

Fight conspiracy of UN and 'great powers'

WORKERS and their allies in the free territory of the Tuzla and the Posavina regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina are digging in to defend themselves against increasing Serbian shells and possible air attack.

Their enemies are the United Nations and the 'great powers'. Whatever divisions there are amongst these enemies, they are united on one thing: all working-class resistance to the complete destruction of the former Yugoslavia must now be broken.

That now means the destruction of Tuzla. The intervention of UN forces in Sarajevo and the bringing down of Serb planes are all part of this aim.

As the 'Financial Times' said (1 March): 'It was strangely obliging of the Bosnian Serb airforce to provide NATO with such a clearcut *casus belli*.'

But it also gave the Serbian forces the go-ahead to intensify their shelling of Tuzla.

Free

The recent redeployment of UN forces — moving the pro-Serbian Russian battalion into Sarajevo — is widely seen as a way of strengthening the Serbian forces, giving them freedom to build up their strike-power in the free territory of northern Bosnia.

So far determined working-class resistance has held off these attacks. All actions of the great powers and the UN are aimed at implementing the Vance-Owen-Stoltenberg plan to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina and ratify — or rubber-stamp — the Serbian division of the country by ethnic cleansing.

During the long, hard winter the people of Tuzla have been starved of food, medical supplies and diesel oil for the generators in the hope that they would give in. But there is no sign of their resolve weakening, despite the hunger and the Serbian shells.

As part of their plans, the UN has brought 'peace' to Sarajevo. But what a 'peace'! The Bosnia-Herzegovina army's 1st Corps has been disarmed, and the

By DOT GIBSON in Zagreb
and GEOFF PILLING in London

Serb forces have been allowed to move their operations elsewhere. Sarajevo is a UN 'protected area', in reality a prison camp.

Now the UN turns the spotlight on Tuzla, the working-class capital of Bosnia, and they have started the softening up process.

The Russians demand that Tuzla airport is placed under UN control, with Russian troops playing an 'observer' role. In other words Serbia, represented by Russia, would be at the centre of the control of Tuzla.

Now the lefts in Britain play their sinister role. Tony Benn MP and company become more openly pro-Serb, become more clearly part of the conspiracy to carve up Bosnia and smash all working-class resistance to the plans of imperialism. They will undoubtedly support UN action against Tuzla.

Join

It is unofficially reported that hundreds of soldiers from the Bosnian 1st Corps has left Sarajevo through tunnels under the mountains to join the soldiers of the 2nd Corps in the free territory.

The 2nd Corps is integrated into the life of the people of Tuzla and has always worked hand-in-hand with the Croat HVO forces against the Serbs, unlike the corps in central Bosnia.

The commander of the 2nd Corps is a Croatian from Orasje, and a professional soldier who had trained in the

DEFEND TUZLA!

Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade.

Now he has trained a people's army in the free territory, with the miners at its head, backed up by the mayor of Tuzla, himself an outstanding leader in this war. The town council, the citizens' assembly and many local communities, including those of the miners' wives, are all part of this integrated, collaborative force.

For two years Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, has come under acute pressure to

accept UN plans, but with the people of the free territory breathing down his neck he has been held in check.

Break

Now the UN comes in to strengthen the hands of those who compromise with ethnic cleansing and to break those who have fought against it. That is why Tuzla is suddenly in the news.

They do not want the war to end with the working class of the

Tuzla region in a strong position. The 2nd Corps and the people in these towns must be broken.

That is why the UN has always refused to open the northern route from Orasje, on the Croatian border, to Tuzla. This would give the people in the free territory access to the outside world.

The UN has allowed the Serbs to hold some 10km of that road, relying on the Serbs to prevent Tuzla and the other

● TURN TO BACK PAGE

Printworkers support Workers Aid

A LOCAL branch of the printworkers' union, the GPMU, has circulated a letter calling on all other branches to sponsor one of their members, Bozena Langley, to go on the next Workers Aid convoy to Bosnia.

The Graphical, Paper and Media Union's mid-Southern branch has already donated £200 towards her expenses, as she has to take three weeks' unpaid leave from her job in

order to go on the convoy. Branch secretary Paul Witham writes:

'I am sure you will remember an emergency motion, presented by Bozena Langley, from the mid-Southern branch at the 1993 Biennial Delegate Conference supporting Workers Aid for Bosnia, which was unanimously supported by conference.

'Since conference, Bozena

and some of her colleagues have raised a considerable amount of money for this cause . . . and have already sent a convoy over to Bosnia. Another convoy, carrying food, bedding and medical supplies, is being arranged and this is due to leave on 26 March.'

The letter goes on to appeal for funds for Bozena and for Workers Aid, and £300 has already been sent in.

S. Africa election appeal

Total: £2,339.50

OUR party in South Africa, the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA, is planning some big events and needs to produce 100,000 leaflets for a mass rally.

The comrades are also considering standing nationally, if the closing date is postponed yet again by the government in an attempt to draw in the rightwing forces around the so-called Freedom Alliance, which includes Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and hardline apartheid elements. This will cost £5,000.

Funds

Unlike the African National Congress and South African Communist Party compromisers and collaborators with imperialism, our party has no big backers to provide resources. We must turn for funds to our own movement, the working class, and to all who genuinely want to fight capitalism, imperialism and oppression.

Many people have made contributions already: MK, PB, JR, RB, CC, TJ, JJ, TB, FG, SH, RK, PS, BL, MR, MW and many more. Our comrades in Ireland have sent over £100. Many WRP branches have brought their contributions together and sent them in.

Please rush your donations for the working-class alternative in South Africa to: Workers International, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB. Make cheques payable to 'Workers International'. Please fax us on 071-582 8834 and tell us what to expect.

Inside

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International Women's Day (8 March): Women workers and how the vote was won. p7

unite
19
MARCH

East End under attack
STOP THE NAZIS

JOIN THE TUC NATIONAL DEMO AGAINST RACISM SATURDAY 19 MARCH 1994

Assemble 11 am
Spitalfields Market, London E1
March 12 noon Rally 2 pm
London Fields (off Mare Street) London E8



Answering racist violence and January's neo-Nazi attack on the left-wing Mushroom Bookshop, Nottingham people marched united against racism and fascism on Saturday 26 February. Some 32 skinheads linked with the neo-Nazi Blood and Honour group face charges this month over the attack on the bookshop, in which staff and customers were injured. A pub at Heano, near Nottingham, which fascists were using has since had to close
Photo: Mark Salmon

Enemy in blue

THE imperialists have tried to conceal their predatory aims in the Balkans beneath 'peace plans', and the same blue UN flag they used in Korea and Zaire (Congo).

It is nothing new. To dispense with justice in the name of order, they will pose as 'law enforcement', intervening to 'separate the combatants'. To show 'even-handedness', they may even threaten their protégés.

In November 1955, Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden warned that unless the Israelis refrained from raiding neighbouring states, the RAF could bomb Tel Aviv. Within a year, as planned, British and French planes bombed Egypt, in collusion with the Israeli invasion. To help Eden keep up appearances, French diplomats got the Israeli government to reject a UN ceasefire, just long enough for British troops to go in as 'peacemakers'!

In 1969, British troops went in to the north of Ireland, supposedly to 'keep the peace' and protect people from sectarian pogroms. Within two years thousands were behind the wire of internment camps, and the Parachute Regiment gunned down peaceful demonstrators in Derry. Special Air Service and undercover squads run by British intelligence kept up 'sectarian' killings. The north remains under occupation.

* * * * *

WORKERS PRESS has warned against any trust in UN forces in Bosnia. We did not support the call for air strikes on Serb positions. But nor can we join Tony Benn MP, 'Socialist Worker', the Revolutionary Communist Party's Campaign Against Militarism, or the 'Morning Star'.

Behind pacifist claptrap, protesting against 'Western involvement', they refuse to lift a finger for the Bosnian people, oppose Workers Aid for Bosnia and, in effect, defend Serb aggression.

What Workers Press has said, Workers Aid for Bosnia has exposed *in practice*; imperialism has intervened in Bosnia, through the UN embargo that denies the Bosnian people arms to defend themselves, and the UN control of relief supplies which aims to starve people into submission. The 'air strikes' drama was a diversion, allowing Serb forces to redeploy elsewhere, while Russian troops replaced them.

John Major talks of opening Tuzla airport, but under UN, not Bosnian, control. Tuzla is under fire, and Sarajevo remains under siege. 'But now our enemy wears a blue helmet,' a Bosnian military commander said, when Russian troops arrived.

* * * * *

THE Stalinist 'Morning Star' has blown its cover. Its 22 February editorial, 'Dangers of meddling', sympathised with 'the Serbs' understanding that any withdrawal by them from the hills around Sarajevo would mean an advance by Muslim forces'.

For the 'Morning Star's' leader writer, Bosnians don't exist, only 'Muslims' and 'Serbs'. Its sympathies weren't for the people bombarded and besieged in the Bosnian capital.

'New factor gives hope', the 'Star' rejoiced two days later. Russian troops had gone in, and Yeltsin had invited the imperialist powers to meet with him to decide the fate of Bosnia. On 25 February a 'Star' editorial, 'Two states in Bosnia', though fearing Bosnian Serbs might have to give up territory, accepted US plans to divide Bosnia into Serbian and Croat-Muslim states.

The 'Morning Stalinist' doesn't dispute imperialism's right to dispose of Bosnia, providing Russia is given a role — once again, gendarme of eastern Europe. (Yeltsin can't bring vegetables into Moscow, but he can fly troops across Europe!)

The working people of Bosnia, or anywhere else, don't enter such calculations. But widening international support for Workers Aid shows the working class everywhere will decide its own future!

Letters

Reasons revealed for E. Timor massacre

THE 'Network First' programme on ITV on Tuesday 22 February showed the massacre of East Timorese people by Indonesian forces in the 1980s and 1990s.

These massacres were committed with the full knowledge of Britain and other imperialist countries. Indeed, Britain had been selling ground-attack aircraft to the Indonesian government while the invasion of East Timor was in full swing.

The ITV programme was presented by John Pilger, one of

the best investigative journalists.

Torture in East Timor was a commonplace, with people being hung upside down, and their genitals being cut off and stuffed in their mouths.

This barbarity was committed on Australian journalists who had reported the invasion.

Henry Kissinger, the then US secretary of state, who knew about the invasion and the massacres, was only concerned about covering up his complicity

in condoning the Indonesian atrocities.

Alan Clark, the former defence minister, was questioned by Pilger about being a vegetarian and opposing the way animals are killed, and about the thousands of East Timorese who were massacred. Clark, giving out an air of indifference, said he was not perturbed about the way these helpless people were being annihilated.

Later in the programme we saw one of the reasons why imperialism is so interested in

this tiny part of the world. Australia's foreign minister was seen negotiating with the Indonesian leader over the exploitation of East Timor's oil reserves.

This, combined with the Western imperialists' search for a 'new world order', was the reason why these innocent people were massacred.

Ken Singer
Dundee

See 'Connivance and complicity', page 6.

Unsuitable Bosnia history that invents the facts

IN A letter of 1890 Engels warned a would-be Marxist against turning the materialist conception of history into 'a ready pattern according to which one shapes the facts of history to suit oneself'.

For some politicians on the left as well as the right (not to mention the centre) history is not to be studied in order to understand the present, but to be dipped into, like Jack Horner's Christmas pie, in order to pull out 'juicy bits' that can be used, regardless of context, to support some current campaign.

What is even worse, partisan zeal leads some activists to invent 'suitable' historical facts — as when Charlie Pottins tells

your readers that Bosnia, 'like Kurdistan', was part of the Ottoman empire in 1918. If so, what was that Archduke doing in Sarajevo a few years earlier, one wonders?

True, under the Austrians, as under the Ottomans, the Muslims were still the 'most favoured community' in Bosnia. Perhaps that's what Charlie meant?

Some Muslim politicians have long felt nostalgia for that Austrian period, as also, of course, for their alliance with the Croat fascists in World War II, when they carried out an 'ethnic cleansing' of Serbs, a real mini-holocaust.

Brian Pearce
New Barnet

Useful lesson on CPGB

IT IS with some trepidation that I write to take issue with Terry Brotherstone. His column, so far, seems to have avoided the wilder shores of political incorrectness sometimes trodden by Peter Fryer.

I agree that it is pointless speculating on what went wrong with the Communist Party of Great Britain ('John Fordun', 19 February). Although speculation on whether that party was ever revolutionary, or has any lessons to offer revolutionaries today, is perhaps more fruitful. It is right, too, to link the degeneration of the CPGB to the international history of Stalinism.

But if we stop there, as Brotherstone seems to, surely we run the risk of being the flip side of the coin, beloved of all old Stalinists, namely, that everything they did can be ex-

cused because it was necessary to defend Russia, defeat the Nazis, and so on?

Despite their rotten politics in general, many members of the CPGB did do very good work in building rank-and-file groups in industry, fighting the British Union of Fascists, and so on.

In fact, given the handicap of their Stalinism, some of this work was of an impressive nature. And there is a lesson here for today, as well, I think. There are many groups around the world who see themselves as revolutionary but who Trotskyists would see as anything but. But that does not mean to say that such groups may not, often partly by accident, stumble upon useful work or contain useful people in them.

Keith Flett
London N17

Labour MPs vote to oppose gay equality

A PROPOSED amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill, which would have reduced the age of consent for gay men from 21 to 16, was defeated by the votes of 35 Labour MPs.

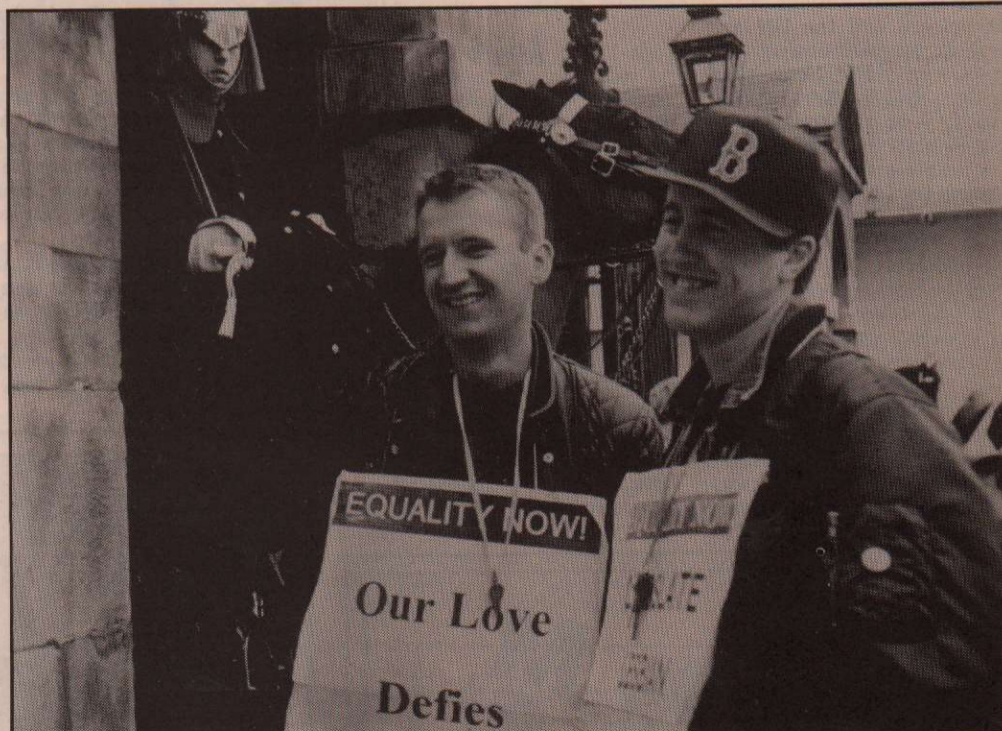
Leading right-wingers, like Labour Party health spokesman David Blunkett, voted against the democratic right of a universal age of consent irrespective of sexual orientation. So, too, did education spokeswoman Ann Taylor.

Gay groups are furious at the betrayal of the Labour MPs and have called for the resignation of Blunkett and Taylor. They say that the amendment agreed by parliament, for a reduction to 18, is no compromise as it will still criminalise young homosexuals.

Many gay men still have illusions that the Labour Party will fight on their behalf, and that these MPs are a shameful exception. However, it must be noted that this was a 'free vote' — that is, that the Labour Party declined to impose its whip.

It is not a question of 'good' or 'bad' Labour MPs. The point is that the reformist Labour Party as a whole will not defend the democratic right of equality.

Paul Day
London SW12



Outrage! activists campaigning at an earlier time in Whitehall against discriminatory laws

Workers Press £3,000 Monthly Fighting Fund

Fund closes: £2,142.27

WE'VE got in £850 in the last week, which is a good showing. But yet again I have the duty to report that we haven't made the full £3,000 we need to develop the paper consistently. Our work continues to outstrip our ability to respond to it. This is extremely frustrating.

Our work includes reporting on the election campaign of our comrades in South Africa, the Community and Union Action Campaign, and so on. With the heavy shelling of Tuzla following the shooting down of Serb planes on Monday, the Workers Aid for Bosnia campaign is at a critical stage.

We have to expand our ability to produce propaganda for the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International. This is not separate, it is the task of Workers Press. In a sense, our opportunities will always be greater than our immediate financial resources and comrades will have to continue to make their own particular sacrifices to develop the work. But we need to fight to stop this being such a brake on development. We need to expand the circle of contributors — political and financial. We need to break out.

Rebuilding the Fourth International is inseparable from rebuilding the consciousness of the workers' movement. That consciousness has to be built in the ranks of the WRP itself — each of us — of what our tasks are and how we are going to carry them out. Workers Press is the instrument by which we do this.

Mike Cooke

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

Coming soon

SUNDAY 6 MARCH: Harold Rosen, author of 'Language and Class', introduces his new book 'Troublesome Boy', about an East End education. A Jewish Socialist Group meeting. Quaker International Centre, Byng Place, London WC1, at 7.45pm. Nearest tube Goodle Street/Russell Square.

TUESDAY 8 MARCH: 'The Challenge of Creationism'. Start of South Place Ethical Society course by Mike Howgate MSc., 6.30pm-8.30pm (and each Tuesday following in March). At the Conway Hall in Red Lion Square, London WC1. Admission is £1 and the nearest tube is Holborn.

SATURDAY 19 MARCH: TUC 'Unite against Racism' march from Spitalfields to London Fields followed by a demonstration. Assemble Spitalfields Market 11am (nearest tube Liverpool Street).



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High Court attacks right to strike

BY OUR EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

ON Friday 25 February, the Court of Appeal decided, in what has been called an unprecedented situation, that a national strike by the lecturers' union NATFHE would be illegal under the 1992 Trade Union and Labour Relations Act.

The strike, due to start last Tuesday, has been called off. The new legislation demands that when a union is in the process of deciding on strike action it has to hand over the membership lists to the employers, which covers both those to be balloted and those to be asked to take industrial action. These lists have to be accurate to within a handful of members.

The College Employers Forum (CEF), a government-sponsored quango, took the Blackpool and Fylde College branch of NATFHE to the High Court, where its injunction against the proposed strike was upheld.

The injunction was taken out on the grounds that the union branch had not complied with the terms of the 1992 Act in that it was claimed that the union had not provided information to the employers in the form required by the law.

Ruling

The ruling made the first NATFHE member to appear in court, the national executive's Kate Heasman, liable to imprisonment if the strike went ahead.

This decision poses a threat to every trade union. It is almost impossible for union officials to provide a virtually accurate list of members as the law now demands. That they have to is a breach of working-class and democratic rights and marks another stage in the intrusion of the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the unions.

Twelve other unions were conducting ballots when the High Court decision was handed down and have since called them off.

An immediate panic-stricken response to the ruling was a meeting of NATFHE's Further Education Industrial Relations Committee (FEIRC), which decided that, against the decisions of the 22 January conference, which called for industrial action for a national contract, local branches should undertake local negotiations for local contracts.

The 'new contract' which CEF intends to impose on all lecturers in non-university colleges calls for an increase in attendance at the college from the current maximum of 30 hours a week to a minimum of 37 hours a week; an increase in class contact hours from the present 17-21 to an unlimited amount; an agreement that Saturday and Sunday are working days; a reduction of six weeks in annual holiday entitlement.

Saturday 26 February was the day of the NATFHE Further Education annual general meeting. Here, after hours of debate, only one motion was finally put: to allow local as well as national negotiations to take

place. CEF says that national negotiations are over — they have the agreement of the non-TUC Association of Teachers and Lecturers, and that this is sufficient. The motion was defeated by 14 votes.

Bath City College NATFHE branch, where 52 lecturers have already been sacked for refusing to sign the 'new contract', has issued a statement declaring their anger 'at the news that the FEIRC has decided to go for local negotiations'. They were given a standing ovation by the AGM, led by the very hypocrites who had just attempted to dump them!

After the AGM, FEIRC members had a semi-secret meeting

to overturn the AGM decision to have no local negotiations.

However, it is expected that there will be a challenge, perhaps by the union president Jean Cook, to the general secretary, Geoff Woolf, for allowing the meeting to take place.

These events are bizarre enough in themselves, but they represent a threat to any industrial action by any union. The court order is the first to be obtained under the 1992 Act.

The Haldane Society warned that the Tories might well use this and other 'trade union reforms' to crush any resistance to privatisation, but until now it has been only a threat.

The judgement makes vir-

tually any industrial action illegal if the employer is prepared to say that people taking action might have been at work. This apparently applies to mass meetings to discuss taking action, unless they are held away from the employers' premises and at a time when those premises are themselves closed — or if the employer agrees.

■ A number of inducements are being used to get lecturers to sign the new contract, including a £330 one-off payment, and even a £1,700 maximum.

■ Employers are offering 'Point 5' (i.e. 'half-time') contracts for 18 hours' teaching a week; the current maximum is for 21 hours for a full week.



FIFTY homeless people have occupied Artillery Mansions in Victoria Street, London, opposite Westminster city hall, to highlight the government's new anti-squatting laws. They have covered the flats with banners expressing their demands. Under these laws squatters face criminalisation, heavy fines and up to six months

in prison. Artillery Mansions have been empty for 18 years. Despite damage from pigeons and rats the approximately 1,000 rooms are basically in good condition. There is no gas or electricity.

Residents have created their own arts centre in the flats.

There has been no action, as yet, by

police, and no legal moves to kick them out. People arrive all the time to join the occupation.

It's ironic that this squat is in Westminster borough following the 'homes for votes' scandal and is only a few minutes walk from parliament.

Photo and story by Marg Nicol

Heseltine opens new government crisis

ATTORNEY GENERAL Sir Nicholas Lyell's position in the government was looking precarious after President of the Board of Trade Michael Heseltine's evidence before the Scott inquiry into the Matrix-Churchill 'arms-to-Iraq' scandal.

Heseltine complained to the Scott inquiry that Lyell's advice had been inconsistent and said that he found the apparent contradiction 'incredible'.

The controversy results from advice given by Lyell over Public Interest Immunity (PII) certificates preventing disclosure of government documents.

After forcing amendments to a PII on the Matrix-Churchill 'arms-to-Iraq' trial, designed to protect him from any allegations of a cover-up, Heseltine says he reluctantly signed after Lyell advised him that it was his duty to do so. He was told that his concerns would be 'flagged up' to the judge.

Collapse

But after the trial's collapse Heseltine was told, again by Lyell, that he was not duty bound to sign a PII when revealing documents 'might be essential to ensure a fair trial'.

Lyell issued a statement after Heseltine's evidence saying his advice on PIIs had 'remained consistent'. He is planning to give evidence to the Scott inquiry in three weeks. In the meantime, pressure will be mounting for him to go.

Senior Tory MP Patrick Nicholls defended Lyell, reflecting Tory anger at the way Heseltine had broken ranks with the crisis-ridden Major cabinet.

Tory Westminster homes for votes scandal deepens

A FRESH inquiry is to be launched against Westminster council by District Auditor John Magill.

Some 6,000 pages of documents are to be examined in relation to possible gerrymandering in housing policy, compilation of the electoral register, press and public relations, and environmental services.

Magill's provisional report in January accused former council leader Dame Shirley Porter and nine other councillors of 'improper and disgraceful' gerrymandering using housing policies at the expense of the homeless.

The new documents raise, amongst others, questions about whether proper information about electoral registration was given to some 300 establishments for people living in hostels, student nurses homes and bed and breakfast accommodation for the homeless.

Research discredits Thomlinson report on hospital closures

BY MIKE COOKE

LONDON needs more hospitals, not less. This is the finding of research that was available at the time the Thomlinson report was being prepared, which is the basis of government plans to close down a number of the capital's hospitals and shed 2,500 beds.

The research was compiled by a leading hospital academic, Brian Jarman, and shows that London has fewer beds per 1,000 people than the rest of the country.

The government, particularly Health Secretary Virginia Bottomley, has consistently maintained that there are more

beds in London and that they should be cut. Jarman's research was known to the health department but was not passed on to Sir Bernard Thomlinson, or so Jarman claims.

At a Labour MPs' inquiry into London's health service, he said: 'When I went with the Royal College of General Practitioners to give their verbal evidence to Sir Bernard two weeks before his report was due, I asked him if he had seen my report.'

'He said: "I haven't seen this report. I wish I had, because I would have delayed delivering my report".'

But why did Thomlinson not then publish a statement repudiating his own report?

A further indication of the

cretinism of those who lead and support government inquiries is revealed by Jarman's complaint that Thomlinson 'was very carefully asked to look at acute sector beds, not the whole picture of elderly, mental health, residential home and specialist beds.'

'The government thinks there are too many beds — but they are behind the times.'

It is beside the point what the government thinks. It is being driven to close beds, whether they are needed or not, by the banks' demand that the government reduces the public sector debt.

And it is only proposed by Jarman that his findings could have delayed the closures. He says nothing about them being

reversed. He no doubt accepts the logic of the Labour Party reformists that money should be the limiting factor in health care.

It is only limiting in so far as they accept the continued existence of capitalism and its insatiable desire to maintain and extend profits.

Jarman merely says that 'If Sir Bernard had seen my report, I think it would have made it more difficult to write what he has written'.

Jarman's figures show that London has fewer than ten beds per 1,000. The rest of the country has 12 beds per 1,000.

Thomlinson used figures from the King's Fund report that first proposed London hospital closures.

Tower Hamlets trades council
Millwall needs more than a protest vote!

Public meeting
Wednesday 9 March, 7.00-9.30pm
Samuda Community Centre, Stewart Street
(off Manchester Road), London E14

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Inside left

Hole in their map

OUTSIDE a cinema showing 'Schindler's List', Workers Aid for Bosnia campaigners met leafleters from the Anti-Nazi League (ANL). Headed 'Never Again', their leaflet mentioned the British National Party, France's Le Pen, German neo-Nazis, and Russian fascist Chirinovskiy. Not a word about Bosnia where, with support from Chirinovskiy, and great power complicity, genocide is happening again.

One of the ANL supporters was interested in Workers Aid. Maybe I'll ask Socialist Workers Party members in the ANL why 'Socialist Worker' never mentions Workers Aid; and why, while piously preaching about workers' unity across ex-Yugoslavia, it refuses to acknowledge or support workers who are fighting to remain united.

The ANL's rivals, the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA), held its conference recently. ARA leaders defeated resolutions criticising their disgusting smears against anti-Nazi 'violence' at Welling; and a fairly mild resolution on Palestine was ruled 'out of order' by the executive.

All it asked for was equal rights for peoples there. But, as former anti-Apartheid Movement secretary Mike Terry warned, 'once we allow precedent, people will want us to take sides on other issues, like Bosnia'. Yes, they might expect Anti-Racist Alliance to oppose racism!

Memory gap

I AM sure that many readers of the 'Morning Star' will have taken part in the 1958 Aldermaston March, writes Joan Horrocks of Physicians Against Nuclear Arms, drawing attention to a programme series being prepared for BBC television. (Letter to the 'Morning Star', 25 February.)

I wouldn't be so sure. Maybe some of today's 'Morning Star' readers took part, but the 'Star's' predecessor, the 'Daily Worker', did not support the first Aldermaston 'Ban the Bomb' marches.

At the 1957 Labour Party conference, when Vivienne Mendelson moved Norwood Labour Party's resolution for Britain to unilateral give up nuclear weapons, her opponents included the Electrical Trades Union, then still run by the Stalinists.

Pinning their hopes for peace on summit talks between the great powers, the Communist Party fell behind Labour shadow foreign secretary Aneurin Bevan's line, that he couldn't be expected 'to go back into the conference chamber'.

Even a couple of years later, when the Stalinists were becoming involved through the British Peace Council, a leading Young Communist League (YCL) member in Manchester assured me quite seriously that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was 'a Trotskyist gimmick to split the peace movement'.

In 1960, Communist Party members did turn up at Aldermaston and in a score of local CND groups. But as against CND's unilateralism, their placards stressed opposition to US and German militarism, and support for summit talks. YCL members were urged to send Christmas cards to Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan asking him to meet Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.

Books on the peace movement seem to skip this phase, and I don't suppose the BBC series will be better. But if post-'glasnost' historians want to go beyond nostalgia for placards, duffle-coats and banners, here is a story to be told.

Charlie Pottins

Unite republics under workers power

— say Russian and Ukrainian workers and strikers

AS A result of the situation in the regional and state factories of the former USSR republics, the meeting concluded the following:

a) The division and artificial separation of the peoples, states and their economies is putting a brake on their development.

b) As the sole guarantee against the final catastrophe and the transformation of our states into colonies of the developed capitalist countries, what is needed is the uniting of the peoples on the basis of the workers' movement and social organisations.

c) This union will have to be on the basis of equal rights and mutual help and support, excluding all domination and superiority of one nation over another.

d) The workers' movement will have to be an independent political force, creating its own workers' ideology and political party from the constructive forces in society.

e) The moment has now arrived for the workers' movement to move towards the uniting of the former Soviet republics on the basis of workers' power and the stabilisation of the economic relations between firms and regions.

As the crisis deepens in Russia and Ukraine, many workers have not been paid for months and there are constant strikes and protests against government and employers. This resolution was carried by Ukrainian and Russian workers and strikers at a meeting in early February in Poltava, Ukraine. It was organised by a body set up by workers breaking from the Workers Communist Party of Russia (RKRK). The internationalism expressed by the resolution represents an important move away from resurgent Russian nationalism.

Resolutions

AS A consequence of these conclusions, the meeting resolved:

1. To hold, during April and May, a congress of strike committees and workers' committees, of worker and military collectives of the Confederation of Independent States, with the objective of uniting the peoples and states.

2. [People were then named as co-ordinators of the enterprises and the regions.]

3. To form a committee, to prepare for the formation of an International Workers Party, to be

made up of the following people: Zakharov, president of the workers' and strike committee, Poltava; Saviuk, president of the workers' committee of Lugansk province, and co-president of the regional soviet of strike committees of Donbas; Gupalo, vice-president of the workers' and strike committee, Poltava; Bekauri, co-ordinator of the committee of transport workers, Kiev; Lobov, member of the strike committee of Vorkuta; Chirko, co-president of the strike committee of Sebastopol (Crimea); Minakov, president of the workers' soviet of Rostov-on-Don.

The committee was given the task of working out the basic principles of the workers' ideology, and

of the strategic and tactical organisations of the workers' movement.

4. To call upon the workers of the former USSR to celebrate 18 March, the day of the Paris Commune, as an expression of workers' international solidarity.

5. To take resolutions dealing with a call to the workers of Europe and America, and supporting the miners of the city of Tuzla in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Call to the workers of Europe and America

COMRADES, friends:

We, the workers of the ex-USSR, are finding ourselves in a difficult situation under the pressure of a socio-economic crisis. We are convinced of the total inability of the existing powers to operate in the interests of all society.

We are obliged to initiate a determined struggle for a dignified human life. Only our concrete and responsible actions will be able to stop the destruction of the economy and the closing of the factories, and stop the misery of working people.

A rat called Rosewell is a

CHARLIE POTTINS charts the left to right career of a Tory rat from Westminster council

A RAT has scuttled out of the back corridors of Westminster City Hall. The rat's name is Roger Rosewell. Former Conservative councillor Patricia Kirwan, who quit after unsuccessfully challenging Tesco heiress Dame Shirley Porter's leadership, wrote in 1989: 'Staff are forbidden to mention his name and commonly refer to him in the council corridors as "Thing".'

Under Shirley Porter's leadership, Westminster council sold cemeteries to developers for five pence apiece, then had to spend millions buying them back. A district auditor's report has confirmed how the council's policy of designated housing sales used public housing and taxpayers' subsidies to gerrymander Tory majorities, at the expense of working people and the homeless. And Westminster has privatised services like refuse collection and estate maintenance, and wants to do the same with homes for mental patients.

Unlike Dame Shirley, 'Thing', or Roger Rosewell, hasn't been in the headlines. He was never elected to the council, and held no official post. Not many people had heard of him, until 28 January when he was introduced on Angela Rippon's LBC radio programme, as 'co-ordinator of Westminster Conserva-

tives' Defence Campaign'.

Two days earlier, Tory councillor Dr Michael Dutt, named in the district auditor's report, had been found at his home in St Albans, dead from a gunshot wound in the head. He had been lying there over a week.

Speaking in place of Lady Porter, who was sitting out the row at her holiday home in Palm Springs, California, Rosewell accused district auditor John Magill of 'recklessness' in publishing his interim findings. 'He never once gave any thought to what the effect on individuals may have been. . . . Mr Magill will have to live with this for the rest of his life.'

Very touching, if you hadn't seen the homeless freezing on Westminster pavements, within sight of the palaces of plenty, and remembered that the Tory council wanted to turn hoses on them. The government admits the district auditor stuck strictly by procedure. Tories are fond enough of preaching the law, until it applies to them!

What LBC listeners weren't told was that Roger Rosewell was one of Lady Porter's closest advisers at City Hall. According to ex-councillor Kirwan, he 'became a regular shadowy presence in her suite' on the 18th floor of City Hall, interviewing officers and commenting

on the content of reports and the progress of events. There is no doubt that he has been a tremendously important influence — if not the mastermind — behind her political progress.'

No longer leader of the council, Lady Porter continues to enjoy Rosewell's services, having bought a large share in LBC and provided him with an office at its premises.

Obnoxious opponent

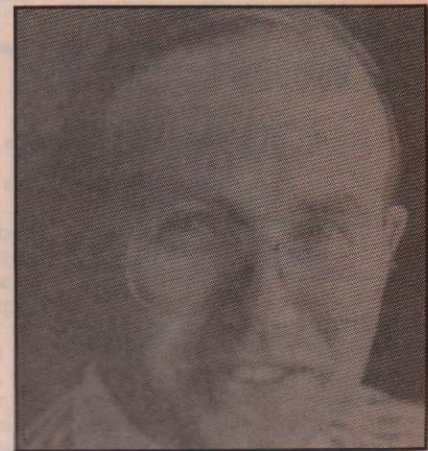
SOME of us have older recollections of Roger the rat. In the early 1960s he was active in the labour movement in Surrey, moving from the Young Communist League to join Tony Cliff's political tendency, which said the Soviet Union was 'state capitalist'. Rosewell became a vociferous supporter of its faction among Labour's Young Socialists, around the paper 'Young Guard'.

In 1964, an internal Labour Party executive report advised backing 'Young Guard' against the Trotskyist 'Keep Left' supporters, who had won a majority in the Young Socialists. Those of us who were with 'Keep Left' remember Rosewell as a loud-mouthed and obnoxious opponent.

Some of his former comrades don't disagree. 'I always found him extremely unpleasant,' says 'Socialist Worker' founder-editor Roger Protz.

In 1971, after working for the white-collar union ASTMS (now part of MSF), Rosewell went to work full-time for Tony Cliff's International Socialists (IS), which became the Socialist Workers Party. Former IS members say he affected a 'tough', thumb-in-braces 'working class' braggadocio which seemed to impress Cliff.

The IS was building a big 'rank-



Roger Rosewell

and-file' movement of militant trades unionists. Rosewell became industrial organiser. As a writer for 'Socialist Worker' he was also able to join the National Union of Journalists' book and magazine branch.

Jim Higgins, IS national secretary from 1972-73, says Rosewell

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We know that you also are carrying out to the end the struggle against the attacks of capitalism, and that the Western capitalists take advantage of the immigration of workers from eastern Europe to lower the standard of living of workers in western Europe.

Under such conditions it is urgently necessary to establish close ties between the workers' organisations of Europe, America and the former USSR. Only with mutual support, only on the basis of an organisation that unites the workers of our countries, will it be possible to win in the struggle against imperialist capitalism.

Unite with us to win a better life!

Support for Tuzla

WE STRONGLY protest against the bombing by NATO forces of the territory of ex-Yugoslavia. We express our total support for the miners and working people of Tuzla. We call for a halt to this senseless genocidal war. We call on the workers of every country to prevent the division of Yugoslavia according to religious beliefs and ethnic differences.



Russian miners' meeting during their strike in July 1989



Meeting of striking Ukrainian miners in the summer of 1990

loathsome 'Thing'!

was 'a coward, he was lazy, and a shit'. But when Bernadette Devlin, the campaigner for civil rights in the north of Ireland, went on a speaking tour with the International Socialists, Rosewell persuaded Tony Cliff to send him around the country as her co-speaker.

In 1975, Cliff decided to turn away from work in the unions. Jim Higgins was among people expelled from the organisation, while Rosewell came to the fore. Former members say he enjoyed malicious gossip and intrigue. 'I wouldn't put anything past Rosewell,' one told me.

The following year, Rosewell quit left-wing politics. After attending Ruskin College, Oxford, he became a political adviser to right-wing electricians' union leader Frank Chapple.

A former 'Socialist Worker' colleague, who had obtained a job as press officer for Islington Labour council, found himself witch-hunted in Chapple's column in the 'Daily Mail'. It was the start of things to come.

'Marxist threat'

IN March 1982, the employers' organisation Aims of Industry launched a pamphlet, 'Dealing with the Marxist Threat to Industry'.

'The first step to combatting Marxist influence is a recognition of the problem and a determination

to do something about it,' it urged. 'The recent history of the Labour Party is littered with those who pooh-poohed the Marxist threat only subsequently to fall victim to it.

'If chunks of British industry are not to go the same way, managers will have to wake up to the dangers that exist. As a beginning they have to know the names of the extremists and the organizations they belong to. Obviously this will also include information gathering on those groups who are active on the fringes of the work-place.'

The author was Roger Rosewell. Drawing supposedly on his experience, he purported to show how Marxists 'infiltrated' industry, became shop stewards, and manipulated workers' struggles. 'This is not a call for a blacklist', he added disingenuously.

In a sympathetic write-up in 'The Times' on 3 March 1982 ('Know your enemy, former Marxist tells managers'), Paul Routledge said Rosewell, 38, had been an SWP organiser on £30 a week. 'He now earns £10,000 a year lecturing and advising companies on industrial relations and extreme left-wing subversive tactics.'

Rosewell was on a labour law reform working-party set up by David Owen's Social Democrat Party. It couldn't be long before he moved on to the Tories. His employers at Aims of Industry were

already advocating attacks on local government services and nationalised industries.

As well as privatising services, Westminster's Tory council aimed to remove working-class families from their homes. An attempt to clear a council estate for developers was opposed by the Duke of Westminster, whose family had left land specifically for working-class housing. Taken to court, the council maintained there was no longer such a thing as a working class! Notwithstanding Tory unemployment policies, they failed.

Besides advising Lady Porter, Rosewell is employed by Associated Newspapers, mainly as a leader writer for the 'Daily Mail'. He is rumoured to have written speeches for Thatcher.

He denies any connection with Westminster's 'homes for votes' affair, and was not named in the auditor's report. But newspaper reports say he attended meetings of senior committee chairmen and supervised the work of council officers.

'When Rosewell visited Porter's office,' writes Dave Hill in the 'Guardian' (16 February), 'legend has it, he eschewed the regular elevators and made his ascent to her quarters via the goods lift at the rear of the building . . .'

I'm surprised that he didn't shin up a drainpipe like the little rat he is.

City Lights

BR sell-off give-away

BIG business is to be offered multi-million-pound sweeteners by the government to take part in the sell-off of British Rail. Huge tax concessions, not offered in previous privatisations, are planned in an effort to generate interest in the troubled BR sale.

The tax handout is buried away in the Finance Bill, which makes clear that private operators that take over former BR assets, such as £12.5 billion of rolling stock, will be able to do so without the tax penalties associated with previous privatisations.

Legal experts say that this could save potential buyers millions of pounds. They also say that the bill paves the way for BR's assets to be effectively 'given away' to the private sector if no buyer is found.

Previously, private companies benefiting from the writing off of government debt when taking over public assets have had to pay a tax penalty in proportion to the sum written off, but this is 'disapplied' in the case of the BR sale.

It is all well and good for Labour's shadow transport secretary, Brian Wilson, to denounce this as 'a scandal', but only the previous week Labour unveiled its own privatisation plans, which proposed that rules on investments in the state sector by private firms should be relaxed.

City decline blues

THE City of London is set for a period of terminal decline similar to that suffered by Britain's manufacturing industry. So says a recent report that warns that 45,000 City jobs are at risk.

It is competition from new financial centres that now threatens the former pre-eminence of the Square Mile. Despite the massive sackings of the last three years, not enough has been done, says the report. Commissioned by the London Human Resource Group, it says that as many as 75,000 — one in four of the City's workers — could be forced to change jobs this year. Obviously many will have to take lower-paid employment.

The City occupies a unique position in the structure of British capitalism. It was over a century ago that the position of British industry in the world market came under increasing threat as the advantages of being first in the field turned into their opposite. When Germany and other countries began to industrialise, they did so at far higher technical and organisational levels than existed in Britain. They were able to start their industrialisation where Britain left off.

British capitalism for long avoided the consequences of this decline because of the role played by the City of London. London became the world's leading financial centre, the source of the greater part of the funds that provided the wherewithal for the industrialisation of continental Europe and north America.

A large slice of world trade was conducted in sterling. London also became the world's leading commercial centre, where commodities were bought and sold to the great profit of those arranging such transactions.

It was the City's income that made up for the loss of industrial supremacy. But the chronic decline of British capitalism, a decline that accelerated after the end of World War II, meant that only with in-

creasing difficulty could London retain its leading position.

The history of capitalism shows that the strongest economy has invariably been the centre of the financial system. Especially since the mid-1980s, new financial centres — Tokyo, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Milan, Paris and New York — have begun to challenge London.

Should the City's plight prove as serious as this report suggests, a good slice of the £20 billion currently earned by the City will be lost with dire consequences for British capitalism.

Con of private pensions

THE life insurance industry may have ripped off between £400 million and £1.3 billion of taxpayers' money over the last five years by selling personal pensions. Over this period the government has shelled out about £10.5bn to people taking out personal pensions, through rebates on national insurance contributions.

The money was paid to encourage people to opt out of the state system and make their own provision for a pension. Of this £10.5bn, between 4 per cent and 13 per cent has gone into the pockets of the insurance companies, by way of commissions and management fees.

Not only has the taxpayer lined the pockets of City institutions, but the latest research shows that more than 300,000 of those contracting out by April 1992 will get lower benefits on retirement than if they had stayed in the state scheme.

The private option has proved particularly disastrous for people over the age of 40: the rebates they received on their contributions were far less than they would have received from the state scheme.

The Tories pressed ahead with the scheme for private pensions, despite the warnings they were given even from people within the insurance industry. There was a simple reason for this: the government wanted to cut down on the soaring cost of pensions, rising each year as a result of an ageing population. The rebates were a bribe to induce people to leave the state scheme.

Many who did so were unaware of the consequences, especially when faced with a smooth-talking sales force paid by results. Some companies even made their employees pay back part of their salary if they did not achieve certain sales targets. As a result many quit insurance selling, often with heavy debts to their employers.

Even the government-appointed watchdog issued a warning in March 1990, saying that much advertising was highly misleading and emphasising that only a small number — the young and those on very high earnings — would benefit from leaving the state scheme.

But naturally the Tories have done nothing that would stop their friends in the City from raking it in.

Sign of the times

FROM 1 April the building societies must introduce tough new measures to crack down on . . . money laundering by drug traffickers.

After that date societies must record suspicious deposits or withdrawals, and failure to report these to the Criminal Intelligence Service could result in prosecution. All staff are to receive special training to detect early-warning signs.

Threadneedle

John Fordun

Toryism, nearly naked

THE death early last month of Stephen Milligan, the Tory MP for Eastleigh in Hampshire, led to soul-searching in circles where souls, one imagined, had been sold to the highest bidder long ago. Milligan, you will remember, went so far back to basics that he was found on his kitchen table in Hammersmith, west London, clad only in women's stockings and a Sainsbury's bin-liner.

The idea that there might be a specifically Scottish angle on this metropolitan affair did not immediately suggest itself. The Presbyterian Church is against sex in general rather than erotic asphyxiation in particular. The following weekend, however, coverage of the event north and south of the border in the 'quality' Sunday papers was strikingly different.

The 'Sunday Times' took the line that Milligan's death had been the 'private tragedy of a public man'. Editor Andrew Neil published, in bold print, his own obituary of a 'trusted colleague and dear friend'. The only political implication, apparently, was that the nation might have lost a great future leader.

The 'Observer' developed the angle already opened up in 'The Times' by columnist Matthew Parris, the former Tory MP who, after leaving parliament, declared himself gay. Tabloid treatment of the Milligan affair had made him fear mass hysteria on the scale of the Salem witch-hunt.

This panic-stricken imagery arose, apparently, from the fear of gays with careers in and around the Tory establishment that they will be the next victims of Major's desperate 'basics' appeal to the backwoods of his party. There was no evidence that Milligan himself was other than straight, if a tad kinky.

The tone of the Edinburgh paper 'Scotland on Sunday' was quite different. To use a tasteless metaphor, it went for the jugular. Reporters Euan Ferguson and Tom Condon had unearthed Milligan contacts who remembered him as 'a shit', an 'intellectual snob with no basis for it', a 'coward'; and as an MP whose crawling subservience to the Major administration had earned him the nickname 'Millipede'.

'SCOTLAND on Sunday' also had its own argument about the significance of Millipede's odd end. As 'a man driven by ego and ambition to such an extent that honest appraisal of the inner-self' had to be excluded, the Eastleigh MP was 'a spectre that [may] haunt local [Tory] constituency parties for . . . decades.'

In the 1980s, the theory ran, too many candidates had been selected from the incestuous world of Westminster itself. They were 'lobbyists, researchers, PRs, journalists, their teens spent in single-sex schools and their adult lives immersed in the falsehoods of polemic, soundbite and manipulation.'

Ferguson and Condon concluded with the enticing prospect that there are 'some very important skeletons in some very high-ranking closets, and [that, for journalists in the know] the race is now on to beat the libel laws.'

BUT what ideas had launched Millipede on his crawl up the

greasy pole? I turned to his book 'The New Barons', published in 1976.

It was written on the basis of his experience between 1970 and 1975 when, as a young journalist, he specialised in industrial relations for the 'Economist'. These were stormy years, when miners' strikes forced the Heath government first to make a U-turn in its policies, and then, in early 1974, to call a general election which it lost.

It may be true, as Millipede's claim, that their man was never a Thatcherite; and even 'Scotland on Sunday' conceded that he once had an honourable moment when, during the Wapping battles of the 1980s, he made some attempt to defend colleagues forced to leave the 'Sunday Times' because of their union beliefs. (Though, reported Ferguson and Condon, 'he adapted fast enough to the new regime of his friend Andrew Neil'.)

Yet the central idea (one might say obsession) of so-called 'Thatcherism' was one which Millipede had promoted before its time. The 'survival of democracy and the mixed economy' he wrote in 'The New Barons' required a policy 'geared to alter the great, debilitating assumption about society's inability to resist strikes . . .

'I cannot see any alternative to the restaging of a major confrontation or a series of confrontations in which the government reasserts its power . . . [The government must show itself capable of] withstanding a long and damaging strike and "winning" — the measure of the victory being whether other unions will then wish to imitate the striking union or not.'

Not long afterwards the leaked [Nicholas] Ridley memorandum revealed that the clique around Thatcher, which now controlled the Tory Party, had it as a strategic aim to do precisely what the author of 'The New Barons' demanded. The rest is history, the bitter history of the 1984-85 miners' strike in particular.

Millipede's grasp of trade union history, incidentally, was for an 'expert', shameful. He wrote that the prosecution of the Tolpuddle martyrs took place in 1784; and, if readers were inclined to forgive that as a typographical error for 1834, he mocked their charity by stating that the government later decided on further action against unions in the form of the Combination Act of 1799!

The man who thus put in his ha'p'orth on the need to defeat the unions was the same one who died last month. Nor is the idea that he was a potential Tory leader necessarily incompatible with the thesis that he was a warped personality unfit for public responsibility.

The Toryism of the past contained an element of honest paternalism, a nostalgic harking back to an age of rural deference and aristocratic social obligation. Today, Toryism is increasingly little else but fear and hatred of the working class and its potential to reorganise society on a human basis, with the principle of private ownership of collective activities and assets abolished.

The Thatcherites made their obsession with revenge against the miners central to an entire policy, to be carried out by self-seeking loyalists of whom no searching personal questions would be asked. But in their attitude to these key class questions all Tory politicians whose careers flourished or began successfully in the 1980s and early 1990s were cast in a single mould.

History may come to view the corpse in the Hammersmith kitchen, not as the outcome of an insignificant private tragedy, but as a privileged public peek at the Tory Party in the 1990s as it truly is!

Television

Connivance and complicity

'YOU are a vegetarian . . . doesn't your concern extend to humans, albeit foreigners?' reporter John Pilger asked former defence minister Alan Clark, probing him on his sale of Hawk aircraft to the Indonesian military dictatorship.

'Curiously, no,' replied Clark languorously, in perhaps the most chilling of many memorable exchanges between Pilger and statesmen with blood on their hands, in the exceptional NETWORK FIRST: 'Death of a Nation' (ITV, 22 February).

In a secretly-filmed documentary, which recalled the courage of his campaigning exposés on the Cambodian regime of Pol Pot, Pilger revealed the continuing genocide of the population of East Timor, 400 miles north of Australia. This time the 'killing fields' began with the Indonesian invasion of the island in 1975.

On the eve of this invasion, both Australia's Labour prime minister, Gough Whitlam, and US president Gerald Ford visited Indonesia in order to give dictator Suharto what Pilger called 'the big wink'.

Damning

'You can be sure Suharto got the official green light,' commented ex-CIA official C. Philip Liechty, one of the damning witnesses that Pilger and his research team always succeed in locating.

Former Australian ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcutt, was challenged by Pilger about his silence on the takeover of East Timor. Wasn't a protest appropriate from a government, five of whose subjects had been captured as they filmed evidence of the invasion, strung up by their feet, castrated and stabbed to death?

'They were very unwise to be where they were,' replied the urbane Mr Woolcutt with hideous understatement.

Pilger, habitual scourge of the United Nations, detailed how the continuing Indonesian occupation has broken every provision in the UN charter

'with the connivance and the complicity of Western governments'. Nobody wants to offend Suharto's regime, which is seen as an 'investor's paradise' by the West.

And nobody wants to miss out on the exploitation of East Timor's oilfields.

Suharto was awarded the UN prize for family planning in 1983; his occupiers have administered the contraceptive drug Depo-provera to East Timorese women for two decades, under the guise of anti-tetanus injections. 'There wasn't much else going on in the clinics,' an Australian doctor confided anonymously to Pilger.

After the massacre of 200,000 East Timorese in the immediate

ment increased its aid to Indonesia.

British Hawk aircraft are used, according to eye-witnesses in the film, to attack a population which is still defying the occupying troops. 'The UK is one of the most understanding countries,' smiled the reptilian Indonesian ambassador to the UN, in an interview with Pilger.

The unspeakable Clark, harried by Pilger on the implications of providing arms for Suharto, conceded loftily: 'I don't really fill my mind with what one set of foreigners is doing to another.'

'The evidence is there,' an exiled Timorese woman said directly to camera. 'You can't

capital punishment for homosexuals and foreign judges of Olympic ice-dance championships.

How good it was, then, to see once more Jeremy Isaac's absorbing 'Face to Face' interview with Derek Jarman (BBC2, 22 February), retransmitted shortly after the death from AIDS of the gay film-maker, writer and painter.

Jarman unselfconsciously acknowledged in this interview that his unpretentious but uncompromising art, with its celebration of homoeroticism, has contributed to the relative liberation of a generation of gay men in Britain.

But of course it has also aroused the wrath of those who insist that we all cleave to heterosexual monogamy, without necessarily doing so ourselves.

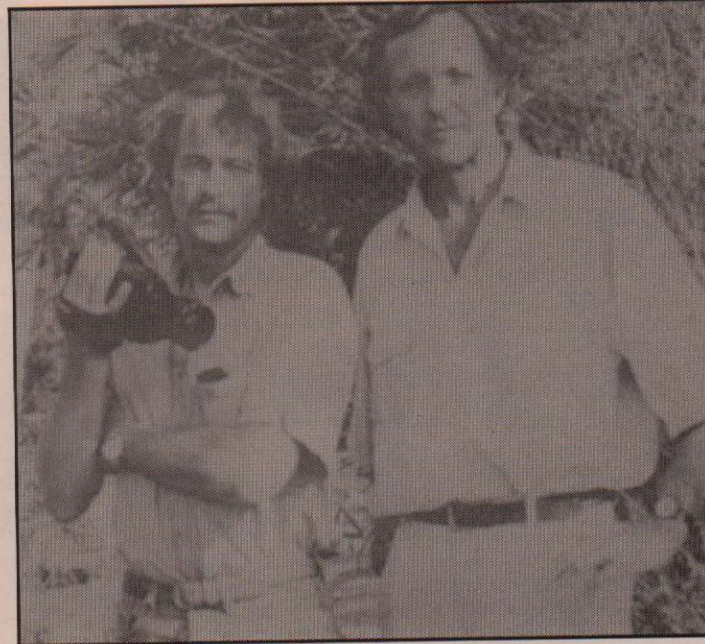
Banned

Picasso was also labelled 'degenerate' and 'incomprehensible' by many throughout his life. 'The Picasso Files' (BBC2, 20 February), using material released in the United States in 1990 and in Russia in 1991, revealed how the world's most famous artist was banned from entering the US after he joined the French Communist Party in 1944.

For FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover (whose own deviations this programme inexplicably failed to mention), Picasso was all that was unacceptable — radical, immoral and foreign.

But the documentary also highlighted articles in Pravda condemning Picasso's art for its 'bourgeois decadence'. The Soviet bureaucracy, though pleased with the kudos of having such a celebrated adherent, could never quite come to terms with an art that was so much at odds with the officially prescribed 'socialist realism'.

It took them until the 1960s to mount an exhibition of his work in Russia because, as Picasso commented, they feared nothing more than the explosive fusion of consciousness and feeling evoked by great art such as his.



John Pilger (right) revealed the continuing genocide in East Timor in 'Death of a Nation'

aftermath of the Indonesian invasion, US arms to the occupying regime doubled.

And after the murder of 400 peaceful demonstrators in Dili, the island's capital, in 1991 — an atrocity which was filmed, breaking the news blackout imposed on the country by Suharto — the British govern-

turn a blind eye any more. If you can, you're not human.'

DISPLAYS of humanity were in short supply on the box last week, as most media pundits conspired to try to convince us that the British public would like nothing better than the return of

Programme guide



Spielberg explains what inspired Schindler's List, on Tuesday, BBC1

Saturday 5 March ARENA: 'Glitterbug'. Derek Jarman's personal celebration of the 1970s and 1980s edited from hours of Super-8 film he shot as a diary (11pm, BBC2).

Sunday 6 March 'Trouble in the Magic Kingdom'. EuroDisney made a total loss last year of over \$900 million. Will Disney's misadventure in France be repeated elsewhere? (7pm, BBC2).

Monday 7 March BEYOND THE CLOUDS: 'For the Sake of Our Children'. Third Part of Philip Agland's exploration of Chinese society. Part Four is on Thursday (9pm, Channel 4). **PANORAMA:** 'The Sacrifice Zone'. Report on the human cost of US efforts to stay ahead in the nuclear arms race. It is

now openly admitted that thousands of lives were sacrificed as part of top-secret defence research projects (9.30pm, BBC1).

Tuesday 8 March. 'Steven Spielberg on Schindler's List'. The film-maker explains the inspiration behind his harrowing depiction of the Holocaust (11.15pm, BBC1).

Selected films

THE DEER HUNTER (1978). Michael Cimino's quintessential Vietnam war film. With Robert De Niro (Sunday, 9.30pm, Channel 4). **FRENZY (1972)**. Marked Alfred Hitchcock's return to filming in England. Script by Anthony Shaffer (Sunday, 10.40pm, BBC2). **VIN-**

CENT: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF VINCENT VAN GOGH (1987). Paul Cox's documentary-style recreation of the artist's life (Monday, 2.15am, Channel 4). JJ



De Niro in 'The Deer Hunter', on Sunday, Channel 4

End 'welfare state' says Tory mouthpiece

BY MIKE COOKE

THE sick logic that capitalism in decay is being driven to is further revealed in a report by the right-wing Adam Smith Institute.

It calls for the dismantling of the 'welfare state', not a new idea from a body that provides many of the ideas for Tory government policies.

But the reality twisted bit is that, for the institute, it's not the poverty created by capitalism but the 'welfare state' itself that is destroying 'the family' — 'the main arena of genuine welfare

in a free society'.

It ignores the fact that the moral state of many of the 'best families', that never have a need to call on welfare but at the same time create some monstrous individuals, leaves quite a lot to be desired.

Fuelled

One of the report's authors, David Marsland, social science professor at the West London higher education institute, blames the 'welfare state' for 'turning estates and neighbourhoods right across Britain into factories of crime and arbitrary violence, fuelled by an increas-

ing flow of drugs and alcohol'. The plan of the Adam Smith Institute is to phase out unemployment and invalidity benefit, and then move on to pensions and health care.

To get rid of poverty, the poor, including disabled people, are to be driven six feet under, where they will be no problem. Any money from the state would be normally loans for a small minority of people who the report calls 'temporarily incapable of self-help'.

Behind the institute's report is the grimy hand of capitalism in decay, grasping for profits in the 'financial services industry' that is, insurance com-

panies. They will get rich pickings from unemployment and sickness insurance for the better off, while the low paid, from whom little profit could be extracted in this way, would no doubt be left with nothing.

Enslaves

The institute's plan is for people to have 'personal lifetime accounts', representing, they say, investment in their future. The funds would be made available on the credit for industry, so businesses working class that a state would be grasping on the system that enslaves us.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY 1994

Women workers: how the vote was won

To celebrate International Women's Day, BERNARD FRANKS looks at the role of the mass of working-class women who are rarely given credit for their part in the struggle for women's political rights.

THE STRUGGLE for women's rights has had an international and working-class character which is usually forgotten, while the middle-class writers and protesters are given the credit.

In the French revolution of 1789 the demands of middle class women for legal equality and a positive role in managing their own lives were made simultaneously with working-class involvement in the street demonstrations, bread riots, enforcement of 'fair' prices on the market stalls, and in the insurrections.

While Olympe de Gouges countered the overt chauvinism of the 'Rights of Man' by writing 'The Rights of Women' (for which she was guillotined), the women of Paris were instrumental in bringing the royal family to the capital and in demanding divorce and other important legislation.

In Britain middle-class women struggled to find a place as writers, artists, reformers, educators and later in nursing and medicine. Mary Wollstonecraft wrote her 'Vindication of the Rights of Women', calling for equal access to politics and education, in 1792.

But meanwhile working women had made their mark in the Short Time movement, Chartism, and the trades unions, notably in the cotton industry, although many unions specifically excluded them.

Sections of the early socialist movement said that women's emancipation could only be achieved through men's, but most eventually came to support the women's own struggle.

By the mid-19th century around a quarter of all married women were in work and even 15 per cent of mothers with children were employed. Campaigns were launched to end the virtual slave status of married women in the home and to give them protection at work.

Education for girls, where it existed, was deliberately restricted to instruction in domestic chores. In some cases libraries refused them entry. The early women's colleges — Girton, Bedford, Queen's — were for ladies rather than women generally.

Movements of working-

class women seeking voting rights appeared first in Britain in 1818, with female reform societies in a number of northern towns. Universal suffrage banners were carried at Peterloo in 1819, when the yeomen cut down a peaceful crowd with sabres, and the demand was part of the Chartist agitation in its early days, particularly advocated by William Lovett of the London Working Men's Association.

Universal male suffrage became the Chartist demand, as easier to achieve. Women continued to organise independently in support of the Charter, but working-class women really came into action with the mass unionisation of the unskilled in the 1880s and 1890s — famous for the strike of women match workers organised by Annie Besant and Eleanor Marx.

The campaign of the 1860s was dominated by middle-class women seeking rights as property owners. J.S. Mill, contemptuously referred to as the 'ladies' member', led the parliamentary battle for female suffrage. His amendment to the 1867 Reform Bill would have replaced 'man' with 'person'.

Unmarried women ratepayers were conceded the municipal vote in 1869, and women could vote for, and be elected to,

the education committees established by the 1870 Education Act. After 1882, married women, if wives of ratepayers, could also vote for — but not be elected to — local councils. By 1894 women could vote in parish, rural and district council elections and even stand as candidates if they were propertied householders.

In 1899 women were elected to the London County Council, but they were successfully challenged in the courts and thrown out; it was only 75 years ago, in 1919, that the Sex Disqualification Removal Act allowed women throughout local government.

The National Society for Women's Suffrage, founded in



Women's Franchise Deputation to the prime minister, 1906, with banners of the Manchester, Salford and District Women's Trade and Labour Council, Union of Patent Cob Winders, Hank and Bobbin Winders, Gassers, Doublers and Reelers and the Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile and other Workers' Representation Committee

Manchester in 1865, involved barrister Richard Pankhurst, whose wife Emmeline and daughters are associated with the suffrage movement before World War I.

But this movement soon made close links with the trades unions and trades councils, as well as the radical and socialist movements. Their contacts included refugees

'... we are fighting for the Vote and not for the remedying of some of the many particular grievances from which women suffer. . . . Working women — sweated women, wage slaves, overworked mothers toiling in little homes — these, of all created beings, stand in the greatest need of this, the power to help themselves.' (Sylvia Pankhurst, 1914)

from the defeat of the 1871 Paris Commune, Irish nationalists, and members of the SDF including William Morris.

Later they joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and stood as candidates in both national and Poor Law Guardian elections.

It was the ratepayers who controlled the local purse strings. Recipients of aid were not to have a say. Yet it was clear that the issue surrounding the welfare system, poor relief, was vital to many women demanding political rights.

The movement included a vast number of working-class women across the northern textile towns. It was on this basis that the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was originally formed in 1903 — but it was to break from its plebeian base.

The suffragette movement aimed 'to secure for women the parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men' — in other words, with any property qualifications intact. The suffragettes called for the right of propertied women to enter the mainstream of public life, while the northern women demanded universal adult suffrage.

The first 'Votes for women' banner was carried in October 1905. Their approach was high profile: street meetings, heckling of government ministers, challenges to parliamentary candidates, and a stream of speakers at trades councils, the Co-operative Women's Guild, Independent Labour Party branches, Labour and Clarion clubs.

A meeting at Manchester

Free Trade Hall was attended by 4,000. Meanwhile a mass movement of another type was evident. On 17 July 1905 1,000 women marched from the East End of London to Westminster to lobby MPs in support of the Unemployed Relief Bill.

The following November wives of unemployed men in Poplar, Southwark and West

Ham marched to parliament behind a band playing the Marseillais, carrying placards reading 'work for our men', 'food for our children' and 'workers of the world unite'. Three hundred came with their banners and sang the red flag.

These were the women whom Sylvia Pankhurst began to organise in the Canning Town branch of the WSPU, while her mother and sisters left their ILP and working-class connections in favour of breaking shop windows, chaining themselves to the railings and other heroic but individual actions by middle- and upper-class women.

A deputation of northern women and southern suffragettes to the new Liberal prime minister in May 1906, representing a quarter of a million women including 50,000 textile workers and 22,000 guilds women, was the last act of unity of the two wings of the movement. From then on the division was between those who sought voting rights for those who paid taxes, and those who saw that the majority of women paid no taxes their work was unrecognised — and they needed representation.

Far from advancing the women's cause, the Liberal government was intent on driving women from the work force to reduce unemployment. A women's Right to Work movement was launched, with groups like the Bar maids' Defence Campaign.

From 1909 the women imprisoned for acts of vandalism and protest went on hunger strike and were forcibly fed. A bill to give the vote to some women on narrow property lines was defeated, and mass demonstrations led to mass arrests.

While the Labour Party belatedly — 1912 — committed itself to adult suffrage, the suffragettes were being 'temporarily discharged' and then rearrested so that the force-feeding torture could begin again under the so-called 'Cat and Mouse Act'.

These were years of unemployment, hardship and strikes. Sylvia Pankhurst joined George Lansbury and James Connolly at the Albert Hall to protest at the Dublin lockout and demand the release of Irish transport union leader Jim Larkin. It was a turning-point for Sylvia, whose mass recruitment contrasted with Christabel's desire for 'only picked women'.

With the arrival of the war, the reactionary content of the suffragette campaign was quickly revealed. The WSPU became a jingoistic troop-recruiting agency, receiving a £2,000 grant from the Ministry of Munitions to round up

rights to work, benefits, health, and childcare. She joined with those excited by the Russian Revolution, becoming a founder member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

They saw women needed the vote to ensure a decent standard of living for themselves and their families. On the day war was declared Sylvia Pankhurst was at an inquest in Ireland after British troops had fired on a peaceful crowd, killing three and wounding 30, including children. The call to war was being made by a government which tortured women and denied freedom to the Irish.

When the vote was granted — to women over 30 — in 1918, the first woman elected to parliament was the imprisoned Sinn Fein candidate Constance Markievicz. She refused to take her seat.

This was the struggle for women's rights: international, inseparable from the class struggle. Not like the version in which the vote was won by

'The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation.' (Marx)

women for war work.

Emmeline and Christabel toured the country condemning strikes as Bolshevism. Sylvia meanwhile stepped up her activity for women's

the courageous middle class — the jingoists and strike-breakers who worked to keep the men in the trenches and the women in the munitions factories.



Sylvia Pankhurst spoke of the women's movement in 'that great abyss of poverty' that was the East End as 'a rallying cry to the rise of similar movements in all parts of the country.' She organised a toy factory and this creche for the women workers — which later moved to a pub renamed the 'Mothers' Arms'



'Universal suffrage' demanded banners at Peterloo in 1819. These veterans, photographed in 1884, survived the massacre

Holy murder in Hebron

Labour and PLO in crisis

THE murder of more than 50 Palestinians in Hebron's Ibrahim mosque was not the first time Zionist killers have massacred Muslims at prayer. Tragically, it may not be the last.

The Israeli Labour Party government's belated moves to curb right-wing Zionist terror cannot halt this fanatical, ruthless movement. Yasser Abed Rabbo, a senior spokesperson for the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), described the moves as 'purely cosmetic'.

American-born Baruch Goldstein fired three loads of high-velocity ammunition into the crowded mosque, killing 55 people and wounding scores more, before he was overpowered by worshippers. As distraught relatives rushed to the hospital, the Israeli military slapped a curfew on Hebron, rather than move against Goldstein's armed right-wing settler comrades at Kiryat Arba, overlooking the occupied West Bank town.

Atrocity

Israeli government spokespersons assured the world's media that Goldstein was a 'lone madman', whose action mustn't interfere with 'the peace process'. But neither the atrocity nor its perpetrator were isolated.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

Goldstein was a reserve captain in the Israeli army, and a council candidate last year for Kahane Chai, an offshoot of Rabbi Meir Kahane's racist Kach movement. Kahane Chai's leader in the United States, Mike Guzofsky, said he was a 'sweet guy' who 'wanted to stop the so-called peace process and save the state of Israel'.

Provoked

At Goldstein's funeral, Rabbi Yaacov Perrin told 1,000 armed settlers: 'One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail.' He described the mass killer as a 'holy man, hero, righteous man'. In Canadian newspaper baron Conrad Black's 'Jerusalem Post', ex-general Ariel Sharon claimed people like Goldstein had been provoked by the government's retreat from 'the Zionist enterprise and the essence of the Jewish state'.

Sharon, with his eye on power, is bidding for the settlers' support. Thousands of armed fanatics like Goldstein

have been set loose in the Israeli-occupied territories, terrorising the Palestinian population with the Israeli army's backing. The Labour government is frightened of a monster it helped create.

Less than a year after the Six-Day War, right-wing fanatic Rabbi Moshe Levinger went to Hebron to start Kiryat Arba, the first Zionist settlement in the West Bank. Labour was in government. Religious leaders saw military conquest of the 'holy land' as their springboard to conquer the state. Military commanders like Labour prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, not religious himself, found religious fanaticism provided unquestioning nationalist soldiers.

Subsidised like other settlements by the Israeli state and money from abroad, Kiryat Arba grew, enfolding Palestinian districts and letting its sewage flow into Hebron. In 1982, Levinger and Kahane's fascists invaded the centre of Hebron. They have waged regular harassment, provocation and terror against local people. Rabbi Levinger served a derisory six months for killing a Palestinian shopkeeper.

Settled

Since Labour regained office in June 1992, over 14,700 more Israeli Jews have settled in the occupied territories. US loan guarantees to Israel, suspended by President Bush, were restored by Clinton. After PLO leader Yasser Arafat signed the declaration of principles that promised limited Palestinian autonomy, Rabin affirmed that no settlements would be dismantled during the interim period.

The government told Israelis they could settle where they liked. It intends to annex whole areas to the Israeli state, as it has done around Jerusalem. Before the mosque massacre, Israeli settlers had killed eight Palestinians in Hebron, in a campaign of terror, since mid-September.

On 3 December 1993, Rabbi Levinger led rampaging settlers through the town, destroying Palestinian shops and cars and firing automatic



Armed Israeli settlers and Palestinian women in Nablus, West Bank Photo: Alex Levac/Challenge'

weapons, wounding four people. The army stood by, then detained 15 Palestinians for questioning. They later reported they had been beaten in custody. On 5 December, the Council of Judea, Samaria and Gaza Settlers announced it was setting up its own militia.

Israeli Labour Party secretary-general Nissim Zvili predicted Palestinians would have a state by the year 2000, and Syria would regain the Golan Heights. Rabin disowned him, saying this was against party policy. Economics minister Shimon Shitrit demanded Zvili's expulsion. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres reiterated his aim was Palestine — that is, the parts from which Israel would withdraw — confederated with Jordan.

On 14 February, Rabin declared he had no intention of allowing Palestinians to form an independent state. This went against Foreign Minister Peres's advice, that boasting of victories over the PLO undermined Arafat's position in the Palestinian movement. But it coincided with Israeli press revelations that Labour was wooing the right-wing Tsomet and National Religious (NRP) parties to join its coalition.

Claims

The NRP has built itself on religious claims to 'the whole Land of Israel', while Tsomet's founder, General Rafael Eitan, once boasted he would treat Palestinians 'like cockroaches in a bottle'. This is the real basis

on which crazed killers like Goldstein arise.

The Hebron outrage, and the Israeli government's failure to crush right-wing terror, have created a fresh crisis for the PLO leadership, already weakened by the defection of leading figures, and opposition from the left.

Having staked everything on US pressure on Israel, it was reduced to calling for international — that is, UN — protection for the Palestinians.

Several delegates stayed away from a crisis executive meeting last week, fearing Arafat might accept Clinton's invitation to resume peace talks with the Israelis. In the immediate aftermath of Hebron even he dared not make such a move.

DEFEND TUZLA!

FROM FRONT PAGE

towns getting aid along this direct route, and making the people dependent on the southern route from Split, a route controlled by the UN.

Now the UN is moving to open Tuzla airport. The people in the free territory and the rest of the world must get the impression that the UN is coming to the aid of the besieged towns. But these efforts have one purpose: to give the UN the same freedom of movement and control as it has established in Sarajevo.

Avenge

Some consider the opening of Tuzla airport a victory for 'peace', and claim that the NATO attack on Serbian bombers shows that the great powers are even-handed and will avenge the aggressors.

Nothing is further from the

truth! There must be no confidence in the UN, which pretends that its intervention is to protect the people. But it has turned its attention to the free territories in order to force the people to the negotiating table with a bloody nose and a broken back.

At the same time the ceasefire, however temporary, between the Bosnia-Herzegovina army and HVO forces in the south had given the green light for hundreds of trucks that are now making their way each day along the southern route. Bosnian drivers are arriving daily in Zagreb and Split to take aid into central and northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Among these are the Workers Aid for Bosnia trucks with a delegation to discuss and report on the campaign for its all-European workers' convoy and the campaign to open the northern route to the free territories.

Pablo gives support to shipowners

From NIKOS LOUKIDES in Athens

MICHEL PABLO (Michalis Raptis), a leading member of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) — which claims to be 'Trotskyist' — continues to expose his revisions of Marxism in his activities and in the interviews he gives, most recently in the magazine 'Shipowner'.

Here Pablo shows that his are the reformist politics of class-collaboration and national chauvinism. They are not the politics of a working-class revolutionary:

'[Shipowners are] the most powerful economic complex the country [has]. The past, present and future of this sector could be brilliant and useful if, simultaneously with the super-profits of the shipowners, the demands of the workers were satisfied in a fair way.'

'The wealth of the shipowners was based on their

work... The shipowners are a powerful lobby that plays an important role in political life. I want their role to be beneficial, not just for their own interests but for the interests of the country they come from as well.'

When the question was put point-blank to Pablo of whether he would have any hesitation in collaborating with the shipowners, he said: 'None. The radical change in the world which was and is my dream is that of the far left. But we live in a world of internationalised world capitalism. In this system the role of the shipowners, no matter what their nationality, is important...'

Imposed

'Recently I participated in the international conference against the sanctions imposed on Libya, Cuba, Serbia and Iraq. The sanctions hurt the people, not the governments. It is also partly harmful to the interests of the shipowners...'

showed a degree of understanding...'

'[It is in their interests to lift] not only the sanctions against Serbia, but also against Iraq and Libya, because they benefited a lot from transactions with these countries. That is the basic reason they oppose sanctions and supported the meeting. They contributed even materially to its success.'

Split

Pablo's revisionism dates back to the early 1950s, when his activities along with Mandel caused a split in the Trotskyist movement.

He left the movement headed by Mandel in the early 1960s. Last year, he rejoined the USec in Greece, despite strong opposition from the organisation's section there, under pressure from its international executive from Mandel.

We again ask Mandel, and his supporters in Britain like Alan Thornett of the International Socialist Group,

why they accepted Pablo back in to their supposedly revolutionary organisation?

Pablo was one of the leading organisers last November of the international conference he mentions on lifting the embargos on Iraq, Libya, Cuba, and Serbia. Taking part were the leading Russian Stalinist Ligachev and former US attorney-general Ramsay Clark. Many Greek bourgeois politicians, Stalinists generals, and businessmen also took part.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Savvas Mikhail, former secretary of the Greek section of the now disbanded International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), was among the conference participants. When the Workers Revolutionary Party — once an ICFI member — expelled its former leader Gerry Healy in 1985 for slander and sexual and physical abuse of party members, Mikhail formed an alliance with him. He broke from Healy in 1989, declaring in favour of a 'united front' with Boris Yeltsin!

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