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Socialist OUTLOOK

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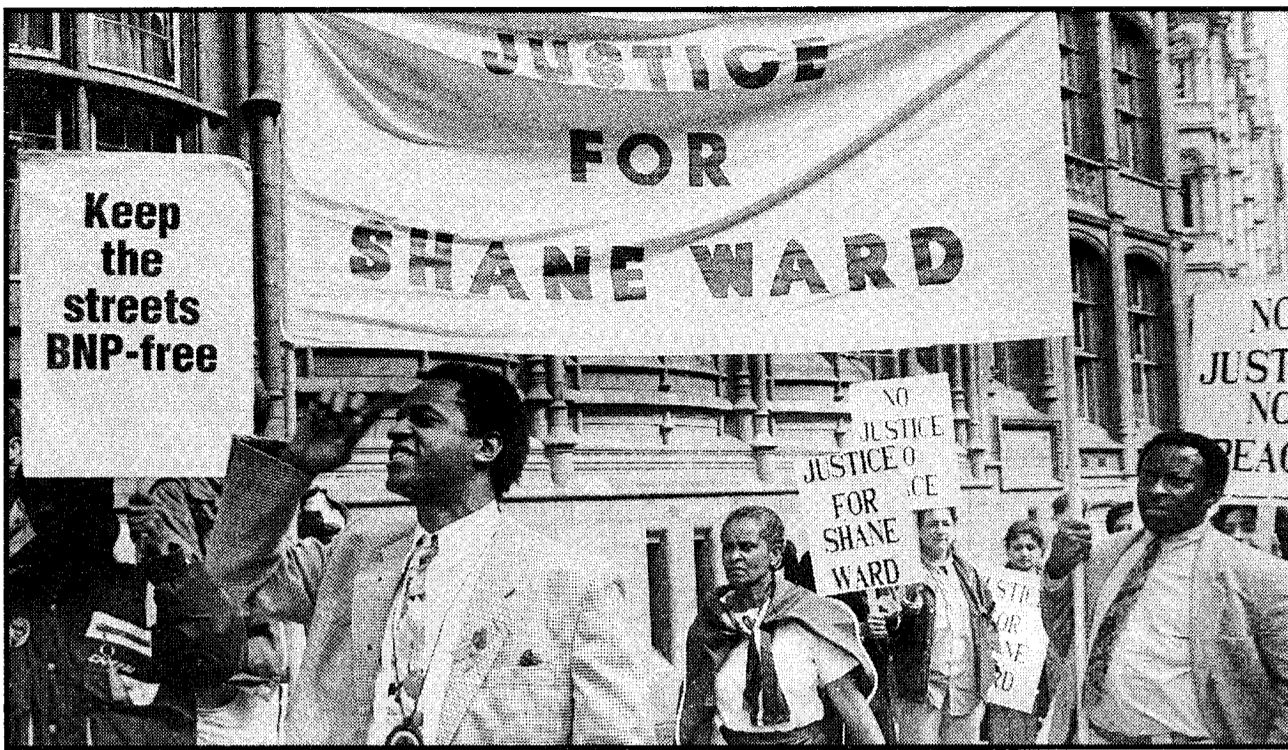
Fortnightly. No 45 June 26, 1993 ● 50p

● 5 FF ● \$1 ● 2DM



NEW WORLD SLAUGHTER!

Imperialism behind Somalia catastrophe - page 7



Police defence of fascist provocation led to wrongful arrest, and release, of Shane Ward

Shane Ward court victory

SHANE WARD has won his court case against the West Midlands police.

Shane was arrested in Birmingham city centre for peacefully protesting the presence of British National Party distributing racist literature (see Outlook 41).

The police claimed that Shane attempted to 'provoke' the BNP by shouting 'white scum' and other abuse. But their evidence was so

contradictory that it just raised laughter in the court.

Refused

Shane was offered a caution which would have been an admission of guilt. He bravely refused a caution which would have been an admission of guilt.

The defence campaign set up for him is staying in existence to continue the fight against racist attacks.

Fight police cover-up!

A PICKET of Birmingham Crown Court was held on 21 June to demand justice for the family of murdered Asian taxi driver Ashiq Hussain.

Ashiq was murdered when he went to the aid of another driver under attack, and was then himself stabbed by three racists.

Already racist abuse has been hurled at Ashiq's family in court, but the police are trying to maintain that racism is not an issue in this case. Only one of the three attackers has been charged with murder.

Contact the Ashiq Hussain Memorial Committee at PO Box 18, 54 Camp Hill, Birmingham.

2,000 join ARA protest at killings

2000 people marched through the boarded up streets of South London to protest against the racist killing of Ruhullah Aramesh on Saturday 12 June.

The march was led by the families of Ruhullah Aramesh, Stephen Lawrence and Rolan Adams through the streets of Norbury and Thornton Heath to Green Lane where a wreath was laid at the point Ruhullah was murdered.

Along the length of the march local people who had gathered to watch the march and pay their

respects took anti-racist stickers and leaflets.

The march was small in comparison to the paper support the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA) has from trade unions and the Labour Party. Only three national trade union banners were present - UCW, STE, IRSF - despite backing for the event from the TUC.

There were banners from ARA groups from Preston, Nottingham, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Leicester and various London boroughs, a sprinkling of local trade union banners,

and other left organisations. The ARA has failed to turn the impressive sponsorship it has into action - this is the task it now faces.

Militant Labour and Panther UK were conspicuously absent from the march despite their claims to be in favour of unity and their promises to build the march.

With a further vicious racist



Ruhullah's mother mourns

attack in Birmingham on Sunday 13 June the need has never been greater to build a united and active anti-racist movement.

FIGHTING RACISM

Savage Brum racist attack

By Jack Starkey
(Birmingham CARF)

ON 13 JUNE Clive Forbes, an Afro-Caribbean factory worker was beaten to the brink of death by two white thugs near his home in Erdington, Birmingham.

He was returning home with his heavily pregnant wife Yvonne, when the two thugs attacked him, wielding iron bars and shouting racist abuse.

Clive has undergone surgery to relieve pressure on his brain and is still critically ill. It is the latest of a series of racial attacks in the area.

Birmingham Campaign against Racism and Fascism are organising leafletting in the area, and a demonstration and rally may soon be called.

North West jobs march is big success

By Colin O'Driscoll

MORE THAN 3000 people attended the rally outside Parkside colliery which concluded the North West Peoples March against unemployment and pit closures. Socialist Outlook supporters played a central role in organising and initiating the march.

Speaking at the rally, miners' leader Arthur Scargill led the call for a 24-hour national strike against redundancies and uniting the struggles against the Tories.

The march was built in only five weeks, and despite resistance from the leadership of the official labour movement a groundswell of opinion from the base of the movement ensured its success.

The Manchester leg of the march was led by five Labour MPs, one Labour MEP and councillors from Stockport, Manchester City, Trafford and Salford.

The success of the march showed the strength of anger and opposition to Tory attacks waiting to be tapped. Support came from local councils, Labour Parties, union branches and trades councils.

The four 'legs' of the march visited workplaces in struggle along the length of the



Socialists' united front policy led to the march's success

route, among them Spillers on Mersyeside and the Revell and George print works in Salford. A mass picket of 200 at Revell and George shut down the plant completely for half a day.

Parkside occupation

March co-ordinators, Socialist Outlook supporters Steve Hall and Glenn Vorris said: 'The success of the Peoples March was the culmination of intense activity which included the occupation of Parkside pit by

Women against Pit Closures. Key to its success was the political line of uniting the struggles against the Tories.

'There is massive anger and resentment at a Tory government weakened by corruption and internal divisions, but at every stage this anger is smothered by the official leaders of the movement.

'The fightback by those prepared to take action must be intensified. In the coming weeks Socialist Outlook supporters and other from the North West will be meeting to build further initiatives.'

Timex – dire warning of Tory ‘Hong Kong’ strategy

EDITORIAL

ON 16 JUNE Tony Blair, Labour home affairs spokesperson, welcomed as ‘sensible’ the decision by Home Secretary Michael Howard to allow the testing of a vicious extendable, side-handled police baton to replace the existing short truncheon.

It should be remembered that as Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke resisted police demands for this move. As an upstanding ‘moderniser’ Tony Blair wouldn’t want to be outflanked to the right by the Tories: it is absolutely symptomatic of the surreal character of British politics now that the Tony Blairs of this world are the spokespeople for the main party of the working class.

For the Tories today are weak and wounded, but continue to lash out at working people. They have defeated the miners, they have imposed a law which allows employers to pay trade unionists less than non-unionists and they are now attacking, of all things, Invalidation Benefit.

But the Labour front bench response to all this is so pathetic that even the likes of the GMB’s John Edmonds criticise their lack of fight.

“The only way that such a programme can be resisted is by the labour movement piling into struggles like that at Timex, which are the cutting edge of the struggle to make Britain a cheap labour economy”

But John Smith and the other Labour leaders can be forgiven for taking John Edmonds’ outburst with a pinch of salt.

For the ‘new realist’ trade union leaders have got the Labour leadership they wanted. Edmonds and the rest of the TUC tops backed Neil Kinnock all the way, and then piled in behind Smith.

New realism

More than that, it was the imposition of new realism, from the 1982 print workers’ NGA Warrington dispute, through the miners’ strike to Wapping and beyond, which created all the defeats.

The political conclusions followed as night followed day; John Smith and Tony Blair are the direct product of the abandonment of the miners and all the other class fighters who confronted the Tories in the 1980s.

John Major and his team appear clueless and divided about how to

cope with economic crisis and the huge budget deficit, that doesn’t mean that the Tories have no programmes on offer.

The most articulate is that put forward by Andrew Neil, *Sunday Times* editor and sometime LBC Radio pundit. His programme is for the ‘Hong Kong-isation’ of Britain.

This states simply that the future for Britain is as an offshore finance centre and cheap labour economy. This is how Britain can compete with Germany and France, with their ‘over-priced’ labour.

Slashing wages, cutting the welfare state, de-unionisation and a cowed working class can make Britain an attractive centre for inward investment from the US and Japan – a low-priced channel for their goods to get into Europe.

This fits in very well with what the Tories are actually doing. The only way that such a programme can be resisted is by the labour movement

piling into struggles like that at Timex, which are the cutting edge of the struggle to make Britain a cheap labour economy at the mercy of the multinationals.

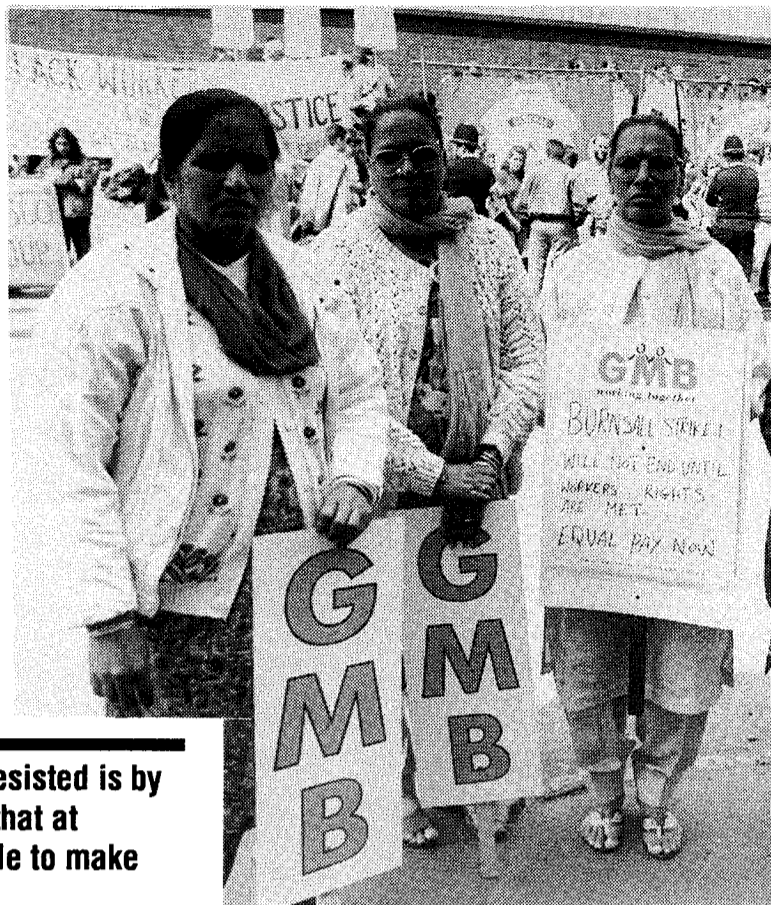
It means uniting the struggles against all the closures, wage cutting and imposition of new management techniques which are pushing Britain into becoming a new Hong Kong.

Last week, while the Timex pickets kept up their vigil, the British ruling class was carrying out one of its annual ceremonies of conspicuous consumption at Ascot.

‘Unreasonable’

The leadership of the AEEU made no secret of considering the Timex workers ‘unreasonable’ in not accepting a deal which would give them a weekly wage no greater than an Ascot champagne lunch for two.

The fact is that Timex shows the future for the whole British labour force unless the sabotage of the new realists is defeated.



EDITORIAL

How to fight ‘new management techniques’

BRITISH workers are under sustained attack – but not just from pay freeze and job losses. Reorganisation of working practices – the so-called ‘new management techniques’ is sweeping through industry.

Few workplaces of any size have not been affected by the new exploitative techniques which hide behind buzzwords like ‘flexibility’, ‘team working’ and ‘quality management’.

Flexibility and multi-skilling are core ideas in the NMTs. The era when workers had a job description, precise tasks and a known work-week is gone. Workers are expected increasingly to be able to be able to carry out numer-

ous tasks and to work those hours which suit the bosses.

Short-term contracts rather than a full-time job are becoming the norm in many industries; some firms are even employing workers on the basis of ‘nil guaranteed hours’ – in other words you come into work only when the boss wants you.

Most of the NMTs were invented in the US, but were first applied on a large scale in Japan. Pioneered in the car industry the techniques are now widespread in health, local government, transport, journalism, retailing and numerous other industries.

And they have been decked out with a pretentious ideology aimed at getting workers to participate in their own exploitation; notions like ‘team

work’ and ‘quality management’ try to tie workers to reporting on their fellow employees and brainwash them into identifying with the company and its aims.

Cardiff University car expert Dan Jones dubbed the NMTs ‘The Machine That Changed the World’. Multinationals are still investing millions in refining the techniques.

But against the background of mass unemployment the NMTs are very difficult to fight. Workers are often coerced into accepting new working practices and de-unionisation by the threat of losing their jobs. The Socialist Outlook day school on Saturday 3 July aims to explore strategies of resistance to the NMTs onslaught.

Socialist Day School
OUTLOOK School

‘The machine that changed the world’

Resisting economic restructuring, social engineering and the new management techniques

**SATURDAY 3 July, Conway Hall
London WC1, 11am-6pm**

Registration £5 (waged), £2 (unwaged, UB40, students)

Workshops include discussion on the NMTs in education, NHS, post and telecommunications, transport, local government, manufacturing and the civil service.



Timex workers have united with the struggles of others like these railworkers

RMT: vote yes for action on pay

The executive of the main rail union, RMT, agreed by ten votes to nine on June 15 to ballot their membership in British Rail for a mandate for action against the 1.5 per cent pay offer.

The executive are recommending rejection. The ballot will be carried out at the end of July.

Stand by the Timex strikers!

By Helen Shaw

10,000 people marched in support of the Timex strikers on Saturday June 19 and heard Alan Tuffin of the UCW call for an international boycott of Timex goods.

Timex may well survive without the plant at Dundee but it cannot survive a boycott campaign aimed at all its products worldwide.

A campaign must be waged in the trade unions for this to become real solidarity action rather than a consumer boycott. Recent trade union conference pledges of full support for Timex workers must be turned into a reality.

The decision taken by Timex on June 15 to close its Dundee plant is a sign of weakness by the transnational company.

Insult to injury

Months after the bitter dispute began, Mohammed Saleh, the company's director of human resources added insult to injury with the statement, 'We tried to negotiate an amicable settlement for an orderly closure - salvage the best we can for Dundee and our employees - but they kept repeating unrealistic demands that we take back everybody.'

He went on to say that sacked employees would be welcome back at the plant to help Timex finish outstanding orders - work that cannot be done by the unskilled scabs currently employed.

Timex also stated that they would like ACAS to participate in negotiations for an orderly rundown of the plant. This cynical move comes months after the workers request for ACAS to be brought in prior to the lock out.

Timex management's attempt to appear reasonable defies belief. Their methods of

industrial relations are the same throughout their worldwide operation.

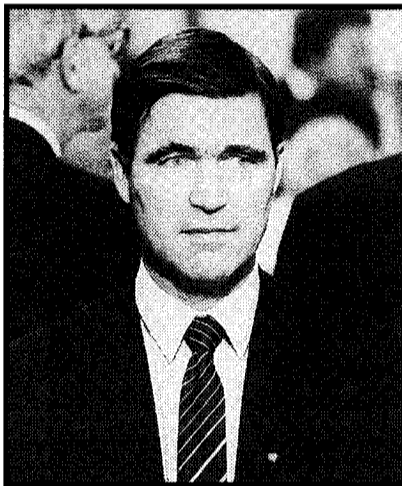
Workers in the United States have also been on the receiving end of their viciousness. They were sacked on Christmas Eve and New Years eve and then had to threaten to picket local shopping malls before being given severance pay.

Negotiation

Gavin Laird said that he wished the national union had been brought in earlier because he was sure a negotiated settlement could have been reached. But it is not possible to negotiate a settlement on the terms offered by Timex management.

Laird peddles the well worn wares of new realism - that the strike committee should have accepted some of management's proposals and kept their heads down.

But it is the failure of the new realists in the trade union movement that has created the ground for this sort of dispute. Giving in opens the floodgates whereas saying no, standing up and fighting, winning support and solidarity from other workers means employers won't dare to make such offers in the first



Bureaucracy sought deal

place. The strength of the trade union movement is in its militancy, embodied by the determination of the Timex strikers, not in the appeasement tactics of the likes of Gavin Laird.

Solidarity action with the Timex workers means defying the Tory anti-trade union laws but a message has to be sent to the employers that they cannot get away with this sort of attack. If they do it will be a green light to other companies to force down wages and erode hard won rights at work.

Employers must not get away with pitting groups of employees against one another either within one country or internationally.

Using the economic recession as a threat and taking business to the developing world is a divisive tactic. Solidarity must be built with the strikers internationally.

Massive solidarity action is needed to send a resounding no to Timex, other transnationals and to the Tories and their anti trade union laws.

Tube bosses put the boot in

By a tube driver

FULL OF confidence after imposing their Company Plan, London Underground (LUL) management are continuing to put the boot in.

They refused to negotiate over the annual pay round and have simply paid 1.5 per cent into wage packets. Despite the fact that this represents a pay cut, only the RMT balloted its members for strike action.

Divide and rule being the name of the game, LUL have taken a leaf out of British Rail's book and are threatening to stop RMT dues being deducted from the pay bill.

This is not only an attack but frightens the hell out of the union bureaucracy because it is a threat to their finances. In response the union has sent out direct debit forms to all BR and LUL members.

Meanwhile the ballot result showed a poor turn out. Despite

a two to one vote for strike action, since two thirds of members failed to vote it will be tough to walk out.

Everybody is angry and bitter at having to work under the Company Plan and under the new style dictatorial management. But people are lacking in confidence, not helped by the attempt by other LUL unions to placate management.

As we said in November, building up the new shop steward type system of representation and taking on management at a local level is going to be important.

That will be one way of increasing confidence and turning the anger into action.

This week LUL are bringing in a trial of their Big Brother random drink and drugs testing which will result in sackings.

For example if someone smoked a joint two months ago it would be detected and they would face the sack. It may be issues like this and local disputes which provoke a struggle.

TRADE UNION NEWS

Charter for victimisation

By Helen Shaw

THE TORY government has forced through new legislation to allow employers to discriminate against trade union members.

An amendment to the Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Bill passed through the Commons with a government majority of 22, with even Tory MP Peter Bottomley saying it would

shackle workers in a way comparable to the Tolpuddle Martyrs deportations in 1834.

The new law was a rapid response to a Court of Appeal ruling in test cases covering three Southampton dock workers and a *Daily Mail* journalist.

They had refused to sign personal contracts, as union members, and were given lower pay rises as a result. The judges ruled that this was discrimination.

The NUJ ruling had been greeted with enthusiasm by union leaders who saw it as a boost to the campaign against the introduction of personal contracts and union derecognition.

But the swift action by the Tories to close the loophole is a lesson for the whole trade union movement. Employers can now effectively bribe union members to give up their right to collective representation.



Clearly there can be no individual rights without collective rights and using the courts is no solution or substitute for militant action. If the Tories don't like what the law decrees they'll change it to suit their interests.

Miners count costs of campaign that ran out of steam

Too little, too late hands victory to Tories

By Dave Osler

THE FIGHT against pit closures is close to being defeated, and there is little point in pretending otherwise. The Tories' stalling tactics achieved exactly what they were designed to achieve. Public anger has been defused.

Meanwhile, the High Court has overturned its previous ruling that it was 'illegal and irrational' to shut the first ten pits in British Coal's closure programme.

Cuts are now likely to prove far more savage than anything envisaged last year. We could now witness the scenario outlined in the leaked Rothschild report of 1991, which predicted just 12 pits and a workforce of 10,000 by 1995.

Over 16,000 of Britain's 40,000 miners have quit in the last eight months, largely as a result of BC's bully-boy tactics. At Grimethorpe, for instance, enhanced redundancy money worth an additional £8000-13,000 was put on the table, and miners told to take it or leave it. They voted 140 to 40 to take it.

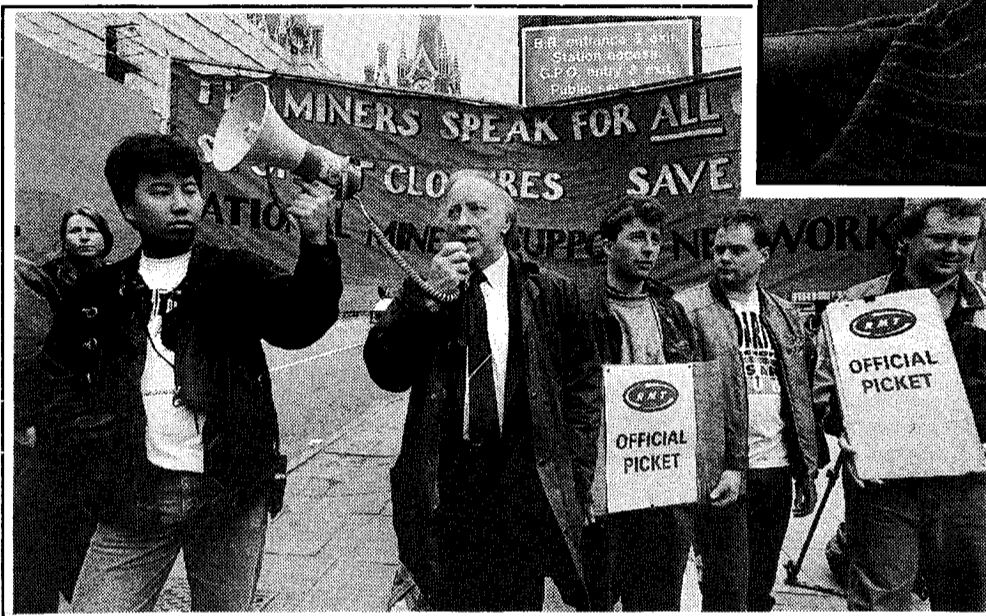
Now 1200 miners have gone at Parkside and Trentham, the first compulsory redundancies since nationalisation in 1947. The two pits were singled out because they resisted closure. Further job losses will come thick and fast.

Some 20 deep mines - 18 of them on last October's original hit-list of 31 - will be offered to the private sector licensees over the next few weeks.

Asset-strip king Lord Hanson may put in for the best. Other interested parties include RJB Mining and Edwards Energy. But experts predict takers for six of them at most, with the rest to close.

Of the 30 remaining BC collieries, 12 were ostensibly 're-prieved' in the March white paper, when trade secretary Michael Heseltine seemingly promised £500 million to enable threatened pits to find new markets.

Senior Whitehall sources now say the government never had any intention of paying. The money is conditional on National Power and PowerGen taking more BC coal on top of their existing five-year contract. This is all but excluded.



Scargill: made modest call for day of action

The two companies together have a 34 million ton stockpile and shareholders, including the government, want this reduced to improve cash-flow. Even if they bought more, BC itself has 11 million tons in stock, with the 12 pits adding 1 million tons a month. Moreover, existing private mines and new licensees would also be in the running.

Until earlier this year, BC charged generators 180p a gigajoule, a price that has now dropped to 150p and falling. BC is offering extra supplies for just 90p a gigajoule, but the European spot market price is around 86p.

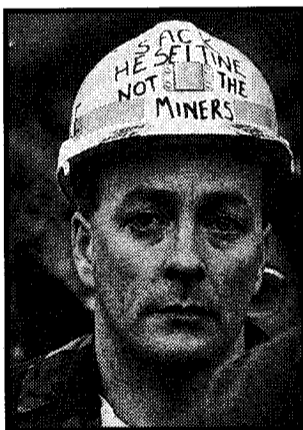
The root of the problem - a 'free market' rigged by the dash to gas, nuclear power, the French interconnector and low world coal prices - remains in place.

Class-wide fight

A class-wide fightback could have forced political concessions from the government. But the labour movement leadership, from day one, derailed the mobilisation which alone could have bought this about.

As the storm broke last October, Congress House subsumed the coal question into a non-specific TUC 'Jobs and Recovery Campaign'. An emergency committee on pit closures was formed, excluding the leader of the union most affected - Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers.

In November, the TUC general council met in Doncaster, convening outside London for the first time ever. Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, de-



You said it!

nounced demands for a 24-hour general strike as a 'legal noose' that the movement should not put its head through, and even dismissed Scargill's more modest call for a day of action.

Instead, we got the laughable 'Day of National Recovery' in December 9, with trade unionists asked to secure expressions of concern about job losses from their bosses, including those who had already sacked thousands. Few bothered.

There was a plea to switch off our lighting for five minutes on the Saturday before Christmas, perhaps a deliberately ironic echo of the 'Switch on at Six' campaign during the Great Strike.

Scargill continued his agitation, but the TUC put the dampers on his call for a day of action January 19 as not 'appropriate'. Then there was the TUC's 'Jobs Action Day' of February 18.

Scargill had used an earlier rally in Cardiff to propose that it be turned into a South African-style 'stay-away', using this euphemism to skirt the anti-un-

ion laws banning solidarity action.

Socialist Outlook welcomed his thrust, while pointing out the drawbacks with the wording. However, the TUC insisted that Jobs Action Day was 'not a call for industrial action, but a broad-based activity to demand change.'

In March, the TUC called a demo at three days' notice, in protest at the white paper. Unsurprisingly, it was poorly attended. Liberal Democrat MP Simon Hughes used the subsequent rally to support strike action.

Dodged

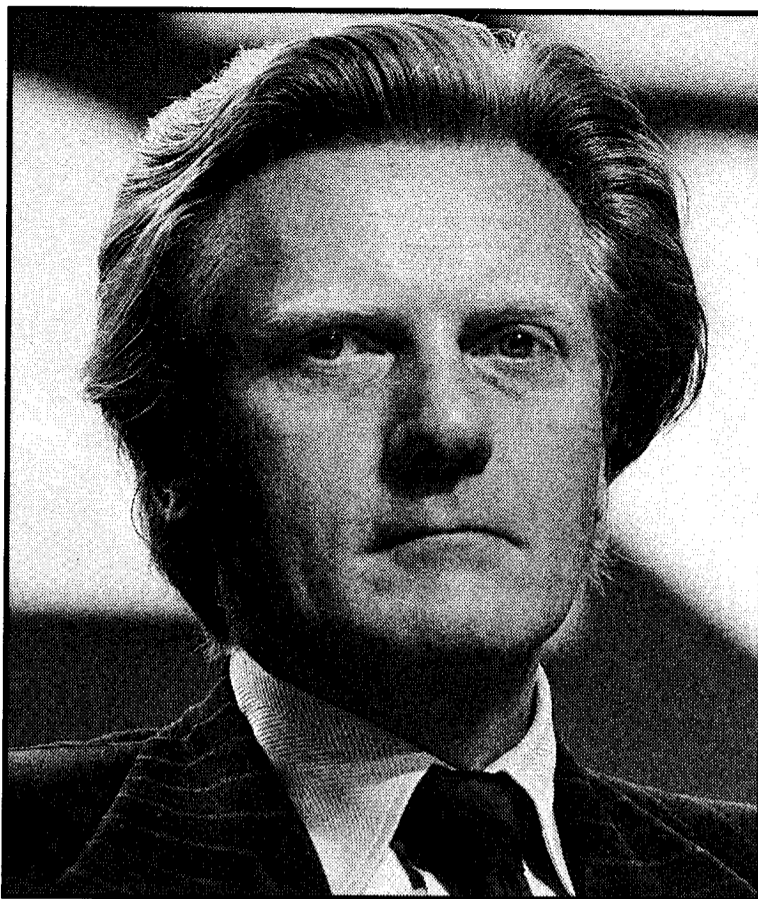
Labour frontbenchers Margaret Beckett and Frank Dobson dodged the question.

The brightest hope of turning the tide came in April, when the rail union leaderships, under rank-and-file pressure, reluctantly organised two one-day stoppages against job losses in their industry. They were synchronised with similar action from the NUM, and a TUC call to spread the anti-privatisation struggle would have won a wide response.

None came, while Labour's national executive expressly declined to back the strikes. Ultimately, rail leaders Knapp and Fullick used pseudo-concessions from British Rail to block further activity.

This was a clear signal to the Tories that, as far as the official labour movement was concerned, the fight was finished. The collieries began to close.

It is clear now that only much more militant tactics earlier in



Will miners bury Heseltine?

the dispute, involving occupation of the pits and other forms of industrial action, could have created the depth of political crisis necessary to secure the prolonged mobilisation necessary for victory.

The NUM's defeat will have contradictory consequences. The ruling class will push home their advantage. The NUM and RMT have been punished with loss of check-off facilities.

Oil workers and journalists face industry-wide derecognition drives. New legislation enables bosses to refuse trade unionists pay rises granted to people on personal contracts, gravely undermining collective bargaining.

Wage cuts

For the first time in decades, there is a danger of widespread US-style 'give-backs'. The 3.5 per cent wage cut agreed by local government unions in Sheffield earlier this year set a terrible precedent.

Timex management, with the agreement of AEEU tops, last week tried to 'settle' the ongoing dispute in Dundee with a 27 per cent wage cut. British Airways management wants to slash salaries by 30 per cent. More employers are likely to try it on.

Even where pay is going up, settlements are averaging under 3 per cent, the lowest rate for 25 years. Only firefighters have shown real determination to bust the 1.5 per cent public sector pay norm.

Pivotal though disputes like Timex or Burnsall are, they only involve relatively small groups of workers. Government statistics show that, in terms of overall strike-days, industrial action is still basically at its lowest ebb since records began in the 1890s.

On the positive side, the political situation has visibly changed. The Newbury and county council elections and recent opinion polls show support for the Conservative Party at a new low in modern times. In a volatile climate like this, the industrial picture can rapidly turn around.

COMMENT

Swan Hunter workers 'pay the price'

On the slipway to the dole



Swan Hunter must be renationalised under the workers' control

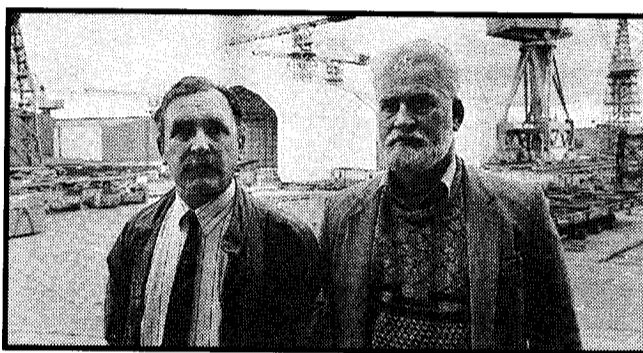
As press headlines chart the demise of British capitalism's manufacturing base, one of the latest casualties is the Swan Hunter shipyard. How do the shipyard workers feel as they stare redundancy in the face? Dave Osler went to Wallsend to find out.

TRAVELLING up to Newcastle, I shared a railway carriage with a group of American tourists en route to Edinburgh. Their guide was singing the praises of the towns they would pass through on the way.

'Newcastle is where we used to have our shipbuilding,' she proclaimed quite casually. Strictly speaking, this use of the perfect tense is not quite accurate. The last shipyard on Tyne-side is hanging on to life by the slenderest of threads.

Warship builders Swan Hunter, based in Wallsend, has been in receivership since the unlucky 13th of last month. The company has been expecting to win a crucial Royal Navy order for a helicopter carrier.

When the work was instead



Kenny James and Dick Gonzalez

awarded to a consortium of VSEL and Kvaerner Govan, which bid at least £50 million less for the contract, the bosses called in Price Waterhouse.

No notice

Two weeks and a day later, around 400 of the 2,200-strong workforce found themselves suddenly out of a job, with no notice and not even statutory redundancy pay.

The remaining employees are currently engaged in fitting out three frigates for the Ministry of Defence. Activity will continue until at least 25 June. After that, it's anyone's guess, although it is hoped that Swan will be allowed to finish the job.

If Whitehall says yes, there will be enough work – at least for a lucky minority – for up to 14 months. This in turn is likely to mean that the Omani government will place a firm order for two patrol boats.

In the best case scenario, the resultant strong order book will

enable receivers to find a buyer. Five major engineering concerns are reputedly interested. But if the mandarins say no, 130 years of shipbuilding on the site will be at an end.

Wallsend is like a big pit village. As with British coal, in the last few years the sackings at Swan Hunter have been relentless. As recently as 1977, the yard employed 10,000 people. Some 1,400 job losses were announced only last August.

For many, working at Swan Hunter is a part of the local tradition. Take Kenny James, an operations controller, who has worked there for the last 18 years consecutively, and 23 years all told, after starting as an apprentice fitter on leaving school.

Grandfather

By James family standards, that's nothing. Kenny's grandfather was with Swan for 45 years. His Dad retired from the company last March, after 40 years.

'I was born outside these shipyard gates... We've built excellent warships; we've built liners; we've built tankers, 250,000 tonners. Excellent ships, excellent. I thought I might have been fortunate enough to finish my time here. It's going to be history shortly, isn't it?'

The uncertainty of it all is clearly getting to him: 'you don't know who's going to get hit. You're sitting at your desk, and the manager's at the other end of the office. You don't know who he's going to come up to and tap on the shoulder. It's a very embarrassing situation. They could've handled it better.'

'We've had no feedback since the receivers came in. I'm annoyed. No-one knows how much the yard is in debt. Did they price the job too high? No-one knows.'

'Everyone's despondent. We're hearing daily reports; some are good and some are bad. All this is speculation; it would be nice for management to explain.'

Kenny, a member of MSF, is on a salary of £14,000, above average by local standards. He was almost made redundant in the last tranche of lay-offs, but successfully appealed against the decision.

He has no moral qualms about making warships: 'You need them, don't you? For your defence lines. It's as simple as that. If there's another Falklands war, the government will be in dire straits.'

He is painfully aware that if this job goes, he won't walk straight into another one: 'Not at 47', as he puts it. Kenny reckons his best chance of finding alternative employment would be in the offshore sector, but even here, his age would be against him.

'I'm one of the lucky ones,' he confesses. His mortgage is a relatively modest £150 a month, and his wife works part-time as a barmaid. nevertheless, he has two children, aged 15 and 11, to bring up:

'You've got to keep the kids happy. My lad wants designer gear. He's walking around in shoes at £40 to £50 a time, while mine cost £15. I'd love to see my laddie work here – he wants to become a draughtsman.'

Dick Gonzalez starts off by telling me his first name is Richard. His workmates find this hugely amusing: 'Richard it is, from now on!' they chorus. 'OK, Dick then,' he concedes.

I ask him what he does. 'What do I do? I'm a plumber,' he replies proudly, as if this is one very stupid question indeed. If the surname is Spanish, the accent is pure Geordie.

17 years

Dick also joined Swan Hunter straight from school,

and has worked at the yard for the last 17 years consecutively, and nearly 30 years altogether. Looking back on his career, he remembers his first wage packet in 1962, when he took home the princely sum of £3 and one shilling.

These days Dick makes about £220 for a 37 hour week. While he adds that this is 'far superior' to what he would probably get as a plumber in the construction industry, he says: 'I've got the commitments most married guys have. I've got a mortgage, I've got our lass.'

Dick's two children are grown up, but sadly, his 23 year old son, a painter by trade, is one of Tyneside's many out-of-work shipbuilders. On the official count, unemployment runs at 28 per cent in some parts of the region. It is said to reach 80 per cent on the worst council estates.

'Most people followed their fathers into the industry,' he remembers bitterly. 'It was a family affair. It was assumed that when you left school, you'd get an apprenticeship. The industry was booming in the sixties. You went from one yard to another.'

Abroad

What if he joins his son in paying what the last chancellor insisted was a price worth paying? 'Everyone in this game who gets made redundant sets himself up as a domestic plumber,' Dick comments with obvious sarcasm. 'I'd probably have to go abroad. Opportunities in the UK are very slim.'

As a trade unionist, and a senior steward in the electricians' section of the AEEU, he argues: 'We should've been left as a nationalised industry. Privatisation wasn't a request of the people who worked in this industry. It was a decision of the people who thought they could make money.'

He points to a warship yard's obvious dependence on Royal Navy orders: 'The British government's still our employer, for all the privatisation. Two thousand guys here need a fair crack of the whip. As far as we're concerned we've got to come through.'

FEATURE



Only workers can rebuild Britain

No hope from UN gunmen

OPERATION 'Restore Hope' caused massive confusion.

Weren't the US marines who waded ashore in Somalia last September there to stabilise the country, put an end to warlord gangsterism and create the basis for ensuring food aid got to the people?

And didn't this come at a time when the only hope for the Bosnian people come from the blue-helmeted UN troops who stood between them and ethnic cleansing?

The sight of UN troops mowing down demonstrators and using high-tech rocket attacks to obliterate car parks, with hundreds of civilian casualties, puts an end to all those illusions.

Ethnic cleansing in ex-Yugoslavia has not been halted by the intervention of UN troops; indeed their tokenistic presence has been used as a cover and excuse for retaining the arms embargo on the Bosnians.

So what precisely is the US-led intervention in Somalia all about? Why have they intervened massively there, and not in ex-Yugoslavia?

The US has big strategic interests in the Horn of Africa. It is worried by the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the Sudan.

It seeks a military foothold in the region, and of course a new demonstration of its role as world cop.

In ex-Yugoslavia, by contrast, the US does not see itself as having major strategic interests. After Bosnia is destroyed, the West will eventually do business with the most powerful state in the region, Serbia.

What attitude to take towards the United Nations has been persistently among the most controversial questions on the left.

Today the UN is more firmly controlled by the United States than at any time in its history; Secretary General Butros Butros-Gali takes his orders direct from the State Department.

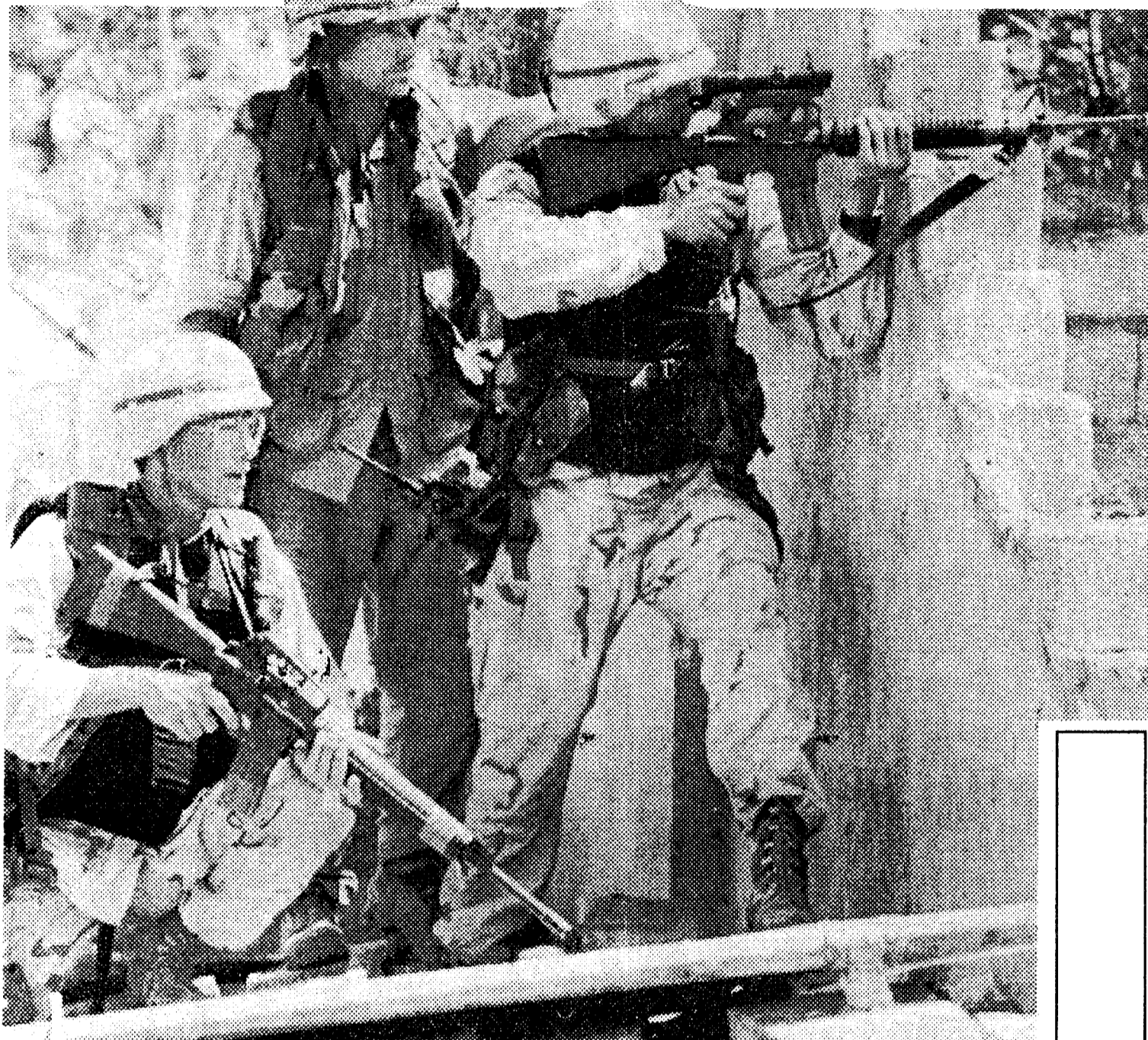
In the 1950s western-dominance of the UN was strongly contested by the Soviet Union. The 1950s and '60s saw the emergence of the third world non-aligned countries as a powerful bloc, making it often difficult for the US to impose its will.

All that was changed by the crisis of third world nationalist regimes and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc.

With the UN Security Council under effective US control it was easy to get the 'international community' to agree to the slaughter of 200,000 Arabs in the Gulf War.

We have now seen the meaning of 'humanitarian' intervention. It is a sick joke to believe that US marines are going to restore hope for anyone except the IMF, the World Bank and the big corporations behind them.

Somalia needs massive aid. It is being disrupted, not helped, by UN military intervention.



Somali disaster created by West

By Paul Clarke

THE United Nations intervention to 'restore hope' in Somalia is the culmination of a crisis which is the product of 15 years of chaos.

Somalia gained independence in July 1960, bringing together two former colonies, British Somaliland and the Italian Trusteeship territory of Somalia.

Nomadic

Half the country's population of 6-7 million people live as nomadic herders. In 1988 almost 70 per cent of the export income was earned from livestock, while 23 per cent came from bananas. The per capita income is about £100 per head, while the foreign debt is £1.5 billion, almost twice the GNP.

After independence a series of civilian governments plagued by corruption, nepotism and favouritism made little progress in developing the country. In 1969 army and police officers, led by major-general Siad Barre seized power and appointed Barre head of

state.

At first the new regime announced reforms which would benefit the rural population. A friendship treaty was signed with the Soviet Union in 1974. Moscow sent 6000 civilian and military advisors, and Barre allowed the use of the Red Sea port of Berbera by the Soviet navy.

But an increasingly authoritarian Barre tried to whip up nationalist feeling over Somalia's claim on Ethiopia's Somali-speaking Ogaden region.

Invasion

His invasion of Ogaden in 1978 led to a falling out with the Soviet Union, which then helped Ethiopia defeat the attack.

Barre responded by embracing Washington. The United States navy took over the Berbera port, and US military and economic aid began to flow to Somalia.

Clan-based guerrilla movements began to organise. Barre devastated the home territories of the various guerrilla fronts. Hardest hit was northern Somalia, where the Somali na-

tional Movement was active. In May 1988 the SNM captured and held the major northern cities of Burao and Hargeisa.

Genocide

Barre responded by launching virtual genocide against the Isaaq people, the backbone of the SNM's fighters. Somali jets and tanks decimated every village as they passed through the north. Burao was all but obliterated. Only five per cent of Hargeisa's buildings were left standing.

The majority clan in the Mogadishu area and central Somalia, the Hawiye, formed the opposition United Somali Congress (USC), which began to infiltrate the capital. Now it was the turn of these areas to face Barre's wrath.

In late December 1990, the USC launched its offensive for the capital. In a final act of desperation, Barre ordered his troops to pound the rebel-held districts of Mogadishu day and night for weeks.

Barre scuttled out of Mogadishu towards his homeland near the Kenyan border in a tank convoy on 26 January

1991. On 31 January Hargeisa fell to the SNM; on 18 March the SNM declared Somalia the Independent Republic of Somaliland.

The country's economy was smashed and its infrastructure destroyed. Millions of Somalis were displaced and unable to plant their crops.

Drought

The whole area was stricken by a drought which would have been difficult enough to cope with in normal times. The aftermath of the war to oust Barre was famine and the beginnings of a break-up of the country along clan lines.

During the last few months of Barre's rule the West had suspended aid.

It took a full 18 months of famine for the UN to order emergency food aid. Somalia is the victim of a Western-backed dictatorship, and the economic stranglehold of the West which forces Africa into poverty.

It is this western-created catastrophe which is now cynically used as the pretext for full-scale military intervention by the US.

WORLD NEWS

Women's liberation after Stalinism

The long haul to liberation

NOT TOO long ago, state-socialist bureaucrats and Western feminists were both telling women in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union how good they had it, that they already had what western women's movements were still fighting for. Abortion rights, childcare, equality and full employment were regularly cited. How have things changed since the collapse of Stalinism? NANETTE FUNK, co-editor of *Gender Politics and Post-Communism* (Routledge, 1993), reports.

LIBERATION POLITICS

THE EARLIER accounts of life under Stalinism left out women's own experiences, the problems they really faced and still face, and how these problems are both similar and different from those in the west.

Without understanding post-communist women's attitudes toward work, family, feminism the possibilities and difficulties for the development of a women's movement in post communism will be misunderstood in the west.

Post-communist women's reputed desire to return home and leave the paid workforce is a case in point. This desire does not generally represent women turning their backs on a feminist paradise nor is it necessarily anti-feminist dreaming or capitulation to a sexist vision of the glories of the traditional housewife role.

The reasons are complex. In the East, not working represents freedom. Previously women had to work, either for economic or political reasons, now they want to have a choice whether to be employed. In addition the private sphere in state communism often represented the realm of freedom – freedom from state intervention, freedom to discuss politics, freedom to express one's real values and experience.

One form of resistance for women in the Soviet Union had been to leave the paid workforce and take care of children at home, thereby taking control of one's own life, eluding the power of the state and gaining

more authority over the development of one's children.

Women also consider the costs of paid work – in health, stress, guilt towards children and lack of job satisfaction. For some the equation comes out in favour of not being employed.

Gender roles haven't changed very much. Women have the double burden of paid work and primary responsibility for children and the home. Women do about 80 per cent of the work in the home.

Women in the GDR also frequently found their jobs more dissatisfying than did men, with women having very few positions of authority and decision making e.g. women in 4 per cent of top positions in industry and 2 per cent in agriculture.

Women were still overwhelmingly in 'women's jobs' – in textiles, office work, health and education – working much more than men in unskilled jobs. In Hungary women were less than 25 per cent of the skilled workers and in the GDR women were 60 per cent of the unskilled workers although they had equal job qualifications with men.

Eased out

It should be noted that state socialist policies had generally changed from those of the 1950s and 1960s and women had already begun to be eased out of the workforce well before 1989.

Yugoslavia, with its high unemployment, had introduced measures which made it possible for women to stay out of the workforce for three years in



Doing as they were told: Russian women in 1961 greeting the first successful Soviet space flight.

“It would be a mistake to think high unemployment is a result of women's own choices. Many women, including lone mothers, face the same traps as they do in the West”

Hungary, five in the former Yugoslavia, while raising children.

This became a way for the state to maintain supposed full employment. From 1975 on women's employment in technical work declined by almost half in the former GDR.

Hungary had already decided prior to 1989 that women staying at home with young children was a cheaper investment than developing an adequate childcare system.

But post-communist women have conflicting attitudes on the issue of employment as studies have indicated. Some may want to return to the home but feel a tremendous vacuum if they do not work. Women's friendships and social life revolved largely around work, their job being part of their identity.

It is true that about 30 per cent of women throughout the former Soviet system would prefer to be employed part-time or they do not want to be employed when their child is very young. In most countries this has not been allowed.

Despite all this it would be a mistake to think high unemployment is a result of women's own choices. Many women, including lone mothers, face the same traps as they do in the West with inadequate childcare prohibiting them from working.

Bottom of ladder

Because of institutional discrimination women were at the

bottom of the job ladder with less power and were the first fired. Once fired it is much more difficult for women to find jobs.

In fact, growing involuntary unemployment due to the economic transformation is a major problem that women face and any women's activities in post-communism must confront.

There are also cultural, social and political pressures for women not to work. The present form of employment of women signified a disrespectful, arrogant modern world view being imposed on society by the communist state, disregarding pre-1945 or even pre-1917 traditional culture and women's roles.

Patriarchal

Returning women to the home represents a reappropriation of a sovereign, traditional but often patriarchal culture and 'authentic' identity.

This also serves as an ideological mask and encouragement for eliminating women in the ever-growing competition with men for jobs.

Pro-women activities now must also confront the fact that the end of state socialism meant a loss of a collective identity, often replaced by nationalism.

Nationalism sees women primarily in their role as mothers, as reproducers and perpetrators of the nation, a nation always perceived as under the threat of extinction. The traditionalism



Could this be the secret of bureaucratic power? Stalinist display of old balls (from the Tsar's cannons) attracts the curiosity of Soviet spectators.



No paradise lost: women under Stalinism still suffered the double burden of work and domestic labour

that if often part of nationalism also means pressure for women to return to the home.

Returning women to the home, as well as restricting abortion, is also a symbol to the Church of its power. For the patriarchal Church, restricting abortion rights not only undoes evil, but also signifies that the old 'evil' system of communism is dead.

Women thus have an important symbolic as well as material position in the transformation which is not to their benefit. Thus Poland is about to pass a law prohibiting abortion except in rape, serious malformation of the foetus or danger to the life of the mother.

Western women must also recognize that although there was a right to abortion under state socialism, the conditions were often poor and unsanitary.

Likewise, the childcare of state socialism was often insufficient, inadequate and even unhealthy particularly in Bulgaria, Russia and Romania. There was poor food, not enough heat, sickness and political indoctrination.

Women often felt guilt, bitterness and unhappiness at children's long hours in daycare. Because of women's long work hours they sometimes left their children in daycare for the whole week, seeing them only at weekends.

If the communist past wasn't a feminist paradise and present post-communism surely isn't one, now that repression has been lifted and a civil society is being created, one might expect it is a time ripe for feminism.

Not ripe

Yes and no. It is not ripe for a feminist movement of the sort that developed in the West thirty years ago, or even one that uses the term 'feminism'.

The cultures are different, with different histories and it is now a different historical moment, one with widespread economic recession, political instability, social crisis and even war.

In addition, although feminist movements may not have existed under communism, anti-feminism did, serving as a preventive strike against a possible

invasion of Western feminism; 'feminism' became a dirty word.

Post communist women are influenced by state socialism's depiction of feminism as a divisive, anti-socialist movement of selfish, spoiled, narcissistic women who hated men.

Feminism was regarded as dividing the class, not based on proper productivist grounds, particularist and socially destructive. Collectivism is still part of people's social understanding and the belief exists that a movement must be for all, not for some 'special group'.

Women also look to western feminism and ask what it has accomplished - there is no adequate childcare and women do not have power in society or in politics.

Women are especially suspicious of joining any organisations, even women's

cialism offered, one which required women to be like men. They resented those hard-edged, tough, authoritarian, repressive, state authorized women who were the models of the liberated woman. They do not want equality if that is what it means.

Overwhelmed

In addition women are overwhelmed and disoriented by all the sudden changes. They don't have the time or the motivation to fight.

Moreover, there was no political culture, especially for women, that would encourage post communist women to believe they could influence events, and take things into their hands. They were products of a state paternalism, whereby the good, along with the bad, was largely given to them.

Now women are having to

called feminist or not, is an impossibility and will not develop?

No, no more than it meant that in the West, where one could also recite an imposing litany of resistance to feminism. But it will develop slowly and will respond to post-communist women's own history and situation.

Women activists will have to deal with the immediate problems women face. Whereas in the West it was important to recognise the differences among women in ex-Yugoslavia it is important for women to establish that it is not the differences that matter, whether it was a Croatian or Bosnian woman who was raped, but that all are women.

Different sorts of arguments will be needed. In Poland or in ex-Yugoslavia not only right-to-life arguments but nationalist

In these countries the notion of the worth of the individual, of individual choice and a right to privacy had either not developed or had been strongly repressed.

Western feminists must also be prepared to learn something from the East and not just be teachers - but to reflect on Western hyper-individualism.

The demands and concerns of women in post-communism will vary by country. The economic reorganization everywhere means it is important to demand training and retraining programmes for women, to discuss quotas for women and the introduction of anti-discrimination laws.

Discussions of the communist past are needed, and how what was represented as equality, was not equality at all.

Women's centres and women's studies are needed to provide literature, to counter state-imposed negative stereotypes of feminism and to enable women to appropriate their own history.

Support for translations of some western feminist works and donations of such books by western women to these centres are needed.

Fledgling groups

Fledgling women's groups in each post-communist country must be supported, responding to their needs for media access, for equipment and training so that they can act for themselves.

It means demanding that there be publication of data on women, and on women's unemployment.

And it means discussions of equal opportunities to deal with the economic discrimination against women, but in conjunction with plans to develop the economy in general.

Western feminists must reflect on their own understanding of feminism, make every effort to understand the situation of post-communist women, lend constructive support to activities and efforts underway in post-communism on behalf of women and be willing to learn from the experience of these women.

This would be one step along the way to global feminism.



Singalonga Stalin? Women have decades of stereotypes to break down

organisations, since they had to do this often in the past, and they know that women's organisations were largely an arm of the state to transmit state ideology to women, to control the family and the private sphere through women.

Post-communist women are resentful of an androgynous model of equality that state so-

compete with each other in order to survive and are unlikely to organize in solidarity as women. There is also a general value crisis and moral cynicism.

Women have very little representation in parliaments and women's issues are rarely discussed, except for abortion.

Does this mean that a women's movement, whether

arguments are deployed against abortion, for example that the nation must be replenished.

It is these arguments that women activists must address. The western feminist argument that a woman should have control over her own body is not the most relevant issue in post-communism.

"There was no political culture, especially for women, that would encourage post communist women to believe they could influence events, and take things into their hands. They were products of a state paternalism, whereby the good, along with the bad, was largely given to them"



Adams: Sinn Fein will gain from SDLP

President, President, where have you been?

Ireland UNFREE

THE LACK of reporting of the recent council elections in the North of Ireland might have something to do with the Tory crisis following the district council elections in Britain two weeks earlier. More likely, it was because of the results.

Sinn Fein increased its share of the vote - up to 12.5% (its 1983 peak was 13.4%) and gained 8 seats. You can be sure that if they had lost seats or votes, "a vote for moderation" would have been more prominent in the British press reports.

Sinn Fein's vote increased by more than 1% overall and 5.5% in Belfast, where they are the now the largest party in terms of the percentage of the vote (23.76%), and the second largest party on the City Council. Overall, Sinn Fein increased their seats by 8 to 51.

Lost seats

The result for the Tories was no better than in Britain, losing one of their 7 seats. The Workers Party lost 3 of their 4 and, while the split-away Democratic Left gained a seat, their combined vote stands at around 1%.

Some of Sinn Fein's gains came from the SDLP in West Belfast where they seem likely to win back Gerry Adams' seat. Part of the increase is due to an increase in the number of seats because of population changes.

If Patrick Mayhew was looking to these elections to boost his plans for devolved government, he has had a serious setback.

The British proposals, a rehash of the 1974 proposals, have now apparently been shelved. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, the only party with fewer council seats than 1989, anyway refuses to participate until Dublin drops Articles 2 & 3 from the Constitution, an unlikely outcome at the moment.

Mayhew is now in a very exposed position. The talks started

by Peter Brooke two years ago are clearly going nowhere. Leaked British proposals for an internal settlement drove John Hume to meet Gerry Adams fearing SDLP losses to Sinn Fein. The meeting produced a joint statement on the need for "self determination for the people of Ireland" and talk of a pan-nationalist alliance.

Failure of talks, which have been so hyped as almost the last chance for a 'solution', would be a serious political defeat for the British.

Already, some elements are starting to get restive at such a long catalogue of setbacks and calling for a pull out. An article by Gerald Kaufmann calling for withdrawal and Ted Heath's recent display in the House of Commons are indications of just such an impatience at the failure of British policy.

Tea with Queen

Which brings us to President Robinson's trip to visit the Queen. Tea with Elizabeth was followed, a couple of weeks later, by a long meeting between Albert Reynolds and John Major. The purpose of this diplomatic offensive is to try to pull Dublin behind the British.

Some elements in Dublin are already bad mouthing the SDLP and pushing Reynolds into supporting the British plan. In order to get the talks going again, Dublin may have to make concessions on Articles 2 & 3, even to the extent of forcing the SDLP to accept a devolution-type settlement.

But this undermining of the SDLP is a high-risk strategy because British policy since the

1985 Anglo Irish Agreement has precisely been to bolster the moderate nationalist party in the face of the threat from Sinn Fein.

Messages

John Hume may have been carrying messages from the British when he met Gerry Adams but he may also have been showing his displeasure at British manoeuvres.

Of course, British weakness does not necessarily mean that the prospects for the Nationalists are significantly better. Despite its election gains Sinn Fein remains politically weak and in a poor position to take advantage of the SDLP's difficulties with Patrick Mayhew.

A crucial arena for this struggle will be the South of Ireland. With an economic crisis, an ongoing series of business scandals, rising unemployment and a coalition government, Fianna Fail leader Albert Reynolds will not want to rock the political boat by taking chances with Articles 2 & 3.

Unemployment

However, the working class in the South, pre-occupied with unemployment and the social crisis, does not see British withdrawal as the solution to its problems nor look to Sinn Fein for political leadership.

The increase in support for Labour in the last general election indicated a shift in working class support away from Fianna Fail. Saying that Labour is not the solution to the problems of the Irish working class is begging the question about the need for a party which could be

Save the life of Ramond Perera

By Chris Brooks

The following appeal was sent by *Socialist Outlook* to Sri Lankan President D E Wijetunga last week:

'We ask you to immediately intervene to save the life of our comrade Ramond Perera. In Ratmalana on June 7, Ramond climbed onto the 107 feet tall chimney of the Associated Battery factory, where he is a worker leader, and started a hunger strike.

'We support his demands: Reinstatement of the five workers

who were sacked following the lockout of workers in March 1993; pay salaries for the 100 days of the lockout; granting of the loan of Rs 25,000 for each worker.

'The management have refused to discuss with either Ramond's union, the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, or the Commissioner of Labour.

'Ramonds' wife and their two little children are waiting in the factory day and night. His employers only want to take profits. We demand they must not take his life.'

Babangida block on Nigerian poll

By Bala Kumar

TWO HIGH Court rulings ordered the full disclosure of Presidential ballots in Nigeria thwarting attempts to stall last week's electoral process.

A pro-military pressure group, the Association for a Better Nigeria, won an initial injunction preventing publication of results in order to extend the military dictatorship.

Behind this move is the all too visible hand of General Ibrahim Babangida, architect of the transition from 8 years of military government to 'civilian' rule.

Babangida created and named the only two legal parties, drew up their constitutions and manifestos, and even built two exactly similar headquarters for them in the capital, Abuja.

The 'little to the left', Social Democratic Party (SDP) is led by MKO Abiola and the 'little to the right', National Republican Convention (NRC) is led by Bashir Tofa.

Both are millionaire businessmen, Muslims in a religious, ethnic and regionally fractured country, and not noted opponents of the dictatorship.

In fact both candidates have promised indemnity to the military for human rights violations and corrupt business practices during their authoritarian rule.

Significantly, both Abiola and Tofa hail from the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) tradition. This multi-ethnic, multi-religious party formed the last democratically elected government and represents the Nigerian bourgeoisie.

This may explain the hair's-breadth difference in the rival parties economic policies.

Early indications were that the SDP's Abiola had won 20 out of the 30 states. The NRC were crying foul because their candidates' names had been omitted

from the ballot form.

Abiola has promised to replace the hated IMF austerity programme with one of his own and to uproot poverty in 6 months.

When asked how he would pay for his campaign commitments and satisfy international creditors, Abiola replied in an interview, 'The most important thing that Jesus asked his disciples - was to give us today our daily bread... We can make everything here.'

This is outrageous nonsense in a country with a national debt of US\$30 billion; where 1 per cent of the population controls 75 per cent of the wealth; and where staple foods are imported that could easily be grown locally.

Nigeria's fate is of concern for the future socialist revolution in Africa.

It is the continent's most populous country. It is one of the world's largest exporters of oil, and has vast untapped natural gas reserves. Along with South Africa and Zimbabwe it is an economic powerhouse.

While radical students have been active in protests against various governments, this is no substitute for the concerted action of the working class and poor peasantry in defence of their interests.

It is vital that the Nigerian Labour Congress, National Association of Nigerian Students and socialist feminists around 'Women of Nigeria' redouble their efforts to build a Labour Party.

Whether Babangida will honour his promise to withdraw the military and himself from government remains to be seen. The chicanery of the last week makes it look doubtful.

One commentator observes, 'There are only two political parties in Nigeria - the NPN and the Army.'



Shoulder arms: the guerrilla fighters have been disarmed, but the power structure remains unchanged.

El Salvador - is it victory or defeat?

By Michael Livingston

ON NEW Year's Eve 1991, the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and El Salvador's government announced they had reached an accord ending the 12-year old civil war.

Shortly afterwards the UN general secretary hailed the accord as a 'negotiated revolution.' Two weeks later in Mexico City the two parties signed the formal accords. Arturo y Damas, Archbishop of San Salvador remarked at the signing that 'the war has ended but the peace has not arrived.'

Was there a negotiated revolution? Has the war ended? Will peace arrive? Were the revolutionaries successful? While we cannot definitively answer these questions we can give a tentative, provisional analysis.

Hyperbole aside, this was no negotiated revolution. At best the peace accords mark a new stage in the struggle of the FMLN, and simultaneously a new stage in the US's attempts to politically defeat the revolution.

At worst, the accords and the subsequent developments mark an enormous victory for the Salvadoran ruling class and US imperialism.

Unfashionable

Our support for the Salvadoran masses, coupled with the limited political space won by the FMLN, should not blind us to the realities. This argument is very unfashionable on the left in the US and El Salvador.

To understand this argument, we must examine the strategy of the FMLN, the international context, the content of the accords and the events since the mid-January 1992 signing.

US intervention in El Salvador was guided from the beginning by the doctrine of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC), a slightly updated version of the doctrine which guided US intervention in Vietnam. The doctrine includes the use of economic embargoes, trade policy, eco-

nomic aid, loans and investment to control a country or cripple it.

'Low intensity' is a military euphemism; in this conflict it resulted in 75,000 deaths and over one million displaced people - an exceedingly peculiar kind of 'low intensity'.

In El Salvador the doctrine pursued two goals: first to militarily defeat the FMLN using the Salvador armed forces trained in counter-insurgency; second to politically defeat the FMLN through 'nation building', that is to reform the Salvadoran government so that by itself it could solve the problems that gave rise to the revolutionary movement. (The 'solutions' would of course maintain the dependent capitalist nature of Salvadoran society).

Nation building would entail, in the view of the US, elected governments, elimination of human rights abuses, reform of the judicial system and civilian government, and land reform.

Military aid

Over the course of the decade the US pumped in over \$7 billion in economic and military aid. This was in return for doing things 'our way'. 'Our way' included demonstration elections to help legitimise (both nationally and internationally) the rule of the Salvadoran ruling class, the use of helicopters and air cavalry tactics against the FMLN, bombing of civilian populations, and limited reforms of the Salvadoran state.

Until 1990 the US used a low intensity strategy to attempt to win a clear, decisive military victory against the FMLN. This failed because of the strength and acumen of the FMLN. In 1990 the US shifted its strategic goal. Instead of seeking an all-out military victory, it shifted to seeking a political victory over the revolutionaries.

The shift in strategy was the product of a debate in the foreign policy establishment, and an article by James LeMoyné in the influential magazine *Foreign Affairs*. He argued that the FMLN were the best-organised Marxist-Leninist guerrilla movement that Latin America had seen, and while they could not win

the war, they could make the country ungovernable.

More and more, a negotiated solution, brokered by the UN, seemed desirable. Such a solution, organised by a UN increasingly under the direct control of the imperialist powers, would require the participation of the FMLN itself. This was made possible by changes in the FMLN's strategy in the post-November 1989 period.

The FMLN strategy had emphasised the centrality of the armed struggle since the beginning of the war, but also always combined it with mass organisation of political struggle. However, when the US introduced air cavalry tactics the FMLN was forced to reduce the size of its military units, placing even greater emphasis on the political struggle and mass organisation.

At the same time the FMLN recognised the military stalemate which had developed.

The FMLN became more willing to use negotiations to end the war, in the hope of gaining some political space, when the support it had received from other countries collapsed. Especially crucial was the defeat of the Sandinistas in 1990 which had an apparently devastating effect on the FMLN's morale, and the collapse of the eastern bloc.

Deprived of the small but important support from these forces, the FMLN was faced with the prospect of combatting unrestrained US and Salvadoran military attacks on its own, for an indefinite time. Thus it was changes in the international context of the struggle, as well as the military stalemate which led the FMLN to the negotiating table.

Torture

Since the signing of the accords, the Salvadoran military has continued to use torture and disappearances against the mass movements. On the fundamental question of land reform, no progress has been made.

Demobilisation of the military has been delayed, or in some cases carried out deceptively with units being renamed or transferred rather than disbanded. There

has been a general pardon of senior officers involved in war crimes.

The FMLN and its mass organisations have been granted legal status, but they have also demobilised and disarmed most of their forces. In short the power structure remains essentially unchanged. The Salvadoran ruling class and the US have made substantial progress in politically defeating the FMLN in a relatively short period. All our hoping will not turn the El Salvador revolution's defeat into a victory.

At the same time we must recognise that the defeat was limited; the Salvadoran revolution and its leadership, the FMLN, was not finished off. Indeed the revolution did win some limited political space.

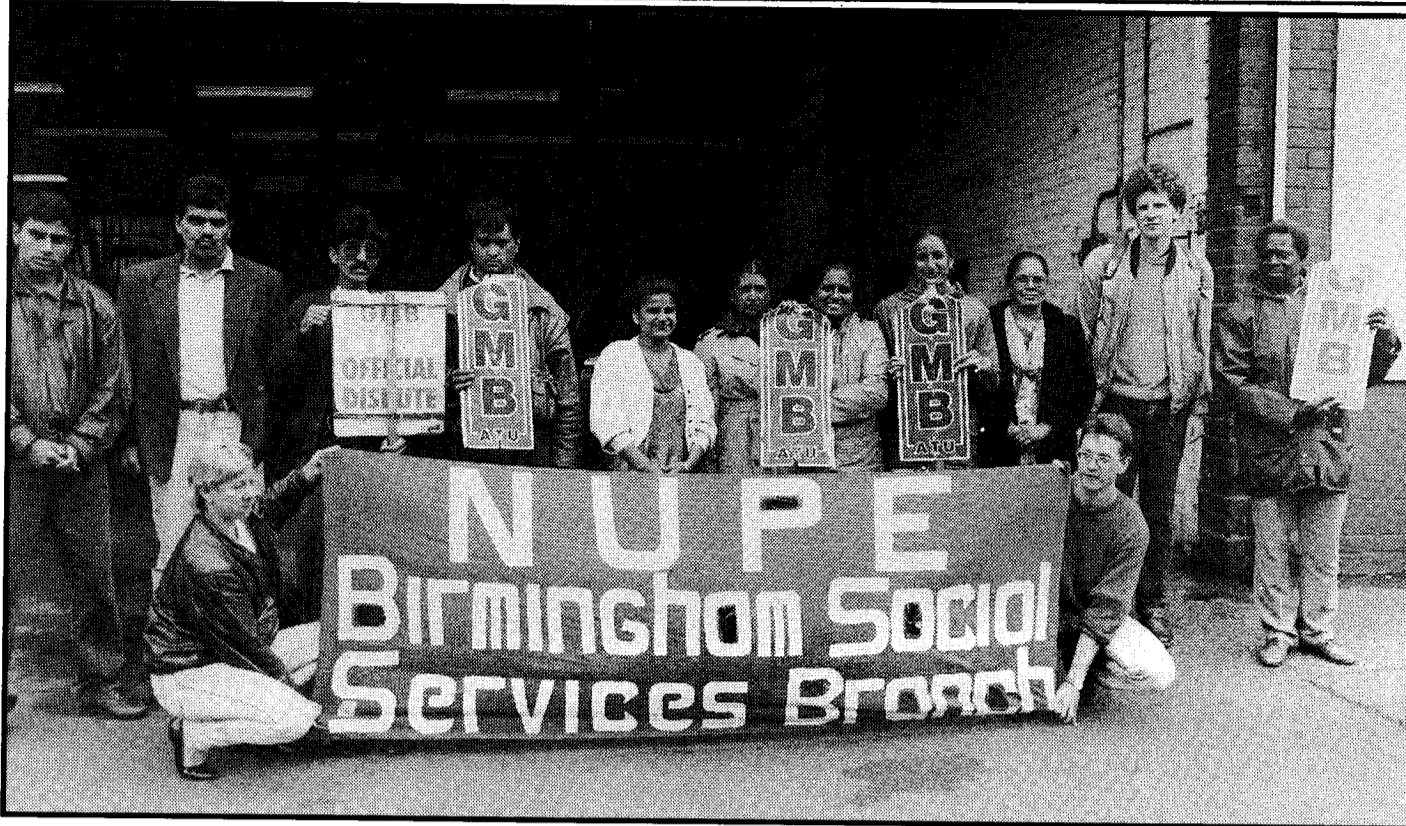
Schematically, we can draw the following conclusions from the outcome of the struggle so far:-

- The key factor in preventing the victory of the FMLN was the international context. The ability of the US to massively intervene on behalf of the Salvadoran ruling class and the collapse of the former Soviet bloc were the two major factors. Additional factors were the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas and the reverses suffered by the Guatemalan revolutionary forces.

- A secondary factor was the difficulty in developing an urban mass movement. Relative to the struggles in the countryside, the struggles of the urban mass movements were less developed. This was because of state terrorism and the emphasis given to the armed struggle by the FMLN at certain points in the war.

- The end of the war represents a tactical defeat, but not a strategic defeat, for the FMLN. By continued political organising in the mass movements, both urban and rural, the FMLN can continue to pursue its revolutionary objectives. The rhetoric of the FMLN makes it unclear as to the present goals of the FMLN.

It appears, but may not be the case, that some sectors of the FMLN have abandoned revolution as a goal. Nevertheless 'it ain't over till it's over.' The revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran masses will continue.



Burnsalls: a rare example of unions responding to the power of working women

Politics and the trade unions

Final part of a series by Harry Sloan

EXPERIENCE the world over shows that there is no automatic bridge between trade union militancy and political activity. Workers who will risk their lives fighting employers do not necessarily see the need to fight for socialism.

It is therefore especially important for socialists to play a leading role in the unions, and combine this with actively arguing the need for a revolutionary, socialist programme.

In the 1930s American Trotskyists emerged at the forefront of militant unionisation struggles, spearheaded by the Minneapolis Teamsters.

The powerful wave of militancy also reached into other industries, notably the car plants, where a tenacious rank and file leadership waged 'sit-down' strikes and occupations, and fought pitched battles with scabs, police and the National Guard to build what became the United Auto Workers Union.

In the face of inaction from the traditional AFL union bureaucracies, a break-away, radical union federation, the CIO was formed. But even as workers radicalised in trade union action on this scale there was no automatic political break from the twin parties of US capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans – and no formation of a genuine Labour Party.

As a result once the momentum of the struggles had been dissipated, the CIO itself became bureaucratized, and eventually merged with the more conservative AFL.

The spontaneous militancy which can spur workers to fight arms in hand against scabs or the police can be disarmed or derailed by political weakness, and defused if the necessary leadership is not given.

In a telling 1938 discussion with a CIO official Trotsky drew out the implications of a situation in which the potential of the membership is negated by the reformist limitations of their leaders.

"The masses are immeasurably better, more daring and resolute than the leaders.



The very fact of the rapid rise of the CIO shows that the American worker has changed radically. ... When you showed a little initiative in building more combative unions, the workers immediately responded and gave you extraordinary, unprecedented support. And what about the so-called sit-down strikes? It wasn't the leaders who thought them up, but the workers themselves."

Reformism revived

In Britain the failure of the CP to offer any coherent alternative allowed Labourism to remain the dominant politics of the working class – and this was reinforced by the post-war period in which a relative 'boom' in capitalism enabled the unions to win improved living standards.

Frightened of the raised expectations of the returning armed forces, the employers preferred to make far-reaching concessions than to risk any major confrontation. The welfare state was established, bankrupt industries and run-down utilities were nationalised.

Many radicalised workers were persuaded once again that militant trade unionism and a Labour vote could deliver the reforms they wanted.

A growing shop stewards' movement emerged, especially in the boom industries of engineering, cars and chemicals. With rare exceptions the stewards movement remained tied – often through the medium of the British CP and its parliamentary 'British Road to Socialism' – to the politics of left reformism.

The stewards' movement was a classic combination of organisational strength and political weakness. Opportunist bu-

reaucrats – notably the TGWU's Jack Jones and the AUEW's Hugh Scanlon – were able to climb the ladder to the top of growing unions on the basis of shop steward support.

But from the mid 1970s it became clear that every economic setback and serious offensive against jobs based on economic viability found union officials – and the rank and file stewards – politically defenceless.

Eventually the Thatcher government was to grasp the scope of the opportunity this gave for rolling back the rights and power of the unions in their traditional bastions.

Fighting back

Occasional attempts were made by the marxist left to organise a political challenge to the right wing leaderships and the feeble antics of the 'left' bureaucrats and their allies in the Stalinist-run Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

Large rank and file conferences were called in the 1960s by the Trotskyist *Newsletter*, and bigger but less representative and less constructive rallies were organised in the 1970s by the All Trades Unions Alliance, the industrial arm of the increasingly sectarian Socialist Labour League (later Workers Revolutionary Party). Big rank and file rallies were also called in the late 1970s by the Socialist Workers Party.

In the 1980s *Militant* stepped in, with its bureaucratic BLOC conference of Broad Lefts. Each initiative eventually became mired in the sectarianism of the grouping concerned, making no lasting political contribution.

The last 15 years have seen the slump take a heavy toll of the shop stewards' movement, with wholesale closures of many of the industries in which the union power had been strongest.

The weakening of this once radicalised rank and file has in turn strengthened the hand of the old guard right wing bureaucracy – epitomised by the leaderships of the electricians and engineers.

The politics of new realism have also caused needless casualties – the most obvious being the almost complete collapse of any pretence of militancy or willing-

ness to struggle from the leadership of NUPE, the public sector manual union, shortly to merge with NALGO and COHSE to form the country's biggest union, UNISON.

Headed by arch new-realist Tom Sawyer, the NUPE right wing now peddles the view that any sustained fight-back by public sector workers would be damaging to Labour's electoral chances, since it would recall in the public's mind the images of the 'winter of discontent' of 1978-79.

Though dressed up in trendy 'right on' rhetoric, NUPE's defeatist line links in practice with the right wing positions of the slumbering giant GMB, whose leaders' legendary lack of militancy reaches back almost to the turn of the century.

Against this background, the small minority of dependably left wing union leaders stand little chance of forcing any concerted action from a TUC that seems determined constantly to prove its own irrelevance to the daily problems of workers. Sections that do take action know they are likely to be fighting alone against the combined forces of the employers, the law and the forces of the state.

Women workers

Whole sections of low-paid and part-time workers – including hundreds of thousands of women workers – are left unorganised by unions too timid and bureaucratic to contemplate the battles involved in winning bargaining rights and decent wages from increasingly arrogant employers.

Every union retreat further strengthens the resolve of the employers to press home their advantage.

Today's labour movement therefore parades many of the same political problems for marxists that have been faced by previous generations of socialists.

The trade unions have proved inadequate either to wage today's struggles of the working class or even the concessions and rights won in previous rounds of struggle. They are also clearly incapable of spontaneously resolving their historic crisis of leadership.

There is no future in waiting for a ready-made revolutionary leadership to emerge of its own accord. A conscious marxist current must be developed, capable of attracting and assisting the work of the best union militants.

Class struggle activists must not be left to take vital decisions as isolated individuals, but brought into wider discussions analysing the strengths and weaknesses of campaigns and disputes, the problems and possibilities facing the movement, and the ways in which the difficulties can be tackled by systematic work of the revolutionary left.

Solidarity with sections of workers in struggle must be supplemented by frank and serious criticism and debate over tactics.

History has shown that sectarian attempts by individual left currents to steal a march on their competitors – either by running uncritical solidarity work or by creating small breakaway groupings – achieve little. Relatively few union activists will be persuaded simply through propaganda and limited campaigns that they should ally with the revolutionary left.

Sustained, patient work, combining a genuine attention to day to day struggles with the commitment to fight for principled leadership at every level of the trade union movement is essential in the building of a revolutionary current in the unions.

And wider, non-sectarian initiatives such as the successful conferences organised by the Socialist Movement Trade Union Committee offer an opportunity to combine the practical work of uniting the left with debate on some of the differing positions held by various groupings.

New threat to London hospitals

By Jack Dobermann

SEVERAL TOP London hospitals, including three teaching hospitals previously thought to have a secure future, face drastic cuts and possible closure as a result of the government's secret 'Specialty Reviews'.

A document by Bob Nicholls, the government-appointed Executive Director of the London Implementation Group has been leaked to pressure group London Health Emergency.

Drafted at the end of May, it spells out the issues at stake for ministers in presenting the controversial rationalisation package.

As warned by LHE, the cuts and closures reach far beyond central London. Closures are

suggested as far afield as Colchester and East Grinstead. In addition to the cuts already revealed affecting Bart's (which is to be stripped of all six of its regional specialties) and Harefield hospitals, the new hit list singled out by Mr Nicholls includes:

● **KINGS COLLEGE**, The **ROYAL FREE** and **ST MARY'S** hospitals, "which could see a significant withdrawal of specialist services as a result of the reviews". Each stand to lose three key specialties, bringing "difficulties of maintaining morale and retaining the high quality staff needed for teaching."

● The **MAUDSLEY** Hospital, one of the country's top psychiatric centres, whose future viability is threatened by the withdrawal of a proposed regional neuroscience centre.

● The **BROOK** Hospital in Greenwich, which will lose car-

diac and neuroscience specialty services, (Trust chiefs are also planning to close its trauma services).

● **OLDCHURCH** Hospital, Romford, to be stripped of its neuroscience services as well as the previously leaked plans to axe its cancer specialty: Trust chiefs are also seeking to close Oldchurch's busy casualty unit.

● **ST HELIER** Hospital could lose its renal services to St George's: Mr Nicholls warns that "This will be fiercely resisted by the Trust".

● **QUEEN MARY'S** Hospital, Roehampton: stripped of its regional plastic surgery specialty, Mr Nicholls warns that the hospital would become "largely an outpatients/day surgery facility with little in-patient activity."

Some of the proposals from the specialty reviews appear to run counter to previous decisions for hospital closures, leav-



ing profound uncertainty over the future of Charing Cross Hospital, the Royal Marsden, The Royal Brompton, Guy's and St Thomas's.

However none of the proposals from the Specialty Reviews have been costed.

No funding has been identified for the huge capital costs required for the transfer of existing units across sites, sometimes many miles apart.

There is also the danger that when combined with cost pressures on London hospitals and their loss of other contract in-

come as a result of the NHS internal market, the withdrawal of specialist services could easily trigger a serious financial collapse of some key hospitals.

Tory ministers and their growing army of managers and secretive quangos now cutting away at London's NHS are counting on public apathy to allow their proposals through.

Health workers and local communities must link up now in a united campaign, showing that that Londoners will fight back for properly-funded, accessible health care.

Fingers In the TILL

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

Fill that suitcase, part one

THE TROUBLE with cheques is that they are so damn traceable, don't you agree? This week I bring you three examples to prove that when it comes to bribery and corruption, you just can't use that old favourite - a big bag stuffed full of used readies.

The Sun recently carried claims that Norman Tebbit, while chairman of the Conservative Party in the mid-eighties, was offered £250,000 in a suitcase by 'an unnamed industrialist', but said no because, in the words of 'a source', the Chingford Skinhead 'didn't like the smell of it'.

Given that the Tories are perfectly happy to take backhanders from Greek fascists, overseas slush funds, right-wing free enterprise pressure groups and sundry crooked businessmen, the mind boggles.

And while Central Office has repeatedly denied that the government is running a



straightforward knighthoods-for-dosh scam, the paper quotes 'one ex-Tory official' thus: 'People give money, and then they receive an honour. Draw your own conclusions.'

Fill that suitcase, part two

CHECK THIS extract from an affidavit notarised by the Bombay High Court on February 24 this year. It is the sworn testimony of Harshad Mehta, the stockbroker at the centre of a current major securities scandal in India.

'On the 4th of November 1991, I met Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at about 10.45am in the morning, in the company of my brother Ashwin and a Congress Upper House member, the late Mr Satpal Mittal, at the Race Course Road residence of the Prime Minister.

'We had brought to the

Prime Minister's residence a suitcase containing a cash amount of 6.7 million Rupees. This suitcase was brought into the Prime Minister's house and handed over to the Prime Minister himself. He goes on to claim that a further 3.3 million Rupees was delivered to one of Mr Rao's assistants the following day, topping up the payment to a nice round 10 million Rupees (£210,000).

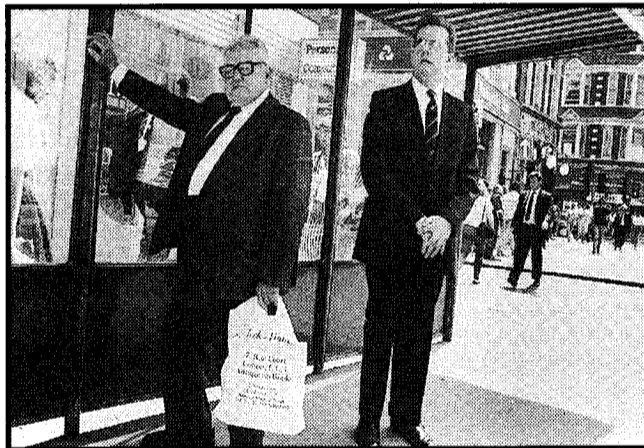
Hunt the taxes

MICHAEL HUNT, managing director of Nissan UK, swindled the Inland Revenue out of £197 million over a 17-year period, according to Peter Rook QC, summing up for the serious Fraud Office at Southwark Crown Court last week.

The alleged swindle involved siphoning off £219 million from the company's profits, covering the tracks with false documentation, including sham shipping agents in Holland and Norway, and then laundering the money through Geneva bank accounts.

The prime mover behind the scam, according to Mr Rook, is Octav Botnar, former head of Nissan UK. Botnar was at one time a billionaire, rated as the ninth-richest person in Britain. Now a warrant is out for his arrest, but the good gentleman has unfortunately done a runner to Switzerland.

The defence case is not to deny that fraud took place, but to argue it was perpetrated by others, and ripped off the Japanese rather than the British tax authorities. The trial continues.



Nothing like a bagful

Putting a bung in it?

ANOTHER affidavit, submitted to the London High Court by Alan Sugar, Amstrad boss and Chair of Tottenham Hotspur plc, in his boardroom battle to oust Spurs chief executive Terry Venables.

Sugar claims therein that Brian Clough, manager of Nottingham Forest, liked 'a bung' to ensure that transfers of player went smoothly. Normal procedure, apparently, is to meet Cloughie in a motorway service station and hand over a bag of loot.

Our Brian denied the charges in the following immortal words: 'The last time I was in a service station, I went for a wee.'

Swiss bank-roll

NOW, a novel case of a business crook doing a runner from Switzerland. Jurg Heer, who made a donation of £150,000 to the Conservative Party last year, has fled the country after being charged with defrauding his former bosses at Rothschild Bank, Zurich

affiliate of Norman Lamont's erstwhile employer NM Rothschild in London

Heer reckons he was set up, and has made a series of astonishing allegations to the press. Rothschild, he claims, was involved in the payment of the murders of 'God's Banker' Roberto Calvi, found hanging dead under Blackfriars Bridge in 1982.

It has also been operating a 'criminal' tax-dodge scheme for rich Italians, and has had to liquidate hidden reserves after running up losses of 200 million Swiss Francs on a capital base of just 185 million Swiss Francs, Heer alleges.

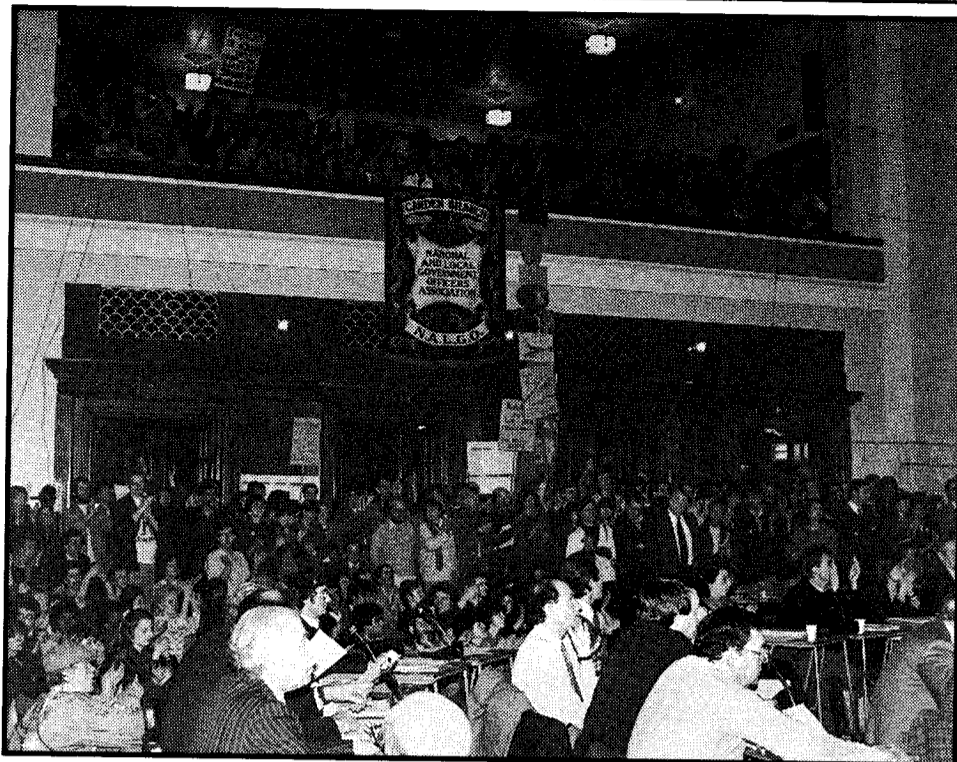
Footnote: While advising Jacob Suchard during a takeover bid for the chocolate manufacturer in 1991, Rothschild invested heavily in Suchard shares, in the obvious hope that the deal would go through. Not that is affected the quality of the deal, natch.

Tory twister

KEN CLARKE has already earned himself a new nickname in Square Mile winebars; Chubby Exchequer.

HOME NEWS

Nalگو's left will defend the tradition of struggle



NALGO Conference '93

Left faces big battles in UNISON merger

**By Doug Thorpe
(vice-chair,
Islington NALGO)**

THE LEFT won a series of victories at last week's NALGO conference, but the National Executive took their defeats all too calmly. It is easy to see why.

For in a few weeks time NALGO ceases to exist, becoming part of UNISON together with NUPE and COHSE; the executive hopes that in the new union the left's victories will be quietly buried.

Conference voted against the NEC recommendation to accept the 1.5 per cent pay offer, and instead there will be a ballot on the issue. But unfortunately there was no proposal for action allowed on the agenda; a rejection of the 1.5 per cent offer will mean another ballot on action.

The executive was defeated on its opposition to sending a

delegation to Timex, extending NALGO's opposition to anti-union laws, spending £250,000 on NALGO 'farewell' parties and even the general secretary's repudiation of the Islington nursery occupation. But motions for national strike action, for example against cuts, were not carried.

Hesitancy to vote for strike action reflected scepticism among the membership about the determination of the leadership to lead a struggle. And there was real anger about the outcome of the UNISON merger.

At a national level the merger is little more than a bureaucratic stitch-up. This has led to a revolt of the district leaderships, often influenced by the *Morning Star*, until now the staunchest supporters of merger.

The conference passed resolutions on extending democratic structures in the new union, and these will go to

a special rules conference once merger is completed.

It is now very clear that to prevent the new union being dominated by a right-wing alliance of the NALGO leadership together with the Sawyer-Bickerstaffe NUPE leadership, the left will have to organise very strongly.

A fringe meeting decided to launch a conference for the UNISON left later this year.

The appeal for this has been signed by three national executive members and 20 branch secretaries; the initiative is supported by Militant and *Socialist Outlook* – the attitude of the SWP is as yet uncertain, although they are likely to come in on the conference.

● **Anyone in NALGO, NUPE or COHSE interested in more information on the UNISON left conference can contact: Doug Thorpe, c/o Islington NALGO, 2 Orlestone Rd., London N7 8LH or Hugo Pierre c/o Camden NALGO.**

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

Phone

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

HOME NEWS

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What's HAPPENING

JUNE

Friday 25

CRAWLEY refuse collectors mass picket 6am Met-calf Way depot

Saturday 26

SUPPORT Firefighters' claim! STUC/FBU demonstration 11am Blytheswood Square Glasgow

SOCIALIST Movement Trade Union Committee 1pm London details 081 534 0459

SOCIALIST Teachers Alliance AGM University of Westminster Regent Street W1 details 0203 332320

SOCIALIST Movement Quarterly Assembly 11.30am-5pm Coventry Trades Union Council 15 The Arches Spon End details freephone 0800 581611

PROTEST Harrow NF actions! ANL demonstration 11am McDonalds Pinner High Street **Scottish Socialist Movement** AGM 1pm Renfield St Stephen Centre Bath Street Glasgow

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

Wednesday 30

TIMEX Comedy Benefit Night Red Rose Club Seven Sisters Road Finsbury Park tube tickets £5/£2

Thursday 31

RAHMAN Family Defence Campaign 7pm weekly Socialist Club Wood St Bolton

JULY

Friday 2

CPSA/NUCPS strike actions in the DSS, DH and Home Office

Saturday 3

BURNSALLS national demonstration assemble noon Handsworth Technical College rally Victoria Park Smethwick **FIGHTING** New Management Techniques day-school 11am-6pm Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1 advance tickets £5 waged - £2 unwaged from *Socialist Outlook* PO Box 1109 London N4 2UU

Protest attacks on Lesbians and gays 10pm London Apprentice pub Old St London sponsored by LGCARF **No More Hiroshimas** local **CND** actions details 071 700 4524

Sunday 4

Join **Timex** strikers' picket of the US Embassy Grosvenor Square Marble Arch or Oxford Circle tubes **Workers' Aid** for Bosnia convoy leaves **Timex** plant Dundee details 081 694 9799

Monday 5

REVELL and **George** mass picket 6am Cow Lane off Oldfield Road Salford

Saturday 10

FIRE Brigades Union Rally noon Art Gallery Headrow Leeds with **John Prescott** MP **Alan Jinkinson** (Nalگو) **Ken Cameron** (FBU) **Ronnie Scott** (FBU)

Sunday 11

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp pre-meeting 2pm-4pm London details from *Liberation Now!* PO Box 1109 London N4 2UU

Friday 16

CPSA/NUCPS strike actions in the DSS, DH and Home Office

Saturday 17

SOCIALIST Campaign Group steering committee 12pm-4pm London details 061 225 5356



STRIKERS at **Revell** and **George** in Salford hope for another boost on their mass picket on Monday 6 July. During last week's North West Peoples March over 200 marchers stopped by and joined the picket line. They took the four police by surprise, and stopped production for the whole morning. The next day, when the march had moved on, 50 riot police were bussed in from Manchester!

Wednesday 21

ARA lobby of Bexley Council 6pm Civic Offices The Broadway Bexley nearest BR - Bexleyheath details 071 278 6869

Friday 23-

Saturday 31

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp Jönköping southern Sweden tickets including flight entrance and meals £267 from *Liberation Now!* PO Box 1109 London N4 2UU

AUGUST

Sunday 8

ARAFEST 2pm-8pm Burgess Park south London **SOCIALIST** Movement fundraising cycling day details 0272 227768

Saturday 28

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK Summer School opens north Wales tickets £95/£35 **WANT YOUR** event included? Send details to **What's Happening**, P.O. Box 1109 London N4 2UU. As usual, **Socialist Outlook** will skip two issues over the summer. **Deadlines** for our next issues are: 2 July; 16 July; 13 August; 10 September.

AIDS patients fight NHS cuts

AIDS patients at the Middlesex Hospital in London are taking their own action in solidarity with nurses on the HIV Unit who face the sack.

From their beds, patients have produced a petition against the proposed £96,000 cut in the nursing budget - five nurses' jobs and a fifth of the total nursing staff.

The petition has been sent out to nursing organisations and supporters around the country and funds have already started coming in to back the nurses' fight.

People come from all over Europe to get the best available treatments for HIV related conditions at hospitals like the Middlesex.

Many of these treatments may not extend life, but they improve its quality. For example, some people with HIV develop an illness which causes blindness, but drugs exist to preserve sight.

Such treatment is expensive - and rumours abound that the HIV drugs budget faces big cuts and that AIDS patients will be

barred from the hospital's Intensive Therapy Unit.

Twelve years into the HIV epidemic it seems people with HIV are back to square one - with a so-called 'centre of excellence' telling them they are not deserving of treatments which took years to develop.

Feelings are running high on the HIV Unit but the mood is solid. Staff are working to rule, the two Sisters have refused to identify 'savings' and nurses are not cooperating with competitive interviews.

The Action Committee is meeting regularly and building support from groups of workers in the hospital - numbers of whom also face the sack.

Action will be stepped up in the next fortnight when managers make their plans clearer and occupation or strike action is likely.

Please send messages of support and money to: **The Charles Bell and Broderip Action Committee**, Broderip Ward, Middlesex Hospital, Mortimer Street, London, W1.

International Summercamp!

24-30 July in southern Sweden

Don't miss this chance to meet 1000 young rebels from all over Europe!

At the camp there will be people from Sweden, Britain, Ireland, Russia, Italy, Poland, France, Spain, USA...

You can meet revolutionaries, anti-capitalists, anti-stalinists, environmentalists, anti-racists, anti-militarists, feminists. People who fight the power.

You can swim, listen to lectures, play football, discuss, have a beer, listen to rock music, be lazy and much, much more.



FIGHT THE POWER!

For more information: Just fill in the form and send it to us. The price is £276 That includes activities, space for tent and food. Ridiculously cheap!

Yes, I want to know more about the international summer camp!

Name _____
Address _____
Phone _____

Put in an envelope and mail this to:

Liberation Now
P.O. Box 1109
London N4 2UU

The camp is organised by the Young Socialists (Ungsocialisterna) from Sweden, and the revolutionary worldwide organisation the Fourth International.

The 3rd Socialist Outlook

SUMMER SCHOOL

Sat August 28 - Fri September 3

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

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

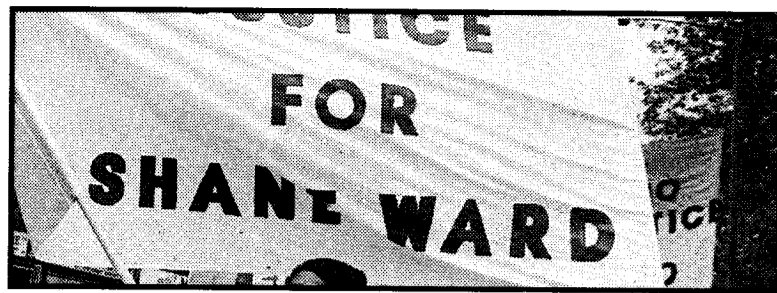
ACCOMMODATION is in single rooms and breakfast and lunch are provided.

COST £95 waged / £35 unwaged

Further details from: *Socialist Outlook*, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

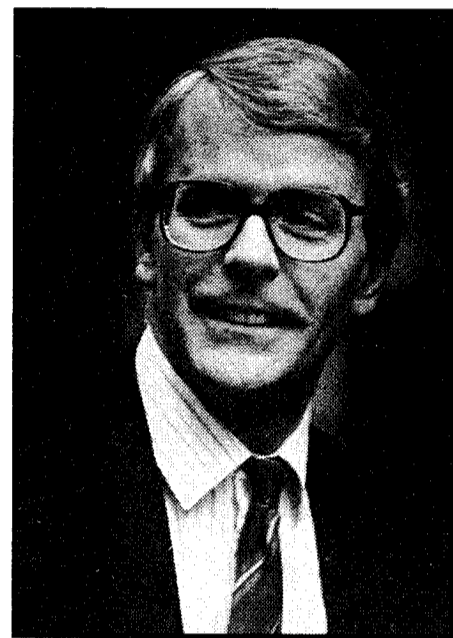


HOME NEWS



FIGHTING RACISM: reports page 2

Pits massacre accelerates Unite the fightback!



Major is an economic disaster

BEFORE HIS own surprising collapse, Michael Heseltine had already torn the heart out of the British coal industry. Closures threaten most of the 31 pits designated by the Tories last October. Despite the 'reprieve' of 19 pits in Heseltine's statement last March, many of these pits will close by the end of the year, in addition to the 12 scheduled for definite closure.

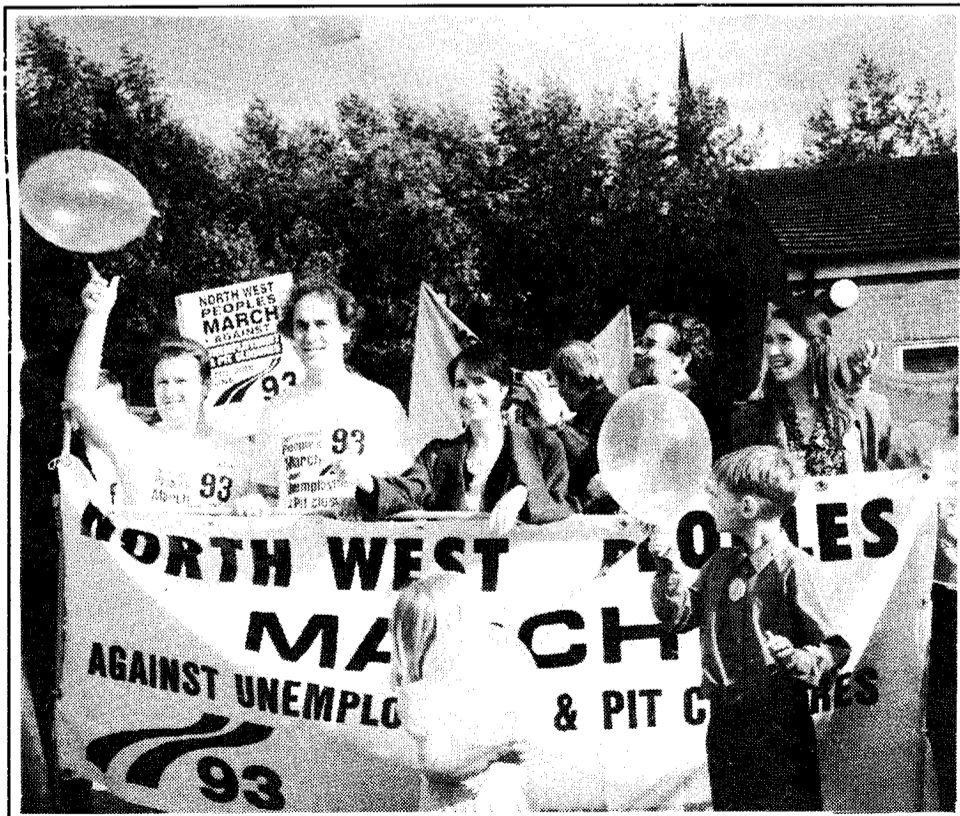
The closures are being hastened by the government's fixing the market to prioritise gas and nuclear and by the bully-boy tactics of British Coal. Miners are being put in an impossible position as enhanced redundancy payment terms are on offer if they agree to closures, but only by the end of the year.

Standing firm

Even so, thousands of miners are standing firm. The NUM is refusing to participate in pit-head ballots on closure, making them impossible in most pits (although this tactic backfired at the UDM Rufford pit, where NUM participation would have defeated the closure proposal).

This bitter outcome of the battle to save the pits comes as the Tories are more unpopular and discredited and weaker than ever. Only the utter spinelessness of the TUC and Labour leaders has allowed this tragedy to happen.

Arthur Scargill's call at the North West Peoples March for a 24-hour stoppage against redundancies was absolutely right. But that is just the beginning. The lesson of the miners' heroic struggle is that the



Labour leadership has shunned mass activity like the North West march

Tories and the bosses can pick off individual sections and defeat isolated struggles. Only massive solidarity based on industrial action can defeat the Tory offensive.

Miners p5, North West march p2, Timex p4.