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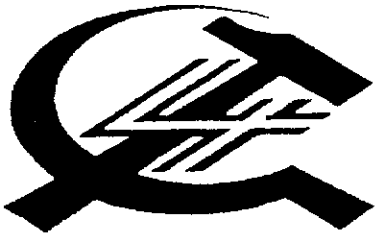
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INSIDE ▼ First Edition Of Scheme Workers' Voice

British Rail Strike / Poland / China ■



SOCIALIST VOICE

MONTHLY JOURNAL
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST
LEAGUE

BRITISH SECTION
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
WORKERS
LEAGUE

[LIT]
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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NO VOTES FOR KINNOCK

IN THE MONTH of June, buoyed up by opinion polls and the Euro- elections, the Labour leadership began to look forward to the prospect of winning the next election.

They congratulated themselves in the belief that their new open commitment to a market economy and repudiation of socialist policies and of unilateralism were the reasons for their votes.

The right wing will undoubtedly have a victory for their "new realism" in the Labour Party Conference in October. They will then make their constitutional changes to further increase the power of parliamentary leaders. That means cutting down further the weight of the trade unions in Labour Party decisions and of Labour Party activists. They will strengthen their disciplinary machine.

Of course, the swing to Labour has much more to do with the unpopularity of the policies of Thatcher and the Tory Government than with an enthusiasm for the Labour leadership. That shows in the polls, where the popularity of Kinnock remains low, despite his preening and policies produced not by principles but by public relations people.

It was the leadership of the Labour Party and the trade unions who were responsible for the Tory's election victory and the consolidation of their government in the first place. They refused to defend the working class in the eighties as the Tories shackled the unions, repressed workers' struggles, attacked Labour Councils, and introduced anti-working class legislation.

Yet, as the eighties began, when the TUC and Labour leaders were compelled to call demonstrations against unemployment and Tory policies, there were great marches of over two hundred thousand in Liverpool, Glasgow, London and Cardiff.

The biggest betrayal of leadership was in the miners' strike. The tide of struggle was held back by lack of confidence of workers in their organisations and leaders as the polarisation between rich and poor proceeded apace in Britain and old traditional unions were weakened.

The offensive of the ruling class is against the unemployed, the youth, the sick and old, the communities, and the workforce where there is not only the continuance of legal attacks on the unions but also the preparation of curbs on rising wages.

Now, over health, education, privatisation, inflation, housing, Poll Tax, wages and inflation there is a growing revolt. Workers organised in the unions are moving into struggle. The growing militancy has been expressed not only in the solid strikes of transport workers, but also in the crushing defeat for the leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in their plans for fusion with the extreme right wingbureaucrats of the Electricians Union.

On the electoral front workers have turned to a vote for Labour to express anti-capitalist and anti-Tory sentiments.

However, the main field in which the forces now coming into struggle are moving is the workplaces, the communities, the schools, hospitals, and the schemes on which the youth are being forced.

What leadership is being offered to these forces? Just as they are being moved towards anti-capitalist policies, Kinnock and the leaders of the Labour Party are polishing up their open defence of capitalist policies.

What of the left in the Labour Party and the unions? At this time, the Socialist Conference led by members of the Campaign Group of MPs held its smallest conference yet. Its weakness is expressed in its lack of connection with the working class forces coming into struggle.

This reflected also the vacillation and weakness of the left in the unions which was shown in their abysmal failure to conduct a struggle against the union bureaucracy in the election of Kinnock and Hattersly to the leadership of the Labour Party.

ISL Perspectives Document declared:

"Despite the "new realists" and other sceptics, in all political developments in Britain in all the post war decades the burning question for the ruling class and its state has been the power of the working class and their organisations. It is this power and the necessity of the capitalist state to overturn the relationship of forces established by the upsurge at the end of the war and its consequent "Welfare State" reforms which has been the axis of British political developments. In the post war period the problem of dealing with workers' strength brought down at least four governments."

It continued:

"Today, there is in many respects a new movement of the class which has been developing since the beginning of the year. Together with rising opposition to the Tory Government and multi-nationals grows a contempt for the trade union and labour bureaucracy, among workers who seek an instrument of struggle in their organisation. We can be on the verge of the spread of rank and file organisations, semi-official and unofficial trade union organisations, community movements such as have been seen in other European countries. Certainly, new forces are going to collide with the bureaucracy."

"All the weaknesses of the "left" leadership of the past decade are being revealed in their inability to meet this situation. They and some of the trade union leaders make windy propaganda of opposition to ET and to the Poll Tax. They cling to a type of activity which comes from a refusal to mobilise organised strength to make mass campaigns and mass action."

Rail Strike Success

SOCIALIST VOICE interviewed Bob Curzon, a train driver from the Crewe area and a member of the National Union Railwaymen, on the recent successful strike by the NUR.

SV: What was the effect of the strike?

BC: Nobody in the NUR went into the depot which has never happened in any recent NUR strikes. It was a complete stoppage. This is the first time, in a long time, that the men backed the union. The main signal box was out at Crewe and once that is out nothing moves.

The management has tried to get management staff to work in the signal box but the NUR has always blocked that, for obvious reasons, successfully. They tried two or three years ago and we can now see why they tried it. ASLEF [the other railway workers union] men did go into work but they had nothing to do.

SV: Why was the strike so solidly supported in Crewe?

BC: The strike was complete because the men are catching on that management are out to destroy our conditions. Management have written three times to our homes and once to work telling us not to strike. They said you won the ballot but you should ignore it because it does not matter. This attitude of the management has got through to them so the men are taking the union line.

The strike was against the destruction of national pay bargaining. But there are many cuts also on the line.

I talked recently to an ASLEF man from Charing Cross and he told me about a secret management paper. They want to scrap all shed turns, that is depot duties. As far as



1926 - Goods waiting for trains that never ran

management was concerned they were only there to provide work for medically restricted staff. They also said that the maintenance staff could move any locos which needed moving and this would result in money being saved.

This report also stated that drivers, starting their journey, did not need any preparation (time) allowance to check locos, any safety checks would be carried out by maintenance staff. It said the driver would only need sufficient time to release the parking brake before moving off. But we are allowed twenty minutes to go around the train, we know the maintenance staff can do the job, but we do find problems and we have to fetch them to these problems. That was money saving again.

They also wanted guards to clean the trains out and do station duties in between their own duties.

In the depot we have depot drivers so that any trains that need moving or any locos that need to be taken into the shed for repairs are done by these drivers. A lot of medically restricted men do those turns but they are very necessary jobs.

So It Had No Effect?

THE NATIONAL rail strike on 21st June was 100 per cent solid, bus crews and underground workers came out on strike making the first complete shut down in London since the General Strike of 1926. No trains ran anywhere and British Rail estimate losses of £10m in passenger and freight revenue.

Extra traffic caused police in London's car clamping unit to run out of clamps. In the capital there were four mile tail backs of traffic and parking became a serious problem. At one stage there were forty miles of traffic jams in London and on the M6 north of Birmingham tailbacks reached eight miles.

The strike affected British Steel and 500,000 tonnes of freight were left idle in railway sidings during the day. At Harrods, the "top" peoples store only 35% of the 5,000 staff had arrived by 9am, only a few more arriving by mid-day. Business was so quiet that the store closed two hours early. General stores were thirty per cent down on takings. Barclays Bank were unable to open six branches because of the strike, one of which was their large branch at Kings Cross. The Stock exchange only managed to do half its normal business and its computerised share quotation system 'SEAQ' was closed down an hour early, this was despite stock broking firms putting up staff in hotels over night.

The bosses union, the CBI, said the strike was a "bloody nuisance" and a yuppie waiting to fly off at Heathrow said, "It's a stupid strike, causing problems for everyone. If the train and tube drivers do not want their jobs they should not do them."

The BBC nine o'clock news announced that the strike 'failed to bite' - now that is news.

It also means that if anyone fails their medical there would be no position for them, lots of us have been in that position.

In Manchester and in Chester depots cartoons appeared supporting the strike. One in Chester showed a railway worker kneeling in front of the area manager asking "please can I have a pay rise." The manager was saying "think of me as your friendly bank manager, with a slight difference - I always say no."

..... Health For Wealth

In Britain And Australia

Competitive Surgery

A POWERFUL one day strike against privatisation by 30,000 Australian hospital workers has shaken the Government of New South Wales.

Health Minister Peter Collins has said that it is up to Area Health Boards if they want to proceed with privatisation but union members remain completely opposed.

The very successful stoppage was to have been followed by similar action by nurses but this was called off by the Nurses' Federation leaders just a day before it was due to start.

Workers' action forced the Labour Council to call a meeting of 100 delegates from unions ranging from nurses to metal workers.

Although they discussed some of the most vital questions facing the health industry, like closures and transfers, deregulation and contracting out, they were not allowed to pass any resolutions in defence of their jobs or hospital services.

The Labour Council opposed any individual hospitals taking action. Paul Ford, Health and Research Employees Association secretary at Prince Henry Hospital in Sydney, which is faced with closure, said: "... if we waited for the Labour Council to take action nothing would be done. The Health Department is running down Prince Henry and within a year they will have to close it. There is a staff freeze on and people are leaving because of the uncertainty."

There is an acute shortage of money for health care throughout Australia according to both state and federal governments. But not for the wealthy! A private health organisation Moran Health Care Group is to build a \$300 million hospital, medical and luxury hotel in Sydney for the exclusive use of the rich of Australia and overseas with the support of the NSW Government.

The Sydney development will have a surgical bias. Surgery is one of the most profitable forms of medicine. The Australian Association of Surgeons (AAS) state chairman, Dr Don Sheldon, said that surgery was one of the few activities in which Australia was "competitive" with its neighbours..."we do operations better and more cheaply than most other countries."

No doubt Mrs Thatcher had a good chat to Bob Hawke, Australians Labour Prime Minister, when they met each with such a warm welcome in Downing Street last month, over how to mirror his "achievements" in both health privatisation and dock closures.



Public anger has not receded since the last big demonstrations

BMA Vote Against Privatisation

Rae Hunter

DOCTORS in the British Medical Association were not wrong when they voted on 21st June against the Government White Paper on the National Health Service.

General Practitioners, in particular, have been fighting this White Paper since it was first introduced by Kenneth Clarke. The Government is spending 2.3 million pounds of our money to destroy the Health Service - money that could have helped to overcome its gross underfunding.

Most western countries spend twice as much as the 4% or 5% of the national income that the U.K. spends on health care.

Under Tory proposals, Health Service will be mainly run for money and not for the care of patients. But because the changes are new and untried, many of those who will be most effected - the older and poorer patients - are still in ignorance as to what they mean.

If, for example, your local hospital "opts out" of the local District Health Authority, the Hospital Trust will want to offer treatments that bring in money. You might find your local hospital no longer treats your kind of condition. Patients may have to travel many miles for treatment.

A long term patient will not fit into the free market health service and may be left in an under-funded part of the NHS. If a doctor's budget runs out there is the danger that his

patient will get the cheapest, not the best treatment.

The best doctors like to spend all the necessary time discussing a patient's condition. The government's pressure on a doctor to increase patient lists must mean shorter consultations. And the cash limits, and Medicine Budget, may mean a doctor not being able to afford the appropriate treatment for a patient.

Many doctors have tried to inform patients, but this task must be taken up by patients themselves, linking in patient groups.

This has already been done in many areas. In Sheffield, for example, there are a number of such groups, many among the Asian community. A meeting called by a Health Centre in Toxteth, Liverpool, a poor and deprived area, brought together eighty patients. Out of the meeting a Patients' Association was formed which has issued a leaflet explaining the White Paper to the community.

The S.O.S National Signature Campaign has a petition which calls for the immediate withdrawal of the White Paper. Their address is Centre Users Group, 2 Bartholomew Rd., London NW5 2AJ.

Community groups nationally should unite into a real power to save our National Health Service and join the doctors' fight.

Cockatoo Workers Fight For Jobs

WORKERS are occupying the Cockatoo Island Dockyard in Sydney, Australia in a fight for jobs.

They have come into direct conflict with the Labour Government and the ACTU (Australian Congress of Trades Unions).

The threatened destruction of the 1600 jobs at the naval shipyard is a direct consequence of the Government-ACTU plan for the so-called 'restructuring of industry'.

The Government want to sell off Cockatoo Island, which is in a prime real estate location in Sydney Harbour, for \$120 million and close down ship building by the end of the year rather than in 1992 as expected.

News of the planned early closure galvanised the 1600 workers on the Island into angry reaction and a demand that the redundancy agreement negotiated on the basis of a 1992 closure be re-negotiated on the basis of six weeks pay for each year of service rather than the previously agreed two weeks.

This rapidly developed into a demand by many members of the 17 unions involved that the Island be retained for shipbuilding and heavy engineering and not sold off for the development of millionaire homes, hotels and yacht marinas.

Some union leaders are merely using this demand for jobs as a tactic to extract a better redundancy deal but for a growing number of men and women, whose livelihood depends on the Island, the demand for jobs has become a rallying call.

A few \$1000's redundancy pay would not keep anyone for six months in times of growing inflation. Workers know that acceptance would mean selling the future.

This story about shipyard workers is taken from the Socialist Press the paper of the Australian section of the International Workers League.

"What happens at Cockatoo will depend on the extent of support in the working class" Noel Hazard, member of the Electrical Trade Union (ETU) and a co-delegate on the Cockatoo Island Dock Committee, explained. *"It's in the pipeline to have a Sydney Port stoppage... we are hoping to include everybody involved in the 'restructuring' but they are being held back by their leadership. The union leaders support ACTU's restructuring plans. The March issue of ETU News outlined what restructuring is - broadbanding, multiskilling and so on. We previously rejected restructuring at Cockatoo. Some people argue it increases efficiency, which it does, but in whose favour? It benefits the employers not the workers. Look at what happened at the printing dispute with Rupert Murdoch at Wapping in London. Electricians got a huge wage increase and finished up doing virtually everyone else's job... We need to extend the strike. It's no good basing the struggle on simply raising finance and moral support from other workplaces. We need widespread industrial action similar to 1969 when Clarrie O'Shea of the Tramways Union was jailed and there were so many disputes they had to let him out.*

Support the Cockatoo Island strike!
Send donations and messages of support to:
Cockatoo Island Strike Committee,
c/o AMWU, PO Box 206,
Strawberry Hills 2012,
Sydney,
Australia.

Defend Francis Okanlami's Right To Stay

FRANCIS OKANLAMI and his family are being hounded yet again by the Home Office who are demanding that he signs in at a Police station in Manchester every day.

The Home Office is appealing against the decision on the 15th May when they were told that immigration offices had illegally exceeded their powers by issuing deportation orders whilst not having the "power to decide to deport".

Now they are trying to wear down Francis by increased harassment. They continually refused to consider his personal circumstances or that of his family. His three year old daughter has recently developed stress related speech problems.

The communities and labour movement in Manchester has a particular responsibility to help Francis and his family. They should support the demand that he should not have to report at any time let alone once a day.

The Home Secretary should be pressurised into using his discretionary powers to grant Francis indefinite leave to remain as happened in the case of Marion Gaima.

Francis is a Nalگو member but all organised workers should assist in the campaign to allow him to stay. Marion showed it was possible to win.

For further information contact:
Rena Wood, Campaign Co-Ordinator,
NALGO, 1st Floor, Elliot House,
3 Jacksons Row,
Manchester M2 5NJ.

LISTINGS

Manchester Dockers Support Group - Public meeting to help organise solidarity with the dockers. Black Horse Hotel, The Crescent (next to Transport House), Salford. 7.30pm Wednesday 5th July. Supported by T+G branches 6/389, 6/873, 6/234, 6/368, 6/181, 6/184, 6/949, and organised with Manchester dockers' stewards.

Fight The Poll Tax.
Demonstration Albert Square, outside the Town Hall- 10th July 12-2pm. Called by Hulme Tenants Against the Poll Tax.
"Time To Go" . March calling for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland . Saturday 12th August Assemble 11.00am Whittington Park, Holloway Rd (nearest tube: Archway). Carnival Finsbury Park, Seven Sisters Rd.

INTERNATIONAL FUND £1500

As we say in the article on China the movements that are developing in the world need an international leadership equal to the heroism and determination that they display.

We have raised £850 so far and we will need every penny that are readers can afford to complete the fund on time. Send all donations to the ISJ, PO Box 9, Eccles M30 7FX.

Mass Anger Against

Workers control Rosario for three days

FOR THREE days in May more than 100,000 people went on the streets of Rosario, a city of one million in Argentina, taking thousands of tons of food from shops.

The food that passed into the hands of the workers represented tens of millions of dollars.

As opposed to the "Rosariazo of 1969", in which no more than 20,000 to 25,000 people participated, this upsurge was led by the central workers' and people's district. It was not called by any political party. It was a spontaneous movement organised by the masses and was totally unlike the adventure carried out on the military barracks of La Tablada by a small band of guerillas in January of this year.

It was attacked by the Argentine Communist Party as a non-class movement but this was far from the truth. Of course the bourgeois parties, including Menem's Peronists, were all against it.

The police of the province made no intervention to repress the movement. From the first moment they participated in the immense mobilisation for food.

The mobilisation of the Rosarian masses extended to Greater Buenos Aires and to other Argentine cities. On 1st June, Clarin, an Argentine daily, reported disturbances in Mendoza, Tucuman, Chaco, Corrientas and in the provinces of the interior of Rio Negro. Of all these the most important was Greater Buenos Aires.

On 2nd June a Clarin reporter commented on the situation: "*From one street to another the masses stretched into the distance - from Roca Avenue to the corner of Escalada - we imagined other epochs, other countries: the armed people with rifles, revolvers were no longer hiding.*"

While the trade unions did not participate directly in the mobilisation many workers went on strike in Santa Cruz, Chubut and Trelew, at the same time, other workers such as university teachers, civil servants and teachers in various provinces of the North East maintained their actions.

The mobilisations scared the bosses and in many cases they conceded important increases to workers. In Fords, for example,



Women demand food: "For the children who are hungry"

Hyperinflation

they gave an increase of 100% to all workers including those that had been layed off.

The struggle of the masses was directly against the regime. They forced the national and local government to give food from the canteens and to make other provisions. They obliged the government to increase the minimum wage and pensions and they forced them to postpone another price increase.

The crisis of the regime and of the Government has been greatly increased. The incapacity of the forces of repression to stop the masses has put the Government on the defensive. Even the papers and television did not openly attack the masses.

These developments have accelerated the experience of the masses with Peronism and with Menem in particular. The vast majority of those people who participated in the mobilisation had illusions in and voted for Menem in the General Election in May.

Attack on the Left

The regime has tried to blame the left for the mobilisations. It has arrested members of the MAS and also the leaders of the Workers Party. Zamora, a MAS leader, who is now a national deputy on behalf of the United Left, has refuted these attacks and placed the blame on those that are responsible for the hyperinflation - the Government and the factory owners.

The MAS has called its members to be prepared for the continuation of the popular mobilisation and the strengthening of workers strikes. They say ...“there is relative calm today but this will be short lived and new mobilisations will start.”

Many thousands of workers know of the existence of the MAS and of Zamora. The programme on which they fought, in alliance with the Communist Party, is becoming more concrete as the mobilisation of the masses increases against the harsh economic crisis.

The situation is of immense importance for workers, youth and oppressed people all over the world. In Argentina trotskyism is playing an objective part in the march of developments.



Workers and youth of Buenos Aires organise the defence of their districts



Stop the price increases

LIFE OF OUR MOVEMENT

Enrique Mosquera, a central committee member of the Socialist Workers' Party (PST), the Spanish section of the International Workers' League, comments on the European elections in which the PST stood candidates.

THE MOST important factor is the number of people who voted. In the last elections there were twenty million votes cast - in this election there were just sixteen million.

Many people did not vote - about thirteen million in all. Many people do not believe in this election - they do not see any party worth voting for.

The Socialist Party won the elections with more than six million votes - one and a half million less than the last elections.

The right lost even more - two million down on the last election. Everybody polled less votes. Even Herri Batasuna (the political wing of ETA - the Basque national liberation movement) lost almost 100,000 votes.

We polled 39,592 votes with a list of sixty candidates, two thirds of which were members of the PST and one third members of the Revolutionary Workers' Party with which we formed an electoral front.

We held meetings in Madrid where we had 230 people and in Barcelona where 180 attended. In Ceuta (a colony of Spain in North Africa) we called a demonstration against the immigration laws and held a rally where our muslim candidate spoke to 600 people. Overall about 1,200 people attended our election meetings.

We received substantially fewer votes than in the last elections because of the generally low turn-out. In the main the people who did not vote were workers. So in these elections, where the Government has lost influence but none the less won the election, we feel that there are no winners. There was no real alternative to the Government.

We stood against the Socialist Party Government and against the European Market - for socialism and the self determination of peoples and for a Socialist United States of Europe.

The fundamental discussion in our meetings was the problem of building a new alternative workers' leadership. We think that all the old leaderships are in crisis but there is not yet a new workers' leadership.

Before the elections we sent a letter to other workers' organisations to develop a discussion around this issue. We think that now, after the elections, we must continue with this type of politics and try to build an alliance of the revolutionary organisations, including the left of the CP, to build this new leadership.

In general we think that the election campaign was very good. We met and discussed with many people - more than ever before.



The poster says: "For a front of the workers and the left For Socialism and Self-determination"

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We never have enough room in the Socialist Voice to carry the sort of articles that can be in this journal. So if you are looking for extensive analysis and coverage of the world's events, the international workers' movement and the tasks of leadership of the Fourth International, please place an order now.

CHINA:

Bureaucracy Murders Students

BILL HUNTER

A STATEMENT on China in last month's "Socialist Voice", ended by declaring: "The power to change the world exists. The necessity is to build a leadership equal to it. That is the lesson of the May Days in China."

The statement was published before the stalinist, anti-communist bureaucrats who rule China had recovered from paralysis, and unleashed their murderous assault on unarmed students.

Events served to underline our conclusions - the two most important assets today for those who wish to serve humanity's future are a confidence in the working masses and a profound understanding of Trotsky's aphorism that the crisis of humanity is a crisis of working class leadership.

With indescribable heroism, the students took their movement as far as they could with their limited perspective. For a great proportion of the leaders of the millions in Tienanmen Square, the demonstration remained on the level of protest, with the aim of forcing the leaders to listen. However, what was involved in a movement of this scope was a revolution - the complete elimination of the bureaucratic caste and such a thorough purging of society that can only be brought about by revolutionary overturns.

One week in June and the nature of the corruption, brutality and anti-communism of this caste was laid bare. Concern for the struggle of the masses and for their emancipation brought these men and women into the Communist struggle many years ago. That concern has been completely destroyed over the years by Stalinism and corrupted by privilege. With Stalinist ferocity they suppressed the spontaneous movement of masses demanding socialist democracy. To defend their power and privileges they planned a repression without bounds.

Stalin tried to blot out from history his communist opponents with an enormous mountain of distortion and calumny. Trained in the school of Stalinism the Chinese bureaucrats reached for the Big Lie.

Astonished journalists who had seen the slaughter in Peking learned from official Government speakers that the massacre of demonstrators by the troops in Tienanmen Square had not taken place and that counter revolutionary elements had attacked the troops and killed brave defenders of China's revolution. As the "Observer" journalist



Students in Peking on the 4th May 1919

reported, this astonishment did not prevent a few of these Western reporters altering their recollections accordingly.

The brutal, cynical old men in China will cheat history for less time than did Stalin. The May movement which was begun by students, but which spread to workers in the factories, revealed that the hatred of the bureaucracy is so widespread that it can only temporarily be shaken. In a very short while it will find some fissure through which it will explode again. How many times did journalists and impressionistic British lefts pronounce the demise of Solidarity in Poland?

But the real decisive measurement of forward march in China will be in the development in the advanced guard of students and workers of a leadership which understands what it is fighting for and organises for a political and internationalist revolution against the bureaucratic oppressors. The Chinese May Days were a glorious movement, but this bureaucratic rule is not to be removed by "folded arms" or by the expression of rational ideas of reformist social democracy. Its existence and habits are firmly rooted in a deep going hostility to workers' socialist democracy.

It was a terrible onslaught on millions who advanced in China. But the Chinese uprising for socialist democracy has not been definitively crushed. The advance-guard in the world have seen the real face of this ruling caste, the betrayers of Communism.

For some, in other countries, the massacre justifies continuing on their old opportunist way, and not "provoking" struggle. Thus Walesa's conclusion from the Chinese events was a warning to Solidarity members that

they should take heed not to demand too much otherwise they would face another China.

History shows, that bureaucracy, and indeed all tyrants, seek to preserve their rule by the image that they are ruthless and unstoppable. In this way they frighten the petty bourgeois faint hearts and the sceptics who are overawed by the apparent strength of bureaucracy. That is what is represented by those on the left of the British Labour Movement who see the movement in China as being hopelessly crushed.

This movement will rise again - and shortly. It is a part of a world wide movement of masses forced by necessity to conflict with imperialist oppression and the bureaucracies which have fastened parasitically onto the workers' organisations. For sure, it cannot be successful and permanent unless it creates a leadership that recognises that there can be no solution of socialist democracy except through the thorough destruction of bureaucratic rule.

The stalinist bureaucracies are incapable of reforming themselves and disappearing from the scene. China is a tragic and bloody example of how the bureaucracy will fight to the death to save its privileged position of rule. It is a lesson of history that, in order to preserve itself the bureaucracy is capable of the vilest repression even after being compelled to embrace reforms.

The sending of unarmed troops into Tienanmen Square before the unleashing of pitiless repression, has its parallel in the events in Hungary in 1956. In Hungary, the Soviet Government issued its declaration of new relations between "socialist" states a few days before the Russian tanks rolled into Hungary to carry out the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

The mass movement of students and workers in China brings more urgently than ever before us the need of international organisation. The struggle for correct revolutionary leadership and for workers democracy against imperialism and bureaucracy poses more sharply than ever the development of a world proletarian party.

This is the aim of the International Workers League (Fourth International) of which the ISL is the British section. Comrades moved by the May events in China should now seriously consider joining with us in building such a leadership.

Chinese Students Get

POLAND

In Poland there were a number of demonstrations in support of the Chinese students and workers. They were mainly young workers and radicals.

In Krakow there was a demonstration of 2000 students and youth attacking the massacre. Outside the Chinese embassy there was a hunger strike for five days by the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution and by other groups. They organised a demonstration of more than 6,000 to the Chinese Embassy.

CHINA



Tiananmen Square before the massacre

AUSTRALIA



Hundred gathered outside the Chinese Consulate in Sydney. One young man said: "We want the whole world to support the Chinese students"

International Support

ITALY



While the conference of the Revolutionary Socialist League, Italian sympathising section of the International Workers League (Fourth International) was in session, news came of the repression of Tienanman Square. Immediately, the LSR organised a demonstration in Florence, where the conference was held, in which Chinese students participated.

Two days later, the Italian Trotskyists participated in a demonstration of three thousand in Rome. Half of the demonstration was composed of contingents from the Italian Communist Party who marched silently to the Chinese Embassy, holding bunches of flowers.

The LSR and its supporters kept up a continuous shout of slogans against the Chinese bureaucratic repression.

BRITAIN

LIVERPOOL

Over 600 people marched through the city of Liverpool to protest about the massacre in Tienanmen Square.

Demonstrators shouted: "Down with the butchers".

On the march were the Liverpool Polytechnic Chinese Society, Liverpool Chinese Gospel Church, the All Chinese Community Association as well as trade unionists and members of Labour Movement organisations carrying their banners.

The rally saluted the heroic struggle and the bravery of the Chinese students.

YEE MAY SUNG, who acted as interpreter during the rally commented:

"The demonstration was good, a great strength of feeling was shown, from a community that is normally quiet. I'm very much moved by the way people have felt for what happened".

MANCHESTER



Over 2000 students march in Manchester in protest

CHINA ECONOMIC IN CRISIS



PETER WINDELER

IN ONE of the most important economic notices issued since martial law was imposed on the 20th May the central government ordered yet another crack-down on investment outside a few key areas including those earning foreign currency or related to agriculture. The authorities are worried that the political turmoil will cause it to lose what little control it has over provincial investment which is a key plank in the fight against soaring inflation.

The Bank of China is desperate for funds having suffered large withdrawals especially in Hong Kong and also on the mainland in reaction to the massacre. Additionally the government is worried that with much cash in hand throughout China inflation will be fueled after it had been stabilised at 30%. Last year bank runs and panic buying repeatedly jolted the economy, this was often unknown to the outside world at the time. But now the war against inflation may already be lost. The high cost of moving hundreds of thousands of soldiers around the country has already pumped in a lot of unwanted cash. There is also the possibility that a dirty deal was done with the military to gain their cooperation which could well have included promises of additional military spending.

Workers will also demand higher wages in the unsettled environment. Bonuses have already risen sharply this year and the government will have to placate workers who supported the pro-democracy demonstrations.

In March China's projected budget deficit was 35bn Yuan (£6bn), but now it is likely to be at least double that. The People's Daily quoted on 19th June an official of the People's Bank as saying: "the bank had plenty of funds, 48bn Yuan of reserves against deposits, to pay peasants for the summer harvest." But last year, many peasants instead of cash got IOU's causing much ill feeling. Observers say that some of the IOU's given out last year have still not been paid and in May, the Ministry of Commerce said it was about 10bn Yuan short which contradicted the People's Bank. If the government is forced to pay cash for the harvest it will give up its attempt to control inflation in the Chinese economy which it has attempted to do by limiting the money supply.

While the autocrats want to continue their reforms, making the economy open to Western investment, the economy remains in flux if not near-crises. As a stop gap measure the government is attempting to restore confi-

dence by saying as many nice things as possible - exports up, steel workers stay on job during turmoil, satellite programme proceeding as planned.

The executions which are leaving the rest of the world shocked and horrified have become a feature of China over the past few years, and as the Financial Times said on June 23rd, "...Western countries anxious to promote diplomatic and commercial relations with China invariably turned a blind eye". In a recent drive against 'crime' 20,000 were executed throughout the country often in batches before huge crowds gathered in football stadiums.

The causes of anxiety to the stock exchanges, the investment houses and the multinationals lay in the threat to their investments that the democracy movement posed. As the British Observer said in one headline "3 billion in jeopardy."

The Chinese bureaucracy is busy answering that all will be well. The business men are not so sure.

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY

MARTIN RALPH

THE NATIONAL Union of Metal workers of South Africa has called for the rebuilding of the mass democratic movement in South Africa in every street, every area and every region at its Congress in June.

The reason for this is that since their last congress "a working class programme of action has not been developed.

The congress also re-affirmed support for the Freedom Charter.

There is a growing awareness amongst trade unionists in South Africa that the position of NUMSA is contradictory and confusing. In an interview published in the *Azanian Worker* last year a COSATU member made the following comment about the arguments that were taking place in the trade union movement in South Africa about what kind of programme workers need in their struggle against apartheid:

"NUMSA submitted to the second congress of COSATU (in June 1987) a resolution which they had adopted at their own national congress. This resolution stated that the Freedom Charter represents a limited programme that, in itself, does not guarantee the emancipation of the working class. It considers the Freedom Charter as a good starting point that must be complimented by some type of working class programme.

The supporters of the Freedom Charter, however, did not support the NUMSA resolution. They were adverse to pointing out the limitations of the Freedom Charter. The NUTW, and many other unions, were unwilling to support the Freedom Charter as a minimum programme. They do not want to accept a programme founded upon the minimum objectives of the bourgeois-democratic demands. What they want is to develop a programme that leads towards socialism.



This is why these unions rejected the NUMSA resolution. They considered it an incorrect compromise which, in fact, was contradictory with the Freedom Charter itself.

To-day this same argument has taken on even sharper significance. The South African regime is on the retreat. It is gripped by great economic crisis and has suffered heavy military defeat at the hands of Angolan and Cuban forces and has been forced to relinquish direct rule over Namibia.

Powerful trade unions have been built in both South Africa and Namibia and they have developed strong links of mutual support. Despite the state of emergency and the state repression the workers movement has far from been broken as was shown by the winning of the release of Moses Mayekiso.

It is precisely at this time that the Communist Party of South Africa, which has such a strong influence in the ANC, with the encouragement of Gorbachev and his policies of East West co-operation is trying to tie the South African trade union movement to broad democratic fronts and alliances with the so-called "anti-apartheid wing" of South African big business through insistence on ac-

ceptance of the Freedom Charter.

The intentions of Gorbachev towards South Africa have been made clear. He has said that "socialism is not on the agenda in South Africa".

So intent are the stalinists in reaching a "peaceful" solution that they are prepared to see the destruction of COSATU rather than see it adopt a socialist programme.

When CCAWUSA, the third largest union in COSATU voted to reject the imposition of the Freedom Charter by the leadership of COSATU, it came under attack from the COSATU leadership, at the instigation of the stalinists. COSATU's central leadership then recognised and gave the CCAWUSA franchise to a small minority that blatantly split from the union in violation of its statutes

These wrecking tactics must be condemned and CCAWSU's right to determine its own policy defended.

The question for the working class and its organisations in South Africa is one of developing its own programme and policies, not of finding ways of accommodating to the so called progressive wings of the bourgeoisie.

Eye-Witness Account Of The

Patrick Kane, from the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution Support Group in Britain, gives an eye witness account on the Polish elections and comments on the Walesa leadership as it grows closer to the bureaucracy and acts against the working class and revolutionary socialists.

There was large scale discontent with the election agreement between Solidarity and the Government. For example the candidate standing in Zolidorz, a district of Warsaw, was Jacek Kuron. In the 1960's he was one of the revolutionary left. In his election meetings, when he was being asked questions on prices and inflation, he replied: "obviously we are concerned about indexation and inflation. However what is necessary is to fight for the free market."

This gives an idea of the shift to the right of leadership of Solidarity. This is one of the reasons for the discontent in the elections.

The present situation has to be seen against a background of workers struggle that reopened in May. The elections are a result of the efforts of the Solidarity leadership to stop the strikes, to make a deal with the regime. The elections are not a gain made from the workers' struggles themselves. In the eyes of workers, it is the ruling bureaucracy which is gaining and some leaders of Solidarity.

The question is being asked, is Solidarity being legalised, or has Solidarity merely legitimised the regime? There was not a working class content in the candidates of Solidarity. The programme being advocated by the candidates was the free market with 35% democracy and reform from above. The composition of the candidates was very different to the situation in 1981 when Solidarity was a movement of 10 million workers. In Poland during the elections the so-called citizen committees organised the Solidarity elections. The citizen committees were entirely based on selection, there were people's veterans who were refused entry into these committees. In 1980 there were inter-factory strike committees which were based on workers' democracy.

One candidate chosen in a district of Warsaw was a actor who had no history whatsoever of opposition. Meanwhile there were worker militants who were being denied entry into these citizen committees. Many of the Solidarity candidates were called parachutists. Many were selected by the bureaucracy of Solidarity.

Liepski, who lead a right wing break from the Polish Socialist Party, was sent to stand as candidate in Radom, a city not far from



Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution holding a meeting in Karamysz during the elections

Warsaw. Such was the manner in which this had been done by stepping over the heads of Solidarity there that the Radom members chose their own candidate in opposition. This was a seventy two year old ex-leader of the partisan against the Nazis to stand against Leipski. In the first round Leipski failed to get the necessary votes to be elected, he had to stand a second time.

It is virtually impossible to enforce the deal that Solidarity leaders have made. It is inevitable that strikes will break out and when they do they will not only be in opposition to the regime but also in opposition to the Solidarity leadership which has entered the Polish Parliament.

Within the Polish working class it is very clear that the market is seen as the only alternative to the existing regime. However those ideas can be challenged more strongly when the workers begin to move against Jaruzlski and Walesa. The latter is arguing for a free market, closure of the factories etc etc.

The most significant thing about the economy is the speed in which events are moving.

It will be impossible for the solidarity leadership to deliver the deal that it has struck with the Government. They have volunteered to be the policeman of the movement.

Only 2 million workers are now organised in solidarity. Walesa has openly said that Solidarity will never be 10 million workers again because they do not need them. There is a new generation of workers in Poland and many of whom are not organised in Solidarity, therefore it will be more and more difficult for Walesa to control them.

Another question which is now arising is democracy within Solidarity itself. Now that it is legal the demand for a second conference is becoming more and more important. After the last amnesty of political prisoners this

demand was placed by twenty-two leaders of the movement. Walesa ignored them and set up his own committee. In some areas there are two committees one part of the Walesa structure and the other remaining independent within Solidarity. As the Walesa committees have moved away from the factories as a power source, the more democratic workers structure has been strengthened.

Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution

The position of the Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution, was for a boycott of the elections. They did not see the elections in isolation from the whole agreement that was made by Solidarity with the bureaucracy. This was a no strike agreement which pegged wages at 80% of inflation. The PPS-DR attempted to form an alliance with other groups which had remained in opposition and had not entered into a deal with the regime, for example, the revolutionary organisation "Fighting Solidarity", Anarchist organisations and a number of other groups. FS is independent from Solidarity which was one of the first to break from the Walesa structure.

During the elections some PPS-DR branches carried out demonstrations. On the actual day of the elections, in Karamysz, a city in east Poland, a branch picketed the Polling Stations and a number of them were arrested by the militia.

On May Day the Walesa leadership had opposed calling demonstrations, but 7,000 came onto the street in response to the May Day call of the PPS-DR and FS. The militia attacked the demonstration. They drove the jeep into the crowd injuring a number of people. After the demonstration people from the Walesa committee attacked the organisers of the demonstration for "organising

Polish Elections

provocations". They laid the blame for the violence on the solidarity activists.

Strikes

Strikes did take place in some factories and in the mines but not on the same scale as earlier this year. Some activists of the PPS-DR said that the workers have seen through the Walesa leadership and had seen through the right wing nationalists such as those in Krakow. Now they were looking for an alternative leadership. There is a very clear

especially with the situation emerging in the USSR, where there are mass movements mobilising against the regime. It is extremely important for the Polish working class to be in solidarity with these movements. Instead the Walesa leadership is making compromises and attempting to tie the working class to the regime. Throughout the whole of the Eastern block socialist opposition is emerging.

The PPS-DR is very keen to work with all these movements. In the latest issue of "The



Early movement for solidarity in Krakow

split within Solidarity, between those that see the necessity of replacing the existing regime and those who want to work with the existing apparatus.

The PPS-DR is very much rooted in the factories and in a number of areas have factory branches.

The day after the elections in one factory - Polar - a member of the PPS-DR who had been sacked was asked by the workers to go back and organise a branch within the factory.

Internationalism

A Ukrainian member of Solidarity, Mokry, attempted to stand in Karamysz which is a predominantly Ukrainian city in East Poland. The Solidarity organisation opposed the candidate standing. He then attempted to stand in a city in the south, with a large Ukrainian population and the solidarity organisation refused to let him stand. He eventually stood in a village on the border of East Germany. It took a very hard campaign for him to be elected.

This concerns one of the most important questions. There is a real feeling amongst many activists, who are not supporting the agreement, that this is a dangerous move,

Robotnik" they published the platform of the Russian Free Trade Union - SMOT.

Support the PPS-DR

It is necessary for international solidarity with this party. Aligned against it are forces of the regime who have had a number of its members beaten up, secret police threats etc. The previous spokesman of the party, who is almost blind, was approached by two secret policeman, they told him who they were and beat him up.

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the Bureaucracy of Solidarity is against them. In the present situation it is the only clear revolutionary socialist party. It has to be supported by material help and ideas from workers abroad.

Later this year the support group of the PPS-DR in Britain will be arranging a speaking tour for Josef Pinior, a leader of the PPS-DR, who has finally got a passport. The support group is also raising money for printing presses and to help the victimised members of the PPS-DR.

Patrick Kane PPS-DR Support Group

Solidarity Leaders Agree With IMF

Professor Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity's senior advisor and its most prominent leader after Lech Walesa, said in June that there could be a social explosion in Poland if the recent elections only result in a worsening in the living standards of the people of Poland.

At the same time he is supporting a scheme for capitalism's restoration which has been drawn up by George Soros, the Hungarian-born New York financier and fund manager. The scheme would involve a dramatic austerity programme described by Soros as "a colt turkey treatment of inflation in which price controls and subsidies are removed all at once and the Zloty is tied to the European Currency Unit."

The plan has in fact been approved in principle by the Warsaw government and leaders of Solidarity in the hope that Western leaders will back it.

The persecution of Solidarity with, the help of martial law since 1981, has solved nothing for the Government. The growing threat of industrial unrest, the weight of Poland's \$40bn foreign debt and rising inflation left the Government with no alternative but to enter into a dialogue with Solidarity leaders and make an agreement for elections.

But Poland along with Hungary and Yugoslavia is a member of the IMF. The IMF has demanded that Poland (along with Hungary) adopt economic policies based on further sharp cuts in living standards for workers.

Therefore the new danger facing workers is a combined attack of those now in the parliament.

Solidarity wiped out the establishment candidates where they were allowed to stand in the Polish elections held on 4th June. The elections were for an upper and a lower house (Sejm). The upper house was freely elected and of the 100 MP's 98 were Solidarity ones. In the lower house the Polish Communist Party and its allies were guaranteed 65 % of the seats subject to receiving at least 50 % in the unopposed ballots. There were many instances where well known government officials did not even manage to get the necessary vote even when in one man races.

The results show the hatred of workers, farmers and even the army ranks against the old regime.

It is interesting to note that in Moscow the official media did not dare reveal the full extent of the Polish Communist Party's defeat. Gorbachev is watching Poland very closely, upper most in his mind will be - can the newly elected contain the working class in the months ahead?

NAMIBIA:

STILL UNDER THE BOOT OF SOUTH AFRICA

PETER MONEY

The heroism of Chinese students and young workers has its counterpart in the courage of the school children of Namibia who are boycotting their secondary schools. They are demanding the removal of the notoriously brutal Koevoet (crowbar) special unit from the ranks of the police.

A year ago 50,000 school children were on strike against the actions by

Koevoet in townships and rural areas against civilians, particularly children.

Pupils demanded the removal of military camps near the schools and an end to intimidation. Security forces posing as SWAPO guerrillas were accused of abducting children.

The National Union of Namibian Workers called a 48 hour general strike in support of the school children. The struggle of the children and workers against this well-equipped special force has continued since.

The Koevoet, which under the UN plan was supposed to be disbanded, operates now as part of the police. It assists the aim of the South African apartheid regime which is to ensure that if SWAPO wins the election the country is destabilised and remains under the domination of the South African regime.

While African school children fight torture and murder, what assistance do they get from the British Labour Movement?

Very Little!

As the "Socialist Voice" has raised before, a campaign for assistance to the unions in Namibia has been left to a handful of activists. And at the most, we have an occasional plea from one or two leaders that the Tory Government or the UN should do a little more to protect the people of Namibia. Yet none of these forces can or want to help establish a truly independent Namibia. Their purpose is the opposite.

The real question is how to campaign to mobilise and organise our own working class movement to assist African workers and their children. Our rulers, both in the big capitalist firms and in the government, have been ac-



tively involved in Namibia and South Africa working against the interests of the African people and their freedom for decades.

As far back as September 1987, a "World in Action" programme on Granada TV exposed how an interlocking network of British and South African mining companies has been plundering the mineral riches of Namibia for more than thirty years with the De Beers diamond cartel at the centre and the participation of Consolidated Gold Fields in London.

Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) in Namibia was accused of stealing assets of about one billion pounds in Namibia by excessive overmining. It was said that the company feared for its future under an independent Namibian government.

A former employee declared to an inquiry: "I would say that CDM is one of the most profitable mines in the world. The bulk of the money has just been taken out of the country with no investment in regional development."

The Namibia which will be left to SWAPO under the United Nations and South African plans will be a Namibia whose mineral riches have been plundered for years and exported without any benefit to its people. It will be a Namibia which faces grave problems to develop an economy to meet its peoples' needs. The transport of its exports and imports will be under the control of South Africa.

South Africa will continue to control its only deep sea port - Wavis Bay - as a naval base. The South African apartheid regime will continue to finance reactionary bands. The SWAPO government will be faced immediately with dealing with the repressive organs of the state which have been built up

against African struggle.

Only the people of Namibia themselves could guarantee a free election and a free Namibia. Genuine internationalists will respond to the heroism of children and workers in Namibia by redoubling their agitation for British trade unions and socialist organisations to fulfil their duties to Namibia.

The real decisive struggles for African freedom are just opening up.

There will be no peace for the children and workers of Namibia. Already foreign investors are flocking from all over the world to exploit the new opportunities. "This could become another Taiwan" was how the investment director of one big local company described it. Trade unionists in South Africa have pledged their support for the Namibian people to gain full independence. In Britain, we must demand that the oldest trade union movement in the world which assisted, with Karl Marx, at the birth of the First International and, with Engels, at the birth of the Second, fulfils its international obligations.

That means, as a minimum, financial assistance to the Namibian trade unions, but it also means launching a struggle to defend these children and workers of Namibia.

We should demand in our organisations:

The sending of immediate financial assistance to the unions of Namibia. The election of inquiry teams of trade unionists, including rank and file members, to go to Namibia, report on the repressive measures and discuss joint struggle with Namibian workers.

Namibians involved in the struggle should also be given every assistance to explain to the labour movement in Britain what is going on in their country. They should be taken into factories and workplaces to talk to rank and file workers.

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