

Socialist OUTLOOK

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Lift the arms embargo! Troops out of Bosnia!

JOHN MAJOR has won cross-party Commons support for his pledge to dispatch 6,000 more British troops to Bosnia: but far from being a policy for peace, this is a recipe for escalating violence.

The new forces to be sent, as part of a new 'rapid response' unit under joint UN/NATO control, will not be unarmed peace-keepers or deliverers of humanitarian aid: they will be heavily-armed troops ready and willing to kill people.

They will go in part to retaliate for the humiliation of seeing hundreds of British, French and other UN forces being taken hostage by Bosnian Serbs.

But the British troops will be almost as impotent to shape events as were their blue-helmeted colleagues. Short of the deployment of truly massive military force – far bigger than any force that could be assembled by NATO or the UN – any troops on the ground will be vulnerable to the Bosnian Serbs – and potentially to the Croatians and Bosnians.

In the worst case scenario they might have to fight their way in – and then eventually fight their way out again. The NATO plan to withdraw even the existing troops from the area involves the deployment of a massive 50,000 troops.

There are wide divisions between the key governments on precisely what the



UN intervention was no solution for masses in the Gulf, and is no solution in Bosnia

troops should do when they arrive, and how long they are supposed to stay.

The US is urging on the Europeans, and offering to loan them aircraft, but wisely rejecting any involvement in what could be a prolonged, costly and hugely unpopular war. France vacillates between gung-ho calls to 'punch a corridor through to Sarajevo' and threatening to withdraw altogether.

All eyes are on the ambiguous tactics of Russia, which wants western loans but supports the Serbians. But if the others pull out, there is a lingering danger of a Turkish intervention on the Bosnian side, triggering a possible Greek alliance with Serbia. Even as the British prepare to step in, Douglas Hurd

has warned that the whole exercise could end in failure.

Of course those who have urged more drastic NATO air-strikes and military retaliation, especially against the brutality of the Bosnian Serb army, will hope that this external force will strike only against the Serbs.

For some, like those Bosnians trapped in the beleaguered enclaves, it is understandable that any intervention allegedly on their behalf could be seen as a lesser evil.

But this is an illusion. Only the Bosnian people themselves can guarantee the existence and democracy of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nobody else can or will do it for them.

The Bosnian army has already begun to show that it is able to defend itself. Its early successes after the end of the winter cease-fire created a degree of panic among the Bosnian Serbs – leading to their new tactic of hostage-taking and pressure

It is vital for Bosnia that the embargo on arms supplies, which has hit them much harder than Serbia or Croatia, is immediately lifted.

External force

No democratic or just solution can be imposed through the external force of NATO guns: the UN line-up is more against the Bosnian people than it is against Bosnian Serbs.

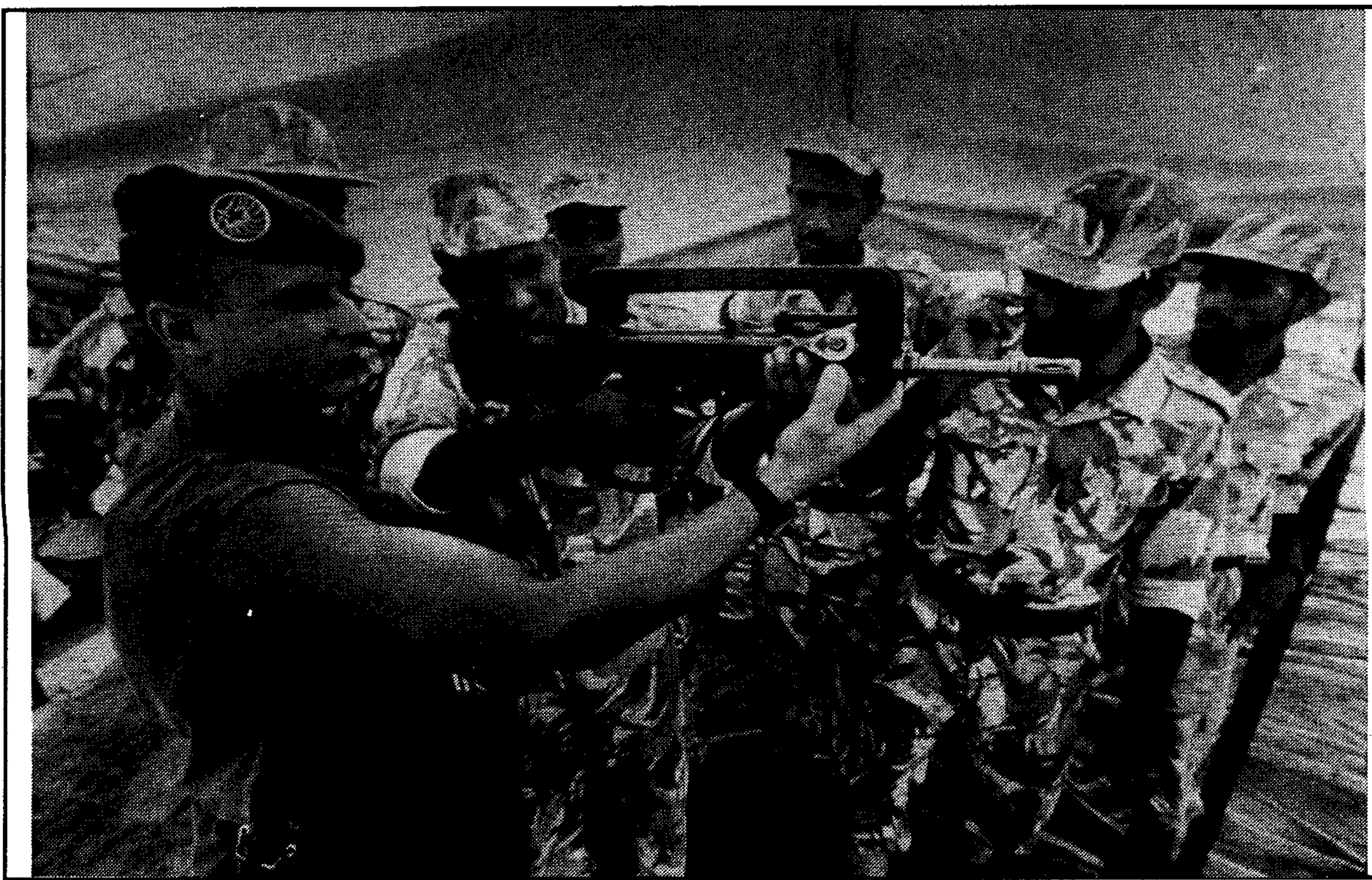
Indeed any new UN/NATO ground forces would be committed to uphold the *partition* of Bosnia-Herzegovina – and this means defending existing battle lines against any attempt by the Bosnians to roll back the Serbian and Croatian forces and recapture their own lost territory.

The military build-up favoured by John Major, Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown threatens to trigger new disasters for Bosnia's long-suffering people.

It will not bring self-determination, but will seek to consolidate a brutal carve-up of the most multi-ethnic and secular of the republics of ex-Yugoslavia, bringing the danger of a new wave of ethnic cleansing.

No troops to Bosnia. Lift the arms embargo!

UN setting sights on a racist carve-up of Bosnia



United Secretariat of the Fourth International statement:

Bosnia: no UN solution!

THERE IS still no way out of the Bosnian crisis through a foreign military intervention.

Although an atmosphere of sharing out spheres of influence hovers over ex-Yugoslavia and the Balkans none of the great powers wants either a Balkan war or hostility with Yeltsin's Russia. Russia for its part wants to play a world role without opposing the West's basic choices.

Each imperialist power seeks its own privileged alliances - the US wants to look good in the eyes of the Muslim world and Turkey; Germany has supported the anti-Serb logic of the US and Slovenian and Croatian independence; France and Britain have wagered on a strong Serbian government of Milosevic in the hope that he will ally with Tudjman and break with the Croats and Bosnian Serbs.

But none of the imperialist powers wants to lose any troops in a quagmire where

they see no vital strategic interest for themselves. This explains NATO's gestures, and the simmering conflicts between the powers with forces on the ground.

NATO and the UN have become completely discredited, faced with the tragedy of civilian populations held hostage and appeals from the war's main victims for

the Serb and Croat nationalist parties.

The Bosnian Serb SDS and its Chetniks, and the Bosnian Croat HDZ and its HVO militias, each built a state beginning in the spring of 1992. Each was backed by its "mother" republic and its armies.

Bosnia's multi-ethnic society was weakened from

those who remained committed to the state, with its mixed identity, and those Serbs and Croats who turned toward nationalist projects.

The greater crisis of the state thus directly affects Bosnian society: the war is both a foreign aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and a civil war that is tearing the republic apart.

Even with no guarantee of success, in the context of an offensive by all the reactionary forces, our defence of a multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina aims at reaffirming the traditions of coexistence and counteracting all the attacks being made on those traditions.

We aim to support and develop resistance against all policies of ethnic cleansing wherever it is perpetrated.

• Taken from "Against the Ethnic Partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Struggle Continues", March 1995 resolution of the USFI.

Our defence of multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina aims at reaffirming coexistence and counteracting attacks being made on those traditions

military intervention.

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the result of plans to partition the republic thought up by Serbian President Milosevic and Croatian President Tudjman before the war.

These schemes were taken up by the so-called "peace plans" and carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina by

within by the arrival of the three nationalist parties in power and the goal of re-Islamising the Muslims pursued by the SDA and the Bosnian President Izetbegovic himself, particularly in the rural areas.

These political circumstances exacerbated the internal polarisation in Bosnia-Herzegovina between

ANDRÉ LOMMEN, of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, witnessed the recent shelling of Tuzla

Terror attack slaughters 68

THURSDAY MAY 25th, 8.30 pm. Everything has been quiet for more than a week in Tuzla. The weather is perfect; a sunny, late spring day. A perfect day for a stroll.

Many young people meet here; they have no money or opportunity to do anything else. Discotheques are closed, there are no other amusements. As always, the centre of activity is Kapija, an old square, which is filled with people, most of them between 18 and 25 years old. There is no indication that a disaster is about to happen.

Six people are studying Bosnian in the HCA office. Around 9pm there is a big bang. Everybody drops to the floor. Panic. Seconds later, you can hear the screaming, the moaning. People come in to the office, most of them hysterical.

A girl is brought in, wounded in her left leg. Fortunately it is not severe. She's been lucky.

Slowly information drips in. A grenade fell in the middle of Kapija. A grenade, fired by the Bosnian Serbs on Mount Majevojica twenty kilometres east of Tuzla.

Reaction

The shelling is the reaction of the Bosnian Serbs to the bombing of Pale by NATO forces.

The number of casualties is not immediately clear. Ten, maybe even twenty people dead, and many more wounded. But, after one and a half hours, when I have gathered enough courage to look outside, I can easily see that these are low estimates.

Kapija is covered with white sheets, drenched with blood, which are used to cover the dead. I count at least forty of them.

Pieces of what used to be human beings are strewn across Kapija. In the hospital people are operated on in corridors because there is not enough space in the theatres.

Hundreds of people come hoping to find their children, friends, relatives among the wounded. Many find them among the dead.

Pain

In the morning the pain is even worse. Slowly realisation comes: a huge part of Tuzla's and Bosnia's future has been killed. TV Tuzla reports 65 deaths and over 100 wounded, almost all between 18 and 25.

The city is picking up the pieces. The atmosphere is of dejection and helplessness.

The international community is neither able nor willing to protect Bosnian civilians. The UN-declared 'Safe Areas' are not safe at all. All of them were shelled last night.

But the arms embargo denies the Bosnian Muslims the ability to defend themselves.

If the international community is not willing to use force against Karadzic, the only solution is lifting the arms embargo, even though there might be repercussions on UNPROFOR troops or civilian targets.

This would at least give the Bosnian Muslims a fair chance to defend themselves, and maybe it will convince the Bosnian Serbs that they have to find a diplomatic solution. The Bosnian Muslims have more manpower, and if they have the appropriate weapons they might be able to deter the Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian Muslims, like most other Bosnians, don't want this war. They would like to live again as they have done for centuries: Muslims, Croats and Serbs together, as neighbours, as colleagues, as friends.

Why we oppose UN/NATO attacks

By Roland Rance

FOLLOWING the shelling of Tuzla by Bosnian Serb forces, International Workers' Aid received several faxes from contacts in Tuzla. We print an eye-witness account from a western aid worker.

IWA also received copies of faxes sent by Tuzla's mayor, Selim Beslagic, to the UN Security Council. After describing the massacre, he wrote:

"Tonight parents of Tuzla were collecting parts of their children's bodies on the streets of Tuzla.... there is no dilemma any more - the UN's inaction participated in this crime.

"If after this terrible crime you again stay silent; if after this you do not act using force as the only legal way left to protect innocent people from Karadzic Serbs' crimes, then without any doubt you were and stay on the side of evil, darkness and fascism. . .

"There is only one possible action. You must bomb the ar-

tillery positions on the hills around Tuzla. You must bomb all the heavy weapons positions of Bosnian Serb fascists in Bosnia.

"If you do not, there will be no difference between you and the killers of our children here."

Although we share Mayor Beslagic's contempt for the UN Security Council, we oppose any attacks by NATO or the UN in ex-Yugoslavia.

Any such attacks would enable the Serbian forces to portray themselves as victims of imperialist aggression, they

would encourage war-mania and chauvinist racism in our own countries, and they would be designed to impose one or other of the west's 'peace plans' (ie carve-ups) in Bosnia.

Every intervention which has led to a worsening of the situation for the people of Bosnia, as well as for the forces of opposition within Serbia itself.

The governments which control NATO and the UN always supported the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines. They legitimised the racist

project of Greater Serbia.

Their so-called 'peace plans' have all been designed to formalise this project. Any armed intervention which they carry out now is not in defence of the people of Bosnia, but merely to protect their own troops and to save face.

The imperialist governments, alongside Russia, believe that they have the right to carve up the world and its peoples. They are the primary allies of the forces of ethnic cleansing and the division of Bosnia.

Socialists and opponents of

imperialism must oppose the imperialist intervention, and argue that the 'international community' can play no progressive role in Bosnia or anywhere else in the world. We call for their immediate withdrawal from the Balkans.

We also demand an end to the arms embargo, to enable the people of Bosnia to defend themselves, their families and communities, against the murderous policies of ethnic cleansing and genocide being carried out by the forces of Greater Serbia.

BOSNIA

What we think

You'll get no change out of that Tony Blair

WHEN Tony Blair was crusading for the abandonment of Clause Four, he described the votes in his support as votes 'for change'.

But one of the reasons Blair and his right wing co-thinkers found Clause Four so unacceptable was that it reflected an aspiration for deep-going change – from the profit-driven free market system of capitalism, to a system based on social ownership and distribution of wealth.

The Clause now dumped into the dustbin of history, Mr Blair has begun setting out his stall, parading his deeply unattractive variety of 'post-socialist' economic policy.

In place of the promise of change, there is a pledge of no change at all – ever.

In his Mais lecture on May 22 Blair spelled out the main features of the policies he hopes to implement in government.

To most observers from right and left alike the speech was a lengthy statement of capitulation to the market economics of Thatcher and Major, a prior commitment to bankers and bosses at home and abroad that a Labour government would change nothing of substance.

The right wing press lapped it up. The *Financial Times* editorial was fulsome in its praise:

"Does Mr Blair look like a credible manager of the economy? The answer is that he does."

One reason is because he sees the Tory point of view

more easily than that of his own Party's members:

"...One of Mr Blair's most attractive characteristics is his willingness to recognise where his opponents were right and his own side wrong."

So keen is Blair to do this that many may wonder which side he was actually on in the 1980s, when the Thatcherite anti-union laws which he now praises were being introduced against the muted opposition of Neil Kinnock's Labour leadership.

Avid

So avid an exponent is Blair of tighter monetary controls, condemning the Tories for being too soft on inflation, that even Will Hutton of the *Guardian* complains that his speech could almost have been written by Bank of England governor Eddie George or by the head of the IMF.

Blair's policy of out-Torying the Tories is a recipe for confrontation with the unions, demoralisation of Labour's supporters, and rapid decline in the new government's popularity

And so anxious is Blair to appease Tory voters and business chiefs by displaying his hostility to public spending – promising public borrowing would only be for investment and not for any improvement or expansion in the welfare state – that the *FT* comments that his speech "looks little different from Mr Major's

modified Thatcherism."

But by discarding any notion of socialism or the traditional Keynesian economics which have informed most post-war Labour policies and embracing Tory market ideology, Blair has now effectively painted himself into a corner.

Labour, which has traditionally appealed for and won votes as a reformist party, is now unable to offer serious reforms of any substance, since any far-reaching changes would require economic policies which Blair has categorically ruled out.

He boasts that his government would set a 'target for inflation', and effectively allow a remodelled Bank of England to dictate monetary policy. But he would not set any corresponding target for new jobs, for improvement in welfare state services, or increased living standards for working people.

He rebukes the Tories for

placing "far too much faith in the benign and self-correcting nature of private sector behaviour", but, as his new Clause Four and now his economic policy have spelled out, Blair himself labours under the delusion that a 'partnership' can be established between the private and public sectors, and that the rigours



Nothing for pensioners under Blair's tight money policy

of competition and the market can somehow work to the benefit of all rather than the profit of the wealthy few.

A refusal to spend more or borrow money – or to raise taxes – ties Labour to many of the domestic policies which have made the Tories so unpopular. No social programmes could be financed until and unless the capitalist economy starts to grow.

Don't hold your breath waiting: the same policies have left John Major's government groping for several years for signs of green shoots of recovery.

If Blair ruled the world, pensioners could expect no improvement in benefits; school cuts this year and next would remain in place; student grants would decline further; hospital closures and NHS waiting lists would in-

crease; the rigid limit on public sector pay would continue, squeezing the living standards of five million workers ...

The depressing list of liabilities flowing from Blair's policy of out-Torying the Tories goes on and on. It is a recipe for confrontation with the unions, demoralisation of Labour's supporters, and rapid decline in the new government's popularity.

Not so new

Blair of course claims that this old and tested formula for failure is the 'new economics' of 'New Labour': but the line is anything but new.

Similar policies of abject capitulation to the laws of the capitalist market brought the disgrace and split of the first Labour government under Ramsay MacDonald in 1931.

The post-war Attlee gov-

ernment squandered its landslide victory by implementing only tinkering reforms designed to patch up British capitalism and sustain it as an imperialist power – at the expense of the working class.

And Harold Wilson's two periods of government founded not on his excess of radicalism or profligate public spending, but on his attempts to sustain the value of sterling and smash the unions in the 1960s, and Denis Healey's capitulation to the IMF and conflict with public sector unions in 1976-9.

The reality is that it is the system itself, and not the day-to-day policies of governments, which has led to the present impasse of mass unemployment, the huge and widening gulf between rich and poor, employed and unemployed.

Conflict

Any government committed to maintaining this system is committed to conflict with those exploited by it.

Many of those union bureaucrats whose block votes against Clause Four set up the coming confrontation will have to contend with the anger of members forced to fight a government they are being told will solve their problems.

As Blair toughens up his fight for Tory policies, the challenge is for the left to organise throughout the labour movement to fight back.

That's why the June 17 conference 'Socialist Policies for a Labour government', supported by the Clause Four campaign, the Socialist Campaign Group and *Tribune* is especially important.

Socialists have no choice but to step up the fight. They'll get no change out of Tony Blair.

Will the real author please stand up?

WHO IS writing Tony Blair's speeches?

Commentators scrutinising the politics on offer have seized on numerous possible answers in the last few weeks, ranging from unsavoury Tory politicians to Bank of England governor Eddie George.

On law and order, Michael Howard seems to supply a first draft for Blair to toughen up; on Bosnia Blair simply cribbs from John Major's notes.

But on the question of Europe the possible ring of authors is widened: according to the *Times*, Blair's most recent policy statement was "The speech that Douglas Hurd would like to have been able to deliver".

But the author could have been one of many: the *Times*

estimates that Tory cabinet Europhiles "probably agree with 90 percent of the Labour leader's lecture".

Possible suspects also include the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party – and even the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl: "His six-point programme could easily have been formulated by Herr Kohl's European speech-writers".

There is no doubt that Blair's brand of politics is even more popular among the European bourgeoisie than it is among British bosses.

Blair was speaking on May 30 to an audience of several hundred people in Bonn. Appropriately for its right wing content, the speech was delivered in the Friederich Ebert Foundation



building, named after the notorious right wing German SDP leader, who with Scheidemann and Noske pre-

sided over the repression of the post WW1 German revolution and the murder of socialists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The burden of Blair's speech was Labour's total commitment to closer links with the bosses' European Union, and in particular with its dominant driving force, the German bourgeoisie.

Maastricht

He promised that a Labour government would immediately sign up to the EU's social chapter, implying a complete acceptance of the remainder of the Maastricht Treaty, which imposes drastic restrictions on public spending and borrowing. Blair is also committed – with reservations – to sup-

port for a single European currency: all this is music to the ears of European bosses irritated by John Major's vacillation.

Small wonder that, as *Socialist Outlook* and now the *Times* have pointed out, Blair is now the first choice of many EU leaders as the next Prime Minister, and they are planning to postpone the end of the 'Maastricht II' Inter Governmental Conference until after the next election.

How much lower can he get? With the Europhile Tories envying his stance on one side and Thatcher praising him as the greatest thing for Labour since the disastrous Hugh Gaitskell, it seems the only people not happy with Tony are the working class.

Students beat back the right

By Anthony Brain

ON MAY 30 the left won the big battle in defence of free state provided education. At the National Union of Students one day special conference it defeated a right wing proposal on education funding.

This is the first time in years that the right has been defeated. The vote went 60:40 in favour of the right to free education.

The left was able to make these gains largely because of the free education campaign.

It was organised as a single issue united front coalition and centred on mass action. It was also democratically organised.

The turning point of the conference was probably Clive Lewis' speech. It was a clarion call for international action.

After declaring the need for coordinated protest with students in France, Germany and other European countries he received a standing ovation.

Up to now the democracy of the free education campaign has been one of its strengths. All tendencies have



Students can give a lead to the labour movement

been allowed the right to express opinions and all decisions taken by majority votes.

It was a shame therefore that at the conference fringe meeting *Socialist Outlook* and SWP speakers were not taken.

Things got even worse at the second meeting - comrades from the Alliance for Workers' Liberty announced

a national conference of the campaign on June 17. This was the first time anyone had heard of it. There had been no consultation.

Socialist Outlook urged unity of the campaign with the FACE campaign against school cuts.

It is important to bring the organised working class into play and link up with the par-

ents and governors if we are to construct a powerful mass movement.

Now we have to forge international links and build for a one day international day of protest.

The struggles of students can act as a catalyst to mobilise the working class and its allies against the austerity onslaught of capitalism.

Barclays Bank gets offensive

By Dave Carter

A SECRET contingency plan by Barclays shows how worried the bank is by the threat of a second one-day stoppage. The plan includes threats to sack strikers, to withdraw staff loans and to photograph pickets.

The one-day strike on May 30th stunned the bank. It was called by the normally docile in-house union UNIFI (formally the Barclays group staff union) and supported by the TUC affiliated BIFU.

The action was nominally against the 2.75% imposed pay deal, but was a vehicle for staff to vent their anger at job losses at a time of record profits. It was an important blow against the macho management style of Chief Executive Martin Taylor, who has never worked in a bank in his life.

Barclays staff have a reputation for being the most "moderate" of the clearing banks' employees so their action should not be underestimated.



The bank claims "only" 200 branches were closed, but this in itself is a big success as it is relatively easy to provide a counter service with a handful of managers or a few scabs. The strike was the most solid in the large computer centres which control the cash machine network. These are predominantly organised by BIFU.

It is the spread of new technology that is enabling the banks to shed so many jobs. Ironically it is the workers in these "high tech factories" which now have the power to bring the bank to a standstill.

This is why the bank is forced to threaten dire consequences against strikers, yet at the same time claim the dispute was a failure.

The mood may spread to other banks. They could be next as demoralisation amongst the staff at all banks is at an all time high.

The banks created staff associations to try to stop the spread of trade unionism amongst their workforce.

It is high time that the leadership of the staff associations in Barclays, Lloyds and Nat West responded positively to the call from BIFU for a single, united finance trade union.

That would really give the employers something to worry about.

Not just any woman!

LABOUR'S National Executive is trying to impose all-woman shortlists of parliamentary candidates on Constituency Labour Parties in some marginal constituencies. Here JANE KELLY opposes the imposing of shortlists.

WHILE socialists should support the right of Constituency Labour Parties (CLPs) to select from an all-woman list, the real task is to select a left-wing candidate.

It is not surprising that the *dictat* by Labour's leadership — that some CLPs must select their candidate from a woman-only shortlist —

caused a backlash. For the Blair team, getting more women candidates is a question of *image*, not politics.

From the right has come the excuse that it will be hard for a woman to win "in this area". Some women argue the old story of "I wouldn't want to be selected except on my own merits".

In the face of these prejudices the leadership's decision seems laudable. Some of those CLPs which are marginals, likely to be won by Labour at the next election, *should* be set aside for women to win by having a woman-only shortlist. At the same time, we support the democratic right of CLPs to choose whom it wants as its candidate.

Ironically in the early 1980s Labour *opposed* all-black shortlists, especially when the unofficial Labour Party Black Sections was on the rise, even though there were no black MPs at the time.

Why has Labour's leader-



Freshly Follated: but what about the politics?

ship changed its mind? Clearly there is embarrassment at the pitiful number of women Labour MPs: but there is no desire in the Blair camp to give Labour women effective organisation and power.

The attacks on women's structures, up to and including Labour Women's Conference, are evidence that left-wing women in the party are seen as a threat.

So now any woman selected and elected from a women-only shortlist will not be dependent on, or answerable to, any of the women's structures in the Party. If she gets elected as a result of the leadership's imposition of a shortlist, she will not feel answerable to the CLP either.

We should be opposed to any imposition on a CLP by the leadership, and support the fight against it — not to take the party to court, but to win the argument within both the unions and the party.

No politics

This is especially the case when Emily's list, simply a version of the "all-party" attempt to get 300 women MPs in the 1980s, takes no account of the politics of the candidates.

Politics is the point. We are not in favour of just *any* woman candidate. A right-winger is a right-winger,

whatever their gender.

Does it make any difference that Harriet Harman is a woman? The supports the leadership down the line, only raises women's issues within that framework, and doesn't even fight for a specific minimum wage even though it would especially benefit women.

Feminists should be fighting for policies that give women more power: better jobs with equal pay, the right to choose free, safe, abortion and contraception, access to affordable housing, proper levels of benefits from the state for single others. Today only left wing women will fight for these things inside the Labour Party.

We should also fight attacks on the Labour Women's Conference.

Only with greater power within the party, and the ability to link up with women in trades unions and campaigns, will Labour's women MPs be held accountable.

Islington council child care scandal: the truth behind the headlines

Blame Hodge, not equal opportunities!

By Brian Gardener, Islington UNISON "A" Branch

A REPORT has made damning allegations against Islington council's management of its child-care services.

The report by Oxfordshire's Director of Social Services is an overview of 13 previous inquiries. Many of the allegations contained within it are not new, and relate to the pe-

riod when Margaret Hodge ran the council.

Her squeezing of social services into a decentralising neighbourhood structure resulted in lack of specialist management and lax scrutiny of child care issues.

During this period the NALGO branch repeatedly warned Hodge that the structure she had invented would not work. Her only response was that "professional issues" were of no concern for a trade union, and that it was entirely for councillors to decide how

services were organised.

Following publication of an extremely critical report by the social services inspectorate in 1994, the council belatedly re-organised social services.

Some of the recommendations of the report are extremely worrying.

It is stated that over a period of twenty years, more than 32 staff have been guilty of some extremely serious allegations, including the sexual and psychological abuse of children in care.

It states "it cannot be a co-

incidence" that a number of these were from ethnic minorities or gay men.

It panders to popular prejudices by equating homosexuality to paedophilia and blames the council's equal opportunities policy for creating a climate in which managers were afraid to discipline black and gay male staff.

All of this has led to a massive media attack on Islington and its culture of "political correctness".

The response of the present council leadership is to

review its whole equal opportunities policy.

The national relevance of these issues cannot be underestimated.

As the national Labour leadership continues to clothe itself in Tory policies, the Tories and the press will become increasingly desperate to find issues on which they can go on the attack.

In this context, Labour's local authority equal opportunities policies are a sitting target. Union members must be ready to defend them.

FACE prepares for next round in battle against school cuts

All out for September 30!

by Harry Sloan

JUST AS predicted by teaching unions – and by Education Secretary Gillian Shephard – up to 10,000 teaching jobs are set to disappear as a result of the swingeing cuts in education budgets across the country.

A survey by the Association of Teachers and Lecturers has identified 4,600 threatened redundancies in schools – to which must be added the thousands of posts being shed through early retirement and the non-renewal of temporary and short-term contracts.

'Needs budgets'

Pressure is being piled on those head teachers and school governors who have stood out against cuts and opted for 'needs budgets': but some are still standing firm.

Amid this evidence that the mobilisation of tens of thousands of parents, governors, teachers and school students earlier this year has

failed to stem the tide of cuts, the temptation is to despair: but the Fight Against Cuts in Education (FACE), which brought 15,000 onto the March 25 demonstration in London, is digging in and fighting on.

The Tories paid a heavy electoral price on May 4 for their pig-headed insistence on forcing home the cuts in schools. With a general election looming closer, the key is to keep this issue high on the political agenda.

The FACE conference on June 10 will be drawing lessons from the campaign so far and preparing for another national demonstration on September 30 – to combat further cuts *next* year.

"We won a lot of the arguments and the publicity battle against the present round of cuts, but our campaign was too late in starting," argues the new FACE Broadsheet.

"The campaigns didn't really take off until after Christmas. FACE was only launched in February: by that time massive cuts had already been decided by the government. The writing was on the

wall."

The lesson, argue the FACE Steering Committee, is to get the retaliation in *first*, before the government policies are announced. The next time should be a little easier: a whole network of contacts has now been established.

Of course it will not be easy to keep the campaign active through the long summer vacation period without the focus of fighting specific new cuts.

However the autumn term will bring many parents, governors and teachers up against the new reality created by the present round of cuts.

New wave

September 30 will aim to focus a new wave of anger, and raise the level of battle next time around. Already there are predictions that the next round of cuts in many counties will be even more draconian than those now hitting schools.

"We have to convince people that the time to act is now, before it is too late," says NUT Executive member and FACE treasurer Roy



FACE has set its sights on even bigger campaigns beginning in September

Leach.

"The government stole a march on us last year, and that is once too often. Children are now paying the price. We are not going to let that happen again. September 30 is going to be the day we turn the tide of education cuts."

The June 10 conference will aim to consolidate the wide spread of local campaigns and groups which have sprung up across the country, and to develop the debate on policy for the fight ahead.

It will hear that FACE is now growing in several areas of London and in other big cities where the cuts have developed in a different way from the shire counties, and there are possibilities of a breakthrough into Scotland, where Strathclyde Labour council is developing its own cuts package.

■ The new FACE Broad-sheet is available, 50p including P&P, from FACE, c/o St Giles Middle School, Hayes Lane, Exhall, Coventry CV7 9NS. Affiliation to FACE is £25 (orgs) £10 (individual).

■ The National Union of Teachers ballot on strike action against increasing class sizes is due to be completed just after *Socialist Outlook* goes to press.

Early indications are that the frenzied witch-hunt mounted by General Secretary against any notion of action, coupled with the threats from the National Association of Head Teachers to intimidate and victimise striking teachers may have taken their toll.

UNISON test for left

UNISON's second conference opens on June 12 in the context of possible industrial action in the NHS. Further privatisation of council services, and the opening shots in the General Secretary election.

With mass dissatisfaction with cutbacks in schools, hospital closures and privatisation of council services, there has not been such an opportunity to organise industrial action for a long time. The national leadership has at last begun to respond to the growing mood in favour of action by planning a demonstration against cuts on October 14.

The demo should be used as a springboard for a one day strike across the public services in defence of the welfare state before budget day.

The conference will be the first serious challenge for the Campaign for a Fighting Democratic UNISON. It must publicly put forward its strategy at conference and build a broad base of support. It must continue to struggle to unite the left.

Conference meetings:

■ SUNDAY 11. 2.30pm Metropole Hotel. The left's meeting to go through conference agenda and discuss the candidates for general secretary.

■ MONDAY 12. 7.30pm Metropole Hotel. CFDU rally - Tony Benn, Jennifer Davies (Newcastle UNISON), Geoff Martin (Health campaigner).

■ THURSDAY 15. 12.30pm Oak Hotel West Street. *Socialist Outlook* meeting. In the new world order what is the prospect for revolution - JANE KELLY

HOME NEWS

Picking up the pieces after Clause Four setback

Unite the left to fight Blair

By Pete Firmin

THE JUNE 17 conference called by the Defend Clause Four campaign and Tribune provides an opportunity for the left to both assess where the defeat over Clause Four leaves it, and to begin to prepare for the coming battles.

Tony Blair has hardly rested on his laurels since his "defining moment" in defeating clause four on April 29.

In his speech to the bosses' conference in Scotland he assured his audience that a Labour government would keep the Tory anti-union laws.

He seems to have got an agreement with the TUC not to put a figure on the minimum wage in advance of the general election - and to give the bosses a key say in what the eventual level is to be.

The local council election results have put wind in the leadership's sails. While try-



Praising Blair as 'best thing (for Tories) since Galtskell'

ing to fashion a labour movement in their own image they want to pledge Labour to the most minimal of programmes possible. They are backing Dromey in the TGWU election and making moves to further reduce the share of the union vote at conference.

This means ignoring the huge unpopularity of Tory policies - Blair has even been exchanging compliments

with the hated architect of the policies, Thatcher herself.

But outside the confines of Walworth Road the desire for action is spreading way beyond the traditional sections of the labour movement - the Barclays Bank strike and the RCN's contemplation of industrial action are expressions of a growing mood.

Blair is mistaken to believe that ditching support for

Clause Four entrenches his politics the movement.

There are battles to be had on what the policy of a future Labour government should be. However, Blair has made it as clear that he will ignore decisions he does not like. It is therefore not sufficient to just win votes on policy.

Rebuild

If the left is to force a Labour government to carry out policies in the interests of the working class then it needs to begin the hard task of building up its strength from the low point of the Clause Four defeat.

This involves linking up the fight for policies with the struggles happening now, persuading labour movement activists to get involved and bringing both the issues the new activists into the labour movement.

While the balance of forces is unlikely to shift significantly this side of a Labour victory, it is only by laying the

groundwork *now* that the left will be in a strong position to provide an alternative when disillusionment with Blair sets in.

This means beginning to link the fight around policies with support for struggles taking place, and making clear that while we are unequivocal about wanting a Labour victory we are not prepared to give up our criticism of the disastrous policy Blair is pursuing.

The fight over Clause Four showed that the struggle in the Labour Party and the unions are inextricably linked, but also that Blair and his supporters are going to set the agenda in the coming period.

The defence of clause four brought together Labour Party and trade union activists in a way which has not happened in a long time.

June 17 can build on that, laying the framework for an organisation across the whole labour movement that can tackle the political tasks ahead.

June 24
Picket a
prison
near you:

Campsfield
(Kidlington,
near Oxford)
12 noon
Bring banners,
drums and
balloons

Haslar
(Portsmouth)
12 noon
outside prison
Contact Chris
Richards,
01705-832260

Harmondsworth
12 noon -2pm
Detention Centre,
Colnbrook By-
pass, near
Heathrow
airport

Hull
Picket - ring
Keith Sinclair,
Hull Trades Coun-
cil, for details
01482-802050

Birmingham
Winson Green
prison
Ring 0121-551-4518
for details

June 24: National Day Of Actions against
detentions and deportations

Close down these prisons!

By Bill MacKeith
President Oxford
Trades Union
Council, Campaign
to Close
Campsfield

THE NATIONAL Day of
Actions is going to be a
great success.

In town centres and outside
detention centres and prisons
around the country pickets and
vigils will be held to denounce
the government's increasing
use of detention and deportation
of black people to intimidate
and divide opposition.

The actions will also re-
member those like Joy Gar-
dener who have died as a
direct result of the govern-
ment's violent racist policies.

Over 10,000 people com-
ing to Britain are detained in a
single year in prisons, police
cells and detention centres.
Asylum seekers are detained
without charge for an indefinite
period without proper reasons

given and with little chance of
adequate legal advice.

In judicial terms, they are
treated worse than those
charged with crime.

Half of the 600-700 people
detained at any one time are
held in prisons such as Glas-
gow Greenock, where six Al-
gerian exiles are on hunger
strike; Winson Green in Bir-
mingham, where NUJ mem-
ber and newspaper editor
Ragbir Singh is held as a
threat to national security;
Belmarsh in Kent, where
Kurdish leader Kani Yilmaz is
held on similar grounds;
Rochester, where a second
100 place 'detention wing' is
being prepared; Manchester
(ex-Strangeways); Holloway
and Brixton.

There has been a recent
expansion of detention places
in Gatwick Airport. And up to
400 are held at the detention
centres at Campsfield (Ox-
ford), Harmondsworth, north
of London's Heathrow air-
port; HM Prison Haslar near
Portsmouth and other places.
This outrage has been de-



Campsfield immigration prison: subject of a damning report

nounced in special reports in
the past six months by human
rights bodies such as Amnesty
International and Liberty, as
well as by organisations of mi-
grant and refugees and by the
Joint Council for the Welfare
of Immigrants.

Damning

The report on Campsfield by
the chief inspector of prisons
Judge Tumin was damning. Of
course to call for closure was
outside Tumin's remit.

Home Secretary Michael
Howard's proposed immigra-
tion legislation would mean
more internal policing - by
employers, nurses, doctors,
teachers and DSS officials.

But the Labour Party lead-
ership is hell bent on playing
the same race-hate cards in the
general election game as the

government is now showing
in its hand.

To judge from Jack Straw's
remarks upon Charles
Wardle's resignation from the
government on a get tough
platform, it will be compli-
ance. And have we heard
any Labour leader call for a
halt, let alone a reversal of the
never ending programme of
new detention centres and
'detention wings'?

More than ever it is vital for
trades union, local Labour
Party and other organisations
to refuse to accept the
Blair/Straw line and demand
that it be reversed.

Last month the annual con-
ference of Trades Councils in
Bristol carried a resolution
from the Oxfordshire County
Association calling for all de-
tention centres to be closed

and an end to detentions. Now
it should be a priority for ac-
tivists to move resolutions in
advance of the Labour Party
and trade unions' national
conferences and executives.

During June and July there
is to be special activities in
support for migrants and refu-
gees in Europe.

The National Day of Ac-
tions in Britain on the 24th
comes at an appropriate time.
Readers are urged to initiate
or join in organising events
on that day at a detention cen-
tre, prison (over 20 regularly
hold immigration detainees),
or town centre near you

■ Please phone
0171-837 1450 or
01865 724452
to give or receive more
information.

FIGHTING RACISM

Immigration controls can kill!

By Simon Deville

Since the Asylum and Im-
migration Act became
law in 1993 the number
of people detained has
more than doubled. Over
10,000 people are de-
tained every year and
around 600-700 are de-
tained at any one time.

These detainees are held
in specially built detention
centres such as Har-
mondsworth or Campsfield,
or in prisons. Although the
Home Office designated par-
ticular prisons for this pur-
pose, now most medium to
large sized prisons will hold
immigration detainees. Im-
migration detainees can be
held without charge for in-
definite periods.



Police tool up to enforce racist laws

Even when refugees
aren't locked up, they are
forced to lie in fear with the
threat of deportation hanging
over them. People fleeing op-
pressive regimes will often

face repression on being de-
ported simply because they
tried to leave their country of
origin.

New police powers that
have already been intro-

duced, or are currently being
proposed, are targeted at
black and immigrant commu-
nities. Police have already
started using these powers to
harass black people on the
grounds that they suspect
them of being "illegal immi-
grants".

Such is the climate of fear
created amongst immigrant
communities that a number
of people have committed
suicide rather than face de-
portation.

Last year in Hackney
Kwanele Siziba climbed out
of a window and fell to her
death when the police
knocked on her door, as she
thought they were immigra-
tion officers. There are nu-
merous such incidents.

In September last year
nine Tamil refugees were
found dead on the Polish -
German border. They were

part of a group of 22 who
tried to cross the river during
the night. They had no safe
route in to "Fortress
Europe", and a number of
them couldn't swim so they
formed a human chain, but
the chain broke.

Last month's Annual Con-
ference of Trades Councils
called on a closure of all de-
tention centres and an end to
immigration detentions, and
a Day of Actions has been
called around all detention
centres and designated pris-
ons for June 24.

Campaign

Of course, these actions
in themselves will not end
immigration controls, but
they can be used to build a
mass campaign throughout
the labour movement.

In particular we should
campaign to commit a future

Labour government to such
a policy and to build a move-
ment that ensures Labour
carries out its policy.

The European network
UNITED is also calling for a
European wide day of action
in support of refugees on
June 16. Activists in Britain
are asked to bombard the
German and French embas-
sies with faxes, telephone
calls and letters.

It is significant that right
wing nationalists are far
more organised and co-ordi-
nated on a European level
than the left.

This is because they see
quite clearly that their class in-
terests lie with a strong, reac-
tionary Fortress Europe. Its
time that the left started to use
initiatives such as this day of
action to develop a European
wide movement to oppose
this reactionary project.

Danish nurses lead the pay fightback

By Bodil Rasmussen

THOUSANDS of Danish nurses have been locked out following industrial action.

47,000 nurses have been up against both their employers and the government since May 1 over a pay claim. Not content with the miserable 3.5 per cent over two years being offered to all government employees accepted by the Municipal Workers Council (KTO) they have begun a campaign for a decent increase.

One day strikes and working to rule were met by the lockout of thousands of nurses from the hospital employers consortium which negotiates on behalf of the municipalities.

The Social Democrat government then passed a law forcing the nurses to return to work on the same terms they had already rejected.

Government intervention was immediately met by mass protests. 12,000 nurses demonstrated in Copenhagen. There were buses from all over the country. Another 450 from northern Jutland arrived in specially chartered aeroplanes.

A special commission has been set up to analyse the system of wages within the public sector. Many consider the commission an attempt to introduce new individual wage agreements. So called "flexibility" is at the top of the government and employers' agenda.

Poul Bjørn Berg, a nurse from Aarhus active in his local campaign, told us, "The talk is all about efficiency, in-

creased hours and increased flexibility - it is a provocation. We have always been very flexible and done huge amounts of overtime. We want a better basic salary, not more overtime."

The nurses are responding with a work to rule. This includes:

- demanding work timetables four weeks ahead
- demanding written notice of overtime the one day before the work
- demanding cancelled overtime is paid when it is withdrawn at the last minute.

Flexible

A shop steward in Glad-saxe Emilce Nielsen comments "This shows the extent nurses have already been working very flexible hours. The employers now have to keep to the rules and pay overtime wages. This will be



British nurses have not yet been offered any real chance to fight on their 1% pay offer

both difficult and expensive for them."

Going to temporary agency work has been another popular form of protest. "Young nurses think that this is a good way of hitting back" says Bjørn Berg, "they are really angry and find this step very attractive. But it is a poor idea - we need a strong collective presence in a workplace acting as a united group to win our demands. It is also a problem that a lot of rights, like pensions and childcare, do not exist for those working for agencies".

The nurses' action has not been supported by other public sector unions in the KTO-cooperation. Many nurses are now contemplating withdrawal from the alliance.

"Instead of pulling out we should stay and try to make the other groups fight for their claim" argues Bjørn Berg: "during the struggle a lot of nursing assistants have realised the character of their own leaderships. Now they are going to fight for higher wages - we should stand shoulder to shoulder with them."

Nevertheless it has been a

weakness that the nurses have been on strike almost alone. Now the inspiration must be spread to other groups of workers.

If the nurses are seen to win better conditions because of their action others will be more likely to follow the lead. Now we must take forward the challenge to unite around opposition to the employers and end the disunity between the public sector union.

● Reprinted from *Socialist Information*, paper of the SAP, Danish section of the Fourth International.

Labour, imperialism and "neutrality" in Ireland

By Simon Deville

IN RECENT years the Labour Party leadership has hardly forged its identity through clear statements of policy commitment. One area in which it has become categorically clear, however, is in relation to Ireland and the "peace process".

The central thrust of the leadership's position is that they have absolutely no differences with the Tories.

This is not just in terms of acceptance of the general principles of the "framework document", but even down to Major's insistence on the Republicans' unilateral decommissioning of arms, on an amnesty for political prisoners, and even Major's condemnation of Gerry Adams' visit to the White House.

Although Labour adopted a formal commitment to a united Ireland in 1981, which was further elaborated in the "democratic socialist programme" published in September 1988, Labour has never developed a policy that challenged the role of British imperialism in Ireland.

The "commitment" to a united Ireland never went beyond that of the SDLP or any of



His master's voice: Labour's policy for Ireland follows a few steps behind John Major

the parties in the 26 counties. Under pressure from the developing mass movement around the hunger strikes and the loss of votes of Irish people living in Britain, Labour made a formal commitment, while at the same time avoiding any concrete proposals for a British withdrawal, while denouncing the nationalists who were fighting British imperialism.

The appointment of Mo Mowlam as Labour's Shadow Secretary for Northern Ireland marked a decisive shift in Labour Party policy on Ireland. As the *Independent* put it, "a central part of her job is to explain why the government is right".

Labour policy has effectively moved from the "consti-

tutional nationalist" camp to that of the overt pro-imperialists. The formal commitment to a united Ireland has been dropped without discussion.

According to Mowlam "I understand that the language of the [framework] document is nationalist, but once the Unionists get beyond that, there is plenty for them to talk about. It is important that in any talks the Maginnis document is also on the table."

"Impartial"

Thus the Labour leadership is claiming the same role that British imperialism has always claimed in respect to its oldest colony, that of an "impartial" peacekeeper caught between

two "backward warring factions".

According to this view, the Unionists' demand to maintain their position of minor privilege over Catholics and nationalists in the six counties is no less valid than the nationalists' demand for national self-determination.

This shift in policy raises some fundamental questions, firstly over democracy and how Labour policy is increasingly being changed at the whim of the party leadership in contradiction to existing democratically decided policy.

The framework document offers no solution to the national question. Partition was established precisely to divide and rule the Irish masses and

cover up the role of British imperialism.

For sections of the existing republican leadership to be taken on board in this process may further hide the role of British imperialism, but it will not resolve the question of oppression of nationalists in the North.

Weakness

One of the important problems in all of this is the inability of the left in Britain to oppose "our own" imperialism.

The largest section of the anti-imperialist movement, the Troops Out Movement, has little base within the trade unions or Labour Party. The Labour Committee on Ireland is now semi-defunct. Much of the rest of the left has been thrown even further into confusion over the whole "peace process".

Such is the confusion that Militant Labour now describes the Progressive Unionist

Party, the political wing of the Ulster Volunteer Force (the sectarian gangsters with the closest links to MI5 and to fascist groups in Britain and Europe) as socialist!

The lack of opposition to Labour's turn in policy shows the need for anti-imperialists to organise a strong current within the Labour Party and the broader labour movement to demand a British withdrawal from Ireland and an end to partition.

If the current demobilisation of nationalists in Ireland continues, this may prove an extremely difficult task at present, but it will remain a necessary task for all socialists.

● THE TROOPS Out Movement AGM has decided to relaunch TULINK, a campaign against labour movement bipartisanship.

● CAMDEN IRISH Centre Weds June 28: Irish Peace Initiative launch with Mitchell McLochlainn.

LEAN PRODUCTION: A CAPITALIST UTOPIA?

BY TONY SMITH

Why "Lean Production" won't eliminate the antagonism between capital and labour. Tony Smith's book explains how socialism can match the dynamism of "lean production". For your copy send a cheque for £3.50 payable to 'Pierre Rousset' to IIRE, Postbus 53290, 1007 Rg Amsterdam, Netherlands.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Genocide in the land of a thousand hills

In this special 3-page dossier on the crisis in Central Africa, Bala Kumar charts the background to the recent massacres, while Charles Mullet (p10) examines the role of French imperialism, and a noted Belgian writer explains his view on the situation in Burundi

By Bala Kumar

"Imana yirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda: God spends the day elsewhere but always comes back to spend the night in Rwanda". (Rwandan proverb)

CAN WE even begin to comprehend what has happened in Rwanda?

In a country between the size of Wales and Belgium, one million people were killed after April 6th 1994. One out of every seven inhabitants but the vast majority members of the minority Tutsi community.

What shocked us as much as the attempted genocide of an entire people was our helplessness to do anything about it. "Call in the United Nations" non-governmental organisations demanded, fuming that the several hundred UN troops were to be pulled out.

"An African peace force" pleaded others, critical of the UN record in Somalia let alone its role in the Congo two generations ago. Yet the killings and atrocities only stopped when the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) had driven out the Kigali government and its murder machines, the Rwandan army and the Hutu supremacist militias to the borders.

Myth of tribalism

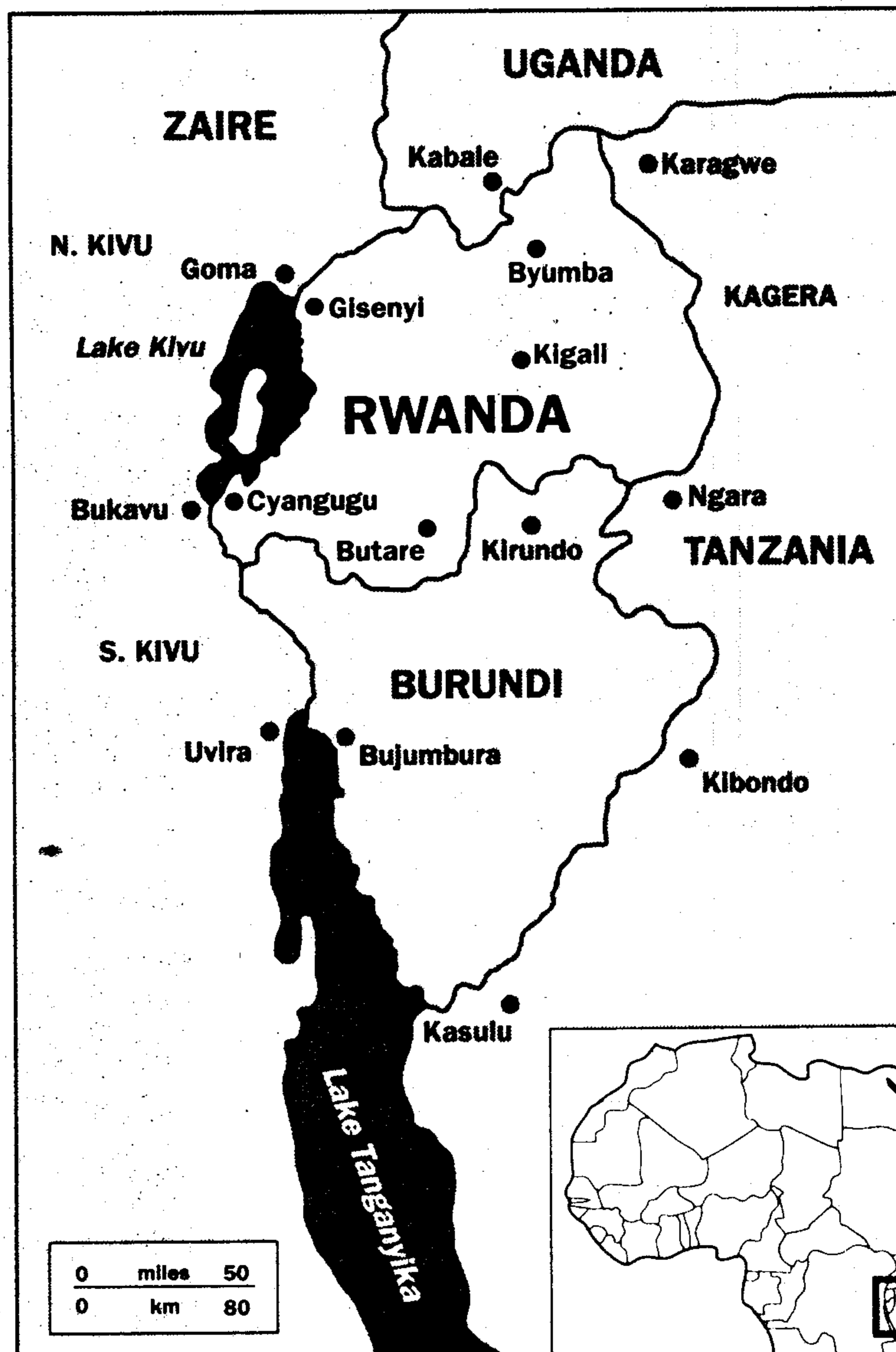
Colonised first by the Germans and later the Belgians, Rwanda's present grief has much to do with the transformation of its economy and society in that period. The Banyarwanda or people of Rwanda are drawn from three communities; Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.

Census figures always unreliable suggest their proportions in the population were up till last year 90 per cent, 9 per cent and 1 per cent respectively. What is not in doubt is that it is unhelpful to view recent events in Rwanda and for that matter in the sub-continent through the prism of "tribalism".

Tribes in the historical and scientific sense have long since ceased to exist in most of Africa along with their mode of production.

This word is not indigenous to African languages and was introduced by the British following their encounter with certain societies in South Asia.

It is a word so loaded with racist and imperialist connotations that it compromises all who use it. Far bet-



The Great Lakes Region

ter is the term "ethnicity" which has the merit of allowing for the dynamism in the formation of identities and its location in certain historical moments.

In any case the Hutu and Tutsi are not "tribes". All three communities speak the same language, Kinyarwanda. They live among each other sharing a common culture and traditions. The facile belief that all Tutsi are "tall and fair-skinned" and all Hutu are "short and dark-skinned" was conclusively disproved during the genocide when militias killed Hutus mistakenly believing them to be Tutsis.

In fact the most reliable method these roving gangs used was to demand to see a person's identity card before deciding whether to kill. Identity cards which were introduced by the Belgians state the 'ethnicity' of their bearer.

The Belgians had their own novel

way of deciding who belonged to which category. They decreed in the 1950's that anyone with ten or more head of cattle was Tutsi and the rest were Hutu. Where they were right was in the identification of cattle with wealth and thus status in society.

Where they were wrong (not that it would have mattered to them) was in seeing those identities as fixed, rigid and impermeable.

Pre-colonial Rwanda like its twin Burundi, were societies in which pastoralists known as the Tutsi, rearing cattle, exercised political dominance over agriculturalists and non-cattle owners called the Hutu.

They had acquired this dominance probably from superior military strength which marginalised the indigenous Twa who were hunter-gatherers and subjugated the farmers.

This process took place from the 15th century onwards and was con-

solidated by the 19th century. In fact it is more correct to interpret this as a combination of caste and class rather than ethnic formation. What the Belgians did was similar to what the British did in India and that was to freeze unfinished social formations and revive pre-capitalist institutions.

It had up till then been possible for social mobility in this hierarchical society. Through a ceremony called "kwihutura", a Hutu who had acquired many cattle and adopted the ways of a Tutsi including a Tutsi wife would cease to be a Hutu and become a Tutsi instead.

Likewise a Tutsi who had fallen on hard times, sold or lost his cattle and turned to subsistence farming would lose his Tutsi identity and become a Hutu. He would then be expected to marry a Hutu and his children would be regarded as Hutus too.

So this oppressive system, in which Tutsis were always overlords and Hutus their serfs, owing the former their labour and a proportion of their crop in return for patronage, had an inbuilt safety valve.

Colonial state

As a small country with vast territories to plunder, Belgium opted for indirect rule through making a minority group their agents. It also served to bind the Tutsi closer to the colonisers upon whom they were now dependent for political survival.

Hutu chiefs in the north-west were replaced by Tutsis. Belgian anthropologists and administrators gave succour to myths stressing the divine right of the Tutsi to rule and their unique leadership qualities.

When the authorities wanted free labour for their infrastructure projects they used the Tutsi chiefs to compel Hutus, and the latter hated the Tutsi even more for it. However some Hutu began through missionary education and integration into the colonial economy to enrich themselves, and a middle class was born which challenged their institutionalised oppression.

Meanwhile in the 1950's, radical nationalism was sweeping the continent and in its wake anti-colonial movements. Many Tutsi shared these ideas. Belgium was fearful of losing its influence and it promptly switched support to Hutu leaders. Exclusively Hutu parties were

formed and from 1959 onwards attacks between the two main communities became commonplace.

The Tutsi monarch was overthrown in 1961 and Rwanda became legally independent in 1962 under a Hutu government. Hundreds of thousands of Banyarwanda were driven out of the country, they had been singled out as Tutsi and they began to identify themselves as such.

Thirty years later it was these refugees some who had left as babies, who were to form the leadership and core of the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Neo-Colonial Economy

Political changes were being matched by as dramatic economic ones, principally the transformation in the agrarian system from food crop production to that of cash crops for export. In the 1920's coffee was introduced into Rwanda and by 1987 it constituted 79 per cent of export earnings.

Unlike tea which is the second largest export earner, coffee is grown by small-holders. While coffee prices were good and farmers received a guaranteed price for their crop, the economy did well but the commodity price (which is set in London) began to fall in 1987. When the International Coffee Agreement which is a cartel of producers fell apart in 1989, coffee lost 50 per cent of its value within a few months. Farmers who had taken up coffee cultivation originally under coercion from the Belgians and later to survive under a capitalist rather than exchange based system couldn't afford to buy food and couldn't eat coffee.

There were few alternative means of livelihood for the rural poor. A narrowly based, fragile economy was plunged into crisis and the door opened to intervention by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB).

Structural Adjustment Programme

In return for balance of payments support and loans from the IMF/WB, the Rwandan government began a structural adjustment programme in 1989.

Western donor countries had made further disbursements of aid conditional upon neo-liberal economic policies and with reduced revenue from its traditional exports and the regime's desperation to cling onto power it didn't argue.

CENTRE STAGE

The familiar medicine was prescribed. State enterprises to be privatised; massive redundancies of public sector workers; marketing boards dismantled; user fees for education and health; agricultural subsidies removed and so on.

When the Rwandan franc was devalued in November 1990, it lost 67 per cent of its value impoverishing people further because imports of food staples and other necessities became much more expensive.

Devaluation coincided with the RPF invasion from Uganda and the spiralling of inflation out of control. The neo-colonial economy was breeding the conditions for an uprising of the poor.

Tragically this groundswell of rage and frustration was diverted from an uprising against the ruling class into Hutu chauvinism.

Post-Colonial state

In 1973 in a military coup a Hutu General, Juvenal Habyarimana took power. He carried on the policy of discrimination against Tutsi and instead favoured his own clan from the north-west of the country.

His dictatorship grew more vicious in the 1980's when torture, extra-judicial execution and the imprisonment without trial of thousands was rife.

With the RPF invasion in 1990, every Tutsi was suspected of being an enemy and treated likewise. The advent of multi-partyism and Hutu dissatisfaction over his clannism made him many Hutu enemies as well whom he also victimised. Some of them escaped from the country and joined the RPF in exile.

The Rwandan army had by now become a wholly Hutu preserve with Tutsis not permitted to join or marry soldiers. The army grew from 4,000 to 40,000 after 1990 emerging as a political force. The rocket which downed Habyarimana's jet was probably fired by the elite Presidential Guard who were mounting their own coup d'etat.

The Rwandan dictator was on his way back from Tanzania where he had finally signed the Arusha peace accord with the RPF. Under the agreement, there would have been a multi-party transitional government in place last year and free elections this year.

Also the Rwandan army was to be integrated with the RPF army. Hutu dominance would at the least be shaken and the ruling elite lose their monopoly on power. From their perspective it was crucial to prevent this ever happening.

Western responsibility

Habyarimana's human rights record meant nothing to his western backers, who financed and armed him to the teeth. He was seen as an ally when imperialism was on the ideological defensive in the 1970s.

However the collapse of the Soviet Union and its influence made his friends change tack, and they began to press for an end to his despotism and for multi-party elections.

It is certain that Habyarimana was reluctant to loosen his grip on power. As early as 1992 he had approved attacks on Tutsis as well as Hutu oppositionists who supported peace with the RPF.

Militias linked to his party and another Hutu supremacist party were trained by the French with arms supplied during this period by Belgium, Israel and Egypt among others.

These militias called the **Interahamwe** (Those who attack together) and **Impuzamugambi** (Those with a single purpose) made preparations for a final solution - the genocide of the Tutsi, well in advance of those April days.

The now infamous Radio Milles-Collines



On course to confront rich? RPF fighters

exhorted Hutus to kill, urging them "not to spare the children unlike last time". This was not some spontaneous outburst or "tribal frenzy", it was a carefully planned and executed campaign.

When the so-called "international community of nations", that is the oppressors and exploiters of the world shed crocodile tears for the Rwandese we should recall that this is a tragedy for which they bear a heavy responsibility.

Refugees

As the new government which includes Hutu democratic parties but is dominated by the RPF rebuilds the country, an issue it must quickly face is the hundreds of thousands of internally displaced and the millions of refugees in Zaire, Tanzania and Burundi.

In these refugee camps they are easy prey not only to disease and hunger but also to the chauvinist propaganda of Hutu extremists

linked to the old regime. Many of the militia leaders and their families are sheltered here. They have been successful in persuading the refugees that they will be punished if they return to their homes.

Unfortunately the RPF has fueled these genuine fears in the Kibeho massacre. Its troops were ordered to close down and evacuate a camp within its borders where extremists were in control when some refugees ran through RPF ranks, soldiers opened fire killing hundreds.

In the ensuing stampede thousands were trampled underfoot and the final toll may be over 5,000 dead. The new government has made a full apology for the atrocity and promised that soldiers would be punished.

It has accepted that an independent commission of inquiry has to examine the facts. The acid test of its 'national' credentials will be whether it confronts the abuses committed by its own forces and take action to prevent its repetition.

Independent reports confirm that there have been few officially sponsored attacks on Hutus.

Where RPF soldiers are implicated, they tend to be those who joined last year in response to the murder of their families and for whom the pain and anger is greatest.

It seems that there are three viable options to the refugee dilemma.

- They should be allowed to return, accompanied by human rights monitors to their homes, equipped with seed and tools and enough food until the next harvest.

- They could be allowed to stay in the neighbouring countries and settle there, but retain their Rwandan nationality.

- They could be naturalised as citizens in those countries and be given full and equal rights.

Rwandan Patriotic Front

It was inevitable that the RPF would be dominated by Tutsi. After all it was they who formed the majority of refugees and the oppressed post 1959.

However the progressive aspect of the RPF is that it has seen itself since its formation as a liberation movement of all Rwandese. Its executive is majority Hutu and it has Hutu soldiers in its ranks. The RPF chairman, Colonel

Alexis Kanyarengwe is himself Hutu. It is more than symbolic that the President and Prime Minister appointed by the new government are themselves Hutu.

Although it is widely accepted that the key figure is Major-General Paul Kagame who is deputy President and Defence minister and a Tutsi.

The RPF is a multi-class formation. It was created to be as broad as possible and on a minimum platform of demands. There are three trends within the RPF.

Some would have liked nothing better than to ally with the Hutu elite and become part of the ruling class. There are others who impressed by the Museveni regime in Uganda and favour an economy open to foreign capital but where instead of multi-partyism a strong state rises above ethnic association.

The third trend are those militants particularly from the student milieu who recognise that the neo-colonial economy which spawned the genocide remains intact and has to be dismantled.

Even if they are content to carry forward the modest eight point programme the RPF adopted in 1990, this sets them on course for a confrontation with the rich and the property-owners and their imperialist backers abroad.

Cancel the debt!

Rwanda cannot be seen either in isolation from the rest of the region especially Burundi. Throughout this century events in one country have impacted upon the other.

Their problems are similar and the way out equally applicable. If western countries really care about Rwanda and regret their role in the past they can demonstrate it by cancelling its foreign debt and returning the war criminals who now reside in the plush suburbs of Nairobi and Brussels to face trial.

In the genocide neighbour turned against neighbour. The victim and the attacker knew each other. Not everyone can or will be punished. The most important are the politicians, the army high command and the militia leaders of whom an example must be made.

Never again must there be a repeat of last year's events. Never again must the criminals go unpunished. Never again.

CENTRE STAGE

French play for big stakes in Africa

by Charles Mullet

AS THE armies of the Rwandan Patriotic Front moved to take control of their country in the wake of the genocide in spring last year, France rushed troops to the region.

Their aim was to protect French interests in Central Africa, interests which involved a long-standing alliance with the forces in Rwanda responsible for the genocide.

The emergency deployment of French troops - covered by the usual made-to-measure United Nations mandate - gave the lie to some common misconceptions about today's world.

Firstly, the myth that the rich nations are not interested in Africa and secondly, the notion that modern imperialism can live without its historic roots in crude colonialism.

The former French empire, apart from distant Indochina, was concentrated in a continuous swathe of territory

stretching from North to Central Africa. In the 1950s and 60s, France ceded direct colonial control of this region to formally independent regimes over which it has striven to maintain a decisive influence ever since.

There is a junior minister for "Francophonie", as the alliance of French-speaking countries is called, in the government in Paris. Francophonie's African members have been economically tied to France through the *Communauté financière africaine* (CFA - African Financial Community). At regular intervals, these countries' leaders assemble for mutual back-scratching summits.

Francophone Africa is a land of one-party states and sometimes of notorious tyrannies, such as that of Bokassa in the Central African Republic or Mobutu's in Zaire. This is an inevitable part of neo-colonialism; if the regimes were democratic and popular, they would no longer be reliant on France for their survival. Despite occasional French criticisms



Just like the Americans in Latin America, France wants to be in charge in Africa

of their protégés and some dabbling with opposition groups, France's troops have intervened many times to prop up friendly dictators.

Apart from direct economic links, Francophonie is an essential pillar of French great power pretensions.

Unlike Britain, France has done its utmost to develop a military capability, including nuclear weapons, not directly reliant on NATO and the United States.

At the formal transfer of the presidency last month, the outgoing Mitterrand passed the secret nuclear codes on to incomer Chirac. France is set

to resume nuclear tests in the Pacific. Maintaining military bases in reliable African countries is an important aspect of French global strategy, as is access to secure sources of strategic raw materials. Francophone countries form a useful pro-French voting bloc in the United Nations.

Just like the Americans in Latin America and the Caribbean, French imperialism needs to be in charge in its African backyard.

Efforts by "the Anglo-Saxons" to muscle in on Africa are no more welcome to France than European efforts to "interfere" in Central

America or the Caribbean are to the US.

However, France is in all material respects a far weaker country than the United States.

Since the Cold War it has only been able to pursue its "independent" policy thanks to US tolerance and with many concessions to the latter's global strategic framework.

Now, with rivalries between North America and Europe intensifying, the French ruling class knows that it has reached a strategic crossroads.

This is where European Union and Maastricht come

in. Only through a common European defence and foreign policy can France find the resources necessary to sustain her world role. But creating the institutions for a common policy requires haggling with the European partners.

Notably, Germany tends to be in favour of a stronger European Commission and Parliament in which national differences are blurred, while French President Chirac is in favour of a reassertion of the role of the national governments. Europe is all very well, but there must still be a French army, and a French bomb under French control!

Meanwhile, Africa suffers a multitude of plagues. Among them that of being cast in a supporting role in the psychodramas of imperialist megalomania.

The task of full decolonisation, essential for development meeting the needs of the people, remains incomplete and a challenge for the forces of progress in Africa and in Europe.

CENTRE STAGE

Is Burundi on the brink?

According to the May issue of *Africa World Review* there are more than seventy international journalists in the Central African state of Burundi, waiting to report on 'genocide'.

Our Belgian sister publication *La Gauche* interviewed Colette Braeckman about the parallels with Burundi's

neighbour Rwanda, which saw just such a tragedy just over a year ago.

In the light of recent events, can we say that Burundi is on the way to another Rwanda?

I think we should be wary of over-hasty comparisons between Rwanda and Burundi.

In Rwanda there was a minority of the people, the Tutsis and the opponents of the regime, who were unarmed and

confronted with an army of militia who had sworn to exterminate them. There was, thus, a refusal to share power at the outset.

In Burundi there have been elections and then a power-sharing agreement. And there are arms on both sides: there is the army which is essentially Tutsi, but there are also Hutu militia who have unfortunately linked up with the militia in Rwanda. They are ready to attack from Zaire.

I think that in the best case in Burundi there could be a more or less stable governmental agreement and in the worst a civil war which could lead to as many deaths as in Rwanda, but which would not be a genocide.

Are there Hutus in Burundi who are armed?

There are the Léonard Nyangoma FDD (Forces de Défense de la Démocratie) who have taken up arms and which have guerrillas based in Zaire.

They have linked up with Rwandan militia who are well-armed and are, I think, supported by the Zairian leader Mobutu. These people have twice committed massacres. The first time after the assassination of President Ndayaye in Burundi and the

second when they were refugees in Rwanda. They have the same ideology as the Interahamwe.

Do they have popular support?

In some places including Hutu districts of the capital Bujumbura, they have support or at least people are terrified. It is hard to know if the support is voluntary - there is almost certainly a mixture of ethnic solidarity and intimidation.

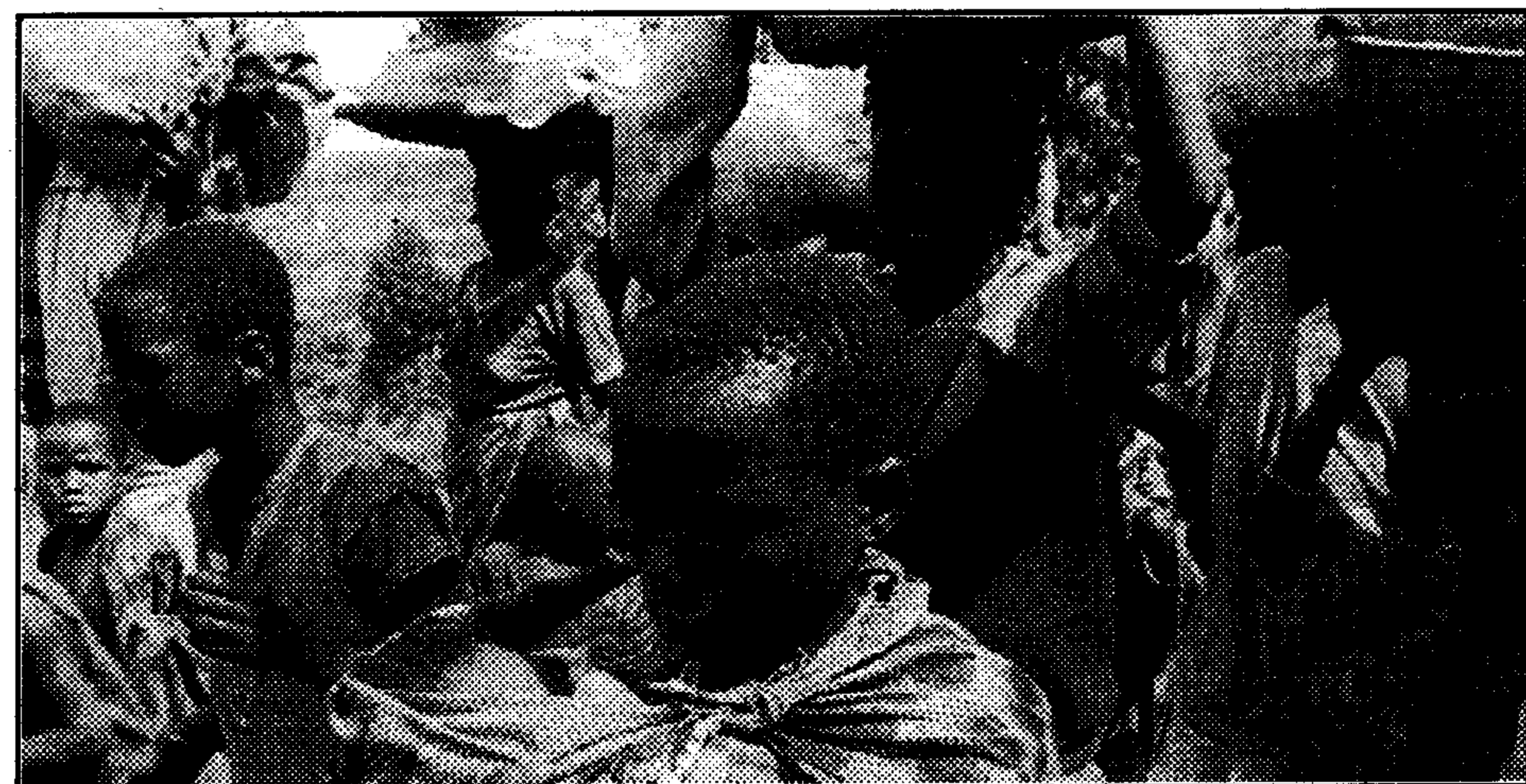
What is the army's role? The UN Secretary-General's envoy in Burundi says that the military are defending the whole population, whether Tutsi or Hutu.

That's what the army wants people to think. It may perhaps really be the desire of the leaders.

However, on the ground, there are family links with the Tutsi extremists. My impression is that the army repression is aimed at Hutus rather than Tutsis as a result of family ties.

This is the same army which murdered President Ndayaye and it does not control its own extreme elements.

What power does the



Refugees flee the Burundi army: its pose as an "impartial" force is not convincing

President have now?

The regime, and the President in particular, are very weak. They are torn by internal contradictions.

The President claims to disown Hutu extremists, but there is evidence that he keeps contacts with them, just as the army say they disown the Tutsi militia but also maintain contacts.

Will there be a national dialogue?

This is planned, but it has not yet begun. It is essential if things are to change for better. The government power-sharing agreement must be applied. I don't think that an outside intervention could change anything.

Indeed, concretely, I think such an intervention would be highly dangerous. The army is against intervention and would fight it; it could bring about the very catastrophe which everyone is trying to avoid. The UN representative, Ould Abdallah has said he

would resign if foreign troops arrived.

This is different from the situation in Rwanda, where I supported an intervention. There, the army and militia were massacring the unarmed population. In Burundi, the army says it wants to maintain calm. It must be forced to do so. Observers must be sent.

That said, the UN force did nothing. It was withdrawn when it should have intervened. Today it is still there, at a cost of a million dollars a day, but it is useless.

The governmental agreement was reached after the coup d'état. Some say it is simply the follow-up to this coup.

It's clear that the agreement does not correspond to the results of the elections, which gave an absolute majority to Frodebu. But the agreement reassures the Tutsi minority.

It is also the result of the balance of forces, because the

Tutsis, although a minority, have a strong presence in the bureaucracy, industry and trade.

Hutus have been recruited into the army over the past few years, but the military hierarchy is 100% Tutsi.

Have the fall in the price of coffee and the impact of structural adjustment programmes had the same destabilising impact in Burundi as in Rwanda?

Yes. Another destabilising factor has been the creation of a free-trade zone around Bujumbura. It is aimed at attracting foreign businesses.

They employ a small local labour force, but do not pay Burundian taxes. This zone was created with the support of the IMF and it plays a key role in the trade in gold and precious stones coming especially from Zaire. Trade in gold is close to gold-smuggling. The zone attracts smugglers.

Interview with veteran revolutionary marxist ERNEST MANDEL

The old crisis and the new poverty

SINKING IN a trillion-dollar sea of debt, international capitalism is divided and uncertain over its future.

GABRIEL MAISSIN discussed with ERNEST MANDEL, a veteran leader of the Fourth International.

SOME STATISTICAL indicators indicate an upturn, a resumption of growth. Is this a real upturn, what is its depth and does it signify a resumption of capitalist growth in the medium term?

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of fluctuation in the capitalist economy. There are not only short cycles, but also what are called "long waves", expansionary and depressive.

The long expansionary wave in general dominated the capitalist economy from 1949 until the late 1960s and early 1970s. The long depressive wave which began in 1973 is characterised by the fact that, independently of what happens conjuncturally, underlying unemployment has continued to increase. Everyone knows that the official figures are false.

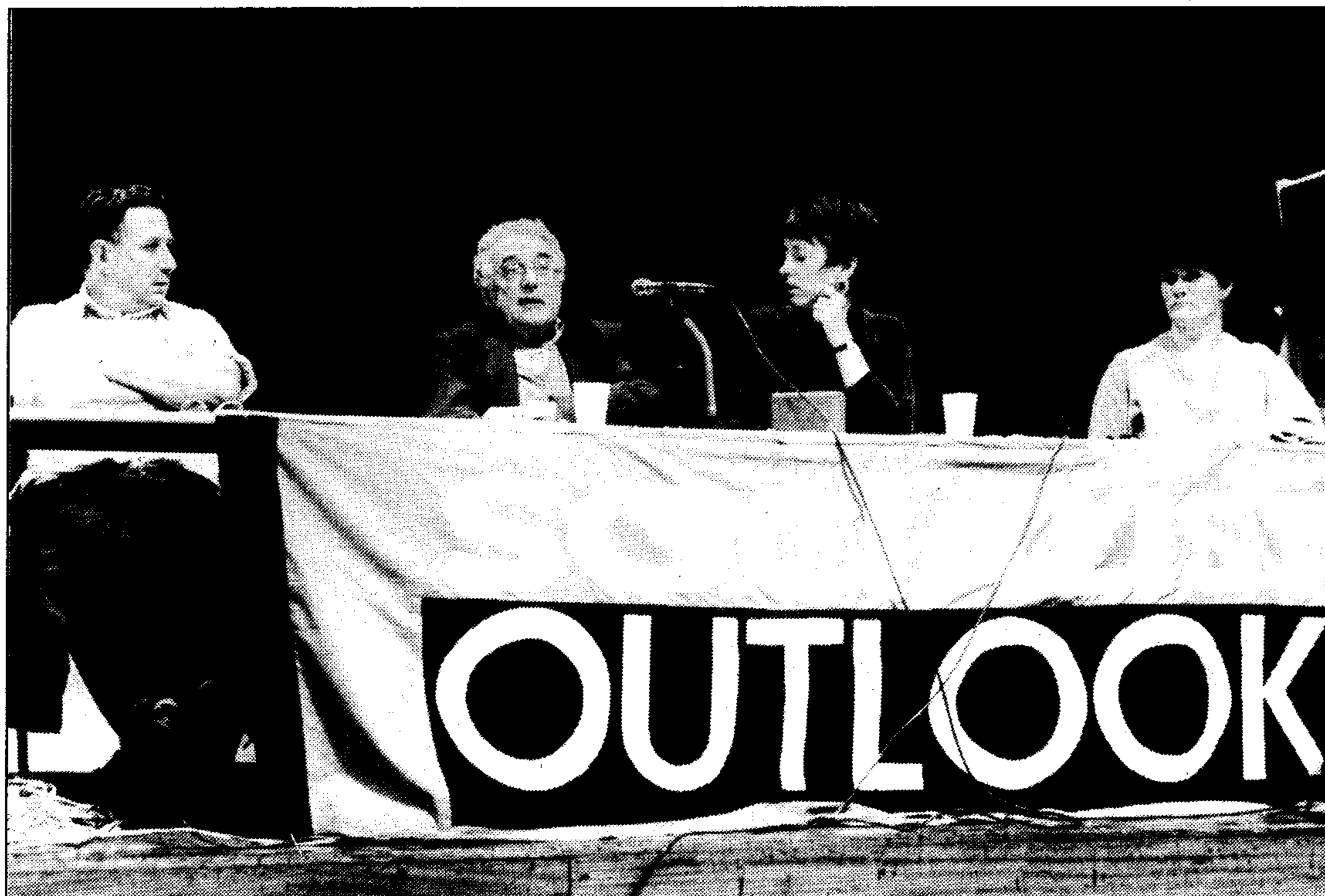
My estimate is that in the imperialist countries this figure is currently more than 50 million and that this is going to rise uninterruptedly. In the third world, the figure is in the hundreds of millions.

To the unemployed must be added the down and outs, the marginalised, those living in what is called the "new poverty"; these

also are numbered in the millions, and their number is growing. In the third world the number cannot be estimated. It would be necessary to go back

to the worst moment of the economic crisis of the 1930s to find phenomena of this character. Those living below the poverty level in the imperialist countries represent, depending on the country, from 10 per cent to 30 per cent of the population, with a few exceptions. But these exceptions, like Sweden and Switzerland, will not last long, for these are world phenomena. It is the inability of the capitalist economy to halt this movement which justifies the use of the term long depressive wave.

In the countries of the third world, and in the countries of eastern Europe and Russia, this evolution is accompanied by a disastrous decline in the standard of living (for example, in Mexico, in the space of some years, the standard of living of the majority of people has fallen to what it was before the Second World War). In some countries, we see increasing use of child labour, a kind



Mandel, with Alan Thornett (left) and Ann Conway (right), featured speakers at a Socialist Outlook rally

of semi-slavery, in heartbreaking conditions.

All this does not exclude a conjunctural movement inside the long depressive wave, for the latter does not imply a continual fall of production. Today there is unquestionably a revival of production in a series of imperialist countries, not in all cases at the same level. This presents an opportunity for the trade union movement, to say, like the German metalworkers, "production is increasing, profits are increasing, we want our share of the cake". It is then the moment to pose realisable de-

We speak of a crisis of the consciousness of the proletariat. Today there is a crisis of leadership and of consciousness of the bourgeoisie.

mands. But in the end this conjunctural short or medium term movement does not change the fundamental terms of the problem; there is no perspective of emerging from the long depressive wave in the foreseeable future.

As far as one can judge, this will continue beyond the end of the 20th century.

But there is all the same a contradiction because profit levels have risen. Since 1991-1993, there has been a growth in profits of 12 to 13 per cent. Why should such an upturn in company profits not be accompanied by a wider long term movement?

Simply because of the fundamental curse of the capitalist regime.

In order for there to be a real upturn and the possibility of a durable

long term growth, two conditions are necessary; an increase in profits, but also an enlargement of the market.

The capitalist regime cannot function on the basis of macro-economic indicators. Each commodity is specific and it has to be met by a specific demand. The producers of machine tools do not work for the consumers who buy shoes. We are confronted with a new theoretical problem.

Underestimated

Up until now, Marxists, including the Fourth International, have underestimated it; when we speak of the

globalisation of the economy, it as if it was a quasi-magical phenomenon, above relations between human beings. One of the great merits of Marx and Marxism is to understand that at the basis of any economic evolution - of all fundamental socio-economic relations - there are relations between human beings.

What has happened then? There has been an accentuated phenomenon of international concentration and centralisation of capital. But this is accompanied by a series of other phenomena, whose breadth must be appreciated. First, we are witnessing what I call the "reprivatisation of money"; it is the consequence of the enormous power of multinational companies, which are increasingly escaping any kind of governmental control. The policy of deregulation as carried out by Reagan and Thatcher is not the cause of this phenomenon but precisely its consequence. To give the most important example of the significance of the phenomenon no one knows the volume of capital circulating on a world

to them, business is done equivalent to the annual volume of world trade!

This "liquification" of capital also prolongs a phenomenon which had already existed. The capitalist economy, after the Second World War, launched itself on an ocean of debts, world indebtedness was colossal. Everybody speaks of the third world debt, but this debt, which concerns half the human race, is hardly 15 per cent of the total volume of debt! There is the debt of the imperialist enterprises, of the capitalists, there is the debt of households, there is the debt of non third world governments. These figures have become incalculable, representing some trillions of dollars of debt. And there again we touch on a fundamental phenomenon which explains why an easy exit from the long wave is not likely.

Multinationals

Speaking of multinationals, it is wrong to regard them as a "bloc". There is a phenomenon of concentration of multinationals, the figure is cited of some six hundred who predominate on a world market. Some predict that it will be down to a hundred in a few years. This appears a little excessive to me, but you never know. The dollar is in free fall. And the absence of a hegemonic imperialist power has as a consequence the incapacity of the world bourgeoisie to impose solutions.

The meetings of G7 generally end up on a note of impotence, without any decision. We are accustomed to speaking of a crisis of the subjective factor, of a crisis of the consciousness, the leadership, of the proletariat. But today there is a crisis of leadership and of consciousness of the bourgeoisie. And this is a socio-political reason that there is no easy exit from the long depressive wave likely for the moment.

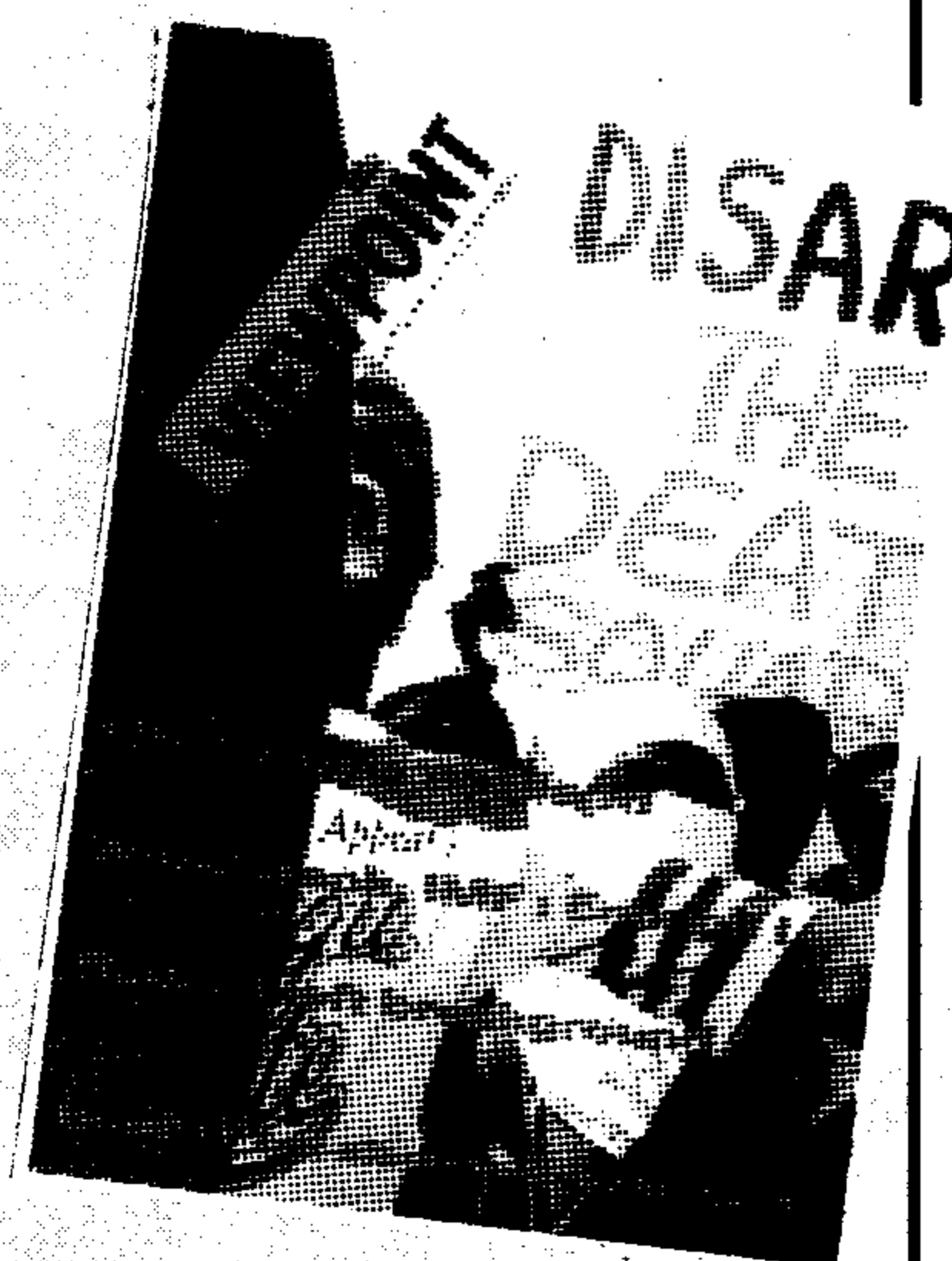
• Taken from *La Gauche*.

INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

In the current *International Viewpoint*, monthly review of the Fourth International:
France after Mitterand; Algeria: what can feminists do?; World Summit for Social development - and attacks on the poor South and North; Mexico - Rosario Ibarra Interview; Plus: Germany; Spain; Russia; Quebec; Haiti; Turkey, and more.

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WORLD OUTLOOK

Do we need another leader like Wilson?

by Geoff Ryan

PERHAPS one of the worst crimes of Tony Blair is that he has made many people look back fondly on Harold Wilson. Because Blair is so reactionary, the recently deceased Wilson appears, by comparison, to have been a defender of working class interests. Yet the differences between Blair and Wilson are much more apparent than real.

Wilson, it is true, was opposed by some capitalist interests. Colonels Stirling and Walker talked of setting up private armies, even organising a coup. Peter Wright's revelations in *Spycatcher* demonstrate how members of MI5 conspired against Wilson. But these were all relatively minor sectors of the capitalist state. The most important sections of the capitalist class by no means saw Wilson as a threat to their interests.

As Prime Minister Harold Wilson was certainly prepared to sanction significant amounts of government intervention – Blair clearly is not. Wilson created the National Enterprise Board, the National Board on Prices and Incomes, various off-shoots of the National Economic Development Council, and other organs of class collaboration which appeared to give a voice to the unions. Such bodies are anathema to Blair.

Curb unions

However, all Wilson's efforts at state intervention had a single aim – defending capitalism. From the very beginning he pledged not just to regenerate British (capitalist) industry, but also to cut the power of the unions (which was always described as ending 'restrictive practices').

In the 1960s and early 1970s the ruling class were quite content to use state intervention to safeguard capitalism – hence Wilson's interventionist measures, up to and including nationalisation.

In the 1990s the capitalist class (at least in Britain) have no interest in interventionism – hence Blair's commitment to the logic of the market.

In other words, Wilson and Blair reflect not differences within the working class but differences within ruling class strategy. When the ruling class sanctions state intervention Labour leaders are interventionist – when capitalism opposes interventionism so does the leader of the Labour Party. Any independent working class strategy was as much absent under Harold Wilson's leadership as it will be under a Blair government.

Of course there were a number of important reforms under Wilson. The Equal Pay Act, Sex Discrimination Act, Race Relations Act, liberalisation of abortion laws, and the liberalisation of laws against homosexuality were – for all their weaknesses – important gains. Capital punishment was abolished.

But their introduction owed little to any 'progressive' policies on Harold Wilson's part. Such reforms were introduced because women fought for Equal Pay and an end to discrimination. Black people fought back against racist oppression. Gay men refused to continue to be criminalised.

Reforms were even being proposed by Liberals like David Steel. And, in the social and political climate of the 1960s and early 1970s, such moves were genuinely popular. A Labour government that had refused to back such measures would soon have found itself facing even greater levels of hostility than confronted Wilson.

Despite making some concessions on these social issues Wilson also adopted a tougher



Every picture tells a story: Wilson got on famously with US warmonger Lyndon Johnson

approach on other issues, particularly immigration. Under Wilson immigration laws became even more explicitly racist.

Wilson remained deeply committed to defending capitalist economic interests. In 1966, when confronted with a strike by members of the National Union of Seamen (sic) Wilson denounced 'a small group of politically motivated men' (one of whom was a certain John Prescott!) and organised a massive witchhunt against the strikers. Three years later, following strikes in the engineering industry, Wilson introduced his 'In Place of Strife' anti-union proposals.

Wage controls

Massive working class opposition forced Wilson to withdraw his proposals. By then his government had lost sufficient support to allow a Tory victory in the 1970 election. But Wilson remained committed to taming the unions. Re-elected in a new economic crisis in 1974, his government began by upholding Tory wage controls before imposing its own, more draconian wage cuts under the guise of the Social Contract – or 'Social Contrack' as it was known at the time – which attempted to integrate trade union leaders in policing the working class.

After 1976, when Denis Healey had done his

deal with the IMF, the mask was dropped, and the pretence of co-operation was replaced by naked wage controls.

Of course Blair's approach to the unions is different. He makes no pretence of sitting down to 'beer and sandwiches' (not even chablis and caviar) with union leaders. But, again, the difference is more apparent than real. Wilson had no choice: the unions remained strong and able to mobilise active opposition. Even Heath had eventually to recognise that.

Capitalism in the 1960s and early 1970s was willing to integrate the union leaders. By the 1980s it was no longer prepared to do so. Thatcher took on and defeated the miners (aided by the passivity of the rest of the union leadership).

The union leaders were rapidly marginalised. They were no longer able to gain a hearing in Downing Street. In fact the only place they were able to make their voice heard, however feebly, was in Brussels – hence their new-found enthusiasm for the European Union.

Blair is hostile to the unions because that is what capitalism demands. If capitalism felt it necessary to incorporate the union leaders, as it did in the 1960s, Blair would no doubt adopt policies similar to Wilson.

Whilst Wilson aimed to make Britain safe for capitalism, he certainly didn't confine himself to purely British affairs. Indeed, Wilson's

foreign policy was as reactionary as that of the post war Labour government had been, under the direction of Cold Warrior Ernest Bevin.

Probably no government in the world was so enthusiastic about United States imperialism's brutal war against the people of Vietnam. Despite the opposition of the *Daily Mirror*, despite the opposition of the Labour Party itself, despite massive demonstrations, Wilson's government slavishly supported the American war effort.

Nor did Wilson protest about the American invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965.

Wilson's craven support was not some aberration. Labour governments have always backed American imperialism. 'Atlanticism' and 'the special relationship' were developed by the 1945 Labour government, leading to Labour sending troops to support the imperialist war in Korea.

The only time the Labour Party openly opposed British imperialist intervention was in 1956 – over the Suez crisis – when the USA was also opposed to the British, French and Israeli invasion of Egypt.

If Blair looks today towards the European Union it is not that he has differences with Wilson's approach. Wilson was 'Atlanticist' because the dominant sections of capital were. Today, the dominant sections of capital look to Europe, so Blair follows suit.

Vietnam

Wilson was not only an enthusiastic supporter of American imperialism's war against the people of Vietnam. He was involved in his own colonial war, in Aden, until Britain was finally forced to withdraw in 1967 and recognise the independence of South Yemen.

Withdrawal from Aden was quickly followed by intervention in Nigeria on the side of the military government against the Biafra independence movement. Britain not only sent arms, tanks and mortars, but British officers also took part both directly and indirectly in the war.

Wilson was also capable of the most cynical *realpolitik*. In 1968 the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. Wilson (and the Americans) were aware of the invasion fully one week before it took place. Wilson (and the Americans) cynically suppressed this information, and failed to inform Czech Prime Minister Dubcek about the imminent invasion. Subsequent protests about 'Soviet aggression' were simply for public consumption.

The most enduring 'achievement' of the Wilson government is the continued presence of British troops in the North of Ireland. Wilson's decision to send troops to Belfast and Derry in August 1969 was not motivated by a concern that Nationalists might be murdered by Loyalists but a fear that the Nationalist people might defeat the armed Loyalist thugs of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

In Derry especially, a victory for the Nationalists was a real possibility. British troops went there to prevent the defeat of the R.U.C. and to re-impose imperialist order. Nearly 26 years later they are still carrying out the same role.

Tony Blair is, of course, a disaster for working people. But let's not get sentimental for Wilson just because Blair is so awful. Attacks on trade union rights, witchhunts of strikers, support for imperialist wars, ever more racist immigration laws – and sixteen years of misery under Thatcherism – are the grim legacy of the Wilson years.

Though Blair is now not even offering reforms, there was no golden age of reformism: instead of making us soft and sentimental, Wilson's death should remind us of the urgency of rebuilding a principled socialist current in the labour movement, to ensure Blair does not have the same freedom to betray.



Hull dockers proudly showing their new Blue Union cards



Shaping up for a fight? TGWU officials meet Hull dockers

Blue was the colour

HARRY CONSTABLE was a key dockers' leader, one charged at the Old Bailey in 1951 for leading an unofficial strike. In the mid-1950s he was a full-time official with the Blue Union, in regular contact with militants on the Hull docks.

How the Blue Union came to Hull docks, by Keith Sinclair. £1.30 inc postage from Keith Sinclair, 27 Strathmore Ave, Hull HU67JH

Reviewed by
HARRY CONSTABLE

THIS is not just another pamphlet, but is worth of being recognised as an important document. Its description of the Hull port workers' grim struggle against the ship owners and also, at that time, the inability of the Transport and General Workers Union to safeguard its members interests is brought out

very clearly.

There are those who would have us believe that after Arthur Deakin, the TGWU became a leftward looking union. Deakin's replacement Tiffin died soon after taking office and Frank Cousins then took over as General Secretary.

After about three years, they used their block vote at Labour Party conference to support the motion for unilateral disarmament. This in itself was a leftward move. However as far as the port worker was concerned he could do no sign of any leftward move: he felt betrayed.

This feeling was the greatest on the Merseyside, Hull and Manchester and to a lesser in London and elsewhere. Keith Sinclair has obviously done a thorough job in researching his facts.

I lived the historic period throughout the years from 1944 to 1959 and travelled the ports helping to form a national Ports Committee. If the TGWU had been doing their job, port workers would have ignored our efforts.

The idea of a *National Port Workers Committee* in 1945 was to create a pressure group to force the TGWU to come out of its shell and become the fighting force it originally was meant to be.

It has been suggested by Al Richardson that dockers were not told about the Bridlington Agreement [which prevents TUC unions 'poaching' each other's members] when considering a move to the Blue Union.

Before Hull and other Northern ports applied to join

the NASDU, I always made it clear there was a "Bridlington" Agreement, but was of the opinion that if it was not rescinded it should be broken: it was a ball and chain on the Blue Union.

I voiced my opinions on the NASDU Docks Section on frequent occasions. Finally this opinion was voiced at the historic meeting at Canning Town Hall, where the whole meeting endorsed the recommendation to accept Hull and the other ports.

Those Hull workers who lived through the period that Keith Sinclair writes about will find it in every way very refreshing — and the later generation will, I hope, admire them for the great effort they made to improve their lot.

Brilliant!

The Black Album, by Hanif Kureishi, Faber & Faber, London 1995, £14.95

Reviewed by
K.GOVINDAN

It is 1989 and *that* book by Salman Rushdie is about to hit the headlines. Into the maelstrom lands young Shahid.

A second generation Pakistani born and bred in Kent, Shahid flees the family travel agency to seek fulfillment in London student life. We accompany our disorientated but undaunted hero as he negotiates the possibilities of his new world.

Two are presented. One: the fellowship of his intellectually stimulating white lecturer with whom he shares an adoration for Prince (hence the book named after a bootleg album) and some orgasmic sex.

Secondly: there's a group of Asian students who combine their disdain for all

things western with a fervour that as believers in Islam they have identity, purpose and the promise of Paradise.

Sub-cultures

This is also a novel about London and its sub-cultures — a social landscape devastated by Thatcherism. From run down lodgings and seedy pubs in derelict Kilburn, to East End council estates where Asian families live in fear of racist abuse, from weekend raves and popping ecstasy in south London



The architect of the ruins

warehouses, to love trysts in Upper Street Islington — this is Shahid's terrain.

Throughout Kureishi avoids the temptation to caricature Muslim fundamentalism.

When an aubergine is sliced open and in its flesh a divine message is thought to be revealed supporting the *fatwa* on Rushdie, we laugh at the spectacle and not the faithful.

There are plenty of wry observations and lovely lines weaved into the text, "What sort of people burn books and read aubergines? I'd heard that books were on the way out. I never imagined they would be replaced by vegetables."

We sometimes get so caught up in the search for 'where we belong' and 'who we are' that we don't realise that these questions have already been asked and answered in our everyday lives.

In this captivating and funny book Kureishi regales, delights and enchants us with an experience of growing up black in Britain. Brilliant.

First ever African Liberation Day demonstration

By **Bill MacKeith**

SOME THREE hundred African liberation fighters and supporters marched in London on May 27 to mark African Liberation Day.

Groups of Nigerians, Ghanaians, Ugandans and Ivorians were prominent on the march, the Ivorians including drummers and slogan chanting zouglou dancers.

Speakers at the rally including Dan Akuane (Uganda), Pat Budu (Ghana), Gerard Mampo Guillet (Ivorian Relief Action Group) and Gani Fawehinmi (Nigeria).

A speaker from the Sudanese Peoples Liberation

Movement denounced the war on the African people in the south of the country by the Arab government in Khartoum.

Urgency

All stressed the urgency of putting the African liberation struggle on the political agenda in Europe, of building grass-roots anti-imperialist solidarity for the popular democratic struggles being waged against poverty, exploitation and repression.

NADECO Forum (UK), a coalition of all British based Nigerian pro-democracy organisations opposed to the military dictatorship, has launched a petition and organised a Nigeria Democ-

racy week (June 9-17):

June 11: demo (2pm Imperial War Museum, march to Trafalgar Square)

June 12: picket of the High Commission in Northumberland Avenue from noon to 5pm

June 14: picket of Shell HQ, Waterloo 3-5 pm

June 16: picket of Downing street from 2-4 pm.

■ NADECO can be contacted on 0171 627 1299)

■ Further Info: ALISC, Box 256, London SE11 5TH. Tel: 0181 202 6292

REVIEWS

WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

UP AGAINST mass unemployment, rampant employers with savage anti-union laws, and a war on hard-won public 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 build a new type of working class leadership, based on class struggle and revolutionary socialism.

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

The Tory strategy has been to shackle the unions, and to fragment and weaken the resistance, allowing them to pick off isolated sections one at a time.

In response, most TUC and Labour leaders have embraced the defeatist politics of 'new realism', effectively total surrender, while ditching any pretence of being a socialist alternative. Every retreat encouraged the offensive against jobs, wages, conditions and union rights.

New realism is the latest form of reformism, seeking only improved conditions within capitalism.

We reject reformism, not because we are against reforms, but because we know that 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 the 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 arm-chair 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 to topple the corrupt and reactionary rule

of capital and establish its own class rule.

We struggle against fragmentation by building solidarity, to unite the various struggles of workers, the unemployed, of women, of pensioners, of the black communities, of lesbians and gay men, of students, of youth – and of those fighting imperialism in Ireland and worldwide.

Socialist Outlook is above all an internationalist current, in solidarity with the Trotskyist Fourth International, which organises in over 40 countries.

Unlike some other groups on the British left, we do not believe a mass revolutionary party can be built simply by proclaiming ourselves to be one. This degenerates into sectarian posturing and abstention from struggles in the labour movement, playing into right wing hands.

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 revolution. The oppressed must organise themselves and fight now for their 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 racism and fascism – in which various left currents can work together for common objectives while remaining free to debate 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!

Our Community Care and theirs



Community care should be democratically controlled and free

A FAIR, safe and non-persecutory system of health and welfare is what we want. The Tory idea of community care is something quite different, explains PAULINE BRADLEY.

COMMUNITY CARE was a way the government saw of saving money - where there were 40,000 social workers, there are now 20,000. They shamelessly pillaged the radical language of the 1960's to justify their policies.

But it is not just money they're after. Community care is an ideological device to regulate society. It is therefore worth tracing the thinking behind it.

Theories of madness replaced those of possessed by the devil. All Europe was affected by the upheavals in the mid seventeenth century when dispossessed peasants were thrown into "houses of correction". Those who didn't work were seen as "without reason" and chained up like animals.

A new scientific elite grew to theorise this treatment. One of the first "disorders" they diagnosed was "draptomania" symptoms were "slaves running away from their plantations. The "cure" was "putting an iron collar round their neck".

Deviants

Since then other "deviants" such as single parents, sexually abused women and political activists have been thrown into the regimented institutions called "asylums".

Until the 1960s the American Psychiatric Association called homosexuality a "psychosexual disorder". Psychiatry was often used to "normalise" women who were difficult wives, flirted, refused sex, or were deemed to have too strong a sex drive;

they were "treated" in various ways, one of them being by clitoridectomy (surgical removal of the clitoris).

The Anti-Psychiatry Movement in the 1960s pointed out the resemblance of asylums to prisons and how they accentuate the self-perception of its inmates as "strange", "weird" and "anti-social".

The studies of the Socialist Health Associations have found that most people labelled schizophrenic are women, and/or black and overwhelmingly working class. These groups of people were more likely to end up in institutions and to be given toxic drug treatment rather than therapy or counselling.

In *Sanity, Madness and the Family* RD Laing shows how the child in the family labelled "schizophrenic," "manic depressive" or "psychotic" is usually the scapegoat for the other family members. It is in their interest to keep this person in the "mad" role because

the family can then avoid acknowledging their own inadequacies.

The Anti-Psychiatry movement sought to expose abuses in the mental health system looking at the power relationship between the psychiatrist and the patient. They talked of "decarceration" (the opposite of incarceration) and opened up a therapeutic community called Kingsley Hall as an alternative to the oppressive mental hospitals.

Kingsley Hall

Kingsley Hall did not use drugs – as it saw them as merely suppressing symptoms – but instead used therapeutic intervention to stem the damage that society had caused. This should be the model of "Community Care" we should follow - not the farce that the Tories have introduced.

Medication does not "cure" - it just suppresses symptoms. Long term use can cause drastic side effects such

as tardive dyskinesia (uncontrollable shakes), stiffness, involuntary tongue thrusts and even death. MIND's survey shows that there is one death per week caused by psychiatric drugs, far more than those killed by the "mentally ill".

If supervised discharges became law then those diagnosed as "mentally ill" have little future. Community Health nurses will be asked to forcibly inject people against their will – they will become a particular gruesome adjunct to the Strong State.

When the Conservatives talk about "communities" they mean white, middle-class suburbs where women do the unpaid caring, there is a neighbourhood watch scheme and people live in nuclear families or individual flats.

When we talk about communities we mean something very different. Everyone would be included in a socialist community blacks, whites, people from all cultural and racial backgrounds, gays, lesbians, able bodied, disabled, men, women and those who would have been previously diagnosed as "mentally ill".

In the future we should be arguing for free therapeutic communities, group homes and crisis centres offering alternative therapies. Community care should be democratically controlled and free.

We need to work with survivors groups and put pressure on the possible Blair led government to make community care and welfare something we can be proud of.

• *Socialist Outlook* welcomes letters under 300 words on Community Care. Write to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

FEATURE

CONTACT US NOW!

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Date..... Please return to PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU.

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THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTION

Join us -- August 23 to 28 1995 -- on the glorious Welsh coast

THIS YEAR'S school will be our second at Aberystwyth, with tremendous views overlooking Cardigan Bay.

The town is a popular traditional resort, with a beach and promenade, a funicular railway and hilltop panorama, 45 pubs, shops and entertainment.

This year the school is a day longer, offering six days of discussion, debate, entertainment and relaxation.

Participants enjoy individual en-suite rooms, a free swimming pool and sports facilities, a bar, and exclusive use of a large all-day lounge.

A creche for up to 15 children is available.

The school is open to *Socialist Outlook* and *Liberation!* supporters, and those sympathetic to our ideas.

COURSES AND SESSIONS include: Post-war marxism; party, class and social movements; developments in popular culture; ecology; socialism after the fall of the wall; women and the revolutionary party; the popular 'Introduction to Marxism' series; Latin America; Bolshevik history; in-depth course on the State; women revolutionaries; Revolutions - Germany, Russia, Vietnam and China; the Fourth International; racism in world war two; Gramsci; the National Question.

The all-in fee for the school has been pegged at just £110 (waged) and £45 (unwaged) for the full six days.

We advise all comrades to come for the whole school, and that is the cheapest way to stay: but for any who can only negotiate shorter holidays a sliding scale of charges will apply: Four nights £85/£42, three nights £70/£35, two nights £50/£25, single night £25/£15.

Your deposit of just £35 (waged) or £15 (unwaged) secures your place.

Make cheques payable to 'Socialist Outlook Summer School', and send to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. The first fifty bookings go into a mystery draw for a very special prize. Book today!

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Socialist Outlook welcomes readers' letters on any subject. Write to 'Feedback', PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Letters over 300 words will be cut.

FeedBACK

Bolsheviks and Soviets

IN HIS letter, Joe Nairn [SO 84] takes issue with Enzo Traverso's assertion that some of the 'amoral' Bolshevik actions 'foster the rise of Stalinism'.

Against this, Joe re-iterates the position that it was the material conditions which gave rise to both Stalinism and the clampdown by the Bolsheviks.

As a marxist, I cannot deny this, but human beings and the role they play in history is part of the material conditions.

The monopoly of government by a single party, the growing amalgamation of state and party machines and, especially, the ban on factions at the 10th Congress [of the Bolshevik party] meant that there was no check on the excesses of the incipient bureaucracy. This nurtured the growth of Stalinism.

The military suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny might have been a necessity: but was the massacre which followed equally necessary? Three

months after the defeat of the uprising, sailors were still being taken out of prison and shot on the spot. Was this necessary for the defence of the revolution?

No party can be trusted to exercise the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' without adequate safeguards. This could only be the task of democratically elected Soviets. The history of the Bolshevik Party's decline and eventual destruction by Stalin surely proves this true.

Charle van Gelderen, Cambridge.

Reactionary freedoms?

JOE NAIRN'S letter on Enzo Traverso [SO 84] touches some key questions of socialist democracy.

It's useful to draw out Joe's point about the leadership of the 1979-1990 government in Nicaragua. Joe is mistaken to suggest that the Sandinistas did not fight the Contras. In fact the Sandinistas fought the

war against the US-backed insurgent forces very hard.

But the general question remains: could the leadership of a socialist democracy advocate freedom of speech to those it considered to have counter-revolutionary political positions but who respected the workers' democracy in practice?

It is an important question - one which will certainly be posed after the British revolution. The authoritarian and sectarian tradition of the British left means that it is occasionally posed in the workers' and students' organisations. What democratic rights could members of the Fourth International be given, for instance, by those ultra-left critics who hold that we have adopted counter-revolutionary political positions?

Oddly, Joe says Traverso's book *compliments* religion. Traverso draws some original conclusions from the survival of Jewish identity. But wasn't Marx just as 'complimentary' - calling religion the cry of the oppressed masses, while still advocating socialism?

Duncan Chapple, London N4

WHAT'S HAPPENING

JUNE

Sat 10

MARCH for Justice for Brian Drummond assemble 12 noon The Pond Clapham Common march to Kennington Park SE11 Details: 0171 733 7790.

RMT demonstration: End poverty wages: cut the hours not the wages Meet 1pm York Way Kings Cross rally 2pm Friends' Meeting House Euston Rd with Rodney Bickstaff, Carol Regan, Jimmy Knapp, Dennis Skinner, Arthur Scargill, Bill Morris.

Sat 17

SOCIALIST Policies for a Labour Government One-day conference sponsored by *Defend Clause 4 Defend Socialism and Tribune* 11.30am - 4.30pm Carrs Lane Community Hall Birmingham (0171) 733 3403.

Sat 24

NATIONAL day of action against immigration detentions and deportations at Campsfield, Harmondsworth, Haslar, Rochester, Winson Green, Holloway, Doncaster Ring (0171) 837 1450, (01865) 724452 or (0171) 713 7907 for details.

Weds 28

BIRMINGHAM *Socialist Outlook* and *Liberation!* public meeting: **State Racism and Fortress Europe** Speaker: **Bala Kumar 7.30pm** Queens Tavern Essex Road.

Thurs 29

LEEDS *Socialist Outlook* public meeting Unions & Labour with speaker Glen Voris.

JULY

Sat 3

NOTTS Welfare State demo: 0115 9626298.

Thurs 7-Sat 9

SOCIALISM beyond the market: CSE conference Newcastle.

Sat 9

CRIMINAL Justice after the Bill a day conference sponsored by the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers. 9.30am - 4pm Camden Town Hall opposite St Pancras BR. £3/£10 from 20-21 Tooks Court EC4.

Sat 15

SMTUC conference: 'New' Labour and the Unions 10.30am-5pm South Camden Community School, NW1 tickets £5/£3 from 3 Blades House SE11 5TW.

Fri 22 - Fri 29

INTERNATIONAL Youth Camp in southern France. Send £35 deposit to 'Liberation Publishing Association', PO Box 1109, N4.

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Socialist Outlook draws together the finest analysis of the trades unions and Labour Party with unequalled international coverage from Fourth International supporters in fifty countries worldwide. Your subscription also includes *Liberation!*, our youth quarterly, and the occasional review, *theory+practice*.

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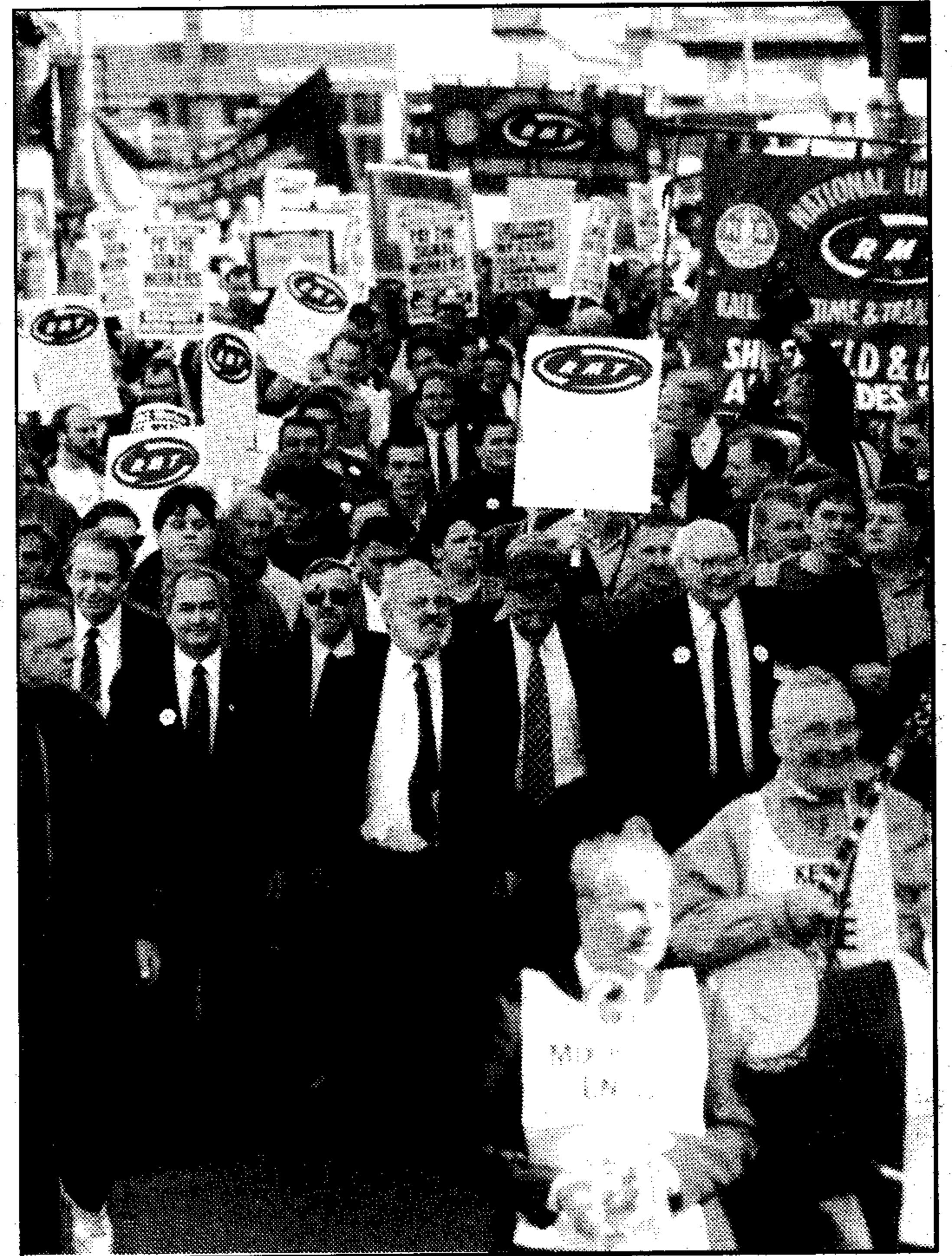
SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Socialist OUTLOOK

**INSIDE:
Blair's new
economics
page 3**

SATURDAY JUNE 17: ORGANISE THE LEFT

Keep Tories on the run



THE TIME to fight is now. That's the message of the Barclays Bank pickets, the railworkers demanding decent wages, the health workers and the further education lecturers who are balloting over pay.

People are sick to death of this discredited, divided and corrupt government. And they're fighting back.

Teachers are balloting on a one day strike.

Barclays bank workers are traditionally seen as "conservative". There was no sign of it last week - they're fuming at the super-profits the Bank has screwed out of its staff and customers - £1.86 billion last year. They are not prepared to put up with it any longer.

It is the union's first ever national strike. One in nine of

the bank's branches were completely shut down.

While the rest of us are having to work harder, in worsening conditions for less money, the bosses are dishing out telephone number rises for themselves - complete with international prefixes.

ASLEF and the RMT are talking about joint action on the railways. The pay fight is the last chance for united action before the railways are broken up. Workers want a proper rise before the end of national pay bargaining.

Privatisation

A successful battle for six per cent would be a massive kick in the teeth for the Tories, and put a stick in the spokes of privatisation: big money will not be so keen to buy up the companies if the Tories can't

guarantee a compliant workforce.

Transport secretary Brian Mawhinney has had to go bleating to Kenneth Clarke to lift the three per cent pay limit. It's dawning on the Tories that they may not be able to hold the line if industrial struggle takes off.

But rail workers are finding the same problem as others who want to fight back. They're hamstrung by their own leaderships.

The RMT's officers have done next to nothing to build the demonstration on June 10. Militants in the union have had to battle for activity at every stage. Doug McAvoy the head of the NUT has written to every member of his union asking them to vote against the union conference's strike call. Christine Hancock the general

secretary of the RCN has broken ranks with other health unions to go for a separate deal: as a result UNISON has put back its ballot on action - by another six weeks.

The only people who can save the Tory's bacon now are the union leaders - and they're doing their very best!

Blair is joining the chorus. He's gone craven cap in hand to the bosses, assuring them that a future Labour government will do nothing to alter the balance of forces between bosses and workers.

All those who want to roll back the years of Tory attacks have got to support industrial action over the summer. We must combine this with a strategy for the future.

The Labour left conference on June 17 offers an opportunity to both build links with

trades unionists taking action, and to discuss a way of battling back against the right-wing politics of Blair and his cohorts.

Organising the left is a vital

task if we are to be successful. Building a left in the Labour Party must go hand in hand with fighting for action in the unions.

SOCIALIST POLICIES FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Conference sponsored by
Tribune, Defend Clause 4,
Socialist Campaign Group of MPs
Clause Four may be defeated, but the
fight goes on for socialist policies
in the Labour Party and the unions.

BIRMINGHAM
Saturday June 17
Carrs Lane Community Hall