Workers Pres

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

SATURDAY 20 APRIL 1996

On 27 April all roads lead to Liverpool!

EVERY trade unionist, Labour Party member, every unemployed worker and community activist who supports the 30-week strike of the Liverpool dockers must rally to the labour movement conference they have called for next Saturday, 27

The struggle of the 500 Merseyside dockers for their rein-

statement is the focal point for the struggle of the whole of the working class against the employers and the Tory government.

Why is this so?

From the start this unofficial strike was one against the port employers but also against the government and the anti-union laws.

Solidarity with workers engaged in such a struggle is a basic principle which must now be re-established in the course of rebuilding the working-class movement.

■ The sort of support that grew up in the miners' strike and has become a feature of all major struggles since 1984-85 must be continued. But this time these support groups must not be allowed to subside when the specific struggle is decided.

The Liverpool meeting can become a powerful starting point for the creation of a network that must grow stronger at every stage of the struggle.

This is why no effort must be spared to build up support for the sacked dockers, and then for others when they find themselves taking the brunt of the fight.

■ The dockers are not fighting just for themselves. All employers are determined to break up union organisation, to wipe out permanent jobs and to introduce casual

Attack

Not only the working class, but many professional people who thought they had jobs for life are facing this attack.

If the employers and the

BY GEOFF PILLING

government succeed, it will be impossible to earn a living wage without working inhuman hours and without being at the beck and call of the employer 24 hours a day.

Unbearable

It will be impossible for workers to have those elementary things, such as rest, some leisure, some family life, without which life becomes unbearable.

The dockers have decided to stand up and fight. That is why they have great respect and support, internationally and in Britain.

Some of the lowest paid and most exploited workers _ the Hillingdon hospital strikers and the JJ Fast Food workers in London _ have rallied to the dockers' support.

But we cannot rest on our laurels. The government and the employers remain determined to destroy the organisation on Mersey docks and force dockers into completely casual labour.

The working class as a whole must answer this challenge. Don't let the dockers fight alone!

They must win their fight! This will be a great victory for the whole working class.

On 27 April all roads lead to Liverpool.

Liverpool dockers' solidarity campaign pictures — page 3

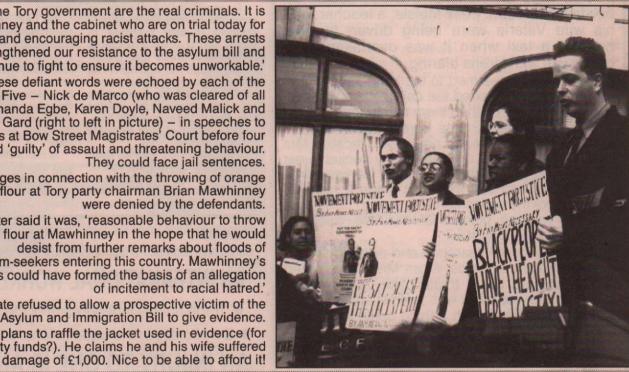
'The Tory government are the real criminals. It is Mawhinney and the cabinet who are on trial today for racism and encouraging racist attacks. These arrests have strengthened our resistance to the asylum bill and we will continue to fight to ensure it becomes unworkable.'

These defiant words were echoed by each of the Mawhinney Five - Nick de Marco (who was cleared of all charges), Amanda Egbe, Karen Doyle, Naveed Malick and Tony Gard (right to left in picture) – in speeches to supporters at Bow Street Magistrates' Court before four were found 'guilty' of assault and threatening behaviour. They could face jail sentences.

All the charges in connection with the throwing of orange paint and flour at Tory party chairman Brian Mawhinney were denied by the defendants.

Their barrister said it was, 'reasonable behaviour to throw paint and flour at Mawhinney in the hope that he would desist from further remarks about floods of asylum-seekers entering this country. Mawhinney's comment's could have formed the basis of an allegation

of incitement to racial hatred." The magistrate refused to allow a prospective victim of the Asylum and Immigration Bill to give evidence. Mawhinney plans to raffle the jacket used in evidence (for Tory party funds?). He claims he and his wife suffered



'The great only appear great because we are on our knees. Let us arise!' - James Connolly

The following is the 27 April conference appeal from Merseyside Port Shop Stewards' chair JIMMY

FOR six months we have been in struggle for the demands of our charter: against casualisation and for the reinstatement of the 500 sacked dockers with trade recognition elected shop stewards.

We have received a magnificent and heartening response - from active trade unionists in Britain and throughout the world.

That is because unemployment, casualisation, privatisation, slave contracts, part-time working and attacks on unions have descended on workers everywhere as a result of capitalist greed. In Britain, organisations in Britain, Thatcherism has been in the how to build and develop plague that has hit the world, taking away from the working people the rights to organise and thus extend some control over their own

Our dignity and basic rights have only been won through struggle, and we must face the fact that there is a crisis in the labour movement - so-called 'Victorian values' mean slavery for those fortunate enough to have a job and the workhouse for the unemployed.

We are calling this conference of those who have shown support for us because we want to discuss how to win this fight, but above all we want to discuss how to rebuild our labour

forefront in spreading this unity in struggle and assist further the advance internationally.

> The growing number of banners on our trade union and community marches and rallies, the establishment of support groups in major towns, your financial solidarity and the response to our recent international conference clearly show that we can and must organise together against the abuse of our rights, and the rights of our children and grandchildren, meted out by the rich owners of multinational companies and govern-

> We hope you can come to our conference or make sure your organisation is repre-

A national conference for all trade union, labour movement and community supporters of the dockers

Transport House, Islington, Liverpool (nr. Lime Street station). Saturday 27 April, 11am

ring 0151-207 3388 For London coach 0956 138496

For further details

Police terror, p2 ★ Women and Bosnia, p3 ★ Keynes, p4&5 ★ Newbury, p6 ★ German socialist resistance, p7 ★ Lebanon, p8

End this police terror

IN THE week before Easter the government rushed through parliament new emergency

powers for the police.

Under the Prevention of Terrorism (Additional Powers) Act, the police can stop and search pedestrians at will. They can detain anyone without charge for up to a week. And they now have the power to cordon off an area for up to four weeks and search houses and occupants.

Citizens deemed not to be co-operating as the police think they should can be fined £5,000 or

clapped in jail for six months.

Though a handful of Labour MPs voted against this massive new curtailment of the British people's hard-won civil liberties, the government enjoyed the largely uncritical support of Tony Blair and most of his colleagues in the parliamentary Labour Party.

The home secretary's sole justification for these draconian new measures was the possibility — indeed, as Howard insisted over and over again, the likelihood — of a major IRA bombing campaign over Easter.

There was no such bombing campaign. There was not so much as a single IRA bomb. But the police have got their new powers, to which they will naturally cling with the utmost tenacity.

AMONG the first hapless victims of these new powers were an inoffensive Swiss couple on holiday in London. Felix Meisle, a teacher, and his wife Valerie were being driven to their hotel in a taxi when it was overtaken by a police van with sirens blaring.

Twenty officers, armed to the teeth, leapt out of the van and surrounded the cab, ordered its passengers out, and pushed them to the ground.

'They were like Rambos, screaming and shouting at us to stand still and not move', recalled Mrs Meisle. 'I went to put my hand in my pocket to get my passport out, to show them that we were ordinary tourists and that they had made a mistake, when one of the policemen stepped up close and, with his weapon pointed at my face, shouted: 'Don't move — stay still.''

The couple were searched and ordered to give their names and address. When Mrs Meisle asked why they were being treated like terrorists and criminals she was told it was 'normal procedure'.

'I cannot believe such a thing could happen in London', she commented.

WELL, it *can* happen, and it *does* happen — and it *will* happen on an increasing scale, and not only in London.

The harm that will be done to the tourist industry as word gets abroad is incalculable; but this is far and away the least troubling aspect of the new, 'improved' PTA.

From a gun in your face to a bullet in your brain is not a gigantic step.

At imminent risk from these police terrorists and their panoply of deadly weapons, which now includes CS gas, is the entire Irish community in mainland Britain. At risk is every other ethnic minority, especially those among them who dare to engage in political protest.

At risk, not least, is every militant trade unionist; every strike picket; every activist in every community campaign; every anti-racist and anti-fascist who scorns to cower in submission to the state

For upwards of ten years Workers Press has been warning of the erosion of civil liberties in this country. The British ruling class did not hand these liberties to us; our forebears won them in struggle. Now they are being clawed back, and it is our plain duty to resist that process.

One of the central topics in the developing discussion on a new socialist party must be how such resistance can be organised on the widest possible scale.

Letters

WE WELCOME LETTERS
SEND THEM TO: WORKERS PRESS,
PO BOX 735, LONDON SW8 1YB
— OR FAX 0171-387 0569

Letters longer than 500 words WILL be cut

Mad cows

THE articles on BSE in Workers Press in recent weeks have been very good in pinpointing the role of capitalism in the development of this possible terminal disease for up to 50 per cent of the British population — if we are to believe the forecasts of Professor Lacey.

However, I was surprised that no attention was given to the views of Dr Mark Purdy the organic farmer and scientist who formulated the theory that it was the chemical treatment of the cattle rather than the feed which is responsible for BSE.

He explains how the cattle had strong solvents poured on the spinal area before having powerful chemicals applied, which soaked right through to the nerves. This was applied to combat blow fly.

The interesting thing here is that in Scotland where blow fly wasn't such a problem BSE is nowhere as bad as in England.

Cattle received up to four times the dose of other countries. He also states that the stress that has been put on cattle with intensive farming methods may have upset their immune system, therefore giving rise to diseases hitherto unheard of.

He suggests that the chemicals could enter the human system through cuts or woulds, which would explain how farmers or abattoir workers have gone down with CJD.

As many readers will know Mark Purdy went through an intensive campaign of harrassment when he first attacked the chemical industry with his views.

It would be interesting to speculate on why the Tory government is now prepared to accept that it is the feed that is causing BSE rather than chemicals, although two leading Tories are now supporting his views. Could it be that the power of the chemical companies is greater than that of the animal feed companies or more of their money is invested in them?

I still feel that it is an open question whether it is the feed or the chemicals, or maybe a combination of both, but I feel we must examine all things so that we can nail this government for the crime it has committed against the mass of the people of this and other countries.

J McLauchlan Edinburgh.

Balkan expert?

CHARLIE POTTINS has described Joan Phillips as 'a Balkan expert' (Inside left, 13 April). But what were her qualifications?

I know what mine are. I went to the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) and got a II.2 in 'South East European Regional Studies'.

SSEES was founded in 1915. In 1930 Romanian and Hungarian were added to the syllabus. R.W. Seton-Watson was Masaryk Professor of Central European History from 1922 to 1945.

Seton-Watson's son Hugh was head of the History Department and Phyllis Auty, Tito's biographer, was head of Yugoslavian studies when I was at SSEES.

Vera Jevarek, co-author of 'Teach Yourself Serbo-Croat' (1963) taught that language at SSEES from 1947 to 1966.

But where did Joan go? Having read her disgraceful review of Branka Magas's *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracing the Break-up* (1993), in the April 1993 issue of *Living Marxism*, I get the impression that Joan had not got the slightest idea of Yugoslav history and would not know the differences between the Vidovan Constitution and the back end of a camel.

No one who knew anything about the subject would discuss the idea of pre-war Yugoslavia as a Great Serb Empire as 'a new orthodoxy'. How can 'a new orthodoxy' be all that new since R.W. Seton-Watson had held to that idea since the Vidovan Constitution became law in 1921, in the third year of the Yugoslav state?

Seton-Watson wanted a federal democratic Yugoslavia and thought that a centralist constitution would reflect Pan-Serb ideas and be disastrous for

Yugoslavia's future. He was right. Stjepan Radic, the Croatian Peasant Party leader and Croatia's Parnell was shot dead in Parliament in 1928. King Alexander turned Yugoslavia into a dictatorship in 1929. He was shot in 1934.

But in the same review, Joan wrote: 'There were nationalists aplenty in Serbia before and during the war. But they were not in the ascendancy.' Just how crass can you get?

Tom Carter Somerton, Somerset

Trotskyism and the SLP

CLIFF SLAUGHTER (Letters, 30 March) postulates that 'the necessary new party... must and will come out of the working class's deepest needs as it engages in the necessary reconstruction of its class movement.' Although it would be difficult to deny the truth of this proposition it nevertheless verges on the nebulous and ahistorical.

Does not some concrete 'meat' need to be placed on the abstract 'bones' of this statement if Marxists are to begin to elaborate a strategy for building a mass revolutionary party?

A Blair government elected against the backdrop of a deepening global economic crisis will further strain the relationship between the working class and its 'traditional' reformist leadership.

How will the move away from reformism be expressed? It is already expressing itself in the formation of the SLP and will continue to do so with its growth as the working class begins to leave reformism behind.

The SLP will become a rallying point for a radicalised working class. Revolutionaries have a duty to merge with this movement (to join the SLP) and at the same time organise for a regroupment of the revolutionary forces inside the SLP but in opposition to its current leadership and bourgeois constitution.

The Fourth International needs to be rebuilt, but how? Marxists need a forum within

which they can rebuild an regroup in opposition to counter revolutionary forces in the working-class movement. The SLP that forum.

This new formation is not simply the product of the 'politicar effections' of any individual no is it 'only one part of the fermen

for a new party'.

Its emergence is a manifestation 'of the working class's deep est needs as it engages in the necessary reconstruction of it class movement'.

Its formation arises directle out of the crisis of British capital ism as part of the crisis of a work system. It is a pointer on the roat to the rebuilding of the Trotsky ist movement, to its reunification.

The working class will not discard its 'traditional' leadership in the manner of a snake shedding its skin. These 'leadership will have to be broken in the course of breaking the working class from them.

This will not be done be purely propagandist or agitational methods, i.e. by means of pontificating abstentionism (Geoff Barr, Letters, 30 March).

The fight for a mass revolutionary party will only be won it opposition to reformists, certrists and die-hard Stalinist This must entail a most bitter an protracted struggle against these forces in full view of the class. Tadopt a 'wait and see' police would be fatal (and is fatalistic!).

The historical, concrete situation facing Marxists demands the elaboration of a flexible strateg (not one preoccupied with orgarisational integrity and sectaria cretinism) by means of whice Marxists will become immerse in the life of those living forces in the class which are now comin forward to build the SLP.

Disengagement from thes forces is reactionary and can onl serve the interests of the enem; If necessary the sectarianism i the Trotskyist movement mus and will be broken from 'below and Trotskyism rebuilt from the 'bottom upwards'.

For a regroupment of revolutionary forces inside the SLI Rebuild the Fourth International!

This important conference is convened jointly

by the ITUSC and ALISC. It will follow the

'Africa Month' here in Britain. We will be

discussing and deciding how to take forward

workers' international solidarity in the coming

struggles. Delegates will be travelling from

Africa, India, Bangladesh, South America,

Russia, Ukraine and eastern Europe.

Therefore, rather than have a set attendance fee we are asking you to give whatever you car

towards the cost of the conference and the fares of those delegates. A draft resolution will be sent to you, and we ask you to keep in touch during the preparation of the conference and

let us have any resolutions and/or written

Shaun Ma Hull SL

International Trade Union Solidarity Campaign — African Liberation Support Campaign

Conference address: PO Box 18, Epsom, KT18 7YR, Britain. Tel/Fax: +441372 721 550

AN INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE

- Trade unions independent of the state and the employers
- Democracy in the trade unions
 Workers' internationalism

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Saturday – Sunday 8 – 9 June, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

Near Holborn. Start 10.30am Saturday, 10am Sunday.

Dear brother, sister, comrade,

From sacked Liverpool dockers in Britain, to garment workers of Bangladesh, busworkers of Mexico. City, Russian and Ukrainian miners, Nigerian oil workers, retrenched Ugandan workers, South African nurses, French railway workers, the shoeworkers of Indonesia, building workers of Germany, and those who have been forced to flee their homeland and have taken refuge in the West—workers of the world struggle against the same enemy and must be united in that struggle.

Therefore we warmly invite you to this conference jointly organised by us.

The first International Trade Union Solidarity Campaign conference took place in April 1991.

Since then we have fought to produce a bulletin and maintain contact with workers and their struggles in many countries. That is how the ITUSC met the African Liberation Support Campaign. Our call remains simple and direct:

The right of all workers to combine in democratic trade unions, independent of employers and the state is a fundamental right. The right to work, the right to strike, the right to asylum and freedom to live and work in any part of the world are also basic democratic rights. Laws which take away these fundamental rights are against basic democratic freedoms.

Capital operates globally through multinational companies, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations. Through brutal colonisation and super-exploitation — using worker to undercut worker — capital seeks to create divisions in the working class, using war, nationalism, unemployment, racism, religion, the break-up of communities and control of the media and production to attack us.

The systematic global erosion of wages and conditions, employment contracts, hours of work, pensions and health and safety must no longer be tolerated, nor must the spread of privatisation, casual labour and the use of low pay, poor conditions and unemployment to attack hard-won wages and conditions.

Millions of workers in the socalled 'Third World' have never even had the luxury of these con-

ditions. Workers doing the same work are entitled to the same wages and conditions in every country. An injury to one is an

injury to all!

The division of the working class means that workers in one country not only are unaware of the problems of their sisters and brothers in other countries, but are hi-jacked into supporting 'their own' company against others, thus widening the divisions.

Although capital is the primary cause, responsibility for these divisions also lies in the workers' movement:

■ The nationalist pro-capital social-democratic trade unions and political parties in the West;

The policies of 'socialism in one country' and 'peaceful co-exitence with capital' carried out by the now collapsed bureaucratic regimes in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe;

The nationalist pro-capital regimes which have taken office in the so-called independent one-time colonial countries and are administering the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programme to the detriment of workers and peasants. For these reasons, depite its enormous cri-

material on the issues you wish discuss.

doing the same
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sis, capital has continued to rul
the world. We have been brough
to the point where the future of
humanity itself is threatened.

The 'market' dominates ever aspect of our lives. Nothing matters to capital except profit. Th 'market' cares nothing for mil lions of ordinary people and thei children. Our fightback start now!

The outcome of this conference should be the establishmen of real links towards an international and internationalist association of organised workers and the communities. It brings u together, people of various political persuasions, but with the universal understanding that the class struggle is alive as ever i was, and that together we have a world to win — for socialism.

We urge your organisation to ensure a delegate attends the conference. Please photocopy and circulate this invitation and please write with your name address and organisation and and cheques payable to the ITUSC at the address above.

Peter Gibson (chair) and Keith Standring (organiser) fo ITUSC and Alfred Banya (secretary) for ALISC

Women-to-women convoy returns from Bosnia

Last week five women from Teesside Bosnian Solidarity Campaign arrived back in Britain after taking as lorry of aid to a women's association in the mining town of Banovice in northern Bosnia.

Their group was formed after the United Nations delivered the town of Srebenica over to the nationalist and fascist forces last summer.

The women in the Teesside group decided to make the journey to Bosnia to help develop solidarity against ethnic cleansing.

They had received great backing from schools and Unison branches in the Teesside area. They travelled to Tuzla on the newly opened 'Northern Route' but had trouble crossing the border from Croatia to Bosnia.

NASEEM AKHTAR, a Unison shop steward, wrote this initial comment as the convoy was driving back to Britain

THE conflict in Bosnia is officially over, but the country has been devastated by war then carved up between Serbia and Croatia. Schools, houses, hospitals whole will goes his in ruins. tals, whole villages, lie in ruins.

There are millions of refugees and displaced persons. The people of Bosnia still need our support.

People have been sending aid to Bosnia for the last four years but the Bosnians don't only want material things. They need ordinary people to see the real situation there, they want and need our friendship and solidarity — this is vitally important, long

We decided on a women-only group because Bosnian women and children have suffered so much, because we had made contact with a women's group in Banovice, because we thought we'd have less hassle as women and because we as women knew we could do it.

We are just ordinary people. It is always ordinary people like us who get hurt and suffer in wars. The people of Bosnia seemed so far away, out of reach, but they are not. We decided it was time to reach out and touch them. And that is what we did.

Our journey to Bosnia was frustrating and worrying. Would we cross the border which was the river Sava? All the bridges had been blown up in the war. There were miles of lines of waiting trucks and vans. Could we cross by ferry?

We felt helpless. We'd come so far. Now the police were turning us away. We waited and waited and spoke to the military forces and police in Slavonski Brod until finally we were given permission to move on.

Then a miracle happened, with kind people pulling some strings to give us priority to cross by ferry after two days' waiting. We were in Bosnia! I felt so relieved, so happy.

Destination

Banovice, our final destination, was a bigger town than I had imagined with a few tall buildings and lots of people hanging around the town centre — young people with nothing to do, nowhere to go.

I feel this country has been swamped by war. I can see it in the damaged buildings, burnt out cars, piles of rubbish, abandoned

BY KEN SINGER

THE treatment of Irish political

prisoner Paddy Kelly shows just how low Home Secretary Michael

as having particularly life-

threatening form of skin cancer.

Kelly was jailed for conspiracy to

cause explosions in the six coun-

ties and was sentenced to a long

partner Angela Rice reported

that Kelly had developed second-

On a recent TV programme his

term in Maghaberry jail.

Years ago Kelly was diagnosed

Howard is prepared to stoop.

vehicles. Every street has its soldiers and policemen standing in groups on duty.

The welcome we had from the women of the Hands of Friendship Association was so warm, so kind. They were very happy and pleased to see us.

Brave

I personally feel that they are very brave people. I cannot even imagine the horrors they have been through.

One of the headteachers we met told our group: 'We've got the strength to fight. We don't want people to feel sorry for us. We don't wish what had happened to us in Bosnia to happen to anyone else in the world. But in the name of our dear children, help us to rebuild our school. Help us to get some desks, some furniture, some books, equipment. We would be glad and grateful to receive the help from people in Britain.'

Banovice is a multi-ethnic town with many intermarried families. Since the years of war these families have been split. Many people have left and some families will never be reunited. I cannot comprehend the enormity of this tragedy. Curfews, people still short of water, gas, electricity, most shops still empty, tensions high. People are exhausted but they still have great strength and resilience to survive and fight for their multi-ethnic iden-

We did reach out to touch a few of the people of Bosnia. We touched and hugged, like members of a new-found family. And now we are back to say thank you so much to the people of Teesside, to Unison, and Workers Aid for Bosnia and other aid groups that have supported us.

Our first step upon returning was to send what was left of our convoy fund to a hospital, a school and a kindergarten we visited in Banovice. Now we want you to help us raise more for them, and we would also like to invite women from the Hands of Friendship Association to visit

For me this is the beginning of my friendship with the women of Banovice. Will you help me in the task of demonstrating our solidarity in practical ways?

Naseem Akhtar can be contacted on 01642 811615311.

Thinking that the British gov-

ernment would not be inhumane,

a request was made to transfer

Kelly to a jail in the south of Ire-

land so that he could be nearer

home. A normal person would

have thought that a request for

release would not be unreason-

able given the circumstances, but

even the mild request to move

release of British soldiers, serv-

ants of colonial rule in the north,

who have murdered civilians.

Compare this with the early

jails was turned down.

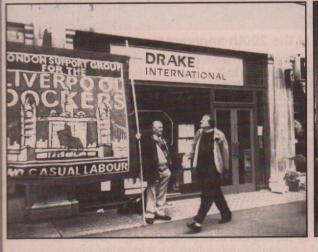
will die quite soon.



A number of solidarity actions have recently been taken to support the 500 sacked Liverpool dockers

On Wednesday 10 April the Women of the Waterfront support group in Liverpool (banner below) called a women's day of action which was supported the 'young women' on the left and by a coach from London organised by Camden Unison.

Also in London the support group there picketted outside Drake International's shop in High Holborn on Monday 15 April (below left). Drake International is the company that organises scabs for the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company. North-East London Textile TGWU members and supporters of the Mawhinney Five (see front page) joined the demonstration





London support group for Liverpool dockers meeting and social East Ham Town Hall, Barking Road, East Ham E6 2RP.

(District line, East Ham)

Friday 3 May, 7pm till late!

Meet the Liverpool dockers! Main speaker: Jimmy Nolan, Merseyside Port Shop Stewards' Committee. Also Vic Turner (Pentonville Five) and Hillingdon strikers

Solidarity night for Liverpool dockers Benefit for the 500 sacked men

Jimmy Nolan, Hillingdon hospital worker, TGWU trade unionist Bill Hodge, TGWU Textile branch secretary Tekin Kartal, Banner Theatre, Irish singer Sean Brady, Grup Subat Türküsü, Turkish singer Rahim Çakil, Halk Oyunlari Folk Dance.

Tuesday 30 April, 7pm (£3)

Rona Rooms, Shacklewell Lane, Hackney, E8. Organised by North-East London Textile TGWU branch

placentaburgers! And now People in Britain have been

BY DANIEL ROBERTSON

THE dispute over the origins and potential threat to human health — of BSE (mad cow disease) took another step forward this week with US research suggesting that sheep scrapie was not the source of this disease.

Scientists have found that none of the strains of scrapie that they examined could cause BSE in cattle. The British government have argued that because BSE probably originated from feeding scrapie-diseased sheep to cattle it could not then harm

eating sheep infected scrapie for centuries with no known ill effects. It is possible that the US researchers have failed to identify the strain of scrapie responsible, which may be unique to Britain.

But scientists in Britain have also found no evidence of a cattle-

infecting sheep prion disease. This research suggests that BSE may have developed spontaneously in cattle and built up slowly through the practice of feeding dead cattle products to

dairy herds. One frightening conclusion

that the small number of deaths from BSE-related disease in humans may have come from early limited numbers of diseased cattle while the disease built up undetected.

Exposure to the widespread infection in the late 1980s may cause much larger casualties.

Revolting

The latest revolting revelation on 'modern' farming methods is that human placentas collected from a hospital in Zurich were fed to cattle in Switzerland for decades before public protests

The BSE crisis has brought to public attention the threat that capitalist intensive farming methods, with its disregard for consequences to health, have to our biological well being.

This is a world and not just a British problem. The anarchy of capitalism in its terminal crisis poses an unprecedented threat to the survival of all humanity and of the planet itself.

This makes even more urgent the building of a movement that will put a final end to capitalism and replace it with a system that will put real human needs in place of the drive for ever greater

WORKERS PRESS IS THE PAPER OF THE **WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

Howard's (barbaric) Way

British section of the Workers International (to Rebuild the Fourth International) Please send me information about the WRP

Name	date	
Address		

Trade union (if any) Age (if under 21)

Send to: PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB

Inside left

Two 'A's and a G

OLITICIANS are talking about 'edcation and training', the way they sed to preach 'law 'n order'. It's safer han promising housing and jobs. nstead of providing proper appreniceships, firms can patronise a stateubsidised growth-industry called raining provision'.

Faced with a mass of job appliants, employers can disqualify most efore picking the lucky one with a in. The unemployed can be told their problems are due to their inferiority r lack of effort, nothing to do with he government or the system.

Salua shows the way for the young. t 20 she has qualifications in dressnaking, tourism, and public relaions, and takes home twice what she sed to earn before she was laid off rom selling reconditioned motors. ersonality is important.

Salua's £1,500 a month doesn't come rom dressmaking but from undress-

ng in a nightclub. Guardian journalist Phil Gunson ays it's 'one of the few Mexican ndustries apparently booming espite the recession — the sex trade.

Mexico City's Cuauhtemoc district poasts 1,217 stripclubs. Conditions ary. Salua says clients at her place ren't too bad. Sex is optional.

If you don't want to go with them, you don't have to' ('Table dancers destep recession in Mexico', Guardan 2 April).

On Monday 1 April, Home Secreary Michael Howard (at least bserving the date — it looked like him) took a stroll around Soho, eccompanied by his minders. By coinidence, Westminster magistrates eccepted nightclub owner Peter Stringfellow's application to bring tripping 'table-dancers' into his lovent Garden nightspot.

Local residents had protested, saying it would attract imitators and poil the neighbourhood.

In Soho, the sex business tended to

isplace other trades, being able to fford higher rents and rates. Westminster council did not oppose Stringfellow's application.

Table dancing is big around Mayair, and that's not your 'dirty mac' brigade. Peter Stringfellow says cusomers (unlike the hostesses) will have to be decently-dressed, preferbly 'corporate men aged about 40'. Presumably with nice corporate expense accounts.

There's to be 'no touching'. But no wages either. The licensing magisrates were told customers could how appreciation (presumably for rtistic merit) by slipping a tenner into the entertainer's garters' at the end of a routine. But the dancer has to e down to her G-string by then. I'm not up with this sophisticated stuff.

It sounds an easy way of making money, for Mr Stringfellow. But he works hard attracting the smart set.

Last night he got to bed at 5.30am, because he'd been treating the prime minister's brother, Terry Major Ball, o a large steak.... Then the cast of 'A Firl In My Soup' turned up with Derek Hatton, the ex-Liverpool counillor. "I like Degsy very much ndeed," approves String."

Stringfellow's 'Angels' are due to tart in July. As he thumbs through opeful applicants' polaroids, and lances at accompanying CV's, ouldn't Mrs Shephard lend a hand?

In her ministerial capacity, I mean; with training grants for table-dancng NVQs. Enterprising universities ubscribing to 'market-led' education bould offer courses. Some of their stuients are already paying off their pans this way.

Most won't take the kind of money alua was claiming. In Mexico City, light club workers have a union. Peraps the 'sisters' who used to protest bout pub strippers should do some constructive organising instead.

Fifty years on It is 50 years since the death of John Maynard Keynes, Mayna the economist who provided much of the ideological justification for the reformist policies of the Labour leaders after 1945. He has often been portrayed as a liberal-progressive and a friend of labour. GEOFF PILLING looks at his ideas and their fate.

Introduction

THIS year marks the 50th anniversary of the death of John Maynard Keynes, one of the ruling class's most important ideologists this century.

For it was Keynes who provided much of the justification for the politics of the Labour Party leadership in the post-1945 period. His message was that capitalism could be tamed, made into a system that was largely crisis-free, and one that could serve the interests of all classes, including the working class.

Born the same year that Marx died (1883) into an upper middle class family, he was educated at Eton and Cambridge, where he studied first mathematics and then economics under Alfred Marshall.

Keynes then entered the India Office but soon took up a teaching post in the University of Cambridge, where he remained until his death in

Initially a conventional bourgeois economist specialising in monetary matters, after the end of World War I Keynes came to realise that the problems of twentieth century capitalism could no longer be tackled on the basis of the economic ideas of Victo-

Until the 1930s the great majority of bourgeois economists belived that 'the market', left to its own devices, would bring about a smoothly-operating capitalist system.

Any problems that capitalism did encounter were due to untoward interference with this market mechanism — either by the state or, more usually, by the trade unions.

This Keynes rejected. Further, he realised before most representatives of the ruling class that the British

economy was in a parlous state, having been severely weakened by the war. He increasingly rejected the ideas of 'laissez faire', namely that the state should keep out of economic affairs. (See his essay, 'The end of laissez faire', 1926.)

Keynes therefore advocated a more active role for the state, including the provision of public works road building, slum clearance, etc. to deal with the chronic unemployment that existed throughout the 1920s. He justified such measures on crudely pragmatic grounds:

'Whilst, therefore, the enlargement of the functions of government .. would seem to a nineteenth century publicist or a contemporary American financier to be a terrific encroachment on individualism, I defend it, on the contrary, both as the only practicable means of avoiding the destruction of existing economic forms [that is capitalism] in their entirety and as the condition of the successful functioning of individual

Here Keynes is saying quite openly: an unregulated capitalism is no longer possible, greater state support for its operations is imperative if it is to survive. It was this that became the 'conventional wisdom' for much of the period after 1945.

Keynes also increasingly attacked the financiers as the real villains of the piece and key contributors to the plight of British capitalism.

Like his dwindling band of present-day supporters he saw the City of London as the 'reactionary' element in the British ruling class, looking forward in his major work The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936) to the 'euthanasia of the rentier' within



Keynes at the 200th anniversary of the Russian Academy of Sc

the space of 25 years. (What a prediction that turned out to be!)

In the post-1945 period Keynes was normally presented by many 'left' intellectuals as a 'progressive' for some the last great British liberal intellectual, for others, given that he favoured a greater degree of state intervention in the economy, even as some sort of socialist.

Thus for that leading figure of the 'New Left', Perry Anderson, Keynes was, 'the last great social thinker produced by the English bourgeoisie, with all the largeness and generosity of once confident liberalism. . . . Retrospectively, Keynes's magnitude has grown....His theoretical system was vindicated practically.'

In fact Keynes held the most reactionary views, ones that the leader of the British fascist movement, Oswald Mosley, certainly found attractive in the 1930s.

For Mosley was drawn towards Keynes's idea that the economy should be run on corporatist lines, on the basis of a collaboration between the 'productive' industrialists, the state and the labour leaders. As Robert Mosley's biographer, Skidelsky, puts it:

[C]uriously enough Keynes did not include the class struggle [between capitalists and workers] in his account of interest conflicts. He tended to assume an identity of interest between workers and manufacturers against their common enemy — the rentier and the banker.

"The notion of the conflict of interest within the capitalist community and the identity of interest between the workers and one section of that community — the manufacturers was to have profound influence on Mosley's thought. It was to give him both a strategy and a philosophy quite different from the standard socialist conception in which the workers were all on one side, and the wicked capitalists all on the other. Henceforth the producers' state would be the goal; and finance the

enemy.' The same Skidelsky goes so far as to say: 'Mosley was a disciple of Keynes in the 1920s; and Keynesianism was his great contribution to Fascism. It was Keynesianism which in the last resort made Mosley's Fascism distinctively English.'

Little wonder that 'The General Theory' was so warmly received in Nazi Germany and that Keynes could say in the preface to that edi-

'I confess that much of the following book is illustrated and expounded mainly with reference to the conditions existing in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Nevertheless [the book] is much more easily adapted to the conditions of a totalitarian state [in German 'totaler staat', Keynes's euphemism for the fascism that then existed in Germany].

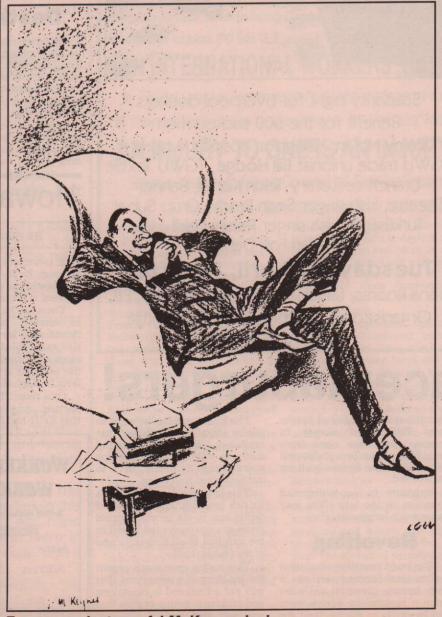
Nor was Keynes ever coy about where he stood in relation to the class struggle, in which he sided unashamedly with the 'educated bourgeoisie'. Nor was he less than forthright in his denunciation of Marxism, even though this educated son of the ruling class admitted he had never bothered his head with the study of Capital:

'How can I adopt a creed which, preferring the mud to the fish, exalts the boorish proletariat above the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia who, with whatever faults, are the quality in life and carry the seeds of all human advancement.'

Ideas

IN ESSENCE Keynes's ideas for the rescue of capitalism were simple. In times of impending slump the state should step up its expenditure and thus provide work for the unemployed.

In times when the economy was growing too rapidly and inflation, that is rising prices, threatened, the state should cut back on its spending. In this way the system could be kept in harmony and avoid the sort of



Famous caricature of J.M. Keynes by Low

from John rd Keynes



ences in 1925

slump that had almost destroyed it in the 1930s.

Simple (and incidentally far from original) Keynes's ideas may have been. But they were deceptively so. For the question that Keynes could not answer was: where was the money that the government was to spend to lift the capitalist system out of a slump to come from?

If the government borrowed it — from the financial institutions — then it would have to be repaid, with interest. And interest is a form of surplus value. So it would have to be extracted from the producers of surplus value, the working class. Keynes's idea of an alliance between worker and capitalist on the one hand and the bankers on the other was a sham from beginning to end.

If on the other hand the government financed its spending by resort to the printing press it would inevitably threaten the stability of the monetary system.

In fact, as is now widely recognised, the relatively high levels of employment that existed in Britain from the end of World War II to the late 1960s owed little if anything to the successful application of Keynesian economic policies.

The high level of employment throughout much of the capitalist world was due to the ability of United States imperialism to stabilise the system and create conditions for its expansion. This was achieved in the framework of the postwar Bretton Woods monetary arrangements which were in effect a child of US capital

child of US capital.

But the power of US capital in the postwar world was far from absolute and by 1971 the Bretton Woods arrangements had disintegrated. It was now that Keynesianism was put to its first real test. It was to fail it

For when the Wilson-Callaghan Labour government after 1974 attempted to stem the sharp rise in unemployment by resort to Keyne-

sian measures, the City immediately pulled the plug on the government; it had to execute a humiliating U-turn and begin the attack on state spending that the 1979 Thatcher government was to continue.

It was as a result of the 'strike' by the City of London against the Labour government, its refusal to finance that government's borrowing requirement, that the then prime minister, James Callaghan, told the 1976 Labour Party conference:

'We used to think that you could spend your way out of a recession, and increase employment by cutting taxes and boosting government expenditure.

I tell you in all candour that option no longer exists, and in so far as it ever did exist, it only worked on each occasion since the war by injecting a bigger dose of inflation into the economy. And each time that happened the average level of unemployment has risen. Higher inflation followed by higher unemployment. That is the history of the last 20 years.'

Thus was the ignominious demise of Keynesianism pronounced — by the reformists!

And this was not simply a British question. In 1981 François Mitterrand, in alliance with the Communist Party of France, was elected president of France on the basis of a project that he said 'had nothing in common with the corrupt compromises of a Schmidt or a Callaghan, let alone a Mollet.'

Within the first months of office, the new government, in classical Keynesian style, had raised the minimum wage by 10 per cent, old age pensions by 20 per cent and family allowances by 30 per cent. To deal with rising unemployment, over 60,000 jobs were created in the public sector, with the promise of a further

150,000 to follow shortly.

The state acquired 100 per cent of the shares in five major conglomerates and public ownership of the

banking sector was further extended.

But faced with a severe run on the franc, within less than two years the government had executed a U-turn on economic policy, imposing austerity on the working class and providing incentives for the rich.

Removed from office in the 1986 parliamentary elections, the 'socialists' were returned again in 1988 but they showed no inclination to reverse the wholesale privatisations carried out in the intervening period.

It was now that the economic witch doctors pronounced the 'second crisis of economics' — for them the first had been in the 1930s. It was now that Keynes, only a few short years before hailed as the saviour of capitalism and the final answer to Marx, was denounced as the source of all our economic ills.

In fact the intensifying crisis of capitalism made the Keynesian 'remedies' impossible. Bourgeois economics suddenly discovered that capitalism was suffering from rising unemployment and rising inflation simultaneously, phenomena that defied the very logic of Keynesian economics.

Callaghan's pronouncement was but the prelude to the open repudiation by the Labour leaders of anything to do with Keynes's ideas.

Gone was any pledge to a policy of full employment. Gone was any commitment to a policy of income re-distribution and greater economic equality, for which previous Labour leaders had said they stood.

Thrown out of the window was any pledge to defend the welfare state, of which Keynes, along with William Beveridge, had been a leading architect. Instead, first Kinnock, then Smith and now Blair, openly accepted the 'market', that is the unbridled capitalist system, the very form of capitalism that Keynes had criticised in the 1930s.

But if the ideas of Keynes were increasingly rejected this did not mean that there could be any return to laissez faire and the liberalism of the last century.

On the contrary. The Thatcher years saw the state assuming an ever-greater repressive role. Where Keynes had seen the state's role as one that might within limits attenuate social conflicts, from the 1980s onwards the state became more and more openly an instrument to be used against the working class.

The laws carried against the unions, the break-up of welfare services, the destruction of the nationalised industries, were examples of this rele

This rejection of Keynsianism was not simply a policy option. It reflected the growing systemic crisis, internationally and in Britain. Rising long-term structural unemployment, currency instability, mounting budget deficits, etc., made the operation of Keynesian policies impossible, whatever government might be in office.

It is now on the cards that we will have a Labour government taking office in the 50th year after Keynes's death. When Labour took office in 1945 under Clement Attlee, 'we are all Keynesians now' was a muchused phrase. You can be certain such a phrase when of a Plain polyment!

any member of a Blair cabinet!
Such is the fate of John Maynard
Keynes and his ideas.

City Lights

Disaster strikes

HARD-NOSED insurers in the City are becoming deeply concerned about the increased threat to the environment that the continued rule of capital involves. Indeed, according to a recent writer in the *Financial Times*, they are having nightmares about it.

But don't jump to conclusions. The pinstriped brigade is not queueing up to join the 'Greens'. What is worrying them is not the effect that the environmental crisis is having on the likes of you or me. What concerns them are the losses they may incur as a result of environmental disasters.

As a recent reviewer of a book written by people working in the financial services sector put it: 'Greater wealth is being concentrated in hurricane-prone coastal regions or earthquake zones. Worse, evidence is mounting that global warming is increasing the severity and frequency of storms.

'Disaster costs, as a result, are escalating. Insured losses from large natural catastrophes are running at levels 15 times higher than in the

It seems that Hurricane Andrew, which hit Florida in 1992, caused \$17bn in insured losses. Latest estimates indicate that a violent storm along the north-east coast of the US could cost \$100bn and result in \$50bn in policy claims — more than enough to drive many insurers out of business.

As Andrew Dlugolecki of the London insurers General Accident — one of the contributors to the book Climatic Changes and the Financial Sector: the emerging threat, the solar solution — warns, 'weather events' could today destroy a company as surely as Nick Leeson brought down Barings.

The problem is that while pricing

mechanisms can cope reasonably well with predictable risks that generate a level of policy claims within a narrow range this is not possible when dealing with 'mega disasters' about which it is difficult, if not impossible, to make precise predictions.

What answer did the providers of what are called 'financial services' come up with? According to Carlos Joly, of the Norwegian insurer UNI: 'Environmental risk like climatic change... presents us with new and unpredictable categories.' Therefore governments must assume the role of 'reinsurers of last resort'.

In other words the ordinary taxpayer is to pick up the bill for capitalism's destruction of the environment.

A gasted flabber

AN OLD northern comic, reacting to some surprise event, would say, 'I'm completely flabbergasted . . . in fact my flabber's never been so gasted.'

Roughly my reaction on learning that a government task force, dominated by leading City figures such as the financier Sir Mark Weinberg, has recommended that the leading institutions in the City be made responsible for teaching every child in the country how to manage their money responsibly.

Perhaps Asil Nadir could be persuaded to return from the warm climes of Cyprus and put his undoubted talents in the service of this project? Or if he's not available how about Nick Leeson of Barings fame? And they are only two possible candidates from among the many

to 'manage' money, if not their own then certainly other people's.

But the latest government proposal, designed, I am informed, to turn Britain into a share-owning democracy, has a serious, not to say sinister side. For among the compulsory lessons children would have to attend are ones dealing with pension and other financial provisions.

We can leave aside the fact that tens of thousands of young people trying to exist on a pittance handed out by the state have not a cat in hell's chance of saving a penny, or the fact that teachers would have to carry the burden of organising and supervising all this reactionary nonsense.

Even more serious: it is clear that the latest government-inspired proposals are a further indication of the shape of things to come.

A member of the Association of British Insurers greeted the proposals enthusiastically, saying:

'It is crucially important to let people know that the welfare state is not going to provide everything. Even now an old-age pension provides nothing like a decent standard of living. People have got to realise that care doesn't come free.'

Being able to talk to children about these things would be 'useful', he added. And no doubt profitable to members of his association!

Individuals will now have to provide for their old age, sickness and so on, or go to the wall. No doubt Labour leader Tony Blair, who has spent the last two years crawling on his well-filled belly in front of leading City lights in preparation for his entry into Number 10, will greet these latest proposals in the warmest manner.

He will no doubt tell us that they are completely in line with his 'stakeholder society'.

Private rats

A LOT of City sharks have made a killing out of water privatisation. But the rats in our cities are not doing badly either. For one of the less pleasant aspects of water privatisation has been the great increase in the rat population in many major urban areas.

The first national rodent survey for 20 years, published last year revealed a 39 per cent increase in ratinfestations in Britain's homes. Environmentalists say that water privatisation has made a significant contribution to this increase.

Pest control officers in central London claim that half the infestations are caused by rats that have come up from the sewers.

Lack of any statutory provision for the control of rats has left many local authorities struggling to negotiate commitments from the sewer owners to tackle the problem.

In the Yorkshire region, cashstrapped local authorities are still fighting about funding to clear the sewers since privatisation. Meanwhile North West Water is unwilling to take responsibility for the costs of control — even to pay half the costs.

Legislation of 1949 requires local authorities to destroy rats on land they own, and enforce control measures on land owned by others. The water companies say that they own sewers that run under land owned by local authorities or by others, and therefore they have no liability.

The situation is made more absurd, and more dangerous, by the fact that rats only thrive in old and badly-maintained sewers.

Adam Batty, Hull's environmenta officer, says that the case has been presented to the water industry's regulator, Ofwat, 'and it does no seem to be interested'.

Threadne

Wittgenstein goes east

STIMULATED by reviews of Ray Monk's recent massive biography of Bertrand Russell, I've been dipping into Monk's earlier, much praised, life of another 20thcentury philosopher: Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius (Cape, 1990).

In common, I suspect, with most readers of Workers Press, I've never been a great admirer of Wittgenstein's philosophy. So far as I can understand his peculiar amalgam of logic, 'language games' and outright mysticism, it seems to be at heart an attack, however cleverly disguised, on materialism and on science.

Wittgenstein's life was far more interesting than his thinking. Monk's account of this neurotic, obsessive, tortured, often insufferable individual for whom philosophy was a painful therapeutic activity — and did he need therapy! — makes fascinating reading, shedding much fresh light on social history and some fresh light on 1930s left-wing politics too.

Scattered references in Monk's biography make it possible to piece together Wittgenstein's evolution into a rather atypical but fascinating specimen of Friend of the Soviet Union' that mid-century middle-class phenomenon analysed so devastatingly by Trotsky.

Wittgenstein's interest in Soviet Russia began early. It seems to have been sparked off by the publication of Russell's vehemently anti-communist book The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism (1920). According to Monk, it was 'almost as though he thought if Russell hated it so much there must be something good about it'.

In 1922 Wittgenstein wrote to a friend about 'the idea of a possi-ble flight to Russia which we talked about', and 12 years later, still keen on the idea of visiting the USSR, he and his lover, the mathematics student Francis Skinner, decided to learn Russian.

Their teacher was Fania Pascal, wife of 'the Marxist intellectual and Communist Party member Roy Pascal', the latter being author of a number of books on German history and lit-

The Pascals thought Wittgenstein was more interested in the Russia of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky than in social or political matters; but the CP member George Thomson (later to publish Aeschylus and Athens, 1941), who knew him well in the 1930s, thought he showed 'growing political awareness' in those years, adding: 'He was alive to the evils of unemployment and fascism and the growing danger of war.

Thomson said of Wittgenstein's attitude to Marxism: 'He was opposed to it in theory, but supported it in practice.' Witt-genstein once told a friend of Skinner's: 'I am a communist, at

Many of Wittgenstein's other rienas at that time Maxists. They included the economist Maurice Dobb, with whom he lodged for a while, and Piero Sraffa, editor of Ricardo's Works and Correspondence.

The students who formed the core of the Cambridge CP among them David Guest and John Cornford, both soon to die as volunteers in Spain, and Maurice Cornforth attended his philosophy lectures and saw him as 'a sympathetic figure'.

THROUGHOUT the summer of 1935 Wittgenstein was making preparations for his Russian visit. He seems to have had it in mind to give up philosophy and settle in the USSR as a manual worker.

He went to see Ivan Maisky, Soviet ambassador to Britain, who told him the idea wasn't absolutely hopeless, but thought it unlikely that he would be

allowed to stay. He also tried to make contacts through the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR, whose vice-chairman, Hilda Browning,

PERSONAL **COLUMN**

gave him introductions to the Institute of the North and the Institute of National Minorities.

Travelling alone — Skinner was too ill to go — Wittgenstein arrived in Russia in mid-September 1935. In Moscow he met Sophia Janovskaya, professor of mathematical logic, who, encountering him for the first time, exclaimed, 'What, not the great Wittgenstein? and, during a conversation on philosophy, gave him the excellent advice: 'You ought to read more Hegel!'

Apparently through Janovskaya, he was offered first a chair in philosophy at Kazan University, then a teaching post in philosophy at Moscow University; but these offers came to

nothing.

In Moscow he also had two or three meetings with the CP anti-Trotskyist and polemicist Pat Sloan, then working as a Soviet trade union organiser and later to become secretary of the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

On his return Wittgenstein said little to anyone about his trip, on the ground that he didn't want his name to be used to support anti-Soviet propaganda.

THERE is no evidence that Wittgenstein ever read any of the writings of Marx or Engels; his opposition to Marxist theory seems to have been based solely on second- and third-hand

The only remotely relevant book he is known to have glanced at was Max Eastman's Marxism: Is it Science? (1941), which he took from the bookshelves of his friend Rush Rhees, who translated his Philosophical Investi-(posthumously gations published, 1953).

Commenting on Eastman's view that Marxism had to be made more scientific if it were to help revolution, he told Rhees: 'In fact nothing is more conservative than science..

'He shared with the Communists', writes Monk, 'a fierce dislike of the complacency of the British establishment, and he wanted to see some sort of revolution. But he wanted that revolution to be a rejection of the Weltanschauung scientific [world outlook] of our age, not an endorsement of it.'

Even after the Moscow trials and the Nazi-Soviet pact, Wittgenstein went on expressing sympathy with the Soviet regime 'so much so', according to Monk, 'that he was taken by some of his students at Cambridge to be a "Stalinist". This label is, of course, nonsense.' (And, applied to

Wittgenstein, it clearly is.)
It appears that, soon after the end of World War II, Rhees 'felt he ought to join the (Trotskyist) Revolutionary Communist Party, because, as he put it to Wittgenstein, "I find more and more that I am in agreement with the chief points in their analysis and criticism of present society and with their objectives"."

Wittgenstein was sympathetic, but tried to dissuade Rhees on the ground that in doing philosophy 'you have got to be ready constantly to change the direction in which you are moving, and if you are thinking as a philosopher you cannot treat the ideas of communism differently from others'

The elaborate index to Monk's biography has entries for neither the CP nor the RCP, and the above exchange is indexed under Rhees's name — as his thinking of joining the CP, not the RCP!

I can't believe that so wellinformed a biographer as Monk was guilty of such a silly blunder, which reminds me of the old jest that an author ought to index his or her own book even if somebody else wrote it.

Peter Fryer

Newbury protest stage two begins



Debris left in the wake of the Newbury bypass

Psychiatric service users publish newsletter

BY KEN SINGER

PATIENTS and ex-patients of Dundee's psychiatric services have taken a step forward by publishing their own newsletter last month.

Formerly the Mental Patients' Union, the group was renamed the Westfield Association, after their meeting place. The setting up of the newsletter was quite an involved process. It was made possible by hard-working members with PCs.

Included in the first edition are some poems from a sufferer who has had some of his work published in book form. In his poems he mostly describes his experiences inside mental hospitals. Also in the first edition is an article on the history of the Westfield Association in the form of an interview between one of our members and a founder.

Appeal

Future editions will include articles on the NHS 'internal market' and an appeal from staff at the local mental hospital and those patients and ex-patients who are well enough to launch a joint attack on proposals to run down the hospital facilities in the next five years.

BY DANIEL ROBERTSON

DESPITE nearly 800 arrests, and the final clearing of all 30 protest camps, campaigners against the Newbury by-pass have vowed to fight on when road construction commences later in the year.

The road building project that has so far cost £2.6 million to police, and which cuts through a series of historical and scientific sites has created country-wide opposition.

Opinion polls showed that 53 per cent of people wanted the plan halted immediately. Thousands joined the camps and protest actions at the site in an effective campaign that has rattled the state.

Defence of the environment has been staked out as an area of great popular concern none of the bourgeois political parties can begin to address the profound issues involved.

Friends of the Earth believe that campaigns against contractors tendering for the bypass, and efforts to protect rare wildlife on the proposed route may delay further work.

Activists in the Digger Communities campaign will move onto the site this weekend to start the next stage of obstructing construction work which could start

as early as May. A national day of action will be announced soon.

The local council have admitted that the bypass will only give temporary relief to the town's traffic congestion problems Their proposed solutions include bicycle lanes, improved bus and train services and 'park and walk facilities — just what the protest ers have suggested all along!

The latest major developmen is that the so-called 'Anti-Terror ist Squad' has been given the task of spying on 'violent' environ mental activists - despite the fact that campaigns like New bury have been overwhelmingly peaceful.

Decision

This decision has not been dis cussed in Parliament. John Wad ham, the director of the civirights' organisation Liberty, said Targeting people motivated by desire to change society for the better is completely unaccept

The labour movement ha been used to state surveillance and the use of agents provoca teurs, but the use of the Anti-Ter rorist Squad against activists i this manner is unprecedented Their use against environmental ists will be only one step awa from provocations against trad

US racist brutality condemned

BY VIC CHARLES

THOUSANDS of people in the United States and Mexico have condemned police brutality after Los Angeles police were seen on Mexican television clubbing immigrant workers.

Six thousand people marched through downtown Los Angeles on 6 April, demanding prosecution of the cops involved.

'We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us! was one slogan chanted by young demonstrators, while placards demanded 'Full citizenship for all immigrants!'

'No more Latin blood!' read one placard. 'Wilson, Buchanan, Salinas, Zedillo — the blame is yours!', referring to California governor Peter Wilson, rightwing Republican Pat Buchanan, and the former and current presidents of Mexico Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Ernesto Zedillo.

'I'm here because there should be justice', said one woman. 'They should punish the police, they should kick them off their job. They're racists and don't belong in a place with authority.'

At 5.30am that morning seven men were killed and 18 injured when their truck, being followed by border patrol agents, overturned on a rural road near Riverside. The police said they suspected the vehicle was carrying undocumented immigrants.

This is not exceptional; cop beatings and killings of immigrant workers happen every day,'

from Miami to join the demons-

'What was exceptional in the 1 April incident was the TV camera. We've got to fight to stop racist police violence.' Poses was with a contingent of Young Socialists.

Around 300 demonstrators marched from City Hall to the county jail in Riverside.

'It's wrong for the cops to beat anyone who comes to this country just to work,' said Malcolm Johnson, a young black worker. Blacks, Latinos, and whites should struggle together. We should be united.

This is not an isolated incident,' said Steve Nutter, regional director of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, referring to the police beating of Letitia Gonzalez, one of the passengers in the pick-up truck stopped by police on 1 April.

One cop beat her with his baton, slammed her face into the front of the truck, and yanked her hair, pulling her to the ground. 'What was their crime? The woman beaten was a garment worker. It could have been me or our members. Her crime was making our clothes.'

Chavez-Thompson, Linda executive vice-president of the AFL-CIO union federation said the brutality seen in Los Angeles 'has hit close to home for the labour movement.'

She recalled the use of police batons against janitors marching peacefully in Century City and on peaceful drywall construction workers in Southern California. 'Our movement will not toler-

ate police brutality nor will we excuse officers because the situation is volatile,' she said.

"This is not a question of immigration rights, but of basic civil and human rights.'

About 350 demonstrators marched in New York's Lower East Side on 6 April, chanting 'Aqui estamos y acqui' (here we are and here we stay), and stopand on Delancey Street. 'We are here to protest th

beating of Mexican workers b the cops in California,' announce Miguel Maldonado, of the Imm grant Workers' Association.

'This is a fight not just for Latinos, not just for Asians, no just for immigrants, but for a people who believe in justice.'

Teachers and students joine the march, with placards protes ing moves to bar immigrant chi dren from schools.

Hammer-the-Hawks women waiting trial

BY COLIN PENDLETON

FOUR women are held in Risley detention centre, in Cheshire, awaiting trial for having taken hammers to the nose cone, fusilage and missile guidance systems of a Hawk jet destined for Indonesia.

In the early hours of 29 January the women snipped through the perimeter fence at the British Aerospace test site at Wharton, Lancs, and made for Hawk jet ZH

Taking inspiration from the Biblical injunction to 'beat swords into ploughshares', they took out their hammers, and within a couple of hours had disabled the aircraft's bomb attachments and radar, and done mo

than £2 million damage.

They left banners over th wreck, and planted photograp of victims of the Santa Cruz ma sacre carried out by Indonesia troops occupying East Time British-supplied Hawk aircra described as 'ideal for air-t ground' attacks, have been see

The women have been refus bail. They expect to come up f trial in June.

Letters of support can be se to: Lotta Kronlid VD008 Andrea Needham VD008 Joanna Wilson VD0089; Ang Zelter VD0184; at HMP Remai Centre, Risley, 617 Warrington Road, Risley, Cheshire WA 6B

Socialist Science Forum

Planning meeting

Tower Room 1, Conway Hall

Red Lion Square, London WC1

Wednesday 1 May, 8pm

All welcome (nearest tube Holborn)

Advertisement

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Hitler's fascism and German socialist resistance 1933-44

The history of German socialist resistance to fascism is surveyed by JAMES D. YOUNG, the author of seven books including The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class (1979) and Socialism Since 1889: A Biographical History (1988). Young taught at Stirling University until he retired in 1991

RECENT and predictably laudatory reviews of the new book Hitler's Willing Executioners ordinary Germans and the Holo-caust by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (Little Brown, 1996), large segments of the German working class have been written out of its bitterly disappointing pages.

However, if such uncritical reviews were predictable, the Allies' propaganda about German workers' alleged support for Nazism has been challenged by anti-fascist survivors of the Holo-

In a solitary and very neglected report of the reconstitution of the German Socialist Party in December 1945, Gerhart H. Seger's Nuremberg Notebook provided an antidote to the dominant anti-German working-class propaganda of that awful time.

Reporting an important meet-ing in the Nuremberg Opera House, Seger reported the speech that Dr Wilhelm Hoegner gave to 1,000 socialist delegates and survivors of the Holocaust.

Seger had served as a socialist deputy (MP) in the Reichstag between 1930 and 1932 and he was very familiar with a German history that has been practically extirpated from contemporary consciousness.

To 'frenetic applause', Hoegner insisted that the Social Democratic Party resented 'the falsification of history' that made it appear 'as if only the churches offered resistance against the Nazi regime'.

In presenting 'a vivid description of the underground activities of the labour movement whose victims number hundreds of thousands', he said that 'the millions of dead, the devastated cities, the shame brought upon Germany, the manifold crimes that so many Germans had committed on so many European countries, entitled the Social Democrats to seek out the guilty ones - not only the Nazi leaders but those who helped them into

But, although the bulk of the remaining German socialists' resistance to Nazism was crushed after the failed assassination attempt on Hitler's life in July 1944, the left had played a major and critical role in that specific anti-Nazi act of resistance.

Without anticipating the later orthodoxy that German socialists' resistance disappeared after Hitler's accession to power in 1933, one historian of Germany's underground wrote in 1947:

In his midnight broadcast on 20 July, Hitler described the attempt to assassinate him as the work of a small clique of ambitious, unscrupulous officers. The world had long accepted his judgement of it, but as usual, Hitler was lying. The left was also in the plot.

Underground

Furthermore, the Interna-tional Transport Union played a critical role in helping to co-ordinate the activities of the German socialist underground.

The downright falsehoods of such contemporary right-wing German historians as Joachim C Fest were the product of lazy, propagandist minds. Writing about the attempt on Hitler's life in 1944, Fest asserted the left 'was still suffering from the effects of the persecution, but it too, with characteristic ideological rigidity, feared any alliance with army

officers as "a pact with the devil". Not only was this false, but Fest also dismissed what he called ists in the resistance after 1933.

In his authoritative book entitiled *Hitler* (1973), Fest argued: 'Among the many participants in the opposition, not a single representative of the Weimar Republic even survived the resistance.'

The myth of German working-class compliance in succumbing before and co-operating with Nazism began very early on.

In The German People Versus Hitler (1940), Heinrich Frankel described the alleged extirpation of the resistance of the underground movement 'by killing or jailing every leader they could lay hands on' and by 'the merciless persecution by the most ruthless and efficient police force ever conceived'.

In his book Bones of Contention (1945), Lord Robert Vansittart maintained there was no resistance to Hitler at all inside Germany, while in German Resistance to Hitler (1961), Mary Alice Gallin ignored the socialists' considerable role in the anti-

Evidence

The accumulation of hitherto neglected evidence of German socialists' and workers' resistance to the Hitler regime has been highlighted in the hidden archives of the US and - to a lesser extent — the British labour movement.

One of the best sources of the German socialists' unceasing resistance to Nazism between 1933 and 1944 is the archive of the International Solidarity Committee (ISC) of the Socialist Party of America in Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

It was founded in 1945 to collect food, medicine and books for European anti-fascist socialist survivors of World War II (including all Communists except 'Stalinist functionaries'), who had have their 'biographies authenticated'.

Rich, revealing, tantalising, extensive and tear-jerking, the material in the ISC archive falsified some of Fest's most glaring falsehoods about the role of German socialists in the resistance to

such Reichstag deputies (MPs) who survived the Holocaust included Gerhart H. Seger; Dr Kurt Schmacher, former deputy and inmate in a Nazi concentration camp (1935-45); the 72-year-old Lore Agnes, Reichstag deputy until 1933; William F. Sollman, a deputy from 1911 to 1933; and oth-

In a letter from the American Jane Corey to Phil Heller on 16 December 1946, Corey asked for food parcels for Rosemarie Reichwein.

Authenticating Reichwein's anti-fascist biography, Corey

'Mrs Reichwein is the widow of Professor Reichwein, former member of the Social Democratic Party, who was one of the main participants in the plot against Hitler on 20 July 1944. Together with comrade Leber, he was immediately arrested and hanged without trial.

Other letters documenting the socialists' role in the assassina-tion attempt on Hitler's life were placed in the ISC archive by Phillip A. Heller of the Jewish Labour Committee in March 1960.

The German socialists' struggles and the tensions inside the Nazi party itself between 1933 and 1944 - when most of the German socialists' co-ordinated resistance was almost smashed

American socialist newspapers as Workers' Age, the New Leader and, in the late 1940s, the Social Democrat.

In 1933 many socialists were already imprisoned but the process was very arbitrary and uneven. The massive evidence in the ISC archive documents the fact that anti-Nazi socialists were sometimes imprisoned, were freed after two or three years, resumed their underground activities and in some cases were finally executed.

In October 1933 Han Beka reported in Workers' Age, edited by Jay Lovestone and Bernard D. Wolfe, that:

'To a certain extent the new wave of terror is directed against sections of the Nazis themselves.

were being tried for high treason in Hamm, Cologne, Essen and other towns. In reporting those trials the New Leader said: 'The mass trials of socialist workers, which are taking place without interruption, show that the illegal agitation in Germany is extremely active.'

Towards the end of April 1937 the Gestapo ordered all house owners to supply them with the keys to their homes. Aimed at the growing underground propaganda and anti-Nazi activies, it did not crush the anti-war senti-

In 1939 workers protested against the electrification of the barbed wire around the concentration camps at Dachau, Buchenwald and Oriensburg; and in the bers of the storm troops and blackshirts were shot during the two days of the second blood purge, among them 80 high officers of Hitler's crack troops and also an unknown number of rebelling members of the Nazi Reichstag.'

More than 51,000 members of the élite troops and other organisations were taken into 'protective custody' in order to 'quell the [Nazi] Party revolt against the sudden alliance with the Bolshevik dictatorship.'

And by 1940 Dr Goebbels was 'heckled' by workers at a Hamburg shipyard; and so 'rampant is sabotage in [Berlin] munition factories, the authorities are setting up special compulsory-labour camps reserved exclusively for

attempt'. Asking the key question that needs urgent attention as fascism again rears its ugly head, Root speculated:

'Why the Allies did not challenge this can only be guessed. Was it because Allied intelligence was so poor that it could only "fall for" the Nazi version?

'Or were Allied Conservatives hesitant about letting the world know that there was a widespread German organisation fighting for a democratic, socialist Germany?"

When black-outs were introduced in Berlin in early 1940, inscriptions were 'scrawled on the walls and buildings, "Mur-derer Hitler" and "Mass-slaughterer Hitler".'

In the meantime members of the Communist Party and German-born pro-Nazi seafarers in the National Maritime Union joined together to attack British seafarers in Buenos Aires.

Moreover, as a result of the Stalin-Hitler pact, by June 1940 'communist workers were hunted down like wild game by the Schutzstaffel (SS) and the Sturm-Abteilung (SA).' For their own sordid and cynical ends, the Stalinists also played down the German socialists' role in the struggle against Nazism.

In September 1944, Algernon Lee contributed an article to the New York Social Democrat asking the simple question, 'Are they

Then he pointed out that by 1944 'one million Germans have been publicly executed, quietly murdered, or thrown into prisons and concentration camps because they are considered dangerous

opponents of the Hitler regime...

[A]mong the largest number'
were the socialists.

Censorship

An anonymous Social Demo-crat article (May 1946) insisted:

'Despite efficient German censorship we learned of many executions and commitments to concentration camps and we had the right to assume that for every case reported there were many of which we did not hear.'

Disgusted by the Stalinists' 'Realpolitik', in August 1946 the Social Democrat published an article entitled 'Significant Accessions to German Social Democracy'.

It was reported that the sister and two brothers of Karl Liebknecht [with Rosa Luxemburg one of the two communist martyrs of 1919] 'had unanimously decided that their future political activity should be within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party.'

They were 'convinced that, if their loved and honoured brother were still living he would take the same step.'

Considering that by May 1946 German socialists who resisted Nazism were back in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald, the Liebknechts did not have much choice since they wanted to contribute to the socialist struggle.

Discussing the resurrection of those camps, Rudolf Katz said: "The inmates again are German socialists, while the guards and emblems have changed. Instead of the Swastika and the SS they now have the Red Star and Communist guards.

Now that Stalinism has collapsed as a major force in world politics, socialists can make a contribution to the continuing antifascist struggle by opposing 'the assassins of memory

By reconstructing the real history of the European socialists' contribution to the defence of human dignity in spite of the great Hegel's perceptive characterisation of human history as a slaughter-house', it will become increasingly clear that we have at reached The End of History



For German fascism is now passing thru its first crisis. Hitler has decreed "the end of the revolution". The people are beginning to rebel and are finding themselves in concentration camps too.'

At the beginning of 1934, 18 oppositional socialist newspapers were still being published illegally throughout Germany.

In July 1934 New Leader reported that 'Firing squads in the past few days shot down his [Hitler's] own cronies, among them the filthy Ernest Roehm, sexual pervert, head of the storm troops and Hitler's most intimate

By May 1935 the German socialists were still distributing 500,000 copies of their illegal newspaper Sozialistische Aktion

Workers' Age a report by 'Fritz' revealed:

The anti-Semitic outrages did not find the slightest echo among the general population. Quite the contrary. The vast majority of the German people — above all, the working class - had nothing whatever to do with the bestialities and showed their resentment

'In spite of the danger, there were innumerable attempts to aid the victims of the terror. Even the Nazi leadership was not deceived as to this aspect of the situation.'

Moreover, the repercussions of the Stalin-Hitler pact were serious for the stability of Nazi Ger-

many in 1939. In September 1939 New

Despite the massive repres-

sion by the Nazis, resistance continued throughout World War II. Culminating in the German

socialists' involvement in the assassination attempt on Hitler's life in 1944, the history of this heroic action against a brutal totalitarian state must be resurrected and thrown in the faces of those historians who have been described as 'the assassins of memory'. It will not be an easy task, but it must be tackled.

Writing in 1946 and providing a very detailed account of 'The German Anti-Nazi Underground: The Revolt against Hitler', Robert Root said that as many as 40,000 Germans were 'executed by the

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Clinton and Portillo back ISRAELI planes, gunboats, artillery and Zionist terror war helicopter gunships went to war on Lebanon last week, deliberately terroris-

ing 400,000 people from their homes. Israeli forces attacked residential areas of Beirut, the

capital, and targetted homes, power supplies, shipping, civilian traffic and ambulances.

People in the port city of Tyre and nearby villages were given a 1am warning to leave the area or risk being killed.

As thousands of families struggled to make their way north that morning, the threat was extended to everyone living south of the Litani river.

Six civilians, four of them children, were killed when an Israeli helicopter gunship fired rockets at an ambulance near Tyre.

Another ambulance was hit at Nabatiyeh. Israel's ambassador in London claimed it had been driven by a Hizbullah member!

Israeli artillery pounded southern Lebanon and hit a hospital. Planes attacked Ein Hilweh refugee camp, where thousands of Palestinians remain, denied the right to return to the homeland the Zionist state took from them.

The US government, which supplied Israel's Apache helicopters, blamed Hizbullah for the

Tory Defence Minister Michael Portillo, bringing Jerusalem a

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

message of support from Major, fully backed the Israeli war.

This follows the US-backed Sharm el-Sheikh conference against 'terrorism', and the signing of Israel's first open military alliance with a Middle East state, Turkey, a NATO member, itself waging war on the Kurds. Israeli elections are due on 29 May. It is also election year in the United States. Lebanese officials called the US attitude 'frightening'.

A Tyre mother, Jamila Zein, put things more defiantly: 'We're all Hizbullah here', she said. 'The Israelis and Americans are terrorists, and the Arab governments are below the ground. At least our boys are defending our land' (Guardian, 15 April).

The sound of Israeli planes over Beirut brought back memories of 1982, when Israeli forces devastated the country and left thousands dead, including civilians butchered by Israel's Christian fascist thugs at Sabra and

Lebanon has just begun Lebanon, killing two civilians. recovering from the destruction, the mainly-Christian bourgeoisie into Israel. enjoying its wealth again, while the poor get poorer. The weak Lebanese state neither controls the country nor can defend it.

In the south, replacing Palestinian and left-wing Lebanese groups driven out by the Israelis, Hizbullah — the 'Party of God' — emerged as heroes of the oppressed, mainly Shia Muslims, confronting the continued Israeli military presence.

Israeli patrols operate jointly with Antoine Lahad's South Lebanon Army (SLA), armed and paid by the Israeli government, and hated by the Lebanese people.

Aggressors

In March this year several Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded by Hizbullah guerrillas within Lebanon, in what Western media call the Israeli exclusion zone' - as though Arab resisters there are the aggressors!

On 30 March Israeli artillery shelled villages in southern

On 8 April a bomb explosion killed a child in a liberated south Lebanon village. The Israeli government denied responsibility, but Mossad operations have been denied before, and it could have been done by the SLA. Hizbullah replied with katyushas, wounding 36 Israelis.

On 11 April, telling people in Kiryat Shmoneh, near the border, to evacuate or take to the shelters, the Israeli army began its offen-

government The Israeli demands Lebanon curtail the 'threat' from Hizbullah.

Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri said 'we don't have the forces to stop them. But this will not solve the problem. . . . It will only create more military operations and this vicious circle will continue. If they are looking for a solution, the solution is to withdraw from Lebanese terri-

The Peres government in Israel

isn't interested in that kind of solution. Israeli political commentators noted last month that while the right-wing Likud was telling voters its policies could bring peace, Labour's Peres was uttering We'll smash and destroy' threats to Hamas, Hizbullah, Syria and

Politics

'Israelis kill Lebanese and Lebanese kill Israelis, simply because of Israel's internal politics,' commented Haim Baram (Middle East International, 29 March).

An Israeli Foreign Ministry officer told him agreement with Syria over the Golan Heights would bring 'pacification of Hizbullah' — and abandonment of the SLA. But a Golan deal, opposed by Labour settlements as well as Likud, has been postponed till after the elections.

A more dangerous game looms behind these calculations.

Washington hopes to detach Syria while mounting its crusade against Iran. Fitting this strategy, from Turkish bases.

'Clinton - the Last Zionist was how the Israeli paper Yedio Ahronot headed a comment on th US president's backing las month.

Some Israeli commentator suggested Peres had a veste interest in prolonged war wit Hizbullah, to keep alive the myt of an 'Islamist plot' against th West and Israel. But Aharon Ami (Ma'ariv, 24 March) warned tha Israel was sticking too close to th US line, forgetting that unlik America, it was part of the Middl

Amid the clamour last weel with Portillo applauding th bombings, and BBC commentator dutifully describing Hizbullah a 'heartless terrorists' while th bombs fell on Lebanon, one voic was silent. That of Shimon Peres Labour colleagues in Britain, le by 'Christian' moralist Tony Blai That speaks volumes.

The oppressed peoples of th world know what to expect from

Kelly Kwalik, leader of the group that took 26 hostages

on 8 January, in Amungme village. Many call for the own organisation, the Free Papua Movement (OPM)

Revolt against mining company THOUSANDS of people have taken part in a revolt against a giant mining company at the

world's biggest copper and gold mine, in Indonesian-occupied West Papua. In three days of anger, before Indonesian troop reinforcements

could reach the area, workers and local tribespeople caused millions of pounds worth of damage to American and British-owned McMo Ran/RTZ. Unaware of any irony, a company spokesman blamed the trouble on

The revolt was sparked off after Williamus Kogoya, a villager living at Waa, near the Freeport mining town Tembagapura, was knocked down and injured by a vehicle driven by a Freeport employee. Kogoya was badly beaten, and thrown in the river.

Another Freeport employee dragged him out and took him to hospital. When neighbours heard what had happened and went to the hospital to see how he was, they were met outside by Freeport security guards, and scuffles broke out.

Meanwhile, word came that a Papuan woman had been prevented from entering a shopping precinct at Tembagapura, and her small child injured in the fracas.

The next day, 10 March, hundreds of people from Waa, including some employed by Freeport RTZ, marched on Tembagapura. This was no mere protest demonstration.

Resentment against the mining company's high-handed attitude to local people, its land-grabbing, and destruction of the environment, including sacred mountains, had been growing for some time. There were also scores to settle with the Indonesian forces and Freeport security guards, who have murdered workers and tribespeople.

Armed with bows and arrows, sticks and stones, the villagers stormed a Freeport security post, and as the guards ran away, they moved on to office buildings, destroying files, computers, and other equipment.

The next day some 3,000 people attacked Tembagapura, damaging buildings including a government office, expatriate homes, bars and



Devastation in Timika, West Papua

restaurants and the shopping

On the third day, 6,000 people, some in commandeered company vehicles, advanced in two columns, on the coastal company town of Timika, and on Kuala Kencana new town, which the Indonesian dictator Suharto opened last year.

The new town was built for the company's planned expansion, on land taken from the Amungme and Komoro peoples, without consultation or compensation.

After attacking the Freeport security post and office buildings at Kuala Kencana, the crowd moved on to two satellite towns, destroying office buildings, a

repair shop and an ore crusher.

In Timika, meanwhile, premises owned by two sub-contractors were wrecked, one of them owned by Labour Minister Abdul Latief.

The people then made for Timika airport, which was built by Bechtel-Pomeroy using local people in forced labour gangs, and is like most things in the area, owned by Freeport. Here they were confronted by 500 armed

Two men were wounded trying to breach the airport perimeter, but some say they managed to

destroy hangars. We are waging war on Freeport and the government which has refused to recognise

our existence and has trampled on

our rights,' an Amungme tribal leader told army officers who called on the tribal council.

It was after the bloody suppression of Indonesian workers and peasants in 1965 that the Suharto regime enacted new laws to encourage foreign investment.

Freeport-Sulphur, as it then was, obtained its first concession to exploit the Ertsberg mountain copper and gold in 1967.

Trouble with local people broke out in 1973, and in 1977 the OPM, which opposes Indonesian rule, blew up Freeport's petrol tanks and pipes carrying slurry to the coast.

Protested

In 1985 Amungme and Komoro women protested an accord signed by tribal chiefs, surrendering their people's hunting grounds, and in 1990 Timika airport was burnt down.

There were protests last year over Freeport security officers' treatment of local people, and a human rights investigation has accused the military of killing 77 local people in operations to protect the mining company.

The Indonesian army moved in reinforcements to patrol the areas in last month's incidents, and announced that the a rapid deployment force battalion was going to Tembagapura to protect mine property. Freeport shares

'In the cold light of day it Indonesia, not Papua New Guinea said an expert quoted by the Syd ney Morning Herald (14 March).

The Indonesian government, stakeholder, sees Freeport/RTZ a one of the country's most impor tant reource projects and will us its army to protect it, providing measure of security which coul not be counted on in PNG [Papu New Guineal

Freeport chief executive Jin Bob Moffet flew in for a traumat meeting with Amungme people.

Josepha Alomang fiercel attacked the way the compan treated her in detention last year Andreas Anggaibak of th Amungme Tribal Counci LEMASA, presented a series demands which included haltin construction, disbandin Freeport security, and paying compensation for land used by Bechtel-Pomeroy to build Timik airport and the Sheraton hotel.

About two dozen tribal leader were taken to Jakarta by the mil tary, and were told the contra with Freeport RTZ was inviolat Freeport's public relations office claimed 'outsiders', possibly from the OPM, had been inciting

Emmy Hafild, of the environmental group WALHI, which Freeport has blamed before, sa the LEMASA council would b making more demands, for th company to clean up rivers ar return the Amungme's forests.

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