

# Socialist OUTLOOK

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Issue 86 ● 50p ● June 24 1995 ●

● 30BF ● 5FF ● \$1 ● 2DM ● 1500 lire ● f1

## Court frees Joy Gardner's killers

# LICENCE TO KILL

THE POLICE officers who unlawfully killed Joy Gardner walked free from court last week, amid a storm of anger from her family and anti-racist campaigners.

Mrs Gardner died after being ruthlessly bound and gagged by the three officers who broke into her home in July 1993.

Their acquittal effectively gives racist cops, and presumably also the private firms which are now taking on the business of deporting 'illegal' immigrants, a licence to kill.

The Police Federation, predictably, complained that the accused officers were 'scapegoats' and should never have been brought to trial; they were simply carrying the can for decisions taken by others, who were not in the dock.

Part of this is true: Home Secretary Michael Howard and his predecessors, those who sanctioned the use of gags, and those who drew up the racist legislation that has led to a rising tide of deportations, all played their part in Joy Gardner's killing.

The fact is that her killers were not just hapless beat bobbies caught in a difficult situation, but specialists: one had served 13 years as a member of the Scotland Yard deportation squad, routinely forcing black people out of the country.

The squad itself – a symptom of the brutality of racist legislation – has since been suspended, though the deportations continue. Now almost half are carried out for profit by private contractors.

The use of gags, which the deportation squad did as a matter of routine without any regard for the health hazard, was banned four months after Joy Gardner's death: but there is no monitoring of the activities of the deportation contract firms.

The only way to prevent further brutality and tragedy is to scrap the racist immigration laws which have also led to the imprisonment of hundreds of innocent refugees and asylum seekers.

Campaigners have made June 24 a Day of Actions to close down the immigration prisons. **Details, centre pages.**



# Life after Blair's steamroller

By Alan Thornett

"DON'T MOURN: organise" - socialist film director Ken Loach used the lessons of the Spanish revolution to summarise the tasks ahead for socialists now Clause Four has been taken out of the Labour Party constitution.

More than 150 left activists attended the joint meeting between *Tribune* and the Clause Four campaign to discuss the way forward for the left in the aftermath of the defeat. The discussion centred around the challenge Blair has given the left in the trades unions and Labour Party.

Despite a good rank and file campaign the left suffered a heavy defeat at the special conference on Clause Four. The socialist left in the constituencies was steam rolled by Blair's bandwagon.

The June 17 conference began to lay out a plan to respond to the new situation.

It recognised that the unions have become the key to the fightback. The dominance of the right in the constituencies will not be reversed before the next general election - the impetus to change the balance of forces in our favour will come from the trades unions and social struggles.

UNISON activist Geoff Martin argued that the battle for a minimum wage should be the focus of our campaigning in the movement. It gives us a significant opportunity to force a wedge into the Blairite bloc. We should have a rally before Labour Party conference demanding that the party sets an adequate level, he argued.

This issue is particularly



*Tribune* editor Mark Seddon, watched by Alan Simpson MP

important because it enables us to reach out to the forces who went along with Blair's change to the constitution. The minimum wage is far more tangible: we all know people slaving on low wages and know what misery they entail.

## TGWU

The Labour leadership's intervention into the TGWU election has obviously galvanised the activists. A speaker from Region Five, not noted for its left politics, addressed the conference. He made a very political contribution,

highlighting Blair's use of the media to circumvent the structures of the movement.

This is becoming a key matter. In the workshop "keeping the party Labour" activists from Edinburgh South explained how new standing orders are being forced upon constituency parties in Scotland - with no amendments allowed.

In the new rules general committees, the political leadership of constituencies, are only allowed to convene three or four times a year, with socials and Bingo sessions replacing meetings. The

rightwing Labour Coordinating Committee has become Blair's shock troops, forcing through the changes in the constituencies.

Mark Seddon, the editor of *Tribune*, explained how Blair intends to turn the party into a social democratic style outfit.

This means the left must unite against the offensive. In a very positive and friendly speech he offered to build the link between his paper and the Network.

The labour leadership's adaption to the politics of Conservatism was stressed by Ken Coates. He pointed in particular to the abandonment of trades union rights and the aspiration to full employment.

A speaker from the CWU told us how, despite their unions' vote in favour of Blair over Clause Four, the left won a position to repeal all anti-trades union laws.

Although the mood of the conference was resolute and determined no significant new forces were there. It was based on those in the Socialist Campaign Group Network and far left groups. However, the link with *Tribune* is a positive development.

The left needs an organisation which will bring together those who fought for Clause Four and those who want to fight now around class struggle action. The task now is to go far beyond those who supported Clause Four.

We must reach deeper into the unions, the campaigns and social struggles to show the need for socialist policies today. That can start the realignment we need to win struggles in the future.

## Capitalism fouls things up

# Stop Shell bosses dumping on ocean

By Simon Day

THE MASS protests breaking out across Europe against Shell's proposals to dump a massive oil rig in the North Sea show the depth of feeling people have for the environment.

They also demonstrate the distrust for multinationals that exists - it is clear to all that they care for nothing but the dollar.

In Britain, activists have picketed 100 Shell stations across the country.

The rig continues to make slow progress across the Atlantic to its dumping site. It is trailed by the Greenpeace ship *Altair*.

## Water cannon

Two Greenpeace members are on board. A Shell flotilla's use of watercannon to stop them being supplied with food and dry clothes has been unsuccessful - a Greenpeace helicopter broke through the barrage bringing supplies for the two.

The cannons are strong enough to break windows and smash partitions.

The 14,500 ton rig is said to contain at least 130 tons of toxic substances, including 100 tons of partially radioactive oil sludge and large and large amounts of

toxic heavy metals such as cadmium, mercury and lead, as well as toxins such as PCBs.

The boycott campaign has been massively successful in Germany. Managers are talking about "drastic losses". The company's sales have been cut by at least a fifth. Shell stations in Hamburg and Buxtehude have been set on fire.

Helmut Kohl was forced to lecture Major at their discussions in Nova Scotia over Britain's support for Shell.

At this month's North Sea Conference Britain remained the only country still dumping sewage sludge into the sea, the only one to discharge oil-contaminated cuttings from rigs and the only one not to have drawn up an action plan to reduce pollution by nitrogen and phosphorus.

It was also way behind in reducing pollution by toxic metals and regulating ships' waste discharges.

The Danish environment minister Svend Auken called on motorists to boycott shell until they back down.

In an embarrassing statement for Shell Heeremac, one of their main off-shore contractors, has said that there is no need to dump the Brent Spar at sea: "there are no environmental, safety or economic reasons not to tow this old platform ashore" one of their spokespersons said.

## HOME NEWS

# Rail workers must vote for action

By Greg Tucker

This month's ballot for industrial action over pay is the last chance for unified action on the rail before privatisation. Rail workers must vote for action.

There have been 20,000 jobs lost on the railways in the last three years. BR boasts of its "substantial savings" in its salary bill as a result.

British Rail has offered a three per cent pay rise - less than the cost of living increase over the past twelve months.

RMT and drivers' union ASLEF are balloting their members with a view to a series of one day strikes. They have widened their ballots to include London Underground.

There has been a very positive response so far - there is real anger over the offer. The coincidence of RMT and ASLEF ballots needs to be built upon by coordinating future activities. There is now a high likelihood of action.

The unique nature of the privatisation process makes for special difficulties in organising. Unlike British Telecom's one giant sell-off, the rail is to

be broken down bit by bit.

This is a deliberate strategy to put an end to the potential collective strength of rail workers.

There are three aspects.

- The franchising of BR's public face - the trains for example. This will particularly affect drivers, guards, platform staff, ticket collectors and other station staff.

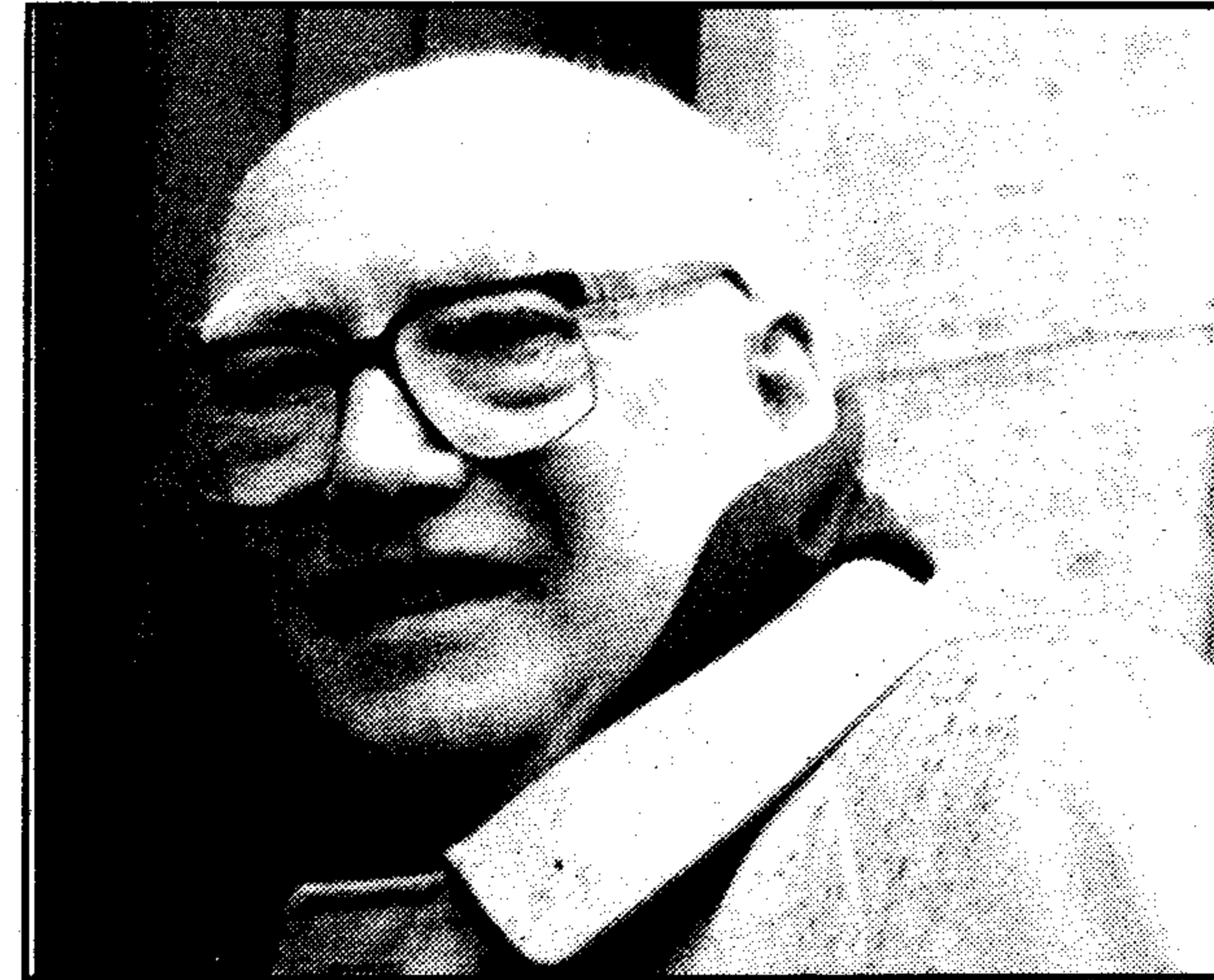
- The 'classical' privatisation scheme of Railtrack.

- The contracting out of areas, including such things as mending and maintenance of track. This is already happening, having the effect of frag-

menting workers forced to relate to various different employers.

Like other unions the RMT is having to come to terms with big changes in the way it operates. There has been a running battle between activists and the full-time officials over this question for a number of years. The fall in members means there is less room for manoeuvre for the full-timers.

The core of the left on the executive is now beginning to elaborate a strategy for how the union should be run. Nevertheless, the present organisational crisis in the union has



Call to action: RMT leader Jimmy Knapp

led to a sense of crisis among many of the activists.

The staff union TSSA has ended hopes of three-way unity over the proposed action by sending its pay dispute to arbitration.

The arbitration will not be binding on the employers however, because it is at the

request of the union alone.

A successful battle for six per cent by ASLEF and RMT would be a massive setback for the Tory's pay policy.

It would demonstrate the effectiveness of industrial action - a much needed shot in the arm for organised labour.

## What we think

# Behind McAvoy's bonapartist experiment

# Their democracy -- and ours

AT FIRST sight it seems that National Union of Teachers leader Doug McAvoy was using a sledgehammer to crack a nut.

His immense £200,000 propaganda blitz, aimed at persuading teachers to vote 'no' in their ballot on industrial action, was aimed not at staving off a general strike, but a one-day protest stoppage to show support for the campaigns of parents, governors and students fighting cuts in school funding and increases in class sizes.

But though he clearly rejects any notion of action to defend jobs or services, McAvoy was also playing for much bigger stakes: he wants to impose new mechanisms to control the union, to prevent it playing any part in the inevitable clashes with an incoming Labour government.

Barely had the results of the ballot been declared than McAvoy was rushing to the media to announce a unilateral change of policy, dropping the NUT's opposition to opted out Grant Maintained (GM) schools.

### Questionnaire

The basis of this new twist, which reverses conference policy and had not even been discussed by the union's right wing dominated Executive, was a bizarre questionnaire 'poll' of "the perceptions of NUT representatives in 211 grant maintained schools - about 20 percent of all such schools."

Just six percent of schools are grant maintained, and the NUT polled only one in five of them. Teachers in the 94 percent of LEA-run schools which have lost out as a result of the opt-out schemes were given no voice in the survey.

But McAvoy also had to ignore many of the findings even in this extraordinarily unrepresentative survey in order to claim that members on the ground favoured a change of policy.

In fact the survey showed three quarters of NUT reps working in the GM schools declared themselves *opposed* to the general principle of opt-

ing out. 80 percent reported an increase in bureaucracy in GM schools. The vast majority reported that management style in the GM schools was either little changed or more top-down than before opting out. A substantial majority reported that their GM schools were now "preoccupied with financial management at the expense of educational issues".

### Perverted

It takes the perverted genius of a McAvoy to translate these findings into any kind of argument for accepting school opt-outs: the whole process illustrates the scope for misleading members and the wider public by asking only selective and biased questions of an unrepresentative and arbitrary layer in the union.

But this is the direction in which McAvoy and other right wingers now wish to travel.

A resolution raised by McAvoy's hand-raisers on the NUT Executive has given him carte blanche to attack the policy-making role of a supposedly unrepresentative conference, and "Prepare a report, with recommendations, to ensure that mainstream views prevail in the future in the creation and implementation of Union policies and actions".

Resting on the laurels of his ballot victory, McAvoy is likely to look towards more policy-making by survey, and more ballots to override the considered views of the activists who are vital to the life and strength of the union.

### Uninformed

This increasing technique of procuring right wing majorities by balloting the uninformed did wonders for Tony Blair in the Clause Four fight, and is becoming increasingly popular among union leaders. Alan Johnson, chief of the Communications Workers Union also used the same method to overturn the existing policy of both merged unions.

These right wingers have rediscovered what the witch-hunting TGWU leadership discovered 20 years ago in their

attacks on the Trotskyist-led shop stewards movement in British Leyland's Cowley assembly plant: a mass membership ballot gives the employers and right wing media maximum impact on the result.

Thatcher knew it too: that's why the Tory anti-union laws have tried to impose on decision-making by postal ballot rather than allowing votes by mass meetings where the issues are explained and discussed by those taking part.

Of course it sounds more democratic to give every member a vote on every key issue: but the reality is that this leaves all the real control in the hands of a few national officials, who would decide not only which questions should be put out to a ballot, but also how the question should be framed.

Unions - and Labour Parties - require a broad base of membership, and offer every member the right to participate. But they depend on the commitment and activism of a relatively small minority of lay members.

Unions in particular are not just a coalition of equal individuals: a vital few volunteer to devote their time and energy to building and administering local branches; stewards and reps put their jobs on the line to press the case of other members, negotiating on their behalf with often hostile management.

Some sacrifice leisure time to familiarise themselves with wider issues affecting the union, and are elected to represent branches and regions at conferences, where issues are debated and policies decided.

This active, committed layer is what sustains unions through hard periods like the present: at times when big disputes or mass struggles erupt, many of the more passive layers of members may also come into activity, broadening the base.

Union bureaucrats like McAvoy, on £60,000 a year plus an expense allowance higher than most teachers' salaries, do not see themselves as part of the active layer: they are not involved in the nitty gritty branch-level



The unions depend on an active minority to organise each branch and negotiate with management

fight against cuts. They are not concerned with the problems of their members; they are concerned only to do deals with Tony Blair that guarantee them a quiet life.

### Subscriptions

Their ideal would be a union in which members pay subscriptions, but ask for nothing in return.

The turn to a form of 'rule by referendum', reminiscent

of the way in which nineteenth century French dictator Louis Bonaparte posed as a figure 'above class', balanced between the power of the military and the apparent support of the electorate, seems to offer McAvoy and co a hope of achieving this.

But McAvoy's bonapartist experiment may be short-lived. Outside the vicious, paranoid circles of NUT Head Office, parents, governors, students and thousands of ordinary

teachers are fighting back.

GM schools may be favoured by McAvoy, Blunkett and Blair, but they are rejected not only by the left but by the overwhelming majority of parents - and by the other teaching unions.

Against the cynical manoeuvres, rigged referenda and reactionary propaganda of the right wing, the best answer is hard facts - and agitation against the Tory onslaught.

## Who needs to say sorry?

British newspapers have been full of indignant articles attacking the Japanese government and ruling class for its failure to apologise for their country's atrocities in World War Two.

"The tribe that can't admit it was wrong" is the way the *Daily Telegraph* sums up the Japanese establishment.

Of course such moralising comes strangely from a country which can count the fire-bombing of Dresden among its own history of countless war crimes against rival imperialist nations and against the indigenous peoples of countries colonised by British imperialism.

But the hypocrisy goes even further, when we remember that the Japanese were not simply the inflictors but also the recipients of imperialist atrocities.

There has never been any apology for the cynical Allied decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which the *Telegraph*, like most similar articles, fails even to mention.

That act of barbarism had nothing to do with winning the war in Asia: the Japanese surrender was already known to be certain. It was a delib-

erate, pre-emptive strike designed to intimidate the Soviet Union, which virtually unaided had driven the Nazis out of Eastern Europe and was seen as the new threat to US and British interests.

The fact is that capitalism is a brutal system that inflicts suffering on countless millions.

The imperialist powers which seek to dominate whole areas of the globe are the most brutal of all, and their apologies are worth as little as their professed concern for democracy and human rights.

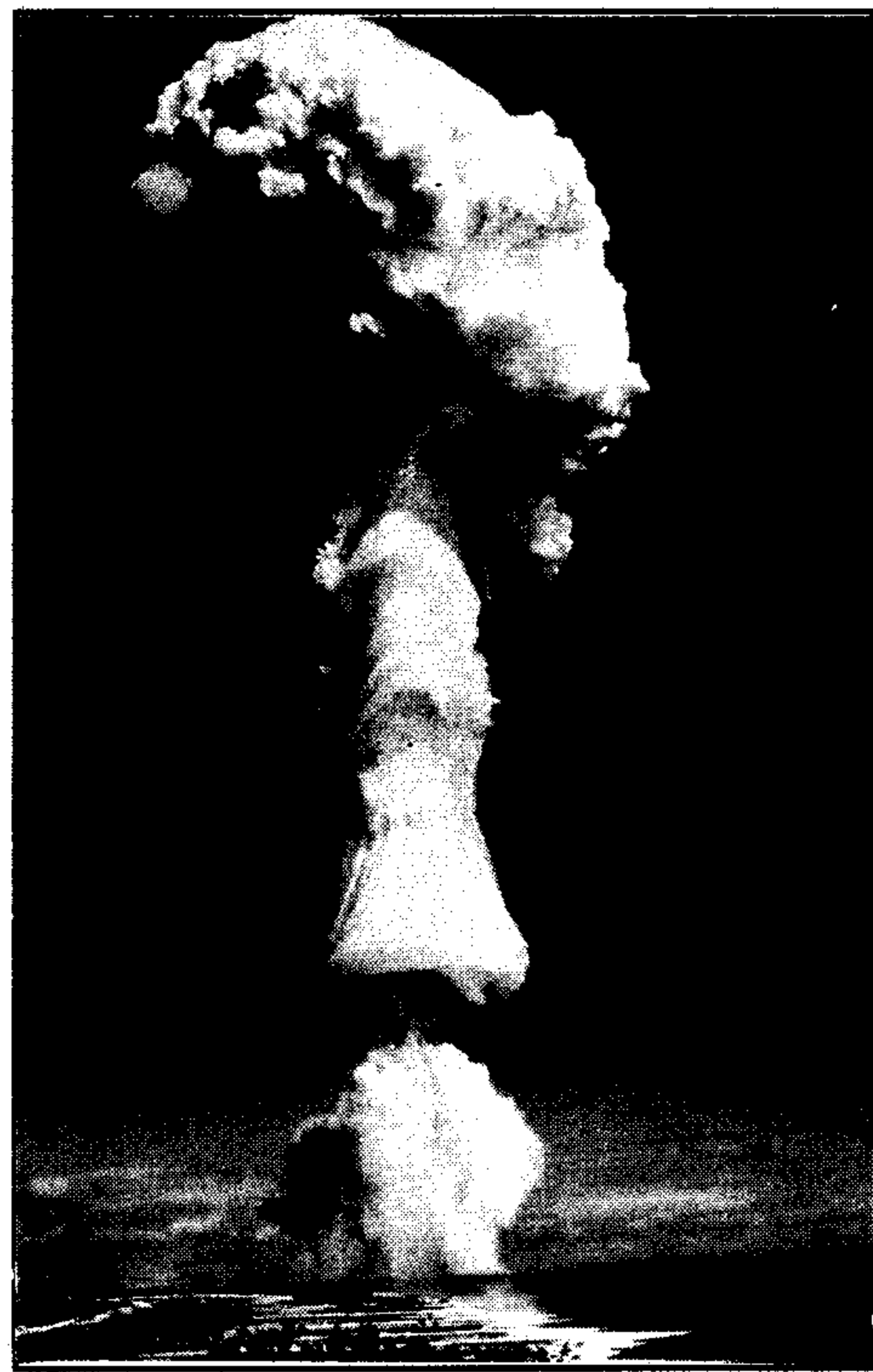
Jacques Chirac's new French government has lost no time reminding us of the realities of imperialism. His decision to restart nuclear tests in the South Pacific is not only a classic gesture of colonial arrogance, but a reminder that imperialism is still squandering countless billions on barbaric weaponry of mass slaughter, long after the alleged reason, the supposed 'threat from the east', has disappeared.

One notable silence among the governments denouncing the French decision was Britain.

John Major - supported on this as on so many issues by Tony Blair - is also pouring billions into the building of Trident submarines to maintain the pretence of a 'British' deterrent.

There will of course be no apology from them to the school students facing cuts, the NHS patients on waiting lists, the homeless or the jobless, who would benefit if this ludicrous scheme were dropped.

The Tories are another tribe who cannot admit they are wrong. But they know that imperialism means never having to say you're sorry.



If it's so safe, why not do it in France?

EDITORIAL



Bickerstaffe defended Clause Four and renationalisation: but he is part of a leadership that has done nothing on NHS pay

Yorkshire conference demands...

## Jobs not the JSA

By Nigel Danby,  
Branch Sec, CPSA  
North Humberside  
ES, personal  
capacity

of these instructions and your benefit will be cut for one to six weeks.

The Tories may claim that they are helping people back to work. In fact they are giving yet another helping hand to the bosses. Under capitalism, the unemployed form a reserve army of labour. The JSA will enable the members of this reserve army to be conscripted into work on starvation wages.

Job Centre managers have already broken their own rules on advertising vacancies for scab labour. How much harder will it be for your union to organise if your boss can ring the Job Centre and ship in workers who have no choice about their terms and conditions of work.

This is why Hull Trades Council campaign against the JSA as "an attack on us all." It's also why our campaign is not just about fighting JSA.

After a lot of debate, we decided to endorse the Trades Council's call for a link to be forged between our campaign against the JSA can now get underway.

Leaflets are being produced for different groups of workers who will be hit by the JSA in different ways. We hope to hope to produce more detailed briefings on JSA, full employment and the minimum wage to enable activists to take the campaign into their workplaces, trade union and Labour Party branches.

To find out more contact Nigel Danby, TU Side Office, Beverley Job Centre, Crosskill House, Mill Lane, Beverley, East Yorks HU17 7NH. Please mark your envelope "In Confidence".

TRADE union and Labour Party activists from all Yorkshire have launched a campaign against the Job Seekers Allowance.

They met in Hull's Trades and Labour Club on June 6.

The initiative for the event, organised by Hull and District Trades Council, came from my own union branch.

As Job Centre workers, we will be at the sharp end of the Tories' latest assault on the working class. As

trade unionists, we owe it to the wider labour movement to increase awareness of what the JSA will mean for millions of people. We must also be at the forefront of the fight against the JSA.

Not only will the JSA cut the already inadequate benefits available to the unemployed, it will also force wages down and make the unions' task of winning decent terms and conditions much harder.

Under the JSA, the unemployed will be faced with a stark choice — a low paid job or no benefit. The Employment Service will be able to impose a Job Seekers Direction at any time during a claim. It will be able to set out courses of action which are compulsory in all but name — apply for a job, go on a scheme, turn up for an interview, get your hair cut.

The list is literally endless but all the items have one thing in common: fail to follow one

nation by full time officials.

Others on the left argued that Bannister, as a prominent ex-NALGO candidate, would lead to the permanent ghettoisation of the CFDU as a largely ex-NALGO left, and that wider support could be built around the platform of critical support for Bickerstaffe coupled with demands on him.

This disagreement has led to a split in the CFDU, with those opposed to Bannister's candidacy announcing the launch of a new UNISON Labour Left.

The CFDU is urging left activists to organise 'hustings' meetings with Bickerstaffe and Bannister for branches and regions. Nominations are also urgently required, since the closing date is in six weeks.

Details of the CFDU and its campaign can be obtained from Bromley UNISON, Civic Centre, Stockwell Close, Bromley, BR1 3UH.

# Left challenge to Bickerstaffe

By Fred Lepiat,  
Islington UNISON  
'A' Branch

UNISON's conference in Brighton saw the national leadership getting its way on practically everything by skilfully playing on delegates' misplaced loyalty, and skilful manipulation to push controversial motions at the bottom of the agenda or on the reserve list.

The anger of delegates at the union's prevarication over the NHS pay dispute resulted in the call for a demonstration demanding 'National Pay for a National Health Service'.

Otherwise only rule changes livened up an otherwise flat conference; branches voted to raise the local retention of subscriptions from 18% to 21%.

An amendment seeking the adoption of a new rule similar in wording to the old Labour Party and NUPE 'Clause

Four' was defeated. However the conference did vote to campaign for a minimum wage of £4.15 and to bring the privatised utilities back into public ownership, putting the whole union to the left of Tony Blair's New Labour Party.

Delegates showed solidarity with over 350 UNISON members on strike in Sheffield libraries, agreeing to hear a speaker and voting a £10,000 donation to strike funds. But a motion calling on the union to defy anti-union laws to protect members if all other avenues fail was heavily defeated.

The Campaign for a Fighting Democratic UNISON (CFDU), the main left tendency, was central to many of the debates at conference, and organised a fringe meeting with Tony Benn which drew over 400 delegates.

But the CFDU has been divided over the issue of whether to run a candidate against Rodney Bickerstaffe in the forthcoming General Secretary election.

While there was agreement that Bickerstaffe's recent support of Clause Four and the left policies of the union's Affiliated Political Fund conference are welcome, left activists are concerned at the lack of action on key issues such as privatisation and NHS pay, and the union's compliance with the anti-union laws which allows the employers to get away with their attacks.

This has convinced some left activists that the general secretary election offers an opportunity to debate the best way forward for the union. A majority of the CFDU therefore decided to support Roger Bannister, an NEC member and supporter of Militant Labour, as a candidate on the CFDU platform which includes:

- National action to defend jobs, pay and conditions.
- Defiance of the anti-union laws where members' interests are at stake.
- Support and proper funding for self-organisation.
- Lay member control of the union as opposed to domi-

leading shop steward. After an immediate stoppage the drivers returned to work, and went through the legal procedures of a ballot, giving seven days notice.

During this time the company moved many of the cars out of their distribution depot. On the day the strike started they were all sacked.

Since the strike began the company has not moved any of the cars out of the depot, but by the use of outside drivers they have managed to get the last of the trans-

porters out.

Milton is the depot through which all Rover cars from both Cowley and Longbridge are distributed throughout the south of England.

### Non-union

Cars from these two plants are now being taken to Upper Heyford in Oxfordshire, or Ely in Cambridgeshire, the depot for East Anglia, which is mainly non-union.

The strikers are very de-

termined, and are maintaining a 24-hour picket on the Milton depot, hoping to stop the cars being moved.

The problem is that the cars they would normally be transporting from the car plants are now being moved, by-passing Milton.

Despite the fact that they have done everything legally, and have been sacked, the strikers have had little official support from the TGWU.

As we go to press they have had only one visit to

their picket line by a TGWU official. The strike tent and all their facilities have had to be provided by the strikers themselves; they don't even have a mobile phone.

The union did talk to Rover, but the talks excluded the strikers and did not seem to get anywhere.

The full resources of the TGWU are needed to back these strikers. Like the sacked Chelmsford Badgerline busworkers, they are being used by the employers as an example to intimidate

other workers in the industry.

We must try to make these disputes an example of union solidarity. Resolutions from TGWU branches should be sent to Region 5 and the Executive demanding more active support, and trying to get a boycott of MCD within Rover, at Ely and at the receiving garages.

Oxford Trades Council has formed a support group and will be doing everything possible to gain support for the strikers, especially in Rover.

HOME NEWS

# Car strike tests strength of TGWU

By Jack Johnson

THE 37 sacked car transport workers, employed by Mainland Car Deliveries in Milton, Oxfordshire, have now been on strike for four weeks.

The strike started over the company's decision to break an agreement they had with the union ensuring no sackings before August.

Nine redundancies were announced, including the

# Key role for September 30 FACE demonstration

## Teachers will pay price of McAvoy's NUT ballot success

**By Roy Leach**  
(NUT Executive,  
personal capacity)

THE 4-1 VOTE by NUT members against a one-day national strike on class sizes was disappointing but no real surprise (see Outlook No.85).

An unprecedented propaganda offensive against the conference decision to call for action was waged by General Secretary Doug McAvoy, at an estimated cost of up to £200,000.

Every member was sent at least two expensive glossy leaflets attacking both the proposed strike and those conference delegates who had had the temerity to propose action.

In areas where 'unofficial material' (in other words locally produced leaflets put out to counter the lies emanating from Hamilton House) was circulated, NUT members received a further letter of repudiation from McAvoy. This represents a dangerous self-imposed extension of the anti-union laws, which only

require 'repudiation' of unofficial action.

The proposed one-day strike was a key part of the left's alternative strategy for combating education cuts, in alliance with the network of parents, governors and students involved in the Fight Against Education Cuts (FACE) campaign.

It also envisaged linking up with other public sector workers in a broad-based campaign both against cuts and specifically around the question of pay.

Now that McAvoy has disposed of the strike, he is clearly intent upon imposing his own bankrupt strategy and system of bureaucratic alliances.

His problem is that this is already showing signs of strain as the leaderships of both the NASUWT and ATL have both rejected his suggestion of a further lobby of Parliament.

### 'Campaign'

The 'campaign' which McAvoy argued would be damaged by the 'diversion' of a one-day strike looks set to be little more than the same

old diet of petitions, letter-writing and cosy meetings with opinion formers.

While in the long run the inevitable failure of this so-called strategy will vindicate the left, in the short term it is teachers and school students who will pay the price for McAvoy's sabotage.

Thousands of teachers' jobs are now certain to be lost - 200 in Oxfordshire alone - and class sizes will continue to rise.

A sober assessment of the situation is that we have lost this year's battle despite the highest level of local strike action seen for many years.

Whether the inevitable demoralisation that this creates (and which played an important part in the ballot) will stem the growing militancy among teachers remains to be seen.

What is certain is that the FACE national demonstration on September 30 is now more important than ever.

It was agreed as the major priority by the successful FACE conference, attended by 200 parents, teachers, governors and students on June 3, and looks set to be the key focus for anti-cuts campaign-



FACE is fighting on, while McAvoy's 'campaign' is yet to get off the ground

ers in the run-up to the Chancellor's Autumn Statement.

### New groups

An essential step in building for a successful demonstration will be the ability of FACE to extend its influence and organisation into areas where there are presently few if any groups active. But with the first Scottish FACE group having been established and a

steady stream of affiliations coming in from areas which have yet to experience the cuts inflicted on 'middle England', the signs are positive.

However there is no room for complacency.

While it looks certain that councils will face cuts in the region of 4-5% for 1996-7, more vague promises of extra cash for education will make it more difficult to build the September 30 demonstration

than the successful FACE mobilisation in March.

The impact of this year's cuts will only start to become fully apparent when teachers (rather fewer) and students (considerably more) return to schools at the beginning of September.

As FACE's own paper says: "To make sure of its success we must all start organising now!"

## High Court kills off community care

**By John Lister**

THE HIGH Court hammered what might be the final nail into the coffin of community care on June 16 when it ruled that Gloucestershire county council was quite entitled to withdraw care from five disabled pensioners.

The great pretence of the Tory reforms was that every patient to be discharged from hospital care would be entitled to an assessment of their care needs, with these services in theory to be provided by local council social services, subject to means-tested charges.

### Fraud

But campaigners like London Health Emergency have always argued that this was a hollow fraud, pointing out that both health authorities and councils face rigid cash limits and counterposed financial interests which would make them reluctant to admit the extent of a patient's needs.

In practice the needs of the patient come a poor second to the balance sheets of the

health authority or social services. And now the Courts have ruled that this is perfectly correct.

The council stepped out of line only by withdrawing services without reassessing the needs of the five pensioners, one of whom is a double amputee, and one crippled by arthritis.

Had they gone through this charade, council chiefs would have been quite within their rights to withdraw whatever services they decided they could not afford.

### Cash limits

The High Court judgement makes it quite clear that the decisive element in the provision of continuing care services for the frail elderly is not the needs of the individual but the limited cash available to the council concerned.

According to Lord Justice McCowan "Only in cases where people would be left at severe physical risk" would it be unreasonable for a council to decide on cash grounds to withdraw supporting services from them.

Earlier this year the government issued new guidelines giving health

authorities the right to throw frail elderly patients out of hospital beds against their wishes, and to consign them to nursing homes or to their own homes where any care they receive would be subject to means-tested charges.

The real scandal is that this huge exercise in privatisation and imposition of charges on what were services provided free at point of use by the NHS has been carried through with all-party support.

Not only are Labour councils implementing the charges, robbing pensioners of their savings and forcing them to sell their homes to pay for nursing home care, but a new Labour government is pledged to maintain the same wretched system.

### Trap

Latest estimates suggest that more councils, like Gloucestershire, will again run out of community care funds early in the current financial year: the nationwide shortfall in funding could be in excess of £200m, rising each year as more frail elderly patients fall into the community care trap.

## NHS pay: all out for July 29 demo!

**By Harry Sloan**

AFTER a succession of four increasingly farcical and tokenistic stunts and 'days of action', the 13 TUC-affiliated health unions have grudgingly called a national demonstration on July 29 to promote their pay demands.

The decision follows pressure by conference delegates on the biggest health union UNISON to stop dragging its feet and step up the desultory campaign against the Tories' insulting offer of a 1% increase with another 2% subject to negotiation with Trusts and the abolition of national pay agreements.

Health workers are facing a crucial fight to defend their national pay agreements against Trust-by-Trust local pay bargaining that would leave each hospital's workforce to fight its own employers alone.

While a handful of strongly-organised workplaces might hope to make short-term gains under local bargaining, only the most naive and complacent activists or union officials believe that it offers any long-term bene-



Will the unions pull out the stops for July 29?

fit to staff.

That's why the Tory offer has been overwhelmingly rejected, even though the unions are not claiming any more cash than the miserable 3% already on the table.

There is real anger among health workers: a determined effort by activists could make July 29 a rallying point from which serious industrial action can be called, and the long-running saga of delays and half-hearted threats turned into a real fight.

UNISON has repeatedly delayed any ballot for industrial action as the dispute has dragged on for months.

Since the 1% offer was first proposed the Royal Colleges of Midwives and Nursing have set out to exploit the threat of

action to negotiate separate deals on their own behalf - and to poach a few members from UNISON, whose leaders are terrified of the thought of national action.

A lunchtime protest on March 30 was followed by a half-hearted lobby of Parliament on April 20, a patchy protest on May 1 and a photo-opportunity stunt by a handful of nurses carrying cardboard cut-outs of Virginia Bottomley on June 7.

Leaders of UNISON and the other health unions must be told to pull out all the stops for July 29, and to combine the campaign for a huge demonstration with the campaign for a massive yes vote for industrial action to win this dispute.

HOME NEWS

# Indian blunders in Kashmir

BY K. GOVINDAN

IN OCCUPIED Kashmir, India's greatest enemy is its own army.

The razing to the ground by fire of the Char-e-Sharief on May 11 has inflamed passions in the valley and galvanised popular support for anti-Indian militant groups.

The Sufi shrine was one of Kashmir's holiest places and was worshipped at by both Hindus and Muslims - evidence of the deep-rooted tolerance between the two major religious communities.

Two days before, 60 per cent of the homes around the mosque had been destroyed by fire, and suspicion has immediately turned to the Indian army.

It has a long record of atrocities since the upsurge in militant separatism in 1990, including torture, mass rape and extra-judicial killings.

The mosque had been under siege by the army for several months as militants of the pro-Pakistani *Hizbul Mujahedin* took shelter there. *Hizbul* are Shiite Muslims, scornful of Sufi practices.

Regardless of the source of the arson, this incident has thrown into disarray the state

wide elections the government planned for mid June or early July.

Pakistan for its part has been using Kashmir as a political football in its feud with India. Neither Premier Benazir Bhutto nor opposition leader Nawaz Sharif care about the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

To justify Pakistan's own existence and to embarrass India, they claim that minorities cannot exist in India.

## Oppressive

But Pakistan's treatment of its religious and national minorities is as bad as India's. It would extend its obnoxious and oppressive sharia laws to the people of Kashmir. Where would this leave the sizeable Hindu and Buddhist communities who have co-existed for centuries?

At present only the *Peoples League* and the *Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front* (JKLF) understand this and have supported independence with a new relationship to both their neighbours.

The JKLF also support a secular federal constitution to assure maximum autonomy within a Muslim majority state to the Pandits, or Hindus

of Jammu, and the Buddhists in Ladakh.

Other militant groups including *Hizbul Mujahedin* and *Jamiat-ul Mujahedin*, support accession to Pakistan - after all, they are funded and armed by the Pakistan military.

Bhutto has not stopped the selective funding of pro-Pakistani and Muslim fundamentalist groups to the exclusion of the JKLF. She has even persecuted JKLF supporters in the misnamed *Azad* (Free) Kashmir occupied by Pakistani forces.

Ironically this strategy strengthens fundamentalist forces within Pakistan and threatens every liberal and democratic freedom that remains - including her right as a woman to be Prime Minister in an "Islamic" country.

The question of Kashmir is not a private dispute between India and Pakistan. If they honestly believe that they are right, why don't they let the Kashmiri people freely decide their own future?

There is nothing more that the Kashmiri people would like than to elect their own



Indian soldiers guard Kashmiri muslim separatists

representatives in place of direct rule by the Federal government.

However the context for such an election must be as part of a democratic referendum on self-determination.

At least three options must be put: remain in India, accede to Pakistan or independence. Neither India nor Pakistan want such a referendum be-

cause they know that the third option is the preferred one.

The first step would be the demilitarisation of Kashmir by withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani troops and for Pakistan to return Gilgit and Baltistan (which it has illegally annexed) to a re-unified Jammu and Kashmir state.

Human rights and peace monitors could observe the

process and the militant groups agree to respect the peoples verdict.

The only solution is to get India and Pakistan out of Kashmir, supporting the right of all Kashmiris to self-determination: for a secular democratic Kashmir within a socialist federation of South Asia!

# Ireland: achilles heel of British left

**SOCIALIST OUTLOOK debated Militant Labour and Workers' Liberty in Leicester earlier this month. Arthur Haynes looks at Ireland and the British left.**

BRITAIN'S far left lacks internationalism, most starkly when Ireland is at issue. While Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky under-

stood that socialists had a duty to oppose the British ruling class in Ireland some British 'marxist' groups today fail to back the struggle for a united workers' republic.

The Socialist Workers Party, and its Irish satellite - the Socialist Workers Movement - welcomed the IRA ceasefire as an opportunity to forget the national struggle. They seize on basic economic and workplace-related demands in Ireland, as if these struggles alone can bring unity and socialism.

They failed to see that the

ceasefire led the IRA to bourgeois politics. While the IRA's armed struggle led nowhere, our alternative was mass struggle for social and democratic demands, including withdrawal of British troops.

Militant Labour has also revised its thinking on Ireland [see Feedback, page 14] after the experience of the campaign against the Poll Tax in Britain.

## No left turn

Here it has questioned its orientation to the Labour Party, standing candidates against the Labour Party and launching Militant Labour as

an open party. Because of the lack of democratic rights, this debate led to many explosions, including the minority around Militant's founder, Ted Grant.

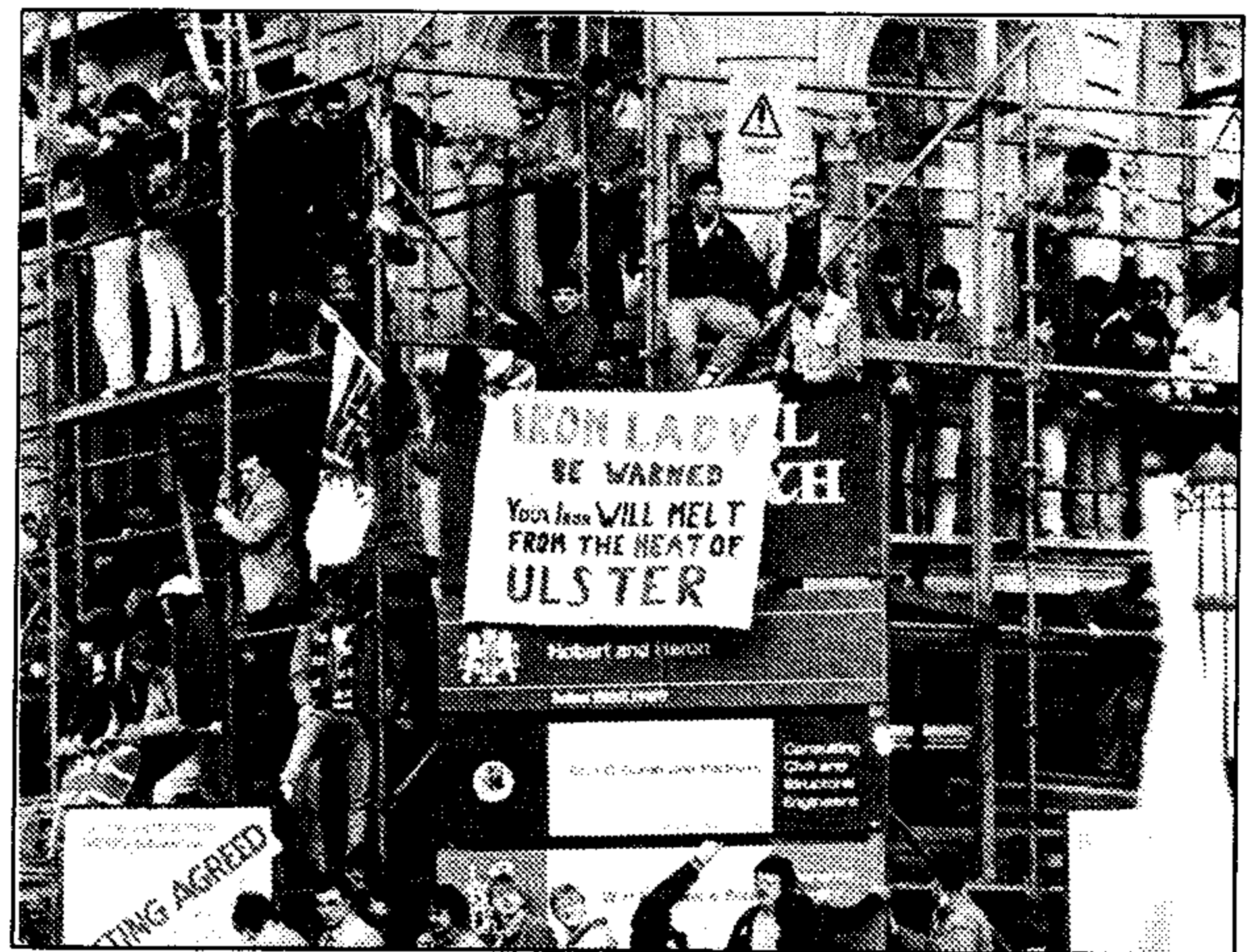
But neither Militant Labour nor Grant's *Socialist Appeal* has moved to the left on the question of Ireland.

Militant Labour has partitioned its Irish branch: two organisations divided by the British border have different papers and programmes. Neither agitates for British withdrawal.

In the Leicester debate, Militant Labour argued that the national question can be solved by arguing for socialism and against sectarianism.

While *Socialist Outlook* supported strikes against sectarianism, we noted that few had been held against killings by the British Army, RUC, UDR or RIR. For Militant Labour, Irish unity involves the right of the Protestants to secede, even from a socialist Ireland.

Militant Labour welcomed a leader of the Progressive Unionist Party [political wing of the UVF loyalist death squads] as a 'socialist' at a May Belfast rally, and asked the PUP to help build a "democratic socialist party" in the North.



Unionists have no right to oppress Catholics

From killing random Catholics and nationalists it is an unlikely transformation to building a genuine socialist party. Catholic and Protestant workers could not enter into such a coalition. We advise all socialists to oppose it and its Militant Labour sponsors.

## Discovery

*Workers' Liberty* 'discovered' the separateness of Protestants from Catholics in the early 1980s.

WL guru Sean Matgamna explained in the debate that Trotsky and Lenin were out of date: there was now a 26 county republic in Ireland that

had resolved the democratic questions for most of the Irish people.

He welcomed the ceasefire, defending the Protestant veto and arguing that the British ruling class wants to withdraw from Ireland.

WL mistakenly argued that the Protestants are a separate nation. *Socialist Outlook* explained that the Protestants are not oppressed as a community.

They have no right to oppress Catholics in a separate state. In Ireland we continue to oppose the sectarian and Unionist privileges which remain in Northern Ireland.

WORLD OUTLOOK

## Irish Peace Initiative

By Seán Ó Slocháin

THE IRISH Peace Initiative (IPI) has organised a Sinn Fein Peace Tour of Britain, with emphasis on meeting with the Irish community groups, women's groups, trades unions and interested in-

dividuals.

Ten months after the IRA ceasefire it is clear that there is overwhelming international support for peace in Ireland.

The Peace Tour is designed to encourage debate between people in Britain and people from the North of Ireland and to hear at first hand about the Peace Process.

Michel McLoughlin, Sinn Fein National Chair, will

launch the tour on Wednesday 28 June at an 8.00pm meeting at London's Camden Irish Centre, at 52 Camden Square.

McLoughlin will tour England and Wales for two weeks with Martin McGuinness and eight councillors.

Details phone IPI on 0171 609 1743 or write to Box 3, Rodger Casement Centre, 131 St John's Way, London N19

# Bosnian bid to break out of Sarajevo 'concentration camp'

By Alan Thornett

The Bosnian Government has ordered the BH army to break the siege of Sarajevo.

It is impossible to tell how likely they are to succeed, but it is clear that they are not prepared to sit back and do nothing and watch the city face its fourth winter as a ghetto cut off from the outside world.

Explaining the offensive, Bosnia's foreign minister insisted that "We are not prepared to see Sarajevo institutionalised as a concentration camp".

Things are certainly much worse in the city now than they have been for the past three years. There is no water, gas or electricity, the airport is shut, and the supply routes are blocked, and food is about to run out. The city is on the verge of a public health catastrophe and the coming winter may not be short and mild as, by Balkan standards, the last two have been.

The other factor is the improved capability of the BH army itself. When 70% of the country was occupied by Serbian forces three years ago, Bosnia had no army or weaponry at all. Everything was with the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, which went with the Serbians.

Bosnia had only a few light weapons from the police force. Even 18 months ago when the first International Workers Aid convoy got through to Tuzla and was taken to the front line by the miners' brigade, soldiers were facing Serb positions with just six rounds of ammunition

each.

All that has changed. A combination of surreptitious procurement and domestic manufacture has produced an army which is well equipped with light weaponry as well as being highly motivated for the liberation of the occupied lands and the defence of a multi-ethnic life.

The discrepancy of heavy weaponry, which had been maintained by the arms embargo, however, remains enormous. Serbia itself is stacked out with such weapons and remains the strongest military force in ex-Yugoslavia (including an air force) and Karadzic's Bosnian Serb forces have a share of this hardware - as their ability to shoot down NATO aircraft has demonstrated.

At the same time shaky federation that the Bosnians have forged with the Croats is reaping some military rewards, with Croatian units engaging Serbian forces over occupied Croatian territory, stretching Serb forces to the maximum.

## Doubts

There are now doubts that Slobodan Milosevic will aid his Bosnian Serb proteges if they come under extreme pressure. He will certainly help them in the clandestine way he has since he "split" with them in an effort to get the sanctions against Serbia lifted.

But whether he will send in the regular army is a more open question - the Bosnian government is clearly gambling that he will not.

The exact aim of the Bosnian offensive is unclear, since there are a



Stepping up the solidarity effort: International Workers Aid

number of objectives which could improve their situation short of the complete relief of the city. They may cut vital supply lines between Serbian controlled sectors or open up a relief route into the city itself.

A part of their calculation is their assessment of the role of the UN and Western forces.

Their efforts to pressurise the west to intervene on their behalf have patently failed and they see the new "rapid reaction force", if it eventually materialises as more a means to protect the UN forces themselves than a new determination to open supply routes.

As we have argued many times,

in the end the only people who are going to effectively defend the Bosnians and their national rights will be the Bosnians themselves.

The UN has its own agenda, which has been and is to enforce a settlement based on the status quo - in other words the very institutionalisation of Sarajevo as a ghetto which the Bosnians find unacceptable.

Whether the BH army has the military strength, with the arms embargo still in place, effectively to lift the siege is another matter.

Western policy is in complete disarray with the failure of air strikes and the hostage crisis, and if the war escalates further an actual with-

drawal of UN forces is not impossible - even at the risk of widening the war.

Since it is hard to see how the arms embargo could be sustained without the UN - they run it and function the sanctions committees - the sooner they go, and take the embargo with them, the better.

International Workers Aid is stepping up its aid programme to the trade unions in the Tuzla region. Donation to IWA can be sent to PO Box 1109 London N4, which will be sent directly to this project.

# Danger drugs kill third world women

By K. Govindan

THE POTENTIALLY lethal Norplant is only the latest in a long line of contraceptives that population agencies and drugs companies are using in experiments on women in the third world.

The "neo-Malthusians" think that the answer to underdevelopment in the poor countries is to keep the birth rate at replacement level.

This suits the drug companies down to the ground. Reproduction technology is big business.

The decisions of last year's Cairo conference on population and development was a windfall - its programme of action reads like a charter for them to print money. It en-

dorses the supply of contraceptives regardless of demand.

In the United States Norplant sped through its trials in spite of scientific concern over its long term effects on women - probably because from it was primarily intended for use in the Third World.

## Welfare

However, even in the US, many women on welfare benefits are forced to have an implant under the threat of welfare withdrawal.

African-American women in particular - who are over-represented among the unemployed and poor - have been targeted by courts and social services.

In India Norplant has been undergoing trials in the face

of campaigns by health and womens' organisations, such as Forum Against Oppression of Women and Stree Shakti Sanghatana.

It is prescribed for poor women mainly in the rural areas. Once implanted these women are rarely looked at again. The facilities for regularly monitoring do not exist, and even where they do women cannot afford to travel to the nearest clinic forgoing a day's wages.

Yet Norplant is supposed to be removed after five years, or else it can have fatal consequences.

A survey conducted in Indonesia revealed that 11 per cent of women using the contraceptive experienced symptoms of heart disease. Other side-effects range from ovarian cysts to weight gain, fortnightly menstruation, nausea,

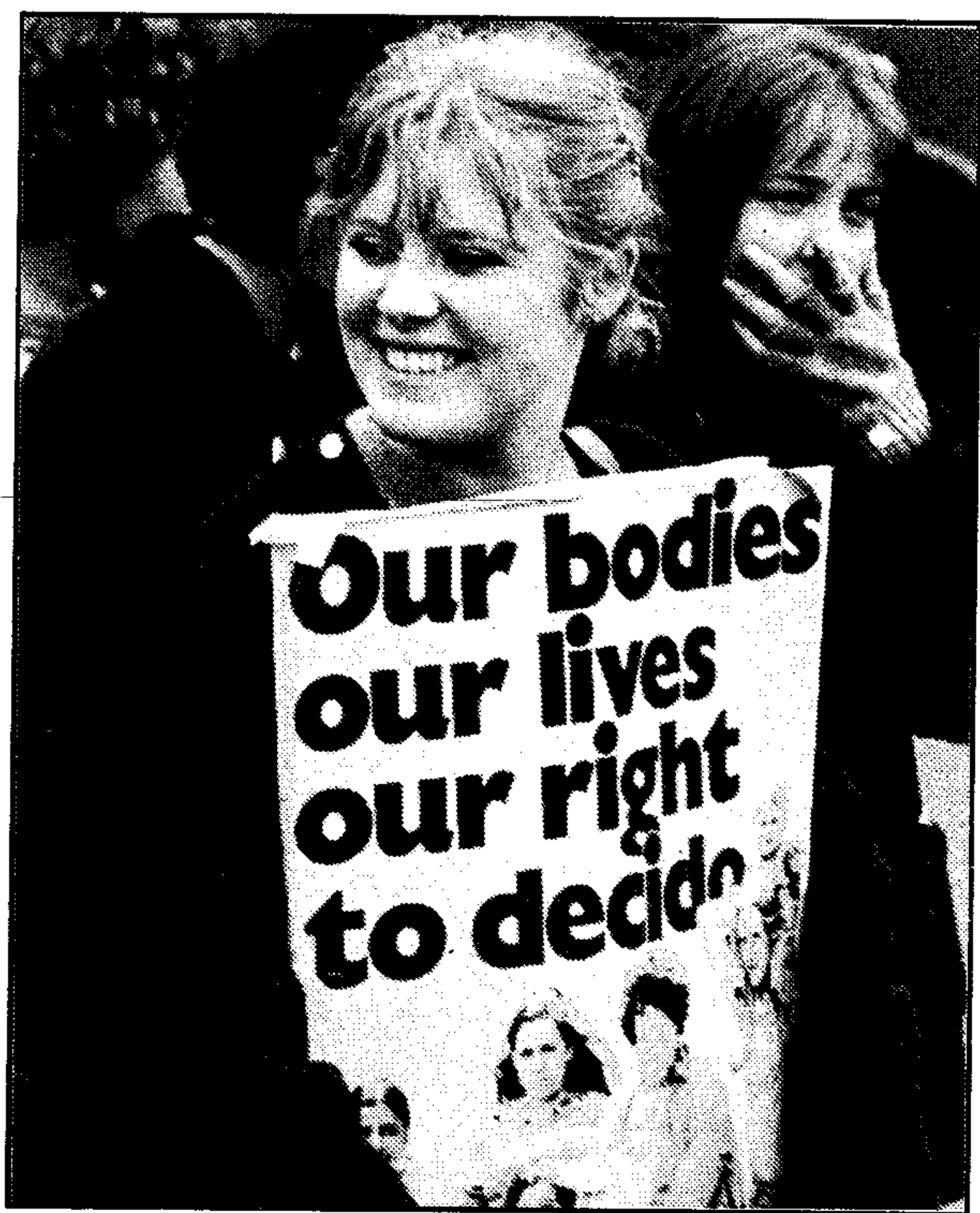
depression and mood swings.

The Norplan experience highlights the distortion of the meaning of reproductive rights that is being perpetrated: it is limited to access to contraception. No attention is shown to reproductive health as a whole.

## No control

Furthermore, women are allowed no control over these devices - Norplant can only be surgically removed by health professionals. The right for women to make free informed choices about the kind of contraceptive that is most suitable for them and the knowledge of its consequences is denied.

The neo-Malthusians aren't interested, their economics cannot kill poverty - it only kills the poor.



Imperialism denies third world women real choices

WORLD OUTLOOK

# June 24 Day of Actions Close down Britain's immigration prisons!



## Britain's battery of racist laws

By Stephen  
August

THE BRITISH government use every trick, subterfuge and deceit they can think of to prevent black people coming into Britain.

The Tories have put in place a series of catches and ambiguities in the laws that enable immigration officers to turn down immigrants almost at whim. The racism behind the rules is breathtaking.

It is a common misconception that British citizens who marry people from overseas are allowed to live with their partner in Britain. This is not the case.

The law at the moment requires the couple to demonstrate that they will stay married and that they can house and maintain themselves without state support. But it also demands that they convince the authorities that their primary purpose of marriage is other than to gain admission to the country.

This is near impossible to prove. The authorities use the ambiguity ruthlessly. People from the Indian subcontinent are the most likely victims.

The immigration police have a number of favourite entrapments.

One is to bring attention to



Home Secretary Michael Howard: ruthless in applying racist laws

the lower standard of living of the entrance applicant in contrast to the UK. This can be used as ground to debar them. It is clearly targeted at non-white countries.

It is a useful device because it enables them to exclude black people under a sham formality, without having to refer to the real reasons. The chauvinism is obvious however - the target is clear.

Those few who are relatively wealthy are also re-

jected. High standards of living are used as evidence against them - why would well off people need to move to Britain when they are doing so well anyway?

Many applicants are refused on the grounds that others of their family have moved to the UK. This is a particularly callous method of splitting families. The tendency of these family units to be stable and longlasting is ignored.

Indeed, the immigration

force are quite prepared to use the opposite case if it suits their purposes - the absence of family members is used as evidence to suggest the applicant will not be able to sustain themselves.

Refusals have also been made on the basis of applicant's being well-travelled: something which is portrayed as indicating a long-lasting desire to move overseas. True to form, the lack of travel is also used to show the absence of any pre-

vious desire to move and so to raise doubts over the present motivation.

Male applicants are turned down on the grounds that they are not following tradition in wanting to live with their wives in the UK - that it is "traditional" for the wife to be the one to move in order to be with her husband and his family.

Visa officers who have no specialist knowledge of others' marriage customs set themselves up as judge and jury over the rituals and arrangements of people in countries they know little about.

Regulations about what is and what is not "traditional" are contrived for the sole purpose of frustrating prospective entrants to Britain.

The unfairness and of the system is underlined by the frequency reversal of rulings. Appeals against refusals go eventually to the immigration appeals adjudicator.

But there is effectively no means of compensation for wrong rulings.

And while bureaucrats wrap the cases in red-tape the suffering and distress of those divided from their loved ones is allowed to continue.

It seems that family values are strictly for white families.

June 24  
PICKET A  
PRISON:

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

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

**Harmondsworth**  
**Detention Centre,**  
12 noon -2pm  
Colnbrook By-pass,  
near Heathrow  
airport  
**MEETING**  
2.30pm Hounslow  
Vountary Action  
Centre, School Rd  
Hounslow

**Hull**  
Picket - ring Keith  
Sinclair, Hull  
Trades Council,  
01482-802050

ring 0121-532-2610  
for details

CENTRE STAGE





## Free Satpal Ram!

FOR NINE years an innocent Asian man, Satpal Ram, has been imprisoned after he was attacked by six white racists.

Though he was attacked by this group and 'glasses' in the face and wrist, he was convicted of murder, and jailed for life. His 'crime' in the eyes of the British legal system was fighting back in his own self-defence.

Since he was jailed in 1986 the Free Satpal cam-

paign has worked to link a wide range of supporters. Though he has not yet been released, the campaign is convinced it has already made a difference to the legal process.

After many years of campaigning they won favourable judgements on the case and forced the Home Secretary to reverse his original (1993) refusal to allow an appeal. In February it was announced that an appeal will be heard.

Of course an appeal in it-

self is no guarantee that justice will be served, as previous cases such as the Birmingham Six and the M25 three have shown.

That's why the campaign is not winding down, but reaching out for more support. Solidarity puts more pressure on the legal authorities, telling them they are being watched and that further injustice will not be tolerated.

The Free Satpal campaign is willing to send speakers to any meeting (with some help

for travel expenses) and can provide a full range of campaign material (leaflets, newsletter, poster, legal dossier, stickers, model letter).

Labour movement bodies are urged to affiliate to the campaign, at a fee of £25 to cover costs of leaflets and activities.

• The Free Satpal Campaign can be contacted c/o 101 Villa Rd, Handsworth, Birmingham B19 1NH, 0121-551-4518.

## Protest outside Winson Green Raghbir Singh: no charge, no hearing, no justice!

SUPPORTERS of jailed Midlands journalist Raghbir Singh will be protesting outside Winson Green prison in Birmingham at noon on June 24.

They will hold a birthday party with balloons, cakes, cards and presents for Raghbir's 11-year old daughter Harvinder Kaur, who will have been separated from her father for three months.

Raghbir Singh, who edits a Smethwick-based Punjabi language newspaper, lives in Willenhall near Walsall with his British wife and two British children. In 15 years in Britain he has never been in trouble with the police.

Though jailed, and threatened with deportation as a 'threat to national security', Mr Singh has never been charged with any offence or appeared before a court. On June 13 Home Secretary Michael Howard admitted to a delegation of Labour MPs that Raghbir was not responsible for

any criminal activities in this country, and that evidence against him was not available to put before the courts.

Mr Singh is being strongly supported by his union, the NUJ and an alliance of groups opposed to deportations and detention.

Birmingham NUJ secretary Jeremy Dear said: "The Home Secretary is admitting his case won't stand up in court - but he doesn't care."

"The immigration laws in this country cause misery for thousands of people. Many people fleeing brutal regimes are treated almost as badly by our government. And the vast majority of people involved are black. These laws are applied in a racist manner." Raghbir's supporters believe he



West Midlands campaigners back Raghbir

has been victimised because he has written articles critical of the Indian government.

• The campaign in his defence can be contacted c/o Birmingham NUJ, c/o 723 Pershore Rd, Birmingham.

## Bradford youth fight racist cops

By Paul Hahert

EVEN THE West Yorkshire police can agree that the recent 'riots' were sparked by heavy-handed police intervention in a football game in the centre of Manningham.

Thereafter explanations run in every direction: alienation between young 'Westernised' men and their fathers; the anger against prostitution on Lumb Lane, shown in vigilante attempts to drive women off; police repression; the bad social conditions in the area.

There is truth in each of these. Oak Lane, the seat of this uprising, has two buildings looming over its top end. One is the vast nineteenth century Lister's Mill. Largely empty it is not, after all, to be converted to the Northern home of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The other is a modern police station with a 15-foot wall around it. Formerly located in modest old buildings a few hundred yards away on the borders of Manningham, the police moved into its heart a year or two ago. It is as if the building was shouting "Here we are, and we're going to jump on you if you do anything we don't like."

### Talkers

West Yorkshire's Chief Constable is one of the new breed of sophisticated talkers, but some residents complain that they have been subjected to old-fashioned aggressive policing when they did not want it and to a lack of response when they did want it.

During the recent confrontations, a respected local teacher attempting to calm the situation was promptly arrested for his show of leadership! Nevertheless the willingness of the youth to turn out and give a robust response to police harassment suggest that a new independent political leadership could develop.

Manningham is a run-down inner-city area with a large concentration of black people - in this case 'Asians'. A large proportion are young and born in Britain. Unemployment is high and many of the young men have a street culture.

Right-wing commentators have expressed puzzlement about

why suddenly something has gone wrong in this 'peace community'. To ask this question is to ignore history.

There have been other 'disturbances' in Bradford. For example during the 'hate' over *Asian Verses* A demonstration in the city centre broke down into skirmishes between young men and mounted police. The youth, though more 'Westernised' were more prepared to have a go on this issue than their elders.

### Nazis

In the late 1970s, the community mobilised against a national Front march and fought the police who protected the Nazis.

In the course of this struggle, well-organised and militant Asian Youth Movement groups were built in Bradford and other towns. It was the police response

**The willingness of the youth to turn out and give a robust response to police harassment suggest that a new independent political leadership could develop. The youth, though more 'Westernised' are more prepared to have a go on this issue that their elders. The uprising could herald a new turn to a militant form of politics**

to their tactics of 'self defence by any means necessary' which led to the Bradford 12 trial in 1982.

This kind of organisation no longer exists. Some of the former leaders dropped out of activity or left the area. At least one threw his energies into Islam. There has also been a degree of involvem-

ent in the Labour Party, with a growing number of Asian councillors.

### Labour

Bradford Council has turned strongly Labour since being won back in 1990 from heavy-duty Thatcherite Council Leader Eric Pickles. However the policy of a wallop in the face with the 'dented shield' adopted produced little to celebrate and has no real leadership.

At the beginning of May, an Asian Labour councillor lost nearby Toller ward to an Asian Tory amid allegations that some Labour members had canvassed support for the Conservative.

The recent uprising could herald a new turn to a militant form of politics. However, given the failing of the trades unions and the Labour Party in the area, and the spread of Hamas slogans on the walls of Manningham, there is no guarantee that this will go in a progressive direction.

# Senegal left makes gains at the end of the rainbow

**A mass opposition party, the African Party for Democracy and Socialism (PADS) is growing rapidly in Senegal after the break-up of a broad opposition front. At the centre of these developments, vital for West Africa, are members of the Fourth Internationalist current. SOCIALIST OUTLOOK interviewed one of their leading members.**

THE POLITICAL situation in Senegal is characterised by something very specific. The ruling Socialist Party have built a coalition with the Party for Industry and Workers (PIW) and the Democratic Movement for Workers Party (LDMPT).

Both are former sections of the Communist Party which were co-opted into government with the specific aim of disrupting opposition to the World Bank and IMF policies within the trade unions.

This year the government attempted to enlarge its base through co-opting the Liberal Party into this coalition as well. This is a coalition for war against the working class, youth, women and the peasantry.

Unfortunately for the government there is still very strong resistance among important sectors of the population, for example within the teaching unions and from telecommunication workers.

Despite this fightback there has been a continuation of the privatisation programme and further attacks on society.

These attacks are becoming a common feature



*Behind Senegal's corrupt, right wing government stands the IMF and its calls for austerity*

throughout the underdeveloped world and are characterised in Senegal by two main elements.

Firstly, the membership of the Socialist Party and their allies treat the country as a cake which they divide up amongst themselves.

And secondly, there is no economic growth, low productivity and large scale sacking of the workforce.

But resistance has led to some victories, as when, for example, the teachers' unions forced the government to pay dues owed to them, despite opposition to these payments from the World Bank and IMF.

As far as opposition goes, the PADS represents the largest party refusing any collaboration with this government of "cake sharing".

## Clientelism

The right wing remains in power for different reasons. After Senegal gained independence, the ruling party inherited a state and organised it according to the needs of political clientelism through a number of measures.

The higher ranks within the army were given a number of privileges, and the religious hierarchy was given both financial and material support to keep the clerics on board.

The ruling party also organised at a national level a

union which incorporated industrial and tertiary workers. The National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS) was given a permanent quota of 6 MPs in the list of MPs of the Socialist Party. They were also offered the presidencies on a number of administrative councils of big enterprises, and ambassadorial posts in several foreign countries.

In return for all this the bureaucracy conceived a plan called "responsible participation", which means no strikes, no rejection of the national union leadership, and acceptance of the ongoing economic, political and social policies.

They also created a layer of small businessmen, organising them and giving them borrowing facilities from the state banks with state guarantees. In return they support the government and generally don't pay back the loans, thus passing the debt on to the state.

The government also built up a movement opposed to freedom of speech, demonstrations and democratic liberties. All these elements made the government very powerful, despite the Socialist Party being very small.

The PADS was created at the end of December 1991 by four organisations of Maoists, Trotskyists and Lambertists, which, although they still have tendency rights within PADS, had already carried out a number of common activities and felt that they could work in a single party.

In 1988 we went to the elections with very little preparation. In order to break the bi-polarisation around the Liberal and Socialist parties, we organised around 150 meetings across the country under the banner of the "candidacy of the voiceless".

We used these meetings to express our specific aim of building an anti-imperialist



*PADS General Secretary Landing Savane*

party that broke from the programmes of the SP and the Liberals.

We were not so much aiming to gain a big vote as to raise awareness among the masses of the ongoing situation and the choices we were faced with.

## Unification

We succeeded in being recognised as a group of parties that could play a significant role. From that moment we began to discuss the possibility of the unification of the left and the definition of our plan of action in the national arena. This is how the PADS was created.

Between November 1993 and February 1994, many of us on the left were arrested, along with some of the leaders of the Liberal Party. We were fighting for democratic liberties.

in the social situation, except an increase in the number of ministers, who all receive their slice of the cake.

The Liberal leader was the leader of the national consultation process, and since he entered the government the Liberal Party has lost thousands of its militants to the PADS.

Within the opposition coalition the Liberals had put forward the slogan *Sopi* (change), counterposed to this PADS put forward the slogan *Folli* (destitute) to highlight the need to make the ruling party destitute to bring about change.

## Recruiting

Many of the women, youth and workers from both urban and rural areas are now leaving the rainbow coalition. PADS on the other hand, has recruited thousands of these militants, its last membership count was around 20,000, though it is growing rapidly all the time.

When you live in a country such as ours where corruption is massive, it is easy to be in government. When you refuse this corruption, you create a pole of attraction for all those who want to oppose the government and IMF policies.

We are faced with many organisational and political challenges, we have a party which is very young, we have faced massive repression, massive austerity measures, particularly in the universities, and we have not yet been able to create the organisational structures needed for this kind of movement.

Now we must build a party in a situation that will not be stable, which will give us big problems.

This is a huge challenge for us and will be the major development in the revolutionary process in Senegal and the West of Africa.

WORLD OUTLOOK

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

## World Bank/IMF: ENOUGH!

Susan George, Michel Chossudovsky and others analyse the autocracy that is strangling the third world, and present voices from the growing global movement challenging the new world disorder.

This special double issue of the IIRE's Notebooks for Study and Research, is available from the IIRE, Postbus 53290, 1007 RG, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Send a £3.50 cheque payable to Pierre Rousset. Available in French or Dutch for US\$10 from CADTM, Plantijnstraat 29, 1090 Brussel, Belgium.

Veteran revolutionary marxist ERNEST MANDEL explains...

# The new dynamics of global revolution

On the eve of this month's World Congress of the Fourth International, GABRIEL MAISSIN discussed the global situation with ERNEST MANDEL, a veteran leader of the Fourth International.

MANDEL: Consider the potential for resistance which exists in the working class and in the movement of emancipation in the third world. This potential is a product of the previous period, of the accumulation of forces, reserves and conquests made in the course of the previous expansion.

The capitalist class must decide; up to what point can it push the anti-working class offensive? If it goes too far, it could provoke a very strong response from the exploited and oppressed. The bourgeoisie is divided on this question.

The situation can change in two directions. Today the exploited and oppressed are on the defensive, but if they win some big defensive battles, they could return to the offensive. But the reverse is also true; if there is a new wave of unemployment, a new shameful capitulation of all the official working class leaderships before capital's austerity offensive, there could be a collapse of the capacity of resistance of the working class. And there could be a real far right menace, not necessarily under a fascist form, but at least a qualitative reinforcement of the strong, repressive state. So there is no place for ultra-optimism, the situation is not good.

## Fourth International

There is yet another dimension; what we in the Fourth International have called the universal crisis of credibility of socialism. After a long delay, the working class has registered the bankruptcy of Stalinism, of post-Stalinism, of Maoism, of social democracy, of pseudo-progressive nationalism in the countries of the third world. And for the moment it sees no force to the left of all these movements, credible and capable of imposing global anti-capitalist solutions.

At the same time more and more people are saying "those in charge are corrupt and incompetent". Corrupt, every child knows! But incompetent, this is something new. It is still a small minority of the working class which thinks this, but there is a technological factor behind this. Some highly qualified workers have the feeling that they understand the functioning of the enterprise better than the chief engineer, not to mention the director.

An example: in the strike of the German metal workers, the union,



Women enlist with Mexico's 'Zapatistas': "No solution is possible in the framework of the capitalist regime"

the richest in the world, calculated that after six months on strike with three million workers, its financial reserves would be exhausted. Through the initiative of the workers, not the bureaucrats, they found that in a certain number of enterprises, whose production is decisive for that of many other enterprises, some workshops, often employing only 6 or 7 per cent of the personnel of the enterprise, can halt all production. And thus the bosses pay the cost of the strike. The employers replied that they would respond with lock outs, the unions that they would in turn respond with occupations, something not seen since the 1920s in Germany. The workers would not have hesitated. This kind of development is dynamite in the most important capitalist country in Europe.

**MAISSIN: But the remobilisation of these sectors of the working class is in contradiction with the overall social situation; widespread unemployment and a general feeling that no solution is possible. At the same time, there is this part of the working class which can sense the fragility of the system, but there is also a growing sentiment of impotence about a solution. It is a very particular ideological conjuncture.**

MANDEL: I repeat: the global situation is bad. We are on the

defensive. But we are not powerless.

And to conclude, I want to touch on the theme of unstinting solidarity. This is the key slogan. I can give

**The global situation is bad. We are on the defensive. But we are not powerless.**

many examples; let's take the common front of the workers and the unemployed. In France this movement has been launched, by workers who are still employed, primarily those with high qualifications. It is necessary to find other mediations, to integrate the feminist and ecologist movements, around precise solidarity objectives.

## Multinationals

It is necessary to oppose the world strategy of the multinationals, the delocalisation of industries, a global strategy of agreements in common action of workers on a world scale working first for the same multinational, then for the big industrial branches, and so on. It is not easy but it is not impossible. It is the only alternative to the national protectionist approach.

Some object that in this way we oppose the industrialisation of third world countries which currently "benefit" from delocalisation. In fact what we propose is another model of development and modernisation for the third world, based not

on the export of cheap labour, but the expansion of the internal market, raising the living standards of the people and so on. The abolition of the debt, the attempt to oppose the nega-

tive evolution of the terms of trade, a whole series of other strategic elements should also be keyed in.

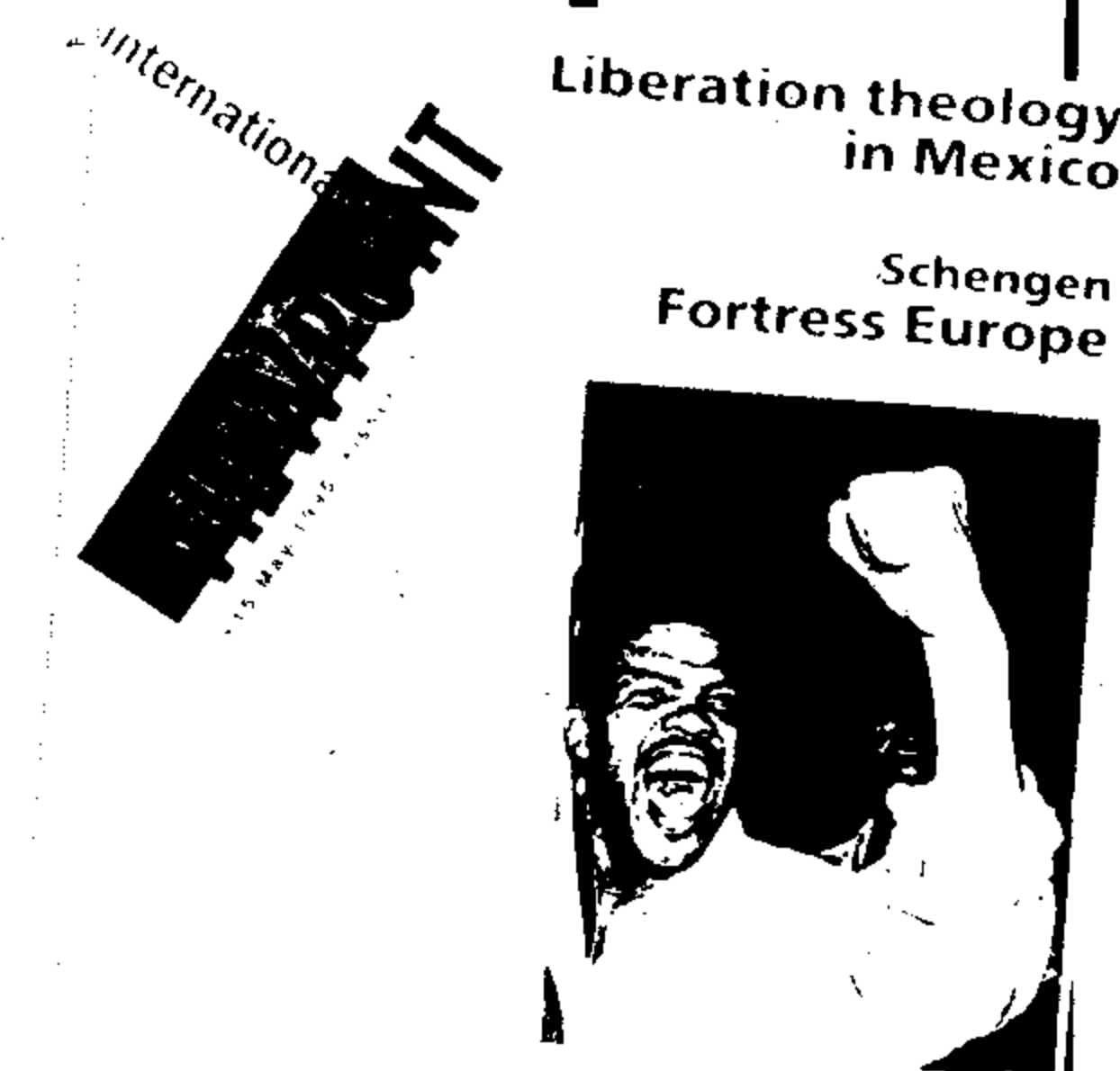
Without these conditions, if there is neither a workers nor a bourgeois

solution to the crisis of the humanity, there will be a prolonged period of crises, of world disorder, in which the two principal social forces seek to impose conditions corresponding to their historic interests, against a background of an increasingly grave threat to physical survival facing the whole human race; the nuclear threat, the military threat, diseases linked to the rise of poverty, linked to world disorder. No solution is possible in the framework of the capitalist regime.

The crisis of humanity demands a new society, a new civilisation.

## International Viewpoint

In the May-June *International Viewpoint*, monthly review of the Fourth International: Special dossier on South Africa - a disaster in the making; Vandana Shiva on the World Trade Organisation; Zapatistas negotiate with the Mexican state; Building Fortress Europe; Crisis in the Philippines Communist Party; Interview with Alain Krivine on the French elections; Global economy grows into a crisis; The transformation of Britain's Labour Party, and more ...



**A disaster in the making**

BRITAIN: Send £22 for one year to 'Outlook International', PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. OR: Send US\$60 or 330 French Francs to 'PECI', Boite Postale 85, 75522, CEDEX 11, France.

# Fascism is terribly profitable

by Ataulfo Riera

"Fascism" wrote Bolshevik leader Karl Radek, "is the iron hoop with which the bourgeoisie hopes to hold together the splitting barrel of capitalism".

There is no better illustration of the truth of this remark than Germany in the 1930s. To overcome the catastrophic economic crisis and restore the rate of profit, the German bourgeoisie had to sweep aside a major obstacle: the German organised working class. Its collective organisation and strength kept wages up and presupposed social costs which further ate into profits.

In such a crisis, parliamentary democracy, with its legal trade unions, workers' parties and workers' rights, was no longer appropriate. The use of the Nazis as shock troops to eliminate this democracy and crush the working class came to seem the best solution to the bosses.

But this did not happen all at once. Adolf Hitler's NSDAP did not start to get financial help from big business until 1930-31, when the revolutionary wave and the workers' fighting spirit had sharply declined. Furthermore, the main workers' parties, the Communist Party and



Boycotts of Jewish shops helped bolster profits

the Social Democratic Party, were violently antagonistic to each other.

This weakness of the workers' capacity for resistance made the big industrialists increasingly confident about funding the Nazis.

The first rich backers were from the heavy industries of steel and coal. Key individuals included mine owners such as Emile Kirdorf, who hated the unions and established a slush-fund for strike-breaking (he joined the Nazi party in 1929) and the Ruhr steel magnates Albert Voegler

and Fritz Thyssen who had met Hitler in 1923 and officially became a member of the Nazi party in 1931.

He played a central role in financing Hitler's massive election campaigns and, on 27 January 1932, on the eve of the presidential elections, organised a meeting between Hitler and the "Industry Club" of the country's richest men.

The potash and lignite industries also provided numerous rich supporters for the Nazis.

Support flowed in from the banks; it was a leading banker

who organised the interview between von Papen and Hitler on the eve of the latter's accession to the Chancellorship, and Deutsche Bank's E. G. Strauss, the Deutsche Kredit Gesellschaft, the Komerz und Privat Bank were also implicated, along with many major insurance firms.

And last but not least, there was Georg von Schnitzler, head of the world's biggest chemical cartel, IG Farben.

Thanks to their financial help, the Nazis were able to run a colossal and virtually permanent campaign between 1931 and 1933. The result: in the 1930 Reichstag elections, the NSDAP won 18.3%, in March 1932 30% and in July 1932 37.3%.

But Hitler and his henchmen were not simply puppets in the hands of the bosses; the rise of Nazism was due to the coming together of several factors, the crisis itself being one of the most important. But it is clear that without funds from big capital, the rise to power would not have been so swift or easy.

Once in power, Hitler did not forget his friends. Opposition parties were banned and their activists herded into the first concentration camps. Trade unions were dissolved and replaced by a Nazi-run Labour Front (DAF).

Strikes and union rights

were abolished. The working class was atomised and, at least on the surface, the class struggle disappeared.

The Nazis embarked on an economic policy based on an unprecedented rearmament programme.

As Ernest Mandel has explained: "The statistics say it all: the profits of all industrial and commercial enterprises rose from 6.6 billion marks in 1933 to 15 billion in 1938. The profits of the German munitions and arms sector rose tenfold."

In 1939, 59% of share capital was in the hands of 159 companies. During these fat years for German capital, other enterprises rushed to join in the fun, notably Siemens, AEG, Mannesmann, the Krupp factories, as well as foreign firms like General Motors and the American oil companies.

The persecution of the Jews also yielded rich pickings: Deutsche Bank pocketed substantial commissions on the sale of goods confiscated from "Jewish" families and businesses.

After 1939, German big business, still for the most part in private hands, played an active part in plundering territories occupied by the German armies, often with the complicity of local bourgeoisies, who benefited from the op-

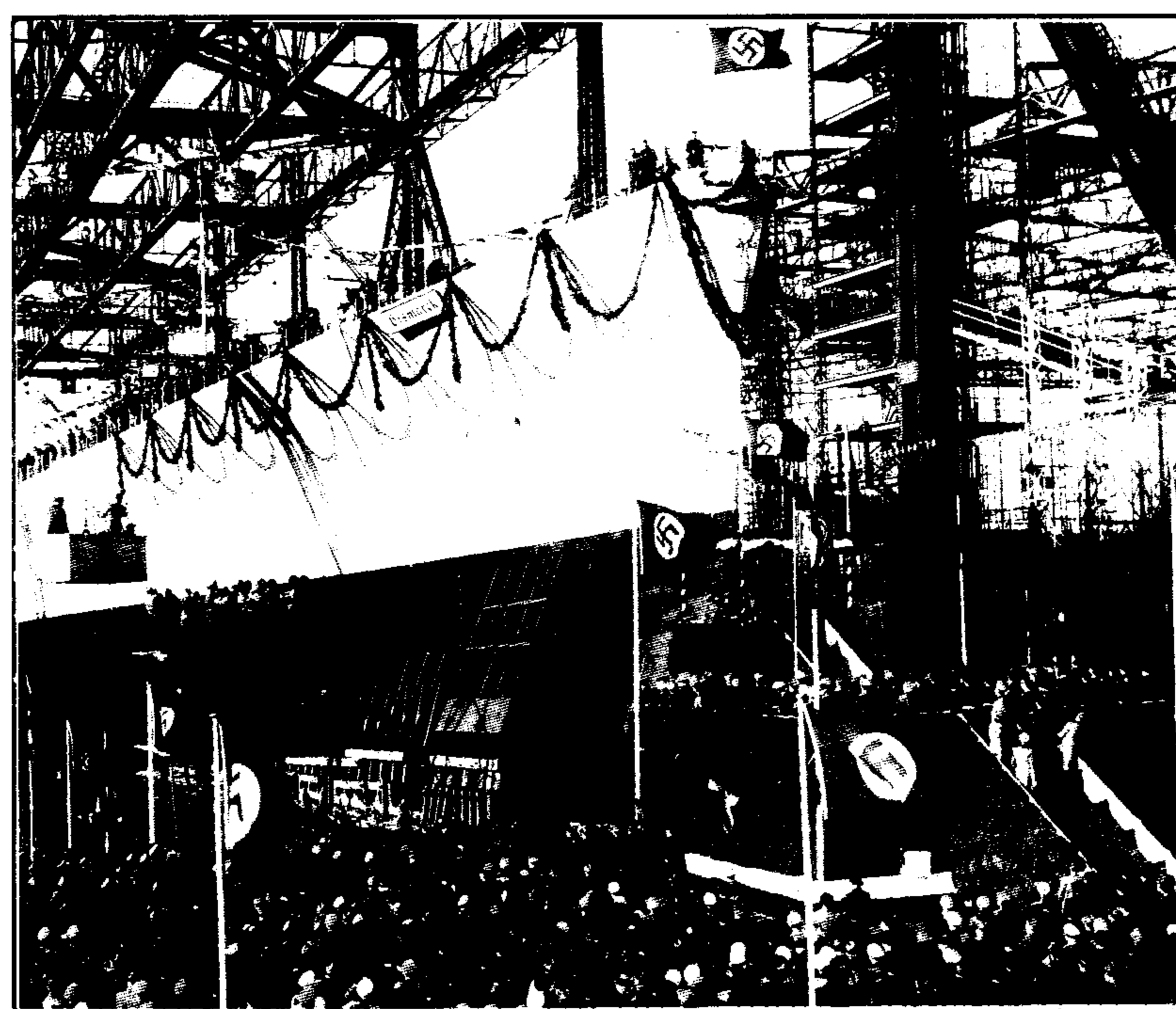
portunity for the unlimited exploitation of their working class.

The German industrialists were to get what every boss dreams of: abundant labour power at their beck-and-call and, above all, hardly or even not at all paid. Over seven million civilians were brought, mostly by force, from the occupied countries to work in the fields and factories of Germany, where they were treated as slaves.

The Krupp factories, producing guns, tanks and munitions, employed thousands of forced labourers from Eastern Europe. Barely fed, left without hygiene in overcrowded barracks, and subjected to corporal punishment, they worked to the point of physical exhaustion.

A doctor, Wilhelm Jaeger visited the Krupp plants several times and reported on the terrible conditions there to the firm's directors and Krupp's personal doctor. But he was wasting his time; nothing changed.

According to Fritz Schacht, the official in charge of the forced labour service, these workers should be "treated in such a way as to yield the maximum profit for minimum cost." Profitability and productivity were easily achieved with such a labour force!



Shipbuilding was just one profitable branch of the Nazi war machine

## Vital antidote to NHS market madness

**JOHN LISTER reviews Feasible Socialism. The National Health Service past, present & future, by Julian Tudor Hart, published by Socialist Health Association.**

THIS is a must for every socialist, health worker and campaigner sick to the teeth with the NHS internal market and its impact on the quality of health care.

And it is a powerful

counter-blast to all those in the trade union and Labour movement who, after sixteen years of Thatcherism, have begun to capitulate to free market ideology.

Julian Tudor Hart is no disinterested academic willing to bow the knee to the orthodoxy of the day. For over 30 years he was a practising GP in a South Wales mining village, and he is still an ardent socialist.

Indeed the politics of the pamphlet will not easily be taken on board by the present leadership of the Labour Party.

Tudor Hart's root and branch critique of the ideology and practical contradictions of the NHS internal market, argued in lucid and



Ideologue: Thatcher

forthright terms, comes with a passionate commitment to socialist values, including the now discarded Clause Four.

He is clearly committed to primary care, and keen to see it improved and ex-

panded; but his experience and his overview of the NHS as a whole mean that he does not subscribe to the trendy notion embraced by Virginia Bottomley, that primary care can effectively replace general hospitals.

The book contains an excellent historical account of the rise of the NHS, the causes of its crisis in the late 1980s and Thatcher's secretive 'review' which led to the current chaotic and expensive reforms.

It pours scorn on the commercial values of private medicine and rejects the privatisation of community care, pointing out that in 1984 30% of long-term nursing home care was provided by the NHS, and that this had

fallen to 10% by 1994.

Tudor Hart knowledgeably dissects the free market ideology of Enthoven and Friedman which so captivated Margaret Thatcher, showing how it is not only inappropriate in the context of health care, but that it also failed abysmally to deliver its promised improvements elsewhere in industry.

### New ideas

But he goes on to offer some interesting new ideas on how health services could develop, arguing for recognition of the active role of the patient in the process of consultation and care, and pressing for a more rigorous and scientific assessment of the effectiveness of treatment.

The final chapter argues that "We have a huge base of popular support for any policy that moves the NHS back on course, away from competitive business and back to universal public service."

Tudor Hart recognises that it will be expensive and difficult to undo some of the damage that has been done, but argues that a democratised and restored NHS could serve as 'a model for a future economy'. Now there's a revolutionary conception!

Get this book and enjoy!

■ *Feasible Socialism* is available (£6.50 inc p&p), from SHA, 16 Charles Square, London N1 6HP.

FEATURE

But the involvement of the German bosses reached the heights of horror with the collaboration and sometimes direct participation of IG Farben (and other firms) in the mass extermination camps.

It was Karl Krauch, chairman of IG Farben's board of directors, who chose the site for Auschwitz (Its full name was IG - "industrial company" - Auschwitz - Monowitz).

IG Farben had always been characterised by virulent hostility to trade unions; the slogan Arbeit macht frei ("work makes free") written over the camp's gate was not dreamt up by the SS, but had long been used in all IG Farben factories to celebrate the defeat of trade unionism and worker militancy.

On 3 September 1941, 600 Soviet prisoners of war and 282 sick prisoners were murdered at Burkenau using a gas, Zyklon B, produced in IG Farben's laboratories.

In 1942, IG Farben received authorisation to exploit the labour force in Auschwitz (the SS sold the camp inmates for three to four marks a day per person to the industrialists. The SS boss Himmler thereby amassed a colossal fortune, apart from being a shareholder in IG Farben) for its new synthetic rubber factory.

### Children

IG Farben also used inmates from several other camps. Rudolf Höss, the head of the SS at Auschwitz explained to the Nuremberg Tribunal how the workers for IG Farben and the Krupp missile factories were selected: "Those judged fit for the work were sent inside the camp. The others were immediately directed towards the extermination units. Young children were always exterminated since they were not suitable for the work."

The respite for those judged fit to work was short. An order from the Department for camps of 30 April 1942 indicated that "the use of the prisoners in work must be exhausting in the strict sense of the term, in order to obtain the highest production ... the length of the working period set by the camp commander is without limit."

The deportees were thus to be worked to the point of exhaustion, then eliminated and immediately replaced.

The living body having been drained of everything it could give, the time had come to exploit the corpses. A Danzig firm transformed human fat into soap, the hair was used in the war industries and gold teeth were carefully pulled and, melted down into ingots, filled the vaults of the Reichsbank. Even the ashes were used for fertiliser.

Capitalist competition also operated in the death camps. Apart from using the human beings there as a consumable and disposable commodity, the very tools of genocide were a subject of fierce competition, like any other commodity.

A private company, I. A.

Topf and Sons, won the contract to build the crematorium ovens at Auschwitz. The Didier factories from Berlin gave the SS advice on how to increase the efficiency of mass extermination.

The C.H. Kori firm boasted of the merits of the ovens it had provided for the Dachau and Lublin camps, which had given "full and total satisfaction."

"We guarantee the efficiency of our ovens, as well as their solidity, the quality of the materials used and the finish of the work".

As for Zyklon B, IG Farben had sold its patent at a high price to two firms, Tesch and Stabenow, and Degesh. Every month the former delivered two tonnes of cyanide crystals to Auschwitz and the latter three-quarters of a tonne.

The last two years of the conflict saw, thanks to forced labour, plundering of raw materials and the rationalisation of the "total war" industry directed by Albert Speer and the heads of industry, a unprecedented rise in productivity and so of profits and dividends for shareholders in arms companies.

Between 1943 and 1944, the production of weapons rose by 17%, iron production rose from 32 to 34.6 million tonnes a year, Krupp tripled its output of tanks from 9,400 in 1942 to 27,300 in 1944, and Messerschmidt and Heinkel also tripled their production of combat aircraft, from 13,000 to 36,000 in the same period.

Without this rise in productivity. Due to a great extent to the industrialists themselves, the Nazis would not have been able to continue fighting.

While after the war some Nazi political and military leaders were tried and sentenced, the mild treatment handed out to the industrialists is remarkable.

For example: Joseph Abs, manager of Deutsche Bank between 1938 and 1945 became a great friend of postwar Chancellor Adenauer and Chairman of the bank between 1957 and 1967. Until his death he remained a financial adviser to the Vatican.

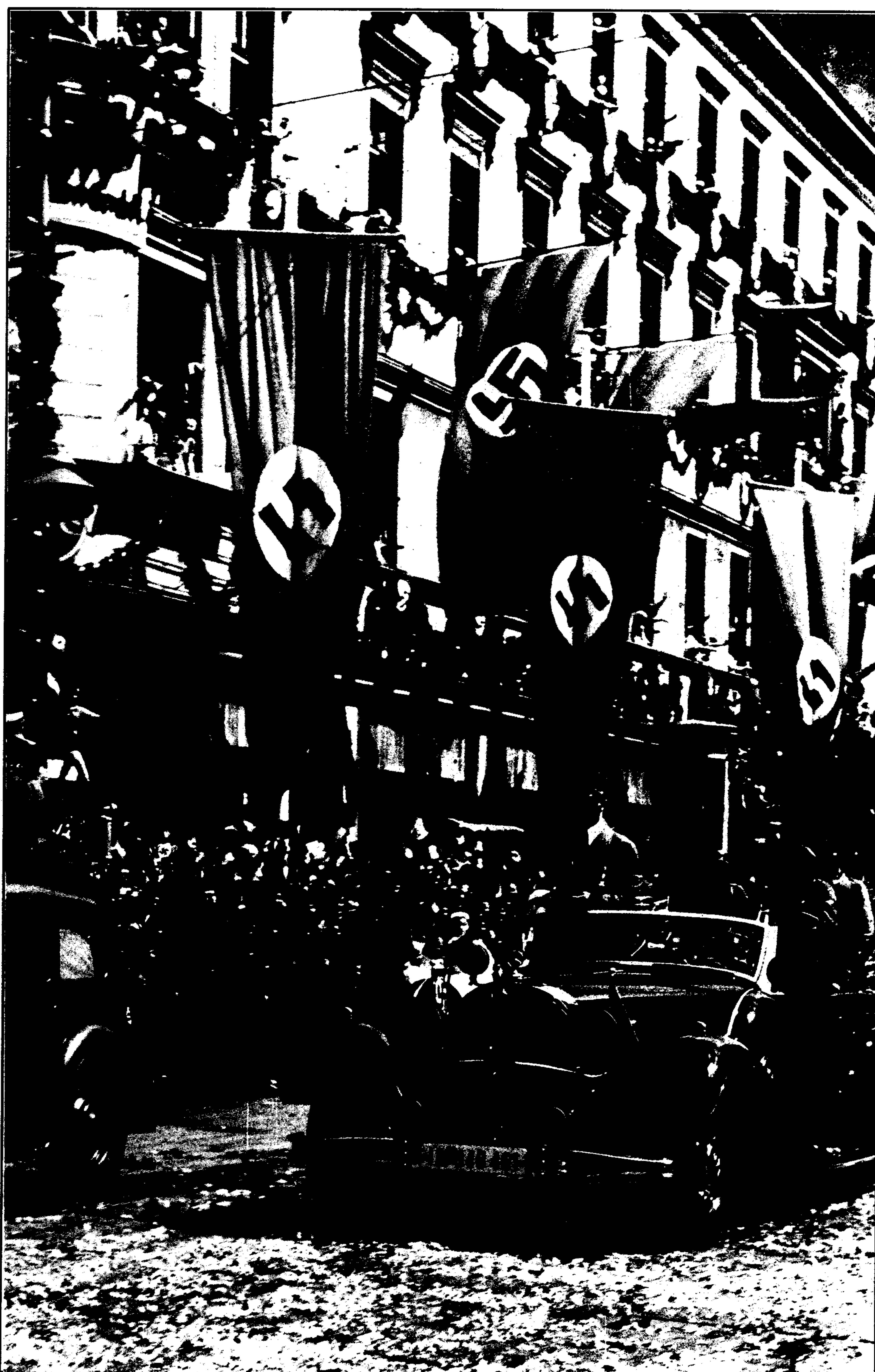
### Ill health

Baron Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Holbach, the patriarch of the Krupp firm and Chairman of its Board of Directors was charged at Nuremberg, but not tried, owing to his "state of health".

His son, Alfred Krupp, who became owner of the factories in 1943 was not even among those charged. He was tried later by an American military tribunal along with nine others of the firm's directors and sentenced in 1948 to 12 years in prison, but was freed three years later on the orders of the US High Commissioner, John Mc Coy.

The property of his company was not confiscated, and his immense personal fortune was returned.

The same for IG Farben and its Chairman Karl Krauch, nicknamed "the father of Auschwitz". He and



23 other major figures in the firm were tried for a year. The result: 12 of the 24 received a maximum of eighteen and a half years in prison. None of them served their full sentence.

**The living body having been drained of everything it could give, the time had come to exploit the corpses. A Danzig firm transformed human fat into soap, the hair was used in the war industries and gold teeth were carefully pulled and, melted down into ingots, filled the vaults of the Reichsbank. Even the ashes were used for fertiliser.**

Practically none of them ever showed the least regret, almost all remained in leading positions in their firms. Having grown fat in the Nazi years, they could settle down to a comfortable time in a parliamentary democracy.

Why the lenient treatment of these men? To pass sentence on them would have meant calling into question capitalism itself, since they had all obeyed their immediate interests, both personal

and collective, as members of the exploiting class. The cynical statement of Baron Krupp summed it up:

"We in the Krupp firm are not idealists, but realists. We had the impression that Hitler would give us the possibility

of healthy development. Indeed, he did so ... after the years with him in charge, we felt much more comfortable. We wanted a system which worked well and gave us the means to work calmly.

"I have said that I didn't know anything about the extermination of the Jews and I have added: when you buy a good horse, you don't look too closely at the details!"

Any boss from any country could have spoken these words. That is why, as Frédéric Clairmont put it, "passing judgement on the highest levels of German big capital would have presented a threat to the whole system."

Furthermore, it was necessary economically and socially to consolidate the west of Germany faced with the Soviet threat.

The cold war required a stable social order and so there could be no question of provoking working class protest by exposing the capitalist

class' direct responsibility in the establishment and perpetuation of the Nazi regime.

The term "the collective responsibility of the German people" was and still is used to "drown the fish"; making the German people in its entirety guilty serves as an alibi to hide the responsibility of big business and capitalism as such for Nazism.

Finally, as this article has shown, the Nazis did not invent an economic model. Their methods of exploitation were no more than the exacerbation of capitalist oppression of the human being as a commodity, as labour power.

The holy trinity of competitiveness, flexibility and productivity so dear to our "post-industrialists" was fully achieved by the Nazis. Pushed to a frenzied limit, the Nazi regime showed exactly what such a logic can entail.

(from *La Gauche*, 17 May 1995)

As the war effort hot-  
ted up, so  
the profits  
grew for  
Hitler's big  
business  
backers

FEATURE

# 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 armchair academics, but the revolutionary tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Our socialist alternative is not based on parliamentary elections or illusions of peaceful legislative change.

We fight to mobilise and unleash the power of the working class 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, Ireland 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!

## Free Ireland: 'the first duty'

SIMON DEVILLE [SO 85] correctly raises a number of issues.

The Labour Party has always been an overtly pro-imperialist party. It has always endorsed the Unionist veto, with the exception of 1921 when it favoured withdrawal.

The policy of a united Ireland adopted in the 1980s also endorsed the Unionist veto. Kinnoek could inspect and support British troops while Kevin McNamara made soothing voices to the republicans.

The Troops Out Movement has discussed a labour movement orientation and launched 'Trades Union TOM'. Two new TOM branches arranged Sinn Fein speakers at May Day rallies. There are a number of joint Trades Council and TOM initiatives, including a Labour Movement conference on 9 September.

Ireland is still unfree in modern conditions. It should be the first duty of British socialists to campaign for Irish freedom and to build a united front to that end.

**Bernie Hynes, Leicester**

## Defence of Militant/UVF front forum

MILITANT Labour held a successful public forum on the future of socialism on 9 May with over 80 people attending John McNulty [see *Feedback*, SO 84] attacks us for doing so.

The purpose of the public forum was to debate the way forward for socialism in the North. Those on the platform all claimed to be socialists, having come from very different routes. They were Martin Lynch, formerly of the Workers Party, Jim McCorry, formerly of the IRSP, and Billy Hutchinson, a leading figure in the PUP [Progressive Unionist Party].

It is ridiculous of John to claim that by sharing a platform with someone you endorse their views. Billy Hutchinson and the others claim to be socialists, and that claim deserves to be debated.

We welcome any genuine moves by people towards a socialist position and are prepared to talk to them about it.

We do not have to agree with their past or present actions or full programme but we should investigate to see if there is any common ground between us. We see our public forum as part of the overall rejuvenation of the left. We think community groups, trade unions, and socialist groups and individuals should convene a conference to set about creating a mass democratic socialist party.

To achieve this means sit-

*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

ting down and discussing and debating with other who describe themselves as socialists.

John McNulty's group [Irish Committee for a Marxist Programme, section of the Fourth International] obviously doesn't have the stomach for such a course of action. Let them sit aside from the real world if they so wish, engaged in sterile debates amongst themselves. Militant Labour will continue to be part of the struggle for social change.

**Niall Mulholland, Militant Labour, Belfast**

## PUP & UVF dead serious

REPLYING to my criticism of their platform for the Progressive Unionist Party, Niall Mulholland of Militant Labour says that you can share a platform with someone without endorsing their views, and that Billy Hutchinson's claim to be a socialist deserves to be debated.

This is purest fudge. Militant Labour did not debate Billy Hutchinson. They explicitly endorsed his claim to be a socialist - the report in their British paper records his thanks for this. He was the only figure on their platform to be invited as a spokesperson of a party, so by implication they are endorsing the PUP as a socialist party - I have no idea if they draw the line at the UVF!

The issue is deadly serious

and deserves a serious answer. If Militant Labour are planning to campaign for a socialist party but are unable to distinguish between those who stand for such unity and the murderous opponents of it, they endanger the cause of socialism and put genuine working-class militants at risk.

Mulholland says that the ICMP don't have the stomach for debate - a strange way to turn down the challenge to debate I issued with my last letter. Militant Labour seem to have more stomach for debates with the far right than they do with other socialist organisations!

Our offer of debate stands. If they want to bring their friends from the PUP onto the platform, I will gladly demonstrate how to respond to these sectarians' crazy claims to the mantle of socialism.

**John McNulty, Irish Committee for a Marxist Programme, Belfast**

## International Viewpoint

READERS of the *May International Viewpoint* should note an error in the article on Britain.

Militant Labour won a total of around 9,000 votes in council elections. In Glasgow they won 6 per cent of votes. After editing, the IV article suggests that Militant Labour gained 6 per cent of the vote across all of Scotland! This is not the case.

**Duncan Chapple, London N4**

## Psychology and politics

'COMMUNITY Care' is an important issue for socialist to take up, as Pauline Bradley [SO 85] usefully points out.

This is one of the issues being taken up by Psychology Politics Resistance. PPR was founded last year at a 150-strong Manchester conference addressed by radical psychologists from Barcelona, Cape Town and Sarajevo as well as by activists in the psychiatric services 'users' movement.

We link up with activists in psychiatry, therapists and educational psychologists. We are building a network which will offer resources to those on the sharp end of psychology.

The second issue of our newsletter had a direct mailing of over 500. PPR is growing fast. There is a women's group, which meets in Manchester, and a London group meeting regularly which has been active around the government's oppressive 'care' and punishment in the community legislation.

Anyone who has anything to do with psychology and is concerned about the abuse of power in its theories and practices can contact me and I will send them the latest PPR newsletter.

Write to PPR, Dept. of Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University, Hathersage Road, Manchester M13 0JA.

**Ian Parker, Manchester**

# FEEDBACK

### CONTACT US NOW!

YES - I want to become a *Socialist Outlook* supporter.

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

Socialist Outlook Summer School in Aberystwyth, August 23 to 28, on the Welsh coast

# THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTION

**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.

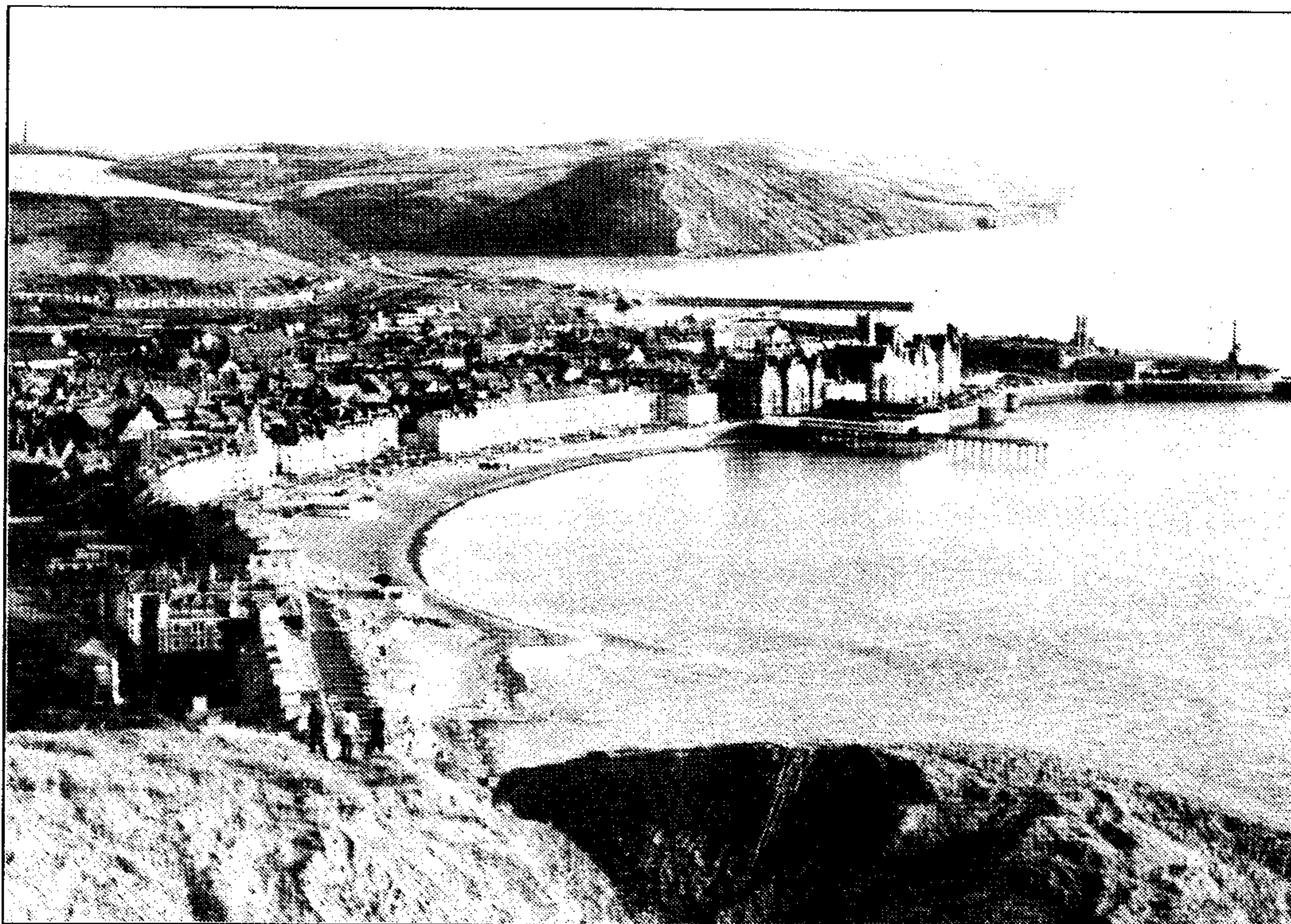
The school is open

**COURSES AND SESSIONS INCLUDE:**  
 Art and revolution; anarchism and the Spanish revolution; the origins of the revolutionary programme; Marx and Lenin on the State; Bolshevik party and youth; Stalin; Prolekt, revolutionary press; permanent revolution; 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; Women in Latin America; Bolshevik history; intensive course on the State; women revolutionaries; Revolutions - Germany, Russia, Vietnam and China; the Fourth International; fighting racism in World War Two; Gramsci; the National Question; and more!

to Socialist Outlook and Liberation! supporters, and those sympathetic to our ideas. 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



Constitution Hill gives breathtaking view of the Three Bays

£25/£15.

A 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.

## BOOKING FORM

Yes please reserve \_\_\_ room(s) for \_\_\_ nights I enclose:

- £110/£45 (full payment)  
 £35/£15 (deposit)  
 Other amount £ \_\_\_\_\_

Name(s).....

Address.....

Post Code.....

Tel: .....

Send me a creche booking form

Send to 'Socialist Outlook Summer School', PO Box 1109, London N4. 2UU.

## WHAT'S HAPPENING

### JUNE

#### Fri 23

CLIMAX of 140 mile TUC Full Employment March: Sheffield Grass Bowl 6pm with John Monks, Rita Donaghy and John Prescott details: Paul Jagger (0113) 242 9696

#### Sat 24

BAHU speaks in London! Hear Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, General Secretary of the NSSP of Sri Lanka, on recent developments in Sri Lanka - peace or Eelam war 3? 6.00pm Club Room Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square WC1 (Holborn tube).

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

HARMONDSWORTH demonstration starts 12 noon - 2pm SHARP Colnbrook Bypass Catch 81 bus or get a lift at 11.30am from

Hounslow West (Piccadilly Line tube) or U3 bus from Heathrow Airport. London coaches phone Sarbjit (central) (0171) 713 7907 or Colin Roach Centre (Hackney) (0181) 533 7111.

LESBIAN and Gay Pride Festival Victoria park march from Hyde Park for Festival from 3pm.

#### Sun 25

FREE Satpal Ram public meeting 3pm Guru Ravidass Temple (off Grove Lane/Soho Road) Union Row Handsworth Birmingham Speakers: George Silcott, Tower Hamlets 9, Mohinder Ram Details 0121 551 4518.

ACTION for Southern Africa Freedom Run 10am - 4pm Brockwell Park Brixton SW2 details 0171 833 3133.

#### Weds 28

BIRMINGHAM Socialist Outlook and Liberation! public meeting: State Racism and Fortress Europe Speaker: Bala Kumar 7.30pm Queens Tavern Essex Rd. IRISH Peace Initiative public meeting with Mitchel McLoughlin 8.00pm Cam-

den Irish Centre 52 Camden Square NW1.

#### Thurs 29

LEEDS Socialist Outlook public meeting Labour and the Trade Unions 7.30pm The Adelphi pub Hunslet Road near Leeds Bridge with speakers Steve Hall and Glen Voris.

### JULY

#### Sat 2

NOTTS Welfare State Network demo: details phone Sal on (0115) 9626298.

#### Thurs 6-Sat 8

SOCIALISM beyond the market: CSE conference Northumbria University.

#### Sat 8

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 Took's Court EC4.

#### Sun 9

JEWS and Socialism Roger Lyons (MSF General Secretary), Rabbi Shelia Shulman (Beit k'ial Yisrael) and

others debate 7.30pm Small Hall Conway Hall Red Lion Sq. WC1

#### Sat 15

SMTUC conference with Tony Benn MP: 'New' Labour and the Unions 10.30am-5pm South Camden Community School, NW1 (Kings Cross and Euston tube) tickets £5/£3 from SMTUC 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 2UU.

### AUGUST

#### Weds 23 - Mon 28

SOCIALIST Outlook Summer School Aberystwyth. Send your £35 (waged), £15 (unwaged) deposit now to 'Socialist Outlook Summer School', PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

### SEPTEMBER

#### Sat 9

IRELAND and the trade unions conference called by Manchester TUC.

## SUBSCRIBE TO SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

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.

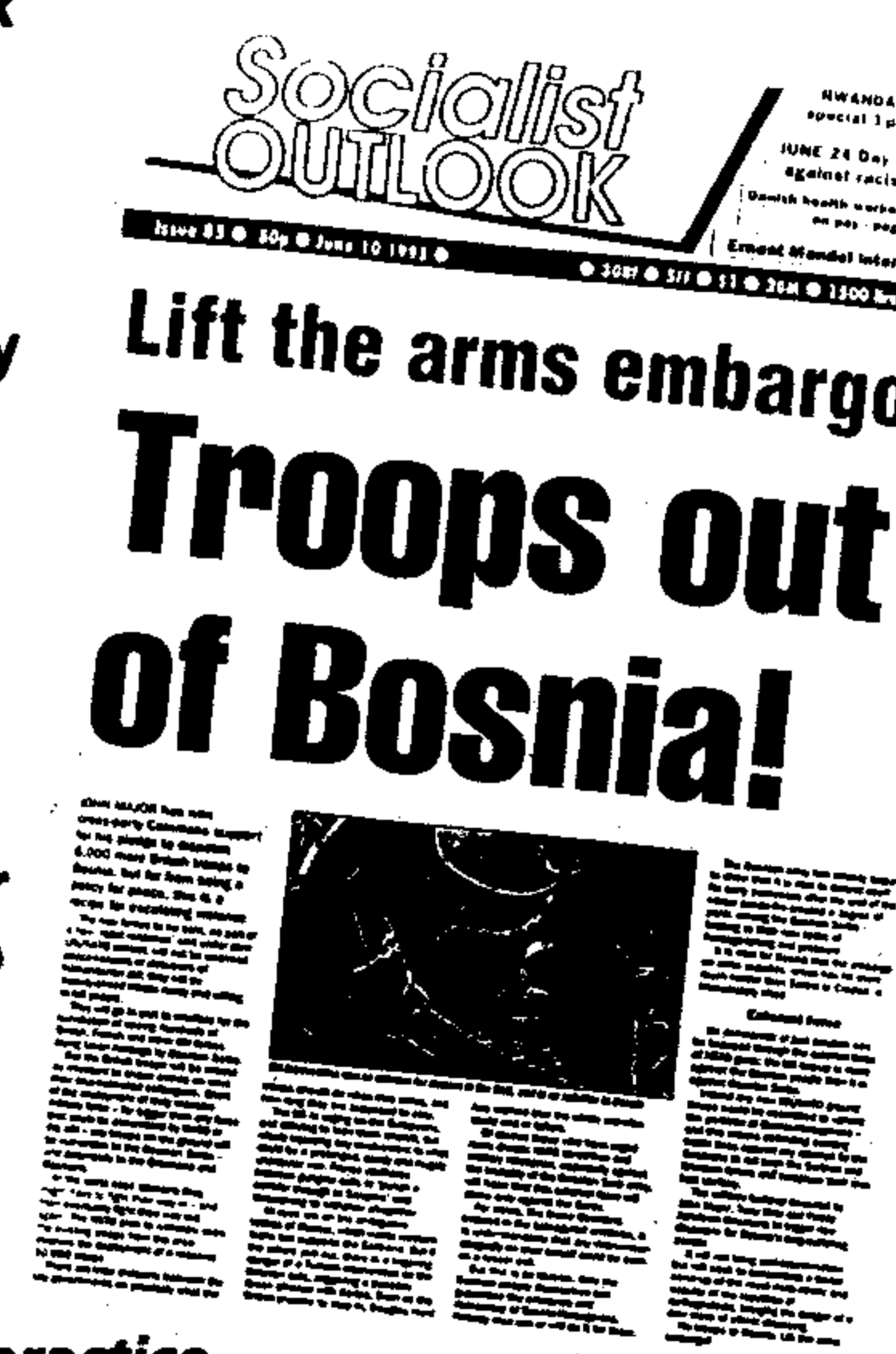
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Lift the arms embargo!  
**Troops out of Bosnia!**

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

# SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Socialist Outlook  
is taking a three  
week break

The next Socialist Outlook will be dated 15 July. This helps us stick to our twice monthly schedule and prepare an August double issue.

## Put lesbian & gay rights on the agenda

# Get political to win equality

By Peter Purton

THROUGHOUT the world this week, lesbians and gay men celebrate the birth of a movement for liberation on the streets of New York in 1969.

The radical times which gave inspiration to those early protests have long gone but the lesbian and gay movement is established in a way few expected. In the 1970s, Pride marches in London mustered a few thousands at most. The 1990s have seen marches of tens of thousands and festivals of 150,000. The 1993 march on Washington attracted upwards of one million US lesbians and gays.

### Gains

The movement for liberation of "a love that dare not speak its name" has its own TV and radio programmes. Anglican bishops now confront the reality of gay clergy. Two weeks ago, a High Court judge affectively called on the Ministry of Defence to lift the ban on lesbian and gay servicepeople. Lesbian Chic leaps from the pages of market-leading women's magazines. Pop stars consciously cultivate ambiguous sexual images.

Meanwhile, most lesbians and gay men struggle to make a living and continue to suffer both open and indirect discrimination in all walks of life. Most will continue to 'pass' as straight for some of



all of their lives. Lesbians can still expect to lose custody of their children. We still have every reason to fear loss of job if we come out at work, still have every reason to worry about being 'queer-bashed' in the street.

Big gains have been secured in the labour movement. Policy victories and self-organisation have marched hand-in-hand in the trade unions and in the Labour Party. The path to changing the legal inequality

which makes our lives insecure and which both reflects and strengthens popular homophobia is clear.

### Ideology

No Tory government is going to reverse its ideology to

break the chains: but a Labour government has the policy, fought for and won at Party conferences over 11 years of campaigns by LCLGR — the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights. There is the grass roots and trade union support for such a move. There are MPs who understand it matters.

Does this mean Labour has the will to legislate for lesbian and gay equality. Certainly, we can point to a depressing list of betrayals by Labour MPs. But what is the alternative? The autonomous struggle of lesbians and gay men is essential — but it needs a political objective. No Pride march, however large, will change the law on its own. On the other hand without Pride marches reflecting the existence of a mass movement for justice, politicians won't move either.

Lesbian and gay socialists will recognise the prize that there is to be gained with a Labour election victory. Only a sustained and substantial campaign up to and beyond an election can expect to produce the results.

LCLGR is running such a campaign, based around a "Manifesto for Lesbian and Gay Equality". Winning massive public backing for this campaign is the best way both of winning action from Labour and of winning lesbians and gay men to active involvement.

• LCLGR's "Manifesto for Lesbian and Gay Equality" is launched at Pride and available for 60 pence (inc. p&p) from LCLGR, PO Box 306, London N5.