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Socialist OUTLOOK

Socialism, welfare
and employment

PULL-OUT 4-page
Supplement

CAMPSFIELD: Asylum seekers
in revolt - page 2

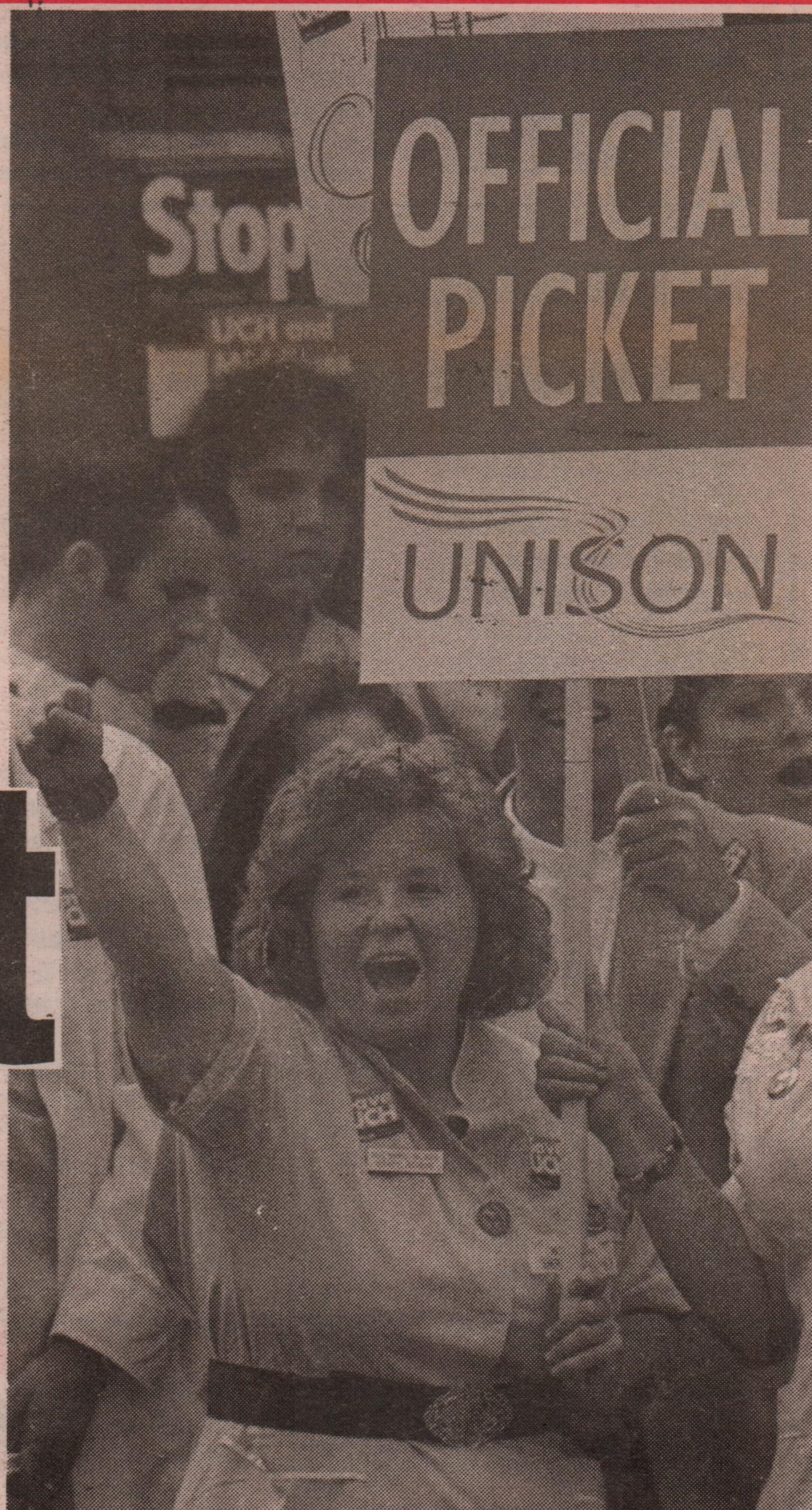
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Jobs, welfare, NHS

union rights...

Labour needs socialist policies



Left must stand against Blair and Prescott

Demanding freedom for asylum seekers imprisoned in Britain

500 march to close down Campsfield

By Nigel Fisher

ON SATURDAY June 4 500 people marched to Campsfield detention centre to protest against the injustice meted out to black people under the racist immigration laws.

The march called for the closure of the Campsfield, run by the notorious Group 4 and the immediate release of all those imprisoned by the immigration authorities.

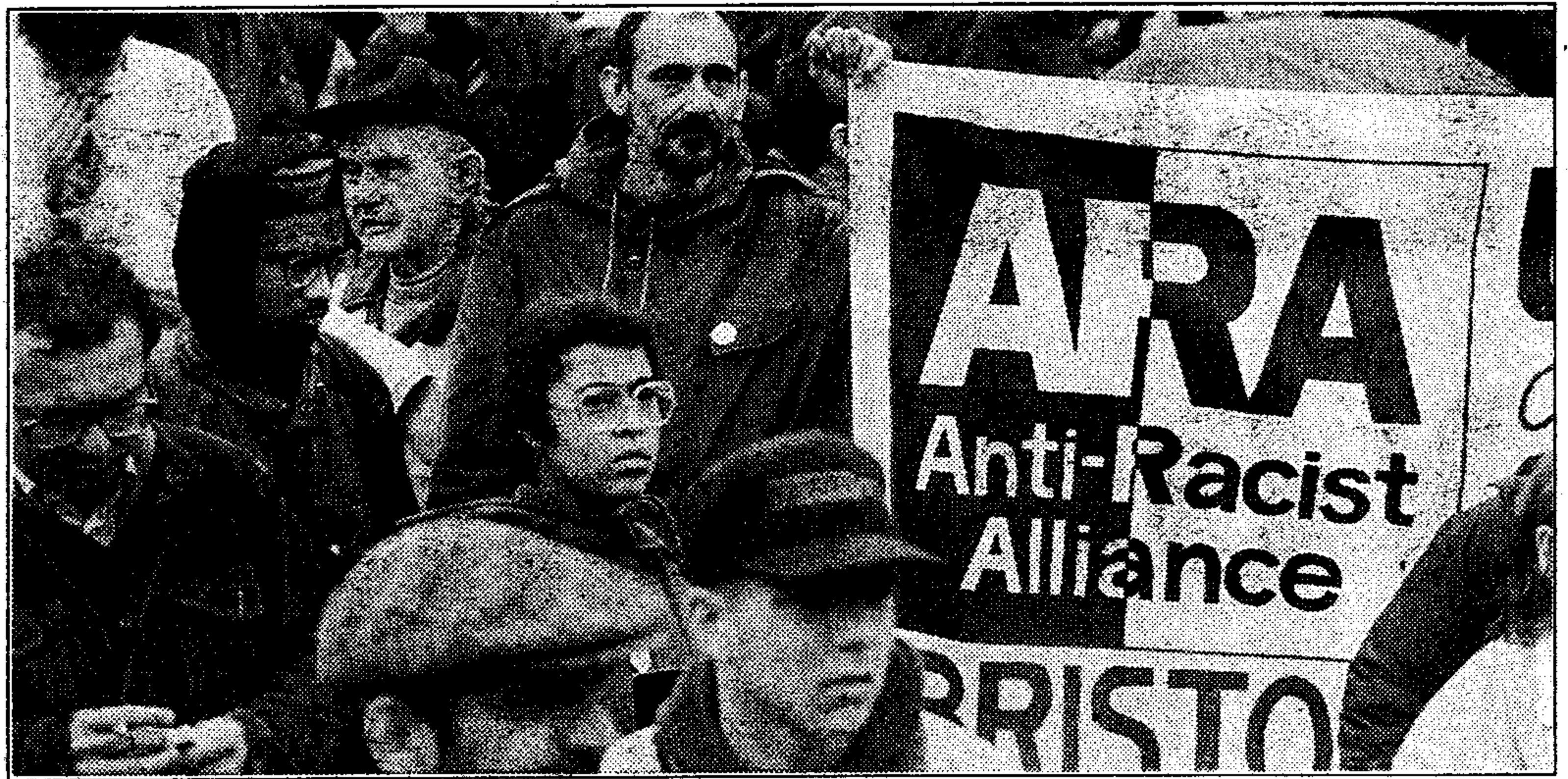
A tourist travelling through rural Oxfordshire may find it

easy to imagine that the area, on the edge of the Cotswolds, is a haven of idyllic rural peace and that worst aspects of life in Tory Britain are many miles away in the inner cities of London and the West Midlands.

Side road

Tucked away down a side road close to Oxford Airport is Campsfield House detention centre - Britain's concentration camp for black people seeking asylum in a country that likes to pose as a champion of human rights.

Campsfield is the flagship of a number of prisons dedicated



500 protestors outside the Campsfield detention centre

to the detention of asylum seekers and other black people who wish to come to Britain. The welcome they receive is detention in often unbearable conditions.

Once a detainee under Britain's immigration laws a person is treated as a criminal, without having been given any kind of trial. The location of Campsfield isolates people from communities in Britain and hinders access to lawyers and advice agencies.

Fortress Europe

The regime at Campsfield and its sister establishments at Haslar in Hampshire and Harmondsworth near Heathrow Airport is Britain's contribution to "Fortress Europe".

At the rally outside the detention centre the protestors shouted for "Close Campsfield down!" showing their solidarity with those inside.

The authorities have installed mirror glass in the windows and elaborate security, including a high wall to prevent the detainees having contact with the outside world. This is

an attempt to stop the detainees responding with their own protest on the inside.

Large numbers of police, including riot vans and police horses were further evidence that the authorities are scared of any links between the detainees and the outside world.

When a group of 30 people attempted to march around the site to where some contact could be made with the detainees two people were arrested and one may face trumped up charges.

There were several speakers who showed that working class black people are fighting back against the immigration laws. Mohammed Sekhoun from the Algerian Community Association, Mohammed Idris from the West Midlands Anti-deportation Campaign, a speaker from the Community of Refugees from Zaire in Great Britain, Nirma Rahasingham from the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and a speaker from the National Union of Refugee Organisations.

There was some labour movement representation both

on the march and amongst the speakers. Manny Blake from the N.C.U. spoke at the rally as did Tess Kingham, the Labour candidate for the Cotswold euro-constituency.

Jeremy Corbyn MP also spoke. Several Labour councillors were on the march. Marc Wadsworth spoke on behalf of the Anti-Racist Alliance.

Absentees

What was missing was any representation from the Labour front bench, who seem to be going along with the detention of immigrants and asylum seekers!

All anti-racists should build the campaign against Campsfield, alongside with support for all anti-deportation campaigns. There is another demonstration at Campsfield on June 25, and every last Saturday of the month.

There is also a regular 'Freedom' camp outside. These events should be built by all those who wish to see an end to the suffering caused by the controls on immigration.

STOP PRESS: Asylum seekers in jail riot

At 7.30pm on Sunday June 5 detainees at Campsfield rioted in protest at the brutal regime run inside the detention centre by Group 4.

There had been earlier reports of the victimisation of Algerian detainee Ali Tamarat, due to be deported on Monday June 6. And a Ghanaian woman detainee, in need of psychiatric care had been moved from Campsfield a few weeks ago with her hands and feet bound and mouth gagged.

Fires were lit and doors, windows, sinks and other furniture smashed while 10 detainees climbed onto the roof in protest.

According to Home Office figures six detainees are now on the run but campaigners outside the centre dispute the figure scale the twenty foot high perimeter fence.

Two ambulances were seen leaving after some de-

tainees fell to the ground trying to escape. Between 10 and 20 van loads of riot police were then seen going into the centre and detainees managed to get a message out that some of them were being beaten by the police.

Subsequently five more ambulances were seen leaving at 2am.

Outside campaigners were chased by police as they tried to look under the steel fence to see what was happening. One person was arrested but others climbed into trees in order to witness the riot.

Charles Wardle, Immigration Minister said he would be reviewing security at the detention centre. But as Theresa Hayter said from the Close down Campsfield Campaign,

'The people inside are completely innocent but they have no human rights. They have fled from persecution and are held without charge.'

Cops protect Tyndall

THE SUCCESSFUL Isle of Dogs election campaign shows the labour movement needs to get out on the streets if the BNP Nazis are to be isolated and defeated. Sadly this is lacking in Dagenham, where BNP leader John Tyndall is standing in the June 9 by-election.

On Saturday June 4 he was out canvassing, accompanied by thirty or so skin-head thugs.

Newham Monitoring Project had organised a protest but a very heavy police presence allowed Tyndall to peddle his Nazi filth unchallenged.

FIGHTING RACISM

Newham poverty breeds racism

By Mark Jasen

DESPITE Derek Beackon losing his seat in Millwall during the recent council elections, it is quite clear that the fascist British Nationalist Party have extended their base of support in East London.

In Millwall ward Beackon actually increased his vote from the previous by-election, but in the neighbouring borough of Newham the BNP received their highest percentage of the vote in the country. In Becton ward the BNP received 32 percent of the vote, losing by only 66 votes to Labour.

For months leading up to the elections, BNP supporters canvassed and leafleted selected areas in the south of the borough, capitalising on anger felt by local residents at years of neglect and lack of decent housing and services.

Their racist explanation for local poverty and deprivation was

undoubtedly assisted by the explicitly racist "Conservatives Against Labour's Unfair Ethnic Policies" (CALUEP) campaign. The Tories' low vote shows that by playing the race card they simply added to the support for the BNP.

The combined vote of the BNP and CALUEP, though, was greater than Labour's, showing the extent of the racist sentiment in the borough.

Mobilisation

The Labour electoral victory in Becton ward was almost certainly secured through the mobilisation of the anti-fascist vote, by the "Equal Rights For All" campaign co-ordinated by Newham Monitoring Project and Council Workers Against the Nazis, but drawing in forces from a whole number of local organisations.

To a lesser degree the work carried out by the Anti Nazi League also played an important role, and the joint activities of the two campaigns was an extremely positive step for the local anti-

racist movement.

A post-election meeting called by NMP drew together a number of organisations, all of whom expressed a commitment to continue campaigning over the next period, and developed a wide ranging strategy for fighting racism and fascism, building support throughout the local community, providing support networks for those facing the threat of racist thugs, and for fighting for better housing and resources for all.

The Newham Needs campaign, organised by the joint trade union committee of the local council unions, estimates that the borough is now being underfunded to the tune of £20 million, with the threatened loss of the £13 million "cushioning grant" next year.

The council must develop policies to improve local housing and services, to challenge the rise of racism and fascism, and to fight for a massive increase in funding from central government.

Labour rehashes YOP scheme fiasco

"THE LABOUR leadership regained the initiative yesterday in the debate over disaffected youth when it embraced the principle of a nationwide Citizens' Service for teenagers," enthused the *Guardian*.

As always it pays socialists to be wary of anything praised by the mealy-mouthed *Guardian*.

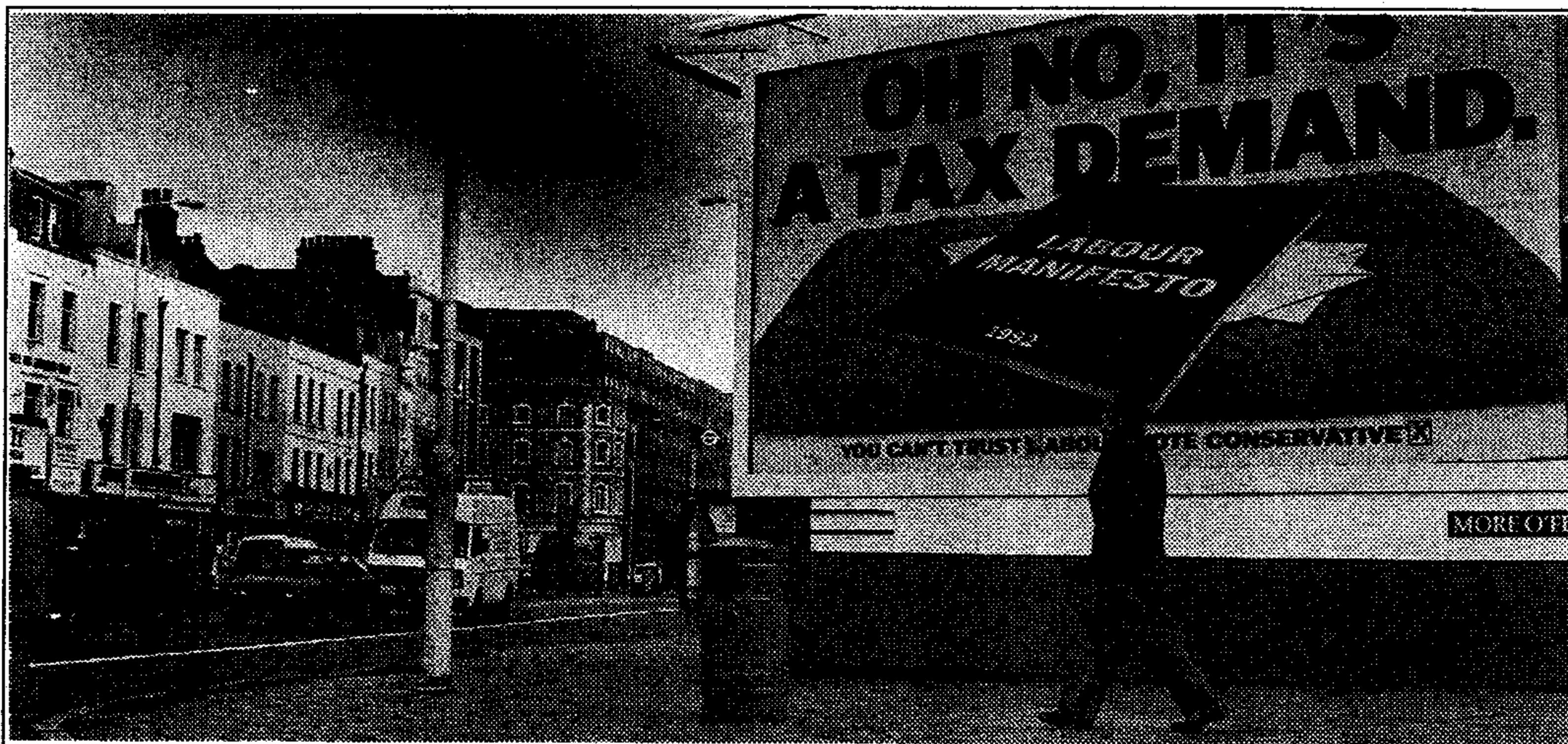
Labour's scheme is a timid rehash of previous failed 'job-creation' packages, like the Callaghan government's notorious and misnamed 'Youth Opportunities Programme'.

Summed up by Sir Gordon Borrie of Labour's ludicrously mis-named 'Commission for Social Justice' as "a form of civilian national service", the new scheme is in fact a direct attack on working class youth. While national service involved universal conscription, the new Labour scheme would almost exclusively affect the poorest layers of youth leaving school without qualifications: the more prosperous layers of the middle class who could afford to steer clear of the benefits system would not be drafted.

The plan is a cowardly retreat from a properly-resourced programme of useful public works. Some of its newer features have been shamelessly cribbed from the out-and-out wage-cutting programme of the Clinton administration in the USA.

For a pretend 'wage' of just £50 per week, youth would be encouraged to 'volunteer' for a 3-month stint on a variety of 'jobs', such as caring for children or the elderly, or 'environmental' schemes such as clearing inner-city waste ground.

Labour's new gimmick is to suggest that completing a 3-month tour of duty in the Citizens' Service would entitle the still jobless youth to 'credits' -



Timid Labour has let the Tories set the political agenda on taxing the rich

£500 vouchers, theoretically exchangeable for further training or possibly even for housing.

But in the absence of any promise of a job at the end of the 3-month slog or even after another round of extra training, and in today's dire shortage of public sector housing, with Labour fighting shy of any pledge to boost the housing budget, it is hard to see how young people could take either of these promises very seriously.

Even Sir Gordon's most optimistic projection is that "half the long term unemployed taking part in community service would go on to find a job".

Press gang

What Labour's leaders have steered well clear of is explaining exactly how far this really would be a 'voluntary' scheme, and how far youth would be press-ganged into 'volunteering' by the threatened withdrawal of benefits.

Indeed Labour is still in confusion as to whether or not it would restore the entitlement of 16 and 17-year old school leavers to the social security benefits snatched from them by John Major's brutal gang. Even government figures show 76,000

school leavers have so far been cut adrift by the Tories with no job, no training and no income support to keep them alive.

But instead of seizing upon this as an issue on which to wage a real fight, Labour's front bench are so frightened of promising to spend any money or raise any taxation from the rich, that they retreated like startled rabbits from the issue as soon as the Tories spotted the weakness of their stance and asked the logical question.

So this again questions the credibility of the Citizens' Service scheme. If it is genuinely voluntary, then there will inevitably be thousands of justifiably cynical and disaffected youth who will opt out.

Will Labour restore their right to income support? Or will they copy the Tories in seeking to compel jobless youth into phoney 'training' schemes by withholding benefits?

Another problem affects even wider layers of workers. If the youth who do volunteer are given real rather than pretend jobs, whether in the public or private sector, then inevitably the danger arises that they become simply a low-paid substitute for employing an adult worker at a viable adult wage.

Labour argues that to avoid this problem the scheme would be carefully run in consultation with the unions. But with the TUC and other unions now explicitly prioritising 'job security' above pay, we have little grounds to feel reassured by this.

The harsh reality is that either the youth on Citizens' Service would be lumbered on poverty pay doing marginal jobs which nobody would otherwise do, or they will become low-paid skivvies filling in for the absence of properly-funded health care and social services.

Worst way

Indeed it is hard to think of any worse way to provide continuing care for children or the frail elderly than to draft in an unwilling, cynical and transient workforce of untrained and unskilled youth, forced to turn up on pain of losing benefits, and who know their maximum span of work is three months.

While it would neaten up the unemployment figures, Citizens' Service would do nothing but stoke up increased fires of resentment and alienation among youth whom the labour movement already scandal-

ously ignores.

Instead of this whimpering, half-hearted attempt to appear bold without offending big business, Labour should map out a genuine programme of job-creation through public spending on massive programme of useful public works.

Instead of rewarding reluctant youth for undertaking baby-sitting tasks by offering 'credits' for housing, why not employ them in building schemes to build new council houses and flats for themselves and for the tens of thousands of families that need them? The money for this is already trapped by Tory laws in council bank accounts.

Instead of fobbing off young people with slave wages for delivering community care to the elderly, Labour should pledge a massive expansion of proper community care, offering proper wages, and training thousands of school leavers for useful careers as health workers.

Instead of pussy-footing with environmental questions, why won't Labour pledge itself to invest in a massive expansion of public transport and other infrastructure projects, employing adults and youth at proper rates of pay?

The answer is simple enough: Labour's right wing modernisers, in the ascendant, are trapped in an unspoken economic consensus with the Tories. Having rejected any hint of socialism, even bold reformist policies such as taxing the rich have now been ruled out in the quest for electoral respectability.

Too frightened to challenge the logic of the market system, Blair and Labour's right wing leadership team wind up offering no radical solutions: and by abandoning radicalism, they condemn a Labour government in advance to disappointing the hopes and betraying the interests of millions of workers.

Where next from the Carnival?

IT WAS A triumph for the Anti Nazi League and its leaders, the Socialist Workers Party.

The huge turnout - claimed as 150,000 by *Socialist Worker* - to the May 28 ANL Carnival was achieved in the teeth of opposition and obstruction from much of the official labour and union bureaucracy.

It reflects the strength of anti-fascism and anti-racism among wide layers of white youth, though in contrast with last year's festival called by

the Anti Racist Alliance it also shows much more limited support for the ANL among organisations of the black communities.

However the ANL's power to mobilise in such numbers also carries a responsibility to develop this movement and go forward: as the SWP would be the first to say on any other issue, carnivals alone are not enough to defeat fascism - or the racism on which it feeds.

Unfortunately it seems that the response to the May 28

success will be for the SWP and ANL to stand even more resolutely against unity with other anti-racist organisations.

Independent

Many who attended the Carnival were independent of any political current, but would be prepared to join other local and national mobilisations against racism as well as opposing fascist violence.

This is why it is so disappointing to see that the ANL's energies are almost entirely

consumed with building itself, with little if any effort to support anti-racist mobilisations such as the campaign to close the Campsfield detention centre which houses victims of the Tory Asylum Act.

Of the tens of thousands of anti-racists at the ANL's bank holiday Carnival, only those who took leaflets from *Socialist Outlook* or Campsfield campaigners were told of the national demonstration the following weekend.

If the ANL is to realise the potential it displayed, and not

squander its support, it must lend practical support to struggles against state racism and racism at work, raising more developed political discussion on the roots of racism, as well as hitting the relatively easy target of opposing openly fascist minorities like the BNP.

As *Socialist Outlook's* back page argued at the Carnival, the task ahead is to cut off the fascists at the roots - by uniting all those willing to fight against racism.

A privatisation too far?

By Jon Green

AFTER A two year review of the Post Office costing over £1 million, Michael Heseltine, has called for more consultation in a Green Paper. However it is clear now that the preferred option for both Heseltine and the Post Office Chief Executive, Bill Cockburn, is to sell 51% of the Post Office for £1 billion.

This could be a privatisation too far – the Post Office is a very popular public service with wide ranging facilities. Privatisation can be defeated. The Union of Communication Workers is very well organised and quite prepared to take strike action to defend jobs and working conditions.

In the last year there were 17,002 days of unofficial industrial action involving Postal Workers. Last month an unoffi-

cial walkout in Liverpool to defend a victimised worker lasted 6 days, the longest unofficial walkout since the introduction of the 1991 Trade Union Law.

The UCW has enormous industrial strength. The Royal Mail handles 61 million letters daily, collects from over 120,000 pillar boxes and delivers to 24.5 million addresses.

The union has already launched its campaign to oppose privatisation, 'Stand by your Post'. So far this has been concentrated at the level of lobbying and postcard campaigns but clearly 'Stand by your Post' has to become a real mass campaign led by postal workers.

The UCW conference outlined its campaigning approach: 'All branches will, in support of the campaign, redouble their efforts to secure the widest knowledge, publicity and support for our case, including when appropriate a national petition and lobby of Parliament.'



Existing policy commits the union to a speaking tour, a levy of UCW members of £1 a week, a national Householder leaflet and consideration of strike action to combat privatisation.

A successful campaign must learn from the defeat of the miners. Despite huge demonstrations in October 1992, the campaign ran out of steam by

demobilising on the streets and relying on the backbone of 'Tory rebels'.

Counters closing

Some Tories will oppose privatisation. Their rural voters will be hard hit by the threat of Post Office counters closing and variations in services which are subsidised by other parts of

the Post Office such as free delivery of prescriptions and the Post bus.

The UCW will only be successful if it unites the labour movement and post office users behind it in mass action on the scale of the Poll Tax rather than relying on lobbying wet Tories.

Every area needs to support the UCW campaign.

Trades Councils defend welfare rights

By Steve Hall, Leigh, Atherton & Tyldesley TUC

Question: What have TUC General Secretary John Monks, David Hunt (Minister of State for Employment) and CBI Director General Howard Davies got in common?

Answer: All three will be taking part in a TUC organised Conference on Employment on July 5 in London.

THE CONFERENCE takes place despite unanimous opposition from the National Conference of Trades Councils, where delegate after delegate condemned the idea as class collaborationist and

a betrayal of the unemployed.

As Carol Pass from Doncaster TUC asked: "why are we throwing them a lifeline in their hour of crisis?"

Keith Sinclair (Humberside Association of TUCs) argued "the TUC's money would have been much better spent on fighting for the employment rights of victimised trade unionists like John Pearson (in Tameside), Amanda Lowe and Steve Goldfinch (in Bristol) and postal workers like Dave Chapple."

Alas, all this will be ignored by TUC leaders – such is the lack of bite that goes with the loud bark of Trades Councils when it comes to influencing TUC policy. But many delegates intend to picket the event anyway.

The conference unanimously adopted Oxford County Association's strategy of non-cooperation with the anti-union laws and a call from Essex for TUC and national union leaderships to

give unequivocal support to all workers in struggle.

Conference called for a TUC Day of Action, on a weekday, to oppose attacks on the welfare state and supported building local and national campaigns. An amendment called on the Labour leadership to declare support for maintaining universal benefits.

As part of the fight against unemployment, the conference decided to organise a 'Three Nations' march against unemployment in 1995.

Conference passed a number of other positive resolutions: on racism and fascism, Ireland, Kurdistan, Western Sahara, and against Post Office privatisation.

A successful *Trade Union News* meeting attracted over 40 delegates. Cait Wright, a member of Bolton Trades Council and Lancashire Women Against Pit Closures who were denied the possibility of speaking to conference despite overwhelming support, brought everyone up to date on the continuing struggle at Parkside, the victimisation of Sylvia Pye (National Chair of WAPC) and issued a call for a nationwide mobilisation to stop British Coal's attempts to fill in Parkside's shafts and demolish its headgear.

A number of resolutions, including one in support of International Workers Aid, were ruled out of order on dubious grounds. An IWA fringe meeting attracted a number of Trades Council delegates who now want to get involved.

For further details of the picket of the TUC Conference on Employment phone Paul on 0703 396274.

When is a merger not a merger? Missing the point on UNISON

UNISON activist and conference delegate GEOFF MARTIN takes issue with the conference report in *Socialist Outlook* 63. Further contributions are invited.

THE *SOCIALIST Outlook* report on the first UNISON Conference cannot be allowed to slip by without further comment, as it totally fails to deal with the structural issues in the new union which were bubbling away below the surface down in Bournemouth.

Of course it was a setback that the strategy for fighting the pay freeze through national action was defeated.

I also agree that it was a victory for the left to get the key motions on defence of the NHS through the conference and probably an even bigger victory to get the motion on Guy's Hospital both discussed and passed.

However, the reporting of the debate on the Affiliated Political Fund is miles wide of the mark. If anyone was being divisive over this issue it was the ex-NALGO CP hacks who were determined to get it on the agenda.

Ex-COHSSE and NUPE members are proud of their tradition of affiliation to the Labour Party and were rightly pissed off at the prospect of being elbowed aside by former NALGO members who have never paid into Labour funds.

The issue did become divi-

sive because many ex-COHSSE and NUPE activists saw it almost as a last stand for the working class traditions that they brought into the new Union. If you don't believe me then ask yourself why there were only 200 ex-COHSSE delegates at the Conference when there were 600 at the final COHSSE bash last year.

The rest have voted with their feet because they feel they've been taken over and have no real stake in the new organisation.

I know that it's trendy to say that we shouldn't look at UNISON in terms of the former partner unions. In truth, that's just shorthand for saying accept the takeover and don't object when the ex-NALGO culture, structure and agenda are rammed down your throats.

A classic example is the head office fiasco. Your correspondent seems to think that the defeat of calls for a new head office and centralisation at Mabledon Place is some sort of victory for the left.

Rubbish. What it means is that the old COHSSE and NUPE HQ's will be closed, staff sacked and the image of a takeover re-inforced once again.

If the left aren't prepared to accept and defend the cultural and class traditions that NUPE and COHSSE activists brought into the new union, we'll be left with nothing much more than a slightly larger white collar union than NALGO was before the merger.

The potential is there to achieve something much better than that; but the *Socialist Outlook* report on the first conference takes us nowhere.

What do readers think?

TRADE UNION NEWS

International Workers' Aid Conference

2 July 1994, 10.30-5.30pm,
Birmingham Trades Club,
Pershore Road, Birmingham

REPORTS: The Political Situation in Former Yugoslavia and the Role of IWA, International, British, Office & finance

DISCUSSION TOPICS: Campaigning in Trade Unions & direct links with Bosnian TUs, The role of the UN, Fundraising, Women's Appeal for Bosnia, Racism, fascism and ex-Yugoslavia, media and the war in Bosnia, Education Aid and student work

Open to all supporters of the campaign, plus delegates. Please submit resolutions by 24 June.

Bosnian unions greet IWA Convoy

Saveza Samostalnih Sindikata is the confederation of trade unions of Bosnia-Herzegovina. JENNY MEES of International Workers Aid spoke to SULEJMAN HRLE (president), IVAN BULE (member of the union presidency) and KEMAL MULALIC (International relations department) on May Day in Sarajevo.

J.M. What is the meaning of this May Day for Bosnian workers.

S.H. In March three of us got out of Sarajevo and visited France, Germany and Belgium. In Brussels we met officials of international union federations – and also you.

We are very glad you made it to Sarajevo. We appreciate it

more because you made it on your own and are a symbol of rank and file European trade unionists engaged in concrete aid for us.

I.B. In Brussels we proposed a demonstration in Sarajevo as an appeal to the world against aggression, for peace and for respect for labour. This demonstration is very important because we have had no support whatsoever till now. **J.M. What is the role of the trade unions now in Bosnia-Herzegovina?**

S.H. Our duty is fighting aggression. A lot of workers are on the frontlines. Those that stay behind are engaged in all sorts of tasks.

Life is very difficult, just getting enough to eat is a big task. But, you saw yourself, in factories still producing people work without pay in unspeakably difficult conditions.

Many have died in workplaces. Teachers, medical staff, social workers are essential for keeping society going. Nobody gets any payment and nobody demands it.

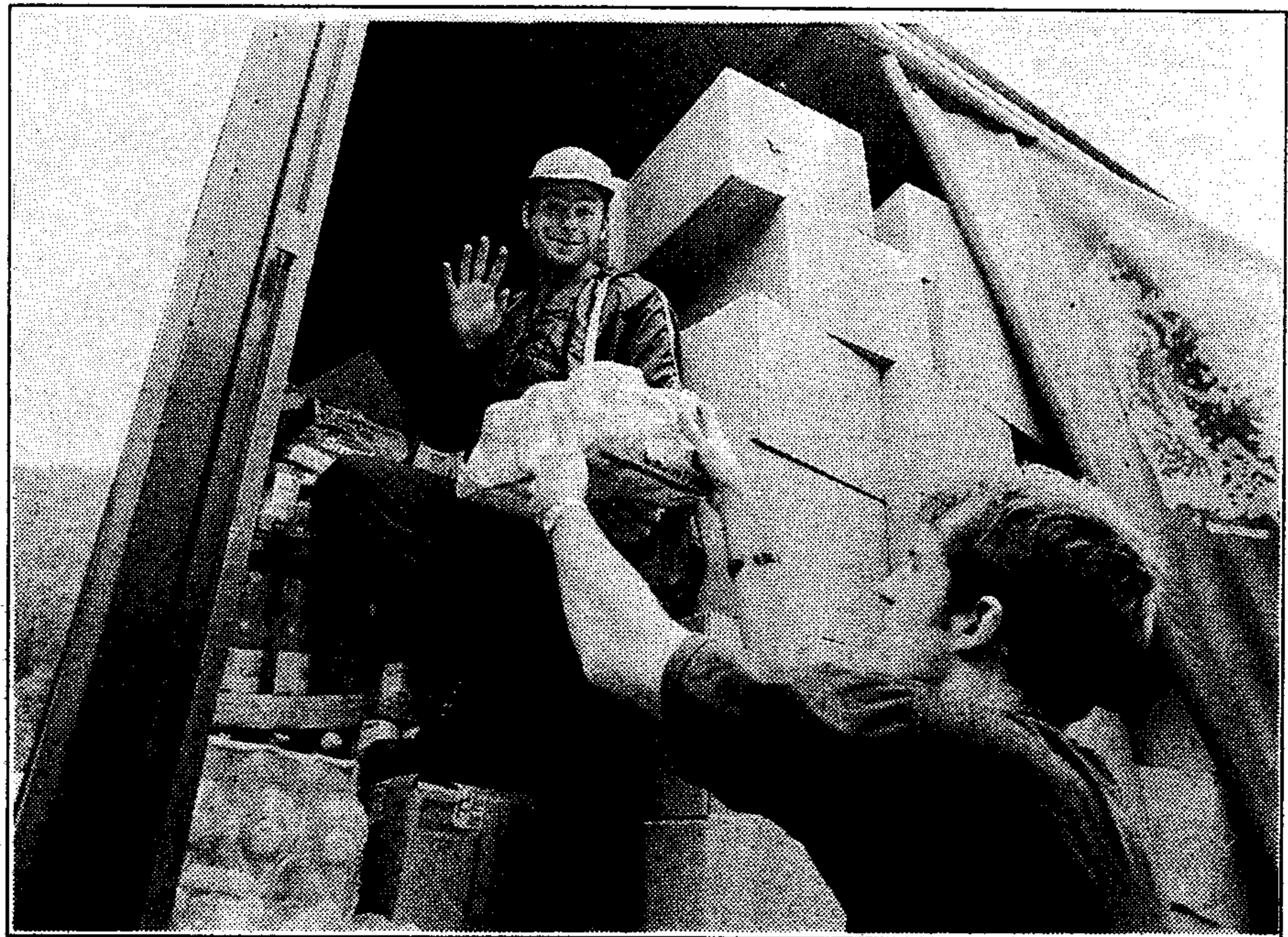
The union cannot ask for better conditions and payment for them, that is impossible; we do have duties organising humanitarian aid for our membership. K.M.

For the immediate future our main task is rebuilding the social and economic infrastructure. 80 percent of industry and communications are destroyed! Agriculture is in a difficult situation; we have no resources, no seeds. Afterwards our task will be, like yours, defending rights and living conditions of workers.

J.M. Have European unions been active enough providing aid and solidarity?

S.H. No. We got good wishes and nice words but no real help. We need resources for our industry to get going again: we have no spare parts, no raw materials, no fuel.

K.M. In Brussels we proposed every member of the



Supplies brought to Tuzla by the IWA convoys have been essential

international union federations give 1 Deutschmark for a BiH trade union fund? Do you think this is possible?

J.M. If the leadership organises a broad campaign to explain it to the members it can work. It would be a real act of solidarity. But it is important the members have a say in how funds are spent, and can also engage in direct links with Bosnian unions.

S.M. I agree. Please understand we don't want to be dependent on aid, we really dislike it, but we have no

choice.

We can't afford to be so proud as to say 'we will do it all on our own' because we have nothing, not even food and clothing. Here in Sarajevo everybody would have died without UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations.

But now it is possible to start anew, there is the peace with Croatian forces and the building of a federation with Croatia. We have great hopes.

I.B. We thank you. It is enough what you have already done. We know how difficult it is to organise help. Just to come here, to take this May Day so seriously, is important for us.

Oxford's model resolution on Bosnia

We reprint here the text of a resolution on Bosnia passed by Oxford East CLP, and urge anyone who can to put similar resolutions to their Labour party branches.

"This GC notes:

1. The ongoing Bosnian resistance and its multi-ethnic character
2. The effect of the arms embargo in depriving the Bosnian resistance of the ability to fight back
3. The aim of the UN and Western states involved to do a deal with Serb leader Milosevic which would result in a carve-up of Bosnia, based on ethnic cleansing and so-called ethnic purity
4. The convoy, launched by

the Timex strikers and organised by International Workers Aid, which succeeded in breaking the siege of Tuzla last November.

This GC asserts Bosnia's right to exist as a multi-ethnic state and opposes any plan to break it up.

The defeat of the Bosnian resistance would strengthen reaction, in particular Greater Serbian chauvinism, against the Albanians in Kosovo and other national groupings.

This GC believes that further involvement of foreign troops or NATO airstrikes, offer no real solution to Bosnia and no solution to the peoples of the Balkans.

This GC therefore supports the multi-ethnic Bosnian resistance and agrees to:

1. Support the efforts of International Workers Aid in sending other convoys to Tuzla and in building links with trade unions in former Yugoslavia
2. Send a copy of this resolution to the Shadow Cabinet."

Bosnia makes mark on French elections

The standing of candidates in France under the banner of 'Europe begins at Sarajevo' has opened up debate – including within the 'Sarajevo' list itself. Bernard Henri-Levy, organiser of 'Europe begins at Sarajevo' announced the withdrawal of candidates, because they were likely to win a few seats! A minority appears to be continuing the electoral campaign. CATHERINE SAMARY of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR, French section of the Fourth International) gives her personal view. (The article was an immediate reaction to the debate around the list and written before recent developments).



Catherine Samary

THE INITIATIVE should be judged on its merits. It is not only legitimate but useful to introduce a debate on the stakes in Bosnia into the European elections.

Of course there is no 'class line' and the organisers want to appeal to all political parties: supporters are as much on the right as on the left. But whose fault is it if rejection of the ethnic carve-up of Bosnia doesn't mobilise the whole left?

Can we complain about 'right wing' discourse when they support the right of the victims of ethnic cleansing to defend themselves?

Political pressures on the Bosnians to give up the fight and accept the plan for ethnic division reveal cynicism or myopia.

Cynicism that anticipates es-

tablishing 'order' through a Milosevic-Tudjman alliance, legitimising ethnic cleansing in all states involved.

Cynicism that presents those Bosnians resisting such policies as being responsible for the war. Cynicism that justifies violence and massive displacements of people – whilst restricting the right to asylum.

Short-sighted because 'plans for ethnic division' are, and will be, a source of permanent war. Short-sighted because the breaking-up of Bosnia will signify the same fate for its neighbours.

This is what we have in common with supporters of the 'Sarajevo list'. But we don't believe UN recognition of Bosnia means the UN can save multi-ethnic Bosnia.

We don't think lifting the arms embargo should only be demanded 'if the UN doesn't carry out its mandates'. Nor does support for the Bosnian resistance – and its right to have arms – imply uncritical support for the policies of Izetbegovic.

Multi-ethnic Bosnia can only be preserved by agreement amongst all its communities. This requires:

- 1) Punishment of war crimes on the basis of factual evidence.
- 2) Equality between the peoples, their right to self-determination and guarantees against repression of minorities.

BOSNIA CONVOY

40,000 in Paris greet nationwide march French unemployment protest gives lead to Europe

By Martin Stewart

ON MAY 28 over 40,000 assembled at the Bastille to meet the national demonstration of 500 against unemployment organised by committees of AC! (Act together against unemployment!) in cities, towns and villages throughout France.

AC!, formed last October, was a response of the workers and unemployed to refuse to accept the rising tide of unemployment which has engulfed France.

Its aim is none other than a global solution to the problem of unemployment and social marginalisation: their abolition through a cut in the working week and requisition of empty houses for the homeless.

Co-organised by the major organisations of the trade unions and the unemployed it now has over 200 groups organised across France.

Such a reception and national mobilisation, organised in less than six months by an alliance of the unemployed, trade unionists and activists, shows the depth of the social crisis that is affecting both the unemployed and workers.

The march has catalysed a widespread recognition of the urgency to act against unemployment and has helped to encourage a debate about how such a campaign should be taken forward.

The trade unions have emphasized the struggle against job losses and redundancies whilst the unemployed have pointed to the need for emergency measures such as a massive cut in the working week.

This discussion has been both difficult and useful. As the demonstration passed through towns on the routes of the march the dialogue has developed and the agreement of the need for common objectives to fight for has come to the fore. Both the trade unions and the unemployed organisations have recognised in action that the united front on the issue of unemployment has been a valuable gain. There are lessons here for all of us.

Success always breeds self confidence and the organisations of the unemployed, the MNCP (National Movement of the Unemployed and Marginalised) and UNAC (National Union of Unemployed Associations) have established a timetable for the organisation of conferences of the unem-



ployed and the marginalised for September 30 and October 1 where they will debate how to take the campaign forward.

AC! itself is now debating its future role. Two themes have emerged so far. First: to continue to encourage discussions and common projects between the organisations of the unemployed, farm workers, students and the unemployed.

Attached to such a development it is hoped to develop local "solidarity houses" - places where common between workers and the unemployed can be organised.

Thus AC! will be able to push forward the debate at both a local and national level. Second: that the debate on global solutions does not simply become a party political issue. It

has to be based on the campaigns of workers, the young and the unemployed.

The AC! initiative has given a lead to all the workers and unemployed across Europe. Nobody has to accept the Europe of the bosses and the multinationals.

The social crisis that affects France is a social crisis that affects the whole of Europe.

Such a crisis can lead to a continental alliance between

the working class and the unemployed. Such an alliance is imminent in the failure of the west European bourgeois order and its inability to deliver anything to the workers and unemployed in the East bar poverty and Fortress European Union. France also shows that the organised intervention by marxists, such as that of the Fourth International in France, can enable such an alliance to reach its full potential.

In BRIEF

most important export market and key trading partner: American multinationals want to retain the front place in the race to exploit the opportunities of this vast market and pool of cheap labour.

Having faced down Clinton's empty threats of sanctions, the Chinese bureaucracy turned their attention to a massive police clampdown in Beijing, with roadblocks and identity checks in force around the University and Tiananmen Square itself, to ensure there were no echoes of the events of 1989.

Unfair shares

FIGURES from the United Nations Development Report show that the world's poorest 20 percent of population now share just 1.4 percent of global income. By contrast the richest 20 percent has seen its share increase over the past ten years from 76.3 percent to 82.7 percent.

Nissan losses

THE GIANT Nissan Motors, Japan's second biggest car manufacturer, has recorded massive losses of £1.3 billion in the last financial year - double the previous year's losses.

By contrast Toyota remained the car in front, notching up profits of £1 billion.

Bloody but unbowed

CHINESE bureaucrats' celebrations over US President Clinton's decision to renew China's Most Favoured Nation trading privileges overlapped neatly with the fifth anniversary of the bloody Beijing Massacre.

Dropping the pretence of holding out for an end to human rights abuses in China, Clinton sought to hide behind the powerful US business lobby, which had claimed that disruption of trade could cost thousands of US jobs.

In fact China runs a massive £23 billion trade surplus with the USA: the business lobby are looking not to immediate profits but to the longer term strategic issue of the restoration of capitalism in China, which is being carried out under the control of the same Stalinists whose tanks crushed the democratic revolt of students and workers in Tiananmen Square.

Already the US is China's

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Open second front against Major and Blair

Unions must defend welfare rights

By Chris Brooks

FACED WITH the Tory onslaught on the welfare state and the continued ascendancy of the new realists in the Labour Party, the left doesn't just face a crossroads. It faces *two* decisive choices.

● Firstly, is it possible to accept that the labour movement be silent about the need to forge a labour movement alliance to defend and extend welfare rights?

Key to office

Such a campaign - for full employment, for real jobs not 'Citizen's Service' stop-gaps, for a restored NHS, for decent pensions and more - can be Labour's key to office and the labour movement's most effective means of self defence?

● Secondly, is it possible to ignore the need to regenerate a united current in the labour movement that will defend the movement's historic principles against any attempt at pacts, bipartisanship or coalition?

Poverty is a central fact of life in Britain today.

According to the *British Medical Journal*, death rates amongst the poorest are as high as those of the 1950s. Amongst the under-20s, unemployment runs at over 20, double that of older workers.

Over 68,000 16 and 17-year olds have no income at all. Living standards for Britain's poorest are back to the levels of thirty years ago.

Minimum wage

Consider how burning the need is for a minimum wage. Transport union leader Bill Morris says that a £4-a-hour minimum is essential (at least!). John Prescott - the 'left' of Labour's leadership - says there is no need to put a figure on it!

The GMB's John Edmonds, has spelt out Labour's need for a "coherent set of values", like full employment.

But the Party leadership won't touch it with a ten-foot pole because it means committing themselves to promises on

spending which may alienate their would-be friends in the City!

The Labour leadership can see that the economic situation in Europe is such that we can't maintain the established welfare rights without cutting the profits of big business. Labour's current leaders just won't call for it. The bosses won't give it away.

Edmonds and Morris are right to demand concrete proposals: but they must be forced to turn their words into action.

They must put the resources of their unions behind campaigns against these Tory attacks and for the Labour Party to adopt an economic policy which breaks the economic consensus and defends and extends the welfare state. There is a wide current of opinion in the labour movement that can be united in advocating real jobs, social welfare rights and real social justice.

Europe

The remarkable success of the 'Act together against Unemployment!' campaign in France (AC!) shows how it is possible for the rank and file of the trade union movement to mount such a campaign.

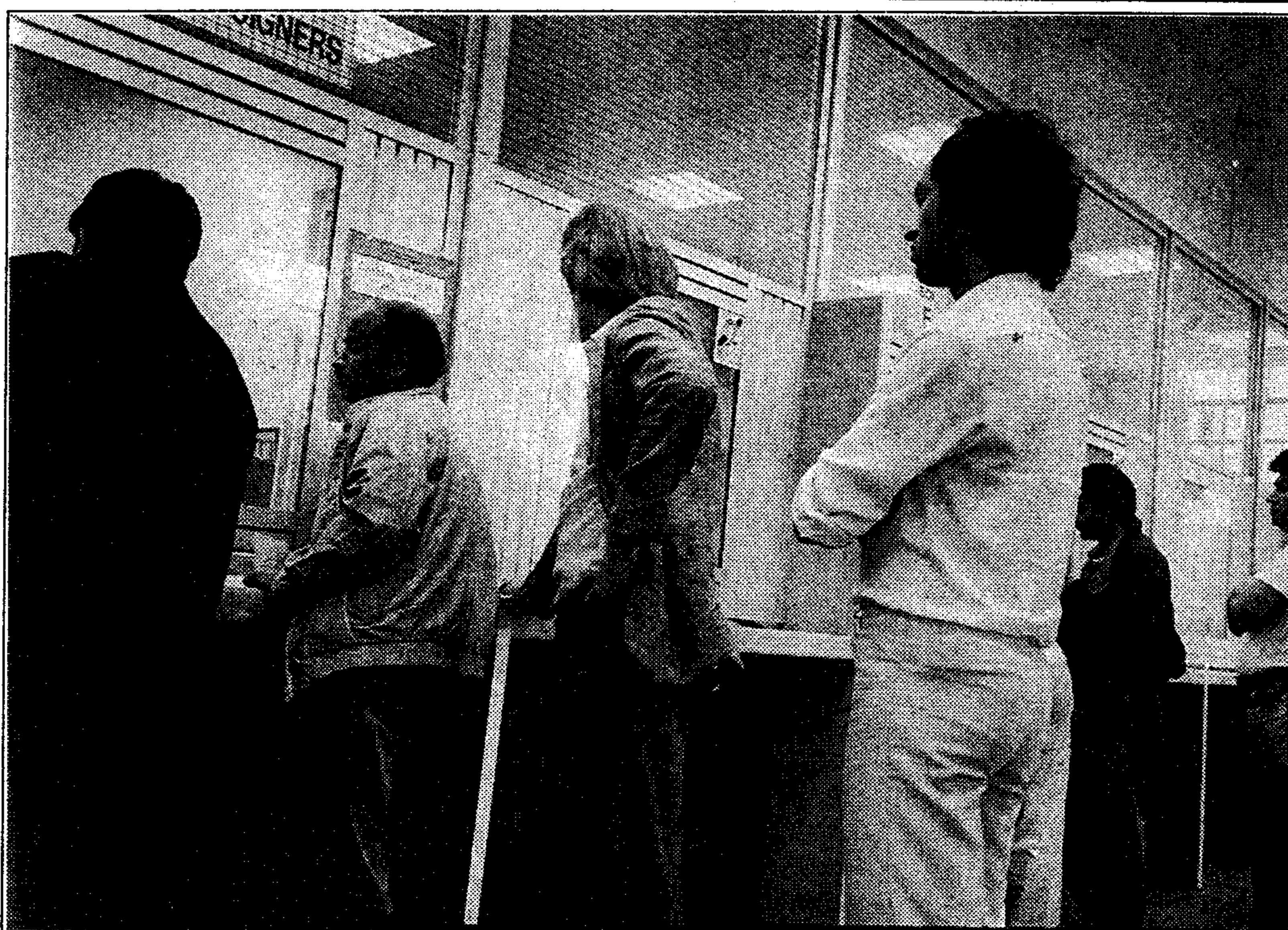
We need to build up local and national initiatives - defending health services and welfare rights, against cuts in local government services and the voluntary sector, against privatisation and for the building of new homes and the creation of real jobs with trade union rates of pay.

We need a broadly-based conference of the labour movement and users of the welfare state to build up a national movement.

The resources and the experience of the whole labour movement can start to forge a broad movement involving trade unionists, young people, single mothers, pensioners, the unemployed and other users of the welfare state.

Trades Councils and union regions need to be organising for marches and working conferences on the issues of welfare rights and full employment.

It's too important a fight to be left to Labour politicians.



As queues of those in poverty grow longer, more radical policies are vital

Major outburst begs for challenge

By Jerry Curran

IT WAS NO surprise to see a desperate John Major, his party languishing in third place in national opinion polls and facing annihilation in the Euro-elections, attempt to whip up a populist reactionary backlash against beggars.

His government has of course done more to create beggars than any other since the 1930s.

Behind the massaged official figures, realistic estimates suggest unemployment at four to five million. Whole communities have been devastated and lives wrecked by the closure of basic industries.

Social security benefits have been slashed: special needs payments have been axed, and partially replaced by loans from the cash-limited Social Fund.

Over 140,000 households, and countless more individuals are homeless, while council housing has ground to a halt as a result of Tory restrictions on spending. 20 hostels for the homeless face closure as the Tories axe their grants.

In 1988 Major himself cut off social security payments to 16 and 17 year olds - to save £140m from the DSS budget.

Thatcherite policies have widened the gulf between the rich and poor, and massively ex-



Pregnant and penniless

panded the numbers living in poverty: the bottom 20 percent of the population are actually worse off now than in 1979, while the richest 10 percent have gained an average £13,900 per year.

Some of the poorest and most desperate have travelled to the big cities to beg rather than languish in equal poverty and squalor out of sight.

£1,000 fine

Major's threat to use the law against beggars is especially ironic. Possible penalties

against convicted offenders include fines of up to £1,000: how on earth could they be made to pay?

Alternatively, jails could be further extended or overcrowded to accommodate and feed those currently with no roof over their heads: but this would result in Major's government spending through the Home Office some of the millions it has slashed from social security.

The screw is tightening, and the growing harassment of the long-term unemployed through 'restart' schemes. When Kenneth Clarke's new 'Jobseeker Allowance' replaces unemployment benefit in 1996, dole payments to hundreds of thousands of jobless aged below 25 will be cut by 20 percent - axing up to £10 per week.

But few workers know of these attacks, and fewer still were alerted to the threat to benefits and services that have now already been axed. Public sector and civil service unions have failed to build broad-based campaigns to defend these crucial components of the welfare state.

They should now be sounding the alarm: a nationwide campaign is needed that will not only expose the Tory plans, but demand Labour break from its timid economic consensus and commit itself to restore and expand the welfare state.

Socialism
Employment

PULL-OUT SPECIAL

Labour Left and the leadership election:

Let's make a real fight out of it!



By Pete Firmin

NO-ONE can pretend the election for Labour leader takes place under good conditions for the left. Constituency parties are frail, and within them the left is weaker than for a long time.

The One Member One Vote system, compounded by the appallingly short time-table, means discussion will be dominated by the media beauty contest with the real issues barely getting a look-in.

Nomination is entirely in the hands of the MPs, 34 of whom have to back a candidate for them to even get on the ballot paper, regardless of the level of support they may have in the party and unions.

Coronation

Moreover, with Brown's withdrawal and rumours of Cook and Cunningham likely to do the same, the pressure is on for all other candidates to withdraw in favour of Blair and for the Party to have a coronation in place of an election. With this threat CLP activists should be campaigning for their MP to support a contest with a left wing candidate.

But the election is an opportunity the left cannot afford to miss. It gives the chance to put forward alternative policies on the issues facing the movement, both internally and externally, to those on offer from all the front bench candidates.

Literature can be circulated to all members of the party and affiliated unions, and numerous debates will take place around the country at which candidates (or their representative) could speak. Yet some on the left are at best reluctant, if not downright opposed, to putting forward a candidate. The Socialist Campaign Group of MPs itself needs to recognise that failing to stand makes them invisible and

Which one is cuddling up to the right wing? Neither offers a left policy

to stand.

He is mistrusted by much of the left but at least he recognises the political significance of this election.

Those who don't like him have ducked out of arguing for the Campaign Group to come up with an alternative candidate, but instead used it as part of the reasoning for not standing at all.

gue for a campaign around policies, but without a candidate, arguing that support would be so low as to be damaging.

But a campaign without a candidate would not get a hearing. When Livingstone and Grant stood after Kinnoch and Hattersley resigned, the media switched off completely when they failed to get sufficient nominations (then nearly twice as many).

They failed because of the lack of a collective campaign by the SCG of MPs. The left should have learnt that with a collective campaign it would be possible to achieve the 34 nominations.

Catastrophe

Briefing also argue victory for Blair would be such a catastrophe that the left has to throw its weight behind a candidate with a chance of winning from the start. Leaving aside whether such a candidate exists, this view underplays the need for a fightback against whoever wins.

Socialist Organiser takes a similar view, while openly displaying its hatred of Livingstone (more latent among *Briefing* supporters).

It argues for committees in the unions to organise around alternative policies, a fine sounding idea, which needs taking up by the left, but which is severely restricted in the context of the election.

The time-table means that these would hardly get established before the election is

over, and without a candidate supporting them, those policies would have little purchase.

Arguing that a Left candidate is a non-starter, it throws its support behind Prescott as the candidate to back, because of his support in the unions.

If there is a need to unite around an alternative to Blair, the exhaustive ballot allows for this without detracting from a left campaign, but *Briefing* and *Socialist Organiser* think it necessary to plump for (a poor) second best from the start. Their problem is that they cannot agree on who this should be.

Many *Briefing* supporters see Margaret Beckett as their champion, because of the 'coded signals' she gave over the trade union link debate, her position against proportional representation and support for women's rights in the party.

Darling

Meanwhile, *Socialist Organiser* argues Prescott, the 'darling of the union's, has the best chance of defeating Blair.

Of course, the candidates may resolve their dilemma for them, but this confusion is a reflection of the fact that neither offers a serious alternative.

Of course, they might make some left sounding noises during the campaign, but if the Left rolls over and dies, they will take that as an indication of its inability to actually fight for what it wants.



would contribute to a further decline and weakening of the left.

Doubts

Their doubts about gaining sufficient nominations, while real, do not take account of the fact that if the 28 members of the group collectively campaigned, it should not be beyond their abilities to convince 6 more.

Much of the debate is coloured by the fact that it is known Ken Livingstone is the only Campaign Group member likely

The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and Socialist Action share *Socialist Outlook's* view that it is necessary for the Campaign Group to collectively decide on a candidate and campaign for them.

A London Labour Left meeting on Thursday May 26 unanimously endorsed a Socialist Campaign Group member standing as a candidate.

Leading supporters of *Labour Briefing* are in effect reinforcing the weakness of the Campaign Group MPs. They ar-

PULL-OUT SPECIAL

Build up the Network!



Now is the time to build an even bigger Network.

By Pete Firmin

The June 11 Socialist Campaign Group Supporters' Network conference on *Socialism and Full Employment* indicates well the extent to which the Labour Left is getting organised.

While the Network has existed for about two years, progress in getting it established has been slow in an unfavourable climate where the Left is weak and divided, even on the need for such an organisation. However, it does now organise several hundred support-

ers around the country, with many local campaign groups, has the backing of the Campaign Group of MPs, circulates a newsletter to supporters and produces a daily bulletin at Party conference.

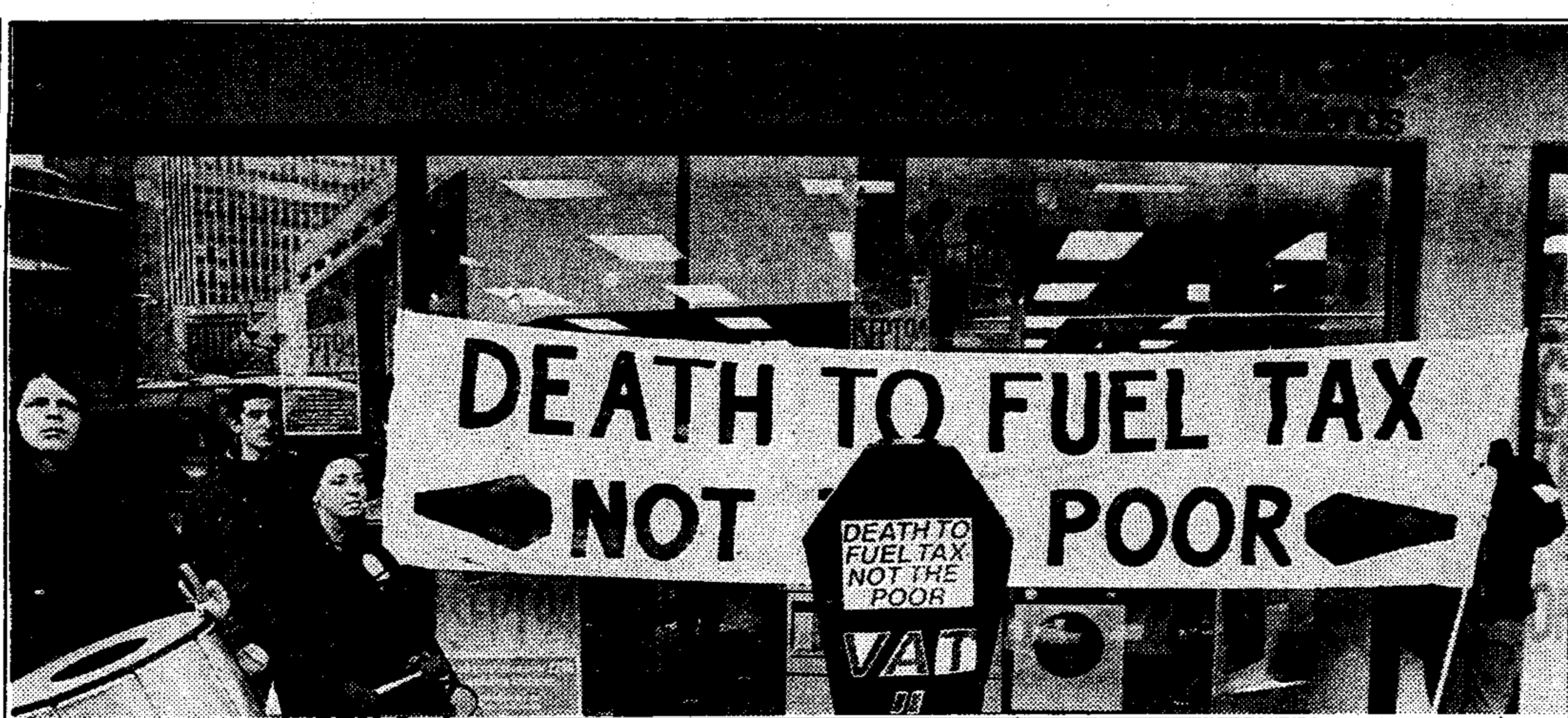
While no great sea-changes in the fortunes of the Labour Left can be expected in the immediate future, depending much more on an upsurge in the class struggle, this does not mean it should mark time until this happens.

Important links can be built with the left in the unions and with local campaigns. Only such an approach, oriented to

the fight both inside and outside the party has a chance of appearing relevant to those sections of the working class wanting to fightback both against the offensive and the 'new realists' and attracting new forces to the party.

The conference should be the starting point for a new drive to build local campaign groups and make the left a real force again.

One of the most important ways in which the conference could do this is by declaring its support for a Campaign Group candidate in the leadership election.



The free market generates unemployment side by side with poverty

Full employment: what they say

Socialism

Employment

FULL EMPLOYMENT must become a central plank of Labour's economic policy in the run up to the next General Election.

A list of wishes will not win Labour the general election, get to grips with the ravages of 15 years of Tory vandalism, or change the deregulated, increasingly flexible, de-unionised, job market.

As Jeremy Corbyn said in *Socialist Outlook* last week:

'the problem is that we're not being offered an economic policy that is anything other than demand management within the economy. That isn't going to lead to full employment...It's the one issue which could win us a general election...But if we only half-heartedly put it and don't add the details of how we're going to achieve it, it will just be laughed at during the election campaign for being a cynical election manoeuvre.'

The forthcoming leadership contest allows us to see where the main protagonists and their backers stand. HELEN SHAW reports.

MEDIA darling TONY BLAIR believes full employment is a Labour goal, but 'no-one is suggesting that there is a quick fix; that you can wave a magic wand; that it's possible to get back to full employment overnight'.

He is sceptical about national solutions: 'International co-operation is replacing the possibility of any country going it alone'. He is opposed to the closed shop and in favour of restrictions on picketing and secondary industrial action.

MARGARET BECKETT believes in public spending 'as resources allow' and concentrates on 'supply side' labour market measures as the basis for economic policy. She wants 'a simpler, fairer, more logical tax and national insurance system' and a 'new social insurance scheme' to replace existing measures.

JOHN PRESCOTT says in his report to the Labour Party NEC in May 94, 'It took the courage of Labour government in 1945 to show Europe the road to economic and social prosperity based on full employment and social justice, and it is Labour, 50 years on, that has the vision to restore these twin principles to the national conscience.'

But Prescott has failed to outline how this can be achieved and cannot do so without breaking from the economic consensus on Labour's front bench - which he has consistently failed to do.

TUC leader John Monks 'passionately believe(s) full employment is desirable' and that, 'We shall only tackle the evil of unemployment if we act together - that is what Social Partnership is all about. I am laying down the challenge and asking people from every walk of life to join a great national coalition for full employment'.

Many of the proposals including a shorter working week, a minimum wage, an end to rabid privatisation are worth fighting for: but what is missing is how these changes would be achieved.

They all have the illusion that it is possible to temper and reform the excesses of global market. Blair in particular believes that a programme of education, training and co-operation between government, the unions and industry will eradicate poverty, social injustice and unemployment.

The fundamental flaw at the heart of all the solutions proffered is a failure to understand that all the gains made by the

working class in this country have been a result of struggle such as the miners fight for the nationalisation of the coal industry.

Furthermore the 1945 Labour government introduced the NHS in the face of massive resistance from the Tory party and the bosses. But now it appears that Labour does not even have a strategy for defending the

gains made with the creation of the welfare state.

Blair dismisses the idea of Labour having a radical domestic agenda to redistribute wealth and create full employment and prefers to substitute the legal framework of the European social chapter as a mechanism to defend workers rights.

The TUC's position was made clear by Monks speech to the RSA on May 26. He vividly outlined the human misery of continued unemployment and lack of job security. In the 50 years since Beveridge's famous report 'Full Employment in a Free Society' he recognised, like Prescott, that little lasting progress has been made and society is still plagued by the five evils of misery, want, disease, idleness and squalor.

Despite acknowledging the change in the composition of the workforce (more women and part-time workers) and spelling out some of the technological and structural changes in the economy his speech was short on solutions to the global problem of rising unemployment.

The emphasis was on training, creating a flexible and more

highly skilled workforce - selling flexibility as a method to give trade union members 'more in control of their lives' to have the time to study, care for children, parents or the long term sick!

These views are common currency on Labour's front bench.

The problem is that in reality 'flexibility' is central to the Tory offensive and has meant more work for no more money, the proliferation of low-paid casualised jobs, derecognition of unions, no strike agreements and constant fear of unemployment.

Labour must grapple with the complexities of the global market, the changes in the workforce, the devastation of the last 15 years but fundamentally it must present itself as the party of the people, fighting for the interests of ordinary workers, the unemployed, pensioners, women and young people.

It must bring forward bold policies to tax the rich, cut defence spending and really begin a process which gives people the opportunity to work.

We say: the left should press for fighting policies on jobs

- **STOP THE ROT!** For strike action, occupations and mass action to prevent any more redundancies and closures.
- **TAX THE RICH!** The Exchequer has been emptied by Tory tax handouts of £25 billion since 1989. Any serious Labour programme for jobs must win backing from workers by promising bold action against those who have cashed in on mass misery.
- **INCREASE BENEFITS,** pensions and grants to restore cuts imposed by 15 years of Thatcherism, and lift millions of families out of poverty.
- **A PROGRAMME of PUBLIC WORKS** to create new jobs on trade union rates of pay, providing improved housing, health, education and infrastructure projects. Unblock the cash frozen in councils' coffers, increase public spending.
- **OPEN THE BOOKS** of the giant firms announcing increased profits as they dump thousands on dole queues. Demand their nationalisation, under workers' management.
- **SHORTER WORKING week!** Demand an immediate cut to 35 hours with no loss of pay, and cut further to divide the work available -- work sharing on full pay.
- **NATIONALISE** the banks, building societies, finance houses and top monopolies. For a planned economy under workers' control.

PULL-OUT SPECIAL

French anti-racist leader speaks out

Recession breed CHOMEURS racism SALARIES UNITE CONTRE LES LICENCIEMENTS SALARIES



ON MARCH 19 the TUC organised a demonstration in East London against racism and fascism.

In their publicity leaflets they argued that the fascists feed off the despair created by unemployment and poor social conditions. Unfortunately the TUC does nothing to actually defend jobs, wages and living standards.

However, they are right to draw attention to the links between racism and unemployment. The labour movement should learn from the French experience in campaigning for full employment and in defence of the welfare state.

The major anti-racist organisations (SOS-Racisme, FASTI and MRAP) have all been actively supporting the March for Jobs organised by *Agir Ensemble contre le Chomage! (ACI)*. ACI, in turn, has understood the need to combat racism.

The need to link the fight against racism with the fight against unemployment is vital. Here we give the views of MOULOUD AOUNIT, General Secretary MRAP.

WHY has MRAP associated itself with the march organised by ACI? Why has an anti-racist organisation got



involved in mobilisations against marginalisation?

Firstly, because of the demand for one of the most fundamental human rights: the right to work. It is an integral part of the totality of human rights, the same as the right to travel or the

right to live with one's family.

It is a concern for everyone living on French soil, whatever their country of origin. It is a condition for citizenship and the right of everyone to live in dignity.

We have to recognise that the plague of unemployment con-

tinues to grow. Declaring redundancies has become a common method of managing factories. Making people's lives precarious has become a method of government.

The calling into question of the right to work opens up a chain of attacks on other fundamental rights, such as the right to housing, to education and to health.

Exclusion from such rights affects the whole of society. Racism increases this marginalisation of the most deprived, the poorest and especially foreigners. There is a link between racism and exclusion. Exclusion, marginalisation and precarious existence produce and legitimate racism.

Faced with its inability to provide concrete answers to social problems, of which employment is amongst the most important, the government throws immigration into the field of public opinion.

They have put in place a legal arsenal - the Nationality Code, identity controls, conditions on entry and remaining in the country - which challenges fundamental liberties such as the right to live with one's family, the right of asylum, the right of residence, the right of nationality, the right of free movement.

The suspicion and arbitrariness encompassed in these laws make every immigrant into an intruder, a smuggler, a criminal, a delinquent.

By introducing legislation on

immigration as one of its first acts the government has forged the idea amongst a fragmented public opinion that the number one problem of our society is not unemployment but immigration. It cultivates the logic of scape-goats and increases xenophobic sentiments.

Every reactionary social measure introduced by the government, and every mobilisation that has forced them to retreat, has been accompanied by attacks on the rights of immigrants.

Anti-racists must mobilise against the logic of 'too many' immigrants and counterpose a logic of 'not enough': not enough jobs, houses, spending on schools.

Racism represents a threat to everyone because it grows on the denial of the values of equality, justice, comradeship and solidarity.

Racism divides, offers no solutions and leads to a dead-end. It sets 'North' against 'South', worker against unemployed, immigrant against deprived.

More than ever anti-racists need to act together for an active citizenship based on real and living solidarity. We need to seek out the road to equality and a better life together.

This is the reason for the participation of MRAP in the mobilisation of ACI in its fight against this filthy scourge ravaging our society and putting in peril the future of democracy.

PULL-OUT SPECIAL

Cutting off arms to boost the NHS!

By Paul Walker

TAKE A RANDOM sample of labour movement activists and mention the phrase arms conversion and 99 out of 100 will think of Lucas Aerospace and the workers plan. The other one will mumble "swords into ploughshares".

The trouble with the current politics of arms conversion in the labour movement is that it is effectively a continuation of the defensive response that the Lucas Aerospace Plan was.

The idea of arms conversion, it is (and was) commonly thought, is to save the jobs of military workers who will be put on the dole if we decide to stop exporting mili-

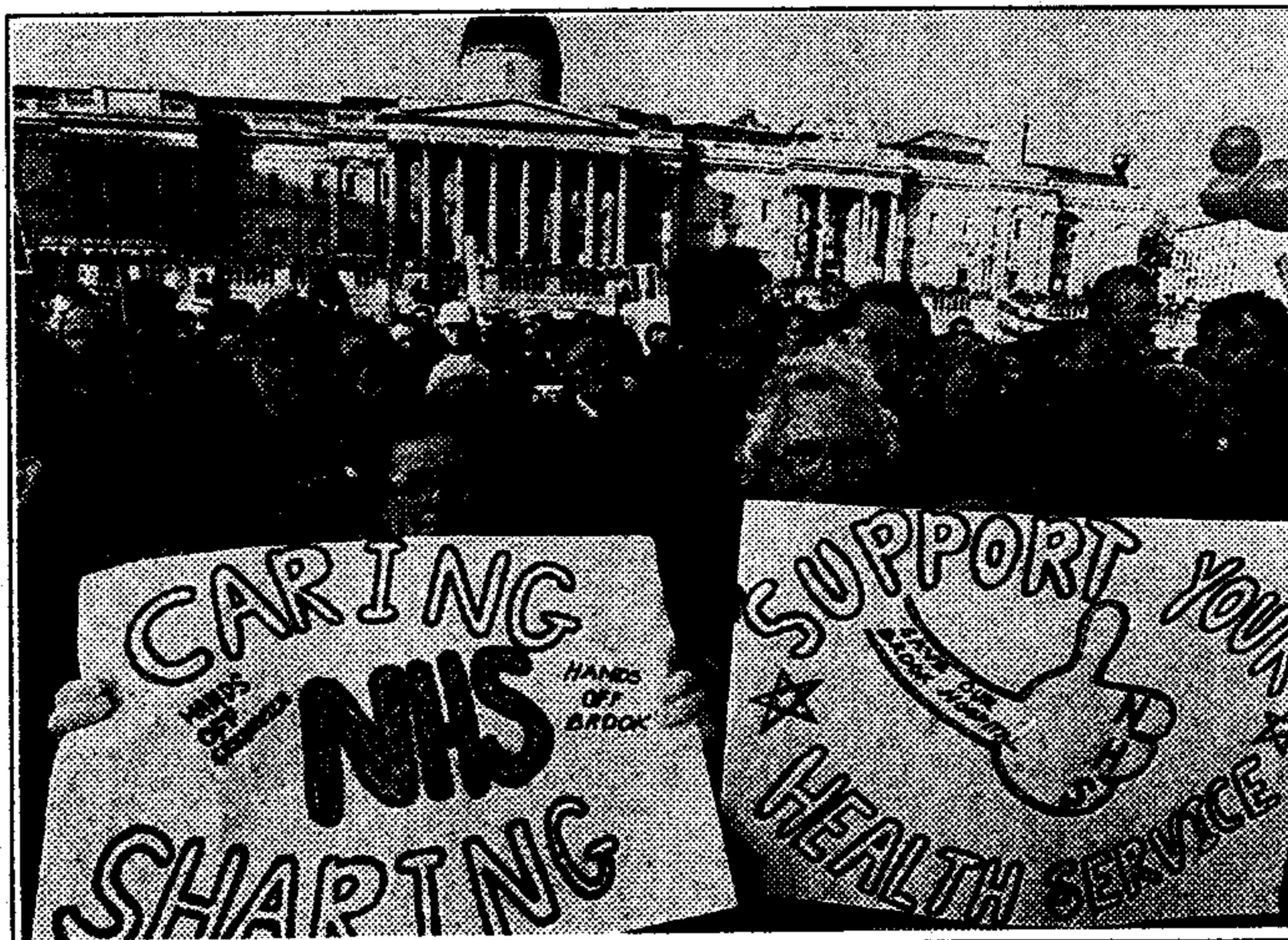
tary equipment to murderous regimes or cut domestic military expenditure.

This gets the argument fundamentally the wrong way round. It is not cutting military expenditure or ending arms exports that creates unemployment - it is arms expenditure and exports that create unemployment itself.

There is absolutely no need to be defensive about this. Military manufacture has massively high capital and R & D costs and much lower labour costs.

For every pound spent on military production you get fewer jobs than in normal civil manufacture. It is estimated that for every one military worker it would be possible to get two civil workers - that is an extra 150,000 jobs.

Those in the labour movement who support military



manufacture because of the employment implications are helping to keep this number of people on the dole.

This does not mean that all that has to be done is to stop spending money on tanks and start spending them on the NHS.

It is crucial that the skills

of military workers are not lost to the economy. What is required is a re-orientation of the UK manufacturing base away from military production and towards a strengthening of the civil manufacturing sector. This itself will make possible more social spending.

This does not mean that

every military factory will be converted to civil use. Some will have to close. But it does mean that the skills currently tied on military production will be put to socially useful purposes. More jobs will be created as a result and the working class as a whole will benefit.

Such a strategy can only be carried out though by a rigorously interventionist government which over-rides military and corporate interests and encourages the workers in military industry to use their skills to plan such a transformation with workers in other sectors of the economy.

This part of the Lucas Plan, worker planning and implementation, is crucial to any serious strategy of full employment and demilitarisation of the British economy.

BRITISH, American and French imperialist leaders are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the D-Day landings as we go to press, amid a fluttering of patriotic flags and platitudes about fighting for democracy.

But how did revolutionary socialists respond at the time to the challenge of a war waged by and between imperialist powers under the pretence of a war for democracy against fascism?

While the Communist Party Stalinists after 1941 followed the reformist Labour leaders in unstinting, strikebreaking support of the imperialist war effort, the Trotskyist movement fought against the odds to uphold a line of working class independence.

Here we reprint brief extracts and summaries from the varied literature summing up the Trotskyist analysis.

Leon Trotsky - Who is Guilty of Starting The Second World War? (Sept 5 1939)

"THE ATTEMPTS to picture the next war as a war between democracies and fascism were shattered against the real march of events. The present war, which its participants started before they signed the treaty of Versailles, grew out of imperialist contradictions. It was as inevitable as the crash of trains which are let loose one toward the other on the same track.

The chief antagonists on the European continent are Germany and France. In the struggle for hegemony in Europe and its colonial possessions, France attempted to keep Germany (not the fascist but the democratic one) in a condition of division and weakness. In this sense French imperialism was the midwife of German National Socialism.

On the contrary England, which was interested in breaking the European hegemony of France and its international pretensions, began soon after Versailles to support Berlin against Paris. The re-arming of Nazi Germany would have been impossible without the direct help of England.

Thus the masked but deep antagonisms between the democracies were a springboard for Hitler ...

Diplomatic machinations, juggling with the formula 'democracies versus Fascism', sophisms concerning responsibility, cannot make us forget that the struggle is going on between the imperialist slaveholders of different camps for a new division of the world. According to its ends and methods the present war is a different prolongation of the previous great war, only with much greater rottenness of the capitalist economy, and with much more terrible methods of destruction and extermination.

Consequently, I don't see the slightest reason for changing those principles in relation to the war which were elaborated between 1914 and 1917 by the best rep-

The class war in war time



representatives of the workers' movement under the leadership of Lenin. The present war has a reactionary character on both sides. Whichever camp is victorious, humanity will be thrown far behind.

The task of the authentic representatives of the working class and oppressed nations does not consist in helping one imperialist camp against the other, but in teaching the labouring masses of all countries to understand the reactionary meaning of the present war, to raise their own programme - the world socialist federation of nations - and to prepare themselves to replace the regime of robbery by the regime of general cooperation."

Trotsky's analysis was developed further by James P. Cannon of the American Socialist Workers Party at the time of the US entry to the war after Pearl Harbour in December 1941.

James P Cannon - A Statement on the U.S. entry into World War II December 22 1941

"THE MARXIST analysis which determined our attitude to the war up to December 8, 1941, continues to determine our attitude now. We were internationalists before December 8; we still are. We believe that the most fundamental bond of loyalty of all the workers of the world is the bond of international solidarity of the workers against their exploiters.

We cannot assume the slightest responsibility for this war. No imperialist regime can conduct a just war. We cannot support it for one moment.

We are the most irreconcilable enemies of the fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy and the military dictatorship of Japan. Our co-thinkers of the Fourth International in the Axis nations and the conquered countries are fighting and dying in the struggle to or-

ganize the coming revolutions against Hitler and Mussolini.

We are doing all in our power to speed those revolutions. But those ex-socialists, intellectuals, and labour leaders, who in the name of 'democracy' support the war of United States imperialism against its imperialist foes and rivals, far from aiding the German and Italian anti-fascists, only hamper their work and betray their struggle.

The Allied imperialists, as every German worker knows, aim to impose a second and worse Versailles; the fear of that is Hitler's greatest asset in keeping the masses in Germany in subjection. The fear of the foreign yoke holds back the development of the German revolution against Hitler."

Confronted with a war for which they refused to take responsibility, what was the attitude of the Trotskyists to conscription? Again the most detailed exposition of the position came in the writings of the American SWP, building on early discussions with Trotsky.

Trotsky, always a fierce opponent of pacifism, had argued strongly for class politics to be taken into the armed forces where the bulk of the working class would be found.

Leon Trotsky - American Problems August 1940.

"WE MUST try to separate the workers from the others by a programme of education, of workers' schools, of workers' officers, de-

"We cannot escape from militarisation, but inside the machine we can observe the class line,"

Leon Trótsky

voted to the welfare of the worker army, etc.

We cannot escape from militarisation but inside the machine we can observe the class line.

The American workers do not want to be conquered by Hitler, and to those who say 'Let us have a peace programme,' the worker will reply 'But Hitler does not have a peace programme'.

Therefore we say: We will defend the U.S. with a workers' army, with workers' officers, with a workers' government etc. If we are not pacifists, who wait for a better future, and if we are active revolutionists, our job is to penetrate into the whole military machine."

James P Cannon Military Policy of the Proletariat, Sept 1940.

"NOW, CONFRONTED with these facts of universal militarism and permanent war, that the biggest industry of all now is going to be war, the army and preparation of things for the army - confronted with these facts, what shall the revolutionary party do?

Shall we stand aside and simply say we don't agree with the war, it is not our affair? No, we can't do that.

We do not approve of this whole system of exploitation whereby private individuals take possession of the means of production and enslave the masses. We are against that, but as long as we are not strong enough to put an end to capitalist exploitation in the factories, we adapt ourselves to reality.

We don't abstain and go on individual strikes and separate ourselves from the working class. We go into the factories and try by working with the class to influence its development. We go with the workers and share all their experiences and try to influence them in a revolutionary direction.

The same logic applies to war. The great majority of the young generation will be dragged into the war. The great majority of these young workers will think at first that they are doing a good thing.

For a revolutionary party to stand by and say 'We can tolerate exploitation in the factories, but not military exploitation' - that is to be completely illogical.

To isolate ourselves from the masses of the proletariat which will be in the war is to lose all possibility to influence them....

We will join the war as long as the workers do. We will say frankly to the workers in the unions and shops: 'We would like to throw over this whole business of capitalist exploitation - military as well as industrial - right now. But as long as you are not ready for that logical solution we will join with you, fight by your side, try to protect the men from useless waste of lives.

All that we will do, but we retain one privilege - the right to express our opinion day in day out: That you must not trust the leadership of your enemy class."

■ Broadly similar policies were adopted by the British Trotskyists. Future articles in *Socialist Outlook* will look in more detail at the class struggle in war time.

OUR HISTORY

Bye-bye Banda!

By Bala Kumar

THERE ARE moments of joy in Africa and one of them was the ousting from power of the Malawian dictator Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

In the keenly contested multi-party elections for the Presidency and the legislature, the opposition United Democratic Front led by Bakili Muluzi emerged as the single largest party and has formed the government.

Banda and his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) have dominated Malawi for thirty years. He was a rare friend of the Pretoria regime and an ally of imperialism in the region. The grateful South African government built Banda a new capital city in Lilongwe and the West were generous donors of aid.

But the realities of post Cold War Africa mean that Western governments have little use for their old pawns and stooges.

The pro-democracy movement took off in May 1992 following a strike of 3,000 workers at a textile factory in support of an end to one party rule.

The West reacted by turning off the aid pipeline which had supported the MCP dictatorship. They have nothing to lose.

Unlike in past decades there aren't any radical movements with an anti-capitalist orientation promising economic change.

The *Financial Times* commented that all three main parties were committed to 'export led growth within a liberalised economy'. It reassured its readers that even Chakufwa Chihana nominee of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) and a veteran trade unionist had been dampening the hopes of striking workers pressing for better wages.

Ethnic split

In the event the elections repeated another feature of the multi-party experience which is the split in votes on ethnic/regional lines.

The north supported Chihana and Aford, returning 36 of their candidates; the centre supported Banda and the MCP electing 65 of their candidates and the south supported Muluzi and UDF, giving them 84 representatives in the legislature. In two constituencies fresh elections will be held because of voter irregularities.

The numerical predominance of the south assured Muluzi of a victory, though the strong showing of the MCP surprised many.

Banda had all the advantages

of an incumbent president including access to state broadcasting and administrative machinery. The Malawi Congress Party ran a campaign cautioning against their removal and citing Rwanda as an example of the dangers of change.

The opposition ran their campaign precisely on the theme that 'It is Time for Change'. But how much change in personalities has there been?

Aford struck a chord during its campaign by labelling the UDF as a party of MCP exiles. The new President used to be a senior member of the Banda regime and was implicated in embezzlement and theft during his period in office. He later fell out with Banda and the MCP strongman John Tembo.

In reality the new guard of politicians is often the old guard in democratic clothes. Muluzi's vice-President, Justin Malewezi, was a former secretary of Banda.



Muluzi was backed by the urban capitalist class and especially its Asian component who have been frustrated by the monopoly position that two transnational corporations, Lonhro and Lever Brothers enjoy in the mainly agricultural economy.

Conglomerate

One conglomerate, Press Holdings, is indirectly controlled by Banda and his lover Mama Kadzmirira. It has holdings in agri-business, manufacturing and financial services. Its weight in the economy is reflected in the fact that it alone accounts for 20% of the Gross Domestic Product of Malawi.

International lending institutions will be pressing the new government to break up Press

Holdings and privatise it more widely. Of course, those capitalists who were sidelined by the former regime anticipate rich pickings.

One factor that all political parties will have to consider is the Army. It was seen as independent of the MCP unlike the police. However in December 1993 the Army and the paramilitary Malawi Youth Pioneers clashed when the latter was ordered to disarm.

The MYP were thugs in the service of the Banda regime and regularly terrorised people. Fifty people died in the brief period of fighting but subsequently the election period was not disrupted by large-scale violence. If the Army sees itself as custodian of the democratic process it could intervene if

there was any back-slide.

It would be ludicrous to say that nothing has or will change from before these elections. Bakili Muluzi has ordered the closure of three prisons where political prisoners were held and tortured. He has ordered the release of all political prisoners and the commutation of all death sentences to life imprisonment.

Malawians have removed one party and replaced it with another. Unfortunately both are parties of the landed and the rich. Still it is a marvellous thing to have the vote as any black South African will testify.

In future too, if anyone knocks at an ungodly hour it won't be the regime but Jehovah's Witnesses, whose sect was illegal until recently; and they may even be invited in.

Fundamentalists bid to break up Yemen

By Roland Rance

THE BREAK-UP of Yemen threatens the failure of the most serious attempt yet at overcoming the artificial borders imposed on the Arab world by colonialism.

Only last year Yemen, the poorest and most populous state in the Arabian peninsula, conducted the region's first multi-party elections, and the first in which women were allowed to vote.

The Republic of Yemen was formed in May 1990 by the unification of two very different states and regimes: to the North, the Islamic, conservative and tribal 'Yemen Arab Republic'; in the South, the left nationalist 'People's Democratic Republic of Yemen'.

Economic crisis had lent new urgency to the traditional calls for reunification. The North's Ali Abdullah Saleh became president, while the last surviving leftist leader of the South's National Liberation Front, Al Salim al-Beid, became Vice-President. The widely popular reunification was opposed by many leftists in the South and by Islamists in the North.

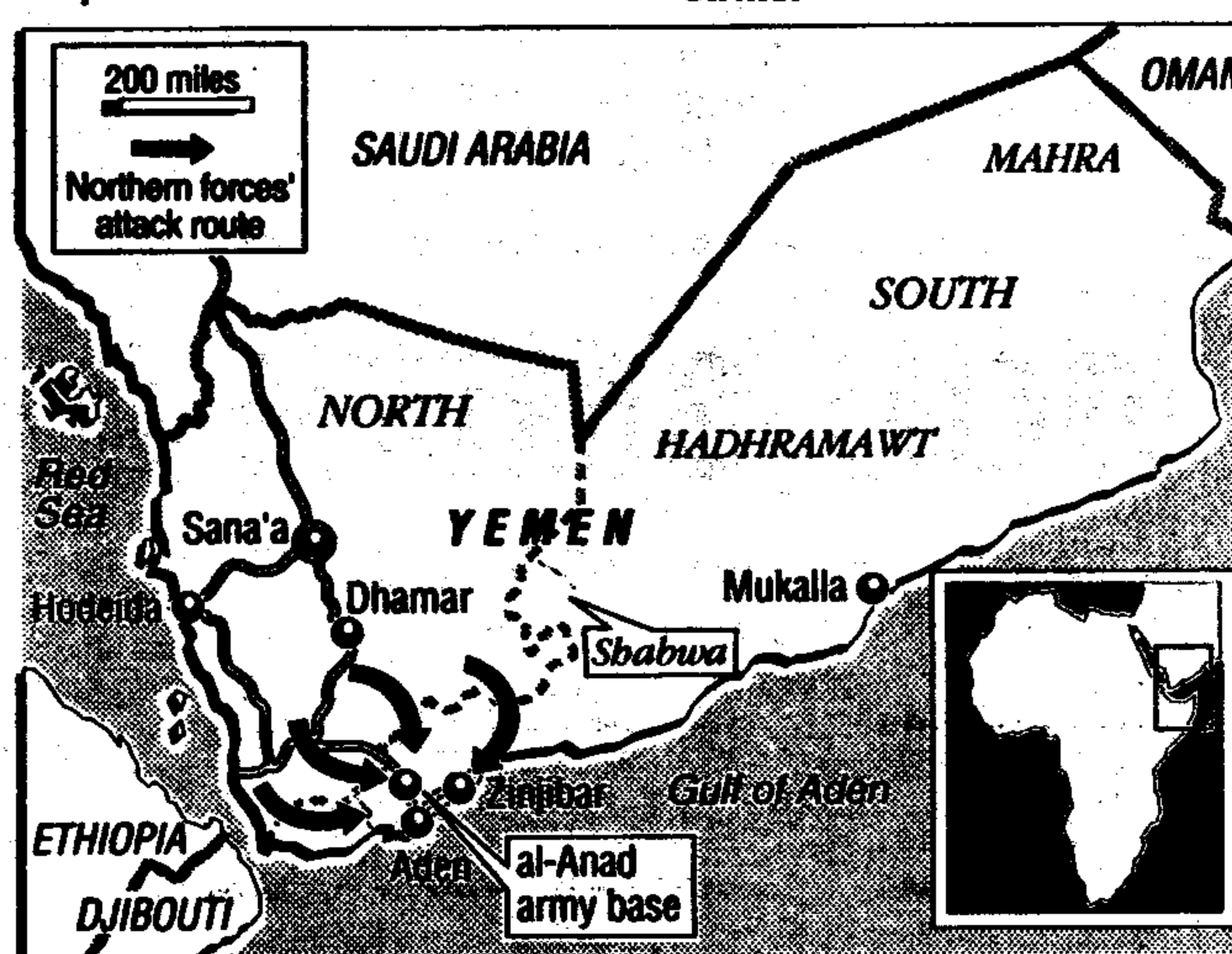
Unification was also opposed by Saudi Arabia, which

feared a large, populous democratic and strategically significant neighbour even more than it has feared the small, poverty-stricken and isolated southern republic.

The war in the Persian Gulf provided the opportunity for Saudi interference. Yemen was one of a handful of Arab regimes which refused to oppose the US-led attack on Iraq. The sole Arab state on

aid, while £5,800 million of property was confiscated by Saudi Arabia.

The refugee influx increased Yemeni unemployment to about 30 per cent. The resulting budget shortfall and huge price rises led to major civil disturbances in the heavily unionised south, hundreds of thousands of government workers went on strike.



the UN's Security Council, Yemen had voted with Cuba to oppose the assault.

Saudi Arabia's response was to expel a million emigrant Yemeni workers, mainly from North Yemen. It cost Yemen, already the poorest Arab country, over £2,000 million in lost remittances and

The Saudis and their fundamentalist allies in Yemen also instituted a campaign of terror against the activists of the Yemen Socialist Party, the NLF's successor, killing at least 150 in two years.

Protesting against the government's failure to counter this terror, Vice-President al-

Beid went on virtual strike last August, refusing to leave his Aden stronghold or to participate in government meetings.

Despite Saleh's agreeing to al-Beid's reconciliation pact in February, fighting erupted the following day which Saleh turned into full-scale war on May 4, after talks had failed.

Attempts by the northern army to occupy the South are now going badly. The more developed South has made full use of the naval and air arms, in which they have superiority, and seems to be turning back the weakening northern army outside Aden.

The possibility remains that the North could make a military breakthrough to overturn the social gains defended by the South.

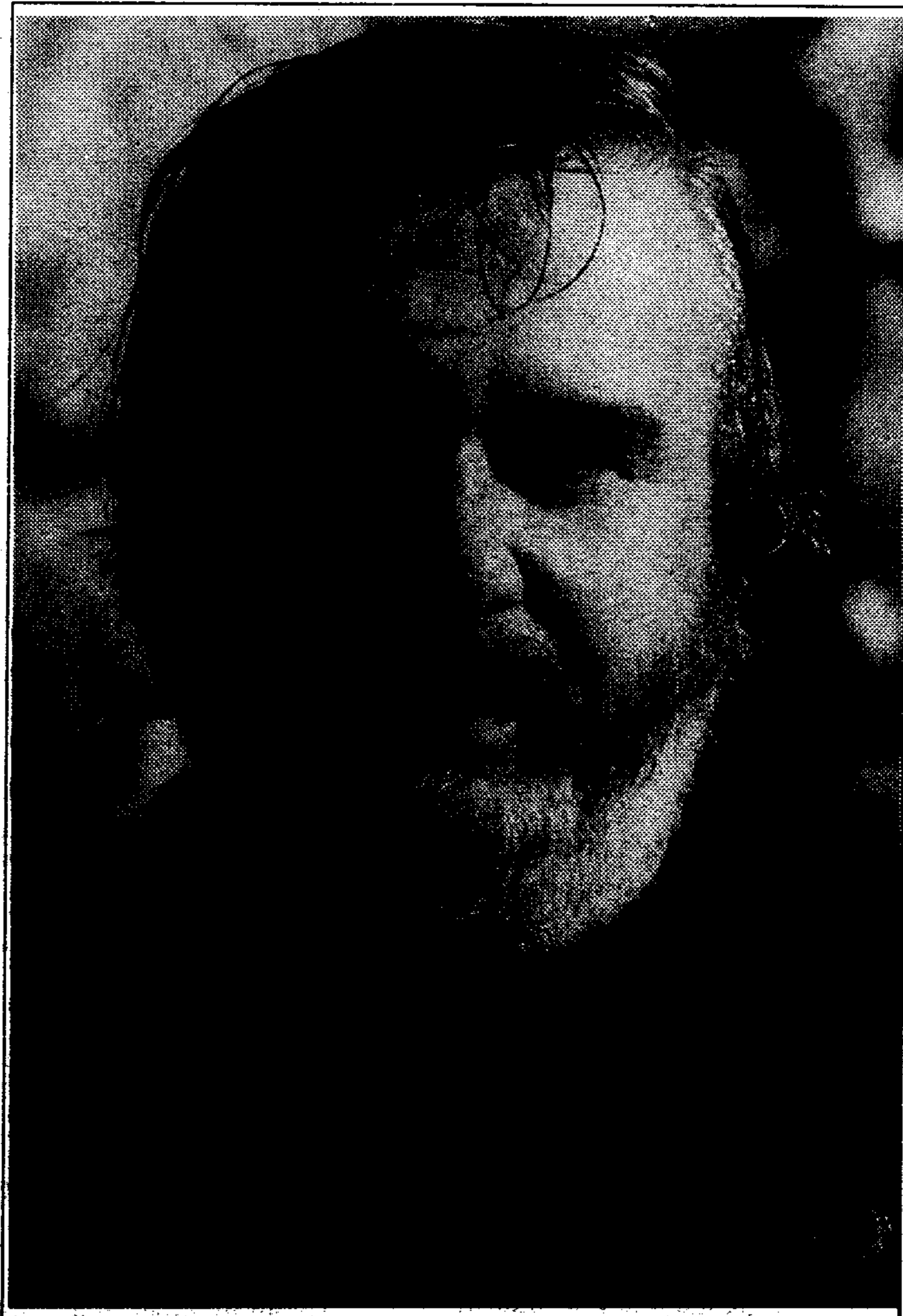
Whatever the final outcome, the real beneficiary of the conflict will be Saudi Arabia, which aimed to discredit Yemen's democracy and the political and strategic threat it could become. There are also newly found oil reserves in a disputed border region.

There is an urgent task for international solidarity, especially from revolutionaries in the region, for defence of the gains of the Yemeni revolution and for the overthrow of the feudal Saudi regime.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Their tributes to Bob

Birmingham honours Bob Smith



Bob Smith

"Our member Bob was also a member of Socialist Outlook, CARF and active in many labour movement and progressive campaigns. He will be greatly missed by the movement as a whole."

Birmingham Troops Out Movement

"Bob served CARF consistently for many years, as treasurer, and then as Secretary. We will all miss his contribution."

Birmingham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism

"His consistent support and involvement in many of the major class battles the last decades have witnessed – the miners, the printers, Burnsall's – and the eagerness with which Bob set about anti-racist and anti-fascist struggles illustrate his dedication to the cause of working class emancipation."

This memory will live long in us all and be an inspiration to continue the fight that he so unsparingly gave his life for."

Workers Power

"I met Bob at Bangor Socialist Outlook Summer School '92 and was struck by his warmth and good spirits. He was a friendly comrade and a real working class militant. The labour movement needs many more Bob Smiths."

Barrow-In-Furness Socialist Outlook Supporter

"I first got to know Bob in the early 1980s when he managed the Other Bookshop in Birmingham; he was the public face of the Fourth International."

Bob was thorough and professional in what he did on behalf of his comrades and he often faced the dangers alone.

Bob was attacked by fascists with iron bars and knives and he fought them off, suffering cuts and bruises.

Bob sustained an active anti-racist and anti-fascist campaign through the 1980s when there were many on the left who thought there wasn't a problem. Bob stood and fought against that. We were right then and we will be right now if we carry on Bob's work to the best of our ability."

Leicester

Socialist Outlook Supporter

ONE HUNDRED friends and comrades honoured Bob Smith's memory at a special meeting on May 28, celebrated his commitment to the struggle for socialism, and pledged to continue the fight for a socialist world.

Marian Brain introduced the meeting. Feeling the deep loss of her friend and comrade, she emphasised how Bob would want us to all of us to be a part of the fight to end racism and sexism, capitalism and imperialism globally. Bob was a trade union activist who was committed to women's liberation.

This year Bob was standing for election to his union's National Executive. He spent many hours working to develop the policies of his union in a socialist direction.

During the last period of his life Bob worked very hard against low pay. He played an important role in attempting to establish a union at Burnsall's where the workers were predominantly Asian women. Smith was angered by the failure of trade union bureaucrats to build support for their struggle.

He was involved in all the main battles in defence of trade union rights, culminating recently in the struggle to defend mining jobs. In his final months, Brain continued, Bob was deeply upset at the attacks by Birmingham's Labour administrators on low paid workers.

Whilst looking through her photo album, added Marian, she noticed Bob on the protest outside Birmingham's International Convention Centre against Utah getting the Olympics because of its hostility to women's rights to control their

own fertility. Over the years Bob was involved in struggles to defend women's rights.

Shirley Joshi, from Birmingham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism, in a moving and inspiring speech emphasised Bob's commitment to building an anti-racist and anti-fascist movement that would confront racists and fascists wherever they appear. She explained that Bob was never sectarian and seriously attempted to build a



Burnsalls: one of many strikes backed by Bob united movement.

A group called Telling Tales performed *Silent No Longer*, highlighting struggles by women and men in Nicaragua, El Salvador and throughout Central America, illustrating the internationalism of the whole event.

One highlight of the night was Mohammed Idrish from the West Midlands Anti-Deportation Campaign. Idrish gave a very personal and moving speech about Bob's involvement in the campaign that enabled him to stay in this country. After sharing many of his memories of Bob over the years, Idrish concluded that he was one of many people who owe Bob a great debt and would never forget him.

Viewpoint.

"He was proud of the Fourth International and had a collection of photographs which included a photo of comrades in the Mexican PRT. To Bob, the International was a living manifestation of what workers could and should achieve. He would often talk about this to me and about building the FI in Britain" added Hynes.

Alan Thornett from *Socialist Outlook's* editorial board spoke last. Thornett gave an overview of what Bob stood for. He sketched recent developments and struggles in western Europe and the increased combativity of the working class in Germany, Italy and France.

He pointed out the importance of internationalism and how Bob was proud to be in an organisation that was defending Bosnia from ethnic cleansing.

At the meeting unveiled a portrait of Bob with the plaque to his memory which read: 'Bob Smith. A Loyal And Trusted Friend'.

After Banner Theatre's moving singing of *Beloved Comrade*, which pledges the continuation of the struggle, the evening ended with a rousing singing of the *Internationale*.

For the last period of his life Bob was working in the Trade Union Club, attempting to ensure its survival. Birmingham's Troops Out Movement wrote "his job at the Union Club will be hard to fill with someone with such commitment, friendliness and good humour."

Barbara, the manager of the Club spoke about the short time she knew Bob and how their friendship meant a lot to her. One of Bob's favourite words, 'fantastic', had become one of the most used words at the Club. Bob used it to encourage involvement in the Club.

Bernie Hynes from Leicester *Socialist Outlook* remembered how back in 1982 Bob introduced him to the Fourth International's review *International*

BOB SMITH Memorial Fund

Regular readers of *Socialist Outlook* will have read in our last issue of the death of Bob Smith. Bob was the most frequent contributor to our paper and is sadly missed by the editorial team.

Bob died shortly before his namesake, John Smith. There were no Tories at Bob's funeral – but plenty of ordinary workers who valued the contribution he had made to the fight for a socialist society.

Indeed, Bob would have been insulted by praise from John Major. He would have felt he had somehow failed in fighting for the interests of his class.

Bob was a revolutionary socialist. He opposed everything the Tories stand for. He

hated capitalism and all the injustices it breeds.

He would want to be remembered by us continuing his struggle. His watch-word would have been that of American trade unionist Joe Hill: 'Don't Stop Organising'.

After discussion with Bob's comrades in Birmingham we have decided to postpone our current Fund Drive Appeal. In its place we are launching the *Bob Smith Memorial Fund*.

Money raised will go to continuing the work Bob devoted his life to. Send as much as you can, to:

PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

FEATURE

No government warning, but Motorway is bad for Hackney's health!

By Eileen Girsch

FIFTY HACKNEY residents of came to the Lower Clapton Health Centre on May 24 to hear about the impact of the M11 Link on health in the borough.

Patrick Field, for Hackney Alliance Against the M11 Link, explained how this road would decant traffic into the borough, increasing an already high level of pollution.

Des Walters, manager of air quality for Hackney council, has been working for years to get Hackney its own system for monitoring air pollution and has finally managed to introduce techniques for measuring the main pollutants - carbon dioxide, oxides of nitrogen and ozone.

Limits exceeded

The statutory safe limits for these gases are frequently exceeded, but this is not shown in the government's figures, so Hackney needs its own monitoring programme.

The predicted future increase

in the number of cars will result in increased emissions which cannot possibly be compensated for by reducing the level of emission per vehicle. This underlines the importance of reducing the number of private vehicles and organizing efficient public transport.

A spokesperson for the City and East London Health Authority, Ann Mackie (a consultant in Public Health), came armed with extensive statistics on the relation between pollution and health, with special reference to asthma.

Frustrated

Gene Feder, one of the doctors who staff the Health Centre, thought that further information was superfluous. Doctors are becoming frustrated at having to treat more and more children with asthma. (Dr Feder himself has an asthmatic child).

They know the part that air pollution plays and they see that the government, through its road-building policy, is exacerbating the problem. The M11 Link is unacceptable.

A lot of discussion was generated by the speakers' presen-



Now health professionals are lending strength to the anti-M11 protests

tations. All those present were keen on joining in action to prevent the construction of the link road, which has already begun.

It is being held up by residents whose homes have been compulsorily purchased to make way for the road. (Altogether, one hundred homes will be destroyed, not to mention trees and open space).

The Alliance is determined to make the project prohibitively expensive for the contractors, and force them to give up.

The meeting proposed to send a letter to ministers of Transport and of the Environment over the names of the four speakers, supported by the fifty people attending the meeting.

■ There will be further meetings. Contact numbers for the Alliance are: 081 986 3656; 081 802 9110; 071 249 3779.

Out with Pride

By Peter Purton

THIS YEAR'S Lesbian and Gay Pride march (June 18) celebrates 25 years since the explosion of the modern lesbian and gay movement after the customers of New York's Stonewall bar took to the streets in response to a police raid.

For the first time for many years the Metropolitan police have conceded a high profile route through London's west end. Tens of thousands are expected to join the march, and even larger numbers will gather in Brockwell Park for the festival which follows.

The Pride committee has

become a Trust, and has 'contracted out' the organisation of the march to direct action group OutRage.

Since OutRage has been part of a strong lobby for a more political event this year, this is better than the pure carnivals of the last decade.

But their brand of politics are not to the taste of many on the left, and for those who want to combine celebrating Pride with some progressive politics, a labour movement/anti-racist contingent is being organised by the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights and other organisations.

■ Contingent meets under Marble Arch 11.30am.

HOMÉ NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

Where We Stand

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

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

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

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

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

ion rights.

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

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

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

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

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

We struggle against fragmentation by building solidarity, working to link and unite the various struggles of workers,

the unemployed, of women, of pensioners, of the black communities and ethnic minorities, of lesbians and gay men, of students, of youth - and of those fighting imperialism in Ireland and throughout the world. *Socialist Outlook* is above all an *internationalist* current, in solidarity with the Trotskyist Fourth International, which organises co-thinkers in 40 countries world-wide.

Sectarianism

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

Nor do we believe that the demands of women, black people, lesbians and gays or the national demands of people in Scotland and Wales should be left to await the outcome of a socialist revolu-

tion. The oppressed must organise themselves and fight now around their own demands, which are a part of the struggle for socialism.

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

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

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

- Please tell me more about *Socialist Outlook*
- Yes, I want to become a *Socialist Outlook* supporter

Name

Address

Phone

Age

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

What's HAPPENING

WANT YOUR event included? Send details by June 17 to What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

MAY

Fri 10

EDINBURGH miner's gala and festival march from Regent Road at 10.30am details: 041 332 4946

VIVA AFRICA: workshops, stalls, music 11am - 4pm Albany Theatre Douglas Way Deptford SE8 4AG free entry

Sat 11

FIGHT for Full Employment! Socialist Campaign Group Supporters Network conference with MP's Dennis Skinner, Seumas Milne, Alice Mahon, Jeremy Corbyn, Alan Simpson and others 11am-5pm Manchester Town Hall Credentials £10/£5 (includes SCGSN membership) from SCGSN, 3 Blades House, Kennington Oval, SE12 5TW

ANTI NAZI LEAGUE conference details 071 924 0333

Tues 14

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Ireland, South Af-

rica, the Middle East and Central America. 8.00pm, Unicorn pub, Church Street, Manchester.

Weds 15

DEFEND London Weighting! Lobby NUT executive 4.30pm Hamilton House Mabledon Place WC1

Fri 17

NICARAGUA Health Fund benefit with Robb Johnson 8pm The Lord Henniker The Grove Stratford E15

Sat 18

LESBIAN AND GAY Pride march 11am Hyde Park to Brockwell Park details 071 737 6903

VIVA AFRICA: live music with African artists, poets, speakers & dance 8pm Albany Theatre Douglas Way Deptford SE8 4AG tickets 081 692 4446 box office £3/£2

Sun 19

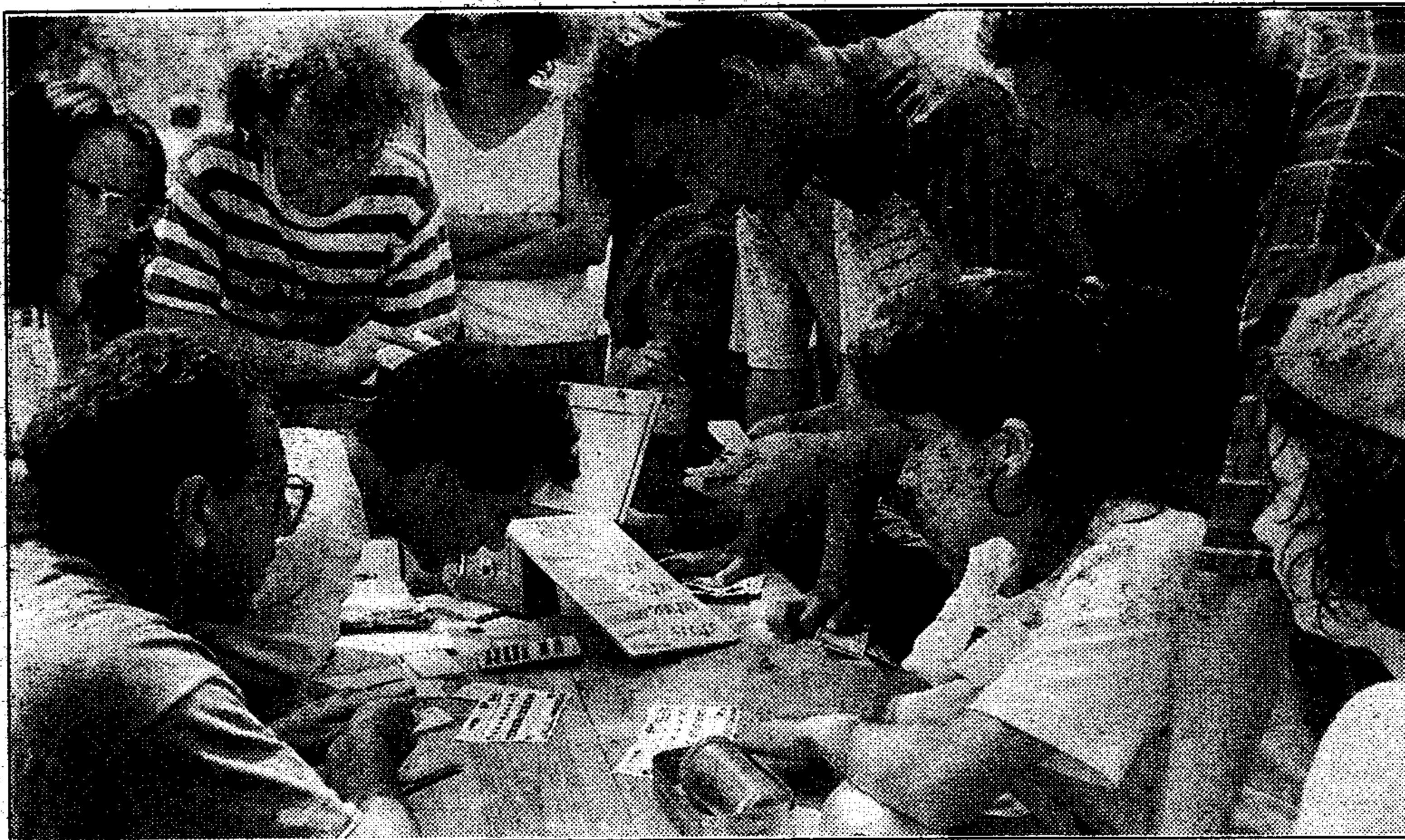
NO M11 LINK benefit folk evening 7.30pm Heathcote Arms Grove Green Road Leytonstone E11 tickets £4/£2

Fri 24

OPENING of Cities and Sustainable Development: Global Forum 1994 in Manchester tel: 061 234 3741

Sat 25

WHAT'S LEFT summer con-



This year's International Youth Camp - to be held in Italy late next month - will have the biggest delegation from Britain since 1990. Further details from Socialist Outlook.

ference with John Edmonds, Alan Simpson, Dawn Primorolo, John Prescott, Peter Hain, Barbara Castle and others Conway Hall Red Lion Square tickets £7/£5 from 'What's Left', Tribune, 308 Gray's Inn Road, WC1X 8DY

McLIBEL day of action details 071 837 7557

MANCHESTER International Peace festival opens details: Olive or Linda on 061 234 8325

ANTI-Apartheid Movement Extraordinary Meeting

FOUCAULT anniversary conference 9.30am-5.30pm ULU Malet St WC1 details 071 809 5068

Mon 27

PROTEST opening of McLibel trial 9.30-11.30am High Court The Strand EC1

Tues 28

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Ireland: peace or capitulation? with Liam Mac Uaid 7.30pm Stationer's Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8

Weds 29

END disruption of Kingsmead School! Lobby of Hackney Council 6pm Town Hall

SCOTT Inquiry: More Questions Than Answers? with

Lord Healey, Richard Norton Taylor, Rosemary Hollis & John McNaughton 7pm Westminster Central Hall SW1

JULY

Sat 2

LIBERATION! Committee meeting 11am London

PSYCHOLOGY POLITICS RESISTANCE founding conference 10am-5pm Aytoun Building (by Piccadilly BR) Manchester Metropolitan University workshops on gender, heterosexism eurocentrism & racism, institutional abuse Guest speakers from South Africa, psychiatry system survivors movement Details: Lisa Denny 061 247 2535

OXFAM Global Village Fête 2pm-8pm Battersea Park Live music, International Co-operative day third world fair trade fair, Children's festival and Oxfam 5km run

Sat 9

MINER'S gala Durham

Tues 12

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Permanent Revolution. 8.00pm, Unicorn pub, Church St, Manchester

Thur 14

McLIBEL Support Campaign

weekly meeting 6.30pm London Greenpeace 5 Caledonian Road London N1 details: Dan 071 223 5295

Fri 22 - Fri 29

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp Arezzo Tuscany Italy All-in price £150 leaflets, posters and details from Liberation!, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

Tues 26

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Racism & fascism: the politics of despair, with Tony Benson 7.30pm Stationer's Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8

AUGUST

Tues 9

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Democracy and the United Front. 8.00pm, Unicorn pub, Church Street, Manchester.

Thur 25-Mon 29

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK Summer School: **ANALYSING RACISM AND FASCISM.** Residential school in Aberystwyth, en suite rooms, plenaries, workshops and full social programme. £80/£30. Details from Socialist Outlook, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. sion: Racism & fascism: the

Ralph Miliband: 1924-1994

by Quintin Hoare

Ralph Miliband's unexpected death last month leaves a void on the socialist left in Britain comparable to those left a generation earlier by the loss of Isaac Deutscher or in 1988 by that of Raymond Williams.

Born into a Polish Jewish immigrant family in Belgium, Ralph arrived in Britain as a refugee from fascism in 1940. At LSE in 1941-43 he studied under Harold Laski, who provided not just an important stimulus for the concern with problems of pluralism and the state that Ralph was to elaborate in books (notably *The State in*

Capitalist Society) and essays throughout his life, but also something of a role model, as a 'public intellectual', combining theoretical work with active involvement in a wide range of causes.

The last years of World War 2 Ralph spent in the British navy, one of a generation of young servicemen who passionately experienced the war as anti-fascist and wanted a better post-war order.

In the late forties and early fifties, back at LSE and by now a Marxist - albeit a singularly undogmatic and independent minded one - he was involved briefly in an attempt to provide a socialist think-tank for the Bevanite wing of the Labour Party. The experience and its failure, were to convince him

once and for all that the Labour Party could never be transformed from within into an instrument for socialist politics.

They were also to provide the emotional charge behind his first enduringly influential book *Parliamentary Socialism*, with its searing contempt for the servility of the labourist tradition.

Ralph remained a stubbornly independent figure, respected by - and relating, sympathetically but critically, to - socialists of different hues: Labour left, Communist, Trotskyist.

In the late fifties he was an editor of *New Reasoner*, although unlike most of his colleagues he had never been a CP member. Disagreeing with the decision to submerge the journal into the original *New Left*

Review, and uncertain in particular where the group that took over NLR in 1963 might take it, he and John Saville founded *Socialist Register* in 1964 as 'the first of a series of annual volumes of socialist analysis and discussion': its thirtieth issue was being printed at the time of his death. The venture aimed to be 'committed' without narrowness; to 'present a wide range of ideas and arguments'; to 'place some emphasis on events in Britain, but...give each volume a pronounced international character'.

The thirty volumes - with contributors ranging from Deutscher, Mandel, Liebman, Sedgwick, Lowy or Wood to Thompson, Kolakowski, Gorz, Benn, Magdoff, Gamble or

Buzgalin - stand as a lasting monument to Ralph's lifelong fidelity to those aspirations.

The qualities for which Ralph will be remembered and held in affection included integrity, modesty, intellectual honesty and passion, seriousness of purpose, tolerance of alternative views, hatred of oppression and injustice, humour without malice, an unfailing - and unfailingly rational - socialist commitment without comforting illusions. The title of his last work *Socialism for a Sceptical Age* is eloquent.

A warm family man, he was immensely proud of his wife Marion and sons David and Edward. He will be sorely missed by a wide circle of friends and political comrades.

HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

INSIDE:
Socialism,
welfare and
employment
4-page pull-out

NO to bosses' racist Europe!

IT'S NOT ONLY the traditional popular British hostility to the European 'Common Market' which makes a low turnout almost inevitable in the Euro Elections on June 9: it is also the vacuous and almost indistinguishable platitudes served up by all three main political parties.

Since none of them has anything useful or concrete to say about the real problems facing the British workers' movement, there is an understandable reluctance to get too involved in giving careerist Labour Euro-candidates a leg-up onto the lucrative Brussels gravy-train.

The satisfaction of seeing Major's squalid gang take another electoral kicking will be enough to persuade a minority to go out to vote: but few will do so with any enthusiasm.

Since Labour under Kinnock caved in to swing lamely behind the European bourgeois bandwagon, British voters have been offered no option: each party to one degree or another backs the reactionary Maastricht Treaty and advocates participation in the expanding apparatus of the bosses' European Union.

Ironically it is Major's team which now stands most aloof from the



Campsfield detention centre: protestors fight Fortress Europe

process, seeking to paper over the deep-going divisions over Europe in their own ranks by posing as defenders of 'democracy' – in the form of the right of British capitalists to veto or opt out of any measure that might restore any of the rights the Tories have stripped from the British working class.

Back door

Labour opportunistically hints at the possibility of winning rights not through struggle in Britain but through the back door – the bureaucracy of the European Parliament.

This ignores the reality both of Maastricht, with its limits on public sector social spending, and of the emerging Fortress Europe, underpinned by the reactionary

Schengen agreements, designed to clamp down on immigration.

The mass racist detentions of asylum seekers at Campsfield and other British detention centres are a much better guide to life under Maastricht than pipe-dreams of the Tories being forced by Brussels to concede Dutch-style unemployment benefit or Italian pensions.

Socialist Outlook has consistently argued against Maastricht and the apparatus of the bosses' Europe, for a completely different approach.

We agree with sections of the Trotskyist Fourth International across Europe, who have denounced the European Union:

"The EU is above all a super-market, a super-bank and a super-power! The EU means both the

dismantling of the welfare state and the building of an imperialist fortress. It is waging a war on its own workers and youth, an economic war against its Japanese and American competitors, and an all-out war against the Third World."

Like our FI co-thinkers we call for

- a Europe-wide programme to abolish unemployment through a shorter working week and mass programmes of useful public works.

- opposition to all forms of racism and ethnic purification, and recognition of the right to national self-determination.

- emergency action to stop the human disaster affecting the countries of the Third World: immediate cancellation of the debts of countries of the South and East.

- elimination of nuclear weapons and units from Europe, together with US military bases. The Europe we want can only be built through the struggles of millions of working class people, forging strong international links and practical solidarity.

In calling for a Labour vote on June 9, we do so to maximise the blow against the Major government, and as part of our fight to strengthen the British working class movement and its ability to take action in its own defence and in defence of others.

No to the bosses' Europe: yes to a Europe of workers' solidarity!

a

is the first letter of the alphabet. There are twenty-five more. *Socialist Outlook* has them all in some very interesting combinations.

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