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# Socialist OUTLOOK

50 Years of IMF:  
Enough is Enough!

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# NAZI THUG



THE MAN at the back of this photograph is Richard Edmonds, national organiser of the British National Party. On July 17 he was convicted for his part in a racist attack which left a man scarred for life. Yet the court let him walk free. (Full story page 2).

# SET FREE BY RACIST STATE

**Tories welcome Italian fascist - Back page**

## Nazi leader Edmonds let off

BRITISH National Party organiser Richard Edmonds walked free from a court last Friday despite being convicted for his part in a savage attack on a young black man which left the victim scarred for life.

At Southwark Crown Court, the judge Christopher Hardy, sentenced Edmonds to three months for his part in an attack on hotel worker Steven Browne and his white girlfriend Jenny Bone.

### Release

However, since Edmonds had already been in custody for over 11 weeks, he was immediately released.

Two other members of the BNP got prison sentences for the attack. Stephen O'Shea got 12 months for punching and kicking Browne; Simon Biggs got four and a half

years for smashing a beer glass into Browne's face, scarring him for life.

The attack in a pub was clearly led and supervised by Edmonds. The convictions show that violence against black people is not only inspired, but directly organised and carried out by the BNP and its top leadership.

Edmonds claimed in court that he was trying to "restrain" his members during the attack, an obvious attempt to pretend that Edmonds, as BNP national organiser, is "respectable" as opposed to some of his more excitable young members.

The jury didn't believe a word of it. But the judge, in effect, just gave Edmonds a ticking off - something that almost certainly would not have happened to a black person convicted of a violent crime in a Crown court.

## UNISON rejects derisory offer

By Paul Wozny  
(Hampshire UNISON)

UNISON last Thursday rejected the first-ever joint pay offer for manual and white collar local government workers.

The employers' offer is for a 22 month deal, to take effect from July 1 for white collar staff and September 1 for manual workers (the traditional settlement dates for the two sectors).

The pay offer is derisory, amounting to one per cent plus a flat rate increase of £75 for the first year and the same again for the second year, to take effect from August 1 1995.

Even UNISON's feeble Local Government Committee could not stomach this offer. Now a period of "consultation" will take place among the membership before any action is proposed.

UNISON is Britain's largest union, claiming close to 1.5 million members. The largest and most powerful sector is local government, with over 800,000 members, both manual and white-collar.

The "going-rate" in the public sector is 2.9 per cent. Even non-teaching staff in sixth form colleges (also covered by UNISON) were offered 2.95 per cent plus a lump sum of £250.

UNISON's leadership is clearly to blame for the derisory offer. Officially they were calling for a "substantial flat-rate settlement".

Yet throughout the negotiat-

ing process they refused to name a figure, making it impossible to mobilise support for a pay campaign.

Management knew UNISON's leadership didn't want a fight. Rumours abound of Walworth Road apparatchiks putting on pressure. Apparently, Labour Party bosses see a local government dispute as electorally damaging.

In the past, NALGO led the local government pay claim. They at least went through the motions of organising a pay campaign.

### 'Recommended'

Of course, in recent time, with the exception of the highly successful 1989 pay strikes campaign, they would "reluctantly recommend" acceptance of whatever management offered.

This time union leaders were so keen to prevent action they refused to even go through the motions of a pay campaign, resulting in an offer so low even they dare not accept it.

Now the left in UNISON must fight for a programme of industrial action to secure a decent pay settlement. We must also fight to ensure that UNISON actually adopts a flat-rate figure to put on its claim, one which would aid the most low-paid.

The negotiations have been led by UNISON's national Local Government Committee. Nominations are now open to elect a new committee, and the left should organise candidates to stand. Our members cannot afford to keep these losers in office.

# Give John Monks a bit of Big Stick!

By Keith Sinclair  
(Secretary, Hull Trades Council)

THE TUC IS facing growing attacks for its plans to hold its July 5 conference on Full Employment with Tory minister, David Hunt and CBI leader Howard Davies as guest speakers.

The TGWU executive has voted to boycott the conference and the GMB are reported to be unhappy with the TUC decision.

These latest moves follow the unanimous decision of delegates at the TUC Trades Councils conference earlier this month to oppose the invitations to Hunt and Davies to speak.

### Pressing ahead

However, the TUC leadership is pressing ahead with the conference. John Monks said at the Trades Council conference, 'If I had a big stick, I would use it, but I don't'.

It is a scandal that the TUC can spend £50,000 or our money inviting the representatives of a Tory government to speak, this is the same government that has created much of the current unemployment.

Fortunately support for an alternative to the policies of John



Monks's finger-wagging won't beat back the bosses' offensive

Monks is growing. There will be a demonstration outside Congress House on the morning of the conference.

### Trades councils

The 'Big Stick' demonstration already has the support of the NUM, Women Against Pit Closures, Mike Mansfield QC, Paul Foot and a growing number of trades councils.

Camden Trades Council are co-ordinating the arrangements. All trade union organisations should pass resolutions con-

demning the invitation to the Tories and the CBI.

Everyone who can should assemble outside Congress House, Great Russell Street at 8.30am on Tuesday July 5.

■ To add your name to the growing list of demo sponsors or for further details ring 071 387 8440/8436.

■ Alternative Conference organised by Greater London Association of Trade Councils 10am at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

HOME NEWS

**Socialist OUTLOOK**

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# After Tory Euro-election defeat Vote against Blair!

THE TORIES' drubbing in the Euro-elections showed the depths of their unpopularity; sections of the middle class and better off sections of the working class are feeling the effects of recession, the attack on the welfare state and job insecurity, and abandoning the Tories in droves.

But make no mistake about it: Labour's victory was a *victory by default*, a protest vote against the government, and not a positive vote in favour of anything. There was precious little in Labour's campaign to vote *for*. This is Labour's Achilles heel and its obvious weakness.

Back-slapping congratulations at Walworth Road don't add up to a real conviction that Labour can win a general election.

## Crusade

If Labour is going to wage a crusade to actually throw out the Tories it has to have an alternative set of policies for full employment, defence of the welfare state and trade union rights – in other words, a programme to rollback the effects of 15 years of Thatcherism.

Instead of preparing this, the Labour leadership election is preparing the opposite.

Those in power in the Labour Party are preparing to anoint Tony Blair in the hope that image and style will carry them through, and that the Tories will just remain unpopular until the general election.

Last week's televised Panorama debate between the three main candidates showed they had agreed in advance not to display any differences among themselves on policy.

The argument that there are no significant or detectable political differences between Blair, Beckett and Prescott is a very strong one – a nuance here, an inflection there. But this surface appearance is not the whole story.

Whatever the formal policy differences between them, the election of Blair – one of the key 'modernisers' in the party – would signify a political



Will it be back to the future? Neither Beckett nor Prescott offered any real left wing alternative to John Smith

shift. Blair had been the most explicit about the need to break Labour's links with the unions; only last Thursday he was telling the TGWU that it would be wrong to repeal much of the Tories' anti-union legislation.

Blair most perfectly represents the trend which wants to break Labour from being a social democratic party based on the workers movement. *Socialist Outlook's* position is therefore for the defeat of Tony Blair.

## Pitch for the left

Last week Margaret Beckett made a pitch for left and trade union votes by arguing that all Tory union legislation might have to be scrapped. At a future stage Prescott could do the same.

Given the transferable vote system, and the lack of any really significant political differences between Prescott and Beckett, it doesn't much matter who people vote for as their

first choice in the election – so long as they don't transfer to Blair as their second choice.

As reported opposite, *Socialist Outlook* fought hard for a left candidate to be put up at the Socialist Campaign Group Network conference last weekend. This resulted in Ken Livingstone's initial decision to stand.

Whether or not a left candidate stood any chance of winning was not the point; the point was to have a campaigning focus for a left alternative to the 'new realists' and 'modernisers'.

This was shown to be the case. As Livingstone explains in the interview on page 6, his 'shining moment' in the media gave him air-time to publicise the case for radical policies such as cutting military spending and progressive taxation of the rich.

Even now, whether or not there is a candidate backed by the Socialist Campaign Group, the election in the unions and the Labour Party gives

socialists the opportunity to argue the policies that Labour *should* be fighting for.

Key to those is defence of the welfare state; serious action against unemployment including a 35-hour week with no loss of pay; restoration of the right to strike and all other trade union rights; and a national minimum wage.

## Struggles

Most of all socialists should demand of all the candidates in the leadership election that they come out in support of workers in struggle.

The real challenge to the Tories' attacks is being taken up by the rail workers, by postal workers fighting privatisation, by college lecturers and others.

Where do Prescott and Beckett, both backed by different sections of the left, and doubtless glad to have that support, stand on that question?

## New book will honour Bob's memory

REGULAR readers of *Socialist Outlook* will know of the recent death of Bob Smith at the tragically early age of 46. Bob was a passionate supporter of revolutionary socialism, and a most frequent contributor to our newspaper.

His funeral in Birmingham was attended by more than 250 people from the local labour and anti-racist movements, and more than 100 attended a subsequent memo-

### Bob Smith Memorial Fund

rial meeting.

That is an indication of the esteem in which Bob was held for his anti-racist work and, in the last year of his life, his tireless effort in support of the Asian strikers at Burnalls.

To honour Bob's memory *Socialist Outlook* has launched a Memorial Fund. Part of the

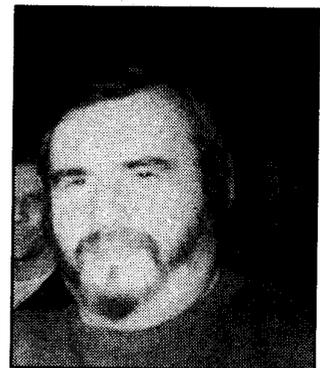
money raised from the fund, it was announced last week, will be used to produce a volume of writings on the struggle against racism and fascism which will be a permanent memorial to Bob.

Every contributor to the fund will get a free copy of the book, which will be published in the early autumn.

The rest of the money, unapologetically, will be used to develop resources for the work of *Socialist Outlook*, the paper which Bob not only supported and wrote for, but also sold enthusiastically.

We ask every supporter of the paper, and every reader to send a donation to this fund.

Send as much as you can to: PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. Cheques should be made out to *Socialist Outlook Fund*.



Anti-fascist fighter: Bob Smith

EDITORIAL

# Tory red light halts signalling workers' offer

**By Greg Tucker  
(RMT Southern  
District secretary)**

AFTER A SERIES of defeats for rail workers, successful strike action by signalling grades has opened up a new wave of struggle on the railways.

With their dispute continuing, and the rejection by ASLEF conference of the BR pay award, government privatisation plans have been thrown in to further disarray.

One of the least vociferous groups of rail workers, signalling grades nevertheless command a crucial position. As they proved during their one-day strike last Wednesday, without their co-operation not a single train can move.

Despite this strength, their

lack of voice has allowed them to slip back in the pay league.

A discussion lasting years has seen British Rail drag their feet on rewarding increased productivity – with staffing levels down nearly half in ten years. Signalling workers still oversee the same level of train movements.

So when Railtrack came into existence two months ago, the RMT believed the time had come to press the claim for an 11 per cent pay increase to restore differentials.

## Effective

After a brief but effective propaganda campaign, led for the first time by national executive members and not left to full-time officials, the vote among signalling grades, on an 80 per cent turnout, was 4-1 in favour of trike action.

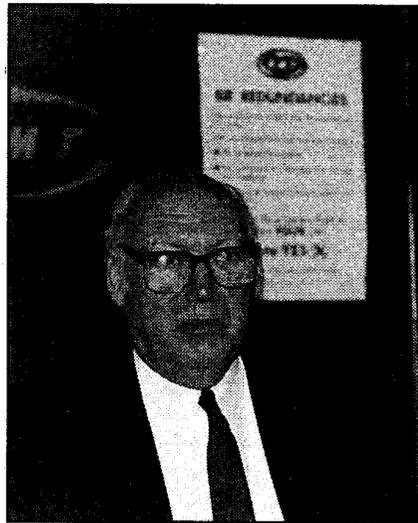
Railtrack immediately tried

to compromise with a 5.7 per cent offer – a small step forward, just enough to keep talks going. At which point something magical happened – the offer disappeared.

Despite denials it is clear that the government at the highest levels has vetoed the offer. Instead Railtrack claim that no offer was ever made, and are demanding further productivity increases, and even more job losses – as the price for a deal.

The RMT is clear on its response: unless the 5.7 per cent is put back on the table and increased, the strikes will continue.

Having seen the successful



Standing firm for more cash: RMT's Knapp

campaign waged by RMT's signalling grades, ASLEF have now thrown their hat into the ring.

ASLEF's national conference overturned the executive's acceptance of BR's 2.5 per cent pay offer and demanded a ballot for an increase in line with signalling staff.

It is clear that the Tories have decided to pick a fight with rail workers. It will not be easy for them to back down.

While Major and company may not be finally able to win, they have been helped by Labour's craven attitude over the strikes. None of the three Labour leadership candidates has been prepared forthrightly to back the strikers.

Prescott, an RMT-sponsored MP, has made only a general defence of the right to strike. Blair would not even go that far.

The signalling dispute is only a symptom of the chaos caused in the run-up to rail privatisation.

Yet it represents the best effort so far to halt that privatisation and stop the government's clamp-down on public sector pay. The rail workers deserve wholehearted support – both industrially and politically.

## July 5 demonstration key to progress

# Guy's hospital fight hi-jacked

**By Terry Smith**

THE CAMPAIGN to save Guy's Hospital from closure, which began with a burst of energy and huge local support, has been hi-jacked by the right wing and is in danger of becoming completely stranded.

Five whole months after Health Secretary Bottomley announced her decision that Guy's should close, the campaign still has not produced any coherent or centralised newsletter or campaign leaflets.

The broader the official campaign has become, the slower it has moved in building popular support.

A cross-party committee dominated by Guy's consultants and their City chums, but also including Liberal Democrat MP Simon Hughes and Tory MP Roger Sims has focused on rais-

ing up to £150,000 – to finance an 'independent' report by City consultants KPMG, in order to present a 'respectable' case to Bottomley for the retention of the Guy's site.

Any such alternative plan would be aimed not at galvanising public opinion and local resistance, but at laying the basis for a legal wrangle in a potential call for a judicial review of the closure plan. This in turn would cost another £500,000: yet a similar legal challenge over the closure of Bart's Hospital was recently thrown out by the courts.

## Fees

The latest Guy's 'campaign' proposals involve paying fees of £7,500 a month to an additional business consultant, plus retaining professional Public Relations consultants and even paying out for a team of architects.

While every penny of cam-



Right wing clamp on campaigning has isolated Guy's staff

aign funds is being funnelled straight into the wallets of these over-paid city slickers, not a brass farthing has gone towards building up the kind of mass popular anger and action by health workers that could politically frighten Bottomley's Tory colleagues.

The official publicity for the July 5 lobby of Parliament and 5.30pm demonstration in support of Guy's has been restricted to a primitive single-sided A5

leaflet.

This was produced by a local resource centre, and paid for by UNISON, whose conference voted to support a day of action on Guy's, but whose London Head of Health, Godfrey Eastwood, is notorious for his consistent refusal to mobilise in defence of NHS jobs and services in the capital.

To make matters worse, the most dynamic force in the early stages of the campaign has also been stopped in its tracks.

## Right winger

Southwark Community Health Council mobilised repeated vigorous public meetings of 100-plus local people, but all this has now been effectively neutered by the election to its chair of right wing Labourite Sally Keeble, former leader of Southwark council.

The public meetings and stunts which catapulted the campaign again and again into the headlines have since ground to a halt.

A measure of the bankruptcy of the Guy's campaign came in its complete failure to capitalise on the dramatic gesture of the

neighbouring Lewisham Hospital Trust, whose top management this month became the first since Trusts were established publicly to break ranks and attack the inadequacy of funding and local planning.

By writing to staff at the hard-pressed Lewisham hospital, attacking the lack of proper planning or resources for local health care, the chair (Professor Lessof), chief executive and medical director at Lewisham Hospital will have infuriated Virginia Bottomley and exposed the docility and cowardice of their colleagues in other Trusts.

The Lewisham protest arises from a fresh package of £2m cuts, which they say would mean another 25 jobs to be axed, after repeated cutbacks in the last four years. The Trust chiefs warn that

"If we continue to face further financial pressures beyond this year with a static or declining income, then the quality and quantity of the services we provide to our local population are bound to suffer."

Instead of lending support and identifying with this complaint, Guy's campaigners kept ominously silent.

This will reinforce underlying concerns at Lewisham that some Guy's consultants might try to salvage their own hospital's financial fortunes by snatching contract income from Lewisham Hospital.

A big turn-out for the July 5 demonstration, which assembles outside Guy's at 5.30pm could help to turn the tide, and re-assert that popular support and mass action are the key to victory.

TRADE UNION NEWS



The one-day strikes against the BBC called by the National Union of Journalists and the BECTU broadcasting union have been successful on more than one level. Not only has the response been close to 100 percent, but 600 new members have joined the NUJ in order to take part!

350 at Manchester conference back fighting policies

# Socialists answer Blair bandwagon



French: swung conference

By Chris Brooks

THE SOCIALIST Campaign Group Supporters Network mobilised 350 Labour Party activists to its Manchester conference on June 11 which marked a significant step forward for the Labour left.

The important decision by Ken Livingstone to stand for party leader was a direct result of the conference. For the four following days there was a hard left candidacy in the media and a socialist perspective being put forward.

Livingstone later withdrew in order to secure the candidacy of Margaret Beckett.

At the conference a valuable debate was conducted on the need for a Socialist Campaign Group member to stand in the upcoming leadership contest.

Alan Simpson MP, introducing the conference, explained the confusion within the parlia-

mentary group about the policy to follow in the leadership election.

*Socialist Outlook's* Steve French was quoted on the front page of the daily *Morning Star* moving the resolution calling for a candidate.

"It is a question of no candidate, no say. If we are to have a significant part in the debate, we must have a candidate. We can't just censor ourselves before the first round" explained the expelled former Lambeth councillor.

His position was overwhelmingly adopted by the conference, the first time a decision of this type has been shaped by rank-and-file left wing supporters rather than taken by MPs alone.

An alternative position in the discussion was offered by those supporters of *Labour Briefing* and *Socialist Organiser* who call for prioritising 'soft-left' candidates Beckett (currently party leader), and Prescott (who led an assault against trade un-



A landmark for the left as 350 activists help shape policies of Socialist Campaign Group MPs

ion involvement in the selection of party leader at last year's party conference).

The conference also marked a political advance in the Labour left. A series of lively policy workshops were held on the welfare state, arms conversion, full employment and trade union rights.

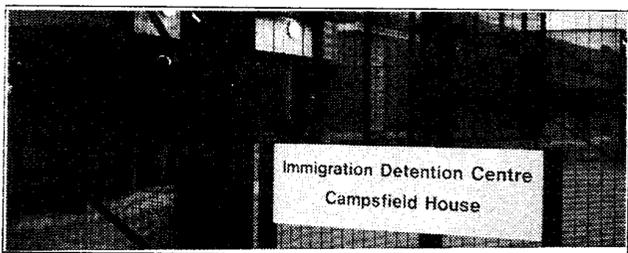
An important boost was

given to centralising the activity of local Network groups when the conference backed the call of the Socialist Movement Trade Union Committee for a broadly-based conference in defence of welfare rights.

The growing questioning of universal benefits by Labour's right wing is a crucial question for the left to take up.

The conference represents a positive step forward at a time when local groups of the Socialist Campaign Group Network are being set up in more and more cities.

■ *Contact the Socialist Campaign Group Network at 3, Blades House, London, SE11 2NU.*



## A concentration of Campsfields?

By Chris Brooks

IN THE wake of the riot at the Campsfield immigration detention centre, the Prison Service has announced plans to concentrate all 700 asylum seekers in the UK into just six facilities by the end of September.

Shockingly, the five new centres will be within prisons. Asylum seekers are not convicted criminals.

The British government currently holds 700 immigration detainees without independent legal safeguards or trials on the length of their detention, triggering widespread hunger strikes and the recent riot at Campsfield House.

The situation at the Kidlington, Oxford, facility is explained on page eight of the *Liberation!* supplement in this *Socialist Outlook*.

Asylum seekers from 41 separate holding places will be concentrated at Campsfield and prisons at Rochester, Kent (200 places); Birmingham (65); Holloway, London (30); Haslar, Portsmouth (165); and the new private prison at Doncaster (30).

Claude Moraes, of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said

"We deplore the underlying thinking which signals the long-term use of prison for these asylum seekers who have not been convicted of any criminal offence."

Concentrated into these brutal new centres, asylum seekers will need the kind of solidarity that the Campaign to Close Campsfield has given.

Anti-racist organisations and local black communities must turn every one of these concentration centres into a new 'Campsfield' - maximising the opposition to the racist British state.

## SMTUC to campaign on right to strike, welfare state

By Alan Thornett

THE SOCIALIST Trade Union Movement (SMTUC) steering committee, meeting on June 18, adopted two major campaigning priorities in line with the decisions of the SMTUC February conference.

It was decided to give strong backing to the decision by the Lambeth Trades Council to launch a major labour movement conference at the end of the year in defence of the right to strike.

This priority was decided because of the new situation created by the recent court decision on a proposed national NATFHE strike, where the judge set down conditions for the holding of a postal ballot (accuracy of members' names and addresses to within 10 people!) which are almost impossible for any union to meet.

It was also decided, in line with the recent decisions of the June 11 Socialist Campaign Group Network conference, to organise a major conference in the spring of next year, together with other organisations, in defence of the welfare state.

A speaker from the United Ac-



Battling against legal straitjacket: NATFHE strikers

tion against Unemployment Campaign in France will be invited to an SMTUC meeting in an attempt to capitalise on that organisation's call for a European-wide campaign in defence of the 35-hour week.

### French demo

The French campaign recently organised a five-leg march across France demanding a 35-hour week with no loss of pay to fight unemployment, which culminated in a 40,000-strong Paris demonstration on May 28.

A further decision was to back the lobby of the TUC July 5 conference (see article page 2) in protest at the presence of the CBI and government ministers.

The meeting, at which officers were to be re-elected, had to deal with a situation created by four of the outgoing officers, who announced that because of disagreements with the SMTUC's February conference decisions, they would not stand for re-election.

They also announced in a letter to affiliates that they had split off the 'Unshackle the Unions' campaign, and would run it as their own. This was condemned by the meeting, since 'Unshackle the Unions' has always been an integral part of the SMTUC, which launched and built it.

At the end of the meeting a new executive of nine people was elected.

HOME NEWS

# 'We put down a marker to Blair' - Livingstone

**In the wake of the call from the Socialist Campaign Group Supporters Network (SCGN) Conference to the Socialist Campaign Group (SCG) to stand a candidate in the Labour leadership contest, Socialist Outlook's Helen Shaw spoke to KEN LIVINGSTONE**

**SO: Why did you decide to try to stand?**

KL: I thought we were in a different position after SCGN activists conference in Manchester. When 350 people vote by at least ten to one, some said twenty to one, for the SCG to stand I thought the least we should do would be to announce that we were going to try to get the nominations.

I wasn't greatly optimistic that it would be possible but I thought at least we ought to try and seize the opportunity while doing that, because of the media attention, to raise the issues of taxation, military spending and capital flows out of the City of London. It was a chance to push the issues and to try and firm up the other candidates.

**SO: When you stood down, some on the left were critical because they believed you should have waited until the deadline and then made political capital out of the undemocratic nomination rules. But now it seems that Margaret Beckett needed the nominations. Is that why you withdrew when you did?**

KL: It became clear that if I stood I was going to take away votes which would stop Beckett.

There was a pool of people on the left, 17 from the SCG, who were supporting Beckett. Any erosion of those votes - she only had to lose eight - and she wouldn't have been able to stand.

My worry was that people might have put in nominations for me and not been allowed to change their nominations if the Campaign group withdrew. It was getting very close.

The SCG might not have taken a decision late on the Wednesday night and then you had less than 24 hours to track down people get them to withdraw nominations and put them in again. It seemed a recipe for disaster. I think the SCG would have got a lot of odium in the movement if we'd ended up not having me and not having Beckett as well.

**SO: You're supporting Beckett**



Livingstone: "I think there are differences between Beckett and Prescott"

**along with many of the SCG MPs but others on the left perceive no real difference between her and Prescott. Can you explain why? What the differences are if there are any?**

KL: I think there are differences. Margaret Beckett was a member of the Campaign Group since its inception in 1982-83 until the Benn leadership challenge to Kinnock in 1988.

She also indicated quite clearly that she wasn't happy with the OMOV proposals at last year's Party conference and she has kept her links open to members of the SCG.

We are not rebuffed by her, she is

**"We actually spelt out how to raise over £20 billion to start to pay for our programme, but it involves taking on the City of London, the military and the rich"**

open to conversation in away that many in the shadow cabinet are not. And she is the one who has taken up the issue of secondary picketing. It is clear that whilst they're quite close together Beckett is slightly to the left of Prescott.

Equally I don't think we should judge Margaret Beckett any more harshly than we judge Tony Benn. Once you take the decision to take a place on the front bench you're bound by collective responsibility. She took that decision, Tony Benn's taken it in the past.

People outside always think it would be better if they resigned and fought courageously from the back benches but - and this comes out in Tony Benn's diaries - he thought he was achieving a lot by being part of the leadership team and Beckett's felt the same thing.

**SO: The policies you put forward in the brief time you were standing...**

KL: A shining few moments!

**SO: It was good for the left that those things were said...**

KL: I think it is also a stage in the struggle for the heart and soul of the next Labour government.

We've put down a marker to Blair and any of the other candidates saying how are you going to pay for your programme? There can be no excuse for them getting in and saying 'we hadn't anticipated the problems' or 'there's going to be a crisis'.

We actually spelt out how to raise over £20 billion to start to pay for our programme, but it involves taking on the City of London, the military and the rich.

**SO: What can the left do now to make those policy issues part of the debate? What should the SCG MPs do?**

KL: We should never expect more than the SCG can deliver. They didn't unanimously support Eric Heffer in 1983, people like Tony Banks voted for Neil Kinnock and so on. In 1988, with the leadership challenge we lost a number of members of the SCG and not all who stayed then voted for Benn/Heffer.

Two years ago when Bernie Grant and myself stood only half of the group supported us. They had all sorts of odd reasons for what they did. Tony Banks said he had to support Bryan Gould because it was an adjacent constituency in the East End!

The SCG has never been a disciplined group in which everybody votes in the same way particularly when you come to issues of candidacies. I don't think this time round was any different.

If anything we've ended up with a greater degree of unity - 17 members for Beckett, another five for Prescott, and five either nominated Denzil Davies or didn't nominate anyone. So if Beckett does well I think we will get a lot of the credit.

When Benn stood in 1988 people said it was hopeless, and it was, but it was a chance of reassuring people in the party that there was still socialism on the agenda. Bernie and myself were told we'd been humiliated and it was a waste of time that we stood two years ago.

But if we hadn't stood and been eliminated under the ridiculous 20 per cent rule, it wouldn't have been reduced to 12.5 percent, and Tony Blair would have been elected unopposed - because neither Beckett nor Prescott would get the 54 needed any more than Bernie and I could.

The fact you had this ridiculous situation of the Labour machine persuading Blair supporters to nominate Prescott just to make sure there was a challenge does bring us back once again to raising the issue of the very undemocratic nomination rule. I don't see any reason why we need more than the five per cent we used to have.

**SO: You referred to the SCGN conference. Do you welcome the development of the network?**

KL: I think its important because its very easy for Members of Parliament to end up cut adrift from anything happening outside and just becoming parliamentarians. We used to have very active constituencies but for most of us now our constituencies are much less active than they were even where we've got left MPs.

The SCGN is a forum we can consult outside parliament. The SCG would never agree to be bound by it but it does act as a spur and a pressure. I think it had that effect this time.

If the activists conference hadn't called for a contest I wouldn't have made the effort to get the nominations and wouldn't have had the high profile for those few days. And I think it was a reminder to members of the SCG that they are not just there on their own.

I think the leadership issue helped to make it a much larger conference than previously. Suddenly there was a fight on and people rallied round.

What's also been amazing is the letters and phone calls that have flowed in during the last week. The number of letters I've had from people saying if you get elected leader I'll rejoin the party is particularly depressing. I have to say if all these people were still in we would be a lot better off.

**SO: Exactly.**

KL: But it shows that there is still a great core of people who want to fight.

# Grbavica: Sarajevo's open wound



**THE TREATMENT of Grbavica, the suburb of Sarajevo occupied by Serb Chetnik forces, is as uncertain as the future of the city a whole. The suburb remains an inglorious symbol of the collective traumas suffered by the city during two years of siege and bombardment.**

**Despite the partial pull-back of Serbian forces, Sarajevo is still besieged and just as divided as the Cypriot town of Nicosia or Berlin was in the past. Here we publish an account of the suffering of Grbavica by three Sarajevo citizens, M. Kristic, A. Hafner and A. Pandzo.**

'WELCOME to the Serbian Republic' are the first words which greet you as you enter Sarajevo's occupied suburb, Grbavica.

You are greeted with the flag of that 'republic', which hangs on a half-burned-out skyscraper, and by hidden Serb police who follow your steps with binoculars.

As you enter, you are allocated one of those policemen as your private guard, whose task is to control harmless meetings of families separated by the division of the city.

Young women are immediately propositioned: "Baby are you Serbian"? Negative responses elicit rude disapproval from the gathered soldiers.



Getting out of Grbavica is very difficult for the local population. People in the main part of the city never know when they will get to visit a friend or relative who is captured on the other side of the river Miljacka.

Bureaucratic procedures are so insistent that people are kept waiting for hours on the bridge connecting the two parts of the city. While you are waiting for the announced visit, it takes so long you can get sunburned.

A young boy was once asked: "Where did you get so tanned?" He answered, "On the bridge of Brotherhood and Unity, while I was waiting for my mother to come from Grbavica".

The atmosphere in Grbavica is permanently threatening: you have to have official papers to justify every step that you take, and non-Serbs feel something terrible could happen at any moment.

### Gambling

One of the first to visit Grbavica as the siege slackened asked his cousin, "Do you still gamble?" The cousin's reply was, "Yes I do, but a gamble with my own life".

At the beginning of June 1992, the Serb Chetniks just walked into Grbavica, without a single shot being fired. The Serbs emptied the shopping centre and robbed it.

At first the Serb occupiers were ordinary reservists, and the treatment of civilians was not too bad. But then the forces

of Arkan and Seselj (Serb fascists and war criminals) started to arrive and even ethnic Serbs became afraid.

When the reservists left, a gang of drunkards began to plunder everyone, including Serbs.

As soon as the reserve army left Grbavica, killings of Muslims and Croats became commonplace. The first massacres were conducted in the houses around the Flamingo coffee bar, near the front line with the Bosnian army.

### Firing line

Ethnic Serbs were moved out of this area, but non-Serbs had heavy machine guns put in their apartments and were immediately put in the firing line.

Hundreds of non-Serb Bosnians were killed in this way, and the area has become a mass graveyard. The Serb Chetniks conducted constant house searches and interrogations; no non-Serb was able to avoid these. Even some Serbs had problems.

According to a Bosnian woman, searches by Chetnik women soldiers were equally harsh. She says: "The only thing of value left in my flat after the male Chetniks searched were my sheepskin coat and a few decorative items. Those were all my dear memories. For men, those things have no value at all.

"However, after the first woman Chetnik entered my flat,

there was nothing left for the second one to rob. So she did to me what was worse than any robbery. She cut my hair with a shaving machine. Thus, instead of hair, I had only a few scars and wounds on my head".

In addition to searches were stronger forms of intimidation - proclamations on the walls saying it was necessary for non-Serbs to leave Grbavica. The proclamations told of detention centres where non-Serbs should assemble if they did not want to leave. But in reality few people are allowed to leave.

Croats of the ninth. They always fear the late night knock on the door, and people over 18 years old are forced into work units.

The situation for women is especially terrifying. Many young women have testified to the activities of 'Batko', one of Arkan's men, a notorious rapist and torturer.

One young woman says, "It was most difficult when Batko was coming and threatening he would kill me. He was coming every day. Sometime he was in a good temper and he was offering me cigarettes. Sometimes he would simply come and cut me with a knife."

Because of the continued division of the city, all the facts are not known. But whether Bosnia is in the news or not "Welcome to the Serbian republic" remains the terrifying sign on the bridge of brotherhood and unity - and the suffering of Grbavica continues.

## International Workers' Aid Conference

# DEFEND MULTI-ETHNIC BOSNIA!

2 JULY 1994, 10.30-5.30

**Birmingham Trades Club,  
Persore Rd, Birmingham**

Discussion groups - suggested topics:

Campaigning in Trade Unions & direct links with Bosnian TUs; The role of the UN - Lift the arms embargo!  
Fund-raising; Women's Appeal for Bosnia; Racism, fascism and ex-Yugoslavia; The media and the war in Bosnia; Education Aid and student work

Details from International Workers Aid,  
12-14 Thornton St London SW9 0BL

# 50 years of World Bank and IMF

# Enough is Enough!

WHILE ALLIED forces battled onwards into France from the D-Day landings, and on the Eastern front the Soviet Red Army bore the brunt of the military struggle against Hitler, far-reaching plans were being laid in a secluded top-level conference thousands of miles from the battlefields.

In July 1944 the Bretton Woods conference, in leafy New Hampshire, marked the emergence of the USA as the dominant imperialist power, eclipsing a bankrupt Britain. The agreements drawn up at Bretton Woods set out an economic strategy for the consolidation and reconstruction of capitalism at the end of the war.

From these agreements emerged the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) taking shape a few years later. And the peoples of the so-called 'Third World' have been plagued and exploited by them ever since.

In October 1994, the general assembly of the World Bank and the World Bank will celebrate their 50th anniversary in Madrid. Environmental groups, pacifists and left organisations will be staging their own counter-summit in the same city a month earlier. HARRY SLOAN reports.

SELF-INTEREST was the driving force behind the efforts of the American bourgeoisie to reconstruct capitalism and expand world trade after the end of the war.

In 1943 a State Department report pointed out that:

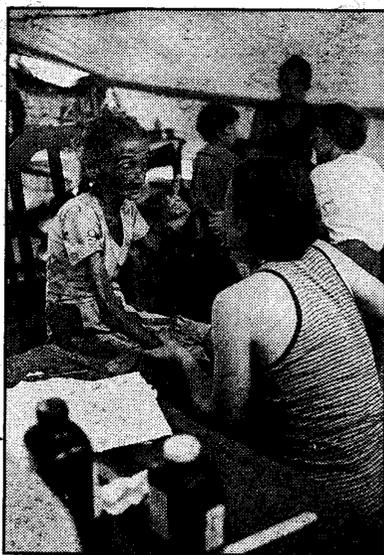
"A great expansion in the volume of international trade after the war will be essential to the attainment of full and effective employment in the United States as elsewhere."

This could be safely proposed in the knowledge that US industry, booming with profitable munitions production, would emerge unscathed by war damage as the overwhelmingly dominant industrial and financial power.

The temptation was to drive home this advantage by holding back the post-war development of the USA's principal rivals - Germany, Britain and Japan. But this had to be balanced against the US fear that total economic collapse might trigger socialist and communist agitation.

Before the German surrender, US President Roosevelt had considered and even adopted for a period a plan of de-industrialising Germany and reducing it to little more than an agricultural economy. Instead, the USA opted for restricting the level of output from German industries and the break-up of industrial cartels.

In Japan, the US Occupation stepped in from 1945 to break up the Zaibatsu, the giant holding companies that dominated industrial production: the Mitsui group alone, employing 700,000 workers, was



More losers than winners in the USA's post-war world order

broken into 170 separate companies. Only the banks were left intact.

As far as Britain was concerned, the USA decided from 1942 to give enough aid to its floundering imperialist 'ally' to keep British gold and dollar balances above \$600m but below \$1 billion, to ensure stability without real independence.

**Before the German surrender, US President Roosevelt had considered and even adopted for a period a plan of de-industrialising Germany and reducing it to little more than an agricultural economy.**



US aid was tied to strict conditions ensuring the opening up of trade with the British colonies. Perhaps the biggest immediate US inroads into British domination were in Middle East oil output; the American share doubled to 31 percent between 1939 and 1946, and went up another 60 percent by 1953.

The Bretton Woods agreements must be seen in this general context: they were intended to make the post-war world safe for (American) capitalism.

The new global convertible currency was to be the dollar, pegged to gold at the rate of \$44 to the ounce - an arrangement that lasted until 1971. Exchange rates were to be monitored by a new body, the International Monetary Fund, which was to intervene where necessary to stabilise crisis situations.

However the IMF never had the \$26 billion resources originally proposed: after vigorous US resistance it was launched with just \$9 billion and very restricted terms of reference.

The World Bank was even more hobbled by US policy. Early plans had called for a 'Bank of Reconstruction of the United and Associated Nations', with capital of \$10 billion in gold and currencies and additional borrowing powers.

But conservative voices in the US establishment whittled this down to a fraction of the original resources: in the event it set up with just \$750m. It did not lend \$1 billion until 1953.

In recent years the World Bank has become a by-word for huge and environmentally-damaging 'development' projects in the Third World that have led to further oppression, repression and deforestation.

Still pursuing the expansion of world trade, to exploit its dominance in productive industry, the US pushed for reductions in import tariffs, which in 1947 took shape in the first GATT agreement.

A year later, in the face of consolidating Stalinist control over much of Eastern Europe, a new Cold War economic bloc was formed, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

## Dominant

These institutions have continued to dominate the economic development of the world for 50 years. Despite the political changes that have seen dozens of new independent states emerge and others transformed by rapid industrialisation, the control of the Bretton Woods institutions has not changed.

Today, the 24 OECD countries currently control more than two thirds of the votes at the World Bank, and 55 percent at the IMF.

Of more than 150 IMF member countries, just five (USA, Britain, Germany, France and Japan) control 44 percent of votes. The oil-rich OPEC countries con-

	PER CAPITA GNP	PER CAPITA DEBT
ETHIOPIA	\$121	\$62
LIBERIA	\$404	\$712
DJIBOUTI	\$949	\$439
MALAWI	\$189	\$169
MALI	\$241	\$263
MAURITANIA	\$474	\$1,029
MOZAMBIQUE	\$65	\$310

WORLD BANK FIGURES FOR 1989.

# CANCEL THE DEBT



trol a further 10 percent.

While the USA, with a population of 250 million, has 19 percent of votes at the IMF, China, with a population of 1.1 billion, has just 2.5 percent.

Since 1944 the 'Third World' countries have been drawn into dependence on a world market dominated by the more prosperous OECD countries.

An area the size of Europe has been set aside in the 'Third World' for export crops as whole countries have found themselves effectively relegated to the role of food reserves for 'northern' countries. As a result their industrial and agricultural development has been skewed towards the production of cash crops and food exports - to the detriment of self-sufficiency.

The high protein requirements of the 'american diet' dominant in the 'northern' countries have driven on the destruction of tropical forests to create grazing land for meat production and exports, and created conditions where 40 percent of world grain production is consumed by cattle.

The quest of imperialist multinational corporations for increased profits through low wages and non-union labour have led to the transfer of industries to newly-industrialising countries (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, China, Mexico, Brazil, Chile).

### Unemployment

But this same process has led also to the collapse of manufacturing industry and of stable employment in the imperialist countries.

Each of these tendencies is reinforced by the latest GATT agreements signed earlier this year. Now the wheel is turning full circle, with more OECD countries following the British Tory example and looking to impose 'Third World'-style sweatshop conditions, to 'tackle unemployment' by creating more low-paid, casualised jobs.

At the same time British Tories have led the way in imposing draconian IMF-style cuts in public spending targeted against the unemployed, the homeless and the low-paid.

The growing inequality between the developed 'northern' economies and the exploited countries of the 'south' has been intensified by the mushrooming of foreign debt.

The extension of massive loans, especially to Latin America and to some extent to Eastern Europe, was a device by the imperialist banks to utilise the billions of petrodollars generated by the oil price increases of the early 1970s.

### WORLD'S HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING



While much of the money lent was stolen, or squandered on armaments by the ruling class in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and elsewhere, the burden of interest payments mounted. By 1982, Mexico became the first to declare itself insolvent.

The IMF was called in to impose conditions and administer new loans designed to enable the exploited countries of the 'south' to repay their debts to the northern countries. In many cases governments took over responsibility for what had been private sector loans: these governments have found themselves under the cosh from the IMF, forced to devalue their currencies, cut spending on food subsidies, cut public services such

the 'south' still depend heavily on imported manufactured goods from the advanced industries controlled by the 'north'.

The fashionable expansion of tourism to a host of new exotic Third World locations, exploiting cheap labour and the relative strength of 'northern' currencies, rams home the contrast between accumulating wealth in the hands of the elite in the 'north' and the vast majority of oppressed.

50 years of capitalist development on the Bretton Woods pattern has led to a disastrous plundering of the earth's resources and degradation of the environment.

### The 1990s have seen much of Africa and Asia cynically further cast adrift as the eyes of the capitalist bankers focus on the possibilities of expansion into Eastern Europe and China.

as health and education, and cut wages as well as dropping trade quotas and tariffs to allow greater inroads from the northern countries.

In many cases these cutbacks have triggered revolts and crises, often in turn leading to police and military repression.

The gap between north and south widened in the 1980s. But the 1990s have seen much of Africa and Asia cynically further cast adrift as the eyes of the capitalist bankers focus on the possibilities of expansion into Eastern Europe and China.

Prices of raw materials and even oil have fallen sharply in real terms, keeping down the cost of living in the more prosperous 'north', while the economies of

Throughout the world forests are being levelled, fertile soil lost and erosion increased through intensive agriculture, water and the air are being contaminated by hazardous wastes, while billions of people suffer exploitation, ill-health and oppression.

In the driving seat of this system are the key capitalist countries, the Group of Seven. They are to meet in a new 'jobs summit' in Naples next month, a follow-on from the Detroit summit: the theme will again be use of deregulation to create more low-paid and part-time jobs.

Environmental and pacifist groups are already organising a counter-summit which will set out a very different approach to the development of new jobs.

*Global debt continues to strangle the development of much of the 'Third World'. But for the US capitalist class, as this advert from the 1950s shows, the system has been terribly profitable.*

opment represented by the Bretton Woods agreements will be interrupted not by reasoned arguments alone, but only by mass action of the countless millions who are the losers in the present system.

A revolutionary programme and leadership are essential for the struggles to come, and it is from this perspective that members and sections of the Fourth International will be participating in these activities.

### Danger: World Bank at work

EXAMPLES of damaging projects financed by the World Bank include:

■ The SARDAR SAROVAR dam project in India, involving a 200 Km-long reservoir and 460Km canal. The construction involves displacing a million people, and flooding 350,000 hectares of forest and 200,000 hectares of arable land.

Local people are being uprooted through state repression and violence.

■ The PANGUE dam in Chile, which will flood the Bio Bio River valley, displacing a thousand Pe-huenche indians.

■ The BALBINA dam in Brazil, which flooded 240,000 hectares of unfelled forest, creating a perfect breeding ground for mosquitos. Pollution from the reservoir has killed thousands of fish and affected rivers within a radius of 300 Km.

■ Brazil's GRANDE CARAJAS project in the Amazon, designed to provide Japanese, European and US markets with cheap raw materials. The project affects 900,000 square kilometres, and will supply 35 million tons of iron per year, as well as 25m cubic metres of charcoal, 700,000 tons of aluminium, and supplies of manganese, copper, gold, nickel, and tin.

# Apartheid's exiles return

*The Long Way Home*  
by AnnMarie Wolpe  
(Virago, June 1994)  
reviewed by Luci Davin

**THIS IS an autobiographical account of political exile and return. Central to the story is an escape from a South African prison. In a way there are two rather separate stories, AnnMarie Wolpe's own and that of her husband, Harold.**

Harold Wolpe was a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, illegal organisations in 1960s South Africa. He acted as lawyer to Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others jailed in the Rivonia trials.

In 1963 the government's repression of its opponents intensified and it became clear that left-wing political activists had to choose between permanent imprisonment or even death, and continuing the struggle from abroad. AnnMarie Wolpe describes meeting with Joe Slovo and

Ruth First for a clandestine farewell dinner.

A large amount of the book is about Harold's arrest and imprisonment and his escape, via Swaziland, Botswana and Zaire to Dar-es-Salaam, and eventually to London.

The story made international headlines, as all kinds of obstacles cropped up. The details are quite astonishing, but it stays a very factual adventure story, and never gets beyond its confines as a second-hand narrative of events. Even at the most gripping moments I felt distanced.

In many ways AnnMarie's portrayal of her own feelings is more interesting. She describes personalities, relationships, her family.

She writes about her thoughts on leaving South Africa, and on the return in 1990. She didn't choose to leave, but once settled in England, she made a career in developing and teaching Women's Studies courses at Middlesex Polytechnic, and of writing on feminism.

She's aware of the contradictions between her feminism and her life, following her husband around. Harold takes it for granted they'll return to

South Africa together.

Having settled in England because of him, she's made her life there. Does she really want to go back?

She also recognises that her ideas on women's liberation are Eurocentric, and worries that they are irrelevant to the new South Africa. Does she have a place there?

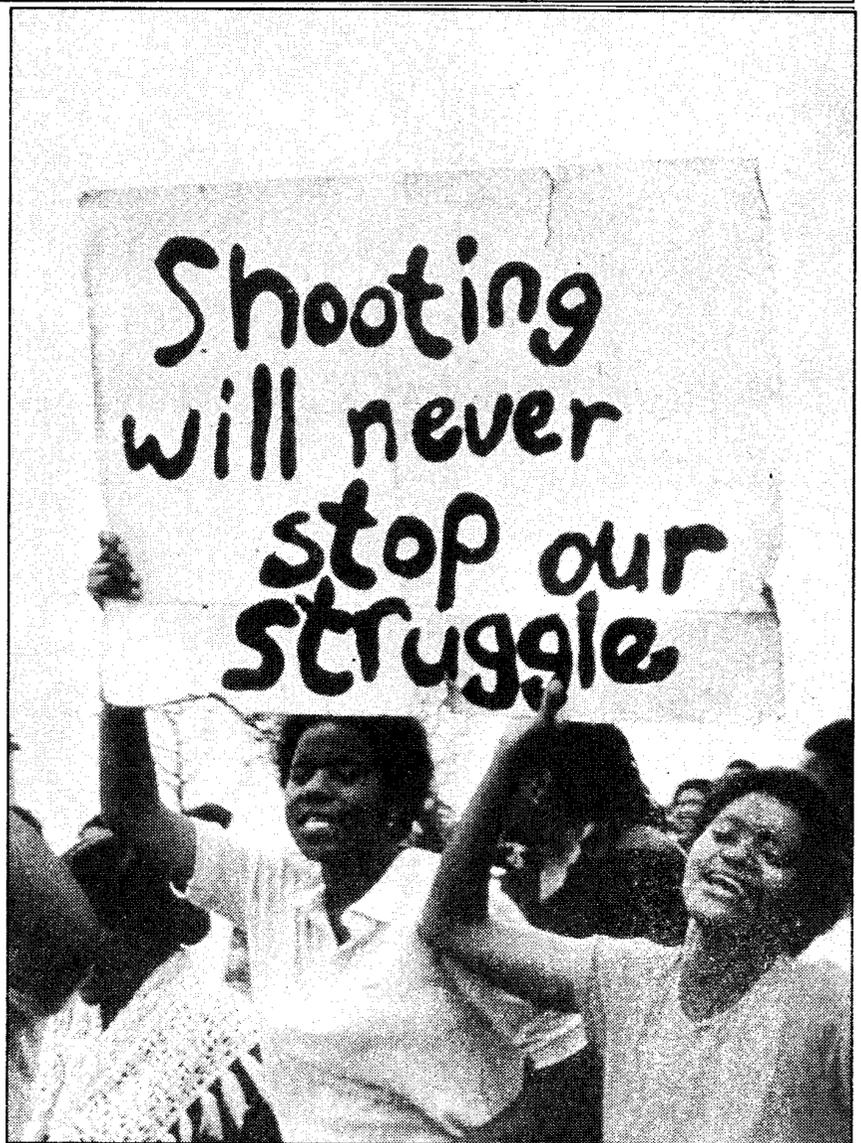
This is an interesting story of a particular experience arising

from the long struggle in South Africa. However, anyone who reads this for a wider angle on South African history, or seeking political analysis of the present situation, is likely to be disappointed.

While AnnMarie Wolpe is interested in politics, she was never an activist in the same way as her husband, was never in the SACP and only joined the ANC in the 1980s.

There is no real discussion of the ANC's politics. There are only ten pages on the Wolpes' life since their return to South Africa, dealing largely with their three grown-up children.

This is best read as a story of how events affected an individual woman, rather than as an account of participation in those events.



*The struggle did not stop in South Africa: but how will the returned exiles respond*

# Dennis Potter's rich legacy

by Geoff Ryan

DENNIS Potter died on the day the last issue of *Socialist Outlook* went to press. Whilst his death leaves the world a poorer place his artistic work has left a rich legacy.

Potter was born into a coal mining family in the Forest of Dean. He won a scholarship to Oxford, and stood (unsuccessfully) as a Labour candidate in the 1964 general election. After working as a writer for the BBC he moved to the *Daily Herald*, in the mistaken belief that he might "be allowed to express a sort of socialism".

In 1961-62 Potter developed psoriatic arthropathy. According to Potter he first became aware of it whilst reporting on a Young Conservatives conference, though he couldn't quite believe his feeling ill was entirely a result of the speeches from "the usual hard faced, brash, young idiots talking about what this country needed".

Potter's background – and his attraction to and rejection of it – informed much of his work. His first production for television *Between Two Rivers* was a documentary about the Forest of Dean in which he expresses his desire to find a more cultured world. The two *Nigel Barton* plays have a central character from a mining family who goes to Oxford and rejects his background.

## Backdrop

The Forest of Dean forms a backdrop to parts of the *Singing Detective* and *Blue Remembered Hills*. And Potter ended his years in Ross-on-Wye, only a few miles from the Forest.

Potter's work has recurring themes: life, death, sex, love, religion, good, evil and the relationship between them. Most of all he was concerned about the relationship between childhood and the rest of one's life.

For Potter television was the most democratic medium. He believed it was possible to bring art to the masses.

His vehement hostility to Ru-

pert Murdoch and his scathing comments about "croak-voiced Daleks" running the BBC flow from Potter's concepts of what television should and can be. And few people come anywhere near Dennis Potter's ability to grasp the possibilities of television and use it effectively.

Potter refused to be bound by traditional narrative structures and naturalism. He will be remembered for his use of lip-synched songs in *Pennies From Heaven* and *The Singing Detective*. These were not merely gimmicks: they strengthened whatever point Potter was trying to make. They broke up the narrative, forced people to think, sometimes provided an ironic counter-point to the visual image.

Potter's willingness to break new ground led to controversy. The original ending of *Vote, Vote, Vote for Nigel Barton* had Barton pleading for people to put their cross on the ballot paper and then giving a V-sign to the camera. This last shot was

removed.

*Brimstone and Treacle* was banned for eleven years because of the rape of a physically and mentally disabled young woman by the devil. As a result of the rape the woman is cured. Potter's intention was to show that good can come out of even the most evil situations. The play was denounced as "nauseating, diabolical" – which is, of course, exactly what it was meant to be.

## Sexual objects

In *Blackeyes* Potter tried to show how men objectify women, reduce them to sexual objects. The first episode certainly does this brilliantly. But at times the play itself verges on the sexual exploitation of women, becomes almost pornographic.

Dennis Potter was certainly not a revolutionary, but he espoused certain socialist values, albeit in an often confused and contradictory way.

He was for the defence of the achievements of the post-

war Labour government. He passionately hated the destruction of these gains by Thatcher and Major and their backers in the gutter press. He totally rejected the belief that everything can be reduced to its market price.

As long ago as 1965, in *Vote, Vote, Vote for Nigel Barton* – long before Tony Blair was seeking leadership of the Labour Party – he expressed his contempt for professional politicians who reduce politics to sound-bites.

Fortunately Potter did not die until after completing his last two works, *Karaoke* and *Cold Lazarus*.

They will be shown later this year. *The Singing Detective* will be on BBC in July and *Lipstick on Your Collar* on Channel 4 in August.

The transcript of his last interview, with Melvyn Bragg in March this year, along with an earlier interview with Alan Yentob and his James MacTaggart Memorial Lecture are published in *Seeing the Blossom*, Faber and Faber, £5.99.

# Vietnam goes to market

By K Govindan

WAR has broken out in Vietnam. Only this time it's between Coca-Cola and PepsiCo.

The soft drink giants were among the first American companies to apply for investment licenses after the Clinton administration announced the lifting of the thirty year long trade embargo.

Vietnam's government welcomed the move for a number of reasons. In the long term it offers their exports access to the United States domestic market.

In the short term, the Vietnamese government hopes that the US will stop vetoing aid and credits from foreign banks and multi-lateral lending institutions like the International Monetary Fund and Asian Development Bank.

Private capital is openly welcomed under the seven year old policy of *doi moi* or renovation. According to the official rhetoric this means a 'socialist-oriented market mechanism under state management'.

Similarly to the Chinese model of marrying economic liberalisation with political centralisation, the experiment in Vietnam has enjoyed some successes, but is beset with dangers.

## Asian capital

Asian capital from Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and South-East Asian countries has been active in the export processing zones that have sprung up on the southern coast.

The US government's change of heart on trade sanctions has nothing to do with regret for the horrors of the Vietnam war and everything to do with US capital wanting a piece of the action.

Vietnam is the latest beneficiary (and some say victim) of the 'flying geese' strategy of late capitalism. In the global economy capital migrates from one economy to another searching for cheap labour, weak worker organisation and lower environmental standards.

In return for setting up manufacturing in shoes, textiles, plastics and electronics, foreign businesses are offered full ownership of the enterprise including 100 per cent repatriation of profits - the most relaxed investment code in the region.

Oil remains Vietnam's biggest revenue earner. Its exploitation has financed some of the economic reforms including the massive strides in agriculture.



Make his a large Coke. The new US invasion is making big inroads into Vietnam

From being an importer of rice, Vietnam is now the world's third largest exporter. There was a bumper crop in 1993 of 25 million tonnes.

The main reason for the turn around is the break up of state controlled co-operatives into individual holdings. Out of 22 million peasants 5.8 million work on their own plots while 16 million work in co-operatives.

Any yield above their state quota can be sold at market price and this has been a major incentive to increased production.

## Thrown off

The down-side has been that tens of thousands have been thrown off the land and forced to leave their villages in search of work in the cities. A new class of rich farmers is emerging.

Also the government has been subsidising export-oriented industrialization by keeping food prices and therefore urban wages low.

In 1992 when food prices were pushed down by 19 per cent but the cost of fertilisers and seed and manufacturers rose in price, there was tremendous peasant dissatisfaction.

Considering that the majority of the 70 million Vietnamese live in the countryside this is a serious matter.

There is a growing urban-rural divide with shops in the cities stocked with luxuries which only a few can afford; while in the rural areas clean water, electricity and roads are scarce.

Women have been adversely affected by state withdrawal of household rations and child care facilities.

## Children

Many have been forced to stop paid employment in order to look after children, grow vegetables and make home products for sale in the market.

Foreign investors grumble about bureaucratic hurdles, rampant corruption, the under

developed legal system and poor infrastructure.

The government has borrowed heavily to finance two major infrastructure projects. A north-south highway costing US\$700m and a hydro-electric power station priced at US\$600m.

Schemes like these generally

benefit the urban rich, not the poor. Vietnam's only legal trade union confederation is the General Confederation of Labour, which is committed to the tri-partite strategy of state, employer and worker negotiations to minimise work-place disputes and to maximise worker productivity.

Although minimum wage laws exist they are regularly flouted. Health and safety regulations are minimal, while pollution and environmental degradation have been prominent issues.

There is no indication that political pluralism will accompany economic reforms.

The Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) does not recognise the right to form tendencies and factions within it.

## Bribes

It controls the trade union movement thereby policing workers in the interest of foreign capitalists. Its leading officials are growing rich on bribes and commissions and are the few who can afford shares in the privatised state enterprises.

Leon Trotsky's classic account of the rise of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Revolution Betrayed*, has recently been translated into Vietnamese and published in France. It will find its way into Vietnam.

The writings of revolutionary Marxists must be made available to the Vietnamese people and practical activity in defense of the working class and rural poor undertaken too.

Separation of the party from the state, recognising the right of other parties to exist and permitting independent mass organisations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students to function are all aspects of socialist democracy which is Vietnam's next hurdle.

## Market kills 'model' Nicaraguan health care

TEN YEARS ago the World Health Organisation was singing the praises of Nicaragua's radical new health system, set up by the Sandinista government after the ousting of the Somoza dictatorship.

Now, with 70 percent of the population living below the UN's poverty threshold, and with 70 percent of schoolchildren malnourished, this system has been swept aside by the right wing regime. Health care spending has been slashed in half, and numbers of health workers cut 12 percent in an IMF scheme. 87 Nicaraguans died of cholera in the first half of 1993; and the infant mortality rate is up to 72 per 1,000 births, and rising. Vaccination schemes are collapsing, and charges have been introduced for drugs, with a single paracetamol tablet selling at 55p. The average salary is just £37 per month.

# Indonesian government humiliated over Timor

By Max Lane

DURING the last week in May and the first week in June a major conference of solidarity with the people of occupied East Timor occurred in Manila - despite systematic attempts by the Suharto government in Indonesia and the Ramos government in the Philippines to stop it happening.

In fact the Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor blew up in the face of the Suharto regime, whose troops have occupied East Timor since 1974, turning into a major public relations disaster. The 500-strong conference became front-page news throughout Asia.

Throughout May the Indonesian government carried out a sustained campaign to pressurise the Ramos government in

Manila to suppress the event. Initially it appeared that Ramos would allow the conference to go ahead, but keep out foreign guests.

However, on May 27 a previously unknown organisation, the Philippines Indonesia Society Inc., successfully filed an injunction against the conference at Quezon City District Court.

The conference organisers immediately announced they would defy the injunction and continue with the conference; but the University of the Philippines, where the conference was due to be held, announced that because of the injunction the conference would not be able to use its facilities. However, the dean of the Faculty of Law immediately appealed against the ban in the Supreme Court.

On May 30, ten of the foreign participants held a press conference expressing their concerns

over the genocide of the people of East Timor, and their determination to attend the conference.

In the wake of the press conference the government announced that foreign guests would be arrested and deported.

The next day, while the Supreme Court was sitting to hear the appeal against the banning of the conference, hundreds of people were gathering at the University of the Philippines campus and prepared to march to the Faculty of Law where the conference was due to be held.

As rumours spread of arrest orders being issued for foreign guests, a cordon of security guards, mainly workers and political activists for Mindanao, was formed around the march.

At the head of the demonstration, in addition to prominent civil liberties lawyers, were Ronald Llamas of the socialist organisation BISIG and Tony

Cabardo of the SANLAKAS front of mass organisations;

Cabardo is associated with the Manila branch of the Philippines Communist Party, which is leading a fight in the name of democracy and Leninism against the Maoist leadership of that organisation.

As the demonstration was about to march, the news came through that the Supreme Court had overturned the injunction but upheld the government's right to ban foreign visitors.

By this stage, many visitors from Europe, North America and Asia had already arrived and promptly participated in the opening of the conference in the Law Faculty.

On June 1, with even more foreign guests arriving, this time from Thailand, South Korea and Japan, the Ramos government announced that it had issued deportation orders against 10 foreign participants,

including Max Lane. Others ordered out included people from the US, Portugal, Argentina, Holland and India.

Further legal moves against the 10 have failed to get them deported, and in the end the revocation of the visas of the 10 named participants was itself revoked - another humiliation for the government and yet more publicity for the conference.

The conference was a huge success: the ham-fisted attempts by the Indonesian government to prevent it happening turned into disaster for them.

Together with the impact of John Pilger's film on Timor, *Death of a Nation*, the conference meant that the message about the occupation and genocide in Timor rang out loudly in many countries around the world.

(Abridged from *Green Left Weekly*).



Philippines boss, ex-General Ramos, failed to avert embarrassment for Indonesia

# Spanish voters put Left boot into Gonzalez

By Jaime Pastor

MADRID— The European elections on June 12 were a big defeat for Spanish prime minister Felipe Gonzalez. The right wing Popular Party profited from the crisis of the ruling Socialist Party, bogged down in numerous corruption scandals.

But after a very radical campaign, the United Left (UL), which is based on the ex-Communist Party, but which includes a wide spectrum of left wing opinion, scored a major success with 13.4 per cent of the vote.

## Regional poli

This was reinforced by the results in the regional elections in Andalusia, also held on June 12, where the United Left scored nearly 20 per cent in a dynamic alliance with the Greens.

In absolute terms, the vote for the UL didn't go up very much from that obtained in the June 1993 general election - from 2,246,000 to 2,483,000. But the signifi-

cance of the UL vote is much more than the absolute figure suggests.

The electoral turnout was much lower in the European elections than in the general election, so the UL's vote was a higher percentage (13.46 per cent against 9.57 per cent); this is bigger than any other vote for a formation to the left of the PSOE since 1977.

The United Left defended a programme hostile to the Maastricht treaty (which implies move toward European capitalist integration and European-wide austerity).

## Controversial

However the UL presented a list of candidates which caused a lot of controversy in its ranks, because the top two positions on the list were occupied by people from its most politically moderate wing.

In the end that didn't really matter, because the UL's best-known leader Julio Anguita was the key spokesperson at its meetings, and he presented a very radical left wing critique of the policies of the Gonzalez government - a cri-



tique mainly addressed to workers hit by austerity and unemployment (which is 25 per cent in Spain!).

## Alternative

Anguita rightly presented the United Left as the sole left wing alternative in the elections.

Perhaps Anguita didn't put

enough stress on the ecological and internationalist themes in the UL programme, or put enough stress on the fight against corruption. But given the moderation of some of the leading UL candidates his radicalism was important.

The judgment of the liberal daily *El Pais* is revealing: the campaign of the UL, it said,

was "moderate in form and very radical in fundamental content" which "appeared to come from another age" (a reference to the 1970s when the Communist Party was strong).

■ Jaime Pastor is a supporter of the United Left in Madrid

# Perils of the 'peace' plan

Ireland  
**UNFREE**

**Most of the British left and the Irish solidarity movement has given a guarded welcome to the 'peace process' in Ireland.**

**But this is not the unanimous view, either in Britain or Ireland. Socialist Outlook's Liam Mac Uaid here interviews JOE CARTER, a member of the Irish Committee for a Marxist Programme (ICMP), Irish supporters of the Fourth International.**

■ **Why is there a peace process now?**

■ **REPUBLICAN** strategy has reached an impasse. Sinn Fein's electoral growth has been halted.

The military campaign is increasingly under pressure, demonstrating its more and more demoralising character.

The republican leadership in the past opened discussions with John Hume, leader of the bourgeois nationalist SDLP, in fruitless talks to break the impasse. The new process came to light when details emerged of talks between Hume and Adams aimed at 'strengthening the nationalist agenda'.

For Sinn Fein the way forward is unity with the SDLP and the Southern bourgeois parties. A result of their dead end is that they are now prepared to make concessions to the bourgeoisie. The peace process so far is the collapse of the republican programme of national self-determination and British withdrawal into a compromise with the representatives of Ireland's capitalist class.

■ **Are there any differences inside the republican movement on the process?**

■ **UNDOUBTEDLY.** There are big differences between the leadership, which fully supports the strategy, and the bulk of the membership.



The members are kept in the dark about the real content of the Hume/Adams agreement and the recent contact between the republican movement and the British government.

They are told by the SDLP that there is no difference between the Downing Street declaration and the Hume/Adams agreement and correctly recognise that the declaration does not signal the end of partition or represent any real concession from Britain.

No organised opposition is visible because it is the failure of the past republican approach which has led to the current situation. There is no solid basis inside the republican movement for a political or strategic alternative.

This is further reinforced by the leadership's constant calls for 'unity' which has always been held up as of paramount importance given the past history of disastrous republican splits.

■ **Are the British serious about peace? If not, what do they want?**

■ **NO.** They see an opportunity to end the past 25 years of struggle through incorporating the republican movement into a new negotiating process, in which all the cards are stacked against the republicans and against demands for democracy and justice.

A settlement is secondary to ending the armed struggle. This would make the possibility of a power sharing administration more likely. The SDLP and sections of Sinn Fein could be co-opted.

The armed struggle is the largest problem faced by the



(Top) Bombing continues as Adams (above) seeks terms

British and ending it would ease the way for the solution of other difficulties such as persuading Dublin to drop Articles Two and Three of the Irish constitution which lay claim to the whole territory of Ireland; and bring Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party into the process.

It is fundamentally wrong to believe, as do many on the left and republicans that Britain does not want to stay in Ireland.

■ **How have the comrades of the ICMP been intervening into the discussion?**

■ **The republicans** held a series of public conventions at which they said that they wanted to hear the views of the people of Ireland on the peace process.

In practice these were only opportunities for anti-republican and pro-imperialist groups to condemn the IRA and support partition and the Downing Street declaration.

Given the demands for 'unity', republican supporters had no chance to intervene for fear of allowing their enemies

to point to divisions in their ranks.

We have made a number of written submissions to commissions set up by the republicans and we have distributed thousands of leaflets at republican demonstrations. We call for publication of the Hume/Adams document, we denounce the Downing Street declaration arguing that it needs to be condemned rather than clarified.

We call for organised resistance to what it really represents which is an attack on the last 25 years of the democratic struggle. The peace process is a sham. We oppose the idea that there is such a thing as the 'nationalist family' and the republican strategy of seeking alliances with Ireland's capitalist class.

The only alternative is an alliance with Ireland's workers in all 32 counties. They are the only real friends that the northern democratic struggle has.

■ **Why has there been an increase in loyalist violence?**

■ **IT IS NOT** simply because

the loyalist terrorists have reorganised themselves under a new leadership.

Although loyalist violence is a constant reality, it does increase when it is perceived that nationalists are making political advances.

The collapse of round table talks involving loyalist politicians and the fact that negotiations have only progressed with the Dublin government and the possibility that this government will have some sort of unity with the SDLP and the republicans worries the loyalists. They see the political agenda being set by their enemies.

They also feel that Britain should be able to defeat the IRA purely by repression and without Dublin's assistance.

The secretive nature of the process has heightened loyalist fears of the ever present sell-out which has been promoted by Paisley amongst others.

The loyalist terrorists see their campaign as one which will strengthen the hand of their politicians and warn the British not to concede too much to Sinn Fein.

Britain Must Go!

after 25 years

for Peace

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London  
WC1N 3XX

**DEMONSTRATE**  
**London, Saturday**  
**AUGUST 13**

WORLD OUTLOOK

# Want a pay rise? Become a director!

By Harry Sloan

With five million public sector workers facing a prolonged pay freeze, Britain's corporate bosses have been coining in increased pay, shares and perks averaging 25 percent in the past year.

And while Tory ministers are frantically pulling strings behind the scenes to veto a miserable 5.7 percent settlement for rail signalling staff, there is no sign of ministerial intervention to cramp the luxury style of the Tory Party's circles of cronies in the boardrooms.

Public sector earnings are increasing at just two percent a year; private sector pay at double that rate.

But all this is chicken-feed compared with the 70-200 percent extra on much larger initial salaries awarded to top-paid executives in five major companies, Barclays, Cadbury, Royal Bank of Scotland, Blue Circle and Warburgs.

Some hard-faced bosses still claim that they are 'under-paid', notably Sir James Ball, outgoing chair of Legal and General, defending a 50 percent-plus increase to £473,000 of chief executive David Prosser.

## Pay cut

Of course in the harsh cut-and-thrust, some can lose out. Spare a thought for poor Sir Patrick Sheehy of tobacco giant BAT, whose package has been cut 37 percent to just £620,000: he now earns less than in 1991!

Others can face the boot if they clash with their key Board members. But it will offer little consolation for them to pick up their redundancy cheques on the way out.

Sacked Fisons chief executive Cedric Scroggs was shown the door with a mere £750,000 in his hand. Laura Ashley boss Jim Maxmin did a little better with £1.2 million, while Glaxo's ousted chief executive Ernest Mario will collect a more reasonable £4 million – the biggest payoff in British corporate history.

Small wonder that critics are now complaining that it can be more financially rewarding to be an ousted failure than to remain in office as a successful chief executive.

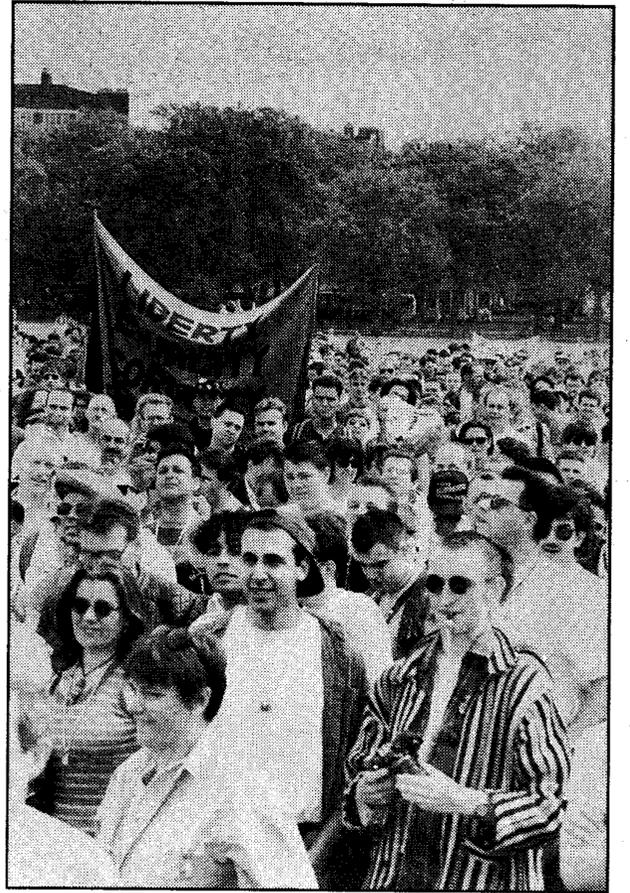
For all these high flyers, mega-salaries are supposedly an 'incentive': for ordinary workers, however, even a maximum 48-hour week is apparently out of the question, and millions exist below the EC's decency threshold. And for unemployed youth, even the miserable £50 a week proposed in Labour's latest job-creation

scheme is decried as too extravagant by Tory ministers.

One thing is clear: Labour's leader apparent, the frightfully moderate Tony Blair, has no intention of taxing or in any way

embarrassing the stinking rich.

That's just one reason why their friends the newspaper moguls are not too unhappy at the prospect of Blair for PM.



Over 100,000 turned out in sweltering sunshine for this year's Lesbian and Gay Pride march to Brockwell Park on June 18, celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Stonewall Riot in New York.

# 1,000 Transport Department jobs to go

By Sean Cohen

CONFIRMATION of up to 1,000 job cuts within the Department of Transport has just been given.

'Efficiency savings' of 20 per cent have to be made in the next two years. Staff have been told compulsory re-

dudancies cannot be ruled out: the CPSA expects 1,000 job losses.

In the Driver Vehicle Licensing Agency – which like other agencies now has to negotiate alone – a pay freeze is threatened after management concluded recent pay talks on June 6, saying that they had no proposals to make. The

freeze follows the publishing of a review calling for the privatisation of the DVLA.

If the expected national Civil Service strike goes ahead in October, it can be widened to include all those in the public sector fighting market testing and privatisation.

HOME NEWS



# Where We Stand

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

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

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

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

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

ion rights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Sectarianism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

Age .....

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

# What's HAPPENING

**WANT YOUR event included? Send details by July 1 to What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.**

## JUNE

### Fri 24

**M11 INFORMATION stall 5.30pm-7.30pm Leytonstone Tube**

OPENING of Cities and Sustainable Development: Global Forum 1994 in Manchester tel: 061 234 3741 Fax: 061 234 3743

### Sat 25

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

McLIBEL day of action details 071 837 7557

**MANCHESTER International Peace festival opens details: Olive or Linda on 061 234 3325**

ANTI-Apartheid Movement Extraordinary General Meeting

**Foucault anniversary conference 9.30am-5.30pm ULU Malet St WC1 details 071 809 5068**

### Mon 27

**PROTEST opening of McLibel trial 9.30-11.30am High Court The Strand EC1**

PERMANENT occupation? Israeli settlements and the threat to peace 7pm Friends House 173-177 Euston Road NW1 details: PSC 071 700 6192

### Tuesday 28

**SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Ireland: peace or capitulation? with Liam Mac Uaid 7.30pm Stationer's Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8**

### Weds 29

END disruption of Kingsmead School! Lobby of Hackney Council 6pm Town Hall

**SCOTT Inquiry: More Questions Than Answers? with Lord Healey, Richard Norton-Taylor, Rosemary Hollis & John McNaughton 7pm Westminster Central Hall SW1**

## JULY

### Fri 1

LEEDS Socialist Campaign Group public meeting with Micheal McGowan MEP, Aice Mahon MP and Alan Simpson

MP 7.30pm Civic Hall

### Sat 2

**PSYCHOLOGY POLITICS RESISTANCE** founding conference 10am-5pm Aytoun Building (By Piccadilly BR) Manchester Metropolitan University workshops on gender, heterosexism eurocentrism & racism, institutional abuse Guest speakers from South Africa, psychiatry system survivors movement Details: Lisa Denny 061 247 2535

**OXFAM Global Village Fête 2pm-8pm Battersea Park Live music, International Co-operative day third world fair trade fair, Children's festival and Oxfam 5km run**

### Sun 3

NOW WHAT? Midlands anti-fascist 'Sunday school' 10.30am-5pm Queen's Walk Community centre Nottingham details (0533) 550433

**LIBERATION! meetings 11am-2.30pm, 3.00pm-5.30pm London**

### Tues 5

**STOP the TUC Full Employment Conference 8.30am TUC Congress House Great Russell St WC1 details 071 387 8440/8436**

ALTERNATIVE conference on Full Employment organised by Greater London Association of Trades Councils 10am Conway Hall Red Lion Square WC1

**DEFEND GUY'S hospital demonstrate 5.30pm outside the hospital opposite London Bridge station**

'QUESTIONS the leadership candidates refuse to address' Socialist Campaign Group Network meeting 7.30pm Conway Hall Red Lion Square



Final night fiesta at last year's International Summer Camp. Be there! - see below

### Fri 8 - Sun 10

**SOCIALISM and beyond Conference of Socialist Economists conference Leeds weekend ticket includes lunch: £30/£20/£10. Details (0532) 334507 or 334518**

### Sat 9

MINER'S GALA Durham

### Tues 12

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

### Thur 14

McLIBEL Support Campaign weekly meeting 6.30pm London Greenpeace 5 Caledonian Road London N1 details: Dan 071 223 5295

### Fri 22 - Fri 29

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

### Mon 25

POSSIBLE date for passing of Criminal Justice Bill

### Tuesday 26

Socialist Outlook discus-

**sion: Racism & fascism: the politics of despair, with Tony Benson 7.30pm Stationer's Park Community Centre Mayfield Road off Weston Park N8**

## AUGUST

### Tues 9

**SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: Democracy and the United Front. 8.00pm, Unicorn pub, Church Street, Manchester**

### Sat 13

**MARCH for British withdrawal from Ireland assemble 12.00 noon Kennington Park Oval Tube**

### Thur 25-Mon 29

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

## OCTOBER

### Sunday 16

**WORLD day of action against McDonald's and National Free Speech day details 071 837 7557**

# Join us at Italy youth camp!

By Duncan Chapple

*Liberation!*'s mobilisation for the Fourth International's youth camp in Italy next month is well underway.

After the victory of the far right government in Italy earlier this year, the attention of many radical youth has been drawn to Italy.

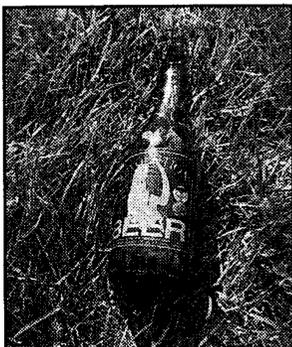
The camp, to be held north of Arezzo on July 22-29, will be an international celebration of the red, green and feminist alternative to the right. Young socialists from Canada, Russia and 16 European countries will enjoy a week of concerts, discos, films, sport, cabaret, trips, good food

and share a wide range of experiences.

This year the anti-sexist content of the camp is especially attractive. Discussions at the camp include women in the former Yugoslavia, marxism and feminism, violence against women and children, women at work, the family and men and feminism.

The British delegation will run workshops on imperialism and the third world (the topic of the centre spread in this *Socialist Outlook*), and on economic liberalism. The camp will also include a range of discussions based around film showings in a special 'memory space' and more theoretical sessions.

This year's camp will have the biggest British delegation



Even the beer is revolutionary!

since 1990. The successful mobilisation is especially attributable to the efforts of *Socialist Outlook* readers. Leaflets and posters - especially around colleges and at May's Anti Nazi League carnival - have produced new inquiries about the

camp.

This week hundreds more summer camp leaflets have been mailed out to selected *Liberation!* and *Socialist Outlook* readers about the camp.

Members of the Fourth International Supporters Association are being sent copies of the new issue of *Liberation!* and asked to consider making donations to allow further unwaged youth to come to the camp for the first time

One thousand pounds has been paid down on the bus - entirely collected from the deposits of campers. Adult volunteers are being asked to come to help with translation and other technical work at the camp.

A July 3 meeting will finalise the details for the camp - agree-

ing work rota and nominating members of the camp's governing committees - and will start to draw lessons for having an even larger delegation in 1995, when the camp may be even closer to Britain.

■ Young people wishing to come to the camp should contact *Liberation!* without delay at PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU. A deposit of £35 will reserve you a place.

■ Make cheques for deposits or donations payable to *Liberation!* Publishing Association and send them to PO Box 1109, London, N4 2UU.

Every donation is rewarded with a complementary *Liberation!* subscription or *Socialist Outlook* book or pamphlet.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

# Socialist OUTLOOK

**INSIDE:**  
**LIBERATION!**  
8-page youth  
paper, including  
features on Drugs,  
Sex, Racism and  
Tory Criminal  
Injustice Act

# Italian fascists - not welcome here!

**NEXT MONTH** the British government is host to Antonio Martino, the new Italian foreign minister. Martino is a leader of the National Alliance, formerly known as the Italian Social Movement, an openly fascist organisation which numbers among its members Benito Mussolini's grand-daughter.

Foreign secretary Douglas Hurd says that opposition to Martino's visit is 'patronising', an attempt by British people to tell Italians what to do.

Hurd is either an idiot or knows nothing about Italy, or both. Martino's organisation is the first fascist movement to get into government in a major country since 1945.

The governing coalition in which the National Alliance participates, headed up by media magnate Silvio Berlusconi, is the most right-wing government in Europe, put into place

to launch major attacks on workers' rights.

More than that, the election of a government including fascists has led to a wave of attacks on immigrants and foreigners. Three weeks ago tens of thousands of Italian skinheads, giving Hitler salutes, marched through the town of Vicenza. The election of Berlusconi's government was greeted with a giant fascist demonstration through Rome. Open fascism is on the march again in Italy.

The National Alliance's accession to government has given heart to fascists throughout Europe; it was greeted enthusiastically by German Republicans' leader Franz Schoenhuber and by ultra-right-wing nationalist leader Zhirinovskiy in Russia.

But the visit of Martino offers us the opportunity to build demonstrations which will hearten workers and anti-fascists throughout Europe. Antonio Martino - not welcome here!



JUST DAYS after claiming credit for the 'D-Day' landings as a fight to defeat fascism, Major's government is reviving the old, discredited Tory tradition of collaboration with fascist leaders. Tory Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain courted Italian fascist Mussolini (above) before returning from Munich with his notorious 'piece of paper'.  
For details of pickets against Martino ring Jim on 081-800-7460

# a

**is the first letter of the alphabet.**  
**There are twenty-five more. Socialist Outlook has them all in some very interesting combinations.**

WE BRING YOU unequalled international coverage, excellent reports of campaigns and labour movement activities in Britain. Subscriptions include *theory+practice*, our occasional review, and *Liberation!*, the red green and feminist youth quarterly.

Readers in Britain can also get a combined subscription to *International Viewpoint* and *Socialist Outlook* for just £25.

Send your cheque, payable to **Socialist Outlook Fund**, to: **PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU**. Cheques in currencies other than British pounds incur an extra £7 fee.

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