

Workers International Press

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS INTERNATIONAL

July-August 1999

NO 15

PRICE 50p

"THE ECONOMICS OF DEPRESSION"

- in Europe and America

ALTHOUGH the US economy is officially booming, there are persistent worries that the good times there are based on share values in the US stock markets rising indefinitely.

In the hope of organising a "soft" landing from a spiralling stock market boom, concerned US authorities have recently increased interest rates.

So far the US finance and stock sector has avoided the worst "fall-out" from "turbulence" which arose during the financial crisis which started in South East Asia and raged through "emerging markets" in the former

Soviet Union and South America.

But the last two years have wrought a profound change in world economy.

The most visible effect is the real reduction in inflationary pressures which is noted in many imperialist centres.

In the new situation, some academic economists feel, to quote Paul Krugman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, that: "The question of how to keep demand adequate to make use of the capacity has become crucial. Depression economics is back".

In the tradition of Keynes, Krugman wants money to be given to consumers so that they will buy the products of industries which will thus be kept open.

Capital may seek a different answer to the problem, however, simply closing down plant and industries whose products cannot be sold profitably on the market. That is the real economics of depression.

And under such conditions each group of capitalists is prepared to go to war to make sure that the capacity which gets closed down is not theirs.

America's worries are linked to the difficulties faced by Western European capitalism.

The ramshackle unity formed around the new European currency has not impressed those who make a living by buying and selling money.

The value of the Euro has steadily fallen since the currency was introduced.

Apart from difficulties in integrating many different national economies into one efficient unit, the main concern for capital is that attacks on social expenditure have not gone far enough in "Euroland".

In Italy, for example, the former prime minister Romano Prodi has recently warned that unless there are urgent reforms in the country's economy (mainly cutting inflation by attacking social benefits and wages), Italy may have to quit the Euro.

Prodi is certainly too much of a realist to accept Krugman's solutions.

In Germany, Hans Eichel is now finance minister in a coalition government of Greens and Social Democrats. In June he issued the following warning in a magazine interview:

"Without structural inroads into the budget, we would next year have new public debts of between 80 billion and 90 billion Deutsche marks.



"THE fight for the freedom of Kosova is not over. One of the ways to assist this fight is to openly support and aid

those in the Kosova Liberation Army who oppose its disarmament and disbanding - those who refuse to become

NATO's slaves." See article Political struggle at the heart in the insert. Above, NATO soldiers disarm KLA fighters at gunpoint.

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"In the tradition of Keynes, Krugman wants money to be given to consumers so that they will buy the products of industries which will thus be kept open. Capital may seek a different answer to the problem, however, simply closing down plant and industries whose products cannot be sold profitably on the market."

That would be DM20 or 30 billion more than the (German) Federal government is spending on investment."

"In any case we want to cut the 'Staatsquote' (the share of GDP that passes through the government's hands) "from 49% to 45% over the next few years.

Since we cannot do that through tax increases, we can only do it through savings".

Eichel has persuaded the Minister of Labour, the former trade union leader Walter Riester, to uncouple pension and social security payments from increases in earnings, hitting pensioners and claimants.

German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has joined with Britain's Tony Blair to call for more "flexible" labour markets in Europe.

This will involve more determined assaults on the so-far well-entrenched rights and conditions of German workers. Sick pay, medical benefits and invalidity benefits will come under attack as well as job security and bargaining rights.

Meanwhile the falling Euro cheapens European exports to the US, fuelling American fears of a downturn next year.

"The politics of depression" are the real face of capitalism in a blind alley.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Editorial

A historic vote for Trotskyism

THE elections to the European Parliament in mid-June brought a number of shocks. Blair's NewLabour Party in Britain and Gerhard Schröder's social democrats (SPD) in Germany did far worse than expected. The British Labour Party has recently introduced proportional representation for European elections and expected to lose a few seats as a result. In the event they suffered significant setbacks in the working class heartlands where voters have always turned out for their candidates. In fact very few people bothered to vote at all. Former Labour activists and voters emphasised that they resented the policies of NewLabour which has turned its back on workers' interests. Blair's government has failed to restore trade union rights, has embraced the ideology of free market capitalism and courts the middle class and big business.

The new SPD government in Germany promised to protect the "social state". But since it was elected it has become clear that they are going to carry out the kinds of attacks on workers' rights and social conditions which the bankers and big businessmen have been demanding for quite a while and which the former conservative Kohl government had only been able to start. It became clear which way this government would go when Schröder sacked his finance minister, the apparently more radical Oskar Lafontaine.

Blair and Schröder are trying to join up the (Labour) "Third Way" with the (SPD) "New Centre" in a European-wide attack on workers' rights. They aim at a "flexibilisation" of the European labour market, stripping away security of employment, sick pay and pension rights. All they do delivers workers over more and more directly to the power of capital.

In France, on the other hand, an electoral alliance of groups more or less committed to Trotskyism has for the first time won five seats in the European Parliament. The slate was made up by the supporters of the *Lutte Ouvrière* newspaper and members of the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire*, the French supporters of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Workers' International has many criticisms of both organisations. For example, there is a profound need in France as elsewhere for work to prepare the ground for a new party of the working class. Such a party must be international in its very character. It must be prepared within the working class itself. It must involve serious discussion with working class activists about what kind of party which is needed, a discussion enriched by the long history and experience of the working class movement.

Despite their relative success at the polls, the LCR and LO have drawn back from any such work. Nevertheless their electoral alliance scored 5.2 per cent of the French vote. 914,680 voters cast their votes for what they thought was Trotskyism. The biggest turn-out was in traditional working class centres, the kind of constituency where Blair and Schröder lost votes. This compares with 6.8 per cent for the *Parti Communiste Français*, who have six MEPs, and 5.7 per cent for the far-right *Front Nationale de Le Pen*.

The votes for the Left Alliance also rose slightly in constituencies where there is traditionally a high vote for the PCF.

The result gained by the LCR/LO alliance is an historic vote. It shows that some of the most advanced workers are recovering from the shock associated with the collapse of the USSR and are casting around for a new working class party.

Cynics mutter that this is merely a re-distribution of votes within a shrinking and moribund left. They misunderstand the crisis that the working class and its political movements are undergoing. It is not that history has barred the door to socialist revolution, but that the whole world working class has to recover from the damage inflicted by Stalinism in its years of domination and in its collapse.

Proof of this presses in on every hand. On pages 8 and 9 of this issue, *Workers International Press* prints no less than three appeals from trade unionists in struggle in the south Asian sub-continent. All three breathe the spirit of determined struggle against tyranny and exploitation for a better future. The rise in militant class struggle in the region will be a very important element in the reconstruction of the world workers' movement. Who indeed will stand by these fighters in their critical moment? *Workers International Press* is dedicated to finding a positive answer to such questions.

ISRAELI JETS HIT LEBANON

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

SEVENTEEN people were killed and 35 wounded when Israeli planes hit power stations, bridges and other targets in Lebanon on June 24. Two jets fired missiles into the Janhour power plant at 8.45 pm, sending an orange fireball flaming into the sky. As fire engines and ambulances raced to the scene the jets returned to fire another missile, killing four firefighters and wounding several civil defence rescuers.

A further missile landed near Electricity director George Mouawad, who was guiding fire crews, and sent

near the power station, fearing further attacks. Another power station just north of Sidon was hit. Power supplies to the Baalbek valley and Bint Jbail areas were cut off. Earlier, Israeli artillery and mortars had hit residential areas. In a raid at 10.40pm, an "Israeli" missile landed meters away from a Syrian military intelligence checkpoint on the Awali bridge. Syrian forces and Lebanese troops promptly blocked off the highway. Several cars were reportedly damaged on the road, but there was no immediate word of casualties.

Islamic Resistance guerrillas hit back with katyusha rockets, striking municipal offices in the northern Israel town of Kiryat Shmoneh killing two

Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his Defence Minister Moshe Arens, came after unusually warm greetings had been exchanged between Barak and Syria's President Assad. Both Israel and Syria have troops in Lebanon. Israeli casualties in south Lebanon have led to a growing demand among the public for withdrawal. Fearing they will be abandoned, demoralised members of the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army have begun deserting, and Lebanese resistance groups have taken outposts. Barak is prepared to offer Syria the return of occupied territory on the Golan Heights in return for Syrian troops policing Lebanon. Defending his



Israeli mothers demand withdrawal of troops from Lebanon

Lebanon's Transport Minister Najib Mikati who had just arrived, diving for cover. A civil defence worker could barely hide his grief at seeing burned colleagues on the other side of the building. "The missile fell down where they were", he said, "We tried to pull out all the people we could reach." Three of the team who were hit "had only a heartbeat and then nothing, and two others were already burned. We just could not reach them."

Many families had fled their homes

civilians. Israeli officials had claimed the air raids were a retaliation for such attacks, but the guerrillas said their rockets were only fired after Israeli shelling which violated an April truce. In Kiryat Shmoneh, hundreds of residents demonstrated singing peace songs but demanding protection, and blocked streets with burning car tyres. Prime minister-elect Ehud Barak promised border town mayors that their situation was high on his agenda.

The air raids, ordered by outgoing

air raids, Netanyahu claimed they were necessary before there could be any withdrawal. Defence Minister Arens claimed Syria controlled Hizbollah and could decide whether it attacked or ceased fire.

Lebanese President Emile Lahoud told visiting central bank governors from 26 French-speaking countries that Lebanon had begun repairing the damage and would demand compensation from Israel. Lahoud criticised foreign media which reported the Israeli raids as a reprisal for katyusha attacks, and overlooked Israeli shelling of south Lebanon. Describing the raids as "barbaric", he said the second raid on Jamhour power plant deliberately targeted firefighters and rescue workers trying to reach those trapped in the blaze. The president said Lebanon's strength was the unity of its people, and it would not be forced into any separate peace with Israel.

Lebanese prime minister Selim Hoss told French Middle East envoy Aubin de la Messuziere that Hizbollah had only fired its katyushas after Israel violated the April agreement. "We are against cross-border attacks in principle" Hoss added, "but what is Israel doing inside our borders for 21 years? Isn't this military aggression?" His government would continue supporting the resistance "as long as Israel is occupying Lebanese territories".

The French minister said his visit showed France's solidarity with Lebanon. France condemned the Israeli attacks and announced it was dispatching two Foreign Ministry diplomats to "Syria, Lebanon, Israel and the State of Palestine." The Israeli Foreign Ministry called the French statement "unbalanced." Labour's Barak, although not consulted on the air raids, snubbed the French ambassador and continued his coalition negotiations with the outgoing government's foreign minister, and chief planner of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Ariel Sharon. (see p.12)

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL PRESS

FUND APPEAL

OUR PAPER needs resources to continue its work. Once more a new edition covers a unique range of significant problems, from the effects of the imperialist crisis in Africa and preparations for the conference planned there to the struggle for trade union rights in the south Asian sub-continent and the situation the Former Yugoslavia after the end of the NATO bombing. Above all the newspaper confronts the responsibilities of revolutionary internationalists.

The *Workers International Press* is for the rebuilding of the working class movement side by side with the reconstruction of the Fourth International. We need help to continue this task. If you see the importance of what we print in our newspaper, please send a donation to:

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IRA promises to surrender guns

AND so the guns will be handed in. None of the posturing and quibbling by David Trimble and the Unionists can disguise the scale of this historic decision of Sinn Fein and the IRA leadership.

No wonder Tony Blair couldn't hide his happiness - "a seismic shift", he purred.

Of course, this decision was always on the cards, and not only since the 1994 IRA ceasefire. It became inevitable once the Sinn Fein leadership took the republican movement down the road of a "peace strategy" that saw them dropping all references to socialism and involved a pan-nationalist front with the Dublin government and the SDLP. And today the programme and policies of Sinn Fein are virtually indistinguishable from the constitutional nationalism of John Hume's SDLP.

Up to the last minute there were many supporters of Irish republicanism who thought that the leadership was just using the decommissioning issue as a bargaining weapon. Something to keep promising to do but never actually do it. They had, after all, the word of the IRA army council on it. Now these illusions lie in ruins.

As with all their predecessors, from Collins through De Valera and McBride, once the leadership forced the main thrust and programme of the movement towards negotiating a deal with Britain which left partition untouched, it was inevitable that all the ideals of republicanism would be chipped away.

And let's have no doubt about the scale of the capitulation. Sinn Fein and the IRA leadership are prepared to give up all the means of defence of the nationalist community in return for two seats on the New Stormont executive

administering British rule, with partition reinforced in law and the British army there to defend it.

In 1992, soon after they embarked on their "peace process", Sinn Fein produced a strategy document, "Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland". This document set out a number of propositions which would form the basis of "the peaceful pursuit of democracy and peace".

These included, "the recognition by the British government that the Irish people have the right to national self-determination", "That the British government change its current policy to one of ending partition and handing over sovereignty to an all-Ireland government ..." and "The London and Dublin governments should consult together to seek agreement on the policy objective of ending partition".

These "principles" didn't last very long. Piece by piece they were ditched until the present situation where the IRA is promising to surrender its weapons in order to keep the Unionists in government.

It is important for socialists to be clear on this question of the decommissioning of arms. The methods of the IRA are not the way of the working class. The individual acts of shooting at British soldiers, assassinating policemen and planting bombs are not the way that partition will be removed.

These actions - at certain times - can bring the British government into negotiations but they cannot bring about the necessary, decisive changes. Only the mass mobilisation of the oppressed can achieve that.

The only position for socialists to take is one of opposition to these methods of the IRA but also opposition to the

No wonder they're laughing. British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the Irish Taoiseach Bertie Ahern at Stormont, examining Sinn Fein's statement of the IRA's intention to disarm.

"peace process" and the concept that fundamental change, including the removal of partition, can take place through peaceful, constitutional means.

On this matter we stand in the tradition of James Connolly who bitterly opposed what he called the "physical force men" who, he said, "exalts into a principle that which the revolutionists of other countries have looked upon as a weapon".

Connolly went on "to place before our readers the Socialist Republican conception of the functions and uses of physical force in a popular movement. We neither exalt it into a principle nor

repudiate it as something not to be thought of. Our position towards it is that the use or non-use of force for the realisation of the ideas of progress always has been and always will be determined by the attitude, not of the party of progress, but of the governing class opposed to that party."

And this is the crucial point. With this decisive commitment to disarm, the republican leadership has said that it doesn't believe the nationalist population of the north of Ireland will ever again need to defend itself against the loyalist killer gangs; that it can rely on the British army and a new six-county

police force to protect it. And that the New Stormont will ensure a democratic process for redressing all abuses of democratic rights and achieving justice.

But it is perfectly obvious that the six-county state remains an inherently unstable construction. Republicans - quite correctly - used to insist that it was artificially devised and was irreformable. Now Gerry Adams believes it can be reformed into a thriving liberal democracy, even to the point where the majority of unionists will agree to join with that other thriving liberal democracy to the south and agree to unite in one country.

Such pie in the sky flies in the face of the real situation - which is Drumcree and the continuing murder attempts by the loyalist killer gangs. Even if Blair and Ahern are able to cobble together an executive does anyone seriously believe that it can develop a form of democratic government that will stabilise the situation?

It is only a matter of time before the main Unionist party splits again. The failure of the Orange Order to mount a mass protest this year at Drumcree demonstrates the changed position of the protestant population.

The days of enormous protests and action are gone. But, instead, there is a growing marginalisation of sections of the Protestant working class which will inevitably, produce more recruits to the killer gangs and more attacks on Catholics and towns in the south of Ireland.

It is also inevitable that there will be growing dissent within the nationalist communities against the policies of the republican leadership and the issue of armed self defence will again come to the fore.

The squeals of a double agent

THERE has never been any doubt that British military intelligence and the RUC were involved in the 1989 murder of leading human rights lawyer Pat Finucane.

Now all the attempts of successive British governments to hide the truth behind his assassination are being blown away by an extraordinary admission by a former British soldier charged with the murder. Billy Stobie insists that, at the time, he was a double agent working for Special Branch.

Stobie has warned that he would lift the lid on the dirty truth behind Special Branch's involvement.

At a committal hearing at Belfast Magistrates Court on 24 June his solicitor revealed that Stobie was an RUC informer. Senior Special Branch officers were obviously shocked as the solicitor explained that Stobie had contacted his RUC handlers on two separate occasions to tell them that a shooting was imminent on the night of Pat Finucane's murder.

Stobie is a member of the loyalist killer gang, the so-called Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF). His defence alleged that nothing had been done to protect the life of Pat Finucane despite the two calls being made.

The court heard how Stobie had contacted his handlers for a third time to pass on vital information on the weapon used in the murder.

His defence counsel went on to describe the murder and the events surrounding it as a "murky web of deceit and lies which had not come from my client". He said Stobie was looking for-



Pat Finucane

Special Branch handlers had the full facts of Pat Finucane's murder for more than a decade means there must be a full investigation into the activities of the intelligence services.

Although there have been three police investigations into the murder nothing has ever been disclosed as to who sanctioned the killing of the solicitor. None of the investigations was ever allowed to check on whether the RUC or British military intelligence were involved.

Although this trial is only beginning to unravel the events, the similarities between the lives of Billy Stobie and Brian Nelson are striking.

Both men are former British soldiers who agreed to work for the state intelligence services while they were key members of the UFF in Belfast.

Both have admitted that they knew in advance of the events surrounding the murder of Pat Finucane.

While Nelson was an agent for British military intelligence, Stobie claims that his bosses were RUC Special Branch.

Both have claimed that they informed their respective handlers of the gun attack before the solicitor was shot in front of his wife and children.

Both have since been charged with being UFF members and subsequently claimed that their handlers had betrayed them to cover up their own involvement.

But it appears that while Nelson was persuaded to remain silent over who sanctioned the murder, Stobie is prepared to finally reveal what really happened. We shall see.

ward to revealing the whole truth at the forthcoming murder trial.

His arrest came less than 24 hours after a television documentary revealed that RUC chief inspector, Ronnie Flanagan, had known some three years ago about the allegations of RUC involvement in the north Belfast solicitor's murder.

Human Rights campaigners who have previously highlighted the role of the RUC and British intelligence say that the courtroom events mean that the British government cannot now continue to stall the calls for an independent international inquiry into what really happened.

They say that Stobie's claim that his

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Where is that classless society?

CHILD poverty in the UK has trebled in the last 20 years, according to official UK government figures.

A research study produced by the Treasury department shows that 4 million children - a third - were living in families whose income was below half the average. The report reveals that not only are two out of every five children born poor - but that poverty blights their opportunities for the rest of their lives.

Clear social class differences in the rate of education development show up as young as 22 months. At this age, children from families in social classes one and two (the highest) are already scoring 14% higher on the educational-development distribution than children from social classes four and five. These differences deepen as children start school. The report goes on to show that over 60 per cent of those at the bottom of the earnings distribution in their mid-20s are likely to be low paid or unemployed at 40. Only 14 per cent will have made it to the top two-fifths of the earnings distribution.

London is losing 115 manufacturing jobs a week

OVER the last 20 years London's manufacturing and related industries have massively declined. Between 1980 and 1995, London lost nearly 60 per cent of its manufacturing jobs - at the rate of 115 a week. "These jobs are not being replaced by service sector jobs" according to Lord Marshall, chair of the London Development Partnership.

The demise of manufacturing has had a profound impact on unemployment levels. Almost half (42 per cent) of London's jobless worked previously in the sector. Ethnic communities are bearing the brunt of the capital's unemployment problem. While only 25 per cent of London's workforce are from ethnic minorities, they account for almost 40 per cent of the unemployed (over half of whom are long-term unemployed).

If they can't pay - let them die

THE World Bank is seeking to persuade pharmaceutical firms to overcome their reluctance to find a vaccine against AIDS to be used in developing countries.

Drug companies have been delighted to develop costly anti-HIV treatments for use in the wealthier western countries (one drug recently released by Dupont Pharmaceuticals in the UK costs £234.65 for a bottle of 90 capsules). They have maintained however that the inability of poorer countries to pay for hepatitis vaccines means they will not cough up the cash for an AIDS vaccine.

The destruction of the most productive section of the population - at the rate of 16,000 globally every day - has alarmed the World Bank, which is prepared to outlay \$5bn to encourage the drug companies to start work.

World Bank president James Wolfensohn recently wrote to the G7 industrialised countries: "Private industry must play the critical role in developing and marketing a vaccine, but the private sector currently does not have the incentives to develop an AIDS vaccine for the strains of the virus and the health system capabilities of developing countries."

It is estimated that between 500 million and 1.5 billion people would benefit from such a programme. More than 33 million men, women and children in the world are already suffering from HIV, over 90 per cent of them in the developing countries. In countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia, life expectancy is now 10-20 years less than it was pre-AIDS.

Could the case for taking medical development out of the hands of the private sector ever be made more clearly?

Carnival in the City

Youth rally against capitalism

BY JACKIE VANCE

"ANTI-CAPITALISTS lay siege to the City of London"! With this headline the Financial Times conjured up an image of a battle for control of the main centres of the ruling class's financial institutions.

Well it wasn't quite that. The London Stock Exchange carried on unperturbed, wheeling and dealing with workers' lives in the speculative chase for increased profit - the FTSE 100 index of shares rose 34 points on the day.

But the Carnival against Capital on June 18 was still a huge success - an important stage in the war against the global capitalist economy. Behind the dramatic headline of the Financial Times lies the bosses' fear of the potential power of young people united in their hatred of capitalism and organising against this corrupt system.

The London events were part of an international day of protest, action and carnival in financial centres. They were timed to coincide with the opening day of the Group of Eight (G8) economic summit in Cologne of the leaders of the richest nation-states.

Behind the slogan, "Our resistance is as transnational as capital", diverse groups and movements across the world who believed that the issue of economic globalisation related to their particular interest, connected together.

In London thousands of copies of "Evading Standards", a mock copy of the right-wing daily, "Evening Standard", were distributed. Its lead article explained that: "On June 18th, in over 40 different countries, thousands of people will be taking to the streets of their local financial districts to declare that these financial markets are at the root of the world's social and ecological crises, as well as to demonstrate joyous, vibrant and diverse alternatives."

"A unique diversity of different groups will be taking action on the day, ranging from garment workers union of Bangla Desh to Israel environmentalists, from anarchists in Australia to Jubilee 2000 campaigners in Argentina, from fisher folk in India to peasants in Indonesia."

In London the Carnival against Capital began with over 300 cyclists bringing rush hour traffic to a standstill as they cycled at a dead-slow pace blocking roads leading in and out of the city. As the morning went on there were colourful protests at many banks and investment houses highlighting the connection between these financial institutions and the arms trade - some demonstrators even absided down Tower Bridge.

At the NatWest and Lloyds banks, protesters handed out leaflets to staff and customers and tried to padlock themselves to bank furniture while others scaled the Friends Provident building and unfurled a huge banner.

Both Lloyds and NatWest banks were forced to close to customers after demonstrators chained themselves to parts of the buildings and remained inside for over three hours. The Bank of England and the London Stock



Police waded in viciously against demonstrators on 18 June - city financiers fear the youth.

Exchange were also leafleted, and the protests at Reed Employment Agency centred on the dirty role this agency plays in assisting the state to force the unemployed into low-paid, casual jobs, particularly under the "New Deal".

By mid-day thousands - many in outrageous costumes and others dressed as city stockbrokers - had gathered at Liverpool Street station where they danced and celebrated to hundreds of whistles and the rhythm of samba drums.

In a carefully co-ordinated plan the demonstrators split up into four marches which wound their separate ways around the city with the police trying to guess where they were heading.

They all eventually met up with a mobile music system set up in the back of a transit van - which just happened to be cruising in the area! - and a massive party erupted causing havoc to the traffic. Later in the afternoon a few hundred of the protesters invaded one of the main centres of parasitism and decadent speculation - the premises of the London International Finance, Futures and Options Exchange.

They smashed down doors and flooded the premises by setting off a fire hydrant. The exchange had to abandon its after hours trading system and 400 staff were told to leave the building.

This gave the police the excuse they were looking for. There had already been some skirmishes but now they were determined to clear the streets and they attacked everyone using police on horseback, water cannons and baton charges. Many of the demonstrators retaliated, hurling stones and bottles



"the Financial Times conjured up an image of a battle for control of the main centres of the ruling class's financial institutions."

and soon many vicious battles erupted. Up to a hundred demonstrators needed medical treatment in the street by paramedics and 42 had to go to hospital.

The police actions represented the vengeance of the capitalist state for the minor inconvenience caused to its trading centres. Capitalism fears the youth. It fears its courage, ingenuity and sacrifice. It fears its commitment to causes that challenge the class rule of the bosses. All these were in abundance on 18 June and the police, as one of the armed sections that defend capitalism, were sent in "teach them a lesson".

It is the duty of the labour movement to stand beside all those involved in the

Carnival against Capitalism and to defend all those arrested by the state - the Reclaim the Streets activists, the eco-warriors, the travellers, the unemployed, the street dwellers and all who hate this rotten system.

Those on the left who condemn the 18 June action as a "riot" are doomed to stand on the sidelines as the youth engage in more and more ingenious methods of organisation and protest. The demonstrators' methods are, on the one hand, a reaction to the political groups, particularly the SWP, who only see these campaigns as a place for recruitment.

They are also a reflection of the loss of consciousness in the trade union and labour movement as a result of the long years of Stalinist and reformist domination. There can be no shortcuts in forging the fighting connections between all those involved in the 18 June actions and the vanguard of the working class. It is not a case of urging these young people to join the political groups but of the political activists joining them in all their struggles.

The Liverpool Dockers have shown the way on this. Their united actions with Reclaim the Streets and other environmental groups stands as a high point of recent struggles - there were 30,000 on the 1997 Social Justice demonstration compared to the 7,000-8,000 on 18 June.

Those who organised the Carnival against Capitalism should revisit these experiences as they plan their next activities.

SPECIAL EDITION

Evading Standards

LONDON, FRIDAY 18 JUNE, 1999

INCORPORATING THE UNCENSORED NEWS FREE

FREE trip to Cologne for G8 Summit celebrations. see page 19

WAR STARS Clinton and Albright's dark secret see page 20

NEW TODAY: INTERFERENCE FM - TUNE IN TO THE SOUND OF THE STREETS. ON 107.4 FM

GLOBAL MARKET MELTDOWN

Panic stalks Square Mile following dramatic collapse of world financial markets.

By Walt Toler and Emma Goldman

In London thousands of copies of "Evading Standards", a mock copy of the right-wing daily, "Evening Standard", were distributed. (see sample on the left)

Tameside strikers still fight for justice

The Tameside strikers, who are continuing their dispute in the industrial tribunal and are asking the labour, trade union and community movement for support, have written the following statement.

Tameside Strikers Who Are Still Fighting For Justice

We are asking you to extend your support to our just cause because over 20 of the strikers are continuing the campaign for justice against all odds.

We do not feel what we have been offered by the Tameside Care Group is a just settlement. The offer was made ten days before the industrial tribunal and was accompanied with a biased letter from the solicitors acting for Unison in the Tribunal. Some strikers felt that they were being railroaded.

The offer was described as fair and substantial. But the offer of 400,000 pound was to be divided between over 200 people, therefore we feel the offer was neither fair nor substantial. The offer was based on redundancy terms and did not include pension protection or any amount for damages or for financial difficulties the strikers have found themselves in after 14 months on strike.

All those who had Industrial Tribunal cases were balloted ie 187, regardless of the length of time they were strike. 85 of the original strikers were still on strike. 62 balloted voted against the offer, several strik-

ers did not receive ballot papers and others did not get their ballot paper returned within the short period allocated (the ballot papers were sent out by Unison on a Tuesday and had to be returned by 5pm the following Tuesday). 39 ballot papers were not returned. Some who never came out on strike were also balloted.

We do not think the ballot process was democratic. As it has come to light both Unison and Thompson (the solicitors) are aware who voted for and against. After the ballot those who voted against have been sent letters and been telephoned in an attempt to apply pressure on them to accept the offer.

We are now preparing our case for an industrial tribunal, a new date for the tribunal will be announced in four weeks time

Liz Taylor.2nd June 1999
Tel/ Fax 0161 339 2467
19 Edward Street,
Cock Brook,
Ashton-under-Lyne
OL6 6RF.

Please make any cheques to: Tameside Support Group/Strikers Hardship Fund



The Tameside Support Group

THE Tameside Support Group continues to support all those strikers who wish to take their case to an Industrial Tribunal. We are continuing to meet every Monday night in Ashton.

The Support Group has also agreed to:

1 Support the call by the six Tameside Strikers who stood in the local election as the Defend Public Services Group for a conference to Defend Public

Services. This conference will be organised in Manchester 10th July. It is seeking to work with all those sectors now coming into battle such as the Fire Fighters, council services, the fight against hospital closures, the sell off of council homes etc.

They are asking for direct support and sponsorship from the community and trade union movement.

2 Support the campaign

called by Unison and the Trades Council against the sell off of 17,000 council homes in Tameside.

3 Support Workers Aid For Kosovo to help the trade unionists, ordinary people and refugees in Kosovo and support the miners in Serbia.

Martin Ralph
 Chair of the Tameside Strikers Support Group, on behalf of the Support Group

Defend Public Services' Conference

11am - 4pm Saturday 10th July

Mechanics Institute,
 Princess Street
 Manchester

This conference is called by the six Tameside sacked care workers who stood in the local election, as the 'Defend Public Services' Group. They want to work with all those coming into battle such as the fire fighters and council workers, and communities against hospital closures, privatisation of care homes and other services, the sell off of council homes (such as the 17,000 council homes in Tameside), etc.

The six sacked care workers stood in the local election on a platform of: maintaining public services under the control of local authorities, properly funded locally and nationally. Opposition to all privatisation, cheap labour, casualisation, corruption, sleaze and all forms of prejudice and racism.

They did not stand against a Labour council from choice, they stood after 14 months of attacks by Tameside's Labour council. They sought unity with the elderly and their relatives for a decent public care service. Their stance was part of a fight for jobs and conditions, proper services and for a joint trade union and community fight against privatisation. The six women also stood to expose the connections between the Labour council and the Care.

The firefighters, who supported the care workers and in turn are supported by them, are told that national negotiations are no longer required by their employers. This attack aims to cut pay, conditions and jobs, and reduce the service to appalling levels.

Sponsored by (so far): Banner Theatre, FBU District Committee (to be confirmed), Greater Manchester Socialist Alliance, Tameside Strikers Support Group, TGWU 6/389, Bob Pounder, Brigades Secretary, FBU Greater Manchester (personal capacity)

The attacks on services may take many forms: arm's length companies, 'best value', PFIs, Trusts, privatisation, redundancies, casualisation and an intensification of work etc. Speakers are invited from around the country from trade unions and the communities who are involved in the fight to defend services and jobs, to discuss how we can develop an offensive an offensive policy.

Cost unwaged/unemployed 1, waged 3, delegates 5

The doors will be open from 10:45.

If you need a creche please contact one of the people named below before 3rd July.

The Mechanics Institute has disability access. Margaret Manning 0161 861 8390, Martin Ralph 0161 707 1584, Liz Taylor Tel/ Fax 0161 339 2467.

For further information about the Tameside dispute and local elections see the Labournet.

Banner Theatre is currently touring with 'From the Cradle To the Grave', for more information about booking them contact Aidan Jolly 01457 834586

Tameside Strikers Support Group Meets every Monday night at 7pm Station Pub, Warrington Street, Ashton, Tameside

The Tameside Support Group supports all those sacked care workers who wish to take their case to an Industrial Tribunal.

Crawley Demonstrates against health cuts

500 people marched through the streets in Crawley, West Sussex, last Saturday demanding "No Cuts" and "A New Hospital Now"

The demonstration was organised by Crawley Hospital Campaign which was formed by local people in response to proposals from the NHS area trust Authority which would mean the closure of the towns hospital unless it was "downgraded".

The reality of this corporate businesspeak would mean the loss of accident and emergency services in the area, the closure of the maternity unit, the loss of beds and accredited teaching status.

At a packed public meeting, the week before the demonstration, the Area Health Trust representative Isobel Gowan, was

asked how the trust's proposals—which would mean many emergency cases, such as heart attack victims, having to travel over twenty miles to a hospital—would not result in deaths. She replied that the government was planning to introduce defibrillators at railway stations and first aid training into schools.

The audience, which included members of the local pensioners action group, many of whom took part in the 1960's campaign for a General Hospital in the town, were not convinced.

The local Labour MP Laura Moffat (a former nurse) was heckled at the rally after the demonstration, when she refused to support the campaign's demands of no cuts in medical services in the town.

The majority of the Labour council took the same position as Moffat at the council meeting earlier in the week with only a small minority supporting a resolution tabled by the Tories (of all people) demanding no cuts in local services.

Following the demonstration about seventy people attended the Monday committee meeting and agreed to hold a further demonstration in september, lobby meetings of the health Trust, to start a letter writing campaign to the Health Secretary, Frank Dobson and to try to forge links with other towns in the area affected by the proposals.

The campaign group meets 7.30pm Monday, Southgate West Community Centre, Ditchling Hill

SWAPO leaders Plans

The third article in a series by HEWAT BEUKES documenting the struggle of the SWAPO Youth League (SYL) and the People's Liberation Army (PLAN) against the treachery of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) leaders during the liberation struggle in the 1970's.

AT the height of the struggle of the youth and the PLAN fighters for a proper congress, most of the SWAPO leadership had disappeared, some apparently to other countries.

The Zambian and Tanzanian authorities were therefore dealing with the SWAPO crisis on behalf of the leadership. But, as soon as the detentions started, the leadership emerged and openly expressed their intention to mass execute the dissidents.

By April 1976 the fighters had no illusions left, but they took an unwavering stand even in the face of apparently inescapable death. On 23 April they issued the following declaration:

"...we thereby declare our immovable pledge to root out these enemies whatever the cost"

SWAPO Military Wing, Western Province, Zambia, April 1976

THE PLAN FIGHTERS DECLARATION

More than convinced that we are having internal enemies in SWAPO, we hereby declare our immovable pledge to root out these enemies whatever the cost. We sacrifice our precious lives because we are convinced that many of us will be executed, to quote the SWAPO political Commissars words on 12 April 1976 at Oshatotwa Training Camp where some of our Committee members were being detained that be clear that if you win the case it will be up to you to decide what you are going to do with us. But remember that if you fail we are going to cut off your heads.

We will not be silenced because of fear to be executed. To be silent means to betray our country. This is a noble task to us, for we believe that Namibia will only be free if these internal enemies are destroyed. We sacrifice to die in order to open and smooth the way to the next generation. To close ones eyes to these evil things means not only to betray Namibia, but also to betray Africa as a whole.

Some people may consider us wrong today but history will prove us right. Many of our comrades were killed some surrendered themselves to the enemy, some fled to foreign countries because their lives were threatened, because they were trying to rid the Party from these enemies.

The whole history of SWAPO is a tragic one:

1. Kastro sold our people from 1966 up to the date he was arrested in 1969. When he was interrogated he said he was not alone in SWAPO. There were still high officials who were collaborating (with him) with the enemy. Tragically enough the SWAPO leadership did not take even an inch to investigate those allegations.

2. Herman Toivo ya Toivo, our respected, beloved leader and one of Africa was betrayed by a traitor from the SWAPO branch abroad.

3. In 1969 many of our comrades who we trained in Ethiopia and Arab countries were grieving about people being sold out and sent into battle without ammunition but they were answered with killing. The remainder fled away to Kenya and USA.

4. In 1972, seven comrades who were trained in China were complaining about the party line and structure but they were detained for seven months and were later removed to refugee camp. Omapya Refugee Camp where they later escaped. One of these seven comrades is Kanyemba who is now a teacher at SWAPO farm at Kaomo.

5. We got information from reliable sources that there are people in the SWAPO leadership who are having farms, hotels, shops and bank accounts; that is why they are less interested in the liberation struggle.

When we demand the National Congress where a clear, socialist line be drawn, they consider us enemies.

This is because we believe that socialism is a better society. We are against exploitation of man by man and condemn in the strongest terms the exploitation of our mineral resources by foreigners.

This is one of the reasons why they dont want the Congress to be held, because they know that in a socialist Namibia there will be no room for private owned shops, hotels etc.

6. Our people were forced by reactionary commanders to fight alongside the Boers against the MPLA. We considered the Angolan civil war as a tragedy to Africa.

We prayed that it would be stopped as quickly as possible. We condemned those reactionary commanders who forced our soldiers to escalate the shedding of blood of black brothers.

Not only did these reactionary commanders add to the bloodshed, but they allied themselves with the UNITA, Chipenda and Boer reactionaries in order to fight the MPLA who are not only our African brothers but our comrades in arms for socialism against colonialism, imperialism and foreign domination of the African soil.

To prove that the reactionary commanders forced our people to fight against MPLA brothers, we shall point out a few battles.

A. Munyango Battle: SWAPO soldiers were commanded by Captain Nakade. They were sent with mortars, bazookas and small arms. These

weapons were transported in a car driven by Jona Shingenge. The man who was commanding mortars was Andreas Intamba, a SWAPO mortar specialist from the USSR.

B. Kangumbe Battle: Commander Hauyondjaba ordered our soldiers with one 13-10 gun, EM machine guns and pistols to counter the MPLA attack.

C. Sirpa Pinto Battle: Comrade Olavi Dan found SWAPO commanders like Kakwambi and Nakade with mortars and B-10 guns in position ready to an MPLA attack. Our infantry was in ambush some metres from UNITA camp at Sirpa Plato. Old Dan was threatened with death not to tell anyone. Kakwambi himself admitted before us, the PLAN soldiers, that he later commanded the Luso Battle. ...

...
5. Captain Shongambe (Aron Embashu) used to command our fighters to go to the boers when the MPLA forces were advancing because according to him MPLA was our arch enemy other than the boers.

6. A SWAPO reconnaissance group of ten men led by Jackson Kakwambi went to Luso in order to spy the MPLA advance there. They were attacked by UNITA when they were travelling by train. Only three of our fighters escaped alive from this battle namely Kakalu and Jo... and Kakwambi himself, the SWAPO chief of intelligence.

Our fighters were told that SWAPO was dead in Zambia because SWAPO fighters used to fight with stones, bows and Pangas at Kaprivi Stip. Our fighters are without weapons in Angola and yet SWAPO continues to bury weapons in the ground and give some of the weapons to UNITA.

We have documentary evidence of this one. At Ondihaiuka SWAPO camp people were guarding with hand grenades only. Later these grenades were given to UNITA, while they guarded with sticks. To prove that our weapons were given to UNITA we will give three incidents.

1. Three trucks full of both heavy and small arms were sent to SWAPO bases in Angola escorted by the following comrades: Apollo Deingenge,

The whole history of SWAPO is a tragic one

Petrus Matias, John Andreas, Phillip Aainana, Ella Ambambi and some others. They overnight in Masive, UNITA central base. At the parade made for Savimbi UNITA took ten B10 guns, 3 heavy mortars, 18 machine guns, 9 Company machine guns, 2 heavy machine guns and ten boxes of pistols from our SWAPO trucks. The three trucks left Masive base only with 1 B10 gun, 2 light mortars, 10 AK47 sub-machine guns and one pistol, which was given to Mbwale Mashinga, few ammunitions and explosives. When our comrades demanded these weapons, their leader John Amuthenu was detained for 46 days.

2. Another three SWAPO trucks full of many kinds of weapons except semi-automatic and carbines were escorted by Elifas Eyenda, Andreas Frans, Shigwedha F. Malima and others. All weapons were left in UNITA central base, Masive. Our comrades got only one anti-aircraft gun, one heavy machine gun, few ammunitions and eight anti-tank mines. When our comrades demanded these weapons they were told that SWAPO is UNITA and UNITA is SWAPO.

3. Seven SWAPO comrades who left the Zambian front for Angola with seven AK sub-machine guns were disappointed to have their AKs confiscated by UNITA. To name three of them, Roger, America and Ngundwane.

NB. We the fighters of PLAN here in Zambia were defending the MPLA flag to be raised in the Ruyana and Mivungu where prevented the boers, Shipenda rebels and foreign mercenaries from bringing their reinforcement with consisted of 40 trucks. Eight helicopters and three reconnaissance planes were brought down and large number of enemy troops were killed.

At the same time we were engaged to these enemies, we were informed by a SWAPO driver that Peter Nanyemba ordered two trucks full of arms escorted by lieutenant Manuel, a UNITA driver, in order to defend the UNITA flag in Nova Lisbos (Huambo). Moreover, in the SWAPO Central base pro-MPLA

We were trying to expose all these corruptions inside the party

cadres were prohibited from listening to the MPLA independence celebration radio programme.

We were trying to expose all these corruptions in the party, the commanders began to hate us. They paid some of our comrades and made a separate base for them, a base for the loyal forces. They began to call us rebels and splitting faction within SWAPO with Andreas Shipanga as president. They propagated these lies to our innocent trainees and to the 150 comrades who left Zambia since January 1976. They even prevented the trainees and the 150 comrades to come and find out the truth from our side.

On 11 April 1976 we decided to go and explain our aim and stand to the 150 comrades and trainees at Oshalolwa. The Zambian lieutenant gave us permission to address our people Mac Namara the training officer stopped us and called the lieutenant for consultations where Namara deceived the lieutenant that this was an internal party matter and we were going to negotiate peacefully without the Zambian presence.

Our delegation of 15 people was

told to surrender their knives since it would be a peaceful negotiation. We surrendered them voluntarily and went to the parade ground. We were surrounded by all people of Oshatotwa. Before he started addressing them, Namara asked us two questions:

1. About the two commanders we were detaining because they buried arms in the ground and were attempting to split the party.

2. About the people who left our base at night time for Oshatotwa alleging that they were beaten.

After than Namara declared that we were to release those two commanders from detention. They began to tie us up with rope and hand-cuffs. Namara ordered the mob to beat us. He himself attacked one of our comrades with karate claps. The mob beat us with sticks and fists and robbed our money, watches, shoes, necklaces, caps, documents, handkerchiefs and other things.

Namara ordered the mob to beat us.

We were brutalised, was it not for the Zambian army who came for our rescue, the whole of our delegation would have been killed.

This was done intentionally so that they could defend themselves that the delegation was killed by the Namibians and not by an individual commander(s) and the second reason was so that the people should be terrorised and the demand for the removal of corruption be relinquished.

We were formally tied up and told that we would be released when the two commanders (Kafita and D. Ushna) were released. Our shirts and the remainder of our shoes were taken away and we were tied to the trees. At night we demanded our shirts because we were bitten by mosquitoes and were feeling terribly cold.

Our guards were given an order to shoot at anybody attempting to run away. At 4 a.m. our unarmed attachment came to see us. When they demanded to go with us they were threatened with bayonets. Sporadic shots were fired into the air. One commander, Danger, ordered the trainees with sticks in order to beat our detachment.

Our detachment was encircled by armed men and trainees with sticks. Namara ordered that everybody trying to run away should be shot at. When we asked the commanders to negotiate in order to avoid bloodshed, Green Metango answered that they were not our comrades, only brothers, as well as Kajjipuka said it, but only brothers because we are all Namibians, therefore let the blood shed. Namara uttered words like let blood shed let us repeat Zimbabwe. Nganyone said negotiations were not necessary, and bloodshed was inevitable.

Our delegation was removed from trees and put in a hut, heavily guarded with machine gun and sub-machine guns. Round about 1 p.m. a group of our girls came unarmed to see what was happening to us. They were again threatened with shots.

Approximately 2 p.m. we were removed from the hut, we were tied in a line with a rope passing between our legs, fastened to our hands behind and proceeding to the next comrade, like people who are going to the firing-squad.

We were taken into a thick forest. Our guards were ordered that if they ever heard sounds of battle or shells they should kill all of us. This agreement was done and because they knew we were having even heavy weapons in our bases (centralised), they thought

for mass executions

our comrades at the home base were coming to release our delegation by force of arms.

Our fighters refrained from using force, for they knew that those corrupted commanders were provoking violence because they wanted to spoil our just course of ridding the party or corrupters.

In order not to shed blood of our fel-

We would like the world to know that even if they brutalise, terrorise and execute us by firing squad, we shall not be moved from our determined course, that of ridding the party from corruption.

low Namibians simply because there are some people among our ranks who are instruments of the enemy our fighters decided to release the corrupted commanders in exchange for the delegation.

Commissar Nganyone warned our detachment not to be deceived by our committee.

According to him among the captured documents of our delegation there were passports, Belgian and French currencies, evidence that the committee was going to flee away from Zambia in one month. They also captured documents (as he said) where our so called ... faction signed an agreement with the Belgian government in order to be issued with weapons. About 4 p.m. the two corrupted commanders were released and brought to Oshatowa.

Our delegation was removed from the forest and was transported by Zambian army truck back to our base.

They promised us that our documents and the rest of our things will be exchanged with the things of the commanders (released) which are still in our hands. We made it clear to them that the exchange will be done under the supervision of a neutral party.

We proposed a Zambian official to our arbitrator. We want to challenge commander Nganyone to produce all those passports, currencies and agreements with the Belgian government. He shall produce these documents to the Zambian government and to the Namibians here.

We would like the world to know that even if they brutalise, terrorise and execute us by firing squad, we shall not be moved from our determined course, that of ridding the party from corruption.

We will leave no stone unturned to see SWAPO clear and united. We shall not be divided by reactionaries and enemy agents.

UNITY OR DEATH: UNITED WE SHALL CONQUER.

Yours
PLAN fighters,
Republic of Zambia
23.4.1976
Luzaka

From the story, it emerged that the SWAPO leadership had no intention of making war their business, let alone winning it. Their business was to make business (i.e. commerce, farming and even weapon dealing) with moneys and weapons received in support of the struggle, and to become the Government-in-Exile (by accession).

The provocative attitude of Commander Nganyone and his colleagues clearly indicated that the fate of the dissidents was now completely sealed.

By April, the Zambian government, the Tanzanian government and others were fully mobilised for action against the dissidents. What they were obviously hoping for, and clearly provoking, were rash actions from the anti-corruption fighters to be able to point an accusing finger at them for the benefit of the world at large and to get a legitimate excuse for exterminating them.

But even while that did not happen, the Zambian army started the mass round-up. By June 1976, well over a thousand dissidents were in detention.

During this time SWAPO officials were even publicly directing the abductions. Moses Garoeb, the Administrative Secretary, and Richard Kapelwa, Deputy Secretary for Defence

and Transport, were cited. The Zambian government also expelled dissidents with overseas citizenship.

The dissidents were now only left with an effort to secure help from the people at home, friendly governments, and various instances in support of the liberation struggle.

In June, that year, they smuggled letters out of Zambia to the Executive

Committee at home. But these were the men elected in the May 1976, Congress at Walvis Bay to pre-empt the representative congress called for by the dissidents. Here at this Congress they had to, and they did, endorse Nujomas leadership, while he was stamping out the last pockets of resistance in Zambia.

They ridiculed their plight, and embarked on a major campaign of vilification. In telephonic contact with Lusaka, the internal leadership distributed pamphlets describing how the youth were misled by Andreas Shipanga, the arch villain.

At public meetings, house-gatherings and in private conversations an account was given of Shipanga, the Pied Piper of Windhoek, leading two thousand well-trained guerrillas and Youth members against minor problems in the movement. He plotted against the life of Nujoma, etc. etc.

By August 1976 news reached Namibia that Sam Nujoma planned the execution of over a thousand dissidents for High Treason.

Hermanus Beukes a veteran fighter for Namibian independence immediately sent a telex message to Sam Nujoma to stop the intended executions as it would cause the country incalculable harm.

Led by him, a group of concerned members of SWAPO approached the internal leaders and church leaders. They argued that these leaders should act decisively to thwart the executions.

They reasoned that besides the paucity of the evidence against the youth, the manner in which the external leadership approached the problem was highly suspect and irresponsible.

Tauno Haitukulipi, by now the treasurer of the movement, replied that the external leadership consisted of experienced diplomats with cool heads. If they (the leadership) felt that the dissidents were traitors, then the latter deserved to die. They refused to interfere in the situation outside. Eight years later Haitukulipi was the victim of similar frame-ups and was reportedly shot.

On Namibia Day, 26 August 1976, the group travelled to Keetmanshoop in a further attempt to affect intervention from within the country. Here they met with Hendrik Witbooi, Lukas Stephanus, Eric Biwa, Benedictus Boois, and other senior members of

Nujoma planned the execution of over a thousand dissidents for "High Treason".

SWAPO. Some of these persons were agitated at what they termed bringing the leadership under suspicion.

The leader of the group Hermanus Beukes, retorted that it was no longer a question of bringing them under suspicion, they were under suspicion. But here too the group received a firm rebuff. Nine years later, Benedictus Boois would confirm on a video tape recorded by the same leadership in Lusaka, that he was a spy. Eric Biwa was jailed in the dungeons and Lukas Stephanus was reportedly beaten brutally and then shot.

Some of the dissidents were deported from Zambia, sought help from the church leaderships, especially inside the country.

The Reverend Salatiel Ailonga wrote a letter on 24 May 1977 to Bishop Leonard Auala of the

Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo Kavango Church, who attended a church conference in Dar-es-Salaam with copies to Dr. Luksa de Vries, Preses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Reverend Albertus Maasdorp, Assistant General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation (L.W.F) and Professor Mikka Juva, Chairman of the LWF.

This effort was also to no avail. Instead of voicing any opinion, the churches remained mute. However, in the beginning they showed hostility to the dissidents charges. But, the brutality of the SWAPO leadership forced them to retreat to the ethereal skies, where the ways of the flesh could not compromise their political position, that is, charting their course to become the spiritual fathers of whatever political force came into power in independent Namibia.

To: Bishop Auala, ELOC,
LWF meeting, Dar-es-Salaam

Dear Bishop Auala,

As you know since 1976 there was conflict among the Namibians in Zambia. This led to many of the leading members within SWAPO and my Chaplaincy being imprisoned on the request of SWAPOs leadership. First eleven members of the Party and Youth League, then 48 from the front, talking on behalf of the soldiers and later on over one thousand Namibians disappeared. In the wake of this I had to leave Zambia and since June 1976 I have been staying in Finland.

Now you have the opportunity of being in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, where eleven of the imprisoned are being held. They are said to be in the following places:

Immanual Engombe, Zakaria Shikomba, Andreas Nuukvawp and Martin Taaneni who at present is seriously ill are in Ukanga Prison, Dar and Miss Ndeshi Uuyumba in Keko Womens Prison, Dar.

Filimon Moongo and Johannes (Jimmy) Ampala in Mrwara Prison. Kesbil Pelao Nataneal, Ruben (Sheeli) Shangula, Tabora Prison.

Andreas Shipanga and Solomon Mifima...

I request you to look for a possible way to see these people because some of them are said to be seriously ill.

It is a good luck for you that Zambia is close to Tanzania and it would be well if you would try to see the people in Buloma Camp, North of Lusaka who are reported to be dying because of lack of food and medicines.

According to the proofs and my knowledge this is not purely a political case or an internal SWAPO affair. It is a case concerning the wellbeing of the Namibians and their human rights, which touch the church and its responsibility to a great extent. The imprisoned in Tanzania and Zambia are members of all churches, including Lutherans, Anglicans and Roman Catholics.

The reason for the imprisonment is not yet known to the world and there is no legal ground to hold people without trial.

This needs to be said with all seriousness even at the present meeting, looking for the justice and dignity and liberation of the human being as a whole. If there should be any fault or crime not all the thousand could be held responsible. There is a reliable report that at Buloma Camp in August last year many people were shot at, many were wounded and some died, among them Frans Mangutwala and Naftali Tilya.

In matters like these, which may have the most serious effect for the future, the Church should not be silent. All these thousand may be lost within a short time and never return to Namibia.

But there are thousands of families, friends and relatives of these people, and their voice will be great in demanding an explanations. What will the answer of the Church be?

I would say that in every leadership, church or state, the leaders have to be led and shown the truth without fear of

partiality. That shows not enmity, but love for the readers you correct, because you care what he is doing.

If you as leaders of the Church in Namibia will fail to go with love into this question in SWAPO, which is a small group, how will you be able to cope with problems which will arise on a much larger basis within a free Namibia, be it under the leadership of SWAPO or someone else?

I request you in all humility to take this matter seriously and prevent more vain bloodshed.

I attach some proofs of personal statements and written letters to support the information above, showing the very serious state of many Namibians outside our country.

Helsingfors, 24 May 1977
Satiel Ailonga

Copy

Dr. Luksa de Vries, Pres. ELC
Rev Albertus Maasdorp, Assist. Sec Gen LWF
Prof Mikka Juva, Chairman LWF

The UNO and other political groups ignored all attempts to secure help from them. Petitions were sent to Sean Macbride, then the UN Commissioner for Namibia, and many other political instances.

They contemptuously ignored them, and continued as if nothing had happened. Jimmy Amupala, on 2 May 1976 desperately tried to appeal to Kaundas conscience, but this man had already made it his lifes work to sell Africa's struggles to the highest bidder.

During these attempts Andreas Shipangas wife, Esme, tried to have her husband and others in detention, released on the basis of Habeas Corpus, which existed in Zambian Law.

Before the hearing of the appeal, eleven dissidents, including Shipanga were transferred in August to Tanzania, where Habeas Corpus did not exist.

Neither was there right of audience between advocate and client in the Tanzanian legal system. Therefore these persons could voice no opposition in the fabrications of the SWAPO leadership.

At Buloma Concentration Camp, the

When we demand the National Congress where a clear, socialist line be drawn, they consider us enemies.

situation was critical. Its inmates were deliberately starved, maybe to force them to abandon their demands. It was a usual occurrence in SWAPO that people died of hunger.

Refugees described that when a starving comrade coughed in a certain manner, they knew that death had descended: this, while their leadership was living in the most superfluous abundance.

On 5 August, 1976 at 3.06 p.m. more than one thousand anti-corruption fighters started to march out of Buloma Camp to Lusaka to demand trucks from the African Liberation Committee, to transport them to Angola.

The march was arranged in two files. While they prepared to move, Zambian soldiers opened fire, killing three persons on the spot, and wounding thirteen others seriously. Among the injured was a pregnant woman.

The wounded were removed to the University Teaching Hospital, where the leg of one person (a fighter) was amputated. As further punishment after the killing, the Zambian government prohibited the dissidents from taking their pregnant comrades and sick comrades to hospital.

To be continued.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

- Kastro: a member of SWAPOs Central Committee now living in Sweden.
- Herman Toivo ya Toivo: a founding member of SWAPO in 1960 in Cape Town, was jailed on Robben Island in 1966 and was released in 1984. Now the Minister of Labour.
- Nova Lisboa (Huambo): city in South east of Angola. Now the headquarters of Jona Savimbis UNITA.
- "Let us repeat Zimbabwe": McNamara alluded to a similar conflict in ZANU in 1994 when many Zimbabwean revolutionaries were killed.
- Tauno Haitukulipi: was Director of the Christian Centre of the Council of Churches in Namibia. Elected to National Executive at SWAPOs Congress at Walvis Bay in May 1976. Joined the PLAN high Command in exile in 1978. Reportedly executed with twelve others in early 1980s on trumped-up charges of high treason.
- Hendrik Witbooi: priest and grandson of famous guerilla fighter by the same name who fought German imperial forces from the 1890s to 1904 when he was killed in battle at the age of 80. He is now Deputy Prime Minister.
- Eric Biwa: fled country in 1978 and eventually sent to Cuba where he was arrested by Cuban Security police for spying in SWAPO. Jailed in dungeons in Lubango in Angola. Returned in 1989 and now a member of parliament for United Democratic Front (UDF).
- Jackson Kakwambi: Kasheya and Shikangala: PLAN commanders whose present whereabouts are unknown.
- Hermanus Beukes: first petitioner to UNO for Namibian independence. Convener of 1970 National Convention with SAWPO, SWANU and other political parties. Oppositionist of sole and authentic status of SWAPO as an attempt to divide and manipulate the liberation movement by the western powers and UNO, and to deny Namibias genuine self-determination (His eldest son Hans was part of the anti-corruption group and wrote a paper titled The Trojan Horse on the Lusaka based United Nations Institute for Namibia. He fled Zambia after a tip-off and now lives in Norway. Hermanus' wife Elizabeth smuggled letters from PLAN and the Youth League in the heels of her shoes from Zambia into Namibia. He opposed the intended execution of more than 1800 fighters by sending a telex to Nujoma. He now lives in Rehoboth and leads a civic for land rights and democracy against the Government. He regularly contributes long articles in the media for democracy against the Government.
- Peter Nanyemba: was the Secretary of Defence of SWAPO—a Central Committee and Politbureau member. who was killed in a 'car accident' in Angola in 1982 on his way from Lubango in the south to Luanda.
- Solomo Mifima: member of SWAPO's Central Committee was jailed together with Shipanga and returned with him to found SWAPO-D. He died in Namibia in the 1980's.

Land & Liberty

An irregular column, about property, poverty, the ground under our feet, and whether we've a roof over our head ...

Light out of Norfolk

SOME bold young rebels plan to commemorate a 450 year-old rebellion shortly, with some imaginative action of their own. On 10 July, 1549, a crowd of Norfolk peasants led by a tanner, Robert Kett, arrived at the gates of Norwich, where they were greeted by the poor townspeople. Fed up with greedy, commons-grabbing landlords, and hoping England's acting head of state, Lord Protector Somerset, might do something to halt enclosures, the rebels camped on Mousehold Heath, outside the city, and drew up a list of demands to present to the powers that be. Soon 16,000 people were gathered on the heath.

The High Sheriff of Norfolk, Sir Edmund Windham, ordered them to disperse peacefully in the name of the King, but had to beat a hasty retreat. The mayor of Norwich, Sir Thomas Codd, said he could not raise a force against rebellion without the King's consent. Knowing that many citizens sympathised with Kett, Mayor Codd and alderman Thomas Aldrich went out to negotiate with the rebels, and arranged for provisions to be sent out to them. They also signed their names to the list of demands.

Norwich was England's second city at this time, and East Anglia generally an advanced part of this unevenly developing country. Proximity to the Continent had brought trade, political refugees, and new ideas. The Norfolk rising was no blind protest, nor were the rebels clinging desperately to the past. Their demands ranged from "we pray that all bonde men be made free, for god made all free with his precious blood shedding", through to a request that legislation dealing with enclosure should "be not hurtful to suche as have enclosed saffron grounds for they be greatly chargeable to them..." In other words, while rejecting the bonds of outdated feudal privilege, they recognised the claims of capital, invested in developing new means of production. (Saffron was grown for dyestuff used in the clothing industry).

It began spontaneously. At Attleborough, on June 20, 1549, angry villagers tore down the hedges of a landlord who had enclosed common land. They may have felt encouraged by reports that Protector Somerset had pardoned some peasants charged with disorders elsewhere. Two weeks later, people who had gathered at Wymondham to watch a play about Thomas a Becket began throwing down the hedges of Sir Thomas Flowerdew, who had earned unpopularity by stripping the lead from the roof of the abbey church and taking the bells away. Local people had been



raising funds to buy the church for the use of the community. It was here that Kett, who held the manor of Wymondham, agreed to return land that he had enclosed, and offered to lead the people's protests.

The Norfolk peasants and their urban allies were not resisting change, but claiming a say in it. The Mousehold heath manifesto did not confine itself to economic questions, either. Item 8: "We pray that priests or vicars that be not able to preache and set forth the worde of god to hys parishioners may be thereby putt from hys benefice, and the parishioners there to choose another..." Bearing in mind that the English Reformation had replaced papal authority with that of the King, this was a very radical demand. The clergy were expected to serve the community to earn their keep. Item 20: "We pray that any propriety parson or vicar having a benefice of 10 or more by yere shall either by themselves or by some other person teach poor men's children of the parish the book called the cathachism and the primer." These were not the brute, literacy-hating peasants depicted by Shakespeare. They demanded the right to a basic education.

On 23 July, after the mayor and gentry of Norwich had turned against the peasants, and set up cannon on the city walls, the rebels commandeered cannon from nearby estates, and stormed the city. Norwich fell with barely a fight. Kett had Mayor Codd and Aldrich arrested, but not ill-treated. He wanted to continue discussions with Aldrich, and keep the townsfolk on his side. On 30 July, the Marquis of Northampton arrived with 14,000 troops, including Italian mercenaries. The rebels fought them off, and the gentry fled in panic. Not till 24 August did an army led by the Earl of

Warwick re-enter Norwich, and it took three days and 12,000 troops, with battle-trained foreign mercenaries to suppress the ill-armed rebels.

Some 3,000 were killed in the ill-thought battle of Dusindale. Robert Kett was captured and hanged at Norwich castle later that year, and his brother William hanged from Wymondham church steeple.

Before the present day burghers of Norwich start wheeling out the ordinance and asking the Lord Lieutenant to call in NATO ground troops, we should stress that the people planning to set up camp in commemoration of Kett's revolt are not planning a re-enclosure.

Supporters of The Land is Ours movement, they previously occupied Guinness-owned wasteland in Wandsworth, south London, winning local residents' backing against the speculators, before being evicted. They say they have selected a site for their camp which is "suitable for the creation of a sustainable community". They want to grow organic vegetables, and have asked people to bring gardening tools as well as plates, mugs and camping gear etc.—no mention of pitchforks, let alone cannon.

Apart from F.A.Ridley's pre-war book "The Revolutionary Tradition in Britain", long out of print, the Norfolk revolt has had less than its share of attention from Marxists. Its 450th anniversary is a good reminder that, contrary to Fabian and 'post-Communist' nonsense, revolutionary violence is part of the British tradition. The episode offers rich insights into the revolutionary process, as well as posing questions for our theory of history. Of course, the Land is Ours campers will not necessarily share our analysis, or our perspective. But when the poseurs of Living Marxism deride these 'Green' activists, while march-

ing with the landlords in the Countryside Alliance, I'll side with the Land is Ours camp. So, I suspect, would an old socialist who wrote about the right to cut firewood in German forests, and passionately defended the Silesian weavers. Karl Marx would have nothing but contempt for today's *Living Marxism*.

Anti-social unit

Nicholas Van Hoogstraten, the Sussex landowner and former slumlord whom I wrote about in the first of these columns, was on TV (*An Englishman's Home*, BBC2, 15 June) boasting that his house will be better than the palace of Versailles, that he's no friend of "the peasants", and that he'll never allow rammers—"the scum of the earth", he says—the right of way on his land. But isn't he just a lone rich nutter?

Unfortunately not. The Social Affairs Unit, a right-wing "think-tank" which ought to be called the Anti-Social Affairs Unit since it is dedicated to the kind of ideas which influenced Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, has produced a book called *Another Country*, supposedly about defending rural life from invading townies.

Like the Countryside Alliance, the authors pretend that country folk and their way of life are being persecuted by "an urban population that no longer knows much of country ways". The right to roam is nothing less than theft of private property, they say. They want existing public land sold off to private owners to be "properly husbanded". They resent quiet rammers, but defend marauding mounted hunters, who do real damage. Where

'If you go down to the woods today' ... You might come across the home (well ONE of the homes) of the Karic family in leafy Enfield, in north London. The stone lion guarding the gate is backed by live guard dogs and closed-circuit television. But Mr Boguljub Karic wasn't at home when we called. He was at his job as a minister in Slobodan Milosevic's government.

Hoogstraten grumbled about the "great unwashed", they sneer at "the values of middle class suburban Britain—its disregard for dress codes, table manners, school uniform". Yet, as George Monbiot notes, (Stirring up hatred in the countryside, *Guardian*, June 10) the Social Affairs Unit is based in central London. None of the authors do much husbandry—they are mostly urban academics, journalists and "consultants".

They don't want the countryside defended from greedy landowners, speculative developers, agri-business (with genetic engineering) or the chemical industry. They regard health and safety laws as an intrusion. But then they are unlikely to be suffering the ill effects of organo-phosphate use, or the high rate of serious accidents in agricultural work.

Their dirty work, like that of the Countryside Alliance, is to hide irresponsible capitalist greed behind a rustic hedge, pretending the landlord is the labourers' friend, and the profiteer looks after the poor.

As Monbiot says, "The right seeks to stir up hatred between town and country in order to obscure the real causes of rural decline. Britain's new class politics are being constructed around the countryside." Those behind this are the enemies of working people, wherever we live. And anyone who denies there's a class struggle is assisting their side.

Muzhik

Further information about the Kett commemoration camp from:

kett99@hotmail.com
Kett: 01603 484412
Also at The Land is Ours website:
www.oneworld.org/tlio/

STATEMENT BY KERALA MEDICAL & SALES REPRESENTATIVES ASSOCIATION (CITU) - INDIA STATE COMMITTEE

INTERVENTION of Police in normal and free function of Trade Union at Kottayam at the behest of management of Glaxo Laboratories, on false complaints.

Glaxo Laboratories is a Trans-National Corporation which is in the business of aggressively marketing drugs, medicines, food products etc. in India. One of the examples of exploitation of Indian common people by Glaxo can be seen from the exorbitantly high pricing of their pharmaceutical products — not only higher than other Indian brands, but also much more than their own brands in other countries like Canada, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka etc. Many drugs that are banned in developed countries are being very conveniently sold in India by Glaxo.

For years, management of Glaxo laboratories has been resorting to severe repressive measures against the

Medical Representatives by way of denial of trade union rights, violation of labour laws including the provisions of Sales promotion Employees (conditions of service) Act, 1976. Further, there are innumerable cases of victimisations of field workers by the management of Glaxo, by way of large-scale transfers and terminations of services.

Against this background, as well as opposing various unethical marketing practices of drugs and medicines in India, FMRAI - Federation of Medical and Sales Representatives Associations of India - decided on protest programmes all over the country and KMSRA, as an affiliate of FMRAI, has been carrying out protest demonstration programmes peacefully, in front of Glaxo Offices and Officers.

Against such peaceful programmes of demonstrations and submissions of memorandum, management, on several

occasions, lodged false complaints to the Police against the office bearers, activists and members of our trade union in various places. It is worth noting here that they approached the High Court of Kerala with such faulty petitions, which, in turn, was rejected by the Honorable Court.

Such a peaceful demonstration had taken place in front the officers of Glaxo and our members met them for submission of a memorandum yesterday i.e. on 16 June 1999 at Kottayam, Kerala State in India. The said officers without any discussion left the place and our members got, further dispersed even without a word exchanged. Nevertheless, to the surprise of all, in the evening Police from Kottayam East Police Station undertook the so called search activities reportedly on the ground of a complaint lodged by the officers of Glaxo, and took large num-

ber of innocent Medical Representatives from their residences and hotels to the Police station applying force without looking at the veracity of the complaint and harassed them in the night.

This is a clear case of direct intervention of Police at the behest of the employer and management of a Trans-National Corporation, in the free and normal function of trade union against the declared policy of the Left Democratic Front Government of Kerala, organised by some vested interest.

The State Committee of KMSRA expresses its strong protest against the management of Glaxo for giving such faulty complaints misleading the police and also protest against those few Police Officials who at the behest of a Trans National Corporation make aggressive form of intervention in the

normal and peaceful function of a trade union in the state of Kerala, without verifying facts.

The State Committee also calls upon all its members, other trade unions, mass organisations and the democratic sections of people to raise voice of protest and extend support to KMSRA by joining the struggle against Glaxo opposing attack on the workers and peoples health.

The State Committee requests the entire progressive sections to react to this by sending protest telegram/letter to M/S Glaxo Pharmaceuticals, Dr. Annie Besant Road, Worli, Mumbai - 400 025, India. It is also requested to send letter to The Labour Minister, Government of India, New Delhi, for intervention.

For the State Committee,
P.Sethumadhavan,
General Secretary.

DOMESTIC WORKERS DEMAND RECOGNITION

Amirul Haque Amin

DHAKA, 26. JUNE 1999 Domestic Workers Association, Bangladesh held a SILENT WALKATHON in support of their demands for new laws to be passed guaranteeing their recognition as workers, fixation of wages and legal facilities.

They criticised the parliament that has increased the honorarium of parliament members, ministers and others but did not think about the millions of domestic workers who are working in inhuman conditions.

The walkathon started from the Muktangan and paraded through different city areas. Several hundred domestic workers participated in the walkathon. They came from the different parts of the city including; Fakirapul, Motijheel, Shahjahanpur, Shamoli, Mugda, Jurain, Palton, Bashabo, Mirpur & also from Tongi.

Central co-ordinator of the organisation Amirul Haque Amin reported that on 22th June a ten year old domestic worker named Fatema was burned to death by her house master (employer). Although 48 hours had passed, nobody had been arrested by the police. Amin

demanded the immediate arrest of her killer.

The demonstration raised the following 11 points and demands:

- **Recognition as workers**
- **Minimum wages**
- **Legal facilities**
- **Stop torture**
- **Stop sexual harassment including rape**
- **Shelter**
- **Food**
- **Medical facilities**
- **Job security**
- **Legal compensation of the jobless (fired)**
- **Education for their children**

A further rally will be held in July



Demonstration by Domestic Workers Association, Bangladesh Dhaka, 24-6-99

Who will stand by us in a critical moment?

Police attack Pakistan union protest

GUJRAT, PAKISTAN: On June 18, 1999, we organised a procession to condemn the testing of nuclear weapons by Pakistan and India. The rally was started early in the morning from the GTS Chowk and the enthusiasm of the workers and school children was worth seeing.

The leadership of the All Pakistan Federation of United Trade Unions (APFUTU) had already had gone underground on 14.06.99. Suddenly the said leadership came out on 18 June, wearing masks and veils, and joined the rally, in spite of the fact that local administration had blockaded every neck and corner and was ready to arrest them.

The police had been making night raids for two nights running. They entered the union house as well as Intiaz Labor Hall on the midnight of 17-18 June, and tried to find clues to the whereabouts of the leadership.

When the police failed to achieve this object they become revengeful, and ransacked the office files. They left taking with them the office computer with accessories, movie camera, electric typewriter, Panasonic FX-F 90 fax machine, union banners, 26" colour TV, two carpets and crockery, etc. They also burned the office records to ashes.

hunger strike

When the underground leadership appeared in the procession, the protest became enlivened, and broke through the police cordons. The march passed down several streets to reach the District Courts Chowk, chanting slogans against nuclear weapons and against the government. In front of the Deputy Commissioner's Office the APFUTU (women's wing) leadership had been sitting on hunger strike since morning as a protest against the nuclear explosions.

The slogans were to halt inflation, and the rising cost of living. "We want bread, not nuclear bomb". "The nuclear is dangerous for human life. We do not like to make our country

like Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but we want to bring peace and harmony. We are peaceloving country and most virtuous nation, commanded to do good and denounce evil."

Afterward a protest gathering was held in the District Court Chowk and Mr Pirzada Intiaz Syed, Secretary General, addressed the meeting with great zeal and enthusiasm. His words were sufficient, were strong to peace the heart of the listeners and it was difficult to control the feeling of the protesters during his speech. About three to four hundred police commandos came into action and they arrested Pirzada with Choudhry Riaz Ahmad, President, Mohammad Shakeel Janjua, S.V.P., Ayub Ali Khan, Deputy Secretary General, Zulfiqar Ali, Information Secretary, Haroon H. Rasheed, Choudhry Javid Iqbal, Raja Allah Ditta, Mohammad Noveed, Syed Zia Ullah Azam, Akhtar Pervez, Mohammad Inayat Sabri, Mohammad Yousaf, So Hail Yousaf, with other 50 active members.

brutal police action

During this action the police was given free hands to use lathy (long baton) charges and tear gas on innocent male and female workers and school children without any cogent reason. Our organization strongly condemned such brutal police action.

When the police failed to achieve this object they become revengeful, and ransacked the office files

On June 19, 1999 the local administration released 50 active workers on after arrest bail, and shifted the rest of them from the police station to district jail. It has come to our knowledge from reliable sources that police have registered a charge of damage/ harm to the territorial integrity of the coun-

try. According to the standing laws of our country the punishment of said case is death penalty.

tortured

On 21 June 1999 the session court granted bail except for Choudhry Riaz Ahmed, President, Mohammad Shakeel Janjua, S.V.P., Pirzada Intiaz Syed, Secretary General, Ayub Ali Khan, Haroon H. Rasheed, Secretary International Relations, Mohammad Noveed, President Bone Crushing Industries Labor Union. The released office bearers have narrated the sad story with a deep grief and sorrow that the executive members have been tortured and given sound thrashing.

Today on 21 June 1999 an emergency meeting was conducted under the auspicious Riaz Masee, S.V.P. of Pakistan Brick Kiln Labour Union. In this meeting the following persons were selected to the cause of working for the solidarity and prosperity of organization.

The detail is as under please/
Caretaker President Riaz Masee
Caretaker S.V.P. Choudhry Javid Iqbal
Caretaker Vice President Mohammad Noveed
Caretaker Secretary General Syed Naseer Akhtar
Caretaker Deputy G. Secretary Asghar Ali
Secretary Information Zulfiqar Ali

In addition to above facts it was held out in the meeting that the cases registered against high command leadership are very serious and require vigilant attention. The hearing of these cases will be held in Supreme Court of Pakistan and workers are unable to bear the expenses likely to be incurred for engaging a lawyer and other allied expenses, as our organization has not sufficient funds.

Therefore today on June 21, 1999, we have opened two bank accounts in the name of "International Solidarity Fund of APFUTU" with the "Allied

Bank of Pakistan Limited", main branch Gujrat.

These are the details of the bank accounts:-

Title of account: INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FUND OF APFUTU

Bank account no: 1180 (U.S. dollars)

1181 (German mark)
 Name of bank: ALLIED BANK OF PAKISTAN LIMITED,
 MAIN BRANCH, CHOWK NAWABSAHIB, GUJRAT (PAKISTAN)

It is a great time of our test and experience of who will stand by us in such a critical moment. It is well known fact that the friend in need is a friend in deed. Who will help us at the time of distress?

So I, on behalf of my organization, appeal your good self to stand by us in a critical moment. Your one U.S. dollar or German mark is great boon and helpful for us. As you are well aware and conscious of this fact that many a little will make a mickle. As well as wishers should come forward and arrange to transfer the cash direct in our bank accounts and the cheques/ bank drafts could be sent to our union address:

All Pakistan Federation of United Trade Unions (APFUTU)
Union House, Rang Pura, Sargodha Road, Gujrat - 50700 (Pakistan)

I as well as my organization workers are awaiting for your kind and favorable response at your good self. Thanks!

With best regards!

SYED NASEER AKHTAR
 CARETAKER SECRETARY GENERAL
 APFUTU, UNION HOUSE, RANGPURA,
 SARGODHA ROAD, GUJRAT-50700 (PAKISTAN)
 FAX : (+ 92-4331) 52 53 02

From : " Pirzada "
 <union@grt.space.net.pk>
 <mailto:union@grt.space.net.pk>>

Asylum Seekers Decamp from campfield

ON FRIDAY 25 June 1999, two asylum seekers detained in Campsfield Detention Centre. Decided to give them selves permanent admission to the UK, via a back window in the detention centre.

One Russian and one kosovan, scaled a 18 foot high fence, topped with 3 coils of barbed wire and disappeared into the country side. Opponents of Britain's draconian immigration laws wish them well, may they stay free for ever, find work, health and happiness and never fall foul of the police or immigration officials. When asked to comment, a spokesperson for Group Four, the private company which runs Campsfield, said "We are not F—g amused"

Ray Barkley for "Close Down Harmondsworth Campaign" said: "We welcome the news that two asylum seekers have managed to escape incarceration in Campsfield Detention Centre.

At a time when Britain has been complicit in creating a major refugee crisis in the Balkans and when the British Government is introducing even tougher asylum laws, it is an indication of the frustration felt by many asylum seekers that they are forced to take such desperate measures to obtain their freedom. "The arbitrary imprisonment of so many asylum seekers is an affront to Human Rights. These people have been forced to flee their homes and to seek refuge abroad. Instead of being afforded the respect and dignity they deserve they are greeted with callousness, indifference and hostility. We call for the cessation of arbitrary detention and for the scrapping of the current legislation going through Parliament."

Bill Mckeith from "Close Down Campsfield" said: "We support the escapees. We don't blame them for regaining their freedom. They were unjustly locked up, good luck to them".

For information on the campaign to defend the rights of asylum seekers, contact National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (NCADC) 101 Villa Road

Birmingham B19 1NH
 Phone: 0121-554-6947 Fax: 0870-055-4570

E-mail ncadc@ncadc.demon.co.uk
 Web www.ncadc.demon.co.uk/

• Your letters • Your letters • Your letters • Your letters

'Peace' march covers for Serb chauvinism!

By Chris Lotham

SYDNEY — On June 6, around 750–1000 people participated in a rally and march opposing NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia. The protest, organised by an ad hoc committee called Australians for Peace in Yugoslavia, highlighted the impact of the bombing on the workers of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, however, the organisers deliberately avoided confronting the real issues that would be in the minds of most people concerned about the war.

The protest failed to address in any way the question of Kosovan Albanians' democratic right to self-determination — including independence if they so choose. None of the publicity for the protest mentioned the democratic rights of Kosovan Albanians or the terror campaign being conducted by the Yugoslav army and Serbian paramilitaries in Kosova.

The effect of this orientation was to convert a protest against NATO's aggression into support for the Serbian chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic.

This chauvinist character was reflected in a number of incidents. The crowd booed Pru Wirth, Sydney University Student Representative Council education officer, the only speaker to attempt to criticise the Milosevic regime. A large section of the protest marched under Chetnik and Serbian monarchist flags chanting "Kosovo is Serbia". Resistance and Democratic Socialist Party members who attended with placards stating "Stop the bombing. Freedom for Kosova" were told, "If you support Kosovan Albanians, you are not welcome" and "If you support Albanians, you are anti-Serb and

pro-NATO".

The most shameful aspect of these events was that the protest was organised primarily by left organisations — the Communist Party of Australia and the International Socialist Organisation. This gave left cover to a protest that identified opposition to NATO's war drive with denial of or support for the "ethnic cleaning" of the Serb chauvinist regime in Belgrade.

The position of the CPA is not surprising, since it never supports national rights that are under attack by reactionary governments with which it maintains "diplomatic" relations. But the ISO claims to support the Leninist position on the right of oppressed nations to self-determination.

When the rally was being organised, members of the DSP and Resistance proposed slogans that would oppose NATO's bombing and support the democratic rights of Kosovans. Members of the ISO argued that Kosovans' rights should not be mentioned, in order to make the protest "as broad as possible". At the march itself, they said, they could then explain issues like the right to national self-determination to the "broad" audience that had been attracted.

In fact, no member of the ISO present had the moral courage of Pru Wirth.

The extra "breadth" achieved by the CPA and ISO's unprincipled politics consisted of a platform for chauvinists and monarchists. This opening to the right and ultra-right ensured that there was no possibility of attracting the potentially much larger numbers of people who support peace and national rights for both Serbs and Kosovans.

Taken from the Australian *Green Weekly*



Serb Nationalists on London Anti-war demonstration

Photo: Simon Burgess

What is the KLA?

I SUPPORT your opposition to NATO's war against innocent Serbian and Kosovan people which has led to the destruction of both infrastructures, the death and mutilation and poisoning of their atmospheres (and possibly the European atmosphere as a whole).

I note that some comrades in the Movement For Socialism have either equivocated as to whether they support NATO or actually supported openly.

Nevertheless I find your articles, and particularly the statement signed by Bob Archer, to be simplistic and disturbing. "Unconditional defence of the KLA"? What is the KLA? What is their programme? Who are they?

According to Fiske (Independent 15 May) one of the most notorious Croats is the KLA new military commander. "When I asked for NATO reaction to the KLA appointment of one of the most notorious ethnic cleansers as its new military commander, Agin Ceku one of the planners of Croatian ethnic cleansing of 300,000 Serbs in Krajina, Mr Shea said he had no comment because 'NATO has no direct contact with the KLA... This is totally untrue. NATO liaises with the KLA...'"

Obviously then (and there is other evidence) a section of the KLA also believes in a "pure" Kosova free of Serbs. You make no comment in your paper on the need for harmony between Serbs and Kosovans in Kosova. Neither is there a word of sympathy for those Serbs driven out by Milosevic and made to live in Kosova.

All independent reports make it clear that NATO and KLA have collaborated. There are indications too that the SAS and CIA are also involved in organising the KLA. How can you demand that the international working class "unconditionally" support in every possible way the Albanian Kosovans' progressive, revolutionary democratic fight for independence" (my emphasis) if their leadership allies itself with Western imperialism?

Conditional, yes I would agree. Unconditional only when that movement argues for unity with the Serbian working class and argues for an independent socialist Kosova in a socialist federation of Balkan states.

The problem of self determination of nations and the question of nationalism needs a thorough discussion among Marxists at the end of this century and beginning of the next. The last such discussion was at the beginning of the 20th century between Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky and others. There obviously have been enormous changes since then.

However, I think most of Lenin's remarks at that time are valid. Let me make one brief quote only: "While recognising equality and equal rights to a national state it values above all and places foremost the alliance of the proletariat of all nations and assesses every national demand, every national aspiration from the angle of the class struggle of the workers."

I have recently written to those organising "Trade Unions for Kosova" precisely because I do not believe they are following that policy. On the contrary, they are separating the need to support Kosovan trade unionists and workers from the same needs of the Serbian working class.

If you are still associated with that body perhaps you would attempt to change their policies to that of promoting unity between Serb and Kosovans and to fighting for help to rebuild the infrastructure of both countries.

David Finch
South Croydon

Avoid hasty judgements

Note: This text was written on 3 May as remarks in a discussion so it is not an answer to Dave Finch's letter, but contains some important arguments against his generally abstract and one-sided view.

Editor

THE kind of hasty over-simplification and definite judgment of the KLA among left-wing organisations in the anti-war campaign reminds me of the years following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

At that time its petty-bourgeois lead-

ers were criticised and sometimes attacked by the great majority of left-wing organisations, including some "Trotskyists".

Later (1968) we also had to struggle against the sectarianism of those who identified the Dubcek-Smrkovsky leadership in Czechoslovakia with bourgeois restorationist forces and, thus, refused to support it against the Kremlin bureaucracy

Today there is no other, different organisation of the armed self-defence of Albanians than the KLA, and we support their fight unconditionally. It is quite another question that we say openly and concretely that we do not share the responsibility for the political line of the KLA leaders, that we fight against their mortal confidence in the imperialist powers, and warn them of the danger of such an illusion.

But we understand fully that the Albanian people, including its army need to learn, as the Bosnian people did, unfortunately by their own bitter experiences, the veritable imperialist nature of NATO and of its political leadership.

In supporting them, at the same time we warned them how and why NATO and the imperialist powers wanted in reality to disarm the KLA - as they declared at Rambouillet - and to put the whole of Kosova under their own political-military control (protectorate).

The imperialist powers measured much better the real anti-imperialist potentiality and nature of the KLA than the KLA itself. When a representative asked Madeleine Albright for arms, she expressly refused them.

It is an error to consider the KLA abruptly as a "bourgeois nationalist leadership". Of course, even if the KLA were such a bourgeois nationalist army, our duty would be to support its fight against the Milosevic-Seselj army and the Chetnik bands.

Originally, the KLA was launched and organised by members and leaders of the ex-Stalinist Kosovar party, earlier highly influenced by the Albanian Enver Hodja-led Communist Party (Maoist) opposed to the revisionist Yugoslav leadership and its nationalism. Even now, after a great numerical development, its social basis is over-

whelmingly proletarian.

If, anyhow, a comparison is possible, one can compare it to the Kurdish PKK fighting against the oppression of the Turkish state. The bourgeois nationalist current and leadership is gathered in and around Ibrahim Rukova's moderate pacifist party.

Before the so-called "peace" talks in Rambouillet the presence of the KLA at these talks was for a long time uncertain because an intense internal fight took place on the question of whether to take part or not. A relatively strong current, led by Adem Demaci, political representative of the KLA (who spent 28 years in Yugoslavian prisons), fought against accepting the invitation and warned the Albanian people and the KLA against the perfidy of the imperialists.

Finally this tendency was defeated and Demaci was forced to resign (mainly because the Rugova-led militants joined the KLA in July 1998 and took over its leadership). But the strength of his current was proved by the demand of the KLA delegates in Rambouillet for supplementary time in order to consult their organisation before signing the final document. So it was confirmed, there is no complete unanimity on this question, no blind trust in the imperialist powers.

Like the Bosnian people, the Albanians will learn also from their own experiences the real face of NATO and the imperialists. On the basis of the desperate situation of the KLA in which its majority expects naively to get military help from NATO, we cannot give so definite a bourgeois class characterisation, despite the influence of the Rugova party in its leadership.

Much more appropriate to the reality is to characterise the KLA as politically petty-bourgeois whose final development is not yet finished and crystallised. It is not the first and, probably, will not be the last petty-bourgeois leadership in history which we cannot push unequivocally in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The Albanian people of Kosova do not obtain their independence this would be, above all, the sad result of the unfavourable political and military circumstances determined by the common political-military efforts of the

Milosevic-Seselj regime and the imperialist powers to politically hold back the Albanian people in the framework of the Serbian state and to disarm the KLA!

The imperialist powers try to impose the same "peace" on the Kosovans as they try to impose, for example, on the Palestinians, the Irish — and the Bosnian — peoples. They give them a pseudo-independence or autonomy under their political and military control, granting the main advantages to the oppressors.

But let us suppose that the general revolt of the Albanian people allied to other peoples of the region and helped by the international working class, imposed favourable conditions for the fight. In that case, the KLA could lead the Kosovans to independence, even if it would be only a partial one. Nobody can forget the historical experiences.

The classical example of such victories, obtained by a petty bourgeois (Stalinist) leadership is, of course, that of China and the East-European countries, then, of Cuba, where the Stalinist, and later Castro's petty-bourgeois leaderships (this latter at the beginning was much less left-wing than the KLA today) could go further than their own class limits and break with the bourgeoisie, with imperialism.

Our programme has foreseen such an exceptional case. Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme: "...one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.) the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie."

Later, in the 1960s Pierre Lambert and his tendency inside the forces engaged in the reconstruction of the Fourth International transformed this "exceptional possibility" into a general law used by them as a theoretical justification for the alignment behind the Reformist bureaucracy. But this fraud doesn't alter the value of such a possibility and change it into its contrary. We must be careful and avoid, the apparently true, over-simplifications.

Balazs Nagy



BURMESE democrats in exile were joined by local trades unionists in a protest at Acton town hall, west London, against a concert hosted by the Burmese (Myanmar) dictatorship's embassy. Drawing attention to "ethnic cleansing", torture and forced labour in Burma, the Democratic Burmese Students Organisation said the diplomats hosting the event were the same ones who refused the dying Michael Aris a visa to visit his wife, elected leader Aung San Suu Kyi, in jail. (the couple had not seen each other for six years. Aris died of cancer on April 26.) Accusing the Burmese regime of using "cultural" events to boost its image and fund repression, pickets slammed Labour-controlled Ealing borough council for letting the concert go ahead on its premises.

LABOUR AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BOSNIAN AND KOSOVA WAR CRIMES

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

REPRESENTATIVES of the UK Labour government made many fine speeches during and after the NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova about how they would pursue and punish all those guilty of the unspeakable war crimes perpetrated in Kosova.

On 23 June, Robin Cook was airlifted in to a small village in Kosova,

Velika Krusa, where the charred remains of 40 massacred Kosovar Albanians have been discovered, among many other sites of mass murder in Kosova.

Dressed in protective clothing, he viewed the assembled bones.

Afterwards he spoke to the media. Myazere Morina, a Kosovar Albanian woman whose two brothers were taken away by the Serbs rushed forward to thank Cook for Britain's role in the war.

"Thank-you so much. If it was not for you, Kosova would have ceased to exist," she said, and she also asked: "who's going to pay for all the blood that has been shed?"

Cook told her: "The most important task is to make sure the people who ordered this crime should pay the price."

Cook, like Defence Secretary George Robertson, and other Labour spokespeople, is very concerned to present the evidence of massacres as a justification for the NATO bombing. At Velika Krusa he said "If anyone did have doubts over what we did in the past three months, I ask them to come and look at what we have found."

But when the Women of Srebrenica were brought to Britain in November 1997, the very same promises were made to them. They met with Tony Lloyd MP, representing the British Foreign Office. When they asked about the arrest of the (already indicted) war criminals responsible for the murder of 10,000 unarmed men and boys at Srebrenica, he said, "There has been a change of government in Britain. We will put a lot more effort and activity into our policy towards your country." He went on: "We believe that the [War Crimes] Tribunal has to be made to work in order that those most guilty be brought to justice. Karadzic and Mladic are among those we want to see before the Tribunal."

Kada Pasic, of the Women of Srebrenica replied: "They are not only at liberty right now in Republika Serpska, but they are running the whole show". Tony Lloyd said: "We are trying to make it increasingly impossible for them to run the show. We intend to see them at the Hague."

Vanunu appeals rejected

ISRAEL'S High Court of Justice has rejected two petitions from Mordechai Vanunu, who is serving an 18-year jail sentence for blowing the whistle on Israeli nuclear weapons. The former technician had asked the court to return him to the country from which he was abducted by Israeli agents in 1986.

His second request was that the court ruling which convicted him on charges of espionage and treason be published, together with other documents of the case.

Vanunu, a former employee at the Dimona nuclear plant who gave his story to the Sunday Times in London, was persuaded to travel to Italy, and once there was kidnapped. Tried in camera as a spy, he has spent 13 years in jail, the first 12 of them in solitary.

Although the court rejected his requests, attorney Deborah Chen of the State Prosecutors Office said the state was considering releasing some information in consultation with security officials.

Vanunu's lawyer Avigdor Feldman said publication of the documents might help his clients appeal against a district court ruling that he should not be released, having completed two thirds of his sentence.

In a closed-door hearing three judges have accepted a state argument that photographers should not be allowed near Vanunu because on a previous occasion he scribbled secret information—actually details of his kidnap—on the palm of his hand, for journalists.

Vanunu is also awaiting a Supreme Court appeal on a district court ruling that prohibits two British lawyers from visiting him in prison. He needs their help and advice to sue the Israeli state in the British courts for Israeli secret service actions against him on British soil.

Barak puts coalition deals before peace hopes

ISRAEL'S new Labour prime minister Ehud Barak, whose party copied Tony Blair's New Labour quackery and dubbed itself One Nation for electoral purposes, is putting so-called national unity before any peace promises, and continuing Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing policies.

British Labour and US Democrat spin-doctors were patting themselves on the back, with their usual adams-dream-world view, that Barak's campaign-team took their advice. But what really helped Labours election victory in

May, besides Israeli working class disillusionment with the Netanyahu governments privatisation policies and corruption, was Palestinian policy.

Unlike the run-up to the previous elections, there were no Hamas suicide bombings this time to stampede the Israeli public behind the Right. Palestinian authority president Yasser Arafat, responding to Clintons bidding, even postponed indefinitely the declaration of Palestinian statehood that had been promised. Palestinians now have plenty of bodies of armed men, the

right to be beaten up and tortured by their own police, but still no state!

An attempted provocation by the Netanyahu government, ordering the closure of Orient House, the Palestinian centre in Jerusalem, was squashed by Israel's supreme court; and Palestinian Azmi Bisharas withdrawal from the prime ministerial race left those Palestinians who are Israeli citizens free to vote for Barak, seen as the lesser evil at least. Meanwhile Barak, who directed the Israeli commando operation to assassinate Palestinian

leader Abu Jihad in 1988, portrayed himself to Israeli voters as the tough commander who could obtain peace while giving nothing away.

Labours avoidance of any working-class appeal (which admittedly would sound hypocritical coming from an affluent, bureaucratic Establishment party), and the snobbish remarks for which some of its high-profile cultural figures can always be counted, only made it easier for some right-wing, religious demagogues to delude poor and backward elements. Behind the One Nation appeal, Barak is intent on continuing to attack welfare. Meanwhile he is making concessions, not to the Palestinians but to his potential right-wing coalition partners.

The daily paper Haaretz reported on June 15 that Barak had agreed to requests from the National Religious Party to continue construction of a controversial Jewish settlement on Arab land at Har Homa, near Jerusalem, and with the previous governments plans to link Maaleh Adumim with Jerusalem, depriving five Palestinian villages of their land and effectively cutting the West Bank in two.

In a letter of protest, several Israeli peace groups said this would constitute not only a betrayal of the Israel which wanted change and voted for you, but a slap in the face of the Palestinians who have been holding their breath for the past few months. ... and a show of contempt for international public opinion.

World Briefs

ORPHANS SUE STATE

Three Palestinian girls from Khan Yunis in the Gaza strip are suing the Israeli state for compensation for the death of their father, Mohammed Abu Ali. The girls, ages 14, 13 and 11, have filed suit in Haifa District Court, charging that their father was shot and killed by an Israeli soldier in Gaza in March 1988. While asserting that they are not aware of the incidents exact circumstances, they said that the shooting was unjustified and violated the Israeli army's open-fire orders. Since their fathers death, there has been no one to support them. They are demanding that the state support them until age 21 and compensate them for pain and suffering.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOLIDARITY

Eight hundred workers at Continental Rubbers General Tyre plant in Port Elizabeth, South Africa downed tools for two hours on June 24, in solidarity with workers on strike at the companys Charlotte, North Carolina plant. The South African workers, members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), obtained an assurance from management that it would convey their message, voicing disgust at the treatment of the American workers, to Continentals headquarters in Hanover, Germany.

Workers at the Charlotte plant, members of the United Steel Workers of America, have been on strike since September 20, 1998. The company has hired 800 permanent replacements for the strikers, and has been indicted by the US National Labor Relations Board on five counts of violating federal labour laws. United Steel Workers president George becker said: "We are extremely grateful for this act of solidarity by our South African brothers and sisters, They have given new meaning to the old union adage that 'an injury to one is an injury to all'."

IBM SACKINGS

US computer giant IBM has begun cutting 1,100 jobs in San Jose, roughly 10 per cent of its northern California workforce. The company intends moving most of its server disk drive business to Japan and Mexico, with production being in Singapore, Mexico and Hungary. Workers at San Jose are being given two months to apply for alternative jobs in the company, but apart from a minority of technically-qualified and research posts, most will face sackings.

"The reason why I went to IBM was they told me that as long as you work hard and are dedicated, youd have security and be taken care of," said a worker with 20 years service. "I've done more than my share, overtime, weekends, you name it. Now theyre just kicking me out the door and saying we dont need you no more?"

SYNAGOGUE ARSON

Thousands attended a rally in Sacramento, California, to denounce arson attacks on three synagogues in the area. Leaflets left at two of the sites blamed Jews for the Kosova war: "We are Slavs, we will never allow the International Jew World Order to take our Land." said one leaflet. Police and FBI agents have questioned members of local neo-Nazi groups.

The attacks, on targets some ten miles apart, took place within 35 minutes. Worst hit was Bnai Israel synagogue, said to be the oldest west of the Mississippi. Its library of 5,000 books, some old and rare, was completely gutted. The synagogue was targeted before in 1993, along with Afro-American and Japanese-American premises.

HANDS OFF ANTI-NAZI POST-WORKERS!

Labour MP Ken Livingstone has tabled an early day motion in parliament calling upon Royal Mail managers to drop disciplinary action against postal workers who refused to deliver propaganda from the fascist British National Party (BNP) during the European election campaign. Livingstone's motion, 721, says parties which incite race hatred and violence should not be entitled to free circulation of their election material, and agrees with Black and Jewish organisations which said the BNP should not have been allowed free election broadcasts particularly in the light of the links between that party and the person alleged to have carried out the nail bomb attacks in London. (After the Metropolitan Police said arrested bomb suspect David Copeland acted alone and had no connection with known right-wing organisations, Searchlight magazine printed a photograph last month showing Copeland with BNP leader John Tyndall at an East London rally).

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Indonesians vote for change — but will they get it?

BY COLIN PENDLETON

DESPITE widespread intimidation and rigging, Indonesians turned out in large numbers last month to vote against the right-wing military regime which has ruled them for over thirty years. It looks as though the Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle (PDIP), led by Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of Indonesia's first president, gained the biggest number of votes in the June 7 elections. Only three years ago riot police were battling Megawati's supporters on the streets after the Suharto regime tried to remove her from her own party.

Early results gave the Democracy Party 39 per cent of the vote, and party officers claimed more than 50 per cent in Jakarta, the capital. The military-backed Golkar party was lagging well behind, with only 20 per cent, but it could retain many seats, thanks to gerrymandering which gave less-populated rural areas and outlying islands more seats. In many of these areas there has been little change since the downfall of dictator Suharto, and the military-political machine with its bands of thugs still holds sway.

The University Rectors Network for a Fair Election found electoral violations in more than 20 per cent of the villages it monitored, ranging from violence to fake ballot papers. In several areas far more votes were cast than there were registered electors. A week after polling day, with only a third of results announced, the election commissioners announced that a million people would have to vote again because of irregularities. Officials in Jakarta claimed tallies had been altered on the way from the polling stations to the commissions headquarters. In Sulawesi officials asked for a recount after demonstrations. In Aceh, north Sumatra, fighting continued between security forces and rebels, and many people who had fled earlier repression were unable to return home to vote.

Despite all this, an estimated 117 million people in this country of 17,500 islands took advantage of their first free election in 44 years. Altogether 48 parties stood. Presidential elections are due in November, but with less than half the June election results announced, several reactionary Muslim politicians indicated their fears of a Megawati win and tried to thwart a new coalition by announcing that Indonesia must be run



by a man. "We should nominate a Muslim brother who has a suitable platform, mission and vision," said Hamzah Haz, the leader of the United Development party (UDP), which was a junior partner in the Golkar regime but tried to take its distance before the elections. "A woman president—no way", declared a newspaper owned by Muslim members of Golkar.

Ironically, when Suharto was dictator he banned religious politics as a threat to order, now his corrupt heirs adopt it as a shield. On Ambon, where sectarian violence has raged, Christians turned out for Megawati, whereas Muslims voted for the UDP. But some religious Muslims have given Megawati their support.

If religion does not suffice to maintain corruption, money is always to hand. With the military-business families able to milk the economy at will, Golkar has a war chest 15 times that of the opposition:

"We have supposedly entered a new era but money politics is continuing to play a major role," said Smita Notosusanto, the executive director of Unfreel, the University Network for Free and Fair Election. "It is clear that Golkar is going to fight very hard to retain the grip on power it enjoyed under Suharto."

If Megawati does form a government, it will not bring the changes that Indonesia's working people want and need. Two big forces stand behind her, but they are on collision course. One, turning out to vote en masse, were the millions of poor, those who suffered under the old regime. They identified with Megawati when the military tried

to stop her, in 1996. "She became a victim," says Arbi Sanit, of the University of Indonesia. "So the little people can see part of their own struggle in her. They see her as one of their own".

"Of course I backed Megawati," said Wirastuti Sumardi, a trader in the fish market in Ambon. "No one else is going to look after us at the bottom of society." In Jakarta, people not only turned out and queued to vote, but stayed to watch the count, just in case: "We've been under the Golkar thumb for three decades", said a pedicab driver, "I want to make sure they don't fix this election as well."

But apart from attacking nepotism and corruption, Megawati put forward no clear policies during her campaign, no programme for getting Indonesia out of the economic crisis that has brought chaos and unrest for the past two years. One thing she has made ominously clear—that she wants to maintain the unitary state, including occupied East Timor as an integral part of Indonesia. The Timorese people, whose country was seized in 1975 after the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule, have also been promised a vote on their future, but the military terror machine is doing everything to ensure it doesn't take place.

Megawati does not seem to reciprocate the people's view that she is one of them. Born in a palace, she is surrounded these days by a coterie of advisers, who keep ordinary people at arms length, while she tries to make up to the military elite.

"There are signs that while the population want her to take on her father's early mantle, she will in fact be more

similar to him in his later years," one western diplomat said. It was Megawati's father, Sukarno, still riding on the wave of nationalism that ousted Dutch colonialism, who dissolved Indonesia's last democratically-elected national assembly in 1959, introducing "guided democracy". After the "confrontation" policy with British imperialism and Malaysia, and a phoney staged "communist coup", General Suharto and his fellow-officers, trained and backed by the US military and the CIA, seized power in 1965, massacring more than half a million Indonesian workers and peasants.

Big capitalists and imperialist governments—US, British, Japanese, and German—found the Indonesian military just the partners to protect their investments and purchase plenty of arms. It was a corporate state with government-controlled unions, offering cheap, frightened workers, and Marxism was outlawed. But by the 1980s a new generation of workers were organising waging militant strikes in the factories, including those producing for well-known US brand-names like Nike. The military rulers cost increasing bribes, not just money but holdings in joint companies, yet military repression has not been able to guarantee the security of Western mining and oil interests, in West Papua or off Timor. Then came the crisis of the last two years.

Faced with the risk of social revolution, Western capitalists and governments want to carry on ruling, by other means. Early this year PDIP officials let it be known that President Clinton had held a ten-minute telephone con-

In the harbour of Ambon, in the Moluccas, local people try to flee from religious riots

versation with Megawati on Monday, January 12, presumably not asking about her taste in cigars. They said relations were close, Clinton had met Megawati during the APEC summit in Jakarta in 1995, and on that occasion talked about her father's acquaintance with President Kennedy. The message was that Washington favoured a change of regime. Interests do not change.

For the time being, it seems, the masses are giving Megawati a chance. New parties, including the National Workers party started by union leader Mukhtar Pakpahan, did not do so well at the polls.

While the big five parties stood in all 462 seats, the left-wing People's Democracy Party, (PRD), decided to only stand 31 candidates, in selected areas. They used the campaign to mobilise solidarity for striking workers, gaining media publicity and new members in the process. They have expanded from 12 to 86 towns in a few months.

Many militant students boycotted the elections, but continued demonstrating against the government and demanding that Suharto be put on trial. While thousands of urban poor—unemployed, casual labourers, street pedlars—attended PDIP and other opposition rallies, millions of workers in the big factory estates stayed aloof, concentrating on their own struggles.

Even while votes were being counted, hundreds of workers from Surabaya were travelling to Jakarta to demonstrate outside the Ministry of Labour, and more than 100 were arrested. The working class is preparing for struggles ahead.

Is your boss going to attend the sacking seminars?

A commercial training organisation is inviting British employers to send managers and supervisors on special courses on "Dealing effectively with unacceptable employee behaviour". In fact, they're offering to teach your guv'nor the best way to get more out of the workforce, and to discipline and sack those who aren't sufficiently co-operative with what's required.

Publicity for the one-day "workshops" offered by "SkillPath Seminars" promises to teach the boss "How to get the productivity, cooperation and results you need without incurring resentment or damaging relationships".

It gives examples of the type of employees against whom action is needed: "Antagonist"; "Whiner"; "Complains no matter what he or she is

asked to do"; "Clock-Watcher"; "refuses to work weekends or even a minute beyond 'quitting time'..."; "Worrywart"; "has personal problems that infringe on the working day"; "Amy Attitude"; "has negative attitude that brings everybody down"; "Insubordinate Subordinate"; "challenges you in front of other workers and managers"... And so on.

In short, the only kind of worker who is going to suit is the asshole-crawler who always says "Yessir, No Sir, Three Bags Full Sir" to whatever crap the employer is putting on the workforce. And you needn't think doing your best, and staying clear of any militancy, is good enough. Come in a few minutes late and you're the "Tortoise"; explain that your kid was sick during the night, and you are bringing your personal problems into work; tell them the pub-

lic transport from your way is terrible and you could be "Blameless Bob"; "Always has an excuse for everything".

Remember, productivity is up to you. No good bringing up bad management, firms who cut corners to cut costs, guv'nors who are on the fiddle, or managers who are never responsible when things go wrong. This training programme is for them, not you. Of course, it will be designed to fit the latest notions of "team work". That's based on Give and Take. Simple. You give, and they sodding well take! To get the best from them, they need better incentives. To get more out of you what's required is a bigger stick. That's why, despite the re-assurance for faint-hearted foremen that they can do all this "without incurring resentment", and telling managers that relations can stay

the same (even if it's their relations who are going down the road), the reality is plain. One skill "SkillPath seminars" are promising to teach is how to sack people and avoid unfair dismissal claims. Furthermore it promises to send trainers into companies, and to provide a specialist advice service after people have attended its course.

For those of you who are interested, the fee is a snip at £99 (plus 17.5 per cent VAT) per person, or £89 plus VAT for groups of four. You can call them on 0800-328-1140, fax... 0800 892972, or e-mail... skillpath@mcimail.com The address is SkillPath Seminars, PO Box 111, Oxted, Surrey RH8 9YT.

They say the class is filling fast, so hurry and call them now! Even if you don't want to cough up 99 quid, you most probably would like to tell them how much you like their idea.

And if you are interested in showing up to wish those attending well, forthcoming dates and venues include:

13 September LONDON Kensington Palace Hotel, De Vere Gardens 14 September CROYDON Croydon Park

Hotel, 7 Altyre Rd. 15 September HEATHROW London Heathrow Hilton, Terminal 4 16 September GUILDFORD Forte Posthouse, Egerton Rd. 17 September CAMBRIDGE De Vere University Arms, Regent Street. 20 September MILTON KEYNES Forte Posthouse, 500 Saxon Gate West 21 September LEEDS Forte Posthouse, Bramhope 24 September BELFAST Forte Posthouse, 300 Kingsway 27 September NEWCASTLE Holiday Inn, Great North Rd. 28 September MANCHESTER Britannia Sachas (or should that be Sack Us?) hotel, Tib St. 29 September NOTTINGHAM Forte Posthouse, St.James Street. 30 September BIRMINGHAM National Motorcycle Museum, A45 Coventry Rd., Solihull. 1 October COVENTRY Forte Posthouse, Hinckley Rd.

More info. to follow, or phone the SkillPath people at no.s above to find out when they intend coming to your town.

Brought to your attention by Industrial Intelligence Service "The Night Has a Thousand Eyes"