

BUILD UNITY TO FIGHT TORY ATTACK

THE UNITY of the working class must be built to defeat the latest assault being launched by the Tory government against the National Health Service and the system of welfare benefits.

The TUC's demonstration called for this weekend must be supported throughout the labour movement.

But the trade union leaders must not be allowed to restrict this fight to mere protests.

The unions leaders call a demonstration against the government this weekend, but Trades Union Congress secretary John Monks now reveals that he has been meeting with Tory ministers since last September, and that he looks forward to better relations with the government (see page 3).

Break

The TUC must be told: break off all relations with this hated government!

The TUC betrayed the miners last September, just as today they will set out to betray the health workers.

BY THE EDITOR

Hundreds of thousands of workers responded magnificently behind the miners but the TUC undermined the struggle, bought time for the government and contrived to isolate the miners from the rest of the working class.

The NHS is being broken up through hospital closures, commercialisation, and reduced funding for vital projects.

Some hospitals have run out of money and are being forced to turn patients away as they close services and wards. Yet we are only halfway through the financial year.

Since February 3,500 jobs have gone in the health service and 30,000 more jobs are at risk.

No to TUC relations with this hated government!

The British Medical Association calculates that more than £6 billion of extra spending is needed to bring Britain up to the average spending on health care in the European Community.

Waiting lists are growing, with more than a million in the queue for treatment and many others not even able to get on a list.

The NHS is rapidly becoming a two-tier system, with GP fundholders getting priority over other doctors' patients.

At the same time the Tories

are carrying out the most widespread 'review' of welfare benefits seen this century.

Leaked government documents over the last weeks have revealed that:

Lone mothers will be forced to call on support from their parents to support their children.

Replace

Private insurance will replace the system of unemployment benefits, but will be available only to 'good risk'

workers, that is those with relatively highly paid and secure jobs. Everybody currently under 40 will have to make private provision for their retirement.

All benefits will in future be means tested, with the government deciding who is eligible for them.

All those engaged in the fight against these measures — which threaten further millions with destitution — must unite to fight the government.

They must at the same time take up the struggle with those

in the official leadership of the trade union and labour movement who refuse to mobilise the strength of the working class against the government.

All those wishing to take part in a united fight against the Tory government are invited to attend the coming conference of the Community and Union Action campaign to be held in Manchester this coming February.

Details from Martin Ralph, PO Box 9, Eccles SO, Salford M30 7FX.

Workers International holds 2nd congress

DELEGATES and visitors from Ireland, Russia, South Africa, Namibia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Germany, Spain, Greece, Mexico, France and Britain attended the second congress of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, which was held in London during 12-14 November. The WRP is the International's British section.

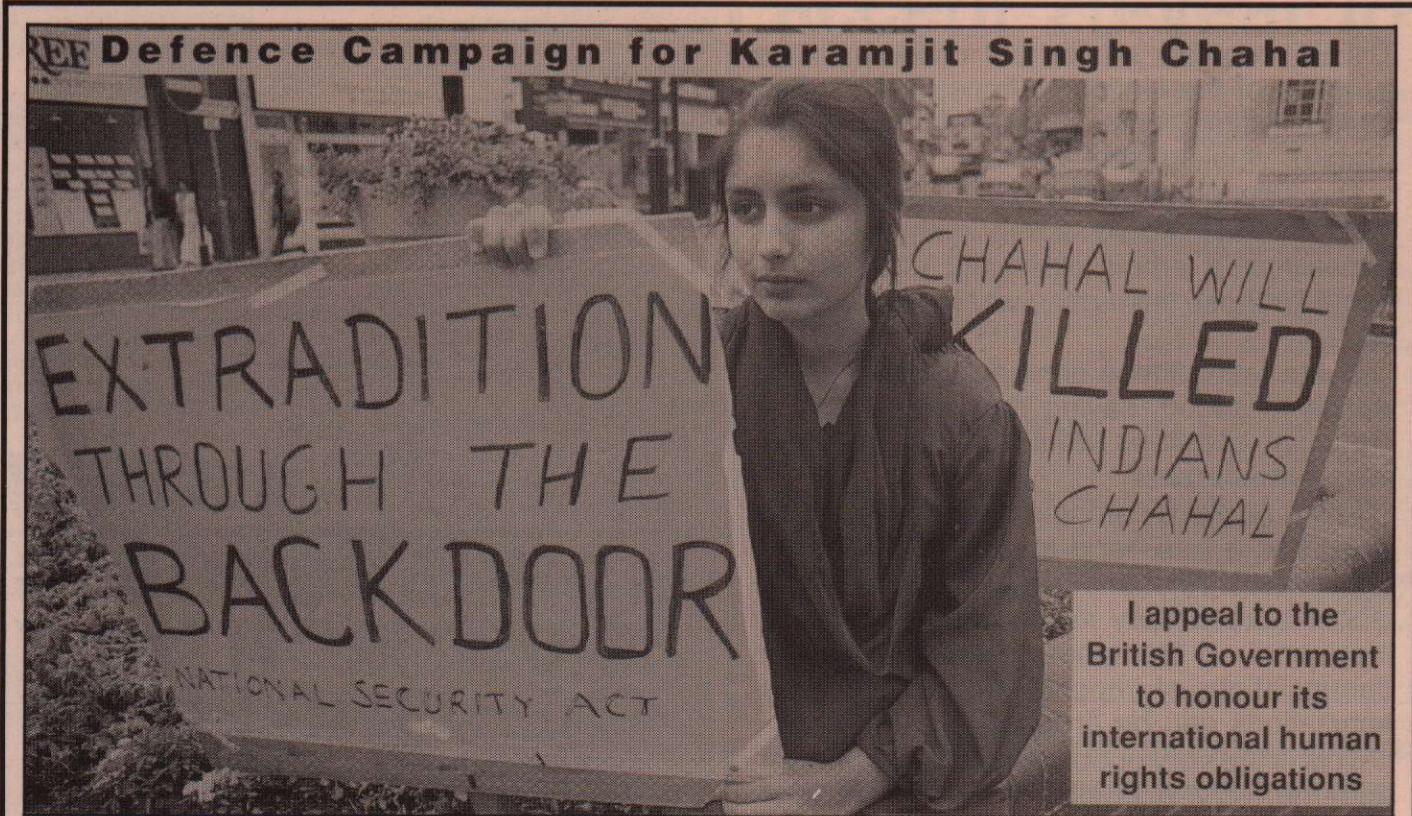
The congress was opened by Workers International secret-

ary Cliff Slaughter who analysed our experiences since the founding of the Workers International in Budapest in 1990.

Central

One of the central themes of his report and the discussion that followed concerned the lessons of the recent International Workers Aid to Bosnia convoy, which was initiated by the Workers International.

Workers Aid and internationalism — p2



Campaigners are calling on the prime minister not to forcibly deport Karamjit Singh Chahal to India; they say he would be 'at risk of torture, "disappearance" or extrajudicial execution' because of his political views. And the campaign calls for an end to Chahal's three-year detention without charges. Contact the Defence Campaign for Karamjit Singh Chahal on tel. 0462-456673, or 081-572 8957

Workers Aid and internationalism

THE International Socialist Group, British section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, has given its account of the International Workers Aid for Bosnia report-back meeting for its convoy, which was held in Manchester on 30 October. It appears in 'Socialist Outlook', 13 November.

The account accuses the Workers Revolutionary Party of using the campaign as a front and of 'hijacking' the organisation. We will return to these matters. But let us recall that the positions we fought for at Manchester — on both the immediate aims of the campaign and on the sort of organisation needed to take it forward — were carried by a decisive majority, against the USec.

What were these differences over aims?

The USec people split the campaign at precisely the point when, through the convoy's actual struggle, the main obstacle standing in the way of re-establishing a fighting unity with the working class of Bosnia was exposed.

That obstacle is the United Nations. The people of Bosnia know this.

That is why all the Bosnians present at Manchester supported our call that the next step in the campaign must be focused on the demand for the opening of the northern route to Tuzla, the working-class capital of Bosnia.

The UN refuses to open this route precisely because it is the most direct one from Croatia to Bosnia. It refuses to open the route as part of its plan to starve Bosnia into submission.

USec opposes any fight against the UN in favour of a general campaign that would encompass a whole range of matters including educational projects for Bosnians, the plight of Bosnian refugees, the asylum laws.

That is why the United Nations is not even mentioned in the aims that USec and their supporters agreed on at the 'international' gathering they called the day after the meeting in Manchester.

* * * * *

THESE centrists are in fact divided on the question of the United Nations, just as their ranks contain people, such as Michael Raptis (Pablo), who are pro-Serbian.

The aims proposed by USec are ones that most liberals would agree with, such as opposition to ethnic cleansing and asylum rights for those fleeing the war in ex-Yugoslavia.

But in listing these aims a highly revealing clause is added, saying that 'campaigns in particular countries would be free to adopt their own slogans'.

Any group in a campaign organised on this basis has a free hand to adapt to whatever opportunist relations they have with the labour bureaucracy in the country in which they work. If the labour leaders object to denunciations of imperialism, then such denunciations can be dropped.

This is the very opposite of internationalism and the very opposite of an international campaign.

USec starts from these opportunist considerations, and not from what the working class must now do in the fight to re-establish its fighting internationalism.

This is the political basis for the split that USec engineered in Manchester.

Yugoslavia and the Comintern

BRIAN PEARCE's argument (Letters, 6 November) — that the fifth congress of the Communist International subordinated international communist policy to Soviet foreign policy requirements — is irrelevant.

Yugoslavia was created in 1918 through the effective annexation by Serbia of the west South Slav lands, as part of the imperialists' Versailles settlement for Europe.

The fifth congress's resolution on Yugoslavia was an attack on this settlement. It was also a rebuke to those Yugoslav Communists who, playing down the national question, had argued that this could be solved through a mere revision of the Yugoslav constitution. Though corrupted under Zinoviev and Stalin, the Comintern in 1924 was not the wholly degenerate body it was to become by 1935.

The seventh congress in 1935 favoured Yugoslavia's territorial integrity together with a federal reorganisation of the state, in keeping with Stalin's policy of defending the European status quo in alliance with France against Germany.

Pearce states incorrectly that 'Bulgaria's claim to Macedonia was endorsed' by the fifth congress. In fact, the fifth congress adopted the slogan 'United Independent Macedonia'. This would have meant reversing the 1912-13 partition of Macedonia among Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria.

This may well have put the Greek Communists in an 'awkward position', just as the call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland today puts British communists in an 'awkward position', involving as it does a confrontation with national prejudice within the working class.

Finally, Pearce seems to imply that, as a result of the partitions of 1929 and 1939, Bosnia ceased to exist and lost its historical legitimacy. This is false. The partition of 1929 obliterated Bosnia's historic borders; the partition of 1939 divided Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. But these partitions did not destroy Bosnia as a social, economic and cultural entity.

This was proved by the revolution of 1941-45, when the mass mobilisation by the Communists of Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims, in opposition to the forces of the Croat Ustashe and Serb Chetniks, restored Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign republic.

Bosnia could not have ceased to exist without the genocide and mass destruction we are witnessing at present.

Attila Hoare
Cambridge

Apt term

I WOULD just like to add a brief footnote to the report on the

International Workers Aid report back meeting in Manchester on 30 October (Workers Press, 6 November).

One comment by Catherine Samary is reported but she did say one other thing that has been rolling around in my mind for the last couple of weeks.

Samary presented her self as a member of the 'really existing Fourth International'.

By this she meant that she was a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International that believes that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the former eastern European countries could project, despite itself, a progressive, 'revolutionary' orientation.

The phrase 'really existing' stuck in my mind and then I remembered who else used it — the Stalinists! They used to point to the east European countries as examples of 'really existing socialism'.

How apt that Samary should show the counter-revolutionary roots of her tendency in the workers' movement.

Mike Cooke
London SW11

Equal Rights for Irish Families

IN RESPONSE to the Sinn Fein POW department, Belfast, we are contacting as many supportive groups and individuals to urge participation in a picket of the Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT, on 23 November at noon, for at least one hour duration.

The purpose of the picket is to highlight the fact that since 23 November 1992 — when the government announced to parliament a new arrangement for the transfer of prisoners between UK jurisdictions [so that families can visit them at a jail nearer their home] — there has been no implementation of the new method.

It was the pressure facing the government over a period of years, because of their failure to transfer Republican prisoners, that led to the review on transfer of prisoners.

The review sought to stifle criticism by putting into operation a system of extended temporary transfer where prisoners who could not be transferred permanently, could be moved on a renewable 12-monthly basis.

The idea behind temporary transfer was that the prisoner would be in Ireland but all decisions about release would be taken by the Home Office and not the Northern Ireland Office.

Tuesday 23 November is the first anniversary of the government's announcement to parliament about the new arrangement for transfer of prisoners. Please rally with us and call for the 'Transfer of Irish Prisoners in English Jails' and 'Equal Rights for Irish Families'.

Eddie Caughey
Irish Republican POW
Campaign (Breataine)

Sex and ignorance

SINCE not so long ago Peter Fryer was castigating me as 'Flagellator Flett' I am pleased to see that he is now calling for openness in sex education to combat ignorance.

I trust that he includes within his demand the kind of positive images of lesbian and gay sexuality outlawed by Section 28 of the Local Government Act.

However I do have two disagreements with what Fryer has to say.

Firstly while it is no doubt true that the press and the advertising industry have created a culture which is almost obsessed by sex and sexual images, I doubt if this in itself can account for the actions of individual people.

Indeed, if we were to go along with this we might have to accept the position, used variously by feminists and by the sexual right — who are sometimes the same people — that reading pornography makes men rape.

Images of sexuality no doubt play a role in what people actually do with their sexuality, hence Section 28. But a lot is still dictated by their material circumstances.

In many jobs at the moment I suspect that workers — male and female — are simply too knackered at the end of the day to have a sex life of any description at all.

Secondly, I am unhappy that Fryer seems to equate the male

rapist with 'women who lead men on'. This, to say the least is a very unfortunate way of putting matters.

I prefer the formulation that when a woman says 'no' she means no however she is dressed, whatever she is doing and whatever the circumstances.

Keith Flett
London N1

Peter Fryer writes: 'I have never called the author of this letter "Flagellator Flett". My "Persona Column" of 31 October 1992 was headlined "Flett and flagellation", which is not at all the same thing.'

An unfortunate equation

HESITANT as I am to engage in a public controversy with my good friend Peter Fryer, I feel bound to register the very great surprise I experienced at his remark: '[R]ape and "date rape"' — and their female equivalent: leading a man on and then changing your mind — are alike abhorrent' ('Persona Column', 6 November).

I doubt I was the only Workers Press reader who was disturbed by this unfortunate equation, and feel entirely confident that Peter would want to correct any false impression he may have given at the first opportunity.

Jeff Jackson
London SW1

Stasi chief convicted as anti-Nazi

I WAS surprised that Workers Press did not carry a report or comment on the recent 'trial' and six-year prison sentence in Germany of the former east German secret-police chief Erich Mielke.

The odd thing is that Mielke has not been convicted of any crime connected with his activities as Stasi head. Instead, he has been convicted for his anti-Nazi activities as a German Communist Party member in 1931.

The 'crime' of which he has been convicted was the killing of two policemen who had been defending the Nazis.

I understand that the evidence used in court was based on Nazi records.

The question therefore arises as to why the German bourgeoisie, trying to restore capitalism in the former east Germany, sees fit to imprison Mielke, not at all for his crime as head of a Stalinist secret police force, but for his earlier street battles against Nazi thuggery.

Is it because they feel strong police and fascist-style methods will be necessary to defeat the working class and the



The former Stasi HQ in Berlin sentencing of Mielke is a warning to the workers?

The sentencing of Mielke on these grounds seems to call for protest from the world labour movement. Perhaps other readers of Workers Press — or supporters of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International in Germany — have views on this?

Jim Smith
London SE

WORKERS PRESS £3,000 MONTHLY FIGHTING FUND

In so far: £1,149.72

WELL, well! — as I'm told, the general said, in a famous series of Hungarian children's stories. The phrase was used on the convoy when things got into a tight spot. We're behind to the tune of £550 at present. What can we do about it?

We've just had the second congress of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International which made clear the important role that Workers Press has in centralising the work of the WRP and the international.

So please help us keep going and take the Workers Press out into wider layers of the working class — in Britain and internationally.

Send money to Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB.

Coming soon

SATURDAY 20 NOVEMBER: Free Oliver Campbell 'Rave for Justice', One Love Community Association, 1 Bishop's Avenue (off Plashett Road), Plaistow, London E13. Admission £2 — 8pm 'til late.

THURSDAY 23 NOVEMBER: Picket of the Home Office to protest a year of non-implementation of new

method of transfer of Irish prisoners. The Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT at noon. SATURDAY 27 NOVEMBER: John Maclean 75th anniversary meeting organised by the English Republican Forum, 1pm, Lucas Arms, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1 (near King's Cross).

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TUC crawls before Tories

JUST as the Tories intensify their attacks on welfare benefits, prepare for even more savage cuts in the NHS, and get ready to scrap much existing health and safety legislation, the trade union leaders are ready to enter into discussions with the government.

The TUC will in future meet the chancellor of the exchequer, Kenneth Clarke, twice a year for 'informal meetings', the Treasury has announced.

John Monks, the TUC gener-

al secretary, welcoming this development, revealed that he has already had a number of meetings with ministers since he assumed his post in September, including ones with employment secretary David Hunt and the chancellor.

Monks says that regular meetings will now become routine.

Wished

Several trade union leaders claimed to have no knowledge of these get-togethers.

Hunt said at the time of the TUC congress in Brighton in September that he wished for a new relationship with the trade

union bureaucracy. He laid down an agenda of items for discussion with the Trades Union Congress which included unemployment, and most ironically, training and health and safety.

Speaking of the Tory government, Monks says:

'It is difficult to judge whether this dialogue has any significance.

'But there seems to be an intellectual interest in the link between labour market changes and perceived problems of society.'

Monks said that the Tories were still interested in labour market 'deregulation' — by which he means they still want

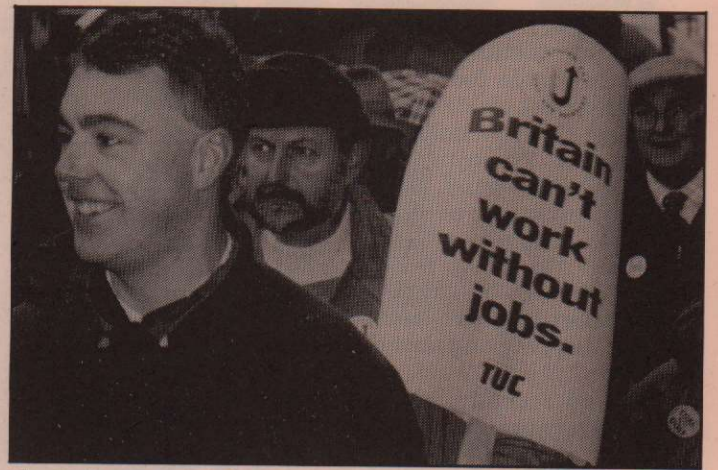
to break up the trades unions.

'I think there is a recognition that things are going in a direction inimical to the traditional values that the prime minister claims to espouse and that the world of work may be connected with this development.'

Betrayal

All this windy rhetoric cannot cover the latest abject betrayal by the TUC.

Trades unionists and other workers should demand that all relations with the government be broken off immediately, and the movement prepared for a real fight against the latest plans of the Tories.



Placard on a march for the miners: the TUC is to hold regular meetings with the government

Labour's unemployment fraud

BY PETER JEFFRIES

LABOUR has promised that it will take at least 1 million people off the dole queue within four years of taking office.

Pledge

The pledge was made by shadow employment secretary John Prescott, speaking on the ITV programme 'Walden' last weekend.

The real unemployment figure is now around 4 million, if the Tory fiddling of the statistics is taken into account.

This means that there would

still be 3 million people out of work after four years of a Labour government, assuming that the trend towards unemployment does not gather pace. Most commentators believe that changes in the techniques of production make rising unemployment inevitable.

Prescott said the ultimate aim of a Labour government would be to reduce unemployment to 700,000, but he warned that this could not possibly be achieved within the lifetime of a parliament. Quite where his figure of 700,000 comes from is anybody's guess.

Even then he refused to disclose how this modest reduction

was to be achieved, except to say that it would need more 'public spending'. He would have to work out the details with Labour's 'treasury team' he said.

With an economic policy 'based on Beveridge and Keynes' Labour would get people back to work, he promised.

Knave

Here Prescott, who has recently acquired something of a reputation as a 'man of the left', is both fool and knave.

He knows that increased government spending along Keynesian lines is quite out of the

question, and that the system of welfare benefits brought into being by the Beveridge proposals at the end of World War II are under systematic attack.

Unemployment is not rising as a result of 'Tory policies', as Prescott pretends. The Tory government's policies are themselves a reflection of the deepening world capitalist crisis which is forcing the ruling class to take back from the working class all the gains it was forced to concede during the post-war boom.

Indeed any government that accepts the capitalist system, as a Labour government certainly would, will be forced to slash such spending.

Bosses to get freedom to kill

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

EMPLOYERS will be given freedom to kill under the latest bout of deregulation announced by the government, says the general union GMB.

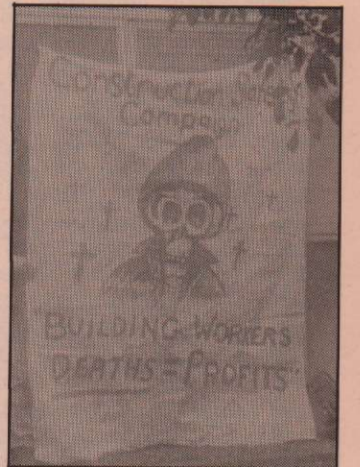
The government has promised in last week's Queen's speech that when many regulations on industrial hygiene and safety are axed, big business will be saved hundreds of millions of pounds.

Changes

And there is no doubt that many workers will be killed at work.

A Department of Trade and Industry working party has already considered a number of changes to existing health, safety and hygiene law, and is reassessing European safety rules that are just coming into force.

The proposed deregulation will restrict the particular business operations which need to abide by health and safety measures and will force temporary workers to buy their own hats and other protective clothing.



Site safety campaigners: new rules will reduce safety costs



A joint picket was held by the NUCPS and CPSA outside a DSS office in Edgbaston, Birmingham, earlier this month. It was part of the one-day national strike, involving 300,000 workers, organised by five public service unions against market testing and privatisation. Tom Conway, a district secretary for the National Union of Civil and Public Servants, said support for the dispute was unprecedented. 'The backing for the strike has overwhelmed union officials,' he said. Photo: Mark Salmon

Ford union leaders accept 20-year low

BY SCOTT KENDAL

UNION officials and plant leaders at Ford plants in Britain have recommended acceptance of a pay deal that would, if accepted, be the lowest achieved by the company's workers in over 20 years.

Demands

The 'offer' is for a two-year deal giving just 2.5 per cent in the first year (around £6 before tax), and 3.5 per cent in the second.

Demands for shorter hours, longer holidays, and improved bereavement leave were not met by the proposed deal.

Workers in the plants were

shocked that the officials should recommend acceptance at only the second meeting of the pay talks, which usually go on until after Christmas.

Some departments held meetings as soon as they heard of their leaders' surrender and instructed their stewards to vote against the deal at the plant stewards' meetings.

Mass meetings followed by ballots will decide on acceptance or rejection.

The widespread belief among Ford workers is that the unions do not want simultaneous action at Ford and Vauxhall, which has already voted for strike action after rejecting an offer that was higher than that made by the Ford management.

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Inside left

Myers's fliers

WE DO NOT call on UN imperialist forces to militarily intervene and open any route for us', declares a leaflet put out by Steve Myers in the name of 'International Workers Aid for Bosnia'. Throwing modesty (and honesty) to the wind, he claims that the movement of solidarity with the Bosnian people — which led to the Workers Aid convoy that attempted to get through to Tuzla, only to be held back by the UN — was initiated by his Campaign Against Fascism in Europe (CAFE).

Myers recently joined the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), whose spokesperson Catherine Samary opposed Workers Aid's stance against UN intervention. His leaflet says 'International Workers Aid Convoy 1' was nearing Tuzla, not mentioning that these three trucks — which broke off from the main convoy — had to go by a UN-approved route, under UN-imposed conditions. Promising a 'day of action' demanding 'Let Bosnia Live — Open Tuzla Airport Now!', the leaflet adds 'This is the shortest and most direct route to Tuzla!'

The WRP supports the demand to open the airport. Lee Bryant, who'd been to Tuzla, raised it at our meeting for aid to Bosnia in January, long before CAFE showed interest. The convoy call came from our Workers International comrades in Serbia, not Myers's sad CAFE.

'Open Tuzla airport!', said the banner across the base of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, at the rally before the Workers Aid convoy set off from Britain in September. Like the demand to open the northern route to Tuzla — which is, in fact, the most direct road route — this exposes the UN forces' use of their grip on aid routes to try to force the Bosnian people into submission.

But whereas the Workers Aid convoy physically challenged the UN's diktats, the airport call remains a propaganda demand. Though given to flights of fancy, Myers hasn't proposed chartering planes or recruiting pilots!

Bosnian pilots, from the former Yugoslavia's air force, are prevented from helping their people. Last week, there were hints that the UN might open Tuzla airport after all. But, as with Sarajevo, they would keep control, demanding concessions from Bosnians.

ALTHOUGH he took part in the Workers Aid convoy's blockade of the UN forces' Zagreb headquarters to make its commander General Cot negotiate on allowing the convoy through to Tuzla, Myers — but now behind the smokescreen of 'left' rhetoric about 'not calling on the UN imperialists' — retreats with USec, whose proposals abandon any challenge to UN strategy.

Its leaflet lists countries represented at the 'launch conference of International Workers Aid (IWA)'. They didn't want to hear from convoy representatives, or from those from the list! Bosnia is missing from the list! Bosnian workers' active participation in campaigning isn't mentioned, neither is the Tuzla Logistic Centre in Zagreb. Instead we're told a full-time 'IWA' office has been established there.

Claiming that the 30 October Workers Aid report-back meeting for the convoy was 'hijacked by the WRP', this leaflet hides the fact that Bosnians there overwhelmingly rejected USec's proposals, voting for the call from Tuzla to open the northern route.

An 'aid' campaign which ignores those it purports to help is more like Victorian bourgeois paternalism than workers' international solidarity! And they preach 'internationalism' and 'democracy'?

Charlie Pottins



A convoy member protesting at the UNPROFOR base in Zagreb (top); convoy trucks on their journey through Europe (above)

Photos: Anthony Myers

'Help these good-hearted people'

TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE WHO ARE AGAINST THE GENOCIDE TAKING PLACE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THE PEOPLE OF TUZLA ISSUE THE FOLLOWING APPEAL FOR HELP.

TUZLA is the largest town in north-eastern Bosnia, having 19 communes where about 1 million people live. A settlement has existed in this area since the Roman empire, when it was named Salines. With the arrival of the Slavic tribes, the settlement was renamed Soli, and after the Turkish conquest in 1463 a new town was established and named Tuzla.

During this rich history the region, thanks to natural resources — especially deposits of salt and coal — was under the rule of diverse civilisations and cultures which left deep traces on the development and shaping of the town.

Potential

The basic resources of this region are salt and coal, upon which chemical and power-generating industries have been based. They represent great potential for the development of processing industries.

However, Tuzla is not only a town of salt and coal. Tuzla is a town of science. Over 15,000 students and pupils are educated at seven colleges, higher schools, and 15 secondary schools.

Tuzla is a town of the arts. The oldest theatre in Bosnia-Herzegovina is Narodno Pozoriste (the National Theatre), which is located in Tuzla and is over 100 hundred years old. A special pride of the town is in

This open letter has been sent by Edo Asceric, director at the Tuzla Logistic Centre in Zagreb.

fine arts. The portrait gallery, with a collection of over 5,000 works, represents a unique institution that is the meeting-point for portrait masters from all over the world. The International Biannual Festival of Portrait is a well-known world event.

Tuzla is a town with wide sports interests which keeps its name alive in international sports circles by producing talented sports men, women and teams in the fields of basketball, football, tennis and athletics.

Tuzla is firstly a town of industrious, good-hearted people. Until the outbreak of the war the town had about 110,000 inhabitants. Now because of the war the number has been increased by 60,000 refugees and displaced persons, who found a warm welcome in the town.

In spite of the aggressors' heavy shelling and severe damage to the historical part of the town, the vital objects and industrial zone have been saved. This, we are convinced, will provide for a fast and extensive economic and cultural development of the town if the war ceases soon.

Tuzla is a multi-ethnic town where Muslims, Serbs and Croats live and fight together against ethnic cleansing and partition. If you come to Tuzla you can hear church bells and the mujezin's call to prayer at the same time. Thus, it is not surprising that there is a lot of mixed marriages.

Tuzla has managed to maintain its unity despite all the barbarous efforts to divide Bosnia thanks to

the composition of its population, which is reflected in its government. In the city parliament there are 90 representatives from all parties. The nationalist parties are not influential.

In June this year Tuzla was given international recognition — the Foundation 'Alfons Comin' Award in Barcelona for the efforts to maintain its multi-cultural and multi-ethnic way of living.

Today war is raging. Tuzla is blockaded completely: it is without telephone communication with the rest of the world, and without open roads, and TV signals reach it with difficulty. The electricity is rationed — three hours on, 15 off. The lack of water is still more urgent, the local transport doesn't run because of a lack of petrol, and the stocks of foodstuffs have been exhausted.

Tuzla's people have converted all green areas within the town to vegetable gardens, but the storage of flour, sugar and oil cannot be substituted. The hospitals were shelled many times so that the children's hospital can no longer be used. Medicines reach Tuzla thanks to the organisation 'Medecines Sans Frontieres', but in quantities not sufficient to meet demand. Medical supplies and equipment are needed.

The UN High Commission for Refugees manages to bring some foodstuffs but they are aimed for refugees, not for Tuzla's people. The Tuzla region needs about 640 tons of food per day, but in August only 120 tons were delivered. The

schools have opened for this school-year, but how long this will last nobody knows. Tuzla airport, where large aircraft can land, is still closed by the UN.

International Workers Aid organised a convoy of aid to go to Tuzla. There were many obstacles during its journey. It overcame many of them but when the convoy organisers, in collaboration with the Tuzla Logistic Centre, tried to open the northern route to Tuzla, its way was blocked by the UN.

Prevent

The so-called 'northern corridor' is the most natural and shortest way to approach Tuzla, but UNPROFOR refused to escort the convoy and, in fact, applied pressure to the Croatian government to prevent it crossing the border. It had to return to Zagreb.

As reported at the Workers Aid report-back meeting on 30 October in Manchester, a new convoy for Tuzla must be organised as soon as possible, but this time returning with an enormous number of lorries. This is now possible if all the organisations that have supported the first convoy organise to add lorries and aid.

The barriers that blocked the last convoy must be broken down if the Tuzla people are not to starve this winter. This can only be done if all the people of Europe who are against ethnic cleansing now act to open the route into Tuzla.

If Tuzla is allowed to starve then the division of Bosnia and ethnic cleansing will be an accomplished fact, and the responsibility will rest upon all those who now refuse to come to our aid.

Tuzla must not be strangled

**OPEN THE NORTHERN ROUTE TO TUZLA!
STOP THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING AGAINST ETHNIC CLEANSING FROM BEING STARVED INTO SUBMISSION!**

The first convoy to Tuzla

THE importance of Tuzla is that this area has so far preserved its multi-ethnic character, and for this reason it stands in the way of the UN-sponsored Vance-Owen plan for the division of Bosnia. The fight put up by the first convoy to reach the blockaded town showed clearly that the isolation of Tuzla is organised primarily by the United Nations.

The United Nations and behind it the great powers, particularly Britain, are trying to strangle Tuzla and weaken its opposition to ethnic cleansing.

The UN refused to allow the convoy to go on the northern route — the shortest and easiest route. There had been favourable responses about the convoy's passage from the controllers of this Serbian corridor that runs through Bosnia, and through which the convoy would have to cross. In fact, the Bosnian army had negotiated with the Serb army to let the convoy pass. So by the time the convoy had got to Zupanja (on the Croatian side of the northern Bosnian border) it had a clear way through.

At this point the route was blocked by the Croatian government, which reversed its previous promise of free passage under direct pressure from the United Nations, which had sent out instructions that the Workers Aid convoy was not to pass.

Despite an international campaign of protest to the UN in Zagreb and an enormous battle on the ground by the convoy team to break down the barriers, it was impossible at this point for the convoy to reach Tuzla. The convoy

International Workers Aid for Bosnia has issued the articles on these pages as a leaflet as part of its campaign to bring aid to Tuzla, the working-class capital of Bosnia. In October, Workers Aid's first convoy was prevented from reaching the town by the actions of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Now the campaign aims to build a giant convoy that the UN will not be able to stop.



The first convoy made sure the UN got the message Photo: Anthony Myers

team therefore voted to return home to urge its Manchester report-back meeting on 30 October to step up the campaign to open the northern route (see article below from the Tuzla Logistic Centre on the importance of this route).

Discussion at Manchester

SEVERAL hundred people from all parts of Europe, including many

Bosnian refugees, met to discuss the future of the Workers Aid campaign and to hear a report from the Tuzla Logistic Centre (see the letter by Edo Asceric on these pages). A majority of two to one decided enthusiastically to answer this plea from Tuzla and voted for the following resolution:

'Our convoy revealed the United Nations' conspiracy to starve the people of Bosnia into submission to accept the Vance-Owen plan to strangle their country and create

ghettos in line with "ethnic cleansing".

'We therefore call upon European trades unions, workers, young people, and those who defend democratic rights to build an International Workers Aid convoy to Bosnia at the end of February to open the northern corridor to Tuzla.

'To co-ordinate the work of the local International Workers Aid committees, a steering committee should be set up of all those who want to take a lead in this work. The first meeting should elect a chairperson, secretary and treasurer.

'Experience shows that, together with the fund-raising and political campaign of the local committees, the organisation of a convoy requires a core team of people to deal with trucks, route, customs and the permits to travel, etc. We therefore propose that such a team be comprised of members of the first convoy team.'

This resolution was supported by the Tuzla representatives, who are now writing to all Bosnian refugees throughout Europe to urge them to support the campaign.

The campaign continues

AFTER discussions with the Tuzla Logistic Centre we are proposing the following campaign to break the blockade of Tuzla:

■ Another European convoy to Tuzla at Christmas. This convoy to also help move the 60 lorry loads of aid stored in Zagreb, and to bring out salt and other commodities produced in Tuzla.

■ The biggest possible convoy in February organised with the assistance of the growing number of trades unions that are backing this effort.

■ An immediate campaign to demand that the UN gives written assurances that the northern route will be open to these convoys, and

also to demand the UN opens the airport and allows the Tuzla authorities to control the distribution of aid.

Within five days of the Manchester conference, International Workers Aid and the Tuzla Logistic Centre had already won backing for this campaign from the Transport and General Workers' Union in the North West, and from the leaders of the Fire Brigades Union, and the Alliance for Bosnia.

What you can do

■ COLLECT aid (dried and tinned food, medical supplies, new winter clothing and footwear) and money. We can supply you with all the necessary paperwork, collecting sheets, tins, etc.

■ Ask any organisation of which you are a member to put its own lorry driver on the Workers Aid convoys. We will supply all the necessary information regarding insurance, customs, routes, etc.

■ Send letters and resolutions demanding the opening of the northern route to Tuzla to the UN, councillors, local and European MPs.

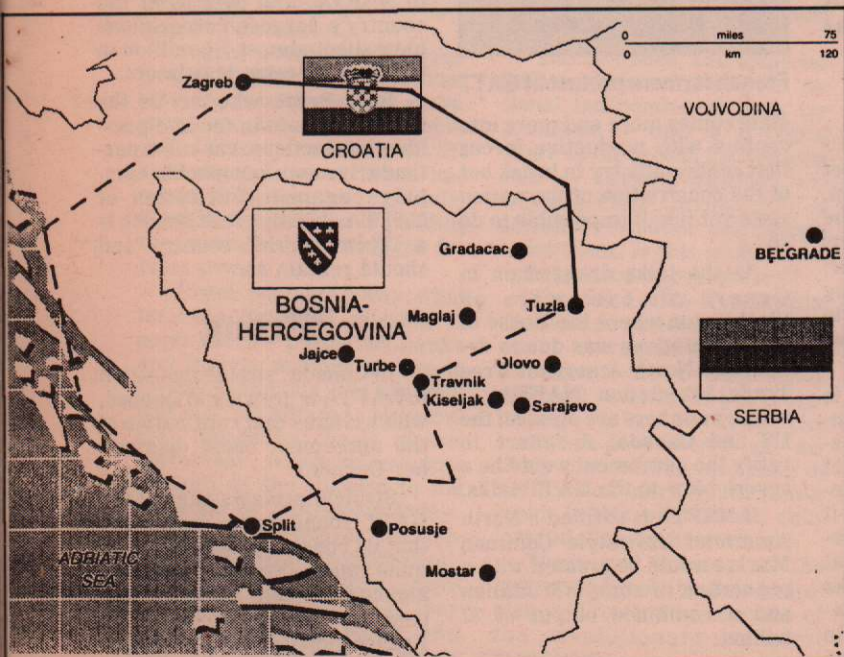
■ Join International Workers Aid for Bosnia. Sponsor its convoy. Set up a Workers Aid committee in your area.

■ For any information or help in organising this work in your area, please contact Workers Aid or Bob Myers on 061-226 0404.

In order to develop the campaign decided on in Manchester, there will be a meeting of the steering committee on 20 November at 2pm-5pm in Manchester town hall. All local Workers Aid committees should send representatives, and any individuals or organisations wanting to help build the next convoy are also urged to come.

■ International Workers Aid for Bosnia. Please note change of address: PO Box 9, Eccles SO, Salford M30 7FX. Telephone and fax: 061-707 1584.

Join the campaign for the northern corridor!



The northern corridor to Tuzla, represented here by the unbroken line

These notes on the importance of the northern route have been supplied by the Tuzla Logistic Centre, Zagreb.

THE map on the left shows the existing route (broken line) to Tuzla through which the UN sends aid. Tuzla needs to open the northern route (solid line) if it is to survive ... WHY?

1. The existing route via Split is along a 1,200km road, parts of which are dirt track through mountains and only suitable for small trucks. The route is impassable in winter. The northern route is 400km of motorway suitable for large trucks, passable all year round, and providing quick and easy access to Zagreb and the rest of Europe.

2. The existing route passes through areas controlled by 'bandits' and lorries are often looted. The northern route passes through an army front-line controlled by Croat HVO army forces and Serbian forces. Negotiations have

taken place between these forces and the authorities in Tuzla. We are confident that convoys will pass through.

3. All existing aid to Tuzla is under the control of the UN. It only distributes supplies to refugees in Tuzla, not to the people of Tuzla itself. In other words, they use aid to deliberately create tensions and divisions amongst people. Even if the UN votes to open Tuzla airport, it will still try to use its control of aid to cause divisions along ethnic lines.

4. The northern route, with its easy access, will make it possible for the Tuzla authorities to bring sufficient supplies for everyone, and for them to control its equal distribution to everyone. Also Bosnia is a recognised country. Its citizens have the right to access to the 'outside world' and the right to

trade. The opening of the northern route would make it possible for Tuzla to send out and sell its stockpiles of salt and other commodities, which the workers of the region have continued to produce.

THERE have been many humanitarian aid lorries sent to Tuzla, but the Tuzla authorities have already got large stockpiles of aid stored in warehouses outside of Bosnia that they have been unable to get in. A recent convoy of 86 lorries, which we organised, on the existing 'Split' route saw only eight complete the journey. We lost £150,000 of goods.

All those in Europe who want to help us must see that the most humanitarian thing they can now do is join the campaign to open the northern route. This is the key to our survival, and to our continued battle against ethnic cleansing and the division of Bosnia.

Was Freud a fraud?

SOME doubting Thomases and Thomasinas have refused to believe me when I've told them that I read 'The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud' at the age of 14.

I did in fact read, at that age, three of the four major works in that volume: 'Psychopathology of Everyday Life', 'The Interpretation of Dreams', and 'Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious'.

I found the fourth, 'Totem and Taboo', much harder going, laid it aside half way through, and never finished it.

As far as slips of the tongue, dreams, and jokes go, the Freudian theory that explains these as the bubbling up of repressed wishes and impulses totally captivated me as a teenager and continued to do so for many years.

As to the more complex and more technical aspects of Freudian theory and practice, from Oedipus complex to 'transference', I have always held towards these an attitude best described as interested but cautious neutrality.

Encouraged equally by Trotsky's far from hostile attitude towards psychoanalysis, by Hitler's outright banning of it, and by Freud's own philosophical materialism, I saw Freud as a bold and courageous innovator who made a major contribution to scientific knowledge of the human mind and how it works.

Freud's claim to be a scientist, and psychoanalysis's claim to be scientific, are now in shreds. Critics have been steadily gnawing away at these claims for several years, and now the whole vast intellectual edifice has come unstuck.

For the latest state of play, read the devastating article by Frederick Crews, professor of English and chair of the English department at the University of California, Berkeley, in the 18 November issue of 'The New York Review of Books'.

Crews's piece, 'The Unknown Freud', is a review of four recent books: James L. Rice, 'Freud's Russia: National Identity in the Evolution of Psychoanalysis'; Robin Tolmach Lakoff and James C. Coyne, 'Father Knows Best: The Use and Abuse of Power in Freud's Case of "Dora"'; Allen Esterson, 'Seductive Mirage: An Exploration of the Work of Sigmund Freud'; and John Kerr, 'A Most Dangerous Method: The Story of Jung, Freud, and Sabina Spielrein'.

I already knew that the young Freud had sent packets of cocaine to his betrothed in the 1880s, telling her it would put the roses in her cheeks. But that was a mistake which almost anyone might have made at the time, before cocaine was found to be highly dangerous.

What I didn't know was that Freud wrote to Wilhelm Fleiss while an early patient was under hypnosis, and would habitually take a nap while his later patients were free-associating on the psychoanalytic couch.

Nor did I know that Freud had diagnosed one patient as 'bleeding for love' of himself, whereas she was in fact suffering from 20in. of gauze accidentally left up her nose after what Crews calls a 'mad-scientist operation' by Fleiss for 'nasal reflex neurosis'.

Nor did I know that Freud told a patient named Horace Frink to divorce his wife and marry an heiress named Angelika Bijur, whom he also urged to divorce her husband, though he 'had never met either of the allegedly unsuitable spouses'.

His aim, on his own admission, was to get his own hands on some of the heiress's money. The divorce and remarriage, according to Crews, were 'soon followed by the deaths of both of the abandoned, devastated spouses, an early suit for di-

PERSONAL COLUMN

vorce by Frink's new wife, and the decline of the guilt-ridden Frink himself into a psychotic depression and repeated attempts at suicide'.

In fact Freud didn't give a damn about his patients' suffering, nor whether they improved as a result of his 'treatment'.

'She is beyond any possibility of therapy, but it is still her duty to sacrifice herself to science', he wrote to Jung in 1912 about a woman who had been in and out of his care for four years. Crews gives an account, all the more hair-raising and harrowing for being so sober, of the way Freud — both before and after he invented psychoanalytic theory — put pressure on his patients to 'remember' non-existent sexual events in childhood that he in fact invented for them.

No wonder that the psychoanalytic establishment has locked away many of Freud's papers and letters in the Library of Congress, some of them for as far ahead as the 22nd century.

But enough has emerged to throw a flood of light on both Freud's method and his ethics. It is no longer possible to be neutral towards him.

He was a fraud, 'and there's an end on't'.

A new Trotsky journal

A CLEAR sign of the mounting interest in Leon Trotsky is the launch of an English-language scholarly journal devoted to his life and work.

To be published yearly in July, the 'Journal of Trotsky Studies' aims to 'encourage the furtherance of Trotsky studies' through the publication of relevant articles and works — both primary and secondary sources — not previously translated into English.

The new journal is edited by Ian D. Thatcher and James D. White, both of whom work at the University of Glasgow. Among those on the editorial board are Pierre Broué and Brian Pearce.

Ian Thatcher reveals in an editorial that on a recent research trip to the former Communist Party archives in Moscow he found that a Trotsky file was in course of compilation there, containing material unknown to the late Louis Sinclair, bibliographer of Trotsky.

He had time to consult only a fraction of this new material, but hopes that the fruits of research work in these archives will appear in a later issue of the new journal.

Articles in the first issue include a critical discussion of 'Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution"', by James D. White; 'Trotsky and Soviet foreign relations, 1920-24', by Brian Pearce; and a useful survey of 'Recent writings on Trotsky and Trotskyism', by Wolfgang Lubitz.

No doubt because this first issue was produced on a word-processor, it is unfortunately marred by a large number of misprints. The surnames of Paul Langevin, S. Ordzhonikidze, Raymond Poincaré, K. Rakovsky, A.G. Shyalpnikov, B.W. Stürmer, and the names of the Institut Léon Trotsky and of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Revolutionnaires Internationaux, are all misspelt.

It is to be hoped that future issues of this valuable publication will utilise the services of a competent proof-reader.

Peter Fryer

Television

Ford's: 'like a human machine'

Review by Phil Edwards

BBC2's THE GREAT DEPRESSION, a series of seven documentaries on the 0Wall Street Crash of 1929, promises to be an excellent series involving some interesting footage and interviews with workers from that generation and the one which followed.

Produced, written and directed by Jon Else, the first in the series, 'A Job at Ford's', dealt with the rise and fall of Henry Ford's Detroit plant.

One Ford worker spoke of Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to US president: 'I've no doubt there would have been a revolution had Roosevelt not been elected . . . and I'd have been proud to be part of it.' One capitalist confirmed this by saying 'He saved capitalism'.

Resuscitate

It was Roosevelt who was given the job of investing money in public works schemes in an attempt to resuscitate the economy.

Henry Ford — in the tradition of Roosevelt's predecessor, Hoover, who pronounced in the depths of the Depression 'We have been blessed . . . adversity should . . . strengthen our courage' — opposed such public

spending and said it was 'a good job the suffering has been prolonged', and blamed the endemic unemployment on the laziness of the workers.

In the late 1920s Ford's plant in Dearbourne, Detroit, produced the most widely used vehicle in history at a rate of four cars per minute — 6,000 cars per day. As a former employee explained, there was no talk and workers were not allowed to even go to the toilet or go for a drink. 'The job controlled you,' said another.

A resident of Detroit used to visit the plant and from the catwalk she said: 'They looked more like automatons or marionettes . . . it really was like a human machine.' Looking at the footage it would be easy to assume that this was the inspiration behind Fritz Lang's scenes of exploited workers in his film 'Metropolis'.

Ford's created the 'Ford Landia' rubber plantation in Brazil, bought up iron mines and factories in Yokohama, and employed half a million workers across the world to maintain complete control of production from start to finish, and so avoid

the escalating strike actions in the sectors providing the essential raw materials for manufacturing industry.

He banned unions from the workplace, and hired a thug called Harry Bennett who controlled a private armed police force that installed bugging devices in the plant to maintain tight control of the workers.

At age 40, however, employees were laid off and replaced by younger workers. At times of seasonal lay-offs the sales of black hair-dye rocketed as workers faked their age.

By 1927 Ford was forced to close some of his assembly lines and sack the workforce, whilst he lived off the fat of their labour to the tune of \$30 million a year.

The lay-offs which then took hold in 1929 following the stock market crash reached epidemic proportions by 1930, when 60,000 Ford workers joined 100,000 other workers in Detroit who starved and died of cold in the only Western country not to have even a basic system of social security and benefits.

Unemployed councils run by the young American Commun-

ist Party sprang up as evictions from homes reached 150 per day. On 7 March 1932 workers marched on the plant. Police aided by Ford's paid stooges fired on the marchers. Twenty-four marchers were shot, four died instantly. Even now the emotional effect on these workers could be seen as one brought down trying to recount the experience.

Racist

Ford was a reactionary and a racist. In his own 'Dearbourne Independent' he wrote an anti-Semitic tract on the 'Jewish conspiracy' at a time when city businesses had a policy of firing 'non-citizens', many of the Mexicans, before other workers and repatriating them through intimidation.

Ford's picture hung in Hitler's office (in fact, even now the fascist Prussakov movement in the former Soviet Union distributes his writings). The company was later forced to make a public apology for Ford's pronouncements following widespread protests.

The source of fascist ideology in the capitalist class and the role for capitalism were evident in this documentary.

Programme guide

Sunday 21 November EVERYMAN: 'The Body Parts Business'. Report from Central America which offers evidence that children have been killed so their organs can be used for transplant operations (10.50pm, BBC1).

Monday 22 November 'The Zaprunder Footage'. A 'Late Show' special examining the history of the 22-second home-movie which has become the most famous visual record of President Kennedy's assassination (11.15pm, BBC2).

Tuesday 23 November ASSIGNMENT: 'Bucks Against the Wall'. With sympathetic support from President Clinton, US gays thought a new era of tolerance was just around the corner, but Middle



Playwright Larry Kramer appears in 'The Plague', C4 on 25 November

America and the Christian right have other ideas (7.45pm, BBC2).

Wednesday 24 November 'Unusual Transactions: Polly Peck's Missing Millions'. A 'Money Programme' special

gives a unique account of one of the biggest scandals in the history of the City (8pm, BBC2).

Thursday 25 November THE PLAGUE: 'The Zero Factor'. First of four-part series documenting the social, political and medical story of AIDS (9pm, Channel 4).

Selected films

MY OWN PRIVATE IDAHO (1991). Keanu Reeves and River Phoenix as young male hustlers from opposite sides of the tracks. Directed by Gus Van Sant (Sunday, 10pm, Channel 4). CALUGA O MENTA (1990). Director Gonzalo Justiniano's exploration of day-to-day drudgery of unemployed young drifters in post-revolutionary

Chile (Sunday, 12.25am, Channel 4). ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST (1975). Milo Forman's superb adaptation of Ken Kesey's novel about a mental institution. With Jack Nicholson (Tuesday, 11.10pm, BBC1).



Phoenix and Reeves, C4, Sunday

Trade talks 'becoming a dance of death'

BY PETER JEFFRIES

THE European Community faces a 'dance of death' unless it comes to an agreement with the US over world trade policy.

This was the warning of GATT chief Peter Sutherland about the latest round of trade talks, which are supposed to be concluded by 15 December.

Sutherland said that he hoped the latest round on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would be completed, but warned that the 'vexed questions' of agriculture and access to markets were still important enough to derail the talks and plunge the world into a trade war.

Disputes that had been suppressed for years would flare up and spread like 'forest fires' he warned.

Ritual

'The US and the EC still seem to be performing some kind of ritual courtship dance around each other. If it goes on much longer it could become a dance of death.'

He said that unless the 'game of chicken' was brought to an end world trade could collapse.

'We will be on a very slippery slope indeed and there will be no multilateral system of sufficient weight and credibility to stop the world sliding into a mire of protectionism

and lost economic opportunity.

'I fear it would provoke the kind of tensions which led us in the late 1920s from economic nationalism through high tariffs and competitive devaluations and into the Great Depression of the 1930s.'

Over the last 40 years exports of manufactured goods have risen more than 20-fold and the volume of world trade some 12-fold. This growth is now threatened by the imposition of tariff barriers and the emergence of multilateral agreements which would discriminate against other countries.

Warning

Warning that the world's trading system is on the edge of 'dismemberment', Will Hutton, the economics editor of the 'Guardian', says (16 November) that the 'globalisation' of international finance is undermining the ability of the nation state to carry out expansionary policies on which jobs depend:

'The difficulty for GATT is that there is widespread unemployment and social destabilisation. . . . After all the scale of globalisation over the last twenty years is breathtaking and it seems to be this same globalisation, of which GATT is part, that is removing familiar landmarks — not least of which is the growing incapacity of nation states to run autonomous, expansionary economic policies.'

In other words, the nation



French farmers protest at GATT

state comes more and more into conflict with productive forces that continually try to break out of the constriction of the nation state yet find it impossible to do so.

As the talks dragged on in Geneva all eyes were on Washington where the House of Representatives was due to debate the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) — whose members are Mexico, the US and Canada. A failure to ratify the agreement would be a severe blow to the GATT talks.

If NAFTA is ratified a North American Euro-style Common Market would be created with a population of some 370 million and a combined output of \$7 trillion.

But however the voting ends up, President Clinton is dealing with a large-scale rebellion in

his Democratic Party. He was last week engaged in local horse-trading to try and win ratification, for instance promising several Florida members of congress to support him in return for promises to protect the local citrus growers.

Several million dollars have been spent by the pro- and anti-NAFTA camps in an effort to win votes. The campaign cheques of various congress members have been swollen by large donations from unions opposed to NAFTA, and over 30 of the country's largest corporations have spent almost \$10 million trying to sweeten legislators.

Ross Perot, who ran as the third candidate in the last presidential elections, has run a particularly nasty xenophobic campaign against ratification of NAFTA, insisting that Mexico a 'Third World' country should remain so.

Strong

In Canada, strong opposition to NAFTA is growing in Quebec which claims that ratification of the agreement could dismember Canada.

Strident protests against the GATT round from Japan suggest that its conclusion would undermine much Japanese industry and end the 'jobs for life' situation for many workers. France, opposition to the undermining of the privileged position of French agriculture remains solid.

Letters

More letters — page 2

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A simplistic version of Marxism

Working-class male chauvinism

I AM seldom prompted to send letters to socialist newspapers but I simply cannot ignore some of Nick Lee's comments in his review of 'Goliath: Britain's Dangerous Places' by Beatrix Campbell (Workers Press, 13 November).

I have not been very enthusiastic about Campbell's previous interventions in debates about history and politics and I have no reason to doubt Lee's account of her complete 'pessimism'.

But what I really object to is Lee's historical determinism and simplistic version of 'Marxism'. Besides, I simply don't understand how anyone with a knowledge of 'British' working-class history can insist that 'the notion that "men" fought to exclude women from industrial labour is just not true'.

Historically speaking, it is Lee who is wrong, not Campbell.

Like wife-beating, the role of the workers' own male chauvinism in driving women out of industry and agriculture was opposed by the most genuine socialists.

In fact, on one occasion, when Marx intervened to remonstrate with a London docker who was beating his wife in public he was very lucky to escape the experience of being beaten up by a group of workers.

However, the real point of this anecdote is that Marx did not seek refuge behind such Shibboleths as 'the objective function' of capitalism to enslave women.

In the 1880s, when modern socialism was born, actual men incorporated their male chauvinism into their trade union rules.

Members of the United Society of Brushmakers were forbidden to 'teach, help or work with women'; and in another trade union the male painters of pottery formed a combination to 'prevent the use by women of the arm-rests required in the work'. Furthermore, working men in London formed a com-



Socialist martyrs Rosa Luxemburg (top left), Karl Liebknecht (top right), Sacco and Vanzetti (bottom). A Communist Party organiser said during a campaign to stop Sacco and Vanzetti's execution: 'What earthly good would they do us alive?'

combination to 'prevent women workers from using the low-priced trains'.

And progress was made because some male socialists fought alongside the most advanced women for equality and egalitarianism in the workers' movement.

One of the faults in E.P. Thompson's fine writings on English working-class history was that he paid insufficient attention to male chauvinism in the labour movement.

In many socialist groups, such as the Bristol Labour League, women were not allowed to become members; and Mary F. Boyd sent a letter to 'Justice' in 1896 in which she said: 'Another fetish is destined to go — worship of the male principle.'

Entering the controversy about women's rights in the socialist movement, and arguing against Ernest Belfort Bax, Eleanor Marx sided with the minority of the most radical of

the women involved in the heated debate.

I have documented this relatively hidden history in my books, 'Women and Popular Struggles: A History of Scottish and English Working-Class Women, 1500-1984' (Mainstream, 1985) and 'Socialism and the English Working Class: A History of English Labour, 1883-1939' (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), and an awareness of the very distinctive history of Scottish and English working-class women would inhibit Nick Lee and others from simplifying 'Marxism' in such a way that workers become the playthings of a dominant and unconquerable fate.

Perversion of socialist ethics

MOREOVER, although I regard Workers Press as one of the few left-wing socialist newspapers worth reading, I still

think that many of the articles in it are off-putting to young people searching for an explanation of the frightening, often baffling and barbarous capitalist world of the 1990s.

In the repeated and welcome criticisms of the late Gerry Healy, there is never any explanation of why he was not challenged inside his own organisation for making outrageous, anti-socialist comments.

At one public meeting of the New Left in London in the late 1950s he told the audience: 'I am sick and tired of all this talk about conscience. Conscience is not a matter of individual responsibility; it is a class question.'

The ideas of the 'intellectual immorality' that Marx spoke about was central to Healy's behaviour and politics.

Another allied worry that I have with some of the articles in Workers Press is the assumption that Marxism began with Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, not with Marx and Engels and many others in the 1840s.

Researching and writing a book on the history of socialist martyrs between 1880 and the present, I am interested in the perversion of the socialist ethics existing in the workers' movements in the 1830s and 1840s.

Genuine and self-sacrificing socialists allowed Healy to make his monstrous remarks at labour movement meetings because they had inherited a perverted tradition of 'Marxism' in which it was asserted that the 'end justified the means'.

In any case, it seems to me that the perversion of Marxism and socialist ethics antedated the rise of Stalinism. And with the perversion of the classical Marxist tradition, in which Marx insisted that 'history does nothing', workers became the impersonal 'instruments' of history. The intellectual roots of turning working folk into the instruments of history existed before Stalinism.

Whether some of us like it or not, there was more than a grain of truth in the observation of Harold Rosenberg that: 'We have to go back to the witch doctors or the Shakespeare of "Hamlet" or "Macbeth" to reach a world in which spectres, ab-

stract beings, names come to life, "objective powers" play so large a part as they do in that of Marx — from that "mysterious thing", the commodity, which floats in the shadow of the physical products of modern industry, to those "personifications of economic relations", the social classes, which, according to "Capital", are the protagonists of the political-economic drama.'

However, it was the anti-historical deterministic Marx, who, in challenging a working-class wife-beater in Victorian London, gave the democratic left some of its inspiration to struggle against the 'objective powers' of capitalism. But the same Marx, who insisted that 'struggle' was the secret of life, was a moralist.

Before Bolshevism

AS THE opportunities are now developing for a really searching critique of the origins of authoritarian socialism from above and Stalinism, it is important for Marxist socialists to look at the origins of their own history before Bolshevism.

In a still largely unnoticed 'revision' of Marxism, Karl Kautsky *sleekly* got rid of the idea of Marx and Engels that 'the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class themselves' when he falsified the history of Marxism.

Unlike Antonio Labriola, who asserted that Marxism was born 'in the soul of the oppressed', Kautsky insisted that 'modern socialism originated' in the heads of bourgeois intellectuals.

After 1917 almost no one noticed that Labriola had had a formidable influence on Trotsky.

Directing attention to the survival of older forms of historical consciousness in the present and criticising the concepts of 'automatic progress' and historical 'inevitability', Labriola's influence on Trotsky remains to be investigated and documented.

Substituting Marx's notion that 'the alteration of man on a

mass scale' inside capitalist societies was the essential precondition for socialism, Kautsky's idea of the 'vanguard' party as, in Labriola's phrase, 'a seminary in which the superior officers of the revolution' were trained, opened up the way for smuggling elitist, anti-democratic ideas about the role of the 'great man' in history back into the labour movement.

Consequently, when the age of socialist innocence came to an end in 1914, such major socialist martyrs as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in 1919 and Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 were sacrificed for 'reasons of State' or *realpolitik*.

Thus in 1927, on a picket-line in defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, Rosa Baron, a Communist Party organiser, told Katherine Anne Porter: 'Saved! Who wants them saved? What earthly good would they do us alive?'

And in the great trilogy of novels, 'A Scots Quair', Lewis Grassie Gibbon described the Stalinist attitudes of those Scots who spoke of 'history's instruments, the workers...'. Having met and fought such 'Marxists' before I challenged Gerry Healy at meetings of the New Left in London, I was not taken in by his nonsense about 'conscience'.

I am glad I have survived long enough to know that there was another Marx who said that: 'To leave error unrefuted is to encourage intellectual immorality.' Besides, the Marx who took on a wife-beater did not sit back and wait for 'history' to get rid of male chauvinism.

More than ever before the sort of questions raised by Alasdair MacIntyre in 1958-59 in his fine essays on 'Notes From the Moral Wilderness' need to be discussed in the international workers' movement.

To ignore them and the moral corruption that has gobbled up countless socialists allows the simplistic, utilitarian 'Marxism' and 'operational history' of Militant and the Socialist Workers Party to keep the left marginalised at a moment when it could win many working- and middle-class people over to a socialist world view.

James D. Young
Falkirk

Shallow apologies of Trotskyism

I MUST say that both Hunter and Pirani are shallow in their explanations for the problems of the international Trotskyist movement ('An historic fight for Marxism', 23 October, and 'Letters', 6 November).

I agree with Pirani's correction of Hunter about breaking into the working-class movement, etc, for as Pirani points out different sections of the movement have at times had mass influence and actually been in the position of leading the workers into struggle for class power.

Pirani explains away what he calls 'criminal missing opportunities' by the Sri Lanka and Bolivia sections as due to 'revision' and this, it is inferred, was due to a failure to 'develop' the 'theoretical basis of our movement', which he now puts forward as the solution to the problems of Trotskyism today.

As to the excuses put forward by Pirani — 'revisionism', 'missing opportunities', 'capitulation to reformism' — they are pathetically weak and anaemic, and not judgements drawn from a serious study of the facts of history.

They are conclusions drawn, not from a Marxist analysis, but but from an apologist, consciously covering up the traitorous, class-collaborationist policy and actions that are the logical results of the ideology which emanates from the teachings of Leon Trotsky himself.

The Bolivian Trotskyists led the revolutionary working class, in the name of anti-imperialist unity, into the arms of the nationalist bourgeoisie, to whom they surrendered the leadership of the revolutionary struggles.

The so-called anti-imperialist bourgeoisie, fighting for 'national independence' from imperialism — that is, a bigger share of the profits for themselves — turned against the working class through fear of socialist revolution and slaughtered them. Is this what Pirani calls 'missed opportunities'?

The Sri Lanka Trotskyists, the most powerful section of the world movement, capitulated en masse to the so-called democratic anti-imperialist bourgeoisie, entered the bourgeois government, and actively condoned the slaughter of the revolutionary youth movement. Is this what Pirani calls 'capitulation to reformism'?

These are but two of the largest and most blatant examples of Trotskyist betrayals of the revolutionary workers' movement.

What are the roots of these betrayals? These roots are com-

mon to the world Trotskyist movement.

One of the major factors is Trotsky's advocacy, not only of alliances with, but of critical support for, both social democracy and the 'anti-imperialist' nationalist bourgeoisie, which includes the demand that these forces take power and provide the leadership!

Then we are treated to the excuse that 'we', the Trotskyists, could not do anything — hence, a crisis of leadership theory!

This policy is complemented by the 'entry' tactic — or the 'French Turn' — that developed concomitantly with the critical support strategy, the combination wreaking havoc within the Fourth International.

The whole policy and strategy pivots on the prognosis that social democracy and the nationalist bourgeoisie could pursue an objectively progressive role.

Whilst this was generally true of the national bourgeois prior to post-World War II self-rule, Lenin nonetheless never condoned surrendering the leadership of the struggle to these temporary, vacillating bourgeois allies.

There was no progressive role for these movements after national independence, and for social democracy after the start of World War I.

Trotsky's prognosis is still considered valid today by the majority of Trotskyist groups

who overwhelmingly supported the Argentinian, Iranian and Iraqi nationalist bourgeoisies in their so-called wars against imperialism.

The fact is, as the weaker and deprived section of world capitalism, they sought and fought their war not for the benefit of the workers and peasants but for more of the profits for themselves that they jointly extract with the imperialists from the workers.

The Trotskyist policy of military alliance with these national bourgeoisies 'against' imperialism meant the subordination of the workers of these countries to their 'own' capitalist class — which was the practical effect of the policies of the Bolivian and Sri Lankan Trotskyists.

We see the results today — bloody slaughter of the workers and peasants. Trotsky's policy is opposed to the Leninist conception of 'revolutionary defeatism' on both sides as a step to international working-class solidarity.

The truth is that it was not isolated sections of the world Trotskyist movement that went wrong and betrayed the workers. Trotskyism as a trend is badly flawed.

It is not the 'developing' but the junking of Trotsky's ideas that is necessary if the workers are to avoid catastrophic defeats in the future.

A. Thomas
London SE27

The myth of Pabloite revisionism

I WAS sorry to see that after all the self-examination of the last few years in the Workers Press that in the interview with Bill Hunter (23 October) and the following correspondence of Simon Pirani, Andrew Burgin and Cliff Slaughter ('Letters', 30 October, 6 and 13 November), you have now come back full circle to the myth of 'Pabloite revisionism' for an explanation of the crisis of the Fourth International.

Let us remind ourselves what the word 'revisionism' means for Marxists.

It applies to the revising of the class theory of the state, particularly in the Bernstein/Kautsky dispute [in the early years of this century].

[In 1953], the whole of the then 'Fourth International' — [its leaders] J.P. Cannon, Michel Pablo, Gerry Healy, Pierre Lambert and the lot of them — had accepted the structural assimilation theory concerning the states of eastern Europe, whereby states which were bourgeois somehow by 'structural assimilation' [into the economy of the USSR] had become workers' states, a

theory based upon the purest reformism.

As Dennis Vern and Sam Ryan pointed out long ago, it was this theory, accepted by Cannon as well as Pablo, that formed the basis for the betrayal of the Bolivian revolution to which Simon Pirani refers.

In fact, the evidence points to Cannon's Socialist Workers Party [in the US] as being more responsible for this gross betrayal than Pablo.

In all the charges and counter-charges between these political bankrupts neither of them even referred to what happened in Bolivia, any more than to the behaviour of the Ceylonese LSSP in the [12 August 1953] Great Hartal [action against the increase in the price of rice] at the same time.

These were important organisations that formed part of the 'Fourth International', over which they had the duty to exercise some sort of control.

Yet they argued incessantly over World War III and the nature of the USSR, over which they could only have had a marginal effect.

The crisis of the Fourth International will surely remain unresolved if we continue to accept the discredited mythologies of Healy and Lambert and recite them as some sort of 'Apostles' Creed' as has gone on since the 1950s.

Al Richardson
London SW17

Pablo defends PLO capitulation

BELOW we reprint an article by Michel Raptis (Pablo) in the Greek journal 'Vima' of 26 September, which defends the recent deal concluded between the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Israel.

Pablo welcomes and supports the deal — which was in fact an abject capitulation by the PLO leaders — as of 'historical significance'.

Pablo was the former secretary of the Fourth International who in the early 1950s, along with Ernest Mandel, led a revisionist breakaway (the United Secretariat) from the movement. Pablo argued that the character of the epoch had changed. We were now faced, according to Pablo, with 'centuries of degenerated workers' states' in an epoch in which the Stalinist bureaucracy was being forced to lead the working class to power.

Pablo was later expelled from Mandel's organisation but has recently been readmitted to it, against the wishes of its Greek section.

Pablo's pro-Serbian position is also clearly expressed in his comments.

Earlier this month Pablo organised a conference in Athens in the name of a body called the 'International Preparatory Committee'.

Among those attending were the prominent Stalinist Y.K. Ligachev, former member of the politburo of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ahmed Ben Bella from Algeria, who spoke on the 'North-South Dialogue'. Pablo opened the proceedings with an address: 'The New World Order in Action'.

THE unexpected — for many — agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, prepared secretly for many months in Oslo, is the result of processes which started a long time ago.

The general direction of these processes was defined by the conclusion that unless Israel and the PLO wanted to be bypassed by flourishing Islamic fundamentalism, they had to ally against it.

Only in this way could Israel — an artificial, small state, lacking sufficient indigenous resources and isolated in a Muslim world — have a viable future.

This is especially so since the cold war is over and geopolitical facts all over the world have changed rapidly and radically.

Israel, with an agricultural economy, will avoid long-term decay and elimination only if it moves rapidly enough to develop its technology and ser-

vices and gain access to wider Arab markets.

Palestinian nationalism, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and Zionist nationalism, which developed in parallel with it, risk being trapped in a struggle that has no future.

The Arab world knows that the oil weapon cannot last for ever and that, unless timely use is made of it for social and economic modernisation, it will lose its importance and weight.

If the *rapprochement* between the PLO and Israel, based on mutual recognition of the dangers to their respective national futures, led to the granting of limited autonomy to the Gaza strip and Jericho, this would be a victory for 'Pax Americana' in the Middle East, as would be the case if the Serbs suffered military defeat.

But if the agreement is part of the long-term creation of a Palestinian state and later a

confederation with Jordan, and if Israel finally agrees to withdraw from Lebanon and the Golan Heights and agrees to an international settlement of Jerusalem, then the Israel-PLO deal will have historical meaning and importance.

In both camps there are those who consider this step disastrous and do everything they can to to destroy it. We can't exclude the assassination of Arafat and the break-up of the now weakened PLO.

This is why it is urgent that aid to the Gaza be provided by the rich Western and Arab states.

Destroy

Any hesitation in sending this aid would be proof of myopia, and would strengthen those who want to destroy the process leading to the reduction of US dominance in the Middle East, which, as in the Balkans — aims at the 'Balkanisation' of every effort to build wider entities.

It is a historical irony that all these who try to topple this first step — a step of historical significance — to resolve the Middle East issue will do it under the flag of Islam and Zionism.

The bell is tolling for the end of Islamic and Zionist sectarianism and the conditions for overcoming both in a direction which limits the ambitions of Pax Americana.

This view must prevail, although it is difficult. That is the opinion of all in the Arab and Jewish world who want to look beyond the depressing horizon created by 100 years of one of the most irrational conflicts of the barbarian world we live in.



Jordanian opposition to the Israel/PLO treaty: Pablo criticises such a mass movement

Yeltsin's dictatorship

OVER 80 people attended a meeting in London last Monday to hear Alexi Gusev of the Socialist Workers Union (SWU) of Russia speak on the subject, 'Yeltsin's dictatorship — What Russian workers have to say about it'.

The meeting was chaired by Simon Pirani, an executive member of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International of which the SWU is a section. Pirani apologised for the absence of another mem-

ber of the SWU who had been refused exit from Moscow airport even though he had been granted a visa to visit Britain.

This comrade had lately led a struggle in his workplace against the official union leadership which was really an extension of the management.

Gusev detailed the background to the recent fighting in Moscow and explained the differences between Yeltsin and the parliament which launched the abortive insurrection.

The reaction of ordinary people was that they were not interested in the struggle between two sections of the same bureaucracy with different methods of restoring capitalism. At the time of the fighting the SWU distributed 5,000 leaflets calling for a boycott of Yeltsin's referendum to give him greater powers.

After the failed coup there was a crack-down on left groups. People could be sent to prison for the 'propaganda of social division'.

Members of Workers Power claimed that the call should have been made for the Russian working class to support what they described as 'the remnants of democracy' — the Rutskoï wing of the bureaucracy!

A letter of greetings to the meeting from the Japan Revolutionary Communist League said:

'[The Russian working class] must be aware that the Khazbulatov-Rutskoï group, as well as the ex-Gorbachevites and the traditional Stalinists, who supported the former group, are also their enemies. In the bloody October event these remnants of the Stalinist party... all gave up organising workers from below...'

'We call on the people gathered at the meeting against "Yeltsin's dictatorship". Voice your opposition against Yeltsin's oppression!'

German unemployment ready to top 4 million

UNEMPLOYMENT in Germany will top 4 million in 1994 (up by another 500,000) and industrial investment will continue to stagnate, warn the country's 'five wise men' appointed to advise the government on economic trends and policy.

Their latest report says that the recession has yet to bottom out and that growth in the coming year could be zero, in sharp contrast to the government's claim that the economy will expand by 1.5 per cent in the next 12 months.

They had predicted zero growth for west Germany's gross domestic product in the current year — the most pessimistic forecast made — only to see it decline by 2 per cent.

Decline

Private and public consumption are set to decline for the second year running, predict the five, while investment in plant and equipment is likely to drop by a further 2 per cent in the coming year, after a 15 per cent fall this year.

The 'wise five' say that a revival of industrial investment is now an urgent necessity, alongside the most rigorous con-

trol of government spending. They strongly criticise the government's failure to carry out tough enough policies in this area.

The five advisers warn that the impending introduction of an oil tax from 1 January, and simultaneous increases in social security and pensions contributions are likely to mean a further cut in production in the coming months.

Calling for tax changes to encourage more investment, they say that these will be possible only if the necessary cuts in government spending are made.

Leader of the social-democratic SPD opposition, Rudolph Scharping, responded to the report of the five wise men with a vague call for 'concerted action' to tackle the jobs crisis.

■ MANUFACTURING indus-

try could be employing less than one in ten of the workforce in 30 years time if present trends continue, according to a prize-winning economist.

Faster falls in employment can be expected in countries such as Germany and Japan, say DeAnne Julius, the chief economist at British Airways and Richard Brown an economic consultant.

They have won first prize in the Amex Bank Review Awards for their essay which points out that the share of manufacturing in total employment has already fallen sharply in recent years to around 15 per cent in the United States and to 32 per cent in Germany.

This shrinkage is partly due to the migration of manufacturing to low wage countries away from western Europe and north America.

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