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# SOCIALIST

ORGANISER

Unite the left

**Vote Labour  
Fight for  
socialist  
policies!**

# 13 YEARS

# OF TORY

# HELL

RELEASE DATE  
APRIL 9TH!

See centre pages

## Socialist collapse boosts NF

By Colin Foster

Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front took about 14% of the vote in France's regional elections on 22 March.

This score put the NF only marginally behind the governing Socialist Party (about 18% of the vote), and only a small distance behind the two mainstream right-wing parties, too (34% between the two of them).

Two Green lists got 14% between them, and the decaying Communist Party took about 8%.

The NF's 14% repeats their previous best score, 14% in the April 1988 presidential election. For nearly eight years now the NF has not dropped seriously below the 11% it won in its first big breakthrough, the Euro-elections of June 1984.

The NF emerged as a major force very rapidly in the disillusion and economic troubles of the early 1980s: in the 1981 National Assembly elections, where the Socialist Party and Communist Party ousted the mainstream right after 23 years of unbroken rule, the NF had got just 0.35% of the vote. Now it is well-established, confident, and maybe poised for a new surge forward if the current economic downturn worsens.



## Rebuild the NHS!

Health workers protest at Manchester Royal Infirmary, on Thursday 19 March. The hospital is now run by a Trust, which has run out of money. A Labour

victory is vital on 9 April, but we will have to fight to make a Labour Government rebuild the Health Service. Photo: John Smith, Profile.

## Poverty and demoralisation bring mini-Chernobyl

As SO went to press on Tuesday 24 March, news was coming in of another nuclear accident in the former USSR. It was reported that a nuclear reactor near St. Petersburg had had a leak of radioactive gas. There was a claim that radioactive iodine had been detected in farmland around the plant and in nearby

Finland. It seems that a water-seal failed in the steam production part of the reactor, allowing steam into the core. Automatic shutdown procedures are said to have properly. The reactor is an RBMK-1,000, the same type as caught fire at Chernobyl. The design, peculiar to the USSR, does not include a

concrete containment building as it was thought to be too safe to need one! Automatic safety measures have been improved in the RBMKs since Chernobyl's operating staff allowed the situation there to get worse by their meddling. On an international scale of nuclear mishaps, Tuesday's leak rates as a 3, making it an

"incident". Over 3 would have been an "accident". On this scale Chernobyl rated the maximum of 7. Inherently unsafe designs, coupled with a demoralised workforce, make such occurrences almost inevitable. The countries of the ex-USSR cannot do without nuclear power but cannot afford to replace it.

## Four key demands for Labour

While campaigning for a Labour victory, *Socialist Organiser* supporters and the Alliance for Workers' Liberty are also organising round the key demands which the trade unions and the Labour Party should press on Neil Kinnock.

### Free trade unions!

The Tories, through one law after another, have hamstrung the trade unions. No strike is lawful without a ballot in the form approved by a judge, or if it is reckoned to be "political" or a solidarity strike. If they win on 9 April, the Tories plan to insist that strike ballots must be postal, and followed by seven days' notice to the boss.

No socialist expects a Labour Government to hand down utopia. But the least it can do is to free the labour movement so that we can fight for improvements without Tory shackles.

As yet Labour's leaders are unwilling to do even that. The election manifesto includes no promises to restore trade union rights, not even those minimal promises included in the *Looking to the Future* document in 1990.

Trade unionists and

Labour activists should fight for a *Workers' Charter* codifying the right to strike, the right to picket, the right to take solidarity action, and the right to organise. Such a Charter has already been backed by the public service union NALGO and by the North West and London regional Labour Party conferences.

### Rebuild the National Health Service!

The Tories are well on the way to replacing the NHS with a market-oriented

*"No socialist expects a Labour Government to hand down utopia. But we should demand it frees the trade unions to fight for improvements without Tory shackles"*

health system, based on ability to pay, with a minimal and tattered pauper provision as back-up.

Look at the United States, where something like that system already exists! Health spending is twice as high as in Britain, as a proportion

of the US's (bigger) national income, yet life expectancy and infant mortality are worse.

The well-off get more medical treatment than is good for them, while hospitals in Los Angeles post armed guards to stop poor pregnant women getting in (laws now ban the hospital from throwing them out once they get in).

That is where the Tories would take us. Labour promises to end the Tories' "internal market" in the NHS, but refuses to commit itself to restoring the Tory cuts.

The NHS must be rebuilt, with the resources it needs, and so must the other public services which provide some element of security and dignity to the life of working-class people in a ruthless market-mad world.

### Poll tax amnesty now!

Close to 200 people have been jailed for not paying the Poll Tax, and many others for involvement in anti-poll-tax demonstrations.

If an amnesty is not declared, then many more people will be dragged into court, harassed by bailiffs, or sent to jail, even if Labour wins on 9 April and keeps its promise to scrap the Poll Tax immediately.

The Poll Tax is unfair and

unworkable. Even the Tories now effectively admit that. The campaign of non-payment was justified and effective. Now is the time to wipe the slate clean.

### For a minimum wage!

Britain is a grossly unequal society. The top ten per cent own 53% of all marketable wealth, the bottom 50%, only 6%. The top 20% have 39% of the income, the bottom 20% only 9%.

Between 1979 and 1987, real income for the poorest 10% of families, after housing costs, fell 7%. Real income for the top 1%, after housing costs, rose 72%.

Yet the Tories claim that small tax increases for the well-off, on over £22,000 a year, would be ruinous, while Labour's promised legal minimum wage of £3.40 an hour is extravagant! The rich must get richer, they say, and the poor must stay poor, or else the capitalist system will be wrecked!

If so, then it is about time it was wrecked. In reality it is possible now, even within capitalism, to increase wages at the expense of the rich. The legal minimum wage will be a good start, and an essential protection for workers in weak bargaining positions.

## NUS women's conference Tackling the real issues

By Janine Booth (NUS women's officer)

The National Union of Students' Women's Campaign Conference begins on Monday 30 March.

The subjects to be discussed are Women in Education, Fighting Racism and Violence Against Women.

Notice: there is no "reform" debate!

The Women's Campaign Conference does not have time to discuss bureaucratic "reforms". It is concerned with discussing issues that affect the mass of the NUS membership, and not just a few right-wing sabbatical student union officials.

In the occupations, demonstrations and rent strikes against student poverty this academic year, women have taken a leading role. Many battles have won significant victories — including safety improvements, childcare facilities, and improvements in library funding.

The NUS Women's Campaign led the demonstrations in Manchester and Lancaster, and the national demonstration in London. Women played a central role in organising and building occupations.

Unfortunately the fight back was betrayed by the majority of the NUS National Executive. Their excuse for not holding a national demonstration in the first term was that we needed five months to raise students'



Vote Alice Sharp for women's officer!

awareness of how poor they are!

But over the last two years, the NUS Women's Campaign has made a point of listening to the membership, encouraging participation, and striving to build an open and democratic campaign.

Left Unity is standing a candidate for women's officer — Alice Sharp. Alice is presently a member of the NUS National Executive, and before that was convenor for Tyne-Tees Area NUS.

She is a committed socialist and feminist, and believes that the NUS Women's Campaign can play an important and useful role in bringing more women in to the national and local student unions.

Alice believes in action and participation. She supported and visited many of the occupations and rent strikes last term, and campaigned on the National Executive for full NUS support of the student action.

## Students for Labour

Students across the country are out campaigning for a Labour victory as Left Unity activists take the issue into the colleges.

In Newcastle, Manchester, and Leeds, NUS Area activists are organising meetings for Labour and debates between the two main parties in Further Education colleges.

In Liverpool and Lancaster Labour Club members are organising canvassing teams.

In Brighton the General Election should lead to the setting up of a new Labour Club at the Polytechnic.

The newly founded 'SOLS Left' is campaigning around Scottish colleges.

## Scottish Left organises

By Steve McLeod, Convenor Glasgow Poly Labour Club

Students from Labour Clubs in Scotland met last week to launch "SOLS (Scottish Organisation of Labour Students) Left". In parallel with Labour students across Britain, SOLS has moved rightwards in recent years and its active membership has fallen sharply.

In York, where the Tory majority of 147 is much less than the student population, the local Labour Club will be playing a vital role in winning the seat for Labour.

In Birmingham, Left Unity supporters at the Polytechnic have combined campaigning for the local Labour candidate with taking on the SWP, in a debate arranged between the Labour Club and SWSS.

Nationally, Left Unity has produced thousands of *Vote Labour* leaflets, urging the biggest vote for Labour but warning that students will have to fight to make Kinnock deliver.

For copies of the leaflet or speakers, phone Jill or Paul on 071-639 7967.

SOLS Left aims to coordinate left wingers to challenge the present Kinnockite leadership. It will be fighting for a commitment from Labour to restore Tory education cuts, for the relaunching of a democratic Labour Party Young Socialist organisation and for defending socialist principles inside the Party.

SOLS Left's first bulletin is out now. Ring Steve on 041 636 5495 for more information.



Major on the run in Bolton

## Why we back Socialists for Labour

# Turn the tide!

It would be plain stupid to pretend that the General Election has anything directly to do with socialism. Neil Kinnock's Labour Party is not fighting for a socialist transformation of Britain. That's for sure!

Labour is fighting to end government by the brutal, hard-faced, stone-hearted Tory Party.

The Tory Party is the party of the rich and powerful. It has inflicted immense misery on millions of people. What Labour wants is a more decent, more humane version of the existing capitalist system.

This is good, but it is not enough. It is nothing like enough!

Socialist Organiser is bitterly critical of the leaders of the Labour Party. Wherever we have influence - in the Labour Party, in the trade unions, in the National Union of Students - we fight to defeat Kinnockite policies and those who promote them. In response, the Kinnockites have banned Socialist Organiser in the Labour Party and tried to expel SO supporters.

What the working class needs is a workers' government - a socialist government which is accountable to the labour movement, which puts the interests of the working class above everything else, and which cuts down capitalism. That is what Socialist Organiser wants. We want socialism.

Nevertheless, we are doing everything we can to help Labour win the election. Why?

Because the working class would benefit greatly and directly from the replacement of the Tories by even the present Labour Party. The working class will be better able to defend itself against a Labour government linked to the trade unions.

More than that: the defeat of Major and the Tories will help revive the self-confidence of millions of workers who are now too disheartened to fight directly for their own interests.

Millions now overawed by the brutal determination of the Tories to beat them down will begin to stir again. Millions who know that mass unemployment and a relentlessly hostile govern-

ment are a difficult combination for a few hundred, or a few thousand, workers to beat in direct struggle, will begin to feel that struggle is not hopeless.

If we beat the Tories in the election, strikes and industrial militancy will revive. Open class struggle will revive.

At a later stage, the newly militant workers will find the Kinnock government trying to subdue them. But that is the next stage after this.

Now, a vote is the most potent

***"Millions who know that mass unemployment and a relentlessly hostile government are a difficult combination for a few hundred or a few thousand workers to beat in direct struggle will begin to feel that struggle is not hopeless."***

weapon millions of workers are likely to get or want to use. Right now, a Labour election victory will change the political climate to the advantage of the working class.

This election campaign is one in which the scales are heavily weighted in favour of the Establishment and the Tories.

The crude and brutal Tory appeals to naked greed and narrow immediate financial self-interest are a good measure both of what the Tories stand for and of what they have done to Britain in the 13 years of their rule, during which they have used the government's power to ram through enormous change.

In 13 years of rampant Toryism the Labour leaders have taken on board many of the assumptions and policies of Thatcherism.

They still talk about the "national interest" as if the working class has a common national interest with those who own and control British industry!

Their programme for creating jobs and restoring the Health Service is vague, timid and inadequate.

They say they will not scrap the Tory anti-union laws, nor amnesty those whose revolt against the poll tax brought Mrs Thatcher down.

They propose to run the present system more humanely at a time of slump, when the dynamics of this ruthless capitalist system leave little scope for their "nicer" approach - unless they attack capitalism. The list of socialist criticisms is a long one.

Not the least of our criticisms of Kinnock is this: we should not be faced with these limited choices at all. The Tories need not have been allowed to attain their present level of strength and power. The leaders of the labour movement, both the trade unions and the Labour Party, should have fought back from day one 13 years ago. If we

had fought back then, as SO advocated we should - then we could have crushed Thatcherism long ago.

When Thatcher came to power in 1979 and launched her murderous offensive against the working class, unemployment was about a third of what it is today, and industrial militancy was still a great force. A sustained campaign to drive the Tories from office would have roused the majority of the British people, and could have done what the miners did in 1974, when Edward Heath was driven to an ill-judged election and was forced out of office.

Instead of organising a concerted fight-back, the labour movement dithered and dawdled, allowing the bosses, encouraged by the government, to drive millions out of the factories and offices and on to the the dole queues.

Turn to page 4

*"The emancipation of the working class is also the emancipation of all human beings without distinction of sex or race."*

Karl Marx  
Socialist Organiser  
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Members of the Advisory Committee are drawn from a broad cross section of the left who are opposed to the Labour Party's witch-hunt against Socialist Organiser. View expressed in articles are the responsibility of the authors and not of the Advisory Editorial Board.

## Eric Hammond: the bottom line

The last thing I want to do is to help Mr Eric Hammond achieve comfortable retirement by boosting sales of this autobiography. But at the risk of finding myself quoted on the back cover of the paperback edition, I must recommend "Maverick: the life of a union rebel". The book is a revelation.

Many of us lefties had a sneaking regard for Mr Hammond. His style of business unionism was only the official TUC "New Realism" taken to its logical conclusion and spelled out more honestly. He seemed to have a refreshing bluntness and even courage, as when he told a hostile TUC Congress, "Hitler would be proud of you lot". Like some of us on the opposite side to him, he seemed to relish debunking hypocrisy and woolly thinking. That rather attractive side of the Hammond persona comes over in this book as he denounces the TUC General Council as, variously, wimps, loonies, gangsters and commies; some are even dismissed as "dinosaurs who use their arses for brains."

Unfortunately, this kind of talk finally rebounds against Hammond himself. If anyone used his arse for his brain, it is poor old Bro. Eric himself. For the first time, we are told the true story of the Wapping/News International scabbing operation that resulted in 5,000 print workers losing their jobs and that - indirectly - resulted in the EETPU being expelled from the TUC in 1988.

Time and time again, Hammond assured the TUC that he had no deal with Rupert Murdoch. They believed him (the EETPU was not actually expelled over Wapping, but over a comparatively minor poaching operation at Orion in South Wales). Now, Hammond admits that he lied to the TUC: he actually suggested the entire plan to break the print unions at Wapping. "Highly secret meetings" with Murdoch were taking place as early as January 1985. Murdoch asked Hammond if EETPU members would be able to "set up" the printing machinery at Wapping; Hammond replied "not only that, but they could operate it as well". Hammond recalls "an almost audible click" from Murdoch as the prospect of smashing the print unions "once and for all" presented itself. And the next, as they say, is history.

If we ignore the small consideration of 5,000 print jobs and such minor considerations as trade union solidarity, the sad part about the whole Wapping saga is that Murdoch never repaid Hammond for services rendered: to this day the EETPU has not been granted official recognition at Wapping, despite such gruelling pleas as the following: "The world knows that you owe us and that debt can only be met by full recognition of the EETPU.... As it is, I feel more than a little diminished."

Here we get to the heart of the problem with Hammond's brand of business unionism. Even the most right-wing union leader eventually depends upon his ability to deliver the goods for the membership: without that, the whole edifice collapses. Hammond's record, stripped of all the verbal aggression and bravura is one of failure to deliver. He failed, ultimately, at Wapping, and he failed during the miners' strike - the other crucial section of the book.

According to Hammond, he offered Arthur Scargill support in 1984 (by balloting the power workers on strike action in support of the miners) if Scargill reciprocated by allowing the miners a ballot. Hammond shows that he understands the implications of that offer: "no government, not even Margaret Thatcher's with its in-built will to smash the unions, could have resisted... with the lights out, electricity supplies out and troops maintaining basic services, public pressure would have forced Mrs Thatcher to make the biggest U-turn ever seen"

But it was not a serious offer. Hammond knew in advance that Scargill would not agree (we can debate the rights and wrongs of that some other time...); he gives the game away by stating that it would have been a "nightmare of the nursery revolutionaries" if the NUM had won. Just like Jimmy Thomas' famous statement about the 1926 General Strike ("God help us if the government had not won")

Hammond emerges from this book as a rather sad figure: as scabbing at Wapping didn't pay off; his attempts to build an alternative to the TUC failed miserably; worst of all, he never appeared to realise that even his style of "moderate" trade union depends on the ability occasionally to mobilise the rank and file in effective action. No wonder that the EETPU Headquarters were "not available for comment" when asked about the book last week.

When it comes to using your arse for your brain Eric Hammond's book is the bottom line.

### INSIDE THE UNIONS



By Sleeper

By Clarissa Rayne-Bucks

Alone in her beautiful Sunninghill home, Fergiana raised a delicate hand to wipe away the tears that suffused her emerald green eyes. Even the dulcet tones of New Kids on the Block in her Sony-style Walkperson could not assuage Fergiana's inner turmoil. Her perfectly-formed bosom heaved with pent-up emotion as she reached for the gold-embossed Delboy handset: "Bell! Here at once!"

The Duchess's personal public relations advisor Sir Tinker Bell was in attendance within minutes. At his side was another man, identically dressed in a black frock-coat and striped trousers, but slightly flushed and apparently in a state of some excitement.

"In anticipation of your Highness's wishes I have, eh, taken the liberty of bringing my good friend Sir David Fitzenglish, the distinguished editor of the highly reputable Daily Mail newspaper, Ma'am" announced Sir Tinker.

Fergiana raised an exquisite eyebrow and for the first time in days a wistful smile played upon her full, ruby lips.

"Good thinking, Tinker! I only read the Star myself, but all my chums at Stringfellow's say the Mail's a much more sort of posh paper. And that's just what I want for what I've got in mind. If the price is right..."

The Duchess shot a meaningful glance towards Sir David.

"If I understand your Highness correctly," began a clearly embarrassed Sir David but he was interrupted by the decisive, manly voice of Sir Tinker: "Let's cut the crap. Fergie wants to stuff the little creep before he stuffs her. And it'll keep the unemployed figures off the front pages into the bargain!"

"Ahem. I'm sure we can reach some arrangement, your Highness" croaked the trembling editor, reaching for his cheque book.

"Andrew, boy! What the bloody hell is this?" The handsome young prince's finely-chiselled features registered a veritable panoply of emotions - shock, despair, resignation - at the sound of his father's curt, naval bark. He had heard it many, many times before.

"I say, what's up Pater?" His father glared through gimlet eyes for what seemed like an eternity, before booming, "it's that bloody carrot-topped floozy you married, you damned fool!" Andrew stared in disbelief at the front page of the Daily Mail that his father was brandishing in his face and saw, first, a large photograph of Fergiana cuddling their

children, and then the headline: "Fergie: I can't take any more of uncaring Andy".

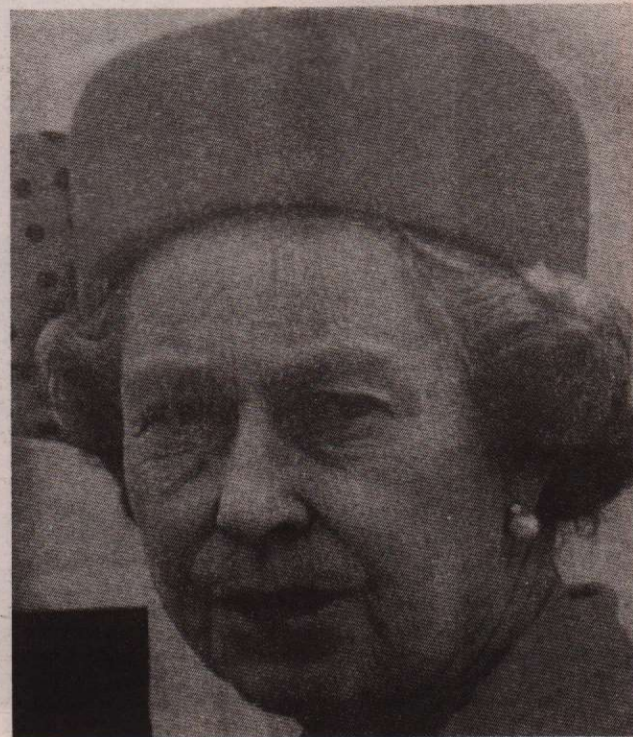
It came like a blow to the young prince's firm, masculine solar plexus. He couldn't breathe, he couldn't speak. The room seemed to spin about him. All the time he was thinking "The heartless vixen! Just when I'd got a deal on the divorce story tied up with the Express!"

But the old sea dog was still in full flow: "This'll break your mother's heart, you realise? A nice start to her 40th anniversary bash, I must say! We told you that gel was no good. As if that "It's a Knockout" bash wasn't bad enough! And then leaving the kids while you gallivant about ski resorts with your useless friends. And then getting herself photographed with a bloody sick-bag over her head. Not to mention her hanging about in public with a notorious drunkard and adulterer!"

"You mustn't speak about her father like that", cried Andrew in a moment of loyalty that surprised even himself.

"I'm talking about that bloody Yank oil millionaire Woodrow Wyatt or whatever the bloody hell he's called, you fool!" boomed the Duke, his face purple with rage. What could his father be talking about? Andrew had no idea.

Andrew's mother had sharper ears than either her husband or her son suspected. She also read the Daily Mail. Her years of



"We told you that gel was no good"

experience told her exactly what was to be done: "Anson! Here at once! You know what one wishes you to do!"

The frock-coated equerry reached for the gold-embossed Mercury Royal-style telephone and dialled as the Queen swept majestically from the room.

"Daily Mirror? Could I have Mr Paul Spart, the famous investigative reporter, please?"

"Spart here" came the reporter's gruff, proletarian voice.

"I represent a certain personage who has been done

sore wrong by a wife" began the loyal Anson. "His wife is the very epitome of Thatcherite greed and selfishness. She is a frivolous bourgeois parasite whose only role in life is to leech upon the life-blood of honest British Toilers".

Mr Spart's voice suddenly underwent a change and he began to sound almost like George Saunders in the film "All about Eve". "You begin to interest me, sir. Tell me more..."

To be discontinued as soon as possible.

## Turn the tide!

From page 3

Because of Labour's weakness and demoralisation Thatcher was able to build a spurious popularity out of her shoddy little campaign in the Falklands.

The Thatcherite juggernaut rolled over British life and British politics. Right-wingers like former Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan openly sabotaged Labour's 1983 General Election campaign. The paler-blue Tories of the SDP, thought their time had come.

Short-sighted leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions refused to back the miners in 1984-5, and the miners were defeated.

The Kinnockite leaders of the Labour Party have not even had the nerve to back the resistance to the poll tax put up by millions of working class people, still less to put themselves at its head in a general crusade against Thatcherism. They vie with the Tories in denouncing those who refused to pay the tax.

We repeat, if the policies that Socialist Organiser and others argued for after June 1979 had guided the labour movement, the Tories would have been driven out long ago.

But they were not driven out! The labour movement has to start from where it is now.

Kinnock's purged and ideologically policed Labour Party is a long long way from socialism. But it is still the party of the trade unions.

The serious left therefore has no alternative but to "steer to the right" in the election campaign - to throw everything we have into securing a Labour victory.

We know Labour's and Neil Kinnock's limitations. We know, too, that the working class movement will have to fight for its own interests under a Labour government. But Neil Kinnock's Labour Party is the best governmental option the working class has right now.

That is why the serious left is backing the Labour Party in the General Election. If Labour wins the election, it will be of

great benefit to the working class. If not, then it will not be the fault of the serious left.

This is the only honest approach for socialists who want to avoid kidding themselves about what Labour stands for and also to avoid the irresponsible political sectarian fantasies which grip some socialists now.

Any act of the left, or any refusal by the left to act which helps the Tories or weakens Labour in this election will be a crime against the working class.

We say: vote Labour in every constituency.

Organise like-minded socialists to go out and win votes for Labour.

The organisations of the labour movement - the Labour Party included - must demand of a Labour government that it should, on taking office, immediately implement the following working class demands:

- \* Free trade unions
- \* Restore NHS cuts
- \* Poll tax amnesty
- \* A minimum wage

# South Africa after the white referendum

## Racists swap apartheid for the market and the strong state

By Tom Rigby

Last week everyone, outside of South Africa's far right, seemed to be momentarily united in celebrating F W De Klerk's victory in the whites-only referendum on change.

The *Financial Times*, the *Economist*, *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* were delirious. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange was "buoyant". And the African National Congress, long battered and repressed by the Pretoria regime, also welcomed the news.

*Socialists and genuine, thoroughgoing democrats have no reason to celebrate.*

The referendum was simply a vote of confidence in De Klerk from the white electorate. The result of this pigmentocratic plebiscite, in which only members of the privileged white "community" could vote, gives De Klerk a mandate to continue on his present course of introducing reforms "from above" whilst waging civil war on the black majority "from below", or, rather, from the shadows.

Last Tuesday's vote did nothing to remove the real obstacles to democratic change, like De Klerk's murderous apparatus of repression. On the contrary. "De Klerk's killing machine", as Nelson Mandela has called it, continues in place.

Over the last two decades, the apartheid military/police apparatus has laid waste to huge areas of the sub-continent, wrecking the lives of millions of people, and has waged low-intensity civil war against the inhabitants of South Africa's black townships.

Since "peace" was officially declared, with the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990, the death rate in the townships from "unrest-related violence" has increased massively.

It is just not possible to separate De Klerk's negotiating strategy from the security forces' overt and covert attempts to fan the flames of township violence.

As well as negotiating, De Klerk intends to let loose his stormtroopers, who will bomb, shoot, rape, batter and burn their way to the new South Africa.

This is not random violence. It is deliberate and purposeful.

De Klerk doesn't need to be the evil mastermind behind every "unrest" incident for the activities of the state-supported death squads to dovetail with his overall policy.

In recent years, the military top brass, working first through the shadowy Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) and later, after the formal disbanding of the DMI, through other forms, have pursued a sophisticated military/political strategy.



De Klerk celebrates

They have sought to combine violence against black people, both indiscriminate and selective, with calculated attempts to change the political climate. These "Psychological Operations" (Psy-Ops) are known within South Africa's secret state as WHAM — Winning Hearts and Minds.

When the "Inkathagate" scandal broke last year, former DMI agent Nicco Basson (General Magnus Malan's chauffeur in Angola, later Assistant Director of the South African Broadcasting Corporation) spelled out the meaning of WHAM and its relation to the politics of negotiations.

"It was only now, when apartheid was going and 'non-racial' elections were in the offing, that SADF strategists were beginning to see the prospect of a com-

prehensive WHAM success.

The end of the violence [in the townships, orchestrated by the SADF] has not been to destroy property or to kill — that has only been a means. The political objectives have all been directed towards the eventual goal of securing white control in the post-apartheid set-up...

The end goal is a divided and undermined ANC, and an alliance of the ruling National Party, Inkatha, and other 'moderate' black organisations, which will sweep 'legitimately' to power, with the SADF's own power structure remaining intact.

This is the model of controlled reform or democratisation from above that has been used in Latin America over the last decade. It works on the same principle as the contra war against the people of Nicaragua: a war designed to make the people vote for "peace" by voting the Sandinistas out of office. The aim is controlled terror against the black majority so as to "de-politicise" them, combined with concessions to their leaders.

There can be no celebration of a "new dawn" in South Africa while the instruments of this policy are firmly in place.

On the contrary, the mass movement must link the demand for immediate elections to a constituent assembly with the call for the breaking up of "De Klerk's killing machine".

However, De Klerk is not in total control of the situation. Firstly, the token purge of the fascist AWB which is likely to come in the wake of the referendum result could turn the lower levels of the

white police and army against the top of the hierarchy.

Secondly, if the National Party opts for an electoral alliance with the ANC as opposed to a bloc with Inkatha and other conservative black forces, then the existing state machine could start to crack up. Homeland leaders like Buthelezi in KwaZulu and Mangope in Bophutatswana will seek to defend the military/bureaucratic base of their own privilege against the central state.

De Klerk's post-referendum negotiating agenda gives us a glimpse of just how truncated the democracy of the "new South Africa" is going to be. De Klerk is ruling out anything other than token committees to "oversee" the security apparatus, and the National Party is demanding:

- Equal representation for all parties in the second house of the regional legislatures. (This is a kind of built-in white veto).
- Only parties with over 15% of the vote should have seats in the main parliament. (This would keep out the smaller, non-ANC, anti-apartheid forces).
- A constitutional guarantee to block anything approaching genuine majority rule until the year 2000, and to entrench "power-sharing" (whatever that may be).

Paul Kruger, the managing director of SASOL, the country's biggest fuel and chemicals company (which unleashed murderous vigilantes against strikers in 1987), knows the real significance of last week's vote.

He told the *Financial Times*:

"The electorate [sic] has now been satisfied that the state president is not willing to give everything away, that he has certain economic bottom lines".

The message is simple: apartheid may have gone, but the market can do roughly the same job by keeping the vast majority of blacks out of the white suburbs, schools, and swimming pools. Most black people simply can not afford them. The few that can will be used to hold down the struggles of those that can not.

The problem for South Africa's rulers is that the country's working class — the biggest and most powerful on the continent — could well prove somewhat stronger than the thin layer of trade union officials and ANC activists who now seek to channel their democratic and socialist aspirations through the narrow channels of top-down negotiations.

The vote has not made South Africa a more stable place. If anything, the country will become more unstable. After all, the black workers are going to expect more from Nelson Mandela — who could be titular president within a year — than they would from De Klerk. The fuse still burns...

**STOP PRESS:** De Klerk's representatives in CODESA, the negotiating forum, have now announced that there will be no interim government until the ANC disbands its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. The government has also announced that it is bringing back state lynchings after a 20 month freeze. Welcome to the Deep South...



26 people died after the massacre on the Soweto commuter train in September 1990. Felix Isaias Ndimene a Mozambican press-ganged into the South African army has confirmed that this was the work of "Fire

Recce" crack troops of the state's 'Special Forces'. 3,000 people were killed between February '90 and April '91 without a single conviction. since then the violence has not abated.

# Fair weather friends

## GRAFFITI

It's a cruel world - when you're down, all your fair weather friends claim never to have known you. Acquaintances cross the street rather than be seen with you. One by one, names are crossed out in your address book. This is what the Tories are finding - nobody popular wants to be seen hanging around with these pariahs.

So many celebs were jumping onto the Labour election bandwagon that the Tories were panicked into publishing a list of 84 stars of their own, prepared by the Kurds' favourite Jeffrey "where's the money gone?" Archer. It seems that Archer bought all his literary skill to bear on the list - that is to say it was a badly written fiction.

A queue formed of people asking to be taken off - firstly, Richard Branson of Virgin who didn't want the publicity, a Conservative spokesperson said. Is this the same man who raced speedboats across the Atlantic and flew back in a hot air balloon, each time in a near blinding blaze of self publicity?

Of the original 84, 14 have left: that's 1 in 6.

Others who were co-opted to the Tories' side by the Tory press have also been fighting back: "Botham bats for Major" ran a *Sun* headline last week. This week's headlines will run "Botham sues for malicious falsehood".

The Tories still have Bob Monkhouse, Jimmy Tarbuck and Jim Davidson. Unfortunately they have been erroneously listed as comedians.



Branson: shy - and retiring

It is often said that student politics is divorced from the "real world". The antics of Paul Hewitt, the recently elected right-wing chair of the National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS), would tend to support that view.

Hewitt's first act after the NOLS elections was to canvass for a candidate against the Labour Club in an election at Kent University. To ensure victory, he got the support of local Tories and Liberals. In return, Hewitt's right wing clique supported a Tory for another position. In a further twist to the plot, the Tories were out canvassing for a (right wing) Labour

candidate for president! So, who won the elections? Independents!

To add insult to injury, Hewitt's obsession with Kent University elections meant that he failed to take either himself or his supporters in Kent to the extraordinary NUS Conference, which no doubt ensured the Kinnockites' failure to get a clear two-thirds majority for their reform proposals.

The murmurings from Walworth Rd are that Hewitt isn't up to leading Labour's student section and that funding is to be cut as a direct result of his election.

"The Tory campaign thus far has to be the worst, most miserable, uncentred and confused, mess-up I've ever seen". Interesting comment because it comes, not from a Labour politician pointing to the Tories' weaknesses, but from arch-Tory, Michael Winner, director of films such as *Death Wish*, a nasty little film about a gun-toting vigilante, famed for its glib and voyeuristic view of violence towards women.

Winner continues "I'm absolutely fed up with hearing how 'nice' Mr Major is. Nice is not necessarily an asset. I looked up nice in my dictionary. The first definitions were: 'Foolishly simple, wanton, coy, over-particular' Yeah, that'll bring in votes".

Winner is at this moment working on *Death Wish III*: the election campaign is taken over by Thatcher restating conservative values and not mincing her words. No more Mister Nice-Guy? We live in hope.

Two sets of mystics went on the campaign trail last week. The first were the "Natural Law Party", led by the guru Maharishi Yogi. They published newspaper adverts of a series of equations which, they claimed, showed the scientific case for a theory of everything (connected to super-string theory). However, scientific opinion found very little convincing in the adverts.

The other mystics, known as the "Law and Order Party", went on the vote trail, led now by a lesser prophet, (a heretic, many claim,) Majorishi, who is trying to take on the mantle of the guru, Thatcherami. Their theory of everything they chant as a mantra, "Labour will increase taxes for everyone", believing that, if they chant it for the next three weeks, victory will be their s. Scientific opinion is not convinced.

# Week one: Labour ahead on points

## PRESS GANG



By Jim Denham

Everything might have changed by the time you read this, but the consensus at the end of week one of the election campaign seems to be that Labour is winning the propaganda war, if only on points.

This is pretty remarkable, when you consider the overwhelming advantages that the Tory Party enjoys in terms of superior finances and sympathetic newspapers. Add to this the fact that Week One was dominated by the economy - which is traditionally a good Conservative pitch - and Labour's continuing lead in the opinion polls begins to look like more than just a flash in the pan.

Of course, the unemployment figures, and the string of other poor "economic indicators" announced last week, ought to have put Labour even further ahead, but we are not playing on an even field (to use the fashionable parlance) when it comes to press coverage. Monday's *London Evening Standard*, for instance,



The tabloids strive - impotently as yet - to get the Tory message across

greeted the latest balance of payments figures with the front-page headline: "Major buoyant as trade gap narrows"; tucked away in the business section of the same paper was the headline: "Trade gap worse than feared at £750 million".

Nevertheless, the Tories are clearly rattled. John Major's PR advisors have told him to shed his "nice guy" image and to go onto the offensive against Kinnock personally. I do hope that Mr. Major follows this advice: not only is there plenty of evidence that the electorate are thoroughly turned-off by "negative campaigning" but also being attacked by the Grey Man must surely rank alongside (in the immortal words of Denis Healey about Geoffrey Howe) being savaged by a dead sheep.

Another sign of Tory desperation is the decision to wheel out Mrs. Thatcher

and to "unleash" Norman Tebbit, to "beef up" their campaign. About the only thing Major has ever had going for him is the fact that he is not Mrs. Thatcher. These two unguided missiles can only serve to remind people of thirteen years of greed, selfishness and corruption. Mrs. T's first outing of the campaign resulted in her being assaulted with a bunch of daffodils brandished by an outraged citizen. I very much hope that no-one takes it upon themselves to head-butt Mr. Tebbit.

Conventional wisdom has it that the "Fergie Factor" worked in favour of the Tories last week, by keeping the unemployment figures off the front pages. I doubt this. Given the bias of the tabloids, the net result of the Royal Marriage Crisis has surely been several days in which blatant Tory propaganda did not dominate the front

pages of the popular press.

And I have a sneaking feeling that coverage like "Duchess could get £75,000 with just one trip to shops" (*Today*) and "Fergie can expect a £10 million lump sum and an annual payment of £500,000" (*Daily Star*) might just be of benefit to the party that advocates a £3.40 minimum wage.

Hats off to Anthony Bevins, Political Editor of the *Independent*. The scene was the Tories' Monday morning press conference. The speaker was John Major. The theme was Labour's secret plan to "raise taxes savagely in every budget, year after year".

Mr. Bevins simply asked Major to give a pledge that he would not increase the overall tax burden in the next Parliament. The Grey Man blustered, twisted and turned but finally admitted that he could not give a "categorical assurance".

Bevins then pointed out that the 'tax burden' had risen since 1979: more bluster from Mr. Major to the effect that Labour had artificially deflated taxation with high-level borrowing. Bevins replied: "Your borrowing requirement is now bigger than you inherited from Labour" and backed this up with figures from an official Treasury Budget briefing note. Major was reduced to bleating, "I have answered that question".

Imagine what the *Sun*, *Mail*, *Express* etc. would have made of a comparable routing of Neil Kinnock or John Smith.

# "New Left Review" goes Lib-Lab

## EYE ON THE LEFT



By Martin Thomas

According to Robin Blackburn, editor of *New Left Review* (NLR) and previously for many years a Trotskyist, we should vote Liberal in many constituencies on 9 April!

"In England", so he writes in *NLR* 191, "it will make sense to vote Labour or Liberal Democrat depending on which candidate is better placed to defeat the Conservative, with some allowance made for the individual's stance on democratisation".

He argues that a straight Labour administration

would be *less good* than a Lib-Lab coalition government, because "less likely to introduce proportional representation, while in all other respects just as moderate". And he wants proportional representation because it "would enable a New Left formation at some future date to measure its support in elections".

He should have been listening to Paddy Ashdown on 22 March, when Ashdown laid down conditions for a Lib-Lab alliance.

Of course the Liberals want proportional representation. But their further demands are nothing to do with "democratisation"! Ashdown said he would insist that:

- Labour must drop its small tax increases on the well-off. These "would drive out of a proper economy exactly those people who we are going to depend on to get ourselves out of recession".
  - Labour must drop the minimum wage - "exactly contrary to what this country must now create, which is a flexible labour market".
- For the Liberals, a bit more income tax on the well-off

is an intolerable offence to Important People, while a minimum wage is outrageous generosity to surly proletarians who should be more "flexible".

- Labour must drop all ideas of renationalisation.
- Labour must support making the Bank of England independent of political control; that is, Labour must agree that key areas of state economic policy should be decided by bankers without any pretence of democratic accountability.

"PR 'would enable a New Left formation to measure its support in elections'."

True, the Labour leaders themselves are already dropping renationalisation. But, at the very least, alliance with the Liberals would give Neil Kinnock a convenient excuse; and on some issues it could drive Labour further right than even Neil Kinnock would wish.

Even if you support pro-

portional representation - and there are good reasons for doing so though not for seeing it as the be-all and end-all of democratic reform - to pay that price for it is grotesque.

To say that alliance with the Liberals would not make a Labour Government less responsive to working-class demands is to say that the current depressed state of the labour movement is fixed and unchangeable. It is to say that the trade unions and the labour movement would not and could not put serious pressure on that Labour Government. It is out-and-out defeatism!

To make fiddling with the electoral system in order to get a couple of left MPs our central concern is to give up on the battle within the trade unions and the Labour Party, and to collapse into "parliamentary cretinism".

And, in any case, who is to say that the Liberal MPs elected with the votes of Robin Blackburn and his friends will not choose to give us a Lib-Tory coalition government instead of a Lib-Lab one?

# GEC strike: rank and file draw the lessons

By Dave Barter

On Wednesday 19th February workers at GEC Openshaw marched back to work. After just one day short of seven weeks of strike the return to work was united and defiant, but without agreement. The jobs fight had been betrayed; mass sackings are now expected.

With the Tory recession deeper than ever huge numbers of redundancies are being announced. Workers at Fords, Jaguar, British Telecom and Hotpoint have all been hit. The seven week strike at GEC Alstom in Openshaw, East Manchester was the first stand against the bosses jobs offensive, a rallying point for the whole trade union movement. That stand was defeated - the whole movement must draw the lessons.

Rick Hesketh MSF branch chair, explained to Socialist Organiser how the strike ended:

"The strike ended essentially through a pincer movement from the employers and the unions' national officials. The national officers' role was primarily to undermine our organisation and to demonstrate that they were prepared to see the plant close and be associated with the closure and mass sackings.

"The role of the officials was appalling. Essentially they played for and got the decision. We had heard on the Friday (February 14) the meeting in Birmingham was going to be loaded. Officials fully expected to convince our negotiating committee that they should recommend a return to work. The stance they took at the mass meeting (on February 18th) was heavily nuanced, despite the illusion of appearing to sit on the fence.

"The instant announcement of John Dougherty to the 'Manchester Evening News' after the meeting was that the decision to return to work was a sensible one - implying that to continue the strike would have been idiotic.

"Similarly, press statements released prior to the mass meeting were equally loaded. They were speaking of 'common sense prevailing' and the action

not being taken in the first place had the officials realised the magnitude of the job-loss. Evidently 12 was seen as winnable, 157 wasn't.

John Byrne, AEU member at Openshaw, takes up the story:

"At the mass meeting it was spelt out in quite graphic detail that the officials thought we had absolutely no chance of winning. People had in their hands letters stating that if they did not return to work the following day they would be dismissed and sent their P45s. The fact that the national officials put up absolutely no stance of opposing the potential closure and sackings weighed quite heavily with the workers.

"The strike leadership didn't expect it to be quite as blatant. A select committee of the house of Commons had interviewed Weinstock (GEC boss) and two of the local MPs had discussed with him. His attitude was 'if you don't get back to work I'll close the plant'. National union officials were given the same message at another meeting. Unfortunately the leaders both Parliamentary and trade union accepted that! No argument about 'where would you move the work?', 'we organise resistance against the move?' None of those challenges were put down to GEC management. Without the challenges coming from national level then I think the middle ground within the strike

**"If the links had been made three years ago it could have won the strike."**

**Rick Hesketh MSF Chair**

felt we were onto a loser, and that it was a matter of salvaging what we could."

The initially supportive attitude of the union officials changed when GEC made its threat of mass sackings of the strikers. Just as the union's should have upped the stakes and transformed the strike into a national issue, they collapsed and looked to persuading the strikers to return to work. Rick Hesketh explains:

"The main problem was not having a response to the ultimate threat. We managed to up the stakes every time except the last one. You don't blame the membership, because they gave us seven weeks to sort it out. Its quite simple: the national officers actually finished the strike, undermined our organisation."

John Byrne again:

"If the strike at GEC Openshaw was to be successful then at least the national union leadership would have had to do things that



On the picket line

involved breaking the law and getting effective solidarity action in trades union terms from other groups of workers. Unfortunately the history we've gone through of 'new realism' has just accepted that the Tories and the capitalists can do just what the hell they want.

"It would have been absolutely necessary to get in touch with other GEC plants to ensure that work was not going to be transferred from Openshaw and that machinery was not going to be transferred. We would probably have come into some sort of conflict with the law. We would have had to visit other GEC factories and do a lot of work within the labour movement to ensure that we got support. Sooner or later we would have had to organise a meeting - which the national officials should have been doing - of stewards within GEC to fight redundancies."

The Tory anti-trades union laws undoubtedly had an effect on the strike. Whilst no action was taken against the mass pickets - regularly 50 or 60, not the legal six - there undoubtedly would have been if management made a serious attempt to move anything through the line.

As Rick Hesketh explains, the main effect of the law was on solidarity: "solidarity was excellent in terms of moral and financial support but it was fundamentally weakened by legislation. We were reticent to ask.

As far as the Labour Party is concerned, it clearly demonstrates the need for a framework positive rights to take industrial action, and rights to information, consultation and co-decision, particularly where multi-nationals are concerned. The obvious weakness was our lack of immunity to the effect of mass dismissals.

if the first lesson of this strike is the need for positive rights in law for workers' action, the second is the need to build rank and file organisations in the unions to prevent sell outs by union officials like the one we saw at Openshaw. John Byrne again:

"What shook people was the speed with which the union officials pulled the rug. We would have expected possibly some formula to be reached that at least has some face-saving for the officials, but we didn't expect total

surrender. We need to get genuine broad lefts within the unions tied to policies of rejection of new realism. We need a fight for a programme within the unions that is in the interest of the membership and to ensure that the officials carry out that programme. I don't mean a narrow organisation controlled by this group or that group but one where people on the left would be able to come together and democratically hammer things out. There is a real dearth of leadership on the left - I think its going to have to come from below"

The effect of lack of national leadership in the Openshaw dispute should not be underestimated. At a strike mass meeting on February 12th the danger of mass sackings had already been aired. Strikers voted to continue knowing they could be sacked. The difference the following week was the attitude taken by the officials. Everyone in Manchester knows the story could have been different if John Tocher - who died last year - had

**"At the mass meeting it was spelt out in quite graphic detail that the officials thought we had absolutely no chance of winning"**

**John Byrne AEU**

still been at the helm of the AEU District in Manchester. The official who engineered the sell out - in the first place John Allen of the AEU and Larry Brooks of MSF - should be held to account by their unions' membership.

A third lesson is the importance of mobilising solidarity. An enormous amount of money was raised for the strike and on the evening of the Tuesday the strike was called off the Manchester Trades Council had a special meeting to discuss launching a support group. But still, more could have been made of it.

The fourth lesson - and one of the most positive developments in the strike - is the practical struggle to build workers' international links. Rick Hesketh has been pioneering GEC workers' links across Europe from the Openshaw plant: "If the links had been made three years ago it could have won the strike. The

objective is effective organisation throughout Europe with the bottom line that we could call and that call be reciprocated in the event of a dispute of considerable significance in any member plant. I would be looking at some sort of elected joint council to deal with claims for action. I'm talking about strike levies, blacking. You'd be looking to maintain your employment levels and not take work from elsewhere.

Of course, we'll have to extend to the Third World which could be a problem. We're going to organise a French link-up (GEC Alstom is based in France). We've got a comprehensive list of plants and we're looking for contacts, a dialogue"

Rick wrote in Socialist Organiser on January 30th: "The dispute has given our relations with the French CGT an immediacy and intensity which otherwise might have taken years to cement. These links acknowledge a recognition both side of the Channel that multinational capital can only be effectively addressed by multinational labour."

Since the strike ended the Tories have called the General Election and some former strikers have been out canvassing for Labour on the doorstep. Organised delegations from the Openshaw plant could increase the number going out and be part of a process of recruiting former strikers into the Labour Party to fight for the sort of policies on trades union laws this strike has shown to be necessary. John Byrne:

"There are enough of us who are members of the Labour Party to take that up on site and look into some of the marginal constituencies. A real sense of camaraderie was built up in the strike the idea of us going out canvassing as a group would make more sense now"

Whatever happens in the election the union organisation at GEC Openshaw will live to fight another day. The joint union leadership on site conducted itself with dignity and principle throughout the dispute, and has maintained the respect and unity of the workforce. The tragedy is that they were stabbed in the back by the union officials. That is a lesson the movement must learn.



**SOCIALIST**  
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**Vote  
Labour**

**13 YEARS  
OF TORY HELL**

**Poverty**

\* The poorest ten per cent 7% worse off in 1987 (after housing costs) than in 1979; the top one per cent 72% better off.

billion in tax cuts for the top 10%, between 1979 and 1989 - while schools, hospitals, railways and roads rotted.

**No nurseries**



## **Inequality**

\* Inequality of wealth increasing: the top 10% own 53% of all marketable wealth, and the bottom 50%, only 6%.

## **Unions in chains**

\* The most vicious anti-union laws in Europe - and more on the way, to make all strikes illegal unless there has been a postal ballot and then seven days' notice to the boss.

## **Unemployment**

\* Unemployment at 3.6 million (on the basis of calculation used before 1979: 2.5 million on the Tories' fiddled figures) - and rising at 3,000 per working day.

## **Homelessness**

\* Tens of thousands homeless on the streets, hundreds of thousands crammed into squalid and inadequate accommodation. 80,000 homes repossessed last year.

## **Debt**

\* The average household now has debts equivalent to 114% of its yearly disposable income.

## **Housing crisis**

\* Only 35,000 council or housing association homes built in 1991-2.

## **Manufacturing in decline**

\* Manufacturing trade permanently in deficit since 1985. Between 1985 and 1991, industrial output increased 28% in Japan, 21% in Germany, 15% in Italy, 14% in the US, 13% in France - and just 6% in Britain.

## **Oil revenues wasted**

\* In the early 1980s, Britain had a windfall of tens of billions from North Sea Oil. Most of it was used for handouts to the rich - £50

## **No nurseries**

\* Only 2% of under-threes have publicly-funded childcare places, compared to 44% in Denmark.

## **Repression**

\* Growth of the "secret state", police powers, police frame-ups - and crime.

## **The cost of war**

\* As much spent every six hours on the Gulf War as was spent on African famine relief in the whole year 1990.

## **Bombs not wealth**

\* Enough spent on Trident to pay for 500 new hospitals.

## **Nursing numbers cut**

\* Since 1986 the number of nurses in the National Health Service has fallen, while the number of hospital managers has increased by 1800%!

## **Dirty hospitals**

\* After years of privatisation of cleaning and similar services in hospitals, the National Childbirth Trust advises pregnant women to take cleaning materials to hospital with them to clean the toilets and bathrooms.

## **Privatising the NHS**

\* Under the Tories' "internal market" for the NHS, people are denied treatment because their Health Authority has spent the year's budget; because out-of-area patients are more profitable to the hospital than local ones; because their GPs are not "fund-holders", and fund-holders get priority; or because the Health Authority has stopped doing some "uneconomic" treatments like varicose vein surgery. The Tories are undercutting the Health Service and pushing us towards a chequebook health system.

## **And fight:**

- \* For free trade unions
- \* For poll tax amnesty

- \* To restore NHS cuts
- \* For a minimum wage

# The left's verdict on the USSR

Was August 1991 a capitalist counter-revolution against a workers' state?

By Martin Thomas

Part One of this article (SO 517) showed that many Trotskyists responded to the dilemma posed by the August coup in the USSR by pretending that the movement behind Yeltsin was not pro-capitalist but pushing for socialist democracy.

At the other end of a spectrum of responses, the German fortnightly *Sozialistische Zeitung* combined support for the resistance to the coup with a grimly sober assessment of prospects.

Under the headline, "The people win", Manuel Kellner wrote:

"The political position of the putschists had nothing in the least to do with a 'defence of socialism'. These men of the control centres of an important part of the old bureaucratic power wanted nothing other than the market economy, but with the maintenance of the USSR as a world power and by means of the dictatorial liquidation of all the democratic rights and freedoms granted and gained since the beginning of the glasnost era..."

"The inner disintegration of the members — numbering tens of millions — of the old ruling apparatus of power and administration made it possible for the resistance of a few hundred thousand people, at whose head Boris Yeltsin placed himself, to finish off the spectre in short time."

"Nothing is as before. The fate of the CPSU is sealed... its discredit complete. From an emancipatory point of view no tears are to be shed for this political machine for organising careers and politically

expropriating the great majority of the population..."

"The accelerated disintegration of the USSR and its end as a world power are irreversible..."

"Once again the world situation has changed in favour of capital and the rich western states... When the Tsarist flags waved outside the Russian White House it had to be clear, if it was not before, that here too reactionary mass sentiments are spreading..." (29.8.91)

"Do bad perspectives threaten? In spite of all that, through the latest events the democratic free space and the possibilities for free political self-activity for the peoples of the Soviet Union have become lastingly greater, and that is essential in view of all the difficulties that they will be facing." (Article by E. Laurent)

As to the basic questions about the nature of the old Stalinist system, however, *Sozialistische Zeitung* offered only cryptic comment:

"Economic historians may in more peaceful times, nostalgically sipping a glass of Gorbachev vodka, have out the argument about what it once was: the economy of a deformed workers' state, that of a non-capitalist society sui generis, or a state-capitalist society. And the question of the character of the rulers of this country — caste, class, 'new bourgeoisie' — is secondary today. In the light of concrete events [it] seems to me proven [that] the Soviet economy after the military putsch is moving into a breathtakingly fast process of transformation, at the end of which lies a private capitalist society of the type of the Third World countries..." (Article by W. Wolf).

Most Trotskyist publications took a rather evasive middle way: on the one hand Yeltsin's triumph created dangers, on the other hand

there are new possibilities for progress.

Thus *Socialist Outlook*:

"The defeat of the attempted Stalinist coup is a tremendous victory for the workers throughout the Soviet Union. If the coup had been successful, the democratic gains won during the years of glasnost would have been savagely eliminated."

"The coup finally crumbled because of divisions within the army and KGB leadership. These divisions were in part a product of the defiance by politicians like Yeltsin, but above all because of the mass mobilisations to defend democracy."

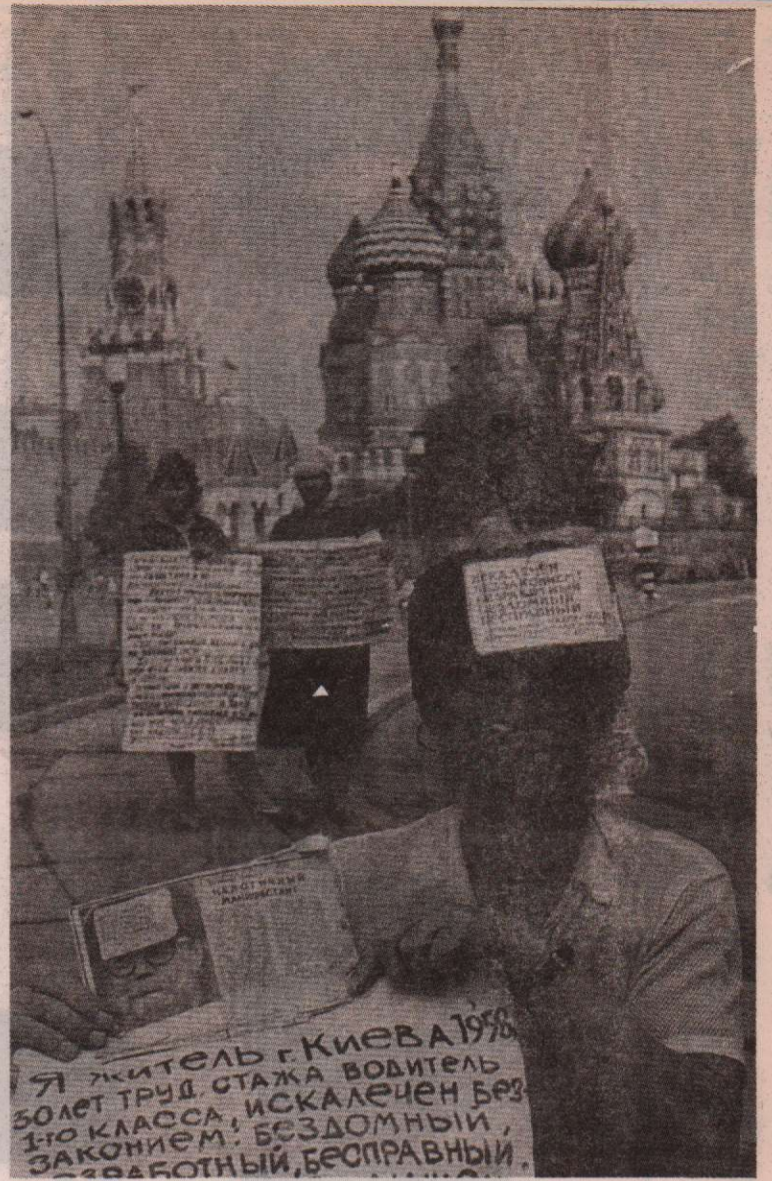
"Perhaps the workers' mobilisations were not large enough to be absolutely decisive; but they showed what would have been necessary to make the coup stick — mass slaughter, new rebellions, probably civil war. All that was too much to stomach for more far-sighted leaders of the army high command."

"The defeat of the plotters creates a massive potential for deepening democracy and advancing working class interests. But there are formidable obstacles to realising that potential." (14.9.91)

And the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (USA):

"The defeat of the coup was a genuine victory for the Soviet peoples. The active intervention of the masses in this situation creates important opportunities for the forces of democracy and socialism..."

"Those who favor an all-out restoration of capitalism will obviously be strengthened and emboldened. To the extent that 'economic reforms' are advanced at the expense of the masses, however, elements among the working class can be expected to utilize any and all democratic freedoms to struggle for defense of their economic interests and the rights won in 1917. Mass action against



"We can't go on like this" — Moscow protest

the antidemocratic coup may pave the way for mass actions in the direction of genuine socialism." (8.9.91)

And *Workers' Press*:

"(1) The coup was the last stroke of Stalinism, dying and in agony. We must definitely finish off the remains of the totalitarian regime. Demand the KGB be disbanded!"

"(4) The coup was put down, in the end by the actions of the ordinary people — massive demonstrations and strikes. We must not allow forces that are against the people to profit from the fruits of the people's victory."

"Today, the leading 'democrats' proclaim themselves sole 'victors over dictatorship'. They think the nation has accepted in advance their policies, including wide-spread privatisation, anti-trade union laws, etc. But this policy leads to massive unemployment, hyperinflation, and in the end, to a new dictatorship..." (7.9.91)

The implications?

"Trotsky's definition of this state was that potentially it can be used by the workers: this because the nationalised property is a great gain. He speaks of the bureaucracy protecting the state structure with its own methods — but now we can't speak of this anymore."

"It is attacking the structure relentlessly. Now we are in a transitional period. The workers' state is not liquidated: a bourgeois state has not yet taken its place." (*Workers' Press*, 14.9.91)

*Workers' Power* put more stress on the dangers, while still allowing its instincts to outweigh its theory and bring it out against the coup.

"Yeltsin's seizure of power, depicted as a second 'revolution' in the western media, is nothing more than a pro-capitalist counter-coup."

"This opens up an enormous opportunity for capitalism."

"No one should mourn Stalinism's inglorious death. It was a system doomed in the historic short term. Not even a successful and bloody coup could have saved it in the long run."

"But no one should be jumping for joy at the rise to power of a Thatcherite, Russian chauvinist."

"...We must defend what is left of the social gains ushered in by the October Revolution 1917."

"...At the same time it means being the most resolute fighters for the real democratic rights of the masses, even where the masses have illusions in the form of the parliamentary 'democracy' used to con us in the west into endorsing the rule of the profiteers." (September 1991)

The British *Militant* and the French weekly *Lutte Ouvrière* clearly registered facts which shattered the idea that the old USSR was a "workers' state".

Yet they combined their assessment of the lack of any live working-class element in the Stalinist "workers' state" with a refusal to reconsider the "workers' state" formula.

Thus *Militant*:

"Leon Trotsky warned half a century ago of the tendencies towards capitalist restoration among these parasites who had usurped the political rule of the working people. What restrained them was fear of the workers' commitment to the principles of the planned economy."

"But that was a mere generation on from the October socialist revolution. Today, 50 more years of accumulated resentment of the privileged bureaucrats and the dead stop to which they have brought the Soviet economy, have for now undermined that commitment among the majority of the working class."

19-21 August marked a decisive turn towards capitalism:

"The collapse of the 60-hour coup represents a decisive turn for the Soviet Union. It will have a decisive effect in Eastern Europe, hastening the move to the market."

"It will have a decisive impact on world relations, confirming US imperialism's current dominant world position." (30.8.91)

*Militant* had no illusion that a revolution for socialist democracy was underway: it proposed as an immediate perspective, not the "political revolution" but only the building of "a genuine workers' party". Nevertheless it welcomed the defeat of the coup.

*Lutte Ouvrière's* leaflet on 19 August declared:

"The putschists... to go by their first statements, have intervened to



Ukrainian miners demand smashing up of CP and redistribution of its assets



Striking miners in Siberia

save the USSR which is weakened and threatened with dismantlement by centrifugal forces... The installation of a military-police regime in the USSR would weigh heavily on the soviet workers, who could be once again muzzled for years...

"But the soviet workers could seize the opportunity to intervene in the current test of force, by opposing the coup on their own account, on condition that they do not put themselves at the tail of people like Yeltsin, who is as much an enemy of the working classes as the military and KGB men.

"This outcome is, unfortunately, not the most likely one, because since the beginning of perestroika we have not seen the workers taking advantage of the measures of political liberalisation to create their own political organisations, and it is never easy to improvise...

"We can only hope that the soviet working class surprise us..."

On 23 August Lutte Ouvrière noted:

"...There is the common affirmation, made (albeit with nuances) by the majority if not all the currents expressing themselves at the top of the bureaucracy, of the necessity of a return to the capitalist market. But none of them, whether they call themselves 'democrats' or not, really dare think or say that this capitalist restoration can be done peacefully, without the aid of a strong or even dictatorial government."

Then on 30 August it hedged its bets further:

"The reiterated affirmation of the necessity of going fast along the road of reforms and the reestablishment of the market is witness to the complexity of the problems. Now... [i.e. after the coup's collapse] the enormity of the economic and social problems is going to appear more cruelly..."

"This social phenomenon which is the USSR, both the outcome of the first workers' revolution and deformed by the Stalinist degeneration, remains a problem without precedent and its future may well give rise to a situation as unprecedented as its past has been..."

"As things stand, the victors are the bourgeois politicians like Yeltsin, who call themselves democrats just long enough to get themselves power, but who base themselves on the same kind of men as the putschists in the army and police... Clearly, we are far from a revolutionary situation favourable to the workers in the USSR today..."

For those Trotskyist groups which had already rejected the

"workers' state" formula, and concluded that the USSR was a variant of state-capitalism, or a formation parallel to capitalism, there was no difficulty in principle about recognising the Yeltsinite anti-coup movement as bourgeois and yet welcoming it, as (for now) bourgeois-democratic. The Solidarity group in the USA (which includes some "workers' statist", but in its majority reckoned the USSR to be neither a workers' state nor capitalist) declared:

"The destruction of the power of the Communist Party is all to the good. Now what will replace it? What we are saying is that we see not one, but two processes underway in the USSR, both dramatically accelerated by the attempted Stalinist coup and its failure. One is the process of democracy, initiated 'from above' by Gorbachev and now open to the masses to expand from below. The other is the attempt to 'marketize' the economy from above and from outside. This would inevitably create a capitalism with enormous inequalities, prosperity alongside incredible misery and huge indebtedness to western banks. In other words, it would be the kind of capitalism that exists in Brazil, not western Europe.

"We see these two processes as being on a collision course — not immediately, but perhaps in the not too distant future."

Socialist Worker had long rejected the "workers' state" formula. Yet its response was curiously confused — partly, it seems, because of its habitual indifference to questions of political democracy, and partly because of its habitual glorification of militancy of any sort.

Socialist Worker proved unable to support the anti-coup movement without painting it up in the manner of Informations Ouvrières: the movement was, Socialist Worker suggested, quasi-socialist, or at least likely to become socialist if it became more intense.

"The fight against the coup is part of the fight for a new society, quite different to either Stalinist state capitalism or the market reforms of Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

"That is why every genuine socialist must hope workers and soldiers heed the call to take action against the coup, but then carry through action in a decisive manner that goes much further than Yeltsin and Gorbachev — or their fans in Western governments — would ever desire."

And, alone with the "Bolshevik Tendency" (but attaching an opposite value), Socialist Worker

described the coup as a serious attempt to restore the old order in the USSR.

The coup leaders, it declared (23 August), "are the living embodiment of the Stalinist regime that screwed workers' living standards for the last 60 years while the rulers lived in luxury.

"Whatever they say, the coup leaders want a return to those days."

**"Most Trotskyist publications took a rather evasive middle way: on the one hand Yeltsin's triumph created dangers, on the other hand there were now possibilities for progress"**

Socialist Organiser issued a leaflet on 19 August against the coup:

"Any claim that the new regime defends 'communism' or 'socialism' is a sham. In reality it is almost certain to continue Gorbachev's course of converting to capitalist market economics and reintegrating the USSR into world trade; only it will seek stronger, more brutal control over the working class and the oppressed nationalities during the process.

"Even if the new regime should restore more centralised control over the Soviet economy, that would never 'justify' suppressing and crushing of the working class. Exploitation of the working class by a privileged bureaucracy through a centralised command economy is in no way an improvement on capitalism, or a step towards a democratically-run cooperative commonwealth.

"Socialists in the West should support the small minorities in the USSR who fight for socialist democracy — such as the Socialist Party led by Boris Kagarlitsky — but also fight for freedom for the whole working class and the whole Soviet people, including those many who now have illusions about

capitalist market economics, to think, to debate, to organise, and to work out their own future.

"The Soviet working class, the new trade unions, and the oppressed nationalities, will resist the new regime. Western socialists should support the resistance..."

In a broadsheet dated 20 August Socialist Organiser commented:

"If the neo-Stalinist, quasi-fascist backlash now triggers a deep popular revolution, it may not end quite as Yeltsin and the Russian neo-bourgeoisie want.

"Socialists in Britain must give their unqualified support to the resistance to the neo-Stalinist dictatorship. Long live the Russian Revolution!"

And after the defeat of the coup Socialist Organiser added:

"There has not yet been that deep popular revolution. Far from it. Much of the state apparatus remains intact, the army high in prestige. The economy of the USSR spirals downwards daily into hyperinflation and probable famine.

"Yeltsin will now have to take responsibility. He will not work miracles.

"The army has, by its shotgun divorce from the CP, been rendered a more credible contender for the Third World army role of providing a military scaffolding when the bourgeoisie is weak and the society in chronic crisis.

"Last week's failed coup and the radical backlash it licensed tumbled the system Stalin built into history's dustbin. It may also have decided what kind of authoritarianism — one controlled by the vacillating

Gorbachevite apparatus-men or one controlled by the radicals — will be imposed in the period ahead.

The headline of our broadsheet last week remains true: "Only revolution — that is, the destruction of the state apparatus, including the army — can secure liberty". (29 August).

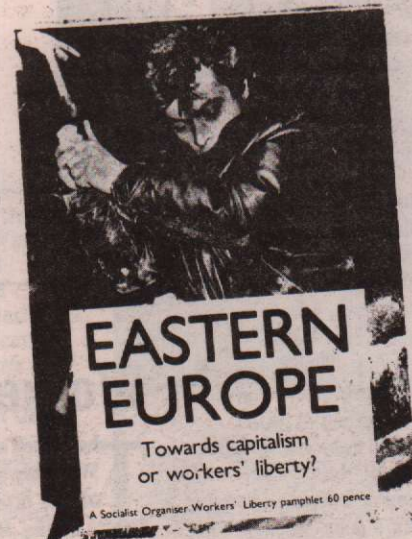
We defined what was happening: "What we are witnessing in the USSR is a bourgeois revolution. The leaders of the anti-Stalinist revolution and their ideas; the ideas in the heads of the mass of the people (including the working class); the West European and US social models they look to — all define it as a bourgeois revolution..."

"It faces tremendous difficulties. But they are material, practical, technical difficulties — the lack of markets and of an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, the tremendous weight of the bureaucracy even after it is certifiably brain dead, etc — not difficulties arising from the resistance of the working class, or by the coherent resistance of any other class". (29 August).

And we drew conclusions:

"Socialists in the USSR should be the most vigorous advocates of revolutionary measures against the old order, competing with the Yeltsinites for the leadership of the democratic revolution, while countering their pro-capitalist ideas and trying to organise the working class as an independent force. Their model should be the Bolsheviks, who before 1917 competed with the "Cadet" bourgeoisie for the leadership of the masses in the fight against Tsarism." (3 October)

More on the USSR and Eastern Europe



60p plus 18p postage from Socialist Organiser, P O Box 823, London SE15

# The politics of the Alliance for Workers' Liberty

**W**e live in a capitalist world. Production is social; ownership of the social means of production is private.

Ownership by a state which serves those who own most of the means of production is also essentially "private"

Those who own the means of production buy the labour power of those who own nothing but their labour-power and set them to work. At work they produce more than the equivalent of their wages. The difference (today in Britain it may be more than £20,000 a year per worker) is taken by the capitalist. This is exploitation of wage-labour by capital, and it is the basic cell of capitalist society, its very heart beat.

Everything else flows from that. The relentless drive for profit and accumulation decreases the judgment of all things in existence by their relationship of productivity and profitability.

From that come such things as the savage exploitation of Brazilian goldminers, whose life expectancy is now less than 40 years; the working to death - it

is officially admitted by the government! - of its employees by advanced Japanese capitalism; and also the economic neglect and virtual abandonment to ruin and starvation of "unprofitable" areas like Bangladesh and parts of Africa.

**F**rom that comes the cultural blight and barbarism of a society force-fed on profitable pap.

From it come products with "built-in obsolescence" and a society orientated to the grossly wasteful production and reproduction of shoddy goods, not to the development of leisure and culture.

From it come mass unemployment, the development of a vast and growing underclass, living in ghettos and the recreation in some American cities of the worst Third World conditions.

From it comes the unfolding ecological disaster of a world crying out for planning and the rational use of resources, but which is, tragically, organised by the ruling classes around the principles of anarchy and the

barbarous worship of blind and humanly irrational market forces.

From it come wars and genocides; two times this century capitalist gangs possessing worldwide power have fallen on each other in quarrels over the division of the spoils, and wrecked the world economy, killing many tens of millions. From it comes racism, imperialism, and fascism.

The capitalist cult of icy egotism and the "cash nexus" as the decisive social tie produces societies like Britain now where vast numbers of young people are condemned to live in the streets, and societies like that of Brazil, where homeless children are hunted and killed on the streets like rodents.

From the exploitation of wage-labour comes our society in which the rich who with their servants and agents hold state power, fight a relentless class struggle to maintain the people in a condition to accept their own exploitation and abuse, and to prevent real democratic self-control developing with the forms of what they call

democracy. They use tabloid propaganda or - as in the 1984-85 miners' strike - savage and illegal police violence, as they need to. They have used fascist gangs when they need to, and will use them again, if necessary.

**A**gainst this system we seek to convince the working class - the wage slaves of the capitalist system - to fight for socialism.

Socialism means the abolition of wage slavery, the taking of the social economy out of private ownership into common cooperative ownership. It means the realisation of the old demands for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Under socialism the economy will be run and planned deliberately and democratically: market mechanisms will cease to be our master, and will be cut down and re-shaped to serve broadly sketched-out and planned, rational social goals.

We want public ownership of the major enterprises and a planned economy under workers' control.

The working class can win

reforms within capitalism, but we can only win socialism by overthrowing capitalism and by breaking the state power - that is, the monopoly of violence and reserve violence - now held by the capitalist class. We want a democracy much fuller than the present Westminster system - a workers' democracy, with elected representatives recallable at any time, and an end to bureaucrats' and managers' privileges.

Socialism can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles and workers' struggles worldwide, including the struggles of workers and oppressed nationalities in the ex-Stalinist states of Eastern Europe and in still-Stalinist China.

What are the alternatives now? We may face new wars as European and Japanese capitalism confronts the US. Fascism is rising. Poverty, inequality and misery are

growing.

Face the bitter truth: either we build a new, decent, sane, democratic world or, finally, the capitalists will ruin us all - we will be dragged down by the fascist barbarians or new massive wars. Civilisation will be eclipsed by a new dark age. The choice is socialism or barbarism.

Socialists work in the trade unions and the Labour Party to win the existing labour movement to socialism. We work with presently unorganised workers and youth.

To do that work the Marxists organise themselves in a democratic association, the Alliance for Workers' Liberty.

**To join the Alliance for Workers' Liberty, write to PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA**

## Alliance for Workers' Liberty meetings

**Saturday 28 March, Newcastle:** Basic Marxism day school, organised by AWL. 11.30, Rossetti Studios.

**Tuesday 31 March, Blackpool:** "The case for socialist feminism". AWL meeting at NUS women's conference. 7.30, Claremont Hotel, Blackpool. Speaker: Janine Booth.

**Tuesday 7 April, Sheffield:** "Vote Labour, prepare to fight!" Sheffield AWL. 8.00, SCCAU, West Street.

**Tuesday 7 April, Glasgow:** "Kick out the Tories, fight for Labour!" Glasgow AWL, 7.30, City Halls.

## What's on this week

**Friday 27 March, London:** "The rise of French fascism". Organised by CAFE, with speakers including a member of SOS-Racisme. 7.30, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

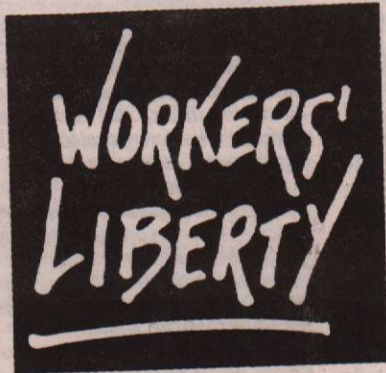
**Saturday 28 March, London:** "Free media" conference, organised by the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom. 10.00 to 5.00 at 27 Britannia Street, WC1.

**Saturday 28 March, London:** "The Spanish Civil War". Organised by 'Revolutionary History'. 8.00, Calthorpe Arms, Grays Inn Road.

**Saturday 28 March, London:** "March for Justice" against racist attacks. Assemble 12.30, Plashet Park, E6.

**Monday 30 March, Blackpool:** "Fighting racism and fascism". Left Unity fringe meeting at NUS Women's Conference. 7.30, Claremont Hotel.

**Thursday 2 April, London:** Artists Against Racism benefit, 7.00, Hackney Empire.



## Stalinism, the left, and beyond



£1.50 plus 34p post from AWL, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA. (Australia: \$4.00 including post from Janet Burstall, 2 Campbell Ave, Leichart, NSW 2040; cheques payable to Janet Burstall. USA \$4.00 including post from Barry Finger, 153 Henderson Place, East Windsor NJ 08520; cheques payable to Barry Finger).

**A symposium**  
**Neville Alexander**  
**Neal Ascherson**  
**Tony Benn**  
**Greg Benton**  
**Robin Blackburn**  
**Cornelius Castoriadis**  
**Tony Chater**  
**Ken Coates**  
**Vladimir Derer**  
**Terry Eagleton**  
**Michael Farrell**  
**Al Glotzer**  
**Fred Halliday**  
**Boris Kagarlitsky**  
**Jim Kemmy**  
**Ernesto Laclau**  
**Ronnie MacDonald**  
**Livio Maitan**  
**Ralph Milliband**  
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**Nina Temple**  
**Hillel Ticktin**  
**Michel Warshawsky**  
**Ellen Meiksins Wood**  
**Plus editorial, forum, reviews.**

## Workers' Liberty 92

**T**he Israeli socialist Michel Warshawsky will be one of the international guests at the *Workers' Liberty 92* summer school on 3-5 July.

Warshawsky is a leader of the Trotskyist organisation RCL-Matzpen.

*Workers' Liberty 92* will be held at Caxton House, North London, from Friday 3 to Sunday 5 July. The major areas for discussion will be:

- The growth of European

- racism and fascism;
- The crisis in Eastern Europe;
- The prospects under the next government.

Posters and the initial leaflets have been printed. For publicity, or more details about the event, phone Mark on 071-639 7965/7.

## Fighting for our ideas

The new issue of *Workers' Liberty* magazine, with a symposium on the collapse of Stalinism, is selling very well. Comrades in Sheffield sold 12 copies outside a library on a Saturday morning. Seven copies were sold in five minutes round Brighton Poly coffee bar. Two comrades sold all their copies in 15 minutes on a door-to-door sale at Ruskin College, Oxford. A comrade in East London sold ten copies at his union branch meeting. 30 copies were sold by two comrades in Hull in less than a week. In Manchester, 17 magazines were sold at a Socialist Society meeting. To order copies of the magazine, phone 071-639 7965, or send a cheque or PO (payable to AWL) for £1.50 plus 34p postage to WL, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



## Subscribe!

Introductory offer: 10 issues, post free. Send £5 (cheques and postal orders made out to "Socialist Organiser")

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Bugsy, whom President Hoover described as "the most dangerous man in America", with friends

# Big bucks boloney

## Cinema

Belinda Weaver reviews *Bugsy*

Why was "Bugsy" made? Because Warren Beatty wanted to do it, has wanted to since 1984.

Beatty seems attracted to roles like Bugsy. His stock film character is the slightly dumb, slightly bewildered guy, firmly under the thumb of a smart, sexy woman. The plot details of his films, from "McCabe and Mrs Miller" and "Bonnie and Clyde" to "Shampoo" and "Reds", may differ, but Beatty is always the same.

"Bugsy" is supposedly about gangster Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, a friend of New York mobsters like Meyer Lansky, and of Hollywood stars like George Raft, but there isn't much to it.

It's a hybrid. It isn't in the "uplifting" Hollywood bio-pic tradition, so beloved by the old time Hollywood movie moguls; nor does it have the pulp sensationalism of the Forties gangster flicks.

The film doesn't tell us where Bugsy Siegel came from, what forces shaped him and turned him into a murderer and gangster. Nor is the film a cautionary tale, with his gory end as the wages of sin.

Embarrassingly, the film romanticises Bugsy. Instead of showing him for the grubby, murdering spiv he must have been, it uses Beatty's glamour to sell him to us.

Morally, the film exists in no man's land. It shows, but doesn't condemn, Bugsy's violence, nor does it criticise or even question his aims. Without a trace of irony, it presents Bugsy as a visionary who saw the potential for moneymaking in a Las Vegas casino, but who was rubbed out by lesser men who lacked his vision. At the end, a note tells us that Bugsy's \$6 million hotel has since raked in over \$100 billion in gambling revenue.

Can Beatty have meant this? Is creating Las Vegas really something to crow about? A crass, garish town that exists to part people from their money, that institutionalises unfair odds and exploitation!

Apparently yes! In director Barry Levinson's eyes, and Beatty's, inventing Vegas is a solid achievement. Bugsy deserves to be up there with the robber baron Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers in the American Dream; he's a case study in the triumph of the individual spirit.

Either they don't know they're doing this, in which case they're simply incompetent, or else they're saying all the robber barons were just that - robbers, murderers. Well, now they're talking!

Of course, they're not saying that. Beatty wouldn't, probably

couldn't, play a totally unsympathetic part, so audiences are supposed to suspend their moral judgment while they're watching, and just enjoy the "entertainment".

Only it isn't much fun. The film is suffocatingly lavish. Again we see the cars, the crowd scenes awash with extras, the "authentic" 1940s settings; we see where the money has gone. And it's sickening. It's like being in a posh restaurant where one look at the prices kills your appetite. The lavishness has no point. It doesn't help the plot. It's just there.

At times, the film seems like a vanity production for Beatty. Ten minutes into the film, we've had two short scenes with women Bugsy has picked up.

*"Bugsy deserves to be up there with the robber baron Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers in the American Dream; he is a case study in the triumph of the individual spirit."*

The women don't reappear; they exist solely to tell Bugsy he's irresistible. After that little exercise in ego-building, the film can get started.

Only it never does. The film is all about externals, the sheen on

a car bonnet, the cut of a suit. Beatty's performance, though he tries, doesn't work, because he's the wrong kind of actor to play a vain, shallow character like Bugsy. It needed someone who could give us a sense of what lay behind Bugsy's fascination with Hollywood, his obsession with his girlfriend Virginia Hill, his foolish behaviour with his mobster pals over the building of his Vegas hotel, and his half-baked scheme to kill Mussolini.

Beatty, who's made a career out of surfaces, can't get inside the character.

Virginia, the tough starlet who may or may not be doublecrossing Bugsy, is much more interesting, but we never get to figure her out. Her part is all loose ends. It's not consistent. In one scene, she practically ravishes Beatty after she's overheard him humiliating another man. His craziness turns her on. Then, later, when he goes berserk again, she tries to throw him out. In the end, whatever consistency she has managed to salvage out of her patchwork part is thrown away for the sake of a last-minute all-for-love sacrifice.

The film simply isn't interested in anyone but Bugsy, and it's so wrapped up in him that it doesn't notice its own ludicrousness.

Las Vegas, Bugsy's "monument", is based on the idea that a fool and his money are soon parted. Don't be a fool. Don't see "Bugsy".

# Demands and menaces

## Verse

Come here! The harassed mother slaps the child,  
To stop the little savage running wild;  
Stay there! The boss and his cop soon tell the man,  
Who was the child so trained as life began;  
Lie still! They tell the girl, and then the woman:  
Biology and gold make you half human!

Accept! His social world will tell the prole;  
Avoid more pain and grief: stick to your role;  
Don't tackle problems you can't hope to solve,  
His instincts tell him then: don't fret, don't delve.

Don't hope! Solidarity won't save your soul;  
Make the best of yours, forget the whole!  
Don't see the meanness in the ruling clans,  
Don't ask why they should rule, don't thwart their plans;  
Don't fight for something fine, the world is soiled;  
Believe what you are told, remain beguiled.

Stay there! The heavy father tells the child,  
And slaps the little savage running wild:  
Stay there! The slap backs what he says,  
And they'll slap him into line all through his days.

Minnie Cleary

# Israel: a nation is born

## Television

Mick Ackersley reviews "Israel: a nation is born", Channel 4, Thursday, 9.00pm

There is no lack of arresting photographic images which capture the terrible history of the Jewish people this century.

The images from the concentration camps are well-known - walking skeletons, bodies piled

up in heaps like old clothes or animal hides, matchstick thin humanoid dolls being thrown into pits, arms and legs flapping lightly.

These images are so well-known that they have lost a lot of their power to convey a sense of the horror you know they embody.

I have seen youths - in a cinema many years ago - laughing and guffawing at emaciated concentration camp survivors in their striped clothes staggering towards the camera. The images had about as much human reality for them as the Dracula movie they saw the week before last. It cannot be comprehended on the

scale of everyday experience. The very scope of the horror tends always to push it beyond comprehension.

*"Images from the concentration camp... had about as much human reality for them as the Dracula movie they saw the week before last."*

"Israel: a nation is born" offered an image I had not seen before: the faces in a still photograph of the leaders of the

Zionist movement - who were in congress - at the moment they heard the Second World War had broken out. Hitler had threatened that the Jews of Europe would be annihilated if a war started. Even so, they cannot have foreseen the full horror that would engulf their people. Their faces almost suggested that they did foresee, everything.

This is a five part series, which seems to be from the point of view of the old pre-Begin Israeli Liberal-Labour establishment: the people in mainstream Israeli politics who want to trade "Land for Peace", allowing autonomy for the Palestinians of the West Bank. Watch the rest of it.

## Periscope

"Arabs stink and they always will" says a 13-year old Jewish settler on the West Bank in "Soldier's Diary" ["Forty Minutes", BBC 2, Tuesday 31st March, 9.50pm].

The soldier is Yishai Shuster, an Israeli reservist who wants peace but feels conscience-bound to go wherever he is sent.

He videoed his own diary of the brutal minute-by-minute reality of life on the West Bank.



Yishai Shuster

A pioneer of Trotskyism:

# Remembering Sam Gordon

**AGAINST THE  
TIDE**

By Sean Matgamna

Exactly ten years ago, Sam Gordon, one of the pioneer American Trotskyists, died in London. I knew Sam for the last decade of his life.

Warm, sharp-minded, Sam was a man of many parts. He, who had worked with Trotsky, yet was not too proud in an emergency to use the Palace of Westminster as his pub: the first time I set foot in it was one late night in the mid-'70s when, the pubs having closed too early for us, Sam insisted on going down to dig out a hapless – and unhappy! – MP he'd known in the Trotskyist movement, who could take us into the ever-open bar there!

Sam Gordon's life, from his early youth to his tired old age, was a part of Trotskyism, at times a central part of it. It traversed the entire long history of that movement.

He was a secretary of the world Trotskyist movement during World War 2, when its centre had to be located in the USA, wartime repression claiming the liberty and the lives of many Trotskyists all across Europe and in both of the warring camps.

He was an important leader of British Trotskyism in the '40s and '50s. In the '70s he was an important influence on the work *Socialist Organiser* did, offering moral support, advice and suggestions.

Sam was born in Poland in 1910 and moved to New York as a small child. He joined the American section of the Trotskyist Left Opposition in 1929.

Led by James P Cannon and Max Shachtman, a small group of Marxists had broken with the American CP the year before. Trotsky had been decisively beaten in the factional struggle with the bureaucracy within the shell of the CP of the USSR. He spent 1928 in exile in Central Asia, before being expelled beyond the borders of the USSR in 1929.

Those who raised the banner of Trotskyism in the USA then seemed to choose a lost cause, and certainly they chose to be ostracised, and persecuted minority in the communist movement.

It was to these people that Sam was drawn, for their ideas.

Writing in the mid '70s, Sam described how he came to Trotskyism. In a student club he was drawn towards communism, but also became aware of some of the Trotskyist criticisms of Kremlin policy.

"We searched for and got hold of Max Eastman's book 'Since Lenin Died', which first broke the full story of the Russian Left Opposition and what it stood for. Together with some who were already in the YCL, I was discussing the import of this work when we heard... that James P Cannon was about to be expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism.

"It was in this atmosphere that several of us from the club went down to the Fourteenth Street Labor Temple, to one of the first public meetings of the Communist League, to see for ourselves.

"As we came in and took our seats there were several commotions in the hall. A rush for the platform [where Cannon and Shachtman were seated and the chairman, Martin Abern, was trying to get some order] had been repulsed by a guard strung out in front.

"Hecklers, and one particular heckler who seemed to be leader of the CP 'commando' assigned to break up the meeting, were being handled by Max with his usual verve. Shachtman eventually won the crowd around after rallies of laughter that reduced the Stalinists to silence.

"Cannon was the next and last speaker. He spoke quietly, in lecture style, in a ringing tenor voice, and his topic was



Arne Swabeck, James P Cannon, Rose Karsner, Sam Gordon, Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund, 1949

internationalism and communism, how the two were inseparable, how the task that the Left Opposition had set itself was to re-establish this fact here and in the world movement.

"Jim's speech left a powerful impression on me, and I believe I was won over to Trotskyism then and there. But the YCLers in the club were still working hard on us outsiders, and a few of us decided we should have a look at Europe, Germany in particular, and after seeing advanced class struggle in action, we would finally make up our minds.

"The way to do that was, to catch a ship on a pier-head-jump for Germany, work our passage, and jump ship at the other end. For all this, contact with the CP was regarded as indispensable. It was not easy with growing maritime unemployment.

"We did just that, each in his own way. I got to Berlin and eventually found a job that allowed me to do a lot of reading and studying and to participate in demonstrations, etc. It was there I made up my mind to join the Left Opposition. I contacted *The Militant*, and wrote several letters to Martin Abern [the acting secretary] that were treated as articles.

*"It is thanks to the courage and dedication of those like Sam Gordon that there now exists a Marxist movement at all, surviving Stalinism, building on their work, able to renew itself politically in the class struggle."*

"Naturally I was thrilled to see these published in *The Militant*, which had in a short time gained an unequalled reputation for journalistic excellence in radical circles".

Back in the USA Sam helped produce *The Militant*. During a particularly bad period in the life of the young, persecuted, poverty stricken movement, when isolation and personal conflicts led to the temporary withdrawal of Max Shachtman from editorial work, he served as editor of *The Militant*. He was less than 21 years old.

The spirit in which he undertook that great responsibility is the key to understanding how the organisation could survive such unfavourable conditions and develop despite everything.

"I had not yet turned 21 when I assumed my editorial duties on *The Militant*. No young man of that age could have undertaken such a responsibility on mere self-confidence. I was not particularly ambitious. If anything, the contrary. But it was the self-confidence inspired by the feeling that I was doing what was politically correct and necessary that kept me going".

In the mid-'30s the American Trotskyist movement broke out of its initial isolation and went from strength to strength.

In 1934 the Trotskyists made a major step forward when they fused their organisation with the American Workers' Party, which had essentially adopted their ideas. In 1936 they joined the Socialist Party as a faction, but were expelled in 1937.

Sam Gordon worked closely with James P Cannon. Sam was an organiser, a writer, whatever was needed.

He was secretary of the emergency conference of the Fourth International held in 1940, and thereafter administrative secretary of the International Executive Committee of the FI, based in New York. He travelled as a seaman to make contact with the Trotskyist groups wherever American ships could go.

In this capacity he came to Britain in 1943 and helped set up the collaboration between groupings within the two main Trotskyist organisations – the RSL and the WIL (led by Ted Grant, Gerry Healy, and others) – that eventually resulted in the fusion of the two organisations into the Revolutionary Communist Party in the summer of 1944.

He was also a key influence pressing that organisation to abandon sectarianism and integrate itself in the mass political labour movement. This was a central theme of Sam's politics, as it was of Cannon's and Trotsky's. Trotskyists are not and cannot be a self-contained and self-sufficient group of people who preserve themselves for exhibition in a historical showcase, in frigid purity untouched by the labour movement around them.

If we are to be of any use to the working class, we must know how to grapple with it, how to struggle within it constructively for our ideas, how to learn from it – and, above all, learn how not to be afraid of it. Sam and others fought for such an approach in the '40s and '50s.

He settled finally in Britain in 1952. This was a period of great crisis for Trotskyism.

The isolation and seeming impotence of the US Trotskyist movement lifted in the mid-'30s, and in the early '40s big progress was made. Progress was made in other places too, in Britain, and in France after 1944. Then came great but perplexing historical events like the Chinese Revolution – led by Stalinists, who set up a totalitarian Stalinist state.

To many – accepting the claim of the Stalinists to be communists – Trotskyism seemed consigned to the footnotes of history by the successes of Stalinism.

Whole layers of the hitherto Trotskyist movement were thrown into crisis by these developments. A mood of conciliation to Stalinism developed: their overturnings of capitalism

were seen as being far more important than the fact that they had simultaneously imposed totalitarian anti-working class systems where they ruled. Though the Stalinists had shown themselves capable of being "consistently anti-capitalist", they had not ceased to be simultaneously anti-working class.

Sections of the Trotskyist movement began to talk and act as if they had, and to abandon the Trotskyist programme of

"political revolution" to overthrow the bureaucratic Stalinist rulers.

Major political disorientation set in. World War 3 seemed a looming certainty and not only to the Trotskyists. Some Trotskyists developed a black and white view of the world as consisting of two blocks, with no meaningful alternative but to choose between them. They chose the Stalinist blocks.

There was no role for independent working class politics in a world where the expectation of the leaders of the world Trotskyist movement (Pablo, Mandel etc.) was that in World War 3 the Russian Army would rule over Europe and make a socialist revolution there as part of an 'international class war'. At best independent working class politics would have a role at a later period of history.

Those who held to these views gave critical support to the Mao regime in China, not advocating a working-class revolution there. They refused to side unequivocally with the Berlin workers' uprising against the Russian and German Stalinist bureaucrats in June 1953. Even though the 'Red' Army was slaughtering the Berlin workers, to call for its withdrawal, they argued, would have been to risk letting the US Army in. Even to such an extent had international power block commitments replaced class-struggle and working class considerations in their minds!

Sam Gordon was one of the earliest "mainstream" Trotskyists to sound the alarm against this drift of the Trotskyist movement, led by secretary Michel Pablo, towards politically disarming itself in the face of Stalinism. He did that from within the false theoretical framework that saw the Stalinist states as "deformed and degenerated workers' states". But he did it.

He criticised the documents of the Third World Congress of the Trotskyist movement, held in 1951. Eventually, after the East Berlin workers' uprising, Cannon and others launched a full-scale drive to purge the Trotskyist movement of what they called 'Pabloism'. (They failed!)

Sam Gordon later used to describe himself, with some justified pride, as 'the first anti-Pabloite'.

(The documents and letters of the period, Sam Gordon's included, have been published by the American SWP).

In semi-retirement from the '60s, Sam Gordon was bitterly hostile to the recrudescence of sectarianism in the '60s and '70s, breaking his decades-old links with the leadership of the Socialist Labour League (which mutated into the WRP).

He was to the end of his days a loyalist for the American Socialist Workers Party. He tried to view their political development in as sympathetic a light as possible, and to explain it to those of us who were harshly critical.

All the more significant, therefore, was his readiness to admit that when in the first six months of 1980 the SWP USA welcomed the Russian invasion of Afghanistan – who were, they said, "going to the aid of the revolution" – they had departed from Trotskyism. (They have since gone a long stretch of the way to outright Stalinism).

He encouraged at least one critic of those politics to write against this pernicious and reactionary nonsense. The 'first anti-Pabloite' had not entirely ceased to live in the 70 year old Sam Gordon.

Sam Gordon rejected – though, as far as I know, he never spoke out against it publicly – the post-1967 June War demonstration of Israel by the "Trotskyist" left. He supported Israel's right to exist.

What has to be said of the great pioneers of Trotskyism who survived Trotsky, like James P Cannon, has also to be said of Sam Gordon: they left many unresolved problems, some of them fundamental, to the succeeding generation of revolutionary Marxists. But it is thanks to the courage and dedication of comrades like Sam Gordon that there now exists a Marxist movement at all, surviving Stalinism, building on their work, able to renew itself politically.

THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT

Stop the Company Plan by any means necessary!

Tube workers ballot for action

What the Company Plan is

By a London Underground worker

Tube bosses launched "Company Plan" last year, with a huge media fanfare.

Workers and passengers alike were promised vast improvements in safety, quality, and efficiency of service.

This is to be achieved by cutting the 20,000-strong workforce by at least 5,000! If the bosses get their way, 650 traincrew will go, 850 station staff, 1300 depot staff, 400 cleaners, 300 workshop staff, 250 lifts and escalators staff, 200 permanent way (track) workers, and 850 white collar staff.

This is a massive and fundamental attack. The changes proposed are staggering. Start with the traincrews. The Plan decrees flexible rostering, so instead of working a fixed 8-hour day you work longer or shorter as required. This is coupled with more split shifts (e.g. four hours in the morning, and four in the evening) and remote booking-on, so that we won't get paid travelling time any more.

Some train depots are to close. There is also salaried status, which may sound harmless, but would make it extremely difficult to swap shifts. Working shifts is bad enough, but without the flexibility we now have, it would be like a straitjacket. Station staff face a complete



Strikes in '89 shut down the system

regrading. There are to be only two grades, supervisor or assistant. You will have "skill licences" for different jobs, and be paid accordingly. This will mean you can be pushed into doing any job they want you to do.

Depots lose over half their jobs. Many jobs are being amalgamated, with "multi-skilling", i.e. doing two jobs for the same pay. "All restrictive practices" are to be ended. A bonus scheme based on work groups will set worker against worker.

On one line, at Stonebridge Park depot, train maintenance is to be tendered out, pointing the way to privatising all the depots.

Signals and permanent way are to be completely devolved to individual lines.

On signals, all installation work (more than half the total) is to go to tender, and on the permanent way, all work will go to tender.

Lifts and Escalators will lose 250 out of 400 jobs. In Workshops, three out of six are closing. Cleaning will be privatised, with all in-house staff gone. White-collar staff face huge job losses.

While proposals vary for different sections of workers, the underlying ideas are the same.

**Privatisation:** of cleaning, depots, signals, and permanent way. The figure of 5,000 job cuts does not include those that will be lost to contracting out. How many more will that mean?

**Flexibility:** management's dream is a worker who can be ordered to do any job anywhere on the Underground at any time for as long or as short a time as required.

**Salaried status:** all staff are to be salaried. This is only the first step, to be followed by performance pay and personal contracts.

**Seniority:** will no longer decide. Management will decide promotions on the basis of "suitability".

Much has been made of the claim that all jobs will go through natural wastage and "generous" voluntary severance.

In fact, management have clearly threatened compulsory redundancies if they do not receive full cooperation, and the severance money will only go to hand-picked individuals.

By a Central Line guard

At long last the rail union RMT has decided to ballot its members on the London Underground for action over the Company Plan.

London Underground management have been given numerous opportunities to withdraw those parts of the Plan that they have already imposed without negotiation. RMT general secretary Jimmy Knapp even went to see London Underground managing director Dennis Tunnicliffe in person — all to no avail.

At the RNC meeting on Monday (23rd) RMT registered a failure to agree, thus setting the scene for a ballot. Last week's RMT general grades committee had voted unanimously for a ballot if no agreement could be reached.

Thus far, all three unions, RMT, ASLEF and TSSA, have been united in verbal opposition to the Plan. Now is the time for all concerned to put it into practice.

There is no excuse for any sectionalist argument that "my particular grade is not affected". We are all affected. I think this time round — unlike last year — people have realised this.

There is a noticeably different mood, and clearly the

ASLEF leadership have felt the pressure from their members. Yet there is a lot of work to be done to kick-start the campaign for a massive vote for action.

Publicity and leaflets will play a big part here, but the way to get the majority we need is by activists organising themselves to get round the members, call meetings, build for mass meetings, and ensure that every worker hears the arguments for the action that is necessary to

beat the Plan — all out and in defiance of the law if need be. Remember '89.

Tube Workers' Action Group Meeting open to all London Underground workers

For a rank-and-file tubeworkers' organisation!

Unite all tubeworkers, regardless of grade or union! Defend every job! Defend all conditions!

Throw out the Company Plan in its entirety!

7.00pm, Monday 30 March, "Duke of York" pub, York Way, Kings Cross.

Science at the Crossroads

LES HEARN'S



SCIENCE COLUMN

anonymous prison camp or executioner's cell.

Vavilov's fate is particularly illuminating. The bogus genetic theories of one Lysenko, though devoid of validity, fitted in with the "pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps" ethos of Stalin's "socialism in one country". Vavilov clung to "bourgeois" Mendelian genetics and was deprived of his job and his freedom. He died of cold, hunger, and illness in prison in 1942.

Hessen's contribution to the Congress was entitled *The Economic and Social Roots of Newton's Principia*.

It was a brash Marxist challenge to the conventional view that Newton was an example of fortuitous genius. As Alexander Pope put it, *Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night; God said 'Let Newton be!' and all was light.*

It was generally accepted that modern civilisation owed much to the accident of the birth of Newton (and of other geniuses, like Galileo). Hessen preferred to look at the society that had produced Newton and set him problems to exercise his mind.

The growth of trade and industry had led to the need for waterways and improvement in the capacity and safety of vessels. The sciences of hydrostatics and dynamics grew. The growth of mining led to demand for machinery capable of lifting great weights, pumping out water, ventilating the mines, etc. Mechanics, hydro- and aerostatics developed further. The development of artillery led to the growth of the science of ballistics.

Newton's *Principia* contained the mathematical bases of motion under applied forces, friction, hydrostatics, buoyancy, gas pressure, behaviour of pendulums in air, movement of liquids, trajectory of thrown objects, movement of planets, variations in gravity and so on. All of these were problems with practical applications to do with navigation, accurate timing, etc.

Even Newton's alchemical investigations had a practical end, in that they were aimed at overcoming the shortage of copper needed for production of guns.

Newton was a genius, but even geniuses need real problems to focus their minds.

Private contractors must be stopped

Vital ballot for Yorkshire miners

Every member of the National Union of Mineworkers in the Yorkshire Area is to be balloted on selective industrial action to stop the introduction of private contractors at Markham Main Colliery, Armthorpe.

The unanimous decision was taken at this week's Yorkshire Area Council after a long discussion.

Delegates to the meeting took part in a "long and searching debate", Yorkshire Area miners' general secretary Ken Homer is reported as saying.

The ballot is to be deferred until after the election on 9 April. Ken Homer said that this "simply reflects the urgent priority we attach to winning a Labour Government, and was understood and accepted by our Armthorpe delegates".

The ballot decision comes

after two highly successful one-day strikes at Armthorpe on Friday 13 March and Monday 23rd.

The strikes only got off the ground after management had succeeded in getting a previous "yes" ballot result ruled out of order because of a "legal" technicality. Undeterred, the NUM branch balloted again, and increased the yes vote, which reached over 80 per cent.

Throughout the dispute management have done their very best to intimidate union activists. Following on from their success in undermining action at Manton recently by threatening to sack branch officials, in this case pit managers:

- Threatened Armthorpe NUM officers with £195,000 damages for the first day's strike;
- Withdrew all facility time for four committee members. The branch secretary has had his time reduced to just one shift per week.
- Sent home large numbers of miners after the first strike, on a

selective basis, because there was "no work" for them.

With British Coal bosses hoping for a Tory election victory and the privatisation of the pits, it is vital for the NUM to keep up the momentum of the action. This is a test case, and should be treated as such.

Armthorpe Area Council delegate Steve Taylor underlined the significance of this fight: "Most of us are young men with young families. We are

committed to our pit, and we regard this fight as one we must take on".

Stop the collapse of the building industry!

Protest: 11am, Monday 30 March, Talmeda Road, London SW6.

Sponsored by UCATT and TGWU.

Camden strikers: solidarity now!

The Labour council of Camden, in North London, has sacked 133 social workers on official NALGO strike.

The social workers have been on strike for ten months, since the council refused to honour a nationally-agreed regrading settlement.

In February the council announced a protest at £3 million cuts.

The building workers' union UCATT is to campaign to stop the building employers' attempt to win exemption from EC restrictions on working hours.

The TUC's Finance and General Purposes Committee is due to meet after the election to announce a programme of staff cutbacks. This is the TUC's first action in response to the present recession.

5000 GEC Ferranti workers have been told to accept a pay freeze.

The Industrial Front

Low-paid NHS clerical and administrative workers have been offered a pay deal worth less than 5 per cent.

Union leaders are recommending acceptance. It's strange behaviour from people who say they will fight to ensure that a Labour Government delivers a £3.40 per hour minimum wage.

The Albacom dispute in Dundee

is now nearly one year old. The AEU members who have been sacked are still picketing the factory. Support and solidarity is essential. Contact the Albacom strikers c/o AEU offices, 2 Union Street, Dundee.

Leaders of BECTU, the film technicians' union, have agreed to postpone until after the election any action over 10,000 redundancies at the BBC. Rolling strikes have started, however, over earlier job cuts.

Brent teachers are set to strike this Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday (24, 25, 26 March) in

# SOCIALIST

ORGANISER

## Help build Socialist Organiser

Supporters of the Alliance for Workers' Liberty and readers of Socialist Organiser are being asked to

raise £8,000 to help us fight for socialism.

The circulation of Socialist Organiser and the influence of

our ideas are increasing. We want to expand still further.

After the death of Stalinism in Europe, there are great new prospects for our anti-capitalist, anti-Stalinist socialism.

Specifically, we aim to raise £8,000 in the period before our Workers' Liberty 92 event (3-5 July) so that we can:

\* Buy new equipment to expand the capability of the new technology bought after our recent £10,000 fund drive;

We know that we can raise another £8,000 - with an effort. By doing so we will be better able to take up the new opportunities for socialist action which will open up under the next government.

What you can do:

\* Send us a donation: cheques and postal orders to "Socialist Organiser", at PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

\* Take our a subscription to our paper

\* Take a few copies to sell at work or at college.

Help socialist ideas grow!

### Black and white unite to



# Fight racist attacks!

By Hossein Zahir

Thousands of anti-racists will march in East London on Saturday 28 March. The demonstrators will be protesting about the racist murder of Pancharam Sahitharan and the police attack on the Deane family.

Mr Sahitharan, a Tamil refugee, came to Britain seeking political asylum. He was murdered by a gang of racists in Manor Park, East London on 29 December 1991.

On 4 November 1991 two members of the

Deane family were attacked by the police and then charged with assaulting the police. Mr Deane and his son Tony are local Newham shopkeepers; they were both badly injured in the attack.

We are demonstrating to highlight both increasingly levels of racist violence and the continuing police harassment and criminali-

sation of black people. We are fighting for justice for the black community.

The demonstration is being held against the background of the general election campaign. We aim to put all the political parties on the spot. We are saying that we will not tolerate any party which attempts to play the race card.

**Demonstrate!**

**Assemble: 13.30  
Saturday 28 March,  
Plasht Park, London  
E6 (Tube: East Ham)**

**More details from  
Newham Monitoring  
Project 081-555 8151**

## Socialists for Labour broadsheet

**Socialists for Labour**

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