REVOLUTIONARY PUBLISHING IN RUSSIA

Six years since the Soviet Union collapsed you would have thought that classic writings on the Russian Revolution by witnesses such as Ciliga, Serge, Berkman, Goldman, Maximoff, Voline and Ruhle would have been published in Russian. Unfortunately these writings are still unavailable due to lack of money - Russia has suffered the worst economic crisis in history.

It would be tragic if, 80 years since 1917, the 'Stalinist' regime's determination to wipe out the real history of the revolution were to be successful into the next century. Consequently a journal is now being set up in Moscow to start publishing these and other, more contemporary, texts by, for example, Debord, Ticktin, Negri, Avrich, Bookchin, Gorz, Meszaros etc.. The editorial board includes people from both Trotskyist and anarchist backgrounds who intend to publish a wide variety of materials on the basis that its up to the Russian readership to decide between different political perspectives.

Appeal from the Moscow working group for the publication of a journal of the history and theory of international socialism

To socialists, Marxists, anarchists and all who stand for social liberation

Comrades,

We appeal to you to support an initiative to publish a journal, in Russian, devoted to problems of the history and theory of international socialism. Working in fields of academic study or in social movements in Russia, and sharing socialist convictions, we have come together in a working group which bases itself on the following:

1. The downfall of the pseudo-socialist bureaucratic regime opened the way for the formation of a socialist movement of working people in Russian and other counties of the former USSR. But such a movement has so far not come into being. The forces of anti-bureaucratic socialism are extremely weak and isolated. This can in large part be explained by the fact that people see no global alternative to the existing bourgeois-bureaucratic system.

The future of socialism depends on the working-out of such an alternative.

2. Decades of totalitarian dictatorship, practice in the name of "socialism" and "communism", has deeply discredited the idea of social liberation. In mass consciousness, socialism is identified with authoritarianism, bureaucratic hierarchy, belief in a great state power and totalitarian ideological control. The discrediting of socialism goes on even today, when the revolting mutant of "red-brown" ideology crawls onto the political stage under the banner of "Russian" or "national" communism.

Socialism will be rehabilitated in the eyes of the masses only by returning to its authentic libertarian and egalitarian meaning.

3. For decades the "iron curtain" prevented the penetration into the USSR of the ideas of the non-Stalinist left, and their working out in practice. And as soon as the "curtain" fell, the vacuum began rapidly to be filled with theories and teachings of every reactionary tendency imaginable, from the Jehovah's Witnesses to the post-modernists. The only ideas which remain practically unknown are those developed by the Western left from the 1920s to the 1990s. This situation is intolerable.

The socialist intellectual tradition in the countries of the former USSR, whose gradual rebirth began at the end of the 1980s, will attain real value only if it is enriched by the lessons and achievements of radical thought in other countries and the experience of the international workers' movement.

4. Stalinism not only cut off the present generation of Russian socialists from the course of development of international socialist thought, but also from the experience accumulated in the past by socialists in Russia itself. Every tendency which felt outside the boundaries of official state ideology either fell silent or suffered distortion to the point of unrecognisability. Even today, therefore, the history of various socialist tendencies in Russia and in the Russian emigration, and their contribution to the development of revolutionary and socialist theory, remain to a great extent "terra incognita".

It is vital to appropriate for today the rich tradition of Russian socialism.

5. Revolutionary, emancipatory thought will be developed only by means of dialogue between various tendencies. Sectism and the psychology of "the chosen few" can lead only to a dead end. Discussion, comparison of different attitudes to the basic problems of socialism, study of the history of the arguments for and against one or other theory or programme ... all this is a necessary precondition for the formation - not superficially but seriously - of a genuine scientific left-wing world view.

To create the conditions for a dialogue, to provide for it a platform, is our aim today.

We, adherents of free, anti-bureaucratic and international socialism, Marxists and anarchists of various tendencies who see the situation in the manner outlined above, call for the formation of a united editorial collective of the proposed historical-theoretical journal, consisting of:

A.V.Gusev, doctor of history (Moscow State University); V.V.Damier, doctor of history (Institute of World History, Russian academy of sciences); A.A. Tarasov, senior researcher at the Phoenix centre for the study of modern sociology and practical politics; Iu.V.Guseva, translator and librarian at the Victor Serge Free Public Library, Moscow, V.A.Efstratov, research student (Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences).

THE JOURNAL NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT!

Our Address: Russia, 113639 Moscow, Balaklavskii prospekt 4-6, kv. 365.

Fax: +7 095 292-6511. Mark fax clearly: "Box 8020 - STRUGGLE".

DONATIONS for this journal can be sent to: Escape c/o PO Box 2474, London N8 OHW. (Cheques payable to the 'Haringey Solidarity Group'). E-mail: escape6@hotmail.com.

FOR INFORMATION ABOUT FUTURE MEETINGS / PUBLICATIONS send your e-mail or address to Escape.

ESCAPE LEFT LINKS WEBSITE with links to the Russian publishing project, Radical Chains, Aufheben and other left publications from autonomist to Trotskyist: http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/guest/radical/LINKS.HTM (If you cannot find it here put "Radical Chains" in a search engine.)

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST FORUM meetings, 2pm, first Sunday of each month, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn tube. London, e.g. February 1st: 'The theses on Feuerbach', March 1st: Cliff Slaughter on 'What is a Marxist programme?'

CAPITAL & CLASS MEETINGS, 7.30pm, Lucas arms, 245 Grays Inn Rd., Kings X tube. Feb.17: 'The internet: actually existing communism?, March 17: Zapatistas, April 21: 'Commodifying the body', May 19: Private finance initiative, June 16: Basic Income.

CRITIQUE CONFERENCE on 150 years of the Communist Manifesto, May 22-3, Glasgow University.

SOCIAL TO RAISE MONEY FOR THE RUSSIAN PUBLISHING PROJECT

- with buffet food and bar, 6 - 11pm, Saturday February 7th. £5 waged, £2.50 unwaged.

upstairs at WARDS OF HOLFORN, 266-7 HIGH HOLBORN, HOLBORN -O, LONDON WCI

REVOL

syndicalist Revolt

Syndicalism is an attempt to apply anarchist ideas to class struggle in industrial societies; it is characterised by a belief that it is possible to create non-bureaucratic revolutionary industrial unions, where power lies with face to face democratic councils of all workers in a single shop, and that decisions affecting larger bodies of people shall be taken by federal councils, with mandated delegates. Besides stressing direct democracy, syndicalism also stresses direct action (the ultimate ideal of the social general strike,) & internationalism.

But, while it is comparatively simple to outline the broad characteristics of a syndicalism movement, it should also be stressed, (as the late Tom Brown said in more than one of his many excellent pamphlets,) that syndicalism is not the intellectual invention of one or more political philosophies. Movements, counted as syndicalist, have been thrown up in various places, under differing conditions, in differing periods; & in each case the militant minority of the working class has taken the initiative, structuring the movements to fit its own needs.

The first syndicalist movement - the French CGT - came into being because the industrial sectors of six rival socialist parties got fed up with being divided by ideological differences; they created a new movement, which applying direct democracy, direct action & internationalism became far more radical than any of the progenitor parties.

In the USA, the IWV, came about as workers rejected divisive craft unionism, and in the process, they forced - albeit for only a short time - unity between a variety of differing forms of socialist thought; many of the thinkers, irritated that they didn't get the esteem they thought they deserved, were to leave in an huff.

Here in Britain, before the Syndicalist Upsurge of 1909-1913, there were at least six rival factions seeing themselves as the equivalent of the CGT or IVV; but when the idea of syndicalism caught on, the class did not turn to any of these, but built, through the shop stewards' movement, through Clyde Workers' Councils & South Wales Miners' committees, a new rank & file liaison movement that was the British embodiment of syndicalism.

Another characteristic should be stressed. Though syndicalism stresses that social change can only happen as a result of challenging the ruling class at the point of production, when mass syndicalist upsurges arise it is always in the context of other non-industrial libertarian

REVOLUTIONIAN CONTRACT OF ALTHORY

action, feminist movements, anti-militarist or anti-colonialist, experiments in free schooling. It would be hard to say whether the syndicalist movements can only grow in the context of these other movements or whether syndicalist upsurges automatically spark off other forms of radical action.

Political (anarchist or libertarian Marxist) activists can create syndicalist propagandist groups, but a viable syndicalist movement can only be created when a significant sector of the (non-political) organized working class demands more effective organization & action. Therefore "Revolt" makes no claim to be the nucleus of the future syndicalist mass movement; & to this extent is differentiated from other syndicalists. Such movement can only happen when the working class decides not the odd propagandist.

Nounce than £37,000-worth of damage to a nuclear base.



This is a mock-up of a proposed paper; initially suggested two years ago in Syndicalist Bulletin, it would be tedious to explain the way that the initial impetus was dissipated by prevarication & stupid secrecy, & how much of the support for a new paper which then existed has now been lost; if - despite the delays - a paper is launched the production & editting of the new paper, will no doubt circulate.

This issue is produced by/for Wrekin Syndicalists, in association with Georgina Smith (Ardnamurchan, Argyll.) Wrekin Syndicalists make no apology for the fact that the contents of the paper are by no means confined to industrial issues; as said in the editorial we believe that a mass revolutionary industrial unionist movement can only come into existence when the class wants it, & in today's world workers only take-on a revolutionary syndicalist position when they have already become aware of other evils in society.

Any criticism of the contents or correspondence as to the desirability or otherwise of such a paper should be sent to Wrekin Syndicalists, (College Farm House, Wellington, TF1-1PR; [01952].641852.)

Laurens Otter

WOMEN AGAINST PIT CLOSURES CAMP TO WOMENWITH HILL WOMEN'S PEACE CAMP

My first experience of women's non-violent direct action came with the "Women Against Pit Closures" camps, which were formed in 1992.

Living in Doncaster, I wanted to be part of this struggle against the destruction of the mining industry - at the time it wasn't important to me wather the protests were women-only or mixed - I knew very little about women-only actions. I'd been a naive 10 year old when the Greenham Common protest first began - growing up, I supported nuclear disarmament, Ibecame an active socialist - I agreed with the objectives of many all-women protest groups, but I never really understood why men were excluded.

My time at Markham Main Pit camp was a political revelation. Women in the mining communities, the bastions of patriarchal values, were making a stand. Women who had never worked, who had never involved themselves in politics, were suddenly working together

I got involved in the camp from day one and was amazed at the force of all these women working together. Through the camp I met some ex-Greenham women, notably Helen, and spent many long nights talking and learning about women-only protests, about things they had achieved without resorting to aggresion. At the same time as I was beginning to understand the importance of these values, I became more uncomfortable with the camp around me. The women were working together, but always needing the permission and acceptance of their men...Men would come to the camp at night to "check if we were O.K.", not realising that their actions were patronising, that their presence was threatening, and that they were encroaching and trying to control something that wasn't theirs. They resented that the women didn't need them, didn't understand why we weren't using fists, or hurling bricks, to get what we wanted. The men lost sight of the issue we were struggling for and became fixated on the fact that we were doing it without men. The collectivity of the women crumbled, the group split off, and the camp collapsed. I saw what happened when the boundaries of the camp's objectives were not properly

When I came up to Womenwith Hill camp for the first time in 1994, I was very clear about why I wanted to be a part of a women-only campaign. I understood the changes that could be forced, and the publicity that could be created, by disruptive actions. I'd seen that the dynamics of a group changed when men were present - that the men were comfortable with aggression, even violence - that women were less likely to assert their own views with men around - that men assumed that they would lead the group - that men couldn't work collectively in the way that women can. I wanted to be part of a space where decisions were made together - where women were comfortable to speak - where I could feel relaxed to be myself - where I could network with other women about other women's campaigns - where I could be part of a powerful group of women working together.

3 years on, I understand more about the campaign here at Menwith Hill - I am much clearer about the importance of this protest - I am much angrier about what goes on at the base and what the bigger picture is - it's about the sickening amounts of money that are sunk into boys' wargames and power schemes at the expense of women and children worldwide - it's about men controlling the organisations keeping women down and continually disempowering them - it's about men worldwide making decisions that will keep them in power - it's about patriarchal plundering and raping of the earth.





HULL TRADES COUNCIL AND THE SHOWER IN

Dear TU News,

New Labour are Thatchers revenge on Major. The return of red in tooth and claw capitalism, benefit cutting, strike breaking, arms selling, snouts in the trough government, inheritors of Maggies mantle.

The poor, the disabled, trade unionists - these are the "untermensch" in Blairs brave new Britain. Whilst the government have spent £7.4 million since the election on "hospitality", they are stealing £6 per week from working class mothers. A cut designed to save £5 million and the disabled are next!

So what if 47 MP's voted against these cuts, their action is token utter impotence. Benefits can only be defended by the united action of claimants and trade unionists, that's millions of people like you and I. Direct action beat the poll tax and it could beat back this gathering offensive against the poor of this country.

Hull Trades Council is at the lowest ebb I've ever seen it. Small meetings and blank faces when delegates are asked to do something, drifting without purpose. I believe that we can work our way out of this malaise but we must have an unambiguous position towards this government of guzzling millionaires and welfare butchers.

In the past we have sometimes invited Labour politicians to talk at our meetings, a sport for clever delegates to ambush them, a 6th form debating society for adults. We wouldn't invite Tory MP's or employers for such tete a tete, so why do we invite government representatives. To invite a man like Prescott who daily pisses on the Liverpool dockers or Alan Johnson who voted for the punishment of single mothers is to imply that somehow that these self-seekers are somehow in the same movement as us. They are not.

We believe in solidarity, direct action, internationalism - they believe in nothing but their bank balances (Prescott in defending the Paymaster Generals tax scams admitted to having accepted very useful financial advice from him).

all a least of the production of

I believe that trade unions should be independent of the state I also believe that our trades council will only start to benefit from an influx of activists when we make opposition clear to the shower in power.

In 1998, we need to campaign against benefit cuts, pit closures, deportation of asylum seekers, for Magnet workers and the Liverpool Dockers. All of these campaigns will be in direct opposition to the Labour government. We need to fight for the repeal of the Labour Party anti-Trade. Union laws and we should support moves by trade unionists opting out of the political levy, substituting payment into a solidarity fund instead. Ditto unions paying on a national level into Labour Party coffers, an abusive relationship like a whore paying her pimp who in return splits her lip.

Setting our agenda, making personal contacts with stewards and non-attending delegates, campaigning hard against "Welfare to Work" and for strike support - this is how to revive the Trades Council. It's not the work of the secretary or the executive committee, it is our collective labour. The Trades Council can be as strong and as independent as you want it to be.

Guy Cheverton.

The views expressed in TU News are the views of the authors named and do not necessarily state the views of the Hull and District Trades Union Council.

DAVID MUDGE

By Ian Holmes

As many TU News readers will already know David Mudge died in November last year. Dave was best known as the Director of Artlink Exchange, Princes Avenue. His love and enthusiasm for the arts have inspired many local people to live their dreams.

David also was one of seven delegates from Hull who attended the Euromarch demonstration in Amsterdam in June last year. On behalf of Hull and District TUC and the delegates who shared the trip to Amsterdam I would like to send our belated condolences to David's family and friends.

I still the second attitude the second second second

JAMES D YOUNG

N Hogmanay 1997! was admitted to a major hospital in central Scotland with fluid on the lungs, arterial fibrillation, and heart-valve and other heart problems. For the first time in my adult life. I have been forced to muster moral courage - the moral courage to write this article about my experiences in the hospital. And since I cannot risk any further upset or stress, there is the nagging worry of unwittingly upsetting my immediate family.

However, as I reflect on my experiences in that nospital, my memory keeps coming back to the lines of Bob Dylan's song Blowin in the Wind. where he asks the critical question: "How many times can a man turn his head, pretending he just cannot see?"

Despite - or rather because of - my particular Christian working class back-

intolerance

ground I was shocked and appalled to hear young patients "f***ing and c***ing" at doctors. Yet, in spite my own socialist puritanism, I am no saint and in private I am capable of using naughty words. But then one evening in early January a group of a dozen men expressed the most disgusting racist remarks.

When a young and visibly African doctor entered the front door, from the other end of the ward, one of the most prejudiced of those men shouted: "Here comes the ape from the trees." This produced gales of laughter. Though unwell, I made careful notes of what was said. But much worse was to come during the next, very disillusioning, half-hour.

A young Indian patient was admitted in severe pain and I think, in some initial confusion. Some of the bigots, whose ages ranged from the elderly to the not so elderly, shouted that "black bastards" should not be allowed into beds in a white hospital. The Indian patient was frightened. And for the first time in a long time. I did not know what to do. Despite a lifetime of activity in the Labour movement, I did not know how to respond until I asked myself: "What would my Christian-socialist mother have done in such circumstances?"

Though I was hooked up to some of the new technology on wheels. I went to talk to the Indian, who was being iso-

sat with those cracking the racist jokes

joined in the general laughter at the

expense of "the blacks". When I chal-

lenged him in the washroom next

morning, and told him that I did not

expect an "educated" man to engage i

find relief for their frustrations".

such behaviour, he told me that "some

of those men are very ill and need to

lated by the spiritually as well as physically sick racist bigots. I spoke to him and when my wife came in at the visiting hour next day and I told her wha was happening she also spoke to him.

T OWEVER, the older Scotland has not entirely disappeared I and though people can sur vive without social justice, they canno survive without hope. I told the India. patient that he would need to muster hi courage by speaking to the older work ing men. By the time he was dis charged, with notification of a impending operation, he was popula

Then, when I pushed him further, he unknown Scotland of 1998 such an said that "world fascism is the wave of approach would be self-indulgent. So the future, and we have to 'go with the said to a fellow patient in the next bed flow' before a more civilised world order that the Indian patient was a frightened emerges". I tried to convince him that man, and that we all, including all racist prejudice will not disappear unless "Jock Tamson's bairns", hide our fear we fight it now by defending civilised values and democratic education against By contrast, an "educated" man who racism, but he was unconvinced.

My motive in writing this article is to make health boards in Scotland more aware of what is happening in some wards in at least one major hospital. Furthermore, though the nurses behaved in an exemplary way, seems to me that the need for tutorials or lectures on how to combat racism by protecting the already weak, the truly sick, and vulnerable "underdogs" irrespective of whether they are Catholics, Protestants, or agnostics, whites or blacks - is an urgent one.

RSN UPDATE

Revolutionary Socialist Network

with the best of the older men. By then the worst of the bigoted racist elements had been discharged; and I began to sleep more soundly. I had forgotten that life is sweet.

In the old days - when I was rather romantically convinced that socialism was around the corner and before realised that "socialists" had, in the words of the late E P Thompson, been murdering each other since the 1920s - I would have tried to give them a tutorial on the origins of racism. (How I have always hated all the left's "politically correct' nonsense.) However, though some of the really hard-left elements will not understand this, in the

NEXT CONFERENCE: EXETER, 9TH & 10TH MAY 1998

The venue for the May conference is confirmed as a return to Exeter, on the dates above. Two suggestions for topics to discuss were made:

. The New Labour government, particularly, the possibility of a left solit from the Labour Party - possibly a debate

in different ways.

Individual Revolutionary Practice

More suggestions would be welcome, for the agenda to be finalised at the Steering Group meeting on 7th March. Ideally suggestions should be in the form of a short summary (500 words max.) for publication in the pre-conference newsletter. If you can't get to the meeting send suggestions to me (address below).

'HERESY' (formerly RSN NEWS)

There will be two issues of the newsletter before the May conference, one in February and a pre-conference edition in April.

The Deadline for material for the February issue is 17th January. Articles (1,000 words max.) reports of local struggles and activities, reviews, letters, cartoons, etc. are welcome. Send to: RSN, c/o 180 Mansfield Road, NOTTINGHAM, NG1 3HH SUBSCRIPTIONS: are £3, cheques, payable to 'RSN'. (To above address)

FUTURE MEETINGS:

Conferences:

9th & 10 May 1998..... 10th & 11th Oct. 1998......Venue to be agreed at May Conference

Steering Group: (Saturdays)

24th January 1998 20th June 1998

7th March 1998 1st August 1998

.Venue: Exeter

4th April 1998

12th September 1998

HULL CINEMA'S STRIKE, 1938

By Guy Cheverton



Hull Cinema Projectionists, June 1938

Just look at this picket line, Laurel and Hardy, Charlie Chaplin and Adolf Hitler! In 1992 the Middlebrook Mushrooms strikers demonstrated outside of Booker PLC's London headquarters in crinolines, pointing up the Victorian nature of the employers. This photo from the Hull Cinema Projectionists strike in 1938, shows the workers keeping their spirits up during their 812 month dispute.

On April 14th 1938, the Electrical Trade Unions (ETU) Cinema Projectionists struck against the Cinema Employers Association (CEA) for a cut in working hours and union recognition. The ETU struck against the CEA in London, Manchester and Hull. Victories were swift in London and Manchester. The management of two Hull Cinema's - the Tower and the Regent also swiftly gave in to the ETU's demands but Hull Cinema employers refused to negotiate.

Projectionists worked in terrible conditions, 70 hour weeks and a weekly wage of 35 shillings. They laboured in booths which were 9 feet by 14 feet. These booths contained the projector and slide lanterns which generated incredible heat. Eye strain was endemic.

Once London and Manchester projectionists had returned to work, the Hull Cinema employers sacked the ETU projectionists. The struggle was on in earnest with scab projectionists being recruited. The locked-out men appealed to the Hull Trades Council who urged a policy of a consumer boycott in the cinemas. Thousands of leaflets were given out and every Saturday evening a demonstration marched from cinema to cinema urging working class people to boycott the cinema's. " Have you got a job? Blacklegs have ours? Have you a conscience? If so does your sacrifice of two hours entertainment compare with that of ours?" Read one leaflet.

The Cinema bosses combated the boycott with free ticket offers. The Ministry of Labour, local clergy and the Trades Council offered arbitration. The Hull CEA were adamant in their rejection of conciliation.

Despite the pickets, Trades Council weekly demo's and attempts to gain national support (B. Woodmansey, the strikers secretary, a young man who only joined the ETU 5 months before the dispute took part in a trade union pageant with other strikers in Sheffield on a lorry made up as a cinema!) the boycott and strike was starting to

By December 31st all but 17 of the strikers had found other jobs. On that day they agreed to give up the dispute. Hull in 1938 was in many ways a million miles away from the city of today. A Trades Council with 35,000 affiliates not the current 6,000 active in the support of unemployed struggles, supporting 60 sailors from republican Spain who were stranded in Hull and funding a home for Basque orphans in Sutton. The ETU dispute (which the T&G scabbed on thoughout) failed. But it did not find the Trades Council lacking in its response. A lost chapter in our city's union history which deserves remembrance.

ACTION AGAINST INJUSTICE

Fighting corruption in the police and legal system

We demand:

Release all political prisoners

Review the cases of the M25 prisoners, Winston Silcott, Oliver Campbell, Clare Barstow, Sue May, Satpal Ram, Gary Mills, Tony Mills and 100's more

Prosecute crimes committed by the police and the prison service

Every 3 weeks 10 people die in custody: 1 in 10 are Black or Asian

Overhaul the justice system

Over 1,000 cases of corruption sent to the Criminal Cases Review Commission, but only one of these sent to the Appeal Court

The whole system is unjust-

The rich are under-policed and over-protected Jail is more likely from a £1,00 bank robbery than a £5 million City fraud

We need:

- Democratic reviews of cases open to public scrutiny
- Police and Crown Prosecution Service accountable to and controlled by elected representative bodies
- An end to the police investigating themselves

For more information contact: Action Against Injustice, PO Box 858, London E9 5HU.

Transcending the Bullshit

- an unusual case of class honesty.



The combative, controversial Class War (CW) organisation is no more. My earliest memory of the group goes back to a massive Miners' demo in the summer of 1984. I can recollect vividly my rampant jealousy as the cheeky Cockney, CW paper seller, exhorted us to buy with the sales pitch, "it's a great little read!" And, would you believe it, so it was! The miners loved its down-to-earth contempt for the tortuous ruminations of so much of the Left and for its blunt emphasis on the need for class violence. It was unlike any Left-Wing rag I'd ever left as a sop to my conscience in a doctor's waiting room to be read perchance by some 'flu-ridden member of the working-class. To my deep envy, Class War was likely to be read and argued over by folk in the local pub. At the time, though, as I went through my last flirtation with the Trotskyist movement, I suppressed my respect and smirked unconvincingly at CW's 'machismo' and anti-theoreticism.

has continued to be a significant, alternative feature on the landscape of the Left, assuming an influence out of all proportion to its limited numbers, emphasising its commitment to explicit and often violent class struggle and its goal of alienating "the middle-class and mainly pacifist left". But as crisis has swept in the Nineties through the ranks of 'socialism', 'communism' and 'anarchism', CW has charted new territory by coming to the conclusion that "we have gone as far as we can, the time has come to try something new". Their Open Letter to Revolutionaries, which is the centrepiece of the final 1997 (issue 73) edition of the paper is inspiring by virtue of its unusual honesty, its painstaking self-criticism and its notion of a living "process" in the quest to regroup the revolutionary movement.

The content and style of the Open Letter (OL) must by welcomed by the Revolutionary Socialist Movement, its motif resonating with much of our own heretical discussion.

Central of the OL is a heartfelt exploration of what is meant by "class" with at least a partial of recognition CW's 'essentialism', whereby being working-class is 'good', being middle-class is "crap" without sufficient account of the internal and shifting complexity of class relations.

- up afresh the debate around gender and race within the thinking of the revolutionary movement and the practical implications of involving seriously women and black people. Given this context, inevitably, CW is forced to engage with the dilemmas of its 'macho' image and the composition of its membership. The same problem haunts the limited life of the RSN.
- The OL speaks to the issue of developing a serious intellectual analysis of 'what's going on?', which is accessible and inclusive rather than elitist and exclusive.
- The question is chased of how to organise from a libertarian perspective a relationship with working people, which is vibrant, creative and which listens to and learns from their 'lived' experience, which delves further into the problematic of 'leaders' and 'followers'.
- Crucially the ex-CW comrades emphasise their desire to be involved in a regroupment of libertarian, anti-capitalist forces, which is heretical, challenging, controversial, amusing, practical and ridden with the right to be wrong as well as correct.

Over the last decade and more CW * A genuine effort is made to open In essence, it seems to me, the RSN can but welcome warmly the overture made in the Open Letter and concar with CW's proposal that the present situation is deeply contradictory. Yes, the class struggle is at a low ebb, but, with the clearing away of the debris of Stalinism and Leninism, with the end (?) of illusions in 'New Labour', the opportunities are, at least, in abstract more promising than for many a decade. With this in mind we look forward to the series of conferences proposed. Our latest information is that a gathering of a different kind is mooted for May 1998 in Bradford. I would urge all our RSN readers to make being there a priority. In the meantime get hold of a copy of CW's epilogue and find out more by ringing the Hotline on 0117 907 3667 or by writing to the National Secretary at PO Box 3241, Saltley, Birmingham B8 3DP.

> In my humble opinion CW's parting shot poses so many of the necessary questions we all need to face together. I'm looking forward to some serious critical chatting. To borrow a phrase from CW's inimitably vocabulary, the final edition of 'CLASS WAR' is 'shit-hot'. Let the dialogue begin.

Tony Taylor.

NEW LABOUR, FORCED LABOUR?

By Ray Duffill, a victim of Project Work



Imagine the joy amongst the unemployed on May 1st: A Labour Government would mean an end to the systematic harassment of benefit claimants - and the creation of new, worthwhile jobs. Any relief was short-lived. The Tory created Project Work scheme, piloted in Hull, would continue. More than that, it would be extended!

I attended Project Work Induction with Q-MAT in November. This is my diary of events:-

Monday Morning 8.50: I arrive for my 9.00 am appointment. I walk into the waiting room. One person is already waiting. I ask at the counter about my appointment. "Just wait" I am told by an impatient office worker.

The small waiting room is a grotty affair. Blank walls stare coldly back. No posters, nothing on the walls to stimulate interest.

By 9.10 the waiting room is full with 14 people. Most lean against the walls, there are not enough chairs. (Cont on Page 2)

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Thousands of people around the world are in prison for their political beliefs. Many have neither used nor advocated violence. Often their only "crime" is membership of a trade union. Others are imprisoned because they are a relative or a friend of a member of a banned political group.

Amnesty International works for the release of prisoners of conscience, fair trials for political prisoners, an end to the death penalty, torture and other cruel treatment and to stop extrajudicial executions and "disappearances".

Amnesty International is independent of all governments and political ideologies. If you are interested in supporting AI or would like any other information please contact the Hull Amnesty Group on 586097.

The Thatcher aftermath Jean-François

White collar crime is at an all time high, - particularly computer crime, even more particularly computer-management crime, - it takes untold millions from the economy. But it is not management crime of which one hears every day, it is the constant suggestion that the undeserving poor are getting more from social services than they deserve. No matter that official report after official report shows that in fact something over 20% of deserved benefits are constantly unclaimed.

There was no doubt some of this prejudice in days before Thatcher; but never to the same vitriolic extent. Ever since she decreed that greed [in the rich] was a good thing keeping industry going, & that compassion & sense of community, were corrupting, everything has gone. * It is not just in parliament that corruption has been rife.

But the aftermath is real, though the eighteen years of Tory rule, were resisted by the heroic miners' struggle, & the more recent - but forlorn -Liverpool dockers' one; (albeit both struggles marred by stalinism;) though there has been fairly constant within the Post Office, we have reached the point where the most characteristic struggles are ones by marginal groups of workers, (frequently ethnic minorities,) struggling for union recognition, often having to cope with more or less racist (frequently also sexist) union bureaucrat indifference.

Thatcher has been described, (& in her Oxford days described herself,) as a C19th Liberal. But the 19th Century Liberals were the representatives of industrial manufacturing industry, - exploiting capitalists certainly - but ever pushing for advance. Thatcher presided over the destruction of Britain's classical industrial base. Certainly new computerised industry replaced it in part, though service industries have long out-stripped manufacturing.

It makes it a difficult situation for seeing syndicalism working; the computer work systems lend themselves open more to fraud or sabotage, than to inciting class organization. It is why a very large proportion (even more than in the Sixties - when if the AFB & SF are to be believed - British anarchism was supposedly hi-jacked by the peace movement) of leftist direct action these days is outside industry, on peace or green issues, animal rights, & so forth; even where struggles are purely economic they tend to be the rights of the unemployed, single-parents or the disabled. A Service of the Control of the Cont

But there is a new employed class, it now lacks social consciousness & any real sense of militancy; but it would be a mistake to assume that this will always be the case. Syndicalism has always arisen in the past when new waves of militancy reach the working class, organizing previously unorganized sectors of it; given the widespread use of direct action & libertarian organization in other fields, given also that European Stalinism has collapsed & Labour has finally openly aligned itself as capitalist; there is a new movement in preparation. Our task is to insist that capitalism is - in the long term only vulnerable at the point of production, & that syndicalism is the one form of industrial organization consistent with the aspirations, methods & organization of the wider DA movement. We now agitate & propagate our ideas, but the creation of a mass syndicalist movement will sweep us & others aside.

* Not mind you that she was always totally logical about this, when in her last year at Oxford, she found herself unable to do her degree thesis, she told the younger brother of a contemporary that she was contemplating suicide, in order to persuade him to do it for her.

Dispatch from Iraq

A weapon of mass destruction

Milan Rai Baghdad, 19 February

President Clinton and Prime
Minister Blair say they want to
eliminate weapons of mass
destruction from Iraq. Our small
group of 8 peace activists from
the USA and Britain has, during
the past week, found plenty of
evidence of the use of such a
weapon. In the hospitals of
Baghdad, Fallujah and Basra,
we have seen the tiny victims of
economic sanctions.

Yesterday, on our second visit to the Al-Mansour Teaching Hospital, a two-and-a-half month old baby died in front of our eyes. Dr Qusay, the consultant paediatrician showing us around the ward, a gentle and humane man, helped to revive the child, but told us that she was now merely gasping her way through her last hours of life. She, like hundreds of thousands of other Iraqi children, has been denied the medicine she needs by UN sanctions.

I am amazed at the emphasis ordinary people here place on sanctions rather than on the imminent threat of bombing. A few days ago, we visited Fallujah, 15km west of Baghdad, where, in 1991, a British RAF bomb aimed at Fallujah bridge fell instead on the crowded market place, killing over 100 people. There is no such thing as a precision war.

Though they fear the effects of bombing on themselves and their families, the Iraqi people we have met have stressed that what they want most in the world is the lifting of sanctions. They cannot import enough medicines, or have clean drinking water, or repair their sewage and sanitation systems, or even buy enough food to

"It's one thing to know that over 567,000 children have died as a result of sanctions. It's another to try to comfort a sobbing woman as her baby gasps its last breath on a hospital bed."

feed the population, unless economic sanctions are lifted. A nineyear-old girl told members of our group she would rather die of bombing than of sanctions.

It's one thing to know that over 567,000 children have died as a result of sanctions (UN Food and Agricultural Organisation estimate, December 1995). It's another to try to comfort a sobbing woman as her baby gasps

its last breath on a hospital bed.

It's one thing to know that over 900,000 Iraqi children are severely malnourished (UNICEF estimate, November 1997). It's another to hold a wasted, shrunken baby in your arms and to look into its old man's face.

It's one thing to know that medicines are desperately needed here. It's another to be faced by doctors almost in tears as they describe their inability to treat the simplest conditions.

Sanctions against Iraq are a crime. These children have rights which the US and Britain have consistently and deliberately violated over the last seven years. They have the right to life, the right to adequate nutrition, the right to medical treatment, the right to clean drinking water, the right to enjoy the benefits that were provided freely before the devastation of the Gulf slaughter in 1991, and before the sanctions. The sanctions being levied against Iraq are a weapon of mass destruction. More inspectors are needed. Elimination of this weapon is urgently required.

ARROW, 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ, Britain (+44 171 607 2302; fax 700 2357). Campaign Against Sanctions on Iraq, c/o Sebastian Wills, Clare College, Cambridge CB2 1TL, Britain (+44 1223 509974; email saw27@cam.ac.uk).

Talke Action Here are some suggestions

- for action:

 Vigil and leaflet in your town centres (if there isn't something happening in your
- area, organise something

 a simple vigil with candles and one placard could
- Attend major demonstrations
- Put a poster up in your window
- Create simple coffins—
 child- and adult-sized; hold
 a funeral procession in
 memory of all those who
 died in the last war and all
- died in the last war and all those who have died as a result of sanctions

 Take part in or organise
- nonviolent direct action at local British or US military facilities blockades, trespasses, citizens
- Inform yourself. If you have world-wide web access.
 PN has a list of relevant websites at http://

inspections".

www.gn.apc.org/peacenews
//raq//raqlinks.html

Support military conscien-

tious objectors

- Ensure a healthy debate in your local media write
 letters, take part in radio
 phone-ins, chant if you see
- Madeleine Albright

 Fax your protest letters:
 British Prime Minister Blair:
 444 171 930 1419
- British Foreign Secretary
 Robin Cook: +44 171 270
 3539 / 3731
 US President Clinton: +1
 202 456-6797 / 2461 (email
- Engage in responsible nonviolent disarmament

president@whitehouse.gov)

Don't believe everything
 you read in the papers

If US/UK attack

- Vigil in your town or city
 centre at 6.00pm
- Blockade US and British
 military bases or your
 nearest armed forces
- Vigil and take nonviolent action at US and British

recruitment office

 However long the bombing goes on, throw your weight into the campaign against sanctions — don't abandon the Iraqi people after the bombing finishes.

embassies and consulates

Peace News March 1998

NEW LABOUR, FORCED LABOUR? (Cont from P.1)

There is no welcome - or even acknowledgement that we exist - om behind the counter. There is a sudden flurry of activity in the office as a worker arrives late. There is excited banter and chat about the weekends activities. In the waiting room there is just a sullen, resentful silence.

At 9.15 a head pops around the doorway and asks us to follow. We are lead into another room. Induction starts in earnest a few minutes later. First surprise is the hand-written time-sheet on the wall. Induction is over 3 days! Most people were under the impression that they were coming for an interviews or appointment. "Do we get meals? I've no money" somebody asks. "No" is the abrupt answer from the Induction Tutor.

"Lets start with whinge time ..." the Tutor smirks "...You don't want to be here, I don't want to be here. But lets make the best of it. It's only 13 weeks!" "Whinge time": This actually continues throughout the whole of the 3 days. The Tutors (2 of them now as a reinforcement is brought in) try to answer questions about benefit cuts.

"Benefit is not a right anymore - there will be no fifth option!". She is obviously a New Labour supporter! "We find that on average one third of each Induction Group don't want to work. Project Work is designed to weed these people out." Unemployment is the fault of the unemployed. This underlying philosophy runs through everything during the 3 days of Induction.

Coffee break: Each person is given a token to put into a Klix machine. You are allowed 3 tokens a day. They are doled out just prior to each break. We are not trusted to hold all 3 tokens in advance. Obviously, illegal trading in tokens must be a major fearl

A Tutor apologises for the state of the tea room. "It was quite nice 18 months ago - but its been smashed up by people who bear grudges." Other "grudges" - we are informed - include sinks being pulled off walls, toilets being blocked, shit being put on telephones and in drawers - and Tutors lives being threatened! The Tutors are quite nice people really - just obeying orders and collecting their silver at the end of the week.

We are told which rooms are out of bounds. Staff Room. Admin. Office - and JOB CLUB! JOB CLUB is out of bounds? Why? "JOB CLUB facilities are only available for "structured" job search." A weekly 3 hour job seeking session would invoived sending out many copies of your

CV and a speculative letter to addresses in Yellow Pages.

Could we use the computer facilities to type our letters? "No. You write, we type. People only abuse the computers and play games.". One person even put "Q_MAT is shit" on the screensaver!.

Dinner Time: What a relief. Colours, noise, conversation - even the Christmas decorations don't look too bad, after the dull, grey atmosphere of Q_MAT.

30 minutes later: No enough time to gobble your chips. I'm back late. The queue was longer than I expected. I race back.

After half-an-hour waiting, the tutor arrives late muttering about paperwork and not enough time for lunch. A half digested chip leaves a horrible taste in my mouth.

I ask about training. The Tutor seems relieved to have something to talk about. Clearly, there is not enough content to the induction to fill 7 hours a day. The Tutor accepts that there is no recognised training content - "...but you've just got to go through it and enjoy it. It's only 13 weeks!" Somebody asks what Q_MAT stands for. Quality Management And Training. Nobody sees the funny side.

Finally we are given a "choice" of which project we would like to do. There are 9 placements. I choose a charity near to where I live. An hour later I'm told that I can't do that because the Manageress is "...a little old fashioned" and someone else is actually nearer.

I'm left with a choice of two: Groundwork at Fort Paull or looking after animals at East Hull Farm. Excited at the prospect of a free pair of wellies, I pick the farm. Later I am handed a sheet about the danger of infectious diseases from Rats. I assumed it would be looking after goats or sheep.....

Disillusioned, angry and with a feeling that I have just wasted 7 hours out of my life, I head back home. All the placements are with charitable organisations. However, the idea of forcing people to do voluntary work is counter-productive. Volunteers do work out of enthusiasm, interest and commitment.

Project Work produces resentment, despondency and shoddy work. It is in the interests of all voluntary and charitable organisations to BOYCOTT Project Work.

The cost of war



Gulf War, 1991: the body of an Iraqi soldier, whose tank has been hit by US fire, lies in the sand, saturated with oil from wells set ablaze by his own retreating army.

PHOTO: ABBASMAGNUM PHOTOS

Our contemporaries:

The anarchist (libertarian socialist) movement, in Britain, is not in an healthy state, some papers & groups are so sectarian that they do nothing; some groups & papers, - The Ploughshares Network, Counter Information, Haringay Community Action, Hull TU News, Somerset Socialist & Heresy - spring to mind, do excellent work but are infrequent; Freedom did nothing for years, has now fortunately rediscovered anarchist activity but is under the misapprehension that this is only possible in Lancashire & so ignored the report below or the Czech leaflet on gypsies to be found elsewhere in Revolt.

Extracts from November letter from Vadim Barák

The right-wing government of the Prime Minister, Klaus, entered its last stage. The "Czech economic miracle" proved to be a false one as we predicted in our first newsletter. International speculators attacked our currency, government's economic measures aimed at revitalizing our economy are widely seen as another round of belt tightening for the working class, & fat cats are getting fatter. Moravians hold the government responsible for many deaths and the damages caused by disastrous summer floods, & face the government's unwillingness to help them. Large scale economic crime & bribery, accompanying & following privatisation, have created a new ruling elite & are seen as a slap in the face by millions of people with decreasing living standards.

Many pro-market illusions are dead & gone as well as the anti-left witch-hunt. In surveys more than 50% see no significant difference between stalinism & capitalism in economic terms. A lot of thembelieve a mixture of the best elements of both regimes (social security & freedom) would be the solution to our problems. 30% believe Social Democracy is able to bring about such a regime. 10% are either more critical or slavishly stalinist & vote for the C.P. 5-8% for the right-wing popoulist & zenophobic party. A general mood is characterised by an openness t0owards radical left-wing ideas & alternatives. Now we can talk much more openly about libertarian socialism without the danger that noone will listen to us.

A 120,000 strong union demo (the largest anti-government manifestation since the 1989 revolution) took place in November in Prague. Leaders of a main union federation had believed it would divert rank & file discontent & stop a growing movement within the union for a general strike. They were mistaken. When they announced that the demo was not an anti-regime one, the crowd replied with a chant of "what a pity!" The most common slogans were "Government Resign" "New Elections" "We are fed up with Klaus" & "General Strike."

Solidarita, Czech Militant, & the North-Bohemian Libertarian Federation pushed for a general strike, reflecting the mood in the unions & trying to bring together all resistance to government attacks. The upsurge within the unions could, if it developed from a stage of shared desire to one of conscious & organized will, transform them into more militant & democratic organizations, able to fight & beat the state & employers. We believe we can help this on a bit, pronouncing our ideas openly in the IGS. (Solidarita took part in all the regional union meetings in Moravia, (they were two in the North; both with several thousands there - mainly miners & pensioners,) & then with the whole IGS in the union demo. We distributed 3,000 general strike leaflets.

SOLIDARITA's statement to the Gipsy emmigration November 1997

- 1. Gipsies are forced to leave the Czech Republic, because they suffer terrible social and civil discrimination based on their ethnicity. They are not economic refugees! They do not try to abuse hospitability of your country.
- 2. Gipsies had been leading a life of either nomadic artisans or settled artisans and peasants in the teritory of former Czechoslovakia. Their different and independent culture and lifestyle meant they seemed to be useless to rulling classes. So they were constantly persecuting Gipsies and spreading xenophoby towards them among ordinary people (the first Czechoslovak Republic was not much better in that than the Austro-Hungarian empire). Nazis tried to exterminate the "Gipsy scum" and so several thousands Gipsies were murdered in concentrational camps with a great help of Czech authorities. The Communist regime did most for an integration of the Gipsy community, but because of its own reasons and through its own inhuman bureaucratic methods. Stalinism needed a cheap unskilled labour force that would replace missing new technologies and do work none of Czech workers would be willing to do, Ghettos were built up in industrial centres and Gipsies were forced 'to settle down there, to go to work and school. The aim of their education was a reproduction of the cheap unskilled labour force and so there was not any effort to help them overcome their handicaps. Most Gipsy children could not speak Czech very well and were not able to catch up with white children in their classes and were sent to "special schools", which ensured they could not obtain any higher education than the basic and vocational ones. Their culture and history should have been destroyed and in this way a complete asimilation accomplished.
- 3. The reconstruction of market Capitalism in our country meant for Czech Gipsies another disaster. Gipsies as unskilled labourers were the first to lose their jobs and new private employers were not interested in them - there was a surplus of skilled white workers, who were ready to work for wages of unskilled ones. Gipsies were also a dispised black minority so it was much easier to sacrifice them than to sack majority white workers. Educational system does not offer Gipsies anything new and better - quite contrary; it is underfunded so it is even worse than it used to be. So the old discrimination has been going on and Gipsies are now trapped in a vicious circle of unemployment (70% of their community are unemployed; unemployment in the whole society is 5%!), which leads to a decay of traditional community values and their ghettos consequently sink into crime, drugs, prostitution and desparation. These negative effects of discrimination call up even bigger xenophoby and rage from the side of white population. It means they are forbidden to go to pubs and other public places in many towns, they do not get proper medical treatment, they can not get jobs just because they are Gipsies, they are targets of frequent physical attacks of nazi-gangs, they are bullied by the police and bureaucrats, they are affraid to send their children to schools and nurseries.
- 4. Disasterous summer floods, which killed 48 people and thousands left without homes and any property, brought perhaps the worst wave of xenophoby and racism towards Gipsies. It was much easier for massmedia and people to scapegoat a powerless minority for looting, abusing humanitarian aid, etc. (most of the cases were fabrications) than to blame real causes of the

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Libertarian Sociali

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NEW LABOUR. SAME OLD TORIES

According to some, Labour are meant to be the party of the working class - rubbish!!

"New Labour" have, or are about to:

- refuse to pay dole to any person under 25 who can't get a job or training
- X cut benefits to ALL single parents
- X force the sick and disabled further into debt and despair
- X charge us, or our kids, to go to college it's education for those who can afford it!

Further, they have not changed ANY of the Tories anti Immigration or anti Trade Union laws

"NEW LABOUR'S" HONEYMOON PERIOD IS OVER

- New Labour are no different to the Tories they replaced the faces might be slightly different.
- The only way we will change anything is to do it our selves. The only way any politician will do anything for us is if we force them to.
- V Don't wait for the next futile election the next Government, whoever they are, will be just as bad for us.

do it ourselves. Don't rely on ANY self appointed leaders.

Shropshire Socialist Solidarity

tel 01952 641852

The only way to get what we want is to organise together and

College Farm House, Wellington

Shropshire Socialist Solidarity

A senior Government Minister Has said that young people should be politically educated: our contribution to this is:

Since coming to power "New (Tory) Labour have:

- refused dole to anyone under 25 who can't get a job or training;
- · forced single parents who can't get work further into debt;
- attacked the sick & disabled, as they think they are an easy target;
- supported bossess against workers in all labour disputes;
- used compulsion to force the unemployed into cheap labour schemes, that displace existing workers & force wages down, whereas - in France - direct action has forced a cut in the working week to 35 hours;
- refused to name a figure for the minimum wage, ignoring the TUC's suggested £4.60 per hour, & they intend to place all under 26 years of age on a lower minimum;
- · followed Clinton's war-mongering lead over Iraq, so that innocent people will be killed - as well as those inured or dying from sanctions leaving Saddam in place, & the Western service personnel will once again suffer from Gulf sickness;
- based its European policy on cutting the living standards of ordinary British people; making it a bosses' Europe.

Can you believe that "New (Tory) Labour" is in any way a party of the less well off? (Any more than the Liberals or Tories.)

The only way we will get what we need is through people's direct action. We need a broad-based & cross-party socialist unity movement stressing collective activity in the place of work, on the streets, in the estates.

If you have an interest in such solidarity please contact: **Shropshire Socialist Solidarity** College Farm House, Mill Lane, Wellington TF1 1PR tel 01952 641852