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Socialist OUTLOOK

NICARAGUA: 15
years on

4-page pull-out
theory + practice

BERNADETTE McALISKEY on
Sinn Fein's big mistake

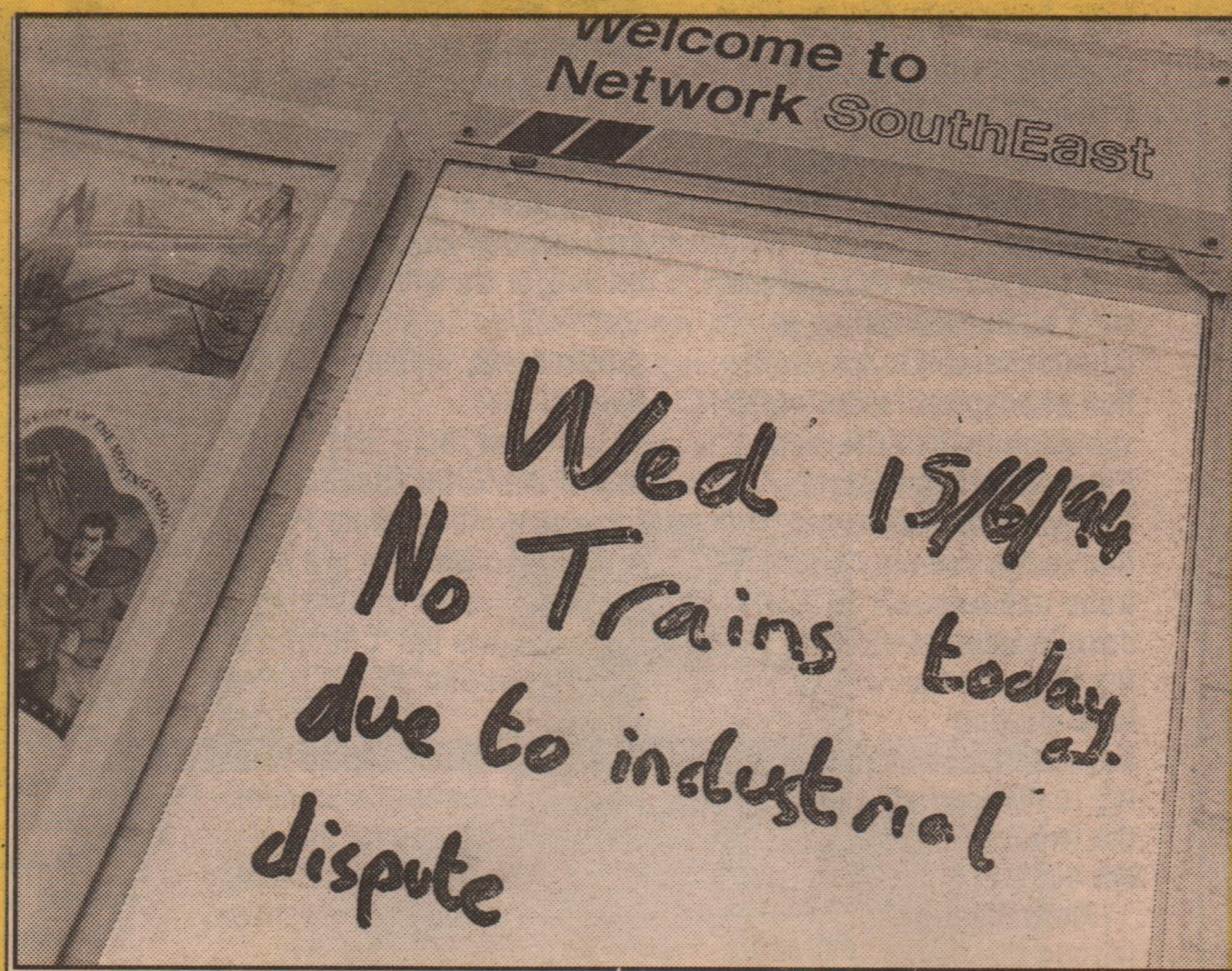
How Mussolini triumphed p13

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BACK SIGNAL STRIKERS!

RAIL, Postal workers fight back – page 5

FIGHT RAIL SELL-OFF MADNESS!



Major steals Blair's jobs gimmick

By Helen Shaw

'WE SHOULD be tough on platitudes and tough on the causes of platitudes' - John McDonnell

'Not so much the vision thing, as the vacuum thing' - Norman Fowler

'The man to reconcile the achievements of the Thatcher era with that strain in labour which owes more to Methodism than Marx' - Daily Telegraph.

AS WE WAIT for the probable coronation of Blair as next Labour leader, the debates on the left about who to vote for change each day, with Prescott and Beckett variously talking left or right according to their audience.

A few notable mistakes - such as Beckett failing to commit herself to the abolition of hospital Trusts whilst speaking to UNISON, and Prescott failing to state boldly his opposition to the anti-trade union laws despite attempting to be the unions' darling have done nothing to distinguish the two contenders against Blair.

More disturbing are the things Prescott Blair has said.

On full employment he wants to reduce the costs to the employer of hiring the long term employed. On industrial relations he says, in line with John Monks of the TUC, 'We need a new *social partnership* at work, where management and employees work together to achieve common aims and goals'.

And 'we need a modern welfare state which is a springboard back to work and does not entrench *dependency*'.

What is there in this that distinguishes Blair from the Tories? Very, very little if anything at all. On the policy free wish of making Labour electable, Blair becoming leader will result in Labour once more being ambushed

by the Tories.

Swathes of Labour activists are voting for Blair because he looks nice, because he's electable, because he doesn't say anything concrete which will annoy the Tory and Liberal Democrat voters Labour thinks it has to filch in order to form the next government.

But already the Tories are presenting their Mr Nice, from the wet side of the party, in the form of Kenneth Clarke. Hints of the contents of Clarke's autumn budget have already appeared in the press. And what does it contain? Surprise, surprise.

The cabinet have agreed to make reform of the welfare system a key theme of the parliamentary session starting in November. They will also make a promise of Tory Party commitment to full employment.

Clarke has asked the treasury to 'improve incentives at the lower end of the income scale' with proposals to tackle the '*dependency culture*' and the '*unemployment trap*'. Clarke believes the government would save money in the long run by providing cash incentives to take people off welfare.

This new move by the government will be announced by employment Minister David Hunt at the TUC full employment conference held on July 5. He will offer a '*partnership for jobs*' between government, industry and the unions.

Last year there was much talk of the 'Clintonisation' of the Labour Party - what we are now also witnessing is the 'Clintonisation' of the Tories!

With the Tories poised to steal Labour's thunder yet again the fight against Blair and the modernisers takes on greater significance.

Voting in the leadership election against Blair is crucial as an indication of opposition to Blair, but the left must continue the fight in the unions and the Labour Party for left policies.

A few slogans are not good enough. The left must be armed with the arguments to counter the Christian Democrat style of Blair et al.

Above all it must fight for the Labour Party to stand with those trade unionists taking strike action on the railways and in the Post Office, those campaigning against hospital closures and defending the welfare state, and for policies which cannot be adapted by the Tories in the run up to the next General Election.



Drawing up support against a human rights outrage: Campsfield protester on June 25

Campsfield: the struggle escalates

By Kathy Kirkham

"HUMAN Rights Outrage" says the giant banner over the road as you approach the Campsfield immigration prison at Kidlington near Oxford.

To protest that outrage dozens of people took part in a boisterous "Drum Out" at the Campsfield immigration prison at Kidlington on June 25.

Demonstrators banged pots and pans, drums and other musical instruments, as well as hanging a giant "Close Down Campsfield" banner, visible to the detainees, on the perimeter fence.

Much to the infuriation of yellow-helmeted Group 4 security guards, detainees heard the noise and drummed back their greetings.

The day after the last demonstration there were disturbances in the prison and 200 riot police moved in to attack prisoners (see back page).

Group 4 heavies equipped with a video camera came outside the perimeter fence to ask the demonstrators to leave, an invitation which was ignored with studied good humour.

Unfortunately the demon-

stration ended on a sour note as one of the participants in the permanent camp outside the perimeter fence, Emma Westwood, was arrested for allegedly etching a large "Close Down Campsfield" slogan in the green paint on the front gate.

The demonstration came seven months after Campsfield was opened, to provide an extra 200 places for immigration prisoners, detained as asylum seekers or for alleged infringement of the racist immigration laws.

The Close Down Campsfield Campaign estimates that, subsequent to last month's hunger strikes when a number of detainees were moved out, the detention centre is nearly full to its 200 capacity again.

As a further sign of the government's growing offensive against alleged immigration offenders, it has been learned that Rochester prison is to establish an 83-bed wing for detainees within a month, and after that a further 200 detainee places are to be created.

New wings

This comes after the news of another four immigration detainee wings at to be set up at

established prisons.

Demonstrations will be held on the last Saturday of each month, to keep up the pressure and to support those at the permanent camp. The Campsfield Human Rights Camp wants people to visit or to stay to raise the morale of the dozen people who have been keeping it going and to help broaden support for it.

Says Chris Park at the camp: "We welcome anyone who can join us whether for a few hours or a few days."

The camp is operating under threat of eviction. It is on Home office land and participants were served last week with a 48-hour notice to quit. There will be a hearing of a notice of eviction at the Royal Courts, The Strand, London at 2pm on 7 July. The hearing will be preceded at 12 noon by a protest lobby.

People unable to join or visit the camp can show their solidarity by phoning the camp on 0374 946031, or by writing to Campsfield Human Rights Camp, Langford Lane, Kidlington, Oxon.

■ Mobilise for the next demonstration outside Campsfield on Saturday 30 July, 12 noon.

Why anti-fascism is not enough to beat racism

A FEW weeks ago over 100,000 people mobilised for an Anti-Nazi League carnival. This of course was a tremendous step in demonstrating the support for mass anti-fascist sentiment. By contrast the recent demonstration outside Campsfield immigration prison, although symbolically very important, mobilised only around 500.

It is not surprising that anti-fascism is easier to understand than the racism of the state, and especially of the immigration laws, for many young people coming into politics for the first time.

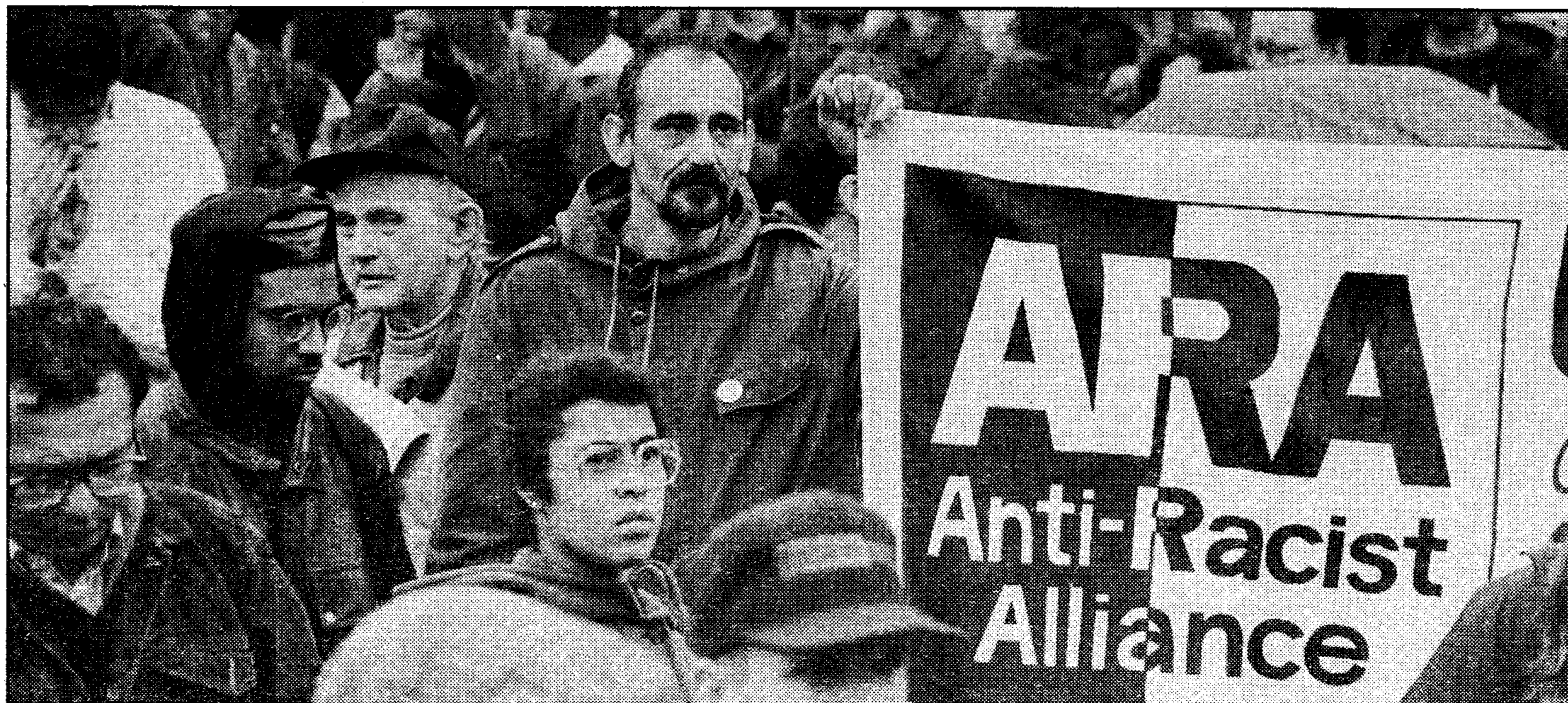
More difficult to understand is the abstention of big sectors of the left on the struggle against state racism. Organisations like the SWP/ANL and Militant's Youth Against Racism in Europe evidently orientate to what will get more immediate support. But such short-term blinkers are ultimately self-defeating: state racism and fascism in Britain and the whole of Europe have a symbiotic relationship, feeding one another.

The fertile ground for fascism is created by the ideology of institutionalised state racism. In particular, throughout the new "Fortress Europe" harsh laws against asylum seekers and refugees proclaim the same message - that "we" are under threat from a flood of economic migrants from the third world and eastern Europe. The poor and dispossessed want to come to use "our" health service and take our jobs, they claim.

Anti-immigrant

In Italy the symbiosis between the ideology of Fortress Europe and the fascists can be easily seen; there is a continuum between the anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner approach of the Northern League and the outright fascism of the National Alliance.

In Britain the BNP nazis and other fascist groups organise and inspire racist attacks which are a constant danger to sections of the black community. But immigration laws are also a constant danger, in many ways a more persistent and threatening danger, to the black



Demonstrators outside Campsfield pin-point state racism



community.

Black people arrested for any offence are now likely to have their immigration status checked. Suspicion of "overstaying" is being used by the police as the new "sus" law to stop and harass black people. As the mass arrest of Jamaicans last Christmas showed, black people just

visiting this country are likely to be summarily arrested and detained in the Fortress Europe clampdown.

Immigration officers now have enormous discretion to detain - indefinitely - anyone seeking asylum in this country. Last year six thousand people were processed in immigration prisons like Haslar, Harmondsworth and Campsfield. And every year the toll of deportations, including of immigrants whose presence is deemed "not to be conducive to the public good" goes on.

Of course the struggle against the fascists is very important, and anti-fascist activity needs to be supported. But the same applies to the struggle against the ideology and practices which give the fascists a new lease of life.

How can the SWP/ANL say "never again" about the persecution of racial minorities when they don't lift a finger to aid the fight against Campsfield and the immigration

laws? There is no need to counterpose the struggle against fascism to the struggle against state racism.

Maybe there are many people who will oppose the fascists but don't understand the struggle against state racism. There is no need for left wing and revolutionary organisations to be similarly confused.

Unemployment

In the end the fight against racism and fascism also needs to become a fight against the social conditions which give rise to it - and in particular unemployment. The way in which the labour movement and much of the left have simply accepted mass unemployment as a fact of life is stunning.

The French campaign which mobilised 40,000 people on the streets five weeks ago in favour of a 35-hour week with no loss of pay made a material contribution to the fight against the social conditions which give rise to racism and fascism. They want to spread their campaign to the whole of Europe. We should do everything possible to support them.

Donations roll in for memorial to Bob Smith

"A man of great charm and warmth personally, and deep conviction politically.."

One of the many messages which *Socialist Outlook* has received about the death of Birmingham supporter Bob Smith came from retired teacher David Spilsbury last week. He writes:-

"I bought a copy of *Socialist Outlook* at last night's Birmingham District Labour Party meeting and learned for the first time of the death of

Bob Smith. It was a great shock.

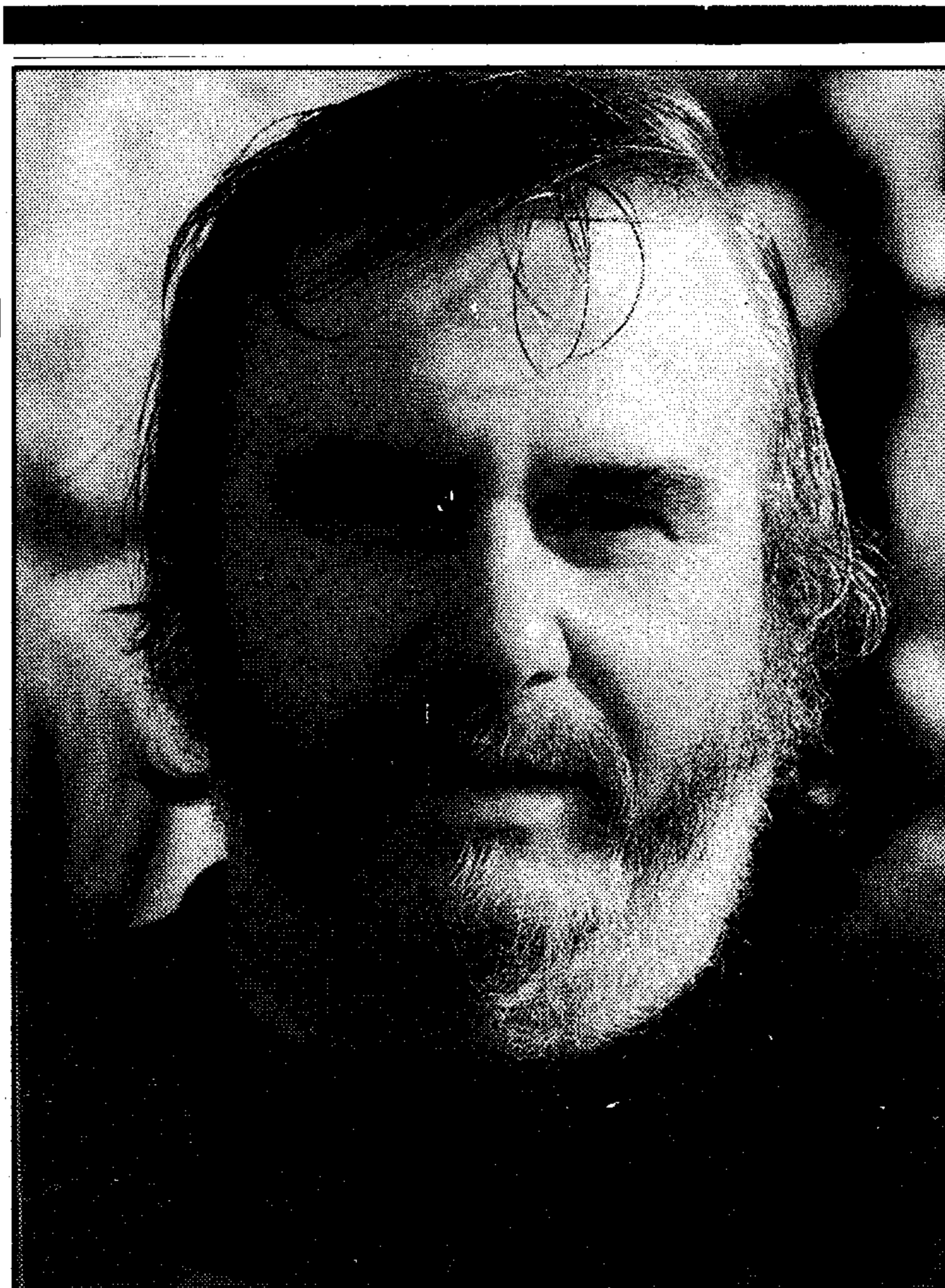
"I have known Bob since the mid-1970s when we were involved in ANL in Birmingham and setting up Birmingham CARF.

"Bob was a dedicated anti-racist and anti-fascist, a man of great charm and warmth personally, and deep conviction politically. We met often, on demonstrations and meetings and he never failed to be friendly and comradely, while always raising pertinent political issues.

"I shall miss Bob and enclose a small token of commemoration. It is post-dated to match payment of my pension."

Socialist Outlook is honouring Bob Smith by producing a memorial volume of writings on racism and fascism, and raising a fund to continue his political work.

Please send as much as you can to: *Socialist Outlook*, PO Box 1009, London N4 2UU. make cheques out to "Bob Smith Memorial Fund".



Bob Smith

EDITORIAL

What's criminal about Tories' new 'Justice' Bill

Michael Howard's controversial new Criminal Justice Bill will be enacted before Parliament goes into its summer recess. to find out more, HELEN SHAW spoke to Liberty's CONOR FOLEY



Protests like fight against the M11 could fall foul of the new laws

THE TORY GOVERNMENT has a wide ranging agenda behind the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill which is likely to be on the statute book by August.

Crime has increased massively over the past 15 years and its particularly galling for a party that prides itself on law and order to have presided over that.

Their simplistic answer is to give the police more powers and the defendant fewer rights.

This does not work, the police have been given more and more powers by the Tories yet crime has continued to increase. There's clearly an element of populism here, a kind of saloon bar approach to law and order.

The really outrageous part of the process is their response to the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice. It was set up in March 1991 because concern about the wrongful conviction of innocent people had reached such a fever pitch that fundamental reform was necessary. For all its faults the Commission argued that the right to silence should be retained.

By proposing abolition the government is ignoring the evidence of miscarriages of jus-

justice, the bulk of the legal profession and the Royal Commission recommendation.

When the Bill was published Liberty immediately focused on the right to silence taking out newspaper adverts and organising lobby's. The workload is overwhelming with over two hundred cases where we believe the safety of conviction is in doubt.

We made alliances with individual family campaigns. They were primarily organised by working class people, disproportionately from ethnic minorities. If the right to silence is abolished there will be even more miscarriages of justice.

In public order terms we've been arguing that the government is attempting to criminalise diversity and dissent with the Bill. This government has played the race card and the trade union card repeatedly.

It has run out of enemies and we think that in scapegoating people whose lifestyles are different - the stereotype of crusties with dogs on a bit of string they are creating a new enemy within *all young people*.

It fits into a general Conservative ethos which is hostile to

diversity and dissent, which is conformist, which is deferential and which considers multiculturalism to be something to be frowned upon rather than something to be celebrated. It is an ideological piece of legislation promoting the present



Home Secretary Howard governments vision of a bland conformist society.

What's been remarkable is that the idea that young people are not interested in politics, has been completely confounded. On May 1, over 10,000 people demonstrated against the Bill in Trafalgar Square.

The demonstration was built

almost entirely by word of mouth. Since then we've had people speaking at marches and rallies on a weekly basis. At Glastonbury it was the political issue that everyone was talking about.

The next stage will be when the bill reaches the statute books - probably July 21. The latest information is that as soon as the new Labour leader is elected the government will enact the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill and put parliament into recess.

We plan to have a Public Order monitoring project in place by the beginning of August to collect and publish information on what the police are actually doing and send legal observers to events because we think that their presence will embarrass the police when they come to enforcing their new powers.

We will also be seeking to draft a bill to safeguard the right to peaceful protest aimed at safeguarding peoples right to engage in non-violent direct action.

There has been complacency and a lack of understanding in the labour movement about the

way 'aggravated trespass' can be used. Importantly it can be used against pickets. The trade unions should be explaining the implications of the Bill to their members and shop stewards.

If the employer owns the pavement pickets are committing the offence of 'aggravated trespass' and the police can arrest them or tell them to move. If they don't they are committing another criminal offence. It's been an uphill struggle getting those arguments across and I think we probably haven't yet.

What can be done now is to see how the Bill is enacted by having observers out there and that depends on resources. Now we really need people to join Liberty because we're just totally overstretched.

What we say to the direct action people is 'keep on keeping on'. We've argued that this is a fundamental assault on people rights - that its going to criminalise numerous activities but we don't want to scare people out of activity.

It's a bit like Section 28 which has been interpreted as a threat and has curbed the activity of local authorities because they have allowed it to.

In terms of aggravated trespass, well there's Dolly at Wanstead who's 90 who's committing the offence. Are they going to put her in prison for three months? For trespassing in her own home. Either they will do it, bring the law into disrepute and make martyrs of people or they won't in which case should be repealed. This is definitely the start of the more active phase of the campaign.

More information from: Liberty, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1.

Local government workers: it's time for action!

By Paul Wozny, Hampshire UNISON

JEAN GELDART, Joint-Chair of UNISON's Local Government Executive got a rough ride from delegates at a Southern Region "consultation" meeting on Tuesday, 28 June.

The "insulting" pay offer, working out at 3.2% over two years, is the lowest offer in the public sector. Delegates blamed the weakness and incompetence of the national

leadership for the disastrous offer.

National negotiations will resume on July 6. Management are not expected to substantially improve their offer. UNISON members must be on their guard, the national leadership may use any concession as an excuse to accept the offer.

The Southern Region of UNISON demanded a fighting response to the offer. Key demands include:-

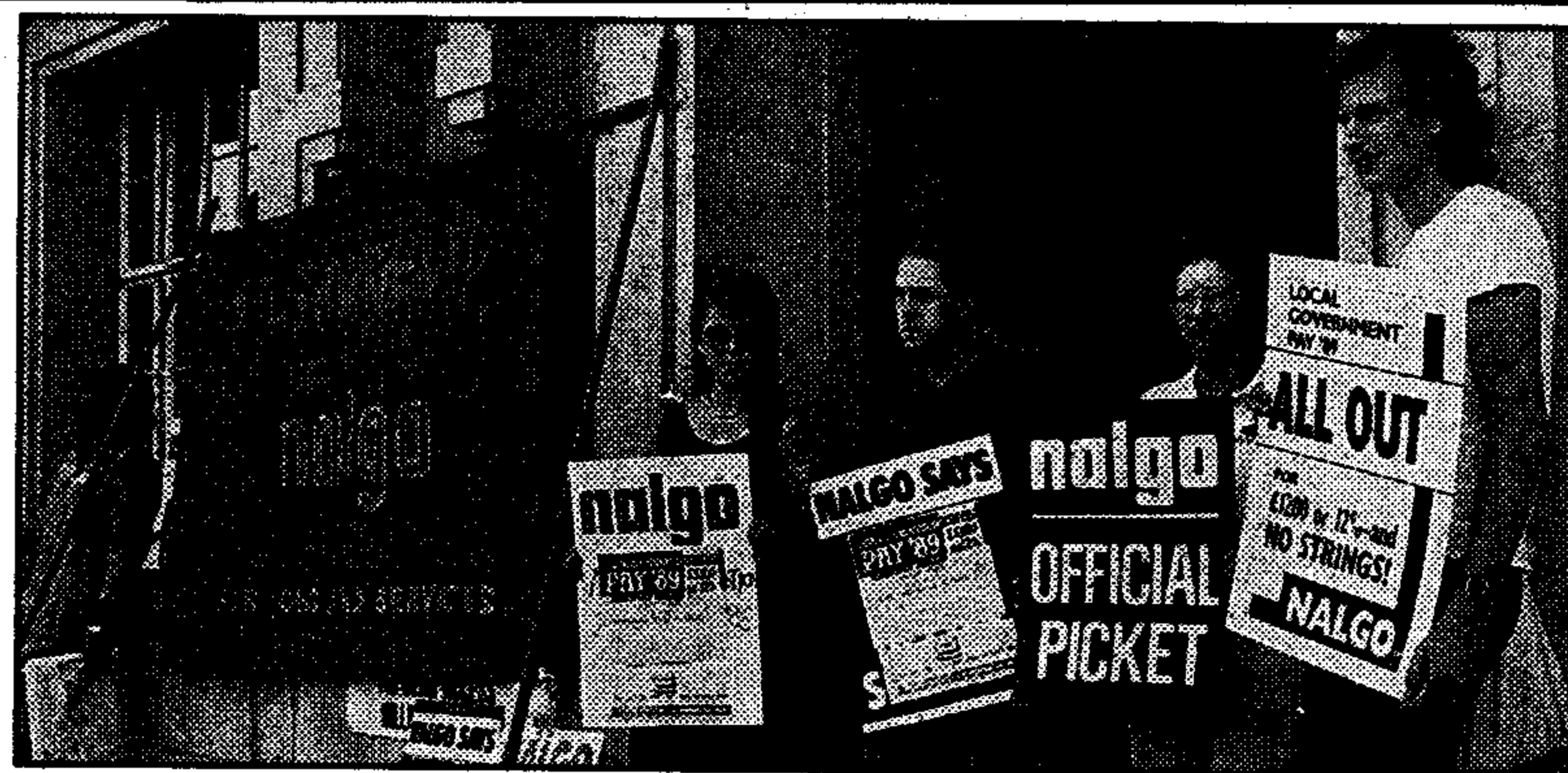
- A flat rate pay increase of £750 for this year, no two year deal.
- A recall Local Govern-

ment Conference to decide on a programme of industrial action.

● Separate balloting of the manual and white-collar sections, for industrial action.

Most UNISON members want unified pay and conditions for the two sectors. Unfortunately, the UNISON leadership have been playing the sectors off against each other in order to sabotage any potential action.

Although the pay offers for the two sectors are identical and the settlement dates are



Time to fight again for public sector pay

due to be equalised in 1996, there has been no move to unify the national conditions for the two sectors or any strategy by the national leadership to bring it about.

UNISON's leadership are cynically manipulating the manual sector. They are using a separate consultation procedure for the different sectors to postpone any possible ballot for industrial action until after September 1, the current settlement date for that sector

(the white-collar settlement date is July 1). UNISON activists must fight for a unified pay campaign. But it must be a fighting unity. If we wait until September, we risk demoralisation in the stronger, white collar sector, which could mean no action is taken.

We must move to ballot for industrial action in the white collar sector as soon as possible. Any delay only plays into the hands of management.

Benefit staff stay solid

BENEFIT workers in Birmingham are still out on strike after 14 weeks. A month ago the Labour council instructed Councillor Bill Gray to try and negotiate a settlement.

These talks have been tedious and slow. However on June 30 the negotiators excelled themselves by making a derisory offer which will only benefit 37 out of the 300 staff. A large members' meeting of UNISON unanimously rejected this offer.

Signal staff step up fight

By Greg Tucker,
RMT Southern
District Secretary

The RMT signalworkers strike has been 100 per cent successful in terms of RMT members called out. The only way trains have run has been by pressure being applied to supervisors and managers to work the signal boxes.

In many cases this has meant the service being run by people who are not properly trained in their operation.

The RMT has raised the matter with the Health and Safety Executive who have so far ignored them.

The union has decided to ballot supervisors in response to the unreasonable pressure being applied on them to do this work.

Lies

Railtrack have continually lied about what's on offer in the negotiations. The public perception of Railtrack incompetence is actually part of a deliberate strategy to confuse.

In the last round of negotiations Railtrack purported to be offering a six per cent award worth over £4 million

in fact none of this is new money and at best could only be seen to be a three and a half per cent increase for a limited period. Many staff would be taking a wage cut.

However much this galls the RMT bureaucracy even they can't stomach this offensive offer.

The General Grades committee agreed to extend the dispute by instigating a special strike fund, organising a rally and demonstration, producing a leaflet for mass distribution to the public and on Monday 4 July will discuss further action which will include moving to two days of strike action per week - probably Tuesday and Thursday.

Green light

That the dispute has got this far is to the credit of the left in the union. These decisions now give the green light for the broader labour movement to build solidarity and what we want to see now is the formation of support committees to help get the message across, to raise money for the strike fund and to build the demonstration.

The government has chosen this dispute as the fight to have over the pay freeze and the labour movement must do everything it can to ensure the signal workers win.



Still fighting on: Birmingham benefits staff have rejected sell-out deal

First class action fights Mail sell-off

By a postal worker

A WAVE of unofficial disputes in the Post Office this summer has shown the continued militancy of UCW members faced with the threat of postal privatisation.

The disputes have touched every part of the country and ranged from a few hours to several days.

At the end of June a walk out in Milton Keynes over the recruitment of casuals to cut overtime payments showed the determination of UCW members not to bow down to Royal Mail management's bullying tactics. Despite a court injunction by the end of the week 18 offices were involved in strike action.

With the very real threat of a national dispute the management made a number of guarantees to the UCW that the recruitment of casuals would be negotiated and that nobody would be victimised - as a result of this Milton Keynes returned to work.

When they returned to work Royal Mail management insisted on their right to recruit an unlimited number of casual workers to clear the backlog of mail. The response was another walk out by Milton Keynes UCW members that quickly

spread to Northampton.

The management withdrew some of the threats and the members voted to return to work. The strike was a determined stand against a management attack which was clearly in defiance of the law.

The backdrop of this dispute is the change of Post Office management's tactics in the run up to postal privatisation. It is no coincidence at the number of disputes in the Post Office. The management is openly in favour of postal privatisation as shown by their enthusiastic support for Michael Heseltine's Green paper on postal services.

This is encouraging local managers to take a more aggressive attitude. The response from UCW members is growing increasingly confident with each dispute as shown by the solidarity shown to Milton Keynes.

This makes a full scale confrontation possible, but it is clearly not what the UCW leadership wants.

The UCW's response to the Green Paper has been to step up its campaign with the slogan "Save the Post Office, write a letter". The UCW wants to mobilise the widespread opposition to privatisation by organising an intensive campaign of public activity during the summer period.

The UCW's aim will be to

get a clear commitment from a number of Tories to vote against the Heseltine preferred option of 51 per cent privatisation. This is taking the union down the dangerous path already followed by the miners in October 1992.

It is quite likely that the UCW will successfully mobilise public opinion in opposition to privatisation and even commit a number of Tory MPs to oppose it. But when faced with defeat the government are quite capable of moving the goalposts by a few percentage points of privatisation to win over troublesome backbenchers.

There is clearly a need for a tactical debate within the UCW about how to make the campaign against privatisation most effective. The UCW will be demobilised if it rules out the use of industrial action in the face of aggressive management attacks and likely tactical shifts by Heseltine.

The UCW should be quite upfront that it is quite prepared to use industrial action as part of the campaign to defeat privatisation whatever tactic is used to make the strike "legal".

This would strengthen the campaign by mobilising UCW members for positive action to stop any privatisation and catch the imagination of millions of workers looking for an issue to attack the government.

Women's pit protest continues at Parkside gates

By Sheila Gregory,
Lancs WAPC

IN THE EARLY morning of 24 June, people gathered in Newton-le-Willows to embark on the latest successful action defending Parkside colliery. It is a profitable pit: the last deep mine in Lancashire.

We aimed to take control of the pit lanes again, in order to obstruct limestone intended for

filling in the pit shafts. Once the shafts are filled, the coal at Parkside will be lost forever. It will squander both 2,000 jobs and a natural asset.

Seventy of us quietly walked down the road then surged through the gates. The gates had been hastily erected a month earlier when bailiffs and police evicted the pit camp from Parkside. Security guards tried to prevent us getting onto the pit while police stood by, awaiting orders.

After we sat blocking the lane,

police and security guards turned back the lorries of stone. While Lancashire Women Against Pit Closures and their supporters sent out for seventy breakfasts, reporters asked for the usual interviews. Another success!

British Coal however weren't so happy. Colliery manager Nixon raced over to get a Warrington Court order to remove us. By lunch he was back, sent packing by the judge without his order, to hear us refuse to leave once more.

By noon, the lorries we were turning back had been stopped at source.

We had clapped and cheered each other as we had blocked the only entrance to the pit. Our discipline, exact planning and determination has once again won the day. We left at five.

British Coal, not knowing when we would return, sent no further lorries that day or Saturday before a slower delivery of the limestone started on Monday lunchtime.

The pit camp continues

round-the-clock, just 20 yards from the spot we started 18 months earlier. It is a rallying point for or fight for the pit. From the camp we go out and support the struggles of others. This is how we have grown and survived. Our support has increased as we have joined others in struggle.

Our fight to save Parkside will continue as long as the twin towers stand, and the mineshafts remain unfilled. We fight for our communities. Parkside belongs to them. It belongs to us all.

South African unions seek unity

By Charlie van Gelderen

WHILE the attention of the world has, understandably, been fixed on the historic political transformation in South Africa, the trade union movement has been girding itself for the struggles which still lie ahead in the industrial field.

At a meeting of the full executives of the three most important trade union federations – Cosatu, the Federation of South African Labour (Fedsal) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) – on April 15, a broad consensus was reached on the national priorities and policies of the labour movement.

The meeting also took im-

portant steps towards trade union unity.

Co-operation between Cosatu and Fedsal began during the campaign against VAT. The setting up of the National Economic Forum and the restructuring of the National Manpower Commission drove home the need for progressive sections of the movement to have common positions on a range of crucial economic and labour issues, such as the fight against lock-outs, centralised collective bargaining and GATT negotiations.

Kick-start

The move towards trade union unity was given a kick-start by the establishment of a single employers' federation in March.

The election result has also lessened the tensions within the

movement between sections supporting different political tendencies.

The dynamics of social change – at national, sectoral and shop floor, have forced the movement to take the issue of trade union unity more seriously.

There was general recognition that the post-election period will bring new problems and that "political affiliations will not be allowed to stand in the way of workers unity".

Two other union federations were not involved in the April 15 meeting, The Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FITU) and the South African Federation of Labour (Sacol).

FITU has previously refused to be part of any other federation because of their alleged partisanship towards one or other political organisation; and



'One industry, One union' is basic demand

Salcol is an all-white union.

The meeting of the three major federations decided to work with other unions, but not to allow their non-involvement to delay the unity process.

A task group, consisting of the office-bearers of the three federations, was set up to produce detailed proposals for the unity process.

It was also agreed to open a debate within each of the three federations.

The trade union movement recognises that despite the existence of a democratically-elected government, the bosses remain a powerful force in South Africa and that this power can only be curbed by a united working class.

Power struggle ahead in Nigeria's drilling fields

By Paul Walker

The latest in Nigeria's succession of military leaders General Sani Abacha attended Mandela's accession to

power in Pretoria in what was seen as a public provocation to the mass movement for democracy in Nigeria.

For most of its 34 year post-colonial independence Nigeria has been ruled by a succession of military regimes with the oc-

casional temporary foray into quasi-democratic rule.

The latest experiment was the democratic elections of June 1993, which were clearly won by Moshood Abiola's Social Democratic Party and annulled by the military two weeks later.

Today, Nigeria stands on the brink of general strikes, regional insurrection and fierce military repression. The problem for the military leadership, the IMF and the oil companies is that the workers and peasants of Nigeria take seriously the talk of democratic transition in Africa and their patience is running out.

Striking for democracy

As we go to press the oil and gas workers of Nigeria are preparing to strike to bring down the military regime.

Aware that events in South Africa would impact on Nigeria, Abacha instituted local elections for a national constitutional assembly in early 1994 with the supposed remit of deciding how the transition to democracy would take place.

The elections were boycotted with many Nigerians sceptical of the process and no longer believing promises that have been broken a thousand times before – re-inforced by the announcement that the military would have the right to nominate one third of the 273 delegates to attend the assembly.

Parallel to this strategy has been increasing repression against the leadership of the Campaign for Democracy and the newly formed National Democratic Convention. Abiola

has been arrested after coming out of hiding and several senators critical of the military have also been taken into detention. In a clear build up to wide spread repression Abacha visited the main barracks of the Nigerian military and police force (trained by the British military) to announce a 40% pay rise.

Nigeria's 'Kuwait'

Repression is most severe in oil rich south east Nigeria. Known as "Nigeria's Kuwait" the local environment has been devastated by drilling and production activities carried out by Shell and Chevron oil companies.

The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) demands for basic environmental and social rights were met with repeated massacres of the people and the arrest of its leaders.

Since May more than 50 members of the Ogoni ethnic group have been executed during security forces attacks on thirty Ogoni villages in south east Nigeria.

This offensive, known as "Restoration of Law and Order in Ogoniland", indicates an intensification of military activity in a region which borders an area of disputed oil-rich land with Cameroon.

It is not out of the question that Cameroon's much more powerful neighbour could stir up a military conflict to divert attention away from the political and financial crisis at home.

Economic chaos

Military spending has quadrupled as a percentage of GNP and

health spending decreased by a third since 1970. The Nigerian economy is riddled with corruption. Such rich picking are, of course, what remains after the IMF and the World Bank has expropriated most of the economic surplus without the opposition of the Nigerian ruling class.

For the multinationals this was not so much of a problem as long as the oil flowed and the rigour of IMF structural adjustment programmes were adhered to. Now even that has ended. In a panicked attempt to control a disintegrating economy the military has recently increased direct control over scarce foreign exchange and export finance in an attempt to prevent food shortages in urban centres in an attempt to pacify growing dissatisfaction with the economic chaos.

British arms

After Abacha's formal seizure of power in October 1993 the British government cut off development grants but agreed to maintain the supply of Mark 3 Tanks produced by Vickers in Newcastle and Leeds.

Imperialism understands where its long term interests lie – with the Nigerian ruling class which is subservient to international capital and which stands for repression of movements led by workers' action towards the resolution of any significant democratic demands.

Do not be surprised if the blood of Nigerian workers and peasants is spilt at the hands of the British-trained Nigerian military and with the use of British supplied military equipment.

WORLD OUTLOOK

Britain Must Go!
after **25** years
for Peace

AUGUST 14 marks the 25th anniversary of the re-deployment of British troops onto the streets of the North of Ireland. 25 years of bloodshed, repression, division and grief. On August 13 people in Britain will demonstrate for British withdrawal from Ireland and the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

Assemble at Kennington Park (Oval tube)

12 noon, SATURDAY August 13

The march organisers (Troops Out Movement, Irish in Britain Representation Group, Labour Party Irish Society, Women & Ireland, are inviting sponsorship from individuals and labour movement organisations. Early sponsors include the Socialist Campaign Group of MPs.

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Chinese workers challenge "market stalinism"

By Paul Clarke

CHINA'S economy is the fastest-growing in the world, recording scores of more than 13 per cent growth in 1992 and 1993.

No more dramatic example could be found of the dictum that economic growth, without a profound change in the social relations in society, cannot alone improve the conditions of the working class.

For economic growth in China is accompanied by a huge attack on fundamental gains of the Chinese revolution.

The attempt to move to a market economy is resulting in millions of workers being made redundant and a huge growth in the numbers of urban and rural unemployed.

In 1993 in Heilongjiang province alone more than two million workers were sacked. Private entrepreneurs are replacing state-owned firms with thousands of sweatshops, which have low wages, long hours and unsafe working conditions.

The use of illegal child labour is an epidemic. And the numbers of workers killed or injured in industrial accidents has risen dramatically.

To make matters worse, 13 per cent economic growth is accompanied by inflation at around 20 per cent a year, eating away at the livelihood of every worker.

Strikes

Chinese workers are not taking this offensive lying down. Since March of this year there have been major strikes and go-slows in Shenyang, Dalian, Hengdu, Shenzhen and other major cities.

Labour unrest is particularly acute in the north east of the country, the centre for many of the state-owned heavy industries. More than 300 strikes and protests occurred in march and April this year in the north east provinces of Anhui, Heilongjiang, Gansu, Liaoning, Shaanxi and Sichuan. Some of these strikes lasted more than 40 days and involved more than 200,000 people.

According to *China Labour Bulletin* there have been two huge protest demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people in the industrial towns of Harbin and Qiqihar, both in Heilongjiang province. One



report said that some workers committed suicide in front of government officials, while others chanted "We want to survive, we want to eat".

Nothing scares China's Stalinist leaders more than organised labour protests. Some of the harshest prison sentences doled out after the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre was against organisers of the Federation of Autonomous Trade Unions.

Thus Communist party leaders have attempted to head-off the present wave of protest by extending unemployment benefits and passing new laws protecting workers living conditions. These however are mainly symbolic.

Another ploy has been to heap the blame on "foreign entrepreneurs" and to encourage unionisation of new enterprises by the tame official All-China Federation of Trade Unions. But "unofficial" labour activism is still being harshly repressed and workers' demonstrations brutally broken up.

State-owned

More than two thirds of all Chinese workers still work in state-owned industries, giving the lie to claim by many ex-Maoists that capitalism has already been restored. Nonetheless China's leaders aim to subordinate the state sector to the "laws of the market" by making them compete against de-regulated private firms.

Official government estimates claim that 20 million of

the 109 million state workforce are "surplus to requirements". Others say that this is a massive underestimate.

The structure of employment will change drastically as the "iron rice bowl" is gradually broken. Large numbers of workers in state industry, up to 40 per cent, are "non-core" workers, employed in company nurseries, clinics, cafes and other facilities which have been part of the employment gains made by Chinese workers since the 1949 revolution.

Bankruptcies

These "non-core" workers will gradually be eliminated. But the crunch issue, as in Russia, will be whether the government allows state-owned firms to go bankrupt. Since 1988, 1000 enterprises have been allowed to close down on financial grounds.

But this in China's huge economy is a tiny number. For the moment the central bank continues to pay out subsidies to state enterprises.

So long as the rules of the market are applied, this cannot continue. According to the State Statistical Bureau 34.2 per cent of all state firms made a "loss" in 1992, and that figure had increased to 49.6 per cent in 1993.

With a state budget deficit of \$15bn a new clampdown on central government subsidies is in the offing, with the potential for huge numbers of bankruptcies.

Official statistics claim that unemployment in China is 2.6

per cent. But these figures do not include around 200 million "surplus" rural workers, unable to find jobs. Mechanisation and the vastly improved efficiency of agriculture since the 1979 reforms have created a rural employment crisis.

An estimated 30 million people have drifted from the countryside to the cities to become the new urban poor, unemployed and forced into a marginal, squalid existence in ghettos, especially in the coastal towns.

About 30 million Chinese work in foreign-owned firms, but this is on 5 per cent of the workforce; 10 million new workers come onto the labour market each year.

As a result of all these changes the social fabric of China is rotting. Corruption among national and local party cadres is rampant, and law and order is totally breaking down.

The police are deeply involved in criminal activities in every major city. Travellers are regularly shaken-down by roaming gangs, and a huge culture of violence and street-gangs has developed among youth.

The only response from the Communist Party leadership to this growing crisis is repression, but with corruption and crime so all-pervasive this repression is ineffective.

The general model which Deng Xiao-ping's regime has promoted is that of "market Stalinism" - market reforms plus an increasingly authoritarian police regime, with the

Communist Party trying to stamp out all unofficial dissident activity. Each year the number of death sentences, and those sent to labour camps increases. Last year there were more than 2000 executions, while there are more than a million in the labour camps.

While trying to keep tight control, the CCP leadership has in fact created an explosive cocktail. There is mass unemployment and growing inequality in the cities. There is a stagnation in rural incomes and millions of rural unemployed.

Corruption

As the corruption and exploitation of sweatshop workers deepens, as poverty increases against the conspicuous luxury of the party elite and new middle class, the strikes and demonstrations of recent months will be repeated. The scenario is one of a fast-growing economy descending into social chaos.

This is compounded by conflicts inside the ruling bureaucracy, especially regional conflicts between the leaders of the coastal special economic zones, the vector for much foreign investment, and the central government.

Unless the Chinese workers are able to forge a political alternative to challenge the ruling bureaucracy's rush to destroy the collectivised economy with its associated gains for the workers, a unified Chinese state could collapse into civil war between regional bureaucratic warlords.



Bernadette McAliskey

“No organisation has the right to unilaterally call off our struggle”

Sinn Fein's fundamental error

By Bernadette McAliskey

Bernadette McAliskey was a key leader of the Northern Irish civil rights movement and of the “Battle of the Bogside” Derry uprising in 1969 which exploded the Irish national question into contemporary politics.

Surviving a brutal Loyalist assassination attack in January 1981, which left her gravely injured with multiple gunshot wounds, she has continued to fight for the nationalist cause from a socialist perspective, despite not being a member of the mainstream nationalist Sinn Fein. Here we reprint her speech, sharply rejecting the “peace process” in its present form, at the Briefing AGM in London on July 2.

IF YOU LOOK at the parallels between Ireland, Palestine and South Africa and if we evaluate them politically, those three struggles can politically clarify us on the principles underlying the oppression of those people - and the principles underlying the struggle against that oppression.

Those of us involved in the struggle against imperialism can directly learn from one another. That's why we in Ireland try to get our hands on everything we can about the fight of the PLO and the ANC.

I can tell you that where I live, in a small Irish rural community, watching Yasser Arafat, we felt a profound anxiety about the Oslo talks. When the Oslo accords were signed in Washington, the 16 or 17-year old Republican kids in Coalisland painted a huge slogan on the wall, a very funny pun: “Yasser in the Middle East - No Sir in Coalisland!”.

They recognised not only that a mistake of historic proportions had been made by the Palestinians, but they were in imminent danger of a similar mistake being made by their own leadership. Exactly the same mistake.

While we were debating and discussing in the Republican community, it was heartbreaking to me that people who could see quite clearly what was going wrong in Palestine were making the same mistake in the Six Counties.

I think that the situation in Palestine has frightening parallels with that which the Irish struggle faced in the 1920s. Michael Collins, in the leadership of the movement then, claimed that the partition deal done with the British was “the freedom to win freedom”.

The “freedom to win freedom”, the division of Ireland into two states, led to a strengthening of British imperialism and a weakening of the Irish national liberation struggle; I think in Palestine it will lead to a strengthening of Israel and a weakening of the Palestinian struggle. It confuses the issue, and it divides the people.

What you get as an end result is a Palestinian policeman, faced with an unfinished struggle and Palestinian dissidents. What you get is a “Free Stater”. That's what we call them. What you get is a Blueshirt. What you get is a right-wing member of the Garda, like we have in the Southern Irish state, who doesn't have time to deal with drug pushers or rape, because the whole mind-set of his organisation is set on hunting down Republican activists.

With these kind of deals you end up further complicating the issue, because what you don't



Women demonstrate against H-block special prison wings

have, whatever the decision is, is a democratic development from the bottom up. And in Ireland we are making exactly the same mistake.

Ireland divided

THE BRITISH created a divided Ireland after the war of independence. Having demobilised the struggle, and after the partition of Ireland, having set in train the civil war in the South, the British were very effective in neutralising the progressive forces in Ireland.

People in Southern Ireland prefer not to tell you that the civil war was *lost* - or won, depending which side you're on. They just tell you that there was a civil war, it just happened, and then we went on to build the 26-county state.

After the civil war, most of the progressive elements of Irish society had been forced to emigrate, were imprisoned or so demoralised that they fled to the mountains, or they fought and died in the Spanish civil war.

That's what happened to the progressive elements in Irish society - except for the nationalist community in the North. The issue was fragmented and we were forgotten about. The British continued to oversee and finance the undemocratic state in the North, and it continued that way until the mass civil rights movement exploded in the Six Counties in the late 1960s.

We have had 25 years of unbroken struggle; and that is represented outside of Ireland as 25 years of “the Troubles”. I assure you the trouble has all been ours. We have had 25 years of overt military occupation. Many people who have been to the West Bank, or to South African townships in this last period of struggle, will tell you that the intensity of military occupation is *higher* in the North of Ire-

land. So we have had 25 years of unbroken struggle, but somehow this becomes 25 years of “war”, or 25 years of “terrorism” if you believe the British. But what has not been recognised is the breadth of struggle at the base, which is not just the “war”.

This has been expressed in community organisations, in women's organisations, in prisoners' welfare organisations a dense mass of people's self-organisation. That has been the base of struggle in the North.

The political leadership and manifestation of that struggle has been Sinn Fein. Without doubt, the biggest and unchallenged leadership of that struggle has been Sinn Fein. And in terms of the military struggle, the leadership has been in the Irish Republican Army.

It is irrelevant what you think of these forces, those are the three main elements of the struggle - militarily the IRA, politically Sinn Fein, and a huge network of base organisations, many of those organisations inter-meshed with Sinn Fein, but many outside it.

This was the situation of the movement when we started to share the experience of the Palestinians. That's where we were when we discovered the “talks process” - going back to the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 and then the “constitutional talks” which broke down at this time last year.

The constitutional talks did not break down because of intransigence by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the only organisation based on the northern nationalist community allowed to take part. They did not break down because of intransigence by the Irish government. Both were prepared to concede Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution which states that the Northern Six Counties are part of the territory of Ireland.

IRELAND UNFREE



'Arafat's deal will lead to Palestinian 'blueshirts''

In fact these Articles are not in the gift of the SDLP or the Irish government. They are not a territorial claim, but a statement of fact on behalf of the Irish people. That the future of Ireland is in the hands of the people of Ireland. This is laughed at by Britain, which is so backward that it does not even have a written constitution!

Thus the constitutional talks did not fail because the SDLP and the Irish government were prepared to concede nothing. They were prepared to concede everything. But the Loyalists and the Unionists still walked out. That's where we were 12 months ago - the constitutional talks in ruins, and SDLP leader John Hume sitting with his back to the wall, wondering what to do next.

Fighting for democracy

WE CONTINUED demanding the creation of *democracy* in Ireland. And it has to be understood that when some of us talk about a "united Ireland" we are talking about a democracy - the democracy that was fought for in the war of independence, the democracy envisaged in the democratic programme of 1918, a democracy first envisaged in the Wolfe Tone uprising of 1798.

We are not talking about extending the equally distorted and undemocratic state of the South. We are talking about the creation of a new democracy, where the people of Ireland, free men and women, can determine for themselves the principles under which we can govern ourselves.

You cannot have that if you are governed by somebody else who refuses to get out of the way - whether it's in Palestine, South Africa or Ireland.

But our leaders forgot that. They forgot what we wanted. I have the utmost respect for Gerry Adams, but Gerry Adams made not a tactical error, but a fundamental error of principle, the same one made by Yasser Arafat in Palestine. We do not fight for democracy so that our leaders can engage in secret negotiations with anyone. That is not what democracy is about it.

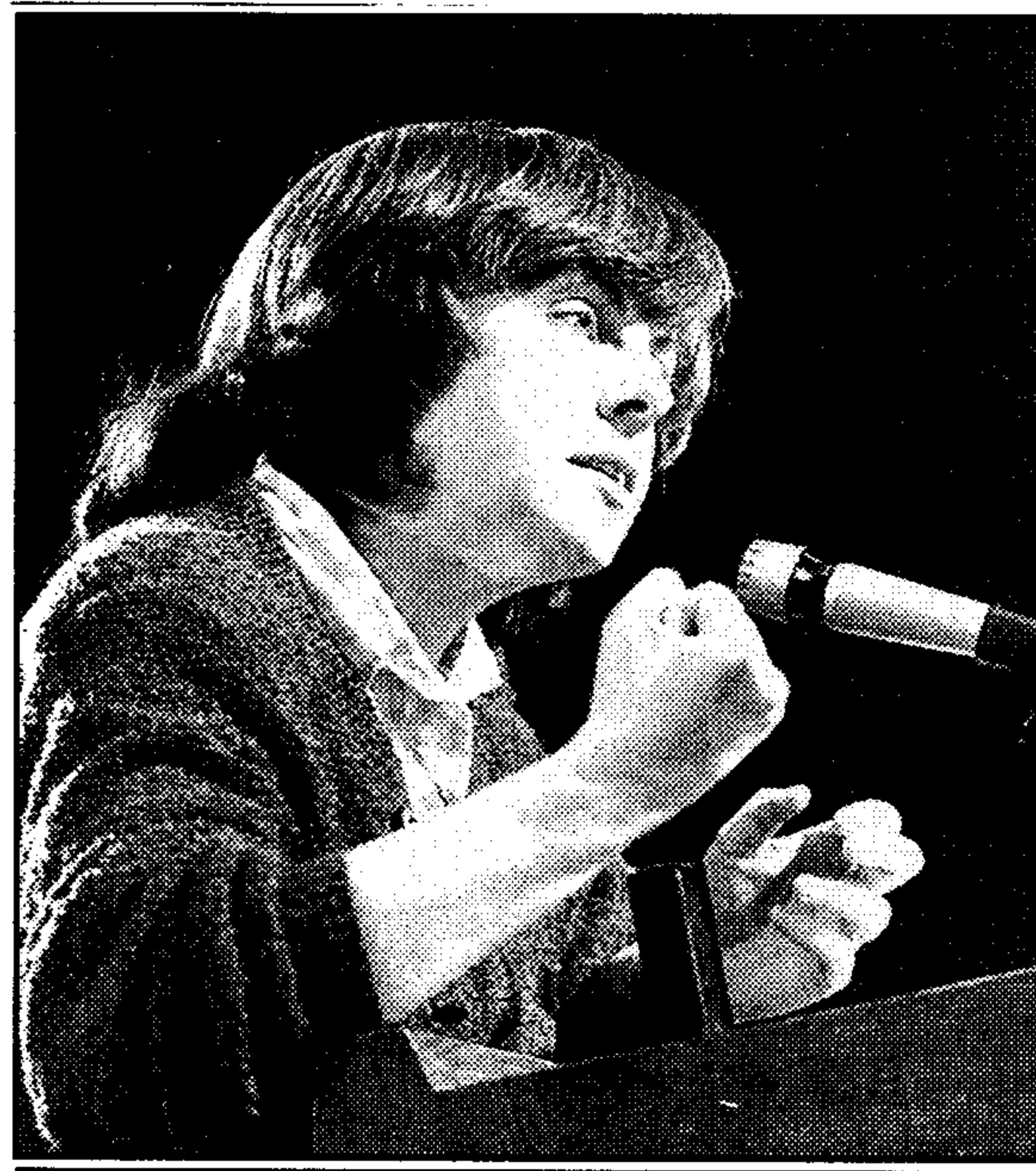
Secret talks

That was a fundamental error by the leadership of Sinn Fein, an error on the question of democracy. They made a mistake on the basic issue of democracy when they decided to have secret negotiations with John Hume, and then come back and tell the rest of us about it.

Just as happened with the Hunger Strikes, just as happened with Catholic emancipation, just as happened in the 1920s, just as happened with the Land League - secret negotiations with the British lead to disaster. They lead to the British making treaties which are broken as soon as they are signed.

Gerry Adams went to John Hume and made a secret joint proposal, not telling the Irish people what it was. Irish prime minister Reynolds agreed with that proposal, but didn't tell anyone what it was.

Well I'll speak for myself. I did not spend the whole of my adult life in this struggle so that someone could come and say "Here's a secret present from granny, but you're not allowed to see



"I have to say: no deal made in secret is binding on me. The struggle to create democracy also means a struggle for democracy in our own ranks"

what it is".

We used to play that game when we were kids. Granny held out her closed fist, and you had to say whether you wanted it. Only if you said "yes" were you allowed to see what it was. I gave up playing that game when I was five years old.

Downing Street declaration

WE ENDED UP with the Downing Street declaration which says we can have peace, only if the IRA would have a permanent ceasefire.

I say what many people in the broad democratic movement say: if there's a "peace process", then show me the process. Show me the means by which we get from war to peace, justice and freedom.

But the British say, well if you don't have a ceasefire, then you can't get into talks. That poses the question - "why are we going into talks, what are we going to talk about?" And the British say: "we can't tell you what we're going to talk about unless we have a ceasefire. But we can tell you that it's part of the peace process".

In the midst of all that, what have we gained and what have we lost? To see it you have to look at the Downing Street

declaration agreed between the British and Irish governments.

In fact there's very little in the document, only about 12 lines, which is the joint opinion of the British and Irish governments. One thing that is the guarantee that there will be a decision on Irish unification held separately within the North and South but not in the two together, simultaneously. That just guarantees the Loyalist veto, because they have the majority in the North: it's a reinforcement of partition not an attack on it. The Downing Street declaration is a joint agreement to rebuild the structures of the Northern state.

Think what is being asked of the nationalist community in the North. We are being asked not just to demilitarise our struggle, but to guarantee that we shall never again lift up arms in struggle, to give up arms forever. But if we were really getting freedom, they wouldn't even have to mention that.

The whole debate is being debased in this "process". It's being reduced to "peace or war", "do you want more people to die?". The whole issue has been removed from its context and the villains of the piece are the people who are militarily opposing British military occupation.

There is no mention here of demilitarising the British army, nor of demilitarising the Loyalist assassination squads, who are armed and trained by the British. No talk of disarming them. And no talk of dismantling the state's array of repression - the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Emergency Provisions Act, the right to harass and attack kids in the street. That's not even in the discussion.

Is there a commitment in the Downing Street declaration for an end to discrimination, to the end of religion-based apartheid, for the right to live in dignity of the nationalist community? And within all this talk of "power sharing" we need to ask "who is going to share power with whom? And who is going to be left powerless?".

The British government is playing on the political weakness of our own movement. They have underway a process designed to strengthen the structures of the existing Northern state. How do they intend to do it?

Integrating the Catholic OBEs

WHAT THEY WANT to do is integrate an elite into a new political arrangement which doesn't challenge the existence of the Six County state - the Catholic OBEs, the aspir-

ing middle classes, those people who for 25 years didn't wet their fingers in struggle.

You've got to have a totally blinkered and dogmatic view not to see what the British are up to, and why they're trying to drag Sinn Fein into this "process". They want a minimum of changes, a minimum of concessions, just enough to get a certain proportion of the Catholic community to change their allegiances.

Of course this will not be acceptable to sections of the Protestant community who will regard it as "capitulation". And make no mistake, in order to deal with them the British are preparing an attack on them too. They are demonising what they call the "Protestant underclass", a disgusting phrase, the poor Loyalists who never got much out of the Six County state, despite their utter and bigoted loyalty to it. The Brits are preparing just to intern them if they resist.

One way of approaching such a deal, which would integrate sections of the Six County Catholic middle classes, is to discuss some form of "joint sovereignty" with the southern government. The nationalist community should reject this.

Misery

Brendan Behan once said: "there is no condition of human misery which cannot be made infinitely worse by the arrival of a policeman". I want to update that: there is no condition of misery of the Northern Ireland Catholics which cannot be made much worse by the addition of the Southern Ireland government.

But with "joint sovereignty" we would be faced with two right-wing, undemocratic governments, limiting our ability to fight for democracy and progress in Ireland.

The internal debate in the Republican movement in which I am involved now is an attempt to make those I love dearly behave in a democratic fashion.

But I have to say: no deal made in secret is binding on me. The struggle to create democracy also means a struggle for democracy in our own ranks.

If rejecting the British attempts to derail our struggle means we have to fight on for another 25 years, then so be it. Let those who are tired rest. Let those who want to retire, retire.

Right in the middle of O'Connell Street is Parnell's statue, and on it are inscribed the words: "No man has a right to set the boundary of the right of a nation." I say: no organisation has a right unilaterally to call the struggle to end, to set limits on democracy. Over my dead body.



McAliskey addresses 1981 demonstration in support of Republican hunger strikers

IRELAND UNFREE

Making sense of South Africa

Which Way to Freedom? by Neville Alexander, Walnut Publishing, available from *Liberation!*, £7.99 inc. P&P.

Reviewed by Paul Clarke

THE RECENT elections in South Africa have led to extraordinary confusion on the left internationally about the nature of the new government and about what to expect in the post-Apartheid situation.

Often discussion about the different political forces in the country lacks basic information about their history, programme and real activities.

Neville Alexander's new book is therefore highly welcome as a primer and source of basic explanation and analyses of the political process now underway.

Although all the essays included were of course written before the elections, they are informed by the obvious drift

of the CODESA negotiations process – towards the formation of a bourgeois coalition government including the ANC and the National Party – which is exactly what has come to pass.

Particularly valuable is the essay *Negotiations and the Struggle for Socialism in South Africa* which charts the history of the ANC, the origins of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the story of the Black Consciousness movement.

A bourgeois coalition government is not a workers' or socialist government. Sections of the international left write about South Africa as if it were a new version of the Nicaraguan revolution.

This is absurd. The FSLN did not include representatives of big capital as vice-president and finance minister!

Hopes raised

Enormous hopes have been vested in the new government by the black masses. In particular their hopes lie in the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP), from which they expect jobs, homes, land and basics social security and health rights.

What are the chances of these hopes being fulfilled?

Neville Alexander is absolutely right to foresee a new stage of struggle unfolding after elections. Against the hopes of the masses in the RDP are ranged the forces of domestic and international capital, as well as the World Bank and the IMF.

We can therefore expect the focus of the struggle to be the implementation of the RDP. Jobs and houses for the black masses mean encroaching, as Alexander points out, on the interests of capital.

Nothing is more illusory than the delusion that big capital is going to jointly ensure the needs of the masses are met.

That has enormous strategic implications for the left in South Africa, inside and outside of the broad Congress movement.

It means that they trade union movement has to maintain an attitude of political independence, of class inde-

SOUTH AFRICA:



Which Road to Freedom?

pendence, from the government and big business.

Although it cannot be launched on the basis of tiny forces, the strategic goal must be to build a mass workers' party which crystallises the fight for an independent political alternative to those leaders who bow before the dictates of capital.

Right wing

Not only is the present government a bourgeois coalition government, but the ANC forces in it, Mandela in particular, represent the most "moderate" right-wing of that movement.

Thus, while for the mo-

ment the government will undergo a euphoric "honeymoon" period, it is a government whose project of reconciling the needs of the masses and those of capital will inevitably unravel.

As the *Guardian* so succinctly put it, you can't satisfy De Beers and Alexandria township at the same time.

Those who think you can have forgotten the ABC of class analysis and descended into vulgar tail-ending of the right-wing of the ANC.

SEND ORDERS, £7.99 inc. P&P, to *Liberation*, PO Box 1104, London N4 2UU. Make cheques out to "Liberation Publishing Association".

"Cricket is superior to War" shock!

Steve French reviews *Anyone But England* by Mike Marqusee (Verso £13.99)

THIS PUBLICATION has nothing to do with respectable members of the MCC. However it does offer some respite to this summer's Blair Hartland (the occasional New Zealand opener - not the situation in the Labour Party).

Marqusee gives a thoroughly researched, historic class analysis of cricket, its origins and re-

cent controversies. The MCC's shambolic attempts to preserve their world cricket empire graphically illustrates the crisis of bourgeois leadership.

Sadly (and understandably) there are few heroes. Marqusee advises socialists not to take sides between cricket traditionalists and modernisers.

However, Arthur Shrewsbury, stands out as a class hero. He led the 'Nottingham 7' in 1881. They weren't rebel councillors - but professionals who struck for decent contracts against the 'gentlemen's' privileges. Shrewsbury died, tragically 22 years later (cricket's Kurt Cobain?)

with a gun at his side.

Marqusee's first experience of playing cricket (aged 10) sounds dangerously like some of the Labour left: 'unlike baseball you can stick around for a while even if you can't hit the ball'.

The village green idyll that cricket (and its 'fair play') represent harmony between antagonistic classes is shown to be nothing more than the tyranny of an imperialist establishment, urging us to 'Lose graciously and accept the verdict of the system'.

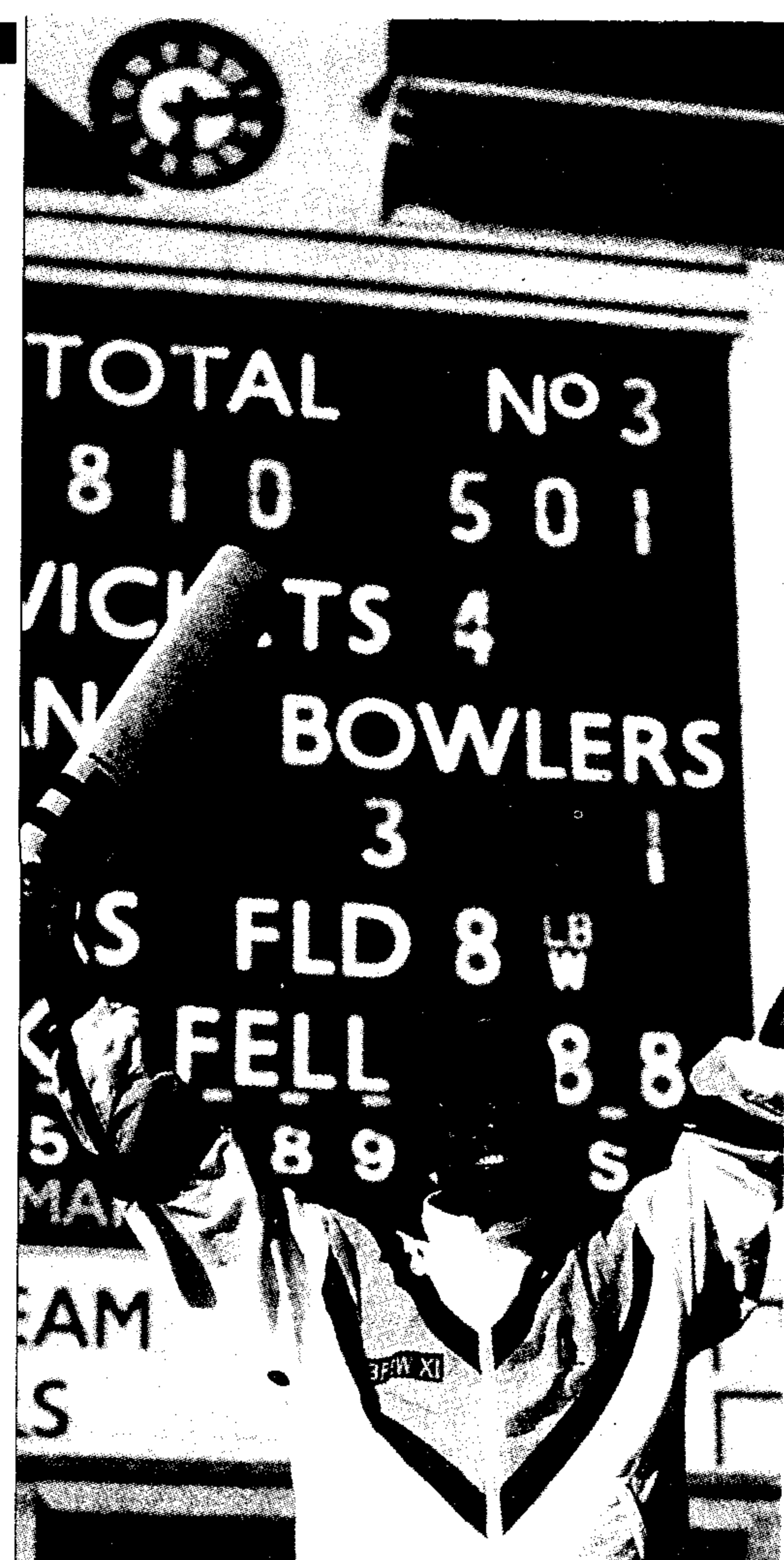
Few come out with any credit over apartheid. Asif Iqbal stands head and shoulders above the rest. Of the boycott he said, 'I am proud that my

sport should serve as an instrument for morality'.

Cricket journalists are exposed for their racism, and Marqusee gives a stunning repost to Norman Tebbit's cricket test ('which side do they cheer for?') which was sadly lacking four years ago.

While the book is strong on facts and polemics Marqusee's call for a democratic revolution in cricket needs to be elaborated - but the nationalisation of Lords without compensation is as good a start as anything.

And why the mysterious title? Well it has something to do with a Derbyshire MP's response to Tebbit's test.



World Cup '94: media chauvinists put the boot in

by David Thomas

THOSE SCEPTICS who thought the world cup would sit uncomfortably in the USA have for the moment to hold their tongues.

Good football has been played in impressive albeit expensive stadia in front of huge crowds. Attendances are up an average of 20,000 per game from the last finals in Italy.

The same plaudits however can not go to the media coverage of the tournament. The safety of players has been sacrificed to the demands of the European TV networks, meaning that some games have kicked off at midday in temperatures reaching 115 degrees.

Age-old racial stereotypes have been repeated ad nauseam. The first game of the competition gave us "efficient" Germans competing against "temperamental" Bolivians.

Reality of course does not come in to it. The Germans have their most disorganised and least "efficient" defence in living memory.

Even more insidious has been the euphemism "defensively naive" which is applied liberally to any team with a majority of black players, namely Cameroon, Nigeria and Saudi Arabia.

Further plumbing the depths was ITV commentator Alan Parry, who during the Spain v South Korea game ridiculed the names of the South Korean team, explaining that as a race of people Koreans were naturally small and that identifying individual players was a problem because they all looked the same.

The low point however has been coverage of the Diego Maradona affair. The *Daily Star* re-



Strength and skill from South Korea's Noh Jung-Yoon (above): tragedy for Maradona (below)

ferred to him as a "self-indulgent, whining, little thug..."

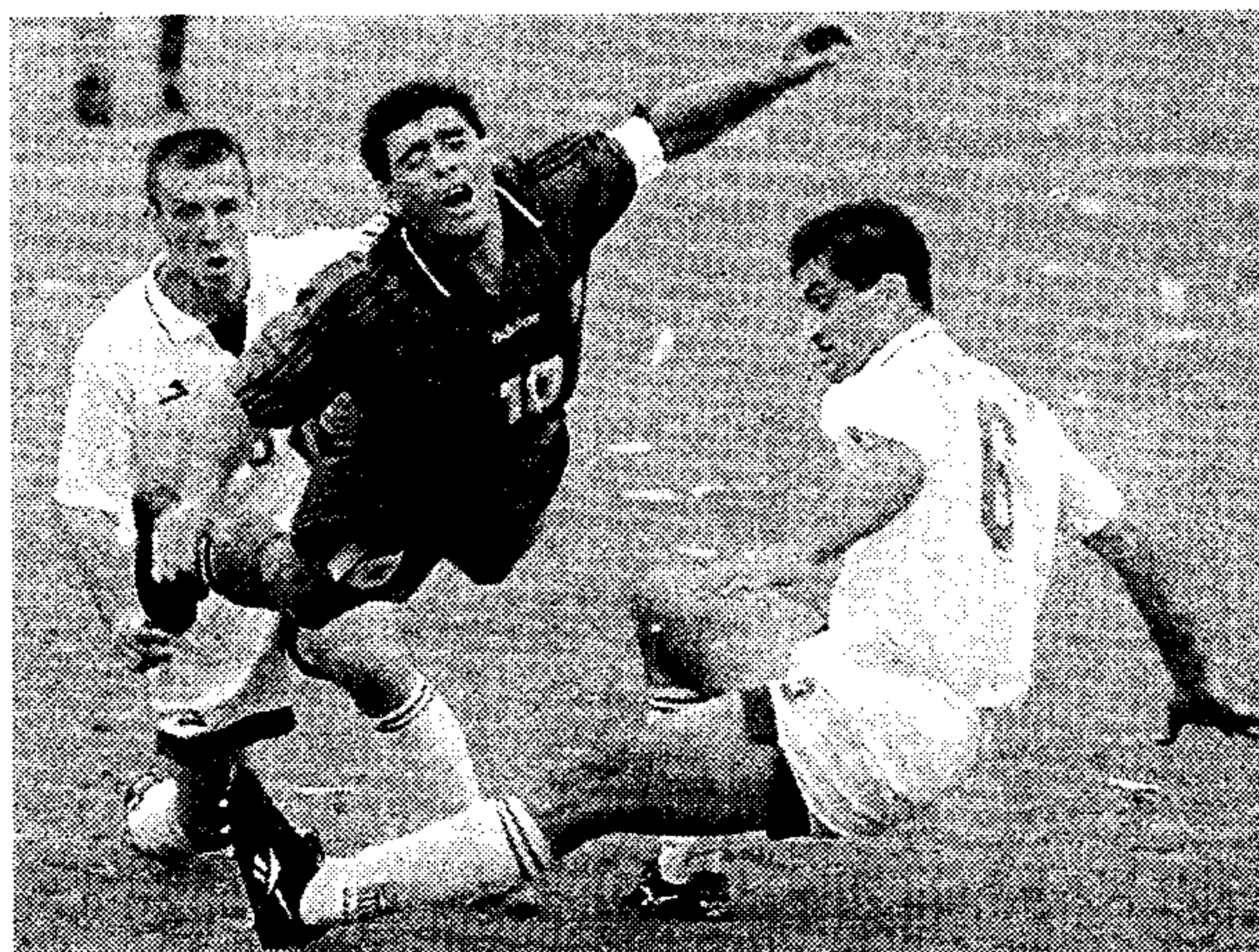
Clearly Maradona broke the rules. In a sad and desperate attempt to reach match fitness Maradona took a number of banned substances, was found out and duly removed from the finals by the Argentinian football federation.

End of story one would assume. Not a bit of it; the unsurpassed glee exhibited by the tabloid press has been sickening.

A series of factors help to explain the vitriol of the English press towards Mara-

dona and Argentina.

First, recent meetings between Argentina and England have been marked by contro-



versy. In the 1966 finals the Argentinian captain Ratin was sent off against England for no

reason other than he appeared to be having a good game.

In 1986 Diego Maradona scored a goal against England

with his hand. Argentina went on to win the final against the then West Germany, playing some superb football.

The bitterness felt by sections of the media about Maradona's goal and his subsequent denial that he had handled the ball

runs very deep. Secondly and perhaps more

importantly is the disgusting legacy of the Malvinas war. The press misses few opportunities to repeat their racist garbage every time that Argentina play.

Top of the league in hypocrisy is the BBC pundit Alan Hansen. A few hours after news of Maradona's drug taking was made public, Hansen stated that Maradona was a disgrace and deserved everything that he got. Surely this is not the same Alan Hansen who was prosecuted for exposing his backside to a young woman after he'd consumed a few too many drinks?

Maradona is not the first player to be banned from a World Cup final for drug taking. In 1978 the Scottish and West Bromwich Albion winger Willie Johnston

tested positive and was sent home in disgrace.

Johnston explained that "a lot of players in England at that time were taking the same tablets" and that his Scottish teammate Don Masson on hearing of Johnston's situation "...started emptying his private medicine supply down the toilet".

Naturally this does not sit easily with assertions that British football is drug-free and that this country can teach the rest of the world about fair play and decency on the football field.

But then why should the press allow the facts get in the way of a good story - particularly when the target is an Argentinian?

Fighting back - on video

Undercurrents no 1, produced by Small World Video, Oxford

Reviewed by Steve Fulbright

WANT TO find out about all those grassroots struggles that the mainstream media doesn't cover?

You could do a lot worse than getting hold of the first

issue of *Undercurrents*, an 80-minute video on ecological and social justice struggles, produced by Small World. The idea is to produce *Undercurrents* on a monthly basis, and distribute them inside the left and radical movements.

The first issue starts with an 8-minute round-up of news of struggles which the media haven't covered.

No prizes for guessing the only MP who gets a speech in this bit - yes, Jeremy of London N1, doing his stuff outside Campsfield gates and calling for the repeal of all

racist immigration laws.

Totally Out of Order is a hatchet job on the Criminal Justice Bill, which shows in detail how this nasty piece of legislation will criminalise protesters, ravers, travellers and squatters.

Choking

The longest piece in this first issue *You've Got to be Choking* is a 26-minute feature on the M11 struggle. If you want to see the future of how the state intends to deal with direction action, watch this. There's amazing footage

from Wanstonia as 800 cops turn out with bailiffs and "Sheriff's deputies" to brutalise protesters.

Small World have embarked on an ambitious project which will be difficult to keep going. It's going to cost a lot of money and time to provide a radical news service like this. So if you want to support an alternative to Sky and News at Ten, get a copy.

The videos can be used not just for privatised radical entertainment, but as the basis for discussions in the labour and radical movements, or in

schools for adventurous general studies teachers.

If you can't afford it personally, try to get your trade union branch, community groups or whatever to subscribe.

■ *Undercurrents* costs £8.00 plus £1.50 p&p. Send to Small World Media Ltd, 1A Waterlow Rd., N19 5NJ. 071 281 7320.

email: small-world@gn.apc.org.

REVIEWS

Yeltsin in panic over economy

By Renfrey Clarke

MOSCOW – In the last weeks of May, the nerve of Russia's chief economic strategists seemed to crack. Ending months of confident statements by government leaders, President Boris Yeltsin admitted to a meeting of industrial managers that the economy was close to collapse.

On May 23 he signed six decrees reducing enterprise tax rates and ending export restrictions. Within a week, the cabinet had drafted a set of wage-cutting provisions that would impose a punitive tax on enterprises that raised wages by more than 70 per cent of the monthly inflation rate.

Along with other measures, these were designed to increase profitability and force enterprises to begin paying off their debts. Nevertheless, the days seemed to have passed when economic ministers suggested that the only really important tasks before them were to cut state spending and reduce inflation.

Assurances were given that the battle against inflation would continue.

But Russia's leaders seemed finally to be acknowledging that without factories operating and goods being produced, there would be few revenues with which to pursue the goal of a balanced budget.

The previous 'hands off' approach, in which government ideologues had argued for leaving stabilisation to be carried out by the market, was now replaced by a posture of furious activism.

Propaganda Image

The new propaganda image is that of the state leaders striding resolutely into battle to end the rout of industry. But a closer look at the measures proposed indicates a very different reality.

As the collapse of production during 1994 has exceeded all the predictions of neo-liberal 'experts', the once confidently doctrinaire Yeltsin administration has begun dissolving in panic.

Even people who originally supported Yeltsin's 'shock therapy' now admit that the effects have been very different from the brief, sharp jolt that was supposed to cleanse the country of inefficient production and enforce financial discipline.

The abandonment of central controls, together with cutbacks in subsidies to industry and the opening of the country to imports, has set off a seemingly endless downward spiral of falling investment, plunging output, unsold produce and unpayable inter-enterprise debts.

According to a report in mid-May by the business paper *Finansovye Izvestia*, industrial output in March was 29.9% below the figure for March 1993. On a seasonally adjusted basis, industrial production in March was down by 52.9% on the level in January 1990.

This catastrophe is not, as is often argued, the result of a failure to introduce market mechanisms swiftly enough.

Russia's economy today suffers from



Will Yeltsin break with the IMF? Don't hold your breath waiting

a multiple crisis in which overproduction-underconsumption is combined with the deforming impact of the world market.

As a result of cuts in subsidies and centralised investments, many factories can no longer afford the supplies and equipment they need. Producer goods have piled up unsold in factory yards.

The situation of consumer production has been more complex. Yeltsin's policies included allowing freed prices to slash the buying power of the population; during 1992, consumption crashed. Then during 1993 consumption by the population as a whole actually increased marginally, even though total industrial output was falling.

This rise was a paradoxical reflection of the continuing slump in investment. Funds which in other circumstances would have gone to maintain and develop production were being appropriated by enterprise managers as high salaries or, just as often, stolen by the same managers and a host of crooked hangers-on. Meanwhile, the buying

power of the mass of consumers, Russian enterprises starved of the investment funds to develop low-cost production, were often overwhelmed by foreign competitors.

Overseeing the process through which the Russian economy was deformed to suit the needs of international capital was carried out by the International Monetary Fund. The IMF offered emergency loans in return for further reductions in state funding of investment and for opening Russia still more completely to world capitalism.

In mid-April, the government reached a new loan agreement with the IMF based on stringent spending limits.

Soon after this, desperate pressure from lobbyists seems to have begun to persuade Yeltsin's that the course they were following was suicidal. At the end of April, a revised version of the 1994 budget included markedly higher funding for agriculture; the deficit was now well above the levels agreed with the IMF.

Early in May, there were signs that

Yeltsin's policies included allowing freed prices to slash the buying power of the population; during 1992, consumption crashed. Then during 1993 consumption by the population as a whole actually increased marginally, even though total industrial output was falling.

power of the mass of the population continued to slide.

Ordinarily, a rise in consumer demand would have stimulated production, at least in consumer manufacturing. But the international market, to which the 'reformers' were devotedly opening up the Russian economy, left that economy crushed and warped.

The newly wealthy were not interested in the products of Russian factories, instead demanding imported luxury goods, even in the shrinking area of sales

Yeltsin aides had begun to see the collapse of production, rather than inflation, as the central aspect of the country's economic problems. Alexander Livshits was quoted on May 4 as warning that excessively tight monetary policies could stifle the economy.

However, there has still been no sign that the IMF's basic perspectives have been rejected. If the government's plans for wage cuts are implemented, mass consumer demand will fall still further.

While the proposed cuts of 10 to 20 per cent in enterprise taxes will be easy

to implement, improving tax collection to make up for the resulting fall in state revenues will be far more difficult. Especially in the last six months, the government's actions have created a sophisticated culture of tax evasion in Russia.

Yeltsin's efforts to reform the tax regime are therefore likely to be followed by a major increase in the state budget deficit.

IMF whip

This in turn can be expected to cause the IMF to crack the whip – and in these circumstances, it will be remarkable if the tax cuts are not overwhelmed as the government scrambles for money.

Reforming the tax system while trying to maintain revenue levels would be a daunting task even if the state machine were a model of efficiency.

In one of its more insightful moments, *Finansovye Izvestia* observed that the government might eventually be faced with the need to declare a state of economic emergency, and to place a temporary freeze on prices and wages. But even if the government found the resolve to do this, the central problems of the economy would not have been addressed.

For the government simply to hand out investment credits, however, would be to guarantee that huge quantities of state funds were used for currency speculation or vanished into secret accounts in Western banks. State regulation of the enterprise concerned would be essential, to ensure that investment actually took place. Equally vital would be elements of central planning, to ensure rational decisions concerning the sectors of industry to be aided and the goals to be pursued.

Russian industry can be saved from total collapse only if the government consciously reverse its march to the 'free market'. But are Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin going to break with the IMF? No-one should hold their breath waiting.



THE RECENT electoral successes of Italy's neo-fascist MSI brought street demonstrations by open supporters of fascist dictator Mussolini. Four fascists now hold ministerial posts in the right wing coalition government.

But the votes gathered by the MSI, like those for the Northern League and for Silvio Berlusconi's right wing Forza Italia party, stem more from the collapse of support for the corrupt and discredited Christian Democrats and Socialist Party than from conscious support for fascism.

The fascist salutes may look the same, but there is a world of difference between today's situation and the conditions that brought Mussolini to power in 1922. Here we reprint extracts from LEON TROTSKY analysing the special characteristics of fascism at that time, and explaining the roots of Mussolini's victory.

Roots of Mussolini's triumph

ITALIAN Fascism was the immediate outgrowth of the betrayal by the reformists of the uprising of the Italian proletariat.

From the time the [first world] war ended, there was an upward trend in the revolutionary movement in Italy, and in September 1920 it resulted in the seizure of factories and industries by the workers.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was an actual fact; all that was lacking was to organise it and draw all the necessary conclusions.

The social democrats took fright and sprang back. After its bold and heroic exertions, the proletariat was left facing the void.

The disruption of the revolutionary movement became the most important factor in the growth of fascism. In September, the revolutionary advance

came to a standstill; and November already witnessed the first major demonstration of the fascists (the seizure of Bologna).

True, the proletariat, even after the September catastro-

side of fascism.

Convinced at the last moment that fascism was not going to be checked by obedience, the social democrats issued a call to the workers for a general strike. But their proclamation suffered a fiasco.

The reformists had dampened the powder for so long, in their fear lest it should explode, that when they finally with a trembling hand did apply a burning fuse to it, the powder did not catch.

Two years after its inception, fascism was in power. It entrenched itself thanks to the fact that the first period of its overlordship coincided with a favourable economic conjuncture, which followed the depression of 1921-22.

The fascists crushed the retreating proletariat by the onrushing forces of the petty bourgeoisie. But this was not achieved at a single blow. Even after he had assumed power, Mussolini proceeded on his course with due caution: he lacked as yet ready-made models.

During the first two years not even the constitution was altered. The fascist government took on the character of a coalition. In the meantime the fascist bands were busy at work with clubs, knives and pistols.

Only thus was the fascist government created slowly, which meant complete strangulation of all independent mass organisations. Mussolini attained this at the cost of bureaucratising the fascist party itself.



Mussolini (above and top left) seized power in 1922

phe, was capable of waging defensive battles. But the social democrats were concerned with only one thing: to withdraw the workers from combat, at the cost of one concession or another.

The social democrats hoped that the docile conduct of the workers would restore the 'public opinion' of the bourgeoisie against the fascists. Moreover the reformists even banked strongly on the help of King Victor Emmanuel.

Restrained

To the last hour they restrained the workers with might and main from giving battle to Mussolini's bands. It availed them nothing. The crown, along with the upper crust of the bourgeoisie, swung over to the

"AFTER fascism is victorious, finance capital directly and immediately gathers into its hands, as in a vice of steel, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative, and educational powers of the state; the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the co-operatives.

When a state turns fascist, it does not mean only that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini — the changes in this sphere ultimately lay a minor role — but it means first of all for the most part that the workers' organisations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state, and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallisation of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of fascism."

After utilising the onrushing forces of the petty bourgeoisie, fascism strangled it within the vice of the bourgeois state.

Mussolini could not have done otherwise, for the disillusionment of the masses he had united was precipitating itself into the most immediate danger ahead.

Fascism, become bureaucratic, approaches very closely to other forms of military and police dictatorship. It no longer possesses its former social support. The chief reserve of fascism — the petty bourgeoisie — has been depleted. Only historical inertia enables the fascist government to keep the proletariat in a state of dispersion and helplessness.

From Leon Trotsky's *What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat*, 1932.

"What is fascism? The name originated in Italy. ... The fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file. It is a plebeian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist powers. It issued forth from the petty bourgeoisie, the slum proletariat, and even to a certain extent the proletarian masses. Mussolini, a former socialist, is a 'self-made' man, arising from this movement."

MARXISM

International Workers Aid fights on for Bosnia

By Alan Thornett

INTERNATIONAL Workers Aid held a successful international meeting in Brescia, Northern Italy on the weekend of June 24 and 25, attended by 40 delegates from the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Spain and Italy.

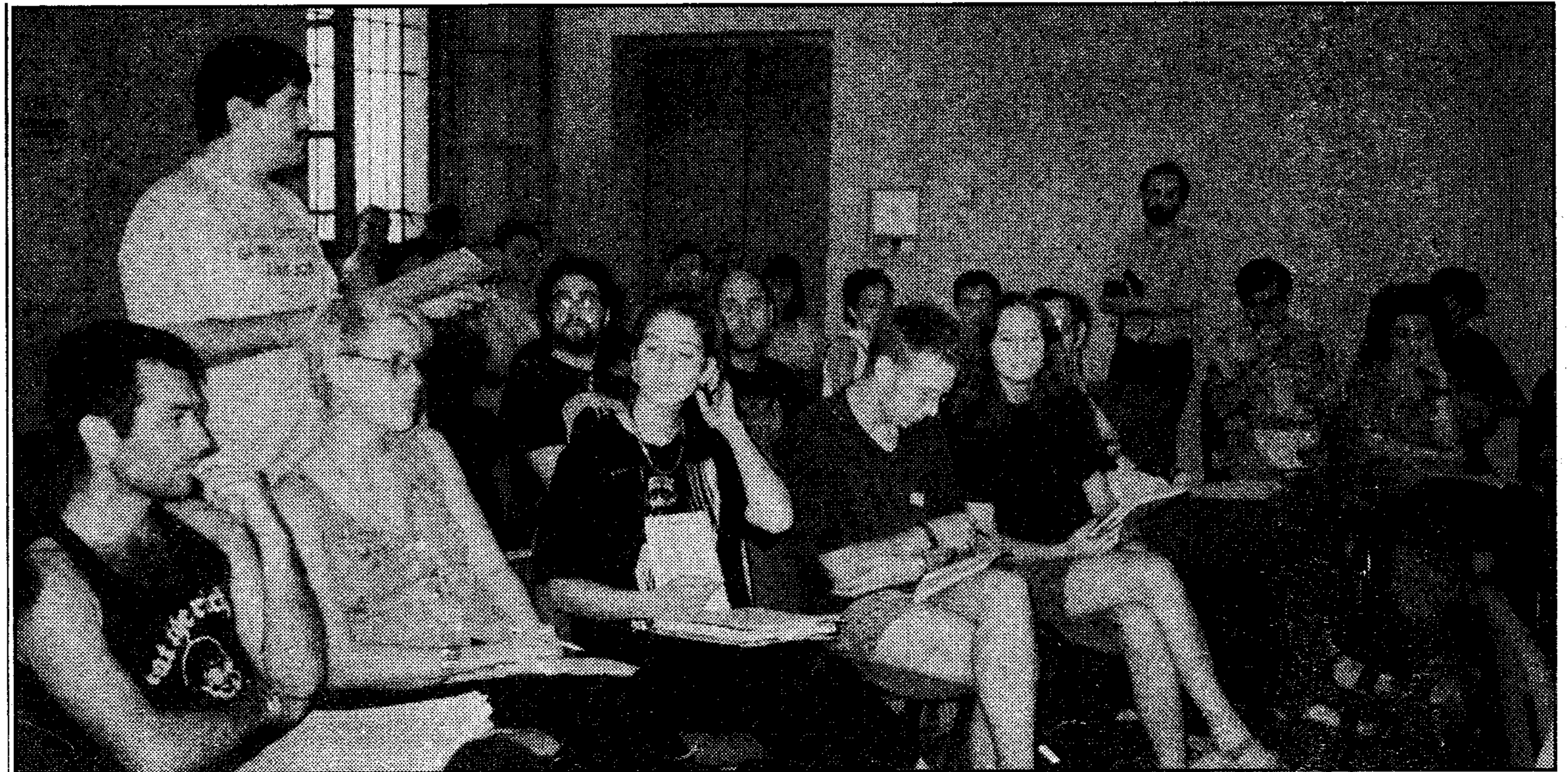
The first day was also attended by a representative of the Union of Autonomous Unions of Croatia.

A public IWA meeting at the festival of the Brescia region of the Party of Communist Re-foundation attracted 100 people.

Reports were given on the current political/military situation and the success of the programme to provide bread to the people of Tuzla.

IWA have now sent seven convoys to Tuzla for the bread programme and 7,000 people have directly benefitted from this, receiving flour and oil via the miners union – which receives and delivers all the aid we take into Tuzla.

Until the election in Bosnia in November the conference decided IWA will have two main priorities; continuing the bread programme, and building an international political cam-



Activists at Brescia conference agreed to organise youth and women's aid convoys to besieged Tuzla in the Autumn

paign in support of the non-nationalistic points of view in the Bosnian October elections.

IWA will support the international conference in Tuzla on October 12-14 1994 which has been initiated by the Verona Forum, the Forum of Tuzla Citizens, and Circle 99 (which organises a charter for a multi-ethnic Bosnia).

Another all European IWA convoy to Tuzla just before the international conference will be initiated in order to underline our support for a multi-ethnic society and to stress that our

support for the is Bosnian people is not only political but material.

Linked to this will be two other initiatives: a women's convoy – crewed by women with goods for women and delivered to women's organisations – and a youth convoy which will deliver aid to Tuzla university.

There will be a common political campaign until November centred around the Bosnian trade unions and anti-nationalistic groups in ex-Yugoslavia.

■ Thirty activists from eight local British IWA groups met in Birmingham on July 2 to discuss the development of the campaign.

As well as electing a new steering committee the meeting took a report from the international meeting in Brescia.

It was decided to continue supporting the rolling convoys and the bread programme and to support the international convoy targeted

for mid-October.

The meeting decided to strengthen the campaign in Britain through the publication of a regular bulletin.

Contact
International Workers Aid
12-14 Thornton St, London SW9

BOSNIA CONVOY



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 21 to What's Happening?, P.O. Box 1109, London N4 2UU.

JULY

Weds 6

LONDON Socialist Outlook Forum: South Africa after the Elections with Charlie Van Gelderen 7.45pm Queen's Head 66 Acton Street WC1 Kings Cross station

WOMEN'S liberation: The grassroots struggle in Africa with Glory Kilanko 6.30pm Lambeth Refugee and Resource Development Centre 365 Brixton Road W9

Fri 8 - Sun 10

SOCIALISM and beyond Conference of Socialist Economists conference Leeds weekend ticket in-

cludes lunch: £30/£20/£10. Details (0532) 334507 or 334518

Sat 9

IS NIGERIA still the Great Hope of Africa? public meeting sponsored by the African Liberation Support campaign 1pm room 119 Lambeth Town hall, Brixton SW2 details 081 202 6292

MINERS' 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,



Liberation! and Socialist Outlook supporters mobilised against recent visit to Britain of Antonio Martino, a leader of Italy's fascist National Alliance

London N4 2UU Sun 24

Demonstrate to Stop the Criminal Justice Bill! Liberation! and Socialist Outlook supporters meet 12.30pm Speakers Corner Hyde Park

Mon 25

POSSIBLE date for passing of Criminal Justice Bill

Tuesday 26

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK discussion: 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

Weds 10

NO MORE Divided Families! Linda and Dexter have a right to family life! demonstrate 10am outside adjudicators office Government Buildings Clay Lane Yardley Birmingham details West Midlands Anti-deportation campaign 021-551 4518 or 523 0580

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.

SEPTEMBER

Tues 6

TRADE UNIONS speak out against deportations public meeting with Azize Rahman and UNISON members threatened with deportation 7.30pm Manchester Town Hall

ALL NIGHT vigil outside immigration appeal court 9.30pm on Aldine House New Bailey St Salford

Weds 7

MASS PICKET of the immigration appeal court 9am-10am Aldine House New Bailey St Salford

OCTOBER

Sunday 16

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

Summer School '94, ABERYSTWYTH August 25-29

FIVE DAYS of study, discussion and fun.

SUPPORTERS of Socialist Outlook are invited to join us in learning vital lessons from the history and international experience of the marxist movement in the lovely surroundings of the University campus at Aberystwyth.

ACCOMMODATION, the best yet for a Socialist Outlook Summer School, will be in **en-suite rooms**, each with shower and wc, in brand new self-catering flats on the hill overlooking Cardigan Bay.

LECTURES and WORKSHOPS will all be within 200 yards, as will the **CRECHE**. We will have our own Bar, and there are **FREE sports facilities**, including **SWIMMING POOL**, volleyball, squash and weight rooms. For the more intrepid explorers, Aberystwyth also boasts 48 pubs. Afternoons and evenings will feature **SOCIAL** and sporting events as well as trips to local attractions.

- ITALY: Mussolini's march to power
- SPAIN: Revolution and counter-revolution
- GERMANY: the fight for the United Front
- RACISM in Fortress Europe
- FASCIST movements TODAY

Workshop sessions on related issues, plus courses on BASIC MARXISM and WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Also debate in INTERMEDIATE MARXISM, and workshops on cultural and other issues.

Send for more details

Analysing Racism & Fascism

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Name

Address

Phone Waged/unwaged No. of places required...

No. of children for creche (send details of ages, etc)

Cheque enclosed £..... (to SO Summer School)

SEND TO PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

HOME NEWS

Socialist OUTLOOK

NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of *Socialist Outlook*, our August 24-page summer bumper special, will be published on JULY 30. Order NOW!

CAMPSFIELD: Cops beat up jailed asylum seekers

TWO HUNDRED police in full riot gear were sent into Campsfield immigration prison on the evening of June 5 to beat up detainees with batons and shields.

For one hour after the police had invaded the prison, protesters outside the gates heard screams from inside.

The Home Office claims that only four people were injured in the attack, but independent witnesses saw at least seven ambulances leaving the prison.

Detainees claim that many beatings to the head and limbs were dished out, and that security cameras were turned away while beatings took place. The prison did not become silent until 3.30am.

Witnesses also claim that in desperation a detainee jumped head-first off a roof, sustained serious head injuries and is now in a coma.

The following day all detainees were confined to their rooms and did not receive food until 6pm.

The police attack followed a day of disturbances in the prison, after a successful "Close Down Campsfield" demonstration on June 4. Earlier this year 150 refugees were on hunger strike for weeks, demanding the right to be released while their appeals to

be granted asylum were heard.

A week before the Campsfield disturbances, a Ghanaian woman was removed from the prison, gagged and bound hand and foot. She is now in psychiatric hospital care.

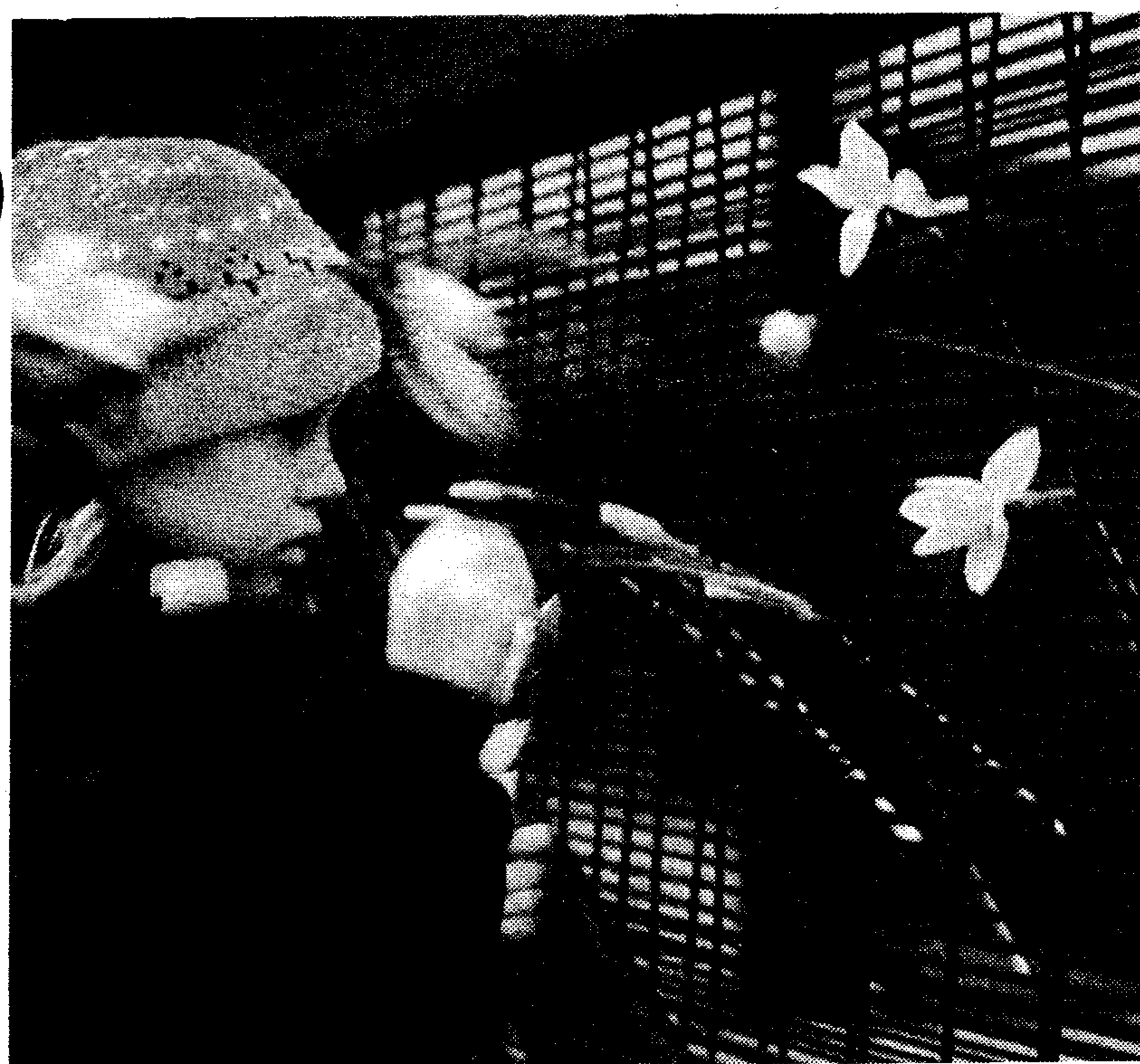
On June 5, the day of the police action, Ali Tamarat was removed without warning or justification for summary deportation to Algeria.

Earlier this year he had been released after his hunger strike, but re-arrested after speaking to the press. Last year detainee Riad Kissaoui was deported to Algeria, and then tortured and murdered by the army.

16 month wait

A secret Home Office document published in the *Guardian* on July 4 shows that on average asylum seekers wait 16 months to have their cases heard. Hundreds of new places are being created at prisons for asylum and immigration prisoners.

Campsfield and the other immigration prisons are a human rights outrage. Join the fight to close down Campsfield!



**JOIN the next demonstration
outside CAMPSFIELD!**

Decorate the prison gates
Saturday July 30 12 noon
Campsfield immigration prison, Langford Lane,
Kidlington, near Oxford.

**Phone your greetings to the Human Rights Camp
outside the gates, on 0374 946031.**