

SPECIAL ANTI-RACIST ISSUE • 20P

Liberation!

20p • issue six • for an international, socialist, youth movement • summer 1995

Defiance

**Criminal
Justice Act**

Racism

**Opposing
Immigration
controls**

Students

**Stop the
Graduate Tax**

Animals

**Humans &
animal rights**

Labour

**Is the Party
over without
Clause 4?**

Bolivia

**State of
Seige called**

Cantona

and more...



**CLOSE ALL
IMMIGRATION
PRISONS**

SUPPORT JUNE 24 DAY OF ACTION



Troops and police violently dispersed evening teachers' march on 12 April

Bolivian regime calls state of siege

► Simon Deville

On Wednesday 19th April the Bolivian government imposed a "State of siege" upon the population whereby all constitutional rights were suspended, in a desperate attempt to stop a three week old strike movement being led by teachers, but which was quickly growing into a general strike.

The strike was against cuts in education, part of the government's neo-liberal policies being forced

upon the country due to conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund. From the start of the strike three weeks earlier the government used violence and intimidation, beating demonstrators and using tear gas.

The state of siege was declared when the COB (the Bolivian equivalent of the TUC) met and decided to step up the fight against the government's austerity drive. The military surrounded the meeting and arrested all those present, claiming that their decision forced the government to impose

the state of siege. A local journalist called the state of siege "an arbitrary measure that reflects the governments weakness and President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada's incapacity to solve the country's social problems in a peaceful manner".

The president first claimed that the siege was declared because the COB was refusing to allow the Catholic church to mediate in talks between the COB and the government, though even the Catholic church has since condemned the government's actions.

Over a thousand people

have been arrested, many of them are being held in the most inhospitable areas of the country, either in the freezing snow of the Andes or the sweltering heat of the forests, and are being refused visitors.

As well as banning all forms of demonstrations or meetings, the government has also banned the use of cars claiming that if people want to go somewhere they can walk". If they do walk, however they are liable to be arrested by the military if they are in a group of three or more, and a curfew has been imposed from midnight till 6am.

**Get Active!
End the state of
siege! Release
all political pris-
oners!**

**Send protests
to: Presidencia
de la Republica,
Palacio de
Gobierno,
Plaza Murillo,
La Paz, Bolivia.**

**A Bolivian
trade union
solidarity
committee is
going to be
established,
contact us for
further details.**

Environmental racism -

Stop Shell!

► Bala Kumar

Nigeria earns most of its wealth from the sale of oil. But oil production is also threatening the survival of the Ogoni people of southeastern Nigeria. Oil mining is dominated by western transnational companies like the Anglo-Dutch giant, Shell.

Land used for agriculture is crisscrossed by pipelines which often leak. Oil spills onto the soil destroying crops, killing animals and fish in rivers and streams.

Shell is more concerned about profits than the environment and does little to clean up its mess. Not only are the Ogoni unable to make a living but their health is endangered.

In the production process gas which comes to the surface is burned away in flares. This gives off a sickening smell and poisons people giving them nausea, vomiting and worse.

Even oil-rig workers complain of 'accidents' causing regular fatalities; and high lead levels in their blood from old and unsafe technology.

The Ogoni have not enjoyed much of the riches. There is no electricity, running water is scarce and there are few schools and health centres.

Of course the Ogoni people have not taken the occupation of their land and the attacks on their livelihoods and lives without resisting.

Ogoni youth have led demonstrations in protest against Shell and attacked their facilities. Shell has retaliated by calling in the Nigerian army to launch brutal and horrific raids on their villages, burning down homes and imprisoning hundreds of people.

Meanwhile Britain sells arms to Nigeria's military government and supports British companies whose activities are endangering the environment and peoples lives.

Ken Saro-Wiwa, a leader of the Ogonis has been imprisoned in an army camp since May last year and will shortly be brought before a military tribunal on trumped up murder charges. He has a heart condition and could die if he doesn't receive specialist medical treatment and immediate release.

The ultimate fate of the Ogoni is bound up with the anti-military democracy movement in Nigeria and the creation of a society which puts people before profits and social need before corporate greed but there are many things we can do in the meantime.

We can campaign for Shell to bury oil pipelines and stop gas flaring, clean up polluted areas and pay fair compensation to people affected.

There should be an international arms embargo against Nigeria and support for democratic struggles there.

All political prisoners should be freed including Ken Saro -Wiwa.

We're going on a summer holiday!

► Kathryn Marshall

It's about time holiday package organisers woke up to the fact that

no-one organises a better Summer holiday for young people than those of us planning the International Youth

Camp 1995. Forget the tacky 18 - 30 jaunts and read on!

This year's camp will take place between

July 22nd and 29th in the beautiful South of France, and will cost you an attractively small £150.

You will be provided with the opportunity to meet with over a thousand young militants from all over Europe and beyond. It's a unique chance to share your experiences with others who are exactly on your wavelength.

Then there's the fantastic programme of discussions, workshops and films that are laid on. Subjects up for grabs this year include women's liberation, environmental issues, drugs, racism and youth struggles

right across Europe. The camp will also raise and discuss the issue of linking up European activities with the rest of the world.

As well as this, there is loads of time for relaxing and having some fun, with discos and parties organised, including a women only event.

All this for just £150 - It's an amazing deal. Last year, the camp in Tuscany was a massive success. Join the *Liberation!* delegation, put up the *Liberation!* poster and encourage your friends to join us too! Let's make the whole thing even more massive this time round.

Return this coupon for details of the 1995 camp at Toulouse, deep in the sunny south of France!

For just £150 - including meals, travel and entry to disco, concerts, films and discussions at the camp. You'll get a leisurely drive through the French countryside plus a full week - from 22 to 29 July - at the camp itself.

- Send me a leaflet about the camp. Here's two first class stamps.
- I want to go. Here's my £35 deposit, made payable to 'Liberation Publishing Association'.

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Get Active!

**Please write letters to:
Dr.Ola Onagorwa,
Minister of Justice, Abuja, Nigeria. and Mr.R.Tokeley, Shell International Petroleum Co. Ltd., Shell Centre, London SE1 7NA. Fax: 0044 (0)171 934 1234**

Immigration controls - are they all racist?

► Simon Deville

Although today racism is usually associated with the right wing, it would be difficult for anyone to grow up in Britain without being mis-educated into some form of racism. What is important is that we are aware of this and try to do something about it. One of the most important ways that a racist consciousness is developed is through the idea that we need controls to prevent Britain being "swamped with aliens" as Margaret Thatcher put it.

Every time the government is under pressure from its own failings it resorts to wrapping itself in the union jack. To focus attention away from its own policies it points towards some kind of "foreign" threat. Britain is far from an exception to the norm since all capitalist governments do this.

To the shame of the Labour movement, it was the trade unions in Britain that first raised the demand for immigration controls.

They claimed that immigration was creating a pool of excess labour power that was allowing bosses to pick and choose who they employ and thus driving down wages and conditions. In a sense they were right, greater profits are to be had for the bosses when workers are forced to compete for jobs. The trade unions however played into the hands of the bosses by allowing themselves to be placed in competition with migrant workers, rather than uniting with them to fight for better conditions for all workers.

Today, the government still calls for tighter immigration controls, though now they are already far stricter than they ever have been. The last few years have seen the creation of numerous rounds of legislation both within Britain and on a European level. We have seen the creation of immigration prisons where people aren't even granted the rights given to convicted criminals, despite the fact that they haven't committed any offence. This new legislation is aimed specifically at black people. New powers of stop and search given to police



Anti-racists must oppose immigration controls

allow them to harass black communities and, with the proposed introduction of ID cards you can bet your life it will be black communities who will be targeted first, in practice this will be similar to South Africa's old "pass laws", where black people were required to show a pass when they were in a white area, only now the "white" areas will be the whole of Europe.

The response of the anti-racist movement has been sadly lacking however. The trade unions and the Labour

party all support some form of immigration controls or other, and even groups such as the National Assembly Against Racism only call for an end to "racist" immigration controls. The problem with this position is that once you have accepted the idea that immigration controls of some form or another are needed, how do you have controls that aren't racist. The answer is simple - you can't. Consistent anti-racists must oppose all immigration controls.

Get Active

Support the day of action against immigration controls - picket the immigration prison near you on 24 June.

German state aids repression in Turkey

► George Thompson

A new youth paper is about to be launched by young revolutionaries in the German group Avanti!

They aim to attract youth into the struggle against the rise of racism and imperialism of the German state. The German state has been financing the war that the Turkish government has been waging against the Kurdish people. Opposition members of the German parliament state that Kohl's conservative government is "aiding and abetting an extermination strategy" in their support for Turkey's war against the Kurds.

In the past few years they have channelled over 3.5 billion pounds to a Turkish regime in which fascists are the strongest organised force.

To please these friends, Kohl has declared the Kurds "the enemy within" Germany, closing down their social centres and

outlawing their organisations. Thousands of Kurds are facing prosecution for "carrying on with banned associations" and political exiles are being deported to face the brutal Ankara regime.

Meanwhile profits are growing like weeds on the fields of the dead. 700 German companies are producing weapons in Turkey to kill Kurds.

Turkey also has support for its repression of the Kurds from other EU leaders who recently voted to accept Turkey into the European Customs Union.

These appeasers also permit the butchery in UN "safe havens" and oppose the Kurds right to self-determination.

Internationally youth must build solidarity with the Kurds, expose our own leaders as apologists for war crimes and help liberate Kurdistan in a continuing struggle against the fascists and warmongers of capitalism.

Raze the prisons to the ground

► Rod Marshall

The grotesque slaughter of Nicholas Ingram revealed the full inhumanity of a capitalist system trying to make an example of someone who has transgressed.

It isn't even clear if Ingram committed the murder for which he was sentenced. New evidence has been revealed that suggests another person was present at the crime scene. Any further investigation will, of course, be too late for Ingram.

It is also too late to stop the attack and murder of the victims in the Ingram case. Nothing can stop the pain of grieving for people whose partners or friends have been murdered. Nothing - including the execution of the (supposed) culprit.

Society terms this justice - but it does not bring back people who have been killed. It doesn't stop the missing of somebody who is gone. Neither does banging up people in jail for 20, 30, 40 years. The question should be - what can stop people from committing murder?

Certainly a person who likes murdering should be kept from doing so - but such people themselves need serious psychological help - it is cheaper to leave them to rot. And for people who kill through anger - we need to understand why people, through the aching desperation of their lives sometimes lose control.

The way that society mistreats us from birth has a lot to answer for. From an early age at school you are ordered around, your freedom and expression is

violated. Selfhood becomes defined in terms of competition for friendship and for the 'rewards' which are meted out for the completion of tasks. Enjoyment and understanding of the world becomes buried beneath the servitude towards parents, teachers, bosses. I

It's not necessarily the fault of parents and teachers either - many try hard to bring up and teach children with care and compassion. But this systematic alienation of self leaves some people completely desperate for answers.

For a few this pressure is manifested in an inability to cope. And why should people have to cope with long hours in a low paid job, the task of trying to bring up children, being pushed around by arrogant managers and Tory governments? But for a few this pushing around causes people to flip and perpetrate added violence on others. The violated violate the violated further and then are violated again themselves through prison terms or the electric chair.

This cycle of destruction and violence has to end. Unfortunately it is a defining feature of capitalism. So ending this cycle becomes part of the struggle for an alternative to capitalism. In the meantime we should try and end the more viscous aspects.

Just as we campaign against genocide on Bosnia or Chechnya - so we should campaign against the death penalty world wide. And - to contradict Tony Blair and Tory MPs - it is time to understand more - about the daily despair that drives people to kill. Only such an understanding can ultimately lead to the end of such desperate acts.

Fight Against Cuts in Education

Turn up the volume

► Chichester
Liberation!

Have you noticed how stupid the Tories think we all are?

As this issue of *Liberation!* goes to press, Tory chair Jeremy Hanley has been on national television declaring that what we have to realise is that standards in education have been rising under the Tories because of their great and huge investment policy.

Unfortunately for Mr. Hanley nobody is listening to fiction from him any longer. Instead, people all over the country are getting active against the reality of the situation: the sweeping education cuts the Tories are introducing, the soaring class sizes that are coupled with staff and resource shortages and the attacks on FE and HE students in the form of yet

more grant reductions.

They aren't waiting for the Labour Party to solve all our problems either. Whilst the leadership has spent its time recently ditching its commitment to public ownership, it hasn't been so quick to commit itself to increased education funding or even to an immediate end to the cuts.

Young people have an important role to play in this fight against cuts in education, and in the organisation FACE. We are offered a new and exciting opportunity to get involved in a campaign that's drawing together a huge and diverse layer of anti-government feeling and anger.

Students don't need to fight alone in defense of grants; they can join with parents, teachers, governors and other unions who value education and who want to see it im-

proved, not further slaughtered.

It was this broadness to the campaign that came across so strongly on the big London demonstration in March.

Many local FACE groups have been established such as in Oxford, Derbyshire, Notts and Shropshire. Do you think there is the potential for setting up a group in your town? Have parents and teachers been saying the things about Tory education cuts that you've been saying? Do you want them to be supportive of your cam-

paign within the student movement for Free Education that has just begun?

Now is the time to explore all possibilities for linking up everybody's work into the broadest, liveliest Fight Against Cuts in Education that we can manage. Then, the fairytales from Mr. Hanley and the like will be drowned out for good.

Get Active!

**Contact FACE
on 01589
789104.**



Mass protests against education cuts shows potential for victory

Young people need our welfare rights

► Elkie Dee

Young people are losing out badly as a result of Tory policies, in particular the attack on the welfare state.

In EDUCATION

- Classes are growing bigger, with the result that teachers and lecturers have less time to spend talking to pupils/students.
- Grants and benefit rights for many students have been cut, so many face poverty, debt, or giving up their courses.
- If young people seek training to improve their job prospects, they find there is no financial support at college and the variety of government schemes available are exploitative and inadequate.

BENEFITS

- Unemployment among young people is high and they have been clearly targeted by benefit cuts, for example the removal of benefit for 16-17 year olds and the reduced rate for 18-24 year olds.
- There are more and more hoops to jump through to continue claiming benefit, and young people face coercion to accept low-paid jobs or places on phoney schemes. They will probably be the first to be put on Workfare with the introduction of the Job Seekers Allowance next year.
- Young mothers have had their benefits attacked by the fall in income support and the introduction of the Child Support Act, and are to have their very limited rights to be housed by local authorities taken away.

Young people are also affected by the cuts in free healthcare and by job cuts within the Welfare State.

The Labour leadership's response to this has included welcoming and supporting government attacks on the Welfare state and young people and criticising teachers for their resistance to government policies. Labour councils have implemented many of the cuts in the Welfare State quite happily.

Young people need to get involved in fighting back against these attacks. Join campaigns to defend your local schools, colleges and hospitals. Join FACE (Fight Against Cuts in Education). Join

welfare rights campaigns. Raise issues and demands about what young people need from the Welfare state within these campaigns. For students in further and higher education, a campaign to Defend Free Education was launched at the Welfare State Network conference in April and local groups are being set up.

If you work, try to join a trade union and take up these issues there. Cuts in the welfare state mean cuts in jobs and mean that employers can seek to cut pay and conditions for everyone.

Get Involved to defend the Welfare State!

Get Active!

Get a FREE copy of 'Action for Health and Welfare'! Send a stamped A5 envelope to Liberation!, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

If wars, starvation, environmental devastation, exploitation and injustice make you angry...

If you reject the idea that they are somehow "inevitable" or permanent features of human society...

Then, like us, you've probably thought a lot about how to change the world. Simply wishing things would get better is not enough.

Working alone you can change some things a little, for a while; working together with others, you can change the world.



Don't just get
Angry

Liberation! is a newspaper produced by and for young people working together against poverty and injustice.

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Build the campaign in defence of grants!

► Anthony Brain

Since they were re-elected in 1992 for a fourth term, the Tory government has launched massive attacks upon the welfare state and state funding of education.

This is one way in which the capitalists can increase their profits at the expense of the working class.

The latest attack is that grants for students will be reduced by 42% over the next financial year.

This has provoked massive opposition within the student movement. This has coincided with the radicalisation amongst teachers opposing the cuts in education, shown clearly by the left winning the key votes at the NUT conference.

Students should forge links with parents, teachers and governors and the labour movement to fight against these attacks on

grants.

Socialists need to organise within the NUS for a mass demonstration involving all these forces towards the end of the summer term.

We need to organise because of what the leadership of NUS is doing as the Tories launch such a big attack.

They are capitulating in a totally cowardly way to the onslaught, making statements such as "This policy by the government would represent a step forward", presumably from having no grants at all.

This is not the "leadership" required. This fight is crucial to protect the rights of students to a decent education.

That's why at the Welfare State Network Conference on 8 April, an important decision was made to launch a campaign to "Defend Free Education", with the main goals of calling for an emergency conference

and organising a mass demonstration.

A West Midlands Free Education Campaign has been set up.

The campaign statement, signed by Charlotte Wade, Mick Duncan, Saul Herbert, Sandeep Viridi, Kay Rai, Alphius Kambra, Anthony Brain, Steve Davies and Pritpal Gill calls for grants to be retained and argues that there is sufficient wealth in Britain to prevent grants being withdrawn.

The conference of the West Midlands Free Education Campaign, at Stafford University on May 10, drew together a local group.

This is a broad, open campaign, backed by MEPs and MPs and open to all students. The conference broke down into workshops for easier discussion, and to enable tactics to be developed on the eve of the regional NUS conference on 11-12 May.

NUS look for alternative funding for graduates



NUS leadership support student poverty

► Mark Jansen

At this year's NUS conference the leadership of Labour Students managed to gain a mandate to press ahead with proposals for a graduate tax.

They have organised a "consultation" period which unsurprisingly took place during the Easter break to which they aim to bring back proposals to the special conference later this month. Student grants are already at levels way below those of unemployed people, and the vast majority of students finish Higher Education with massive debts.

It is quite clear that the agenda of the Labour lead-

ership of NUS, rather than fighting for the interests of students, is to prepare the way for further attacks on higher education under a Labour government.

Students must organise to oppose graduate tax proposals at the special conference, and mandate all delegates to vote against them.

Whatever the outcome of the special conference though, we must organise a fight not just to defend the current poverty levels, but for adequate funding for the entire education system.

We must organise a fight on the basis of the needs of students - whether that means taking on a Tory or Labour government.

Get real!

Organise a democratic broad left in NUS to defend students' interests

► Ricky Paul

The recent NUS conference, led by Blair's babies in Labour Students, signalled a further retreat in the fight for a decent grant and accepted the possibility of a graduate tax.

A tax? Yes there've been loads! Attacks on the level of our grant for the last 16 years, the increasing reliance on the student loan and the overdraft from the bank manager, pressure to work all hours at the supermarket rather than the library, while the library is empty of books and resources. Staff look strained and tired.

Attacks all round and now another one? The idea that I'll be able to that I'll be able to walk into a well paid job at the end is just that - an idea dreamt up by government ministers. Graduate debt, graduate unemployment - both are rising. So why is the NUS not fighting these attacks on students and higher education?

An important reason is the unreal world of NUS conference where political groupings on the "left" and right attempt a victorious struggle for power.

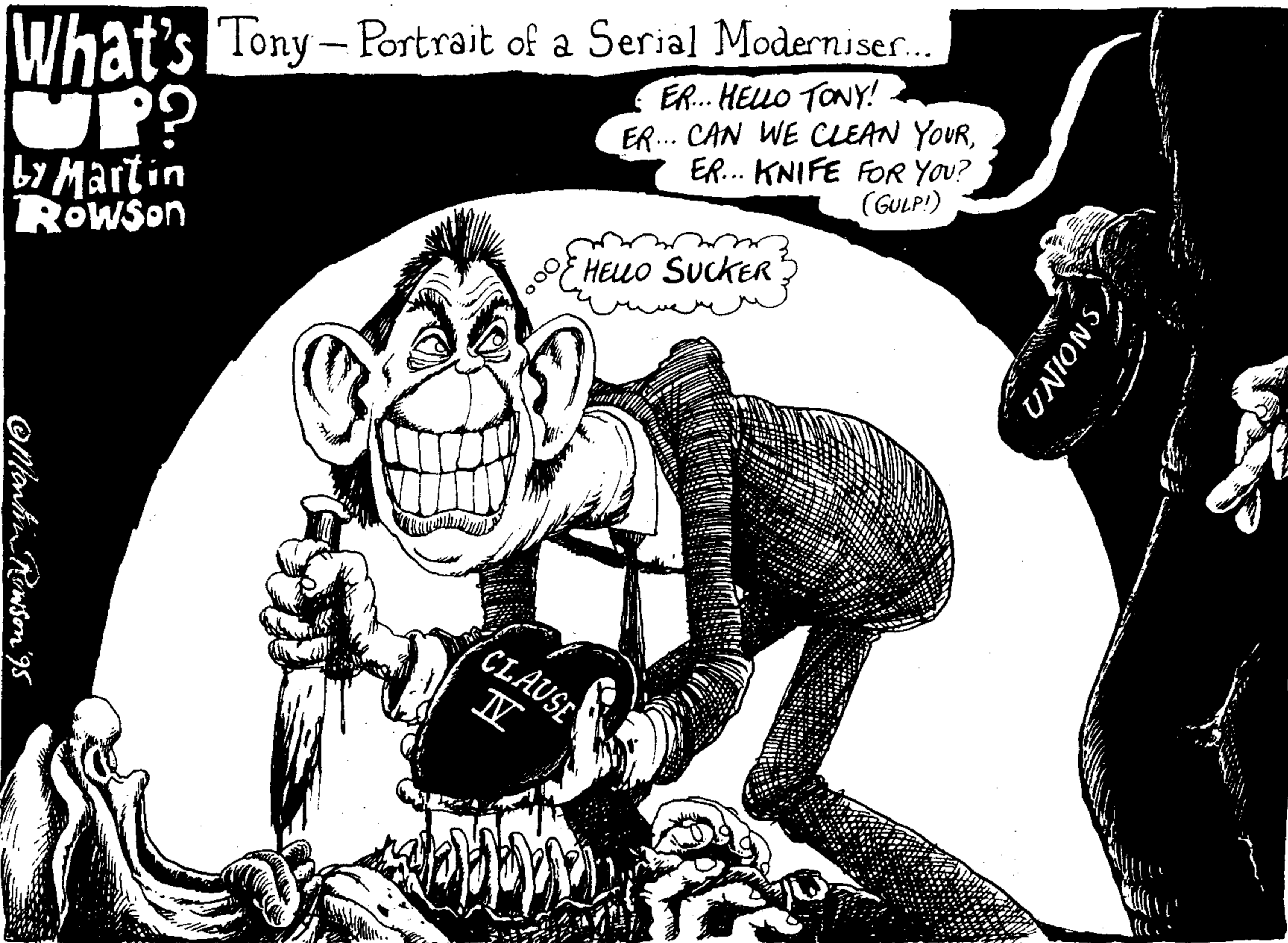
The right, in the form of the careerist leadership of Labour Students, have their eyes firmly set on the house of commons tearooms. It is Jim Murphy, the Labour president of NUS, who has led the retreat in the fight for grants.

On the left there is 'Left Unity' which is clear in its ambition to try and take control of the NUS executive. The problem is that it is completely undemocratic and exclusive to one political group. It is also solely focused on just trying to win elections and on doing deals inside the NUS hierarchy.

Instead students need a left in NUS that reflects the real concerns and struggles of students on the ground: a broad left which is democratic and not dominated by one current. This kind of grouping needs to link up to students that are involved in lots of different campaigns in colleges (from campaigns against cuts to campaigns for environmental sustainability). It should also build alliances with trades unions on campuses.

If NUS is going to be changed to fight for a proper grant and proper funding - i.e. if Labour HQ's stranglehold is going to be weakened - then building a democratic, participatory left alliance in NUS is vital.

Can Labour make a difference?



► **Jonathan Joseph**
The revision of Labour's Clause IV is an apt symbol of the 1990's.
 Gone is the commitment to things many people took for granted - full employment, the welfare state, workers' solidarity. Now the Party is committed to the free market, the

family, religion, nuclear defence, slave-labour schemes, inequality, racism and so on. As the welfare state society breaks down, young people are growing up in an increasingly unstable and brutal world. Labour's leadership are capitulating to this.
 The Labour Party stands for the self organisation

of the working class and the trades unions. Clause IV represented their aspirations. Its statement on common ownership does not necessarily equal socialism, but it does allow the working class to have more say in how society is organised.
 Blair wants to end this. He wants to turn Labour into a US style 'Demo-

cratic' Party that represents business interests instead. He wants to change the class character of the Party and relate it to the new bosses Europe.
 Young people have never known a Labour government. This means people wrongly look to Blair as the only alternative. But things change

quickly when we struggle. Many Americans supported Kennedy in the 1960's only to become radicalised by the civil rights movement and Kennedy's own Vietnam War. We can and must fight back. The election of a Labour government would create great expectations after so many years of Tory rule. It would give workers and youth more confidence to fight for their rights. This would help break up the political consensus Blair thus far enjoys.
 Organising against Blair's 'modernisers' would be a start. *Liberation!* is involved in groups like Young Labour. As things develop these groups can be broken from Blairism and linked to the fight back. We therefore demand:

- ✪ For the Labour Party to fight on issues of pay, unemployment, housing and trade union rights!
- ✪ For an end to youth discrimination, racism, sexism and heterosexism!
- ✪ For the defence of the welfare state. An end to cuts and privatisation!
- ✪ No to Labour's bosses Europe! For a united socialist Europe!

Don't hold for role models

John Kipling reviews P J Harvey at the Leeds Town and Country Club

In the past couple of years P J Harvey has risen from the underground hardcore music scene to semi-fame.

Her March gig at the Town and Country Club in Leeds was one of many sold out on her recent tour. After reluctantly forking out an extortionate entry fee, I consoled myself with a pint and surveyed the venue in anticipation.
 The crowd consisted mainly of young people who didn't conform to any obvious style, instead taking bits from punk, goth and rock etc and diluting them in the mix. The women were definitely more stylish than the men. There was a high proportion of women in the audience, including a number of strikingly dressed "50 foot queenies" (in the spirit of the P J Harvey song). Support band "Tricky" were not very exciting: slow, sparse and lacking in energy. They obviously had something to say, but the young black rapper and female singer didn't deliver it very well. The band seemed to be trying to fuse rap and ambient sounds with slow rock, but they lacked musical inspiration, being more motivated by their lyrical message.
 P J Harvey appeared on stage like Isabella Rossellini singing "Blue Velvet" in the David Lynch film of the same name: heavily made up with red lips and blue eye shadow (!) in a glamorous red dress, with backdrop.
 Oozing into the set, the band maintained a restrained pace for most of the gig. Though slow, the music was intense and driving, bursting with concentrated energy. Polly has changed her band. She has expanded to 6 musicians (all in suits and mostly looking too old to rock'n'roll) including 2 keyboard players (1 of whom looked like Bach!), reflecting a new slickness in the sound as compared to the old raw 3-piece. Whilst no longer playing guitar, Polly is concentrating on her strong singing voice. Her blues vocals integrate into the simple songs, which have a strong country'n'western flavour. She seems to be fascinated by Mid-West America, using it as a setting for some of her love songs, and singing in an American accent even though she's from Devon! The music also retains its Pixie-esque raw guitar sound and occasional unconventional time signatures.
 The slow, pounding music reflects Polly's highly sexual image. She plays a predatory female, gyrating voluptuously on stage, the centre of attention. Her lyrics often deal with sexual relationships, almost definitely hetero, but mixing male and female roles. She seems to have an affinity for maleness, sometimes singing as if she were a man (as in "Man Size"). I often wonder how she got on with bad boy Steve Albini (of Big Black, Rapeman and Shellac) who produced her first album.
 Overall the gig wasn't my cup of tea. I prefer something faster and more energetic, even if not as slick and controlled. Danceability would also be an advantage!
 Elle magazine describes P J Harvey as "a new breed of pop female". I hope they don't mean that literally. Personally, I think she's a more interesting and substantial role model than Madonna, but then I don't hold much for role models.

Cantona: Fair Play?

► **Jonathan Joseph**
UM? Plato or Platon? The truth is that Cantona's philosophy is crap. Beautiful or ugly, everything is spontaneous. But is fouling another player really an expression of an artistic temperament?
 Judged by his own standards, Cantona is more profound when he's play-

ing than when he's talking. Yet the chance of him making a fool of himself is one of the most exciting aspects of today's game.
 Argh! Most normal people thoroughly enjoyed the kung-fu incident. Those without a sense of humour tried to make excuses.
 Unfortunately, they picked the wrong one. Was Cantona really subjected to racism? It is one

thing to call Cantona a 'frog', it is something else to call Paul Ince a 'nigger'. The French are an imperialist nation founded upon years of exploitation and racism. To equate anti-French sentiment with anti-black racism would be to equate the oppressor with the oppressed.
 Let's not call verbal assaults on privileged white Europeans racism. It trivialises the issue. The

case of Cantona is very different to the case of, say, Steven Lawrence (murdered by a Nazi gang). Let's call it xenophobia or chauvinism instead.
 The two are connected. If Ince suffered racist abuse in the same incident, then he is justified in taking the matter into his own hands. Better still, however, would be to help build independent

supporters' associations and commit them to fighting football racism.
 Er? If the seagulls follow the trawler it is because we are meant to behave like sardines. Cantona has been reprimanded because, as a public figure, he is a bad example to us idiots. In the eyes of the moral right he has failed the Lineker test.
 Now its time for the rest of us to kick back.

YOUNG VOICES: OUR READERS SPEAK OUT

"Porn is simply a sick industry that exploits people of either gender who are young and poor"

Could I take issue with Barbara Vanden's article on pornography in *Liberation!* Issue 5?
 Firstly, I find her portrayal of porn as an industry "about men's power over women" objectionable in the extreme. Many feminists prefer to overlook the fact, I know, but there are rather a lot of women who buy porno-

graphic material that features men! Surely if the argument is carried through to its logical conclusion, then pornography is all about women's power over men...
 Or could it be that porn is simply a sick industry that exploits people of either gender who are young and poor? Could it be that the porn industry panders to the sado fan-

tasies of anyone who is deviant and perverse enough to waste money on exploitative material?
 Surely, it would be better to regard pornography as at best a minor aspect of the wider struggle for the empowerment of women. It must surely be that the first priority is to achieve an equal distribution of wealth, power and employment between men

and women, which will in itself help drive "pornographers" out of business.
 Isn't porn in itself simply a symptom of capitalist society's exploitation of the poor as a whole, not just of women? In this context porn can be seen as a symptom of class society. Once that society is eliminated, the poverty that breeds exploitation will be too. Only when we

have socialism will we have true equality.
 On another note, congratulations on producing a youth paper that is genuinely interesting and provocative.
 Yours in comradeship,
 Phil
 PS I'd love someone to shoot my arguments down in flames, so please do reply to this letter!

Why socialists should support animal rights

> Aidan Salter

Today the belief in animal rights is inspiring thousands of young people across Europe to challenge the authorities. What attitude should socialists take to the struggle for animal rights? What is meant by "rights" and do animals have them?

Most animal rights campaigners argue that animal and human rights are universal, and are based on the sanctity of all living creatures. Socialists however, believe that rights depend on cultural and material conditions: the ability of people to value themselves and other living things, and the ability to exercise rights.

All societies value some animals. The key question is, can animals exercise rights? At least some animals feel pain. They experience freedom and well being. They can therefore "enjoy" rights and "suffer" their denial. Some, but maybe not all, animals have rights.

If animals have rights, should socialists support them? The goal of socialism is human emancipation - a world free from the exploitation and oppression of one person or a group or social class by another, and from the suffering which results. If it is wrong for people to abuse other humans, how can it be right for them to abuse animals?

Some animal rights campaigners call the abuse of animals by humans "speciesism". They liken it to the racial abuse perpetrated under fascism.

Socialists do not equate human and animal rights in the same way. We recognize that many cultures depend on animals for their livelihood, and that historically the exploitation of animals has been necessary for the development of social and economic life.

However we also recognise that cruelty to animals can condition people to accept cruelty to people, and that respect for animal welfare can make us more human and compassionate.

Another reason why Socialists should support animal rights is that we are fighting the same enemy: capitalism. Powerful economic interests are responsible for massive cruelty to animals.

Rival cosmetic companies test new brands on animals, inflicting great suffering. The products and therefore suffering are unnecessary. Furthermore, the cosmetics industry exploits young people, women especially, targeting their insecurities, and causing misery to women who don't fit the latest beauty craze.

The meat industry keeps millions of people



hungry in the "Third World", as well as mistreating and slaughtering livestock and poultry. In Latin America rainforests are cut down and huge tracts of fertile land turned over to cattle ranching while local people starve. The beef is exported to hamburger chains in Europe and North America.

Meat is a very inefficient source of protein. The area of land needed to produce protein is far greater than that needed to produce the equivalent amount of vegetable protein. Over grazing is also creating large scale soil erosion.

Modern battery farming methods cause great suffering in the name of "efficiency".

Hens and pigs are crammed into cages or pens with no opportunity for exercise, kept weak and prone to disease. More human methods would cost more, reducing profits.

A socialist revolution would create the conditions for ending the abuse of animals.

Workers and communities could jointly plan the production and distribution of goods for the benefit of society, animals and the environment. The use of animal products could be phased out, and alternatives developed. Production would no longer be for profit, ending the incentive to use cruel battery methods. At the same time a planned economy could end the waste involved in producing meats.

Defy The Criminal Justice Act!

> Tom

It was always obvious that the Criminal Justice Act would go through Parliament.

There was little opposition from Labour, who seem to be trying to outflank the Tories as the party of "Law and Order". Yet even though the Bill is now an Act, the police seem reluctant to use their new powers. Perhaps they realise how draconian the Act is, or are worried they might provoke a massive reaction.

Huddersfield Reaction Against the CJA certainly got into gear when the first two people were charged under the Act in Kirkstall. Two men were arrested whilst peacefully protesting against the felling of trees to make way for a new Morrison's supermarket. One was occupying a tree and the other was about to climb into one. Their court cases were adjourned twice, largely due to mass demonstrations in Huddersfield Town Centre and outside the magistrates' court. Eventually the charges against the two men were dropped.

Nottingham Anti-CJA Campaign renewed its activities with a mass trespass of Kenneth Clarke's garden! The Chancellor of the Exchequer is an MP for, where he lives in a posh suburb. On April Fool's Day, he found about thirty protestors occupying his garden, banging drums and playing whistles, displaying banners, and having a picnic! "The real criminals are the Tories!" was the cry as we frolicked on his lawn. The local news cameras were there and we got a five minute slot of sympathetic coverage on East Midlands news. "Don't you think this is just an invasion of privacy?" one reporter asked. "This government is invading people's privacy!" was the reply.

We managed to party for about half an hour before the police arrived in force, at which time we decided to

leave peacefully rather than get arrested.

The Criminal Justice Act is an attempt to create a smokescreen to divert attention away from the real crisis in society. This government has presided over an increase in crime to record levels, yet they always concentrate on punitive measures and would rather ignore the obvious problems of unemployment and poverty. They are attempting to scapegoat certain groups of people such as travellers, squatters and party people, in order to legitimise a further increase in police powers. Alternative lifestyles should be defended as an attempt to escape the alienation of consumerism and the normal 'nuclear' family. Squatters should be defended in their attempts to tackle homelessness, at a time when thousands of properties are uninhabitable and the government is reducing housing stock. Youth need to enjoy parties as an escape from the harsh realities of life in the nineties. In fact it is Tories who are the real criminals, lining their pockets through privatisations, dismantling the welfare state and selling arms to oppressive regimes.

The act is also a threat to trade unionists' ability to picket. Many trades councils in particular have opposed the CJA and this year's conference of trades councils has a number of resolutions against the Act. It is important that trade unions link up with local groups, particularly as many youth, being unemployed, don't see the relevance of the labour movement.

Local groups should continue to raise awareness of the CJA and not let it be forgotten. It is vital that activists don't let the CJA stop them stop them from protesting. Defying the Act will make it unworkable.

Break out the drums and the picnic hamper!

Socialism and animal liberation

> Robert Greene

Revolutionary socialists fight for the liberation of humanity, in order to create a society free from exploitation and oppression, a society based upon human need rather than one based upon the needs of profits for the ruling elite.

Some animal rights activists would argue that this attitude is a form of chauvinism or "speciesism", since it places the needs of humanity above those of other animals.

What attitude should socialists take then towards animal rights campaigns? Surely we are against unnecessary cruelty, does this mean that we should support animal rights?

To understand this question, we must first

look at what we mean by rights. History has shown us that the concept of "rights" is not an absolute. In different societies, the degree of rights that can be granted to all individuals within that society is limited both by the material resources available to that society, the way that society is organised and its level of development. As Karl Marx said "Men (sic) make history, but not in conditions of their own choosing".

For example we would argue that all people should have the "right" to decent housing with sanitary conditions, running water and so on. In the stone age, however, society was not organised to the extent that it could provide what is considered by today's standards as a necessity.

Marxism is based not

upon just the emancipation of humanity but upon its self-emancipation. This is a sharp distinction that separates it from the nineteenth century liberal tradition. We would argue that the only rights that we have are the ones that we fight for and win.

Socialism is not about helping other people (though we're not against that), it's about organising ourselves collectively for the benefit of all. To talk about animals having rights would not just imply that for example, they feel pain, but that they can become conscious of their role in society and how to fight it.

None of this, however, implies that we should be unnecessarily cruel to animals, in fact there is a great deal to suggest that under a socialist society animals would be treated

far better.

Capitalist society is by definition run for profit. People are not generally cruel to animals out of some form of sadistic pleasure, rather, they are acting upon the needs of the profit system. This means that massive resources are squandered as rival companies compete for profits. Rival drugs companies always try to keep their research secret from each other and so what animal testing is deemed "necessary" is repeated numerous times by different companies. Cosmetic companies do likewise, on top of the billions squandered by each company on advertising to convince us firstly, that we need their products and secondly, that their particular products are superior to the 1001 near identical prod-

ucts on the market.

Under socialism we would be unlikely to chose to continue wasting any of these resources, nor any of the unnecessary cruelty that goes with it.

It is also true that a particular area of land could feed more people by growing vegetables or grain than it could through grazing cattle. If people made a collective choice: should we use this land to feed one of us while the rest starve, or should we use it to feed all of us, it isn't hard to see what they would choose.

Despite the propaganda about the inefficiencies of socialism, based upon the myth that the Soviet Union was socialist, socialism is a far more efficient way to run society than capitalism, and as a consequence, far less cruel.

Global warming on the back-burner

► Bala Kumar

Global temperatures are rising as a consequence of climate change, says a report presented to the inter-governmental climate change conference in Berlin.

Each decade sees an average increase of 0.3 degrees celsius, melting polar ice-caps and causing a rise in sea-levels which would inundate 36 small islands making them disappear.

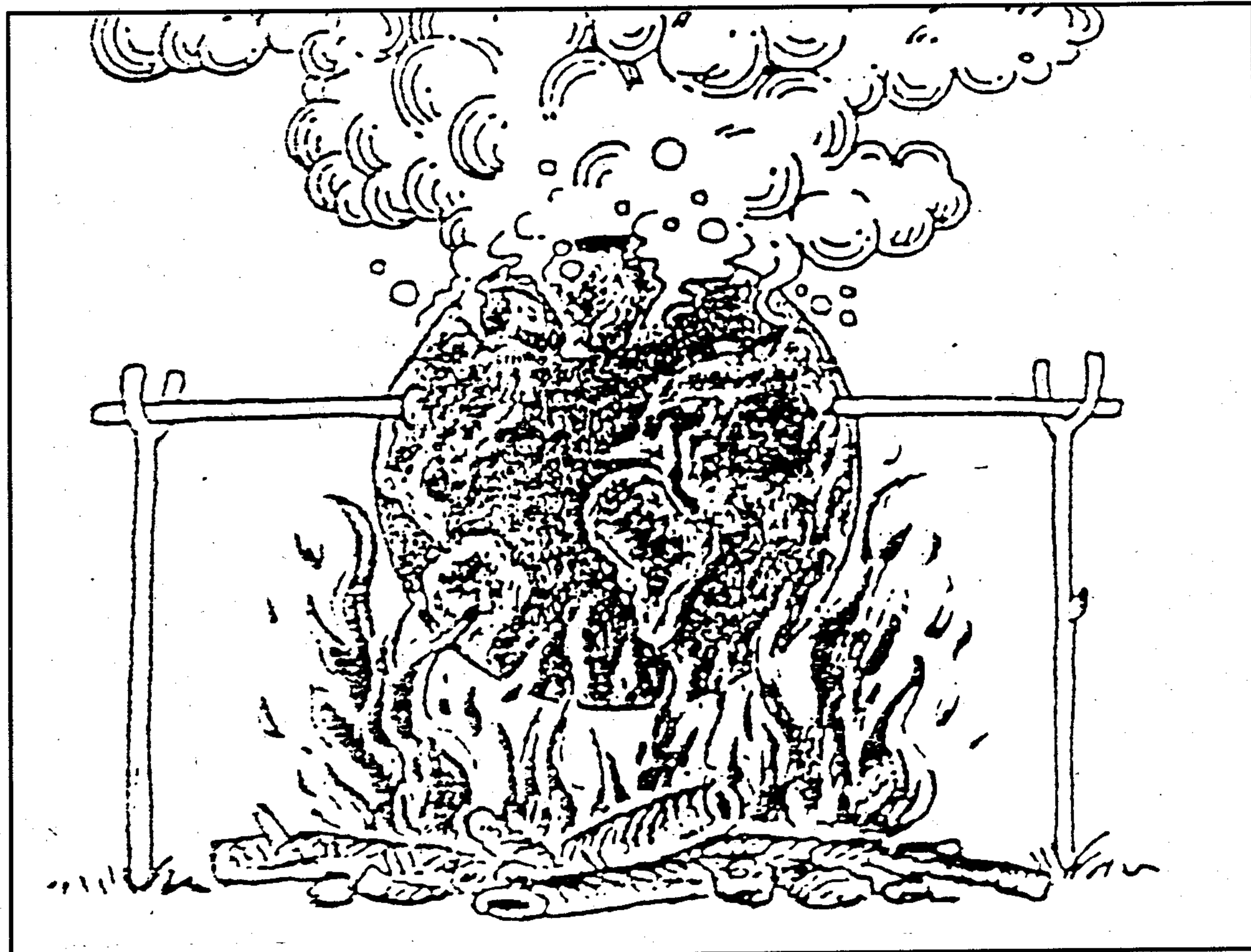
So far global warming has been blamed for everything from droughts in California to floods in Bangladesh and forest fires in Russia. Heat from the sun's rays is trapped on earth by the depletion of the ozone layer in the atmosphere which is responsible for channelling it back into space. This is called the greenhouse effect. Ozone is being eaten away by chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) which are found in aerosol cans and refrigerators.

Presently states are committed to eliminating CFC use by 1996 but it's not the only agent of global warming. Carbon di-

oxide produced in large quantities by the combination of fossil fuels like oil and coal, and nitrous oxide and methane, a by-product of rice cultivation, are also culprits.

Under the 1992 Climate Change Convention, industrialised countries aim to maintain carbon emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. While some countries will meet the goal - which is not a legal obligation - others, like Canada, probably won't. Even if all the major carbon emitters meet the target, it will be too little, too late for many.

At the Berlin conference small island states were pressing industrialised countries to reduce their 1990 level of emissions by a minimum of 20% by 2005. They were to be disappointed. There wasn't even an undertaking about levels of carbon emission beyond the year 2000. This has been deferred to the next Climate conference in Tokyo in 1997. Instead western countries led by Australia, Canada and the USA stonewalled on dealing with the fundamental causes of climate change, backed by oil producing countries such as Saudi



Arabia and Kuwait. Germany and the Scandinavians are far more sympathetic to the Maldives and Marshall Islands than to India and China who are intent on following the western growth model.

25% of the world's peo-

ple living in the rich countries are responsible for 75% of global carbon emissions. The advanced capitalist world won't act to halt global warming because to do so would pose the need for changes in the economic

system and the relationships of power and wealth that flow from it. Reducing carbon emissions means reducing energy use in the West and switching from fossil fuels to renewable energy like sun, wind and water. Oil producing coun-

tries fear loss of revenue. Transnational companies foresee the end of their huge profits and monopoly markets. Natural ways of absorbing carbon dioxide like halting deforestation are opposed by companies currently ex-

ploiting tropical rainforests at unsustainable rates.

On the other hand, countries like Germany and Japan see the market potential in renewable technologies and favour subsidising research in this area and encouraging demand.

Meanwhile, China could soon be a leading source of CFC emissions because of its reliance on the chemical in consumer goods. It claims environmental standards forced on it which never applied to Western countries when they industrialised are a crude form of protectionism.

Western countries barred from using CFCs are now using hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HFCs) which are just as harmful. Greenpeace has developed a refrigerator which doesn't use CFCs but has received no support for its mass production.

Decisive action won't come from capitalist governments or big business, nor within the logic of the market economy. It needs a complete break with unfair, unsustainable patterns of production and consumption.

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Final declaration of the Alternative World Summit:

The Other Voices Of The Planet

AT THE DAWN of the third millennium, humanity has never disposed of so much in terms of material resources and human wealth.

An equitable management of these means would allow everybody to finally accede to well-being and dignity.

And yet, around us, despite the efforts of so many communities, we see only misery, famine, war, despair, ecological catastrophes and rising hatred.

This is not inevitable. The cultural, ecological and social pillage of our common heritage, with its appalling human consequences, is the deed of a minority which manages the world in order to maximise its profits.

Its instruments are the institutions in charge of the planet; the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization. All specialise in a hypo-

critical media discourse, disguising the most appalling and cynical practices. In particular the management of the Debt represents the most formidable instrument of blackmail and terror to the detriment of the rights and dignity of the peoples of the third world.

The people of eastern Europe are now in their turn entering into this terrible process.

The structural adjustment programmes, the mega-projects initiated by the World Bank, the dictatorship of the market deprive people of any autonomous initiative.

Another road is possible.

The cancellation of the third world Debt remains the starting point. This must be accompanied by a freeze on the fortunes stolen by the dictators and often hoarded abroad, so that they can be returned to the local people to contribute to their development.

It is also necessary to abandon a system which attempts to impose a single economic model on the planet, under the pretext of favouring growth and competition. In fact a regime of endless economic war has been inaugurated.

We wish to participate in the construction of a plural world, rich in its diversities, where cooperation between peoples will assure to each the possibility of organising and creating their own future.

The invention of such a future requires some firm decisions.

The women of the South, like those of the North, are the first victims of the so-called economic restructuring policies. Their effective participation in decision-making, and taking into account their needs and interests, must be recognised as priorities.

The attempt to make a part of the world an impregnable fortress has

quickly led to inhumanity. A policy of positive welcome to immigrants must be implemented. As to the right of exile, it must be absolutely respected.

We are told today that the only worthwhile growth is that of consumption. An ecologically viable world implies on the contrary a disassociation between the growth of the market economy and a better quality of life.

Ecology

We affirm that the ecological struggle for the respect of the planet and the political struggle for the emancipation of the peoples is one and the same struggle.

If there is a single sole symbol of the pointless waste of the efforts of humanity, the perverse diversion of creativity, it would be the arms race.

We demand a drastic reduction of military expenditure, the reconversion to civil ends of the armaments industries, an end to the arms trades, first

steps towards an integral disarmament.

We know well that the problems aren't posed in the same way in the North and the South. The solutions are often different.

In the South, too often it amounts to the conquest of elementary political and social rights. An agrarian reform is necessary so as to guarantee the greatest number access to the land.

In the North, the struggle against unemployment implies the creation of millions of socially useful jobs and the reduction of labour time. But what we do know is that we have the same adversary, North and South.

We appeal to all those political parties, trade unions, associations - who struggle against this adversary to unify their efforts and to invent new forms of international solidarity.

Free University, Brussels, March 18 1995.