

42

Socialist OUTLOOK

INSIDE

**WARSAW GHETTO
RISING - pp8-9**

**Why capitalism hasn't
cured AIDS - page 6**

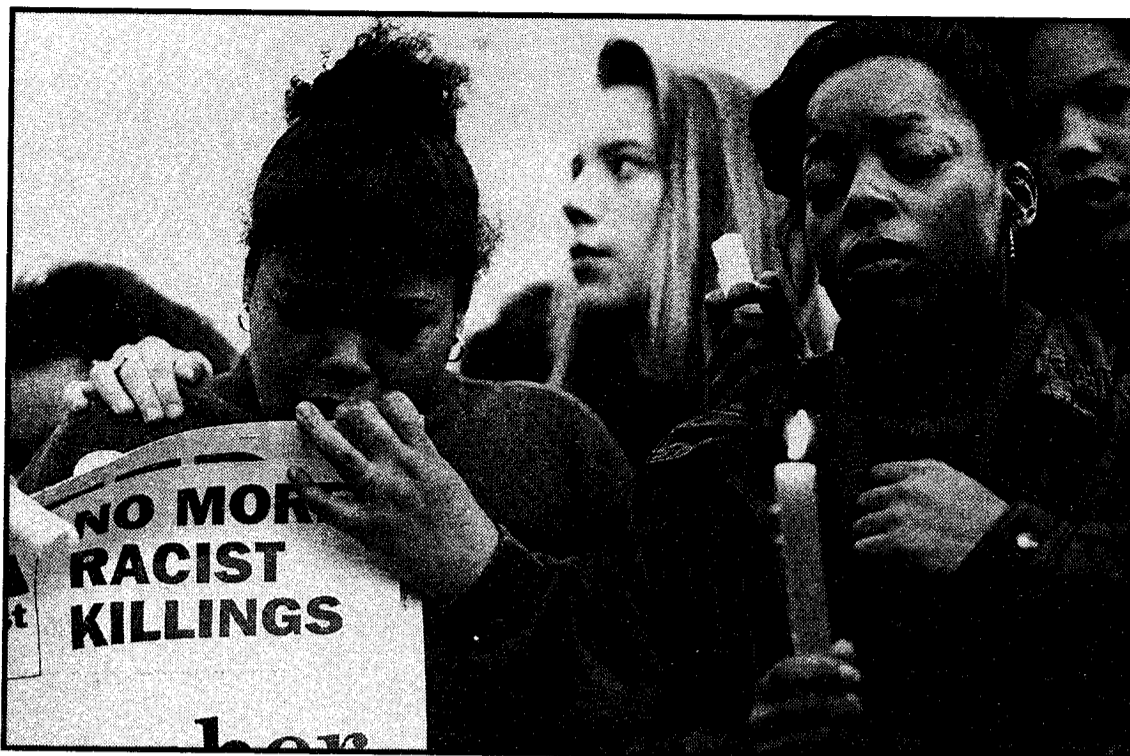
**Black nationalism and
socialism - p10**

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NHS, Timex, and more ...



FIGHT TO STOP RACIST KILLERS



Andrew Ward

Vigil in memory of Stephen Lawrence

Anti-racists lay siege to BNP headquarters

Pete McDonald

SIX THOUSAND marchers converged on the fascist BNP headquarters in Wellington on Saturday May 8.

Numbers were increased and the anger heightened by the recent racist murder of Stephen Lawrence and yet another inadequate response from the police. The march was led by Stephen's friends and school banner.

The demonstration saw a big involvement of the black community, with a large contingent brought by Panther UK. The Panther speaker at the rally stated 'We can not rely on the police...we will defend ourselves by any means necessary.'

It had been at Panther UK's request that the march, cospon-

sored with Youth Against Racism in Europe, had been re-routed to south east London.

When the march got to the BNP HQ the police were able to split it, leaving one section of the march vulnerable to police attack while others were kept back by both police and stewards.

Claims in the media that there was a riot are far fetched but police did scuffle with a number of demonstrators and one *Sunday Telegraph* reporter, who they threw over some crash barriers.

Seventeen people were injured and only six arrested.

The march was a success, taking anti-fascist politics to the heart of what the BNP see as their territory. The BNP were simply overwhelmed by the numbers that turned out and did not even attempt any counter demonstration.

The possibilities for united actions by all the groups, on the same day are very clear. It is becoming increasingly unacceptable to many that there is not more coordination and support for others' initiatives.

The ANL demo on May 15 - again through Plumstead - should be supported, as should the ARA demonstration June 12 in Croydon.

Having three demonstrations in south London in the space of one month is certainly better than there being none. But the potential for building one large demonstration supported by all the campaigns and built on a national basis is enormous.

If this could be done, then the movement really could reclaim the streets and show how impotent the far right is against a properly mobilised labour movement and black community.

Sinister new British group is copying Hitler's methods

Rising threat of fascist violence

By Paul Clarke

THE RACIST murders over the last 18 months of Rohit Dugall, Rolan Adams and Stephen Lawrence near the BNP's South London headquarters is no accident. Even if these murders were not actually carried out by BNP members, the atmosphere of racist poison created by the activities of the BNP and other fascists is to blame.

The fascists are stepping up their terror and para-military organisation. There is a long history of a 'twin track' approach by British fascism: open political organisation combined clandestine hard-core Nazi para-military organisation. In the past, organisations like Colin Jordan's *Spearhead* and the hard-core Nazi Column 88 provided the Nazi shock-troops.

Combat 18

Now this role is played by Combat 18, which has been investigated in detail by the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*. Combat 18 - '18' from the first and eighth letters of the alphabet, AH, those of their patron saint who dies in a Berlin bunker in 1945 - has substantial international connections.

Among those who helped set it up was notorious US Nazi Harold Covington, who supporters were implicated in 1979 Greensboro, Carolina, massacre when eight anti-fascists were shot by racists.

Prompted by a constituent, Leyton MP Harry Cohen asked a parliamentary question about why Covington was allowed into Britain. He was told by junior Home Office minister Peter Lloyd that Covington had a right to be here, and that his presence was not contrary to the public good!

In fact Covington was helping to organise Combat 18; his address is used as a contact point in the Combat 18 newsletter 'Redwatch', which publishes the home addresses and telephone numbers of left activists and black politicians.

Combat 18 has been implicated in arson attacks and savage beatings of anti-fascists and black people. It recruits freely from the BNP, but also plans to recruit from Nazi skinheads in the Blood and Honour Nazi rock-band scene and among football hooligans.

Combat 18 has its own leadership and its own plans and in no way are under the control of BNP leader, veteran Nazi John Tyndall. Combat 18 leaders include Charlie 'Ginger Pig' Sargent who has convictions for drug dealing and possessing offensive weapons and Eddie Whicker, a frequent visitor to Northern Ireland to meet with Loyalist UDA contacts.

The fascist street-fighters are a tiny force of psychotic thugs. But their racist propaganda and secret organisation contribute to the epidemic of racist attacks and murders. Mobilising to defeat them is a crucial task for the anti-fascist and anti-racist movements.

FIGHTING RACISM

Justice for Esen Yilmaz

ON MARCH 10 Esen Yilmaz, a 29-year old Turkish woman, was found brutally battered to death in her Stoke Newington flat. She had been dead for between four and five weeks.

Esen came to this country 10 years ago following an arranged marriage. Throughout the marriage she was subject to violence and harassment from her husband and his family. Eventually her husband threw her out,

along with her two year-old child.

She stayed in a women's refuge for eight months. During this period she was forced to make her child a ward of court, as she was frightened of her daughter being abducted and taken out of the country.

Esen was shunned by her community as a divorced woman, facing intense hostility and being labelled a prostitute. She was treated like an outcast for having dared to speak out

against the violence she suffered from her husband and his family.

Two weeks before her murder Esen contacted Stoke Newington police station asking for protection. They failed to protect her. Now the police are refusing to launch a serious investigation into her death.

The case raises important issues about domestic violence, the attitude of the police to women and ethnic minorities and the right of women to independence whatever community they come from.

The Justice for Esen Yilmaz campaign is demanding a serious investigation of her death and is campaigning inside the Turkish-speaking community against complicity with domestic violence.

The campaign can be contacted c/o Justice for Women, 55 Rathcoole Gardens, London N8 9NE.

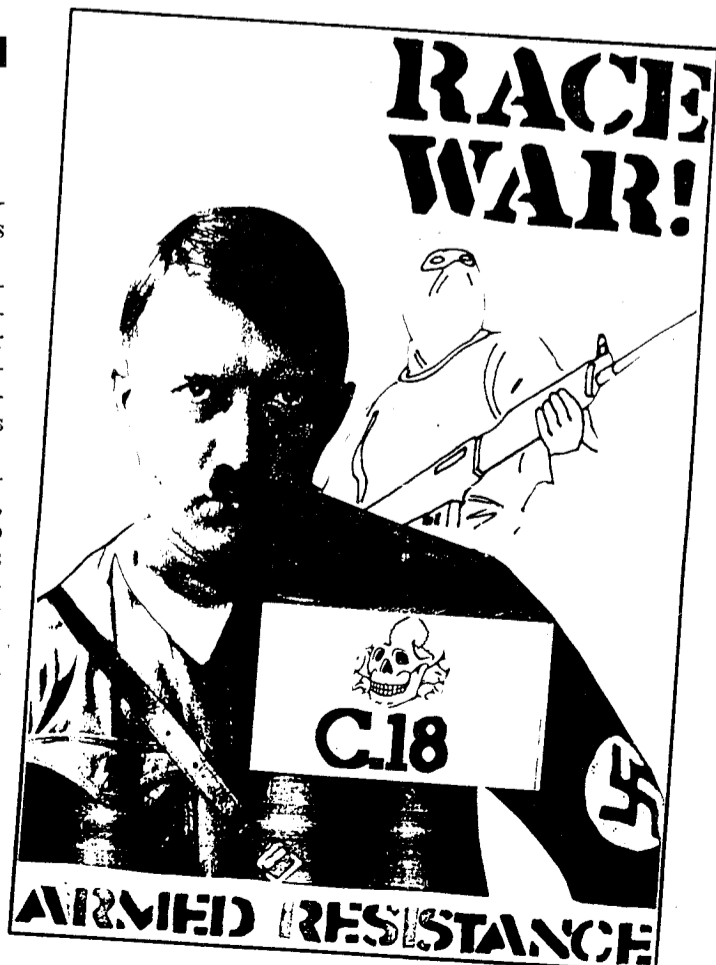
Socialist Outlook meetings

Black American Socialist

KWAME SOMBURU

is coming to Britain as part of a European tour He will be speaking on Malcolm X, Black Liberation and Socialism

BRIXTON on Tuesday 22 June
BIRMINGHAM Wed. 23 June



Major floored: but



Pigs will fly before they adopt a class struggle strategy

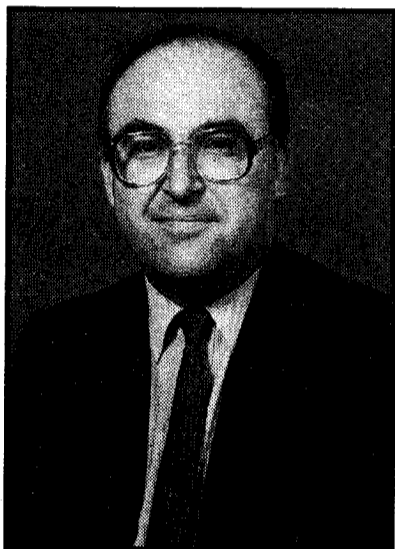
where is Labour?

JOHN MAJOR admitted his government got a bloody nose in the Newbury and county council elections. The Tories are still in crisis over Maastricht, and their backbenchers are in revolt over economic recession.

Devaluation of the pound and historically low interest rates have brought only very limited signs of economic recovery.

But Major's embarrassment is little comfort to the miners, who are watching as the pits start to shut. Despite public outrage over the butchery of their industry, the miners have become victims of the do-nothing attitude of Labour and the TUC. Neither is Tory political turmoil much use to the four million unemployed, or the millions hit by welfare, health and social security cuts.

The TUC has gone into hibernation and Labour is a total shambles. What happened in Newbury says it all. Peter Mandelson, Labour's by-election strategist, admitted his role was to 'maximise the anti-Tory vote':



Labour as good as told its supporters to vote for the Liberal Democrats.

Whatever the rhetoric of John Smith and Margaret Beckett, there is an underlying drive towards coalitionism and anti-Tory deals, especially at a local council level. And the nett result is to boost the role of the Liberal Democrats.

There is an inevitable logic in this. Labour cannot stand immobile.

There are two possible strategies – either the road of class struggle and defiance, backing industrial struggles and mass campaigns, or alternatively looking towards some form of de facto alliance with the Liberal Democrats.

Flying pigs

There is as much chance of Labour adopting a class struggle strategy as there is of pigs flying. The consequence is that, especially as the next election approaches, the drive towards an anti-Tory coalition is likely to become unstoppable.

At a policy level of course there is no major obstacle to coalitionism with the Lib-Dems; on many issues Labour is well to the right of the Liberals. And this is having a devastating effect on the Labour Party itself.

Figures for Labour Party membership are the lowest since the last war. In Scotland local party membership has just collapsed, to around 20,000 members, and of course a lot fewer than that are in any way active.

The present Labour membership and activism is a political selection; thousands, maybe tens of thousands, of left wingers have dropped away. Most who join now do so on a right-wing basis.

The Policy Forum has now effectively replaced party conference as the policy-making body. And while the trade union link will not be destroyed rapidly, the fundamental threat of breaking it in the next few years remains.

The struggle to defend the role of the Labour Party as a party based on the working class now devolves wholly onto the terrain of the class struggle itself. The Smiths, Blairs and Browns and firmly in command of the Labour Party, and the left is at its lowest ebb since the Bevanites in the 1950s.

The only effective means of organising the left now is to focus its activities on uniting working class struggles, pushing the fight of teachers, miners, railworkers and others are far as it will go.

Book your place now for European socialist conference!

THOUSANDS of socialist activists will meet in Paris on June 12/13 to debate the economic crisis, unemployment, racism and the socialist response to Maastricht.

Backed by the 150,000-strong Party of Communist Re-foundation in Italy, the conference has also attracted support from leaders of the Spanish Workers Com-missions, the German Greens, the Spanish United Left and numerous left-wing currents in France.

Capitalism today is organised on an international basis,

and the bosses and right-wing in Europe co-ordinate their actions as a matter of course. The working class movement and the left is way behind. The conference is a step towards trying to debate out a common approach to fighting for a Europe which, as the conference appeal says, breaks with the 'despotism of profit' towards a 'democratic, free, self-managing society.'

The conference begins at 2pm on 12 June at a conference centre in St. Denis in the Paris suburbs. Forums during the day will discuss the fight against

unemployment, racism and fascism, defence of the European ecology, the socialist attitude to Maastricht, women in the EC and the crisis in eastern Europe.

A major rally will start at 8pm, and be followed by an all-night Euro-social.

Travel to the conference from Britain will be by coach, leaving lunchtime Friday 11 June and returning Sunday lunchtime. Friday evening will be free for a night out in Paris. The price of £50 waged, £40 unwaged includes travel, ac-



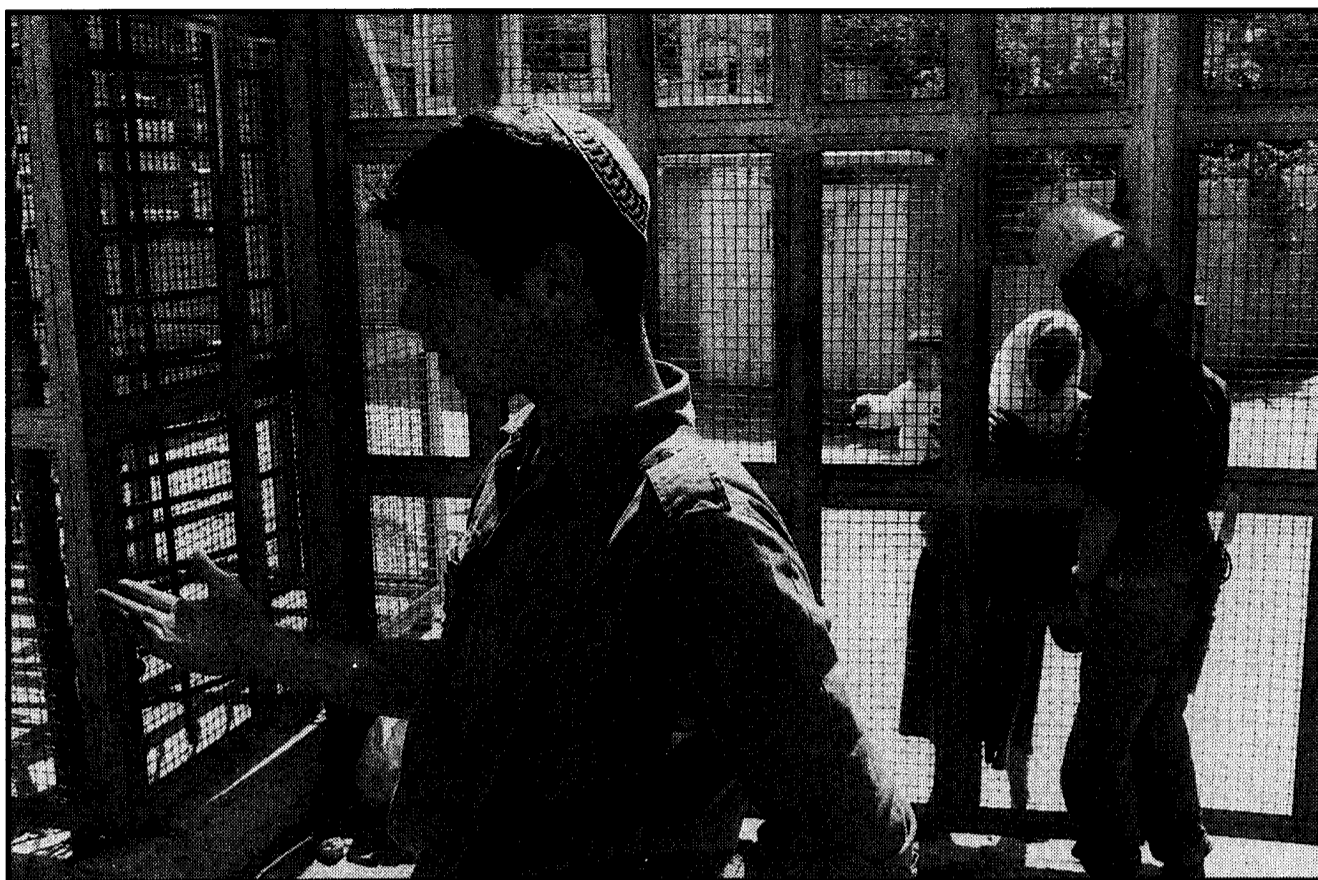
commodation and entrance to the conference.

But the number of places available is limited, so book your seat now! Send bookings to: European Conference, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Makes cheques out to 'T1 Research'.

Conference sponsors include: Luciana Castellina, PCR member of the European parliament; Wilfried Telkamper,

German Green member of the European parliament; Tony Benn; Armando Costuta, president of the Italian PRC; Marcelino Camacho, National Secretary of the Workers Commissions, Spain; Fausto Bertinotti, Confederal Secretary of the CGIL union federation, Italy; Ernest Mandel, Fourth International; Alain Krivine, LCR France; Julio Anguita, United Left, Spain.

EDITORIAL



Israeli soldiers flex their muscles at a refugee camp near Bethlehem

World ORDER

War on ANC

On May 7 South Africa's 'Committee of Generals' held a summit in Pretoria.

Those present, including the retired head of the defence force, Constand Viljoen, and the former head of military intelligence, Tienie Groenewald, agreed to continue their drive to unite the right wing and to launch an 'Afrikaner Volksfront'.

Attended by 10,000 white farmers, the alliance threatened war on the ANC if demands for a separate Afrikaner 'homeland' were not met.

Pol Pot comeback?

Khmer Rouge guerrillas are poised for an all-out attack on government controlled towns in north-western Cambodia.

They have already attacked one town claiming the assault to be a people's revolution 'against the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets'.

In the run up to the Cambodian elections, scheduled for May 23-28, the violence is increasing. An attack on a UN base in the southern Kompong Speu region resulted in the death of a Filipino police officer and the wounding of four Bulgarian peacekeepers a Colombian police officer and a Cambodian guard.

At least 13 civilians were killed and dozens wounded when a train was blown up on Cambodia's main railway line and the guerrillas then opened fire. The Khmer Rouge claim the elections are just a ploy by the West to put the Vietnamese in charge of the country and are refusing to abide by the peace pact they signed in October 1991.

New Italian party?

Italian Socialist party leader, Giorgio Benvenuto, has made an appeal for the creation of a new party with new symbol.

In an attempt to distance himself and his party from the discredited image associated with years of abuse of power and involvement in the corruption scandals he said:

'The object is to form as soon as possible - in other words before the next general elections - a new socialist grouping within a broad realignment of the left which can present itself to run the country.'

The appeal comes after a wave of protest against the party following the decision in parliament to block four requests by Milan magistrates to have the immunity of former leader Bettino Craxi waived to face corruption charges.

Since the onset of the scandal, the party has suffered a steady loss of members from the grass roots through to the top.

'Ethnic cleansing' in occupied territories

Zionists step up repression

By Roland Rance

AS THE Middle East peace talks get underway again in Washington discontent among Palestinians at their lack of progress is growing. It is easy to see why.

The deportees remain in their tents in no-man's land while Israel intensifies its military and economic repression in the 1967-Occupied Territories. This is leading to growing support for the militant left and for Islamic fundamentalists.

No improvement

The victory of the Israeli Labour Party and the left Zionist Meretz block in last June's election has not led, as some peace activists hoped, to an improvement in conditions for the Palestinians. A report published in

February by Israeli human rights group B'Tselem showed a 20 per cent rise in Palestinian deaths during the first six months of the Rabin government.

Since the expulsions, over 100 Palestinians have been shot dead by Israeli troops, whose open-fire regulations were recently relaxed.

Following an upsurge in Palestinian attacks on Israelis - 15 were stabbed to death in separate incidents during March - the Israeli government ordered a total closure of the Occupied Territories.

Palestinians are no longer allowed to enter Israel, including annexed East Jerusalem, for any purpose (although Israelis, including some 100,000 settlers, are still permitted to cross in the opposite direction).

As a result, about 120,000 Palestinians who had previously worked in Israel have lost their

jobs, thus denying income to an estimated 600,000 - about half the population of the Occupied Territories.

Palestinians are no longer allowed to enter Israel for any purpose.

Collective punishments, including the use of anti-tank rockets to demolish the homes of family members of suspected Intifada activists, have intensified.

The closure of the Occupied Territories has also disrupted their internal communications, separating the north part of the West Bank from the south, and isolating the Gaza Strip from both.

Access to hospitals in Israel, and to the Palestinian Magassed Hospital in Jerusalem, is denied

to the huge number of Palestinian casualties (in April alone, over 600 were wounded).

The Occupied Territories have in effect been turned into a huge internment camp.

The increasing repression and the economic strangulation of the Palestinian population, combined with Israel's insistence on its right to carry out further expulsions, lead many to fear that Israel is bent on carrying out the long-threatened 'transfer' of the Palestinians to another Arab country, by stealth if not by force.

According to Palestinian academic Dr Adel Samara, the peace talks are merely about the re-ordering of capital in the Middle East: 'What we are witnessing is the collaboration of all the capitalists of the region, including Palestinians, at the expense of the rights and interests of the peoples of the region'.

While the economy drops dead... Workers shake Germany!

By Chris Brooks

200,000 German workers have been involved in protests defending jobs and wages.

Engineering and electrical employers have been trying to rat on a March, 1991, agreement to increase wages in eastern Germany to the level of the west by next year.

Strikes led by the steel and engineering union have spread to shipyards and to the west of the country. For workers in the east, this is the first legal strike

action there since before Hitler's rise to power.

The German economy is in big trouble. This year the economy has *shrunk* by one and a half per cent, investment has fallen 80 per cent and figures for official unemployment have rocketed to nearly 2,980,000. Bosses expect to keep more than 3,550,000 workers unemployed next year.

Inflation

In the eastern half of the country, reunited after the fall of the Berlin wall, conditions are worse. Inflation reached nearly 10 per cent over the year there,

in comparison to just four per cent in the west of Germany.

In the east, where wages are 60 per cent of those in the west, workers were promised a 26 per cent pay rise this year. The bosses' attempt to not pay up has been taken seriously by union leaders. IG Metall union leader Franz Steinkhler said 'We do not want the employers to break the tradition of collective wage bargaining in eastern Germany, and then later, in western Germany.' Union leaders have been pushed forward under the pressure of a 86 per cent vote for the current strike of 38,000 IG Metall members.

The recession have hit German employers by surprise. Where they have brought long overdue investment into the east, such as in the car industry, they have been able to get higher levels of productivity in the west. Despite the longer working week and fewer holidays in the east, productivity is still low without this investment. Heavy industry in the east is a third as productive as in the west.

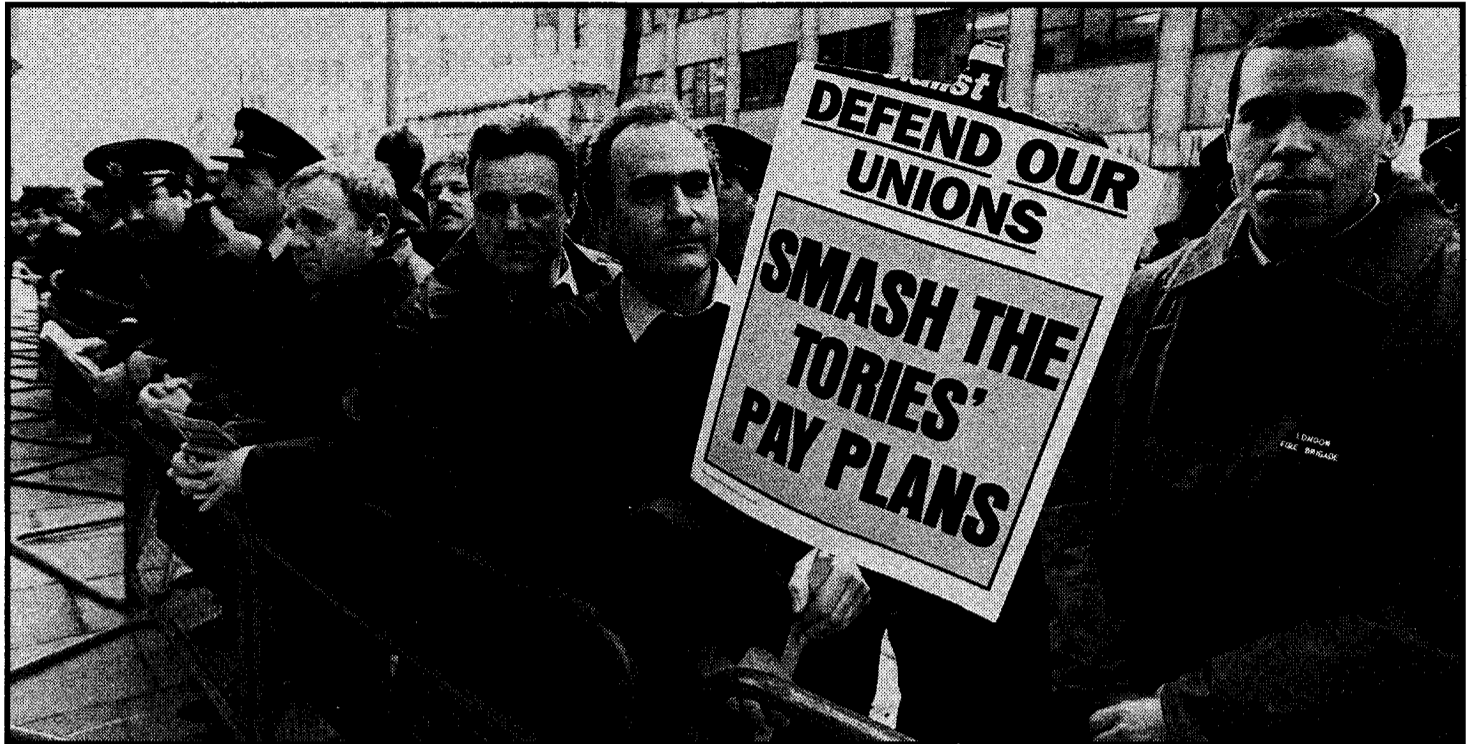
Working class action against the bosses attacks has been deepened by protests of 100,000 miners in early May and 200,000 workers on April 26.

Fire fighters prepare action on pay

THE ANNUAL conference of the Fire Brigades Union in Bridlington this week is set to lay the basis for strike action against Tory plans to abolish the firefighters' pay formula.

The conference will debate a resolution for strike action of among the union's 48,000 members. If the strike goes ahead it will be the most significant challenge to date to the government's 1.5 per cent pay formula for the public sector.

The pay formula was agreed after the 1977-78 firefighters' strike and pegged their pay to that of skilled industrial workers.



Andrew Ward

Mobilise for May 15 & 17

Build Timex protests

By Chris Brooks

THE TIMEX strike is reaching a new and decisive stage. In the last fortnight thousands of people marched in Dundee against the redundancies of 343 employees by the US-owned firm.

While the strike has captured the imagination of many working people, employers and union leaders are gearing up to try and end both the dispute and the

new-found confidence it has given to people.

Addressing the House of Commons employment committee, which is considering further anti-union laws in the light of the Timex dispute, AEEU engineers union leader Bill Jordan failed to call for the workers to be reinstated.

Instead he called for the dispute to do to the Arbitration service, ACAS. The AEEU have cut support for the strike. They oppose boycotts of Timex goods, the mass pickets and any

appeals for solidarity strikes.

At the same time, Timex's boss John Dryfe is arranging talks with the union heads behind the backs of the strikers.

His British flunky Peter Hall has refused to negotiate until the ninety day redundancy notices expire this Monday. At the same time Hall asked the Commons committee to make mass pickets illegal and to allow managers to rip up employment contracts at will.

Supporters of the strike from around the country are coming

to Dundee for two major shows of support for the strike. A Saturday May 15 demonstration called by the AEEU has been supported by the Scottish TUC.

On Monday May 17, the day redundancy notices expire, shop stewards have called for a mass picket at 7am. Supported by miners' leader Arthur Scargill and many labour movement organisations, the picket will help block any deal between the AEEU and Timex that sells the strikers short.

Nursery sit-in

ISLINGTON Nursery workers and parents went into occupation of two centres threatened with closure by Islington Council on May 6th.

The workers received three months redundancy notices earlier in the week while the parents have not been formally told that this vital service is soon to be withdrawn by 'caring' Islington Council.

Since the occupation started, workers in one of the centres have received intimidating letters from management, which accuse them of illegal trespass. They are also threatening to charge them for any costs incurred during the occupation - presumably such as providing food for the children still attending the nursery on a daily basis.

● Messages of support to Harvist Nursery, Hornsey Rd, London N7, phone 071 609 0319 Or 071 354 4570

■ Demonstrate in support of the occupation Thursday May 13th 12.30pm, Education Office, Laycock St, N1

Polish workers in mass walkout

HUNDREDS of thousands of Polish public sector workers walked out on strike on Monday, 10 May.

The strikes, called by the Solidarity NPZZ union, are in protest at the low wages and high cost of living imposed by the government's pro-capitalist economic reforms.

Sacked Yorks miners keep occupied

TWO SACKED Yorkshire miners occupied Littleton pit near Cannock, in Staffordshire on May 7 in protest at the pit closure programme.

Although itself not threatened with closure, Littleton has played a leading role in miners' resistance.

NUM president Arthur Scargill applauded the occupation. 'The only people committing an offence are members of the Tory government seeking to destroy Britain's coal mines and a source of cheap energy for the British people' he said.

A spokesperson for the ex-miners said they intended to stay underground for an 'indefinite period'.

At the same time, seven women set up a camp outside Tory Party headquarters in Smith Square. The police persuaded them to move to Parliament Gardens near the Thames. Women Against Pit Closures said more women were expected to join the camp. Their aim was to high-



light the government's 'callous attitude to miners and their communities'.

One woman said, 'The Tories think they can forget about the miners. We are here to remind them that they cannot.'

'We have tried petitions, we have tried marching, we have been through the courts and none of it has done any good. But we will not go away and we hope this will be effective. We know we have got the backing of the public. We aim to be here for a very long time' said another.

High court wrangles fail to save pits

BRITISH Coal is returning to the High Court on May 20 to secure an order for immediate closure of all ten pits under threat.

NUM lawyers have been told by BC that they are applying for an order that closure does not now breach last December's judgement.

Lord Justice Glidewell had ruled that the selection was 'irrational and illegal' and that a review procedure for each individual pit, including independent scrutiny, must be agreed with the unions before any pit could close.

BC are arguing they have fulfilled these requirements - a view strongly rejected by the NUM and NACODS. BC are offering to call off the High Court hearing if the unions accept closure does not breach the original ruling.

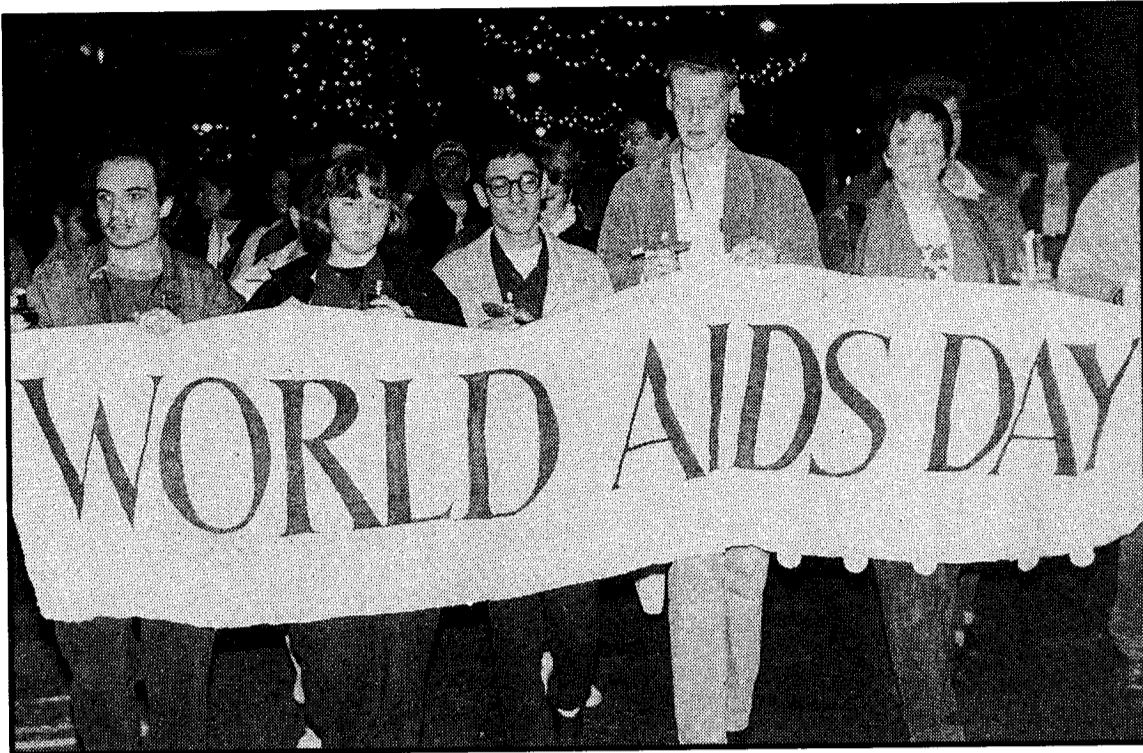
Ken Capstick, vice-president of Yorkshire NUM described BC's tactics as 'utterly deplorable'. He said that given the 'compelling case for coal', it could only reflect 'political vindictiveness against the miners and a continuing determination to destroy the NUM'.

Miners still refusing to accept redundancy are concentrated at Trentham, Staffordshire, Parkside, Lancashire, Bettws and Taff Merthyr, Wales and Vane Tempest in the North-East.

Amongst miners who have taken redundancy and those who have hung on, there is widespread feeling that they have been let down by the TUC and Labour party leadership.

The only miner left on BC's books at Markham Main, Andy Butler, said that Labour and TUC leaders had run away from a chance to beat the government.

TRADE UNION NEWS



Mark Salmon

Why capitalism hasn't cured AIDS

Why is the world failing to combat the AIDS crisis? Why are the industrialised nations decreasing the resources committed to fighting the HIV virus?

Professor JONATHAN MANN, director of the International AIDS Centre at Harvard School of Public Health, gave some answers in a recent talk on the Global Effects of AIDS in Sydney, Australia. This is an abridged version.

THIS IS a critical time in the history of our global confrontation with AIDS. Today, faced with an expanding pandemic, we can see the limits of our current national and global response. The course of this pandemic is not yet being influenced in any substantial manner by our current efforts.

In 1980 approximately 100,000 people were HIV positive; during the 1980s this increased 100-fold; today over 15 million people, including over 13 million adults and over one million children are HIV positive.

Of the 13 million adults, nearly nine million are in Africa, over one million in North America and Latin America, from one to two million in Asia and over 500,000 in Europe. Over seven million are men and over five million are women, and the ratio of men to women has been steadily increasing.

The pandemic remains highly dynamic and volatile.

Projections into the future are only estimates. The Global AIDS Policy Coalition projects that nearly 20 million people will be HIV positive by 1995, and that by the year 2000 between 40 million and 110 million adults, in addition to at least 10 million children will be HIV positive.

Yet analysis of the pandemic alone is not enough – for our individual and collective response is the determining factor in this global epidemic. Between 1986-90, we witnessed an extraordinary period of global mobilisation.

Yet since 1990, the world has entered a new phase in the confrontation against AIDS: a period in which the response has stalled and is falling dangerously behind the pace of the pandemic. Our analysis has revealed the depth of global inequity in prevention and care.

Of the \$1.5 billion spent on prevention in 1991 only 6 per cent was for the developing

“It has become clear that to work against AIDS is to become, to some extent, a revolutionary”

world – which has over 80 per cent of people who are HIV positive. Last year, about \$2.70 was spent per person in the US, compared with only seven cents in sub-Saharan Africa and only three cents per person in Latin America.

Similarly for care: about 90 per cent of the world's spending was for the approximately 25 per cent of the world's people with AIDS in North America and Europe.

There is also a failure of strategic thinking.

There is a growing preference for industrialised nations to turn away from co-ordinated efforts and to work bilaterally with chosen ‘popular’ developing countries. Many successful ‘pilot projects’ have not been amplified and turned into large scale prevention programmes.

AIDS will require that we deal with the key underlying pre-existing issues which fuel the spread of HIV. An analysis of AIDS epidemiology and the global response shows that the pandemic flourishes by exploiting societal weaknesses, especially inequality and injustice and its result discrimination.

Discrimination is the central social lesion which underlies AIDS and ill-health worldwide.

Women's status

The role and status of women worldwide is fundamental to HIV prevention. Women cannot say ‘no’ to unwanted or unprotected sexual intercourse unless they have the economic and social power to say ‘no’. Therefore reforms of laws governing property distribution and divorce may be much more important than increasing the distribution of brochures or condoms. This inequality of power between men and women is relevant as much in Western societies as it is in the developing world.

An analysis of the relationship between gender and AIDS – and a broader look at gender and health – including maternal mortality, sexual violence, sexually transmitted diseases and failures of family planning – shows clearly that male domi-

nated societies are a threat to public health.

Social discrimination creates and amplifies vulnerability to the spread of HIV. We can see that individual, national and global vulnerability to further HIV spread is really a microcosm of vulnerability to ill-health, disability and premature death.

What then is to be done?

We must launch an assault on the basic problems. This means we must confront the many forms of discrimination – based on gender, race, religion, national origin, sexual preference or social class – which makes societies vulnerable to further spread of the pandemic. This is not the basis of a strategy for AIDS; it is a strategy for health – community, national and global.

People in all countries are deeply concerned about their health. Yet why is it that health has not become a central defining principle of local, national and global purpose?

Paradoxically, we health workers have contributed to this problem. We have generally been silent or well behaved. We have accustomed ourselves to playing a secondary, reactive and minor role in community, national and global life. We have trained ourselves to expect and accept a second-class political attention for health concerns.

The second class political attention given to health aspirations is not limited to AIDS. This is not a problem we can simply allow ourselves to blame on others, on the so-called decision makers or on politicians. We must now help to give a voice to the basic desires of people for better health.

It has become clear that to work against AIDS is to become, to some extent, a revolutionary. Because in order to achieve the goals of our work it will require change in our societies.

Thus, our global AIDS strategy is about more than AIDS – it is part of a more fundamental struggle. This is not a modest aspiration – but please, why should we be modest?

ANALYSIS



Patten – bigoted Tory

Fight Patten's new sex diktats

By Sam Inman

FIVE YEARS on from the introduction of the repressive Section 28 of the Local Government Act, Education Secretary John Patten has sent out revised draft guidelines on teaching lesbian and gay issues.

Lesbian and gay activists, and the teaching unions NUT and NAS/UWT have condemned the new attack.

Clause 25 of the revised draft is virtually identical to the homophobic original: ‘There is no place in any school...for teach-

ing which advocates homosexual behaviour, which presents it as the norm, or which encourages homosexual experimentation by pupils...’.

Showing the complete ineptitude of the present Tory cabinet, these guidelines contradict others issued by the Department of Health in relation to the Children's Act 1988.

‘Sympathy’

On sex education these state ‘The needs and concerns of gay young men and women must...be recognised and approached sympathetically’.

Patten seems intent on a massive fight over right-wing edu-

cational policy. Bigoted ideas of bourgeois heterosexual morality are a central part of Tory educational theory and practice. Teachers, parents and school students must reject this as forcefully as the Tory school tests.

Thousands of young lesbians and gay men are totally isolated, thousands of lesbian and gay teachers are forced to live their lives in the closet and many lesbian and gay parents and their children face isolation, bigotry and homophobic violence in their communities and in the playground.

A positive approach to lesbian and gay sexuality can start

to challenge the dogma of compulsory heterosexuality. Lesbians and gay men must fight for the labour movement to take their issues as seriously as redundancies, privatisation and pit-closures.

If the new guidelines are not scrapped then teachers and local authorities should refuse to implement them. Socialists should get labour movement backing for lesbian and gay opposition to the ban on teaching about their sexualities.

Further information from: *Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights, PO Box 306, London, N5.*

Million march for Lesbian and Gay rights

By Tina Beacock

APRIL 25 saw the largest march for lesbian and gay rights in history, with one million on the streets of Washington DC.

The march included hundreds of lesbian and gay organizations as well as the National Organisation of Women, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and church groups. Ten international unions endorsed the march.

Along with an affirmation of lesbian and gay pride, demands for equal rights, an end to discrimination and anti-gay laws, action on the AIDS crisis and for lifting the ban on lesbians and gay men in the military were prominent.

March organizers made a push to focus on the demand to lift the military ban. Not all supported this demand. Some placards stated, 'Don't ban gays, ban the military!'

Several gay Democratic Party politicians spoke. But some speakers who had supported Clinton in the election expressed frustration at his administration's inaction on AIDS and on human rights. When Clinton's statement was read out the crowd chanted: 'Shame, shame!' and 'Where is he?'

Several marchers carried signs depicting Clinton as Pinocchio. Signs read 'Played for a fool again - put up or shut up'. Continued stalling by Clinton and Congress can only increase this disillusionment.

Women and the Public Sector

Day School: *Uniting workers and users*

Saturday May 22, 10.30 - 4.30, Wesley House, Wild Courth, London WC1

SPEAKERS include

- Betty Hunter (Socialist Teachers' Alliance), ● Debbie Whitfield (Islington NALGO) ● Sue Lister (Primary Health Care Worker) ● Women Against Pit Closures

£10 (delegate) £6 (high-waged) £4 (low-waged) £2 (unwaged)

Further details from: Women for Socialism, c/o 2 Solway Road, London N22 5BX



Terror tactics of US anti-abortion bigots

IN OUR LAST issue we reported that the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) is preparing for the return of US anti-abortion thugs in September. Here US Marxist EVELYN SELL details the terrorist tactics of US anti-abortionists.

ON MARCH 10 Dr David Gunn, a doctor working at abortion clinics in Florida, was murdered by anti-abortionist Michael Griffin. His last words to Dr Gunn as he fired three shots into his back were 'Don't kill any more babies'.

Randall Terry, head of Operation Rescue (OR), announced in October 1991, that doctors are 'the weakest link' in the abortion process. He said, 'We are going to shame them, humiliate them, embarrass them, disgrace them and expose them'.

Targeting doctors was an outgrowth of OR's assaults on women's health clinics. Countered by consistent, well organised defence actions OR and other abortion opponents deliberately began to focus on doctors.

Violent tactics by anti-abortionists have escalated in the last nine years. Doctors are portrayed as 'killers' and 'murderers'. 'Let this nation know the laws of the Supreme Being take precedence over the laws

of the Supreme Court', a pro-life newsletter stated.

Doctors photos are printed on flyers and posters proclaiming, 'WANTED! For killing unborn babies'.

Fire-bombs

Shots have been fired through clinic windows and across the US clinics have been firebombed. John Burt, Florida Director of Rescue America (RA) said, 'What's more important - bricks and mortar or babies lives? I would say babies lives'.

A doctor who continued to work at Melbourne clinic in Florida after four colleagues had been pressurised into resigning received the following treatment from anti-abortion group Operation Goliath (OG).

His tyres were punctured, barbecue sauce poured over his car, his partners car windows smashed, his 80 year-old mother 'phoned and told her son was a murderer, his house picketed and his address and 'phone number and those of his partner and his mother published on a wanted poster which offered \$1,000 reward for more information.

Beautiful

Two weeks before Dr Gunn's assassination OR's Randall Terry proclaimed, 'Intolerance is a beautiful thing. We're going to make their lives a living hell.'

The Melbourne clinic campaign was used as a training ground - after 12 weeks 'education' leading activists were instructed to disperse round the US to organize similar activities. Two anti-abortionists told reporters that they sold their Las Vegas home to travel

round the country as 'Christian missionaries to the pre-born'.

They said, 'We think child killers are the same as mass murderers. We don't believe they should be permitted to lead a normal, peaceful life like other Americans'. Bruce Cadle of OG explained, 'If there are no doctors, there's no industry'.

The murder of Dr Gunn demonstrated what 'no doctors' could mean. He was featured on 'wanted' posters.

For the past six years he had travelled each week to four clinics where other doctors were unwilling to work. He received numerous death threats which became more vicious shortly before his murder.

After the murder, Joseph Foreman, founder of Missionaries to the Pre-Born said Dr Gunn, 'was a mass murderer. He was preparing to kill five to

ten babies. I'm genuinely happy these lives are spared'.

John Burt of RA proclaimed, 'I think all life is sacred. Dr Gunn and his killer are both victims of abortion. We don't condone this but we have to remember that Dr Gunn has killed thousands and thousands of babies'.

Hearing of Dr Gunn's death anti-abortionists outside the Melbourne clinic shouted gleefully 'Praise God! Praise God! One of the baby killers is dead'. Within days they were back outside the clinic.

NAC is preparing now for the return of the anti-abortion terrorists in September. Readers in London can join their telephone 'tree' to mobilise supporters to defend the clinics by phoning NAC on (071) 923 4976.

Portrait of a 'pro-life' thug

A PRIME example of a 'pro-life' thug is Rescue America's regional director, the Rev. John Burt, who is a lay minister to the murderer.

Burt was leading the anti-abortion demonstration at the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic at the time Dr Gunn was killed. Burt was one of several anti-abortion leaders who made statements to the national news media attempting to justify the murder.

He was the 'spiritual advisor' to two men arrested in the 1985 bombings of three Pensacola clinics. He was also involved in the 1986 invasion of The Ladies Clinic in Pensacola in which two clinic workers were injured.

The New York Times of March 13 revealed that the Rev. Burt was a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. The women's movement has long accused the anti-abortion movement of using Klan terrorist tactics to intimidate women and clinics that serve women's medical needs.

LIBERATION POLITICS



The uprising did not aim at liberation from the Nazis; the fighters understood they had no possibility of stopping the Nazi murder machine.

OUR HISTORY

When the Ghetto fought back

FIFTY years ago, on 19 April 1943, the Warsaw Jewish ghetto broke into revolt against the Nazis. Here ENZO TRAVERSO, a member of the LCR, the French section of the Fourth International, explains the background to the revolt and how it was defeated.

AS THE WORLD'S attention was focused on the monumental struggle taking place between the Nazis and the Red Army on the Russian front, several hundred Jewish combatants rose in revolt against the Nazis in Warsaw. They were faced with the indifference of the entire world. Their struggle lasted for a month, until the total destruction of the ghetto by units of the SS and the Wehrmacht (German army).

The uprising did not aim at liberation from the Nazis, for the fighters understood that they had no possibility of stopping the Nazi murder machine. In the face of the power of the German army units which controlled the Polish capital their numbers and armaments were totally derisory.

They had between 500 and 700 fighters, each armed with a pistol and only ten bullets, together with several thousand Molotov cocktails.

To counter the enemy tanks they had one, maybe two, old machine guns. Yet they resisted for a month, despite the daily toll of casualties.

As one of their leaders, Marek Edelman put it, they decided only 'choose the manner of the death'; they decided not to die in the gas chambers of Treblinka, but fighting the Nazis, arms in hand.

So this was no national liberation struggle; the ghetto was not the Vietnamese jungle or the Cuban Sierra. It was a struggle

to affirm Jewish dignity, or more simply human dignity in the face of extermination.

In Poland, until the second world war, the Jewish community numbered in millions, forming a sort of 'nation within a nation'. They had their own language (Yiddish), their own literature, and an extremely rich intellectual and political life. But this community, under Nazi occupation, did not immediately form a resistance movement. Why not?

To answer that question you have to remember that the situation of the Jewish and Polish communities was not the same. The Poles had been defeated and were subject to harsh repression – much harsher than in occupied France. While their intellectual and political elite was decimated, they were not menaced by genocide.

But the Jews were the victims of a process of total annihilation. Not only did they not have an army, but they could not even count on a government in exile

mobilising support for them. They were immediately deprived of their goods and means of livelihood, concentrated into ghettos, reduced to the status of slaves.

They were submitted, over a two-year period before the deportations to the death camps began, to a process of 'slow extermination' – by the effects of famine, cold and epidemics which ravaged the ghettos.

In these conditions the possibilities for resistance were extremely limited. The strikes of the Jewish textile workers of Lodz and Warsaw could not have the same impact as, for example, the strike of the Turin Fiat workers in March 1943.

The social impact of that strike paralysed Turin, and marked the beginning of the armed resistance in Italy. Hemmed into the ghettos, the Jews in Poland could not make such an impact; they resisted how and when they could.

To understand the nature and the form of the insurrection we have to look at what was happening in the Warsaw ghetto. When the Nazis occupied in September 1939, there were 350,000 Jews in Warsaw, 30 per cent of the population.

The concentration of this mass of people into the ghetto was not done in one fell swoop, but by coercive measures over a year. In November 1941, the city was divided into three sectors – German, Jewish and Polish – the Jewish sector being surrounded by a wall 18 kilometres long and 10 feet high.

The ghetto comprised 73 streets out of 1800 in the city, concentrating 30 per cent of the population in a surface area of 2.4 per cent of the city.

According to German sources, the population density was 128,000 inhabitants per kilometre – and more than nine people per room.

Before the end of 1942, thanks to the arrival of Jews deported from the countryside and even from Germany, the numbers in the ghetto increased to 450,000. In a two-year period 83,000 people in the ghetto perished from hunger, cold and sickness – above all typhoid.

In January 1940 Emmanuel Ringleblum noted with consternation that the death rate in the ghetto was around 170 people a day. In August 1941 he noted 'a

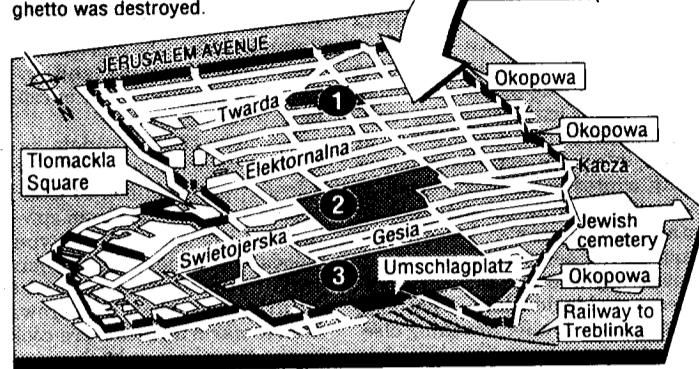
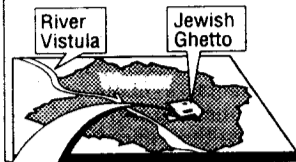
The Warsaw Ghetto

Massive deportations were made between July and September 1942 to Treblinka and by April 1943 the Ghetto was reduced to three small areas: 1, 2, 3.

On April 19, 1943, German troops moved into the remaining ghetto to round up the last inhabitants and deport them to Treblinka. The Jews rebelled and fought the Nazis off for a month. By May 15, 56,000 Jews had been killed or sent to Treblinka and the ghetto was destroyed.

The concentration

In Warsaw, the 500,000 Jews, who accounted for one-third of the population, were forced to move into a walled area covering less than 2.5% of the city



curious indifference to death, which doesn't make an impression on people any more. In the streets, people pass by corpses with total indifference.'

Adam Czerniakow, the president of the Judenrat – the Jewish ruling body established by the Nazis, wrote in his diary of sitting at his desk listening to the wailing of hungry beggars in the street. Jan Karski, an envoy of the Polish government in exile who visited the ghetto in 1942 wrote: 'This wasn't a world. This wasn't humanity. This was a sort of hell.'

From December 1941 all communication with the outside world was cut off. The postal service with the outside was closed, and not a single tram line connected the ghetto to the rest of the city; no Jew could go out of the ghetto without permission.

The isolation from the outside world was total. The Polish press warned Poles to have nothing to do with the ghetto inhabitants, because of the danger of typhoid.

Despite everything, life con-

ghetto caused big divisions among the population. Also set up was a Jewish police force to keep order; they were considered an 'enemy within' by most of the people.

Adam Czerniakow, head of the Judenrat was a man of more moral integrity than his counterpart Chaim Rumkowski, who ruled the ghetto in Lodz as a real despot; but the Judenrat was treated with hostility by every single political current in the ghetto.

The turning point in the preparation of the revolt was the action unleashed by the German soldiers in July 1942, which in several weeks cleared the ghetto of 75 per cent of its population. Each day the Nazi soldiers lead thousands of Jews to the *Umschlagplatz*, the transportation station near the ghetto, from which the cattle trucks left for the Treblinka extermination camp.

Between 22 July and 21 September 1942 253,741 Jews were transported to Treblinka. Each day between 1600 and 13000 people were transported. At the

The Jews were the victims of a process of total annihilation. Not only did they not have an army, but they could not even count on a government in exile mobilising support for them

tinued in this half-world filled with corpses. Various testimonies which we have describe the intense cultural activities, a political life no less lively, and even a vigorous nightlife.

Two thousand members of the Bund, the Jewish socialist organisation, assembled to commemorate the anniversary of the foundation of their party; a Talmudic school was established attended by 700 pupils. Dozens of underground journals were published in both Polish and Yiddish.

During the autumn of 1939 many leaders of the Jewish workers movement left Warsaw to become refugees overseas. Some of them, like Shmuel Zygielbojm, returned several times to organise the resistance.

But the creation of the Judenrat by Nazis to administer the

end of 1942 only 50,000 people remained in the ghetto, many of them in hiding. And they knew that the deportations would be continued until the last Jew was sent to oblivion.

Combat

Breaking the attitude of resignation and passivity was not easy. It started first among the young, among whom were found the most determined, the most radical and the least exhausted. The Jewish Combat Organisation (OJC) was founded on the 28 July 1942, a week after the first round-up of deportees had taken place, by the leaders of three youth groups.

In the first week of August they got their first weapons – from the Polish communists. This amounted to just five pis-



A Belsen survivor. In the summer of 1942 the Nazis removed 75 percent of the population of the ghetto

tols and eight grenades. The five leaders of the OJC included Marek Edelman of the Bund, Michal Rejzenfeld of the Communists (PRP) and Herz Berlinski of the left Zionist organisation Poale Zion.

The right-wing Zionists, disciples of the Zionist revisionist leader Wladimir Jabotinski, refused to join the OJC and founded their own insurrectional command. By the end of 1942 the OJC had 500 fighters, and the right-wing Zionists about half this number.

Assassination

The OJC started with sporadic actions. The chief of the Jewish police, Jacob Lejkin, was assassinated on 29 October. When Himmler ordered a second wave of deportations, starting on 18 January 1943, the OJC attacked German soldiers escorting prisoners to the *Umschlagplatz*, taking them by surprise, killing several of them. The round-ups were delayed and interrupted.

In the following days acts of resistance continued. Workers in factories called to present themselves for deportation refused to turn up. The authority of the Judenrat collapsed in the ghetto, being replaced by that of the OJC. The population began to prepare for all-out resistance by building bunkers and shelters.

Informers and collaborators were eliminated. Defence forces were stationed at strategic points and in unoccupied buildings. The insurrection was launched on 19 April; the ghetto was immediately surrounded by the SS and German police.

As they tried to enter the ghetto, the Jewish fighters responded with Molotov cocktails, driving them back. At the end of three days of fighting, the first attack by the Nazis had been driven back.

SS General Juergen Stroop, who recorded the course of the conflict daily in his diary, decided to destroy the ghetto, piece by piece.

The Jewish resistance was finally crushed on 8 May, when the leadership of the OJC found itself surrounded, gave the order to the combatants to commit suicide.

Among those who refused to give himself up to the enemy alive was the main leader of the insurrection M. Anielewicz, just 22 years old. But a handful of fighters, among them Marek Edelman, managed to escape to the 'Aryan' part of the city, and the next year participated in a generalised uprising of the Polish resistance.

On 16 May, after ordering the destruction of the main synagogue, situated outside the ghetto, General Stroop announced the end of the uprising. It had cost the Germans 16 dead and 85 wounded.

Tanks

To crush it, more than 2000 German troops had been mobilised, armed with tanks, cannon and flame-throwers.

The insurgents of the Warsaw ghetto were abandoned to their fate. They were not helped by anyone and died in total isolation. Their fate poses once again the more general question of the abandonment of the Jews, and the indifference and silence

of the world about their massacre.

The tragic end of the revolt raises another question, the indifference of the international workers movement. With the exception of several duplicated Yiddish journals, distributed by activists in the French and Belgian resistance, the news of the insurrection, the first armed uprising against Nazi rule in Europe, evoked practically no echo whatever in the international workers movement.

On 12 May 1943, after having received the news of the final crushing of the insurrection, the representative of the Bund in the Polish government in exile, Shmuel Zygielbojm, committed suicide. In a note he explained his action in the following words: 'I can no longer keep silent. I can no longer live when the survivors of the Polish Jewish people, whom I represent, are being annihilated.'

'In the Warsaw ghetto, my comrades have fallen, arms in hand, during their final heroic combat. I did not have the chance to die in the same fashion, alongside them. But I belong with them, even in their graves. By my death, I demonstrate my vigorous protest against the apathy with which the world watches and accepts the massacre of the Jewish people.'

The historian Emmanuel Ringleblum, a participant in the revolt, later shot by the Nazis, wrote the following words: 'We have dealt the enemy a considerable blow. We have exposed their satanic plan to exterminate Polish Jewry, a plan they wanted to carry out in silence.'

OUR HISTORY



John Harris

'There will be no socialist revolution without black liberation...there will be no black liberation without socialist revolution.'

A reply to Kowalewski on Malcolm X

Black liberation and socialist revolution

By Phil Hearse

THE ARTICLE by Zibigniew Kowalewski in our last issue was part of a much longer article in the French journal *Critique Communiste* which is full of important insights into the struggle for black liberation in the United States.

However, Kowalewski's position on these questions is flawed in my opinion by a basic error: his virtually unargued position that blacks in the United States are a *nation*, and that therefore black struggle is virtually synonymous with a struggle for national liberation.

Uncritical

It is this basic theoretical position which underlies what is a curiously uncritical approach to black separatism, and his startling view that the Nation of Islam (the Black Muslims) are a progressive force. His argumentation culminates with the strategic position that marxists should argue for black nationalists (separatists?) to 'add' a socialist dimension to their nationalism.

Are blacks in America a nation? Kowalewski bases himself on the arguments of Trotsky in the 1930s, the positions of the US SWP, and an opinion poll in 1963. But there is only one real criterion; do black Americans consider themselves to be a separate nation, ie do they aspire to statehood in the form of the creation of a separate state? This is at least unproved.

Of course black Americans could become a nation; that is a different question.

But to be a nation there has to be a truly hegemonic mass movement arguing for a separate state. It is far from clear that this is the case today.

As Trotsky put it in 1933: 'We do not of course obligate the Negroes to become a nation; whether they are is a question of their consciousness, that is what they desire and what they strive for.' And in 1939 he argued: 'We are ready to help them (blacks) if they want it (their own state). As a party we remain absolutely neutral on this....We can say to them "It is for you to decide. If you wish to take part of the country, it is all right, but we do not wish to make the decision for you."'

Racial oppression is not the same thing as national oppression, although the two can overlap. Black Americans are of course a racially oppressed group; they are one of the major specially oppressed groups in American society. This invests the struggle for black liberation in the United States with immense strategic significance for socialist revolution. It is one of the underpinnings of the correct notion, pioneered by the US SWP in its Trotskyist phase, of 'combined revolution'.

Socialists should thus of course cham-

pion the autonomous self-organisation of black Americans. In any case, this is a powerful dynamic in American society, whatever position socialists have about it.

But the basic strategic question which Marxists have to answer is this: what is the road to black liberation in the United States? The racial oppression of black Americans is deeply ingrained in US capitalism, and has been since slavery. It is inconceivable that racism will be uprooted without the destruction of capitalism.

This means that, as with other oppressed groups, Marxists argue for autonomous black self-organisation, and reject any notion that blacks should 'wait' for the white working class. But at the same time they point out that only through the destruction of capitalism, ie through a socialist revolution, will the institutions of racism be uprooted.

In this context we have to critically examine Malcolm X's notion that there can be no black-white unity until there is black unity. Naturally the fight for black unity in struggle against racism and for black liberation is crucial. On the other hand, taken literally, the idea that there can be *no* unity in struggle between

Ideologically, strategically, we are not advocates of black nationalism, or any other type of nationalism for that matter, even if we defend black nationalism against the economist left. Socialism cannot simply be 'added' to nationalism.

blacks and whites before all blacks are united is simply unscientific.

Vanguard political forces of the white working class and of black people can be united in struggle on concrete issues while the black community is divided in many ways. In particular, the objective of building a multi-racial and multi-ethnic revolutionary party is a correct one.

The question of whether black Americans will at some future point form themselves as a nation and launch a struggle for a separate state is not one which can be answered in advance. But in any event, marxists are not advisors to nationalists or separatists, but have their own separate programme.

Marxists argue that there is a specific and autonomous struggle for black liberation and that this requires black self organisation and the fight for black unity *in struggle*.

But this struggle can only find its successful conclusion in the destruction of capitalism; and this requires the building of a multi-racial and multi-ethnic revolutionary socialist party. Even if the conclusion is the formation of a separate black state, which is far from proved in advance, this is highly unlikely without smashing United States imperialism.

This must lead Marxists to a conception of the revolution as a combined one in the which the different strands of the anti-capitalist struggle, including the fight for black liberation, are *intertwined*. This is not the same as conceptualising socialist transition as the *addition* of different struggles which proceed autonomously, without cross-fertilisation, mutual reinforcement and common strategic goals. That however is the programmatic difference between Marxists and black nationalists.

For us black liberation, like womens liberation, is an anti-capitalist task. We can say in the United States, not just as an expression of goodwill but as a material fact, there will be no socialist revolution without black liberation. But the other half of the couplet has to be iterated as well: there will be no black liberation without socialist revolution.

Naturally, in a situation where the economist left, in Britain the SWP and Militant, simply repeat that it is a matter of 'socialism or black nationalism' there is a natural response on the part of Marxists to defend the progressive impulses and dynamic of black nationalism. This is as it should be.

But this should not lead us to the view that we are simply consistent advocates of black nationalism, or that socialist slogans should be 'added' to nationalism. Ideologically, strategically, we are not advocates of black nationalism, or any other type of nationalism for that matter, even if we defend black nationalism against the economist left. Socialism cannot simply be 'added' to nationalism.

Separatism

Marxists' strategic differences are particularly sharp with black separatism. This is not a moral question or some liberal wish to argue that, after all, white workers are not as bad as all that. No, it is a political question, a difference of estimate about how black liberation can be achieved; black separatism is incapable, by definition, of propelling the combined revolution which result in black liberation.

This brings us back to Malcolm X. Until the end of his life he was a black nationalist, not a socialist. But in the last year of his life his thought was in motion; he was an anti-imperialist and increasingly an anti-capitalist. The danger for US capitalism was that he was leading in the direction of arguing for black self-organisation in alliance with white workers.

That was an explosive mixture which could not be allowed; the combined revolution which will simultaneously deal a death blow to racial oppression and US capitalism.

TUC's Willis to go

Good riddance to the right's buffoon

By Alan Thornett

SOME good things began to happen for the labour movement during April.

There were two national strikes on rail and in coal mining, there was the teachers victory over SATS, there were a rash of other trade union struggles – and TUC general secretary Norman Willis announced he was going.

Willis was the architect of many of the disasters which hit the trade union movement in the 1980s. More recently he was instrumental in isolating the miners after their mass demonstrations last autumn. His December 8 TUC 'day of talking to your employer' was another fine mess he got us into.

Although Willis was a product of new realism, he compounded the problem by bringing paralysis to the TUC after the defeat of the 1984-5 miners' strike. He managed the impossible in making his immediate predecessors – Len Murray, Vic Feather and George Woodcock look like militant defenders of the working class by comparison.

By 1992, having achieved almost invisibility for the TUC, he invited the CBI to address the TUC in place of the

normal speech by the Labour Party leader.

It would be nice to think his successor, backroom apparatchik John Monks, would start to pull the TUC out of its torpor. But a few more brain cells on their own won't achieve that.

The real paradox is that even in its weakened state the TUC disposes of immense potential power. That was shown in the response to the TUC's quite half-hearted call for the second mass miners' demonstration in November. But it has to be determined to use that power, which under right-wing leadership it won't.

Part of the problem is the insular and hierarchical structure of the TUC, and the almost total lack of democracy in electing the General Secretary.

Choosing a new general secretary is less democratic than choosing a new Pope. Invariably a puff of white smoke signals the 'election' of the existing deputy general secretary. It is followed by raising the white flag.

The hidebound, class-collaborationist and deferential role of the TUC has not changed since the days of Walter Citrine in the 1920s. And it won't change until an enormous movement at the base of the unions shifts it.



Willis' tenure at TUC gave workers nothing to laugh about

Fingers In the TILL

A regular look at the world of business, compiled by INSIDER DEALER

Not such hard time

Only two jailings for you leftie bastards to gloat over this time. Josef Szrajber and Paulo Sorelli, two self-styled 'oil industry information brokers', both got three years' porridge apiece after bribing senior British Petroleum bosses to reveal confidential details of contract bids.

This info was then sold on to BP's competitors, allowing them to win work worth £100m. In addition, Szrajber was fined £407,000 and Sorelli £429,000 – less than half of the £1.7m the duo pocketed from the scam. Nice mark up, chaps.

Free Cole

Unlike Szrajber and Sorelli, Tony Cole – former chairman and chief executive of collapsed finance and property group Bestwood – is still a free man. I must confess that even I am slightly perplexed by this one.

After all, our Tony did plead guilty to eight charges including perjury, false accounting, authorising loans contrary to the Companies Act and making a false statement to an auditor.

Cole misused some £712,000 of Bestwood money, including some taken from a pension fund, to bankroll his stock exchange dealings in the mid-eighties. He says he intended to give the cash back (honest. Guv), but unfortunately came a cropper in the October 1987 crash.

Cole gave false information to staff and trustees of the pension fund, and perjured himself in an affidavit to the High Court. To be fair, he did repay all but a piffling £300,000, mostly through using the pay-off he got as compensation for quitting the group he ripped off in the first place.

His punishment was just two years suspended and 10 years disqualification from company directorship. Lenient beak, or what?

Gone for a Burton

Burton, the well-known High Street clothing group currently pushing through a mass redundancy programme, is to pay out £250,000 in deferred bonuses to a couple of former chief executives, in return for doing absolutely no work whatsoever. Hey, way to go!

The beneficiaries are Sir Ralph 'five-times-a-Knight' Halpern, who's copious copulation with a leading topless model made tabloid headlines before his resignation in 1990, and Lawrence Cooklin, his successor, who lasted just 15 months in the job.

It's not as if either is exactly skint. Sir Ralph received a £2 million pay-off and a pension of £456,000 for life. Cooklin got £773,000, and just last week took a £200,000-a-year job as chief executive at Ratners, those well-known purveyors of crap jewellery.

The Burton hand-outs are part of a generous 'executive remuneration scheme' which Sir Ralph instituted while still in power. The company took legal advice, but Ralphie Boy had apparently stitched the deal up real

tight. Sadly, this is the last year in which he qualifies for the dosh.

More money for nothing. Chris Greentree was ousted from his chief executive post at oil company Lasmo, after it lost a trifling £385 million. His last year's pay, some £480,647, included a 'performance bonus' of £50,000. This rather makes you wonder what Lasmo would have forked out if it had actually made a profit.

To soften the blow of his departure, Greentree got a £2.2 million pay-off, and a \$189,000-a-year pension. Oh, and £44,000 to cover 'repatriation expenses'.

Meanwhile, John Ansdell, finance director of the Trafalgar House conglomerate, copped just £500,000 when he got the order of the boot. This brings the group's total bill for 'executive compensation' to £2.4 million in the last six months alone. I'm sure you socialists will argue that the combined total of £4.6 million should have been wasted on keeping pits open or something.

Nadir hits bottom

My mate Asil Nadir – great guy, let me tell you – appears to have jumped bail and done a runner to the Med. Slightly ironic for a man who gave the law and order party a hefty £1.5 million, including £443,000 without the legally required declaration. Still, plenty more where that came from.

Last flotation

Lastly, this week's extremely poor taste joke: I see Sir Roy Watts, chair of Thames Water, topped himself by deliberately drowning in the very river his company took its name from. Now that's what I call really throwing yourself into your work!

COMMENT

Don't cry for Clough

By Rod Marshall

MAY DAY in Nottingham nearly made me cry this year. Not only does the city have to face the closure of several pits, but also the relegation of Nottingham Forest into the first (nee second) division and the fall of Nottingham's second greatest hero since Robin Hood – Brian Clough OBE.

Football haters, who despise the blatant sexism, racism and homophobia that riddles the compulsory seats of the Premier League, might not understand my distress.

But it can be argued that Forest have always represented the human face of football, despite the omnipotent bourgeois ideology. The club which succeeded without the multi-millions of Man Utd.

Idolised

Clough is idolised as a symbol of these ideas, with fundraising for the miners and support for Labour a corollary to eccentric football genius. Such beliefs were seen to cost him the England managership.

The left should not be fooled into mistaking such eccentricity for a socialist perspective. Clough the miners' friend maybe. This doesn't negate sex-

ism, homophobia and love for the police.

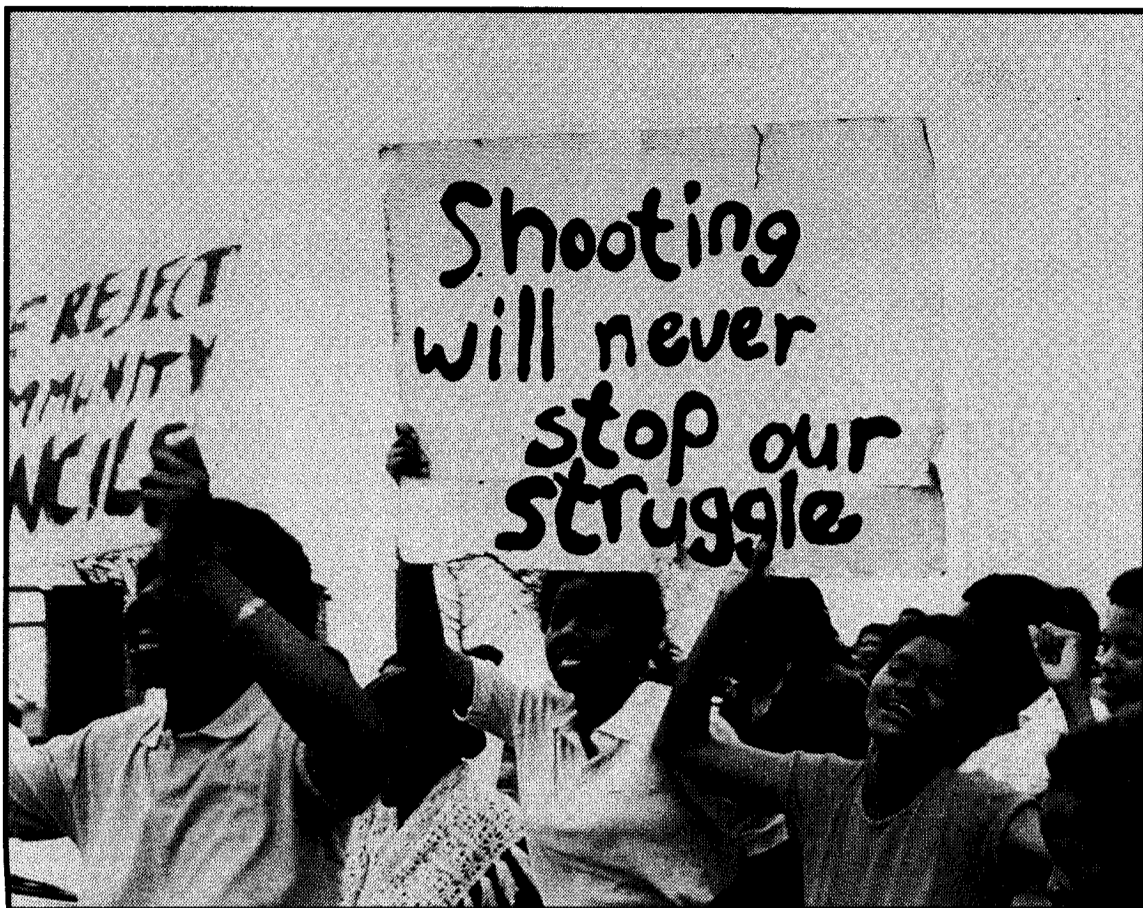
The demise of Brian is sad, denying, for what we wanted him to be and that, more than ever before, he is palpably not that now. The disastrous Forest side with no decent striker, central defender or goalkeeper unfortunately deserved to be relegated. It seems that Brian cannot manage any more.

Infatuation

Idolising people is infatuation without the sex. It is the same alienation that reduces articulate spokespeople for progressive causes into broken, gibbering shells. It destroys lives – hence the need to fight for socialism.

The reason for Brian Clough's downfall is that he swallowed the hype, internalised the media images, became a victim of the system instead of fighting it. It may seem a minor tragedy that we can no longer look to this man for an alternative perspective on football or life.

What must emerge however is a commitment to look to ourselves rather than to such idols. Sure we need the occasional hero – but idols, be they Peron or Clough, ultimately lead you down a road to nowhere. Or down to the second division as the case maybe.



South African socialists say no to social contract

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) held its Third National Conference from April 9 in Cape Town. The conference was opened by an official representative of the Workers' Party of Brazil (PT), Beti Burigo as well as WOSA's chairperson Neville Alexander. Some 800 people were present at the opening. Executive members from the ANC, AZAPO, SACP and many trade unions read out messages of support.

Key resolutions around the National Situation stressed the following:

On violence

The 'deracialisation' of the apartheid-capitalist system will not take place peacefully. More blood has flowed in South Africa during this so-called transition to de-

mocracy than in almost any other period of our history.

WOSA condemned the continued use of mercenaries, third-force action and hit squads on the part of right wing and other ruling-class forces.

This violence against the oppressed has included the systematic elimination of popular, community, labour and political leaders.

It is a war against the urban and rural poor by the ruling class. The aim is to ensure the weakening of mass organisations. An interim period of severe repression could occur to manage the transition from overtly racist rule to a limited bourgeois democratic order.

WOSA therefore calls on all affected and vulnerable communities to form disciplined democratically organised and accountable self-defence units controlled by the community as a whole and not by any particular political organisation.

On the organised working class

Attempts are being made to entrap the organised working class into social contracts in order to rescue capitalism from its crisis.

This will be done at the expense of the vast majority of our people. WOSA calls on trade unions to be independent of the state, employers and political parties. WOSA supports and en-

courages the organised workers' struggle for a living wage, for affordable housing, for a moratorium on retrenchments, against VAT, against wage cuts and against limitations on strike activity.

On negotiations, Constituent Assembly and the economy

WOSA reaffirmed its view that negotiations for power sharing is a ruling class strategy for the co-option of the black middle class.

The political reform programme of the regime has as its goal the replacement of apartheid-capitalism with new forms of capitalist accumulation. Power sharing or a Government of National Unity which represents different class forces will not be able to resolve the many social and economic problems facing the working class.

The majority of our population will still be imprisoned in the shackles of poverty, unemployment and inflation, bearing the brunt of the social crisis in education, health and housing until such time as the working class appropriates the commanding heights of the economy.

In the interim we will continue to assist the struggle for reforms which bring temporary relief to the working class and the rural poor.

WOSA does not believe that the policies of the IMF/World Bank will bring relief to the suffering of our people. Instead their intention through the dreaded structural adjustment programmes, is to strengthen capitalism by pressurising the government to spend less on social services.

The nett effect of these IMF/World Bank initiatives will be a deliberate further impoverishment of our people and the weakening of mass organisations.

WOSA stands opposed to joint management or co-responsibility between the racist state and the oppressed.

Until a formal and democratic system has been instituted through a democratically elected Constituent Assembly such mechanisms are no less than old-style Native Advisory boards which add a veneer of legitimacy to the brutalities of the racist regime.

Rather WOSA calls on all organisations to unite in increasing mass action and class struggle in all social spheres and to focus our political struggle on the attainment of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly.

Specifically, WOSA commits itself to the building of democratic, independent organs of workers' power such as civics, trade unions, PTSAs and other mass organisations.

On elections

The significance of the possible general elections in 1994 does not lie in what can be achieved by the vote. In many ways, the deals between the ANC and the NP will limit the power of those who gain a majority in the elections.

Full majority rule will not be achieved. More importantly, the fact that the economic power of the white minority, concentrated in the big monopoly corporations is protected by these agreements means that the limited political power won in the elections will be useless in satisfying the demands of ex-

ploited people.

Nonetheless, the vast majority of our people look to the negotiations process and the elections to deliver freedom. The Conference therefore allowed all structures of WOSA a three month period of intense discussion around the elections. The incoming Central Committee had been mandated to meet all organisations if the people to discuss the possibility of a common approach.

Other major resolutions dealt with the reaffirmation of WOSA's united front policy with other political organisations, the economic crisis, education, labour, health, gender, youth/students and local government/housing. The full text of these resolutions and papers are available from the WOSA offices.

Comrade Hani

During the Conference the news of the murder of Cde Hani was received with a sense of deep dismay by all delegates.

The conference immediately strongly condemned the dastardly assassination and sent a delegation and messages of condolence to the family of Cde Hani and the SACP.

Cde Hani's murder merely strengthens our resolve to fight for socialism.

On unity

The WOSA Conference sent out a call to all socialists to realise the urgency of the hour by putting aside differences in order to establish as soon as possible a Left Block of organisations and individuals rooted in the mass organisations of the working class.

Such an initiative must be capable of generating a mass socialist movement toward the possible creation of a mass democratic workers' party.

The 3rd Socialist Outlook

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NORTH WALES

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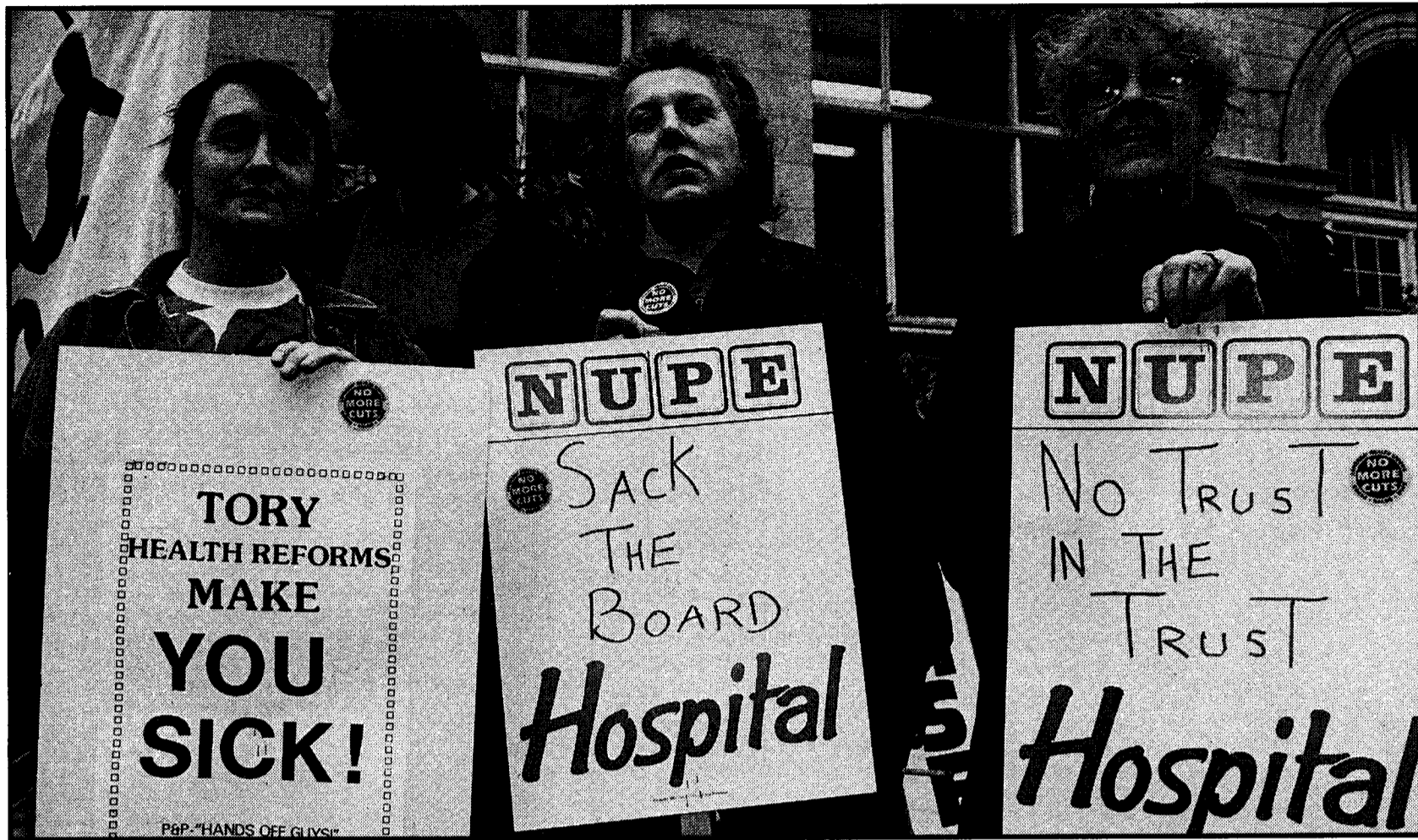
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Hospital workers have no illusions in Tory Trusts – the NHS marketplace means cuts.

Disaster hits Tory NHS market-place

By Harry Sloan

AS IF they needed more problems in the aftermath of electoral fiascos, the shambles over schools testing, and the chaos of the Criminal Justice Bill, the Tories must face up to something very nasty happening in their new NHS internal market.

One after another, major hospitals and trusts providing crucial services are running into huge financial difficulties: and there is no sign that anyone – other than a few GPs – is actually profiting from the market system.

The cash crisis spans the country, hitting Birmingham, Liverpool, the Lake district, the north east, Scotland, Belfast, Cardiff, the home counties and London.

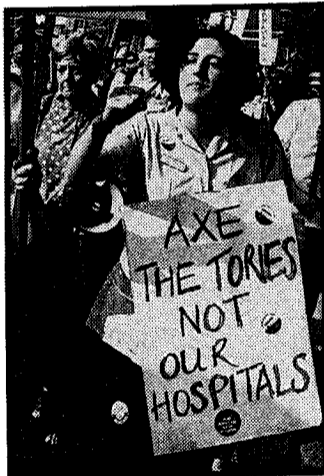
Almost every trust is now seeking voluntary or compulsory redundancies: some are facing draconian cut-backs.

Birmingham

South Birmingham health authority is looking at the prospect of over 1,000 redundancies as it grapples with a cash shortfall of £10 million.

Barnet's Wellhouse Trust, plagued with debts from its ill-considered launch in April 1992, is up against debts of up to £8m. Immediate cuts at Barnet General hospital are likely to be followed by closure of Barnet and more cuts at Edgware General.

Nearby Northwick Park Hospital, newly-launched as a Trust



last month, has revealed a hidden deficit of £4.6 million.

Another closely-guarded secret has been the reported £5m debts of the newly-launched Trust at London's King's College Hospital.

As central London rocked to the huge Bishopsgate bomb, with casualties rushed to the nearby Bart's Hospital, pressure group London Health Emergency pointed out that a patchwork of piecemeal closures of casualty units throughout central London could leave the capital unable to cope with a major incident, accident or epidemic.

Along with Bart's on the hit list for closure are A&E units at Charing Cross Hospital, either Guy's or St. Thomas's, and the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children in Hackney.

Mental health services are also coming under the hammer in London: the Royal London Trust, reportedly up to £12 million in the red, is closing a 14-bed acute psychiatric ward as

part of a package to save £700,000 this year: the ward has just had two additional beds added, but is currently over-full, with 120% occupancy.

In North East London the floundering Forest Healthcare Trust is contemplating desperate measures including ward closures, up to 140 redundancies, and the cancellation of afternoon cakes for in-patients at Claybury psychiatric hospital.

On the eastern edge of London, the giant Havering Hospitals Trust, launched on April 1, is already renegeing on specific public commitments by proposing the closure of the busy Accident & Emergency unit at Oldchurch Hospital.

The neighbouring Redbridge Trust, also launched on April 1, is revealed to be £3.5 million in the red, and mired in confusion as management struggle to privatise domestic services despite European legislation and the fact that the tender from contractors Mediclean cost £400,000 more than the in-house bid.

Ealing cuts

In West London, Ealing hospital Trust is considering closure of three specialties in a package of cuts to trim £3.8m, while the old Riverside health authority, now incorporated into a new mega-district, must make cuts of £10-£14 million.

To the south, Croydon's Mayday Hospital launched as a Trust £3.8m in the red.

In the home counties the situation is equally bleak. NHS provider units are running huge deficits in Hertfordshire, with

Mid-Essex health authority, facing a shortfall of over £3 million, have been selling fundraising badges – at 30p each.

Publicity officer

They would need to sell 11 million (one to 20% of the British population) to raise the money. The same health authority has just hired a new publicity officer at £26,000 a year plus perks, while making nine nursing assistants redundant.

Elsewhere in Essex, Trusts are in big trouble, with Basildon and Essex Rivers both £4m in the red and every Trust seeking redundancies.

To add insult to injury, several fund-holding GP practices in the NE Thames region have been hanging on to large sums of unspent cash from last year: the Tory health reforms put them under no obligation to repay any surplus left over.

Management at Oxford's John Radcliffe Hospital have been debating a desperate list of

cost-cutting measures including charging patients for meals, ward closures, redesignating an NHS ward for private use, cutting security and cutting the portions of staff lunches.

Shortly after news leaked of the 'brain-storming' check-list of cutbacks, General Manager John Stapleton got his marching orders.

The fact that so many Trusts are so deep in difficulty so early in a new financial year should be worrying Health Secretary Virginia Bottomley.

Embarrassed

In February, embarrassed by the tide of press coverage of cuts and closures sweeping through hospitals in the final few months before April 1, she issued a circular urging management to "manage activity back into line" by ensuring that cuts were made over the whole twelve months and not left to the last moment.

The sheer scale of the cash problems faced by many Trusts means that only drastic reductions in service and staffing can hope to balance the books.

Though many health workers appear to have been taken by surprise and slow to respond to the first rounds of redundancies, there are signs of rising anger that could yet pose real problems for local managers – and the Tories whose policies they are implementing.

What to do about NHS cuts

- FIND OUT the local situation. Cuts are occurring in most towns. Check the local press, and any other sources.
- Affiliate to any campaigns already running.
- Get your Trades Council, union branch, Labour Party or students' union to contact local health unions and invite speakers.
- Encourage health union activists to seek fullest publicity: many cuts are going through almost unreported in today's secretive NHS.
- Where necessary launch a broad-based local campaign to link up health workers, patients and local community.
- Affiliate (£15) to London Health Emergency, the biggest anti-cuts campaign, offering a quarterly newspaper, publicity materials, advice and support. Contact them at 446, Uxbridge Rd, London W12 0NS (081-749-2525).

HOME NEWS

Burnsalls 12 months on strike
GMB's timid line prolongs the agony

By Bob Smith

AS THE Burnsalls strike approaches its first anniversary on June 15 the GMB hide behind fears of sequestration of union funds as an excuse for inaction.

The 19 strikers, have called for local suppliers and customers to boycott Burnsalls. This appeal has not been backed by the GMB because they fear it will be construed as secondary action.

Certainly the anti-trade union laws make it difficult to organise solidarity with the strike, but nearly every attempt is met with the same excuse.

The GMB are now demobilising the labour movement picket line delegations for the same reason. Hopefully they will support the strikers' call



GMB winding down solidarity pickets

for an anniversary celebration and demonstration.

Since January, employer Jimmy O'Neill has regularly threatened pickets with lengths of wood, twice attacking them. Amazingly, pickets have been arrested and charged with Public Order Act offences – three appear in court on May 25.

The only successful solidarity action has been organ-

ised by the support groups. All the GMB appears to be doing is supporting the 53 Industrial Tribunals. If successful these could cost O'Neill a vast amount of money, but this is hardly a viable strategy to win an industrial dispute of this nature.

CONTACT: Birmingham Support Group (021) 551 2258.

Attack on sick pay sparks Longbridge walk-out

By Bob Smith

600 workers at Rover's Longbridge car plant downed tools and walked off the job on April 30 after management attempts to impose a 'crackdown on malingers'. Shop stewards persuaded the strikers to return to work so negotiations can take place.

Co-inciding with the first anniversary of Rover's 'New Deal' this dispute dispels any illusions that industrial action is history. Workers will resist crudely imposed new working practices and brutal work codes which disregard natural

justice.

Rover intended to impose its new Attendance Control Procedure from May 1 to combat absenteeism. Workers faced victimisation and even the sack for going over an arbitrary 'annual point scale' of lost days regardless of the cause.

AEEU District Secretary, Brian Chambers said, '...genuine cases of illness could be penalised. We are aware the company wants to drive down absenteeism...We would not condone people abusing the system, but we will defend people who fall by the wayside. We want natural justice to prevail'.

Eric McDonald, Chief

T&GWU Negotiator said, '...we will not stand aside while this system victimises genuine cases of sickness.'

Rover's 35,000 workforce have to decide on this issue and the introduction of casual workers while redundancies are being negotiated.

A track worker said, 'The system counts all absence, even periods in hospital and this has destroyed any good will...With the redundancies they want, while bringing casuals in, they are going to provoke a sleeping giant and no procedures and 'New Deal' is going to keep the majority of workers from taking strike action'.

Angry NALGO sits in

By Bob Smith

SIX NALGO members were sacked on 30 April by Stonham Housing Association. The six had begun an indefinite occupation of their workplace New Prospects Alcohol Recovery Project with

full support of the residents.

The occupation was the culmination of industrial action to force the employer to end bad employment practices and answer sex discrimination allegations.

Attempts to resolve the dispute internally failed, and staff balloted for industrial

action. Management refused to negotiate, and cut pay by 50 per cent.

The workers were evicted by bailiffs on May 4 and are now mounting a picket at the Wretham Rd Project, Handsworth.

CONTACT the picket on: 0831 656 624.

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

Phone

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

TRADE UNION NEWS

What's HAPPENING

May

Wednesday 12

NO NAZIS in Hounslow-weekly meeting details 081 572 8656

EUROPEAN Workers' Alliance 7.30pm Lambeth Trades Union Resource Centre

Thursday 13

DEMONSTRATE against health cuts 12 noon-1pm Westminster & Chelsea Hospital Fulham Road

SAVE Our Student Unions lobby 12 noon Grand Committee Room Parliament SW1

BIRMINGHAM NAC 7.30pm Australian Bar Hurst St.

Friday 14

SALTLEY Gate songs and stories in solidarity with the miners from the Banner Theatre 7.30pm Jan Rebane Centre 12/14 Thornton Street Brixton SW9

Saturday 15

LESBIAN and Gay Rights Coalition conference Kennington Workshops Braganza Street SE17 10am-5pm tickets £5/£2

LEVELLERS Day celebrations 10am-4.30pm Warwick Hall Gardens Burford Oxfordshire

WEST Midlands Anti-Racist Alliance conference 10am-3pm Birmingham University Students Union

Saturday 15-Sunday 16

TROOPS OUT Movement conference Liverpool details-071 609 1743

Monday 17

MASS PICKET 7am Timex Dundee

Wednesday 19

TIBET Vigil Chinese Embassy Portland Place W1 6-8pm weekly

Thursday 20

THE RISE of Nationalism *Socialist Outlook* meeting with Lazlo Anders (Hungarian contributor to *International Viewpoint*) and Brian Heron 7.30pm Bridge Street Tavern Manchester

Friday 21

Social for Trades Council delegates 8pm on The Union Club 723 Pershore Road Birmingham

Friday 21-Sunday 23

TRADES Councils Conference University of Central England Birmingham

Saturday 22

WOMEN and the Public Sector Women for Socialism day school Wesley House WC1 Holborn tube 10.30am-4.30pm

WOMEN-ONLY march against violence against women 2.30pm Clissold Park corner of Green Lanes and Church Street N16

DEFEND Nurseries conference Seymour Hall Seymour Place W1

PEOPLES Day for Health SERTUC festival 2pm Kennington Park SE1

NUJ Left AGM The Queens Head Acton Street WC2

Friday 28

BENEFIT in aid of Burnsalls strike fund 8pm on The Union Club 723 Pershore Road Birmingham

Saturday 29

REINSTATE Sacked Cleaners! demonstration Spillers Birkenhead

June

Wednesday 2

WOMEN the Family and the Child Support Act *Socialist Outlook* public forum with Marian

Brain and Sam Inman 7.30pm The Union Club 723 Pershore Road Birmingham

Friday 4

MINERS support benefit 8pm on The Union Club 723 Pershore Road Birmingham

Saturday 5

OPEN Britain's borders to Bosnian Refugees national demonstration details 071 252 5122

Sunday 6

RED AID for Bosnia launch conference London details 071 252 5122

Saturday 12-Sunday 13

ASSEMBLY of the European Left Paris transport leaves London noon Travel, accommodation and entry £50/£40 details from European Assembly, PO Pox 1109, London N4 2UU

Tuesday 22

US BLACK activist Kwame M. A. Somburu speaks in south London details 081 800 7460

Wednesday 23

US BLACK activist Kwame M. A. Somburu speaks in Birmingham details 081 800 7460

Saturday 26

POLICES for Health conference 10.30am-4.30pm Camden Town Hall NW1 tickets £15/£5 from Socialist Health Association, 16 Charles Square, London N1 6HP
FOR YOUR DIARY... contact Socialist Outlook about these events:

3 July

FIGHTING New Management techniques day school Conway hall Red Lion Square WC! Holborn tube

July 24-31

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp southern Sweden

August

28-September 3

SOCIALIST Outlook summer school North Wales
● To advertise your event in the next issue details should reach us by Friday May 21 - address them to *What's Happening*, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU



Over the top!

That's the verdict of this unlucky Sunday Telegraph photographer! Entering into the spirit of the day, the police took a break from brutalising black youth on the May 1 anti-racist demonstration to hurl this unsuspecting chap over a barricade.

The police don't want journalists around because they understand that the truth is their biggest enemy.

On Saturday May 15 the Anti-Nazi League and Indian Workers Association march on the BNP headquarters. Assemble 10.30am St Nicholas Church Gardens Plumstead High Street SE18

Building the new-style Socialist Outlook

Organise, educate, capitalise!

By John Lister and Phil Hearse

A BIG step forward - that was the overwhelming view of our supporters to the new style Socialist Outlook, launched with our last issue.

Sales were up everywhere, as were applications to become Socialist Outlook supporters. But the editorial staff are not content with what we have achieved; as we said in our last issue, the relaunch is a rolling programme.

There are more changes in the pipeline to make the paper more attractive and accessible to new readers.

After the doldrums in the class struggle during the last few years, there is a new mood of defiance to Tory attacks. The audience for marxist politics is bigger than for some time; it is up to our supporters to capitalise on that to the maximum.

In the coming weeks we want all our supporters' groups to be discussing the paper - both its

contents and how to create new sales opportunities. We want readers' comments on what they think of the paper and how it can be improved.

Members of the editorial board will be available to lead local discussions on the role of the paper in the next period.

Having succeeded in our initial fund drive target to buy new computer equipment, we have decided not to close the relaunch fund, but instead to use the relaunch momentum to make a new step forward.

We want now to raise another £3000 to buy an A3 laser printer. This would enable us to lay-out whole pages on computer screen, radically improving the quality of the paper and the speed of production.

We therefore ask all our readers to consider making a donation to this fund. We need your ideas, your letters and your comments on the new paper.

But most of all, if you like the new paper and want to make it even better, say it with cash!

WHAT'S ON

Bookshelf

Socialist Outlook Publications

- THE BOSSES' OFFENSIVE - anti-union laws and the new management techniques £1.50
- SOCIALISM AFTER STALINISM £1.00
- STRIKING BACK - Fighting privatisation on the railways £1.00.
- MAASTRICHT: The crisis of European Inte-

- gration £1.50
- THE FALLACIES OF STATE CAPITALISM - a debate between Chris Harman and Ernest Mandel £2.00
- FROM MILITANCY TO MARXISM by Alan Thornett £5.00
- CUBA, RADICAL FACE OF STALINISM by John Lister £2.00
- MALCOLM X - Fighter for Black Liberation £1.25

- WHO KILLED MALCOLM X? £1.25
- THE COMING BLACK REBELLION AND THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X £1.50

All the above: add 50p post and packing

● Also available: *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* £11.50 (inc p&p)
Cheques should be made out to *Socialist Outlook*.
Send to: *Socialist Outlook*, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

By K. Govindan

TWO assassinations in Sri Lanka threaten to deepen political murder and thuggery on the island. The assassination of President Ranasinghe Premadasa followed that of oppositionist Lalith Athulathmudali, a leader of the Democratic United National Front.

Formed from a 1991 split in the ruling United National Party the DUNF is now the government's main challenger. It has the same electoral base, and has avoided the internal feuds which weakened the Sri Lankan Freedom Party, the traditional opposition.

Athulathmudali's murder was allegedly ordered by Premadasa or a faction of the ruling party fearful of losing their privileges and power.

Police have blamed both killings on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who are waging a separatist struggle in the North and East.

LTTE spokesperson Shantan told *Socialist Outlook* "we categorically deny any responsibility for either murder." He refused to comment on the similarity of the Premadasa killing to that of Indian ex-Premier Rajiv Gandhi two years ago.

Tamils in Colombo are tense and many have fled the capital fearing a backlash similar to the July 1983 riots. In the North, where the LTTE is strong, the government continues bombing, shelling and a blockade of food, medicine and other goods.

In the East more than 5,000 Tamils have been 'disappeared' by the army in the last three years. Between 1987 and 1990 armed forces pursuing the Sinhala chauvinist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna 'disappeared' and killed 60,000 Sinhalese.

Less terror has helped build up the confidence of the workers movement. The left alternative at the May 17 Provincial council poll, the People's Liberation Organisation, is led by the Fourth Internationalist Nava Sama Samajama Party.

The slaughter goes on

Arm the

Bosnian

resistance!



Open Britain's borders to Bosnian refugees - demonstration 5th June central London; ring 081-694 9799 for details.

THE DEATH TOLL in ex-Yugoslavia is approaching a quarter of a million. More than two million people have been forced to become refugees. The Greater Serbia project unleashed by the Milosevic regime in Belgrade in its war against Croatia and Bosnia has unleashed ethnic hatred and genocide. But the main victim has been multi-ethnic Bosnia.

Act One on the Bosnian tragedy was the onslaught of the Serb chetnik forces, besieging Sarajevo and 'ethnically cleansing' villages of their non-Serb populations.

Act Two is the attack by the Croatian HVO militia, aimed at incorporating a large share of Bosnia into Croatia.

Bosnia is being devastated and its population massacred because it lacks the weapons to defend itself. The arms embargo on ex-Yugoslavia is, in effect, an arms embargo against Bosnia. The urgent need of the Bosnian people is to be able to defend themselves, and for the West to open its borders to refugees.

Talk of military intervention by the West is a cover for the decision by the US, Western Europe and its UN allies to abandon Bosnia to its fate. The Vance-Owen 'peace plan' already amounts to the destruction of Bosnia, giving the Serbs in particular 95 per cent of their demands. If the Bosnian Serbs refuse to sign, it is because they want 100 per cent.

Military intervention by the West would only impose the carve-up of Bosnia.

Douglas Hurd said giving arms to the Bosnians would only create a 'level killing field'. But the alternative is a one-sided killing field. Massacres and ethnic cleansing take place when there is no defence of the civilian population.

There is now no solution for the conflict which doesn't start from the right of the different republics of ex-Yugoslavia to exist as separate nations: but that includes Bosnia as well.

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