

78

Socialist OUTLOOK

**CLAUSE FOUR
special pull-out**

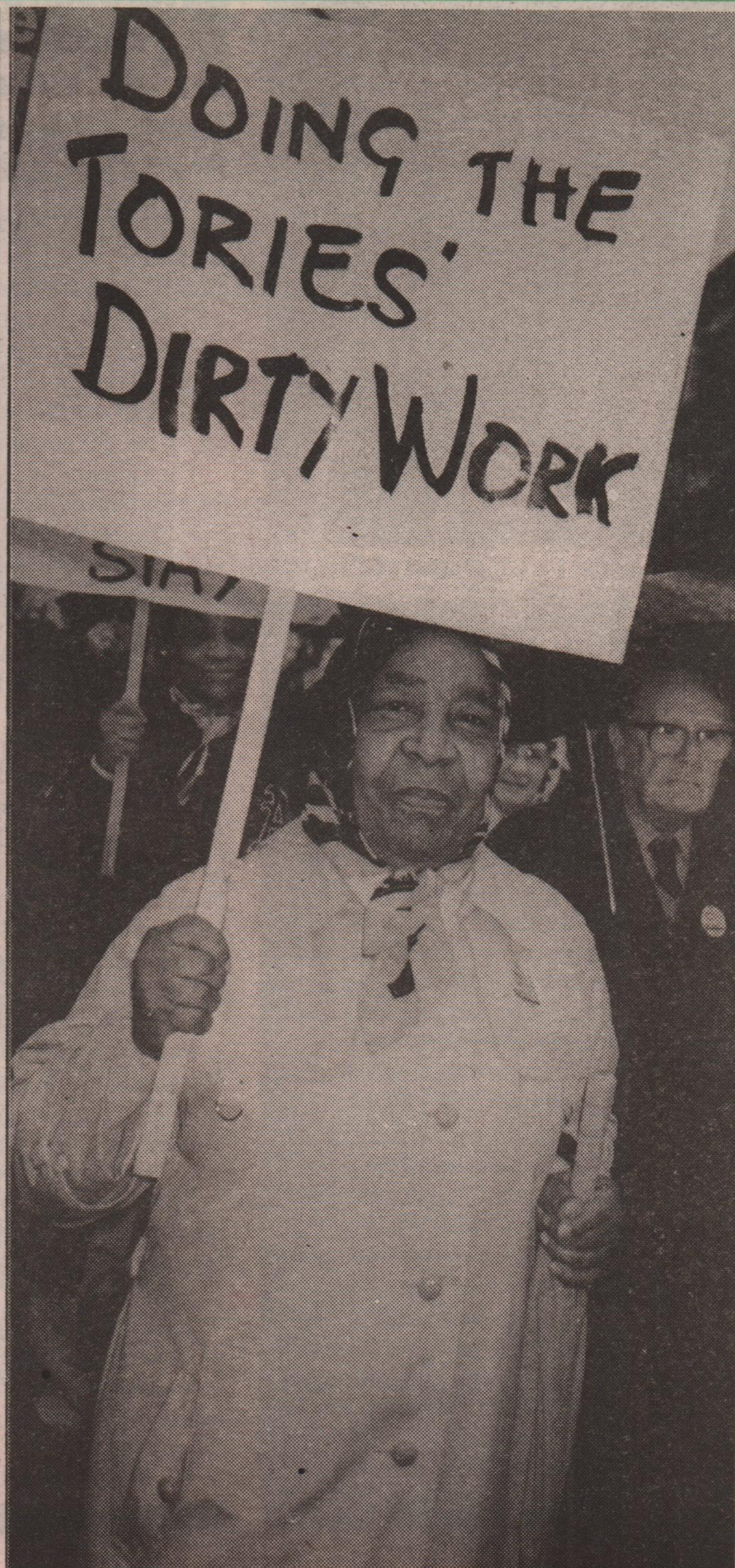
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JOIN THE COUNCIL CUTS REVOLT!



ALL OUT for March 25!

A NEW MASS movement is on the march, shattering the customary peace of market towns and shire counties.

Angry Tory voters, Liberals, and many with no party affiliation are joining teaching and local government trade unionists and Labour activists in half-day strikes, demonstrations, rallies, pickets and publicity campaigns.

The impact of their protests is making many Tory MPs in marginal and not-so-marginal seats quake in fear for their future. And this in turn piles additional pressure onto ministers.

These are battles that can be won.

The movement is in opposition to swingeing cuts looming in education and other council services. The cuts packages are being implemented by county councils,

but everybody knows they arise from policy decisions of the Tory government.

Right across the country, councils are reeling under a three-way squeeze, imposed by a reduction in central government funding, by the unfunded increase in teachers' pay, and by rigid Tory 'caps' on the amounts councils are allowed to raise through council tax.

Jobs at risk

The cuts threaten thousands of teaching jobs, and thousands more working in services for the elderly, the fire service, the arts, and other council-funded projects.

The revolt has thrown together an immensely broad and disparate cross-section of people: parents, school students, trade unionists, and pensioners.

There is no short-cut formula that can win. The Tory government will be forced to retreat only by a combined and wide-reaching campaign, including strikes and the threat of all-out action by teachers and other unions; local and national demonstrations like that called in London on March 25; and a mounting agitation of local communities on a scale big enough to convince Major that the Tories will suffer irreparable damage if the cuts proceed.

Labour councillors in many areas have so far sadly discredited themselves by debating or even proposing cuts packages in council chambers while protestors demand they join the fight.

They must be told to stop doing Major's dirty work and come down firmly on the side of the vast majority - fighting back!



Thousands joined Oxford protest on Feb 14

“Our fightback is spreading right across the country”

Socialist Outlook's AIDAN DAY speaks to ROY LEACH, the Secretary of Oxfordshire NUT and candidate for the national executive, about the protests.

SO: What started off the protests?

VARIOUS budgets are on the table at the moment. The Labour Party are proposing setting a budget £7.5million above cap – that is, the limit set by the government.

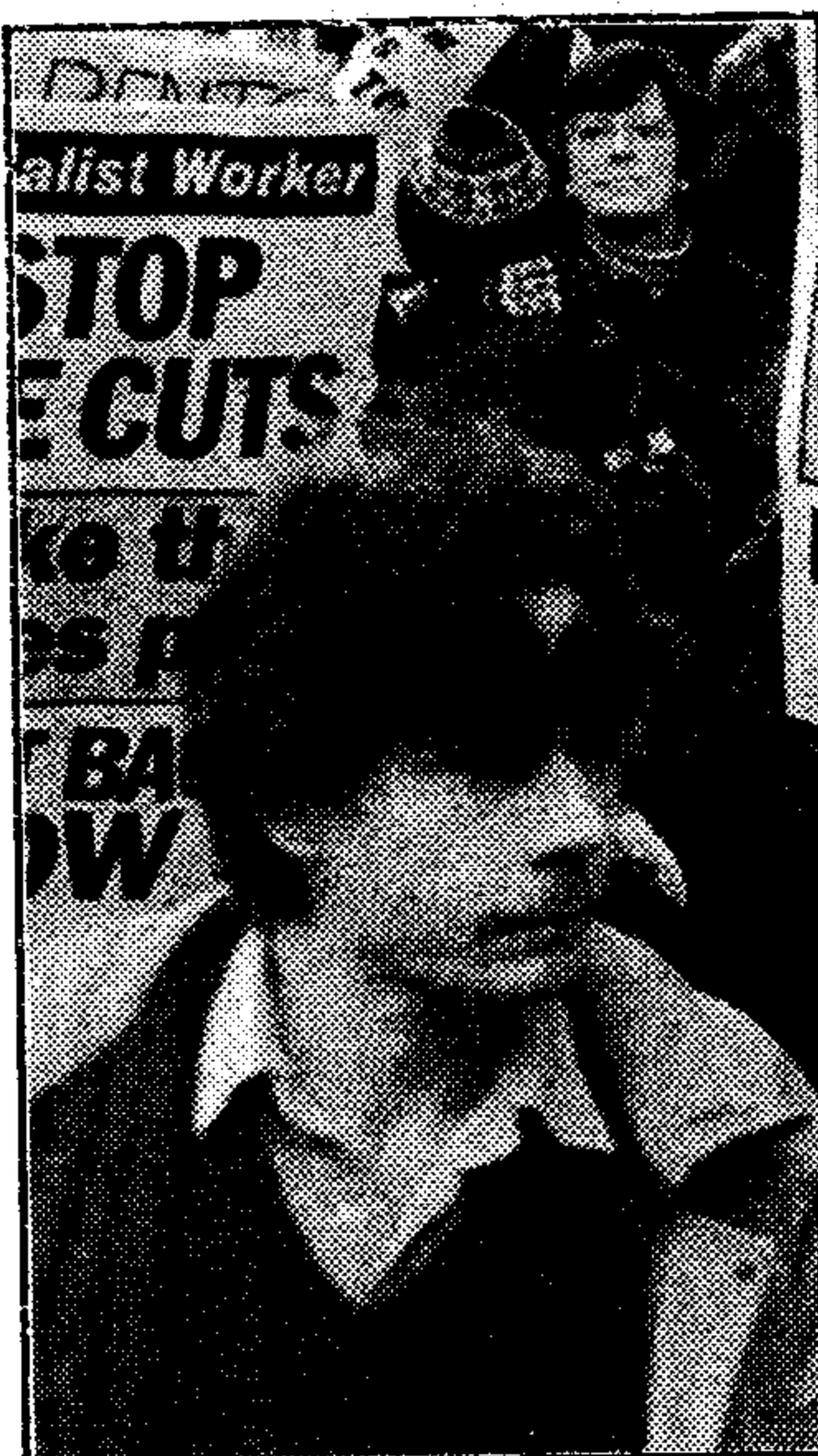
The Liberals are offering a far lesser spending level, but, and this is important, one that still exceeds the government limit. They suggest going £1.7 million or £1.8 million over cap. This is the amount necessary to fund the teachers pay award.

To this they add a proviso however: whatever they go for will only be with Tory support. Not surprisingly the Tories have been less keen to set a budget beyond central government wishes. The Liberals have handed an effective veto to the Tories.

Oxfordshire county council is well known for its political horsetrading. Things are rarely simple on the council. This is because no single party is in a position to run it alone.

There is a three way split between Tories, Liberal Democrats and Labour. Each has a third of the places.

This makes for a political process of constant negotiation – deals have to be struck between the parties to get anything done.



400 teaching jobs at stake

SO: So what is likely to happen?

A cut of £24 million. Unless the central government limits are broken. This is a huge cut. The total budget is only £330 million. £24 million is a significant chunk of the total. Even a budget deficit £7.5 million, as proposed by Labour, will mean cuts of around £17 million.

There is no two ways about it, massive job losses are on the agenda. We're talking 400 full time teaching places. This is not our figure – it's the one given by Oxfordshire's chief education officer.

We've had small cuts every year, but this time it is different. There will be no painless solutions to this budget crisis – someone's going to have to pay. No amount of financial management can avoid the question.

SO: What has the response been?

The most striking thing about the reaction to the budget proposals has been the speed at which the fightback has been organised.

On January 4 a public meet-

ing was called jointly by the NUT and Labour Party. The uniqueness of this combination is in itself an indication of the broadness of the campaign. It decided to launch a county-wide all Oxfordshire Stop the Cuts Campaign. This body has been meeting every Friday since.

The NUT, UNISON, UCW, Labour Party, Green Party and SWP are all regular attenders. Supporters of *Socialist Outlook* have an important input. Within three weeks we had gathered 14,000 signatures on our petition. The campaign has been active all over the county – in Banbury, Witney, Henley, Abingdon and all over Oxfordshire.

We organised a demonstration on January 21. It was the largest march I've ever seen in Oxford. There were at least 2,000 protesters in the city centre.

SO: And what about the teachers themselves?

The major development has been the strike ballots by the NUT, NAS/UWT and UNISON.

The NUT has voted 5:2 in favour of strike action; the NAS/UWT by an even bigger margin - 3:1 in favour. UNISON however came out 3:2 against. This defeat reflects the union's weak organisation and its increasingly dispersed workforce.

The Oxfordshire NUT strike ballot is now being reproduced all over the country – Newcastle, Leicestershire, with ballots to come in Nottinghamshire, Islington, Ealing and all over.

There has been a big national response – but it lacks a powerful unifying national leadership.

The new campaign, FACE, has established a national steering committee which will help

organise support to the spontaneous protests and parents' groups that are springing up all over.

SO: What are the prospects in Oxfordshire?

There was a full lobby of the council on February 14. At least three thousand people turned up. Many of them were teachers, but also in evidence were governors, parents and school students.

It is significant that school students are coming of their own accord – they're not brought along by parents, but demonstrate because they can see what the attack on education will mean for them.

The mobilisation of governors is particularly interesting. Refusing to set cuts budgets is a big step. Unlike councillors they cannot be surcharged. The only recourse of the local education authorities would be to take over the running of the budgets themselves, but they're in no position to take on the huge extra workload.

The council made no decision on February 14, but it looks like they will meet again this coming week and eventually cobble together a joint Tory/Lib Dem budget.

The position of the campaign remains clear – we are opposed to all budget cuts. It is important however that the council challenges the cap ceiling, because if it exceeds the limit then the case goes in to a review process.

This will mean that the teachers jobs could be secured for another three months – not much in itself, but important if it's your job on the line.

It will also give us more time to build the campaign.

It is crucial now to build for the national demo against education cuts in London on March 25.

£500m school cuts

LABOUR's David Blunkett has focused his timid protests at the education cuts on the relatively marginal issue of the under-funding of the teachers' pay award.

Of course full funding of the pay awards must be demanded. But in most schools the biggest problem is caused by cuts in central government funding and rigid capping of the amount councils are allowed to spend from local council tax.

National figures show that local authority spending will be cut this year from £17.5 billion to just £17 billion – a cut of £486 million.

Since most costs are on employing staff, thousands of teachers' jobs are at risk, with the implication of rising class sizes and plunging standards of education.

Why school governors are revolting

By an Oxford school governor

WHEN THE TORIES introduced Local Management of Schools (LMS) they unwittingly set up thousands of pressure groups which are now fighting back against cuts.

Governing bodies comprise a mix of parent governors (parents of children attending the school now), teacher governors (teachers at the school), county council nominees (nominated by the political parties) and co-opted governors (representatives of local business and some from the local community).

Unpaid

All governors are part-time, unpaid, volunteers, with none of the quango payments which en-

sure the obedience of health authorities and NHS Trusts.

The majority of governors are people who are committed to good education and/or their local community. But Tory cuts now call on them to make the most devastating cuts and to destroy the service they have voluntarily defended and worked for.

That's why governors are now revolting. Strange amalgamations of Tory, Labour, Liberal governors along with the parents, teachers, business and community representatives from all types of school are banding together to say NO. We will not make teachers redundant, we will not agree to class sizes of over 30, we refuse to have inadequate equipment and not enough books, we will not devastate the special needs support.

BUT – what can governors actually do?

There has been a lot of publicity given to the governing bodies

who have announced they are going to set a deficit budget, spending above the limit imposed upon them. In Warwickshire alone over 90 schools have taken this stand.

Unfortunately the next move shows the hollowness of the power given to the governors: the LEA can simply remove the 'right of delegation' from over-spending governors – and instruct the head teacher to set a balanced budget, making teachers redundant as necessary.

Trap

Setting a deficit budget is still a very strong move by the governors, and more governing bodies asked to take the same stand. But we must not fall into the trap of thinking this action alone will prevent the cuts.

A much more systematic fight is needed, involving teachers, parents, school students and the local community.

Another action has been whole governing bodies resigning. This is very tempting, since very few governors want to have anything to do with making cuts.

But after mass resignation there would not even be a hiatus waiting for re-elections or nominations: the LEA would simply tell the head teacher to get on with the cuts.

The power of the governors rests in their willingness to implement LMS. If they stand firm and say NO, their power is simply taken away.

Looking for other ways out, the governing bodies have become the focus for campaign groups setting up all over the country to demonstrate, lobby, write letters, send faxes, issue press releases and generally campaign to defend education against the Tory cuts.

We have seen the start of a massive action against this government, which may not be from the traditional activists but may

be more effective.

The individual campaigns have now got together to form a national group called Fighting Against Cuts in Education (FACE) which was launched at a 100-strong meeting in Rugby on February 11.

Those present were mainly parents and governors, with a few teachers, spanning areas from Devon to Sheffield, with politics from dissident Tories to the SWP.

A national steering committee has now been formed to help coordinate the campaign, and FACE is organising a National Demonstration for Saturday March 25 in London.

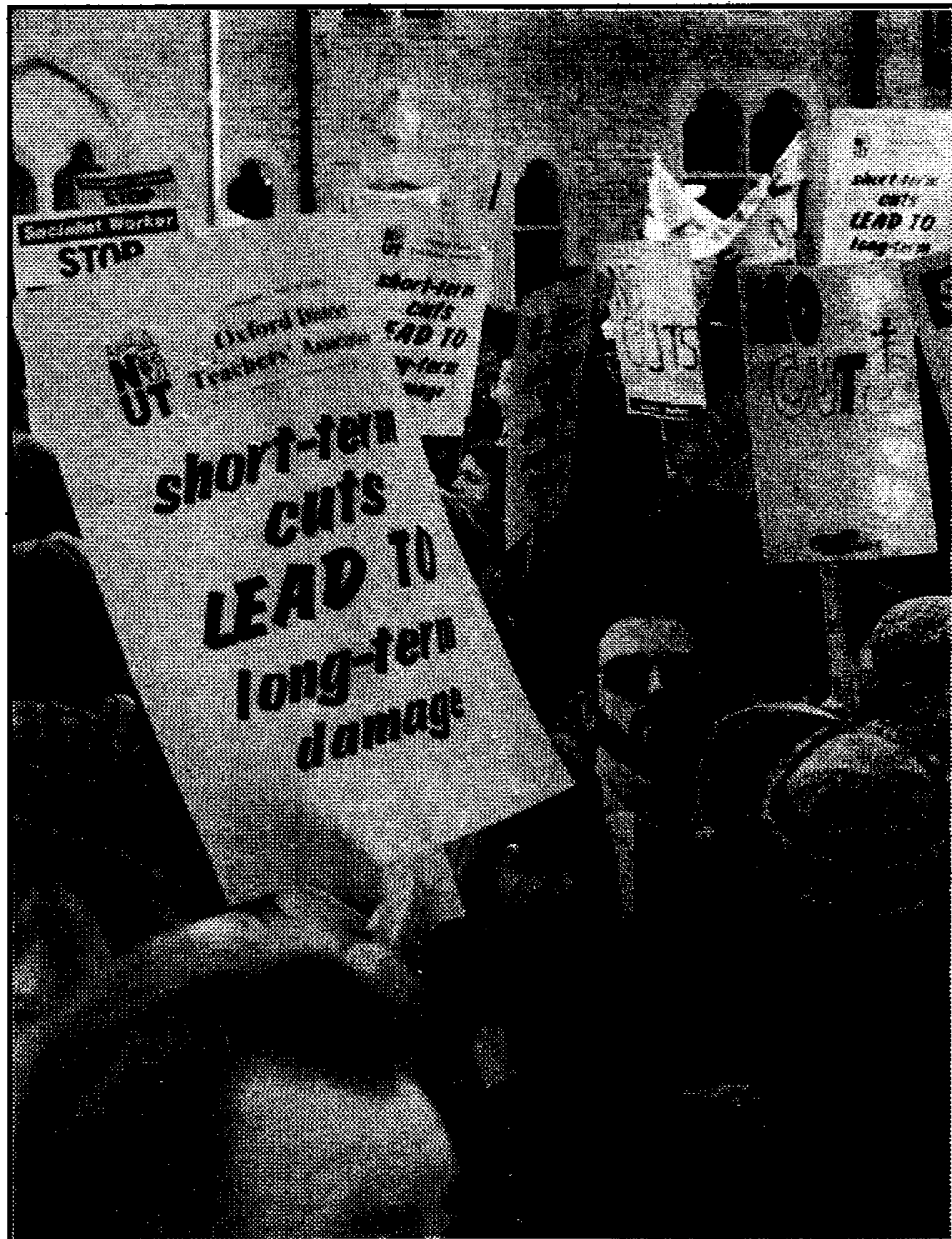
It will link up parents, governors, teachers and school kids in a show of strength.

Be there to defend the future of education!

■ Contact FACE on 0598-789104 or 0926-410930

What we think

Why Blair won't lead the fight against cuts



'Grant maintained' schools rip-off

By Ann Hudson

THE TORY policy of encouraging schools to opt out has been pursued at the expense of state education. It is designed to set up a permanent division in education provision between rich and poor.

The propaganda said it would bring choice, diversity and local accountability. Its results have been the opposite.

Opting out actually means opting in to control from Whitehall - all administered by the Funding Agency for Schools quango. In the long term this body is just as likely to be asking for cuts as LEAs.

It is not as if there is any evidence to suggest the education is any better. NUT members have pointed out the Grant Maintained (GM) schools are more likely to concern themselves with corporate image and fancy logos in order to attract their "customers" instead of spending it on pupils.

The opt out policy can only be understood in the context of the right's intention of developing a higher skill base among

the small portion of children who will eventually enter the labour market.

Schools in leafy areas attended by well-heeled children with middle income parents will enter into a spiral of increasing resources and quality. The rest will get third-rate schools with overworked teachers and declining budgets. Average capital spending in GM schools has been three times that in local authorities.

This is why the Tories have been so keen to approve "selection" - another word for exclusion.

Despite this there have been a number of reports of financial crises in GM schools.

It is encouraging to realise that despite the barrage of propaganda the public have not been taken in. The number of GM schools remains a small proportion of the overall number. Planned revenue spending on the sector has been halved and the tide of pro-GM ballots has been halted.

Given adequate information parents are able to see the opt out policy for what it is.

If only the same could be said of the Labour leadership.

IT WOULD be funny if it were not so pathetically reactionary.

As ever more evidence emerges of the widening class divide created by sixteen years of Tory policies, Tony Blair prates on as Major once did about 'one nation' politics.

And as traditionally Tory shire counties are convulsed by angry mass protests over cuts in education, social services and other vital services, Blair's team has nothing of consequence to offer.

Instead they are intent upon a single goal, waging their internal fight against Clause Four and any lingering aspiration to socialism.

Of course Blair's crusade against Clause Four is being waged under the misleading banner of 'social justice'.

If this meant anything at all, the recent Rowntree Foundation report highlighting the widening gulf between rich and poor would have offered ideal ammunition for a renewed offensive against the Tories and their system, which breeds and depends upon inequality.

But when challenged by Tory ministers, neither Blair nor his right wing team have been able to say what they would do to change the situation, beyond routine platitudes about improved education and training.

This is no surprise. As his campaign has gone on, Blair has been ever more explicit in repudiating Labour's working class base and targeting the prosperous middle class, embracing their illusions that class distinctions can somehow be swept away while leaving capitalism intact.

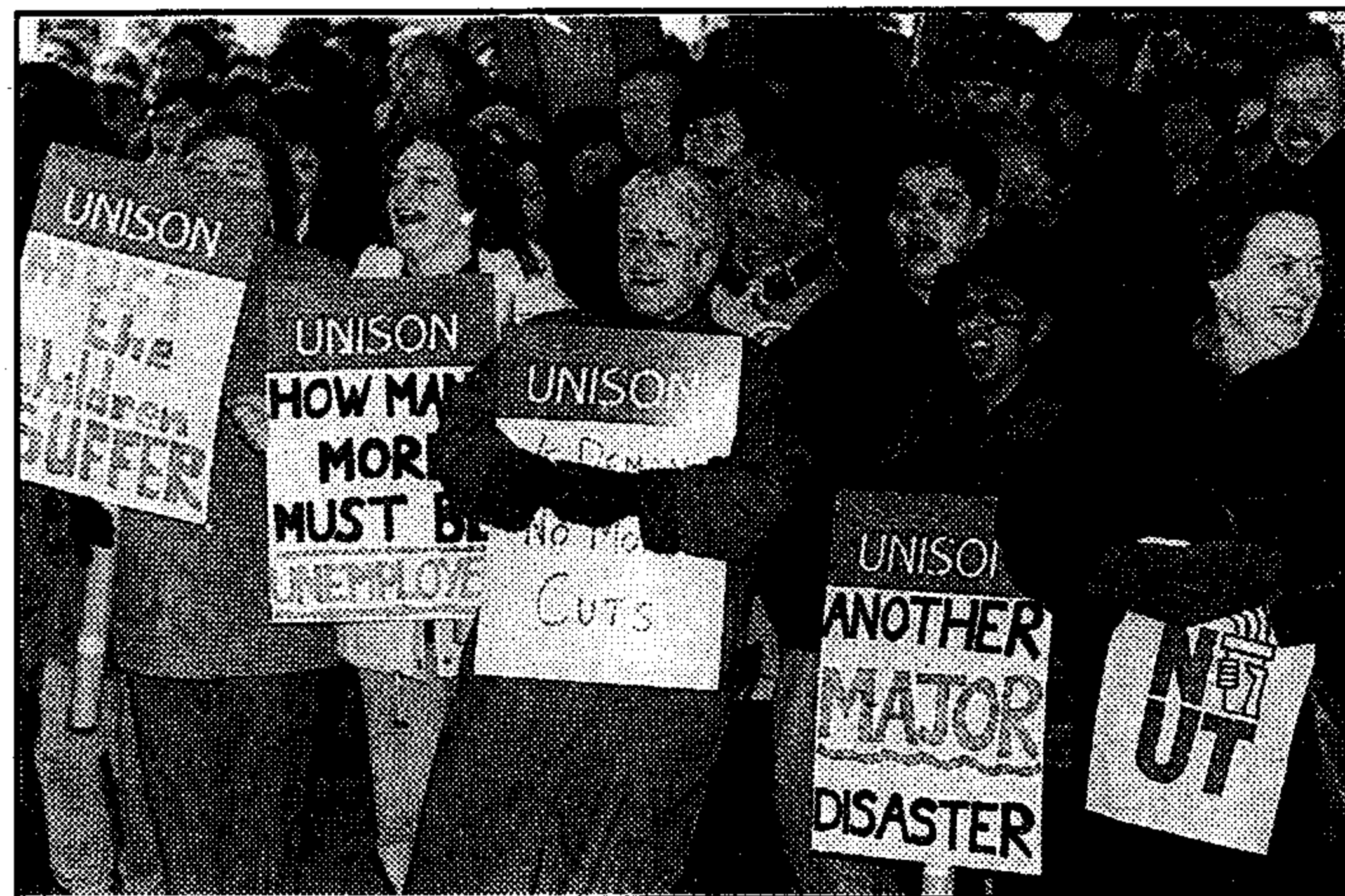
On February 15 Blair went so far as to lay claim to 'the mantle of one nation politics', formerly claimed by Tories such as Disraeli, Baldwin, Edward Heath and (for a few months) John Major.

Cynical

Of course these Tories cynically used the 'one nation' concept as a device to con backward workers to vote for the party of capital, (even as 'one nation' Baldwin confronted the 1926 General Strike and Heath attempted to crush the unions with the Industrial Relations Act).

The sad, tragic fact is that Tony Blair picks up the discarded Tory slogan because, unlike them, he actually believes that class distinctions are now irrelevant.

Denouncing the 'inefficiency' of the poverty and deprivation of Britain's growing 'underclass' (presumably the 30 percent, who have got poorer



since 1979, while the rich have got richer), Blair warns:

"If people feel that in effect they live in different nations within the same country, then the social fabric becomes torn, creating alienation among one group and insecurity and concern among the rest. Even the better off cannot escape its consequences. Inequality therefore is a middle class issue. It is an issue of enlightened self-interest as well as social justice."

Instead of detecting in the 'tearing of the social fabric' a desperate need for fundamental change, an opportunity for Labour to reach out to millions of exploited, downtrodden and oppressed working class men and women, and advance the fight for socialism, Mr Blair sees it as a threat to the capitalist order - which he supports.

Polite

'Inequality' - a polite word for poverty - is therefore to be fought by 'New Labour' not by mobilising and empowering the poor and the exploited, nor by any challenge to the capitalist system which has made them poor even as the Tories stuffed the wallets of the rich.

Instead Labour will make a genteel appeal to the 'enlightened self-interest' of the well-to-do. Poverty is thus transformed from a radicalising issue for the poor into a conscience question for the middle class.

Of course Mr Blair would not be so rude as to suggest that these self-interested middle class and capitalist layers should pay more tax. His team are so scared of any such idea that they are tongue-tied in opposing Tory cuts in education, health and social security spending.

Nor - as his campaign to kill off Clause Four demonstrates - would he countenance any challenge to the power, wealth and profits of the super-rich.

Far be it from Mr Blair to attempt in any way to undermine private ownership of the means of production, or the fundamental system of production for profit rather than for social need

which has brought the current misery to millions at home and abroad.

Voting for a Labour government pledged, as Mr Blair intends, to capitalist policies, is therefore unlikely to make any serious difference to the plight of the bottom 30 percent.

So exactly what he expects the 'middle class' to do about inequality - even if they were concerned about it - is not clear.

Maybe millionaire Blairites Melvin Bragg and Ken Follett would sponsor a few fund-raising luvvie lunches, or a series of government-sponsored Pink Nose Days might urge the more philanthropically-inclined of the middle classes to donate a few pounds to those less equal than themselves?

The abandonment of Clause Four is therefore much more fundamental and significant for Labour's politics than the mere ditching of a long-ignored form of words or a vision of collectivism: it is a symptom of the Blair leadership's rejection of any radical challenge to the capitalist system.

Blunkett

It is no accident that as Blair fights for the end of Clause Four, Education spokesman Blunkett (unsuccessfully) urges teachers not to take strike action to oppose education cuts, but to seek alliances with Tory parents; and Jack Straw embraces the reactionary right of the Tory Party in his defence of racist immigration controls.

As tens of thousands take to the streets to defend schools and old people's homes, hospitals and fire services, many have already advanced beyond the new limits Blair wants to impose on Labour's policies.

The fight to defend Clause Four and defeat the right wing Blair offensive in the Labour Party and trade unions is key to the fight for a genuine political opposition to the Tories and their bankrupt system, with policies based on the needs of the majority, not the profits of the few.

Fight Against Cuts In Education

FACE

**National Demonstration
LONDON**

**SATURDAY
MARCH 25**

**Assemble 1pm Embankment
March 2pm to Hyde Park**

EDITORIAL



OVER 3,000 - from ravers to pensioners - joined the demonstration through Birmingham against the Criminal Justice Act called by Birmingham Defence Alliance on February 1. The march was the biggest in the city for some years.

Fight SATs as well as cuts

By Gill Lee
Lewisham NUT
(personal capacity)

THE NUT's three to one vote to do the SATs marked the end of one phase in the anti-SATs campaign.

The magnificent response by parents teachers and governors to demonstrations and strike action around cuts opens the next.

The 4,000 strong demonstrations in Oxfordshire and the half day strike which closed 270 schools shows just how wrong the NUT's climbdown was.

The task of anti-SATs campaigners is now to build on the mass protest against cuts and expose the hypocrisy of the Tory government which has found £35million to spend on SATs while threatening ten thousand teaching jobs through cuts.

The Tories do not even provide all the money for SATs. Local authorities which want schools to do the SATs must match the government's contribution from their own overstretched resources.

Not one penny should be directed to the SATs away from services which benefit children's education.

At school level teachers and parents should also take up the demand that none of the school's ordinary budget is used to do the SATs.

Supply cover needed for classroom's tasks should be additional to that required for ordinary teacher absence. Special needs support directed to SATs classes should be extra to that normally provided.

The full work load implications of the SATs must be drawn out and excess workload fought at school level as much as possible.



The NUT national executive has directed that problems over "excessive workload" are directed to nationally controlled regional offices. In this way it hopes to dissipate teachers' attempts to show that any work to do with the SATs is excessive and so to make teachers do the tests.

In schools where heads and governors undertake not to victimise teachers, or in which science, maths and English teachers feel confident and supported, it may then be possible to boycott the tests completely.

Above all the campaign against SATs needs to be taken forward through a renewed turn to campaigning amongst parents. This will highlight how unsound the tests are and the way the Tories plan to use them as an eleven-plus.

Parents Against the SATs is calling on parents to withdraw their children from this years tests.

NUT activists need to connect Easter's annual conference to a renewal of the boycott when Shephard's review does not produce substantial changes in tests or league tables.

Anti-SATs activists need to use the groundswell of anti-cuts anger to link the SATs to the overall Tory offensive against state education.

Last gasp for London Chest Hospital?

By Charli Langford

600 people marched through Tower Hamlets in protest against the proposed closure of the London Chest Hospital on February 11.

The hospital serves the area with the highest incidence of TB in Britain.

The local health authority wants to shift its services to the Royal London Hospital in Whitechapel, which is already labouring under the recent closures of parts of its Mile End site and the closure of Bart's casualty in the City of London.

The anti-closure campaign has the support of both the Labour and the Liberal parties on the local council, and Tony Blair has pledged his support for the campaign. Cynics might relate this to council by-elections coming up.

More positively, the local Trades Council also supports the campaign and despite the very short building period for the march there were several union banners present.

A past high point of local health campaigning was when staff at the Bethnal Green geriatric hospital occupied on closure day and some wards continued to function "under staff control".

The anti-closure campaign meets on Feb 20 and then fortnightly on Mondays at 7.00pm at the "Approach Tavern", corner of Approach Rd and Robinson Rd, London E2.

Nurses' pay anger erupts

By Terry Smith

BITTER resentment among nurses at the Tories' miserable one percent pay increase has forced even the scab leadership of the Royal College of Nursing to make angry noises.

Nobody should hold their breath in expectation of the RCN changing its historic opposition to any form of strike action.

But it is clear that UNISON's rapid rejection of the pay offer and proposal to ballot members for action has attracted support from the RCN's ranks.

The fight is on for action to challenge the Tory pay rip-off, which was announced at the same time as lavish pay increases for judges, top civil servants and armed forces chiefs.

Under the proposals, nurses would be guaranteed an increase of just one percent (£2.17 per week for a staff nurse), with the option to negotiate up to another two percent locally.

But with Trusts facing tight financial limits, any additional increases above the one percent will depend upon nurses unions agreeing 'productivity' deals which axe jobs and increase the workload on front-line staff.

These pressures run alongside the process of 'Skill Mix Re-

view' which is taking a terrible toll of skilled nursing jobs throughout the NHS as Trust bosses seek cash savings by increasing reliance on unqualified and less experienced staff.

In challenging this onslaught nurses are also defending standards of care on the wards, and would have the overwhelming support of patients and the wider public.

■ OVER 1,000 people attended a remarkable conference on the crisis in London's health services on February 18 sponsored, among others, by the *Evening Standard*.

A declaration was adopted which called for:

- An immediate halt to closures of London casualty units, beds and hospitals.

- Urgent action to cut London's 168,000 waiting list for treatment.

- Major upgrading and expansion of GP and community health services in the capital.

- Protection and promotion of London's heritage in medical education and research.

- Formation of an accountable, responsive and representative London-wide health authority.

This platform puts the *Evening Standard* to the left of Tony Blair's Labour Party!

Fighting back for welfare state

OVER 100 attended the February 18 working conference of the Welfare State Network on the Jobseekers Allowance and student benefits.

Its agenda was widened to include discussion of the current struggles against education cuts.

Platform and workshop speakers from the National Union of Students, CPSA, disability, low pay and health campaigns presented a wide range of information, and the conference pledged support for mobilisations including the March 25 demonstration against education cuts.

The lamentable failure of Labour leaders or the TUC to take

forward the struggle in defence of the welfare state leaves the Network in a much more central role than its relatively small numbers might suggest.

Its newspaper, *Action for Health and Welfare*, now distributes 7,000 copies.

A full national conference of the Network, centred on Education, Health and Pensions, will be held in London on April 8.

Union branches, Labour Parties and local campaigns are urged to affiliate and to send delegates to the conference.

■ Contact Welfare State Network, c/o 42 Braganza St, London SE17. Tel 0171-639-5068

WELFARE STATE

Welfare State Network conference!
From the CRADLE ...
... to the GRAVE
Defending education, health and pensions
SATURDAY APRIL 8
11am-5pm

Manning Hall, University of London Union
Malet St, London WC1

Racist Euro-sceptics widen the Tory rift

By Harry Sloan

IT'S EASY for John Major to denounce the violence of English fascists at the Ireland match: but his own party is showing its more vicious racist core as the splits over Europe deepen.

Although for a while the debate appeared to be on the desirability of a single European currency, the resignation of Immigration Minister Charles Wardle has underlined the fact that much of the anxiety to protect 'national' borders and independence is motivated by chauvinism and racist fears of immigration.

The currency issue itself is driving a deep wedge into the Tory ranks. Major is desperately attempting to straddle both horses. He is obviously reluctant to break ranks with the Euro-enthusiasts Clarke and Heseltine, even as he seeks a new rapprochement with

the Euro-sceptic right wing that would bring the nine rebel 'whiplash ones' back into the fold.

But the Thatcherite 'bastards' in his own cabinet, Aitken, Portillo and Redwood are openly seeking to deepen the division.

Lamont

In the background ex-Chancellor Norman Lamont is openly stoking the fires of dissent with a forthright denunciation of further integration in Europe, while another ex-minister, Leon Brittan, calls on Major to turn up the heat on the Euro-sceptics.

But the intervention of Charles Wardle has brought the issue of racism centrally into the debate. He claims that the plan of the European Union to create a 'frontier-free Europe' would prevent British immigration officers checking the passports of up to 15 million immigrants who live in other EU countries.

In fact the 'frontier-free' Europe

which Mr Wardle fears could result in hordes of unwanted - probably black - immigrants is the same 'Fortress Europe' which is tightening its external immigration restrictions to wall out immigrants from non-EU countries.

This has led to the obscenity of Campsfield and other immigration prisons designed specifically to deter those likely to seek asylum.

Immediately after Wardle's outburst, right wing Home Secretary Howard announced new plans for the speedy ejection of 'bogus' asylum seekers.

Straw scandal

With hostility to immigrants now established as the key test of virility for Euro-sceptics, and Labour's Jack Straw pledging the party's full support for Major's racist immigration laws, the Tory crisis is likely to have even nastier effects on British politics.

Labour Parties and union branches should table motions denouncing Straw's reactionary line and demanding an end to all immigration controls.



OVER 300 people picketed Italian neo-fascist leader Gianfranco Fini's visit to London to address the Royal Institute of International Affairs on February 15. All three main anti racist groups the ARA, ANL and YRE were present, underlining the need for united action against the far right

Contemptible rulings in Nottingham

TWO rulings of contempt of court have been used in Nottingham to impede those fighting racism and fascism.

The first case involved Ronald Thomas, a young black man falsely accused of assaulting three white men who had abused him and his wife before attacking him.

A leaflet produced by campaigners in his support was handed to a juror, and then used as a pretext for Judge Benson to demand Ronald appear in court a week after his acquittal, on a possible charge of contempt.

In the event the case collapsed. But in January the law of contempt was again wheeled out in the city. Fourteen fascists from the Combat 18 organisation who had smashed up an al-

ternative bookshop were due for trial, and their defence lawyer persuaded the Crown Prosecution Service that an anti-fascist rally planned for the preceding Sunday would be in 'contempt'.

The CPS agreed, and intervened to ensure the event was cancelled.

In the event two of the fascists were acquitted, and eleven found guilty only of 'threatening behaviour'. Just one has been found guilty of violent disorder. They face sentencing from the same Judge Benson; lenient treatment is expected.

The implications of these uses of the contempt laws are far-reaching: they offer new ways of deterring people from setting up and supporting solidarity campaigns.

Victory against deportation

HEMA PATEL from Birmingham has won her 8-year battle against the Home Office and the right to stay in Britain.

Hema came to Britain in 1986 to marry a British citizen. Following her marriage in 1987 she was given 12 months leave to remain in the UK.

But her marriage ran into trouble in the first year and she left her husband. The Home Office refused her further leave to remain and then issued her with a Deportation Order.

Her case was taken up by the West Midlands Anti-Deportation campaign, backed by her union USDAW. A national campaign gathered thousands of signatures and individual letters of support from all over the country.

Hema is extremely pleased

with the outcome of her appeal and has vowed to fight for other women who are facing deportation because their marriages have broken down.

She also argues that British immigration laws are racist and sexist and must be changed.



Hema Patel

Football: reclaim the game!

By Steve McNeill

WE WILL ignore Wednesday's racist inspired riot at Lansdowne Road only at our peril.

It is now apparent that the nazi paramilitary organisation Combat 18, who in recent times have sought close ties with Ulster loyalists, was chiefly responsible for organising the violence.

The presence of the fascists will come as no surprise to those of you who have followed the fortunes of the English national team in recent years.

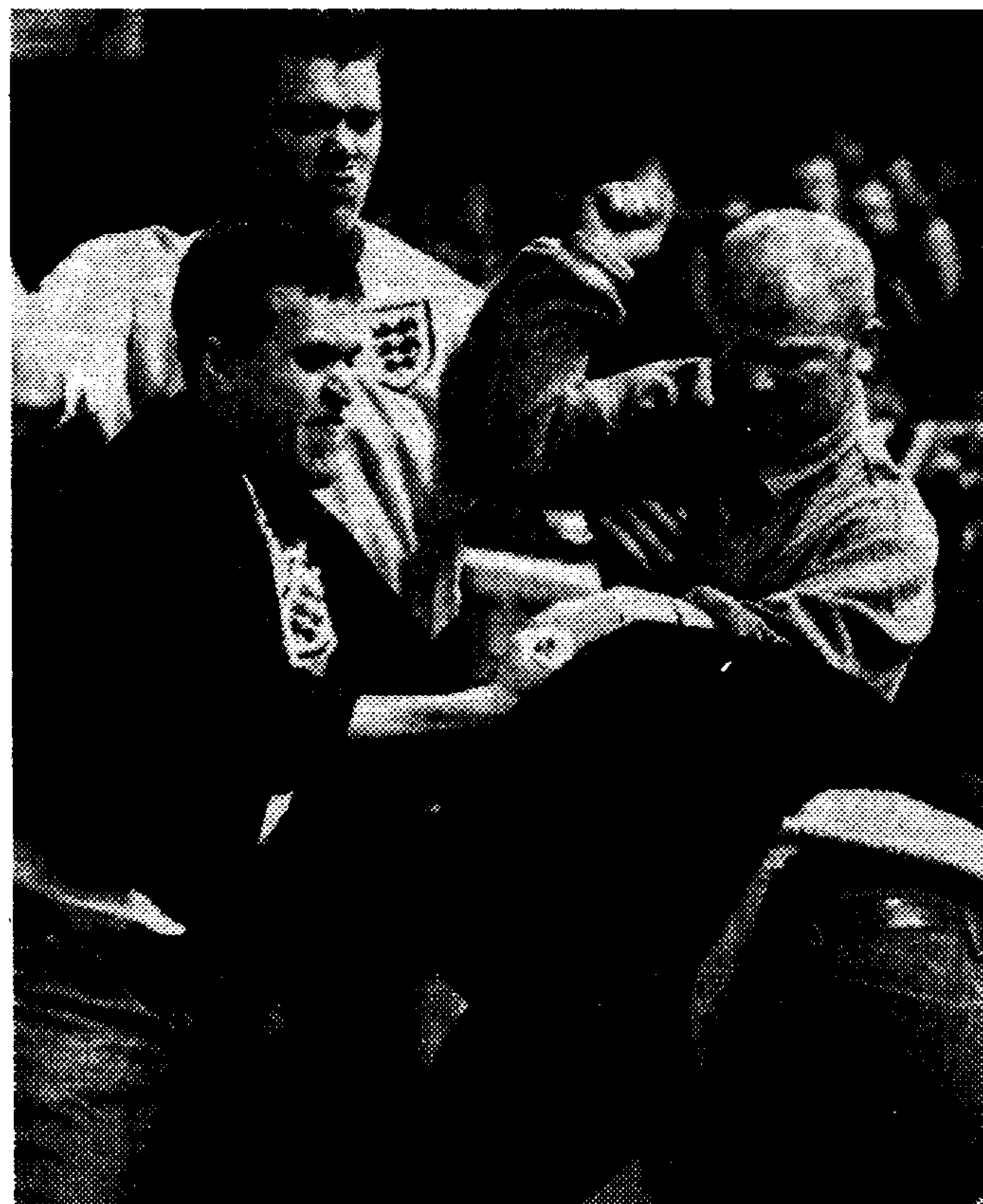
In 1984 during England's tour of South America the fascists directed their bile at black players in the English side, John Barnes and Mark Chamberlain.

England's last game in Dublin saw serious street violence between nazis and Irish fans. In 1993 1,200 England "fans" were arrested in Rotterdam after Holland's 2-0 victory in a World Cup qualifying game.

On the first day of this season (August 94) Combat 18 thugs in league with the Chelsea "firm" - the Headhunters - attacked Chelsea fans who were handing out anti-racist literature at Stamford Bridge.

Our response should be clear: We have to drive the scum from the terraces.

The Commission for Racial Equality organised "Let's Kick Racism Out of Football" cam-



paign was a start, and has had some impact in developing an anti-racist culture at football grounds.

However the campaign has not been and will not be sufficient to defeat the nazis. Militant direct action will be required to reclaim the game.

A national campaign involving those supporters organisations and fanzines (including Red Attitude - Man Utd, Ti-ochfaid Ar La - Celtic, When Skies Are Grey - Everton, Marching Altogether - Leeds) who have a track record of tak-

ing on the nazis needs to be formed - and fast.

The ANL strategy of sending middle class students to give out leaflets outside football matches is useless. Football fans will not be lectured by people who know nothing about the game.

Supporters have to be convinced by other fans of the urgent necessity of combatting the fascist menace.

The time to act is now, the far right have got their foot in the door. We have to slam it in their face.

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Playing the Orange Card?

By David Coen

Whether the leak by the *Times* of selected parts of the so-called Framework Document from the London/Dublin talks was a calculated attempt by hard-line Unionist elements in the British ruling class to scupper the emerging deal or just a way of stiffening the British negotiators is not yet clear.

What is not in doubt is the jolt it gave to an already divided and increasingly desperate Tory government. Divisions over the EC have begun to fuse with other fixations on the Tory right - immigration and devolution, and now the outline of a London/Dublin agreement which appears to concede sovereignty.

At the recent Young Conservative Conference, former junior minister Neil Hamilton called for the Tories to rally to the flag in the next election - not the best omen for Major who needs to throw something to Dublin to sustain the peace process.

Outlines

The broad outlines of the Framework Document have anyway been clear for some time, certainly since the publication of the Downing Street Declaration. The nub of it is that, in return for cross border bodies to co-ordinate policy in such areas as agriculture, tourism regional development and fishing and to deal directly with the EC, Dublin will hold a referendum to remove Article 2 of the Constitution - the so-called territorial claim.

A devolved government will be put in place in Belfast with

some built in safeguards for Nationalists.

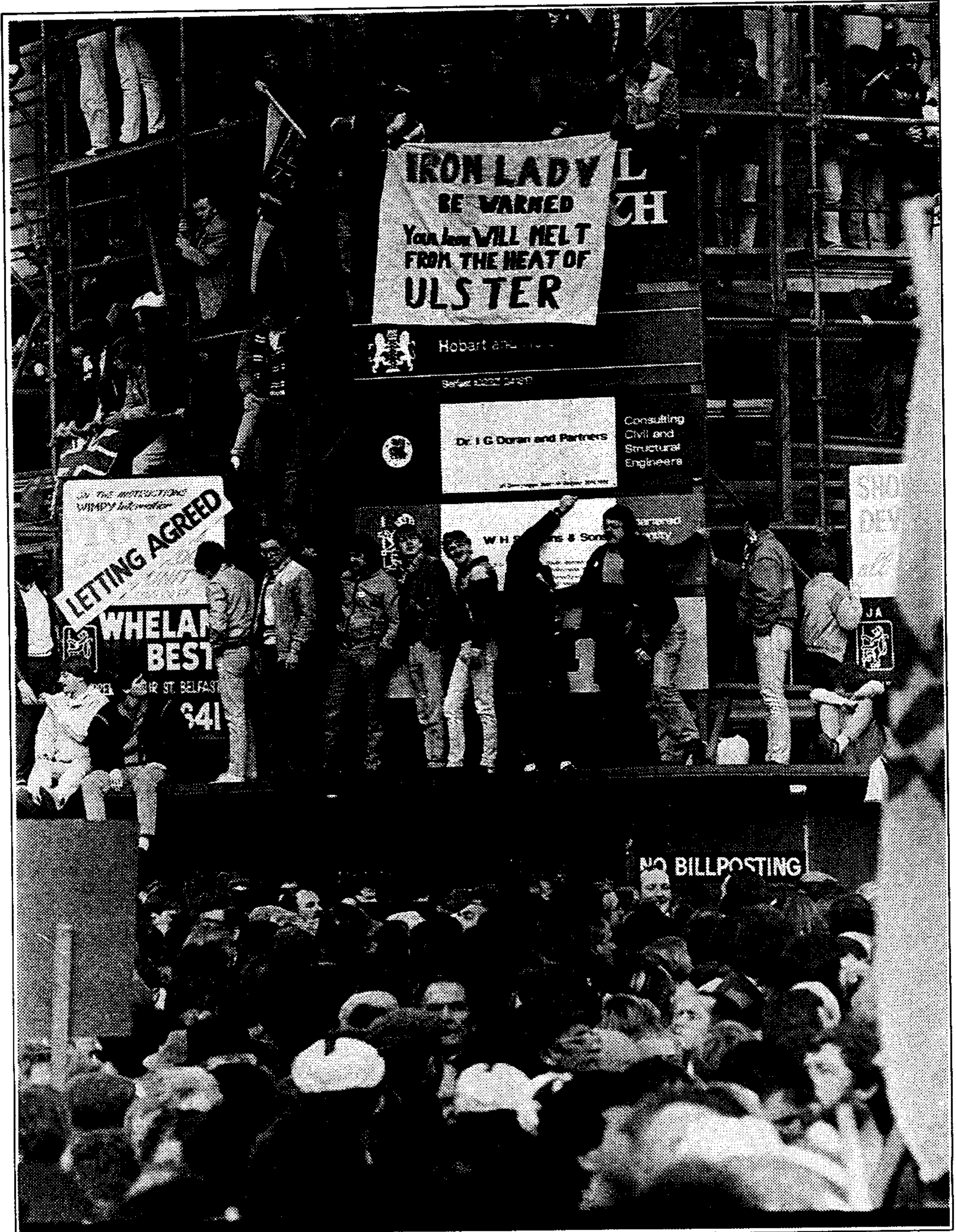
The Unionists have a fine calculation to make. If they push Major too far he may go the way of Albert Reynolds - and they are probably even more suspicious of a Labour Government in spite of Party spokesperson Marjorie Mowlam's efforts to appease them and to bolster Major. Labour may be making friendly noises but the Conservative and Unionist Party are much more likely to give them a sympathetic ear.

For all the huffing and puffing of the Unionist leaders they are going into the talks which will follow publication of the Framework Document secure in the knowledge that whatever agreement is finally reached will leave the Six County state intact and that the proposed cross-border bodies will have less powers than those proposed under the 1974 Sunningdale Agreement, the last serious attempt at an internal settlement.

Joint sovereignty

In return, Dublin will give up its claim that the North is part of the national territory by changing Article 2 of its constitution. The sticking point is that if the Unionists refused to play ball in any cross-border bodies which come out of the settlement, Dublin is keen to have an override with London. The Unionists see this as a form of joint sovereignty to which they are opposed.

Apart from Major's political weakness and his evident lack of authority in his own party, there is a fear on the Tory right that whatever settlement is agreed in Northern Ireland will imperil the unity of the United Kingdom itself. A devolved government in



1985 Protestant response to Anglo-Irish agreement aimed to defend their privileges

Stormont will hardly strengthen Major's position in relation to Scottish devolution. It is unlikely that the Tory Party would split either over the question of Scottish devolution or over the question of Ireland, but Tory divisions over Europe could easily mean that Ireland was the catalyst for such a split.

Should the Tories be forced to call an early general election and a Labour government be elected, the peace process could collapse

as well as by the changes in the South's constitution.

The Framework Document will set the boundaries of what can be decided in the negotiations and it makes few concessions to the Republican position. At best, prisoners are likely to be released on licence rather than en masse, the British will withdraw to barracks and border roads will be re-opened. The chances of the Royal Irish Regi-

ment, as well as by the changes in the South's constitution. It is likely they will argue that whatever deal finally emerges will be a stepping stone to eventual unity - precisely the argument which was used to justify the 1921 partitionist settlement.

Whatever settlement emerges it is unlikely to bring peace any more than did the 1921 Treaty. In the 23 years of direct rule since the Stormont government was abolished in 1972, the linchpin of the sectarian state - discrimination against Catholics in employment - remains almost unchanged.

Now Stormont is to be re-established in a new form with the Dublin government playing the role of protectors of the Nationalists and the promise of some safeguards within the structures of the devolved government.

For socialists, the tasks remain the same. We call for British withdrawal, not for negotiations. We favour peace but point out that any settlement which retains the undemocratic six county state will not bring peace. We reject the idea that Britain has any progressive role in Ireland.

We defend the right of the Irish to wage armed struggle against the undemocratic settlement imposed by force in 1921 and maintained by Britain ever since, though we have consistently pointed out that the British can not be defeated by military means alone.

The difficult road ahead for socialists and republicans is not a return to a military campaign, but a mobilisation North and South to oppose the new Treaty.

The British are not about to withdraw and the Northern state will be stabilised by the involvement of the Nationalists in the devolved government

under its own weight, as Labour found it impossible to carry it through against a Tory opposition able to give full vent to its unionist instincts.

In this situation the 'Orange Card' would certainly be played - though maybe with less effect than before World War 1 when the British ruling class was split from top to bottom, reflected in an army mutiny against disarming the loyalist Ulster Volunteers.

The weakest hand in the negotiations is undoubtedly held by the Republicans. Demanding the British negotiate was pushing at an open door once the British realised the cease-fire was permanent. The British are not about to withdraw and the Northern state will be stabilised by the involvement of the Nationalists in the devolved gov-

ment, heirs of the hated B Specials, being disbanded are minimal. The whole security apparatus built up by the British over 25 years will remain in place and the changes to the RUC will be at best cosmetic.

Split

The chances of a Republican split are small - even those arguing for an end to the cease-fire recognise no military victory is possible and certainly not with smaller and more isolated forces emerging from a split.

The main part of the leadership is relying on Fianna Fail and the US to put pressure on the British in the negotiations. They have accepted that the question of self determination can be put separately to both parts of Ireland and thus the inevitable partitionist settlement which flows

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Socialist OUTLOOK

Clause Four fight: What's at stake



By Simon Doyle

TONY Blair has thrown down the gauntlet. Ditching Clause Four is

his big power play. He is attempting a profound shift in the politics of the Labour Party.

It is a key division in the labour movement. Blair has

mobilised all the resources at his disposal - from the Walworth Road apparatus to the *Guardian* front page - to make the change. That's how important he thinks it is. We must approach the debate with the same seriousness.

Over the past decade the Labour Party leadership have shown themselves to be incapable of providing a coherent answer to the Tories. Kinnock and his cohorts buckled under the right-wing offensive. They had nothing to put in the place of Thatcher's cynical populist demagoguery of tax-cuts, jingoism and get-rich-quick.

This ideological capitulation reflects something deeper. Reformist parties all over Europe are going through a crisis. The capitalist system is unable to deliver any reforms of significance. More than this, it is demanding austerity in every country.

The crumbs from the table have been getting smaller and fewer - now there's no sustenance left. Parties that have fed from this table are going hungry.

Blair's attack on Clause Four is one of the blindest attempts to resolve this crisis.

He is trying to reverse the working class nature of the Labour Party. He wants to change its very identity.

While the Party has never been a socialist party, and Clause Four is not a programme for socialism, the Clause does give voice to a completely different type of society.

Blair wants it out because it challenges capitalism. He wants to remove all reference to socialism from British politics. This is why we must defend it.

Careerist

In this he is articulating the politics of a new layer in the labour movement - a careerist management layer of charcoal-suited mobile-phone-carrying media stars who live in a small tightly-sealed world of North London café bars.

They can only advance themselves at the expense of the traditional leaders of the labour movement. This is why such big public divisions have emerged - Blair's project necessitates a break

with the trade union leadership's role in labour politics. This is the sub-text beneath the war of words.

Thus Blair's dilemma: how to establish a party of a new type while having to rely on the support of those who are set to lose out from the changes. Dumping the trade unions is going to be a long drawn-out process. Changing the Labour Party against the wishes of the membership is going to be similarly fraught with difficulties.

The stage is set for a protracted struggle in the labour movement. Already the depth of the opposition to Blair's attack indicates the strength and potential of the movement that can be built to oppose capitalist austerity, whether it's implemented by Blair or by Major.

It is vital that socialists make this battle their overriding priority in the next year.

Loach video hits back for the Clause

By Ellen Moore

IN A COUNTERBLAST to the patronising and wooden 'Blair' video promoting abolition of Clause 4 comes a production by Ken Loach for the Defend Clause 4 Campaign.

'This is the contemporary case for common ownership. It shows that those advocating common ownership are the modernisers, they have the modern answers to the economic and social chaos caused by the free market', Loach told *Socialist Outlook*.

Produced in just over two weeks with BECTU members donating their time free to ensure a quality product the video is now available from the Campaign.

A collective discussion involving young people from an East End youth project, a Welsh miner who remembers coal nationalisation, a victimised miner sacked after the 1984-85 strike, a young nurse from Guy's Hospital, Alan Pottage from the RMT NEC, Doreen Cameron from NATFHE and Seumas Milne among others.

Each of them addresses the real experiences of life in 1990s

Britain and present the arguments for common ownership as a modern solution. Tim Lang and Ben Fine, economists debate the relevance of common ownership to protecting the environment, addressing issues of equality and delivering full employment.

Finally a financial journalist from the *Sunday Telegraph* derides the idea that business is interested in social justice, that it is compatible with the market or that changing Clause 4 will have any particular effect on the way they vote.

He says 'Blair might change Clause 4, we agree with that: but it's irrelevant. What we are primarily interested in is profit'.

The video launch takes place on the same day as the Blair Roadshow in London - with the campaign raising the issue of its distribution with Walworth Road.

As one of Ken's colleagues at Parallax films said, 'Perhaps Blair and the Labour Party would like to distribute the video which has been made as a contribution to the "full and frank" discussion.'

■ Video available £5 (Cheques to 'Defend Clause 4'), 2 Huddersfield Rd, Barnsley S70 2LS.

It's the way they tell 'em

THE COMMITTEE of the Northern Region UNISON Affiliated Political Fund was graced with the presence of Labour Party General Secretary Tom Sawyer at its meeting on Saturday 18 February to discuss Clause 4.

The meeting, in the heart of Blair country, was unanimous in its expression of support for Clause 4, though it took no formal vote.

Sawyer in exasperation said, "But Clause 4 is written in legalistic language and that's why Tony wants to change it", to which someone shouted from the back, "So is the anti-trade union legislation - and Blair doesn't want to change that!"

Why nationalisation is not enough

In the current debate over Clause Four socialists have no choice. Against Blair's attempts to remove any commitment to a socialised economy we defend the existing wording. But that doesn't mean there are no problems with Clause Four as it stands. Here GEOFF RYAN looks at one of its weaknesses.

'TO SECURE for the workers...' begins Clause IV (4) of the Labour Party Constitution. That little word 'for' speaks volumes. It marks a sharp dividing line between reformist and revolutionary socialists.

Inherent in the wording of Clause Four is a belief that socialism is given to, even imposed on, the working class by a government with a majority in Parliament. It does not conceive of socialism being achieved by the self-activity of the working class.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the authors of Clause Four, the Webbs, were such fervent admirers of Stalin in the 1930s.

Clause 4 was written as an alternative to the self-organisation of the working class dis-

played in the Bolshevik revolution.

Socialist Outlook supporters do not reject the need for a socialist government. Indeed, we recognise the need not only for a government but also a state that acts in the interest of the working class.

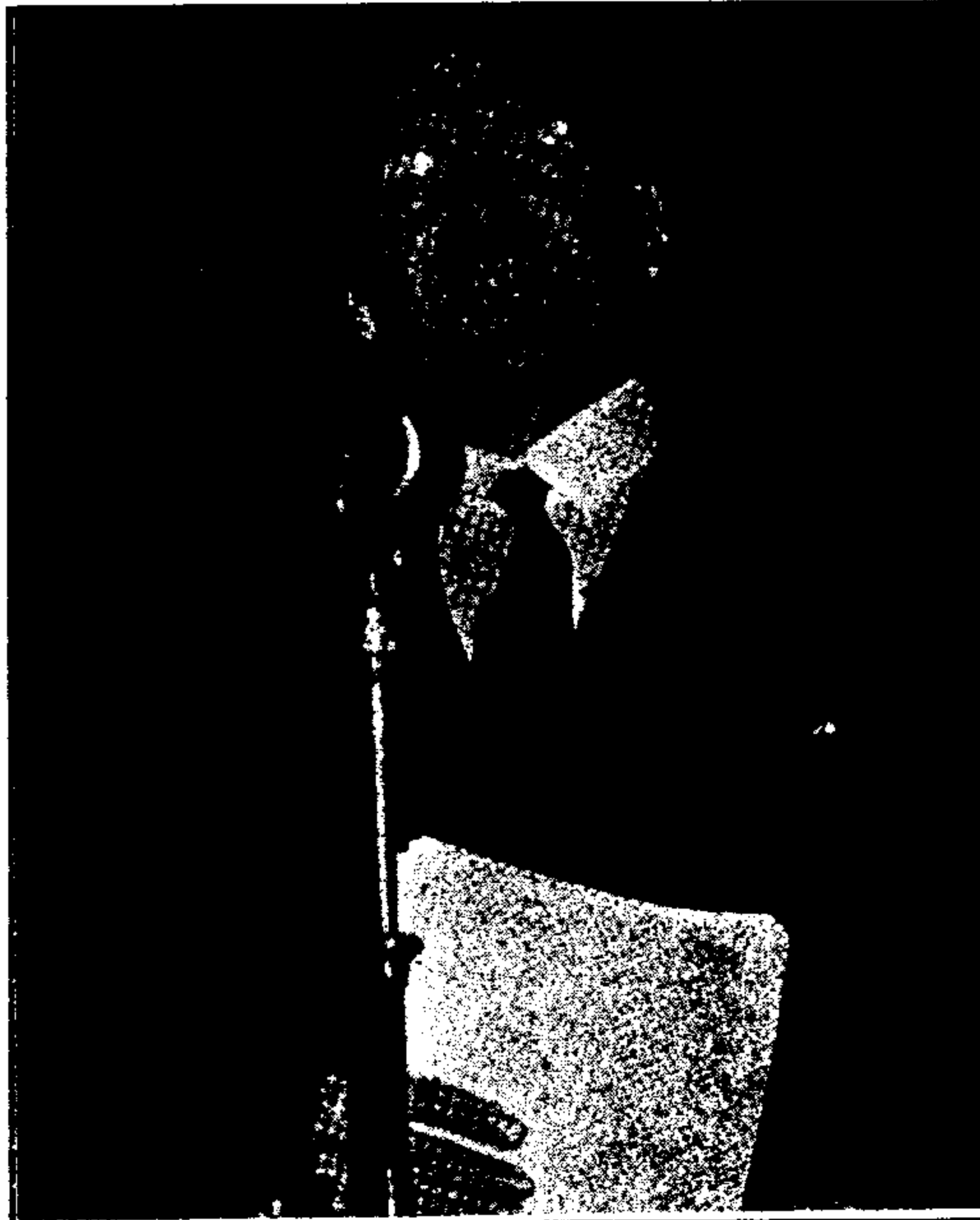
But such a government and state can only be achieved by the independent activity of the working class itself. They are 'secured' by not 'for' the workers.

As revolutionaries we do not believe that any Labour government has ever acted primarily in the interests of the working class.

This is not to deny that Labour governments have introduced measures that have benefitted workers. However, even the most radical of Labour governments - that of 1945 - did not 'secure for the workers...the full fruits of their industry...'. Nor did it try to do so.

Heading off

There is a certain irony in Blair's attacks on the forms of nationalisation introduced by Herbert Morrison: they were the policies of the most right-wing section of the Labour Party, designed to head off any independent working class activity.



Attlee's government: nothing to do with socialism

They were precisely an example of the 'mixed' (i.e. capitalist) economy of which Blair is so enamoured.

The nationalisations of the Attlee government were carried out to prop up British capitalism. Mining, railways and other industries were bankrupt at the end of the second world war.

They could only survive under state control. The only profitable industry nationalised was steel - which is why it was the only industry ever de-nationalised by the Tories before the advent of Thatcher.

Rail and coal were not nationalised so that workers could travel to see friends or keep

warm in the winter. They were nationalised in the interests of private capital, which needed a guaranteed supply of fuel and means of transporting goods.

The nationalised industries were run as capitalist industries, by appointed management boards. Neither miners nor users of coal (except for big business) had any say in the decisions of the National Coal Board. Neither railworkers nor passengers 'owned' British Railways in any meaningful sense.

Morrisonian nationalisation had nothing whatsoever to do with socialism: it was state capitalism.

Weakened

The bureaucratic, undemocratic and unresponsive nature of the nationalised industries ultimately weakened belief in the desirability of social ownership and aided Thatcher in her populist campaigns for denationalisation.

Thatcher's success is a condemnation of the failure to achieve any real social ownership by the right-wing of the Labour Party in 1945.

'Common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange' requires very different forms of operating. In-

stead of appointed management boards they should be elected - by those who work in the industry and consumers.

They should be answerable to the working class and recallable if they do not carry out their mandate. Instead of large salaries they should receive the average pay of a skilled worker. Deliberations should be carried out in public, not behind closed doors. Decisions on investment, staffing, service provision etc should be subject to popular approval.

Such demands are by no means pie in the sky. They were first raised - and put into practice - nearly 125 years ago by the workers of Paris. The Paris Commune of 1871 showed that the working class is capable of running society in the interests of the vast majority.

To believe that the emancipation of the working class can be handed down from on high is a contradiction in terms. It can only be achieved by a working class that acts independently in its own interests.

Any Labour government that tries to introduce such measures would very quickly come up against the determined resistance of the capitalist class - who would not hesitate to use extra-legal methods if they felt their interests were threatened.

Resistance to such sabotage requires not only the self-organisation of the working class. It also requires the smashing of the capitalist state machine.

Good for the NHS, good for Powergen

Defence of the welfare state and a demand for the re-nationalisation of key sectors of British industry in line with retention of Clause 4 has to be coupled with a demand for an extension in democratic control of these organisations argues JANE THOMPSON.

THIS IS AN area where the Labour leadership is on weak ground, and potential splits in the bureaucracy exist.

Labour leaders make vague and contradictory calls for more democracy in the health service, but never talk about it in relation to industry.

Labour's consultation document 'Health 2000' for example says:

"Market-driven competition can only lead to chaos and demoralisation...Every penny of public money which goes into the profit element of private facilities is money which could be redirected to better treatment and more patient care.."

So far as it goes, this is true. But we have to ask - why restrict it to the NHS and not apply the same argument to British Rail, or other key industries now in the private sector?

None of the post-war nationalised industries and services have ever been accountable either to their workforces or to consumers and local people. Workers have had no real collective control over decision making, and there is virtually no local accountability in funding decisions.

The Labour leadership apparently considers that an increase in collective control over the NHS is possible. But the principles around demands for more democracy within the NHS are exactly the same as more democracy in production of cars, generation of electricity and banking.

Confusion

The positions of nationalised industries and welfare organisations within a capitalist context has always been confused.

A state controlled island of collectivism in a sea of capitalism is not viable. But this does not mean that we abandon demands for increases in accountability in all economic sectors.

In the NHS socialists are demanding dual control by workers in the industry and the local and community, and this sort of democratic control is what we want to see in other areas of production, distribution and exchange.

It is important to push for the most radical options given for the democratisation of the NHS in 'Health 2000'.

The choice Labour offers is between:

1. Some form of continuing ministerial nomination (that is the status quo).
2. Direct election.
3. Integration with local government.

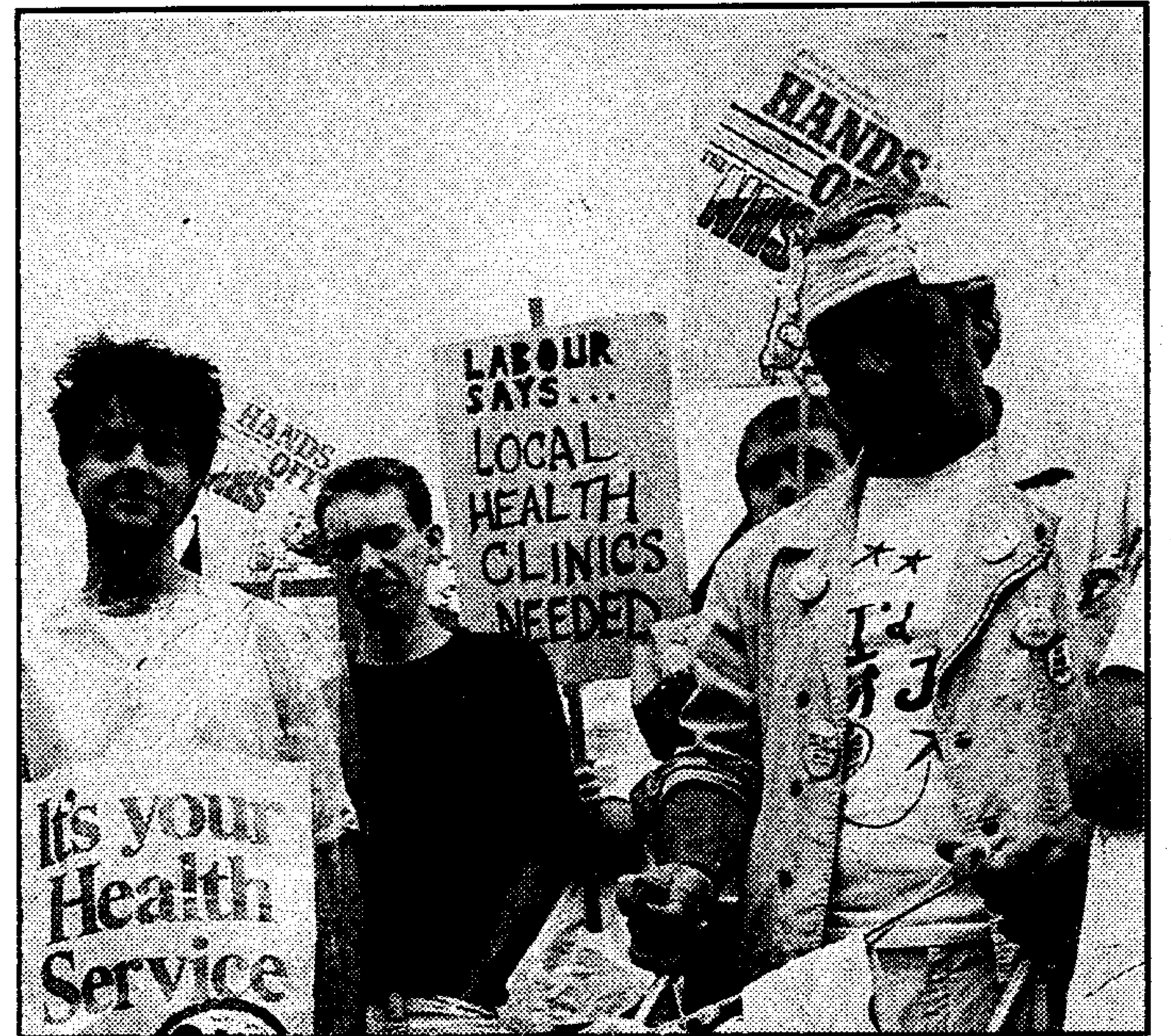
Of course option one is out: no one wants the present network of quangos.

Integration with local government sounds more promising, and would be an improvement on the current situation. However this contains a tacit assumption that the current market-driven "purchaser/provider" split brought in by the Tories will continue.

Option 2, direct election, is the most democratic solution.

Socialists should fight for a different approach:

1. Local health authorities and local hospitals and NHS commu-



NHS: always popular, but never democratically controlled

nity services should not be run as a market or split into counterposed "purchasers" and "providers."

Staff employed by local health authorities should be employed by the same organisation as staff employed to work in hospitals. Trust hospitals and services should be reintegrated into a democratised NHS and District Health Authority structure.

2. Local health services should be governed by direct election of health services councillors onto boards that would also include: representatives from nursing and other trade unions, medical staff and patients.

3. Labour should recognise and actively organise against the Tory's three pronged attack on the NHS: cuts in funding, the in-

ternal market and the end of national pay bargaining.

Of course Blair is backtracking on the Tory NHS 'reforms'. If Blair has his way, then the market system and NHS Trusts are here to stay.

But others in the labour movement do have a real desire to strengthen democracy in the NHS.

And calls for democracy in the NHS will strengthen arguments for the possibility of greater public control over other re-nationalised industries.

Success in the struggle to increase democratic control in the NHS would strengthen our ability to argue in Powergen. The fight for democratic control may start with nationalisation, but does not end there.

Blair follows in the footsteps of failure

HARRY SLOAN looks at the unfortunate fore-runners of Tony Blair's right wing political programme.

THE LAST attempt to lead Labour into an explicit renunciation of socialist aspiration was that of Hugh Gaitskell in 1959.

He too tried to replace Clause Four with a vague text, proposing a 'classless society', and happiness and freedom of the individual.

Just as Blair today tries cynically to enlist women to his cause, hinting that his new text will pledge them equal rights, Gaitskell tried to appear radical by criticising Clause Four for making "no mention at all of colonial freedom, race relations, disarmament, full employment or planning."

In fact Gaitskell was as conservative as Blair. And his politics brought 15 years of failure to the Labour Party.

As Chancellor in the Attlee government, Gaitskell's 1951 Budget, praised by the *Daily Express* as a good Tory Budget, together with a right wing manifesto which made no mention of socialism, paved the way for Labour's electoral defeat.

The party's abject lack of any coherent political challenge to a Tory government riding the post-war 'boom' led to three successive electoral defeats in the 1950s. So close were the parties that the economic policies of Tory Chancellor Butler were widely dubbed 'Butskellism'.

As if they had not done enough damage, Labour's right wing went onto the offensive in 1959 following the Party's third defeat.

The pace was set by Gaitskell's crony Douglas Jay, who wanted not only to drop nationalisation but to drop the unions, drop the name of the Labour Party, drop any principle of political independence, and to do a deal, even merge, with the Liberals.

Gaitskell did not openly go this far, but floated the idea of scrapping Clause Four and inserting a new 12-point Statement of Aims at a special conference of the Labour Party to discuss the election defeat, held in November 1959.

Chaos

After Gaitskell had spoken for an hour explaining his view, the conference degenerated into chaos. Later in 1960, under increasing pressure from his shadow cabinet and the unions, Gaitskell eventually retreated from his attempt to scrap Clause Four, and even his Statement of Aims was surreptitiously ditched before the 1960 conference.

Gaitskell's successor as leader, Harold Wilson, who had described the attack on Clause Four as like 'taking Genesis out of the Bible', led Labour to four election victories with the Clause intact but largely ignored.

But Gaitskell is not the only negative role model adopted by Tony Blair. His religious superstitions (reflected in his choice of school for his son), his rejection of any concept of the class struggle and his political pro-



MacDonald

nouncements all call to mind Labour's other catastrophic failure - Ramsay MacDonald.

MacDonald led Britain's first, completely ineffectual, minority Labour government in 1924: having left the entire edifice of capitalism undisturbed, it was ousted within a year.

In 1929, with more MPs, he again formed a minority Labour government, which again failed to deliver any significant gains for the working class.

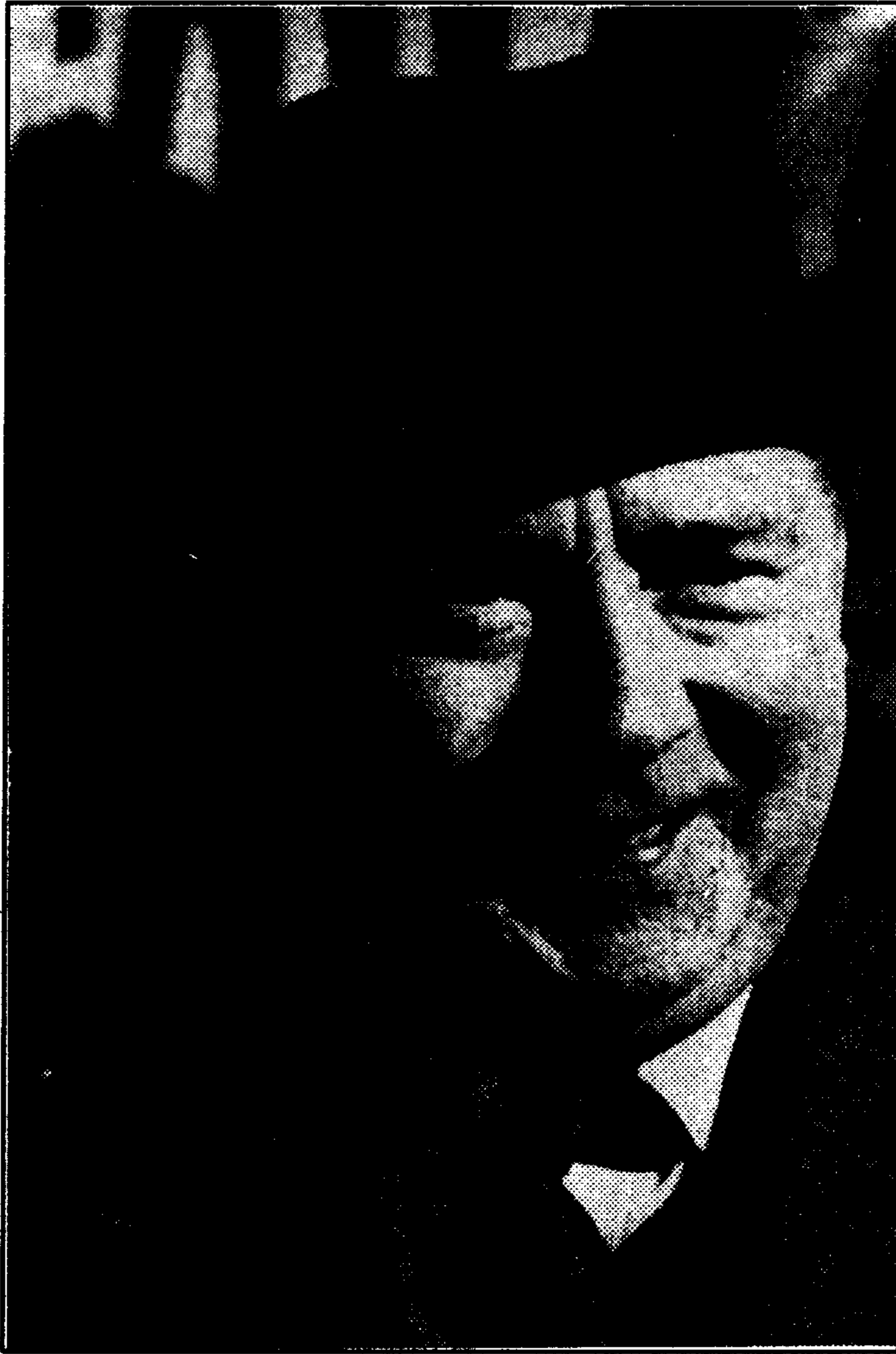
Instead, in 1931 a run on the pound induced a financial crisis in which MacDonald was persuaded by bankers to stabilise capitalism by imposing a massive package of spending cuts, including cuts in dole payments. This was opposed by the TUC and split his cabinet. Urged on by the Tories and Liberals, MacDonald opted to form a coalition National Government to lead these attacks on the working class.

Although he was expelled from the Labour Party as soon as the coalition was formed, the party was massively discredited. The ensuing general election in October 1931 saw Labour reduced to a rump of just 52 MPs.

MacDonald's commitment to the capitalist order was nothing new. He had elaborated his views in some detail in a series of books and pamphlets. He was a Fabian, an evolutionist rather than a revolutionist, and an avid opponent of any concept of class struggle.

"Socialism is based upon the gospels," he proclaimed. "It is an excellently conceived and resolute attempt to Christianise government and society."

MacDonald, like Blair, regarded himself as something of a daring innovator in repudiating any class consciousness whatever:



Gaitskell: right wing policies brought Labour 15 years of failure

"There is an old and a new school of socialism. We belong to the new school. ... We have no class consciousness ... our opponents are the people with class consciousness ... But in place of class consciousness we want to evoke the consciousness of social solidarity."

Shambles

As Leon Trotsky asked, as he looked in horror at the shambles of Fabian socialist 'theory':

"MacDonald 'wants to evoke' a consciousness of social solidarity. With whom?"

Trotsky went on to explain the socialist ABC:

"The solidarity of the working class is the expression of its internal unity in the struggle against

"Neither the Conservative clubs, nor Oxford University, nor the English bishops and other priestly institutions can stand comparison with the Fabians. For all these are institutions of the enemy classes and the revolutionary movement will inevitably burst the dam they form. But the proletariat itself is restrained by precisely its own top leading layer, i.e. the Fabian politicians and their yes-men."

Yet it is from this same MacDonald/Fabian/Christian school of politics that Tony Blair now draws his call for 'one nation': who cannot hear Blair's reedy voice in the confused words penned by his treacherous fore-runner 70 years ago?

"Socialism is no class move-

Blair is seeking to extinguish any spark of radicalism from the Party's politics, to make it a party fit for entrepreneurs and those with least interest in social change.

the bourgeoisie. The social solidarity that MacDonald preaches is the solidarity of the exploited with the exploiters, that is, the maintenance of exploitation."

Trotsky's scathing views of Fabianism ring true even today:

"It can without exaggeration be said that the Fabian Society, which was founded in 1884 with the object of 'arousing the social conscience', is nowadays the most reactionary grouping in Great Britain.

ment. Socialism is a movement of opinion, not an organisation of status. It is not the rule of the working class; it is the organisation of the community."

Tony Blair's 1995 version of the same view is to argue that:

"Socialism is a belief about society."

MacDonald also argued against any form of trade union struggle:

"The trade unionist has the same limitation imposed upon him as the capitalist - he cannot

advance his interests at the expense of his society. It cannot be over-emphasised that public doles, Poplarism, strikes for increased wages, limitation of output, not only are not socialism, but may mislead the spirit and the policy of the socialist movement.

"Socialism calls men to give unstinted service in return for a reasonable reward measured in terms of life ... The socialist therefore looks with some misgivings upon some recent developments in the conflicts between capital and labour. They are contrary to his spirit; he believes they are both immoral and uneconomic and will lead to disaster.

"It is only when the worker by brain or by hand does his best for society that he will create in society that sympathy and support without which the labour movement will never attain its goal."

All this is bad enough, and familiar in today's speeches and embarrassed silences from Blair's front-bench team.

But in a sense, Blair is retreating even from the Fabianism of MacDonald. Clause Four itself was drafted by Fabians, and the younger MacDonald paid lip-service to the call for nationalisation - by the capitalist state - in terms that would frighten the daylight out of today's Labour leaders:

"The nationalisation of production is just as necessary to democracy - and just as inevitable if democracy is to mature into fullness - as the nationalisation of the sovereign authority by the suppression of the personal right of kings to rule. We must look upon production as a national function, and not as a task assigned to a class of separate individuals pursuing their own ends."

Spark extinguished

Following in the footsteps of Labour's legendary failures, Mr Blair is seeking to extinguish any spark of radicalism from the Party's politics, to make it a party fit for entrepreneurs, the prosperous middle classes and those with least interest in social change.

In doing so, he is turning his back on the working class, and especially on the low-paid, the unemployed, the pensioners, and single parents who have lost out so heavily while the rich have cashed in.

Blair's repudiation of any socialist or radical politics make it clear that a Labour government led by him would follow MacDonald's example in 1931, and reserve its attacks for the working class while grovelling to big business and the middle class.

Although no socialist programme will be on the agenda of Labour's special conference in April, a rejection of Blair's attack on Clause Four would offer an important first step in the fight to turn Labour back towards its roots in the working class and trade union movement.



Crucial stage in Clause 4 fight

THE CAMPAIGN to defend Clause Four enters a key stage this month. Labour's NEC on March 15 will announce their new Clause Four.

This is the culmination of the so called 'consultation' process. Labour movement bodies must make sure that they return their questionnaires to Walworth Road by 3 March.

The lack of democracy in the process must be exposed to win over those in the centre. Blair has no mandate for changes, despite John Prescott's claims.

Last month Prescott said "Tony Blair... was elected on a mandate. Quite large votes voted for him to make sure that he wanted to continue the modernisation of the party of the party and in this sense constitutionally is one part of it". John is clearly someone who wants a "more concise" Clause Four!

1995 began with the *Guardian* - mouthpiece of the right wing Labour Coordinating Committee (LCC) opining "Blair Fears Clause Four Humiliation."

This was intended to send an SOS to trade union barons. Unfortunately they got the wrong end of the stick, and began to name their price to do a deal.

A number demanded that their privatised industry was a re-nationalised - a price too high for Brother Blair who steadfastly refused to make any spending commitments.

Blair acolyte Geoff Hoon MP was quizzed on Radio 5 about whether Labour's refusal to re-nationalise was pragmatism or a point of principle. Brain-box Hoon replied that this was an 'unfair journalist's question'!

Union leaders, notably US-DAW's Garfield Davies and MSF chief Roger Lyons, who have spoken out to turn the tide back Blair's way, have had to repudiate their statements in the face of rank and file opposition.

Labour's Conference Arrangements Committee (CAC)

met last month. Even they were not trusted to fix the conference properly. They were railroaded into accepting that the special conference will have just one 'take it or leave it vote' on Blair's new clause Four. The CAC is not scheduled to meet until the morning of the conference!

Model resolution

Clause Four campaigners should support the passing of the model resolution reproduced on this page. Whilst we should support the Clause full stop, there is nothing unprincipled in supporting those who demand a democratic vote at the conference.

This tactic (the "Gaitskell get out") was best advocated by Stan Newens MEP at the launch

recent Young Labour conference gave a flavour of how things might go. Diana Jeuda told US-DAW's young delegates that they would end their career in the union if they voted for Clause Four.

Jeuda said last November "We mustn't let ourselves be in the position where whatever comes from the NEC is a take-it-or-leave-it... people are going to feel bounced if this happens."

Honest Diana was speaking at the *Tribune* event to launch their re-write of the Clause.

The *Tribune* MPs' project has gone down the pan like a stool. *Tribune* newspaper is now a staunch campaigner for Clause Four. It is said that Peter Hain accepts Neath CLPs pro-Clause Four line. The Socialist Cam-

OMOV ballots must be opposed. They attack collective decision making and the union link. But where the right is victorious we must argue against postal ballots and for 'all members' meetings to debate and vote on the issue. The NEC's ballot paper must be rejected for one which puts all the options.

The left must ensure that the detailed work of compositing motions and winning CLP mandating meetings is carried out for all the regional conferences and women's conference. Pro Clause Four fringe meetings need to be organised at each conference.

The Blair road-show have been craven stitch ups. Audiences have been hand picked and only Blair's point of view has been put. Nevertheless, Clause Four supporters should try to intervene at these events.

Blair's guests may not give a fig for socialism and common ownership but we should attempt to expose the fix by asking questions on the procedure.

Prayer

Comrades yet to join the campaign may be relying on the power of prayer to win the day. For them I have good news. The Christian Socialist Movement Executive has voted to retain Clause Four and for the April conference to be cancelled!

Lord Soper has said: "It does not matter for me that some of the words in Clause Four could be expressed differently. What matters is that there is an absolute need to confront the capitalist system under which we suffer."

Diane Abbot has discovered that three-quarters of Labour's reserve fund has now been spent. 'Defend Clause - Defend Socialism' do not have such resources. Genuine supporters of the campaign must join up. This is not a moralistic point. It is objective politics. We cannot hope to beat Blair without resources that subscriptions generate.

Join the Campaign to Defend Clause IV!

As we get nearer the 29 April Special conference the Campaign to Defend Clause IV will be going all out to secure victory on the day. To help us achieve this we desperately need funds.

Send £10 minimum to "Defend Clause IV", 2 Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, S70 2LS.

Write to the same address to order campaign badges (£10 for 25) and Ken Loach's video in defence of Clause IV (£5).

conference of Defend Clause Four-Defend Socialism. He said "In the 1959 debate the issue was resolved by retaining Clause Four and issuing a 12 point statement which expressed current objectives. That provides a perfectly respectable precedent."

While the left should not call for a "vote for both" we should demand the opportunity to vote on both Clause Four and Blair's new statement. All *Socialist Outlook* readers should get delegated to the special conference.

In terms of machine politics - we ain't seen nothing yet. The

campaign Group of MPs now seem lukewarm on their 'defend and extend' position. There is no room, for such 'tactics' in this battle.

Over 100 CLPs have declared their support for Clause Four. Only a handful have declared for a re-write. But the question in the CLPs is still to be decided. Many Blairites will be advocating OMOV ballots in their CLPs.

The NEC cannot impose these, but has given a strong recommendation and will kindly provide address labels and ballot papers.

Model Resolution for CLPs and affiliated Trade Unions

"We regret that the NEC is seeking to confine voting at the Special conference solely to the wording proposed by the NEC.

Conference should have the opportunity to vote on the new statement of aims and values and on the existing Clause IV.

The last two Party conferences voted to retain Clause IV. We call upon the Conference Arrangements Committee and the NEC to allow special conference to vote on both texts."

Ten Questions to Tony Blair's 'road-show'

1. How much money has been spent on the consultation process?

2. Only one affiliated Trade Union holds its annual conference before the special conference. Surely the NEC's choice of date is not democratic?

3. The 'Clause IV' special edition of *Labour Party News* has 13 articles. Only two of them support last year's conference policy of retaining Clause IV as it stands. Is this democratic?

4. Your leadership manifesto made no reference to your desire to abolish Clause IV. Would it not have been more honest to have done so?

5. It is proposed that there will be just one 'take it or leave it' vote at the special conference. Wouldn't it be more democratic to allow the special conference a range of options? Surely delegates should have the right to vote to retain Clause IV as it stands, to add a new statement to it or amend the proposed new Clause IV?

6. On 12 June 1994 you stated on 'Breakfast with Frost': "I don't think anyone actually wants the abolition of Clause IV to be the priority of the Labour Party at the moment. I don't think that anyone is saying now, looking ahead to the next two years in the run up to an election, that it is what we should focus on."

Why did you say this if you intended to abolish Clause IV.?

7. Why haven't the views of those who wish to retain Clause IV been represented on road-show platforms and in the video?

8. The questionnaire does not include the direct question: "Do you want to retain Clause IV as it stands"? Why did you vote against this question being included?

9. Was it a dignified act of a confident leader to call MEPs (who support the conference policy of the last two years to retain Clause IV) "infantile and incompetent"? Why are you using Party funds to overturn conference policy while criticising those who use their own resources to support our constitution?

10. Why has the special conference been called on the last weekend before local government elections?

This is a special supplement to *Socialist Outlook* newspaper, which appears fortnightly. If you agree with what we say, why not try a trial subscription - five issues posted to you for just £3.00. Send your cheque to *Socialist Outlook* at PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

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Indonesian workers enter centre stage

By Will Dunning

There has been a huge upsurge in the number of labour disputes and strikes in Indonesia's major industrial cities in 1994. The independent union SBSI has come under extreme pressure from the authorities.

Another independent union, the PPBI (Centre for Indonesian Workers Struggle) has also emerged.

Many of the SBSI's important leaders have been jailed, the union's bank accounts frozen and visitors to the SBSI office harassed. The SBSI has kept its office open but its regional development has been stunted. One of its central leaders Muchtar Pakpahan has recently had his jail sentence increased by the Indonesian authorities.

In November 1994, in Central Java, workers' committees set up the PPBI. The union organises 15,000 workers and puts bread and butter issues at the top of its list of demands. Signifi-



Solidarity with East Timorese struggle is working class task

cantly, it calls for the military to be kept out of industrial disputes.

The development of both these organisations points to a more militant attitude in the Indonesian working class. Between 1993 and 1994 strikes increased from 360 to 1,130 a

year. This means that there were no fewer than three strikes a day.

It can only be a matter of time before the emergent democracy and trade unions movements begin to challenge the Jakarta Dictatorship.

Stop the Alvis tank deal

By Paul Walker

Over 60 trade unionists, students and peace campaigners attended a public meeting co-organised by Coventry Trades Council and Campaign Against the Arms Trade in early February. Earlier in the day demonstrators protested outside the Alvis plant on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Coventry.

The meeting was addressed by Jose Ramos Horta, the external representative of the CNRM, the East Timorese resistance. Ramos Horta had spoken to a meeting of 300 in London on the previous night. Both these meetings represent yet another increase in campaigning activity and interest in the campaign to stop arms deliveries to the Indonesian dictatorship.

In London, on March 7th, Alvis will be holding an AGM. CAAT and the British Coalition for East Timor are organising

a protest outside the AGM which will open at 12 noon at the Savoy Hotel on the Strand.

The Coventry meeting led to the creation of a Midlands campaign to stop the Alvis tank deal. Its first meeting will be on 22nd February. The aims to organised a broad campaign using diverse tactics to make sure that the Alvis tanks never leave the factory. Labour movement support for the campaign is vital

• If you want to get involved contact Will at CAAT on 0171-281-0297.

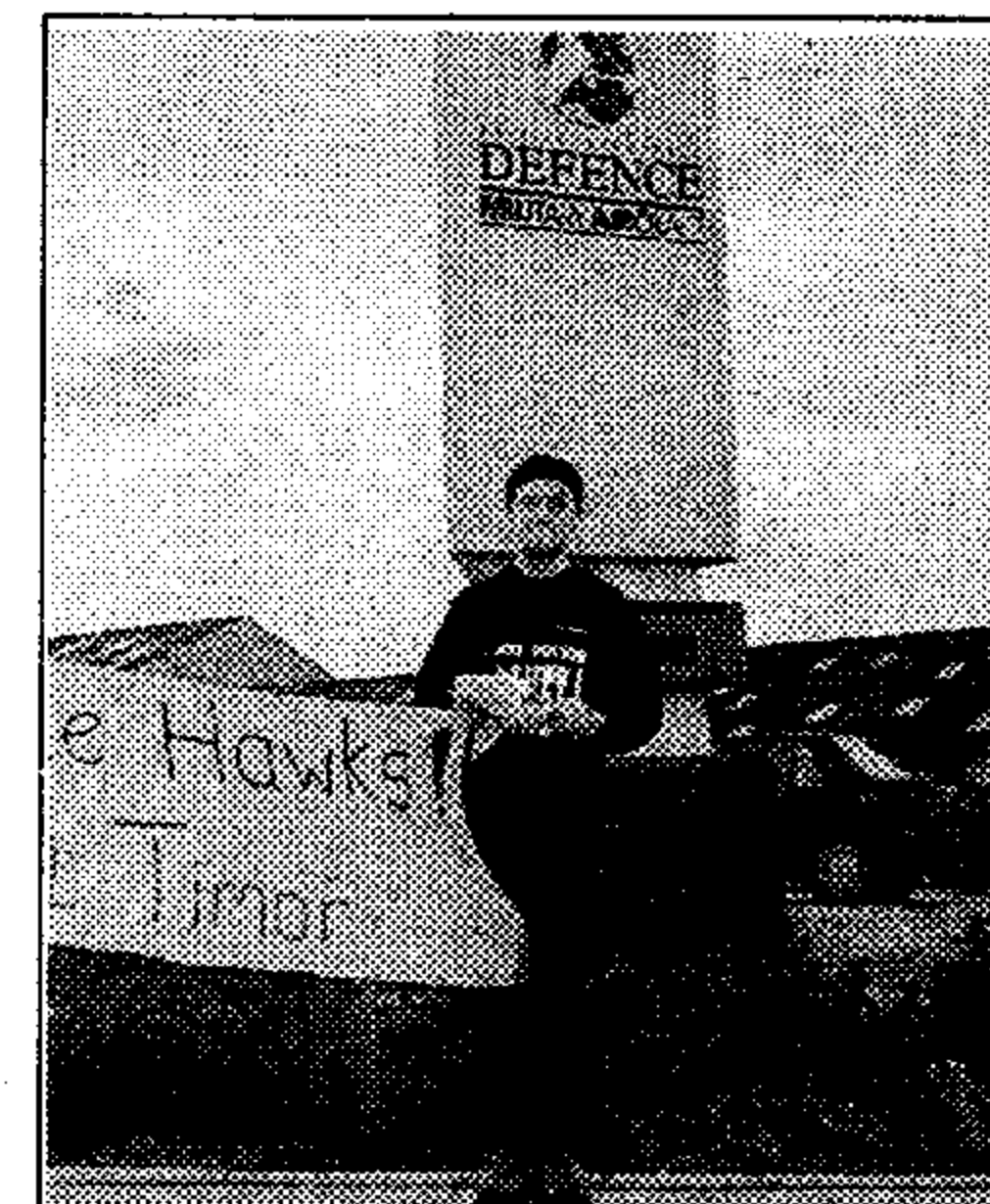
Victory for 'Stop the Hawks' Four

By Alan Greenow

The Warton Four, put on trial for "going equipped too commit criminal damage" at the BAe site in Warton, Lancashire, walked free from the court room at the end of January as the case against them collapsed.

At the end of the prosecution case at Preston Crown Court the judge John Appleton ruled that three of the defendants had no case to answer. BAe then advised the prosecution that they wanted the case against Chris Cole not to continue.

The Four, Katherine Whitham, Rachel Julian, Michael Bane and Chris Cole had planned to use the trial to put BAe on trial for "conspiring to commit genocide with the Indonesian regime in East Timor."



Campaigning at Warton

Such a strategy clearly placed BAe in a difficult position. They had no desire for the facts of the matter to be brought out in court in the full glare of publicity. Had the trial gone ahead the defendants were to bring forward John Pilger as a key witness.

The ruling can only further turn the screw on BAe and open the way to mass action against BAe sites.

Death squads appear in East Timor

By Mathew Sutton

A wave of terror has swept troubled East Timor in the first two weeks of February with hooded gangs roaming street stoning and burning houses and attacking locals opposed to Indonesian rule. The gangs are operating with the connivance of the Indonesian military.

Most observers believe that the death squads, comprised of East Timorese pro-integration forces dressed in black, are organised by the intelligence operation run by Labut Melo, an official believed to

run the territories largest spy network.

Two death squad members were captured by the local population in mid-February in Dili. They claimed to have been recruited by the military an offered substantial payments for each night of the attacks on pro-independence activists.

The appearance of the death squads is an attempt by the Indonesians to divide and rule inside East Timor.

The development of the mass civil resistance against the Indonesian occupation has embarrassed Jakarta over the last few months with displays of courage in the face of overwhelming odds.

International Viewpoint relaunched from Prague

By Adam Novak

INTERNATIONAL Viewpoint, the monthly review of the Fourth International, has resumed publication after a one-month break to set up new printing and distribution facilities for the magazine here in Prague.

The magazine will continue its much-deserved reputation as a forum for those in struggle around the world, deepening its coverage of the work of revolutionary organisations around the world.

The February issue of IV focuses on the Zapatista revolt in Mexico. As well as an interview on the strategy of the EZLN sub-

commander Marcos provides an article "Basement Mexico" outlining the special features of the social crisis facing Mexico. Maxime Durand explores the economic crisis of the country and how it ties in with the NAFTA trading bloc and relations with the USA and Canada. Olga Odgers traces the cultural roots of the Zapata myth among the maya Indians. There is a reprint of a joint declaration of Mexico's Indian organisations.

IV also takes a hard look at market reforms in China and Vietnam and examines the response of the Russian left to the Chechen crisis.

In March IV asks "what's left?" in a survey of western Europe's Communist parties.

We analyse the potential of the PDS in Germany, Refounders of Italy, Portugal's traditionalists and the Realists of Spain.

To mark International Women's Day we have a dossier on women and fundamentalism. Activists around the world have prepared reports on the Christian right in north America, Catholic fundamentalism in France and the fight against Islamic fundamentalism within Europe's immigrant communities.

We also interview the leader of one of Africa's largest and most dynamic far-left coalitions, the PADS of Senegal. Poul Larsen explains the roots of the Chechen crisis and we detail the increasingly tense situation in Sri Lanka.

International Viewpoint costs £22 a year from 'Outlook International', PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Single issues cost £2 from the same address.



WORLD OUTLOOK

'Regionalisation' freezes third world out of global economy

Not so Free Trade

By Bala Kumar

When 18 Heads of State met in Bogor, Indonesia on November 15th last year for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, it seemed that another trade pact to rival North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and the European Union, had arrived.

This talk of regional economic communities seems strange in the wake of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the new World Trade Organisation both of which are formally committed to eliminating protectionist controls and barriers to trade among states.

These competing pressures towards globalisation and regionalisation were evident in the run-up to the Summit and its final Declaration. The United States is anxious to increase its access in the region. Japan runs a healthy trade surplus with the newly industrialising countries of South East Asia.

Trade among Asian countries has grown four times as fast as that between Asia and the United States, leaving the latter on the sidelines.

Thus the main goals of the Declaration include liberalisation measures aimed at making the entire region a free trade area by 2020 with the advanced capi-

talist countries removing their trade barriers by 2010.

Regionalisation has become a conduit towards dominance of the global economy by its main players particularly the United States.

An alternative vision was sketched by the Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed. He has mooted an East Asian Economic Caucus led and centred around Japan.

He believes that this will increase intra-regional trade and investment flows. It is part of his 'Look East' policy: Asian countries have more to gain from the experiences of Japan and South Korea than conforming to a Washington devised growth model.

Ultra-nationalist

These ideas have been spelled out in a book Mahathir has co-authored with ultra-nationalist Japanese politician Shintaro Ishihara called *The Asia That Can Say No*, currently a best seller in Japan.

The authors press Japan to assume Asian leadership and counter-balance US influence in the region.

They urge Japan to become more active in military operations world-wide, accepting that US military dominance prevents significant challenges to its economic hegemony.

Mahathir succeeded in negotiating an opt out clause, from the APEC timetable for removal of barriers to trade but may yet



Regionalisation has become a conduit towards dominance of the global economy

be tried to compromise as the Asian market for Malaysian manufacturers saturates and he has to 'Look West' once more.

There's more than squabbles about profits on Mahathir's mind. He is notoriously sensitive to criticisms about his style of government and its labour rights record.

Japan has no compunction with trading with human rights violators, but lobbies in Western Europe and the United States could threaten Malaysian exports.

Talk of free trade remains exactly that.

The Other World Summit
THE OTHER VOICES OF THE PLANET
10am-11pm Saturday 18 March
FREE UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS
 WITH: Noam Chomsky, Rosario Ibarra, Catherine Samary, Michael Lowy, Anke Wintjens, Michel Chossudovsky, Hear Ismael Serageldin (World Bank Vice-President) and Jean-Luc Dehaene (Belgian Prime Minister) debate Vandana Shive and Pierre Galand.
 Details: Committee for the Cancellation of the Third World Debt, C/o PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU, or telephone Brussels (00 32 2) 523 40 23.

French 'Socialists' aim to lose elections

By Christian Picquet

The selection of Lionel Jospin as the French Socialist Party's candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections brings to an end the era of Mitterrand. There is little for the left to celebrate in the choice however.

Jospin owes his success to three principal factors. First, his reputation for moral probity and his ministerial experience made him a more likely candidate to win through to the second round than his rival Henri Emmanuelli.

Second, his criticisms of the Mitterrandian system of power, however half-hearted, gave him the advantage of being less tainted by the calamitous balance-sheet of the past 14 years.

Finally, his independence from the party HQ and the organised currents allowed members to express their discontent with the bureaucratic practices of the recent past.

From this point of view, the outcome of the vote appeared first as a defeat for Henri Emmanuelli, Laurent Fabius and

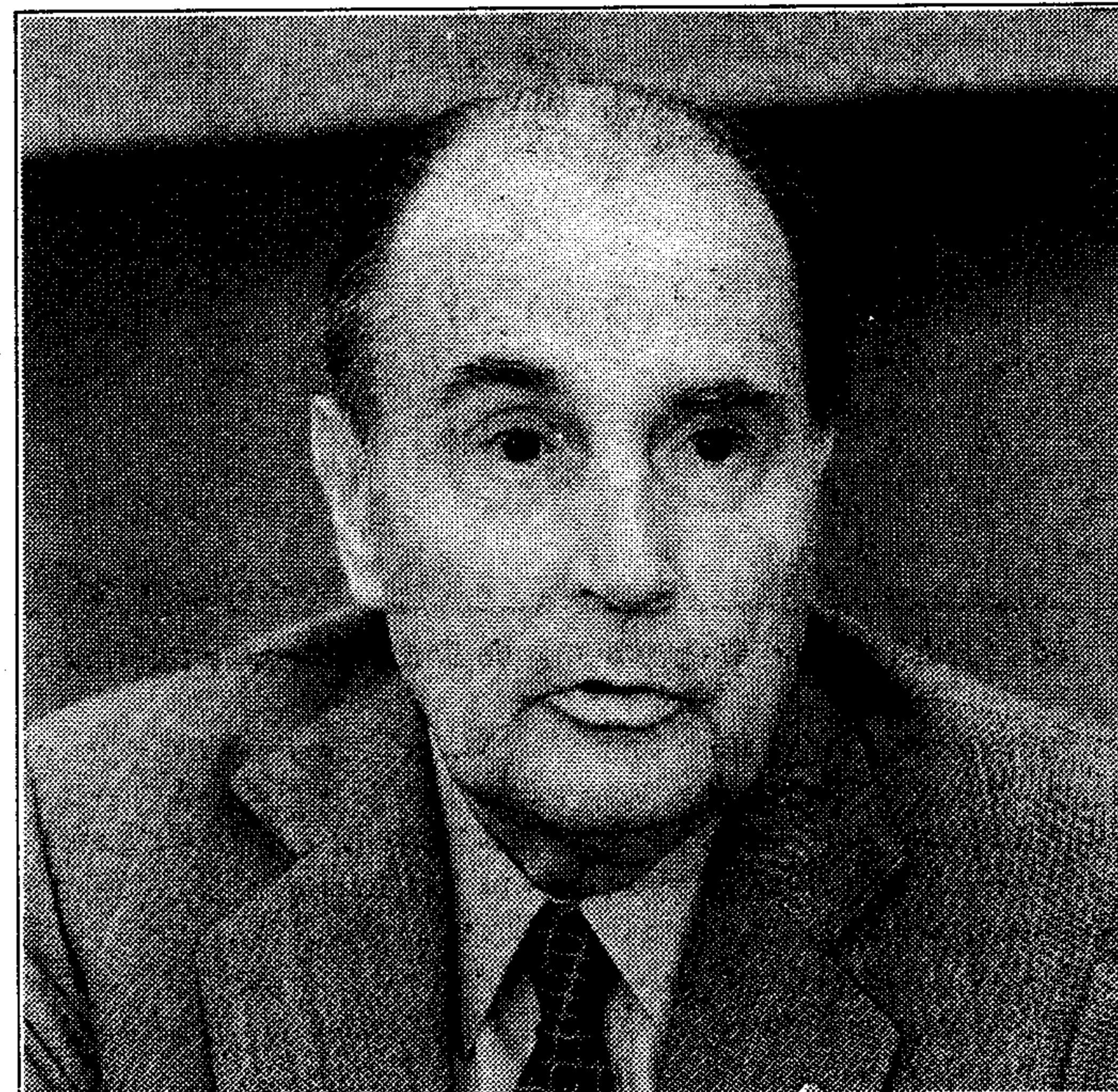
the leaders of the *Gauche Socialiste*. Although employing a temporary left rhetoric, they seemed to wish to preserve the heritage of Mitterrand at any price to get the party to toe the line.

In contrast, Jospin received support from all those currents who had in some way contested Mitterrandism over the past 15 years. This has opened a crisis of legitimacy and of leadership which will continue beyond the election itself, when the difficult phase of 'reconstruction' of the left will begin.

Low expectations

While Jospin poses as a direct rival to the right wing favourite for the presidency Edouard Balladur, his real aim seems to be avoiding being knocked out in the first round: "This campaign will be very difficult, it is necessary that we reach the second round, it is possible, it is necessary, I am convinced that we will be there. I wish to create a surprise."

Jospin is probably right to pitch his expectations low. To defeat Balladur he would have to break much more radically with the heritage of the past



Mitterrand: his successor, Jospin, aims to come second in elections

Socialist governments. He has always refused to do this, justifying the right wing turn of 1982-83.

His programme confines itself to the institution of a 5 year presidency, the acceptance of the Maastricht treaty, proposals to boost construction and social housing and the taxation of speculative movements of capital. But he

has nothing to say on the decisive question of the reduction of the working week.

This moderation is in line with the platform adopted by the party's National Bureau, which rejects any break with monetarist austerity, making "acceptance of the market economy" and rejection of "public account deficits" into veritable dogmas. The pro-

gramme envisages an upturn in economic activity through somewhat higher wages, but pushes off to five years hence the perspective of a 35 hour working week, which will be implemented, in a singularly woolly formula "while guaranteeing wages".

The platform also promises a "new social contract between the state and its social partners" to "maximise productivity gains and divide the surplus from growth between employment, wages and the reduction of working hours".

If, as seems probable, Jospin benefits from the support of the Radicals and the ecologist groupuscule of N. Mameré and A. Buchmann, the polls indicate that he will reach the second round.

The avoidance of the sinister prospect of a Balladur-Chirac duel should make anyone on the left rejoice. But something other than Jospin's benign countenance and soothing words will be needed to transform the political landscape and renew hope.

• Christian Picquet is a central leader of the *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire*, French section of the Fourth International.

Malcolm X: By Any Means Necessary

By Joseph Ryan

February 22, 1995 marked the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

Gunned down as he was about to give a speech at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem N.Y., in 1965, his death was a devastating blow to the black liberation movement. One of black America's most dynamic, articulate and principled fighters was cut down just when it needed him most.

While he was alive Malcolm X was slandered and vilified by politicians, big business, and the media because he called capitalist society in America by its name: racist. If he were alive today he would have to level the same charge.

Over the last few years *The New York Times* has published articles about the life of Malcolm X, carefully omitting his condemnations of capitalism and the role of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Different tune

The *Times* editors, however sang a different tune at the time he was killed.

"He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man" the *Times* pontificated. "His ruthless and fanatical belief and violence...marked him for fame, and for a violent end..."

He did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people. The world he saw through those horn rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned and killed him."

But what made Malcolm X a candidate for assassination was not "his exaltation of fanaticism" but his uncompromising opposition to U.S. capitalism and the connection he was making between the struggle for black emancipation and the need for fundamental social change.

Indeed far from refusing to "fit into the life of his own peo-

ple" he sought to organise his people around a programme of action to fight politically against racist oppression. The logic of his positions led inexorably to revolutionary conclusions and this was why he had to die.

In the early 1960's, Malcolm X's ideas about which road to take for black equality and freedom represented the left-wing of the civil rights movement. And his strategy for getting results - constantly evolving and expanding - is as applicable today as it was in 1965.

Malcolm X first came into

Malcolm X's nationalism was that of an oppressed people who were seeking self-determination in a society that had consigned them to pariah status. One legacy of Malcolm X's powerful message is the fact that even today the Nation of Islam is the most powerful Black nationalist organisation in America.

Popular

What made Malcolm X so popular with Black America - and so dangerous to the ruling rich - both before and after his split with the Nation?



Spike Lee: his movie 'Malcolm X' reflected widespread interest in Malcolm's ideas

prominence as a dynamic and eloquent spokesperson for the Nation of Islam. He was the Nation's most effective speaker and talented organiser, and was responsible for that organisation's rapid growth in the early 1960's.

In early 1964, however, Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam. There were many reasons for this painful schism, but the main one was the Nation's abstinence from the Black struggle for civil rights.

Malcolm X was a product of his time and he was deeply influenced by revolutionary events on a world scale - the upsurge of the colonial revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the massive civil rights struggle against "Jim Crow" racism in the United States.

Malcolm X believed that political organisation and action was the most effective means to win Black liberation. Malcolm X's bottom line was:

African Americans will only get their freedom by fighting for it.

The U.S. government is a racist government and an enemy of Black people.

The strategy of slow reform, the programme of the liberals - black and white, Democrat and Republican - is the road to betrayal and defeat, not justice and equality.

Black people must rely on their power, control their own struggle, determine their own strategy and tactics, and select their own leaders.



Malcolm X made a synthesis of Black nationalism and socialism

African Americans have the right to self-defence in the face of racist attacks.

"There can be no Black-white unity until there is Black unity."

Malcolm X was labelled a "Black racist" because he disagreed with the "turn the other cheek" approach of Dr Martin Luther King and other more "acceptable" leaders of the civil rights struggle:

"If we react to white racism with a violent reaction," he said, "to me that not black racism. If you come and put a rope around my neck, and I hang you for it,

Black united front against the racist ruling class.

Tragically, the assassinations of both these central Black leaders cut short this promising alliance, which would have become a powerful combination for social change.

Malcolm X connected the struggle of Black people in America to the revolutionary events taking place all over the world:

"We are living in an era of revolution and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against oppression and colonialism which has characterised this era."

Final year

During the last year of his life Malcolm X made two separate trips to Europe and the Middle East that expanded his political horizons considerably.

On his return from the second trip, he announced that he and his organisation, the Organisation of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), planned to petition the United Nations to take up the question of the Black struggle in the United States as a human rights issue similar to the fight of the Black majority in South Africa. Such a project was like a dagger pointed at the throat of the US government.

Malcolm X was an implacable foe of both the Democrat and Republican parties. "Any negro who registers as a Democrat or Republican is a traitor to his people". "One is the wolf, the other is the fox. No matter what, they both eat you."

From a firebrand who focused against white America, Malcolm X became a remorseless prosecutor of capitalist America. "Capitalism used to be an eagle, but today it is more like a vulture, sucking the blood of people. You can't have capitalism without racism."

Ultimately the system of exploitation that propelled Malcolm X to leadership will create many another revolutionary fighter in the working class.

• Joseph Ryan edits the US Fourth Internationalist monthly, *Socialist Action*.

OUR HISTORY

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

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

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

Socialist Outlook is above all an *internationalist* current, in solidarity with the Trotskyist Fourth International, which organises co-thinkers in 40 countries worldwide.

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!

FeedBACK

Socialist Outlook welcomes readers' letters. Send them to Feedback, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Letters over 300 words may be edited.

Wrong on CWU

YOUR REPORT on the Defend Clause IV Campaign Steering Committee meeting could not be more wrong when it talks of the situation "in the telecoms union NCU".

This does not reflect the report given at the meeting and talks of a union that no longer exists! With the merger of the NCU and UCW into the Communications Workers' Union, some in the old NCU Broad Left were hoping that the union would cast its vote in three parts – the clerical and engineering sections of the NCU always used to vote separately.

Their hopes were that this would mean that the NCU engineering section delegates (where the Broad Left is strong) would cast its vote for Clause IV, and were not terribly concerned that this would mean the clerical vote would go with Blair, as, very possibly, would the UCW's.

However, the new unions' executive is in the process of scotching this misguided complacency. Wanting to cast *all* of the union's votes for Blair's change, the joint General Secretaries, Alan Johnson and Tony Young, are pushing that the ex-

ecutive decide on one position for the whole union.

Moreover, they are now pushing for a ballot of all CWU members on how the union should cast its vote. Clearly their calculation is that this will produce the desired outcome, unlike a one-day union conference, the democratic alternative.

However, it is not impossible that their scheming could backfire on them, but this needs a massive campaign by CWU activists and local and national Defend Clause IV campaigns to convince members to vote to keep Clause IV.

CWU member, Upney

Veal exports

WHATEVER the current protests against live exports may indicate about middle class disenchantment with the social order, the issue is important in its own right. Animal welfare is not just an eccentric British past-time as Aidan Day (*Socialist Outlook* 76) seems to suggest.

Whether or not animals have rights from a Marxist viewpoint, they are conscious and sentient (mammals espe-

cially). Cruelty to animals is all too real. And if the goal of socialism is to create a world free of exploitation, oppression and needless suffering, then the abuse of animals for private profit should be of concern to Marxists.

Live exports are of no benefit to society. They benefit only rich consumers, supermarkets and the links in the meat industry chain.

The meat industry illustrates starkly how under capitalism all the considerations – human health, rational land use and animal welfare – are over-ridden by the drive for profit.

Adam Hartman, Manchester

Labourism

I WISH to take issue with Julian Menear's letter "Soft on Labourism?" (*Socialist Outlook* 77).

The case for most of his letter seems rather flimsy, to say the least. He accuses Ellen Moore of saying that defence of Labour's traditional social democratic, collectivist framework is a 'struggle about Marxism or Liberalism as the predominant ideology amongst those opposed to the Tories', whereas in fact she merely quotes Davis Marquand saying this at an LCC conference. Moore herself says it is a struggle taking place 'amid the evidence of the failure and inadequacy of social democracy'.

I would not dispute some of what Menear goes on to write about Marxism and social democracy, but he oversimplifies considerably, for instance when he says that the Labour 'traditionalists' defend a 100% class collaborationist idea of collectivism. What, all of them? While we have important differences with the likes of Arthur Scargill, Dennis Skinner and many of the activists who want to defend Clause IV, it does not help the argument to describe them as dyed-in-the-wool class collaborationists.

But the main problem with Menear's letter is that it is hard to find a reason why Marxists *should* defend Clause IV given his negative arguments.

All sense of the latent contradiction between such commitments as Clause IV and social democracy is missing.

We are left with the statement 'marxists work in the Labour Party and defend Clause IV only in order to produce better conditions for denouncing reformism'. So we work in a campaign to defend something we don't agree with in order to denounce those who honestly defend it.

The real catch comes with the statement that we work in the Labour Party 'to produce better conditions to denounce reformism'.

Just on the right side of ambiguity to avoid the accusation of ultra-leftism this begs the big question. What would be the 'best' outcome of the fight over Clause IV in order for us to be able to denounce reformism?

All the ultra-lefts are hoping Blair wins (despite having to pay lip service to the campaign) so that it becomes all the easier to denounce and expose reformism. If only politics was so easy.

Pete Firmin, Brent

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

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Signed

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Please return to 300 Club, PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU.

What's HAPPENING

To advertise your event in *Socialist Outlook*, send details to 'What's Happening', PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU by first post on Friday 3 March.

FEBRUARY

Fri 24

CLAUSE 4 London rally 7.30pm Conway Hall WC1.

Sat 25

DEFY the Criminal Justice Act - anti-M77 demo noon George Square Glasgow.

Sat 25/Sun 26

GREATER London Labour Party Conference ULU.

Sun 26

CLAUSE 4 steering committee meeting.

Mon 27

SYLVIA Pye national appeal meeting with Tony Benn, Sylvia Pye and Sue

Wilson 7.30pm details 0181 520 5237.

MARCH

Weds 1

WEST London Defend Clause 4 rally with Tony Benn, Bob Crowe (RMT), Ealing Town Hall. 7.30pm organised by Ealing Trades Council.

Sat 4

CLAUSE 4 debate hosted by Leeds Fabian Society.

LEFT Forum '95 opens SOAS Thornhaugh St WC2 weekend tickets £8/£3.

Fri 10 - Sun 12

SCOTTISH Labour Party conference, Inverness.

Sun 12

CLAUSE 4 *Socialist Outlook* forum with Steve French, Leicester.

Weds 15

NEC meeting to discuss new Clause 4.

Tues 21

MASS lobby of Southwark College governing body 5.00pm - 6.00pm Waterloo site The Cut SE1.

Thurs 23

SOCIALIST *Outlook* Clause IV forum 7.30pm North London.

SOCIALIST *Outlook* Clause IV forum with Steve French Brighton.

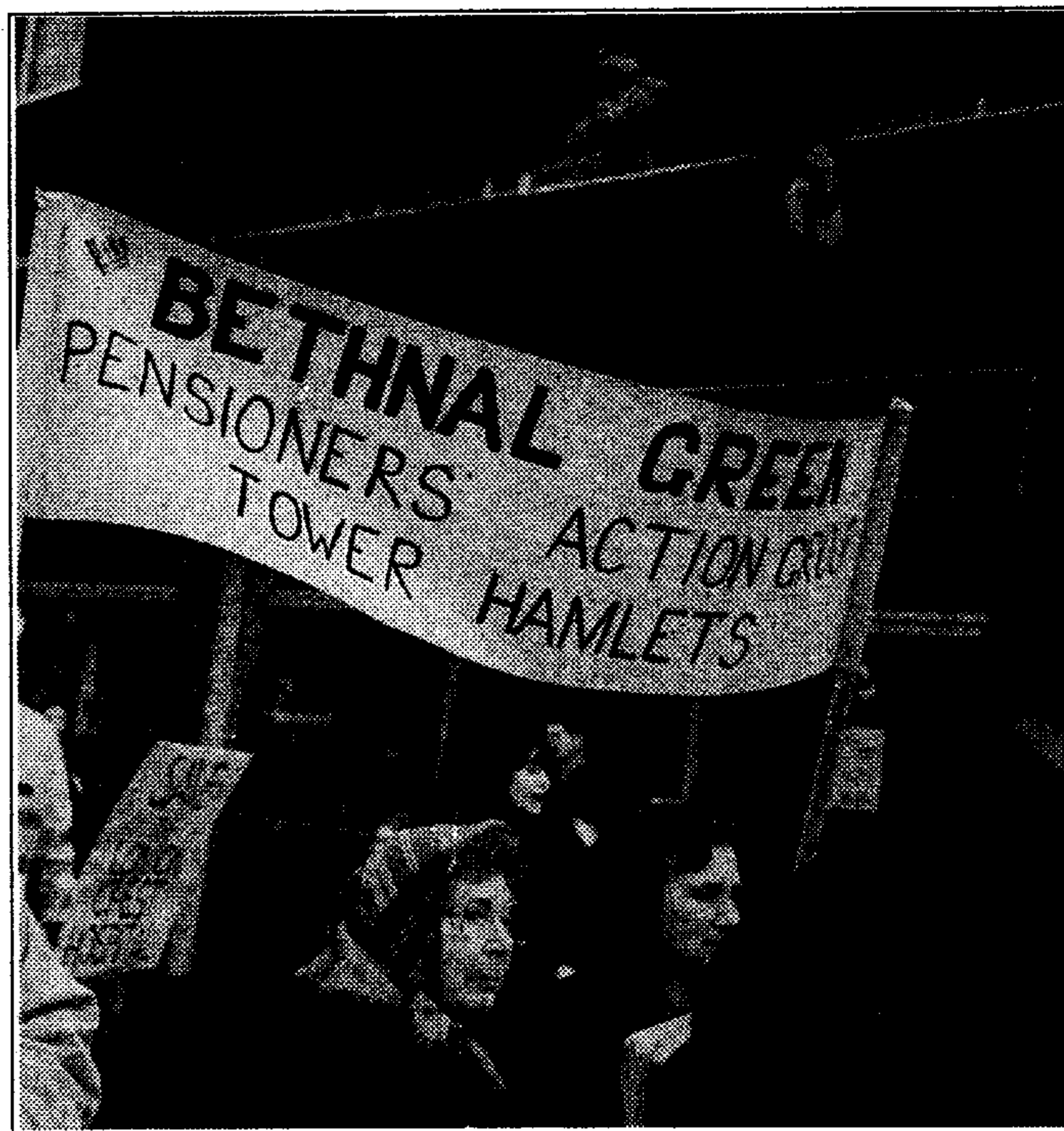
Sat 25

FULL Employment conference 11am - 5pm Congress House Great Russell Street WC1 tickets £2/free.

APRIL

Sat 1

GROUNDSWELL - a national forum for independent unemployed and claimants groups. 11am - 5.30pm East Oxford Community Centre, Princes Street Oxford, OX4 1HU For details write to Oxford Unemployed Workers' & Claimants Union at the



Recent march in defence of London's Chest Hospital

Community Centre telephone (01865) 723750 Fax 724317.

Sat 1 - Sun 2

LABOUR Party Women's Conference, Derby.

Sat 8

'FROM the Cradle to the Grave' Welfare State Network Conference on education, pensions and the NHS. 11am University of London Union, Malet St. WC2

Sat 29

DEMONSTRATION in Manchester against deportations called by Okolo Family De-

fence campaign 12.00 noon All Saints' Park Oxford Road.

Sat 29 - Sun 30

LABOUR Party special conference.

MAY

Sat 13

REVOLUTIONARY Socialism or social democracy? *Socialist Outlook* dayschool London. Tickets £6/£3 from Socialist Outlook, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

Sat 27

DAY of Action by Campaign to Close Campsfield.

Supporters' bulletin expanded

THE LATEST issue of our supporters' bulletin is mailed out this week, to an expanded audience.

The bulletin was launched in September 1992 as a service to sympathisers of the Fourth International. It helps to keep our friends and comrades overseas up to date with the work of *Socialist Outlook* and other Fourth Internationalist currents.



Bulletin is now bi-monthly

From this month, the bulletin will also be mailed out to members of our supporting subscribers' 300 Club. As well getting a chance in our famous monthly draw for a cash prize, 300 Club members now also receive a complementary subscription to *Socialist Outlook*. Sending them the supporters'

bulletin is another way of acknowledging the help given by 300 Club members.

To join the 300 Club, fill in the form on page 14.

Dates set for 'Outlook for Socialism'

EVERY TWO years *Socialist Outlook* hosts a weekend of debate and discussion in central London to give an internationalist and revolutionary perspective of world events.

This year's school will be held on Saturday 4 and Sunday 5 November, the week of the anniversary of the 1917 socialist revolution in the Russian empire.

The theme of the event will be 'Socialism for the 21st century'.

Supporters' dayschool on 13 May

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is holding a national supporters' dayschool on the revolutionary socialist alternative to social democracy.

The school, to be held in London on Saturday 13 May, will be an important opportunity to draw strategic and theoretical conclusions from the struggle to defend Clause 4. *Socialist Outlook* hope to draw

together an range of those involved in the campaign and sympathetic to our stance through the important struggle.

It will be a unique chance to look at the rightward drift in social democratic parties and the substantial support building up on the left wing despite the continuing employers offensive.

If ordered in advance, tickets for the dayschool cost just £6 (waged) or £3 (unwaged).

To buy tickets send a cheque or postal order payable to 'Socialist Outlook Fund' to PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.



New Summer School dates

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK'S summer school takes a new turn this year.

Normally the school looks at an area of revolutionary activity: women's liberation, trades unions, the anti-racist fight and so on. This year's school is on the role of revolutionary organisations and their political programmes of action.

Discussions will cover the role of revolutionary marxist

newspapers, of organising radical youth, the demands of women and the specially oppressed, the history of the revolutionary tradition and more.

Last year's school was our best attended and, as every year, drew Fourth Internationalists from Ireland and many other countries.

Places have to be booked early for the popular summer school, held outside Aberystwyth, Wales from August 23 to 28.

To book your place, send your £35 deposit cheque to 'Socialist Outlook Summer School', PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

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SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Shame of Labour's surrender

Straw bends to racist Tory right



WE HAVE got used to Tony Blair's Labour leadership failing to fight the Tories.

But it is impossible not to be startled as well as revolted to see Shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw sail into battle against Labour MEPs on behalf of John Major's reactionary immigration laws.

His intervention to defend the status quo, which has led to the shameful imprisonment of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers, the misery of countless separated families, and a rising tide of deportations, comes as the right wing of the Tory Party is again playing the racist card.

Winston Churchill is back, with new claims of 'tides' of immigrants, minister Charles Wardle has resigned in protest at weakening immigration checks, and the racist and fascist far right is making sinister inroads into the crumbling inner cities and industrial wastelands of Major's Britain.

But Straw denounces Jacques Santer, president of the European Union commission, for being determined to 'destroy British control of its own immigration policy':

"Our position has always been that the issue of border controls and immigration policy must be for the UK government alone to determine, and not for European institutions," he declared.

Britain, he boasts, in a statement that could have been made by any right wing Tory Euro-sceptic, is 'an island with a different history'. He condemned Labour's Euro-MP for supporting free movement across borders for EU residents and legal immigrants.

Socialists oppose immigration laws, whether they are 'British' or the 'Fortress Europe' policy of the EU. Not so Jack Straw. Is this the real, face of 'New Labour'?