3/£4**

### Saturday 27

**Roads to Freedom - National Liberation struggles, Power and Liberation. conference organised by Palestine Solidarity Campaign.**

10.30am-5.00pm SOAS Russell Square WC1 tickets £3/£1.50

**What Price Democracy? Mozambique Angola Committee study conference 10.00am-4.00pm Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1 tickets £5/£3 details 071 329 8842**

**Day school for independent anti-fascist groups Leicester details 0533 550433**

**March against deportations organised by West Midlands anti-deportation campaign and UNISON Handsworth Birmingham details 021-551 4518**

**March and rally before budget day assemble 10.30am Forth Street by Newcastle Central Station rally 11.30am Civic Centre John Maclean 75th Anniversary Meeting 1.00pm with Pe-**

ter Berresford Ellis Lucas Arms Grays Inn Road Kings Cross

**Community demo against the Nazis Caerau near Maesteg Glamorgan Dance for Freedom! London AA and Mozambique Angola Committee benefit 7.30pm-12 midnight Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1 tickets £3/£1.50**

### Sunday 28

**Concert for Angola with Sam Mangwana & the African Allstars 7.00pm-12 midnight, The Fridge, Brixton SW2 tickets £9 advance tel 071 326 5100**

### Monday 29

**Militant Labour International Rally doors open 7pm Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1**

### Tuesday 30

**Uniting the anti-racist movement Socialist Outlook public meeting speakers from Black People's Alliance and Youth against Racism in Europe 7.30pm The Unicorn Dale Street Manchester Leicester Anti-fascist Alliance meeting details 0533 550433**

## DECEMBER

### Thursday 2

**Palestine - hope for the future? free photographic exhibition Kufa Gallery 26 Westbourne Grove London W2 10am-6pm Mon-Sat until 11 December details 071 700 6192**

### Sat 4 & Sun 5

**Youth Against Racism in Europe conference University of the South Bank Elephant and Castle tube**



West Midlands demonstration against deportations: 27 November in Handsworth

### Friday 10

**Leicester AFA fundraiser at The Mag with Cornershop and Mambo Taxi**

### Saturday 11

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

### Monday 13

**Globo-cop: the New World Order Socialist Outlook discussion Speaker: Bala Kumar 7.30pm Stationers' Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8**

**Picket trial of 4 BNP thugs Leicester details 0533 550433**

### Wed 15 - Fri 17

*Liberation!* supporters course

### Thursday 16

**Their Future or Ours? Liberation! public forum 7pm Davenant Centre Whitechapel High Street between Aldgate East and Whitechapel tubes.**

### Sat 18 & Sun 19

*Liberation!* editorial meeting

## JANUARY

### Monday 10

**A New World Depression? Socialist Outlook discussion Speaker: Duncan Chapple 7.30pm Stationers' Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8**

### Saturday 29

*Bloody Sunday* demo London

## FEBRUARY

### Monday 14

**Anti-imperialist Strategy Today Socialist Outlook discussion Speaker: Sarah Parker 7.30pm Stationers' Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8**

### Fri 18 & Sat 19

**Re-thinking Worker Democracy Conference Centre Congress House Great Russell Street WC1 details CAITS 404 Camden Road London N7 0SJ**

## MARCH

### Saturday 19

**National demonstration against racism called by TUC General Council**

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HOME NEWS



# Socialist OUTLOOK

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## Fight for united 19 March demo

# Tories hush-up



Recent victim of racist murder: Joy Gardner mourned by mass demonstration

# racist murder

TWO racist stabbings – one fatal – in the last fortnight have been met by silence by the Tory media. Their refusal to tell the truth about the rise of racism is a part of the attempt by the ruling rich to turn attention away from the real problems in society: racism, poverty, inequality and despair.

Charles Oppong was stabbed on Tottenham High Road in Haringey by two racists last Sunday, piercing his liver and putting him on a life-support machine. In what looks like a copy of the killing of Steven Lawrence, Oppong was at a bus stop on his way to work.

The Sunday before, in Brighton, Ali Ibrahim, a refugee from political persecution in Sudan, was approached by a white man and woman who racially abused him and his two friends. The man then stabbed Ali to death.

These two parts of the country have also seen a rise in racism and activity by the fascist British National Party.

The BNP now have a regular paper sale in Haringey. They reportedly have a drinking spot behind Tottenham's police station. The local community has responded to the rise in assaults with a 100-strong picket and by launching the Haringey Racist Attacks Monitoring Project.

Brighton is the home of BNP leader John Tyndall. Over the last four years racist assaults

in the town have doubled in number. While the sizeable Sudanese community there faces mounting racism, the police at first failed to even admit Ali's murder was racially motivated.

*The call of the Trades Union Congress for a national demonstration against racism on 19 March could not have come at a more welcome time.*

It is exactly the kind of united mobilisation we needed on 16 October, when two separate demonstrations took place.

Now there is time for us to build mobilising committees in every town and city to ensure that the energy behind the 16 October demonstration is linked to the authority of the organised labour movement.

Central to all this, however, will be the organisations of the black community. In London's East End we have seen the positive development of Youth Connections, which has brought into activity hundreds of black youth.

Black-led organisations like Newham Monitoring Project and many others give a new quality to the anti-racist movement - the victims of racism mobilise and fight for themselves and show the way forward for the whole struggle.

Local Trades Councils, anti-racists and black organisations can start now to prepare the biggest anti-racist mobilisation since the 1970s.

The 4 & 5 December conference of Youth Against Racism in Europe can start the ball rolling, breathing new life into the Unity committees it led in the run-up to 16 October.

Above all, socialists must stress the need for unity in preparing 19 March. While local black youth and the far left drew a few hundreds to oppose the BNP's paper sale in the East End of London, the labour movement has the power to fill not only Brick Lane but the streets of the whole area with working people and their families.

Over the next months, we can get hundreds of thousands more people active against racism and fascism. But even that will give us just a flavour of the anti-racist movement to come.

## SOLIDARITY NOT SYMPATHY

This twenty-minute video, from the Rahman Family Defence Campaign, shows the history and racism of immigration controls and the struggle being waged by the family against deportation.

Send a £10 cheque payable to 'The Rahman Family Defence Campaign' to 16 Wood Street Bolton BL1 1DY. The Campaign is happy to provide speakers for showings of the video.