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Socialist OUTLOOK

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BLOODBATH IN BIHAC

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Defend Bosnia!

Lift arms embargo!

Smile, you're on Candid Camera! Criminal Justice Act campaigners took their protest to Michael Howard's house, and staged a rooftop demo



New Tory bid to con disabled

By John Lister

Employers will still be able to discriminate against disabled people – as long as they can come up with 'justifiable reasons', according to the minister for the disabled, William Hague.

His limited proposals for anti-discrimination legislation outlined on November 24 fall far short of the civil rights which disabled groups have been demanding, and the private members Bill from Labour MP Roger Berry which ministers surreptitiously arranged to have defeated earlier this year.

Scrapped under the new plan is the current quota scheme under which employers with 20 or more staff are obliged to employ at least

three percent of registered disabled people. The scheme has been almost universally ignored, with little or no effort made to force firms to comply.

Instead it will be made unlawful for an employer to treat a disabled person less favourably than others – unless there are 'justifiable reasons'.

Employers will have to make a 'reasonable adjustment where that would help overcome the practical effects of disability' – but not if the firm employs fewer than 20 staff, or if the costs are 'excessive'.

Employers 'where practical' will have to remove physical and communication barriers preventing access by disabled people to goods and services – but again 'only to the extent that they are readily achievable and subject to a financial limit'.

Although one of the main claimed reasons for defeating Mr Berry's Bill was its alleged £17 billion cost of implementation, the new government plan has not yet been costed.

One estimate is that it would cost employers about £50m extra per year for the next 15 years, though the Institute of Directors, predictably, complained that the proposals contained 'open-ended commitments which could prove very costly'.

From the toothless proposals on display so far, it is clear that the only extra jobs to be created will be for the nominees to the new quango which is to be set up to advise the government, the National Disability Council.

All this is further evidence that the Tories are committed to spending little and doing less for the disabled.

School League Table Lottery

By Roy Leach

FEW winners. Lots of losers. A familiar story? The Tories seem determined to run education in the same way as they do the lottery.

League tables at GCSE, A level and SAT results are a central plank of the marketisation of education and reinstatement of a new 11-plus.

For most parents the odds against them winning this education lottery are high. There is no enthusiasm for turning the clock back to the Grammar/Secondary divide.

To describe the present league tables as crude is an understatement. Among the absurdities are:

- the exclusion of pupils who haven't reached 16 in the exam year;
- the inclusion of pupils who have been placed in a lower year and therefore have not actually taken exams;
- placing special schools where many children may not be able to read or write alongside selective fee paying private schools.

In one sense this does not matter – the Tories are not concerned with parents being able to make informed choices. They merely want to fuel the education market place in which parents send their chil-

dren to the "best" schools.

And it is clear what the Tories have in mind by "best" – they almost certainly mean those which inculcate the appropriate market philosophy of success and don't waste time on working class "no hoppers".

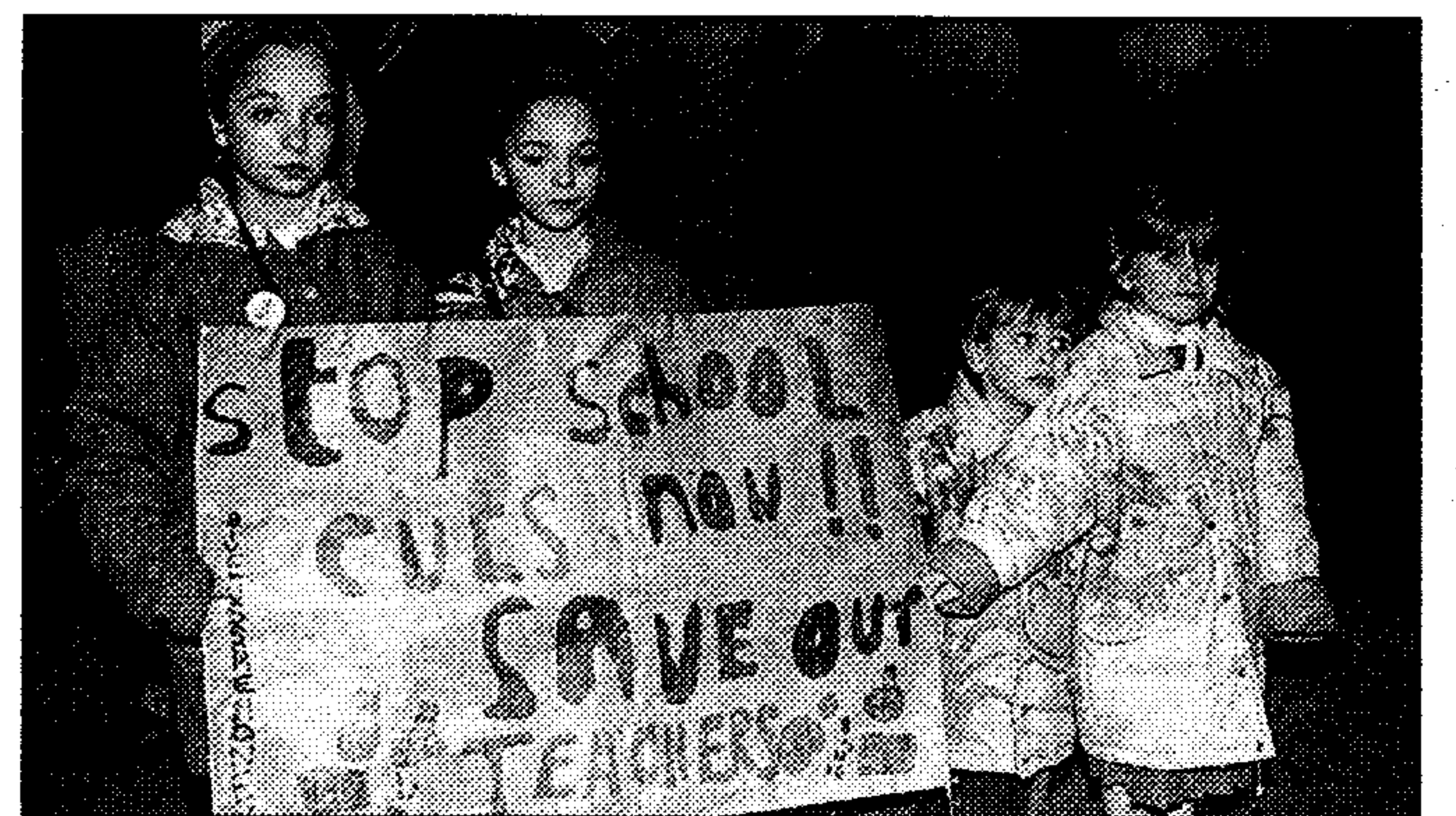
Yet there are growing signs that some in the ruling class are not convinced that the changes will bring "value for money" or a workforce with the necessary skills.

'Progress'

This is why people are talking now about "value added" league tables designed to take "progress" into account. For Gillian Shephard – and probably David Blunkett too – this means no more than comparing GCSE results with key stage 2 SATs (the new 11-plus).

David Blunkett's recent conversion to "value-added" league tables is an abject capitulation to the Tory ideological and economic offensive. It confirms the correctness of the NUT's campaign – *not one test - not one table*.

No matter what the precise method of selection turns out to be it will rest upon the GCSE exam and ignore the contribution that critical thought and personal skills make to the development of an individual – the stuff of what real education should be about.



HOME NEWS

Riddle of risky measles jab campaign

By a health promotion worker

TO GIVE an injection to every child at school between the ages of 5 and 16 is an immense task. It is also very expensive.

But the Tories, notorious for their reluctance to spend money on public health initiatives, have decided to do just that.

We might assume it is for a good reason – we have been told there is going to be a measles epidemic and children might die.

Money has been spent on a prime time TV advert that has gone out showing a real horror story of grieving parents in a stark hospital setting following the death of a child "was it

drugs? ... was it some other terrible socially inflicted disease? NO IT WAS MEASLES!"

If they are going to this much trouble, they must be spending millions for the benefit of our children – aren't they? Not necessarily.

Last year only one person died of measles. Even if we had an epidemic, the consequences would not be as severe as the side effects of the drugs have been predicted to be.

Who supports it?

I cannot find a Public Health Consultant (and I have spoken to quite a few) who thinks it is a good idea.

One is very worried that we do not really know the risks to a child who is having the second injection (the first being part of

the MMR that all children in Britain are offered early in life).

Another said angrily "there will be side effects, and it is totally unnecessary."

There appear to be three main risks:

- Anaphylactic shock. This is a similar to a cardiac arrest where the body goes into shock and needs immediate treatment (adrenaline).

It is thought that the chance of this happening (normally within 20 minutes after the injection) after a second injection is quite high.

In hospitals and casualty units the vaccination is given normally with an anaphylactic pack (a ready drawn up injection of the appropriate dose of adrenaline) handy – but the packs are quite expensive and have a

short keeping life.

None of the school nurses I have met who are involved in the measles vaccinations have anaphylactic packs, most have adrenaline available but it has to be found, measured and drawn up before it can be injected.

- Trigger reactions. Where the programme has started there has been a significant incidence of unusual reactions being 'triggered' by the vaccine, for example children who have no history of asthma have had asthma attacks following the injection.

- Risk to foetus. It is known that the measles vaccine can affect a foetus and it is advised that the vaccine is not given to pregnant women.

Yet the school nurses are not being encouraged to ask the female teenage pupils if there is

any possibility they could be pregnant.

If they do ask it will not normally be possible to do it in circumstances where there is either the privacy or time to gain the confidence of the young woman and to ask sensitively.

The main issue for me is why hasn't any one been told any of this?

Why are parents being guilt-tripped into signing forms to agree to our children having a vaccination without being given the facts?

And why are they vaccinating the whole population between 5 and 16, when the risk of a second injection could be greater than the risk of a measles epidemic and it is costing them a fortune?

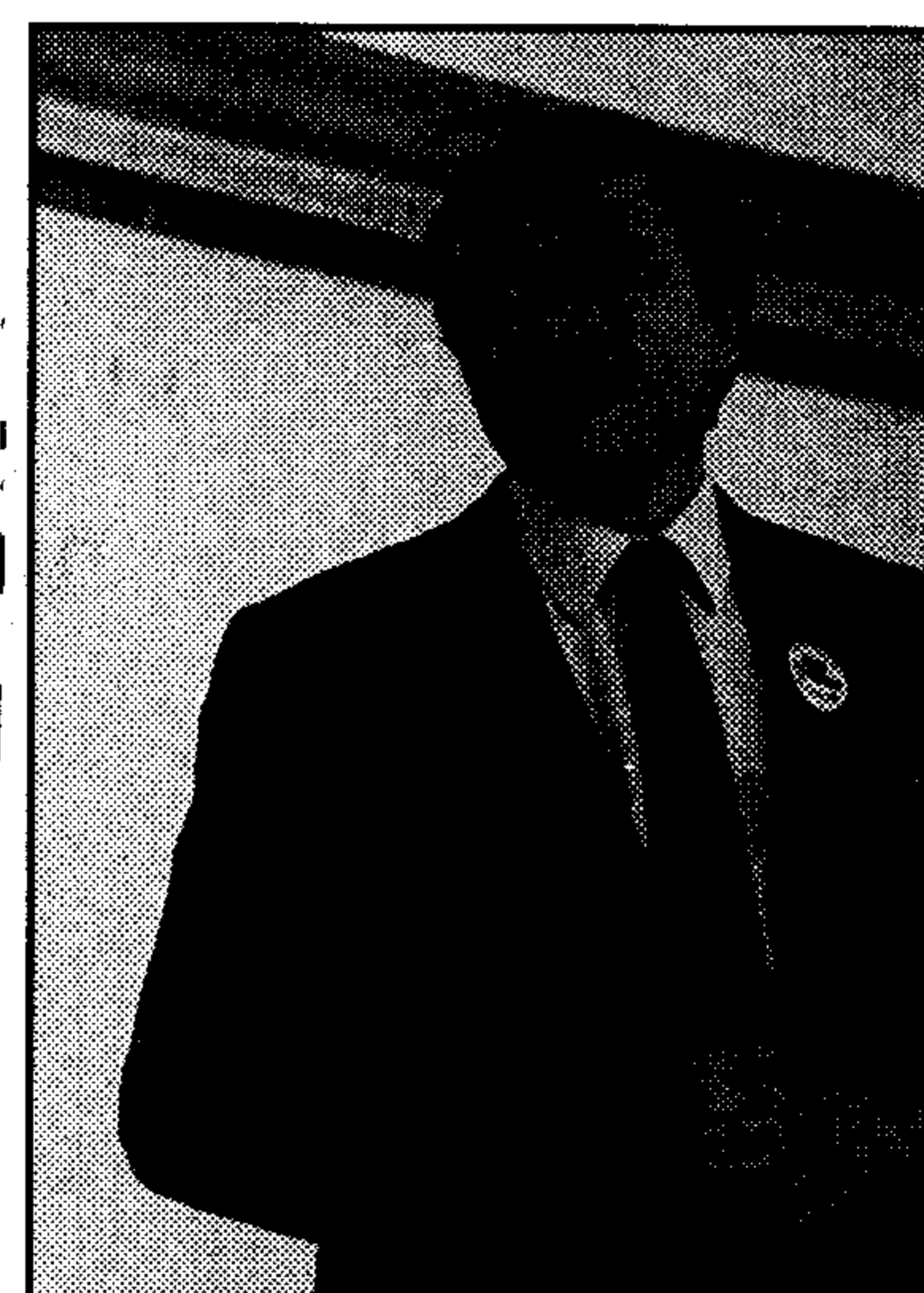
Does anyone out there know?

Platform speeches are not enough to defend welfare state

A tale of two campaigns



Edmonds



Livingstone

A YEAR AGO, *Socialist Outlook* welcomed a conference to defend the welfare state.

It was sponsored by three of the country's largest unions, TGWU, GMB and UNISON. Chaired by Ken Livingstone, and featuring speeches from Bryan Gould (remember him?), GMB leader John Edmonds and others, it attracted substantial television coverage, and was seen as a key challenge to the rightward drift of Labour under John Smith.

Speech after speech resounded with worthy calls for the defence of universal welfare benefits. Many of them were subsequently reprinted in a booklet reporting the conference. It seemed that a real fight was about to begin, firing a warning shot across the bows of Smith's Commission for Social Justice.

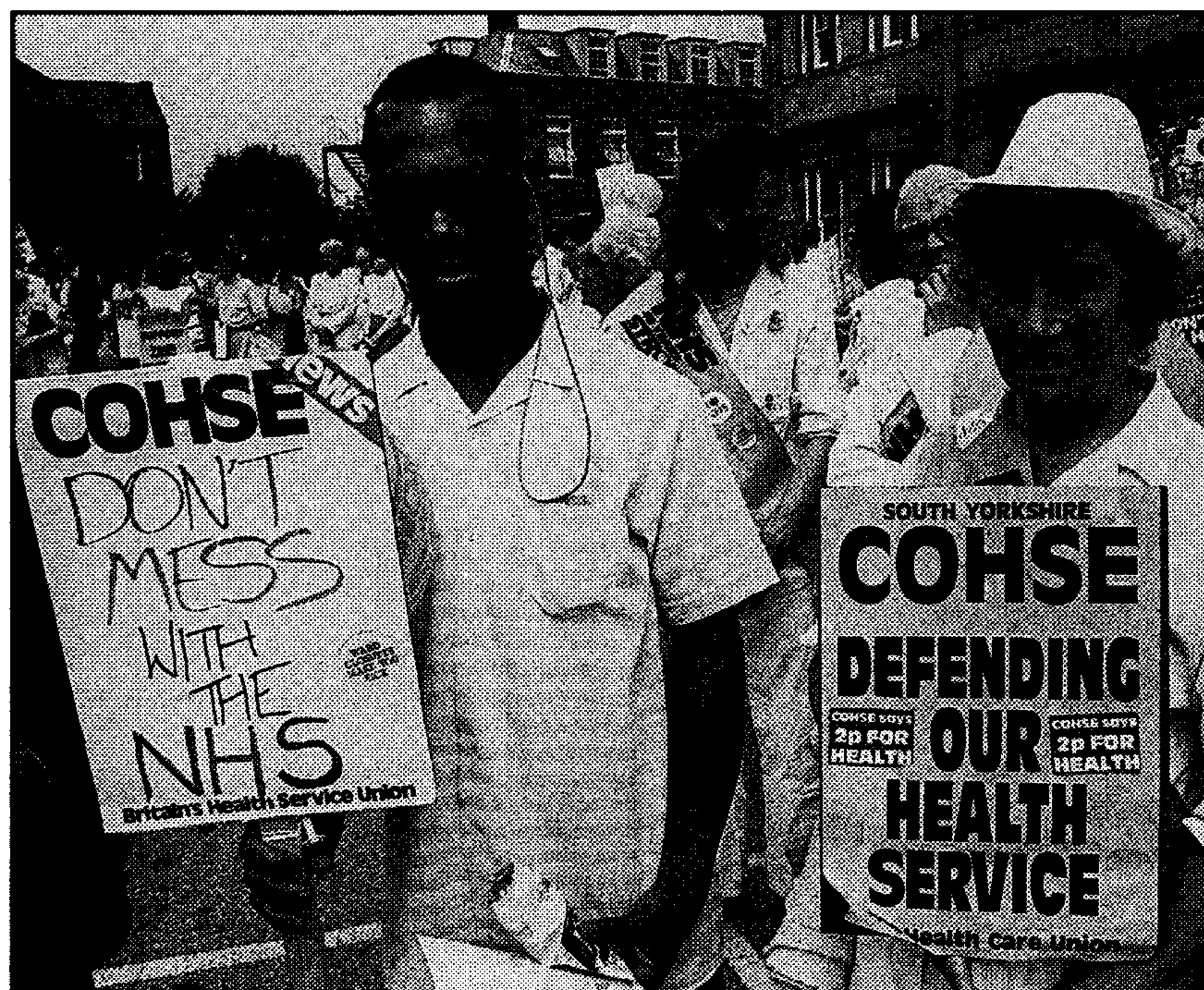
But that is effectively all that has happened in the first twelve months of the Campaign to Defend the Welfare State.

Many union branches and Labour Parties will have responded to the original initiative and affiliated to the Campaign. Many of these bodies will no doubt also send delegates to this year's repeat performance at Congress House on December 3. But they have not been offered much in the way of a campaign.

Tide of attacks

There is no lack of issues around which a fight should be built. The Welfare State remains a central focus of the Tory offensive, and the tide of attacks on health and welfare rights has escalated.

- More hospitals face closure across the country.
- Pensioners have battled on courageously against VAT on fuel, assembling a 6-million strong petition.
- Peter Lilley has unveiled brutal plans for a 'Job Seekers Allowance' to rip off the unemployed.
- An equally vicious new 'Incapacity Benefit' is set to strip benefits from upwards of 250,000 people with disabilities.
- Tens of thousands of students have protested at poverty level grants and the loss of vital benefits.
- There have been headline-grabbing battles by people with disabilities demanding civil rights and fighting system-



NHS protestors: battling at sharp end

atic sabotage by Tory ministers.

- Local government spending cuts continue to squeeze education, housing and social services.

- Civil servants in benefits offices face huge job losses.

While all this has been going on, where were John Edmonds, Livingstone and the Campaign to Defend the Welfare State?

What information have they distributed to members of the GMB, TGWU, UNISON and the other sponsoring unions?

What campaigns have they supported to resist the cuts and closures and challenge the Tory offensive?

Wasted potential

The sad fact is that despite all the promise of last year's conference, all the resources at their disposal from so many big unions with publicity departments and press offices, all the popular anger at the Tories and their mean-spirited efforts to crush the welfare state, nothing serious has been done.

The only leaflet the Campaign has produced is one advertising its recalled conference, which again is on the very general theme of 'Economic Policies for Full Employment and Defence of the Welfare State'.

This year's conference, sponsored by the *Morning Star* and *Tribune*, again boasts a platform of dignitaries. Edmonds will speak again, as will Diana Jeuda from USDAW – a union hardly noted for its radicalism or its energetic campaigning for the welfare state.

Livingstone and three other Labour MPs will speak: but again campaigners, pensioners, those at the sharp end of the fight for benefits and welfare services will be relegated to the role of spectators, applauding the rhetoric of the platform.

By contrast, a very different campaign

dents. A full-scale national conference is scheduled for April 8 in London.

Failure

Neither campaign is perfect. The Campaign to Defend the Welfare State has an abundance of top level official support, but has clearly failed to carry any fight into the broad ranks of the labour movement.

The Welfare State Network, conversely, is struggling to accomplish a very ambitious task of linking diverse campaigns, and working with limited resources.

It has to fight hard to ensure that it broadens its political appeal, avoiding the pressure to become simply a gathering of the hard left.

It needs to transform its grass root support into a real factor in the political situation, and this means stepping up the fight for affiliations and official support from the trade unions, Labour Parties and other organisations.

It might appear that an ideal solution would be for the two campaigns to link up in joint activity, sharing resources and spreading information even more widely. There is no reason why they should be seen as counterposed.

Publicity

Working together they could organise major events at union and Labour Party conferences, pump out publicity, turn the heat on Labour's leaders to fight back, and encourage a new strengthening of local campaigns.

Delegates at the December 3 conference should press for such joint work, which would not demand any political retreat on either side.

We cannot afford another wasted year in the fight for the Welfare State. Benefits and services are under threat right now. The countdown to 1995's crucial trade union and Labour Party conferences, which will potentially shape Labour's policies for the next election, has already begun.

The fightback for our welfare state must start now, and start in earnest, hopefully with the backing of John Edmonds, but if necessary without him.

Welfare State Network Working Conference

- Job Seekers Allowance
- Incapacity Benefit
- Benefits for Youth and Students
- Workshops and discussion

Saturday February 18
University of London Union
Malet St London

Speakers include: ● TONY BENN MP ● ALAN SIMPSON MP ● JILL MOUNTFORD (Welfare State Network) ● SARAH WELLINGS (NUS) ● KEVIN SEXTON (NUS) ● JOHN LISTER (London Health Emergency)
 Credentials/details ring 071-639-5068

Action

for health & welfare

Newspaper defending the Welfare State

Bundles of 25 £6 (unions)/ £4 (pensioners) Individual subs £5/£3.

Union and LP affiliations £25, pensioners & unemployed £10
 Write to WSN, c/o Southwark TUSU, 42 Braganza St London SE17

EDITORIAL

Massive Chelmsford bus sackings

By Roger Welch

OVER 90 Chelmsford busworkers have been sacked for the 'crime' for participating in a short strike (which only covered the evening shift) organised in protest against persistent management attempts to impose longer and unsafe hours.

The sackings were announced on November 18 by the Eastern National Bus Company, part of the Badger Line Group.

Eastern National has joined the growing number of employers - P&O, News International, Timex and Burnsalls' to name just a few - who have sacked workers taking lawful action, exploiting Tory anti-union laws which have repeatedly been condemned by the International Labour Organisation, as a breach of ILO conventions.

Indeed, as these sackings show, workers are often more vulnerable if they obey the Tory laws. These now require a postal ballot and lengthy periods of notice which give employers the chance to organise efforts to break strikes long before they can lawfully take place.

In this instance, Eastern National had a scabbing operation in place before the sackings, bringing in scab drivers from Wales and the West Country into town and putting them up in hotels.

As a busworkers' leaflet explained to passengers, it is now dangerous to catch a scab bus which will be driven by someone who does not know the route and may not have driven a bus in years.

So far the TGWU has organised a strike fund and boycott of eastern national services. While this is obviously necessary it is unlikely a campaign restricted to building on the public sympathy that undoubtedly exists in the town will be enough to win reinstatement.

Sooner rather than later the union and the sacked workers will need to build for solidarity action from other Eastern Na-



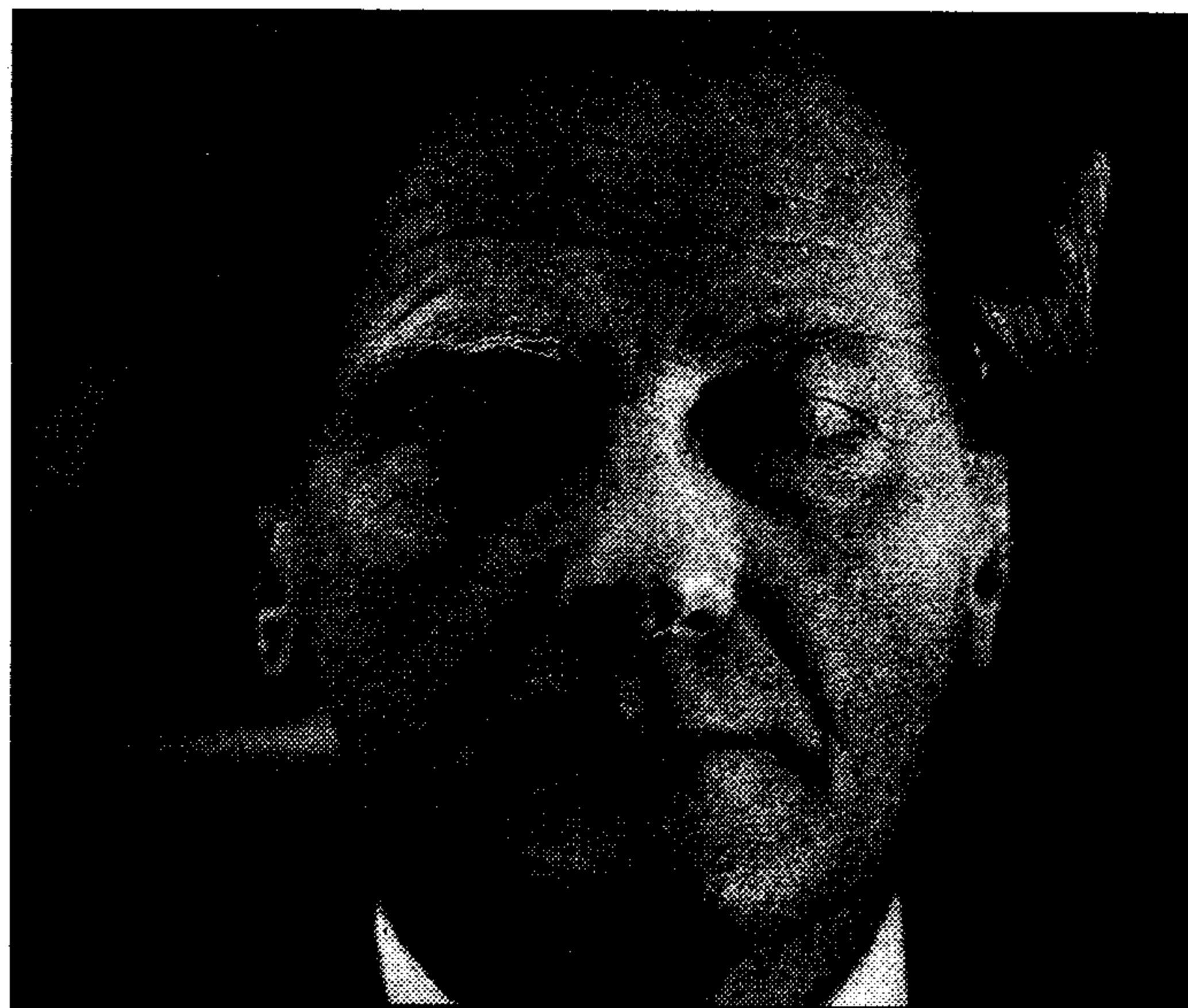
tional employees in Essex and throughout Badger Line.

The organisation of mass picketing to close down the Chelmsford depot should also be on the agenda.

In the meantime the local trades council is organising a support group to win wider support for the sacked workers.

Messages of support can be sent c/o Roger Welch, Secretary, Chelmsford Trades Council, 87 Mildmay Road, Chelmsford, Essex CM2 0DR.

Donations to the strike fund should be made payable to 'TGWU (Chelmsford Bus Drivers Support Fund)' and sent to Ken Reid, TGWU, Woodberry, 218 Green Lanes, London N4 2HB.



Leaked report stokes Tory crisis

by Harry Sloan

A HIGHLY-publicised 'confidential' report drawn up by Tory deputy chair John Major has helped underline the scale of the crisis faced by John Major's divided government.

Many of the measures Thatcher relied on for support are now reasons for disaffection among Tory voters, according to Mr Major's market research.

Among the issues which most annoy the Tories questioned are:

- Jobs, housing, health service, business, family values, crime - where "There is a feeling of powerlessness and insecurity ... and no vision of where we are heading".

- "Although in the 1980s the Conservatives seemed to promise a classless society of opportunity, the reality is now that the rich are getting richer on the backs of the rest, who are getting poorer."

- "Privatisation has not been popular and small businessmen in particular feel 'let down'."

- "While we trumpet the recovery, the voters do not think the recession has ended. They still fear unemployment, have no more 'money in their pocket'. What we are saying is completely at odds with their ex-

perience."

On key issues of the welfare state - education and the NHS - Maples warns that 'business methods' and talk of competition simply alienate voters.

On the NHS in particular the public believe the hostile comments of doctors and nurses denouncing the market-style reforms, and not the banalities of Virginia Bottomley.

The best solution for the Tories would be a total media blackout.

Maples' warnings have fallen on deaf ears. Clarke's Budget, due as we go to press, will do nothing to restore plunging living standards, but is likely to tighten the squeeze on public services and welfare spending.

The tide of redundancies, cuts and closures continues.

Discontent at the effects of past privatisations has been exacerbated by new price increases hitting the lowest-income gas consumers, combined with the flagrant greed of top British Gas bosses.

Michael Heseltine is reportedly to sell Royal Mail, while Brian Mawhinney is lumbered with the equally unpopular task of selling Railtrack.

The Tories, feuding and fighting, sleazy and incompetent, cling on, as long as Labour is too feeble to drive them out.

Brum fights back for public services

By Bob Whitehead

THE Birmingham Community Conference was a success. It took an important first step on the road to building a local campaign in defence of the public sector as part of a national fightback.

60 delegates and individuals from a wide variety of organisations decided to set up the campaign and build for a local demonstration, recognising the need for a national perspective it agreed to affiliate to the "Welfare State Network" and the "Campaign to Defend the Welfare State".

Workshops focused on the health service, local authorities and the public utilities. Such was the interest generated that they all over ran. The health service workshop is even exploring holding its own conference.

A general theme emerged of providers and consumers jointly identifying needs and struggling for them. The need for public ownership and reversing privatisation was stressed.

There were varying degrees of emphasis given to the level at which campaigning should be focused, but there was a high degree of unity when it came to the voting in the final plenary. The only exception to this was on the issue of deficit budgeting, where there was a sizeable minority in opposition.

More cash

Policies agreed included calling for higher public spending, democratic control over its use, the ending of quangos, ending de-regulation of labour, opposition to works councils, support for industrial action (illegal if necessary), repeal of the anti-union laws and the retention of universal benefits.

Delegates decided not to wait for the leaders of the labour movement to start off the fightback. Three officers were elected, and December 7 was set as the first meeting of the new campaign.

The conference was introduced by a wide panel of speakers, including Alan Simpson MP, and achieved some media publicity.

After one radio announcement there was an avalanche of phone enquiries as to the details of the conference. Delegates left asking "when is the next one?".

Fighting for the right to strike

By Bill Peters

A HUNDRED delegates from a range of trade unions met in Birmingham on November 26 for a conference on the Right To Strike.

It was organised by the SMTUC, the Lambeth and Birmingham Trades Councils, Trade Union News and others to assess the current situation of the anti-union laws in the light of the 1993 Act and the infamous High Court judgement against lecturers' union NATFHE earlier this year.

NATFHE President Doreen Cameron spelled out the implications of the judgement as it had affected the union, and controversially, defended the way the union at national level had

responded to it.

Bill Wedderburn from the London School of Economics argued that the debate between immunities and positive rights was a false one. Positive rights could not be achieved without immunities and the repeal of the bulk of the legislation introduced by the Tories.

Fire Brigades Union leader Ken Cameron called for the total repeal of Tory legislation and attacked the Blair leadership of the Labour Party for retreating ever further from that position.

He condemned Blair's conference speech in which he not only attacked Clause Four but said that the unions should not expect "favours" from a future Labour government.

"When did we ever get favours from a Labour Government?" asked Cameron.

Speakers from the floor took up Doreen Cameron's defence of the way the NATFHE leadership responded to the high court judgement, and argued that, as with Clause Four, we could not start from juggling with clauses but we had to call for the total repeal of all the legislation.

Signal workers

A delegate from the RMT spelled out the effects the laws had in preventing solidarity action during the signal workers' strike.

In the final plenary a delegate from the Freedom Network made a valuable contribution, spelling out how the Criminal Justice Act directly affects trade union activity particularly in relation to picketing, demonstrations and meetings.

The Act gives the police wide powers order people to move on and arrest them on criminal charges if they refuse.

The conference passed a resolution which called for the repeal of all anti-union legislation, or the right of unions to determine their own rule books, the right to strike in solidarity and the right to strike without victimisation.

It also called upon the TUC to call a national demonstration against the laws and their recent extension.

The organisations which had sponsored the conference undertook to continue the campaign, circulate the resolution within the trade union movement, and take further initiatives as and when necessary.

Lift the Bosnia arms embargo!

By Alan Thornett

BIHAC is about to fall to the Bosnian Serbs as we go to press. Serb heavy guns are pounding the centre of the town and there may be genocide in the area in the next few days.

Those who have argued that the Bosnian people can be protected against Serbian aggression by the UN or NATO have been proved wrong again.

Both the UN and NATO have been humiliated by the Serbs, and every contradiction in Western policy exploited and exposed. UN troops have even been taken hostage against air strikes.

In an outspoken attack on the shambles the new US Congress majority leader Robert Dole has referred to a "complete breakdown" of the NATO alliance, blaming the French and particularly the British for the fiasco.

Withdraw UN

Dole went on to demand the withdrawal of UN troops from Bosnia, and a lifting of the embargo on arms to the Bosnian government.

"Get the UN soldiers out of the way. Pull 'em out," he said, implying that he favours use of air power against the Serbs.

The Bosnian army offensives of the previous month have been met with a Bosnian Serb counter attack which has all the advantages of tanks and heavy weapons which the Bosnians are denied.

It is clear that despite the so-called 'rift' between the Bosnian Serbs and the Milosevic government in Belgrade, Serbia is supplying everything the Bosnian Serbs need by the back door.

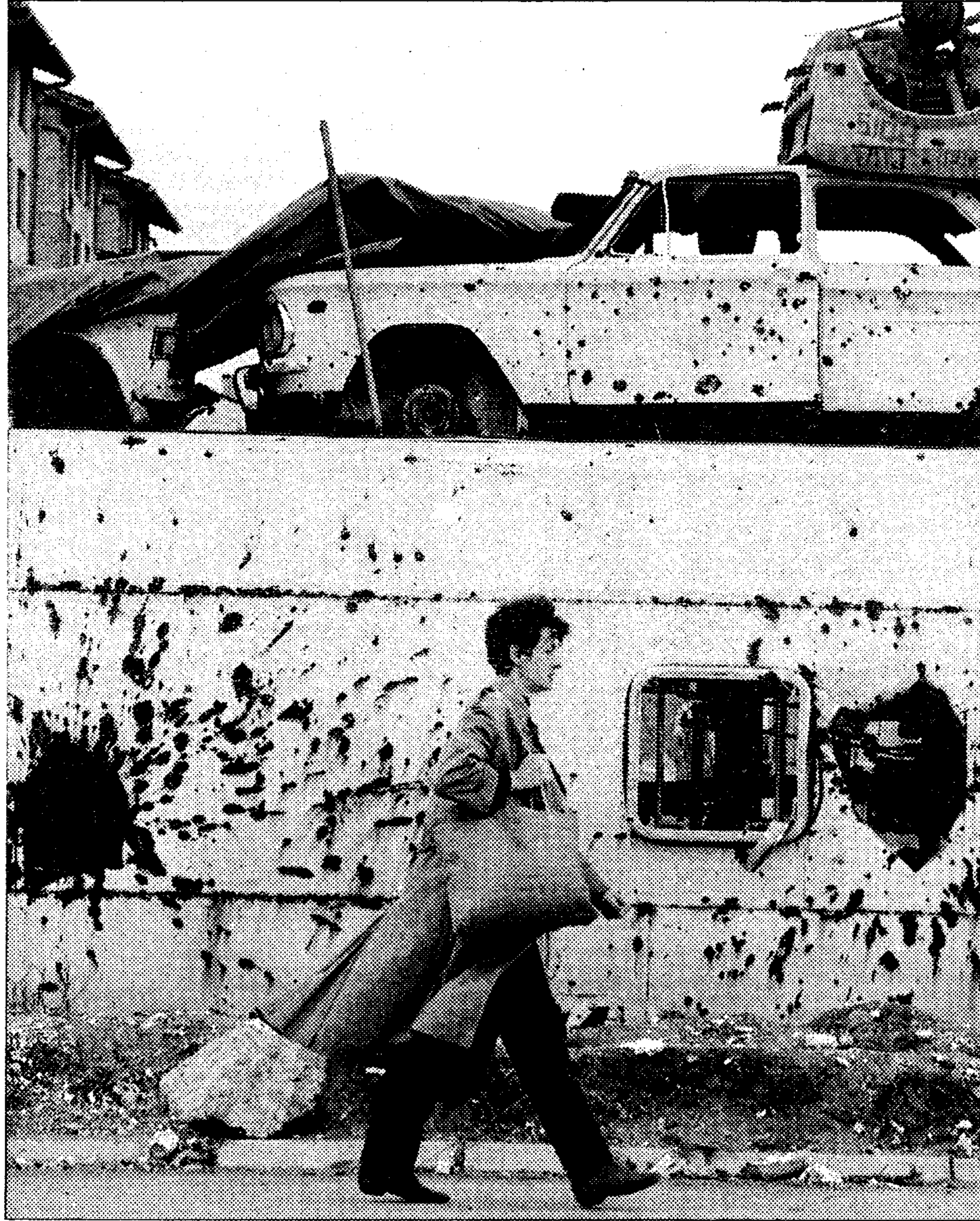
The only way the Bosnians are going to be effectively defended, and liberate any of the 70 per cent of Bosnia currently occupied by the Serbs, is if they are allowed to obtain the means to defend themselves which they have been denied over the two and a half years of the war.

The Bosnians have been refused arms, it should be remembered, by both the US and Europe, despite increasing US statements calling for the lifting of the embargo.

Socialist Outlook has always been completely opposed to Western military intervention by air or by ground troops. In the end they will partition and defeat Bosnia.

Any illusion that the United States is on the side of the Bosnian people is also dangerous.

While it is obviously true that Western policy is in tatters, and that the US is now calling for the lifting of the arms embargo - this does not put the USA on the side of the Bosnian people.



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the problem.

The USA cannot afford to be seen to sit back and do nothing whilst Bosnia is attacked. On the other hand there is a strict limitation on the involvement they are prepared to undertake under the present conditions.

Western powers are split apart partly through the pressure of their historic interests and connections and partly through their current alliances. Britain and France have historic connections with Serbia, whilst Germany's connections are with Croatia and Slovenia.

Bulwark

Turkey, on the other hand, is the US main strategic and military bulwark in the eastern Mediterranean against the influence of Russia.

Turkey is key player in the region, with a huge military capability, recently massively re-equipped by the US as a pay-off for its role in the Gulf war, and with links directly into the Muslim world.

The Turkish military threat has always been in the background of the Bosnian conflict since it is unlikely that Turkey would stand aside and see the final defeat of the majority muslim Bosnian government.

Any Turkish intervention, (and Turkey is close enough to intervene with ground forces) could spark a regional conflagration much greater than the current war - with Greece likely to enter the war on the side of Serbia.

The greatest strategic interest of the US is Middle East oil, and this is completely intermeshed with its Bosnia policy.

At stake is Washington's strategic relations with key muslim regimes in the Gulf.

The recent military build up against Iraq was only partly triggered by mid-term election

250,000 people have been killed and huge tracts of territory "ethnically cleansed" with millions made refugees.

problems: it was also a further step towards a military presence in the region.

Standing aside while the Bosnians are defeated is not the way to promote current US moves to establish a greater presence and influence in the oil states.

Whilst there are enough strategic interests involved for the US to take a generally pro-Bosnian line, there is not enough at stake yet for them to risk a military intervention with ground troops.

Whether this would change in the unlikely event of Sarajevo falling and the Bosnian government being overrun and finally defeated is another matter.

Possibly a direct US intervention might then take place if the UN and NATO were out of the way. But this would be to protect American interests, not Bosnia.

None of this is very new. It is not something which has come up since the mid-term elections. These have been Clinton's consideration for at least a year, during which time he has been vacillating backward and forwards over the arms embargo.

Principles

For the left and for the labour movement the task is to focus on the issues of political principle involved in the war.

From that point of view, we must give all support possible to the Bosnian people.

The struggle is not one between 'warring factions'.

Bosnia has been attacked and 70 per cent occupied by an expansionist Serbia which mobilised sections of Serbs inside Bosnia to support its annexation project.

During the war, fought for a time against Croatia as well, 250,000 people have been killed, and huge tracts of territory "ethnically cleansed", with millions made refugees.

At stake in Bosnia is the right of a sovereign people to determine their own future and to defend themselves against aggression on a vast scale.

In this we do not give political support to the Bosnian government - or any other government in the region. Our support is for the right of the Bosnian people to self determination and against ethnic division.

These basic rights are democratic and working class issues. The labour movement in the rest of Europe has a direct responsibility to show solidarity with the Bosnian struggle.

This means demanding an end to the arms embargo.

ANALYSIS

By David Coen

THE SUDDEN ending of Albert Reynolds's glittering career shows how volatile Irish politics has become and how precarious the 'peace process' really is.

Having taken over from Charles Haughey and failed to win an overall majority at the following general election Reynolds, former dance hall owner and pet food manufacturer, nevertheless managed to put together a coalition government between this own Fianna Fail and the labour Party - a government with the largest Dail majority in the history of the state.

Now Reynolds is gone after a series of deeply embarrassing blunders that rocked the coalition. His efforts as one of the main architects of the 'peace process' were not enough to save him from a shot across the bows from Dick Spring which accidentally, it appears, hit him amidships.

Saddam Hussein had a bit part in this melodrama. The Gulf war of 1990 led to an embargo on payments to western governments.

This exposed the fact that Dublin's export Credit guarantee scheme has heavily weighted in favour of one Harry Goodman, meat baron and close friend of the then prime minister Charles Haughey.

The scandal which was the final nail in Haughey's political coffin led to the setting up of the Beef Tribunal, led by a senior judge, which after 18 months investigation concluded... that it shouldn't reach a conclusion.

The Industry Minister during this period was one Albert Reynolds who used the scandal to depose Haughey and the Attorney general who energetically blocked the Beef tribunal's access to cabinet minutes was... Harry Whelehan.

Dick Spring made his reputation denouncing Fianna Fail sleaze and Haughey, but to everyone's surprise he entered a coalition with Reynolds after Haughey's fall.

Reynolds gave evidence to the Beef Tribunal and leaked a preview which claimed to exonerate him from any wrong doing in the Goodman affair.

In spite of this 'bounce' and fairly clear evidence that Reynolds' role was not quite so squeaky clean as the press made out, Spring bit his tongue and stayed in government.

He obviously felt the need to assert himself, especially after Labour lost a recent by-election in Cork to Labour's left rival - the Democratic Left (formerly party of the Workers Party).

Making a point

It's doubtful if Spring wanted to do anything more than to make a point to Reynolds and Fianna Fail by opposing the appointment of Harry Whelehan to the Presidency of the High Court. Reynolds called his bluff by going ahead anyway.

Spring was preparing to slink back under the cover of some face-saving scheme when he



Irish government crisis How Harry lost Albert

discovered that Whelehan had been 'sitting' on the extradition papers of a priest wanted in the north for alleged child sexual abuse and that Reynolds was lying to the Dail.

Reynolds had claimed not to know about it when he appointed Whelehan to the High Court. The rest of the story is soap opera.

Even being identified as the broker of the IRA cease-fire and the prime mover of the 'peace process' was not enough to save Reynolds this time - pure coincidence to all but the most hardened cynics.

Fianna fail was until recently the largest party in the south and when things were bad they beat the republican drum.

It is a measure of how much things have changed that they

now attempt to save their political skins by preaching the virtues of peace and heading off any hope of a united Ireland, even though they still refer to themselves as the republican party.

Spring's torpedoing of Reynolds is a reflection of the political level of deeper changes in the Dublin ruling class as it wins 'independence' from Britain by trying to move itself more closely into the EU.

He may have discovered the lever by accident but by focussing on the hidden hand of the Catholic Church's interference in the state to appear to be advancing the cause of secular modernisation of the 26 counties.

The tone of reporting in the British press clearly shows he

was preferred to Reynolds. His problem is that he does not have the political clout to deliver the concessions (on say articles 2 and 3 of the constitution - the so-called constitutional claims on the six counties) which the British want removed as part of the new settlement.

Sinn Fein's political strategy, which consisted mainly of relying on Reynolds and to a lesser extent the US to put pressure on the British, was never viable even before the Whelehan affair. It led them to rush to Reynolds' defence with heavy hints about the effects on the 'peace process'.

Secular republicans must have asked if supporting a Fianna Fail leader appointing to the highest legal post in the land a right-wing conservative

The simple fact remains that Fianna Fail and the SDLP share the desire to see the republicans beaten by the British.

catholic, who had used the constitution to try to stop the victim in the infamous 'X' case from coming to Britain for an abortion, was really in the tradition of Tone and Connolly.

The debate (such as it is) inside the republican movement is between support for the leadership's peace initiative or a return to a military strategy. The problem is neither can win. The British cannot be driven out by military force alone.

The political strategy of relying on Fianna Fail would lead to disaster, even if Reynolds had not resigned. The simple fact remains that Fianna Fail and the SDLP share the desire to see the republicans beaten by the British.

This is not to say that the base of Fianna fail have given up their 'republican' ideals but that Fianna Fail itself isn't a possible ally of revolutionary nationalists from Belfast and the small farmers of South Armagh.

The triumphalism which greeted the cease-fire has not changed the balance of forces in favour of the republicans. In fact on the political level Major's ability to deliver even the most marginal concessions as part of the framework document is severely limited.

He is too reliant on the official Unionists and the threat to his majority posed by the anti-EU right, a group which also violently oppose any concession to the republicans.

The danger of misplaced optimism is that it confuses and demoralises the republicans' mass base and opens the way to damaging splits which would weaken it still further.

To those in British left organisations who believe the cease-fire gives 'real' politics a chance and provides the basis for working 'class unity' there remains the problem of the sectarian state created out of partition in 1921 with the express purpose of preventing class unity.

It cannot be reformed and any 'peace' deal based on the undemocratic 1921 settlement enforced by the British state will soon degenerate.

For the British left there is the danger of moralising from the sidelines. In these discussions Fourth Internationalists unconditionally take the side of the republicans against the British state. For socialists to advance the peace process means getting Britain out of Ireland - nothing else will bring peace.

• Annual Bloody Sunday march in Manchester on Saturday January 28. Starting at Platt Fields in Rusholme to a rally in Albert Square to hear Labour MPs, Sinn Fein and one of the victims the Bloody Sunday atrocity.

For more details, phone the Troops Out Movement on 0171 609 4463.

IRELAND UNFREE



Backed by British-made weapons Indonesia stages Timor plebiscite at gunpoint

By Paul Walker

THE LATEST reports from East Timor indicate that the Indonesian security apparatus in Dili is carrying out a forced 'show of hands' throughout the population as to whether or not they support the integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

At first sight it might appear that this plebiscite by gunpoint would have no international credibility. But this is exactly the same procedure used in the polls to assess support for integration in West Papua in 1969 and in East Timor in 1976, and later accepted by the Australian government as a satisfactory procedure.

This move by the occupation forces follows events last week when at least 100 East Timorese students fought with security forces on the campus of Dili's university. This was the latest in a series of clashes between the East Timorese civil population

and the Indonesian security forces. Witnesses say the clash was sparked by the appearance of plain clothed Indonesian security officers on the campus.

East Timorese youth have been in the forefront of fresh protests at the Indonesian occupation. In the past six months there have been at least three clashes on or around the Dili campus.

Latest reports indicate that up to 400 students are now effectively barricaded inside the university which is surrounded by security officers armed with riot shields and batons.

The situation in East Timor is still very tense. The Indonesian authorities have expelled all foreign journalists from the country and are now attempting to crush the civil resistance that developed in the glare of media

publicity during the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Conference in Jakarta.

Murder

Reports from the leadership of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) have given fresh evidence of the use of British-made Hawk aircraft to intimidate and murder the civilian population of East Timor.

Jose Ramos Horta, the CNRM's special representative, says that Hawks have been used consistently in East Timor over the last three months. One particular incident described is that of an attack on a remote hamlet which led to the destruction of six houses. According to the report over 30 people, mainly women and children, were killed.

In the House of Commons,

Jeremy Corbyn MP and Chris Mullin MP challenged defence procurement Minister Roger Freeman over the use of hawks in East Timor.

Freeman promised to investigate the issue, but in the same question time announced that he had no knowledge of a big arms deal with Indonesia under negotiation. This is either a lie or wilful ignorance.

It is common knowledge that discussions are under way for the purchase of Scorpion light tanks (made by the Coventry based firm Alvis) and the Indonesians have a shopping list that runs into billions.

The Indonesian government has been attempting to organise a propaganda offensive to offset the torrent of bad publicity it has suffered. This has been a spectacular failure.

Even a special trip organised by Jakarta to present its side of the story in May 1994 led to another series of highly critical articles in the international press over the occupation. The APEC conference has produced another disaster.

The Indonesian government claimed in a press release dated November 18 that "there were no riots in Dili. What happened was an outbreak of violence as a result of a quarrel of a personal nature between traders."

The Suharto regime is clearly hoping the international attention will fade and the Indonesian army will be able to continue its genocide in East Timor.

It is up to international solidarity movement to make sure that it does not.

Trumpet of freedom

IN A MESSAGE smuggled out of Cipinang prison, East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão has welcomed the defiance shown by the protest of November 12.

"November 12 reflected the tenacity of the struggle for freedom and justice. November 12 was the bugle call of Timorese youth announcing to the world their revolt against the denial of the fundamental rights of the East Timorese people.

"November 12 was the bugle call announcing our repudiation of the complicity of the Western countries in the systematic violation of human rights in the territory.

"November 12 also stressed the willingness of the Maubere people to reach a negotiated solution, and appealed to the international community not to forget its responsibilities."

The embassy occupation also won support from Indonesia's largest national student organisation, Students in Solidarity with Democracy for Indonesia. A statement from the SSDI demanded the freeing of Xanana Gusmão, a democratic referendum in East Timor, and relaxation of restrictions on reporters and human rights groups monitoring events.

Jakarta sit-in students spell out their demands

Students supporting the Jakarta embassy occupation spoke to the Australian newspaper Green Left, setting out their objectives.

"We demand US President Clinton tell President Suharto to release the East Timorese leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao and all East Timorese political prisoners, and that the Indonesian president talk to the true representatives of the people of East Timor, including the church, CNRM, UDT and FRETILIN," said Sarkeke.

"The Australian government only ever listens to Indonesia," said another student, Santana.

"There has never been any evidence that Indonesia's so-called troop withdrawals have ever really taken place. And we don't want this autonomy people talk about either: we want full independence."

Beaten to death

"There is more news from Dili. A 14-year old boy, beaten up during the demonstration of 300 students on the Dili university campus, died in hospital on November 15.

"That's why we're fighting. Because all we get is torture and oppression from the Indonesian army; that is the reality. And we will fight to the last drop of blood."

The students have also called on Clinton to exert pressure on Jakarta to recognise the right of Indonesian workers to organise, and to free imprisoned union leaders.

Stop the Hawks

Hear

JOHN PILGER and
MAUREEN TOLFREE

TUESDAY

DECEMBER 13

Friends Meeting
House

(opposite Euston Station)

London

Millions on the streets as mass protests rock Italian government

Berlusconi totters

By Dave Hayes

HIS BROTHER has admitted organising bribery. His children are being investigated. His companies are racked with allegations and counter allegations. And his long time industrial backers have gone down the tubes.

It is no surprise then that the man at the helm is being hauled before the courts too. The recent plunge in the Lira is the strongest indication yet that Silvio Berlusconi's time may be up.

News broke of Berlusconi's summons for questioning by the anti-corruption investigating judges as he was chairing an international anti-mafia conference.

It is now clear why this prime minister tried to pass a decree in July to curb the judiciary's powers to imprison corruption suspects.

At that time the judges were interviewing his brother. Public outrage forced him to drop the proposed law. Today they want to talk about bribes his company Fininvest made to tax inspectors.

Despite the clean broom image he has tried to cultivate he owes much of the phenomenal growth of his media empire to the inside support of the corrupt 1980s Craxi governments.

The latest news that he is thinking of selling his business interests shows what pressure he is under.

Denounced

Up to now he has refused to consider this — denouncing those who dared to raise the issue of a conflict of interest as wanting to install a Romanian-style regime!

Berlusconi's difficulties could not have come at a better moment for all those fighting to stop the government's savage cuts in pensions, education spending and health.

The government aims to reduce the monster public deficit by £20 billion, in line with Maastricht strictures on permissible public sector debt.

Trade unions organised one of the biggest demonstrations since the Second World War on November 12 — one and a half million converged on Rome. A one day general strike is set for December 2.

Already local elections following the demonstration have shown Berlusconi's party Forza Italia at below 10 per cent — compared to 30 per cent in the European Elections and 25 per cent in the March general election.

Berlusconi's plight has not meant a closing of ranks within



the government coalition. Bossi, the leader of the Lega Nord, has pointedly refused to issue any statement of solidarity and absented himself from the emergency all-party summit.

Despite voting with the government on the vote of confidence the Lega has put down amendments softening the pension cuts. This reflects its more small business and popular base.

There is no love lost between Bossi and Berlusconi. The arrival of Forza Italia severely cut into Lega support in the north.



Bossi has stayed with the government partly because new elections would be even more disastrous.

While Forza Italia's electoral support has slumped the fortunes of the National Alliance (the neo-fascists) led by Fini have blossomed, with a 13 per cent rise in the local elections. Fini is, and always has been, much more supportive of Berlusconi.

Staying in government helps

his drive for a more respectable image. He hopes to pick up the remnants of Berlusconi's party if things do fall apart. He is hoping for further constitutional shifts to presidentialism.

The National Alliance is a structured national force with far deeper roots in society than the year old Forza Italia. It has been successful in dropping some of its fascist trappings and positioning itself as a more modern rightwing party.

Unfortunately one of the reasons Berlusconi survives is the ultra moderation of the opposi-

tion from the majority left.

The ex-Communist Party PDS proposes a broad constitutional government including the ex-Christian Democrats (now called the Peoples Party), the Lega, themselves and healthy forces within Forza Italia.

Worse still, it calls for any alternative government to be formed only after the finance bill is passed minus the pension cuts.

This was, surprise surprise,

the line backed in an editorial in *Corriere della Sera*, one of the main bourgeois papers.

In recent local elections the PDS tried to stand everywhere on slates with the ex-Christian democrats rather than with Communist Refoundation.

Communist Refoundation has been almost the only significant example of the crisis of the Communist parties leading to a leftwing split with a mass base.

It was formed only 3 years ago when the Italian Communist Party sealed its theoretical break with any notion of a class

struggle approach or a communist past.

The new party was written off by many from the start. But to all observers' surprise the PRC polled better than expected, maintained its representation in parliament and has played a key role in the mass struggles against the austerity measures of successive governments — including against the Ciampi government which was de facto supported by the PDS.

Another element in the situation is a new student mobilisation in secondary schools and universities against the new local management of schools and a three-fold increase in university fees.

Schools and universities are being occupied. A massive demonstration in Naples was brutally attacked by the police and 50 people ended up in hospital.

Revolutionary socialists like the comrades of *Bandera Rossa* (Italian section of the Fourth International) and the most class conscious political activists work as members of Communist Refoundation.

There are no significant left wing forces outside this framework. This is a mass left reformist party which is actively supporting struggle against the austerity measures and is clearly opposed to the class collaborationist "constitutional government" line being peddled by the PDS.

This does not mean that Communist Refoundation is completely clear on its overall strategy. Even after three years it still has yet to draw up a worked out programme and strategy.

Its leadership (or sections of it) have taken mistaken positions inside the trade unions and on the precise alliances with the PDS and other forces — particularly in electoral slates.

At the moment its class position on austerity and the government does isolate it somewhat and thus there is a certain pressure on activists who feel uneasy without a working alliance with the PDS.

If Berlusconi does fall and if this leads to a rapid decline of Forza Italia then the ruling class have a problem.

Pivotal role

The new political regime depended on Berlusconi being the pivot holding together the disparate interests and programmes of the Lega and the National Alliance. This remains the case. They will do everything to keep him in office.

The alternative constitutional government would have to include the PDS, and could not be completely relied upon to carry out the tough austerity required by Italian capital. It would not be any more united than the present government.

A third variant would be a National Alliance government.

Whatever happens Italy will continue to be politically unstable. Italian socialists will have an opportunity to build a class struggle opposition within the trade unions and student movements.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Socialist OUTLOOK

**Defend
Clause IV
Fight for
Socialism**

Special factsheet ● 20p ●

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Why Clause IV fight is vital

By Duncan Chapple

DON'T BE FOOLED by the bland words and gleaming smile. Tony Blair is the hard face of Labour. Not the Labour Party of the time of prosperity, but the Labour Party in time of recession.

Things are shaping up for a big fight in the labour movement about the tasks for a possible Labour government. As the Tories get more and more unstable, it's a fight that looks more vital every day.

Sensing this, the ruling rich are putting the squeeze on Blair. Even the *Financial Times* calls for a Labour vote nowadays.

Respectable

Blair is seen as very respectable – but only for as long as he can keep working people from demanding higher pay, better public services and decent welfare rights.

Would Labour in office embrace radical policies to tackle poverty, unemployment, exploi-

tation and oppression? Or will it slam the door on these policies even before the next election?

Blair wants to ditch Clause IV to give a clear sign to big business that he has no intention of threatening the power and profits of capital – ever.

That's why the battle to keep Clause IV in the Labour Party's constitution is vital.

If the Clause gets the chop, it is a warning that as long as Blair is in charge, working people, pensioners, and young people will continue to pay the price of the capitalist crisis.

Of course many working people take the opposite view. They correctly back Labour because they think it offers the only chance of defending health and welfare, of getting people back to work and of improving wages.

The fight over Clause IV is therefore a vital test of strength. It is a fight for a concept of socialism.

Defending the Clause will tell Blair and his team of 'modernisers' that working people want more than just a change of government: we want a change of system.



Why we're backing Clause IV

**DOREEN CAMERON
(NATFHE PRESIDENT)**

"If I want different principles I will go to a different Party. Clause IV must be retained. It is not a problem, it is the essence of our being. You cannot wither principles - you only abandon them."

**NICK NICHOLS
(NCU NEC):**

"The Trade Union movement must ensure that Clause IV is retained. We can win this fight. The trade unions hold the key. We should drive this campaign through the trade unions and show that working people have a say in the Labour Party."

DAVID WINNICK MP:

"If CLPs and particularly Trade Unions discuss and vote in favour of retaining the Clause, as indeed happened last time in 1959-60 we can win the day. The battle is by no means lost as was shown by the party conference this year."

Defend the Clause: prepare for Blair

By Jake Farrier

For Tony Blair's team, Clause IV symbolises Labour's roots as a party that wants to limit the extremes of market capitalism through social planning.

That doesn't fit in with today's Labour Party. Blair & Co oppose nationalisation of industry. They believe the capitalist free market can somehow be managed to solve the problems it has created.

Even 'soft left' MPs like Peter Hain call only for basic industry to have regulating committees, like OFTEL which oversees the telephone companies. Today only the 'hard left' defends the

call for nationalisation.

As we explain over the page, nationalisation on its own isn't the road to socialism: but it can protect workers from unemployment. It does begin to curb the rampant power of free market capital.

Exploitation

And as everyone knows from their bills, it can protect everyone from being ripped off by profit-hungry privatised utilities.

But Blair's Labour doesn't want to challenge the profits of the rich.

Instead Blair has fired the first volleys in his battle to prepare Labour for office, by purging any element of socialism, effectively breaking up the party's historic links with the unions, and

telling union leaders that they and their members shouldn't even bother to ask anything from a Labour government.

Every trade unionist and Labour Party member needs to confront this head on.

We will need to fight for socialist policies if we are to force any future Labour government to defend the rights of working people.

This also involves a fight for new leadership inside the trade unions. While we demand every union leader should stand up for Clause IV, we also understand the craven and cowardly role of many top union bureaucrats.

The trade union leadership which helped Neil Kinnock witch-hunt the left and impose the defeatist politics of new real-

ism will, in the main, side with a future Labour government.

Their refusal to challenge the power of capital makes them, like Blair, effective political agents of the ruling rich.

Socialist policies

By defending Clause IV, and linking that fight to the socialist policies needed for full employment, welfare rights and public services, working people can prepare for the battles to come under a Labour government.

Trade unionists can use this fight to regroup the fighting left, combat the wretched, defeatist leadership that has led to such a decline in union strength, and prepare for the kind of intensified class struggle we will face after the next election.

**Affiliate to the Campaign: send a minimum of £10 to
Defend Clause IV - Defend Socialism, c/o NUM, 2 Huddersfield Rd, Barnsley S70 2LS.**

A step to socialism, or just propping up capital?

Our nationalisation – and theirs

Nationalisation is not just an abstract slogan. Whole sections of British industry were nationalised by Labour governments after 1945. Brendan Young investigates, and explains why nationalisation alone is not enough.

WHY WERE wide sections of British industry nationalised after the war?

Mainly it was because they were vital parts of the economy which were in danger of collapse – because private capital was unwilling to provide the scale of investment necessary to modernise and rationalise them.

All of the industries nationalised in Britain – notably coal, rail, steel, road transport, cars and aerospace, were taken over by the state at various points after the Second World War. The utilities such as gas and water had been run by municipal authorities from Victorian times, and were later taken over by the state.

After the war both the coal and rail industries were near the point of collapse. They were in the hands of a variety of mutually competitive owners, none of whom was prepared to risk the investment needed for modernisation.

The same was the case with electricity and gas. Labour fumbled and failed over iron and steel, but in 1960 Lord Robens (then Labour's Shadow Minister for Industry and later chair of Vickers) argued for them to be nationalised on the grounds that the industry was not being run efficiently, and was vital to the British economy.

Support

The *Financial Times* actually supported the nationalisation of the British Aircraft Corporation in the late 1970s, as did its owners – GEC-Vickers.

All nationalisations in Britain have included compensation at rates acceptable to the owners.

Similarly all nationalisations brought massive job losses as part of rationalisation: South Wales had 108,000 miners in 1948, but only 48,000 in 1968.

Beeching's rationalisation of the railways in 1962 closed thousands of miles of track.

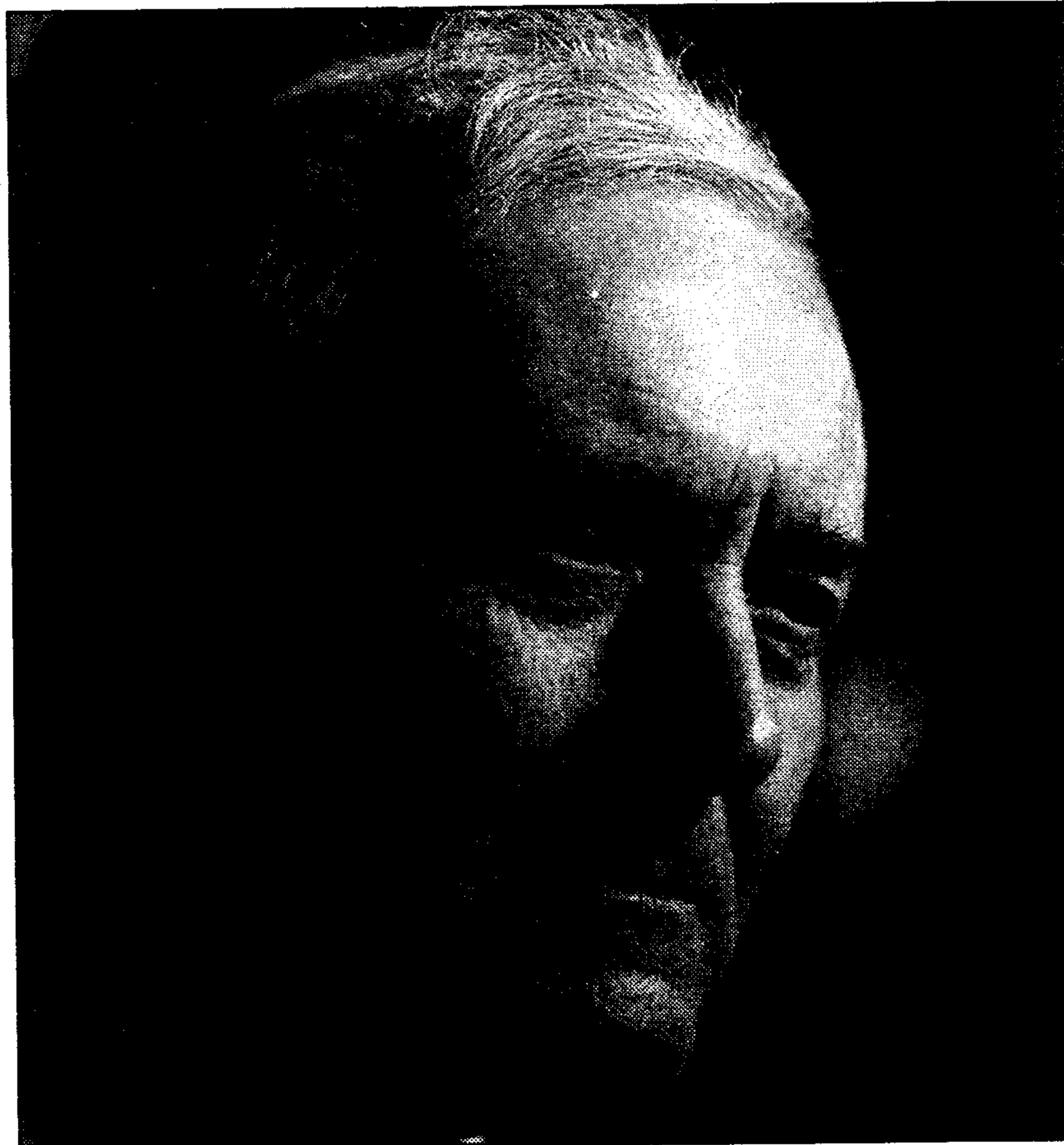
After the formation of the British Steel Corporation in 1967 came a stream of plant closures and job losses.

The effect of nationalisation therefore, was that the state carried out a concentration and centralisation of capital in key industrial sectors. It injected new capital and modernised key industries to meet increased international competition: in this way with the state acted in the overall interest of British capitalism.

Nationalisation in Britain has always been geared to the needs of capital, and never been part of an economic plan based on social need.

Nor has it ever constituted expropriation, since private owners were paid handsomely.

And once nationalised, the industries continued to operate on the basis of commodity production, driven by demand in



the world market.

Capitalist labour relations also continued in the nationalised industries as in privately-owned industry. Nor was there any vestige of workers' control – many said that they had simply exchanged one set of bosses for another.

Why then was nationalisation so popular when it happened, and why do socialists continue to support the idea?

Reliance on state

For many in the Labour Party nationalisation was seen as the equivalent of socialism: they thought the state under Labour would direct the economy in the interest of all.

Many workers shared this ideology at the time of nationalisation, when it was celebrated as “the workers owning the industry” and as a guarantee that the mass unemployment and lockouts of the 1930s would never return.

Nationalisation in Britain has always been geared to the needs of capital. It has never been part of an economic plan based on social need.

The class character of the state – which remained firmly capitalist – and the social relations defended by it were never (and still are not) regarded as the central question.

Experience of working in nationalised industries however, brought many to the conclusion that this “socialism” was not what they had expected or desired.

Disillusion took expression during the 1970s in the miners' and other pay strikes rather than a mass radicalisation around the need to politically challenge the state, which upheld capitalist relations within the nationalised industries.

Even attempts at workers' co-ops and workers' plans (Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Lucas Aerospace) did not lead to any

coherent political analysis.

Nationalisation did however, facilitate strengthened union organisation and greater possibilities of solidarity action because the existence of a common employer posed the question of joint struggles for common wages.

The debate on nationalisation takes on added urgency when we look at Labour's current economic proposals. Blair has tied himself to the mast of a “dynamic market economy”. Brown's economic policy is a supply-side strategy in which international competitiveness is vital.

But central to international competitiveness are high levels of capital investment and cheap, flexible labour. This means that Labour is going to have to keep wages low and workers under control if big capital is to be voluntarily induced by the lure of profit to locate in Britain.

Labour's economic policy is now in

harmony with European Union economic thinking, according to which the market (in finance, production and services) is the best mechanism to stimulate growth and efficiency in the economy; the state should act as provider only where the market fails – in research and development, infrastructure, education and some aspects of welfare – and its main function should be one of regulation.

'Partnership' with capital

Brown proposes 'partnership' with industry; public control (rather than ownership) is advanced for the public utilities, with commitment to re-nationalise only the railways.

Thus there is little strategic difference between Labour policy and Heseltine's version of neo-liberalism. Blair's proposal to re-draft Clause 4 puts the ideological icing on the cake: nationalisation is to be written out of Labour's policies forever.

But if nationalisation under capitalism does not meet workers' needs, why then should socialists support it?

In the first place, it is a *defensive* demand, to protect workers from unemployment and impoverishment: if private capitalists cannot sustain production and employment, we demand that the state should step in and take over.

We should also demand a sliding scale of hours and wages to prevent unemployment and impoverishment. Nationalisation is also necessary to control the location of enterprises and prevent economically peripheral areas becoming low-wage zones providing reserve armies of labour.

Moreover a Labour government would have to embark on a programme of nationalisation of the banks and major monopolies if it was to have any hope of exerting control in the interests of the workers and unemployed over the investment and use of capital.

Sabotage

Voluntary agreements with the capitalists do not work, as the sabotage of Tony Benn's attempts at planning agreements under Labour's National Enterprise Board in the mid 1970s clearly showed.

It makes little difference that most big plants in Britain are now owned by multinational companies, British or otherwise; rapid nationalisation would be necessary to stop a flight of capital, economic disruption and counter-revolutionary agitation by the British ruling class.

This is not to suggest that a 'national plan' by a workers' government could resolve the economic crisis in Britain. Global production and exchange requires an international strategy, of which taking control of the 'national' economy is merely the first necessary step.

While recognising that nationalisation of itself is an insufficient demand, socialists should support it because it draws the masses into active politics and makes them more critical of the machinations of the bourgeoisie and of the state.

It gives socialists opportunities to raise the question of the class character of the state, which is held to be a neutral and suitable instrument for social reform in Labourist ideology. Refusal of compensation should always be part of our demands for nationalisation, as well as arguments on the need for workers control and opening the books.

While the experience of nationalisation and the so-called mixed economy has not been positive for many workers, an economic strategy attuned to the core of EU economics – liberal capitalism – can only be worse.

Within the working class, nationalisation retains support as a mechanism for social control of the economy.

It is this sentiment which we must build upon and clarify in the fight to defend Clause 4.

No Retreat ... No Redraft ...

Socialism is still a new idea!

By Dave Packer

WORKING people do not join the Labour Party because they want it to run capitalism better than the Tories and Liberal Democrats.

They do not support Labour in order to accept the dictates of the banks, or because they place their trust in market forces. That is the way to massive cuts in health, education, social services, house building.

Clause IV represents the fundamental social principle which makes Labour distinct from just another capitalist party. It codifies principles upon which the Labour Party must rest if it is to become a genuinely radical party.

Clause 4 is not a full socialist programme. But it does propose popular control of the blind forces of the market through social ownership. Nationalisation of the banks and the main sectors of production under popular democratic control is a key to any socialist vision of society.

It is not the socialists who are



the dinosaurs, but Tony Blair's backward-looking team of Lib-Labers. If they get their way they will take us us back to a situation comparable to the last century, when there was no Labour Party.

Socialism is *still* a new idea. The problem is that the ideas encapsulated in Clause 4, (Pt 4), have never been put into practice.

The Soviet Union and other so-called 'socialist' states were a bureaucratic caricature of such a vision, which is why the mass of people rejected them.



Blair's offensive against Clause 4 is a crucial step for him if he is to overthrow the present character of the Labour Party, transforming it into a new Liberal party, something like the US Democrats. It will still require successful and decisive attacks on the trade union link for it to become a reality, but defending the Clause is a part of this struggle.

Unfortunately the new right wing offensive announced in the leader's speech has more chance of success than did the last serious attempt to ditch Clause 4, by Hugh Gaitskell in 1959.

Today's Labour Party has been weakened by the debilitating effects of 'New Realist' ideology - in reality old-fashioned class collaboration - in the unions and the Party.

Tragically, even sections of the erstwhile left refuse to defend Clause 4 and have fallen on their knees before Blair with their newly published redraft.

The defeatist approach be-

gins with the 'principle' that if you can't beat them join them - occupy their ground. It's the same opportunist logic followed by Blair himself in relation to 'the market' and the Tory dominated consensus.

The problem is that the ideas encapsulated in Clause 4 have never been implemented

The result of this policy, for which parts of the 'soft' left will have a fair share of responsibility, would be as disastrous for Labour as it has been for the US Democrats.

The soft left redraft has very little to do with socialism and, unlike Clause 4, could be supported by the capitalist class.

State ownership of the utilities and a modicum of wealth

redistribution through progressive taxation would be quite acceptable to the anti-socialist right of the Party as well as to a lot of Liberals.

Even the references to socialism in the soft left redraft are no problem - Blair has already insisted on this figleaf being included. Unfortunately it is just a sop.

The soft left re-draft, which, according to the *Guardian* enjoys the support of *Tribune* and the *New Statesman*, is a disaster politically and tactically.

Even the Campaign Group proposal, which has at least the intent of only adding an addendum to the existing Clause, is a concession to this right wing pressure.

If the intention is to 'defend and extend' a socialist commitment, then maybe an addendum could be justified.

However, in the the present situation, the Defend Clause 4 Defend Socialism campaign is right to defend it - unamended.

Manchester rallies to the Clause

By Aidan Satter

LABOUR'S identity is at stake: that's how important the battle for Clause Four is.

Over 170 people packed in to the Mechanics Institute in Manchester on November 18 to hear Arthur Scargill, Alan Simpson of the Labour Party Campaign Group, MEPs Mike Hindley and Eddy Newman, and Karina Knight of Manchester Young Labour discuss how to defend the Clause.

A few days earlier 250 had joined a rally on the same issue addressed by Tony Benn at the Metropolitan University.

All of the speakers argued that Blair attack is a challenge to all socialists. He is trying to remove every remnant of Labour's commitment to socialism.

This reflects the leadership's

embrace of the market and a desire to wholly subordinate workers' interests to the dictates of capitalism.

It means accepting:

- private enterprise — production for profits not needs as the engine of the economy
- huge inequality between rich and poor in Britain and internationally
- unemployment and under-employment as permanent features
- a 'new world order' of competition and conflict

Dumping Clause Four will free Blair from all obligation to reverse the damage wrought by the Tories — accepting privatisation, the erosion of benefits, anti-union laws, the NHS internal market, the destruction of local government.

This is the price the bosses want for their support. Blair

wants us to pay it.

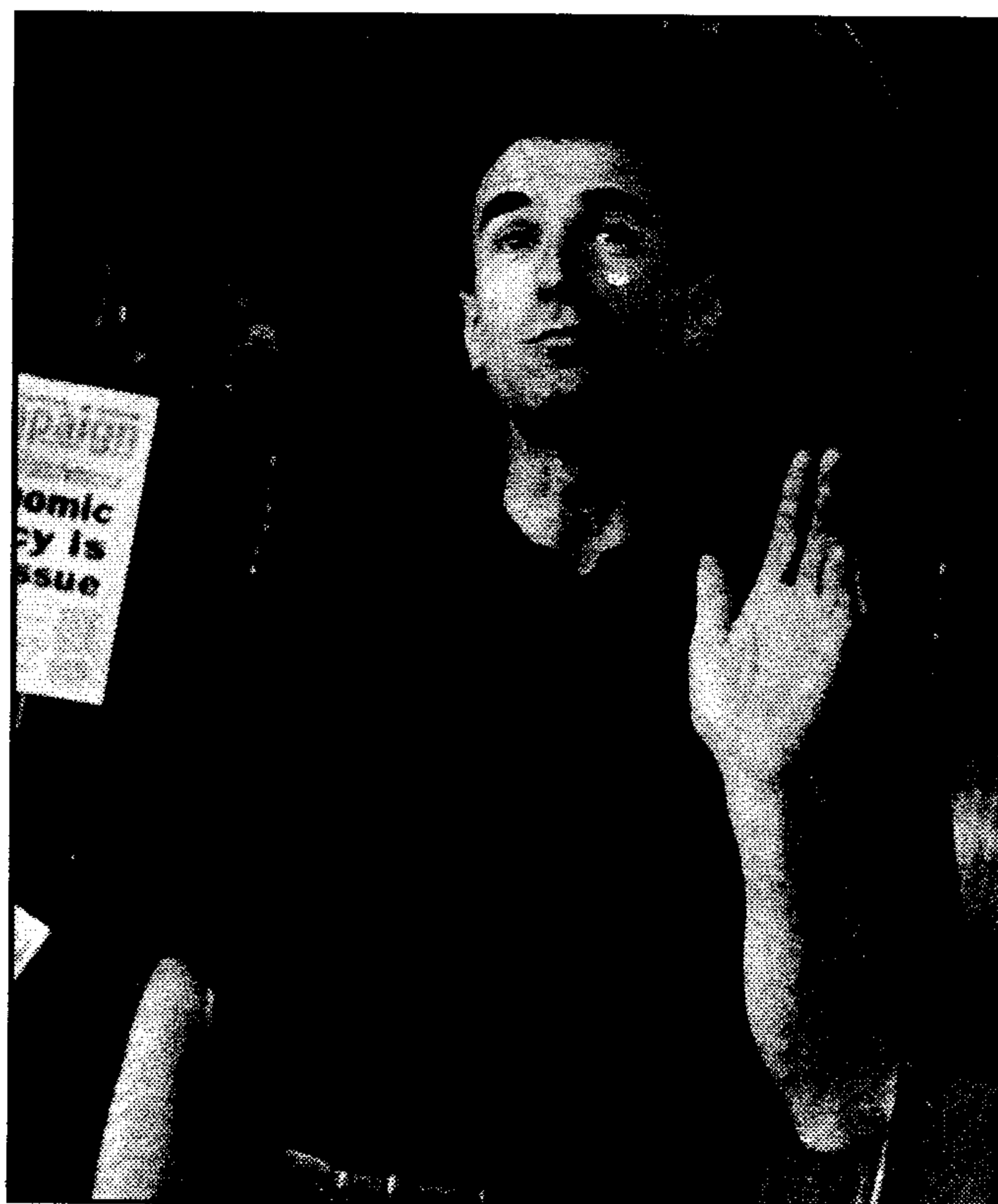
The success of the rally is an indication of the mood of rank and file members in Manchester and their determination to resist the changes in the constitution.

Hundreds have already signed a statement reaffirming the Clause, the trade union link and the sovereignty of conference over a future Labour government.

Arthur Scargill reminded us that the clause originated not in middle class Fabianism but in the aspirations of trade unionists.

He explained how he joined the Labour Party to end the rotten corruption of capitalism, not to tinker with it. Blair's proposals are a betrayal of that sentiment.

Clause Four envisions a much fuller democracy than the one presently on offer, Karina Knight argued — popular administration of the economy and work-



Alan Simpson

ers' control of production.

Ditching it means accepting the unaccountable power of the bosses at a time when the need for working class people to control their lives has never been greater.

The speakers insisted that there be no amendment to the clause.

Any compromise on its word-

ing would be a retreat in the face of pressure from Blair and the ruling class — a capitulation in the face of the offensive against socialism.

Address for support, donations and information:
Clause 4 Manchester, c/o 17 Beech Hurst Close, Manchester M16 8EP.

Tel 061 881 1377.

DEFENDING CLAUSE IV

A revolutionary road to socialism

By Chris Brooks

SOCIALIST Outlook is a marxist paper written and sold by a network of activists inside the Labour Party, the trades unions and a range of campaigns. For us, the struggle to defend Clause IV is urgent and vital.

We disagree with those who say that the attack on Clause IV is about Labour's loyalty to real socialism. For instance we have seen the opinion that "Clause 4, despite its archaic language and formulation, represents the party's commitment to socialism, its links to the trades unions, to Marxism and above all to the Russian revolution" (Tony Aitman, *Militant*, 25 November).

Labour has never been an explicitly socialist party. It has always been tied to seeking reforms from capitalism through parliamentary legislation. Clause IV itself was certainly a response to the Russian Revolution — aimed at preventing any similar movement in Britain!

Real meaning

According to one of its original authors, Clause IV aimed to "rehabilitate Parliament in the eyes of the people" and channel discontent away from marxism.

The Clause proposes common ownership but (like *Militant*) fails to outline any strategy for taking the power from the ruling rich, for challenging their state, and

for introducing a real pluralist, self-managing democracy.

But while we think it is a big mistake to assert that Clause IV offers a road to socialism, that is not the main issue at stake.

The fight to defend the Clause could inflict a defeat on Blair's right wing 'modernisers', and would create the most favourable conditions for united action and political struggle for socialist policies under a Labour government.

State

Of course even nationalisation wouldn't bring us socialism while we still have a state machine — police, armed forces, judiciary, civil service — that is virtually unaccountable to the people.

It isn't difficult to see what would happen if an elected government tried to take industry, the banks and finance houses of this country into common ownership — there would be a massive showdown with the ruling class and the state.

There is no purely parliamentary road to socialism.

Even the limited reforms introduced by Harold Wilson's Labour government in the 1970s triggered talk in the officer corps of a possible military coup. The grim example of Chile in 1973 shows that capital will stop at nothing to defend its interests.

Experience proves that only by smashing the corrupt old capitalist state apparatus and building a new state power,



ARTHUR SCARGILL
(NUM PRESIDENT)

"To see the Labour leadership embrace the market is not only a repudiation of basic socialist faith. It is beginning to sow the seeds of defeat at the next election. I didn't join this Party to ensure that it ran capitalism better than the Tories. I joined to change this rotten corrupt system of society into a socialist society where men and women would own and control their own lives and their own destinies — with common ownership at the very forefront.

"You can have as many clauses as you want on racism on equal opportunity on women's rights — on a whole range of issues. But do not allow yourselves to be misled into linking them with the destruction of Clause IV part 4. I say to people in the PLP like Peter Hain and Clare Short, who say that they are in favour of Socialism, that the only way that you can do something positive in defending socialism is to defend clause IV.

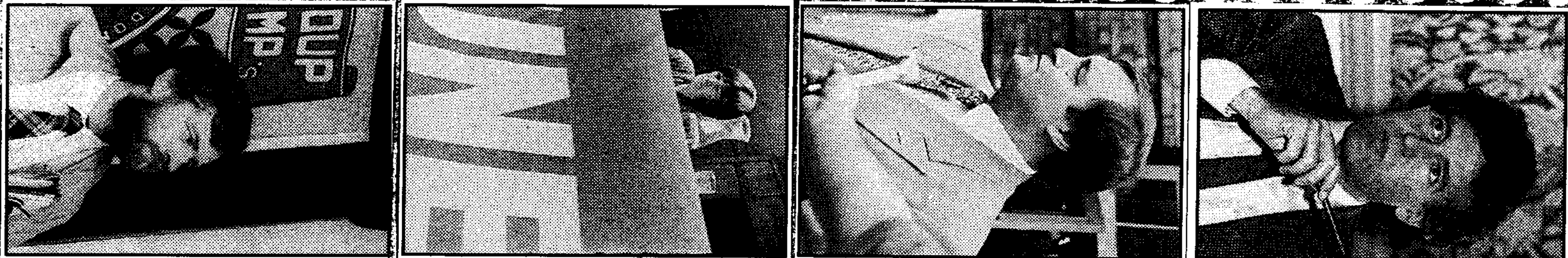
"I believe passionately that we can have in our lifetime socialism as was envisaged by the Labour pioneers. We owe it to them to defend Clause IV but more importantly we owe it to ourselves."

composed of workers themselves organised and elected through mass bodies and armed for the purpose, is it possible to achieve socialism.

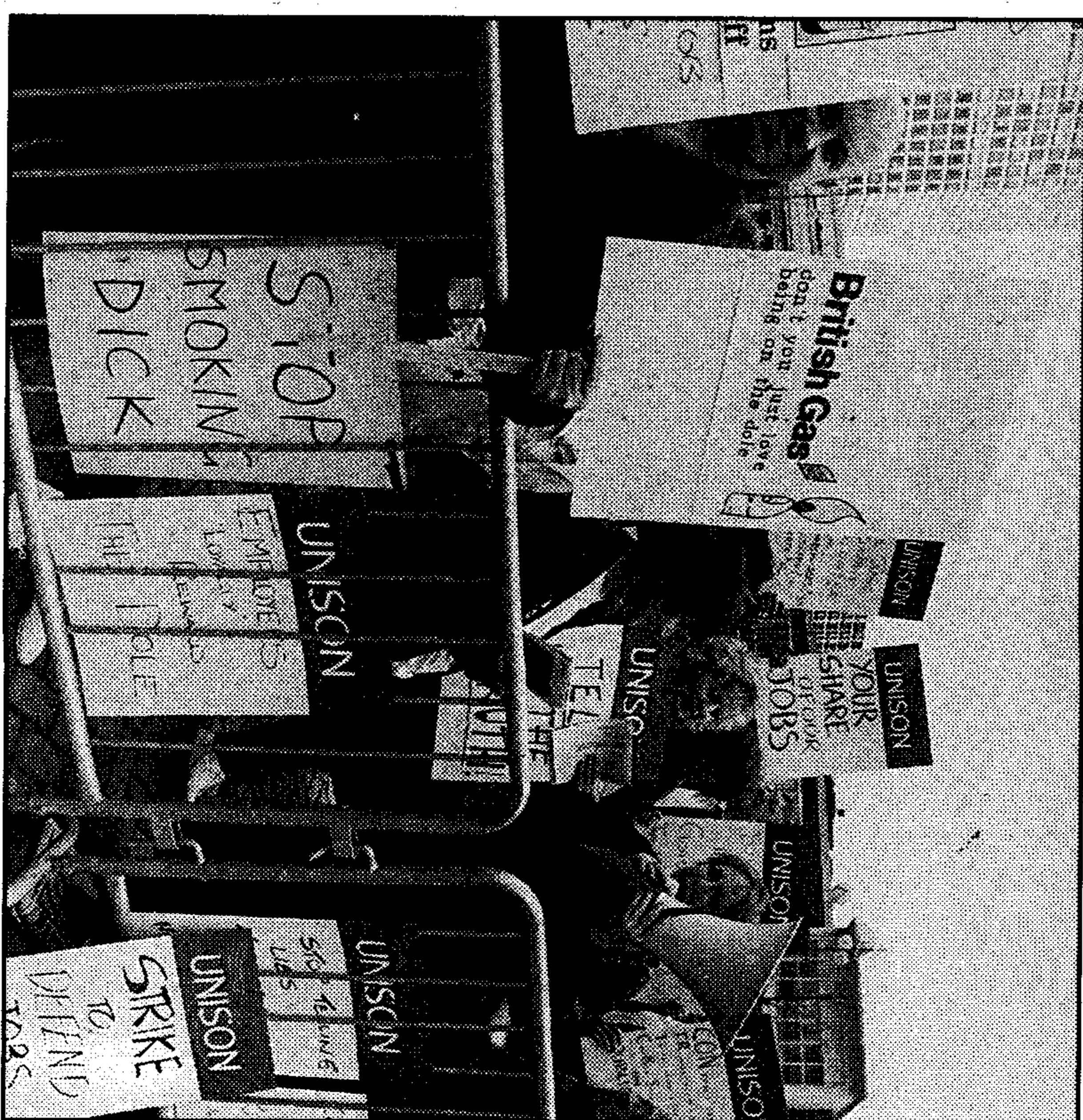
There is a vital connection between this strategy for socialism and building the resistance to welfare cuts, fighting now to defend Clause IV, and the fight against racism and sexism. Exploitation, misery and war are in-built features of capitalism which divide and weaken the working class.

Today more and more people see the need for a feminist, internationalist and revolutionary movement to face up to the opportunities and challenges of the Labour government and beyond. *Socialist Outlook* upholds that vision.

• For a copy of our pamphlet *Socialism After Stalinism* and details of our local readers' meetings send an s.a.e. to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.



**FIGHT FOR
SOCIALISM**



**Defend
clause IV**

Socialist OUTLOOK Factsheet • 20p



Get ready for Latvia, Inc.

By Jodley Green

LATVIA is set to follow Estonia, where the privatisation process is 90 per cent complete and workers are suffering the bitter consequences.

The Latvian Privatisation Agency is seeking western buyers for previously state-owned industries.

With the closing date on December 22, capitalists in the west can bid for a little Christmas present for themselves. Special offers include the warship repair plant at Riga.

Of course the Latvian Privatisation Agency would like promises that investors will maintain or create jobs.

But there's little chance of

that, since it is the German Ministry of Finance and the European Union who are funding the privatisation process.

In the West companies sink or swim and 'unfair disadvantages' such as workers having rights are being eradicated from the European Union.

Working within the market system as an outpost of German capitalism, Latvian workers will find that promises to invest and maintain jobs are not worth the paper they are written on.

And while European capital can get into virtually any country it likes, and profits from Latvia will be welcome into all EU member states, Latvian workers hoping to benefit from the higher pay levels in the West will find the EU borders closed to them.

Bhopal: a decade of misery and struggle

By Bala Kumar

TEN YEARS ago on December 2 1984 while the people of the Indian city of Bhopal slept a leak in the Union Carbide pesticide plant spread lethal methyl isocyanate gas, poisoning close to half a million people.

That night alone 2,000 people died. The total has risen to 10,000, while thousands more have been blinded or developed kidney and liver illnesses, and women's reproductive systems have been permanently harmed.

Even after local managers of the plant and a hazards team from the USA pointed out that necessary safety precautions had not been taken, the Union Carbide head office refused to spend any extra money to protect the lives of workers and the surrounding community.

This is a disaster that never should have happened. Had lives been placed above profits, it never would.

Union Carbide, among the world's top ten chemical companies, has refused to accept responsibility for its callous

disregard of Indian lives or adequately to compensate for the medical costs of survivors and or bereaved families for the loss of their main bread-winners.

Matters were made worse by the involvement of the Indian government (a part-owner of the plant), which obtained a 'full and final' settlement for all compensation claims through the Indian Supreme Court - without consulting any of the survivors' groups.

Negligence

Union Carbide had feared it could be forced into bankruptcy by their corporate negligence. But the Court's decision to award just \$470 million against the company was so advantageous that its shares actually rose \$2 on Wall Street!

The amount of damages compares unfavourably with what a US citizen might expect. Some years ago 60,000 Americans with asbestosis were awarded \$2.5 billion.

Some lives are clearly seen as cheaper than others.

But the furore which erupted



in India over the paltry damages award has led to criminal charges being filed against the chief executives of the parent firm and its Indian subsidiary.

Commemorative events are being held internationally to mark one of the world's worst industrial disasters, and to refocus attention on the on-going struggles of the gas-affected people of Bhopal for justice.

In London the Permanent Peoples Tribunal on Industrial Hazards and Human Rights is meeting to draft an International Convention.

As long as the global economy is run by and for multinational giants like Union Carbide, this Convention can never be more than a worthy effort.

Putting it into effect demands a planned economy run by workers for the benefit of workers and the poor majority.

Contact The Pesticides Trust, Eurolink Centre, 49 Effra Rd, London SW2. 0171-274-8895.

Stalinism lives on... in Nepal

by K. Govindan

THE COMMUNIST Party (Unified Marxist-Leninist) has formed a minority government in Nepal, having won 88 seats in the 205-member House of Representatives.

This mid-term election had been called after the ruling Nepali Congress Party lost a July vote of no confidence, mainly due to internal divisions.

Multi-party politics were restored in Nepal fairly recently, and were only conceded by the autocratic King Birendra after mass protests in 1990 demanding democracy.

Through their leading role in the pro-democracy movement, the largely Maoist communist movement, which had been weak and splintered as a result of repression, illegality and ideological splits, grew and regrouped into several parties.

In the run-up to the elections some of these, led by the CP(UML) formed a Leftist

United Front to campaign against the Congress Party and agitate on specific issues.

One controversial issue was the government plan to sell energy from the Tanakpur hydro-electric project to India on unfair terms. Nepal was to receive just 1 MW of the 120MW output, while the Congress government was implicated in corruption over the project.

Sell-off

Another emotive issue was allegations that the Congress Party was selling off state assets to foreign (code for Indian) big business.

The new government will rely on parliamentary support from the dissident Bhattarai faction of the Congress Party, the monarchist Rashtriya Prajatantra Party and the left-wing Mazdoor Kisan party for its survival.

However the CP(UML) is locked in to the Stalinist politics of the popular front. It is determined to maintain an alliance with a section of the Nepali bourgeoisie. Party leaders had



indicated from before the elections its willingness to form a coalition government with the pro-capitalist Bhattarai faction, inviting it to join the Leftist United Front.

As the *Financial Times* noted: "The international decline of communism and the advent of parliamentary politics in Nepal prompted the CP(UML) into emerging as more social democrat than socialist."

Radical policies are needed.

Nepalis have a life expectancy of only 52 years. Only one in five can read and write. Clean water, health clinics and electricity are scarce resources.

Land

Land reform is promised, but the contrasting experiences of India and China show that it will be difficult to carry through without a revolutionary transformation of society.

Meanwhile, instead of expro-

priation, landlords will be compensated by allocation of shares in state firms - effectively transforming the agrarian capitalists into an industrial capitalist class.

According to the CP(UML) General Secretary, "The state will concentrate on public utility concerns, and industry will work in the private sector."

It appears that the only radical thing about the new ruling party is its name.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Yesterday's Shadow lacks substance

Aidan Day reviews *The Shadow*, directed by Russell Mulcahy

"Who knows what evil lurks in the hearts of men" is the poser the film sets out for us. Once upon a time it captured the imagination of a generation. But that was 50 years ago.

Russell Mulcahy's film is proof that audiences have moved on — it is not enough for Hollywood to keep rehashing old heroes, turning over old plots and dragging up well worn lines.

That they have to go back to the 1930s for inspiration is an indication of real artistic impoverishment in the present generation.

Even the best of the bunch, Quentin Tarantino, has made his reputation on pastiche and parody — lurid reflection and cruel repetition seems to be as good as it gets. Perhaps the postmodernists have got it right after all — this is the end of history.

Disguising his identity underneath his cloak of invisibility Alec Baldwin is the Shadow, a crime fighting loner who takes on the criminals of New York. It's a familiar theme.

But, as the makers assure us, the Shadow was around along time before Batman or Superman: "before there ever was the Dark Knight there was the Knight of Darkness".

The fedora-topped avenger zooms around the city in his supercharged yellow cab, righting wrongs and knocking seven bells out of baddies.

Using his mystic powers to trick the enemies of good order and the American Way, he fights evil and saves the world — from, would you believe, a reincarnated Genghis Khan who has got hold of an atom



bomb. Somehow during all this he manages to make time for an amorous encounter with the obligatory enchantress — played by Penelope Ann Miller.

She swans around aimlessly in a variety of silken garments for the duration of the film, with nothing to see her through the ninety minutes but a couple of second rate double-entendres. Given that Miller is an actor of some talent, the flatness of her role is a waste.

Dredged up

So why has Hollywood dredged this one out of the murky depths of 1930s radio?

First and foremost, they've run out of classic superheroes — this was the only one left. But there may be more to it than this.

The Shadow was a product of his time. His time was that of the Great Depression. It was the unemployment and misery of America that created him.

This superhero was a conscious attempt by Hollywood to take people's minds off the world around them. Along with Saturday movie serials



and radio drama the "pulp" novel was a vital part of the American ideological fiction factory.

Whereas previous heroes had been rock-jawed paragons the Shadow is an Old Testament avenger — a ruthless slayer of the wicked.

It is instructive then that the film opens with the Shadow terrorising a mafioso guilty of killing a policeman.

This type of story plays a dual role of intimidating the potential wrongdoer and reassuring the populace that there is some justice out there somewhere:

"But now they saw a tall, black-clad figure at the other side of the room. The sable form stood motionless. It looked like a spectre from the world beyond. It had come like a messenger of vengeance."

Living by night, the Shadow inverts the traditional white-hat black-hat opposition of Hollywood.

It's the baddies who scamper for daylight. He is a tortured soul capable of acts of tremendous barbarism, terrified of the menacing violence that he fears lurks inside.

Metaphor

It is just what was called for in the Depression — a metaphor for the times.

And that is why it does not work now. Things are different. There is no longer the possibility of re-assurance. We all know capitalism is corrupt to its core — from arms to Iraq to guns to the Contras the Western elite has blown it.

The moral cement of the anglophile Protestant North Atlantic democracies has crumbled beyond repair. We're no longer convinced.

Things have gone too far, the price for redemption is higher than a single individual can muster — that's why caped avengers are definitely out.

Without a shadow of a doubt.

REVIEWS

A tragic vision of Cuba's survival

JODLEY GREEN reviews 'Strawberry & Chocolate' by Tomas Gutierrez Alea.

The Cuban film 'Strawberry and Chocolate' is a cultural export of which Castro should be proud, but probably isn't.

The film, about Diego, a

gay artist living in Cuba, could hardly fail to be a critique of the state's attitude towards homosexuality.

However it is much more than this. Diego and the young communist student David, with whom he is in love, share a genuine passion for Cuban independence and culture.

David at first mistrusts Diego because he is gay, because he talks ironically

about the revolution, and because he enjoys art and whisky not sanctioned by the bureaucrats.

But it is the ironic Diego who teaches David, the committed communist, to appreciate the true beauty of his country.

Out of suspicion grows friendship and it soon becomes clear to David that Diego is also part of Cuba, and should be a part of the revolu-

tion. Other members of the Party don't see things the same way and just as Diego has been excluded from participation in the revolution, he will soon be 'kicked out' of the country.

'Strawberry & Chocolate' is a tragic film. The economic decay of Cuba forms the backdrop to a story of love, betrayal and finally - too late - understanding.

The message of the film is that the revolution cannot simply be defended but must also be extended to include the participation of all Cuba's people if the revolution is to survive, not only to do so physically but also politically.

Like the strawberry and chocolate ice cream of the title, this film is made in Cuba and there is a message in that fact also.



Alan Thornett reviews
*The Enemy Within - MI5,
Maxwell and the Scargill
affair* by Seumas Milne
(Verso £16.95).

SEUMAS Milne's new book
"The Enemy Within" is both a
defence of the NUM during and
after the 1984-5 strike and a
crucially important expose of the
subversive role of the security
services within the trade unions
over the past two decades.

The book contains a rigorous and
detailed account of the campaign by
the Thatcher administration to
destroy the NUM and its leadership
during the course of the 1980s. This
offensive was the spearhead of its
campaign against the whole trade
union movement.

It traces the moves by the
government to destabilise the NUM
and to "get Scargill" from their
pre-strike preparations through to
their bitter year long struggle
against the miners. After the strike
it details the continuing campaign
to destroy the NUM and the coal
industry itself. It shows the effects
of their support for nuclear power,
the privatisation of electricity
generation, and the rigging of the
market. It carries and account of
the final blitzkrieg against the
industry by Heseltine in 1992.

Milne graphically shows how
the government miscalculated coal
stocks and how, despite the
Nottinghamshire scabbing, the
miners were on the verge of
victory in October 1984. It details
the preparations made at that time,
but in the event not used until
much later, to discredit and vilify
the leadership of the union -
Scargill in particular - in order
to bolster the government's
position.

Penetration

Of special interest to activists
will be the new information on
the role of the state security
service MI5 before and after the
strike - how they set out to
penetrate the NUM at the highest
level. This was systematically
carried out by MI5's grade union
section F2, long presided over
by Stella Rimmington - now
director of the agency.

Rimmington controlled the
F2 operation throughout the
year reporting directly to the
government. Throughout she
organised subversion into the
strike and provocations into the
picket lines.

Leaks emanating from GCHQ
and other security sources in the
early 1990s make it clear that
MI5 set out to

How the secret state worked to undermine Scargill

use the staff changes before the
strike to penetrate NUM national
office staff. They were acting on
direct instructions of Margaret
Thatcher. Ironically the NUM
office in Euston was right
opposite Rimmington's office in
the MI5 building on the corner of
Gower Street next to the RMT
headquarters.

Milne quotes a former MI5
officer to explain how the moves
to penetrate the NUM began:

"Cathy Massiter, then a desk
office in F branch, was present
at a meeting with a long time
MI5 agent, his handler and another
F-branch officer at a security
service safe house in London. The
agent was Harry Newton, a
Yorkshireman and a well
respected left-wing academic in
the northern labour and peace
movements. In his other persona,
he was a paranoid anti-communist
who had worked undercover for
MI5 for nearly 30 years".

Newton was a long time
friend of Scargill since YCL days.
In the early 1980s MI5 moved
Newton to London to work in the
CND national office. This meeting
planned to penetrate the NUM
at "the highest level". They
desperately wanted someone
close to Scargill prior to the
imminent strike.

Newton never got to the
stage of applying for a job with
the NUM in Sheffield because his
health began to fail. Scargill,
however, told Seumas Milne that
had he applied he would have
stood a very good chance of
getting it.

Newton's health did not stop
the penetration of the NUM by
MI5. Michael Bettany, an MI5
officer, told his

solicitor, who was also the
NUM's solicitor, that MI5 had
in fact succeeded in placing an
agent high up in the NUM and
that the NUM leadership should
know.

Retired CIA agent Miles
Copeland, no political friend of
Scargill's, phoned him to
further say that an agent had
been successfully placed at the
top of the union. This
penetration took place at exactly
the time Roger Windsor was
taken on as chief executive of
the NUM.

Windsor became one of the
four most influential people in
the union by the time the strike
took place. In 1990 he suddenly
left the union and quickly
swiftly became a paid informant,
to the tune of £80,000. Robert
Maxwell's *Mirror* and the Cook
Report launched one of the
biggest attacks on a trade union
leader ever seen in this country.

Libya

Windsor alleged that Scargill
had used money from Libya to
pay off his mortgage (and those
of Peter Heathfield and himself),
and that Scargill had
misappropriated huge sums of
money donated by Soviet miners.
All these allegations fell in
court and Scargill was
roundly vindicated. There is,
however, much more to the story.

Milne's book makes a
convincing case that Windsor
was in fact the agent concerned
with a brief to "fuck up the
NUM". Scargill is clearly
convinced of the truth of this.
Windsor was the architect of
the plans to move NUM funds

into foreign secure bank
accounts. Sources from GCHQ
suggest that it was cracked
because of tip-offs providing
information shared by only a
few people.

This book and the Dispatches
programme demolish the *Daily
Mirror's* campaign against
Scargill - particularly over the
Libyan money.

Although Windsor denies
MI5 involvement others who were
close to him are having their
doubts. Roy Greenslade who
was the editor of the *Daily
Mirror* at the time and who
backed the story to the hilt at
on the instructions of Maxwell
is no longer convinced of the
accuracy of the material
supplied by Windsor. He told
Milne that they may have been
victims of an MI5 sting.

Even Maxwell himself, before
he finally cast himself over the
side of his boat, began to
think that this may have been
the case - although, says
Greenslade, it never bothered
him very much.

After the *Mirror* carried its
diatribe Tam Dayell accused
Windsor in Parliament of
being an MI5 agent and of
working directly with Stella
Rimmington. He claimed that
this came from an impeccable
source in the security services
which he was not prepared to
name. The source told him
that Windsor had been an
agent of MI5 from a time before
he was employed by the union.

Correspondents

Milne's book, which also
shows the extent to which the
labour correspondents of the
various newspapers were
targeted and penetrated by
MI5, is a real service to the
trade union movement. MI5
dirty tricks have extended far
beyond the NUM - although
this was clearly been one of
their biggest operations.

I have personally experienced
their extensive intervention in
the car industry, a major
target through the 1970s. While
getting a lift from a guy in
Oxford, active for several years
in revolutionary politics, a
concealed police radio blurted
out a message. He stopped the
car and told me to get out. I
never saw him again.

The miners lost, and the
trade union movement is still
suffering from the defeat. But
the more that is known about
the way that defeat took place,
who was involved, and how it
was not inevitable, the more
the trade unions will be armed
for the future.

Milne has helped make this
possible. His is an important
contribution - this book will
make a good Christmas holiday
reading for all labour
movement activists.

REVIEWS

Drop slanders against Chinese Trotskyists

One symptom of Mao Zedong's political allegiance to Stalinism was his strident denunciation from the late 1930s of the Trotskyist forces, whose leaders had split from the Communist Party. After seizing power, Mao's regime arrested all the Trotskyists in China, along with some sympathisers. Some were in jail for over 25 years.

The Hong Kong section of the Fourth International is preparing for the transition to Chinese rule by stepping up its long-running campaign for the political rehabilitation of the Chinese Trotskyists.

The following article by ZHANG KAI is abridged from their publication *October Review*.

AFTER HALF a century of false allegations, branding the 1930s Chinese Trotskyists as "traitors" and "Japanese agents", the Chinese Communist Party has taken steps in its publications to remove such allegations – but in a 'characteristically Chinese' way.

The first move came back in September 1981, when the *Peoples' Daily* deleted a key line in its reprint of a 1937 Mao Zedong speech. The omitted sentence read:

"It is now obvious that the Trotskyists have become a traitor organisation and are directly receiving subsidies from Japanese secret agents."

This was said in October 1937, and the speech was published in the magazine *July* in 1938.

The deletion of this line five years after Mao's death must have been a decision of the top CCP leadership.

The CCP's quiet correction of the false allegations is more obvious in a footnote to the second edition of *The Collected Works of Mao Zedong*:

"During the resistance war against Japan, the Trotskyists advocated resistance in their propaganda work, though they attacked the Chinese Communist Party for its United Front policy of resistance. The charge that Trotskyists were traitors was a result of the wrong assertion at the time in the Comintern, alleging that the Chinese Trotskyists were related to the secret agents of the Japanese imperialists." (Vol 2, p 516, footnote 6).

The above footnote amounts to a positive statement of the following points:

- During the war against Japan, the Trotskyists advocated resistance;
- It was a "wrong assertion" on the part of the CCP to allege that the Trotskyists were "Trotskyist bandits and traitors serving Japanese secret agents";
- Such a mistake "was a result of" the Comintern under the control of Stalin, and not based on actual evidence;
- It was all slander on political enemies including Stalin's slander on Trotsky and Trotskyists.



Chinese Communist troops carry banners of Stalin through Canton in 1947



Mao in 1949

sky and Trotskyists.

Many years ago the Soviet Union announced that there was no evidence supporting the Moscow Trials. It would be difficult for the CCP to hang on to these false allegations.

According to the CCP, the first ones to allege that the Trotskyists were "bandits and traitors" were two central committee members Kang Sheng and Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming), who returned from Moscow.

The "earliest" allegation appeared in Kang Sheng's article in *Liberation* weekly published in January and February 1938. The article, entitled "Eliminate Trotskyist bandits who are Japanese spies and public enemies of the Chinese people!", alleged that

"The Japanese agents in Shanghai, through the introduction of the pro-Japanese Tang Youren, conducted co-operation negotiations with the Trotskyist bandit 'party central'.... The outcome of the negotiation was: The Trotskyist bandits 'would not stand in the way of the Japanese invasion of China', and Japan would give the 'Trotskyist party central'

\$300 every month as subsidy. ... The Japanese subsidy was collected by Luo Han, Head of Organisation of Chen Duxiu's Trotskyist party central."

From this point on the label of "traitor" was attached to Chen Duxiu, Peng Shuzhi and the Chinese Trotskyists.

The allegation aroused objection from many people at the time, who said that people should not be arbitrarily called names. Chen Duxiu and others also wrote open letters demanding concrete evidence from Kang Sheng to support the allegations. The CCP publications replied saying that Chen Duxiu should come up with evidence to disprove the allegation.

In the CCP Political Bureau meeting of December 1937, Wang Ming said

"Even if Chen Duxiu is not a Japanese agent, he should be portrayed as a Japanese agent".

From then on the CCP used this allegation to attack Trotskyists and their resistance organisations. The CCP and Kuomintang both targeted the Trotskyist "traitors", and eliminated Trotskyist-led armed forces. Many people sacrificed their lives, and more suffered from infamy. The lies were sustained for several decades.

Rehabilitated

Since 1978, various pressures have persuaded the CCP to rehabilitate many of its victims. Today, the allegation of "traitor" has been removed by the CCP.

However the 'counter-revolutionary' allegation has not been completely removed.

In the first edition of Mao's *Collected Works*, a footnote said:

"The Trotskyist clique was initially an anti-Leninist current in the Russian workers' movement, and later degraded to a totally counter-revolutionary bandit gang....

"It is a gang of unprincipled, unthink-

ing assassins, saboteurs, spies, murderers, a bandit gang employed by foreign agents and it is the deadly enemy of the working class. ...

"In China there are also a handful of Trotskyists, and they formed a counter-revolutionary small clique in 1929, spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda, and it is entirely a dirty instrument of the imperialists and Kuomintang, working against the people. ... " (Vol 1, p152).

In the 1947 edition of *Ci Hai (The Great Dictionary)* published by the China Bookstore, the explanation of "Trotsky" is: "an agent bought up by the imperialists, treacherous in betraying the interests of the state of the USSR".

In the third year after the CCP seized state power, all Trotskyists in China were arrested on charges of 'counter-revolution'. Sympathisers of Trotskyism were also arrested. Some were jailed for over a quarter of a century.

Now the last batch of Trotskyists held in jail have also been released; but still the charge of counter-revolution against them has not been officially withdrawn.

However the slanderous charges against Trotskyists are disappearing from official publications.

There is also more recognition that the Trotskyists are a current in the international communist movement, though such attributes as 'opportunism' or 'ultra-leftism' are still attached to them.

In 1985, for example, Yen Zhimin wrote a book entitled "*The Trotskyist Fourth International – the ultra-left in contemporary world socialism*."

In the 1991 edition of Mao's *Collected Works*, the footnote from Volume One with all the slanderous charges has been deleted and replaced by a new evaluation which does not explain Trotskyist ideas, but refers to Trotskyism as a dissident current in the workers' and communist movement – not a counter-revolutionary current.

With the CCP now quietly removing its previous false allegations on the Trotskyists, it is time they also withdrew the charge of counter-revolution.

A Bolshevik century?



As the Russian Revolution marks its 77th anniversary, Charles Mullett casts a critical eye over its historical significance.

"A REVOLUTIONARY class must crush the propertied classes. We shall suppress the resistance of the propertied classes with the same means by which the propertied classes suppressed the proletariat. No other means have been invented."

These are Lenin's words, with shocking implications. However, most critics who denounce them have none of the same qualms when it comes to violence employed in pursuit of goals they support - witness in recent years the Gulf War.

Clearly, it is not only 'marxist' cynics who believe ends justify means, whatever the pieties. What, then, were the ends, the aims and results, of the Bolshevik revolution?

Locally, the revolution brought about the transfer of the country's property to its workers and, especially, peasants. As Lenin announced to the Second Congress of Soviets his party's proposal to transfer the land to those who worked it, his companion Natalya Krupskaya observed an elderly peasant "gripped by deep emotion. His eyes glistened with a certain special light."

The belief among the majority of peasants that only the Soviet regime would honour land reform was essential to the Bolshevik victory in the civil war.

Equality of the sexes - divorce, equality in marriage, abortion rights and nursery facilities - and freedom of sexual expression were legally established.

Pioneering

In the midst of the violence and chaos the new regime found time to take a series of pioneering social initiatives, including, for example, the formation of the Commissariat of Public Health which for the first time in the world offered a system for free health care and prevention.

The Tsarist Empire, the prison-house of peoples was dismantled, with a series of nations gaining independence and cultural and linguistic rights given very broad scope. The "ethnic diversity" of the former Soviet Union and today's Russia is a direct outcome of Bolshevik policy.

The Bolsheviks came to power because they were committed to an immediate end to Russian involvement in the first world war.

They made good that pledge. Once at the helm, they tried to win world-wide support for their programme of a peace without indemnities or annexations, but were finally forced to make a separate peace with the Germans which entailed major losses of territory.

However, the propaganda offensive was not in vain. The rising revolutionary tide in Germany, itself given a new impetus by the Russian revolution, hastened the end of the conflict.



The revolutionary explosion in Russia was part and parcel of a wider revolt against imperialism and capitalism brought on by the world war.

The seizure of power, however, allowed the Bolsheviks to give an enormous additional impetus to that revolt. In Germany and Austria ancient monarchic empires fell and were replaced with republics. New nation states appeared throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Budding anti-colonialism found a powerful new ally.

In China, for example, the Soviet government renounced Russia's claims and privileges and instead allied itself with the nationalists seeking to rid their country of the imperial system within, and imperialist depredations without.

The revolutionary regime thus launched the progressive politics of the 20th century. We have come to take further advances on this agenda for granted, but this is at least partly due to the Russian Revolution and its impact; for example, American President Woodrow Wilson espoused the right of national self-determination after, and under the pressure of, the Russian example.

Popular support

Another common line of attack is to claim that the revolution was the result of Lenin's demonic genius. However, it is impossible to explain how, without widespread popular support, the Soviet regime could have prevailed over their better armed and better educated opponents enjoying the material support of the world's most powerful countries.

An American academic study of Saratov Province in the revolutionary years - one of many detailed accounts to be found on university library shelves - concludes

"By the fall of 1917 wide strata of workers, soldiers and peasants had con-

cluded that only an all-soviet government could solve the country's problems" (Donald J. Raleigh, *Revolution on the Volga*; 1917 in Saratov, Cornell University Press 1986, p.331).

"Take power, you sonofabitch, when they give it to you", railed a demonstrator at moderate socialist leader Victor Chernov in July 1917. The Bolsheviks took what they were offered.

However, searching for a true account of the course and meaning of the Revolution is not the same as placing that event and its leaders above history. The Stalinist tradition and even many in the would-be revolutionary left have simply produced a mirror image of the anti-October discourse.

Down the decades, groups of comrades have descended on the world's trouble spots, a copy of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* in their anorak pockets, eager to "spot the Kerensky" and give advice on defeating the local Kornilov.

Specific tactics

In fact, the Bolshevik tactics, however brilliant, and their strength of will, however impressive, were only the concrete and historically specific form of their real achievement.

Crucially, they gave expression to the aspirations of the revolutionary masses by formulating adequate demands and creating suitable governmental forms and fighting consistently for the implementation of the former and the victory of the latter.

Nor should the inevitability of violence imposed by the counter-revolution be used to justify making a virtue of necessity or taking a cavalier attitude towards democracy, "formal" or otherwise.

While ends justify means, means determine ends, and violence, especially when it is applied internally to firm up the

revolutionary ranks, runs counter to building a society of freely associated producers.

Violence is, for socialists, a terrible problem, which cannot be solved either by pretending that it can be absolutely avoided or, on the other hand, that it is desirable and without long-term consequences.

There can be no doubt that the horrors of the Russian civil war laid the basis for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its cult of power, terror and centralism.

Mystical

Furthermore, a mystical approach to the Russian Revolution means overlooking the real historical circumstances and therefore missing the real lessons.

The revolutionary victory was preceded and conditioned by a terrible defeat - the death of the Socialist International in 1914 due to the failure of the mass social democratic parties of Western Europe to resist the war plans of "their own" ruling classes.

Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, despite great organisational successes, was reduced by the Stalinists to a simple arm of Soviet foreign policy, and ceased to be a force working to check the descent into the hell of the Second World War.

The war danger is not a thing of the past; in Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia and Iraq we can see the poisonous fruits of the imperialist world system flourishing on a rich bed of arms sales.

More and worse is being prepared. The urgent need to build internationalist parties with mass influence remains.

It is only as part of a renewed effort to meet this need that the full lessons of our predecessors on this path, among them the Russian revolutionaries, can be understood.

COMMENT

FeedBACK

READERS WRITE

A positive agenda

The Labour Party's commitment to clause 4, part 4, has only ever been partial.

It seems to me that the central issue is not specifically the clause, but rather the whole direction in which Tony Blair is trying to take the party.

The attack on the clause is symptomatic and symbolic of the way the Labour Party is going and provides a focus for opposition. It also provides the opportunity for a fresh debate on the role of public ownership.

Only a massive extension of public control over the economy can provide the basis for tackling our continued economic decline, the increased inequality, poverty and misery in our society, and the growing threat of environmental degradation and destruction.

In entering such a debate I believe there are some issues that the left needs to be wary of.

It is necessary to demonstrate how only public control, rather than the profit motive, can deliver decent housing for all, or energy and transport policies which are both environmentally sustainable and meet the needs of ordinary people. It is also important that we recognise the need for popular involvement and democratic accountability, rather than old style bureaucratic nationalised corporations.

I believe the clause succinctly and evocatively describes the kind of society which we need and which I believe the Labour Party should be working towards. I see no reason to apologise for defending it as it stands.

It is important however that such a campaign does not simply remain a defence of the status quo, but rather presents a positive agenda for the party.

One example might be a statement wholeheartedly rejecting private ownership of natural resources — such as water, oil, gas, and land, apart from owner-occupiers and working farmers.

One could also introduce

Socialist Outlook welcomes readers letters up to 400 words in length. Longer letters may be cut. Write to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

new material, such as a clause pledging to abolish all inherited power and privilege, including abolition of the monarchy.

Malcolm Hunter
Leicester

Organising claimants

As a regular reader of *Socialist Outlook* I have been very impressed with recent articles, in particular Harry Sloan's article on the new Job Seeker's allowance.

It goes some way towards outlining its consequence for the working class as a whole. These attacks need to be explained in the light of the changing labour market and the failure of the TUC to respond to anti-employment legislation.

As John Lister acknowledges in "A World in Crisis", the key point is organising the unemployed alongside the unions.

In the early 1980s the TUC attempted to control unemployed workers and effectively destroyed the claimants movement. Oxford unem-

ployed Workers and Claimants Union in one of only a handful of independent unemployed workers organisations left.

Having re-established ourselves as a Welfare Rights Advice Centre, we have been active in the Campaign to close down Campsfield.

However our main priority is development of the union side, i.e. campaigning on issues directly affecting the "unemployed" (in the widest sense of the term).

To this end in the new year we are organising a conference to relaunch the National Claimants Federation.

It will be open to all independent unemployed workers organisations and we may well open it to community organisations campaigning on behalf of the unemployed.

We must learn the lessons of the 1930s and unlike the so-called National Union of Unemployed Workers (and the late Ernie Roberts' National Organisation of Unemployed Workers) we are in as position to work towards a national unemployed workers movement.

Andy Gibbons,
Oxford Unemployed
Workers and
Claimants Union

Reds under the jackets?

I JUST got the most bizarre glossy leaflet with

my normal junk Labour Party mailing last week.

Headed "Leave Country Sports Alone — a Labour supporters Campaign" it was a closely-worded piece of slander by an organisation that boasts Melvyn Bragg, David Puttnam, Sam McCluskie and John Mortimer among its founder members.

And what a shocker it was: "hunting with hounds is a relatively humane way of managing the fox population...Country sports make a huge contribution to conservation of the countryside...we have to face up to the fact that 80 per cent of the countryside is in private ownership...the first government to abolish fox hunting was Nazi Germany".

Are these people on the same planet as the rest of us?

These same fox hunting landowners and farmers are the people who have been busy destroying our countryside — 98 per cent of flower-rich meadows and 45 per cent of ancient woodland gone in a 50 year agri-business profit binge.

What a conservation record that is!

Two days after it arrived 300 people occupied the Home Secretary's garden in protest against the Criminal Justice Bill.

My glossy leaflet told me "a Labour government should hesitate before criminalising an entire community". Dead right! But it's not the community who go to Hunt Balls that I'm thinking of...

Dave Bangs, London

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

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 pension-

ers, 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 revolution. The oppressed must organise themselves and fight now around their own

demands, which are a part of the struggle for socialism.

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

Phone

Age

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

No peace in Palestine From a dream to a nightmare

By Roland Rance

WHEN PLO leader Yassir Arafat and Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin signed their agreement last year, *Socialist Outlook* warned that 'peace' on Israel's terms could only be enforced by military strength and domestic repression.

The shooting by PLO police of worshippers leaving a Gaza mosque, which left dead at least 13 alleged Islamic fundamentalists, is stark evidence that we were right.

Although an uneasy truce has been agreed in Gaza, all forces agree that this can only be temporary, and further clashes, leading possibly to a bloody civil war, seem inevitable.

This conflict plays right into Israel's hands. The *Guardian* has already reported demonstrations in Gaza calling for the return of the Israeli army as the lesser evil.

Meanwhile, international support for a rising which can be portrayed as fundamentalist is far lower than for the earlier stages of the Palestinian Intifada.

The Palestine solidarity movement, with few exceptions, is either silent, or calling for increased for the Palestinian 'self-government'.

For the past 50 years, Gaza has remained under military rule - British, Egyptian, Israeli and now Palestinian collaborator.

Expelled

Overcrowded with refugees expelled from their homes in 1948, dotted with Israeli settlements, surrounded by an electrified fence, with few natural resources, it powerfully symbolises the reality of Palestinian existence. 'self-government' has not addressed any of these issues; it has merely replaced the Israeli army with Palestinian surrogates.

Despite Arafat's betrayal of

Palestinian interests, the Palestinian left has also remained silent, leaving Hamas apparently alone in its opposition.

Several years ago, following the vicious civil war in the refugee camps of Lebanon, the PFLP declared that 'national unity' was its major goal, and replaced its historic call for 'Revolution Until Victory' with the more accommodating 'Unity Until Victory'.

Ailing PFLP leader Dr George Habash no longer seems to realise that this accommodation with the Palestinian and Arab bourgeoisie is delivering neither unity nor victory, while many former cadres have switched allegiance.

According to reliable reports, at the time of the Gaza shooting, Arafat was seen dancing in the streets of Gaza with the former head of the PFLP underground resistance in the region.

While this has been going on, Israeli eyes have been focused on the agreement with Jordan's King Hussein, who has visited



Israel and received a hero's welcome.

Israel has promised to recognise Hussein's special status in East Jerusalem, thus offering a further snub to Arafat.

Rejected

Rabin has also refused to permit elections for the 'Self-Government' authority in the Occupied Territories, has guaranteed the security of Israeli settlements, and has rejected calls for the release of thousands of Palestinian political prisoners.

It has become clear that his only purpose in signing the agreement with Arafat was to co-opt the PLO to police the occupation, and that there was

never any intention of honouring even the minimal Israeli commitments in the agreement.

Offered the choice of siding with the occupation against the Palestinian people, or struggling with the Palestinian people against the occupation, Arafat took the first opportunity to side with the occupation.

Although this was no great surprise, the failure of the Palestinian left to identify this betrayal and to offer a genuine political alternative has left the field wide open for Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other fundamentalist groups.

They are reversing the social gains of the Intifada, while themselves seeking accommodation with the Israeli regime.

Socialist Outlook demands response from Militant

SOCIALIST Outlook is proposing a formal and structured discussion on the main tasks facing revolutionaries to Militant Labour, the publishers of *Militant*.

Our proposal - for a joint discussion bulletin initially for supporters of the two currents - follows a full page article in *Militant* by two former supporters of *Socialist Outlook*. A reply, as yet unpublished by *Militant*, was in the last issue of *Socialist Outlook*.

Fourth International Fund Drive launched

£3,000 is to be raised over the coming months by *Socialist Outlook* to aid the relocation of *International Viewpoint*, the analytical review of the Fourth International.

The world socialist organisation intends to produce the glossy monthly from a new Prague bureau.

The opening of the facility

represents a major organisational consolidation of the revolutionary movement.

The £3,000 raised will go to set up the staff team and to secure new printing and distribution facilities, as well as to finance the preparation of the upcoming World Congress of the Fourth International.

Contributions to the fund should be made payable to *Outlook International* and posted to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

'The Politics of Militant'

Following requests by readers, a limited number of copies of 'The politics of Militant', a 40-page 1978 *Socialist Challenge* booklet are available mail-order from *Socialist Outlook*.

Single copies are available for £1.00 from *Outlook International*, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Bundles in multiples of five are half-price.

The politics of Militant

"...it would, of course, be a disastrous error, an outright deception, to assert that the road to Socialism passes, not through the proletarian revolution, but through nationalisation by the bourgeois state of various branches of industry and their transfer into the hands of the workers' organisations."

Leon Trotsky

What's HAPPENING

DECEMBER

Thursday 1

SRI LANKA public meeting with NSSP speakers 8.00pm Conway Hall WC1

MARCH to London, to mark one year of Campsfield immigration prison, arrives at Harmondsworth Immigration Detention Centre and Southall.

Friday 2

MARCH to London, to mark one year of Campsfield immigration prison, arrives at Westminster.

Saturday 3

REFUGEES 12.0 noon - 1.30pm protest outside Harmondsworth Detention Centre - a prison without trial for refugees. Catch the 81 bus towards Slough from Hounslow West station (Piccadilly line) details 0181 571 5019

A Luta Continua M.A.C. day-school on Mozambique and Angola 10.30am -

4.15pm Conway Hall WC1 Sat 4 - Sun 4

CND campaigning conference London details 0171 607 3616

Tuesday 6

Hemlata Patel appeal against deportation - peaceful lobby 10.00am outside the Government building, Clay Lane, Yardley Free transport from Soho Rd Library 9.30am

Weds 7

ALL London Section 11 campaign lobby 2pm Department of Education Great Smith Street SW1

ALL London Section 11 campaign rally 5.30pm - 7.00pm Camden Bidborough St. with Dianne Abbott, Bernie Grant, Kumar Murshid (ARA President), and Baljeet Ghale (NUT Race Advisory Committee)

Friday 9

CLAUSE IV rally at Leeds Civic Hall, 7.30pm

Saturday 10

LIBERATION! committee 11am - 5pm Birmingham Sun 11

LIBERATION! dayschool and editorial meeting 12 noon - 5pm Union Club Per-shore Rd Birmingham

Weds 14

DEFEND the Cuban revolution! *Socialist Outlook* forum with Will McMahon 7.30pm Afro-Caribbean Road Birmingham

Weds 28

DEMONSTRATE at a nuclear base with CND details 0171 607 3616.

JANUARY

Weds 4

Liberation! production meeting

Sat 7/Sun 8

Socialist Outlook supporters educational weekend on *The State and Revolution* and the politics of Leninism.

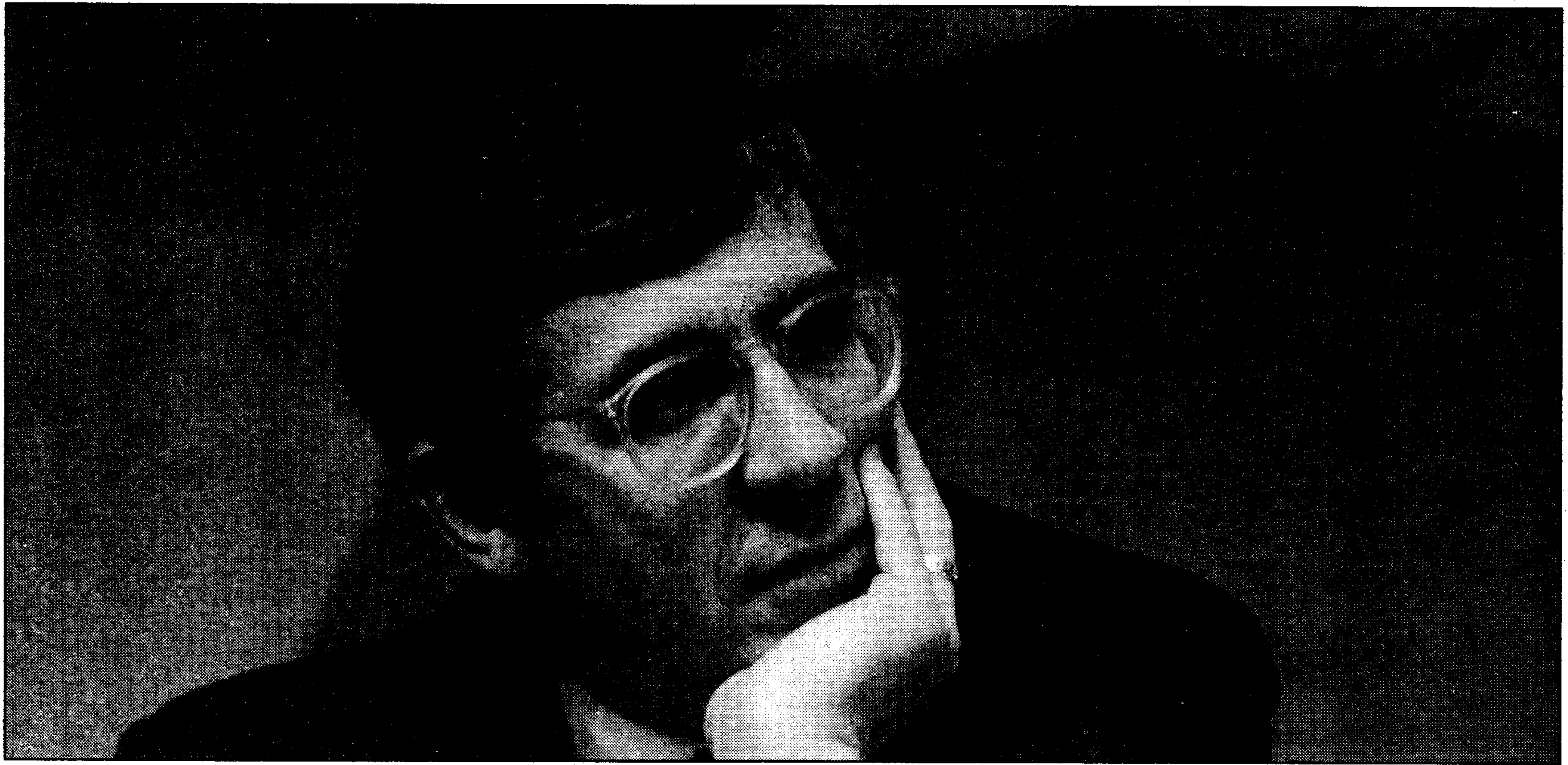
Sat 28

BLOODY Sunday march in Manchester from Platts' Field to Albert Square. Details: 0171 609 1743.

THE FIRST ISSUE of *Socialist Outlook* in 1995 will be published on Thursday 5 January.

Socialist OUTLOOK

Our first issue
of 1995 will
be published
on Thursday
January 6



Sleepwalking through Tory crisis

Wake up Labour!

EVERYBODY can see the Tory government is in crisis. Even the Party's deputy chairman is explaining how unpopular they and their policies have become.

His leaked report shows that it's not just Labour supporters who hate the redundancies, privatisation and profiteering and believe the government is ripping off the poor to benefit the rich. Tory voters think the same. (p4)

But while all this happens, where is the Labour opposition?

From Tony Blair's team nothing can be heard but the crashing of gears as the Party reverses desperately away from offering any kind of radical alternative.

On everything from taxation to the welfare state, Labour policy sounds like no more than a timid, toned-down version of the Tory line that voters hate. No wonder there is no room in Blair's programme for Clause Four!

Labour's modernisers have become so obsessed with their mission to scrap any hint of socialism as we know it that they have quite forgotten the voters they are supposedly trying to win.

The Tories are driving away their own supporters. If Labour's front bench goes on this way, and fails to offer any fight, they will drive them away the support the party needs.

It's time for the Party to wake up and put the boot in, hard, to topple Major's sleazy gang.

CLAUSE IV FIGHT: centre pages

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