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Socialist OUTLOOK

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Britain, France, Germany: grim toll of fascist violence

Stem racist tide!

Mass protest in Solingen



EC slams door to keep out refugees

EC IMMIGRATION ministers attending a meeting of the TREVI group in Copenhagen have taken a tough line against the families of refugees from former Yugoslavia being allowed to join their relatives in the West.

They proposed limiting the possibility of family reunion to 'exceptional circumstances'. This implies an indefinite period of enforced separation for thousands of the most tragic victims of the Bosnian conflict.

British refugee organisations claimed Britain has reneged on its pledge to give a temporary haven to the relatives of a specific group of refugees – the former Bosnian camp de-

tainees. The Home Secretary had promised to let them be joined by up to 3000 of their dependents.

Figures are very hard to obtain but according to the UNHCR only 238 ex-detainees and 334 members of their families had arrived in Britain by early May.

Bottom of table

Already the Home Office definition of the family has been applied inflexibly and according to the UNHCR Britain comes close to the bottom of the European league table in honouring its quota.

The new EC guidelines on refugees fleeing ex-Yugoslavia

conclude that most people displaced by the conflict should be given protection and assistance in the region.

EC countries should continue to admit particularly vulnerable groups including former prisoners, those with illnesses that cannot be treated locally, those whose lives or physical safety are threatened, rape victims who do not have access to rehabilitation and returning combatants who face serious problems in their places of origin.

The new definition of 'exceptional circumstances' will mean those few who manage to find asylum in the EC will not be reunited with their families.

Turkish women murdered by German fascists

Thousands protest at racist killings

By Hans-Jurgen Schultz

HUNDREDS of thousands of people staged spontaneous demonstrations in every major German town in response to the murder of five Turkish women and young girls in Solingen last weekend, in the biggest outburst of public anger yet seen.

For the first time these demonstrations involved tens of thousands of Turkish workers.

The murders came just two days after the German parliament (Bundestag) passed a new law, with the support of both major parties – the right wing CDU and the Social Democrats (SPD) – aimed at drastically reducing immigration into Germany, to a maximum of 10,000 each year.

Kohl in retreat

The new anti-immigration law is widely seen as a capitulation to racism and having given the green light to the fascists to intensify their attacks. Thus Chancellor Kohl, despite his attacks on the 'violence' of Turkish demonstrators, has been pushed onto the defensive.

His government is now talking of allowing 'dual citizenship' to Turkish 'guest workers', allowing them civil rights inside Germany.

For the first time the unions are taking a stand. The public services union, the second biggest in the country, called a 50-minute strike last Thursday. The printers' union openly blamed the government for what happened in Solingen.

Many left wingers inside the Social Democrats have good anti-racist positions, but their leadership has collaborated with the government all down the line in bringing in the new anti-immigration bill.

What lies behind the rise of racism and fascism in Germany? German fascism never went away after the war, it was only driven underground in a

semi-legal existence.

The fascist press, half a dozen different weeklies and monthlies, has a combined circulation of around 800,000.

Unemployment

What gave this current its new opportunity was of course the social and economic crisis, especially massive youth unemployment, made worse by German reunification. In the time-honoured manner the immigrants and 'foreigners' are made the scapegoats.

The far-right organisations probably organise 100,000 people. The Republicans have around 25,000 members, and will probably get seats in the Bundestag in the next elections, passing the necessary 5 per cent barrier. The National Peoples Union has about 22,000 members, and already has seats in the regional parliaments in Schlesweig-Holstein and Bremen.

The Nazi terrorist groups are much smaller of course. But 15 per cent of Germans says they sympathise with the aims of the far right, and 35 per cent want tougher action against immigrants.

Far right groups have found an audience because in the present crisis the Social Democrats and most of the rest of the left are discredited.

Responsible

The SPD is seen as being co-responsible for the crisis and nearly all the 'far left' was in some way or another Stalinist. It means we have to rebuild the left on a new basis out of a new generation.

Right now a major problem is the lack of a viable national anti-fascist campaign to co-ordinate a major fight back. Each time there are attacks the left leads big mobilisations. But we need to build a united anti-fascist fightback.

Hans-Jurgen Schultz is a leading member of the Avanti group, German supporters of the Fourth international.

France cracks down on migrants

By Paul Clarke

'FRANCE has been a country of immigration and no longer wants to be,' said Charles Pasqua, interior minister on the eve of presenting harsh new immigration legislation. He added:

'We don't have the means. If we don't hold this line firmly, public opinion will harden and the country will drift to the extreme right.' France intends to pursue a policy of 'zero immigration' and no longer welcomes immigrants.

Pasqua wants to start a police crackdown of searching for and immediate expulsion of so-called 'illegal immigrants', giving the police the power to check documents without a reason, to make it harder to obtain residents permits.

Prior to the legislation if

someone lived in France for ten years they had automatic right to residency – now people will have to prove they entered the country legally. Similarly marrying someone French will be no guarantee of the right to entry or residence – people will have to prove they had the right to be in France anyway.

No appeal

The right to asylum will now be decided by frontier police and there will be no right to appeal against refusal to admit someone at the border. There will also be no automatic right to family reunion.

These measures, alongside the similar legislation being introduced in other EC countries form part of the project of the EC states via the TREVI group to pull up the drawbridge of Fortress Europe.

Pasqua also has his own pro-

ject, his challenge to Jacques Chirac's candidacy for the presidential elections in 1995. Pasqua claims to be the true inheritor of De Gaulle's ideas, even claiming 'at my modest level I feel exactly like De Gaulle'.

He claimed that the new laws, rather than promoting xenophobia and racist violence would address three popular concerns – French identity, the fight against crime and the integration of established settlers. He claims that unless these laws are enacted people will one day vote massively for the extreme right.

These arguments justifying racist laws are echoed across Europe. Pasqua claims that remarks that his party the Gaullist RPR shares the values of the racist National Front have been quoted 'out of context'. But the laws he is now promoting speak louder on his real politics.

FIGHTING RACISM



Rohit Dugal's family mourn his murder

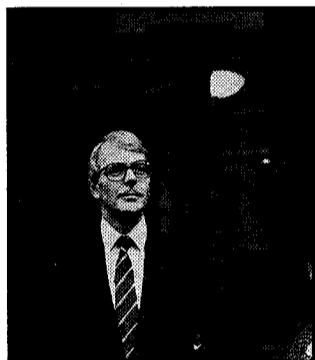
Major silent on race hate speech

TORY MP Winston Churchill's racist outburst on May 28 came at the same time as a vicious racist attack on Asian youth Mohammed Iqbal in Luton.

While Churchill was expounding his disgusting ideas 17 year old Iqbal lay in hospital with a punctured lung.

Racist speeches by Tory MPs encourage the thugs that commit these vicious attacks. Churchill said 'the relentless flow of immigrants must be halted if we are to preserve the British way of life'.

Attacking John Major's



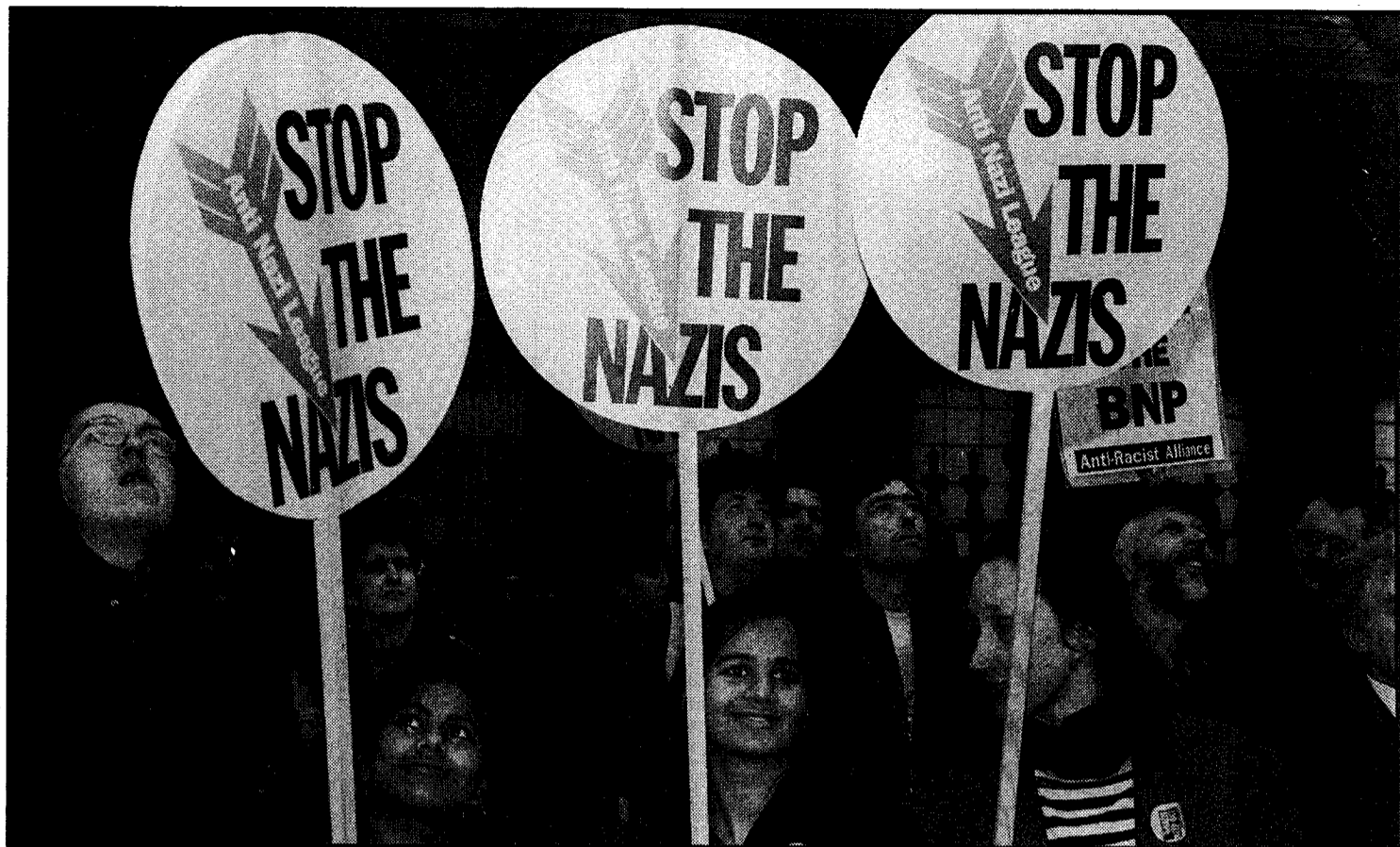
claim that 'there would always be an England' Churchill said, 'he promises us that 50 years on from now, spinsters will still be cycling to Communion on Sunday mornings - more like the Muezzin will be calling Allah's faithful to the High Street mosque.'

Churchill trotted out the time honoured racist rubbish that Tories always come out with when they are in political trouble. In an attempt to provide a scapegoat for the anger and bitterness people feel about the state of Britain he said, 'the population of many of our northern cities is now well over 50 per cent immigrant'.

This is a blatant lie. The majority of Britain's black population have been born here. Not one city has a black population anywhere near that figure. Bradford's black population is fewer than one in six and in Leeds it is 5.8 per cent.

Churchill's claims that Britain is being swamped by 'immigrants' come at the same time as the government is about to implement the Asylum Bill, making it even harder for people to come into the country. It is more difficult than ever to enter Britain now.

Playing the race card to deflect anger about government policies is dangerous and inflammatory at a time of increasing racist attacks and murders. Churchill's provocative remarks have been condemned: but significantly not by John Major - his silence implies support.



Phil Maxwell

Fortress Europe, Racist Europe

The last two weeks have shown the real face of racist Europe.

In Germany the government passed a new bill restricting immigration just two days before the outrage of the murder of five women and young girls in Solingen by Nazi thugs. The British government is on the verge of passing its new Asylum Bill.

And on the very night that Winston Churchill made his infamous speech attacking immigrants, two Pakistani youths were brutalised by a racist gang in Luton.

Meanwhile the new right-wing government in France is organising a witch-hunt against immigrant workers.

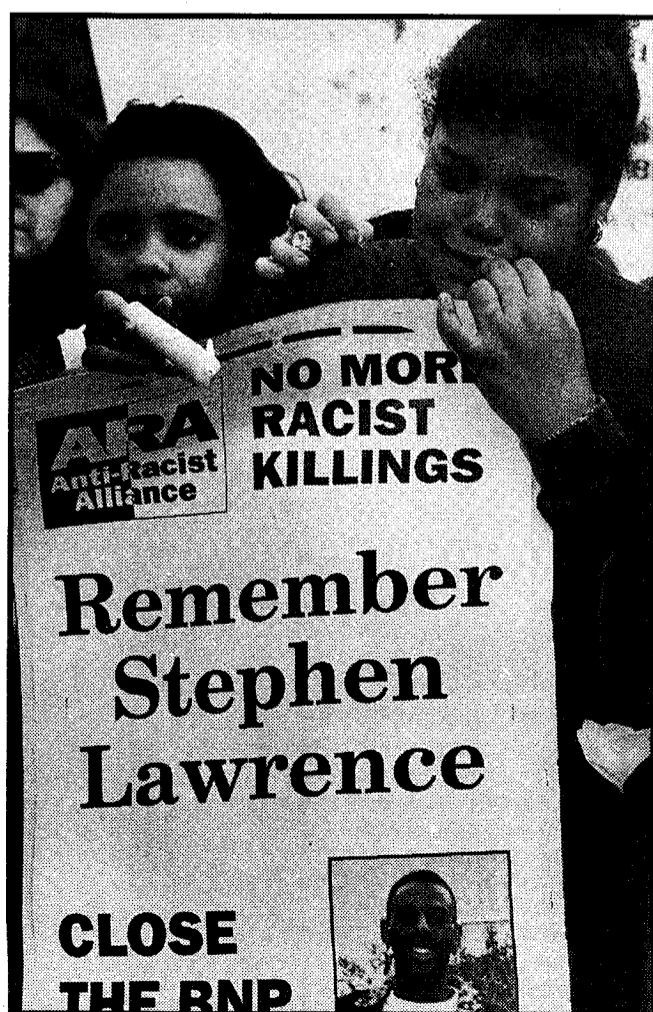
But the victims of this racism are not just immigrant workers, and those from the

third world seeking asylum. The victims include tens of thousands of Bosnian refugees, rapidly becoming 'Europe's Palestinians'. Britain has taken just 4000 refugees from Bosnia; now the British and other European governments are determined to keep the Bosnians out.

Although they are subject to daily massacres, Fortress Europe, Racist Europe, is de-

termined to keep them in camps 'near their homes'. Even if they have relatives in western Europe, they will not be allowed to come 'except in exceptional circumstances'.

The real face of Fortress Europe is being revealed. The likes of Churchill, Major and Kohl just give the green light to racist attacks. Euro-racism needs a Europe-wide fight-back.

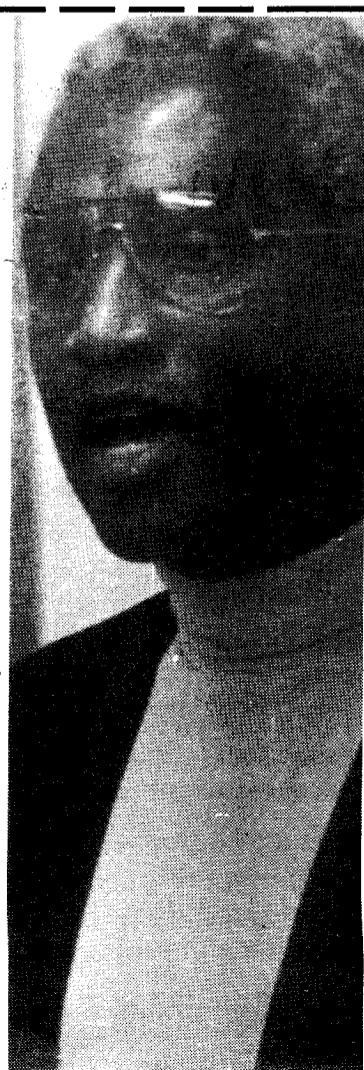


Andrew Ward

Lawrence murder marks new stage

Hear Kwame M.A. Somburu!

A founder member of Malcolm X's Organisation of Afro-American Unity, Kwame Somburu is on a European tour organised by the Fourth International. Brixton: **TUESDAY JUNE 22 7.30pm** Lambeth Town Hall Acre Lane. Birmingham: **WEDNESDAY JUNE 23 7.30pm** Afro Caribbean Centre 339 Dudley Road.



FIGHTING RACISM



The four occupiers: Shelia Gregory is the one on the left



Parkside women celebrate occupation

Fighting for pit jobs

Parkside women dig in against closure

Four women from Lancashire Women Against Pit Closures (LWAPC) occupied Parkside pit for four days beginning on Friday 28 May. HELEN SHAW spoke to Socialist Outlook supporter SHEILA GREGORY who took part in the occupation.

'WE'VE DONE our best to sustain the men in remaining stalwart against the pit closure in the area, we've had our pit camp at Parkside since 18 January. Our determination certainly seems to have helped the men. We had been planning an occupation at some point. We were determined that we should not take direct action of this sort until it was possible to do so without jeopardising jobs, when all due processes had been gone through. But once we got to the point where the High Court had

ruled that the ten pits could be shut we felt that was our moment to move. The effect it did have was to stop them serving redundancy notices or serving the closure of the pit for another four days which was quite useful.

Four members of LWAPC participated in the actual occupation but the whole group worked on it beforehand and during from the pit camp.

We mounted a commando style raid late on Thursday night, early Friday morning and approached the pit from a route we wouldn't be expected to come from and gained access to number one tower without being spotted.

We got to the top of the tower which is 260ft, through various staircases and a series of long ladders and were seen just as we were getting onto the roof by the winder.

To start with management reacted with disbelief that we'd managed to get up there! And then a lot of anger. They started using tactics to try and persuade us to come down like, 'you're in danger' and various silly things that they wouldn't have thought we'd thought of. We took great delight in winding them up.

They didn't know how we

were communicating - we had a walkie talkie. While we were up there the four of us worked out elaborate signalling systems between ourselves and stood and apparently signalled to each other while various men stood at points around the colliery with binoculars trying to work out what we were doing... it was quite funny.

Management said they wouldn't discuss with the men what they intended to do until we finished the occupation. It wasn't fair that the men should be put in that position by us being there so we came down. We'd made our point and we believe we've given the men some more resolve.

Something that struck me really forcibly was, that although it was a difficult thing to do, in the end how easy it was to stand up to these people, how disorganised they were and what little effort it takes to overcome them - just some courage and determination.

LWAPC is building for the North West Peoples March Against Unemployment and Pit Closures. We are speaking at various rallies along the route and we're organising the final rally at the pit on Sunday 20 June.'

On the road for jobs: solidarity with Parkside struggle

Where to find the North West Peoples March

The North West Peoples March Against Unemployment and Pit Closures starts on June 17 and culminates in a mass demonstration and rally near Parkside colliery on Sunday 20 June.

There are four different 'legs' of the March starting at different towns across the North West. The 'legs' will be linking up with other workers fighting job losses and closures.

The March offers the best opportunity for a long time to build support for uniting the struggles of trade unionists in the public

and private sectors, those fighting cuts and unemployment and can help to build a long awaited fightback against the Tories.

Various events, rallies and civic launches and/or receptions are being organised along the route. Details of the 'legs' are as follows:

The North and Central Lancashire leg

17 JUNE - Start Lancaster, march to Garstang for lunchtime rally, on to Preston for evening rally and social.

18 JUNE - Start Preston, march to Leyland for lunchtime rally at Leyland DAF, on to Chorley for evening rally and so-

cial.

19 JUNE - Start Chorley, march to Wigan for lunchtime rally, on to Earlestown.

20 JUNE - Links up with other 'legs' at Leigh, on to mass demonstration and rally near Parkside colliery.

Further details from Chris Cooper Tel: 0524 843512

The Manchester Leg

18 JUNE - Start Stockport 6pm, march to Withington Hospital for evening rally and social.

19 JUNE - Start Withington Hospital, march to Eccles via Chorlton, Stretford, Ordsall and Salford.

20 JUNE - Start from Leigh together with other 'legs', march to mass demonstration and rally at Parkside.

Further details from Rick Sumner Tel: 061 881 3508

The North East and East Lancashire leg

18 JUNE - Starts at Burnley and Oldham. March from Burnley to Rawtenstall and Oldham to Rochdale for lunchtime

rallies, on to link up at Bury General Hospital, march through Bury for civic reception, evening rally and social.

19 JUNE - Start Bury, march to Bolton for lunchtime rally, on to Atherton to link with supporting march to Leigh for civic reception, evening rally and social.

20 JUNE - Start Leigh, march with other 'legs' to Parkside for mass demonstration and rally.

Further details from Steve Hall Tel: 0942 884763

The Merseyside leg

18 JUNE - Start Birkenhead, march and ferry to Liverpool for lunchtime rally, on to Bootle for evening rally and social.

19 JUNE - Start Bootle, march to Kirby for lunchtime rally, on to St Helen's for reception and rally.

20 JUNE - Start St Helen's, march to Earlestown to link with other 'legs', on to Leigh and to mass demonstration and rally near Parkside.

Further details from Alec McFadden Tel: 051 709 3995.

Building the NW Peoples March

Lancaster gets organised

By Margaret Jones (Lancaster and Morecombe Miners' Support Group)

TRADE unionists, unemployed people, students and pensioners of Lancaster have joined together to organise the North and Central Lancashire leg of the North West Peoples March against unemployment and pit closures.

'Unite the struggles' has been the banner under which Lancaster and Morecombe Miners' Support Group has organised the community's fight back against Tory attacks.

Bus, rail, clerical and com-

munications workers, as well as teachers, lecturers and unemployed people have come together to form a fighting united front against ruling class attacks. The focus of the campaign has been the fight to save Parkside pit.

The march is the culmination of eight months of intense struggle since the pit closures were announced last year.

Central to this struggle has been the organisation and effort of women workers in Lancaster.

Their involvement in the Lancashire Women Against Pit Closures movement has spurred the development of the fightback against Tory attacks.

They are a key force in organising the North and central leg of the North West March.



Realists want a revolution

Editorial

It's forty years since a Commonwealth team climbed Everest and the Queen came to the throne. But no wonder the Queen didn't want to celebrate. The last forty years has seen the endless collapse of what was once the world's leading capitalist power.

The country that painted the world map red now can't even run a decent railway system. When head teachers shower derision on a government minister something is rotten in the whole system.

In 1953 the trend of decline was hidden by the beginning of post-war economic expansion.

A bright new world seemed on offer; confidence in progress was universal, and a return to the conditions of the 1930s seemed unthinkable. Even if Britain had ceded the role of dominant capitalist power to the United States, nonetheless Britain was one of the major world powers and visibly getting richer.

Forty years on all that is in tatters. Two world wars destroyed the Empire, the base of Britain's economic dominance. Now Britain is in relentless decline.

The British ruling class may have had its confidence shaken but important sections are doing all right thank you. That's the tremendous paradox of the decline of British capitalism; the domestic economy is in ruins, but the ruling class is still among the richest in the world.

Investment

There may be no Empire forced to accept British manufacturing exports, but there is massive British investment abroad, reaping a huge tribute to sections of the British ruling class. Britain's rulers are increasingly a *rentier* class, making profits from foreign investments and financial services, while the best brains in the upper middle classes head straight for the free-charging professions rather than manufacturing.

But such an arrangement is temporary. A secure imperialism needs a strong domestic base. Without a revival of British industry it will all end in ignominious collapse.

Ruling class comprehension of the decline was

slow in coming; when it did, it took the form of Margaret Hilda Thatcher. But Thatcherism turned out to be half a plan; attacking the unions and collapsing the welfare state couldn't substitute for industrial renewal.

Yuppies

Decline was again hidden in the 1980s 'yuppie' boom, when deregulation of the City and property speculation created the inflationary boom which has now so obviously turned into near-slump.

The stench of decay is everywhere in Britain. Rotten housing, rotten transport, low wages and long hours, mass unemployment, the war without end in Ireland, the desperate poverty of millions of the elderly, crime epidemics, moral panics, youth riots, get-rich-quick privatisations – even the precipitous decline of the quality of television over the last 15 years (no wonder there are so many repeats).

With the collapse of so much of the post-war order, the ideology of post-war Labourism – the mixed economy and the welfare state has also collapsed, leaving half-baked notions about the market in its place.

What is remarkable against this background is that the ruling class have got away with so much, without having to face Italian-style terrorism or US-scale urban uprisings.

One thing is now absolutely clear: the British ruling class lacks the economic means and political will to reconstitute British capitalism – at least unless a fundamentally new social and political order, some form of authoritarian state rule, is created – and we are many years from such possibilities. Only the working class can rebuild Britain; and only by becoming the ruling class.

That in turn of course require a political vision, a determination to break with all the old crap, a clear understanding that a patient with multiple injuries needs more than sticking plaster. All these things are totally foreign to the leadership of the TUC and the Labour Party.

When the world of full employment and the friendly bobby has changed into that of the dole queue and the riot police only utopians think John Smith or maybe Paddy Ashdown can change anything. Realists want a revolution.



Manchester shakes a Leg

By Colin O'Driscoll (South Manchester Miners' Support group)

PLANS are well-established for the Manchester leg of the North West March against unemployment and pit closures.

The march will link up with health workers from Withington Hospital, threatened with imminent closures, and

strikers from Revell and George, a local print firm in Salford..

These workers have been sacked for rejecting a pay offer.

Support groups in Manchester are using the march as an opportunity to build solidarity for the two disputes, as well as raising awareness of the attacks on jobs and the public sector as a whole.

Support for the march has already been pledged from Labour Parties, local MPs and MEPs, trade unions and community groups.

Socialist Outlook Public Meeting

Unite the Struggles, Build the Fightback!

SUNDAY 20 JUNE

2.30pm (approx)

(immediately after NW March final rally)

Leigh Arms pub, near Parkside colliery

Speakers include: Steve Hall and Glenn Vorris (North West Miners Support Group), Sheila Gregory (WAPC), Alan Thornett (Socialist Outlook editorial board).

EDITORIAL



Tuffin has been forced to back June 19 demo - but will Jordan come?

Timex strikers reject sell-out

By Chris Brooks

LAST WEEK'S rejection of a 27 per cent pay cut 'offered' to Timex strikers has helped push TUC President Alan Tuffin into backing a June 19 demonstration called by the strike committee.

The employers proposal resulted from weeks of talks between the multinational company and senior AEEU official Jimmy Airlie (one-time leader of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in).

Interviewed by ITN, the company's Norwegian owner said the union considered the offer to be fair!

As well as a pay cut, the deal reduced company contributions to pensions, lowered canteen subsidies, brought

down sick pay and extended the qualifying time.

On top of that, the 343 workers locked out were offered their jobs back on condition of a 'skills test'. This allowed the company to still sack the workers they didn't want back.

The harsh terms have quite a simple idea behind them. The US-based multinational wants a massive facility to produce goods for sale around the world. They offer the same pay and conditions in Dundee as they'd offer at new factory in the developing world.

Pinned down by angry postal workers at the recent UCW conference, Tuffin called for the TUC and Scottish TUC to mobilise for the June 19 demonstration - 'not just to pass resolutions but to get stuck

into building support'. Strikers have also called for a women's demonstration on Friday June 11.

The Timex strike represents the fightback against a new wave of pay cuts which European employers are trying to force on working people as the recession deepens into a full-blown slump.

If the full weight of the labour movement is brought to bear in the Timex dispute the rights of every worker will be more secure.

■ Send donations and requests for speakers to Timex strike, 2 Union St, Dundee DD1 4HB. Phone 0382 22406.

■ The women's demonstration starts 7am on Friday June 11.

■ The mass demonstration starts 6am on Saturday June 19.

Postal workers shift left

By Jon Green
(Communication Workers Fightback)

THE UCW annual conference gave a clear indication to the leadership that the management offensive had to be stopped. The mood of conference was reflected in vote after vote overturning the national officers by big majorities.

There were a number of clear victories for the left, including an immediate claim for a 35 hour gross working week and opposition to any attempt to remove the trade unions from the selection of Parliamentary candidates.

Days of action

There were calls for the TUC to call days of action against unemployment and privatisation, and for a voluntary levy of the membership to prepare for strike action against the privatisation of the Post Office.

The only two major defeats for

the left were on support for the Public Sector Alliance and opposition to the Maastricht treaty.

Conference unanimously passed an emergency resolution committing the UCW to build the next mass demonstration at Timex.

At the sectional conferences the mood of anger threatened to boil over at times. Underlying the membership's dissatisfaction has been the UCW leadership's practice of signing agreements without balloting the membership. The conference passed a number of resolutions that attempt to tie the leadership's hands in negotiations.

Distrust of the leadership was also reflected in the adoption of a resolution calling for a special conference on the NCU/UCW merger.

The left was organised around a new bulletin, 'Communication Workers Fightback'. The modest steps forward in organising the left need to be build upon. The UCW leadership are notorious for surviving rocky conferences and spending the next year selling the membership down the river.



Grateme Cookson

Post and Telecom workers will unify at last

Prepare for post-merger fight

UNISON: Left must be built

UNISON - the merger of NALGO, NUPE and COHSE, comes into existence on 1 July.

That's why this week's Brighton NALGO conference has many less resolutions and amendments than before - everything decided will be open to question in UNISON. Nonetheless the left faces important battles, not least the fight to build an organised left in UNISON.

The new union will be the country's biggest. But while the left has always been strong in NALGO, it has been less influential and organised in NUPE and COHSE.

But the new union will immediately be in the forefront of key struggles, as the biggest union in local government, the health service and in numerous public services. All these are under attack from cuts, competitive tendering, redundancies and privatisation.

The danger from the merger process is that if the left doesn't organise across the three former unions, the right

wing in NALGO can link up with the Bickerstaffe-Sawyer NUPE leadership to pull the new union into mainstream new realism.

That's why a meeting is being held at NALGO conference to discuss the possibilities of a united UNISON left; the meeting is sponsored by NEC member Roger Bannister, Islington branch secretary Brian Gardner and Bromley branch secretary Glen Kelly.

Key issues at NALGO conference will include the fight to commit the union to breaking the 1.5 per cent pay limit; to defend NALGO policy of full opposition to anti-union laws and carry that into UNISON; and to challenge general secretary Alan Jinkinson's repudiation of the Islington nursery occupation.

NALGO fringe meeting: For Fighting Socialist Policies in UNISON. Wednesday 16 June, 6pm, Brighthelm Centre, North Rd., Brighton.

MSF delegates tame 'moderate' Lyons

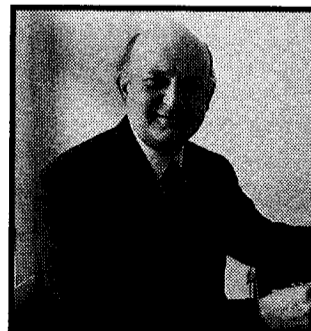
By Glenn Sutherland,
Delegate, St Pancras Branch
(personal capacity)

ACCORDING to the press, the 1993 annual conference of MSF (Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union) was to be a triumph of moderation and 'realism'.

In the event, delegates sent new General Secretary Roger Lyons home with a bloody nose.

The London Region left, organised around Network 90, had prioritised motions and amendments including Maastricht and trade union/Labour Party links.

The debate on the Maastricht treaty was taken as John Smith waited to address conference. Delegates voted by a sizeable majority to oppose the terms of the treaty - social chapter or no social chapter.



Lyons poses

The debate on Trade Union/Labour Party links the next morning was to have far more significance as MSF is the fourth largest affiliate to the Labour Party.

At the pre-conference NEC, Lyons proposed all the motions on the links should be remitted to the NEC.

This would have allowed him to use the results of an internal MSF consultation exercise to negotiate a deal with the Labour Party leadership and the MSF delegation to vote for such a deal at Labour Party Conference in October.

In the event the NEC unanimously rejected Lyons' pro-

posal and supported a resolution committing MSF to the status quo. This was carried by Conference by a huge majority, with only a handful of votes against.

An emergency motion was then carried by a two to one majority committing the MSF delegation to Labour Party conference to vote in line with Composite G, making MSF's position watertight (on a formal basis, anyway).

The significance of the votes at MSF conference is that they will strengthen the resolve of other major affiliates in opposing Smith's attempt to break the links.

Network 90, the only left formation not to be corrupted by factional manoeuvring at national level, must broaden out its London base to involve more contacts from other Regions. Next year is a rule change conference, and the left must start preparing now.

Contact Network 90 at: Network 90, c/o Alison Miles, 43 Dasset Road, London SE27 0UF

TRADE UNION NEWS

**World
ORDER**

**Cuban trade
collapse**

CUBA may suspend most of its sugar trade after a slump of over one-third in the sugar harvest. It is hoped that the harvest, the worst since the 1959 revolution, will still meet the oil-for-sugar barter deal with Russia. It was the blockaded islands chronic oil shortage that caused the poor harvest. Mechanical farming and transport has had to be replaced with hand-cutting and ox-drawn carts. A tropical storm in March further reduced the harvest.

**Yeltsin silences
Congress speaker**

RUSSIAN President Boris Yeltsin denied his chief rival a chance to speak when the new Constituent Assembly opened last week. Designed by Yeltsin to quickly approve his draft constitution, the Assembly had a majority of his supporters who proceeded to drown out the attempts of parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khusbulatov to speak.

Yeltsin's plan is to introduce a more powerful presidency that would limit the ability of the opposition to organise politically through the Soviets, councils and parliaments.

Li Peng 'disappears'

LI PENG, the member of the Chinese leadership most associated with the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, has been absent for nearly two months from the public eye. The Beijing Foreign Ministry says the 65-year old has a 'cold'.

Some rumours suggest Li has suffered a heart attack, but his disappearance may indicate a permanent departure. Li is thought to be unpopular with western governments; his removal could help the Chinese Stalinists to widen the market there.

**ANC corruption
investigation.**

An internal African National Congress investigation is underway into a trust run by ANC President Nelson Mandela and his deputy Walter Sisulu. Batho Batho trust owns the Thebe investment corporation which was to receive 20% of a national monopoly on school textbooks. The investigation is thought to centre on the activities of the investment company and where its profits go to.

Cambodia
**Is
Pol
Pot
on**



the way back in?

By Paul Clarke

THE RESULT of the UN-organised elections in Cambodia could bring Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge guerrillas back into a coalition government, despite their refusal to participate in the elections.

Four million people voted, 85 per cent of registered electors. This was a victory of the UN task force Untac, and Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party government.

But although the Khmer Rouge failed to disrupt the elections, so far it is the Funcinpec coalition led by former ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk which is leading the count. Sihanouk's support is particularly strong in the capital Phnom

Penh.

Sihanouk is pledged to 'national reconciliation', which decoded means bringing the Khmer Rouge into a coalition government. It would be an obscene result if the mass murderers led by Pol Pot came back into the government.

The Khmer Rouge have been treated with great respect by the United Nations which refers to them by their official name - the 'Democratic Forces of Cambodia'. Pol Pot has only survived because of the aid lavished on his soldiers by the United States, Britain and China.

Cambodia is littered with land mines, mainly laid by the Khmer Rouge; they have resulted in tens of thousands losing limbs. The instructors who taught the Khmer Rouge this form of warfare were from Brit-

ain's SAS, a fact that the government has persistently tried to cover up.

The elections, held in conditions of virtual partition of the country between different armed factions, have been forced on Cambodia by the 'international community'.

Blockade

Through most of the 1980s the US ensured a virtual economic blockade because of the presence of Vietnamese troops, and its characterisation of the Hun Sen government as a 'puppet' of the Vietnamese.

It was those same Vietnamese that by their 1979 invasion which crushed Pol Pot's genocidal regime.

The Cambodian Peoples Party has asked the UN to stop

declaring election results because of 'irregularities' in the counting. This is a sure sign that they expect to lose. If they do, it will be because of Sihanouk's promise to end the fighting; the appeal to 'peace' has a tremendous impact in a country so war-weary - in the same way as it did in the 1991 election in Nicaragua.

But if the result is contested or a Funcinpec victory there is no guarantee that the CPP will accept it. A return to all-out war, and western aid to Pol Pot would be the probable result.

The irony is that Sun Hen's government is very clear in its willingness to accept a market economy and the diktats of the IMF and World Bank. But in US eyes must be ditched because of his former alliance with the Vietnamese.

**Electoral blow for
Sri Lankan regime**

By K. Govindan

PROVINCIAL council results in the May elections were embarrassing for the ruling United National Party (UNP) but of little comfort to the opposition.

The Sri Lankan Freedom Party-led alliance won control of the prestigious Western province, which is the commercial and political hub of the island.

A split from the UNP, the Democratic United National Front (DUNF), was damaged by the assassination of its leader Lalith Athulathmudali.

It will join forces in two other provinces leaving only four provinces in outright DUNF control. Elections were not held in the mainly Tamil North east province due to the ongoing war. However, neither the war nor the economic and social mess of free market policies were the main issues. Instead the opposition concentrated on the imperial style and abuse of power by President Premadasa.

Their main agitation was for the abolition of the executive presidency and the restora-

tion of Westminster-style democracy.

Assassination

With Premadasa's assassination on a May Day march and the installation of DB Wijetunge, who promises to break with his predecessors authoritarian style, the ground was pulled from under their feet.

Both the SLFP and DUNF support the government's pro-IMF austerity and privatisation policies, and are hardline opponents of any deal with the Tamils.

Thus the vote they captured was an anti-government vote, rather than one for positive policies.

The left electoral front led by the Fourth Internationalist Nava Sama Samaja Party polled a creditable 60,000 votes, but won only one seat.

Many workers had voted for the 'left' faction in the SFLP led by Chandrika Kumaratunge who is now Chief Minister in



Western Province. She is also supported by the reformist LSSP and Communist Party, who see the SFLP as a vehicle for socialism.

Chandrika's public embrace of market economics and the deteriorating economy means that disillusioned workers and disaffected youth will be looking for an alternative. This is the challenge for the real left.

WORLD NEWS

Yugoslavia – who's to blame?

THE WAR in ex-Yugoslavia is a major question of international politics which finds the left utterly divided. The source of this division is the failure of many left-wing organisations to grasp the importance of the national question, and the tendency to attempt to resort to pat answers about the role of imperialism, or Stalinism, or the evils of reactionary nationalism. All these factors have played a role, says JEFF LOWE, but the central role of the reactionary Great Serb project of Milosevic cannot be evaded.

WORLD NEWS

1. Why did Yugoslavia go into crisis

TITO'S Communist partisans led a real revolution against the Nazis. Breaking with the orders coming from Moscow, after October 1945 they took all power and began the destruction of capitalism.

The state they established was heavily bureaucratised, relying on the 'leading role' of the Communist Party.

The Tito leadership attempted to solve the problem of the complex national structure of the country by creating a federal structure of six republics and one autonomous province, Vojvodina within Serbia. This gave an element of real self-government to the different republics.

However the drawing of the boundaries between the republics left 25 per cent of Serbs outside Serbia, 25 per cent of Croats outside Croatia and many Moslems and Albanians outside Bosnia and Kosovo.

This was not some kind of plot by Tito to weaken the Serbian nation (as Serbian nationalists claim) but a reflection of the inevitability of national minorities in such an ethnically mixed area.

However, only with the fullest socialist democracy could have been a guarantee against

any trampling of national rights within the various republics.

The one area which did suffer serious violations of national rights was Albanian Kosovo. But the 1974 constitution granted Kosovo the status of an autonomous province, within Serbia; Kosovo was able to participate alongside the six republics and Vojvodina in the eight-person presidency created to replace Tito upon his death.

After 1974 therefore Kosovo had the same rights as any republic. But it was in Kosovo that the break-up of Yugoslavia was to start.

Tito's government held national tensions in check, despite economic transfers from the richer republics to the poorer ones, so long as there was relative economic stability.

However many of the measures taken to keep the economy stable also contained dangerous centrifugal tendencies, particularly the increasing reliance on market forces pursued during the 1960s.

The experiment in localised 'workers self-management' developed into competition between different factories, different industries and different regions. This helped fuel economic competition and rivalries between the different republics. In particular the richer republics of Croatia and Slovenia complained that resources were being taken away from them.

This incipient economic rivalry between the republics got much worse in the 1970s, when

the world economic crisis impacted onto Yugoslavia and created a massive international debt.

Local economic autonomy, disguised as workers' self-management fuelled rivalries between the different national components of the bureaucracy. It was in this framework of competition for economic resources that national resentments and conflicts grew, leading to the rise of the Great Serb project in the 1980s.

The economic crisis was worst in backward Kosovo. In 1981 the people of Kosovo demanded the status of a full republic and were met by fierce military repression, which has continued at an even higher level since the Kosovo miners strike of 1989.

2. Why did the crisis lead to war?

RIVALRIES between the different republics led to war for one simple reason.

In order to try to keep itself in power, in the face of economic crisis and mass disillusionment, the leadership of the League of Communists in Serbia, personified by Slobodan Milosevic, resorted to the politics of Great Serb nationalism – leading eventually to the 1991 military attack on Croatia and Slovenia.

Serbian nationalist forces built up their strength throughout the 1980s. The most Stalinist wing of the League of Communists in Serbia began the Serbian nationalist crusade in response to the Kosovo events in 1981. Whole sections of the intelligentsia, including former dissidents like Mihailo Markovic, editor of *Praxis* magazine, capitulated to nationalism.

This chauvinist political offensive was capped by the capture of the leadership of the Serbian party by Milosevic in 1987. He immediately set about changing the balance of forces in Yugoslavia. By 1988 he had changed the party leadership in Montenegro to install his stooges, and did the same in Vojvodina in 1989. The Serbian constitution was unilaterally changed to abolish the autonomy of two provinces. By these

measures Milosevic effectively gave himself four votes on the eight-member collective Yugoslav presidency, in effect a veto on any decisions.

The rise of Serbian nationalism led to the rise of republicanism in the other republics; and eventually to various forms of reactionary nationalism, especially in Croatia.

While it is clear that small groups of Croatian nationalists had long hoped for total independence, the opportunity to push forward with this project was given by the need to take defensive measures against Serbian threats.

3. Who is responsible for the war and its atrocities?

THE RESPONSIBILITY for the wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia lies firmly with Milosevic and his Great Serbia project. Not a single act of war has taken place on the territory of Serbia..

There can be no doubt that the Serbian regime is guilty of acts of aggression against its neighbours. War was declared on Bosnia even before the referendum on independence had been held.

Therefore we do not equate the nationalism of the oppressors – which we condemn – with that of the oppressed – which we defend, even if we do not share their nationalist ideology. To equate Serbian and Croatian nationalism is to equate the oppressor with the oppressed.

This is not, of course, to deny the reactionary nature of the Tadjman regime in Croatia or to imply support for its policies. For example, the decision of the Croatian government to change its law on citizenship – denying equality to Serbs – strengthened Milosevic's appeals to Serbian chauvinism and his preparations for war.

It also facilitated Milosevic and Karadzic in their attempt to declare a separate Bosnian-Serb state. Moreover, it is obvious that Milosevic and Tadjman agreed on the carve-up of Bos-



“Military intervention by the United States was never likely, if only because the United States ruling class has no strong interests in the region. That’s why Clinton’s personal preference for some kind of intervention has been so controversial in the US establishment”

nia-Herzegovina some time ago.

However, despite the crimes of Tudjman it is completely false to claim that he is equally responsible for the destruction of Yugoslavia or, even worse, primarily responsible (as does Socialist Worker).

It has been the Serbian army and the Chetniks that have carried out systematic murder of people because of their ethnic origins. It has been the Serbian army and Chetniks that have driven people out of their towns and villages, the so-called policy of ‘ethnic cleansing’.

It has been the Serbian army and the Chetniks that have used mass rape as a weapon of war. It has been the Serbian army and the Chetniks that have set up concentration camps.

Whilst it is almost certainly true that murders, expulsions and rapes have been carried out by soldiers and militias of all sides these have – until recently – primarily been carried out by individuals or small groups.

However reprehensible these acts may be they do not compare to the deliberate policy of murder, rape and torture embarked upon by Milosevic and Karadzic in order to carry out the ‘ethnic cleansing’ which is necessary to implement their policy of uniting all the Serbs in a single state.

Their main targets have overwhelmingly been the non-Serb civilian populations and all cultural manifestations of their existence.

The Croat HVO is now carrying out similar acts in northern Bosnia and evidence is emerging of collusion between Serbian and Croat forces to facilitate attacks upon Moslems and others opposed to the carve-up of Bosnia.

The ability of the HVO to attempt to emulate Karadzic is, however, a direct consequence of the totally cynical policies pursued by the imperialist powers.

4. What has been the role of imperialism?

THERE HAS been no single, unified approach to Yugoslavia from the imperialist



Croatian soldiers spy out for victims

powers. Each has attempted to defend its own specific interests. The overwhelming point is that they have approached the crisis not with any ‘humanitarian’ concern but with total cynicism.

Germany has tilted towards Croatia, seeing it as an area of potential economic and political influence. France has long had good relations with Serbia.

Intervention

But the attitude to intervention in the war has been underpinned by the fact that all the imperialist powers see Serbia as the crucial force in the region, one which they will eventually have to do business with.

Military intervention by the United States was never likely, if only because the United States ruling class has no strong interests in the region. That’s why Clinton’s personal preference for some kind of intervention has been so controversial in the US military, foreign policy and political establishments.

The same is true of Britain. Imperialism has not intervened because there is nothing (like oil in the Gulf) for them to defend. What they all want is *stability*; and of course a war and near-genocide is a big embarrassment for them when it takes place in Europe.

But ultimately the imperialists are making a rational calculation about their own interests. They calculate that ultimately stability requires a strong Serbia. Slovenia is already out of the quagmire, Croatia will survive, and multi-ethnic Bosnia can be sacrificed: it only costs a little aid and a few crocodile tears, together with show-case gestures like the meaningless no-fly zone over Bosnia.

5. Can socialists support anyone in this war?

YES, THE people and their legitimate rights, including

the right to life and limb, the right to resist massacre and ethnic cleansing, the right to self-determination.

By 1991 it was clear that Croatia and Slovenia wanted independence. The Yugoslav constitution guaranteed that right. It was denied by the brutal invasion of the Yugoslav army, purged of its non-Serb officers and following the disarming of the Croatian and Slovene territorial militias.

At the time of the attack by the army, Socialist Outlook demanded the withdrawal of the troops and took a position of defending Croatia and Slovenia. The people of Croatia and Slovenia had the right of self-determination, whatever the political character of their leadership.

Here and now socialists must defend multi-ethnic Bosnia, which is being carved up by the Serb offensive and by Croatia. The destruction of Bosnia is particularly tragic because throughout its history Bosnia has been a multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-religious entity.

The Croatian decision to seize as much territory in Bosnia as possible is particularly cynical. In 1992 a huge demonstration against the war in Croatia took place in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo; this demonstration was fired on by Serb nationalist forces. Now the Bosnians are repaid for their defence of Croatia by being attacked by the Croat HVO militia.

6. What is the way forward?

FIRST and foremost, socialists should demand the lifting of the arms embargo, which is only an embargo against Bosnia. The Bosnian resistance must have the right to defend itself against

both the Serb onslaught and Croatian attacks.

Second, the west must respond by opening its borders to the hundreds of thousands of Bosnian refugees driven from their homes and plunged into despair by this crisis.

A socialist approach to the crisis must start from a recognition that whatever its merits and faults, Yugoslavia is dead – forever. The long term solution is a free and equal, eventually socialist, federation of the peoples of the Balkans.

The road to federation now goes through independence and

self-determination for the different republics.

But the idea of ‘ethnically pure’ republics is racist and reactionary. Every republic will have national minorities which must have equal rights.

Beyond the current crisis, the eventual defeat of reactionary nationalism can only come with a rebirth of working class politics in the region, the rebuilding of trade unions and independent workers organisations.

The European left must facilitate that, both through the campaign for opening the borders to refugees and direct links with the left in ex-Yugoslavia.



Multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Bosnians held prisoner by Milosevic’s nationalist regime

WORLD NEWS

US youth gangs fraternise, politicise Towards a Black intifadah?

By Zbigniew
Kowalewski

THE BLACK ghetto youth organised in the street gangs commemorated the first anniversary of the Los Angeles uprising in a very significant way, remarked on by all the media.

A meeting of around 200 delegates from the gangs of 36 towns met in Kansas to conclude a peace treaty in order to put an end to the 'urban war' between the oppressed and to elaborate a common platform of immediate demands.

During the second half of the 1980s, Black and Hispanic youth came into the youth gangs in huge numbers. This was a response to the catastrophic social effects on the community of the 'liberal' economic policies of Reagan and Bush.

The response of those in power was to unleash, under the pretext of the 'war on drugs', what was literally a war waged by the police against the oppressed youth of the 'coloured' community.

Meanwhile, as US socialist Ben Tupper put it: 'While violent, heavily armed, gangs are not inherently a negative entity, the lack of political radicalisation of these forces has resulted in a self-destructive frenzy of young men and women killing each other over the limited available resources of the ghetto.'

Feared

In 1988 Dennis Hopper's film *Colors* introduced public opinion to what would be the most feared and visible of all street gangs, the Bloods and the Crips.

'1988 was also when the Compton (Los Angeles)-based rap group NWA introduced 'gangsta rap' to the world and, in the process, sold millions of records

in the process, sold millions of records that glorified the lifestyle of the Southern California gangs' says *Rap Pages* magazine.

But, while some 'gangsta' rappers continue to glorify the life, the values and the violence of the gangs, according to Ben Tupper 'various artists...have crossed over from the 'gangsta' message to a position of critique of the self-destructive violence. The result is an evolving group of 'ex-gangstas' who are redefining gangsterism with a touch of political savvy.'

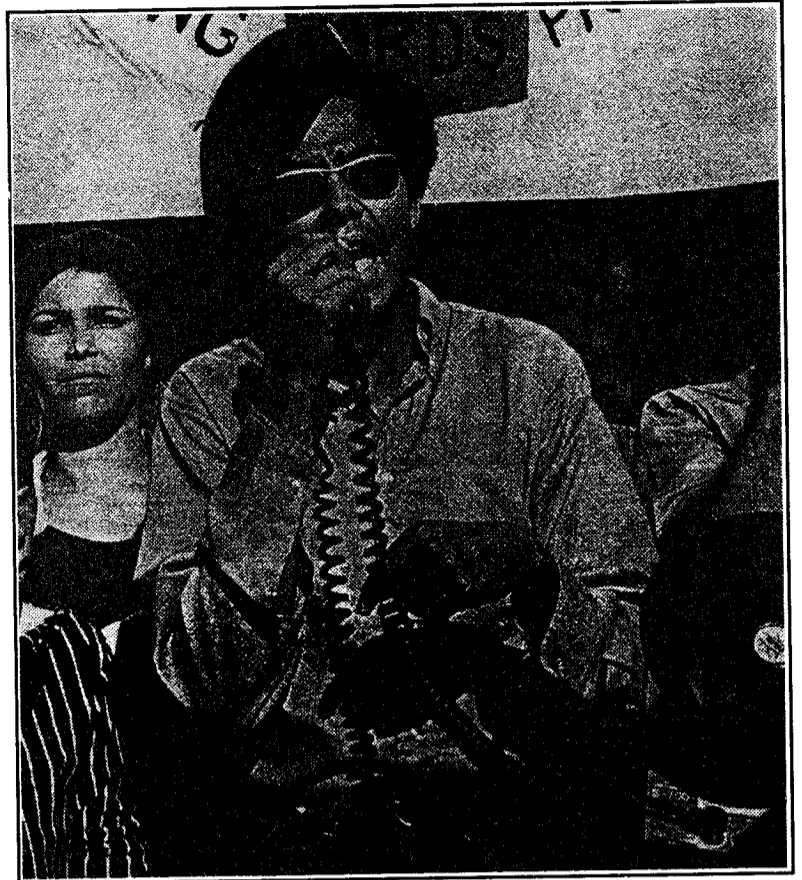
These rappers raise the real reasons for gang violence, which lie not in gang rivalries but in the system of exploitation and violence.

'Build your brain'

This is the case with Ice-T, one of the most influential and sussed of the 'gangsta' rappers. 'Peace to all LA gangs. We are all brothers, we can live together. Death is no answer. No one lives in the ghetto by choice. Go to school, build your brain. Escape from the killing fields. Fuck that war!' says one of his records. 'The man's got a sure-fire system, an economic prison - you're still slave to the man. Prepare for revolution!'

Just before the 1992 uprising, truce was announced between the LA gangs. The Crips and the Bloods were often to be found together at the head of the youth participating in the uprising, and served as a factor of leadership and organisation. Their weapons intimidated the Los Angeles cops (LAPD), who did not dare to engage in large scale repression until the uprising subsided.

In his report on the uprising published in *The Source* James Bernard explained the dynamic and scale of the fraternisation between the gangs. After the uprising numerous joint meetings of Bloods and Crips were held, sometimes involv-



1965 Watts riots created revolutionary Black organisations

ing up to 700 people. Often these meetings were attacked by the police, leading to violent clashes.

Truce was declared by leaders of the Crips and the Bloods under the auspices of the Nation of Islam (NOI), and supported by well-known rappers.

A coalition of gang leaders launched a programme of demands for the immediate development of LA's poor communities; demands for more resources to employment, education, social security, health, AIDS and the urban environment.

All told they demanded a programme of \$3.7 billion, putting the stress on self-organisation and control of their own communities. 'Give us the hammer and nails, and we'll rebuild the city' said the leaders of the Crips and Bloods.

Also in the programme was the demand for community-controlled law enforcement, and the involvement of former gang members in it.

In some racially mixed areas policing has been virtually taken over by NOI security, establishing a non-confrontational and educational style with gang members; this shows the practicality of the demand for an alternative mechanism for maintaining order.

Publicity

Ice-T, who organised an LA meeting of 30 gang leaders and founded the association *Help them Across the Rap* said: 'The sole thing that the gang members ask me today is to publicise the truce.'

Frank Broughton wrote in *i-D* magazine: 'Last year's violent events in South Central LA brought a sharp and inevitable politicisation of the gang culture there, and this has been well reflected in the lyrics of the 'gangsta' groups.'

'The Crips and the Bloods have called an end to their mindless war of retribution. Violence - both in reality and rap lyrics - is now aimed firmly at the system.'

'The revolutionary rhetoric of east coast groups like Public Enemy has been infusing the gang members, and people like Ice Cube and Da Lench Mob rather than continuing to emphasise the Black-on-Black violence of street warfare, are now celebrating the under-publicised gang truce and the new feeling of brotherhood.'

Rapper Paris' records now attempt to reach and reorient the large, and in his opinion, largely misguided gang youth

and 'gangsta' audience, exhorting Black youth to inspire themselves with the thought of Malcolm X and the experience of the Black Panthers.

He calls for the formation of an organised and conscious political movement, orientated towards revolution and the taking of power by the people.

The police and those in power have observed the evolution of the gangs with great disquiet. Before the LA riot a Black police officer told the *Final Call*:

'The fearlessness and leadership potential of the Black gangs frightens them. Imagine if this youth becomes properly motivated, trained to love themselves and commit themselves. You might have the emergence of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army.'

After the uprising US socialist Mike Davis, author of *City of Quartz* about LA, wrote:

'The ecumenical movement of the Crips and the Bloods is their worst imagining: gang violence no longer random but politicised into a Black Intifada. The LAPD remembers only too well that a generation ago the Watts rebellion produced a gang peace out of which grew the Los Angeles branch of the Black Panther Party.'

In this situation, the capitalist authorities continue to try to criminalise the Black youth. A report after the LA uprising by the District Attorney's office states that 47 per cent of Black males between the ages of 21 and 24 show up in police gang databases.

Corrupt and co-opt

But at the same time, the authorities are trying to corrupt and co-opt a section of the leadership of the gangs. The challenge that faces the gangs, in this period between gang war and peace, is to construct a Black youth leadership, capable of surviving in the face of repression and developing independent politics.

In any case, as Ben Tupper puts it: 'Seeds are being planted in fertile but volatile ground for the construction and development of politicised gangs and radical organisations in America's cities.'

● Well-known Polish revolutionary socialist Zbigniew Kowalewski is the author of a book on Malcolm X.

LIBERATION POLITICS



Paths to socialism

Dave Osler reviews Hal Draper's, 'Socialism from Below', Humanities Press International, £39.95

ACTIVISTS' reading time is always at a premium, so Hal Draper is a name many will have often seen in the footnotes of modern Marxist literature, but never read firsthand.

While his most famous work, 'Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution', is acknowledged as a classic study, it unfortunately weighs in at an off-putting five hefty volumes. I've always reasoned that Marx himself only needed three, and never quite got round to Draper until now.

Humanities Press has done well to make a 270-page selection of his key writings available. I would like to have said widely available, but the price tag means this book is unlikely to get far beyond the better academic libraries. More's the pity, because interest in Draper's ideas is currently growing on the British left.

Both the Socialist Workers Party and some anarcho-syndicalist currents frequently claim to represent 'socialism-from-below'. The debt to Draper is often made explicit.

Moreover, Draper was a leading member of a group of American Trotskyists who broke with the movement in 1940 in the belief that the Soviet Union represented a 'bureaucratic collectivist' society, ruled by an historically new exploiting class. These misleading notions are currently being resurrected by *Socialist Organiser*.

Draper bases his world-view on the famous opening lines of the rules of the First International, which stress that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself.

He argues that this socialism-from-below is the sole genuine socialism; Stalinists, Fabians, Social Democrats, Labourites, anarchists and national liberation movements offer only socialism-from-above, which is in fact not socialism at all, and will always end in disappointment, if not bloody repression.

Draper argues: 'Before Marx, nowhere did the line of the Socialist Idea intersect with the line of Democracy-from-Below. This intersection, this synthesis, was the great contribution of Marx; in comparison,

the whole content of his 'Capital' is secondary'.

While the author's style is completely accessible, superlative scholarship is evident on almost every page. A case in point is 'The Principle of Self-Emancipation in Marx and Engels'.

Draper's analysis of Marx's earliest journalistic writings details how Marx moved from the young liberal, earnestly beseeching the incoming Prussian monarch to hand down constitutional reform from on high, to a communist advocate of workers' democracy.

Of course, all revolutionaries

will say they are in favour of socialism-from-below; this is as axiomatic as bourgeois politicians' support for motherhood and apple pie. The problem is fleshing the content out.

What is essentially a volume of historical studies is inevitably weak on how the concept should be used as a guiding light in day-to-day class struggle.

The closest Draper comes is the reduction of all politics to the explicitly stated question, which side are you on?



Mass struggles - this protest by Bolivian peasants - are crucial

If that was all there was to it, there would be no need for Marxist theory whatsoever; any old egalitarianism would fit the bill. For Draper, 'Capital' is indeed secondary. But while socialism-from-below is undoubtedly necessary, it is nowhere near sufficient.

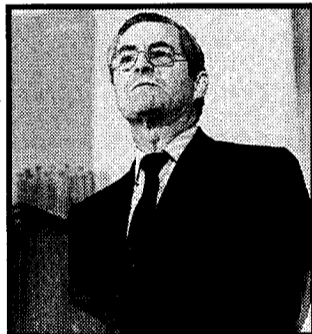
Incidentally, this book is the second in a series entitled 'Revolutionary Studies', which promises works by key Fourth

International theoreticians such as Ernest Mandel, Michael Lowy, Pierre Rousset, Alan Wald, Paul Le Blanc and Enzo Traverso. Sounds good, if pricey.

One last quibble; I suspect most British readers could have done with more explanatory material on the illustrations Draper draws from American history. For £40, it ought to be in there.

Fingers In the TILL

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



Pemberton

Robin's tax Leigh-way

I USED to think that those guys at the Inland Revenue were on our side. Now I've discovered they expect top executives to pay tax on the freebies that go with their jobs, I'm not so sure.

But Robin Leigh-Pemberton, outgoing governor of the Bank of England, found an easy way of getting round this minor inconvenience.

Robin was in the habit of taking his wife Rosemary with him on business trips, with the taxpayer ultimately picking up the tab for the first-class flights and five star hotels.

Jaunts included visits to Washington for the annual International Monetary Fund shindig, and a tour of China, all of which sounds like nice work if you can get it.

When the Revenue ruled that this counted as a perk, and weighed in with a tax bill for £16K, the Bank upped his salary by the same amount, taking his annual earnings to £209,165. This just goes to prove that, with a good employer, there is absolutely no need for trade unions.

What a bunch of bankers

While I'm the subject of the BoE, I hear that the Threadneedle Street boys will be out of pocket by £115 million, thanks to loans it made to prop up a few financially troubled small and medium banks.

It seems things got so bad by the summer of 1991 that the Bank had to organise a bail-out or risk domino effects up to and including the collapse of the entire British banking system.

According to the *Financial Times*, beneficiaries of this unusual outbreak of largesse from what is, after all, still a nationalised industry include City Merchant Banks, part of fund management group Invesco MIM.

What the Pink 'Un doesn't add is that the chair of the said Invesco MIM at this time was a Thatcher peer by the name of Lord Stevens of Ludgate.

While he stopped working for the company last Septem-

ber, they are continuing to pay him until this September. Sounds good to me.

Lord Stevens is also chair of United Newspapers, publishers of the ultra-Tory *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*. Wonder if either of those organs picked up on the story?



Solidarity with Maxwell

IT'S ALL roundabouts and swings for you taxpayers. Invesco MIM last week admitted 55 charges of breaking city rules and is paying a record fine of £750,000 and £1.6 million costs, so at least you get some of your money back.

Invesco breached rules on the handling of client money, issued a misleading advertisement, supplied unsatisfactory regulatory information, carried on business outside its permitted areas, kept defective records, failed to provide investors with accurate and timely information and made unsuitable investments on behalf of customers. My kind of guys!

Invesco looked after some of the Maxwell pension fund money, and knew at least something of what that great Labour Party member was up to, but failed to grass him up. What's wrong with a bit of solidarity between fellow newspaper proprietors, I ask you?

Quick learners, big earners

I'VE JUST been reading about some of the groovy scams now going down in Russia, where the locals are obviously getting the

hang of how capitalism works pretty quickly.

According to a new publication from the Royal Institute of International Affairs: 'Ten to 20 per cent of the oil and at least one-third of the metals exported from Russia in 1992 were smuggled out of the country.'

Naturally the revenues from these sales stayed in bank accounts abroad.' Estimated capital flight is put at billions of dollars. A result, or what?

Nose candy

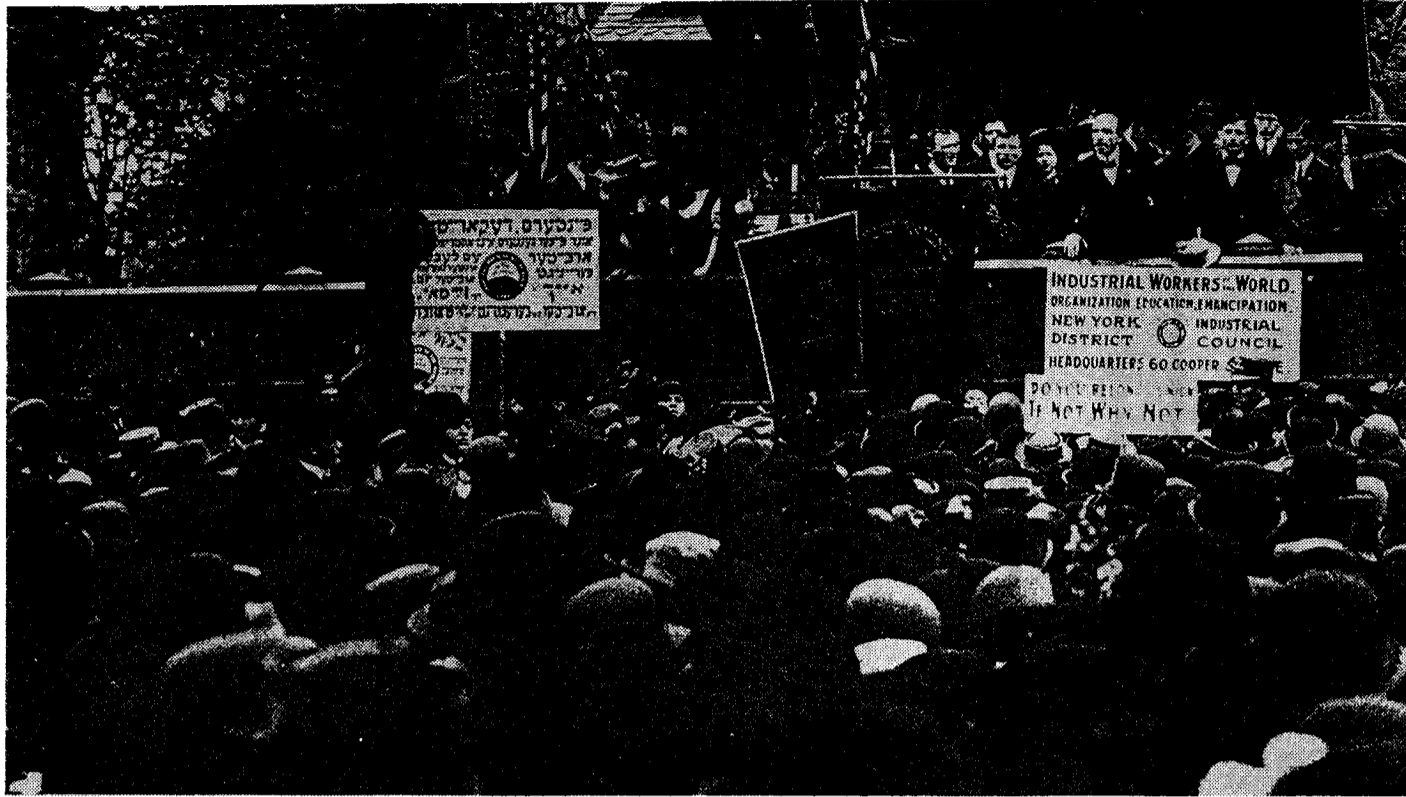
'FINGERS' fans may remember my earlier tale of how eighties junk bond supercrook Michael Milken turned over a new leaf on release from prison and set up an educational cable channel for kiddies, in league with singer Michael Jackson.

It now seems that Milken, who once earned £324 million in a single year with Drexel Burnham Lambert, is helping inner-city school students to fight the drug menace.

This is not, however, volunteer work. A New York court has ordered him to do 1,800 hours of community service every year for the next three years.

That should keep him out of mischief. I wonder if he was ever partial to a spot of the old nose candy himself?

REVIEW



PART TWO of a series on marxism and the trade unions
Neither sectarian nor trade union routinists

Fighting to win the majority

By Harry Sloan

MARXISTS have always had to fight inside broader, non-marxist organisations to win the support of the best militants.

This means winning over workers whose initial position is to abstain from politics or to embrace the social democratic politics of their existing mass leaders.

From very early after the successful Russian Revolution, Lenin, Trotsky and the leaders of the new Communist Third International argued that marxists had to adopt a combined approach.

They needed to produce their own, openly revolutionary propaganda to attract the maximum recruits to the new Communist parties; but they also needed to fight for tactical positions designed to secure a *united front* with the reformist workers and their organisations and leaders against the capitalist counter-offensive.

The Theses of the Comintern spelled out in laborious detail that the united front was not in any way simply an exposure demand designed to show up the treachery of the reformist union and social democratic leaders.

It was a serious attempt to rally the majority of the proletariat in united class action, through which they could learn their real strength while dealing significant blows against the capitalists and their state machinery. Workers could learn more through these experiences of actual struggle than they would ever absorb through leaflets denouncing the treachery of their leaders.

Under Lenin and Trotsky the new International took this further, elaborating a series of *transitional demands*, designed



1977 Grunwick strikers

to connect with real issues and struggles facing the working class, and to lead to new forms of organisation, mobilisation and struggle, putting the workers on the road to power.

Organised force

The task was seen as winning the majority of the working class to the banner of socialism – through the determined political intervention of marxists as an organised force within the trade unions, bringing in the ideas and programme of socialism ‘from without’.

The early Comintern and later the Trotskyist Left Opposition were to spell out consistently the basic starting point for any struggle to root socialism in the mass movement: workers would not be convinced by abstract propaganda from forces which stood on the sidelines of the fight.

Marxists could only hope to convince militants of their policies and programme

if they were seen to be concerned with the problems faced by the workers – and themselves active in the front ranks of the day-to-day battles in the unions.

But this has never meant marxists simply becoming trade union activists, immersing themselves in union work for the sake of it. Lenin argued that the revolutionary model

“...should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and repressions, no matter

where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects.”

Trotsky, too, was clear in opposing any lapse from marxism into syndicalism – the view that trade unionism in itself was sufficient:

“Were the proletariat as a whole capable of grasping its historical task immediately, it would need neither party nor trade union. Revolution would be born simultaneously with the proletariat.”

He stressed the importance both of revolutionaries being organised and of the adherence to discipline as a counter to the pressures towards incorporation into the bureaucracy:

Discipline

“In the trade unions the Communists, of course, submit to the discipline of the party, no matter what posts they occupy. This does not exclude but pre-supposes their submission to trade union discipline.

Marxists could only hope to convince militants of their policies and programme if they were seen to be concerned with the problems faced by the workers – and themselves active in the front ranks of the day-to-day battles in the unions.

“... In entirely exceptional cases, when the party considers impossible the submission of its members to some *reactionary* decision of the trade union, it points out openly to its members the consequences that flow from it, that is, removals from trade union posts, expulsions and so forth.”

Trotsky is also quite explicit in expecting marxists active in the union to carry out visibly political work:

“The number of Communists in leading posts ... is only one of the means of measuring the role of the party in the unions. ... But the principal criterion is the general influence of the party on the working class, which is measured by the circulation of the Communist press, the attendance at meetings of the party, the number of votes at elections and ... the number of working men and women who respond actively to the party’s appeals to struggle.”

Ideological laboratory

Years later, again arguing against syndicalism, Trotsky declared:

“The Left Opposition considers that to influence the trade union movement, to help it find its correct orientation, to permeate it with correct slogans is impossible except through the Communist Party ... which besides its other attributes, is the central ideological laboratory of the working class.

“The correctly understood task of the Communist Party does not consist solely of gaining influence over the trade unions ... but in winning, through the trade unions, an influence over the majority of the working class.”

An immediate obstacle to any real initiative reaching beyond individual and local union bodies to appeal to wider layers of the working class is the role of the trade union bureaucracy, which developed to its present level of importance only during and after the 1920s.

Union bureaucrats, increasingly a definable privileged layer resting on the back of mass and strengthening trade unions, might present themselves as openly reactionary opponents of class struggle.

Or they may be ‘left’ reformists – like the TUC ‘lefts’ who were cultivated by the British Communist Party in 1924-26, but who so dismally failed to challenge the right and connived at the sell-out of the 1926 General Strike.

In his writings on Britain, Trotsky explored some of the political strands running through the union and social democratic bureaucracy as he attempted to correct the blunders of the British CP, which repeatedly zig-zagged from ultra-left to opportunist right under directions from the Kremlin.

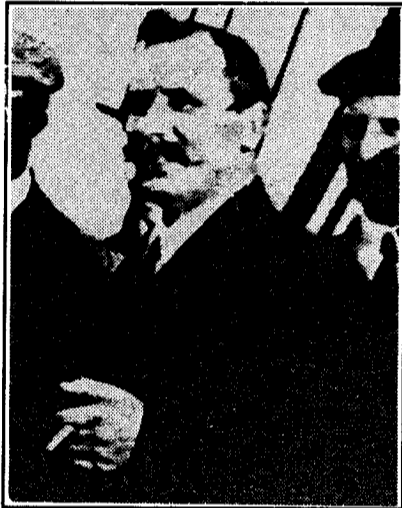
The early CP clearly saw its role as *intervening* as a disciplined, organised force working inside the unions: but the politics of Stalinism turned this into a negative role, leading to the squandering of opportunities to build a class struggle challenge to the bureaucracy.

Concluded next issue

MARXISM

Lenin and the British Communist Party

The biggest and most influential revolutionary party to have existed in Britain was the Communist Party founded in August 1920. Despite rapidly succumbing to Stalinism, the CPGB represented strong roots in the working class and immense potential. Here PHIL HEARSE explains how the party was founded and why, despite very different conditions today, the story of its foundation has many lessons for Marxists.



Tom Mann
socialist formations, more or less committed to Marxism.

Scotland

The Socialist Labour Party (SLP), strong in Scotland, had been formed under the influence of the American De Leonist semi-syndicalist tradition. James Connolly and John McLean were its most famous members.

This tradition rejected both unpolitical unionism and political action involving standing for parliament. It was in fact a combination of syndicalist ideas and the propagandism typical of the British socialist movement.

The third main grouping was the Workers Socialist Federation (WSF) led by Sylvia Pankhurst, the revolutionary member of the famous suffragette family. Sylvia Pankhurst had a formidable reputation for organising among the working class in the East End of London, and had links with the South Wales Socialist Society, an informal organisation of working class socialist propagandists.

Sylvia Pankhurst's organisation was determinedly revolutionary, but also very ultra-left.

The fourth major factor to be taken into consideration was the Shop Stewards Movement, and especially its Clydeside component, built out of the wartime struggles of 'Red Clydeside' and including some of Britain's most famous socialist leaders.

Many in the Shop Stewards Movement were deeply influenced by the Russian revolution, but opposed to the idea of building a revolutionary party. They sought affiliation to the Communist International, but opposed Bolshevik ideas about organising the working class vanguard in a separate party, seeing revolutionary change coming through 'industrial' rather than 'political' action.

Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership insisted on the fight for unity among the different revolutionary groups. However



Lenin: 'without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary party'

overall Lenin insisted on a combination of the fight for unity and a *fundamental political clarification* against both ultra-left and opportunist ideas.

The issue of affiliation to the Labour Party, favoured by the BSP, became a touchstone debate, a central point of clarification for the unity process.

The SLP eventually split over the question of unity, a minority going on to join in the Communist Unity Convention in August 1920 and eventually the formation of the Communist Party itself in September. Some of the party's most prominent leaders, such as Tom Bell and JT Murphy, came from the SLP.

Sylvia Pankhurst, bitterly opposed to work in the unions, standing in parliamentary elections and affiliating to the Labour Party, jumped the gun and formed her own Communist Party (British Section of the Third International) in 1919. Lenin fought her political ideas, and insisted that the 'BSTI' go into the unified Communist Party.

Lenin's answers to Sylvia Pankhurst and Willie Gallagher in the Shop Stewards Movement, on the question of the revolutionary attitude to parliament, the Labour Party and work in the unions remains among the classics of Marxism (1). His fundamental point was that revolutionaries have no illusions in parliament or the union leaders, but seek every platform to influence the working class masses.

"Lenin's fundamental point was that revolutionaries have no illusions in parliament or the union leaders, but seek every platform to influence the working class masses"

More than that, the Communists should seek to influence reformist workers on the basis of creating united fronts in the struggle against capitalism.

Bourgeois politics

Lenin argued that Labour Party was a party based on the working class but politically bourgeois. As he put it: 'Of course, the bulk of the members of the Labour Party are workers; however whether a party is really a political party of the workers or not, depends not only upon whether it consists of workers but also upon who leads it, upon the contents of its activities and of its political tactics....'

'From this point of view, the only correct one, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although it consists of workers it is led by reactionaries, and the worst reactionaries at that, who are fully in the spirit of the bourgeoisie.' (2)

But he insisted that the Labour Party, at that stage, was a 'very peculiar party' and in some ways 'not really a party at all', because of its federal structure and

the affiliation of all the unions. Thus he argued it was possible for the Communist Party to formally affiliate, but only on the basis of open action as the Communist Party, agitation for the dictatorship of the proletariat and open criticism of the leadership of the Labour Party on that basis.

It is important to stress that this debate was conducted between all sides on the issue of the formal affiliation of the Communist Party as a party to Labour, considered possible because of the kind of federal structure of the Labour Party at that time. Thus it was a very different debate to subsequent debates among Marxists about the usefulness of working in the Labour Party. The political basis had to be full freedom of criticism and the right to build the Communist Party openly within the Labour Party.

Insufficient

Lenin was however particularly attentive to the question of the Shop Stewards Movement, and its fundamental role in the building of a Communist Party. Lenin insisted that the 6000 or so members of the BSP were an insufficient basis to get a real hearing among the masses.

Hence his detailed attention to the debate with the Shop Stewards Movement over whether a revolutionary party was necessary or whether the workers could rely on purely industrial strike action.

At the Second Congress of the Comin-

tern he answered Jack Tanner in the following way: 'If comrade Tanner says he is opposed to parties but at the same time in favour of an organised minority of the best organised and most revolutionary workers, then I say there is no difference between us...an organised minority, if it leads the masses, if it is capable of answering every question of the day is essentially a party.'

Founding the Communist Party required the unity of the majority of the existing socialist organisations, a clarification of the basic questions of the political independence of the party combined with the correct united front labour movement tactics and the existence of the post-First World War political radicalisation. But bringing all these conditions together required the determined intervention of the Communist International.

(1) *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*

(2) *Lenin on Britain* p 538

● *Next issue: Building the Communist Party*

OUR HISTORY

WITHOUT the Russian revolution of 1917, and without the active intervention of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919, the formation of the Communist Party in 1920 would have been impossible.

The Comintern and Lenin's personal intervention created the conditions for the unity of warring socialist groups, and a political clarification of fundamental problems. This involved the fight against passive propagandism and against ultra-leftism towards the Labour Party.

By far the biggest organisation involved in the foundation of the CP was the British Socialist Party (BSP). The BSP came out of the old Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first Marxist party, founded in 1893.

Pro-imperialist

Changing its name to the BSP in 1911, this party had been marred by the pro-imperialist positions of its founder-leader HM Hyndman. Fierce debates broke out in the BSP with the onset of the First World War, with the majority adopting an anti-war position, and Hyndman leading a minority out of the party.

The tradition of the BSP was however highly propagandistic, in line with much of the British socialist movement. The idea of active intervention as a party in workers struggles was almost absent; the tradition of passive Sunday school-type propaganda for abstract 'socialism' was very strong.

It was however in the BSP that the idea of forming a unified Communist Party took root after the Russian revolution. But the BSP had to deal with several other



More than five thousand emergency service workers, firefighters and ambulance workers, marched through London last week in a 'Lifeline' demonstration in defence of jobs and services and against the 1.5 per cent pay limit.

New aid campaign for Bosnia

THE FIRST conference of Workers Aid for Bosnia was held in London on Sunday 6 June and attended by approximately 50 people.

The main speaker, Indiana Harper from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Information Centre, said the British government was identified by Bosnians as the main supporter of the division of Bosnia.

What the Bosnians need are arms to defend themselves. She comes from Tuzla and spoke of the solidarity shown by miners from the region with the NUM during the 1984/85 strike

who despite desperate poverty, donated a day's pay per month.

The campaign aims to build solidarity with the struggle of the Bosnians and for material aid for Bosnian refugees in Britain and to campaign for the immediate lifting of the British backed UN arms embargo and the withdrawal of UN troops.

The launch conference of this campaign is a positive step in breaking the inaction of the left and labour movement in solidarity with the Bosnian people. The campaign can be contacted at: PO Box 3104, London, SE13 6EU Tel: 071 252 5122

Rahman campaign slams Churchill

By John Hughes

RAHMAN Family Defence Campaign members joined other anti-racists at a Bolton protest the Saturday after Winston Churchill's speech at the town's Conservative Club. Hundreds of passers-by signed the petition condemning his racist outburst. The Campaign fights for the

right of the Rahman family to stay in Britain.

Mrs Rahman originally came to Bolton from Djibouti to visit relatives. She fell ill with a rare form of cancer and was joined by her husband.

After successful initial treatment she needs regular follow-up treatment not available in Djibouti. The Red Sea statelet is also unable to offer the special educational facilities needed by Shabana, one of her two daughters.

When the Tory leadership try to counter Churchill – saying the current laws are enough – the mean that people like the Rahmans are subjected to racist immigration procedures. It is the immigration laws which should go. The Rahmans and other black people threatened with deportation must stay!

■ **Contact the Rahman Family Defence Campaign, Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, Bolton BL1 1DY.**

Burnsall's scabs step up intimidation

INTIMIDATION on the Burnsalls picket line reached a new level on 26 May when scabs attacked with iron bars, a wooden staff and a Stanley knife.

One striker defending his throat, suffered a severe cut to his left hand and may lose the use of two fingers. Another picket received a severe blow to the head and was also hospitalised.

Throughout the year the strikers have stayed defiant against vicious attacks, maintaining the picket and refusing to bow to racist insults and regular physical assaults from owner Jimmy O'Neill and his scabs.

The 19 strikers are calling an anniversary rally on Tuesday 15 June. Labour movement delegations, black organisations and community

groups are welcome to the picket from 1pm and there will be a rally from 4pm - 6.30pm.

It is about time that this heroic year long struggle for health and safety, an adequate wage, equal pay, union recognition and an end to harassment and abuse from management was brought to a successful conclusion.

The strike needs to be escalated. Despite the widespread support for the strike it has not been enough. The factory must be drained of work by popularising and spreading the boycott of Burnsall's goods. Mass pickets must be organised and quickly.

The strike must be made a 'cause celebre' throughout the labour movement. The injustices must be shouted from the rooftops. We need the same kind of massive solidarity that

has been shown for the Timex workers in Scotland.

It is unfortunate that one of the GMB officials has gone into print labelling *Outlook* supporters as no better than O'Neill's scabs and strike-breakers. We call on the GMB to reject this kind of crude witch-hunting and get on with winning the dispute.

If the full might of the GMB and the labour movement were brought to bear the strike could be won. Let the energies of every labour movement activist be concentrated on the proper target – beating O'Neill before we have any more casualties.

Contact the support groups on 021 551 2258 (Birmingham), 071 713 7907 (London).

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

Phone

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

What's HAPPENING

JUNE

Friday 11

EUROPEAN Assembly of the Left Paris coach leaves London 10.15am details 081 800 7460

Saturday 12

Lobby NATFHE special FE conference 10.30am Britannia Street off Grays Inn Road London

ARA/TUC march against racist murders 11.30 Norbury Park Norbury Avenue Croydon

SAVE University College Hospital 1pm Mornington Crescent tube

UNITY Carnival hosted by Tyne and Wear Anti-Fascist Action 1pm-7pm Nuns Moor Park Newcastle

Tuesday 15

BURNSALLS mass picket 1pm Downing Street Birmingham coach leaves London 9.30am Kings Cross BR.

Wednesday 16

HEALTH and Safety representatives workplace rights CAHIL public meeting 6.30pm Southwark Trade Union Support Unit 42 Braganza Street SE17

Thursday 17

Lancaster leg starts on North West Peoples March against Unemployment and Pit Closures

Friday 18th

Burnley Oldham Manchester and Wirral legs start on North West Peoples March against Unemployment

and Pit Closures

Saturday 19

TIMEX Mass Picket Dundee

LESBIAN and Gay Pride: demonstration noon Victoria Embankment; festival 3pm onwards Brockwell Park south London

Sunday 20

ANTI-APARTHEID Movement: march 12.30am Hyde Park; rally 3pm-5pm Trafalgar Square

MASS demonstration and rally Parkside Colliery Newton-le-Willows

Monday 21

PICKET appeals of M25 three and Ivan Fergus 9.30 High Court Strand

Tuesday 22

US BLACK activist Kwame M. A. Somburu speaks 7.30 Lambeth Town Hall Assembly Room Acre Lane Brixton

Weds 23

US Black activist Kwame M. A. Somburu speaks 7.30 Afro-Caribbean Centre 339 Dudley Road Birmingham

Saturday 26

POLICIES for Health conference 10.30am-4.30pm Camden Town Hall NW1 tickets £15/£5 from Socialist Health Association 16 Charles Square N1 6HP

JULY

Saturday 3

FIGHTING New Management Techniques dayschool 11am-6pm Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1 advance tickets £5



Foreman leads Canon employees in morning exercises copied from Japanese bosses

waged/£2 unwaged from Socialist Outlook PO Box 1109 London N4 2UU

Saturday 24 - Saturday 31

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp Jönköping southern Sweden tickets £67 from Liberation now! PO Box 1109 London N4 2UU

AUGUST

Sunday 8

ARAFEST 2pm-8pm Burgess Park south London

Saturday 28

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK summer school opens north Wales tickets £95/£35

Want your event included? Details should reach What's Happening, P.O. Box 1109 London N4 2UU by Friday 18 June.

How to stop New Management Techniques

By Alan Thornett

'NEW Management Techniques' are sweeping through thousands of workplaces: car factories; hospitals; public services; local government.

Buzz words like 'quality management', 'flexibility' and 'team work', are the jargon of what Swansea academic Dan Jones has dubbed 'the machine that changed the world'.

The heart of 'New management Techniques' is the drive to restructure modern capitalism - imposing stepped up demands on every worker, cutting jobs, busting unions and boosting profits.

In a world of prolonged economic crisis, 'New Management Techniques' are posed as inevitable and necessary for the survival of jobs and services. Strategies of resistance have to start with an understanding of what 'New Management Techniques' means: what the real consequences are.

Most trades unions are silent on these issues or actively collaborate with the dissemination

of 'New Management' ideology.

A Socialist Outlook dayschool in central London on Saturday July 3 will explore the detailed facts about 'New Management Techniques'.

Running from 11am to 6pm at Conway Hall, Holborn, it will provide a discussion forum and trades unionists and others wishing to confront this offensive.

The dayschool will open with first-hand accounts of the offensive by teacher Gill Lee, car worker Tony Richardson, health campaigner John Lister and Andy Kilminster from the Oxford Motor Industry Research Project. The first round of workshops will look into automation, casualisation, quality control, de-unionisation and at homeworking. Further workshops will separately consider the situation for rail, local government, communications, health and education workers.

● For advance tickets send £5 (waged) or £2 (unwaged and students) to Socialist Outlook, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

The 3rd Socialist Outlook

SUMMER SCHOOL

Sat August 28 - Fri September 3

TAKE A STEP back from the class struggle, world capitalist crisis, the collapse of Stalinism, meetings, pickets and demonstrations. Enjoy six days of education and debate close to scenic Snowdonia.

THEMES: Women's Liberation, Europe, Ireland, Nationalism and Culture.

ACCOMMODATION is in single rooms and breakfast and lunch are provided.

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HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

**Magnificent Six hold
out at Parkside**

Back

NW

March

for Jobs!

**By Steve Hall (Acting Convenor
North West Miners Support Group)**

TRADE unionists, unemployed workers, pensioners and students from all over Lancashire will be participating in the North West March For Jobs from 17-20 June. The march has been given added significance by the events last week at Parkside colliery.

If the likes of the BBC and Tory press are to be believed, then Friday 4 June saw the end of a mining tradition in Lancashire stretching back almost to the beginning of the industrial revolution. The headline of local BBC TV coverage was 'Parkside miners sign away their jobs.' What cynicism!

The reality is that more than 500 miners at Parkside, who have been among the most defiant in face of closures, did not consider

themselves able single-handedly to hold out against closures, especially when they have been abandoned by the TUC and Labour leaderships. So they reluctantly accepted compulsory redundancy terms. None of them accepted voluntary redundancy 'voluntarily'.

But a Magnificent Six, led by NUM executive member Billy Pye, have refused to sign altogether. As result of their action, the deadline for accepting voluntary redundancy was extended to Monday 7 June. When they failed to sign they were sacked – the first compulsory redundancies since the nationalisation in 1947.

Billy Pye and his colleagues are determined to fight on. On Thursday 10 June they will install an NUM Portakabin outside the pit, decked with a red flag, opposite the Womens Camp.

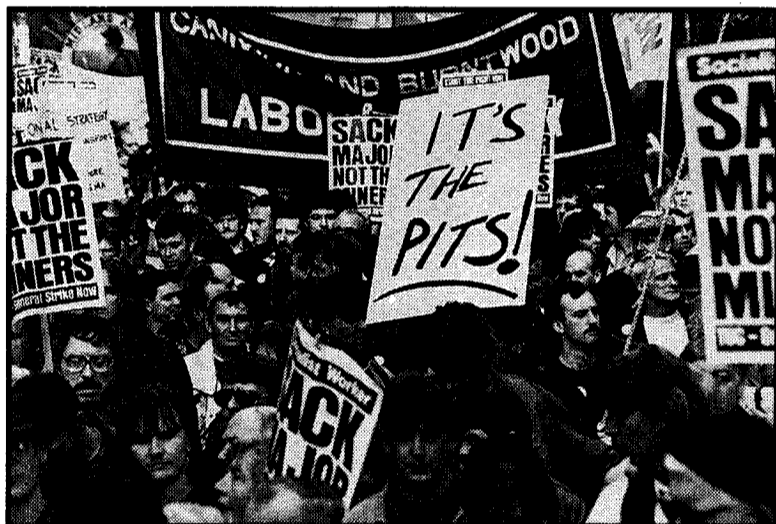
Both they and many who accepted redundancy are continuing the campaign by

NORTH WEST PEOPLES MARCH

• AGAINST •
**UNEMPLOYMENT
& PIT CLOSURES**

**17th-20th
JUNE**

93



supporting the North West Peoples' March for Jobs on 17-20 June. The demands of this March and the whole labour movement must now be for full support for the Magnificent Six, and the reinstatement of all 750 jobs at Parkside.

The four legs of the march culminate with a mass rally near Parkside pit. The march has the support of the North West TUC, the NUM, Women against Pit Closures and the National Solidarity Network. Throughout the March meetings will be held at factories and other workplaces threatened with closures, as well as with groups of workers in struggle.

In the face of betrayal by the TUC and Labour front bench, the March can act as a focus for uniting the struggles and building the fightback against all the attacks on the working class.

● Parkside womens' occupation, March details see pp 5-6.