

Socialist OUTLOOK

INSIDE

MAY
DAY

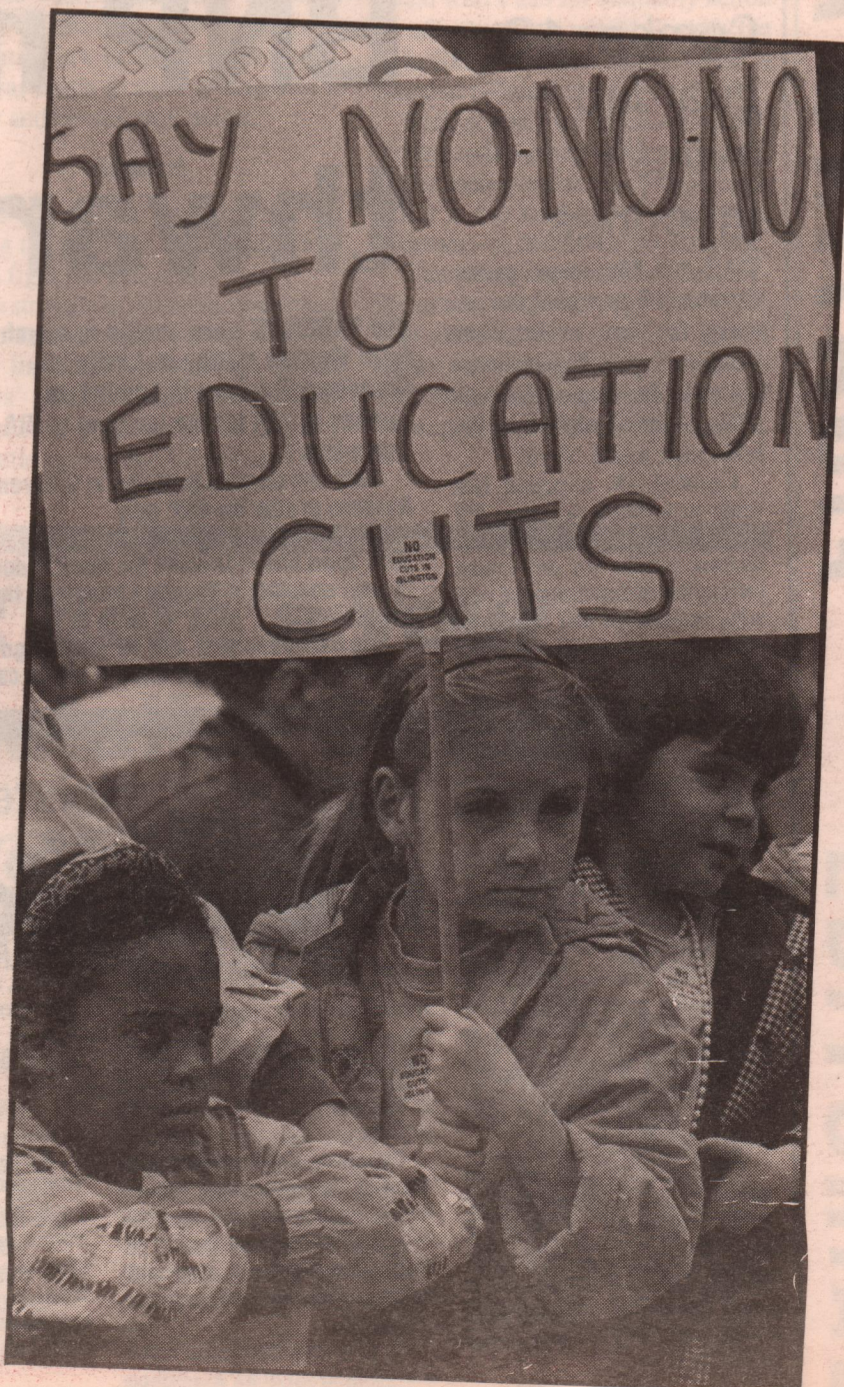
Interview
with Tony
Benn

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Unite the struggles, defend the right to strike!

Teachers show the way to win

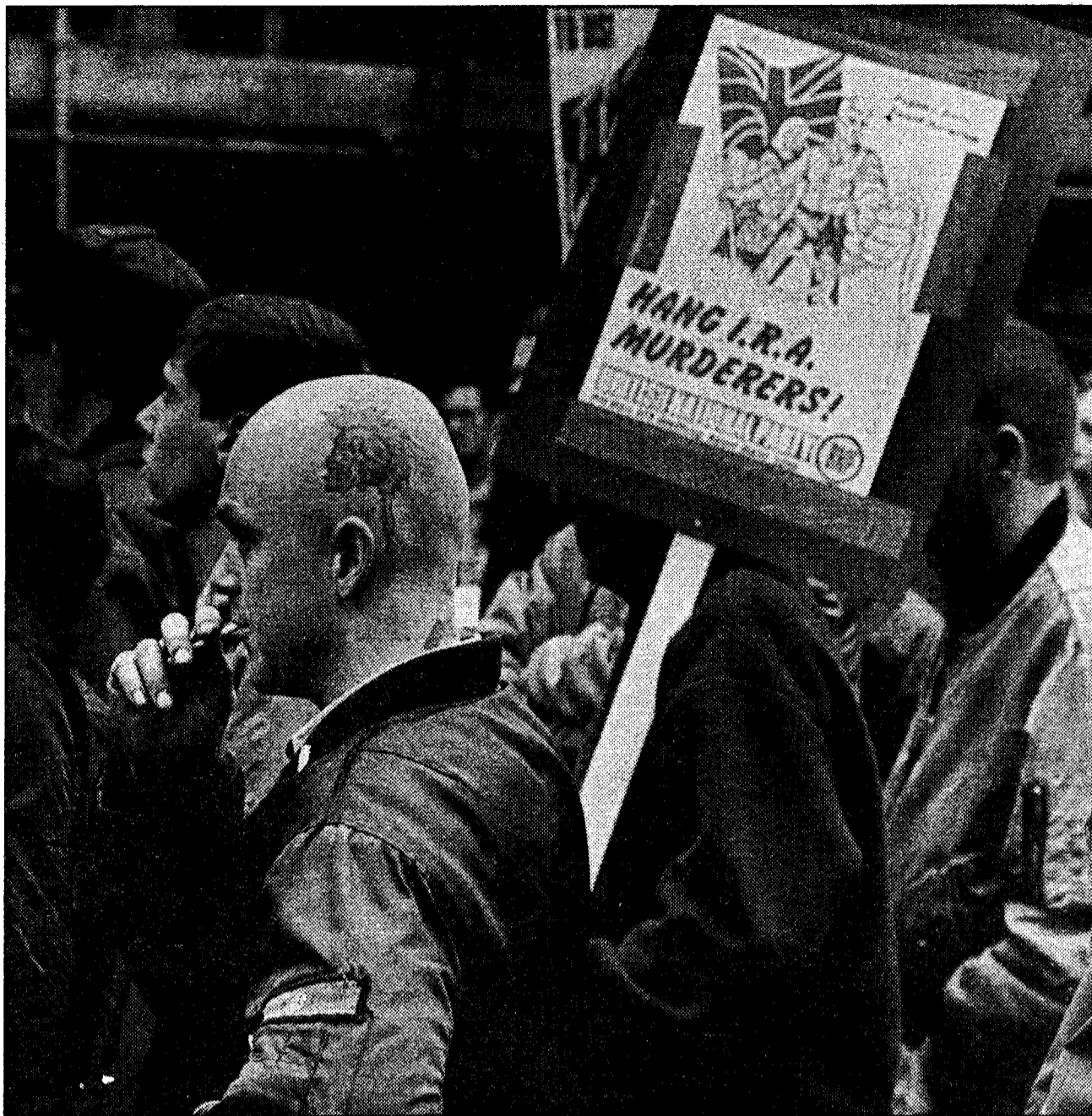


THE TORIES' schools tests (SATS) are dead in the water – thanks to the rank and file mobilisation and determination of teachers, and despite the reluctance and obstruction of the leaders of the teachers' unions.

Mass meetings all over the country and a huge campaign spearheaded by rank and file activists have forced the hands of leaders like the NUT's Doug McAvooy, who only two months ago was denouncing a boycott of the tests as dangerous extremism.

Throttling SATS has dealt a major blow to Tory education reform plans. This is a welcome victory. But millions of workers face a huge battle in the coming months – against redundancies, against the 1.5 per cent pay norm and the threat to ban strikes in the public sector.

The teachers shows that solidarity, struggle and unity is the way to win. That is what is needed to throw back the Tory attacks.



Birmingham

Defend Shane Ward!

By Jack Starkey

A DEFENCE campaign has started in Birmingham to support Shane Ward, an Afro-Caribbean youth charged with public order offenses after a clash with BNP fascists.

The case arises from a paper sale and leafleting session by the 30 BNP skinheads in Birmingham city centre on 6 March. Some of the skinhead openly wore swastikas; the sale was only able to go ahead because of strong police protection.

Shane Ward and a friend became involved in a shouting match with the BNP and were promptly arrested, taken to Steelhouse Lane police station they were threatened and racially abused.

Spurious

On their release Shane's friend was prepared to accept a police caution; Shane refused to be criminalised and a spurious public order charge was made against him.

Shane told Socialist Outlook: 'When I was arrested, police in the van called me a dumb nigger. I refused to sign a caution because it would have meant admitting I was wrong, despite the fact that three policemen tried to pressurise me.'

West Midlands police have a notorious record of brutal methods and frame-ups; they have also systematically defended fascist activities, including arresting Labour councillors and community leaders in Droitwich who tried to demonstrate against the BNP.

Seventy people demonstrated when Shane made his first court appearance; another picket will be held outside the next court hearing, 9.45am on 17 May outside Birmingham's Victoria law courts.

For speakers and donations contact the Shane Ward Defence Campaign c/o 339 Dudley Rd., Winson Green, Birmingham B18 4HB.

Combat 18 guarded Irving meetings

THE NAZI terror group Combat 18 provided the security for two meetings last year, at which historian David Irving claimed Hitler's involvement in the holocaust was a 'myth'.

Combat 18, exposed last week in a *World in Action* TV programme, is responsible for vicious attacks on anti-fascist campaigners, bombings of left-wing bookshops and dozens of death threats against left wing campaigners.

The group produces a newsletter called 'Redwatch' giving the home names and addresses of prominent left wing, Jewish and black politicians, as well as leftwingers.

Key leaders of the group include a knife-wielding hoodlum called Charlie Sargent and veteran Nazi Eddie Whicker, who has strong personal links with the loyalist paramilitary UDA. Combat 18 is also linked to an international paramilitary fascist network organised from North Carolina by USA Nazi leader Harold Covington.

Combat 18 recruits from established fascist groups like the BNP, organising its paramilitary 'soldiers' on a secret cell system. The emergence of this group signals the emergence of a new, and more violent phase of fascist activity.

BNP march thwarted

200 FASCISTS were unable to march from Victoria station to a rally in Grosvenor Gardens in London on Sunday to call for the hanging of IRA 'terrorists'.

1500 anti fascists gathered at Grosvenor Gardens to stop the BNP rally.

The police kept the BNP and the anti fascists apart and redirected the fascists down to their coaches at Vauxhall bridge for their own safety.

The BNP attempt to call for tougher government action against the IRA and to capi-

talise on the weekend bombings in London was a failure. Dominated by the SWP, the ANL demonstration included a sizeable contingent from the Militant.

But the call to stop the BNP rally was a victory but by default. The organisation of the counter demonstration was chaotic with no proper stewarding.

In this situation the pathetic turn out by the BNP meant success for the anti fascists but this cannot be counted on and a well organised united anti fascist movement is necessary to keep them off the streets.

Right wing minister behind crackdown

French cops kill black youth

FOLLOWING the appointment of arch right-winger Charles Pasqua as Interior Minister, three young immigrants have been killed by police.

Pasqua was the minister who ordered the repression of students' demonstrations in 1986 which ended with the murder of Malik Ousseine by a special corps under Pasqua's direct command.

A 17-year old Zairian was shot in the head in a Paris police

station, a 17-year old Algerian was shot by a drunken policeman in Wattrelos and another was killed in Chambery.

Wounded

A 15-year old was seriously wounded after being shot in the back by police in Cherbourg. Police have organised massive identity checks on immigrant areas of Paris. In the wave of repression several demonstrations have also been attacked.

Seventy young immigrants were arrested after a Paris gathering; many were wounded, including a young militant of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, the French Trotskyist organisation, hospitalised after police beat him up.

The killings and the repression against immigrants is the immediate consequence of the election of a right-wing government dominated by the Gaullist RPR and the centre-right UDF. During the election campaign

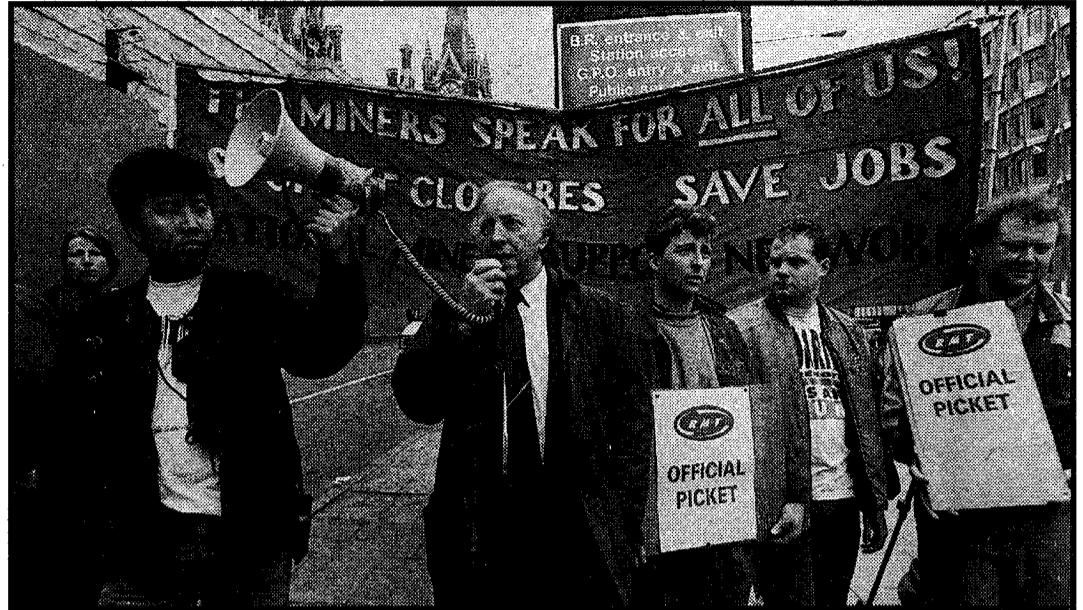
the RPR in particular tried to outdo the fascist Front National in the racism of its election broadcasts.

Divided

The right is divided about how far to go in implementing privatisation policies and austerity measures, given the presidential elections in two years' time. Its substitute for a coherent policy will be a high profile attack on immigrant workers and youth.

Emergency action needed

Defend the pits and the right to strike



Linking up the struggles: Scargill on RMT picket line

THE ONE-DAY strikes in the mines and on the railways have put class struggle back on the agenda at a time when this was desperately necessary.

This has been followed up by the decision of the teachers' unions to take action over school tests.

The solidarity of the strikes and the rising confidence and morale of those involved put a generalised fightback against Tory attacks back on the agenda.

But the government threat to ban strikes in the public sector massively raises the stakes in the current wave of union struggles.

RMT climbdown

The miners now face immense problems; and the decision of the RMT executive to re-ballot their members on BR's latest offer means that further industrial action on the railways, if it happens, could not start until well into May. In effect the RMT decision is a face-saving climbdown.

If the current wave of industrial action runs out of steam, the Tories will find it much easier to impose the new law, revealed by the NUT last



On the way out? Tory slimeball Patten defeated by teachers

week, effectively banning public sector strikes.

Five months after the announcement of the pit closures, the Tory rebels have predictably collapsed, the energy White Paper is going through parliament and of course the Labour front bench has mounted no serious challenge to defend the pits. Now the government has won in parliament, the closure of the first 19 pits on the immediate hit list will

come rapidly; coal production there will stop at the end of next week.

The developing fightback is crucial for the public sector and the whole trade union movement; but it may be too slow to have an impact on pit closures. And now the RMT leadership have decided to re-ballot, the chances of relaunching industrial action on the railways are not high; we can be sure that before the May 6 ballot, BR and the government will bombard railworkers with threats and anti-strike propaganda.

The Tories' threat to ban industrial action which prevents public sector workers 'carrying out their statutory duties' would be the most draconian anti-union law in the Western world; if it was made to stick it would be a major and devastating defeat.

Abject

The 'new realist' union leaders are paying the price for their abject failure to fight the anti-union laws.

The struggle to defeat the proposed public sector strike ban is now directly linked to the outcome of the miners' struggle, the fight against compulsory redundancies on rail, and the battle against the 1.5 per cent pay norm.

What action can therefore be proposed which could realistically have an impact on the situation? The struggle against the 1.5 per cent pay norm in the public sector must be vigorously pursued.

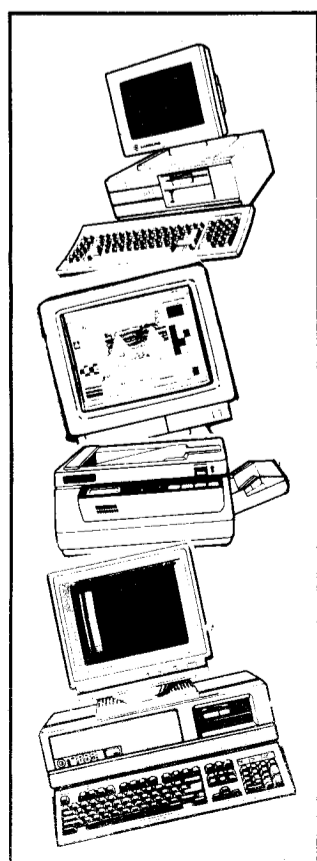
The miners must develop a strategy for the occupation of the front-line pits to prevent their closure. The actions by Ann Scargill and WAPC has given a lead in this respect; but so far this is only symbolic, protest action.

Occupations

The occupation of the pits, combined with a call for solidarity action by other workers, would electrify the situation and immediately cause a national political crisis.

Such action may of course be difficult to win among workers worried about losing redundancy payments. But it is this kind of action which is necessary to defeat the government.

The other imperative is solidarity action organised by the TUC. The demand for a national day of strike action against pit closures and anti-union laws must be raised throughout the labour movement.



As promised: here's your new-style Socialist Outlook

THE SHORT break in the publication of Socialist Outlook has seen huge mobilisations of the black masses in South Africa, the deepening crisis in Bosnia and important developments in the class struggle in Britain. The need for a revolutionary marxist voice in the labour movement has never been greater.

During our break we have refurbished our offices, bought new computer equipment, put in place new staff members and redesigned the paper. We also held a very successful national school of supporters on writing for, and



building support for, the paper.

Our modest £2000 fund drive to buy new computers has been oversubscribed by more than 50 per cent, enabling us to buy more software than we originally anticipated. A warm 'thank you' to all the comrades who generously gave us money - particularly the Nottingham comrade who gave us £800.

Not all of the changes we want have been incorporated into the first issue; there will be more in the next few issues. But we hope our readers like the new-style paper. Having achieved it, however, we cannot rest on our laurels. Now is the time to get out and win new readers and subscribers.

The new-style paper is a weapon in the fight to build

the marxist movement. It is only useful if a large number of our readers have an active relationship to the paper.

We want your letters, articles and ideas. Most of all we need to win a larger audience for the paper.

Every reader can play a role in getting friends and political contacts to buy the paper regularly or subscribe.

Last but not least is the continued need for financial support. Producing a newspaper is expensive, and achieving our relaunch fund drive does not mean that the need for continued financial support is ended. If you like the new paper - say it with cash.

EDITORIAL



Women bear the brunt of public sector cuts and closures

Women defend public services

By Gill Lee

HOW CAN women defend public sector services and jobs?

As attacks on education, health and social services cut thousands of women's jobs in Sweden, the home of capitalism's 'human face', a feminist party will stand at the next general election.

Of 180,000 jobs facing the axe 80 per cent are held by women. Unemployment threatens the gains women have made in the last twenty years. The term 'housewife' had become almost obsolete.

Sweden's women achieved the world's highest level of workplace equality. Female-dominated jobs in childcare, health care and teaching are now most at risk from cuts.

Women not only work in these sectors, but are disproportionately dependent upon them as users. Without social provision for the elderly infirm, the sick and the young, responsibility is forced back onto women, individually, in isolation, in the home. Cuts in the public sector mean attacks on women's rights.

While Swedish women have responded to the attacks by organising together to force the implications for women onto the national political agenda, women in Britain have been much slower to organise around cuts in the public sector as a 'women's issue'.

Women for Socialism will bring together a wide range of women activists at a Saturday 22 May dayschool. Discussion will focus on how public sector cuts particularly affect women.

Health service cuts attack health workers and reduce abortion and contraception facilities as well as care for the sick. Public transport cuts threaten women's safety and independence.

Privatisation creates part-time, low wage jobs while increased family responsibilities have forced women to become a flexible, cheap labour force.

While a women's party is not the answer in Britain or Sweden, the left must understand what the cuts mean for women. Struggles against Tory attacks defend jobs, conditions and trade union rights; but they also defend a whole range of women's rights.

Resurrecting lesbian and gay politics

By Sam Inman

UP TO 200 activists from the capital's diverse lesbian and gay communities will debate radical strategies for liberation at a May 15 conference, organised by the London Lesbian and Gay Rights Coalition.

The success of the conference will send signals to the communities and to both genuine and spurious supporters in the labour movement.

While Labour's leaders continue to privately proclaim their abstract support for lesbian and gay rights, they backed the anti-lesbian Child Support Act and publicly urge the Tories to withdraw healthworkers living with HIV or AIDS.

Though most lesbians and gay men vote Labour, this continued betrayal pushes many away from politics and towards apathy or a lifestyle of nightclubbing and casual sex.

'Queer Politics' also come up for debate at the conference. It's

three years since the direct action group *OutRage* sprang up in London, hot on the heels of the US *Queer Nation* - now torn apart by its own contradictions. The same problem are eating away at *OutRage*. 'Queer' hyper-activism and clubbing-'til-you-drop both create alienation and burn-out.

Lesbian and gay liberation means smashing the material and ideological prison of compulsory heterosexuality. It can only come about mass action against their oppression by lesbians and gays in their tens of thousands. Self-selected pockets of largely white, middle class gay men can't do it for us.

Oppression

Liberation necessitates understanding of, and commitment to, the fight against other oppressions in society.

If the Solidarity! Liberation '93 conference can show that there is a radical political alternative, based on the historical experiences of mass struggles, then radical politics will attract more of those now disaffected.

WAF warn: Stop the Bible bashers!

By Sarah Parker

THE NEW wave of Christian fundamentalism came under scrutiny at the recent Women Against Fundamentalism (WAF) day school.

The discussions set out to assess developments in fundamentalism across the world.

Niva Yuval Davis argued that a new form of Euro-racism is taking shape around European Christian morality and 'Fortress Europe' - the term given to the new controls on immigration and migrants in the European Community.

"Without understanding this new development of cultural racism the European left will not be able to adequately pay its role in the struggle against racism," she said.

Other participants emphasised the increasing importance of Christianity as part of a racist English identity that exists through exclusion of, and disdain for, outsiders.

WAF also discussed its priorities for political campaigning. Top of the list was to continue publishing its journal.

Many women emphasised how eagerly this is received, including by women in other countries. It was agreed that monitoring fundamentalist movements and spreading information was a vital part of the group's role.

WAF agreed that it must campaign on domestic and international issues - analysing multiculturalism and anti-racist strategies, supporting campaigns against domestic violence, and for the disestablishment of the Church of England.

Contact WAF at BM Box 2706 London WC1 3XX, or ring 081 571 9595.

LIBERATION POLITICS

Right wing thugs threaten September return

Abortion campaigners beat bigots

By Eileen Gersh and Sarah Parker

AFTER an international right-wing hit squad failed to close down abortion clinics in Britain, the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) is warning that the thugs plan a major return attack in September.

Organised by the US-based Rescue America, the tri-national team were aided by police. When 30 pro-choice activists gathered outside the International Planned Parenthood Federation before an

anti-abortion rally, 18 were quickly arrested while 20 rightists turned up and were allowed to hold a press conference.

Sixteen anti-abortionists were able to form a barricade inside and out of a Birmingham clinic while 70 people were successfully mobilised to keep the clinic open. Most of the overseas contingent of the hit squad has now left the country.

Rescue America leader Don Treshman was served with a deportation order after an attempted blockade at a north-east London clinic.

In the U.S. these groups have gone from pickets to fire-bombings and killings. Last year marked a record for violence against clinics.

Vandalism

There were 1,107 acts of serious violence (bombing, arson, chemical contamination, invasion, vandalism, etc.) costing nearly \$50 million. Operation Rescue carry guns and recently killed a clinic doctor.

Special camps train members to read license plates, follow people, harass them at home, illegally enter schools

and leaflet children with pictures of foetuses.

In Britain, NAC is preparing now for their arrival and will stage a public event shortly. The pro-choice campaign is setting up a telephone 'tree' in London to quickly mobilise supporters to defend clinics. Readers, especially those who live near clinics (BPAS, St. Ann's Hospital N15; Rosslyn Nursing Home, Twickenham; Marie Stopes Clinic, Ealing; Raleigh Centre, Brixton; Parkview, Ealing; Leigham, SW16), can join the 'tree' by phoning NAC on (071) 923 4976.



Local government pay '93

Bust the 1.5 per cent limit!

**By Doug Thorpe
(vice chair
Islington NALGO)**

The UNISON unions (NALGO, NUPE and CO-HSE) have put forward a local government white collar pay claim based on a 700 flat-rate increase for all workers.

Predictably, this has been rejected by the employers, who have offered a 1.5 per cent increase in line with the government's public sector pay limit. Despite real obstacles, this claim has the potential for building national action across all local government unions.

But winning such action will not be easy. With high unemployment, job cuts remain workers' main concern, and there will be a temptation to accept low pay in the hope that this will save jobs.

Nowhere has this been more starkly illustrated than in Sheffield council, where the workforce voted to accept pay cuts in

order to avoid redundancies.

If public sector expenditure cuts can be translated directly into pay cuts and worsening worker's conditions, this will suit not only the Tories but also any labour councillors who have qualms about redundancies. In this sense the fight against the pay limit is an essential component of the fight against cuts and not counterposed to it.

The separate settlement dates for manual and white collar workers undermine the potential for maximising united action. This must be overcome by campaigning for a common programme of national action across all unions, whatever the settlement date.

UNISON is due to come into existence on 1 July 1993 (quaintly called Vesting Day). By coincidence this is the settlement date for local government white collar pay. Let's invest both the date and the new union with some real meaning by calling for it to be a day of national strike action, in unison, across local government.



Smashing pay limit crucial to fighting council cuts

Teachers can stop Tory school wreckers

**By Roy Leach,
Oxfordshire NUT
Secretary
(personal
capacity)**

A GROWING willingness to fight has developed among teachers since the general election.

Demoralisation has been replaced with a militancy that can take on both the Tories and the new realist union leaders. Decisions of the NUT Easter conference opened the way to industrial action, and victories in the courts mean that boycotting tests for 14-year olds is now a virtual certainty.

Leaders of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) came to the union's Easter conference committed to ballot for a boycott Standard Assessment Tests of English classes. A NASUWT (another teaching union) boycott, and calls from science, maths, technology and primary teachers placed them under pressure to go further.

Threatened with a major defeat as conference opened, the Executive proposed extending the ballot to a total boycott of National Curriculum testing. To avoid accusations of political action, the result will be announced after the local government election.

A boycott by the NUT, NASUWT and the ATL (a non-TUC union) will stop a central part of the Tories education reforms, dealing a blow to streaming and the reintroduction of selective admission to certain schools. Teachers and their unions must now reopen debate about the Curriculum's content and confront the growing radical right influence in education.

The size of defeat the teachers can inflict on the government is shown in the new proposal to make illegal boycotting tests or parts of the National Curriculum. The expensive failures of the Tory's Wandsworth stooges in the courts reinforces their desperation.

The conference also decided to ballot over a boycott of appraisal. The Executive motion

condemning the pay freeze and Performance Related Pay (PRP) put off action till next year. *Socialist Outlook* supporter Roy Leach seconded a narrowly defeated amendment calling for a national one-day public sector strike. An amendment calling for a total boycott was passed despite a vitriolic attack from the Executive, who ended up opposing their own pay policy! The amended motion calling for total boycott was finally carried. Already NUT branches committed to the boycott are building for a 'yes' vote.

The left also succeeded in broadening the Union's aims and objectives to allow branches to express collective opinions on matters outside education, allowing campaigns like Fight the Alton Bill. The Executive was heavily defeated over their use of disciplinary procedure to victimise left-wing Treasurer Ian Murch.

The Tories are defensive over education. Teachers have to defend conference decisions against the NUT leadership and keep the Tories on the run.

Compulsory redundancy dispute

RMT off the rails

**Greg Tucker
(RMT Traincrew
National Secretary,
pers. cap.)**

ONCE AGAIN the RMT leadership has called off industrial action despite having won a mandate from the membership. This time, however, they have done so despite also having won a mandate from the RMT General Grades Committee (the rail national executive).

Arcane

The GGC voted 12-7 for strike action to take place on 27 April, only to have the vote ruled out of order by RMT President Don Loughlin, using an arcane precedent no one could remember that strike action needed a two thirds majority vote.

Instead of action the RMT is to ballot again with the GGC recommending non-acceptance of BR's latest offer. While this recommendation is to be welcomed many railworkers will correctly interpret this as a reluctance to fight on the part of a split RMT bureaucracy.

BR management aim to use this wavering to encourage a vote against action. Left activists will have to work harder to win the ballot.

There can be no excuse for the failure to call further action. The first two days of action have

been rock solid. With feelings running higher than they have for many years the message was the same throughout the country - 'no trains moving here'; further action would have been just as successful. BR's offer gives no guarantees going even halfway to those required by the RMT.

In a parallel development ASLEF have settled their dispute with BR. ASLEF members have been left angry and confused. They are entitled to ask why they went on strike in the first place as they have settled for no more than a promise of discussion at a new working group - with the proviso that the 'interests of customers' must be protected.

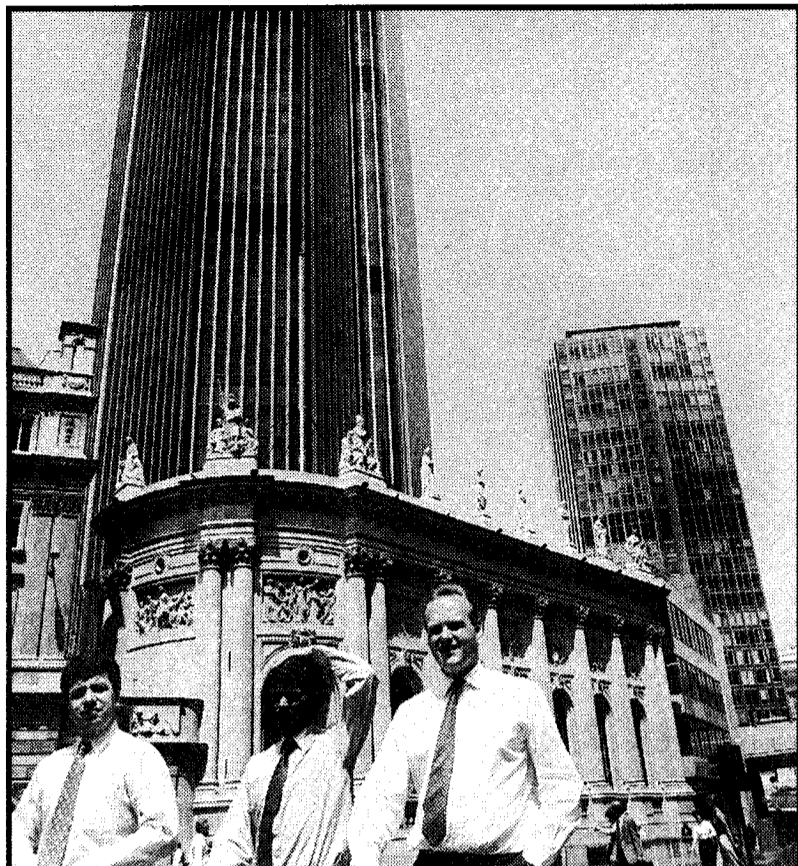
In effect they have come out of a successful one day stoppage, where not one train moved, with a deal which leaves them worse off than when they started.

RMT and ASLEF members striking together on April 16 was a major step forward. But even without the ASLEF the RMT could have maintained its action successfully. Now we are facing a battle to convince the RMT membership to vote for further action. Whilst the mood is still strong many members will wonder if it is possible to win with a leadership clearly divided. On past performance this seems unlikely. Which leaves left activists in the union to pick up the gauntlet.



ASLEF and RMT pickets encounter little resistance in Birmingham

TRADE UNION NEWS



The way it used to look: NatWest Tower

WORLD NEWS

Ireland UNFREE

Where is the solidarity movement?

By David Coen

WELL BEFORE the propaganda gift presented to the Brits by the killing of two children in Warrington, the solidarity movement was in its worst state for many years.

'Movement' is indeed a grandiose term for what now exists. Not since the Anti-Internment League in the early 1970s has there been anything like a mass movement for British withdrawal.

The 21st anniversary of Bloody Sunday on 30 January saw just 1500 mobilised. The turnout from the left was poor, despite a bigger than usual counter-mobilisation by the fascists.

Growth in the solidarity movement has always followed upsurges in the struggle in Ireland, and the converse is also true. The mass movement on the streets in Ireland during the Hunger Strikes gave a spurt to the changes in Labour Party policy in 1984 and the advances of the Labour Committee on Ireland during the 1980s.

Disappearing

Now the LCI hardly exists, partly disappearing into the tamed Labour Party Irish Society; while Time To Go has long since gone. Membership of the Troops Out Movement is stagnant or falling; while the smaller Irish Freedom Movement/RCP clings to the 'franchise' for the

August demonstration and refuses to co-operate with anything not controlled by themselves.

So what kind of solidarity movement is possible today? A mass movement like the US anti-war movement is highly unlikely, given the stage of the Irish struggle and the low body count.

It is unlikely that the British will be forced out of Ireland until the crisis of the British state, which is progressing steadily, produces the kind of political upheaval which dictates such an outcome.

Withdrawal

That is not to say that a withdrawal movement cannot be built in the coming period. It will require less sectarianism and a correct orientation to the labour movement. For all its faults, Time To Go's work in the unions showed what was possible.

But over the next period the prospects for a troop withdrawal movement will be good. The current political initiatives in the Six Counties will fail. Once they fade away, the fundamental fact of the situation, that the Brits cannot impose a solution, will re-emerge. Pressure for troops out will rise again. Opinion polls continually show a majority for troops out.

Ireland remains a decisive test for the far left in Britain. The current difficulties in building a solidarity movement should not be an excuse for capitulating to hysterical media campaigns, the relays for imperialist pressure.

Labour movement must back Bosnian refugees

By Steve Myers

'NEVER AGAIN' was the powerful slogan made famous by the Jewish community after the Holocaust. But in 1993 Europe ethnic slaughter and genocide is back with a vengeance.

In less than two years a surge of extreme nationalism, rabid racism and fascism has exploded through east and west Europe. And now, to add to the carnage of ethnic cleansing by Serbian forces, Bosnia is being attacked from the south and west as Croatian nationalist HVO forces butcher Bosnian Muslims in Vitez and surrounding villages.

So far the leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions have done nothing to assist Bos-

nian refugees, nor challenge the Tories' block on them coming here.

Thatcher's outburst doesn't challenge Major's closing the asylum doors. Her call for military intervention is solely connected with inter-imperialist rivalry in the area.

No campaign

There is no independent campaign on the issue from a working class perspective. The grass roots of the labour movement must now build a campaign that lines up with the working class, the oppressed and those facing genocide in the region - and genuinely assists refugees here.

By fighting to open the asylum doors in Britain and joining hands with others doing likewise in western Europe, we are challenging the whole basis of 'fortress Europe', of racist

Europe, and building the fight-back.

Red Aid for Bosnian Refugees aims to fight for the opening of the asylum doors for all victims of ethnic cleansing; to give material aid for refugees in Britain, including housing, jobs, clothing, welfare advice etc; to forge links with left-wing, trade union and workers' organisations in ex-Yugoslavia; and to support other campaigns opposing racism, deportations and fascism.

A national conference of Red Aid for Bosnian Refugees will be held on 6 June, during the weekend of action for Bosnian refugees. It is preceded by the 5 June demonstration in London aimed at exposing the hypocrisy of the Tories and demanding the admission of Bosnian refugees into Britain.

For further details phone 081-694 9799



Party of Communist Refoundation will attend Paris conference

European Conference of Anti-Capitalist Left

Left challenge to Euro-bosses

By Phil Hearse

THOUSANDS of left wing militants will gather in Paris on 12/13 June for a widely supported conference aimed at spurring the fightback against unemployment, racism, austerity and the destruction of the environment. An appeal signed by many well-known leftwing leaders argues that the Europe being constructed through the Maastricht treaty is a Europe of the bankers and bosses.

The appeal states that European capitalism is going through a long crisis with 15 million unemployed and 30 million, especially youth, pushed into a 'marginal' existence.

Further: 'The Maastricht treaty, symbolised by monetary union and an independent bank,

serves as an alibi for the dismantling of social gains and the welfare state. The Schengen agreement aims to "preserve order", on a European scale.'

Warning of the dangers of racism and fascism, the appeal claims: 'Against this bleak background racism is spreading, attempting to scapegoat immigrants for all these evils. And, for the first time in 50 years, fascist and neo-fascist groups are asserting themselves at the ballot box and in the streets.'

Repression

The existing governments, far from attempting to solve these problems, only resort to repression and attack democratic liberties.'

The conference aims to debate alternatives to the bosses' Europe and proposals for Europe-wide action of the anti-capitalist left.

Signatories to the conference

appeal so far include the leadership of the Italian Party of Communist Refoundation, including Euro-MP Luciana Castellina and long-time Communist leader Cossutta; Tony Benn; German PDS leader Gregor Gysi; French communist and socialist leaders including Jean-Pierre Chevènement and Charles Fiterman; and leading figures in the Spanish Workers Commissions and from the left of the German Greens. Ernest Mandel and Alain Krivine, leaders of the Fourth International, have also signed.

The conference will be a unique opportunity to meet and discuss with left-wing socialists from across the continent. It is hoped that a substantial delegation to the conference will be built from Britain.

If you would like a copy of the Appeal and further details write to: European Conference, c/o PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

World ORDER

Brazilian privatisation threatened

Brazil's zigzagging ruling rich are banking on a new privatisation programme. Since 1981 Brazil has had eight stabilisation programmes and 54 price control packages fail.

ANC leader dies

African National Congress Chair Oliver Tambo died in hospital last weekend aged 75. Forty years in the leadership of the South African organisation, he was exiled in 1960. In the year before his return in 1990 Tambo masterminded talks in Harare, Zimbabwe, that drew the ANC into the continuing round of negotiations with the apartheid regime.

An ANC statement said it would 'not permit criminal and hooligan elements and hooligan elements' to disrupt the funeral. The reformist organisation is striving to retain the leadership of radical youth. Last week it intervened to force its militant Youth League to stop chanting 'Kill the Boers, kill the farmers' at political rallies.

Left & humanitarian aid reaches Cuba

Ships bringing aid from US charities and radical organisations reached Havana, Cuba, this week. Some ships had to turn back because of bad weather. Despite operating a longstanding blockage of the island, the US Government allowed the aid through 'for humanitarian reasons'. Last year the 'Friendship to Cuba' 15 tons of medicine, food and other aid to Cuba.

Italian Government in crisis

Accusations made by informers have linked seven-time prime minister Giulio Andreotti to the mafia and to illicit party financing scandals. Italy need to reduce its deficit budget to comply with the Maastricht treaty. This means not only reducing the welfare state but also the bloated state apparatus or corrupt patronage that has kept the Christian Democrats to stay in power.

Plans to end proportional representation in elections to the Chamber of Deputies were opposed by trades union and the left. The new system will produce a stable government more able to attack the welfare state. By forcing left parties into blocks in order to maintain representation, the change will speed fusion between the reformist Socialist Party and ex-stalinist Party of Democratic Socialism.

Black anger erupts in South Africa

By Charlie van Gelderen

THE MURDER of Chris Hani by a member of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), the para-military fascist organisation led by Eugene Terreblanche, has brought to a head not only the critical situation facing South Africa, but the undercurrents of doubt in the ANC supporters in the townships.

Harry Gwala, the ANC leader in Natal, a region which has seen more than its share of bloodshed over the last few years, has again voiced his opposition to the current trend in negotiations in favour of a transitional government of national unity.

This opposition has been echoed by Peter Mokaba, charismatic leader of the ANC Youth League. He said: 'Yes, we are an angry people, we are an angry organisation, we are an angry nation. The murder of Chris Hani is the murder of a people. We cannot take it any longer. We will act. But we will act with calm and discipline. There will be no racial war.'

There can be no question that this echoes the mood in the townships.

Macbeth Ndaba, at 26 a veteran of the liberation struggle, voiced the feelings of hundreds of thousands: 'There's a lot of pain. Not just because of Comrade Chris - many others have been killed before him. Now we should take revenge. Now we should take up arms against the enemy.'

Although Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and other prominent ANC leaders have appealed for calm and not to allow the assassination of Chris Hani to railroad the negotiation process, there can be no doubt that they will have to take serious note of this mood when they gather together round the negotiating table.

All negotiations now will have to be held in full view of the people. No more behind-the-scenes deals. The demand now is for early elections, with one person one vote, but even such an election will leave the liberation movement at a disadvantage, with most of the media firmly in the hands of the Afrikaner National Party or big business, and the security forces still under the control of the white elite.



Right wing plotted Chris Hani's murder



Mandela: under fire in the townships

Mandela under mass pressure

By Charlie van Gelderen

NELSON MANDELA got the signal about the changing political mood at a Soweto commemoration for Chris Hani on 14 April, when he was booed when he mentioned continuing talks with the ruling National Party.

The large crowd by contrast cheered Clearance Makewuta, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Since then Mandela's rhetoric has taken on a less conciliatory tone. Now he no longer speaks of De Klerk's 'integrity' but of 'this corrupt and illegitimate government'. The ANC and the South African Communist party (SACP), anxious not to be outflanked by the more militant PAC, are now pushing for immediate elections and launching a campaign of mass action, in an effort to contain the

revolutionary fervour which has been unleashed.

By endorsing the negotiating process as the only *realpolitik* for the present, Mandela and the majority of the ANC leadership were unwittingly supporting the well-laid plans of the government.

According to Jeremy Cronin, leading member of the SACP, back in 1987 Neil Barnard, then head of the National Intelligence Service, produced a trail-blazing document in which he argued for negotiations as a mechanism for derailing the ANC.

Barnard wrote: 'We are not defeating them (the ANC) with our current strategies (repression). Let us un-ban them, engage their leadership in negotiations, and prolong the talks. Popular expectations will soar, and then plummet as the ANC, in the plain light of day, shows itself to be no more than human.'

The ANC leadership, if the strategy was followed, would become detached from its major strength - mass support.

In their grooming of Nelson Mandela and the other ANC leaders, the government was playing an old ruling class game - if you can't beat them in open battle, try buttering them up with material temptations.

In the *Johannesburg Mail* an ANC member asked how committed the ANC leadership was to liberating its people from poverty when Mandela lived in the plush white suburb of Houghton, his daughter Zinzi's luxury honeymoon was paid for by a white millionaire. He also referred to the lavish lifestyle enjoyed by ANC leaders.

'Who's paying for all this' asks the ANC member. 'Are these gifts from the South African white economic elite? If so, why do these leaders accept them? Is our human suffering under apartheid rule so cheap to be bought by gifts from the

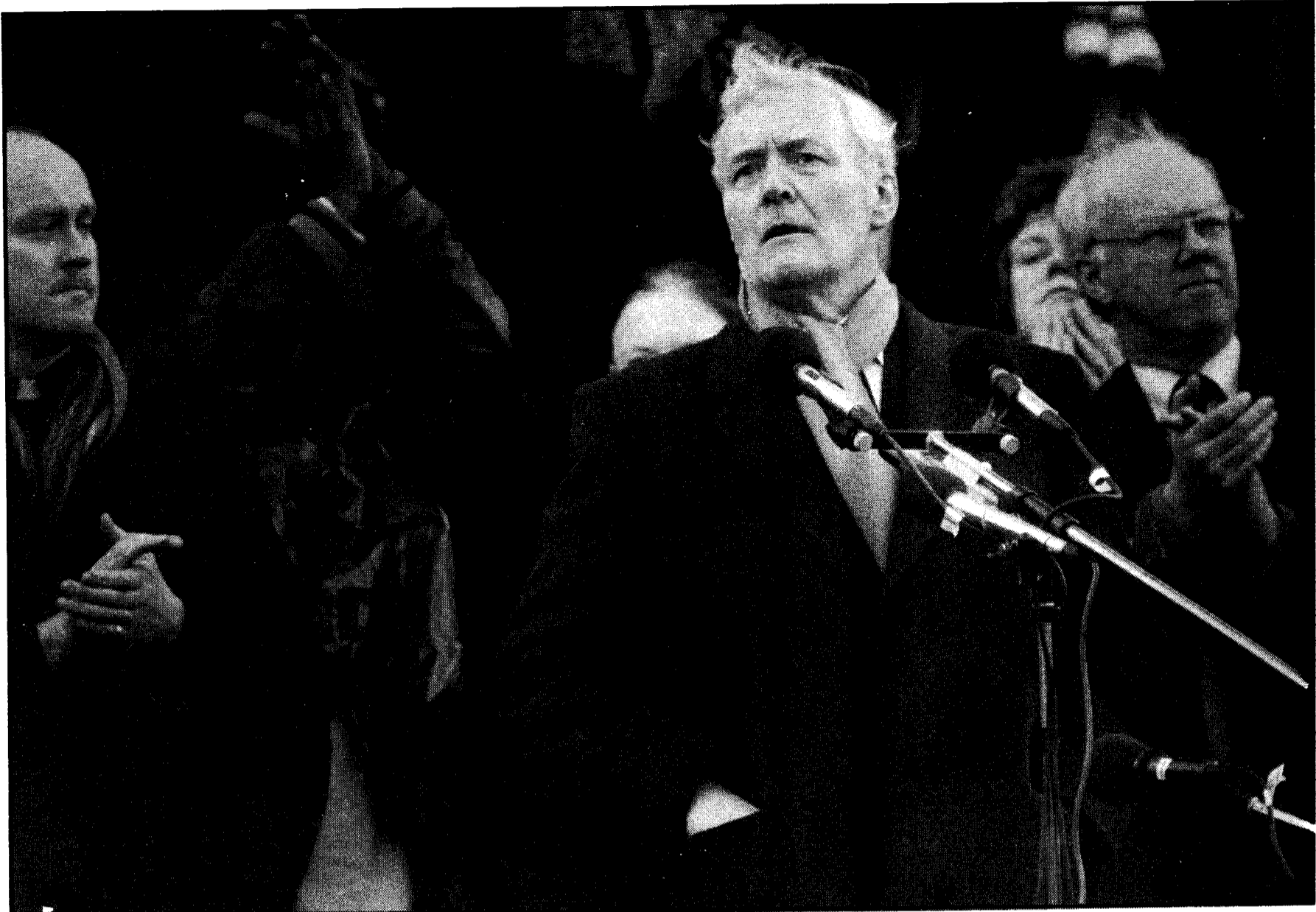
white racists who vote for the National party-led white alliance?'

A leading academic, professor Herbert Adam, added: 'On the part of the ANC/SACP, socialism has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action. Lenin may still be quoted, but the World Bank, it seems, exerts and even bigger pull...'

'The more far-sighted section of the business elite ingratiate themselves with any political leadership...favours are showered on them, ranging from free trips in Lear jets, gifts of luxurious houses, invitations to corporate retreats and conferences in Bermuda and Davos, seats on company boards, lavish fees for speaking engagements...preferential admission of relatives to educational institutions..'

The mass reaction to the death of Chris Hani may well signal the end of this particular party.

WORLD NEWS



Benn: standing firm on socialism

MAY DAY SPECIAL

May Day 1993

The flame of socialism cannot be extinguished

AS MAY DAY is celebrated there are new signs of hope - in the miners' struggle, in the rail strikes, in struggles like those at Timex and Burnsalls. TONY BENN spoke to Dave Osler about the present situation, the Labour Party and his proposal for a new International of working people.

"THERE IS A tidal change that is held in check by two things. One is fear; people are frightened because if you step out of line and lose your job, you lose your house and you're homeless.

Second, there is no clear lead being given. People are being told, don't rock the boat, keep your head down, if we're moderate we'll slither into power.

The Labour Party has lost four elections under right-wing leadership, and has been persuaded after each defeat to move closer to the centre. That has created a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness. In the depths of a slump, people are normally fearful, and fear stimulates the right wing rather than the left.

I think what will happen - I'm anticipating a bit - is that this anger, which is really strong, will break through from underneath. The miners' campaign since October has been the most effective campaign I've seen, certainly since the In-

dustrial Relations Act in the early 1970s.

The miners weren't just arguing about pits, they were arguing about the health service, about wages councils, about low pay, about unemployment. They took on board every issue and won very wide support.

The significant thing to remember, and why I'm optimistic, is that events create institutions. The events now taking place contain within them two powerful forces. One is the flame of anger at injustice, and the other is the flame of hope for a better world.

Not all the fire extinguishers in Fleet Street, or Broadcasting House, or even Walworth Road, can extinguish those flames. They will continue to flicker and burn and they will reflect themselves through the labour and trade union movement. But probably, as is always the case, it's when there's hope on the horizon that these flames burn brightest.

On the Labour Party, it's hard to escape the conclusion that the whole project is being wound

up, just at the moment when everything it said is needed. That is a strange phenomenon. What will have to happen is that the local parties will have to organise themselves more.

"The dead hand of Walworth Road has got to be lifted"

I think we can move back to some sort of federal party of the kind we had before 1918, where local parties, with affiliations from local trade unions and with a broad base, agreed to affiliate nationally.

The dead hand of Walworth Road has got to be lifted. I think that is the way it will move. As for the idea of a new left wing party, well it's first stricture would be to destroy the Labour Party.

How could you destroy, or try to destroy (not that you

could) the instrument fashioned for the purposes which are still needed? You couldn't do that.

Left critics of Labour, the people who say set up left parties, say you'll always be betrayed, there is no alternative. But if you say that you are actually indicting pessimism, and there's no way in which you can build hope.

Non-aligned

On an international level I have been campaigning for a new International - a Fifth International. This would be a reformulation of the role of the non-aligned countries, which lost their way when the cold war ended.

A Fifth International, which brought progressive people together from the third world - and I would expect them to take a lead - with progressive people in America and Western Europe, and Russia and eastern Europe, could be quite a powerful force in breathing some life into the United Nations reform movement.



Workers need revolutionary leadership world-wide

Do we really need a Fifth International?

By Phil Hearse

IN SUCCESSIVE interviews in this paper Tony Benn has argued the necessity of a mass International to link up the struggles of working people worldwide.

Socialist Outlook enthusiastically supports this proposal. As May Day 1993 is celebrated by workers' demonstrations in many lands, nothing is more obvious than that the struggle for workers' power is an international struggle.

Our enemy, world capitalism, is organised on an international basis – through transnational corporations which dominate world trade, through economic blocs like the EC and the new North American trading block NAFTA, through military alliances like NATO.

Corporations

How can working people confront this international power of capital in a world where big corporations like Ford and IBM can shift their production swiftly from one country to another? How can mass struggles win when local ruling elites can summon up the power of the United States and other imperialist countries against local popular resistance?

In any case socialism cannot be built in one country, or a small group of countries. Whenever a revolution takes place, for example the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, imperialism internationally mobilises against it.

Working people thus need many types of international links and solidarity. Trade unionists fighting a common employer or groups of employers need international links. Progressive struggles, especially those in eastern Europe and the so-called 'third world', need solidarity and

practical aid from workers in the imperialist West.

Direct links between workers, international solidarity with struggles and many other types of practical mutual support are needed. But workers always need a *political party* to represent their interests; and the most efficient form of political struggle is an 'International', a political party organised on an international scale.

The key paradox for the workers movement in 1993 is the gap between the bankruptcy and crisis of international capitalism, and the weakness of the political organisation and consciousness of the working class.

Of course the working class, despite many defeats over the last 20 years, still possesses powerful trade unions and political parties, especially in Western Europe. But the conscious revolutionary wing of the workers' movement is very weak, at least compared with the huge tasks of combatting the offensive of world imperialism.

Tony Benn's proposal for a 'Fifth International' is thus to be greatly welcomed. Until Benn's intervention, the only mass-based socialist force which has even raised the idea of a new International has been the Brazilian Workers Party (PT).

Revolutionary

But a mass International could only be one organised by working people themselves, on the basis of revolutionary opposition to imperialism; there is no government in the world which embodies such a political position.

It would have to be a *revolutionary* formation. Trotsky, and his close supporters in the 1930s like James P. Cannon, explained that a new revolutionary international could be a diverse formation, indeed almost inevitably would.

"the perspective of a mass International has to be consciously fought for, with organised forces, and with a political programme"

Provided that it was based on clear anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist principles, the conscious adherents of the tradition of Lenin and the Bolsheviks could operate as a loyal minority in such a regroupment.

The problem is that this nice idea of assembling all those forces committed to resolute anti-capitalist struggle in one International will not happen spontaneously. In many places these mass forces remain to be built. Even where such forces exist they often do not see the need for an International.

Mass force needed

When Trotsky built the Fourth International he was under no illusions; it was a tiny force. What was needed was a really mass International to fight the domination of the working class by the Stalinists and social democrats. But all socialists have to start with what they have, not what they would like.

The task which Trotsky set the FI, which is still its task today, is to bring a new mass International into existence. Of course, there can be debates, there can be seminars, informal links and discussion of many types about building a new International. But nothing will replace political struggle to *politically regenerate and organisationally recompose*

the international workers' movement.

The non-existence of a mass International is not simply a product of the failure to grasp the need for international organisation; its failure is also a product of the *weakness of the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement.*

For *Socialist Outlook* the building of a new mass International proceeds in the same way as building a revolutionary party in this country. It is a matter of starting where we are, not where we would like to be. That means we have to get on and build with the forces we have, not the speculative mass forces of tomorrow.

Upheavals

That's why we support the building of the actually existing Fourth International. It is not a mass force, but it has a common programme and common activities, and exists in about 40 countries.

The future mass International will not be the result of individual recruitment to the present Fourth International, but will only be the result of huge upheavals and regroupments involving mass political forces. But the perspective of a mass International has to be consciously fought for, with organised forces, and with a political programme.

That's why with disagree with Tony Benn that the Fourth International is a 'structure from the past'. It is a force in the present fighting for the future.

The future in a purely chronological sense will come spontaneously of course. The socialist future has to be organised. The point is not just to be 'for' a future mass International; to point is to build an international revolutionary socialist movement to fight for it.

MAY DAY SPECIAL

This is a project which needs to be aired. I haven't the resources to launch one, and I'm not looking to be the general secretary of an international organisation, but I find wherever you talk about it, it registers.

The First International historically, the Second International, the Third International, the Fourth International – they are all structures from the past, and I do think we need to find some global basis for collaboration.

Take America, which I know quite well. Congressman Ron Dellums is the leader of the Black Caucus in the US Congress, and chair of the armed servicemen's committee, whom I've known for years. He's a socialist and calls himself one.

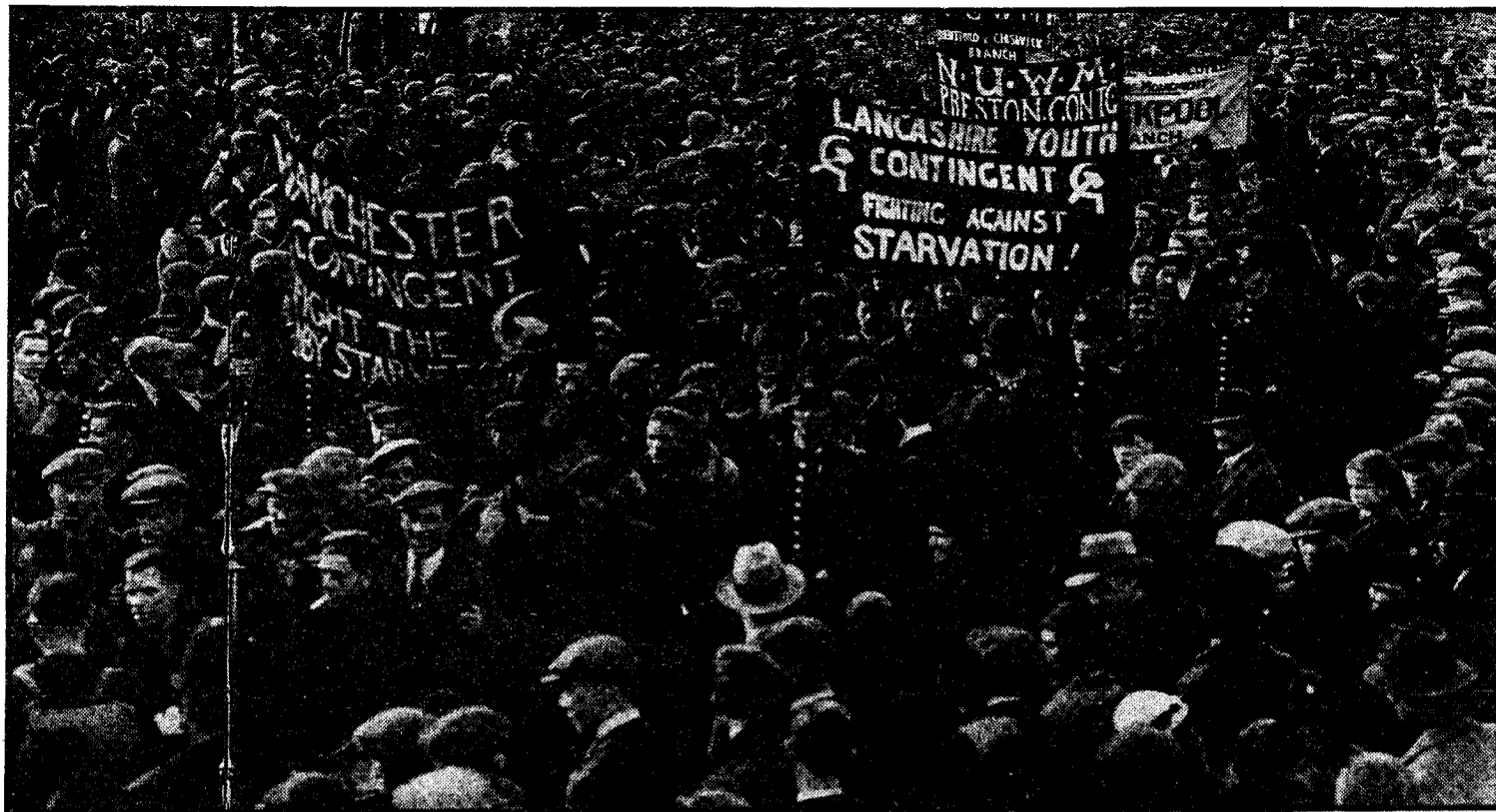
Malcolm X

I think of the inheritors of the Martin Luther King tradition. I knew Malcolm X, met him in Chicago and did a long television discussion with him 30-odd years ago.

If you look at the people that are about, there's no framework in which they can work, and maybe if you had conferences or seminars or discussions, maybe even, and this is what I would like to see, launch some sort of appeal, it might provide a focus around which people can rally.

But this is not the idea of having a doctrine imposed or ideological domination. What's needed now is discussion.

It would be about very simple things. What everyone wants is work, a decent home, good education, good health, dignity when they're old, peace and the protection of the environment."



Spirit of May Day

By John Lister

THE TORY government is to abolish the official May Day Bank Holiday in Britain, seeking to eliminate a relic of socialism.

The May Day tradition is a gift from the American working class, whose early struggles for trade union organisation ran almost simultaneously with the birth of trade unionism in Britain.

At the centre of the May Day tradition is the fight for a shorter working day – a demand championed as early as 1806 by striking US cordwainers, and taken up again in strike waves in the 1820s and 1830s.

The eight hour day was a central objective embraced by the National Labour Union, formed by a delegate meeting of 60 unions in Baltimore in 1866. Elements in the leadership of the NLU were politically sympathetic to the First International formed by Marx and Engels.

In 1867 the NLU voted to cooperate with the international working class movement, and in 1869 it sent a delegate to the congress of the International.

In October 1884 the embryonic American Federation of Labor voted to endorse the demand for an 8-hour day, and the following year backed mass action to achieve the demand.

A new wave of militancy was sweeping through the US working class. Strikes for the 8-hour day were called for May 1 1886 in New York, Baltimore, Washington, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Detroit.

In Chicago, 25,000 marched on the Sunday before May 1. Some sections stayed out on strike, police were called in, savagely attacking pickets on May 3 at the McCormick Reaper works.

A protest demonstration called for Haymarket Square on May 4 led to a pitched battle in which four workers and seven police were killed. Four Chicago militants were eventually sentenced to death, with many more imprisoned.

In Paris, the Second International voted in 1889 to make May 1 an international day of struggle for the legal eight hour day. On May Day 1890, there were strikes and demonstrations on both sides of the Atlantic. Engels wrote optimistically:

"The spectacle we are now witnessing will make the capitalists and landowners of all lands realise that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united. If only Marx were with me to see it with his own eyes!"

In Russia, Lenin picked up on the May Day theme as early as 1896, and used it repeatedly as a focus for Bolshevik agitation.

As the Tories move to crush what is left of the right to strike, it is more important than ever to hang on to the spirit of solidarity epitomised by May Day, and to be grateful to the heroic American class fighters who pioneered it.

Memoirs of a British Bolshevik

BOB WOOD reviews *Keeping My Head* The autobiography of Harry Wicks (with the assistance of Logie Barrow) Platform Books, £5.95.

HARRY WICKS was surely unique. A founder member of the Communist Party at the age of 15, he was expelled as one of a tiny band that initiated the British Trotskyist movement, the Balham Group. He remained active until his death in 1939.

At age 14 he was told by building worker Jack Clancy 'we need to question everything'. This was advice he took to heart in his odyssey from working class Battersea, to the international Lenin School in Moscow, to Trotskyism.

Not everyone will agree with his observations on the early history of the Communist Party or the disputes among British Trotskyists in the 1930s, but his memories are a welcome addition to our knowledge of these things.

Harry came to the early Communist Party, via the Battersea Herald group which was present at the CP's founding congress. His view is that over-concentration on organisational questions and 'Bolshevising' the party led after 1922 to a declining political level and a drift to the right: the first signs of later popular front strategies began to appear.

From the perspective of a rail worker, Harry has some sharp comments on the performance of the CP during the 1926 general strike and the

baleful influence of syndicalism.

He concludes that 'there has always been a tendency for trade union consciousness to boil up without any broader political conclusions being drawn' and many working class militants had assumed that their class had only to strike and power would flow to it.

The CP added to general political confusion 'sometimes praising left leaders, sometimes warning against their unreliability.'

Victimised after the strike, but not sacked, he soon became the youngest student at

cover that his closest friends in the Young Communist League had left the party and were shunned as 'social fascists'.

Slowly forming links with other dissidents inspired by Trotsky's critique of the USSR, he was eventually expelled in 1932.

The CP was then its ultra-left 'third period', which led to disaster in Germany. The Trotskyists, organised in the Communist League, took up the debate with the CP on the united front, attacking the ultra-left 'united front from below'.

In 1932, the 40 or so mostly

tional – Pierre Frank, Pierre Naville, Raymond Molinier, Henk Sneevliet and others.

Typically it was with Hamburg docker Georg Jungclas, until his death in the early 1970s a leader of the Fourth International, that Harry formed a life-long friendship.

With some trepidation he reported to Trotsky on the dire situation in Britain. 'You start with what is' Trotsky told him sympathetically.

In the final chapter the Byzantine intricacies of the disputes in 1930s Trotskyism are critically assessed, as well as the campaign against the Moscow trials.

The book finishes with a one-page end-note on Harry's later years. He joined the International Socialists in the late 1960s, and left with the International Socialist Opposition in the mid-1970s. I can add further details.

The expelled ISO rapidly became the Workers League and published first *Workers News* and then *Socialist Voice*. This WL then became part of the International Socialist Alliance in 1978.

When this fell apart in 1979, Harry became part of the Revolutionary Unity Caucus, which fused with the International Marxist Group in early 1980.

Unfortunately Harry's renewed membership of the Fourth International more or less coincided with the partial paralysis of his wife Marjorie, and he was never able to participate in the life of the IMG as he wished.

The honesty, integrity, modesty and courage of Harry Wicks shines through on every page of this autobiography. This book can be warmly recommended to everyone willing to benefit from the lessons of more than half a century of struggle.



the Lenin school in Moscow, despite his self-confessed preference for 'practical work rooted in the local working class movement'.

Returning to London in 1930 he was shocked to dis-

employed members of the Communist League scraped together enough to send Harry to Copenhagen where Trotsky was due to speak.

Here he met many early leaders of the Fourth Interna-

THE SUCCESS of Spike Lee's film *Malcolm X* has generated a wide debate on the relationship between socialism and the different currents of black nationalism. This contribution, by Polish Trotskyist ZBIGNIEW KOWALESKI, continues the debate

WITHIN THE general framework of nationalism of oppressed people American black nationalism possess certain very important distinct features. It is a nation without its own territory. Once dispersed through the countryside of the South black people became concentrated and homogenised within the great urban ghettos and the modern industry of the North.

The North saw a formidable expansion of the black nationalist movement led by Marcus Garvey in which Trotsky saw 'a sign of a serious moral and political awakening' of black people. In the 1950s the Nation of Islam arose, led by Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X.

In 1969 an opinion poll conducted by Newsweek revealed that 33 per cent of blacks thought that they should have their own state or were seriously expecting the formation of such a state in the future. At the same time, however, separatism became only one nationalist current amongst others, as can be seen in the evolution of Malcolm X.

Whilst Malcolm was an avowed partisan for racial separation and the building of a black state during his period of activity at the heart of the Nation of Islam. After his break with them, he renounced the separatist road. He shows that whilst all black separatism is nationalist not all black nationalism is separatist.

The other particular feature of black nationalism is its social composition. The overwhelming majority of blacks belong to the working class. Black capitalists are an insignificant layer. This gives the black question a definite social nature. It gives black nationalism a class base and a much stronger socialist dynamic than the nationalisms of other oppressed peoples.

Black nationalism signifies the decision by certain blacks, followed in reality or potentially by much greater numbers, to not leave the destiny of their race in the hands of white society but to unite to decide their collective destiny and to organise with the aim of achieving this destiny. Black nationalism, in common with all nationalisms of oppressed people has nothing to do with the nationalism of oppressor nations.

As the American supporters of the Fourth International explained in 1963, 'black Americans find themselves in a unique situation in several ways. They constitute an oppressed minority without a clearly defined geographical, linguistic or cultural base to differentiate themselves from their oppressors.'

In this situation black nationalism is a broad means of 'self-identification', a method of differentiation from a minority subject to racial oppression by its oppressors and of ideological and organisational unity necessary to free themselves from this oppression. Black Nationalism has



Malcolm discusses with Elijah Muhammad in Spike Lee's film

Malcolm X, Black Nationalism and Socialism

for black people in this country a similar function, in many ways, to that of class consciousness in relation to the working class.

Nationalism expresses the desire of black people to decide their own future and, among other matters, to resolve the question of a separate nation. The first task of the struggle of blacks is to mobilise and unite the black masses into an independent movement channelled towards the fight for equality—an indispensable condition for an eventual revolutionary alliance of the working class and black people. Black nationalism is progressive because it contributes towards the creation of an independent black movement. It will always remain progressive as long as it fulfils this function, irrespective of whether the struggle develops on integrationist or separatist lines. Black nationalism and revolutionary socialism are not only compatible but complementary forces which need to be intimately linked at the level of ideas and of action. The common sympathy and support for the colonial revolution, as well as hostility to imperialist domination, forms an important link between the two movements.

Black nationalists can have a lot of wrong ideas and the most bizarre illusions. But instead of fighting nationalism under the pretext that it contains such ideas and illusions black socialists should add anti-capitalist ideas and the socialist programme to black nationalism.

For the Trotskyists the rise of the Nation of Islam reflected the general rise of the mass black movement for civil rights led by the traditional organisations preaching racial integration, the shift of the struggle towards the black working class heartland, that is the urban ghettos of the North, and its growing tendency



towards political independence and social radicalisation.

With the exception of supporters of the Fourth International, virtually all the American left saw the Nation of Islam as a retrograde movement—'inverted racism'—if not downright reactionary. Our attitude was as unique in the US then as had been that of Trotsky in relation to the wave of black nationalism led by Garvey.

At the time of the new rise of black nationalism, in the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the Nation of Islam became its main standard bearer. Nevertheless, its backward ideology and bureaucratic structure, formed during the 1930s when it was only a marginalised sect, increasingly distorted and weighed down on the rise in nationalist consciousness of the black masses. In order to turn towards mass action, which the Muslim bureaucracy rejected, to modernise, to open itself up and develop, black nationalism needed to break from this yoke. This is exactly what Malcolm X did during the last year of his life.

He proceeded to revise, in a more and more radical fashion, the form of black nationalism expressed by the Nation of Islam. He purged it of its irrational, religious, exclusivist and oppressive aspects.

His abandonment of the bizarre religious beliefs developed by Elijah Muhammad in favour of Sunni orthodoxy during a pilgrimage to Mecca was followed by a clear separation between religion and politics and the founding of a political, secular organisation. The Nation of Islam only organised those blacks converted to its religion, considering that they alone constituted black nationalist consciousness. Malcolm rejected this sectarian and elitist notion.

Black nationalists like Malcolm X abandoned the idea that the white race as a whole was a hereditary enemy of so-called 'people of colour'. His conception of the black revolution no longer had a racial connotation but became part of his general concept about the abolition of oppression and the ending of exploitation. He also abandoned condemnation of inter-racial marriage. All this was only the beginning of the huge changes brought about by Malcolm on black nationalism.

Although many of these ideas remained incomplete at the time of his untimely and violent death, it is still possible to trace the general line of Malcolm's evolution. Malcolm outlined it in the following thesis: the structure of white power in the US and on the international level is founded on capitalism. There can be no capitalism without racism. The abolition of racial and national oppression is impossible within the socio-economic and political framework of capitalism: a chicken can't lay a duck egg.

DEBATE



Smith wavering on Plant Report

Fingers In the TILL

A regular look at the world of business, compiled by **INSIDER DEALER**

Bad company

POPULAR MUSIC artiste Michael 'I'm bad, I'm bad, you know it' Jackson has joined forces with the recently released Wall Street supercrook Michael Milken to launch an education-for-kids cable TV channel.

Throughout the Reagan years, Milken earned \$1 million a day from his less-than-spotlessly-honest dealings, and served as the role model for Gordon 'Greed is Good' Gekko in that great movie 'Wall Street'. He was fined \$830 million in 1990, and sentenced to ten years in a country club-style luxury California slammer, but was released in less than two.

According to a press release from Jacko: 'Michael Milken is my friend because he has been through the fire, as I have, and emerged better for the process.'

'He has been misunderstood, as I have been, and harshly judged by those who had no right to assume they knew this man without ever spending even an hour in his company.'

In the slammer

MY OLD PAL, 'Society gems dealer' Darius Guppy (rhymes with Yuppie), and his business partner

Benedict Marsh, have started five year sentences for staging a bogus robbery and subsequent false insurance claim.

They also copped fines of £533,000 apiece, and were warned they would get an extra three years each if they didn't cough up within six months. Both pleaded not guilty.

Guppy - best man at the wedding of Lady Di's brother, Earl Spencer - also pleaded guilty to three charges of falsely claiming VAT repayments on gold bullion exports. Marsh pleaded guilty on one count.

The judge handed out £2000 fines, or 45 additional days in the nick, on each charge. The two men were banned from holding company directorships for ten years.

Breach of trust

I EXPECT that Trotskyite scum such as yourselves will be rejoicing at the sad news that John Ferriday, former chief executive of mini-conglomerate Eagle Trust, is to spend six years as a guest of Her Maj after being convicted of stealing £13 million from the company, in cash and shares.

Eagle Trust made a cash or shares takeover offer for Samuelson, a lighting equipment outfit, in autumn 1987, backed by a rights issue. Right on cue, the stock market crashed that October, knocking a third off the value of ET shares.

Samuelson shareholders sensibly went for the cash, and Mr

Ferriday had to half-inch the dosh to meet a tidy underwriting bill.

While he denied everything, the judge branded him "totally unscrupulous", and on top of the sentence, disqualified him from being a company director for ten years.

Golden Legg

HILLSDOWN HOLDINGS - of Hartley's jam, Typhoo tea and Buxted chickens fame - has given its former company secretary a £200,000 pay-off. It felt that poor old Barry Legg was unable to do the job full-time anymore, after being elected as a Tory MP for Milton Keynes South West

Incidentally, Hillsdown's links to the Britain's natural party of government are looking good, after it last year footed the £2600 bill to install a pond at the home of agriculture secretary John Selwyn Gummer. It has also appointed former Tory cabinet minister Sir John Nott to its board.

Sterling stuff

LORD STERLING of Plais-tow, my fellow Carlton club member and Dover ferry union buster extraordinaire, recently enjoyed doubtlessly lavish hospitality from the leaders of one of last remaining degenerate workers states, as I believe you Trot chappies call them.

As my man Jeff says in the P&O group annual report: 'Earlier this month I accepted an invitation to visit Beijing and meet the Chinese premier, Li Peng.'

This meeting left me in no doubt about the very positive future possibilities in the region and P&O's ability and capacity to participate in them.'

Row over electoral reform Keep it in proportion!

By Pete Firmin

THE BRITISH labour movement confronts huge struggles and big political questions. But for some on the left, the very secondary issue of proportional representation is regarded as a big issue dividing the left.

Leftwingers who oppose it regard PR as no more than part of the armoury of the right-wing 'modernisers' who want to build pacts with the Liberal Democrats. This is false logic.

Democratic

The arguments for PR go way beyond whether or not it technically makes coalitions more likely. It is an important democratic issue; and many left wingers, including Arthur Scargill, Ken Livingstone and Labour Party Black Sections support PR.

The issue has been brought to life by the decision of a narrow majority of the Labour Party's Plant Commission to propose a system of PR.

According to many opponents of PR on the Labour left, this would mean institutionalised coalitionism, no more majority Labour governments and the growth of fascism.

This way of arguing ignores the fact that pacts and coalitions have been a constant theme of British parliamentary politics without PR.

Labour has participated in formal and informal coalitions many times in its history, most recently the Lib-Lab pact under Callaghan, and the agreement between all three front benches which ensured support for the Gulf War.

Coalitionism has to be confronted politically by fighting for working class independence and anti-capitalist politics, not by a vain hope of excluding it by means of a particular voting system.

The argument that PR allows the growth of fascism is fatuous. Fascism grows in particular economic and political circumstances. It is not primarily a parliamentary movement, but builds its support in the streets.

Hoping that undemocratic voting systems will curb the fascists is in effect to argue against any democratic reform which allows political 'extremes' (including the far left) to be heard. It is an argument for maintaining the straightjacket monopoly of 'official' and 'mainstream' politics.

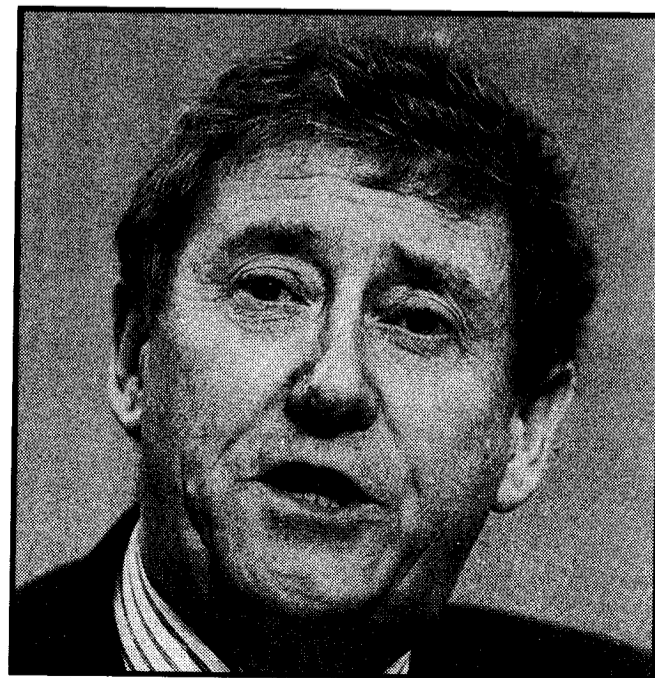
In short, socialists should be in favour of democratic reforms, even within bourgeois democracy.

What lies behind much of the anti-PR venom is a particular idea of the transition to socialism; in which a minority Labour government is elected to carry through socialist measures.

Bureaucratic

The idea of a Labour government with minority support (or even a large majority!) carrying through radical socialist measures is highly unrealistic. It also reveals a very bureaucratic notion of socialism and socialist transition.

While socialists should support PR, they should keep the whole argument in perspective; the left must reject the view that a position either way on PR determines which side of the 'class divide' anyone stands on. The left has enough enemies without creating false ones.



Labour MP Austen Mitchell - proponent of PR

Why socialists must oppose...

'Humanitarian' intervention

By Dave Osler

THE WOMAN who personally ordered the death of 368 Argentinean sailors and then counselled the nation to 'rejoice!' surely has no right to brand anyone else an accomplice to massacre.

Yet what was effectively a call from Lady Thatcher for the West to make war on Serbia has found surprising resonance on the left.

'Margaret Thatcher is right', editorialised *Tribune*, in a deliberate bid to make headlines. *The Guardian* and *The New Statesman* reiterated long-standing calls for United Nations military intervention in the former Yugoslavia.

Some 15 Labour MPs, stretching from Peter Mandelson to one or two of the Campaign Group, signed a statement arguing for the deployment of ground troops in the country. Even John Smith is now calling for air strikes.

Since the Gulf War, such old-school gunboat diplomacy has been retheorised into 'the doctrine of humanitarian interventionism'. Michael Meacher, Labour's development and co-operation spokesperson, and Martin Shaw, a former revolutionary socialist and peace activist, now an academic at Hull University have both this year set out their case in detail in the left press.

The basic idea is that in 'complex humanitarian crises', the 'international community', in the shape of the United Nations, has a duty to intervene militarily to sort the situation out.

Somalia

The Somalis and the Kurds in Iraq are the generally cited examples; Bosnians in the former Yugoslavia, we are told, should be next.

On this reading, those who put the traditional left case against imperialist intervention might as well have loaded up the shells that rained down on Srebrenica. But the record of 'humanitarian intervention' in practice has not been a good one.

It hardly needed a multi-national task force, complete with fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships, armoured vehicles and heavy artillery, to tackle gangs of AK-47-toting Somali teenagers in battered pick-up trucks. More money has been spent on media coverage of the invasion than on the food supplies that Operation Restore Hope is supposedly about ensuring.

Somalia's problems are rooted in British, French and Italian colonisation of the area and, more recently, US and Soviet powerplays in the Horn of Africa; turning back the clock to a direct military presence can scarcely be painted as 'doing God's work', whatever former president Bush may claim.

Saddam Hussein was no less barbarous towards the Kurds when he was systematically armed by the West as a regional counterbalance to Iran. Yet 1988's poison gas attack on Halabja, killing thousands, was not seen as rea-



French paras - next stop Bosnia?

son enough for British companies to stop supplying the technology that let it happen, let alone cause for military intervention. It took a threat to western oil supplies to necessitate that.

Some 200,000 lives perished as smart bombs knocked out civilian air-raid shelters and pilots went on 'turkey shoots' of retreating troops on the Basra road. Yet rather than allow a Kurd/Shia insurrection to topple Saddam, 'coalition' forces deliberately held back.

Would such 'humanitarian intervention' in the former Yugoslavia result in a progressive outcome? Thatcher's position is the natural expression her bourgeois enthusiasm for the 'free market' Croatian government of Franjo Tudjman against the 'socialist' Serb government of Slobodan Milosevic. In fact, the sell-off of state property is more advanced in the areas under the latter's jurisdiction.

The most likely effect of direct Western combat involvement would be to trigger off conflict in Kosovo, which would draw in Albania, and in Macedonia, which would draw in Greece. The result would be a generalised conflagration in the Balkans. Even in the best case, military occupation would only replicate the effect of Tito's Stalinist dictatorship, putting the conflict into cold storage.

Hypocrisy

The fundamental question for socialists is, exactly what is this 'international community' so frequently wheeled out by the humanitarian interventionists? Dominic Lawson, editor of the right-wing magazine *The Spectator*, advanced an excellent working definition in a recent article backing Thatcher's stand: 'Those who regularly and reli-

ably support the actions and utterances of the government of the US.'

Thus the hypocrisy of our humanitarians is readily apparent. By Lawson's lights, Israel is patently part of the international community. Yet its territorial expansionism in Gaza and the West Bank stands condemned by the self-same UN invoked in the name of Somalia, Iraq and the former Yugoslavia.

Since the early 1980s, combined annual US military and economic aid to Israel has been entirely in grant form, in effect lifting the burden of Israel's foreign debt. This has allowed the country to continue its bloody repression of the Palestinians through military spending which at times amounts to more than 20 per cent of gross domestic product.

UN cloak

In recent years, the US has preferred to cloak itself in the mantle of the United Nations, presented as a kind of super parliamentary democracy of the nation states, where the United States and Bangladesh both have one vote apiece. The argument is as convincing as the one that insists that British Steel boss Sir Alistair Frame has no-more political clout than an unemployed Ravenscraig worker.

The US systematically bribes, cajoles, bullies and horse-trades to ensure its political dominance of the UN, a task facilitated by the collapse of the USSR. Take the case of resolution 678, which mandated war on Iraq, and look at what happened to the various members of the ruling Security Council.

Only Cuba and Yemen, one of the world's poorest countries, dared vote against. Minutes later, a senior US diplomat told the Yemeni ambassador:

what exactly is this 'international community' so frequently wheeled out by the humanitarian interventionists?



No humanitarian - but urging intervention

'That was the most expensive "no" vote you ever cast.'

Within three days, the US stopped its \$70 million aid programme. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund suddenly raised problems, while Saudi Arabia expelled 800,000 Yemeni guestworkers.

Those who meekly towed the line were paid off handsomely. Turkey got \$8000 million worth of military hardware, the US Export Import Bank underwrote the construction of Sikorski helicopter plant in the country, and at Washington's urging, received \$1500 million in soft loans from the World Bank and IMF.

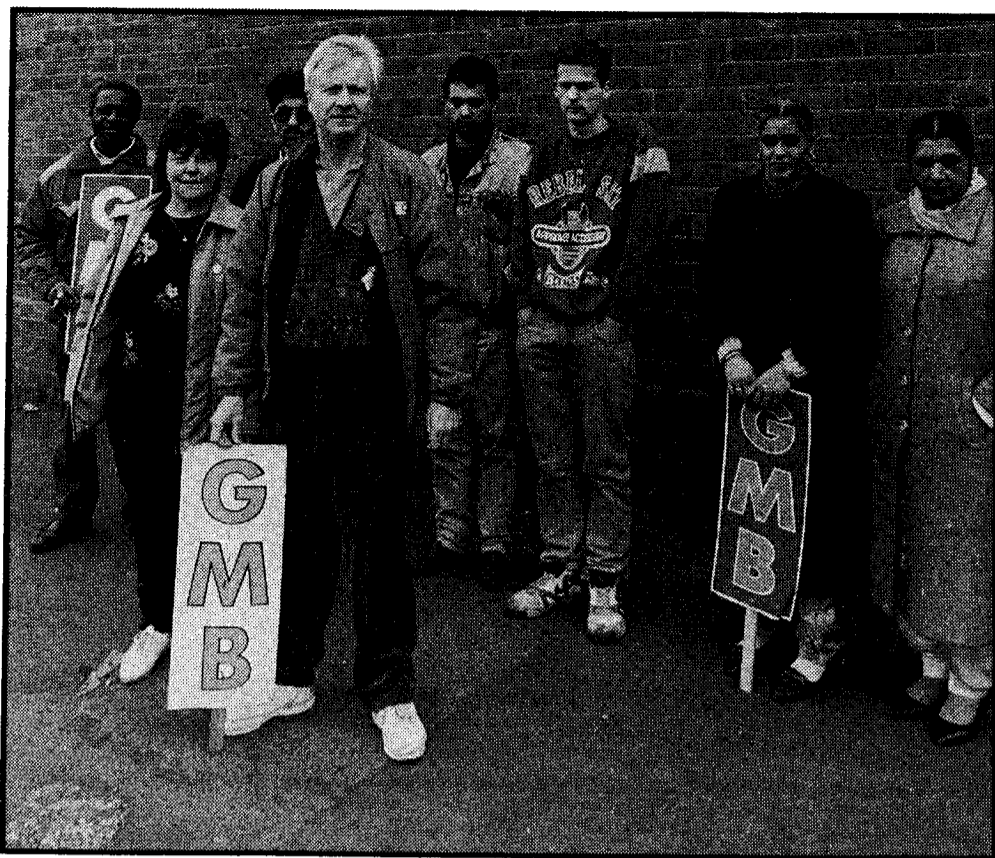
Egypt got 'debt forgiveness' of \$14,000 million, Syria was given the go-ahead to finish the bloodbath it had started in Lebanon, and China was offered a return to diplomatic legitimacy in the wake of Tiananmen Square. And so on and so forth, all the way to the turkey shoot.

The socialist case has to be butter, not guns. As humanitarian interventionists are so keen on the UN, let us consider the United Nations Development Programme's *Human Development Report 1992*, which calls for a 50 per cent cut in absolute poverty worldwide, primary health care and safe water for all, the elimination of serious malnutrition, universal basic education and 80 per cent access to family planning by the year 2000.

This could be achieved by a 3 per cent annual cut in global military spending, a one-dollar-a-barrel oil consumption tax, debt write-offs to eliminate the \$50,000 million developing countries hand over to industrialised countries every year, and the removal of tariff barriers against third world exports.

As conceived by their proposers, these ideas are utopian. The self-same profit system which is so happy to throw its military weight about in the third world will never change its priorities to embrace production for human need. Nevertheless, the statistics serve to illustrate a mere fraction of the attainments that will be possible after the establishment of a democratically planned global socialist economy.

ANALYSIS



Timex strikers join Burnsall's picket line

Burnsall strikers confront violence

by Bob Smith

NOW IN its tenth month, the strike by 19 mainly Punjabi Burnsall workers in Birmingham is surviving brutal assaults.

Employer Jimmy O'Neil allegedly threatens pickets and supporters regularly. He has yet to be charged for two hospitalisations of pickets. A re-

cent assault led to the arrest of strikers! Only after a three hour picket of Smethwick police station were the latest victims released after being charged with Public Order offences.

GMB, the strikers' union, is discouraging labour movement delegations invited to the picket line by the strikers. The cowardly bureaucrats argue that anti-union laws threaten the seizure of unions funds. The union also backtracked on

mobilising solidarity from workers at factories that supply Burnsalls. Solidarity groups have had successes: car firm Jaguar have stopped buying from Burnsalls and the London Support group raised £6,500.

Detail/donations write Birmingham Support Group, Shaheed Udham Singh Centre, 346 Soho Road, Birmingham B21, telephone (021) 551 2258.

Lib-Lab pact to kill student politics

By Duncan Chapple and Simon Deville

The Liberal-Labour bloc formed at the recent National Union of Students (NUS) conference has backed a plan to ban most political campaigning and to clear out left wingers on NUS bodies.

This sharp right turn, which shocked many Labour supporters in the colleges, emerged in the debate on voluntary membership. The Tories aim to weaken the ability of student unions to combat overcrowding and cost-cutting in colleges. They propose an end to automatic membership of NUS, introducing a membership fee. With most students strapped for cash, many will not pay.

The conference passed a consultative document from the Labour-dominated executive calling for student's un-

ions to be covered by the same regulations as charities; and for a Student Union 'Ombudsman' to control union activities.

These rules have already led to successful prosecutions of student leaders. Last year union officials at Anglia Institute of Higher Education were fined for campaigns against the US-led war in the Persian Gulf. More recently Greenwich University Student Union has been prosecuted for anti-racist campaigning.

The left wing at the conference did poorly. The firm vote of the main left groups, 'Left Unity', which reflect the positions of *Socialist Organiser*, and Socialist Worker's Student Society (SWSS) was around a hundred.

Skilful manipulation of the conference by the right ensured that policy debates, in which the left normally does very well, took up only an hour of the conference. The fifth day of the conference, given over to debating the situation in Israel/Palestine, was can-

celled by the votes of Labour and SWSS members of the union's steering committee.

A daily bulletin produced by *Socialist Outlook* was so well received it was stepped up to twice-daily. Alongside our editorial comment, articles were carried from the Black and Irish student caucuses, *Militant*, Green and other left students.

There were two surprising gains for the left. Fiona Smyth became the first independent left elected to the executive in the 1990s.

Vice-President Martin Lindsey failed in his re-election attempt and was defeated by leftwinger Kevin Sexton after conference was told about long-standing allegations of sexual harassment against him.

Socialist Outlook Vice-Presidential candidate Louise Whittle defended the right of women to speak about the allegations. In a powerful speech, she called for an investigation to be held and for Lindsey to be defeated.

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We struggle against fragmentation by building solidarity, working to link and unite the various struggles of workers, the unemployed, of women, of pensioners, of the black communities and ethnic minorities, of lesbians and gay men, of students, of youth – and of those fighting imperialism in Ireland and throughout the world. *Socialist Outlook* is above all an *internationalist* current, in solidarity with the Trotskyist Fourth International, which organises co-thinkers in 40 countries world-wide.

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

Nor do we believe that the demands of women, black people, lesbians and gays or the national demands of people in Scotland and Wales should be left to await the outcome of a socialist revolution. The oppressed must organise themselves and fight now around their own demands, which are a part of the struggle for socialism.

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

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

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

YES, I agree with much of what I have seen in Socialist Outlook, and want to know more about readers' groups in my area.

Name

Address

Phone

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

What's HAPPENING

April

Friday 30

SERTUC Mayday social
Conway Hall Red Lion
Sq. WC1 6.30pm on

May

Saturday 1 - May Day events

MASS PICKET Middlebrook Mushrooms Whitley nr Selby S. Yorks.

Strathclyde Buses strike
Politics and the New World

Order day school Harkness Hall Malet Street W1 10am-5pm

SERTUC March Finsbury Park N4 (Manor House tube) assemble 11.30am move off 1pm

FESTIVAL Albert Sq. Manchester 12.30 - 3pm

RALLY Towards a Red-Green Transport Policy, Mechanics Institute, Manchester 3pm

SERTUC Festival Alexandra Palace N22 12.00 - 6.30pm

Salute the Miners show Hackney Empire E8 doors 8pm show 9pm tickets £8/6

Sunday 2

Socialist Worker RALLY Alexandra Palace N22 7pm tickets £15/13

Monday 3

Socialist Worker RALLY Alexandra Palace N22 11am-6pm tickets £12/10

Wednesday 5

TIBET Vigil Chinese Embassy Portland Place W1 6-8pm weekly

NO NAZIS IN HOUNSLOW phone 081 862 5940 for details 7pm weekly

Thursday 6

CUBA Solidarity Campaign public meeting Brighthelm Centre North Street Brighton 7.30pm

Saturday 8

Youth against Racism in Europe demonstration Temple Place WC1 2 pm Embankment tube

NORTH WEST Miners Support Network conference, T&GWU building Liverpool details - Steve 0942 884763

BRITAIN'S MEDIA: The Balance Sheet. A Campaign for Press & Broadcasting Freedom conference, ULU, Malet St, London WC1, 10am-5pm, £10/£5. 071-923-3671

Sunday 9th

Labour Campaign for LESBIAN AND GAY Rights NCC

Wednesday 12

Protest Union Ban NATFHE demonstration South East College of Arts and Technology Southend

Fire Brigades Union conference

Saturday 15

Lesbian & Gay Rights Coalition conference Kennington Workshops Braganza Street SE17 10am-5pm tickets £5/2

Saturday 15/Sunday 16

Troops Out Movement AGM Liverpool details - 071 609 1743

Thursday 20

The Rise of Nationalism Socialist Outlook meeting with Brian Heron Bridge St Tavern **MANCHESTER** 7.30pm

Saturday 22

WOMEN & the Public Sector Women for Socialism Day School Wesley House WC1 Holborn tube 10.30am-4.30pm
NUJ Left AGM, The Queens Head, Acton St, London WC2



June

Red Aid for Bosnian Refugees events detail 071 252 5122

SATURDAY 5 national demonstration
SUNDAY 6 national launch conference

FOR YOUR DIARY... contact Socialist Outlook about these events:

12/13 JUNE European Conference of the Anti-Capitalist Left, Paris

3 JULY Fighting New Management Techniques day school Conway Hall Red Lion Sq. WC1 Holborn tube

24/31 JULY Fourth International youth camp Sweden

28 AUGUST/3 SEPTEMBER Socialist Outlook summer school North Wales

To advertise your event in the next issue, details should reach us by Friday May 7 - address them to Agitprop, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

Campaign Group Network

Labour left gears up for action

By Terry Conway

AN IMPORTANT step forward in reactivating the left in the Labour Party was taken in Sheffield on April 17 when 200 activists launched the Campaign Group Supporters Network.

Following a successful preparatory discussion in Leeds last June, this conference established a democratic structure for the Network, with representation from local groups, women, youth and black people.

The conference also took decisions on campaigning activities on job losses, the trade union link, the Child Support Act, Maastricht, anti-racism, cuts in public services and the witch hunt.

Nine Campaign Group MPs attended and made positive contributions. Attempts to wreck the Network by dividing the conference around proportional representation failed. Socialist Action supporters, lukewarm towards the network since its inception, for fear that their self-appointed role as spokespersons

for left MPs might be undermined, submitted a last minute resolution.

If their vitriolic motion had been passed, they would have witch hunted those on the left who support PR. If it had been defeated, given that the Campaign Group itself opposes PR, this could be used as a wedge between the MPs and the Network.

Fortunately, a significant number of supporters of first-past-the-post voted against this motion leading to its defeat. An alternative resolution, not supporting PR but calling for a debate was passed instead.

Having dealt with this diversion, the key task is now to translate the campaigning motions into action, to ensure that the Campaign Groups set up since Leeds take up the priorities of Sheffield.

Bob Cryer, probably the most ardent supporter of first-past-the-post, sidestepped the debate on PR and concentrated his closing remarks on the need to consolidate the positive steps taken so far by active campaigning. Surely the rest of us can do the same.

Lib-Labs defy Labour

by Steve Kaczynski

REJECTING instructions from Labour's National Executive, Reading Labour Party has withdrawn candidates from two wards in the county council elections.

To safeguard Berkshire's Liberal-Labour-independent administration, Labour has withdrawn from the elections in order to give Liberal Democrat candidates a better chance of winning. One party leader and

former parliamentary candidate is advocating Labour also stands down in the upcoming Newbury parliamentary by-election.

There has been a remarkable shift to the right in the party. Even the mainstream views of four or five years ago are now "outdated" or "extremist". It is essential that every party member fights against this kind of deal being done again. Activists must demand that the full weight of the party leadership is brought to bear on Reading.

Bookshelf

Socialist Outlook Publications

- THE BOSSES' OFFENSIVE — anti-union laws and the new management techniques £1.50
- SOCIALISM AFTER STALINISM £1.00
- STRIKING BACK — Fighting privatisation on the railways £1.00
- MAASTRICHT: The crisis of European Inte-

gration £1.50

- THE FALLACIES OF STATE CAPITALISM — a debate between Chris Harman and Ernest Mandel £2.00
- FROM MILITANCY TO MARXISM by Alan Thornett £5.00
- CUBA, RADICAL FACE OF STALINISM by John Lister £2.00
- MALCOLM X — Fighter for Black Liberation £1.25

- WHO KILLED MALCOLM X? £1.25
- THE COMING BLACK REBELLION AND THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X £1.50

All the above: add 50p post and packing

● Also available: *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* £11.50 (inc p&p)
Cheques should be made out to **Socialist Outlook.**
Send to: **Socialist Outlook, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.**

HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

Arm the Bosnian resistance

Imperialist hands off!

One fact stands out in the mayhem of Bosnia: the utter cynicism of the imperialist West, which has maintained its arms embargo on ex-Yugoslavia, which in effect means an arms embargo against multi-ethnic Bosnia.

What this means is that the Bosnian fighters have been outgunned by the Serbian Chetniks in the east, and the nationalist Croat HVO militia's in the south and west. And the result is horrific 'ethnic cleansing'.

Serbia has inherited all the massive weaponry of the Yugoslav army, and vast amounts have found their way into the hands of the semi-fascist Chetnik fighters. Croatia, with its big exile community in countries like the US, Canada and Australia, has found the means to buy large numbers of weapons.

The West is utterly complicit in the tragedies which have befallen Bosnia, both through the refusal to allow arms to the Bosnians and in the barriers erected to the admission of Bosnian refugees.

The USA, Britain and France determine their policy not on the basis of humanitarian interests, but on the basis of trying to stabilise the Balkans for capitalism. And their calculation has been that central to that is an eventual deal with the degenerate regime in Serbia.

The fundamental cause of this war is the Greater Serbia project of Milosevic and his sidekick

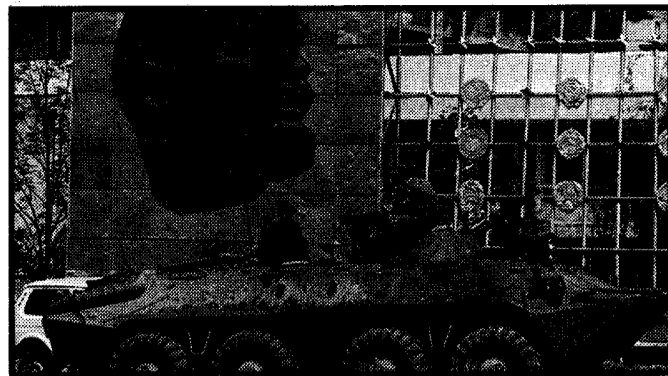


Karadzic in Bosnia. The only just peace now will be one in which all the republics and provinces of ex-Yugoslavia have the right to self-determination. But Bosnia also has the right to self-determination. And that presupposes that the Bosnians have the right to defend themselves.

It is not the cynical self-interest of the imperialists which will ensure that, but arms for the Bosnian resistance.

Should we back 'humanitarian' intervention? p.13; Red Aid for Bosnia p.6

The USA, Britain and France determine their policy not on the basis of humanitarian interests, but on the basis of trying to stabilise the Balkans for capitalism.



Yeltsin's poll victory a step to dictatorship

By Paul Clarke

BORIS YELTSIN'S victory in the Russian referendum is a major step in the direction of dictatorial rule. It is also likely to translate into further blows against the living standards of the Russian masses.

The conflict between Yeltsin and the Congress of People's Deputies has been above all over economic reform. Yeltsin's plans to speed up market reform involve cutting state credit to industry, and allowing enterprises to become bankrupt. If these plans go through, millions of Russian workers will be sacked.

Industrial chiefs

Opposition to Yeltsin's plans in the Congress has come from groups strongly linked to industrial managers; the section of the old bureaucracy dependent on the management of big industry and the thousands of large-scale factories which still dominate the Russian economy.

Yeltsin's line has been that economic chaos has been caused by the slow progress of economic reform. But in reality

the chaos has been produced by the disruption of the old planning system.

This has been compounded by deliberate economic sabotage by the West. Up to \$24 billion in aid to Russia has been designated by the IMF, World Bank and Western governments – but only \$1 billion delivered.

Break-up

The rest depends on 'the speed of economic reform' – ie marketisation and breaking up the big industrial complexes.

Add to this is the maintenance of the cold-war COCOM trade restrictions, which blocks thousands of Russian goods being imported into the West, and the export of high tech goods to Russia.

Further privatisation and marketisation will change the situation in Russia from chaos to social catastrophe. If the big enterprises are allowed to become bankrupt it will result in mass unemployment, and the eventual reduction of Russia to third world levels of subsistence.

That kind of social catastrophe will need the heavy hand of authoritarian government to implement it; and that is the road which Yeltsin is going down.

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