

# SOUTH AFRICA: BUILD WORKERS' PARTY

THE Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (South Africa) has made the building of an international revolutionary party the central issue in its election campaign.

This, it explains, is the only way to address the burning questions facing the South African working class over jobs, housing, health care and education.

On Sunday night, Workers International (SA) secretary Leon Caesar appeared in a debate which included the Western Cape National Party leader, and former United Democratic Front leader Alan Boesak for the ANC.

'Imagine that the working class is united and organised and has the support of all the other poor people,' said Leon in his opening statement.

'Imagine that they overthrew the state, all big business and ran these businesses with the help of experts. Then they take the profit that has been amassed by the capitalists and use it to create jobs, build houses and provide for the need of the masses. This is not a dream, it is possible. It can and must be achieved. This is socialism.'

'When capitalism and its agents tell you that socialism has failed tell them to keep their lies to themselves for it was Stalinism not socialism that failed in the East.'

'Only the working class can achieve socialism because it has nothing to lose but its chains.'

'But to achieve this the workers need their own party, a revolutionary workers' party that is part of an international party.'

'We say to all workers: Do not support any party that supports capitalism, build your own revolutionary party.'

## Huge

The campaign is being fought with only the meagre resources donated by the group's members and the working class, yet other parties are being given huge sums of money by the state.

The criteria for receiving this election fund money is proof that your party commands 2 per cent of the 'potential support' of the electorate in an independent poll, or the collection of 3,000 signatures.

The Workers International started collecting signatures and members found themselves delayed at each house by electors who wanted to discuss the problems they faced.

As one party member explained: 'When someone came to the door they first asked if we were from the African National

BY DAVE TEMPLE  
IN CAPE TOWN

Congress, when we said "No" they asked "Are you from the Nats [National Party]?" When we replied that we were Workers International and we were fighting for a revolutionary workers' party, they just opened up and told us all their problems.

'We were invited into their houses on most occasions. This slowed us up but we took the decision that it was better to listen than to rush from door to door. We should have started sooner, but by the time the deadline came to have the signatures in we had only collected 1,000.'

The party then decided to

which has 68 per cent support among black people!

In Natal, the Workers International gained 2 per cent on a question of voting intentions and 4 per cent said that they were either 'highly likely' or 'likely' to vote for it.

But with regard to the State Electoral Fund it is only 'potential support' that need be proven. Even allowing for the fact that 'white' and 'Indian' voters were not polled, designated 'black' and 'coloured' people make up 71 per cent of the Western Cape population so 'proven' 'potential support' amounts to around 41 per cent — way above the 2 per cent required.

When the results of the poll were submitted to the Independent Electoral Commission

## S. African election fund

In so far: £3,080.04

THE news this week from South Africa shows more than ever the attitude of the bourgeois state forces against our party in this election. On the one hand, they bend the rules on election funds to make sure money goes to their reactionary Freedom Alliance supporters, who the state knows it may well need to suppress the working class. On the other, despite our party showing that it has the necessary support, it denies funds on grounds that it makes up and are the clearest expression of the class nature of the state.

This just underlines all the more clearly the fact that our party must be supported from the resources of the working-class movement and all those who genuinely want to fight capitalism, imperialism and oppression.

Please rush your donations 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.

commission two independent polls in the Western Cape and Natal where it is standing. When polled, 54 per cent of 'coloureds' and 60 per cent of 'blacks' answered they were very or fairly likely to support the Workers International.

This is in a situation where divisions between black and coloured people are being shown in straight voting intentions: 38 per cent of coloureds intend to vote for the National Party and only 3 per cent for the ANC,

(IEC) it turned them down, saying only working-class areas had been polled.

The Workers International has appealed against this ruling on the ground that nothing was stated in the rules about the breadth of the poll.

There is a sharp contrast here between this treatment and that afforded to the Freedom Front, breakaway from the right-wing Afrikaner Volks Front party. It receives money

## Workers International denied election money

on the basis of a poll conducted by the party they broke from, before the Freedom Front was brought into existence or even thought of!

As part of its campaign, the Workers International has appeared four times on national television, once on national

radio and several times on local radio.

After the first TV debate, when Mo of the Workers International spoke, the party was inundated with calls from well-wishers. 'Most people were saying that we were the only ones talking sense or that we

were the only ones who addressed the real problems,' Mo later told me.

'One community worker told me he was glad that someone at heart had not forgotten what we had been fighting for all these years.'

■ State of emergency, page 8



MINERS are facing 'blackmail' by British Coal to force them to accept offered redundancy terms at closure-threatened Tower colliery in South Wales. Miners voted by 92 to 70 last Saturday to fight the closure. BC offered a bonus of £9,000 on top of existing redundancy terms to accept the closure, which was to be withdrawn if not accepted by 15 April. The lodge has seen off an attempt by BC last week to override the ballot because of the closeness of the vote. BC also wanted to include white-collar staff in the vote. Tyrone O'Sullivan, Tower NUM lodge secretary, said: 'We will not give in to blackmail.' Two weeks ago, eight Tower miners marched from Mid Glamorgan to the Department of Industry HQ in Westminster as part of the campaign against closure (see above). Tower, which is a profitable pit, is the last deep mine in South Wales.

Photo: Marg Nicol

## THIS WEEK:

Women's march from Durham to London, page 3; Ex-Yugoslavia and the working class, pages 4&5; Declaration of Workers' Unity of Kazan in Russia, page 7; Greetings to Workers Aid from Tuzla miners and students, back page.

# The great question in Bosnia

THE QUESTION is: shall we allow Bosnia to be the first great defeat in an impending succession of great class battles in Europe and internationally, or shall we turn the tide?, we said in our journal the 'International' No. 14 (February 1994).

This is still the great question. Can the working class be mobilised to stop the fascist offensive, supported as it is by the great capitalist powers?

In order to do this, the old, corrupt leaderships of the working class — Labour, TUC, Stalinist and ex-Stalinist — have to be driven out and an internationalist leadership built. Only if this — the reconstruction of the Fourth International — is done, can the Bosnian question be resolved.

It is the old and pro-capitalist current leadership that holds back the working class, especially the young people, by refusing to support Workers Aid for Bosnia. They poison the international movement by 'warning' Bosnian workers against Workers Aid.

\* \* \* \* \*

IT IS only a few weeks since the ending of the Serb bombardment of Sarajevo, and the 'federation' agreement between the Bosnian and Croatian governments, were heralded as the beginning of 'peace' in former Yugoslavia.

This was always a lie. Sarajevo remains under siege. Tuzla and other centres of Bosnian resistance are still living under intolerable conditions, cut off from the outside world by Serb forces.

The aim of the 'great powers' has not changed. With the aid of Russian 'diplomacy', they still look for ways to impose a settlement on the Bosnian people which presents to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic the 70 per cent of Bosnia, 'ethnically cleansed', that they now occupy.

The Serbian government and Karadzic's forces continue their attacks and racist purges, knowing full well that the great powers' aim is not to defend Bosnia but to achieve 'order' in the Balkans, an order that will mean the breaking up and disciplining of the working class.

Last week, the United Nations Protection Force commander in Bosnia, Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose, as well as US President Bill Clinton, assured the world that nothing much was happening in Gorazde, and nothing need be done. This is despite its designation as a so-called UN 'safe area'. To ensure this safety for 60,000 people, the UN assigned the town four observers!

Yet last Sunday there came the sudden decision to use force and two aircraft were launched against the Serb forces around Gorazde.

The attack by Karadzic's army had forced the whole population of 13 villages around the town to flood into Gorazde. The world's press knew this and reported that eight of these villages were in flames and Gorazde itself was about to fall.

Gorazde, an enclave in south-east Bosnia surrounded by Serb-occupied territory, stood in the way of the reactionary nationalist ambitions, against not only Bosnia but also neighbouring Kosovo.

On 6 April, US chief of staff, General John Shalikashvili, stated that Gorazde was not about to fall and UN personnel were not in danger and therefore air strikes were not necessary. But, he added the 'clarification' that the Serbs should not take this as a green light to go ahead with occupying and 'cleansing' certain areas of eastern Bosnia.

A cynical declaration, with the definite implication that, of course, eventually, resulting from the 'peace process', Karadzic and Milosevic will get what they want — these areas, suitably 'cleansed', under NATO escort.

Shalikashvili, Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major and Rose knew full well that, at that very moment, ethnic cleansing as brutal as anything in the past was going on in Banja Luka and Prijedor.

Last week, the UN security council could not even gently reprove the Serb command for these racist murders, rapes, and deportations because the Russian representatives blocked the resolution.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE working class, in the fight for new revolutionary leadership, can defeat the forces of reaction in ex-Yugoslavia. Those reactionary forces are not strong but weakened by all sorts of conflicts of interest and problems arising from their own crisis.

The Clinton government hesitates and wavers because armed intervention would cause it impossible 'domestic problems' — the 'Vietnam factor'.

Yeltsin screams about 'air strikes' carried out without his permission because he fears the even more reactionary Russian chauvinist forces breathing down his neck.

Since the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the 'world order' required by imperialism and its agents presents enormous problems for the ruling class — problems that threaten their control of the class struggle 'at home' as soon as they attempt to devote armed forces to 'world' problems in ex-Yugoslavia, Somalia, Rwanda, South Africa, Israel. . . .

The 'great powers' have a common aim in Bosnia — to impose a carve-up of the country on its people. But their own problems and crises create difficulties in achieving this.

Only the rotten, anti-internationalist leaderships of the workers' movement prevents the workers of ex-Yugoslavia and all the world, from taking advantage of these weaknesses.

# Letters

## No right to censor and distort

THE GREEK weekly newspaper 'Prin' ('Before'), which is edited by former members of the Communist Party of Greece, has reprinted (27 March) an article from Workers Press (26 February).

The article, 'Trap Set for South African Workers', by Mike Cooke, has been extensively cut by 'Prin'. In this way the article's revolutionary content has been excised.

The paragraph, 'Apart from our comrades in the Workers International, who are standing in the Western Cape and hopefully elsewhere, there appears

to be no one who is not prepared to compromise in some way or other', has been cut completely.

Moreover, Workers Press is presented as a British newspaper but not as the weekly paper of the WRP. We do not yet know who is responsible for this censorship, but we know that these methods have nothing in common with the principles of the workers' movement.

Certainly every workers' organisation, every tendency, and every militant fighter has the right to fight for their opinions throughout the workers' movement. They do not, however, have the right to censor and distort the articles of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International and to use them for their own opportunist aims.

Nikos Loukidis  
Athens

## Critical demands on ANC

I WAS rather amused by Charlie Pottins's statement in his column 'Inside Left' (26 March) which criticises Militant and its co-thinkers in South Africa.

Pottins wrote: 'Now "Militant" just advocates backing the ANC because "workers support it". Just what they used to say about Labour!'

What they used to say? Come off it, who do you think you are kidding? You may conveniently have a short memory, but others of us haven't.

What party did you critically support in the last general election? And the election before

that, and the one before . . . and we could go on until the foundation of Trotskyism in this country.

What were the excuses for supporting Labour? Was it not because the workers supported Labour and therefore we, the Trotskyists, critically supported Labour in order to expose them?

So what is (or was, if you have changed your tune) the difference between Militant and the WRP? If you have changed your tactic, where have you analysed your past mistakes in this respect and declared a new tactical approach?

If you have rejected the 'critical support' tactic then you have departed from one of the basic tenets of Trotsky. Surely an explanation and analysis for the change of tactic is needed?

A. Thomas  
London SE27

## A party that's worth voting for

IN THE last week I have come across two attacks on our comrades who are standing in the elections in South Africa — one in the daily 'Guardian' (9 April) and the other in the somewhat less widely read monthly 'Workers Power' (April).

Let us start with the 'Guardian'. 'And no election would be complete without squabbles among the ultra-left about who sold out who in the Bolshevik revolution and why,' 'Guardian' reporter Gary Young in Johannesburg smugly informs us.

'Which is where the Workers' List and the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International come in. The latter accuses the former of "not being anti-Stalinist enough"; the former says the latter is "a very small group which takes its orders from abroad"'. However, both agree that they are not interested in a sectarian slanging match and are eager to unite the left.'

The whole tone of the piece is to say that the African National Congress is the only party worth voting for. The supposed quote of our comrades is an obvious caricature of our analysis of the role the Stalinist bureaucracy had, and in the shape of the South African Communist Party has, in misleading the working class on the basis of its usurpation of the Bolshevik revolution in the 1920s.

For the 'Guardian' sophisticates, it is foolishness to believe the working class can overthrow capitalism in its own interests and that the Bolshevik revolution has any relevance. But then many of the 'Guardian's' staff come from the rotten traditions of the British Communist Party and they now want to trample the Bolshevik



Confrontation with police in Johannesburg this month

revolution into the mud of oblivion.

Seeing that the 'quote' from our comrades is a caricature, we also have to give the supposed utterance from the Workers' List the benefit of some doubt. However, what does it mean to say that a group gets 'orders from abroad'? In fact, ANC members are getting training from the British state to become fit for bourgeois 'government'.

In particular, the ANC security forces have been shown the ropes at the Civil Service College in Berkshire (Workers Press, 9 April). Once in the government of national unity with the apartheid National Party, the ANC will be getting 'orders from abroad', in particular, from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

They already get money — nothing comes for free under capitalism — from multination-

als Anglo-American and Shell.

Would a disciplined, democratic-centralist leadership, the Fourth International, which represents the interests of the world working class as a whole, constitute 'orders from abroad'. Where is this shadowy 'abroad' anyway?

At present, the Fourth International is in the process of being reconstructed, which is why we are the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, with the Workers Revolutionary Party being its section in Britain.

This leads on to 'Workers Power'. 'There are now two centrist candidacies, one of the tiny WRP and the other a "Workers' List Party" which includes [the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action],' says Dave Stockton ('Workers Power', April).

That they are standing against the ANC is of course

principled, but their programmes are centrist. The WRP does not have any serious working-class base and is only standing in one or two regions.

'In the absence of any sections of the working class with illusions in this organisation, there is no reason to give it critical electoral support. There are no illusions to put to the test and expose, no forces behind them that could be rallied to a revolutionary programme.'

There are two main points here that are interesting. They insist on calling our South African candidates 'WRP' and they call our programme 'centrist'.

In fact, in South Africa our comrades are standing as Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA — to that extent the 'Guardian' is more accurate than 'Workers Power'. Perhaps, 'Workers Power' calls them 'WRP' to emphasise their connection with that notorious 'centrist' group of the same name in Britain? Shades of 'orders from abroad'?

As to the 'centrism' of our programme, 'Workers Power' does not explain why it claims it is 'centrist'.

They at least do the 'Workers' List' the courtesy of ticking them off for their programme (which was published in 'Socialist Organiser', 17 March) by informing them it 'does not deal with the question of how the working class could take power in South Africa'.

Of our programme (Workers Press, 26 February) they say nothing except to say it's 'centrist'. Perhaps, they define 'centrism' as not dealing 'with the question of how the working class could take power'? More likely, it's that the 'WRP' is 'centrist' by definition.

I look forward to reading, or at least seeing — I don't think my interest could last to the end — 'Workers Power's' complete revolutionary blueprint.

Christine Mitchley  
London SW11

# Workers Press £3,000 Monthly Fund

In so far: 1,203.16

WE'RE off to a good start in April, but we mustn't slow down or we, again, won't make the £3,000 target. Thanks to the WRP member who shared a lump-sum payment with us by giving £500 and also the other more regular donations that came in on time.

It looks like it's going to be a period, in the next week or two, of gathering in the experiences of the Workers Aid for Bosnia convoy, which has just finished a difficult journey to and from the mining town of Tuzla; we can then step out on the next leg of the fight to rebuild workers' international solidarity and action of physical support.

There's also the fight in South Africa, where comrades face a state of emergency in Natal province, which makes it difficult for them to tell us directly exactly what's going on there. The report in this week's paper on the back page was sent under these conditions; we hope for more in the weeks up to the election.

And in the former Soviet Union, the call for a militant miners' conference by former British miner

and Workers International member Dave Temple is getting a big response from as far as Kazan in the Asian part of the Russian Federation (see page 7).

So any extra money will go to our comrades who are battling away in the elections in South Africa and to the work in the former Soviet Union — don't be worried about going over the £3,000 target!

If the money starts to meet the target regularly, then we'll be in a position to upgrade from the steam-powered equipment that currently produces your Workers Press. Again that will release resources from labour-intensive newspaper production to widening our influence in the workers' movement.

But there's things we can do now to do this — and in Workers Aid, South Africa and the former Soviet Union it's beginning. Try again on this basis to ask new people to become involved and help us financially. If you don't know us, write in to find out more (see the form on page 3). Write a letter if you disagree — or even better if you agree — with us. Let's get going!

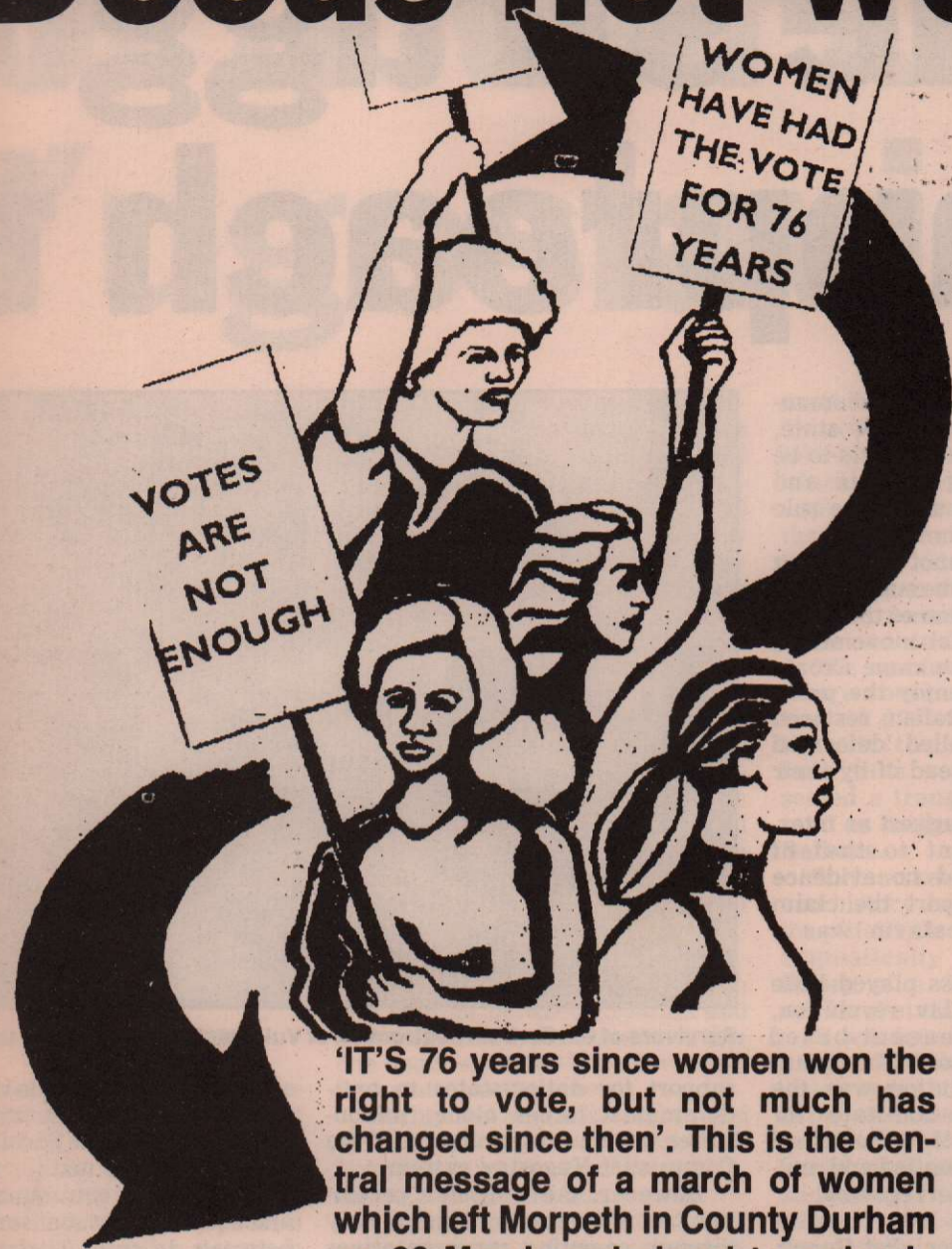
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# Deeds not words



'IT'S 76 years since women won the right to vote, but not much has changed since then'. This is the central message of a march of women which left Morpeth in County Durham on 26 March and aimed to arrive in London on 13 April.

Morpeth is the burial place of suffragette Emily Wilding Davison, who died in June 1913. On her grave is written 'Deeds not words'. The women made this slogan a central theme of their march.

The core of the march is 12 women who are marching all the way to London. At major towns on the way they have been met and escorted by trades unionists and others from the labour movement and communities.

The leaflet handed out by the marchers contrasts the situation of women in

BY PAUL HENDERSON

1918 and today. Then there was no National Health Service — in 1994 the NHS is under attack.

In 1918, unequal pay was lawful. Now, despite legal entitlement, women still earn 21 per cent less than men.

## Mothers

In 1918 unmarried mothers were outcasts and divorce was mainly the prerogative of rich men. Women were dying or maimed in backstreet abortions.

In 1994, women are subjected to domestic violence, the right to abortion is severely limited in some areas, and unmarried mothers are scapegoated in terms of council housing provision and social security benefits.

Kate More, from Mid-

desbrough, explained that she had not originally intended to come on the march, but had wanted to write an article about it.

'Once I met the people on the march, that was it', she said. 'It was clear that the march was not just a lot of words, but was dealing with really important issues.'

'We have a list of 22 demands, but we are really obsessive about others as well. The provision of women's refuges against violence and abuse is one of these, and a real stand has to be taken against child abuse.'

'Also, how can we fight for our rights unless we have free access to education?'

'Not much has changed in 76 years. In some ways things are worse. Suffragettes got the vote and they were respected: now they are dumping all sorts of problems on women, and it is important that this march carries this message.'

## Issues

Another marcher, Terry Jasper, pointed out that while other marches had supported some particular issue related to women — for example Women Against Pit Closures — this was the first march by women on women's issues generally.

'The march grew from the idea of one woman who phoned the Trades Council to ask whether we shouldn't make a banner to commemorate 75 years since women got the vote', she said.

'This woman wanted to take the banner on the train to London. Then we decided to march on Morpeth. Somebody rang up to ask if we could bring the banner to Gateshead.'

'Could we also take it to Vane Tempest? Phone calls were coming in from all over the place so we thought we might as well march with the banner to London and have done with it.'

'One thing on which we are all determined', she added, 'This campaign will still be going on after the march.'

When they arrive in London the marchers will take their demands to parliament to present them to Members of Parliament.

They were aware that they would meet Labour MPs, many of whom deserve the inscription on their tombstones, 'Words not deeds'.

# The less we say the more we know

LABOUR Party Environment Spokesman Jack Straw has said that the Labour Party manifesto for the next election will be much shorter than the one in 1983.

'Its very brevity', he said, 'will show that we have thought the issue through, and that we are clear and single-minded about what we stand for.'

He draws attention to the great Labour victory in 1945 with a 6,000-word, nine-page manifesto, and the big Labour defeat on a 30,000-word, 40-page document.

A row has broken out within the Labour leadership over their position on a minimum wage and the anti-trade union laws.

John Smith seems to have succumbed to pressure from Bill Morris and John Edmonds to call for a National Minimum Wage of £4.05 per hour, (half current male average earnings), enforced by a Minimum Wage Inspectorate.

Smith says a weekly minimum of £160 would help four million workers, many of them part-time and women workers, and that 300,000 families would be taken off means-tested benefits. The proposal goes to the Labour Party NEC this week. In the words of one of John Smith's aides, 'There is no guarantee that it will survive.'

Another proposal from the same source which is not causing serious argument is for specialist industrial courts to resolve disputes! Where there is support from employees they propose that employers would have an obligation to recognise the trade union for collective bargaining.

However the Labour Party may well not put such plans in print. This is what Jack Straw means — the less we have in writing, the better we have thought it through.

# Houses lie empty as more on the streets

THERE ARE now over 850,000 empty homes in England. This record-high figure represents a 30 per cent growth over the last ten years.

During this same time, the recorded figure for the number of homeless has more than doubled — from roughly 170,000 people in 1983 to 400,000 today. In both cases the figures are thought to represent only a fraction of the real numbers.

Bob Lawrence, of the Empty Homes Agency, told a conference in London last week that the total value of unused homes had reached more

than £25 billion and that the cost of keeping them empty could be £100 million for every 10,000 homes.

Many of the empty homes belong to the government. At the last count, nearly 16,000 government homes — about one in six of its total holding — lie empty.

Many of them belong to the Ministry of Defence and are deliberately kept empty 'in case of need'. Most of these properties were married quarters belonging to RAF stations or army barracks that have been run down over the last five years.

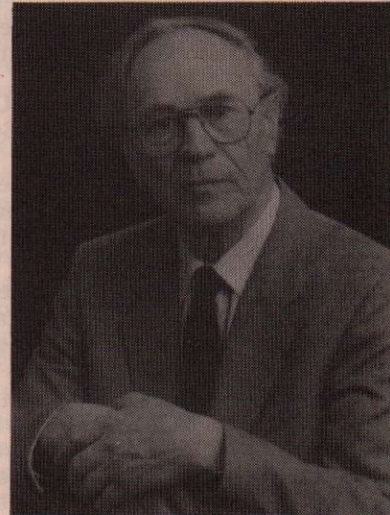
## Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International

**Memorial Meeting  
Tom Kemp  
1921-1993**

**Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square  
London WC1**

**Friday 3 June  
7.30pm**

We invite all Tom Kemp's comrades, family and colleagues to join in commemorating the life of an outstanding Marxist, a dedicated teacher and a fearless fighter for the working class and the rebuilding of the Fourth International.



# Construction Safety Campaign

**WORKERS  
MEMORIAL DAY  
28 APRIL 1994**

**CALLING  
ALL  
WORKERS**

**STOP EMPLOYERS GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER!**

**JOIN US ON OUR MARCH TO COMMEMORATE WORKERS' MEMORIAL DAY AND LOBBY PARLIAMENT TO PROTEST AT THE GOVERNMENT DE-REGULATION EXERCISE.**

In the last ten years 1,300 construction workers have been killed on sites, 40,000 have died of industrial disease and countless thousands have been injured. In the same period, over 5,000 workers from all industries have lost their lives at work.

Government figures say that 70 per cent of these deaths are due to employers' negligence.

The government is going through a de-regulation process to weaken health and safety laws that will inevitably lead to more deaths, more accidents and more occupational ill health.

**WE WANT WORKERS FROM ALL INDUSTRIES TO JOIN OUR MARCH THROUGH LONDON**



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# Never mind the quality...

BY ROY THOMAS

MAYBE it was just bad luck that on the same day the government's Public Relations machine put out its press release saying that London Transport's figures for March 1994 would show a profit for the first time in 20 years the power supply to London Underground failed at 8.30am.

Over 300,000 travellers were trapped in the dark on their trains and stations for about 40 minutes. They were doubtless later cheered to discover that the books had been made to balance last year.

This, of course, was done by cutting the money needed to replace the 30-40 year old signalling equipment and the 25-30 year old trains, and by cutting thousands of jobs.

## Cost

The cost of public transport in London is at least double, and in some cases six times, the cost of travel in other European capitals. Because of the steps now being taken to sell off the bus part of London Transport to private companies, the position will only get worse.

It is little wonder that the government's choice for the next chairman of London Transport, Dr Watkins, is to leave the organisation just before he was due to take the top job.

That is a sure sign that for London travellers the worst is yet to come.

# The struggle approach to

**ATTILA HOARE**, in this reply to Panos (Workers Press, 26 March), continues the discussion on developments in the former Yugoslavia, particularly looking at the nature of the post-war Yugoslav state. He says it was a deformed bourgeois state. And below **BOB ARCHER** criticises the contributions from both Panos and Attila Hoare for missing out the working class from their analyses

## 'Never a workers' state'

PANOS is correct to stress the national rights enjoyed by the nations within Communist Yugoslavia. However, he is wrong to believe that these rights existed fully in practice. Furthermore his theoretical perspective cannot be reconciled with the evidence he himself presents.

Firstly, Panos denies that Communist Yugoslavia was Serb-dominated, and claims that 'The 1974 federal constitution — before 1968 the Albanians were suppressed — granted great autonomy to all the republics'.

Yet the Albanians continued to be suppressed after 1974, most obviously in 1981 and again after 1987. Nobody can pretend that Albanians enjoyed equal rights with Serbs in Yugoslavia after 1974.

The 1974 constitution was, moreover, just that — a constitution, i.e. a reform. No Marxist can argue seriously that true national emancipation can be achieved through constitutional reform.

Furthermore, this 'great autonomy' cannot have been very great since, as Panos says, real national rights for Slovenes and Croats, i.e. self-determination, 'conflicted with the survival of the [Yugoslav] workers' states'.

As for evidence of Serbian domi-

nation: this was revealed from 1990-91 onwards, when Serbia used its domination of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA), which supposedly belonged to all the Yugoslav peoples, to attack Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia.

Furthermore, the whole trend of Yugoslav history, at least from the 1960s onwards, is one of the non-Serbian nations, poor Macedonia and rich Slovenia alike, pushing for greater autonomy in the face of Serbian conservative and national resistance.

**'The working class played little part in the Yugoslav revolution, which was a peasant-based bourgeois revolution. The great gain of this revolution was the establishment of nation-states for Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro, plus a united and multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina.'**

Panos claims that the events of 1989-91 in Yugoslavia were a 'social counter-revolution'. Yet he himself describes the market-oriented reforms of the 1960s and 1980s. How can the events of 1989-91 be a 'social counter-revolution', when they were merely the culmination of a trend that began in 1965?

Also, if the Yugoslavia govern-

ment in the 1980s was itself dismantling the Yugoslav workers' state, as Panos shows, then what is to be gained by forcing Croatia and Slovenia to remain under the rule of that same government?

Panos surely cannot be arguing that the JNA should be supported in its bloody suppression of the Croat and Slovene national movements, simply so that those same Croats and Slovenes can enjoy the privilege of having capitalism restored to them by a so-called 'deformed workers' state' instead of by their own governments.

I should like to suggest an interpretation different to that of Panos's. I can find no evidence whatsoever to support the claim that Titoist Yugoslavia was a 'workers' state'.

The working class played little part in the Yugoslav revolution, which was a peasant-based bourgeois revolution. The great gain of this revolution was the establishment of nation-states for Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro, plus a united and multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the 1974 Yugoslav constitution, 'The Socialist Republic of Croatia is the national state of the Croat nation, the state of the Serb nation within Croatia, and the state of the nationalities who live there'.

Panos is thus wrong to attribute



Survivors of the Serbian destruction of Vukovar in Croatia queue to an uncertain future.

support for nation-states to anti-Communist forces alone; nation-states were an integral part of the Communist Yugoslav system.

However, the Yugoslav revolution had been able to triumph only through co-opting representatives of the old order into Tito's Partisan forces: former royalist bureaucrats, Chetnik and Ustashe [fascist] troops, and in particular members of the bourgeois-nationalist Croatian Peasant Party.

So Titoist Yugoslavia represented both a break with, and a continuation of, the Serbian-dominated old order; neither a Serbian empire, nor a community of free and equal nations, but something in between. In sum, Titoist Yugoslavia was a modernising, but nevertheless deformed, bourgeois republic.

Until 1971 it was possible for the non-Serbian republics to press successfully for ever-greater national

## Role of working class

PANOS has described in glowing terms the Yugoslavia established by the revolutionary war of 1941-45 (Workers Press, 26 March). He calls it a deformed workers' state. He then asserts that this workers' state has been replaced by a series of bourgeois states after 1989. This process, he claims, 'would be described by Trotsky as social counter-revolution and not as political revolution'.

Panos does not actually quote what Trotsky said about such questions as he encountered them at different times in his life.

'I can find no evidence whatsoever to support the claim that Titoist Yugoslavia was a "workers' state"', says Attila Hoare, in his reply to Panos (see article above). 'The working class played little part in the Yugoslav revolution, which was a peasant-based bourgeois revolution.'

Hoare later says: 'In sum, Titoist Yugoslavia was a modernising, but nevertheless deformed, bourgeois republic.'

He refers disparagingly to 'loyalty to what Trotsky wrote over 50 years ago', but he too fails to quote anything that Trotsky actually said.

Both contributors are grasping at truths about the developments in the former Yugoslavia. They can be right, too, on this or that question. However, without a consistently thought-out and consistently worked-over Marxist approach, the advice they give is bound to be misleading and even fatal to the working class.

What can we conclude from

what Panos says? First of all, he presents events in terms of finished processes. He considers that all the gains of the revolution have been liquidated in the dismemberment of the former Yugoslavia and the establishment of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia.

Indeed, he says we should agree with him that 'the right of self-determination of Slovenes, Croats, peoples of the Baltic states, etc., conflicted with the survival of the workers' states'.

It is a short jump from this to supporting the Serb nationalists, who, while carrying in the eyes of many Stalinists and unthinking 'lefts' all the authority of the 'old' Yugoslavia, have actually played the most reactionary role in the

disrupted in the Balkans by the upheavals of World War II. What was left was smashed by the revolution of 1941-45.

Only to that extent is it permissible to talk about a 'socialist' revolution at that time. But the workers' state was subjected almost from the outset to a terrible deformity — the Stalinist bureaucracy led by Tito.

This was epitomised by the fact that political and economic power lay in the hands of a reactionary caste — the bureaucracy — which ruled over and against the working class.

At the same time the bureaucracy drew great privileges from the social conditions created by the revolution. To that extent it 'defen-

**'It was precisely because the working class was undefeated that Milosevic was driven to unleash ethnic warfare. It was because the working class is deprived of conscious communist leadership that Milosevic could succeed to the extent that the old Yugoslavia is gone.'**

ded' the revolution by its own means to defend its own privileges. By doing so it persistently whittled away at the basis of the revolution itself. Above all, it gradually exhausted all the possibilities of a compromise with the working class.

Panos describes some of these developments, but misses out the essential factor — the struggle between the bureaucracy and the working class. Thus 'workers' management' in 1952 can be 'remarkable', while by the 1970s it is 'inefficient', without any obvious causal connection.

By the late 1980s this struggle reached a crisis point. Mass movements of workers threatened the very existence of the bureaucracy.

capitalist connection. Capitalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie, was already severely

of backwardness, a sign of the breakdown of working-class consciousness. Here it is a real and tragic price to pay for the Stalinist degeneration.

Working to overcome this real, profound crisis of political leadership and of class consciousness in the working class, revolutionaries must keep steadily in mind the principles of Marxism, while applying them with the utmost tactical flexibility.

THE Workers International to I has struggled over a long period and practically the collapse of the Soviet Union.

At the centre of this struggle putting aside of a wrong view which, most crudely, were put with superficial blemishes.

It would be well to set out reading to take this valuable

Successive issues of the Workers' International, have contained form part of a theoretical development of recent and current events.

For example:

Issue No. 4: 'Soviet Union Theory and the Soviet State'

Issue No. 8: 'Yugoslavia: from Radoslav Pavlovic, and 'Trotsky Ludwik Hass;

Issue No. 9: 'The work of Trotsky in the former Soviet Union' by political revolution in Yugoslavia Raymond Clavier and Radoslav

Issue No. 12: 'Marxism versus capitalism' by Balázs Nagy;

Issue No. 14: 'The nature of the Soviet Union' by Simon Pirani.

The 'International' can be obtained from SW8 1YB, price £2 plus 70p

# for a Marxist Yugoslavia



future among the rubble, in 1991

freedoms, and in doing so they represented what was best and most progressive in Titoism. The forces of industrialisation and democratisation spurred this process, since the Stalinist bureaucracy was a fetter for the productive forces in all the republics.

But with the defeat of the 'Croatian Spring' in 1971, a conservative era in Yugoslav politics began, which culminated eventually in Slobodan Milosevic's rise to power in

1987. Milosevic's goal was to recentralise Yugoslavia under Serbian domination, i.e. to restore the old Yugoslavia that had been destroyed by the revolution. For this purpose, he mobilised all the most backward elements in Yugoslav society; elements which have lost out as a result of the industrialisation, democratisation and introduction of national freedoms that occurred under Titoism.

Thus in Bosnia, for instance, the most advanced sections of the Serbian nation, in Tuzla, Sarajevo and elsewhere, are loyal to multi-ethnic Bosnia, but the most backward and reactionary elements, among the Bosnian Serb peasantry and local bureaucracy, supply the social basis for the Milosevic counter-revolution.

So in 1989-91 it was not a question of a conflict between Croatian and Slovenian self-determination on the one hand, and the 'Yugoslav workers' state' on the other.

Rather it was the Slovenian and Croatian national movements, followed later by the Bosnian, which, fighting to defend and extend the social, economic, democratic and national gains of the revolution against Milosevic's attempted restoration of barbarism, were the true heirs of the Yugoslav revolution.

The Serbian-controlled Yugoslav state and army, by contrast,

were not so much the gain of the Yugoslav revolution; rather they form part of the old Yugoslav order which the revolution co-opted and absorbed, and which, bloated through their exploitation of the Croatian, Slovenian, Bosnian, Macedonian and Kosovan working classes, remained the bulwark of reaction into the 1990s.

The revolutions of 1989-92 were thus a continuation of the revolution of 1941-45, and have overthrown the Titoist deformed bourgeois regimes that represented a transitional stage on the road to modern capitalism in the Balkans.

Such a sketch of Yugoslav post-war history does, in my view, avoid the pitfalls that arise from clinging dogmatically to the discredited theory of a Yugoslav 'deformed workers' state'.

If we defend the oppression of nations and the absence of democracy under states, such as Yugoslavia and the USSR, which are quite obviously completely decayed and historically bankrupt and which can only survive through colossal violence against their own populations, simply out of loyalty to what Trotsky wrote over 50 years ago in very different historical circumstances, then our movement has clearly become divorced from reality.

Attila Hoare

The Workers Aid for Bosnia campaign is guided by these theoretical considerations to take practical steps in re-establishing the internationalism of the working class. At the same time as asserting in and through the working-class movement the right of an oppressed nation to defend itself against an oppressor, it lays the basis for defending the real gains of the Yugoslav revolution.

Bob Archer

rebuild the Fourth International and to understand theoretically Stalinism and the break-up of

was the Workers International's of the deformed workers' states, as healthy workers' states

here some pointers to further discussion forward.

Workers International's journal, the major articles which together development of Marxism in the light

t the Crossroads' and 'Marxist today' by Cliff Slaughter;

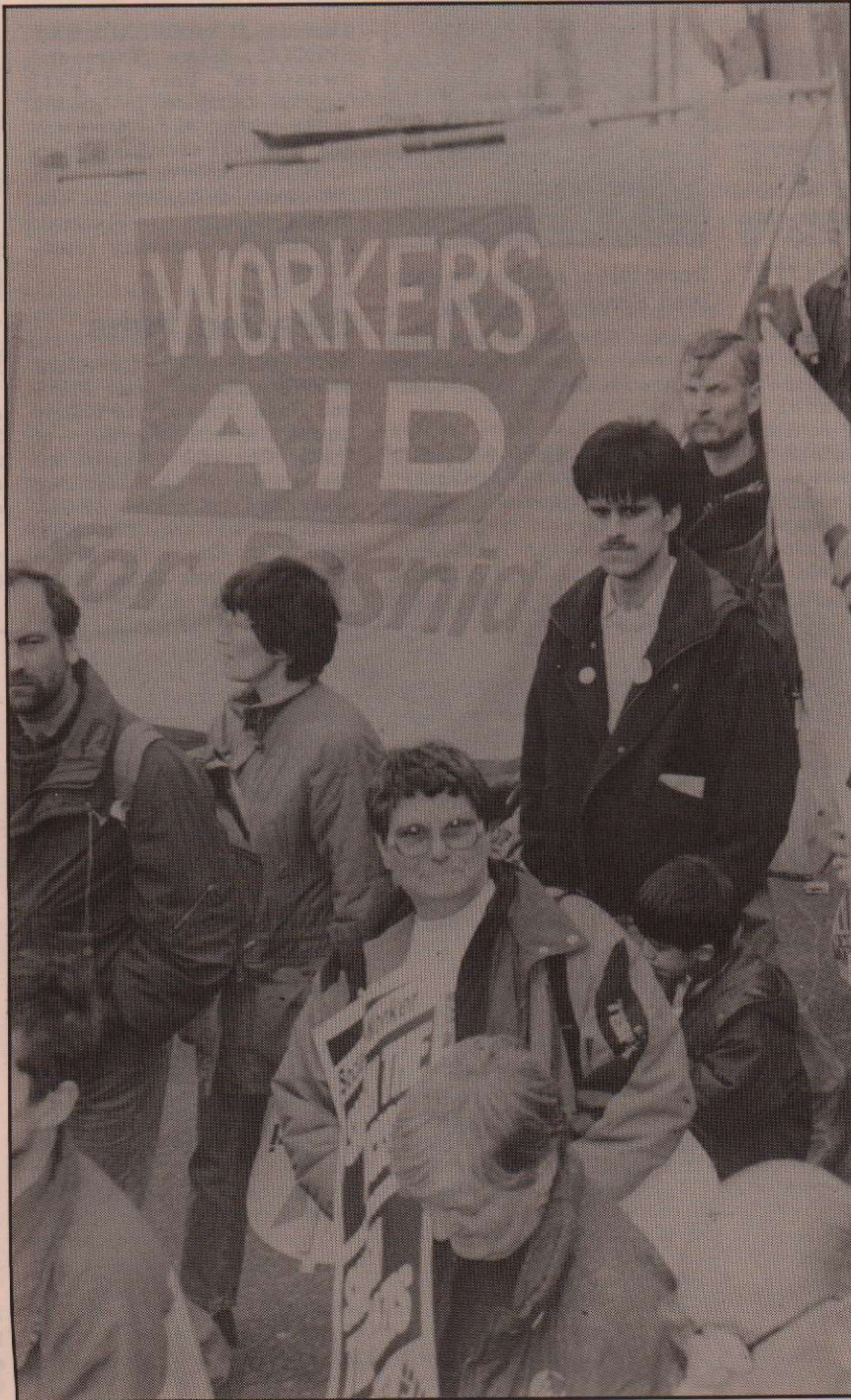
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tsky and the present situation Cliff Slaughter, and 'Fascism or slavia', a discussion between v Pavlovic;

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ained from PO Box 735, London ost and packing.



Workers Aid banner on the TUC's anti-racist march on Saturday 19 March

## City Lights

### Same old dirge

IF consistency is indeed a virtue then Will Hutton, the 'Guardian's' economics editor, is virtue personified. Week in and week out he invokes the same mantra: so save 'our economy' we must return to a policy of greater state intervention in economic and social matters.

He has been at it yet again in a piece warning about the changes that would have to be made for successful integration into Europe ('Tory Britain cannot adjust to continental shift', 'Guardian', 28 March).

We can prevent the fragmentation of 'our society' only if we adopt the 'social market' which today is the key element of a 'socially regulated capitalism', with its institutions of 'social solidarity', he says.

Hutton points out a well-known fact: that British industrialisation was carried out under conditions quite different from those in much of the rest of Europe. In Britain the process occurred spontaneously, whereas in Europe, disadvantaged by Britain's early start, industrialisation was effected behind tariff walls and with considerable assistance from the state. Germany was the classic model.

But these features — tariffs and state support — even though they occurred at a very early stage, already anticipated capitalism's historical demise.

Marx set out to show that the 'ideal' operational conditions for capital are ones based on industrial capital working under conditions of intense competition. The fact that this 'rule' proves ever more the exception, that competition is increasingly replaced by monopoly, that industrial capital yields pride of place to finance capital, merely reveals that capital prepares the basis for a new and higher form of society, socialism.

Not unexpectedly, this quite escapes Hutton. In the same vein, he seems not to understand that the pivotal role of the state in the development of 'the economy' in Germany expressed relative incompleteness of the bourgeois revolution in that country, something that was to have such dramatic consequences in the 1930s.

In Britain the subordination of the state to 'civil society' indicated the very opposite: the thoroughgoing character of capitalist transformation in this country — a conception persuasively defend by Ellen Meiksins Wood in her important book 'The Pristine Culture of Capitalism'.

For all his professed radicalism Hutton's ideas have, potentially, a deeply reactionary content. Thus he bemoans the fact that wage bargaining in Britain, unlike Germany, is not highly centralised, for him an indication that in this country the unions are not considered 'social partners'. Similarly with the House of Commons: unfortunately it is 'the instrument of the majority party' and 'not the place where a common interest is expressed and hammered out'.

These sentiments smack more than a little of corporatism, and ones not a million miles away from the stance adopted in the 1930s by Hutton's idol, John Maynard Keynes.

### Crime watch EU

FOR an example of Hutton's 'regulated capitalism' at work I can do no better than point you to the

latest declaration of the budget commission of the European Union — the Common Market as was. This shows there has been a 50 per cent increase in fraud against that institution over the last year.

Budget commissioner Peter Schmidhuber suggests that budgetary losses owing to organised crime are now running at an annual rate of \$343 million (£235m), although he admits that the figure is almost certainly far higher. Most fraud, says Schmidhuber, is associated with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which offers lavish prices supports, export subsidies and refunds to Europe's agribusiness.

Under the aegis of the CAP, in the name of 'price stabilisation' mountains of food are stored or destroyed while millions throughout the world starve to death every year for the very want of such food.

In a typical case French and Italian criminals recently brought refined sugar in Rotterdam, claiming it was bound for Croatia and Slovenia. But the cargo was diverted secretly to Italy, via Belgium, Luxembourg and France, possibly for sweetening wine. The crooks pocketed the best part of \$2 million (£1.35m) in EU handouts.

Such activities are near to getting out of hand, so EU officials are implementing some stern measures, including the greater use of computers and remote sensing devices to track down 'phantom olive groves'(!), a source of much ill-gotten gain for the gangs.

Best of all, there are plans for a free-phone service in each EU country so that the public can report suspicious behaviour to the commission's task force in Brussels.

'I know we won't get only serious calls. There is a risk of crank calls and pranksters, but we still think it is worthwhile taking that risk,' says a beleaguered Schmidhuber.

### So you thought it was a joke

FOR some time those in the know have been predicting that the Thatcherites would ere long move to privatise the air. Well, sneer no longer ye sceptics, that day may be close to hand.

An outfit with the imposing name of M S Marketing and Management (MSMM) has launched a new product O-PUR — described as cans of the 'finest oxygen'. The aforementioned gas comes in a Swiss-made aerosol which, according to the publicity blurb, is filled with 'eight litres of 99-per-cent-pure oxygen'.

O-PUR is designed 'to enhance your performance in office or gym' and comes complete with a plastic device that acts as a face-mask.

The good news is that a can of the stuff will sell at the wholly reasonable price of £7.99, a fraction under a pound a litre — not bad for what is after all the 'finest oxygen'.

The bad news? Unless you are among the minority of our readers who indulge in jogging or aerobics you are unlikely to get much chance to acquire this life-enhancing product.

For in MSMM's jargon, 'The O-PUR marketing strategy will only target potential purchasers in the personal fitness/health, sports aids, and air quality/pollution concerns' market places'.

We sedentary types seem safe from this rubbish, at least for the time being.

Threadneedle

John Fordun

# Nastiness and film criticism

ON TELEVISION'S 'The Late Show' recently, novelist Robert Harris brandished a copy of a report written by Professor Elizabeth Newson. It had earlier been hailed by the tabloids as making a sea-change in the opinion of experts on child psychology. They had admitted error, it was reported, in denying that there was a link between juvenile violence and 'video nasties'.

Harris was demonstrating visually what had already been revealed in the less frivolous newspapers: that the report was a thin document based on no evidence at all. It was like a publicity stunt to add 'expert' names to those of MPs who want the government to tighten Britain's censorship laws yet further by outlawing the sale of some videos at present available.

No serious person, of course, can be unmoved by the horror of cases such as that of the Merseyside youngster, James Bolger, battered to death by two boys not yet in their teens. The nightmares of the loved ones of such victims are beyond speculation. They are entitled not only to their grief but to feelings of the need for revenge and, above all, for explanation.

What is improper, however, is for those in socially responsible positions, whether they be judges, legislators or academics, to feed the socially irresponsible press with simple, 'common sense' answers and easy solutions. Even if it could be 'proved' that, in one particular case, watching an aesthetically obnoxious movie on a commercially obnoxious television channel had tipped a boy over the edge into committing a horrific, violent crime, this would tell us little.

In other instances the catalyst could be completely different. The 'Yorkshire Ripper', for example, claimed to be 'inspired' by the Bible. Yet I know of no MPs, nor psychology professors, advocating a ban on the sale of the Good Book. Sue Lawley is still leaving it lying around in hotel bedrooms on desert islands week after week.

The censorship merchants may, in some cases, be experts in something, but it is not the prevention of horrific violence, juvenile or other. Ironically even the government's slime-ball-in-chief, Home Secretary Michael Howard — a man always ready to pluck a simple, prejudiced answer out of the ether when a complex, scientific one is staring him in the face — ruled that there are practical obstacles in the way of legislating against 'violent' videos. They probably have something to do with 'market forces'.

The hoo-ha, of course, is not at all about understanding the roots of human violence and how to stop it leading to tragedy. It is about preventing people from thinking about the real sources of the problem. And the problem is not escalating violence — something which would be difficult to measure on the historical scale of slaughter.

It is rather one of the deepening contradiction between the ghastly things human beings are capable of doing to each other; and the fact that we at last have the technological possibility of creating a truly human society. By eliminating the need for material and spiritual deprivation, this would remove the most basic causes of the emotions that lead some to act violently against others.

Envy, hatred, physiological mental disturbance, etc. — the complex of things that the religious, the right-wing and the wrong-headed like to call 'evil' — would not thereby automatic-

ally be eliminated. But the conditions would begin to exist in which these things could seriously be understood and rational, collectively agreed steps be taken to alleviate their consequences.

\* \* \* \* \*

COMMON SENSE, however, is a mightily insistent person when he or she is aroused. All very fine, he declares, but too airy-fairy. What, she demands, do we do about the here-and-now?

One sort of answer (I speak for myself, but readers might like to join the discussion) is to suggest that social, and socio-psychological problems should not be viewed as though they were separate from the class struggle.

In the miners' strike of 1984-85, in the fight against the poll tax, in the current war against neo-fascism, working-class people and their middle-class allies have evolved organs of struggle independent of, and frequently in conflict with, the state. In the term 'state' I include its legislative, judicial and executive arms — and its academic apologists.

What may begin as support groups, councils of action, campaigning bodies of one sort or another, could develop a more permanent presence. They could become focal points around which people, and communities, organise their lives. They could take over, at a local and immediate level some of the functions of legislature, judiciary and executive, in a manner that encourages real participation and commands genuine assent.

Developments of this sort would be the opposite of schemes like 'Neighbourhood Watch' in which retired colonels and their ladies collaborate with the police to protect their private property against 'young hooligans, don't y'know'. The level of debate on crime and punishment in such bodies probably revolves around whether the chair, the chamber, or the rope is the most humane means of disposing of petty thieves.

If a working-class discussion about policing — particularly policing against brutal violence — is not also to rely on 'common sense' and prejudice, it must be based on different theoretical assumptions and a genuinely critical method.

It is not enough to say that the answers lie in a Marxist understanding of society. Real-life Marxists have to show that they are interested in practical, and pressing, social problems. I hope therefore that I will not seem to be going off on a tangent by suggesting that film criticism does offer a channel via which these matters can be better understood. But it must be a quite different sort of criticism from Professor Newson's little diatribe against 'video nasties'.

I have insufficient space to develop this though in a single column. But in the hope of tempting you back to a future entertainment — 'Nastiness and film criticism II' — I can reveal that my argument arises from reflecting, amongst other things, on some of the recent work of the award-winning actor, Sir Anthony Hopkins.

His 1991 Oscar was given for his portrayal of 'Hannibal the Cannibal' in 'The Silence of the Lambs'. Here the nastiness was held to be a high form of cinema-art. Later Hopkins said he would think twice about playing the part again for fear that the violence might have a bad effect.

Recently, we have seen his only marginally less acclaimed performances as butler to a fascist-worshipping 1930s aristocrat in 'The Remains of the Day', and as the children's novelist and Shadowlands' Surely these films have nothing to do with the videos and violence discussion! Or have they? Watch this space.

# Television

# Treating domestic violence

Review by Phil Edwards

PHYSICAL abuse of men by women in the home, an often overlooked issue relating to domestic violence, was the subject of FIRST SIGHT: 'Taking it Like a Man' (BBC2, 7 April).

Relying heavily on interview techniques, the documentary itself was short on analysis. Premenstrual tension, for example, was cited as the possible cause of violent outbursts.

Jenni Manners of the Swindon Domestic Refuge for Battered Women said that these are all cases of 'domestic violence' and had to be treated in the same way as violence against women by men in the home.

One in five calls to the refuge come from men, and they're doubly stressed because the police and social services never take them seriously.

## Hide

A doctor at Queen Mary's Westfield college in Tower Hamlets, east London, is studying 50 such cases. Men make excuses to hide the cause of the violence and usually refuse to retaliate. The violence he claims is 'designed to control the victim'.

The question remains: what causes such relations between men and women to become reduced to conflicts of power? And what is the connection between

the social and the psychological aspects of this problem?

ARENA: 'Resurrecting the Dead Sea Scrolls' (BBC2, 2 April) was an appropriate enough offering for the Easter weekend. This fascinating account of the ancient manuscripts also raised questions about the origins of Christianity and the way in which theologians deny access to knowledge.

The Dead Sea Scrolls comprise over 500 manuscript fragments, and were first discovered in 1947 by bedouins in a cave in a desert in Jordan. But the main find was made when a team of Christian scholars and archaeologists returned to the area in 1952.

In 1949 the nearby ancient settlement of Qumran was excavated, and jars identical to those found in the cave were discovered. This suggests contemporaneity between the cave and the settlement, which was sacked by the Romans in 68AD and abandoned by the inhabitants.

There are references in the scrolls to a 'Messiah' and sect leader with codenames such as 'The Liar' — thought to mean St Paul — being persecuted by the Romans.

Implications from the content of the scrolls were evident-

ly disturbing enough to lead the Christian scholars to bequeath sets of the manuscripts to colleagues after they died, and to deny access to Jewish scholars.

For this reason the manuscripts were unpublished for 40 years. But a dictionary of all the words in the manuscripts became available and translation work was begun.

In the programme, Father Murphy O'Connor denied that the Vatican could have anything to do with a cover-up. This view is not shared by a Professor Eisenmann, who referred to the Church's suppression of the works of Galileo and Copernicus.

Some Christians were certainly worried by the scrolls, because when one graduate broke the rules and published the Hebrew texts, he was accused of 'theft' by the ominously named 'Scrolls Committee Cartel'.

Professor Lawrence Schiffman, a Jewish scholar, argued with Eisenmann about the dating of the scrolls, and was so incensed that he was caught during an off-guard moment saying '[Eisenmann] should be beaten up — none of this nonsense about turning the other cheek!'

The nub of the dispute is over

whether Christianity is rooted in early Judaic sects or movements waiting for a messiah to fulfil prophecies already worked out. That is, were the earliest Christians followers of groups pre-dating Christ?

Schiffman, undeterred by scientific evidence, says that even if the scripts are dated as post-Christ, they are only copies of originals made before Christ. The references to messiahs before Christ served to take the sting out of Christianity's assertion that Christ was something special ('Son of God', no less).

Judaism, on the contrary, is desperate to prove that there were many prophets and that the one referred to in the scrolls is one of these.

## Messiah

So who produced these texts? Was it the inhabitants of Qumran, the pacifist Essenes, or the 'sword-fighter' faction of the militant freedom fighters of the Zealot group, waiting in the desert for a messiah to lead them to war?

Whoever it was, what seems clear about many of these 'scholars' is that they are more keen to fight the corner of their particular brand of religion, rather than of archaeological science, which is often marred by preconceptions.

# Programme guide

**Saturday 16 April 'In Darkest Hollywood'.** Black South Africans describe the changing attitudes of movie-makers towards apartheid (3pm, BBC2). **'The Team They Wouldn't Play'.** As the South African cricket team prepares to play a Test series for the first time since 1965, a look at the history of this bitter sporting boycott (6.55pm, BBC2).

**Sunday 17 April ENCOUNTERS: 'Cane Toads'.** Documentary about the cane toad which, imported by the Queensland government in 1935 to eradicate the Greyback beetle's destruction of the sugar-cane crop, itself became a pest of plague proportions (7pm, Channel 4).

**Monday 18 April PANORAMA: 'Gravy Training'.** Investigation into the alleged multi-million-pound scandal of government training schemes for the long-term unemployed (9.30pm, BBC1). **'Soweto — A History'.** The second programme in this three-part documentary focuses on the uprising in June 1976 when a peaceful protest by schoolchildren against



Ironic tale of Australia's cane toad, Channel 4, Sunday

apartheid became a bloodbath as police opened fire on the demonstrators (10.55pm, Channel 4).

**Tuesday 19 April WITHOUT WALLS: 'The Last Afrikaner'.** Traces the footsteps of the Voortrekkers — a group of Boer farmers who fled the British-dominated South Africa in search of a romantic heartland

and now face the prospect of the government of Nelson Mandela (9pm, Channel 4). **OMNIBUS: 'Joan Littlewood's Lovely War'.** Coinciding with the publication of her autobiography, the maverick theatre director talks for the first time about her extraordinary life and work (11pm, BBC1).

**Thursday 21 April BLACK BAG SPECIAL: 'Stars, Tsars and Swastikas'.** This two-part 'Special' concludes by looking at the spread of fascist ideas and fanatical racist activities in Russia. Those taking part in the studio discussion include Alexei Batogov — Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's deputy (9pm, Channel 4).

## Selected films

**NETWORK (1976).** Excellent performances by Peter Finch and Faye Dunaway in Sidney Lumet's screen adaptation of Paddy Chayefsky's satire on the world of broadcasting (Saturday, 12.25am, BBC2). **NORTH BY NORTHWEST (1959).** Cary Grant, Eva Marie Saint and James Mason in the quintessential Alfred Hitch-



Theatre director Joan Littlewood's life is on BBC1, Tuesday

cock comedy thriller (Sunday, 2.50pm, BBC2). **MEAN STREETS (1973).** Martin Scorsese's bleak evocation of his own childhood spent in New York's Little Italy. With Harvey Keitel and Robert De Niro (Sunday, 10pm, Channel 4).

JJ

# They say more jails, we say more jobs

BY PETER GIBSON

THE 'Jail them, jail them' call by Home Secretary Michael Howard and the right wing as a means of cutting crime has been exposed by a leaked set of notes prepared for Sir Clive Whitmore, permanent secretary at the Home Office.

Produced by officials in the HO's crime policy division, the notes admit that the government's economic policy has led to 'relative deprivation', and a class of young people with no prospect of a real job. They say it is difficult to stop unemployed youth offending when society has concentrated on material

success as a means of establishing self-esteem.

And the notes add that the best way to cut crime by young people is to find them jobs.

Supporting the civil servants' view, the Association of Chief Officers of Probation has surveyed 30 probation areas in which almost 70 per cent of the 28,000 young offenders, on whom reports were made between July and December 1993, were out of work.

However the metropolitan areas, where unemployment is highest, were not included in the survey. Had they been, the percentage of offenders unemployed would have been higher.

Jack Young, professor of criminology at Middlesex Univer-

sity, said the Home Office notes would be endorsed by most criminologists and were supported by recent research.

He went on to say that they could represent a change in Home Office thinking. Since the Tories took over 10 Downing Street it has concentrated on crime prevention and active citizen responses rather than examining root causes.

## Re-think

So the civil servants and professors are having a re-think, but the government and police are not. The police are to get more guns, bigger batons, and a return of most of the stop-and-search laws. More money is to be spent on their press and public relations departments.

The extent to which the organisation of a society based on profit and personal wealth produces criminals is best shown by the US, where over 400,000 people are in prison.

A black man in New York or Los Angeles is five times more likely to end up jailed than if he lives in Johannesburg.

The average age of those convicted for burglary or robbery is 17. There are 4,000 jails in the US, and the number of those being jailed by the courts exceeds the space available for them.

The US has by a long way the highest proportion of its population in jail, 450 per 100,000 as against South Africa, which has 300 per 100,000, and Britain which has just under 100 per 100,000.

So the lesson is to be careful: if you drop your fish-and-chip wrapper you could get done under the anti-litter laws; if you are on strike you could wind up in jail for upsetting your boss.

However if you work in the finance field and commit a 'white-collar' crime by stealing £6 million, you will be more likely to end up with 150 hours of community service!

Was there ever a better example of why we need to change the basis of society from one designed and governed to provide big profits for the few and jails for the many, to one of production for need and jobs for all?

# Threat of new wave of repression in China

THE CHINESE government is preparing to suppress new waves of unrest. The Qingming Festival of 5 April, the traditional day for honouring the dead, saw crowds of uniformed and plain-clothes police in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, ready to stop anyone honouring the martyrs of the 1989 demonstrations. One man was arrested for carrying a wreath onto the square.

In the run-up to the visit by US Secretary of State Warren Christopher a dozen dissidents were arrested. A reporter from the 'Washington Post' was detained, and Xi Yang, a reporter for a Hong Kong newspaper, was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for 'stealing and spying on state secrets'. It is thought that he had seen government plans to reform the interest-rate structure.

Wei Jingsheng, who was released from prison last autumn having served most of a sentence for his part in 1979's Democracy Wall movement, was arrested on 1 April for 'new crimes'.

The most significant of

Wei's 'crimes' is that he has not confined himself to students and intellectuals but turned out to workers and peasants.

His action has exposed the crisis of the Chinese economy — inflation officially stands at 20 per cent, and the real figure is believed to be much higher, there is widespread corruption, and industrial safety is worsening rapidly.

Reports of rural unrest are even beginning to appear in the official press. It is estimated that more than 100 million people displaced from state enterprises and farms are currently wandering the country.

## Flames

For this reason China's Stalinist rulers are petrified that dissent could begin in the provinces. A secret document issued last month called on party officials to prevent activists fanning the flames of dissent in the countryside.

Spiralling inflation, a by-product of the Stalinists' policy of market reforms (which the Chinese Communist Party cal-



China's soldiers are going hungry: wages are now £4 per month

led 'Communism with Chinese characteristics'), has created its own problems.

Inflation is rising faster than credit can be arranged. This

sounds the death-knell for state enterprises, whose output grew only 2 per cent last year. (For the first time a state-owned company filed for bankruptcy,

on 6 April.) However even private companies, whose output rose by 30 per cent last year, are short of cash as inflation outstrips credit creation.

Although the ruling Stalinists are trying to force China's gross domestic product down to 9 per cent this year, they also have to offer a 25 per cent spending increase to the army in order to keep their loyalty. A 6 per cent increase on agricultural spending is being offered in an attempt to appease the farmers.

## Weakened

The government's own forecast for this year's budget deficit is 67 billion yuan (\$7.7 billion), nearly twice last year's. Many Western economists think it could reach 100 billion yuan.

In order to maintain its weakened rule in the run-up to the renewing of America's most-favoured-nation trading status on 3 June, the Chinese government will be forced to impose the most stringent austerity measures on an already-impooverished people. It will also be forced to resort to ever more extreme repressive measures against those who speak out against it.

# No to privatisation!

## Programmatic declaration of Workers' Unity of Kazan

FOR many years the bureaucracy managed the wealth of our country. Workers were only a hired class, they were only a subject people. The despotism of the bureaucracy increased, and therefore we came to a crisis.

Now managers and the new bourgeoisie declare that the means of production were in the hands of the working people and therefore — they try to convince us — our economic system collapsed.

They say: the working class is not a good controller of economic affairs and so all the means of production must pass into private hands.

Now the setting up of joint-stock companies is leading to the situation where all shares will be in the hands of the bureaucracy and thieves.

The bureaucracy and the new bourgeoisie hope to keep the working people as hired labour. But it is not possible to stop progress. The interests of those who live on wage labour are: to stop the sale of enterprises; to take factories and works into their own hands without compensation; and to do away with wage labour.

Otherwise there will be unemployment, continuous inflation, the growth of criminality. (The cause of criminality is the possibility of a small section of the population getting rich without hard work.)

### Shared

It is necessary to set up joint ownership, without preferred shares and only shared according to work, not money. This means:

1. The workforce — the factory personnel — and the whole of society, at the first stage, the state, must be joint owners, with distribution according to work done.

2. The income — the takings received from the buyer minus production costs — must be shared by the factory collective and society according to a rule decided by the Supreme Soviet.

3. The share for repairs, etc., of the factory or works must also be decided by the Supreme Soviet because it is a share of society.

4. The part of the income allotted to the factory must be

We publish here the programmatic demands of the Workers' Unity group of Kazan, in the Russian Federation.

Workers' Unity sent this programme to Dave Temple, who is a former miner and a member of the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, in response to his 'Open Letter to Russian Miners' (Workers Press, 8 January).

Dave, in his open letter, called for an international conference of militant miners and energy workers, to develop a united struggle for common aims. He put forward the campaign of material aid to

the miners of the Tuzla region, in north-east Bosnia, as the first step towards such unity.

The Workers' Unity group wrote to say: 'We are not miners, but we unite all trades, and we want to have contact with you. . . . We support your proposals and we think that we must organise a world workers' organisation.'

The Workers International enthusiastically greets this contact from distant Tatarstan, 600 miles east of Moscow on the way to the Urals.

What is most interesting about the

Workers' Unity programme is that it clearly places the blame for the crisis of Russian economy on 'the despotism of the bureaucracy'.

It denounces the lie that the collapse of the Soviet Union proved that the working class could not run the economy. It denounces the 'bureaucracy and the new bourgeoisie', who use this lie to try to keep the working class down.

These conclusions are very important ones, and a basis for joint work and discussion.

Simon Pirani

managed only by meetings of factory workers. The share allotted to society must be in the hands of elected soviets. The soviets to be under the control of bodies of workers.

5. The share allotted to workers must only be decided according to hours worked and skill. Production norms must be decided by the collective itself.

6. Any 14-year-old citizen, as a joint owner, must have the right to join any factory or works, but will only get a share according to work done.

When there is a surplus of workers in the factory, the collective must have the right to expand production or shorten the hours, but not the right to dismiss workers.

7. Non-factory workers — teachers, doctors, and so on — and pensioners, being also joint owners, to get shares, according to work done, from the national income; and their shares will grow according to the growth of national income per capita.

8. As productivity grows, prices must be lowered in accordance with rules

established by the Supreme Soviet.

9. Also by law, the differences in shares must be reduced as productivity grows — according to growth of income per worker, as prices fall.

10. If an enterprise cannot pay the workers, every worker has the right to a minimum share from an insurance fund

until the enterprise is able to pay.

Objective developments and our experience have shown that this programme will be the most effective.

We must unite and demand the establishment of such laws and structures.

Workers' Unity  
Kazan



Women in India are increasingly suffering assault and beatings at the hands of their husbands and in-laws

## Crimes against women in India escalate

OVER 60,000 cases of rape, kidnapping and dowry death of women were reported in India in 1993. This is in spite of changes to laws aimed at safeguarding women.

These figures included 15,590 reported cases of cruelty by husbands and by in-laws.

It appears that even these figures are not the full picture. Some Indian states did not report figures for the full year. And often the assaults and beatings go unreported because of social pressure and the stigma which attaches to such crimes.

### Safety

In Uttar Pradesh province alone, there were reported 1,563 dowry deaths and 13,370 rapes.

Clearly the position and safety of women in India is worsening as the economic position of the poor worsens.

# Only workers can bring lasting peace to S. Africa

**NELSON LANGA** comments from Durban on the background to the state of emergency in Natal and its results

NATAL province has seen many people killed following the deadlock between Inkatha's Gatsha Buthelezi and the African National Congress (ANC) and National Party (NP) over the constitution.

The deadlock arose from the demand of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) that Natal should become a federal state in the new South Africa — in other words, that Natal should govern itself after the forthcoming election. The ANC and NP rejected this.

In response, Buthelezi and the other right-wing groups, who were demanding the autonomous state, the 'Boere Staat', announced their intention to

boycott the elections. Many fruitless meetings were held to woo these parties into participation in the elections.

The ANC then decided to stage mass action in areas where they have more support, like Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. This led to collapse of these two regimes, and their replacement by ANC-dominated Transitional Executive Councils.

## Panic

This has made Buthelezi panic, because he realises that this is the probable future for KwaZulu [the 'homeland' that takes up much of Natal and of which he is prime minister]. He is also losing support for the electoral boycott in his own constituency. As a result he pushed forward the king, who still enjoys Zulu support, to demand the secession of Natal from South Africa.

The king started to mobilise the Zulus against the regime's writing off of the Zulu king. That was the platform for the march by Zulu IFP members through Johannesburg city centre, which resulted in the loss of 55 lives.

Prior to the Johannesburg incident, the IFP had launched campaigns to prevent free political activity in Natal townships and other rural areas controlled



**Zulus displaying tribal weapons: Buthelezi was panicked into demanding the secession of Natal from South Africa**

by chiefs loyal to the IFP. At Gmlazi and Kwamashu, where the ANC was to hold rallies, IFP members occupied the stadiums to prevent the meetings.

Since then many have been killed, especially in Kwamashu, and many houses burned down, allegedly by hostel dwellers loyal to the IFP.

ANC leader Mandela and President De Klerk were forced to agree to the proclamation of a state of emergency in Natal. They claimed they wanted to prevent more loss of life in the province, to allow free political activity and prevent the seces-

sion of Natal. To this end they deployed thousands of South Africa Defence Force (SADF) troops there.

## Killed

What has been the effect of the state of emergency? Since its proclamation more than 120 people have been killed in Natal. It has been alleged that, rather than halting the killings, the SADF is busy raiding the houses of innocent people and disarming them.

We in the Workers International see this as an attack on

workers. The SADF cannot bring peace. Only the workers themselves can bring a lasting peace to South Africa. There can be no trust in the SADF, which has killed workers and youth in collusion with Inkatha.

This is not simply a problem in Natal. Mandela and De Klerk are smoothing the path to a 'government of national unity' by dealing with the workers in advance, as we stated in our pamphlet 'Why the Government of National Unity is Going to Attack the Workers'.

The Workers International demands that:

■ all SADF personnel be confined to barracks;

■ all right-wing elements and warlords be disarmed;

■ workers and youth form defence committees under the control of the communities; and

■ leaders must be elected democratically, and subject to recall if they do not serve the interests of the communities.

■ 'Why the Government of National Unity is Going to Attack the Workers' is available in Zulu or English from: PO Box 5220, Aussenplanplatz, Namibia 9000 (50 cents); or PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB (£1 including postage).



**Mandela: in deadlock over constitution**

## Mass action in Turkey

TURKISH miners in the northern city of Zonguldak were last week preparing a mass demonstration against government plans to close several coal mines in the city which would leave 11,000 people without work.

The action came as working-class protests mounted against the government's austerity plan, which includes sackings in the state sector, price increases, new taxes and a speed-up of the privatisation programme.

Thousands of passengers were stranded at Turkish air-

ports last Monday after Turkish pilots employed by the state airline struck to protect working schedules.

## Rest

Erkam Potukomen, spokesperson for some 660 pilots, said their hours of work were not set in accordance with civil aviation rules, which require a rest period after each flight.

Turkish airlines normally fly about 100 domestic and international flights daily, but only two flights — to New York and Tokyo — operated.

## Workers Aid convoy brings messages from Bosnia An appeal from Tuzla students

The Workers Aid for Bosnia convoy, which has just returned from Tuzla, has brought back this appeal from students at Tuzla university for help from European students. Tuzla's students are in a desperate situation, spending one month in the classroom and one month fighting the Bosnian Serb forces. They have to take their books with them and to study between battles

WE ARE the students of the University of Tuzla. There are about 5,500 of us, and we study in different faculties — medicine, philosophy, electronics, machine engineering, mining, geology, chemistry, technology and economics.

Our country has been at war for two years. It's blockaded and isolated from the rest of the world. Lots of students have been killed in the war. Some of them are still held in concentration camps, and others do not have the chance to come to Tuzla.

## Hope

We do hope that you, students throughout Europe, have not forgotten us.

We have great problems with our schooling because the war has disrupted our normal work. We take this opportunity to send this letter to you with a wish that we will be able to make a connection and an exchange of students.

It would be nice if you could send us some books in English from the fields of medicine, electronics, machine engineering, economics, mining, geology, building, mathematics, physics and chemistry.

We lack magazines, computer paper, drawing paper, soft-

ware packages (such as CAD, QCAD, ORCAD).

If it is possible we would like you to receive our best students at your universities to carry out further study. If it is possible, please come to Bosnia, and send your delegation to us. We would also like to visit your universi-

ties to meet students from around the world. Your help is necessary for this as we need permission from your government to get into the country.

Letters and offers of help can be sent through humanitarian organisations, or with the support of your government.

For international co-operation.

Zekan Sabid  
University of Tuzla  
Student Union bb  
7500 Tuzla  
Bosnia-Herzegovina

## Miners' pride in all-European effort

The Workers Aid convoy team, which has just returned from Bosnia, received this message from Fikret Sujlik, president of Kreka miners

IT'S difficult to express the happiness and pleasure that we feel now, when there is no obstacle between your intention and your ability to bring aid in these difficult days to Tuzla's miners, whose hard work provides thousands of people in the Tuzla region with light and warmth in their homes.

With hope in our hearts we have followed all the news about

the progress of the Workers Aid all-European convoy to Tuzla's miners.

When news of your humanitarian effort came, our hearts filled with pride that we belong to the big family of European workers.

This pride, that feeling, is much more important for us than the goods you bring. Your moral support will make us

stand tall even after you leave us.

You have been in a position, during your Tuzla visit, to feel that you are part of our fight against the disaster inflicted on us by Nazi and fascist aggression, and to find out, if only in part, the danger facing us if resistance doesn't come soon.

We ask that you do everything in your power so that fascism never appears elsewhere.

Thank you for the aid you bring us, which will be distributed to 13,000 miners and 50,000 members of their families.

# Workers Press

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