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No. 62 May 14 1994

Scrap Tories' racist laws!



CLOSE DOWN CAMPSFIELD!

National demo: SATURDAY JUNE 4

Expectations high as South Africa votes

From Mark Shoter in South Africa

EVERYWHERE you travel there is an air of excitement and expectation. Every street is adorned with hundreds of posters for the different parties. Street hawkers shout the price of their goods interspersed with party slogans.

A radio journalist captured the excited atmosphere of the first few hours of voting on the first day, which was restricted to the old, the sick and people with disabilities: 'It is like a scene from the Bible, people coming on crutches, limping, hobbling on one leg, carried by the fit, brought in on wheel chairs, making their way slowly to the polling booths to cast their vote'.

For the millions of black people who have never had the vote it is not just a question of being allowed to vote for the first time; rather, the election is greeted as the advent of freedom and the end of hundreds of years of oppression.

The following incidents capture the level of popular expectation that is involved in

voting for the first time:-

* A white woman rang a radio station to complain that her black maid told her she better pack her things, because the ANC had told her she could take over the house after the election.

* Workers at a car factory in the Eastern Cape started ignoring work orders because they said they couldn't be fired and tomorrow they will be in charge of the factory.

* A black truck driver reacted to a white driver who had cut in front of him by shouting 'you had better get out of my way because tomorrow is the last day on the road for you people'.

* A woman who had cast her vote said she was happy to have voted because she would no longer have to live in her shack - she was going to have a proper house.

Boycott

Although some tiny left wing groups have called for a boycott of the elections and other have run a propaganda campaign to warn people of the dangers of a future government of national unity, the ANC has managed to draw nearly all sections of the mass movement behind the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which promises mass pro-

grammes for housing, electrification, job creation, education and health.

While many business and government commentators have dismissed the RDP as being impractical and too expensive they are just as aware as the ANC leadership that social programmes will have to be launched if the mass of black workers are to feel part of the existing order.

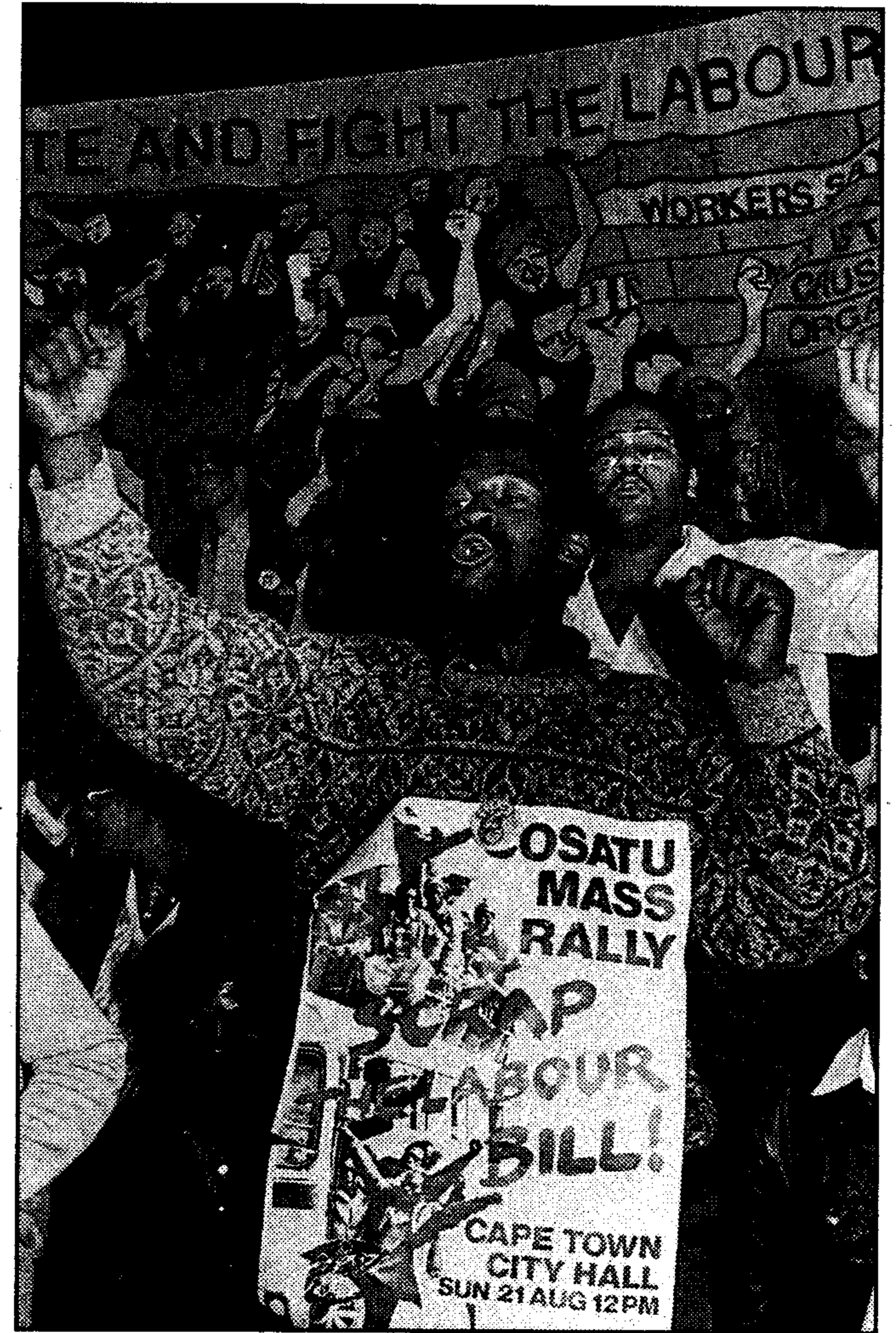
Pressures

With prospects of slow economic growth, and a government of national unity facing conflicting pressures, the left is becoming aware that what is achieved in achieving the RDP depends more on what takes place in the streets rather than the balance of forces in the government.

The brief experience of the Transitional Executive Council is not too encouraging, when we consider the following:-

* When a popular uprising overthrew the hated Mangope regime in the Bophatswana homeland, the TEC and the ANC acted quickly to try to curtail the movement and to restore 'law and order'. This was despite striking workers had not been met and continuing their strike weeks after the uprising

* Joe Slovo, chairperson of



COSATU union federation rejected ANC strike ban

the South African Communist Party and a leader of the ANC called on behalf of the TEC for a moratorium on strikes. Although this was rejected by the leadership of the COSATU trade union federation, it was in the context of admitting 'difficulty in our attempt to reign in strike action in different parts of the country.'

* At one of his last election rallies Nelson Mandela de-

clared that now that everyone had the right to vote, the need for mass action no longer existed.

On the eve of the elections it is clear that the government will face a honeymoon period. How long it lasts will depend on whether it delivers on its promised social programmes and how its responds to independent mass activities.

Obituary

Bob Smith (1947-94)

IT IS WITH DEEP regret that we announce the death of our comrade Bob Smith at the age of 46. Bob died of a massive heart attack in Birmingham on Sunday April 24.

More than 250 people attended his funeral on Friday May 6, testifying to the immense respect and affection for Bob in the Birmingham labour movement.

Bob got involved in socialist politics at the beginning of the 1980s, through anti-fascist activity. He was one of five people excluded from Yardley Labour Party in 1983.

Joining the Socialist League, the then British section of the Fourth International, he joined *Socialist Outlook* with a group of comrades of Birmingham at the time of the Gulf war, becoming one of our most loyal and determined supporters.

Bob's immense popularity, not just among *Socialist Outlook* supporters nationwide, but in the whole of the Birmingham labour movement, stemmed from his indefatigable activity and good humour.

His main fields of work were

anti-racist activity, through his leading role in Birmingham CARF and support for the Irish struggle through the Troops Out movement.

But beyond that Bob was a tireless supporter of all workers' struggles. In the miners' strike and during the Wapping printers' struggle Bob's activity was tireless.

Whenever there was a picket line, Bob was there. In the last period of his life, the struggle of the Asian workers at Burnsalls consumed his activity, although he never slackened in his work on anti-racism and on Ireland.

Good humour

Bob took socialist comradeship seriously. He passionately debated his views inside and outside of *Socialist Outlook*, but never succumbed to sectarian rancour. His good humour, his infectious laughter, affected everyone around him.

Like all serious socialists, Bob had a passion for ideas. When he spoke in meetings he was always gripped by the excitement of Marxist and socialist ideas, thinking on his feet and inspiring those present.

He was a fervent internation-

alist, always passionately interested in news about the Fourth International and the struggle for socialism world-wide.

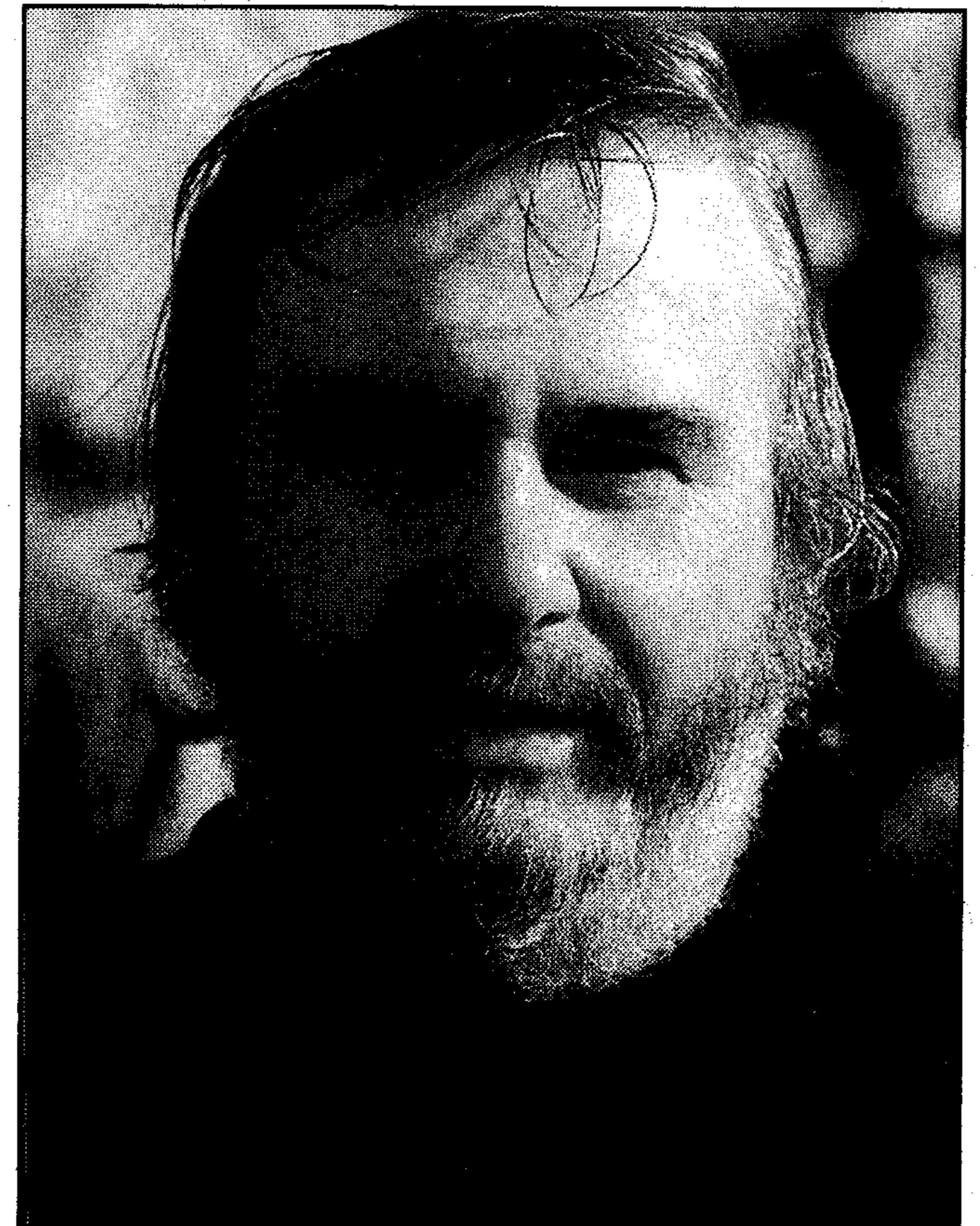
Bob was *Socialist Outlook's* most loyal correspondent, ringing the paper every production weekend with news of workers' and anti-racist struggles.

And he was one of the most determined sellers of the paper. He played a leading role in *Socialist Outlook's* anti-racist commission and never failed to attend our national events.

Bob always lived with his parents until their death several years ago. As Birmingham Trades Council president Mick Rice said at his funeral: 'Bob was a single man who made the labour movement his family'.

The affection with which he was held was reflected in the broad attendance at his funeral, which included people from the black and Irish communities, the Labour party, trade unions, anti-racist organisations and the far left.

Bob was a model of loyalty, determination and comradeship. He hated all forms of oppression, and he loathed the trade union and Labour bureaucrats who betrayed those fight-



Bob Smith: 28 May memorial meeting is planned

ing it.

While any form of sectarian rancour was alien to him, he was a fierce partisan of *Socialist Outlook* and the Fourth International.

Speaking at his funeral for the *Socialist Outlook* editorial board, Phil Hearse said: 'Bob did his duty by his comrades, he did his duty by his organisation,

he did his duty by his union, and most important he did his duty by his class. And we won't forget him'.

* A memorial meeting for Bob will be held in Birmingham on May 28. Plans for a London memorial meeting will be announced shortly.

South Africa - the dream and the reality

IT HAS ALL GONE like clockwork, hitting the schedule decided by de Klerk and Mandela - elections before the end of April 1994 - almost to the minute. With the ANC getting 62.5 per cent of the vote, the final destruction of apartheid has been confirmed.

The black masses have a sense of enormous victory. Certainly the election result, with the ANC getting more than six times the vote of Inkatha (and that on an Inkatha vote in KwaZulu that was almost certainly fiddled), reveals the real relationship of forces in the country.

The elections produced an enormous polarisation, with the votes of most minor parties collapsing either into the ANC or the National Party. Many of the votes of the Cape-based Democrats, long-time party of liberal English-speaking whites, went in both directions - the more radical to the ANC, the more conservative to the National Party (NP).

'Useful' vote

The radical wing of the liberation movement - the Pan Africanist Congress, black consciousness and left-wing organisations, saw their votes flee to the ANC as the black masses cast a 'useful' vote to ensure the crushing victory of the main liberation movement.

Only a small percentage of whites voted for the extreme right wing, most preferring a 'realistic' vote for the National Party, in an attempt to limit the victory of the ANC.

De Klerk's NP did a clever job of reinventing itself as a 'non-racial' party, exploiting fears among the coloured population in the Western Cape that an ANC victory would threaten the minor privileges they see themselves as having. But even this clever NP Houdini act couldn't prevent an ANC landslide.

Is this really an enormous victory for black South Africans? And what will happen now? At the immediate level of the destruction of old-style apartheid, then of course the election represents a tremendous victory, the culmination of decades of struggle.

Ungovernable

If the transition to the post-apartheid order has been finally sanctioned by the South African bourgeoisie and international capital, its origins lie in the fact that since the 1976 Soweto uprising, South Africa has been made ungovernable by the most heroic mass struggle, costing many thousands of lives.

In a declining economy in the middle of a world recession, the maintenance of the old system was impossible. However at the level of the immediate needs and aspirations of the black masses, then a decisive victory will be much more difficult to



Reformists: Nelson Mandela with former Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock in Stockholm

achieve.

For the many millions of black workers, unemployed and rural labourers who ensured the ANC walk-over need not just the right to travel on the same buses as white people, or - if they can afford it - live in the same areas as white people. They need jobs, homes, education and an end to the mass unemployment and squalor which is the lot of many millions. Can the government of national unity ensure this?

South Africa is an enormously wealthy country. But it is a *dependent* capitalist country, with vast disparities of wealth, more or less overlapping racial boundaries.

To ensure jobs and houses it needs a reconstruction programme prepared to break with the prerogatives of capital - to bring key sectors of industry under social control to ensure genuine national planning, to redistribute wealth, to generate a massive literacy, job-creation and

It is a government with which international capital will be happy to do business.

Enormous pressure will now be put on the trade union movement to accept a social pact for reconstruction. Hundreds of 'advisors' from the international trade union bureaucracy have descended on South Africa, precisely to help ensure trade union co-operation with the reconstruction programme.

The lessons of the transition to black majority rule in 1980 in Zimbabwe have to be learned. There an armed guerrilla movement, Robert Mugabe's ZANU, took power without the impediment of a coalition with a party based on whites.

Immediately after the election victory in early 1980, an enormous strike movement rose up to press the demands of black workers. It was repressed and defeated. A capitalist government subordinate to international imperialism was consolidated.

"The new government is a bourgeois government, preparing to administer a capitalist economy, and with which international capital will be happy to do business. In no sense is it a workers' or socialist government."

house-building programme.

There must be grave scepticism about whether the government of national unity can deliver these things - and for obvious reasons.

The destruction of old-style apartheid cannot blind us to class categories and class realities. The new government is a bourgeois government, preparing to administer a capitalist economy - in no sense is it a workers' or socialist government.

It is a government in which control of the key finance ministry will be in the hands of the NP, and which has already pledged to the IMF and World Bank that it will be a paragon of financial orthodoxy and rectitude,

This is what the South African bourgeoisie and international imperialism have in mind for South Africa.

As the article in this issue by Mark Shotter shows, the expectations of the black masses are enormous. They are certain to mobilise for their own demands, and this will inevitably bring them into conflict with the new government. In this situation there will be enormous conflicts and debates in the base of the ANC and in the trade union movement.

A big question mark now hangs over the future of the South African Communist Party (SACP). Its historic leader, Joe Slovo, is a key architect of the power-sharing

government. The controlling leadership group is heading towards social democracy at a rate of knots, leading to major debates in the SACP ranks, with sections of the base demanding a tougher anti-capitalist line.

A lot will depend on the political struggle in the unions. What is desperately needed is a fight for *class independence* - an absolute refusal to sign any pact with the power-sharing government.

Popular mandate

In the short term the government has an enormous legitimacy and popular mandate which it will not be possible to challenge. But the mass movement needs to develop its own organisations and demands. It needs popular mobilisation to demand the jobs and houses which the black masses want. The independence of the mass movement must be topped off by building a mass workers party.

In the end, the struggle in South Africa has combined a struggle against two deeply-interconnected, but not identical, oppressions. These are the formal structures of apartheid, with its legal exclusions of the non-white masses from whole areas of life, but also the deep structures of racial capitalism.

Those structures, with their *de facto* exclusion of the non-white masses from real social power and wealth, are deeply inter-twined with class oppression, and they survive after the ANC's electoral victory.

For those who doubt this analysis, there will be, in the coming months and years, precise tests: whether or not the basic social needs of millions of non-whites are met, and whether 'reconstruction' really aids the poor and the oppressed.

Those who put uncritical faith in Mandela, who represents the most conservative trends in the liberation movement, are due for a rude awakening.

EDITORIAL



Election turn-around in Tower Hamlets
Above: Labour celebrates.
Right: Defeated BNP nazis.



Why Tories crashed

By Paul Clarke

THE DEPTH of the Tory humiliation in the local elections is revealed by the figure - more than 800 seats lost, only 15 councils won out of 189 contested.

Projections for June's European elections give the Tories as few as 12 seats against 54 for Labour and 14 for the Liberal Democrats.

Up and down the country defeated Tory mayors are screaming blue murder; Major will be replaced, the only question is when.

Evidently the vote reflected mass anger with Tory policies - higher taxes, the attack on the NHS and the rest of the welfare state and the chronic failure to get out of recession and mass unemployment.

All these failures would have meant a bad result for the Tories, but what made their defeat so crushing was the chronic disunity in the Tory party over Europe. This is an historic divide in the Conservative party; and in the run-up to European elections it is disastrous.

Beyond the expected rebuff for the Tories there are important factors to note from the results.

The main gainer in terms of seats were the Liberal Democrats. Three factors come into play here. First, they were starting from a low point - during the 1990 local elections the Lib Dems were still suffering the fall-out from the collapse of the Alliance and the Liberal-SDP merger. Labour was starting from a high-tide in local government but still increased its vote by three per cent.

gains against those in power, whether Tory or Labour.

Against the trend of Liberal Democrats gains they lost Tower Hamlets to Labour following the scandal over Lib Dem racism. While BNP councillor Derek Beackon was thankfully defeated and the threat that the fascists could win three seats on the Isle of Dogs never materialised, this doesn't mean that the BNP have gone away.

In fact their votes went up, and they got 10,000 votes overall in the East End. The Labour victory and the defeat of the BNP and racist Liberal councillors was won by the mobilisation of local anti-racists and the

labour movement, in particular security measures taken to ensure that Asians could vote without racist attack.

After the local elections the Tories are a chronically divided and weak government. They will now, sooner or later, be forced into another humiliating change of leader.

The whole labour movement must now campaign for a general election to force the Tories out.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

The Lib Dems won seats heavily in rural and prosperous southern areas where disaffected Tories naturally turn to them rather than to Labour. However, the Liberals made progress in some inner-city Labour-controlled boroughs, where the right-wing has imposed harsh cuts policies and witch-hunted the left.

This was the case in Lambeth, where there is now no overall control, and Islington where the Lib Dems now have 14 seats. Thus the Liberals were generally able to make

Labour councils celebrate with boot into unions

CAMDEN'S re-elected Labour council is going to celebrate its victory by sacking all its staff - most of whom probably voted Labour.

Years of accommodating to Tory attacks on local government are now being topped off by a ruthless attack on working conditions and an attempt to undermine union power.

Camden will dismiss its workers and re-employ them on new contracts, scrapping some holiday entitlements, sickness leave and other rights such as a 35-hour week.

Under the new contract staff will return to a 36-hour week for the same pay. This will mean a three per cent pay cut for part time workers.

This move comes after nearly two years of utilising a 'two-tier'

system, where new members of staff were forced to sign contracts with much worse conditions than those already negotiated with local unions. Camden will also continue its 'restructuring' process - in other words carry through more compulsory redundancies.

The logic behind Camden's move is instructive. Without fewer staff and worse working conditions the council cannot compete with its in-house services during compulsory competitive tendering exercises.

Camden may be at the cutting edge of this new attack on the working conditions of local authority staff; but with stronger right-wing contingents in many Labour councils, other local authorities in London and beyond seem set to follow suit.

Suicidal Labour lets in Liberals

By former Lambeth Labour councillor Greg Tucker

DESPITE Labour gains from the Tories across the country, where Labour ran councils they often lost seats to the Liberal Democrats particularly in inner London.

Nowhere was this more marked than in Lambeth where Labour lost control in the worst election results for over 25 years.

The results were the culmination of three years of attacks on the local CLPs by the Labour Party nationally and on council workers by the Labour group. In order to tame the left in the party and the unions Labour effectively committed suicide.

The Liberal Democrats made massive gains winning the most votes in two of the three (Labour held) parliamentary constituencies; Labour being pushed into third place in Streatham.

Whilst Tory voters stayed at home, many Labour supporters from council estates switched to the Liberal Democrats in protest at the council's failure to deliver a repairs service.

Labour's campaign was awful, campaigners were few on the ground and the central organisation was incompetent. The national party imposed manifesto, this time based on a theme of 'support our new team', explicitly attacked the previous Labour councillors and derided council services and workers.

All this strategy for failure did was validate the criticisms of the council made by the Liberal Democrats instead of putting the blame where it was required - with the imposition

of Tory policies from central government.

Much was made of reports of 'corruption'. Though the main evidence of this has been accounting methods common to most local authorities.

All three parties united to blame Labour councillors for this 'corruption' making it the excuse for a failure to deliver housing repairs.

The service had broken down but mainly because of massive privatisation recently forced through by the Labour group on the instruction of the party nationally.

We have warned throughout the witch-hunt against us that electoral defeat would be the inevitable consequence.

In previous elections the platform has always been opposition to the Tories with Labour winning in 1986 in the aftermath of ratecapping on a platform of defence of jobs and services; in 1990 on a platform of confronting the Poll Tax.

In the wake of ten years of struggle against the Tories Labour won all three parliamentary seats in 1992 gaining Streatham from the Tories.

It appears for some on the right, both locally and nationally, that losing control of Lambeth council was a price worth paying if it helped smash the left.

We now face an uphill task of keeping the 'new team' of Labour councillors from doing further damage to Labour's credibility by doing deals with the other parties on the council, of rebuilding the local parties in the face of further attacks from the right trying to blame us for their failures whilst having to defend council services and workers' jobs abandoned by Labour's leaders.

HOME NEWS

Close down Campsfield!

OVER ANY 12-month period, more than 10,000 people go through the immigration detention system as Britain tightens up its immigration and asylum policies as part of 'Fortress Europe'.

Nowhere is more symbolic of this state racism than the purpose-built detention centre at Kidlington, near Oxford.

Opened last December, the purpose behind Campsfield was dramatically revealed when hundreds of Jamaican visitors were detained over Christmas, most of them being taken straight from the airport to Kidlington.

Since 1988 the number of people deported from Britain has doubled to more than 5000 a year. Mass arrests of 'illegal' immigrants are being compounded by harsh new measures against asylum seekers.

Asylum seekers already in the country are now automatically treated as 'illegal entrants' and liable to be detained.

Suspicion of 'overstaying' is being used as the new 'Sus' law. It is now very com-

mon for black people to be stopped and taken into custody, and even detained for several days if they cannot provide immediate proof of identity.

The situation of detainees at Campsfield and other prisons and detention centres is often harrowing. People can be locked up for anything from a few days to 18 months.

Often no one knows where they are, and the detainees, many of who do not speak English, have little information of how their case is progressing or when they are likely to be released.

Hunger strikes

In March detainees in several centres went on hunger strike in protest against these conditions. The detainees are Britain's forgotten prisoners.

Over the past two years we have seen a big rise in the fight against fascism and racist attacks. This is as it should be. But that work must be complemented by confronting state racism and by taking up the difficult fight of winning support in the labour



Campsfield detainees cheer on protestors outside the Kidlington centre

movement for opposition to racist immigration controls and asylum laws.

The June 4 demonstration

takes place exactly six months after the opening of Campsfield. Support has already come from a wide

range of organisations including ARA, Southern Region UNISON, South East Region TUC and Oxford TUC.

DEMONSTRATE for Britain's Forgotten Prisoners!

JUNE 4, 1994

ASSEMBLE 1pm Exeter Hall, Kidlington

(feeder march leaves St Giles, Oxford at 10.30am)

MARCH to rally 2pm at the gates of CAMPSFIELD detention centre

SPEAKERS include JEREMY CORBYN MP, MARC WADSWORTH (ARA), BOB PURKISS, chair TUC race relations committee, MOHAMMED IDRISH

STOP the detentions and deportations!
Asylum is a human right!

SOCIALISM and FULL EMPLOYMENT

Conference called by **SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN GROUP NETWORK**

MANCHESTER Town Hall

Saturday JUNE 11, 11am-5pm

Speakers include

■ Tony Benn ■ Arthur Scargill ■ Denis Skinner ■ Dawn Primarolo

Workshops on

- Strategies for defending jobs
- Creating jobs
- Welfare cuts and the unemployed
- Unemployment and the defence industry
- Global unemployment

Registration and annual Network membership £10/£5. Further details and credentials from SCG Network, 3, Blades House, Kennington Oval, London SE11 5TW

Tribune conference to 'rock the boat'

By Helen Shaw

AS LABOUR councillors across the country emerge from the 'euphoria' of the election results and begin to grapple with the reality of trying to deliver adequate services in the grip of Tory local government legislation come two timely conferences for Labour activists.

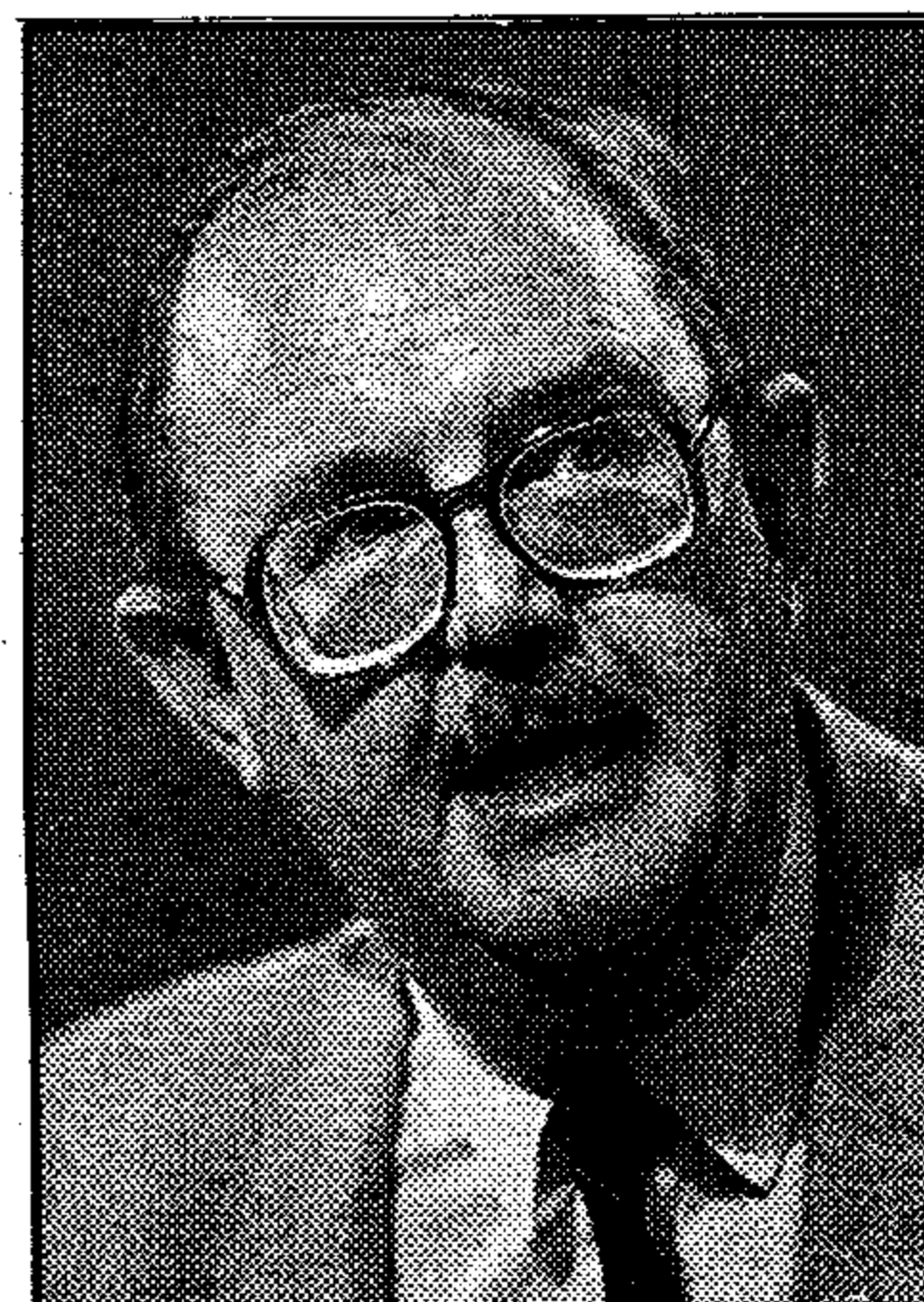
The call has come from two camps to renew the struggle for socialist policies in the Labour party. The Socialist Campaign Group Network Conference on Full Employment on June 11 begins the process.

On June 25 *Tribune* hosts the 'What's Left Summer Conference' at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London.

In a marked break with the 'shut up, don't rock the boat, wait for a Labour government' new realist school of thought, John Edmonds General Secretary of the GMB will address the

conference.

The platform for the conference calls for Labour to present 'a radical socialist alternative to 15 years of free market stagnation' to the electorate at the next general election.



Edmonds will attend conference

The conference aims to promote 'political debate at all levels because the regeneration of the Party is a primarily political not merely and organisational process'.

The topics for debate will be:

the role of the left within the Labour Party; the regeneration of the Labour Party, a return to full employment and the future of the welfare state.

In addition to Edmonds the conference speakers are Peter Hain MP, Michael Meacher MP, Dawn Primarolo MP, Alan Simpson MP, Roger Berry MP and John Prescott MP.

This is an opportunity for the left to argue for those breaking from the new realist bloc to turn their fighting words into action.

We must begin the fight now to defend the welfare state and return to full employment by supporting all those public sector workers in local government, the NHS, education and the civil service who continue to bear the brunt of Tory attacks.

Activists in the Labour Party will be reinvigorated in the wake of the local and European election results and these two conferences present a welcome opportunity to begin a fight for socialist policies in the run up to the general election.

HOME NEWS



Pay cannot be separated from cuts

Tough fight faces left at UNISON conference

By Doug Thorpe, Islington UNISON 'A' branch

HIGH ON the agenda of the first ever conference of UNISON, Britain's biggest union formed from the merger of NUPE, NALGO and COHSE, will be how to oppose the government's public sector pay freeze.

But the union leadership will put to the conference, which meets in Bournemouth from May 15-18, a toothless campaign lacking any definite commitment to action.

The leadership will face a series of opposition motions, but the most militant of these, calling for immediate ballots and an all-out strike will almost certainly be lost.

While the NEC hopes to composite all other motions into a single resolution on their own do-nothing policy, it is important that a third position - that of starting the campaign with a one-day strike - is debated separately, since this has a real chance of being carried.

A one-day strike will not end the wage freeze, but would act as a rallying and mobilising point for the whole public sector.

Pay cannot be separated as an issue from cuts in local government and other services. There is a real danger of the union

leaders accepting pay deals which appear to bust the government's pay freeze, but which are in reality underfunded.

This would leave local branches open to a situation where employers traded increased pay for jobs, with no prospect of any national action to back up a fightback on the jobs issue.

Thus any pay campaign must include a fight for more funding to the public sector.

A key executive argument against strike action is that it would be illegal. The recent ruling that a proposed NATFHE strike was unlawful, because the union couldn't identify precisely the names and addresses of all its members within an accuracy of 10, makes it virtually impossible for a union claiming 1.4 million members ever to have a legal strike.

Key debate

Far from being a reason not to have a strike, such outrageous court judgements can only be challenged by overturning them in practice. The issue of the anti union laws seems therefore certain to emerge as a key conference debate.

Apart from pay, the two issues with most motions on the agenda are anti-facism/racism and the union's national rules.

UNISON's compositing committee has tried to reduce the debate on anti-racism to the question of affiliation to the

Anti-Nazi League. But there remains a separate group of resolutions about immigration controls, including an amendment calling on UNISON to join the campaign against the Campsfield detention centre.

Opposing racism cannot be reduced to fighting fascism on the streets. The issue of fighting state racism must also be given prominence by the labour movement, and the immigration controls debate gives an opportunity to highlight this question.

Rule changes

Rule changes - generally a signal for the conference hall to empty in favour of shopping expeditions - are central to this year's conference, with 108 motions tabled.

This is the first conference of the merged union and there has never been a serious opportunity to debate out these issues.

Unfortunately, what is likely to let the leadership off the hook on many issues is the disorganisation of the left.

While this may be to some extent unavoidable in a newly merged union, it is compounded by crass sectarianism.

The SWP have called a meeting to organise against the pay freeze, but have regrettably called it for after the pay debate on the conference floor; moreover it clashes directly with the meeting called by the London Campaign for a Fighting Democratic UNISON, which aims to co-ordinate left activists and regional caucuses around the themes of fighting for national action and democracy in the union.

Attempts to bring these two meetings together have foundered on the SWP's insistence on a rally-type meeting dealing only with pay. Activists seriously interested in building a democratic left in UNISON should attend the meeting called by the London CDFU and other regional caucuses.

Left under siege in NUJ

By Steve Smith (NUJ Left treasurer - personal capacity)

THIS YEAR'S annual conference (ADM) of the National Union of Journalists (May 13-15) takes place after another year of, at best, passive resistance to the onslaught of media management.

While the employers' offensive over union de-recognition and multi-skilling to cut jobs continues to make heavy inroads into rank-and-file confidence, the Acorn House bureaucrats have been more interested in spending their high-salaried time devising ways to smash the NUJ Left.

A 'business'-style streamlining of the lay national executive has handed more power to full-timers, who continue to make menacing threats to the union branch structure.

Infamously the union's full-time staff have been raiding the strike fund to pay the union's

day-to-day expenses, despite explicit instructions from last year's conference not to.

The NUJ has long had a policy on paper of opposing the anti-union laws, but the union's right wing/soft left leadership coalition has blocked any attempt to build support for a fightback based on concerted industrial action and the defiance of the union laws that flows from this.

Fighting Fund

At this year's conference left activists will be at the forefront of a fight to safeguard the union's strike fund from further bureaucratic raids.

The left will also give support to journalists denying access to the media to fascists, but arguing for NUJ support for the recently-launched Media Workers against the Nazis' 'no platform' initiative.

Socialist Outlook supporters will continue to argue for an open and democratic broad left to maximise the potential of rank-and-file opposition to the Acorn House bureaucrats.

WRP in new Bosnia fiasco

By Bill Peters

THE GROTESQUE opportunism of the Workers Revolutionary Party's 'Workers Aid for Bosnia' campaign has emerged again following their recent convoy to Tuzla.

Starting with silly claims that they would mobilise 1,000 lorries, later reduced to 200, they eventually took 33 lorries to Tuzla last month - on the face of it a very creditable achievement.

When they arrived in Tuzla, however, 28 out of the 33 lorries refused to take their aid to the miners union - or any other union or destination decided by the organisers. Instead they took their aid to their own destinations - including the private market!

Most of the lorries had attached themselves to the convoy simply as a means of getting through, and wanted nothing to with a working class or trade union based initiative at all. This has caused considerable confusion amongst those in Tuzla who have been waiting for an aid convoy to the unions.

This gross opportunism has been endemic with the WRP campaign from the outset, when they included people who had not just a different political agenda but were hostile to the politics of the campaign. In some cases people from the convoy denounced the politics of the campaign at public meetings.

This latest development, however, is far worse. The WRP are campaigning in the trade unions in Britain on a the fraudulent basis that the convoy is a labour movement based initiative, when in reality the bulk of its 'support' is nothing of the sort.

This is not surprising, however, given the way the WRP has operated in the campaign from the outset.

They split the unified Bosnia campaign in October by refusing to allow it to have a democratic structure and by hijacking it for their own impossible campaign to 'open the northern route to Tuzla'. This is the Breko pass, the main route into Serbia from western Bosnia and the most sensitive bit of territory under Serb occupation.

The idea that the route could be opened up by an aid convoy was at best cranky, at worst a call for UN intervention. It is now likely to be the next military flash point in Bosnia as the Serbs move to make it wider.

Having denounced IWA for using (and getting through) on the southern route, the WRP themselves then used it to get their own convoy through.

Amazingly, however, they continue to campaign to open the northern route. Even the article in *Workers Press* which reported that the bulk of their convoy had failed to reach the unions was headed 'Open The Northern Route'.

The labour movement should have nothing to do with this fraudulent campaign.

HOME NEWS

UNISON Conference
Fringe Meeting for all left delegates
For national action against Tory attacks!
For democracy in UNISON!
CHAIR: Liz Short (Hackney Unison).
SPEAKERS include Roger Bannister (Unison NEC)
and a speaker from GUY'S HOSPITAL
SUNDAY MAY 15, 7.30pm
MARSHAM COURT HOTEL, Bournemouth
Organised by the London Campaign for a Fighting and
Democratic Unison. To contact CDFU write to:
Islington UNISON A Branch,
1a Cannonbury St., London N1 2TA.

Paris conference calls for European 35-hour campaign

By Brian Smart

HUNDREDS of people gathered in Paris last weekend at a conference organised by United Action against Unemployment to take forward the growing campaign for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay.

As the conference took place a five-prong march against unemployment was continuing to Paris, in preparation for the central Paris demonstration on 29 May in which tens of thousands of people are expected to take part.

At the conference the organisers announced that

54,000 signatures from trade unionists have now been gathered in support of the 35-hour week, no loss of pay, proposal. Each of the main trade union federations, the CGT, CFDT and Force Ouvriere was represented on the platform.

Discussion at the conference reflected concern at the lack of campaigning against flexible hours of work which is being rapidly introduced.

Conference organisers argued that while this could become a theme of the campaign, the central issue of work sharing with no loss of pay should not be dropped.

One negative feature was the explanation by a speaker from Air France that the victory won by the workers last autumn was turning into de-

feat.

While management had temporarily withdrawn their restructuring plan, union officials have become disunited over management's tactics of approaching workers individually.

The conference heard that the only other country in which the 35-week campaign had started in earnest was Spain and a resolution was passed calling for the launching of a Europe-wide campaign.

The day after the conference about 20,000 people demonstrated on the May Day demonstration organised by the CGT federation.

While in other parts of the country a big step forward was taken by holding united

may day demonstrations, in Paris the two main federations, the CGT and CFDT could not agree a joint celebration of international workers day, and no CFDT banners were to be seen.

Given that Communist Party members marched behind CGT banners, the largest contingent of any political organisation was that of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, the French section of the Fourth International.



Indonesian workers hit back

By K. Govindan

MARSINAH was a leading activist in a strike in May 1993 at a watch-making factory in Surabaya. A few days later the factory owner was forced to make some concessions to the workers.

The district military command stepped in, interrogating the activists and then firing them. Marsinah was last seen alive on that day.

Her body was later found bearing signs of torture and rape. Marsinah was just 25 years old.

Marsinah's case has become a *cause célèbre* to the young movement for independent trade unions free from state and military control.

Recent strikes and demonstrations in Medan have been led by the unofficial Indonesian Labour Welfare Union (SBSI). It has 87 branches throughout and a membership of 250,000.

While its activists and leaders are constantly under state and military harassment, the SBSI has been tolerated for fear of foreign - especially US - trade sanctions.

When the Medan protests degenerated into an anti-Chinese riot, the government used that pretext to ban the union. Ominously, the Interior Ministry said it was up to the military to enforce the banning order. Many fear that the military would rake similar action to the 1965 massacres to suppress labour militancy.

There is only one legal trade union, the All Indonesia Workers Union (SPSI), which is completely discredited. It is led by bureaucrats from the ruling Golkar party, retired military officers and even businessmen! Its only role is to suppress any



worker.

The American footwear giant, Reebok, sells a pair of its shoes for \$79 in the US. Of that value it pays an Indonesian worker just \$1.

In January the government said it was annulling the decree which legitimises military

interference in labour disputes. This was a concession to the Clinton administration which has threatened to withdraw loan and trade privileges

if Indonesia doesn't improve its labour record.

However the respected Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation has identified a loophole in the new decree which allows the military security agency *Bakorstanas* a role in labour disputes.

The US government announced that it was postponing a decision on loan and trade issues until August 1994. But freedom of association remains a dream for most workers. So much for 'pro-labour' Clinton.

A solidarity committee to campaign for a public inquiry into Marsinah's death has been formed by women's, students' and activist groups. There is no

doubt that the military was responsible.

In many strikes the slogan 'Continue Marsinah's struggle' can be found. There must be renewed international pressure to defend the rights of workers to free and independent unions. Above all there must be no more sacrifices like Marsinah's.

■ Please send messages demanding SBSI's unbanning to General Yogie S. Memed, Minister of the Interior, Jl. Medan Merdeka Utara No. 7, Central Jakarta, Indonesia. Fax: +62-21 323 577.

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WORLD NEWS

THERE IS a growing movement of revolt in the Philippines Communist party (CCP) against the Maoist leadership of Jose Maria Sison. In particular the powerful Manila branch, known as the Manila-Rizal Regional Committee (MR), has declared independence from the Sison leadership. Here SONNY MELENCIO, a leader of the MAKABAYAN mass socialist organisation, TONY CABARDO a leader of the SANLAKAS front of mass organisations and RONALD LLAMAS of the BISIG socialist organisation talk to PHIL HEARSE of Socialist Outlook about the recomposition of the Philippines left.

Melencio and Cabardo are associated with the MR CCP; BISIG is independent of any part of the CCP. The interview was conducted in Sydney at the International Green Left Conference organised by the Australian Democratic Socialist Party from March 31-4 April.

*** Can you explain the organisations you represent and their role in the struggle**

Sonny: MAKABAYAN has been called the new mass socialist formation of the Philippines. It used to be the Metro-Manila chapter of the BAYAN socialist federation.

We left BAYAN because of the attempts of the Sison leadership to bureaucratically control the organisation and founded MAKABAYAN.

In a sense it's the first mass socialist organisation, because before, when we worked in the Maoist framework, we believed that socialism was a very distant goal agenda and we worked purely within the political framework of 'national democracy'.

Tony: SANKLAKAS is a federation of mass organisations which includes MAKAYBAYAN. It includes sectoral organisations like the federation of poor communities, the BNP which is the split from the KMU union federation, the federation of transport workers and women's, youth and church sector organisations. The basis of unity is for freedom and democracy; it wages struggles against corruption and in defence of the environment and on many other issues.

Ronald: BISIG is the Union for the Advancement of Socialist Thought and Action. It was formed in 1986 from people who had broken politically with the CCP 'national democrats'. A lot of people came into BISIG from the social democratic current, but others from the 'national democrats'. Also some from the 'old' pre-CPP Communist Party.

Our aim in forming BISIG was to articulate an open socialist line through an open socialist organisation. Our aim was to forge a socialist strategy for the Philippines, rather than to slavishly copy the

Philippines Communist Opposition speaks out



Corrie Aquino (left) won 1986 election after the fall of Marcos. Military chiefs including General Ramos (below, left) were able to sustain the dominance of big landowners and the bourgeoisie



Maoist model, as did the CPP. Our aim was also to form a real united front, knowing that no single force could alone change society.

To do all this we insisted on an analysis of the Philippines as a dependent capitalist country, against the Maoist dogma that it was semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. It was also based on the assumption that the battle for socialism involves many sorts of struggle, and thus a rejection of the Maoist fetishisation of armed struggle.

*** A key turning point in the internal struggle in the CPP was the 1986 election where Marcos was defeated and Corrie Aquino elected. You opposed the boycott position of the CPP. How do you read that event and what is your assessment of the Aquino government?**

Sonny: The CPP leadership saw the election as a cynical exercise between different factions of the ruling class and assumed that nothing could be got from it.

We had the same argument in 1978, it wasn't a new debate. After the 1986 election when a mass mobilisation saw Marcos defeated, the CPP said it had made a tactical mistake. But they had not rooted

out the source of the mistake.

What was at stake was the total record of the CPP in the anti-dictatorship struggle. Part of the problem is that the whole schema was part of the Maoist dogma of going through the 'national democratic' revolution, with the Maoist 'bloc of four classes'.

This also involved the 'protracted peoples war' - rural guerrilla warfare - and the urban masses were in reality not part of the strategy. But 1986 showed the centrality of the urban areas and the urban working class. 1986 was all about the failure of a false schema. We started therefore to question the whole programmatic basis of the party.

Tony: Even with a hard effort to correct strategy and tactics, the CPP Sison leadership would have been hidebound by its false ideological framework. The 1986 events also showed something basic about the relationship of the party with the masses.

The 'national democrats' led by the CPP movement was well entrenched in

the urban masses and thus they should have been able to read how the masses were determined to mobilise against Marcos. But when the mood of the masses collided with the false ideological schema of the party, the cadres were unable to make a correction.

Sonny: The CPP through its mass 'national democratic' organisations had easily the most authority and links with the masses of anyone on the left. But still it was a bureaucratic leadership, it didn't allow any discussion. When the 1986 decision to boycott the elections was made it was made by five people, with no consultation. And it was made by a 3-2 vote. It speaks of an organisation which is thoroughly bureaucratized.

Tony: The irony is that the CPP was the single most important group which helped create the 1986 crisis. They should have seized the opportunity to participate in the anti-Marcos mobilisation and transform it into a pre-revolutionary opening to make a qualitative leap.

At the 1985 leadership plenum the CCP correctly analysed that the masses wanted to bring down Marcos, but they wrongly concluded that it meant that the CPP-led New Peoples Army should step up its offensive. They wanted the fall of the dictatorship to coincide with the victory of peoples' war in the countryside, and given the centrality of the urban masses, that was a totally false and arbitrary schema.

*** How do you define the Philippines social formation? What's your balance sheet of the post 1986 Aquino and Ramos governments? Surely the Philippines is a dependent, oppressed country, not an imperialist country? Aren't there elements of semi-colonialism there?**

Sonny: Lenin thought that Russia was semi-feudal but he was referring to the vestiges of feudalism. But the key thing was the determinant mode of production was capitalist, it was a backward capitalist country. That's what we say of the Philippines.

As for the Aquino and Ramos governments, they're obviously governments of the landed big bourgeoisie. But a clarification has to be made here, because the Sison leadership says that our main enemy are the 'landlords' and that we can form a progressive bloc against them.

But the landed nobility are also the bourgeoisie. They don't just own 80 per cent of the land, they also own the banks, the trading companies and so on. They are the big bourgeoisie.

Tony: The term semi-colonial doesn't refer to the mode of production, just to the fact of exploitation by the imperialist nations. The main point of our critique was not to deny that the Philippines is exploited by imperialism, but to insist that it is a capitalist social formation.

Some people use the numbers game - the small size of the urban working class compared with the peasantry. But that was also true in Russia where the working class in 1917 was just one per cent; in the Philippines it's 15 per cent. We should use the method of political economy, not the chop logic of statistics.

Sison instead of starting from the most developed parts of the economy in the cities, started from the countryside, the most backward part of the economy.

Ronald: Of course BISIG had this analysis a long time ago! Sison used terms like 'semi-colonial' and 'semi-feu-

CENTRE STAGE

dal' not because of scientific conviction, but to justify the strategy of 'prolonged peoples war' and the 'bloc of four classes'.

*** Can you explain the situation of the mass movement? Has the CPP crisis disorganised and dis-articulated the mass movement, or do you think that political clarification will help strengthen its unity and dynamism?**

Sonny: The CPP was a big part of the Philippines left, but that doesn't mean that its internal crisis is going to weaken the left. The mass movement is gaining strength, as was shown by the defeat inflicted on the Ramos government over its attempt to raise oil prices.

Tony: The ideological split could in the short term weaken the revolutionary left. We have a difficult task because we have to carry forward this ideological struggle and build the mass movement at the same time, and that's a difficult task.

But so far we think we never let go our grip on ensuring that the mass movement developed. We think that the weakening effect of the ideological split has been compensated for by the effect of our new approach to alliances with other sections of the left like BISIG and other socialist groups. This has forced us to discover new arenas of struggle.

Ronald: In the past when we had ideological debate, it wasn't much of a debate with the CCP, but more charges and counter-charges of revisionism and betrayal.

You can't get far with that, and now all that is going. Moreover, the Sison leadership always used the 'authority of sacrifices' argument - how many people in the CPP had been killed in the armed struggle.

We of course respect those who have lost their lives in the armed struggle, but you can't close a discussion by simply referring to how many have been killed from your party.

What's happening now on the whole left, as a result of the ideological split in the CCP, is that new alliances, new debates and new relationships will be formed at every level.

There are going to be new relationships between organisation, new attitudes to community struggles and even new gender relationships - as well as the opening of new forms and fronts of struggle.

We can position the left to contend with the bourgeoisie in new forms of struggle, not just one, the armed struggle, where the ruling class are the strongest.

Some of us will want to concentrate on the struggle in civil society, not just see the socialist movement as something all-concerned with the single moment of revolutionary transition.

We should stop seeing that revolutionary strategy as being counterposed with building bases of support in civil society which can bring about numerous changes on a micro-level and transform social relationships as a 'continuum'. This has all got to be part of a self-managing strategy.

Despite the new pluralistic attitudes of the left, there is a common trend of direction - towards democratic socialism.



May Day rally 1985: at that point the CCP turned towards New Peoples Army offensive

*** How do you see the relationship of forces in the CPP and the mass movement between the Sison leadership and the democratic and Leninist oppositions?**

Sonny: It's not an actual split in the CPP. Four national bureaux have declared independence from the CPP leadership; they are mainly based in the urban, working class areas. There is a class configuration to the ideological split. We think that something like half of the total membership of the CPP is aligned with the oppositions.

The Sison leadership is still based on the NPA guerrilla units in the mountains. But that is a dead end; the focus will move to the urban areas. Sison says that he is prioritising work in the peasantry, but that's not true. The peasantry are on the plains, not in the mountains where the guerrillas are. They are not organising among the peasantry.

Tony: The real relationship of forces can't be measured by statistics, but by political impact in the mass struggle.

That's where you see the real strength of the opposition - the mass campaigns, in the streets demonstrations and so on. We want to abandon the Maoist method of calculating politics according to statistics, but according to qualitative political impact.

Sonny: But even according to quantitative measures, you can see that the opposition can mobilise 40,000 sometimes, 100,000 sometimes. We are making big mobilisations among the workers. Our strength was shown during daily demonstrations against the oil price hikes.

Tony: The Sison leadership is more or less in control of the membership in the countryside. But they are now in real problems. They have adopted the position of 'passive military defence' for the NPA. That means avoiding military confrontation, avoiding military action of any kind. The logic being that they are turning towards organising the peasantry.

But the military is going to try to destroy all the NPA units. And with this kind of 'passive defence' policy, it will lead either to destruction or demoralisation.

tion of the military units. Comrades who talked to party secretaries in the countryside say that they consider the struggle has been pushed back by 14 or 16 years - to the position they were in the late 1970s.

The interaction of the Sison leadership and the opposition is very clear. We have declared autonomy and demanded a party congress. Sison has expelled people and filed charges, which will be heard in absentia in a 'people's court'. If charges are proven, the penalty will be death - a typical Stalinist method.

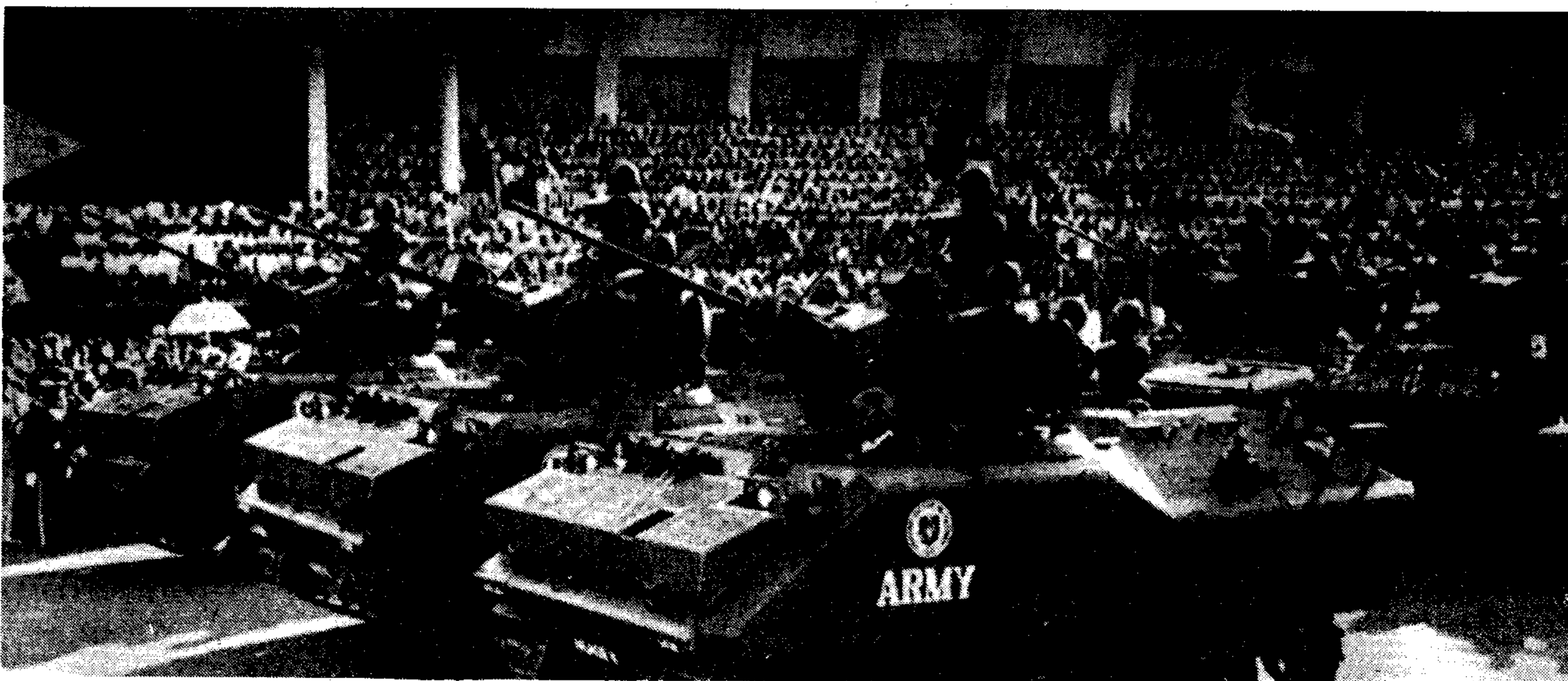
The opposition has a major task. It has to unite and get its act together. It has to unite and act on the basis of Leninism, and socialist democracy, not on the basis of any old unity. The Sison leadership should accept reality and get involved in the debate, but I don't think they will.

*** Let me ask you about your own political re-thinking. You've posed the debate as 'Leninism versus Stalinism' or 'socialist democracy versus Stalinism', and engaged in a critique of the whole Maoist tradition which you see as a specific form of Stalinism. Have you had more general discussions about Stalinism and its historical origins in the Soviet Union?**

Sonny: We have started the debate on Stalinism on the question of the party - namely democratic centralism versus bureaucratic centralism. We had some discussion on the Soviet Union during the Gorbachev period and were very critical about Sison's position that the problem was 'modern revisionism' - ie that the Soviet Union had degenerated since the death of Stalin.

This is the simplistic Chinese version which doesn't explain anything, and poses the existence of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Our study of Russian history shows that the opposition was rooted out and murdered, that Bolshevism was killed in the Soviet Union physically.

On the basis of that Stalinism erected ideological dogmas in the name of 'Leninism', not only in Russia but in the Communist International as well. This was a destruction of Leninism. Our basic position is that the problem of *bureaucracy* has been central to the Soviet Union experience.



Show of strength: Philippines armed forces

CENTRE STAGE

Playing for the highest stakes

By Barbara Ellins

I DIDN'T see the Eubank-Watson fight, but I remember it with absolute clarity. The pub on the corner was showing the fight live on TV. The hype was enormous - Chris Eubank was a local hero of sorts - and the pub was packed.

When the match started we could hear the excitement, as the first punches were landed cheers went up, and when Michael Watson went down for what would be the last time there was a roar, followed by a terrible hush. Watson hasn't recovered from the brain damage he received that night.

I have always loathed boxing and when Watson lost his ability to think in that fight, I probably would have supported a ban. But I never watch the fights and hadn't thought about boxing in years.

And then Bradley Stone died after a fight. Days later the racing drivers Roland Ratzenberger and Ayrton Senna died in accidents on the Imola circuit. The jockey, Steve Wood was killed in a fall on the flat at Lingfield.

'Boxing is no more dangerous than motor racing and horse racing.' This standard response to calls for boxing to be banned was being horribly illustrated on the TV and in the papers.

There are the statistics, manipulated by each sporting body, and repeated by the enthusiastic sportsmen themselves, to show their sport to be relatively safe.

And then there is the persuasive argument of watching

sporting heroes transformed into ordinary mortals who bleed, talk peculiarly, spend months at a time in hospital and sometimes die.

I read the coverage of the three days national mourning in Brazil, where Senna lay in state. I saw Bradley Stone forgotten by the media in the same three days.

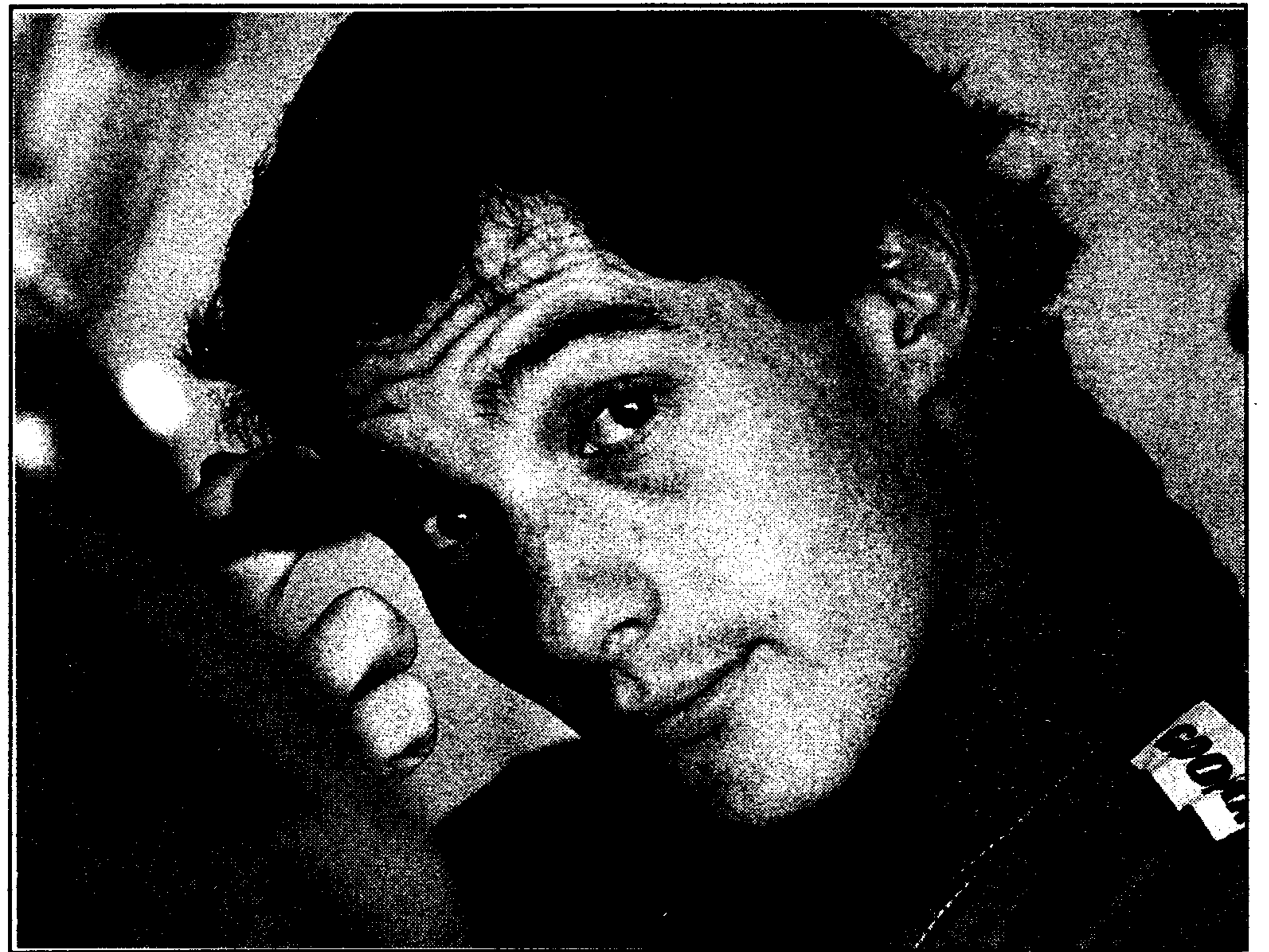
I wanted to say 'Ban it all'. That people should die for the sake of entertainment is barbaric, no matter how low the risk. Ban the whole lot - boxing, motor racing, the horse races and all the other sports where promoters line their pockets at the expense of life and health. And then my brain began to work again.

I thought about the world gymnastics champion, little Shannon Miller, and the long term severe skeletal damage routinely suffered by female gymnasts as a result of punishing regimes which delay the onset of menstruation. I remembered how difficult it is to draw the line.

Most of us would like to die peacefully in our beds after a long and healthy life. Some people - Ayrton Senna, Shannon Miller, and Steve Woods - among them, would rather risk death or permanent injury than not compete to win.

Improvements are being fought for in most sports by the competitors themselves, against the commercial pressures for more 'excitement' and less spending on safety. But changes to the sports themselves are not the only answers.

Bradley Stone was born and grew up in the East End, the most



Ayrton Senna

he ever made from a fight was £8,000. He became a boxer because, in his own words 'If you haven't got a sport, there's nothin' else to do.'

'There's no jobs around here. I probably would have ended up in prison. Fighting's the main thing. I can't do nothin' else'.

Richie Wenton, the man who killed Stone, has decided he can no longer box. But, like Barry McGuigan and Chris Eubank who have also been responsible for terrible tragedies, he will almost certainly get back into the ring.

Whatever the emotional cost to him, the fact remains that Wenton, like Stone 'can't do

nothin' else'. This, more than the images of death and injury, is the true horror revealed by boxing.

Boxing is a brutal sport, produced by a brutal society in which young men lack educational and employment opportunities.

Added dangers

But that in itself is not a reason for boxing to be criminalised. Prostitution equally thrives on lack of opportunities, but criminalisation poses added dangers in itself.

Senna never suffered from lack of opportunity. His wealthy father funded his obsession with go-kart racing from the age of

four.

When Senna grew up he built his own business empire, including the Brazilian dealership of Audi. He could have got out if he had wanted to. Not all sporting tragedies are social tragedies. And some boxers are sporting heroes not tragic figures.

One such is Cuban heavy-weight Teffilio Stevenson. He could have emigrated, gone professional and competed for a world title.

But he stayed amateur and won Olympic gold for Cuba three times in row, an incredible feat and the stuff that sporting legends are made of.

Sexual hang-ups: prevention better than cure

By Jodley Green

EVERY YEAR there are a couple of hundred accidental deaths resulting from auto-erotic asphyxiation. Most of the victims are young men.

But it's no good shaking your head at the recklessness of youth when the Tory party has lost a respectable middle-aged backbencher, Stephen Milligan, to this risky act. Clearly there is a severe lack of sex education across all age groups.

Now the government is compounding the confusion, with Education Secretary John Patten flying in the face of the relatively enlightened sex education policies promoted by the Department of Health, and insisting that school teachers must inform parents should any under-16s be unwise enough to go to them for advice on sex or contracep-

tion. Patten has already been forced to back-peddle from barmy plans to 'stream' kids for sex education according to how much they already know. Who would admit to knowing nothing?

We don't need a dead Tory MP and a huge media circus to tell us that sometimes sex can be dangerous. Unwanted pregnancies; irritating infections; life threatening infections; infections which untreated can cause infertility.

Biologically speaking sex is a reproductive, viral, bacterial, fungal, parasitic nightmare. What we need is knowledge about and access to the array of technology - contraception, abortion, condoms, antibiotics, fungicides - we can use to prevent of defeat most of what nature can throw at us.

But nature is not the only danger. Lots of teenagers are miserable because they dislike their sexuality - they

loathe their bodies, they worry about their fantasies, their self-respect plummets when they fall in love.

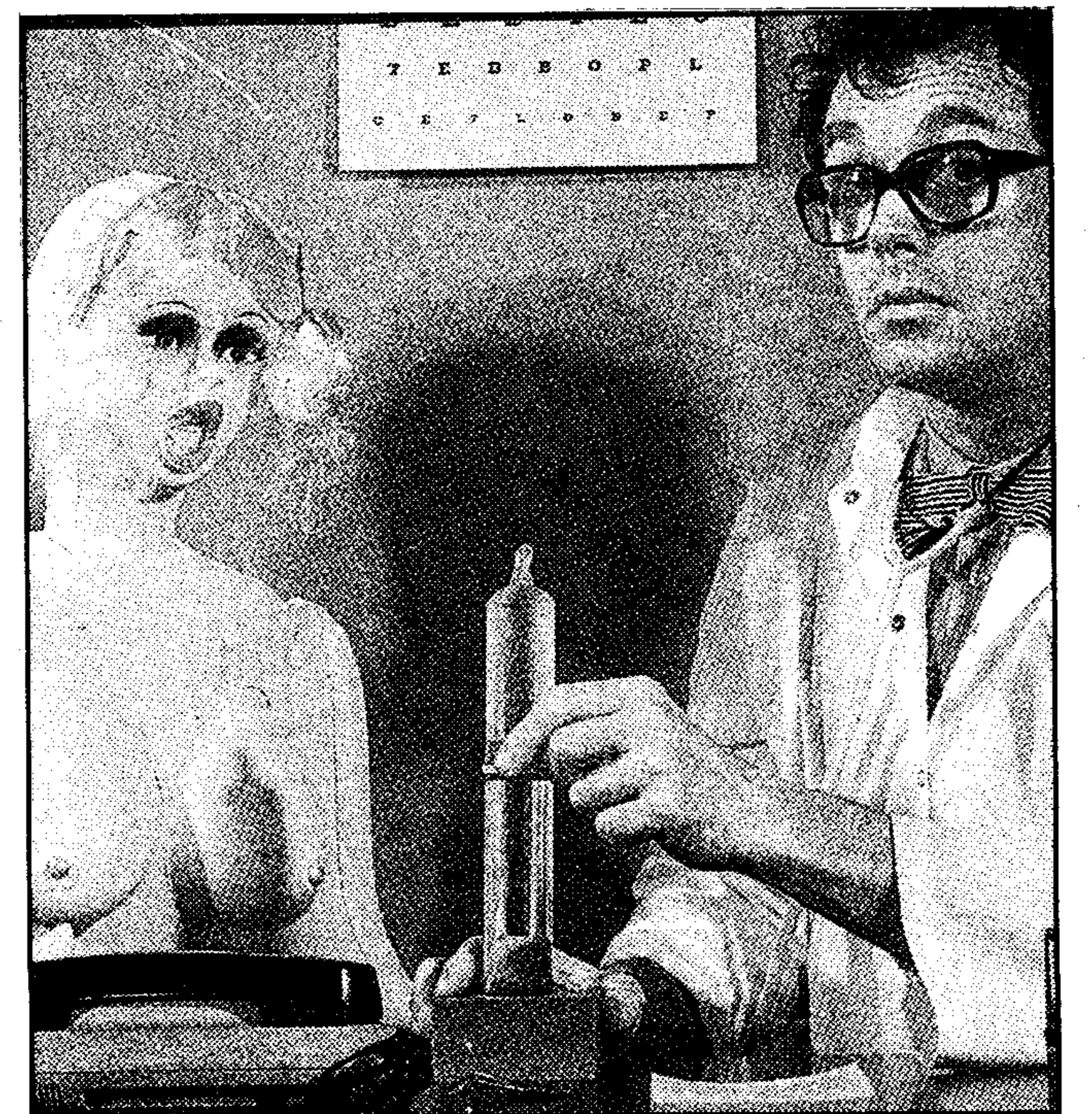
And self-hatred is nothing compared to the hatred some other people have of your sexual desire and choices.

Especially if you're a lesbian, or gay; if you're a woman and you openly like sex for its own sake; if you're a man and dressing up turns you on; if you say no to someone who doesn't want to hear it.

The best sex education can't end the privileged position of the family which lies at the root of sexism and homophobia.

But it can give young people the confidence to make sexual choices in the face of prevailing social mores. It can create a lust for an end to sexual repression, coercion and double standards.

Some Tories talk of 'balancing' teaching about disease and pregnancy with education



Sex education allows real choices

in 'family values'.

But the moral right are correct when they say there can be no such 'balance'. They need the coercive fear of pregnancy and disease - and discrimination against and criminalisation of young gay men - to shore up their

twisted notion of sexual morality.

Sex education, contraceptives and latex barriers are not just a last ditch response to the fact that 'the kids are doing it anyway...' They are a precondition for genuine sexual choice.

COMMENT

Algeria - fundamentalist war against women

IN FEBRUARY a 17-year old Algerian woman school student, wearing western clothes, was gunned down in Blida, 30 miles from Algiers. Her friend, dressed in *hijab* (veil) was not touched.

In Meftah, another suburb of Algiers, 14-year old Katia was killed. In Sidi Bel Abbes a school-student was executed. At the end of March, 18-year old Razika Meloudjemi and 19-year old Naima Kar Ali were gunned down at a bus stop in Boudouaou, near Algiers.

These are just some of the 30 women who have been murdered in Algeria in the last few months for not wearing the veil. Other women have been raped or abducted.

These crimes against women followed the circulation of a leaflet by Islamic fundamentalists stating that after the end of Ramadan (March 12) any woman not wearing 'Islamic dress' would be sentenced to death.

Here SANADJA, a member of the PST (Socialist Workers Party, supporters of the Fourth International in Algeria) explains the war against women and how the fight back is being organised.



Algerian women face continual attacks on their rights

WOMEN were very active in the 1954-62 war of national liberation to drive out the French. After the 1962 victory many of them returned to their homes, encouraged by the governing National Liberation Front (FLN). Women had no leading positions in the state apparatus, even though it purported to be a socialist state.

The FLN created a 'mass organisation' for women which did nothing to raise their political awareness.

Worse still, at the end of the 1970s they tried to introduce the Family Code which reinforced the traditional subjugation of women within the family. After a wave of opposition demonstrations the code was withdrawn temporarily but reintroduced in 1984.

Family code

People have the impression that it is only since the rise of the fundamentalists that women's rights have been threatened. Yet the Family Code allows polygamy, women do not have the right to demand divorce, they have no legal right to their own home. There are a hundred and one things which mean women have no place in our society.

Women in Algeria make up a little more than four per cent of the workforce. This is the lowest level in the Mahgreb. In Tunisia it is more than 20 per cent and in Morocco more than 15 per cent. Today even these small gains are threatened.

The climate of fear is such that many women are forced to wear the veil, give up their jobs and stay in their homes. The situation is much worse than people outside Algeria believe.

The FLN government has done nothing for women, and the terrible situation we are now in is because of them. On every level - democracy, education, the economy - they have failed.

In the early 1980s the funda-



100,000 women demonstrated in March this year

mentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) criticised mixed schools and women wearing jeans or trousers. All the sermons in the mosques were directed against women: women must stay at home, wear the veil, only work under certain repressive conditions.

Segregation

When FIS won a majority in the 1989 municipal elections, in certain areas they imposed segregation on the buses between men and women. They attacked women who lived alone, arguing that women should either be married or living in their father's family. They even burned to death a woman living alone.

The FLN government didn't even consider such actions newsworthy. The FIS openly at-

tacked the young women's university campus during Ramadan. The response of the government was to close down the university.

After the elections of December 1991 - the government stopped the second round of elections which should have been held in January 1992 - a wave of repression was launched against the fundamentalists. Several hundred were put into concentration camps and held in deplorable conditions. People were arrested solely for their political views.

If the fundamentalists came to power the first to suffer would be women. It would affect every woman, not just socialists and democrats. Even those who live the most 'normal' life would suffer.

Many women have decided to wear veil and support the fundamentalists. But there are also a lot of women with grave reservations, including devout Muslims. I have sisters and women friends who regularly say prayers but also go to the beach and wear shorts.

Most women are Muslims but that doesn't mean they want laws which restrict them because of their sex. That is why there was a demonstration in Algiers on March 20 this year of 100,000 women in defence of their rights. Among those who demonstrated were women wearing the veil and women wearing jeans - a cross section of Algerian women.

Unfortunately the opposition - feminists, socialists and campaigners for democratic rights - are very divided on how to respond to the war against women.

Many, including our party, believe that the violence is not solely the responsibility of the fundamentalists: some acts are committed by the ruling party which needs the present instability to preserve its power. It does not have sufficient confidence in its ability to win to call new elections.

On the question of elections the left is also divided. A section, particularly the former Stalinist party, are in favour of the army taking power. On the March 20 demonstration the Stalinist-controlled Algerian Assembly of Democratic Women demanded the government make no concessions and hold no discussions with the fundamentalists.

I would like to remind those women that when we fought in 1988-89, when we fought against the Family Code, it was against this government, not the fundamentalists. We cannot possibly call for support for this government.

[To be concluded in the next issue]

Bosnia: the Left divided

In our last issue we published the first part of 'Bosnia: The scandal of the British Left' by Alan Thornett and Dave Packer. The article focused on the Socialist Workers Party. Here we look at different currents in the Labour Party.

THE FAILURE of the British left to build a mass campaign for the right of Bosnian self-determination after two years of war despite the anguish and sympathy existing at grass roots level, is a scandal it will not easily live down.

Many just bury their heads in the sand, while others vacillate, searching for reasons not to sponsor the International Workers Aid to Bosnia (IWA) campaign, the only democratic, working class and socialist campaign in Britain.

At one level this failure of leadership by the left, including the two largest organisations on the far left, is a reflection of an historic anti-theory, narrow-minded economism, which has always existed in the British Isles (with notable exceptions in Scotland and Ireland).

But this has been compounded in the Labour Party by other conflicting factors, which has deeply divided the left.

Ken Livingstone has publicly supported the right of Bosnia to survive and crucially, has called for lifting the arms embargo directed against it. But at the same time, he is gung-ho for a big UN military intervention against the Serbian forces.

This majority view, held by many in the soft-left, is similar to that of the Labour leadership, except that the shadow cabinet is not even for lifting the arms embargo.

These views reflect illusions in the United Nations as an independent force, which is capable of acting in the interests of the workers in the region.

On the other side of the divide are those who correctly oppose UN or NATO intervention,

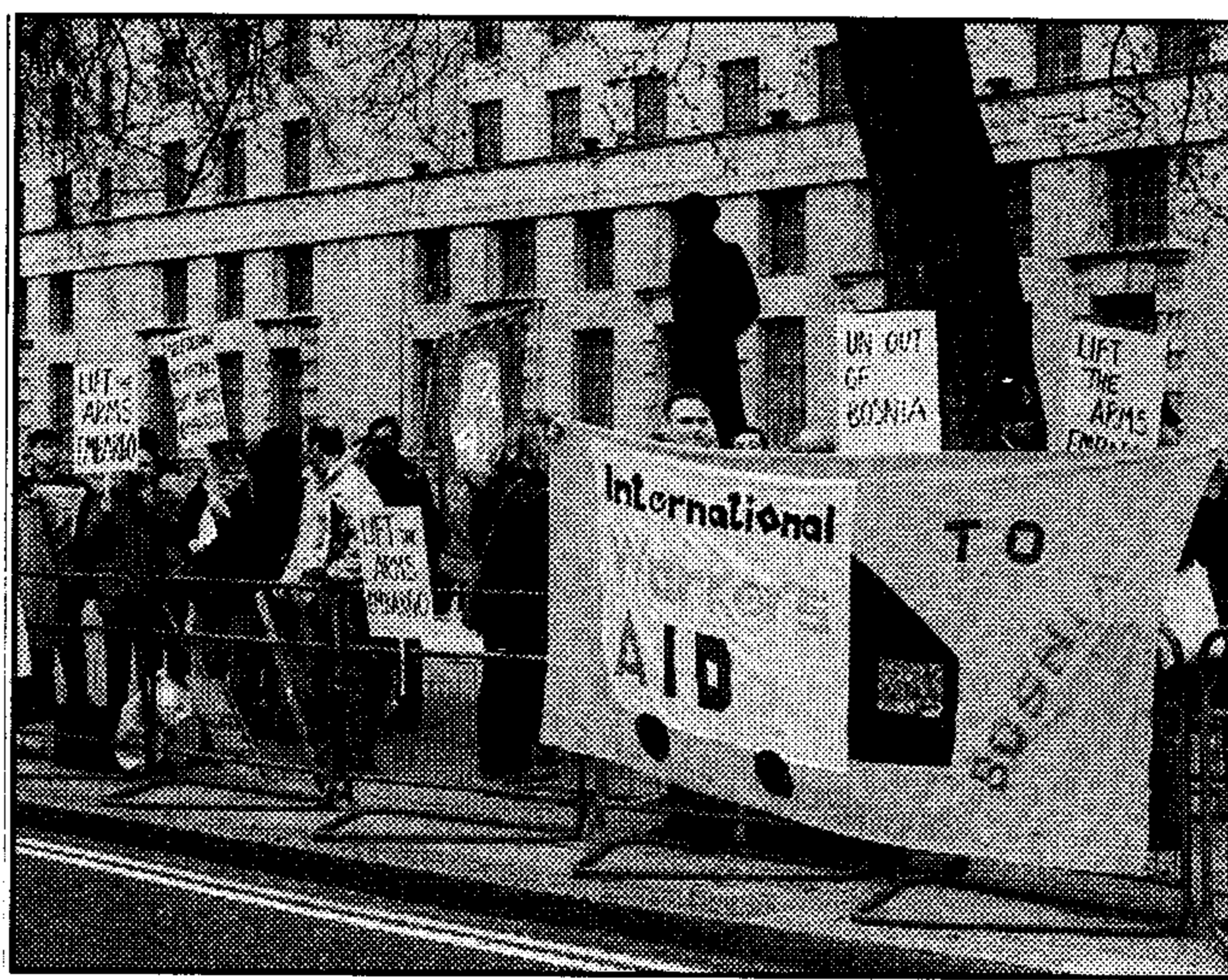
which could only be in the interests of Western capital. But often this is in the name of defending the old Yugoslavia, which they claim was shattered by imperialist pressures. Such people have often allowed themselves to become apologists for the Serbian war of aggression.

The latter view has much in common with the Communist Parties of Britain, Serbia and the Russian Federation.

Implicit in their political framework is a view usually referred to as 'campism', a simplistic Stalinist inspired idea that sees the protagonists in most struggles in the world falling into two camps: the pro-imperialist camp, or the camp 'of actually existing socialism' (sic) - the bureaucratic states of the ex-Soviet bloc.

These ideas within the Labour left point up the continued influence of the Stalinism and the CP 'fellow travellers'.

Examples of this latter view



IWA picket of Foreign office

can be found in the *Morning Star* (favourite reading for Labour's hard left), but also in Jim Mortimer's article in the March, 1994 issue of Southwark Trade Union News (STUN).

Mortimer, formerly General Secretary of the Labour Party, now delegate to Southwark Trades Council writes that he is opposed to the aims of IWA because in a one-sided way it is 'in favour of the Muslim led government of Bosnia...The need in Bosnia is to stop the killing and to negotiate a settlement which recognises the rights of each of the cultural groups. Threats of bombing or the lifting of the present arms embargo do not offer a solution'.

After denouncing the IWA for having similar views to Mar-

garet Thatcher, Jim Mortimer shows that he in fact has similar views to Douglas Hurd and the majority of the UN who, in the name of 'stopping the killing', wish to force the Bosnian government to the negotiating table to sign a 'peace' which recog-

nises the reactionary ethnic 'cantonisation' of Bosnia. In effect, recognising the war-gains of Serbia!

This view is promoted in the *Morning Star* which, along with its sponsored campaign 'Labour Action For Peace', calls for a negotiated settlement, but generally avoids exposing the crimes of Serbian aggression.

Dishonest

A campaign to force the Bosnians to sign an unjust 'peace' and accept 'ethnic cleansing' is a dishonest cover for Serbian aggression and will never bring peace to the region.

Of course, every socialist is in favour of recognising the rights of each cultural group. But the minority Serb popula-

tion of Bosnia had full political and cultural rights in the Republic of Bosnia, including representation in the government, this is why hundreds of thousands of Serbs still support the existence of a multi-ethnic Bosnia and fight in its army.

It is why 500 delegates, representing nearly 200,000 Serbs opposed to ethnic cleansing and separation on an ethnic basis, met in Sarajevo on March 27. These Bosnian Serbs have not emigrated but want peaceful co-existence based on 'non ethnically defined' cantons.

Jim Mortimer refuses to face up to the fact that it is the Serbian forces who have massacred and 'ethnically cleansed' the Muslims from the two-third of Bosnia they now hold! He even blames today's Muslims for the 'The Ottoman Turkish empire, which governed much of the region in a very oppressive manner for centuries, (which) represented Muslim domination'.

Avoiding all the horrors of the rise of Milosovic during the 1980s on a tide of great Serbian chauvinism and the threat it represented to all the other republics and 'ethnic' groups, Mortimer sinks back into a sentimental description of the 'great achievement of Tito'.

Actually, despite the absence of real workers' democracy in Tito's Yugoslavia, his 1974 Constitution did recognise the right of self-determination for the republics!

According to Jim Mortimer, the responsibility for the break-up of Yugoslavia was not the revival of a right wing nationalism, particularly in Serbia, but 'the Western powers, particularly Germany...Hitler, it should

be remembered, also broke up Yugoslavia...and created the puppet state of Croatia. The very substantial number of Serbs who live in Bosnia were understandably deeply concerned at the break-up of Yugoslavia and the majority of them did not want to live under a Muslim-led government.'

This passage confuses several issues. First, Croatian nationalism is not the same as Croatian Fascism or the horrors of the Ustache state. Croatian national liberation movements were fighting the rule of the Serbian monarchy before the intervention of the Nazis.

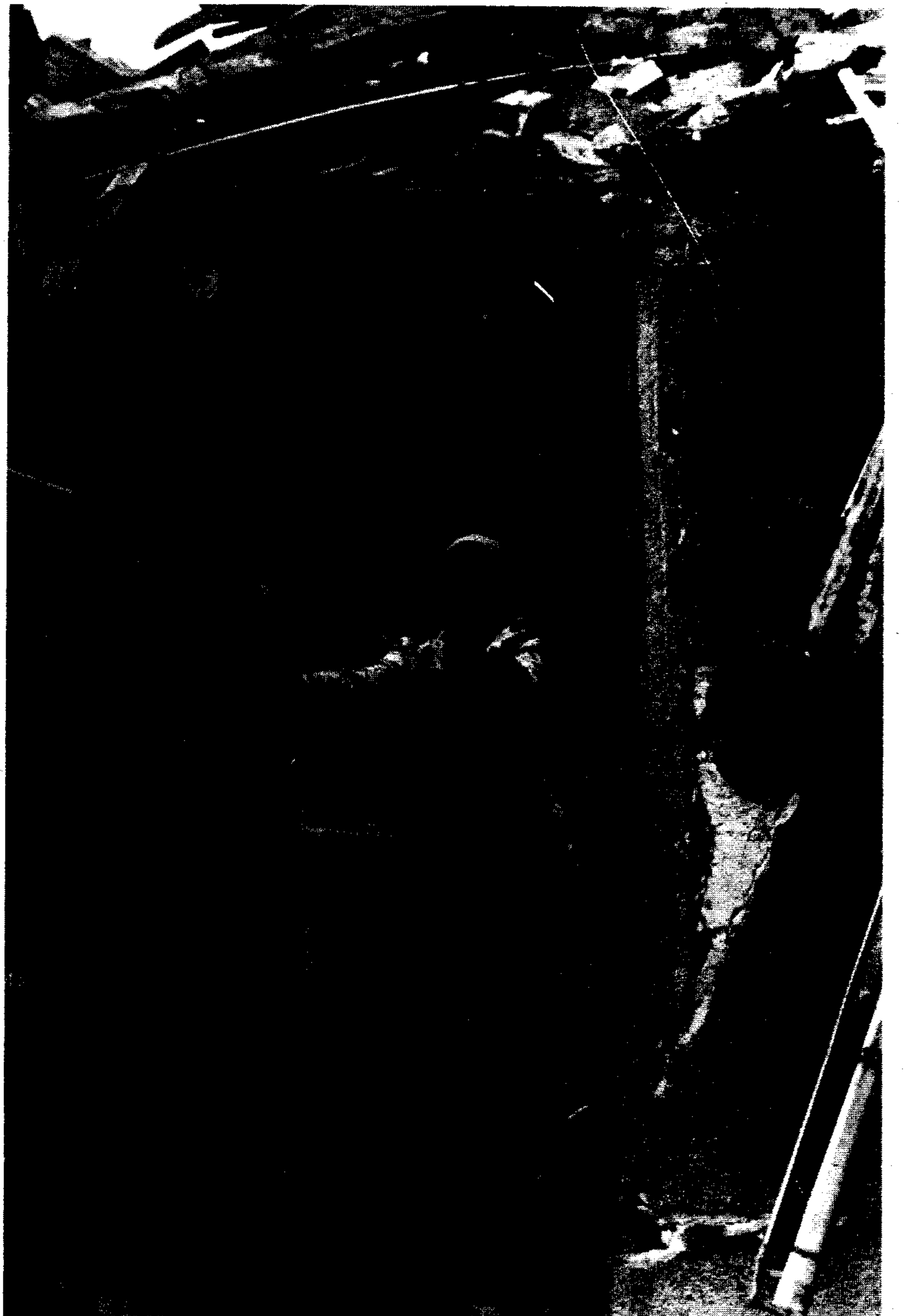
Old hatreds

Jim Mortimer is simply justifying the slogans of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic and his 'Bosnian Serb' sidekick Karadzic, which were designed to stir up old hatreds to bounce the Serbian populations into line behind their reactionary Greater Serbia project.

In any case most of the Bosnian Serbs were already living with little conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The whole tenor of Mortimer's article, like those in the *Morning Star* and other splinter groups, represents a justification of Serbian aggression.

Of course there are many socialists who refuse to slide into either a pro-imperialist camp, or into a de-facto pro-Stalinist camp. These comrades represent a third genuinely internationalist pole. They must take the plunge and join in the IWA campaign to defend Bosnia, but at the same time oppose any military intervention into the Balkans.



Against the Market: Political Economy, Market Socialism and the Marxist Critique, Verso £12.99

Reviewed by
Martin Stewart

"THE TRAJECTORY of much of the left in the aftermath of the collapse of Stalinism has been...towards accommodation with liberalism, as if to try and fit in with the dominant ideological discourse is the best way to preserve critical thought. The result has been a series of efforts to depict socialism as little more than spruced up liberalism."

SO SAYS Dave McNally, and never was a truer word written.

Marxists are currently experiencing the high tide of liberalism in the movements of the working class and the oppressed.

Assailed by 'internationalists' for the creation of a (west) European capitalist superstate, Marxists in favour of a vote for Liberal Democrats (see Robin Blackburn 'Ruins of Westminster' in New Left Review, April 1992), feminists for pornography and a whole gaggle of ex-revolutionaries mesmerised by the constitutionalism of Charter 88 and notions of individual liberty as the road to freedom, it is hard to know where to begin.

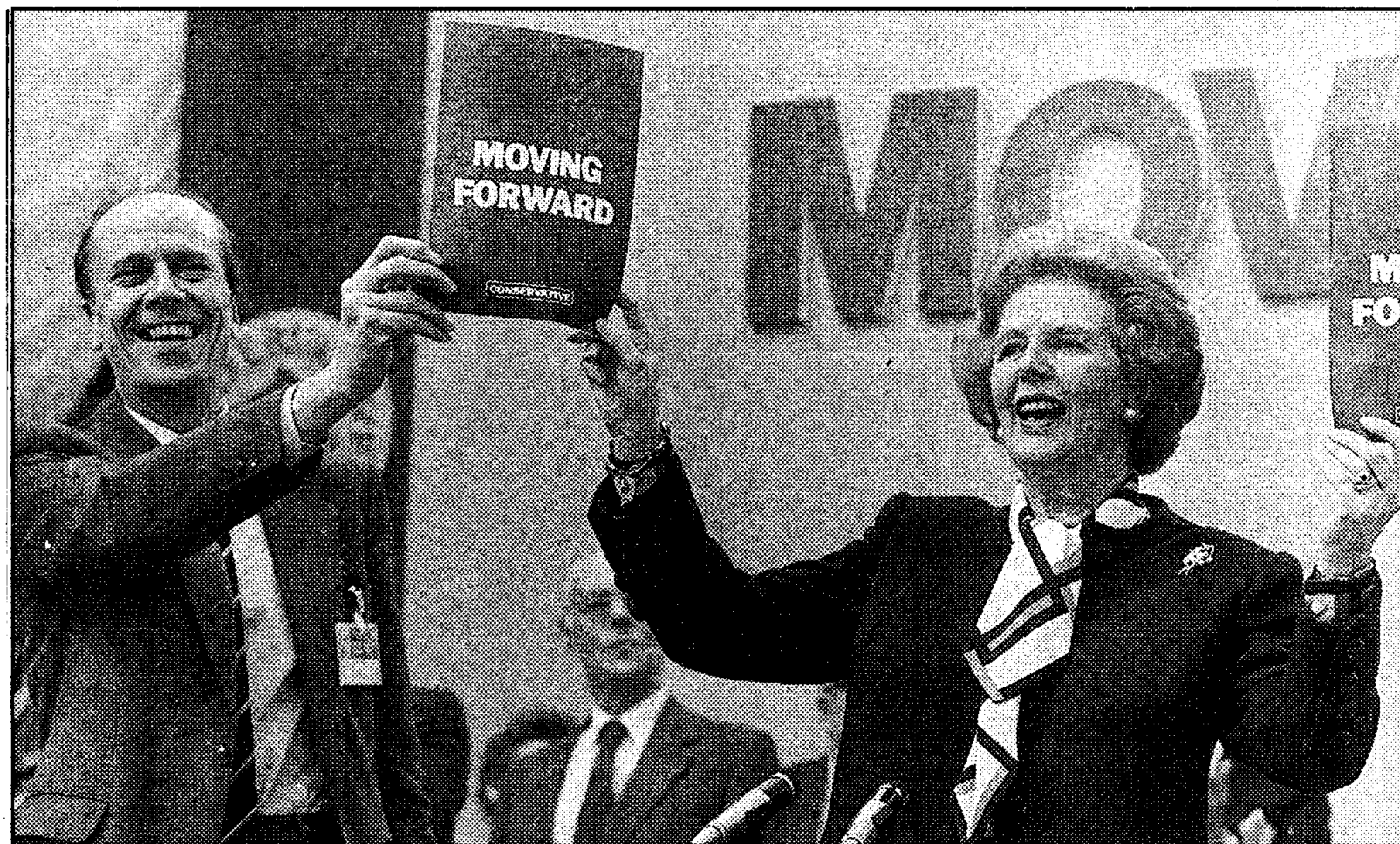
David McNally tackles one aspect of this. What began as a trickle with Alec Nove's *The Economics of a Feasible Socialism* has now developed into a flood of socialists who think that market socialism is the way forward.

For McNally, whether it is called 'market socialism' or 'democratising the market' or 'socialised markets', it all adds up to the same thing - a fatal concession to bourgeois political economy which undermines the socialist project. The man has a point.

McNally's exposition of the case against markets has the virtue of being both clearly written and historically situated.

Taking time to describe the victory of capitalism in England over feudal social relations the first part of the book describes the genesis of the market economy. It makes the

Socialism or liberalism?



Market ideology is the result of class policy

case that the market was not a natural product of feudalism but had to be organised and legislated for.

The 'free' market was, he argues, the product of class policy and class power. As Karl Polanyi put it: 'Laissez-faire was planned'.

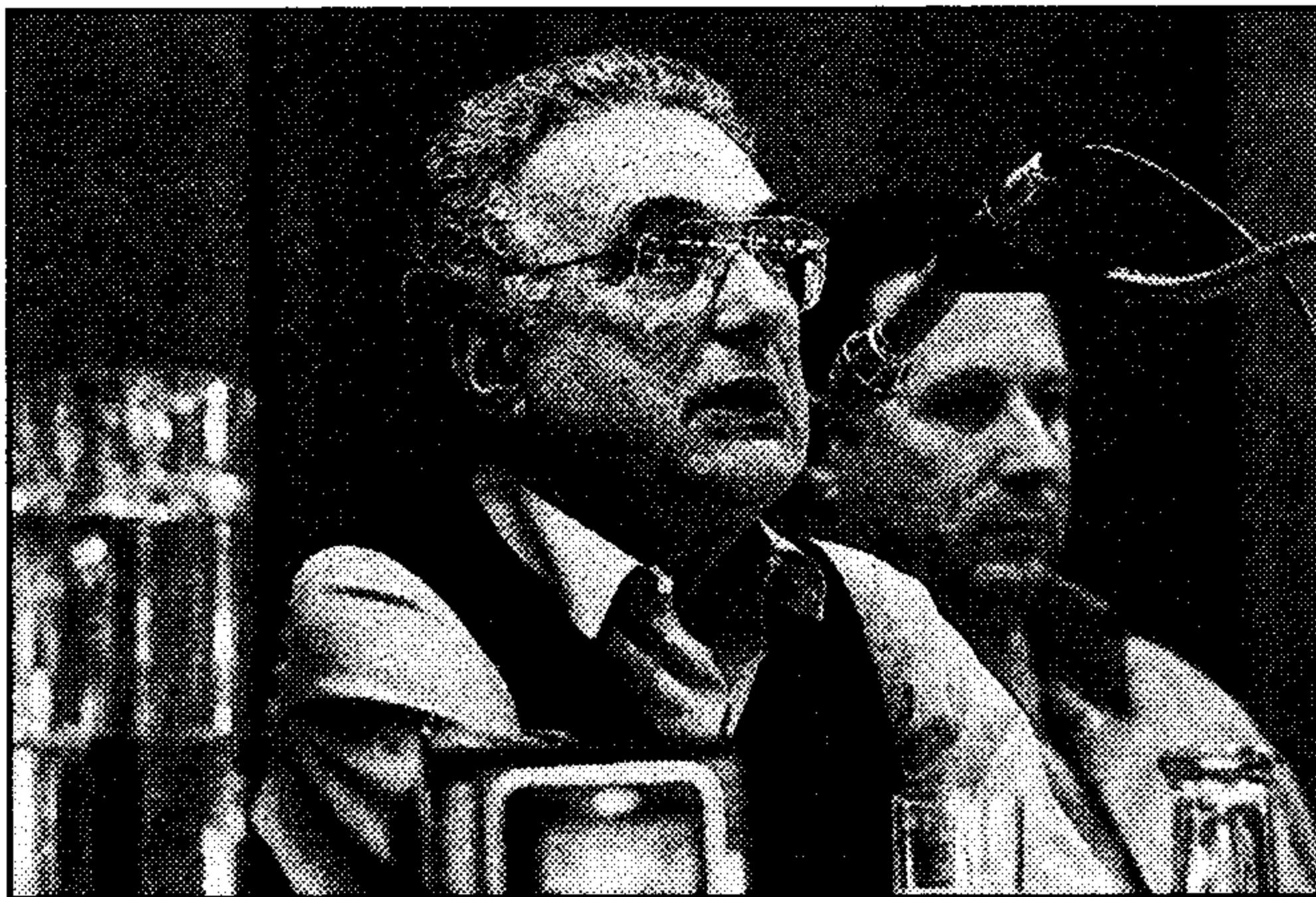
To establish this is necessary to examine McNally's classically marxist thesis that there is nothing natural or simply technical about the market - it is a social product of class relations and is posited on the free market in *labour power*.

The argument within economics over the nature of capitalism and its market relations was taken up in earnest by Adam Smith who wished to add 'old ethics' to 'new economics'. Smith assumed that the market would inevitably increase both employment and wages.

Sociability

Thus, in this book a different Adam Smith emerges. One that rejects 'the selfishness school' and believes in humanity as having 'natural sociability'. This is a long way from the Smith described by Malthus, Hayek, Friedman or Thatcher, who, McNally asserts, hijacked Smith for their own ends.

The core of the book is the struggle of many radical economists to develop a coherent egalitarian theory out of the body of political economy as it existed in the 19th cen-



Ernest Mandel; 'Resisting high tide of liberalism and idealism'

tury.

That fight was really joined when Malthus took up the commercial aspects of Smith's work to attack the idea that there was any right to subsistence - and in doing so undermined the 'moral economy' of the labouring classes.

This was Smith without the old ethics and led directly to the legislation which produced the workhouse in the 1830s. The idea was to make the workhouse the last resort, to make unemployment as uncomfortable as possible.

A whole series of radical economists responded to this attack. Spence, Cobbett, Owen, Thompson, Gray, Bray and many others attempted to construct a radical alternative. The problem, as McNally sees it, and this is the problem of the modern day market socialists, is that the pre-Marx radical economists attempted this by using the tools of bourgeois political economy.

Images

They either sought the extension of bourgeois rights to all, or shared idealised images of a community of small producers, in which the market would become a useful social

Marx showed that it is impossible to have equal exchange as long as private property exists

Unable to exist as an island of socialism in a sea of capitalism the co-operatives and labour exchanges failed.

This whole discussion is illuminating and it is dealt with at length, precisely because those who wish to democratise the market today are seemingly unaware of it. Also they appear to be unaware of Marx's debate with Proudhon, the chief theorist of petty bourgeois socialism.

This discussion is used to validate key aspects of Marx's critique and to show that it is impossible to have equal exchange as long as private property exists; and that markets only exist in the context of the exploitation of labour power.

This may sound complex but it is worth wading through because it underlines the extent of the capitulation that is being made by those who advance the market mechanism as a system of regulation in socialist society.

Taken to task

It is to this that McNally turns in his last chapter. Here Robin Blackburn, Diane Elson and Alec Nove amongst others are taken to task for suggesting that the market could be the key economic mechanism in a socialist society and outlines how the problems of production, distribution and investment might be resolved in a socialism that did not make concessions to the market.

The problem with this section is that McNally reveals his 'state capitalist' origins. In one sense this can be avoided by simply not reading pages 180 to 188 of the book where the reader is subjected to an embarrassing attempt to make the state capitalist theory of the Soviet Union fit with the previous 180 pages. By omitting this section the book becomes more coherent.

Despite this failing, this book should join the growing list of theorists such as Ellen Meiksins Wood, Norman Geras, Terry Eagleton, Sheila Jeffries and Ernest Mandel who, in very different ways, are resisting the high tide of liberalism and idealism and defending the materialist analysis of history. It deserves to be read.

International Marxist Review 14 Defending Marxism today

Includes Jesús Albarraçin: Market ideology,
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136 pages.

Order your copy for just £3 including postage from
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REVIEWS

In this book a different Adam Smith emerges. One that rejects 'the selfishness school' and believes in humanity as having 'natural sociability'.

Water privatisation siphons cash from poorest households

By Marion Brain

Water is essential to life and health, yet the Tories sold off the industry to their friends, giving the water companies £1 billion and simultaneously writing off all pre-privatisation debts.

Now we have a private monopoly whose only concern is maximising profits.

A new report, *Water Poverty* commissioned by West Midlands Public Health Authority, shows that with privatisation came massive price-fixing above the rate of inflation, and far above what people on low incomes can afford.

In the last five years water charges have risen by more than 50 per cent. Disconnections rose from 1,171 in 1981-82 to 21,286 in 1991-92.

In the Midlands, Trent Water is introducing pre-payment meters for those people who have difficulty in paying.

Water companies have to go to court before they can disconnect a water supply, but with pre-payment meters the water companies don't have to go to court. The onus for disconnection is transferred to the individual who can ill afford to pay the excessive charges.

The companies argue there is not a case of 'can't pay', it is a question of 'won't pay'. OFFWAT, the so-called watchdog back of the water industry, backs this view.

In Birmingham alone there are 465,000 people officially recognised as being on low incomes - 51 percent of the citizens of Birmingham living on the margins of poverty. Four thousand people per year go to neighbourhood offices for help in paying their water bill.

All new houses have Volunen meters fitted to their homes. This means dramatically increased bills. Quarterly bills ranging from £85 to £165 are not uncommon.

No choice

These people have no choice. It is reported that in one household the occupants did not flush their lavatory during the day, only doing so at night before going to bed.

Other people are known to have cut back on baths and to only wash their hands after using the toilet. We all know of the increased health risks this means.

One person undergoing renal dialysis received a bill for £530. Another family reported being in dread of an elderly relative

coming home from hospital because they of the increased cost of washing the bed linen daily.

In recent times there have been two parliamentary attempts to outlaw disconnections, which have been talked out by Tory backbenchers.

A parliamentary all-party committee has been established to examine some of these issues. We know that OFFWAT, in collusion with the government, are trying to convince us that we need to pay more to effect improvements in water quality and to maintain and improve the sewers.

We, the consumers, are going to have to pay for all this at the point of use.

OFFWAT are also arguing that consumers should choose and are between improved quality with higher prices, or improvements not happening.

This is not the choice. If we want an end to profiteers imposing water poverty, the water companies have to be taken back into public ownership.

We can ensure that this industry is run by the workers in alliance with the users of the industry. In the meantime, we must fight for the right of people in England and Wales to have the same right to water as in Scotland.



Some have done very nicely from water privatisation

Manchester gets united against racism

By Aidan Salter

TWO HUNDRED and fifty people marched against racism in Manchester in the city's largest May Day demonstration for many years, organised by the Manchester Unity Committee Against Racism and Fascism, with the sponsorship of the Trades Council.

The march came a few days before the local elections when three British National Party candidates stood in nearby Rochdale.

Tribute was paid to the lives of Ahmed Iqbal Ullah, Tahir Akram, Siddik Dada and

Mohammed Sarwar, victims of racist murders within the last seven years. Wreaths were laid at the sites of these murders.

Given the importance of the issue, the march should have been bigger. Unfortunately anti-racist forces were of necessity divided on the day with Anti Fascist Action and the Anti Nazi League campaigning in Rochdale against the BNP. It is likely that they would have supported the march.

Manchester Unity Committee will continue to co-ordinate initiatives. Write to MUCARAF at Department 59, 1 Newton Street, Manchester, M1 1HW.

HOME NEWS

Socialist
OUTLOOK

Where We Stand

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

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

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

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

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

ion rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sectarianism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What's HAPPENING

WANT YOUR event included?
Send details by **May 20 to What's Happening?**, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

MAY

Thur 12

ALL-LONDON NUT reps meeting 5.30pm-7pm Camden Town Hall Judd St WC1

Fri 13

SALSA y Sevillanas! proceeds to Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign 8pm-midnight Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1 Cocktails & tapas Disabled access tickets £5/£3.50

details 071-272 9619

Sat 14

LEVELLERS Day The Welfare state under threat 10am to 4.30pm Warwick Hall Garden Burford Oxfordshire with Tony Benn, Shelia Rowbotham, Lynne Segal and Jack Jones details 0865 735360

Sat 21

ANTI-APARTHEID Movement National Workshop 'Towards a new agenda for international solidarity with Southern Africa' 11am-5pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 registration £5 from AAM, 13 Mandela Street NW1 ODW

NATIONAL free speech day - picket your local McDonald's details London Greenpeace 5 Caledonian Road

N1 9DX

Weds 25

BIRMINGHAM Socialist Outlookforum: The Rise and Rise of Italian Fascism -speaker Phil Hearse. 7.30pm, Trade Union Club Pershore Road

Sat 28

ANTI NAZI League Demonstration & Carnival Liberation! and Socialist Outlook sellers meet 11am for march from Kennington Park SE11 through Brixton to carnival with The Levelers, Credit to the Nation and more in Brockwell Park SE24

Sun 29

NORTH London Socialist Outlook social food & win evening details 081 455 5805

JUNE

Sat 4

DEMONSTRATE to close down Campsfield House detention centre Liberation! and Socialist Outlook sellers meet 1pm car park Exeter Hall Kidlington, by junction of A34 and A4260 (off M40 exit 9)

Wed 8

LIBERATION! meeting 10.30am sharp London

Sat 11

FIGHT for Full Employment! Socialist Campaign Group Supporters Network conference with Arthur Scargill, Tony Benn, Dawn Primorolo, Dennis Skinner and others 11am-5pm Manchester Town Hall Credentials £10/£5 (includes SCGSN membership) from SCGSN, 3 Blades House, Kennington Oval, SE12 5TW

Tues 14

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: The retreat of National Liberation Movements - Ireland, South Africa, the Middle East and Central America. 8.00pm, Unicorn pub, Church Street, Manchester.

Sat 25

WHAT'S LEFT summer conference with John Edmonds, Alan Simpson, Dawn Primorolo, John Prescott and others Conway Hall Red Lion Square tickets £7/£5 from 'What's Left', Tribune, 308 Gray's Inn Road, WC1X 8DY

ANTI-Apartheid Movement Extraordinary General Meeting

JULY

Tues 12

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

Thur 14

INTERNATIONAL Workers Aid for Bosnia benefit Red Roae Club, Sevev Sisters Road, N7

Fri 22 - Fri 29

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

AUGUST

Thur 25-Mon 29

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

Support grows for youth camp

By Duncan Chapple

ALREADY Britain looks set to have its biggest delegation to the International Youth Summer Camp since 1990.

The summer camp - to be held from 22 to 29 July in Arezzo, Tuscany - is a unique gathering of young radicals from over 16 European countries, run and planned by young people.

Italy is an obvious choice for this year's camp, after the closely-run elections in which many young people voted for the victorious far-right bloc. The camp will stress how to fight the rise of the right.

The feminist and anti-sexist content of the camp has also been developed for this year's camp, the eleventh organised by radical youth groups standing in solidarity with the Fourth International, the world socialist organisation.

Socialist Outlook sellers are helping to publicise the British delegation to the camp, which is organised by the red, green and feminist youth quarterly, Liberation!. Sellers will be offering information about the camp to young people at the huge 28 May Anti Nazi League carnival in Brixton's Brockwell Park, and at the 4 June demonstration to close down the Campsfield Detention Centre near Oxford.

This year the camp will be

nearly half the cost of last year's lively 850-strong camp at Trånas, Sweden. The all-in price of £150 includes executive coach travel from Britain, meals and entry to films, concerts, discussions and discos at the camp.

Donations from Socialist Outlook readers will allow us to subsidise some unwaged young people to go to the camp for the first time. Over the last fortnight an extra £435 in deposits and donations arrived at the Liberation! office, putting the deposit on the coach booked within easy reach.

A wide range of materials are available to promote the camp, in addition to the three-colour poster in the centre of this Socialist Outlook.

Readers are asked to help give as many young people as possible the opportunity of coming on the Liberation! delegation by putting posters on display in local schools and colleges.

Leaflets - 20 postfree for £1 - explaining the camp in more details, and a fuller brochure - for two second-class stamps - are available from Liberation!.

■ To send in your £35 deposit for the youth camp, or to make a donation, please send cheques, payable to Liberation! Publishing Association, to Liberation!, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

Bosnian unions send May Day greetings to campaign

To the Trade Unions of International Workers Aid:

Dear friends!

DESPITE that we have been aware about your activities aimed at helping our workers for a long time, it has not been possible for us to communicate with you until now, because of the communication blockade, which have been imposed on us by the aggressor.

The trade unions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which before the war had about 1 million worker members, have not interrupted their work for a single day, even though they have been victimized by the effects of a severe and brutal aggression.

Today as before, the members of the trade union of Bosnia

and Herzegovina, are workers from all nationalities - Muslims, Croats, Serbs, Jews and others, because they have decided for a life of togetherness, peace, work and human dignity.

Those, who have suffered most from the aggression, are the workers and their families. 80% of all means of production have been destroyed and other equipment for production have been transported away to Serbia and Montenegro.

Of 200,000 killed during the war the majority have been workers. Children, wives and parents have been left behind...

Even though the trade union of Bosnia and Herzegovina try to relieve the suffering of our members, very little is possible without help from abroad.

The aggressor has even damaged the main building of the

trade union and destroyed administrative equipment. But we keep on working, and we are sure that our fight is justified and will be successful in the end.

Obviously, we are very grateful for any help arriving in such conditions. Therefore we want to thank you warmly for the assistance that you are giving to our members the miners of Tuzla. We also wish and hope that our co-operation and friendship will grow and continue, also after the war.

We send our greetings for the 1st of May, and thank you for your support for the trade union and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their fight for peace, work, democracy and human rights.

A sincere workers' greeting:

Sindicat Bosne I Hercegovine

£21,000 Appeal Fund

Never mind false modesty - Socialist Outlook is the best paper on the left! Not just because our front covers and lay-out are more imaginative - which they are - but because of what we have to say.

Our analysis of the break-up of former Yugoslavia is way ahead of anyone else. Through International Workers' Aid we have organised concrete support for the people of Bosnia. With our limited resources we have helped give young people a voice through Liberation!, the only socialist youth paper in Britain.

We want to be able to continue all these things and more. But that costs money. We need to raise £21,000 over the next few months.

RUSH cheques, postal orders or surplus jewelry to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

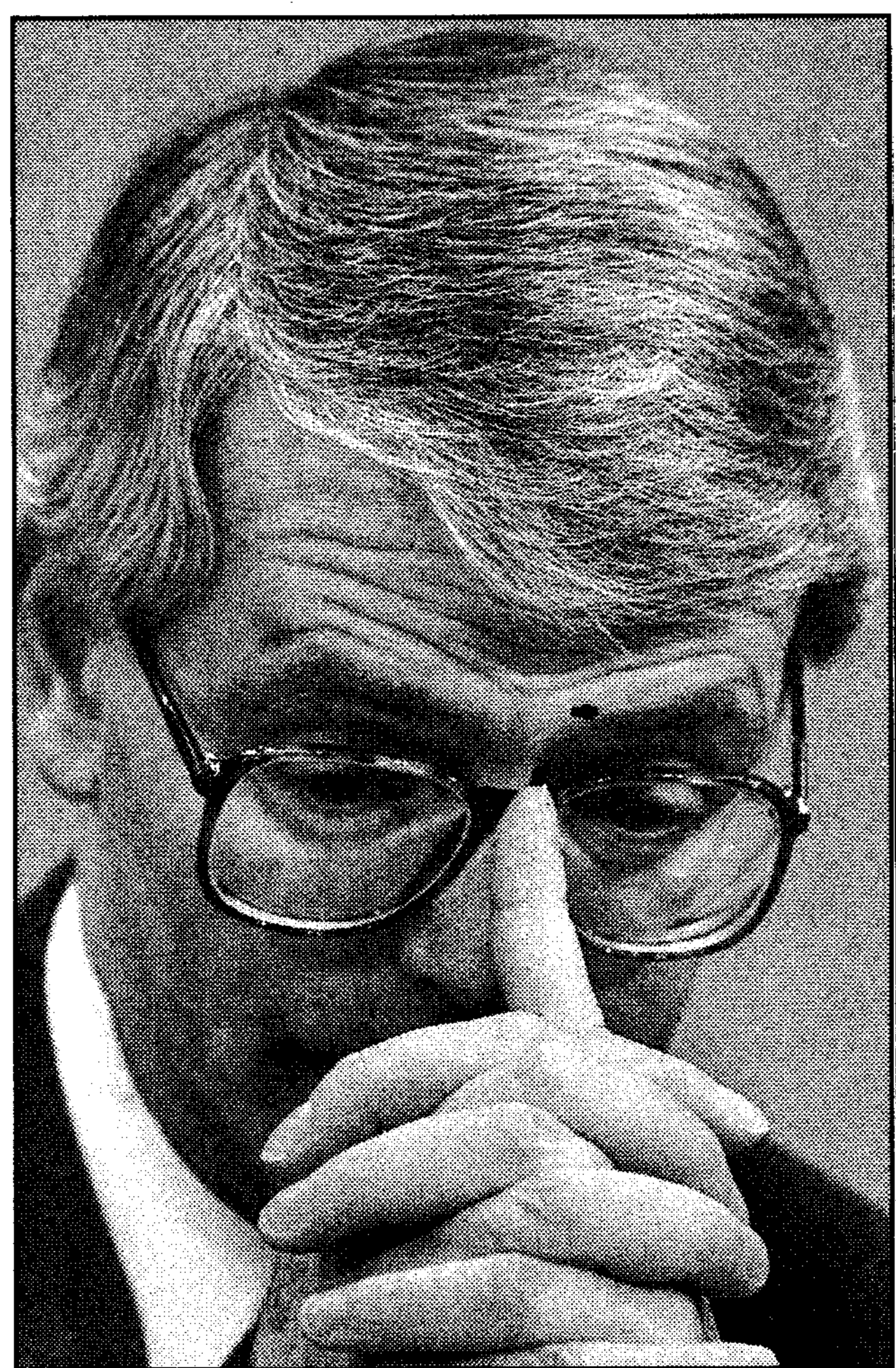
HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

**INTERNATIONAL
WORKERS AID**

All money collected for
International Workers Aid
should be sent to: IWA,
12-14 Thornton St, London
SW9 0BL. Tel 071-978-8622

**Defeated, demoralised and
divided, they're down,
but still not OUT ...**



Finished: but when will Major go?

FINISH OFF THE TORIES!

Should newspapers take sides?



WE THINK SO! *Socialist Outlook* is the world's best selling marxist fortnightly. Subscribing gives you more than high quality news and analysis.

theory+practice, our occasional in-depth review, and *Liberation!*, the red, green and feminist youth quarterly, add to excellent international and labour movement coverage that we are well

known for.

Over the last year our articles have been republished in Spain, Denmark, New Zealand, Germany, the United States, France, Australia — but our subscribers got them first.

And for UK subscribers, a combined subscription with *International Viewpoint* costs just £25!

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For six months - 12 issues: Surface rate: Britain £9; rest of the world £12. Air mail: Australasia, Japan, China £20, rest of the world £16.

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SEND TO: Subs., PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU.

ON THURSDAY May 5 the voters delivered a devastating verdict on John Major's government. Now the Tories face humiliation in June's European elections.

But the Tories' crushing defeat reflects not just disarray over Europe and cabinet squabbling, but massive hostility to tax rises, falling living standards and attacks in the NHS and the rest of the welfare state.

John Major is finished. It is only a question of when he goes. The Tories are in worse trouble than at any time since 1979. And a change of prime minister

will not solve the Tories' problems - they are chronically divided and demoralised.

The labour movement must not stand idly by. This government lacks any legitimacy.

Now is the time for the Labour leadership to campaign up and down the country for a general election, to campaign in defence of the welfare state and against unemployment.

Waiting three years for a general election is not good enough. This government can be forced from office if the labour movement at every level goes onto the offensive.