

Fifth International 5

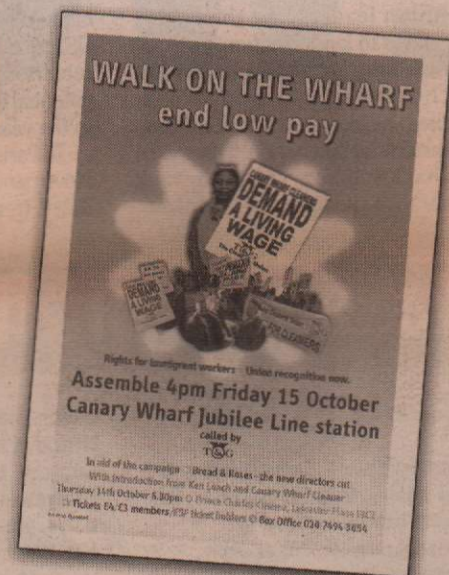
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workers power

Unofficial guide to the European Social Forum

**DEMONSTRATION
AT THE END OF
THE ESF
Sunday 17th
October 2004**

Assemble: Russell Square,
1:00pm. March to Trafalgar
Square for a rally at 3:30pm,
with music from Asian Dub
Foundation at 5:00pm.



UNIONS



Globalisation produced a crisis in the trade union movement.

As capitalists shifted production around the world in search of cheaper labour, less health and safety regulation, lower corporate taxes and poorer environmental protection, all backed by the World Trade Organisation, national-based unions were hemmed in.

The traditional bastions of trade unionism diminished and new, unorganised workplaces grew. And the hard-won gains in hours, conditions and union rights in the West and the Global North were clawed back as social democratic and labour parties adopted the free market consensus.

The first to react to this new environment were the rank and file. When Liverpool dockers were sacked in September 1995 for refusing to cross a picket line put up by trainee youth, they flew round the world buying scab cargo. They formed an alliance with the new environmentalist movement, Reclaim the Streets, to occupy docks and physically defend their strike.

But they were stabbed in the back by a bureaucratic leadership determined to defend the union's assets and abide by the law.

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WAR



In February 2003, two million people took to the streets of London to demonstrate against the coming war with Iraq. This marked the high point of the Stop the War Coalition (StWC) and the anti-war movement in Britain. Since then StWC has done little to campaign against the occupation. A flurry of public meetings to build for this month's demonstration on Sunday 17 October cannot hide the fact that for the past year other organisations and trade unions have been doing more effective solidarity work.

- US Labor Against the War, which has the support of millions in US trade unions, has been building links with Iraq trade unions, sending delegations of workers to Iraq and exposing the practices of the US multinationals making millions in Iraq.
- In the UK, other campaigning bodies such as www.iraqoccupation-focus.org.uk have called demonstrations, organised speaking tours and published regular bulletins and information detailing the US and UK's attacks on Iraqis, the continuing guerrilla war and the lack of accountability or independence of the interim government.
- Women's organisations have supported the

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RACISM



On 26 September 2004 Jagdeesh Singh, a 34-year-old Sikh man, was attacked while walking down the street with his young nephew. He was punched 30 times as a group of youth subjected him to a barrage of abuse, including shouts of "Bin Laden" and "Paki". This kind of racist attack on today's Black, Asian, Jewish, Roma and refugee communities has become a daily reality. Violent racism is on the rise across Europe and with it the growth of the far-right and it's time for anti-racists everywhere to step up the fight back.

The start of any fightback is to know your enemy. Where does racism come from, and why is it so deep-rooted in our society?

Some people think racist ideas can be overcome just by educating people out of their prejudices but it takes far more than this to tackle racism. It is not just a question of irrational "prejudice", but is deeply entrenched in our society - it runs through the state's most powerful institutions. Over the last few years the police, the prison service, the Home Office and the Crown Prosecution Service have all been exposed as guilty of institutional racism. Nor is it simply one of racist ideas and racist

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YOUTH



It is now 10 years since the Zapatista rebellion in south eastern Mexico sparked a solidarity movement of thousands of activists across the world. But it was more than just a solidarity movement, it was the beginnings of a co-ordinated and international resistance to neo-liberal globalisation.

Young people have come to this movement in staggering numbers. From the very earliest days the organised and conscious resistance movement to globalisation was characterised by the emergence of a newly politicised generation that had grown up knowing nothing else than the horrors of Thatcherism and its international equivalents. This generation stood up and said no. In the face of the so called victory of capitalism and "end of history" we said that there must be an alternative, we could not and would not go on like this; we would fight for another world.

This anticapitalist movement was founded on the direct action militancy of young people. Not content to protest in the same ways that are perfectly acceptable to the establishment we have taken the fight to the system. Today, the militant wing of this movement again remains incredibly young. Everywhere - from the summit sieges to the stop the war movement - it is young people who have risked injury

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The unofficial guide to the European Social Forum

Assembly of the Social Movements

The third European Social Forum gathers on 15 October at the Alexandra Place in London. Interesting as the plenaries and seminars may be, important as the networking is, it will all ultimately prove fruitful only if one meeting, held on the Sunday morning, is a success: the Assembly of the Social Movements.

It was the Assembly of Social Movements in Florence in November 2002 that issued the call, which brought between 10 and 20 million people onto the streets on 15 February 2003 against the invasion of Iraq. This showed the power of the anticapitalist movement when it issues a courageous call to action.

In itself this was a historic event. However it held the potential do something even more historic, to stop the war, or rather to turn it into a social war against the warmongers. From the platforms in Hyde Park and around the world, the call could have gone out to launch a massive social upheaval that could have toppled Blair, Aznar, Berlusconi and Bush.

Why did it fail? Because the leaders of our movement rested content with getting two million people on the streets rather than campaigning for strikes and street blockades to halt the economy.

The union leaders were long on the rhetoric and short on calls to action. The so-called revolutionaries of the Socialist Workers Party did not call on the union leaders like the CWU's Billy Hayes to launch action.

It was overwhelmingly youth, mainly school students, who struck, marched and blocked the streets. Some workplaces did take action. Those with a militant tradition, created by rank and file activists, not by the union lead-



ers. In Italy, Ya Basta! autonomists, Cobas syndicalists, young Fiom metalworkers blocked the transit of US military equipment. But the major unions kept to fine words only.

The demonstrations against Bush's visits to Europe in 2003-4 again mobilised hundreds of thousands, the organisers did not turn the movement into one against the occupation and in solidarity with the resistance.

By 2004 the demonstrations had shrunk to the size they were before the war started. Thus the anti-war movement suffered a setback, from which it has not yet recovered.

However, the scale of the Iraqi resistance and the descent into chaos of the US-led occupation is driving the USA to ever more bloody attacks on rebellious Iraqi cities, creating the potential for a rebirth of the movement in the year ahead.

In Paris, the Assembly Of The Social Movements, which concluded the ESF, failed to repeat the enormous suc-

cess of Florence.

The German trade unions floated the idea of a pan-European day of action, strikes and mass demonstrations which would confront the European Union leaders and expose their plans to privatise the transport and electronic communications systems, to reduce and break up the public education, health and welfare services, and slash pensions entitlements.

The effect of such a call would have been enormous. It would show that capitalist globalisation could be matched by working class internationalism.

But the German unions and social forums got no support from the French and the British and only a lukewarm response from the Italians. They would only agree to "consultation" with the ETUC and the unions, not only the big traditionally communist-led federations, the CGT and the Cgil, but also the "new" syndicalist G10-Solidaires and Cobas federations too. Why?

Because the most radical Italian party, Rifondazione Comunista, and the two

strongest international tendencies which claim to be revolutionary – the Fourth International and the International Socialist Tendency, whose strongest sections are the Ligue communiste revolutionnaire and the Socialist Workers Party – were the fixated with the idea of a breakthrough at the coming year's European elections. The former got a catastrophic slump in their vote and lost all their seat in the European parliament and the latter's Respect party got a mediocre showing.

This electoral cretinism, when there was a battle to fight in the workplaces and on the streets, restricted the "social 15 February" largely to Germany.

In fact 2003-04 saw a rise in Europe-wide bosses' attack on working class social gains and attempts to put Europe's workers on American rations. The Chirac-Raffarin Gaullist government in France, the Schroeder-Fischer "Red-Green" coalition in Germany, as well as from the Berlusconi-Fini House of Liberty in Italy are all deter-

mined to force through "reforms".

At the same time the European bosses launched a drive to smash the 35 hour week in France and Germany, which had been won in the 1980s and 1990s. They set out to lower wages with direct threats to export production. They defeated the once-mighty IG Metall and have imposed give-backs on German workers.

The European workers are facing a day of judgement. Will they suffer the defeats which US and British trade unions suffered under Reagan and Thatcher? Or will they unite against the globalisation drive agreed in Lisbon in 2000?

This offensive has only just begun. The Italian, German and French unions have let slip very advantageous moments, especially in June 2003, to smash the offensive with general strikes. But the game is not lost.

This year the Assembly of the Social Movements is at a crossroads, both in the struggle against Bush and Blair's attempt to crush the Iraqi (and Palestinian) resistance, and in the struggle to claw back social gains, cut wages and increase hours. The Assembly can and must produce a declaration that ignites mass action against neo-liberalism, war and racism.

During the ESF we need to fight for the daily preparatory meetings for the Assembly to draw in proposals from the plenaries, seminars and workshops, and to agree on a militant draft resolution of major mobilisations for 2005. We need to thrash out a plan of action to combine the forces of the anticapitalist, anti-war and workers' movements.

Such a plan must include a return to the mass besieging of the meetings of the leaders of the capitalist world. In June 2005, the G8 will meet in Britain,

Make war on the warmongers

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struggles against the oppression of Iraqi women, from the Islamists, the secular government and the occupation forces. For example, speaking tours for the Organisation of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI) have been organised and even *Marie Claire* magazine donated \$5,000 to Iraqi women's groups.

• The British TUC passed a motion at last month's annual conference calling for trade unions to build links with Iraqi unions and to campaign against the attacks on workers' rights such as the US raids on trade union headquarters last year. It is also called for a definite date for British troops to be pulled out.

Of course all these initiatives have problems. USLAW's activities sometimes appear more concerned with the fate of US troops rather than justice for the Iraqi people. Iraq Occupation Focus does little more than organise monthly central London meetings and send out a newswire. The OWFI is controlled by the Stalinist sect, Worker Communist Party of Iraq. And, of course, the TUC could neither hold the line of the big union leaders when it counted at Labour Party, nor direct its support to the more radical Iraqi unions.

Nevertheless, the proliferation of anti-war initiatives proves there is work to be done and activists to do it.

StWC could have played a vital role in organising this activity. It could have mobilised some of the millions who came on last year's demonstrations to campaign against the occupation.

But it didn't. Instead solidarity work is unorganised and has often been left to human rights groups or NGOs:

organisations that, at best, may be critical of the occupation and the corporate take over of Iraq, but have no strategy to combat either, and, at worse, accept the occupation and work with US and UK troops.

Why has StWC been quiet over the past year? Because it is a coalition of disparate forces unwilling to pursue militant tactics:

- CND, wants a United Nations solution to the Iraqi crisis,
- The Communist Party of Britain also has illusions in the United Nations
- The Muslim Association of Britain is a cross-class religious body, and
- The Socialist Workers Party was against the war and any UN role, but was unwilling to argue for a strategy that went beyond pacifism for fear of splitting the coalition.

CND's and the Communist Party's strategy was to pressurise MPs and use legal channels to oppose the war. But this failed because most Labour MPs thought more about their careers than the dead of Iraq.

At the rally after the two million strong February 15 demonstration, speakers from StWC, including SWP members such as Lindsey German, refused to call on the trade union leaders to organise strike action against the war, demand MPs vote against the war or be branded traitors, or to organise a mass campaign of civil disobedience to bring Britain to a halt.

Instead, StWC speakers told everyone to go home to prepare for the next demonstration.

Even now StWC is hampered by the politics of the main organisations who can not agree on a strategy for building a movement against the occupation.

We need a militant campaign against the occupation and to get the



US/UK and other countries' troops out. A campaign that could organise mass action and build international relations with Iraqi unions and organisations resisting the occupation. StWC could play a key role in organising such a campaign, but only if it splits from its pacifist and legalistic strategy.

Failure to do so will leave the resistance movement in the hands of reactionaries such as the Islamists or Ba'athists rather than win it to socialism. Worse, it could allow the US to turn Iraq into a client state with tame unions and political parties bribed and corrupted by corporations.

KEY MEETINGS

- Ending wars in Europe
Friday 1-3 pm
Eamon McCann, Tony Benn
- Iraq: Resisting the occupation
Friday 4-6 pm
- What future for Palestine?
Friday 4-6 pm
Mustapha Barghouti
- Iraq: End the occupation
Friday 7-9 pm
Lindsey German
- Challenging US imperialism
Saturday 11.30-1.30 pm
Ahmed Ben Bella, George Galloway, Aleida Guevara
- ANTI-WAR ASSEMBLY
Saturday 7-9 pm

Fight back against Racism

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language. It goes deeper. Society is not racist because of people's racist ideas – it's the other way round. Racist ideology is nurtured and perpetuated by the social system.

Black workers are not only held back by the racist prejudices of their top managers. They are also discriminated against in many aspects of training and education. They are disadvantaged by a promotion system which claims to be "colour blind" but which is really only blind to racism.

Similarly, the huge numbers of black people in prison does not happen just because the police and judges are racist – though they are. The whole system of deprivation in housing, education and employment pushes sections of black youth into crime.

Racism is a centuries-old theory that is used to justify a global system of discrimination against black and Asian people that stems from the role of Britain and other European states as a global colonial power – seizing control of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and other parts of the world – and looted their resources in its own interests.

In Africa, Britain enslaved millions of black people – transporting them to cotton, tobacco and sugar plantations in America and the West Indies. In India, a brutal colonial administration ran the whole country. The British violently suppressed several huge rebellions by the Indian people. When this system's victims fought back, the British army crushed them using the best weapons then available. The

French, Belgian, Dutch, German, Spanish and Portuguese empires all played similar roles.

White European and North American intellectuals developed the ideas of what might be called modern "scientific" racism. To explain why the British and European colonialists had the "right" to trade in slaves as if they were cattle, and to kill them like animals, the colonialists had to strip that black people of their humanity. Theories started to appear suggesting that black people were really closer to apes than humans. These lies developed deep-roots.

That is why we say that capitalism created racism in its modern sense, and keeps it going today. It is used today to justify the occupation of Iraq and the hell-holes of Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo Bay and Belmarsh.

The spread of racist ideas serves another purpose for the capitalists as a whole: to keep the working class divided. The capitalists have to blame somebody for all the problems their system creates. So they blame the victims. Black people and immigrants generally become the scapegoats for the system's ills. So we see the almost daily scare stories about asylum seekers in the likes of the *Mail*, the *Express* and *Sun*. Across Europe as a whole mainstream politicians of most every party back ever tighter immigration controls and more draconian measures aimed at deterring asylum seekers.

Black people make up at most 10 per cent of the British population and much less in most other EU states. This is just not enough enough to overthrow the root cause of racism – the capitalist system and

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4 page special
supplement



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in US
elections
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Canary Wharf
cleaners
fight low pay
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British section of the League for the Fifth International

Troops out of Iraq NOW!

Tony Blair claims he is doing
“everything possible” to save
Kenneth Bigley’s life. He is lying

He could do two things, both of which would possibly save Mr Bigley’s life, probably reduce the number of future kidnap victims, and certainly open the road towards a just and democratic future for the Iraqi people.

He could authorise the release of all detainees held by British troops in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere, and openly call on the Americans to do the same. He could pull all British troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan, and demand the Americans follow suit.

The fact that he will do neither of these things makes him guilty as hell.

As we go to press, the Middle East stands on the verge of yet another bloodbath.

First, to mark the fourth anniversary of the Al Qsa Intifada, 100 Israeli tanks rolled into the Gaza strip on 29 September, killing dozens of Palestinians in their wake.

Two days later, the US 1st Infantry Division, backed up by massive air strikes, entered the rebel stronghold of Samarra. The US claimed to have killed 125 “guerrillas”; a hospital doctor counted 70 dead, including 18 women, 23 children and seven old men. Then water and electricity were cut off, and the US military refused to give further details. One can only imagine the horror of yet another invasion.

In its attempt to crush all anti-imperialist resistance before the promised elections next January, the US occupation army continues its bloody offensive across Iraq. Eye-witnesses all tell a similar tale.

Iraqi journalist, Abu Bakr al-Dulami says, “US forces always claim the targeted sites host followers of al-Zarqawi [Mr Bigley’s kidnapper] but they are citizens’ residences. There is no single neighbourhood in Fallujah that is safe or secure. People fleeing the city do not head towards other neigh-

bourhoods, they leave it.”

It’s the same story in Sadr City, Kut and Samarra. While we in the west are constantly updated on the latest insurgent strike on a police station, the terrifying imperialist onslaught on the Iraqi people remains hidden.

And yet even the puppet regime’s Health Ministry has recorded damning statistics on the occupiers’ record: operations by US and multinational forces (and the Iraqi police) are killing Iraqi civilians at twice the rate as attacks by the insurgents. There were 3,487 Iraqi deaths in 15 of the country’s 18 provinces from 5 April, when the ministry began compiling the data, until 19 September. Among those dead were 328 women and children. Another 13,720 Iraqis were injured. Of course many Iraqi deaths, especially of insurgents, are never reported so the real figures undoubtedly much higher.

In contrast, 432 American soldiers were killed in the same period.

The Independent estimates the total Iraqi death toll since the invasion, chillingly dismissed as collateral damage by the imperialists’ military commanders and their political masters, stands around 33,000.

And, while the slaughter continues, Iraqi men and women continue to be incarcerated in the notorious Abu Ghraib prison. The hollow commitment to destroy this hated institution was soon forgotten after Iyad Allawi – US puppet premier, ex-Ba’athist secret police chief, CIA and MI6 agent, terrorist and murder suspect – made it clear that the upkeep of this hellhole was crucial to his vision of Iraq.

Blair’s feigned astonishment at the kidnappers’ demands for the release of women prisoners from British detention was another bare-faced lie. Every Iraqi knows women are being held, and have been sexually abused and tortured – often while cameras rolled. The photographs and the videos circulate freely



The town of Fallujah is under daily bombardment by US war planes

in the markets of Baghdad and Fallujah. And, of course, Iraqis have never forgotten the support the US gave to Saddam for nearly 20 years.

After the prison “abuse” scandal broke in April, most women prisoners were released; as in Guantanamo Bay, Bagram Airport and London’s Belmarsh prison, most of those being driven insane by torture are entirely innocent. But since then, the cells have filled again, not only with women, but with children as young as six.

Another reason for the growing disillusion of the Iraqi people with their “liberators” is the so-called reconstruction, which has ground to a halt. Officially, half those of working age are unemployed. The US has spent a mere \$1 billion of the supposed \$18 billion promised for the reconstruction; and most of that has gone to the police and armed forces. Basic services like water and electricity remain in permanent crisis.

Neither has any attempt been made to bring in Iraqi workers. The US multinationals, who have overwhelmingly won the contracts, have opted for Western workers like Ken Bigley because, in the words of one executive, they “don’t trust Iraqis”.

To cap it all the gangsters in Wash-

ington and London continue to speak of “free elections” in January. Well, free elections in those parts of Iraq deemed suitable, according to the rules advocated by Donald Rumsfeld. According to him, elections will be held only in those parts of Iraq NOT being bombed by the US; presumably because indiscriminate bombing tends to produce a hostile electorate – assuming you make it to the polls alive.

This hideous nightmare visited on the Iraqi people should be weighing heavily on Tony Blair’s fortunes. British workers are sickened by the hopeless lies of the Prime Minister and his craven support for George W Bush. Over 70 per cent in a recent poll want British forces withdrawn. Union conference after conference called for troops out this summer – a position echoed at September’s TUC. Yet the union leaders completely ignored their own members’ votes and duly backed Blair at the Labour Party conference on 30 September.

Defence secretary Geoff Hoon says he wants British troops to remain until at least the end of 2005 – “to see the job through” – a job that has everything to do with securing oil interests and stability on the west’s terms. In the meantime, how many more Iraqi lives will

be lost in the next 15 months at the hands of the US/UK-led occupation?

Britain’s rulers – and especially the Blair clique – are renowned for saying one thing and doing the opposite: “perfidious Albion”. It is time for the British working class to make its intentions absolutely clear and demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops from Iraq and Afghanistan.

To achieve this demand, though, we will have to deepen the roots of the anti-war movement into every workplace and housing estate, college and school.

To convince those who currently think such a withdrawal will play into the hands of sickening reactionaries like al-Zarqawi, we will have to amplify the voices of the majority of Iraqis, of the working class and women.

To change the policies of Blair and Straw, who are deaf to the real needs of the Iraqi people, we will need to use another language: the language of mass demonstrations, of direct action against military bases, of workers’ boycotts of war-related supplies and services.

In February and March last year, we showed in our millions our opposition to this bloody imperialist grab for oil. Now, in the words of Geoff Hoon, we must “see the job through”.

'Our struggle exposes how vicious a Lib Dem government would be'

One hundred and fifty social workers in Liverpool's Child Care Service have been on all-out, indefinite strike action since 25 August. One-day strikes earlier this year had been abandoned when the Liberal Democrat council offered negotiations.

But once the union had called off these strikes - and the local elections were out of the way - management resorted to a regime of bullying and intimidation, leaving the care workers no alternative but to go all out.

The strike is a warning to any worker who thinks the Lib Dems are a "left" alternative to Labour. Their actions in this dispute highlight the fact that they are a vicious bosses' party, busily selling off every service and every piece of publicly-owned land, in what is soon to be the European capital of culture, to parasitic private bosses. The city will become the capital of

exploitation, if they get their way. But these Unison strikers are showing how workers are willing and able to fight back. Workers Power spoke to a Strike Committee member.

WP: What are the background causes of the strike?

The causes are all related to management attitudes and style: bullying and intimidation rather than respect and consultation. This has led to stress levels rising, people leaving the council, a rise in vacant posts, which management expect those left to cover. There is no proper system for establishing what a caseload is; so more stress builds up, as people struggle to cope, with more wanting to leave etc. Added to this was the management's refusal to observe procedures, and their stated intention of withdrawing from the national negotiating body. People had just had enough.

WP: What support have you received from Unison nationally and locally and

from other unions?

The strike was made official immediately. Dave Prentis, [general secretary of Unison] said it is of national significance. We have regional support also. Local Unison branches have offered support.

Other unions and branches have been inviting strikers to meetings to raise the profile of the dispute and get donations.

WP: How do you see the strike progressing towards victory?

We feel it is going to be a long battle as the employer seems set on breaking our union. We are balloting the rest of our colleagues in social services, which would have a major impact on council services. We need much more publicity than we have had for our fight, the reasons for it and the ruthless and dangerous tactics the bosses are using to try and break us.

WP: Given the council attacking you is Lib Dem run, what would you say to people who think the Lib Dems might

be an alternative to New Labour?

Our struggle exposes how vicious a Lib Dem government would be. We believe they fully back their executive officers' tactics and goal of breaking Unison's ability to defend its members, particularly against privatisation plans. Everyone needs to hear just what the Lib Dems are like.

WP: Will any of you be going to the European Social Forum? What would you hope to happen there?

We sent a striker to an organising meeting at the university this week. We would be delighted to be able to speak at the main event.

WP: What do you think are the longer term issues at stake in your dispute, such as privatisation and the need for a new working class party as a real alternative to Blair?

As indicated above we think there is a national focus here. If a council can ignore agreements, bully and intimidate workers and then try to break the union when it tries to defend them, what chance

would Unison have when privatisation on a bigger scale is imposed? We suspect that, despite the council being Lib Dem, it has Blair's blessing in its efforts to smash us, as other councils will be watching and would feel emboldened in attacking council unions. It seems crazy our union continues to fund Labour, when it refuses to repeal anti-trade union laws, that prevent us making our strike fully effective. We clearly need an alternative that would represent workers' interests not those of big business.

If you would like a speaker for your trade union branch, or if you want to send a message of support, contact:

Liverpool City Branch, Unison
G.01, Cotton Exchange
Bixteth Street
Liverpool L3 9LQ
Tel: 0151 236 1944
Fax: 0151 258 1247
liverpoolunison@btconnect.com

Make cheques payable to Unison Strike Account

Factory occupation can block the jobs drain

By Andy Yorke

A cold wind blew through West Yorkshire on 18 September as more than 200 trade unionists marched against the impending closure of the Hydro Aluminium Motorcast plant in Leeds. The march, called by manufacturing union Amicus in response to the threatened loss of 580 jobs, was deathly quiet except for the brass band marching at its head.

Now it is crunch time, as Hydro gets ready to shut down the plant, with devastating consequences for the workers and thousands of others who will suffer from the knock-on effect.

Hydro Aluminium Motorcast is Britain's largest producer of cast aluminium engine blocks and cylinder heads. It is part of the multinational Hydro, a Fortune 500 company that operates in over 40 countries.

Hydro as a whole isn't hurting - its profits have risen to around \$1 billion in 2003. But the directors announced the closure with the usual guff: "The simple truth is that there is global over-capacity in the automotive components industry and we cannot

compete against cheaper competitors based abroad." They want to axe some jobs and shift the rest to Hydro's plant in Győr, Hungary, where wages and conditions are much worse.

Since 1997, huge firms such as BAE Systems, BP Chemicals, Heinz, Bombardier, KP Foods and Vickers have either withdrawn from Yorkshire and Humber or slashed their workforces. Overall, nearly 750,000 manufacturing jobs have been axed under New Labour. According to Amicus, manufacturing jobs in the region have fallen by 17.2 per cent a year.

Even service sector jobs aren't safe: Norwich Union announced that due to "very competitive markets" (who writes these dull, repetitious banalities?) there will be 150 compulsory redundancies in York. The insurance giant is pushing 7,000 jobs overseas to low-wage countries like India by 2007.

The TUC and Amicus call for government support for manufacturing: such as subsidies for big business, paid for by working class taxpayers. Why

should workers subsidise some of the biggest multinationals in the world? The union leaderships firmly support the Labour government, yet Tony Blair and Gordon Brown are the ones keeping the anti-trade union laws in place, pushing free trade policies that allow multinationals to cut and run.

Instead, they should call on Labour to nationalise the factory under workers' control without compensation to the bosses. To force the hand of both Labour and the union leaders, the workers should occupy their plant in order to stop Hydro just walking away with the machinery.

Activists in the plant should convince their fellow workers to occupy the plant, call on other groups of workers, trade unions and the anti-capitalist and anti-war youth for support. This is not pie in the sky: in Glasgow in 1996, workers occupied the Glacier RPB engineering plant against closures, and successfully defended it when police tried to evict them. The result? They won.

Workers at Hydro Aluminium need to build on this example - and fast.

Students and workers oppose fascists

Manchester's two fascist infiltrators Diane Stoker and Joe Finnon (see Workers Power last month) have had a torrid start to their academic year. Finnon was sacked from his job at Asda after Workers Power leafleted the store detailing his fascist links.

Meanwhile, a meeting of Unite Against Fascism at Manchester University on 30 September backed Workers Power's resolution for Finnon to be

expelled from the student union and for a campaign to demand that the University expel him.

Workers Power argued for militant action to deny Finnon and Stoker entry to university buildings and facilities and expel them from the unions and universities.

Sadly, while the motion was passed and the mood of the students militant, the opportunity was dampened by poor chairing and vague woolly politics of the

platform speakers from the NUS and SWP.

The meeting at the Met University was smaller but involved Natfhe, who are requesting Diane Stoker's expulsion, Unison which has agreed to support members refusing to serve Stoker. The Student Union has suspended Stoker pending a disciplinary hearing.

A militant campaign involving workers and students can drive the fascists of the campuses.

Take a walk on the wharfside

Nothing highlights east London's changing image quite so obviously as the massive office complex at Canary Wharf, writes Adrian Swain. High-rise blocks alongside luxurious apartments seem to imply that the grinding poverty long synonymous with the area has been consigned to the history books.

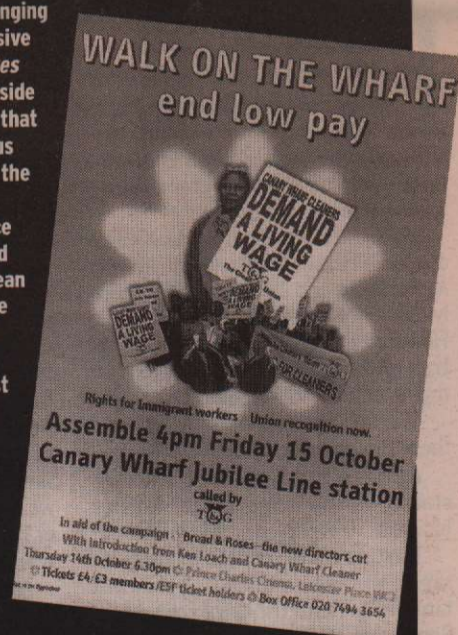
Yet beneath this outward opulence lies a continuing story of poverty and exploitation. For the workers who clean and maintain the offices of banks like Morgan Stanley (which pays its CEO Phillip Purcell £14 million a year) receive a pittance and work in almost Dickensian conditions. They are predominantly immigrant workers from Africa and Latin America working on contracts with no pension provision, no sick pay and only 15 days holiday annually (five days below the European Union's minimum).

In an attempt to highlight their case and as part of a welcome unionisation drive, the Transport and General Workers Union (T&G) have organised a "Walk on the Wharf" to coincide with the start of the ESF on 15 October. This will allow thousands of trade unionists and anti-capitalists to show their support for these workers. It will be the first large-scale event of this kind in the area and borrows from the methods used by the "Justice for Janitors" campaign in the US.

The demonstration comes as part of a week of events organised by the T&G and the International Transport Workers Federation in an attempt to increase safety and job security for workers up and down the country. Actions include pickets and recruitment drives at Immingham (near Hull) and Dover docks, as well as lobbies of First Express buses to gain union recognition for their brothers and sisters working in the USA. While these actions are certainly welcome, they are also a pitifully small step towards unionising hundreds of thousands of transport workers worldwide.

Unions like the T&G have enormous potential power and yet have let the bosses smash up organised workplaces like the docks, because their leaderships refused time and again to organise effective all-out action, including solidarity strikes, across their entire membership. As usual they claim this is because of the anti-union laws (still disgracefully kept by New Labour) but no government or boss would dare to use them, faced with an all-out strike across Britain, backed by the ITWF.

Meanwhile, those workers, who are already unionised, must fight to sustain and strengthen their own workplace organisations, and build a cross-sector rank and file organisation that can co-ordinate action against any employer that refuses to agree to union demands.



For a new mass workers' party: no short cuts

The summer began with good news for the fight to build a new mass party of the working class in Britain. The sacked Liverpool dockers, one of the first groups of workers to embrace the anticapitalist movement, and the "47" City Councillors, thrown out by Thatcher for defying the law in defence of the poor, united to launch a Campaign for a New Mass Party of the Working Class.

Workers Power welcomed the campaign: we brought fresh faces from the universities to its meetings; we linked it to anti-war and anti-racist initiatives, like the Asylum Lies campaign; we took its message to Manchester and the FBU Grassroots rank and file grouping.

Then we were approached by the Socialist Alliance Democracy Platform to co-sponsor a conference "of all those organisations and groupings which have declared their support for the creation of a new working class socialist party, organisation or network". Again, a step in the right direction.

Meanwhile, the tectonic plates of the British working class' political alignment continue to shift in the direction of a new mass party.

The FBU (firefighters) conference refused to be bullied into dropping its support for left of Labour candidates and disaffiliated from Labour. The RMT (railworkers) AGM followed through on its expulsion from Labour for the same supposed crime, by voting unanimously to call a conference "to discuss the crisis of working class political representation".

Even the leaders of the big four unions warned Labour to change course or face a split.

Labour also took a battering in the 10 June elections. Clearly, a united call for a new workers party by serious organisations would receive a massive response from thousands disillusioned by Tony Blair's wars and Gordon Brown's privatisations and job cuts.

Unfortunately, this advantageous situation is in danger of slipping away.

Firstly, the union leaders have done their utmost to ensure nothing rocks the Labour boat in election year. The Big Four have transmogrified into the Three Monkeys: Hear no evil, See no evil, Speak no evil. The FBU sold out their long-running pay-and-modernisation battle, letting union-busting Labour off the hook. Bob Crow and the RMT executive have sat on the AGM resolution.

These setbacks were expected. After all, for the unions bureaucrats, the prospect of the rank and file discussing politics with socialist organisations is far too frightening.

Less predictably, the Liverpool campaign and the SADP initiative have run into the sand before they have been properly launched.

The dockers had experienced Arthur Scargill's manoeuvres in the Socialist Labour Party, where political platforms were banned and anyone who fell out with the "great leader" expelled. At first, they appeared willing to work with those, like the "47", from different traditions.

But in July, Nolan and co. cut the campaign short and declared they would set up a new party, the United Socialist Party, within a matter of months. Those in left groups would have to leave their organisations (or wind them up) and swear allegiance to an untested "party" with no members, no existence outside Liverpool and no policies.

No thanks. Last month, the SADP initiative took a similar nose-dive. Along with the Alliance for Workers Liberty, the Alliance for Green Socialism and the Socialist Party, they decided to focus

their conference narrowly on forming a rotten bloc on a minimal programme to fight the next general election.

The idea of a broader conference, drawing in trade union branches and working class campaigns, while not dropped entirely, will clearly be a side-show. Strikes and serious work in the unions, alliances to defeat closures and privatisation, intervening in the ESF... all, apparently pale compared with the task of setting up another Socialist Alliance Mark I.

The working class does not need a repeat of our mistakes over the past ten years. They deserve neither another

SLP (but confined to one city), nor a Socialist Alliance (but without the SWP), nor another left populist, cross class bloc like Respect (the Green Party is one too many as it is).

What British workers do need is a serious, democratic campaign within the unions and the wider movement to establish a new, mass class-based party. While Workers Power believes such a party can and should be based on a clear, revolutionary action programme and form part of a new, Fifth International, we will continue to work with all forces prepared to conduct such a campaign.

The left and the rank and file

One word, which was never uttered from a platform at the Paris European Social Forum, was "bureaucracy". If the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International get their way, it won't be mentioned in London either.

This is remarkable. The Marxist understanding of the trade unions focuses on the fact that they are led by a bureaucratic caste, which reflects the views of the better-off workers who have made their peace with the capitalist wage-labour system.

Rosa Luxemburg observed, 99 years ago, "an antagonism between Social Democracy [then still a Marxist party] and a certain part of the trade union officials, which is, however, at the same

time an antagonism within the trade unions between this part of the trade union leaders and the proletarian mass organised in the trade unions".

Rosa understood that the rank and file of the unions often clash with these bureaucrats because they cannot make their peace with capitalism. Furthermore, socialists should ally with the rank and file against the officials. To seek unity between socialism and the trade unions at the level of the leadership would be, she said, to "desire to build a bridge at the very spot where the distance is greatest and the crossing most difficult".

How bizarre then, that the SWP, Socialist Resistance (the LCR's co-

thinkers) and Socialist Action (Ken Livingstone's bag-carriers) should all vote against any rank and file representative, let alone striker, being on a platform at the ESF. As a result, the London ESF will hear long and tedious speeches from TUC non-entities, while militant members will be silenced.

This is, of course, very convenient for the trade union leaders who want to avoid putting up a real fight against the bosses and their neoliberal governments. Also convenient for those centrists, who will pose as revolutionaries in their seminars and papers, but act as craven reformists behind the scenes.

Respect's parliamentary road



By Stuart King

Respect holds its first conference at the end of October. Judging from the headlines in *Socialist Worker* and on the Respect website, it will be an orgy of self-congratulation, a "Haven't we done well" rally.

Respect has some reason to be in higher spirits now, than after the disappointing Euro election result. In July, Oliur Rahman won a council seat in Tower Hamlets, East London for Respect. In September, in Millwall (another Tower Hamlets ward) SWPer Paul McGarr beat Labour into third place, with the Tories winning the seat. This led John Rees to write an editorial in *Socialist Worker*, declaring "Respect grows, Labour withers".

The reality is slightly different, as was shown in the recent Hartlepool by-election. Here Labour's vote certainly collapsed, not enough to lose them the parliamentary seat, but went to the Liberal Democrats not to Respect. Respect limped home with 572 votes - a mere 1.8% of the vote. Respect now has

one MMP (George Galloway) and five local councillors nation-wide, though only one of these elected as a Respect candidate, the others decamping.

What the different by-election results do show is that the deep disillusionment with Labour and the Tories. Neither party has recovered from driving the country to war against the wishes of the majority. The revelations of the fraud and lies about weapons of mass destruction continue to dog Blair and New Labour. Any anti-war, anti-Blair party should gain from this feeling of betrayal.

But the real question that should be addressed at the Respect conference is: what kind of alternative to Blair is being offered by the unity coalition and is a radical populism enough? John Rees and the SWP want Respect to offer "a genuinely popular, radical alternative to neo-liberalism and war" (*Socialist Worker* 19 September) not a radical socialist alternative.

In 2003 the SWP set out quite deliberately to create a new broad coalition. It dumped the Socialist Alliance as too narrowly socialist. It needed a plat-

form vague enough to encompass George Galloway, who had always distanced himself from the "hard left" and even from the Socialist Campaign Group of MPs, and the Muslim Association of Britain, an offshoot of the political Islamist Muslim Brotherhood. It also had to stand a chance of involving the Stalinist Communist Party of Britain and the Greens.

The "radical programme" adopted in the founding conference reflected this project. Respect stood for "peace and social justice", against privatisation, against the destruction of the environment, in defence of asylum seekers, for a decent minimum wage, for raising pensions, against war and for ending the occupation of Iraq. Proposals to be explicitly anticapitalist, to oppose all immigration controls, to demand its MPs take a worker's wage were all voted down.

Respect's proposed constitution enshrines this. For example, it calls for "the organisation of society in the most open, participative and accountable way practicable based on common ownership and democratic control". Common ownership of what, we are not told.

There are no calls for nationalisation of the banks, finance houses, multinationals, factories, docks, railways, etc. No mention of expropriation without compensation; of how workers and consumers will exercise control and management under such "common ownership". Indeed, it makes the old Clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution, on which it is modelled, look like red-blooded socialism!

But clear policies are not what Respect is about. A populist coalition has to allow its diverse components a lot of leeway. The upcoming conference reflects this - plenty of room for the leaders to make platform speeches and very little (just 60 minutes in a two day conference!) for the members to pass resolutions.

The abortion question is a good example of just how reactionary such a project can be. Star leader George Galloway does not believe in a woman's right to abortion. In a Hartlepool by-election public meeting, John Bloom, the Respect candidate, declared that "one day people will come to regard abortion as a holocaust".

As a "coalition" such views are not

only welcomed in Respect but given political rights as well. Lindsey German and other SWP leaders are clear that on such issues any Respect MPs will be allowed to vote by their "conscience". That is, when a bill comes forward to further restrict women's abortion rights Respect's MPs (possibly "Gorgeous George" from Tower Hamlets) will be allowed to vote for it. How will this take a "radical agenda" on women's rights forward?

These types of divisions will be repeated on issue after issue: funding for religious schools, workers' rights in small businesses, ending immigration controls, ending private schooling. Respect would either fall apart or discredit itself if it ever became a serious parliamentary force.

By abandoning the class struggle as the basis of Respect, in the search for the "big breakthrough", the SWP is left opportunistically chasing votes - a practice it not so long ago used to rightly condemn.

Workers need a real socialist alternative to Blair, one that does not compromise with capitalism; they need a revolutionary workers party, not a populist dead end.

Labour party conference: union leaders rescue Blair

The promised big showdown with Tony Blair at the Labour Party conference never occurred because, once again, the trade union leaders ignored their members and came to his rescue, writes *Mark Hoskisson*

The *Guardian* headline "Big unions save Blair on Iraq" summed up the role of the union leaders at the Labour Party conference. It was the leaders of the big four unions – Unison, GMB, TGWU and Amicus – who delivered Blair what he wanted on Iraq, a continued occupation until the US/UK has a reliable puppet government safely installed and in full control of Iraq and the oil supplies.

The proposal to set an early date for withdrawal was defeated by a crushing 86 per cent to 14 per cent of conference votes.

This should have come as no surprise to any rank and file trade unionist or Labour Party activist who had watched the union leaders quickly halt their criticisms after the July National Policy Forum held at Warwick. A few paltry sops were thrown to the party's big union backers – on holidays, the two tier workforce, the ability to sack workers on strike – but this was enough with an election looming within the year.

For the unions, Warwick was the great excuse. After three years of witnessing Labour support among rank and file members shrink, the union leaders are emphasising in their speeches, their journals, their memos to members and their press releases that Labour is at last "listening to the movement" that funds it. In particular Kevin Curran of the GMB, Dave Prentis of Unison, Derek Simpson of Amicus and Tony Woodley of the TGWU (the new "gang of four") believe they have come up with the means of stemming the erosion of Labour's support in the unions.

EXPULSED AND DISAFFILIATED

After all, this year has seen the rail union, the RMT, expelled from Labour for giving its members the right to fund and back other parties more closely aligned to its own policies. It saw the FBU – a victim of a particularly vicious strike breaking offensive by New Labour – disaffiliate from the party. And it saw pressure from members of unions like the post workers (CWU) and Curran's own GMB force their leaders to cut funding to the Labour Party and talk openly of backing alternatives at future elections.

All of this is unprecedented. It reveals the extent to which workers are beginning to break with Labour. And they have good cause to.

Besides the large-scale privatisation programme, the two-tier health service based on foundation hospitals, the brazen jobs massacre in the civil service, the refusal to renationalise the railways despite the killing of passengers and railworkers by the privateers, and the maintenance of the most vicious anti-union laws outside of a dictatorship, Blair is also a proven liar and warmonger.

In the interests of imperialism – US/UK to the fore – he has waged war after war and now oversees the brutal occupation of Iraq against the clear wish of both its people and the British people.



All smiles. But after conference, Blair was confident enough to deliver a blow to Brown's leadership hopes

Blair's autumn coup

As coups go it was deftly executed: they waited until the target was out of the country and sprang the surprise on state-run TV. Tony Blair's coup against Gordon Brown was masked by the announcement of his heart operation: the admission of physical weakness was the cover for the reassertion of political strength. It has left the centre-left alliance of union leaders and MPs that have traditionally backed Brown floundering.

By naming a day for his own departure – theoretically four or even five years ahead – Blair has given himself four years to finish the destruction of the NHS and, if he gets his way, the Labour Party as a working class party. Four years in which he does not have to give a monkey's about Gordon Brown. Four years in which the minuscule concessions extracted at Warwick will be dwarfed by further defeats and humiliations inflicted on the unions and the left.

The coup was a result of the cowardice of Blair's so-called opponents. Gordon Brown chose to bide his time last year instead of challenge Blair. Time ran out once the hand-picked mandarins, Lords Butler and Hutton, delivered their cover-ups and the slavish "lobby journalists" pronounced Blair "cleared". Now the Big Four union leaders look as stupid as they sometimes sound: the man they were relying on to replace Blair in a peaceful transition bottled out. Worse still, in what could be his last major act as Chancellor, he targeted the fastest growing, most militantly led union – the PCS.

Brown was never a real political alternative to Blair; he

For the first time in generations the mass discontent with Blair poses the real possibility of thousands upon thousands of workers being rallied to a fighting socialist alternative to Labour and its watery reformist soup. Indeed, the gang of four top union leaders – the Barons of Warwick – either got elected, or bolstered their

support, by openly attacking Blair and promising radical change.

Tony Woodley of the TGWU won his leadership partly on the promise that he would convene a council of war to discuss building a political alternative to Blair. Derek Simpson, upon election, announced that he had nothing to discuss with the Prime Minister.

Kevin Curran promised GMB support for anti-privatisation candidates. Dave Prentis told anyone who would listen: "If they think we are going to keep our gobs shut for Labour, they've got another think coming."

Wonderful stuff. Except none of it meant a thing. It was just typical trade union leader guff. Nothing more, nothing

less. The real agenda of the bureaucrats is to keep their union fiefdoms loyal to Labour at all costs. And the task is urgent. The discontent has to be headed off quickly. As Kevin Maguire, the *Guardian's* labour affairs editor, rightly noted: "At this stage in the electoral cycle, the unions and the TUC are traditionally compliant: in 1996 and 2000 barely a hostile word could be heard, despite private reservations." And in 2004? The TUC congress was a costly non-event. There were no spats with Labour, no tub-thumping speeches demanding an end to Blair's neo-liberal attacks.

There was not even much criticism of Alan Milburn – arch Blairite and anti-union to the marrow of his bones – being brought back into the government to run the election campaign. He will be the one to wield the battleaxe to most of the Warwick agreements.

NO PROTEST

Did this cause a stir? Did it lead the union tops to utter a word of protest, to threaten action?

Speaking on behalf of the barons, Brendan Barber, leader of the TUC, greeted Blair's promise at the TUC congress to "praise Warwick not bury it" as a sign that the Prime Minister was now a union hero: "This was a serious, and seriously good speech. It passed my two key tests. It had real commitment to the programme agreed at Warwick, not just in principle but in policy detail. And it showed the Prime Minister at ease with the trade union movement, setting out a clear role for unions in making Britain a fairer place."

The union leaders are serious in their bid to back Labour to the hilt as we approach a general election. So serious that supposedly left leaders like Tony Woodley were queuing up behind BBC Radio Four microphones to praise Blair's speech to the Labour Party conference as a sign that he had returned to the old Labour fold – and of course to deliver their block votes to Blair on Iraq.

Hot on the heels of this "triumph" Blair was confident enough to tell the world that despite his heart flutter he would stay leader for the whole of the anticipated third term. Blair was let off the hook by the gutless behaviour of union leaders who pretend to oppose him but who are in fact his principal pillars of support within the labour movement.

When the Blair leadership suffered its one reverse of the conference, – it failed to stop a resolution calling for rail re-nationalisation – it quickly made clear that no such policy would find its way into the manifesto for a third term.

Once back in power, Milburn and Blair will tear up the Warwick accord and turn yet again on the unions. The fightback must be led by an organised rank and file trade unionists now, regardless of the impact on Labour's electoral chances. It must be led by an alternative leadership – willing and able to win the unions to a political alternative to Labour, a new mass party of the working class.

Decriminalise prostitution, don't ghettoise it!

By Helen Ward

Blair's government is to review the UK laws on prostitution. In a consultation document *Paying the Price*, the Home Office outlines a number of possible reforms, all with the aim of tackling this "problem".

Home secretary David Blunkett doesn't like prostitution, one of the many evils he is trying to eradicate or drive out of sight. Over recent years women who work on the streets have been targets of his antisocial behaviour orders (Asbos), forcing them to move away from established red-light areas and into more isolated and dangerous places. More recently men who look to buy sex have been targeted with specific laws and threatened with Asbos.

Paying the Price has been reported as the start of a new liberalisation of the law, with options including the creation of "toleration zones" (areas where street prostitution can operate), and legalised brothels. However, any such concession according to the International Sex Workers Union (part of the GMB), is likely to be cloaked in further

repression and stigmatisation outside these tightly controlled districts.

There is clearly a need for reform – sex workers face high levels of exploitation and abuse from clients, pimps and the state. In fact, the state "pimps" off street workers by repeatedly arresting and fining them, knowing that the only way they can pay the fines is through sex work.

Women who work in flats or for agencies face state harassment – for brothel keeping or other offences – making them more vulnerable to violence and exploitation. Since agencies are effectively illegal, workers in them have no rights against exploitative employers.

The UK is looking at other countries for guidance. Sweden has recently made it a crime to pay for sex. Sex worker organisations in Sweden and elsewhere have condemned this as driving women underground and criminalising consenting sex between adults.

In the Netherlands, the government legalised brothels in an attempt to gain some control over, and some income from, the massive sex industry. While this has made it possible for some workers to gain basic rights and better working conditions, for thousands of others it has meant increased harassment by the authorities checking work permits.

Many of the people working in the European sex industry are migrants from poor countries. They are faced with a racist system where they cannot get benefits or work, and so many work in the black economy, including the sex industry. The law in the Netherlands and Germany excludes migrants and leads to further raids and deportations.

Capitalism creates a massive sex industry by creating a huge supply of poor women, and increasing the numbers of men and children who have to work to survive. "Legitimate" jobs on rock bottom wages come and go with the flow of capital. At the same time, capitalism continues to distort sexuality, forcing people to conform to the

heterosexual monogamous norm or face stigma and repression.

Despite major changes in sexuality and gender politics in recent decades, sex is still not tolerated outside of relationships. In a society where everything can be bought or sold, it is no surprise that some men pay for sex rather than get embroiled in a long-term relationship.

So having created a massive supply of people needing work, and demand for sex as a commodity, capitalism creates a large sex industry. But even the most neoliberal governments find it difficult to embrace the industry fully. So they continue to regard it as a moral question in which the participants are blamed for some inherent weakness.

Blunkett's consultation document presents sex workers as victims who need to be saved. Those who continue to sell sex are to be rounded up into zones where they are "allowed" to work under the watchful eye of the police: a form of apartheid that is unthinkable for any other group. There is of course no attempt to address the poverty

wages, inequalities and discrimination that deny women a decent living in the "legitimate" sector.

But while governments try to banish them from sight and rescue their souls (while siphoning off their money) sex workers organised in unions across the globe are calling for decriminalisation and an end to stigmatisation. They know better than anyone else that there is massive exploitation in the industry, but they also know that the answer to exploitation is to organise the workers to fight for their rights, including the right to other work if they want it.

Rather than join the calls for further controls by the Blunketts of this world, we call for decriminalisation, and campaign against discrimination, funds for healthcare and retraining for those who want it. But this will fail unless the industry is put under the control of those who work in it. That is the best way of getting rid of the pimps – from the individual gangsters right through to the big businesses and the state.

Forbidden loves

John McKee reviews *Ae Fond Kiss* (director: Ken Loach 2004 GB) and *Code 46* (director: Michael Winterbottom, 2003 GB)

Two films by British directors explore a common theme of "forbidden love" in very different contexts.

Ken Loach's *Ae Fond Kiss* looks at the cultural, religious and work problems that beset two young people in Glasgow when they fall in love.

The man, Casim Khan, comes from an ambitious Pakistani family keen to marry their children off in respectable arranged marriages. Casim lives like many young Asians in two worlds; he is a popular DJ with plans to open his own club, yet at the same time under the authority of family traditions and religion. Unfortunately for his family, falls for his younger sister's Irish music teacher, Roisin, who teaches at the Catholic school.

At first Casim tries to conceal the relationship, instructing Roisin to duck down every time they pass a cousin's shop in the car. Casim is committed to an arranged marriage with his cousin from Pakistan within a few weeks of the relationship starting and conceals this from Roisin.

The film focuses around the conflict Casim faces between bringing disgrace

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Glaswegian kiss: Casim and Roisin together

on his family and cousin, and jeopardising his older sister's wedding plans, and the incomprehension of Roisin at the hold such ideas have over Casim and his aspiring family. But Roisin herself falls foul of religious bigotry because she is "living in sin" with a Muslim.

Directed in Loach's naturalistic style, the dilemmas and pressures are entirely convincing. Yet the theme is very familiar. In many ways *East is East* was a more convincing film about immigrant life. Maybe this is because just about everyone in *Ae Fond Kiss* appears so polite and middle class.

In *Code 46* the forbidden love is of an entirely different variety. If Ken Loach re-worked *Romeo and Juliet*, then Michael Winterbottom has given us a new version of George Orwell's 1984. It is a world in the not too distant future where the economic centre of gravity seems to have moved to China, India and the east, to massive futuristic cities surrounded by desert.

William is sent to Shanghai to investigate a fraud involving "papelles" – passports that allow entry to the cities. For these wealthy centres are surrounded by masses of "outsiders" desperate to be

allowed to enter and work. Once inside, movement and work are closely monitored by high tech gadgetry.

Yes, this is a world that David Blunkett is busily trying to create with his biometric ID cards, tagging and satellite tracking. It is a world run by an all-seeing all-knowing computer – the Sphinx.

William's special talent is mind-reading, which comes courtesy of a virus supplied by the Sphinx organisation. In an interview and subsequent day together, he falls head over heels in love with Maria, who is forging "papelles". She is doing it not for money, but to help people defy the Sphinx. Worse is to come – strict rules are in force to prevent people with close genetic links having relationships. To do so violates *Code 46*. William and Maria turn out to have such links.

Filmed in Shanghai, Hongkong and Dubai, Winterbottom conjures up a very different world but one still familiar to us.

Code 46 is a rarity – a political science fiction film. This might be the future if the Blunketts of this world get complete control over the movement of labour.

Four Years of Intifada

By Salaam Max in occupied Palestine

The Al Aqsa Intifada is four years old this month. Four years of state sponsored terrorism and unremitting violence from the Israeli government; four years of impotence on behalf of the PNA; four years of Palestinian resistance, inspiring millions around the world.

Four years of international solidarity: On the anniversary of the Intifada, September 28, the Peace Cycle, a group of international activists, entered Jerusalem – after passing through Europe and Jordan – to bring solidarity with the Palestinians.

Four years of popular protest: On the anniversary, villagers from Budrus demonstrated against the building of the Apartheid Wall on their lands – supported by international and Israeli activists. They were met with extreme violence from the Israeli military; firing of live rounds and rubber coated metal bullets, concussion grenades and tear gas; protestors beaten with rifle butts, batons and fists; Palestinian activists, Internationals and Israelis arrested.

Four years of Israeli repression of internal disobedience: Tali Fahima, a Jewish Arab Israeli, was given four months in administrative detention after visiting Jenin refugee camp. And one day before the anniversary of the Intifada, GS, an Israeli reservist, was sentenced to 28 days in prison for refusing to serve in the Gaza strip.

Four years of daily humiliation and degradation on a daily basis for Palestinians: On the anniversary of the Intifada, five Israeli "Border" Police admitted forcing two Palestinian boys at gun point to retrieve their ID cards with their mouths from the bottom of a bucket filled with urine.

Four years of political prisoners being held without trial, tortured, and abused...

Four years on, and the resistance continues. Sharon promised to crush the Intifada, and he has failed. The PA promised to negotiate a peace, and they have failed.

How much longer before Israel gets the message? They cannot beat this Intifada; the only thing left to do is end the occupation.

Australian elections: Greens are not a class alternative to Labor

By Carlene Wilson

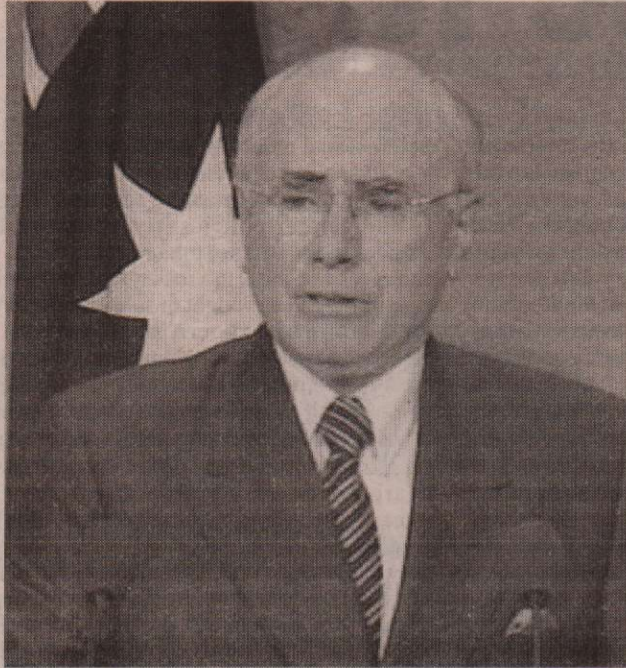
With the Australian election only a week away opinion polls suggests that, while there is a swing to Labor, it will not be sufficient to get them over the line. John Howard is quietly confident of a close victory.

After three terms of the right wing coalition, it's hard to see why people would be looking for another one. Howard has made it clear he will be gunning for the building unions in particular and a whole series of social services as well. He will send extra troops to Iraq to bolster the current offensive and there will be no let up on his racist refugee policy.

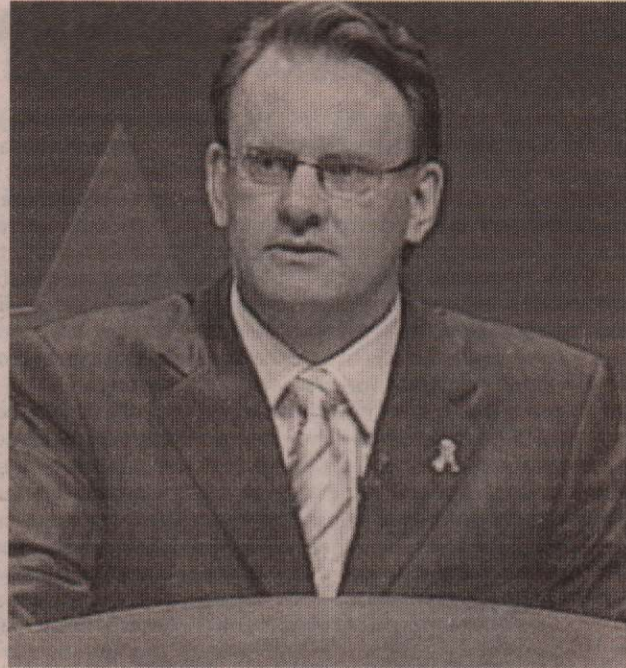
That Labor is not romping home is its own fault. Early in the campaign Labor leader Mark Latham promised that he would get Australian troops out of Iraq by Christmas. This massively increased his popularity. Since then, though, he has done his best to back away from the promise.

The same is true of promises to have all the children out of refugee detention centres by Christmas.

This should come as no surprise. Latham, like his mentor Goff Whitlam, is from the Labor Right, who see their support base in the white, male labour aristocracy of the suburbs. It is "little Aussie battler" politics.



Australian Tory Prime Minister John Howard



Labor leader Mark Latham

And it may well cost Labor yet another election.

The parties that will gain from Labor's failure to offer strong leadership, particularly on the issue of war, will be the Greens. The Green Party has tried to pose as the pro-refugee, anti-war party – despite calling for UN intervention in Iraq and still insisting that migrants have to jump through legal hoops to be allowed to stay.

The Greens will pick up votes because it was Labor who introduced much of the neo-liberal attacks, and who, with the unions, set up the Accord

which seriously attacked wages and conditions.

The Greens even have some support from parts of the trade union movement, though in solidly working class areas the Greens still do far worse than Labor. Many workers in Australia can see that the Green Party is not a class choice.

It's a pity then that the Socialist Alliance – the only real left alternative to Labor running in this election – do not seem to see this. The Greens might have a few good policies on paper but they are in no way attached to the working

class. In fact many Greens are hostile to the trade unions, who are, at best, seen as just another interest group rather than as important organisations of the working class.

The Socialist Alliance is preferring the Greens above Labor in the transferable vote system on the grounds that Labor often betrays its promises and the Greens have better policies. In truth, it's an opportunist way of staying friendly with Green activists.

What it ignores is the pressing need to break people's remaining illusions in Labor

through working alongside their activists – and keeping the issue of class to the fore.

Workers Power supports a vote for the Socialist Alliance where it is standing candidates with Labor preferred second and the Greens after that. This recognises the fact that, unlike the Greens, Labor was built out of the trade unions. Importantly, it retains those links very strongly with a 50 per cent union bloc vote at conference and close relationships through the union leadership.

Of course these links are problematic. In Victoria at the

moment Labor linked trade union officials are holding back the mass campaign to free jailed union militant, Craig Johnston. The Victorian Labor government had a strong hand in the jailing of Johnston for his defence of striking workers.

Despite this, workers have good reasons to want a Labor victory: several unions will face massive attacks, including the possibility of deregistration, if Howard is re-elected.

Workers Power Australia has raised the call for a new workers party. It's clear that people are increasingly disillusioned in Labor, and that the Greens are no class alternative. The Socialist Alliance is not a new workers party, but it is an organization that must set itself the task of building one.

A call from the Socialist Alliance would win a hearing from the many trade unionists, from people in the anti-war and refugee movements and in other parts of society.

Regardless of who wins the election on 9 October, we can remain certain that working class organisation will still be necessary. If Howard wins, then we are in for a series of attacks that will make the last few years look like a picnic. If Latham wins it will mean organising just as strongly to force through our demands.

On 9 October we say vote Socialist Alliance, then Labor – and organize to fight for a new workers party.

After Beslan: Russian troops out of Chechnya! Halt reactionary attacks on Russian civilians!

By Dave Stockton

The massacre of more than 300 hostages in Beslan – half of them young children – by Chechen fighters is a repugnant act and must be totally and unequivocally condemned.

Firstly, because the ordinary Ossetian or Russian population is not to blame for the oppression of Chechens. They must be won over to their side if the Russian government is to be undermined in its brutal war to forcibly retain control of this oil and gas rich country.

Secondly, because such barbarous acts isolate the Chechens even more and open them up to massive reprisals, which, on past evidence, will exceed in cruelty even the slaughter in Beslan.

Of course, Putin is a vile hypocrite with many times more blood on his hands than the Chechen guerrillas. George Bush and Jack Straw, who rushed to declare their support for Putin, themselves have the blood of thousands of Iraqi children on their hands. These warmongers dare not ask why three years of the war on terrorism have led to more and more terrorism.

According to UNICEF, between 1 May 2003, the supposed end of "major combat operations" in Iraq, and mid-July of the same year, more than 1,000 Iraqi children were injured by "bomblets", the payloads of US cluster bombs, which act as anti-personnel mines if they fail to explode on impact. Are Bush and Blair painted as simply evil baby killers? They do it on a far bigger scale and are motivated not by revenge or despair but the sordid search for profits for big oil and global hegemony.

In Chechnya the reason for the cruelty of such tactics is the systematic, comprehensive genocidal acts of Russian imperialism against the Chechen people over the last ten years. Chechnya in the mid-1990s had around one million people. Since the first Chechen war (1994-96), the Russian army has slaughtered from 80,000 to 100,000 Chechens – 10 per cent of the total population! 200,000 have been driven out of their homes and a further 200,000 fled abroad.

Putin rules by posing as the hard fisted ruler, who will never allow the Russian Federation to disintegrate, as Gorbachev allowed the USSR to do. He has refused to negotiate with even the

more moderate, elected Chechen nationalist leaders like president Aslan Maskhadov.

Instead he has imposed puppet regimes, "elected" by rigged elections. Himself a former KGB nonentity, it is not certain he would ever have been elected without "the Chechen question".

In the second Chechen war, official Russian estimates claim that more than 10,000 "terrorists" have been killed. Independent commentators estimate many thousands more – mainly civilians – perished. Many of them have been children – far, far more in number than the victims of Beslan. But their slaughter, their parent's agony were not broadcast to millions around the world. Nor did they attract from the US president or the British prime minister either statements of sympathy for the victims or condemnation for the perpetrators.

The capital of Chechnya, Grozny, is today like a ghost town – hardly a building that has not been destroyed or seriously damaged. Villages have been erased from the map by the occupying army, especially by the "Kontrakti" – mercenary killers. Add to this the destruction of the entire Chechen econ-

omy and infrastructure and one can understand the despair that led Beslan. As one hostage-taker told an escapee, "Russian soldiers come to Chechnya and kill our children, so we come here and kill yours."

Those ultimately responsible for this tragedy are in the Moscow Kremlin, in the White House and in Downing Street. Bush and Blair want Putin on their side in the Middle East and Central Asia, so they are complicit in the rape of Chechnya.

The demands of the hostage-takers obscured by both the Russian and the entire world media were not outrageous. They were as simple as they were just: "Release of the Chechen resistance fighters and withdrawal of the Russian army from Chechnya".

Democrats and socialists should support these demands, while totally opposing the measures taken in Beslan. Of course we do not preach to the Chechen people the impermissibility of using force, or of fighting a war of national liberation. On the contrary, we support this war. However, Marxists know from historical experience that neither an oppressed class nor a suppressed people can shake off its rulers' tyranny by force alone.

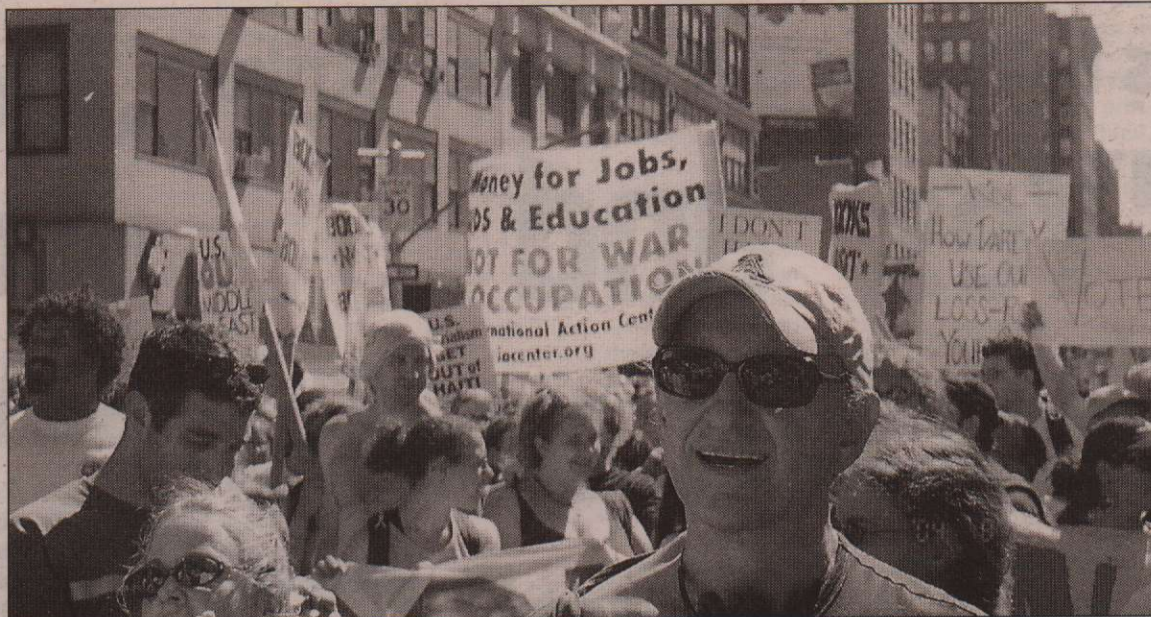
The deeply reactionary effects of the hostage drama appeared when trade unions marched under slogans such as: "Russia against the terror", "Condemn the non-humans", "With terrorists only negotiate with bullets". This is reactionary chauvinism, in the interests neither of the Russian workers nor the people of Chechnya. It proves the mass hostage-taking tactics are a disaster.

Reactionary Islamism offers the Chechen people no perspective beyond prolonged suffering. Only an alliance of the peoples of the Caucasus and the Russian workers can offer one and, on the basis of overcoming capitalist plunder and market chaos, find a way out of the present misery.

- Islamist terror tactics are not the way!
- Solidarity with the armed struggle to drive out the occupiers!
- All Russian troops out of Chechnya now! Freedom for Chechnya!
- Solidarity with the soldiers' mothers committees that support Russian deserters!
- For a voluntary socialist federation of the peoples of the Caucasus!
- Down with Putin and capitalism in Russia!

No choice is US elections

GR McColl reports on the US presidential election and argues that the resistance to American militarism could yet spawn a new party, but adds Ralph Nader won't be its leader



Half a million demonstrators took to the streets of New York City on 29 August to protest against Bush

If most opinion polls in the US are at all credible George W Bush looks set for a second term in the White House. At first glance this seems quite extraordinary, given the fact that his administration has presided over a net loss of some one millions jobs, dramatic increases in the numbers of Americans living below the poverty line and a rise of 1.5 million people without any form of health insurance in 2003 to a total of 45 million. And, of course, this takes no account of the widespread unpopularity of the increasingly bloody occupation of Iraq.

Bush has engendered more deeply felt passion than any president in living memory, with the possible exception of Richard Nixon. His presidency and particularly the Iraq war have rekindled activism on a scale rarely witnessed in the US since the Second World War.

Half a million demonstrators took to the streets of New York City on 29 August in one of the largest demonstrations in US history to protest against Bush and the presence of the Republican Party convention in the "Big Apple". And Michael Moore's "Fahrenheit 9/11" has broken box office

records in the most unlikely parts of the country.

Of course, the polls could be wrong. Kerry could trounce Bush in a televised debate or the combined efforts of Bruce Springsteen and REM playing around the nation could turn the tide. In the closely contested "swing states" voter registration among young people has risen sharply and a clear majority of them have registered as Democrats - something the polls would not typically reflect. In predominantly blue-collar Cleveland, Ohio, for example, new voters are registering at twice the rate recorded four years ago.

But let's suppose the polls are right and the widely supported "Anybody But Bush" campaign fails.

A victory for Bush on 2 November will reflect the failure of John Kerry's campaign. In recent weeks as his campaign has continued to flounder, Kerry has abandoned his absurd posturing as the "commander-in-chief in waiting" and begun to attack the rationale advanced by the Bush administration for going to war against Iraq. He remains, however, publicly committed to maintaining a military presence in the country for a full four years - albeit with more troops wearing blue

UN helmets. Beyond this pledge Kerry will not and, most probably, cannot go.

As the Democratic standard-bearer, he faces an inherent constraint, which means that he dare not break fundamentally from the supposed post-9/11 consensus around US imperialism's "foreign policy". Regardless of the fact that 90 per cent of the delegates at his own party's convention indicated in July that they were now opposed to the Iraq war, along with such pro-Kerry maverick billionaires as Warren Buffett and George Soros, the dominant capitalist interests in the US are not prepared to withdraw from Iraq any time soon since the overall cost of what would effectively be a humiliating defeat outweighs any of the potential advantages.

Bush has quite unashamedly served as the chief executive for the very rich and major multinational corporations, lavishing tax cuts on the upper middle class, bashing the west coast dockers and public sector unions and further deregulating swathes of industry. Still, Bush's lead in campaign contributions from big business is narrow in most key sectors of the economy, with the extraordinary but unsurprising exception of the oil, gas and

extractive industries, where an estimated 90 percent of contributions are going Bush's way. At the same time, the Democratic Party leadership remains utterly and very willingly accountable to the interests of those bosses.

But there is a potentially powerful contradiction opening up between Kerry, the Democrats and their "base" in a diminished but still immensely powerful organised working class. The Democrats were, of course, the party that launched the first Cold War, including Korea; the party that under Kerry's idol, John F Kennedy, dramatically escalated the war against Vietnam. And during the Clinton years took unilateral military interventions without the rubber stamp of the United Nations, in Haiti and the Balkans, while ruthlessly enforcing the sanctions regime that claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis for most of the 1990s.

Through all this organised labour has either slavishly supported US imperialism's military adventures or remained utterly silent. In sharp contrast to the situation that prevailed for virtually the whole of the Vietnam War, significant sections of organised

labour, sometimes in defiance of national union bureaucracies are adopting positions that are overtly opposed to the current war and occupation, and are incompatible with the line of Kerry and the Democratic nationally.

In late August the Communications Workers of America (CWA) joined the Service Employees (SEIU), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Postal Workers (APWU), Mail Handlers (a division of the Laborers' Union - LIUNA), and the California, Washington, and Maryland/DC Federations of Labor in adopting strong antiwar resolutions this year. At present, all these organisations are also (more or less) backing Kerry's campaign. In total, the unions are bankrolling the Democratic candidate to the tune of some \$65 million - in absolute terms, at least, the biggest ever "investment" in a US election by organised labour.

These factors, combined with the size and fervour of the anti-war protests, illustrate the basis for a "third party", a genuine "Labour Party" independent of the pro-capitalist and imperialist duopoly of both Democrats and Republicans, with serious roots in the working class and among those oppressed by racism, sexism and homophobia.

Despite the dismal absence of choice in this as in other US elections over many decades (see box on Nader candidacy) such a party is not a utopian pipedream but a renewed possibility in the coming period, even if it is not about to enter the stage before the 2 November general election.

Whatever the eventual outcome of that poll, the tasks facing socialists in the US will not fundamentally change, even if Bush temporarily demoralises many around the world with a victory next month. The extraordinary size and fervour of the 29 August march through Manhattan was a powerful reminder that militant youth and US workers desperately need but can also construct their own alternative to both Bush/Cheney, Kerry/Edwards and the system of global exploitation and oppression that all four defend tooth and nail.

Ralph Nader's strange bedfellows

In 2000 the long-standing consumer rights advocate, Ralph Nader, stood as the Green Party's presidential candidate, featuring on the ballot in most of the 50 states. He garnered around 3% of the popular vote nationwide (though considerably more in several states) and was denounced by many a Democratic Party hack for putting Bush in the White House.

At the time, Nader lacked significant trade union support even at a local level, but enlisted the backing of an impressive array of left-leaning celebrities and academics, and the ISO, the former sister organisation of the British SWP. Four years on Nader is again mounting a presidential campaign of sorts, though this time he is not the candidate of a sharply divided Green

Party and the likes of Tim Robbins, Susan Sarandon and Howard Zinn have also abandoned his camp. In their stead have come an ever weirder and more unsavoury collection of benefactors and media champions. Among them has been the former Nixon speechwriter turned far-right populist and anti-Semitic demagogue, Pat Buchanan. While stopping short of endorsing Nader he has certainly bestowed praise on a candidate one might have assumed would be his arch opponent.

Perhaps Buchanan's enthusiasm for Nader has something to do with the latter's championing of tighter immigration controls, a position which has embarrassed his running-mate, leading Green Party light, Peter Camejo, who has effectively broken with his own organisation's

conference decision to stand as Nader's vice-presidential candidate. But Nader's new-found friends and supporters also include more mainstream Republicans who have helped finance his efforts to get on the ballot paper. Overall, some 10 per cent of Nader's funds appear to have come from Bush backers and in some key states the figure appears to be much higher.

In Florida, where the State Supreme Court has added Nader's name to the ballot, Glenda Hood, the Secretary of State, and still another unabashed Bush-backer in the cabinet of Dubya's brother, Jeb, insisted that the Nader candidacy feature on the state's absentee ballots even before the judges made their ruling. This year, the Democrats have spent an absurd amount of time and money mounting

legal challenges to sustain a deeply undemocratic bar against Nader, though their charge that he is little more than a spoiler for the Republicans now has some credence.

Meanwhile, leading lights of the British SWP have continued to lend Nader their not terribly critical support. Alex Callinicos has launched justified salvos at Kerry and the Democrats but praised the Nader candidacy, while a 25 September editorial in Socialist Worker claims that it points "in the right direction" - no irony intended.

A letter from a long-time SWP member, Nick Grant, which appears in the paper's 1 October edition is rather more honest and perceptive:

"During a month spent in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York I

came across not one public meeting, street stall, poster or leaflet for the Nader campaign. Even though these areas are the liberal heartlands of the US, where he may not have wanted to focus his resources, Nader's only national presence was in press reports of his legal fights to get on the maximum number of state ballots. On the other hand, there were regular Democratic Party recruitment and registration stalls in shopping areas, music gigs and travel points".

Crucially, Grant notes that the campaign has had no serious involvement with any of the various coalitions that have emerged to oppose the wars waged by Washington in the wake of 9/11, however critical Nader has sometimes been of Bush's "war on terrorism". He also

highlights the almost complete absence of visible support among the hundreds of thousands of marchers on the streets of New York during the emphatically anti-war, as well as anti-Bush, 29 August demonstration.

While the Nader campaign may indeed prove a factor in the eventual outcome on 2 November, there are few if any excuses remaining for those like the SWP and its ex-sister group, the ISO, who would like to pretend that a Nader campaign is some kind of short cut to a workers' party in the United States. Their support for Nader seems still another symptom of an incurable infatuation with populist electoralism that stands in sharp contrast to an earlier tradition within its ranks of outright contempt for vote-catching exercises as such.

workers power 5

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British section of the League for the Fifth International

Civil servants ballot for 5 November strike

Vote 'Yes' and put a rocket under Gordon Brown!

By a PCS member

The Public and Commercial Services Union is balloting 290,000 members for a one day strike on 5 November in protest at Gordon Brown's plans to sack 104,000 civil servants.

Soon the government will announce plans to reform civil service pensions, and arrangements for sick leave. While exact details are not known, it is believed that the pension age will be raised from 60 to 65 and the final salary pension scheme will be replaced with an average salary scheme. Those civil servants "lucky" enough to keep their jobs will have to work longer for less money into their old age.

The government is also examining Tesco's scheme of cutting the pay for the first three days a worker is sick. When you're Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Every little helps".

This is also a blatant attack on women workers and ethnic minorities, who form the bulk of the low paid in the civil service. Some 250,000 female civil servants receive 27 per cent less pay than their male colleagues, creating a pay gap that is wider than the national average. An incredible 91 per cent of women working in the civil service earn less than the national average wage.

This government is not only anti-working class, it's sexist to boot.

CLOSURES WILL WORSEN SERVICES

Forty thousand of the jobs will be cut from the Benefits Agency. Brown clearly couldn't give a monkey's if the unemployed and long-term sick get stuffed.

Seven Benefit Offices across Wales are due to close with about 800 people losing their jobs. Service users in those towns, who are among the most vulnerable people in society, will have to call or physically travel to so-called super-offices if they have problems with their benefits.

"Front line" government services will be even further away from the communities they are supposed to serve.

WALK-OUTS

Like those excited kids who set off bangers before bonfire night, some workers have been unable to wait for 5 November. Benefit Office workers in Newtown in Powys walked out on unofficial strike on 15 September after learning that 70 of them will lose their jobs.

Around 200 workers in Fife also walked out after being told that five Scottish Benefit Offices will be closing with possible redundancies reaching 2,000. There were similar stories in Manchester and Liverpool.

This is an indication of the level of anger among civil servants who are worrying over an uncertain future, unsure whether or not Gordon Brown's axe might fall upon them next. One in four PCS members earn less than £13,600 per year. Most of those thrown onto the scrapheap could barely afford the next month's rent, let alone Tony and Cherie Blair's £3.5 million mortgage on their retirement mansion.

While every activist must work overtime to secure the biggest possible "Yes" vote, the leadership's strategy of a one-day national strike followed by local actions is inadequate.

TUC BETRAYS AT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

General Secretary Mark Serwotka continues to make much of the backing he has secured from the TUC.

Yet, none of the other unions saw fit to table a debate on civil service job cuts at the Labour Party Conference – let alone bring forward their own grievances and strike up a united front against the general onslaught on public sector jobs and services.

Serwotka described this as "disappointing" but said he understood they had their own priorities. "Disappointing" is what one bureaucrat might say to another; disgusting is how

most PCS members saw it. The TUC has offered sympathy and given Serwotka a standing ovation at Congress – then hung him out to dry.

These same cretins also tout Gordon Brown as the possible saviour of "real" Labour. But if this man took over the Labour Party who would notice the difference? Not Civil Servants since these cuts are his idea. Not the long-suffering Iraqi people as Brown has publicly backed Blair's war. Nor the people of the developing world who suffer under the IMF sponsored deregulation programmes which Brown trumpets.

The PCS needs to urgently link up with those in the RMT, FBU and other unions ready to break with Labour and fight for a real workers party; one that defends and extends public services, not slashes them, one that delivers solidarity, not empty promises, one that represents the working class, not the bloated bureaucrats of Congress House.

FIGHT FOR A WINNING STRATEGY

Despite these criticisms, it is now imperative that the union secures a big turnout in the ballot and a big "yes" vote. Over the next few weeks, until the ballot closes on 22 October, activists will be organising mass members' meetings, and going out to build support for the strike among members and recruiting non-members.

Local cross-departmental strike committees, elected by and accountable to regular mass meetings need to draw up plans for 6 November now.

Walk-outs show the way. Strikers should spread the strikes to other areas, create a rolling strike from below. The 5 November should mark just the beginning of the fireworks. The employers have started closing offices and transferring Benefits Agency workers to the other side of the counter.

If we are not to leave them there, we need to build for an indefinite national strike – starting on 5 November!

Jaguar: occupy to save jobs

By the middle of September, the Ford Motor Company announced that they intend to stop car production at the Jaguar plant at Browns Lane, Coventry, writes Dave Ashcroft. The move will mean the loss of 1,150 jobs in what workers fear is the first step in Ford's plan to move Jaguar manufacture to America, or even to Ford pulling out of making cars in Britain entirely.

So far, the response of the unions involved, the Transport and General Workers, Amicus and GMB, has been to organise lobbies of Ford's top bosses at the Paris motor show, and of Blair, Brown and Prescott at the Labour Party conference. A mass demonstration through Coventry is planned, but no date has yet been set.

The unions' argument that the closure of Browns Lane will tear the heart out of

Coventry will win the sympathy of Coventry's Peugeot and council workers, who know that their jobs may be next. The cruel logic of globalisation means that, while Ford is moving production back to its home base in the USA, Peugeot is taking advantage of the Czech Republic's entry into the EU by planning to shift plant Eastwards in the next five years.

Incredibly, this could leave Coventry, once synonymous with the car industry, with just one motor factory left: London Taxis International. But this will cut no ice in changing the plans of the bosses of a global corporation like Ford.

Jaguar workers have shown that they are prepared to take more decisive action than union leaders like the "left" T&G and Amicus general secretaries, Tony Woodley and Derek Simpson. A mass meeting at Browns Lane voted six to one for a strike against the plant closure and job losses.

If the closure is to be defeated, what is needed is an occupation at the plant. Such an action would make Browns Lane a beacon to rally the active support of workers, in Coventry and beyond – as well as taking the bosses' property hostage.

- Occupy to save Jaguar!
- Call for international solidarity!
- For a Coventry-wide strike!

"This is another nail in the coffin of the Coventry working class. We had Massey Ferguson, we had British Leyland, we had Rolls Royce, they've gone. Peugeot's going to go. That leaves us with Taxi Black Cabs. How much more blood do they want out of this city?" – postal worker, CWU.

"This is the effect of globalisation. Jaguar is the heart of this city. This is the real effects, companies promising the earth and they stab you through the heart." Civil servant, PCS

Get active, stay active, join Workers Power

Even the onset of war did not stop the global revolt against it.

Across the world the working class is coming together. Globalisation has forced workers and activists from different countries and continents to unite, work and fight together. There have been huge Social Forums of resistance in Europe at Florence and Paris, in Asia at Hyderabad and Mumbai, and in South America at Porto Alegre.

Together with the L5I, which is represented on the European Social Forum, Workers Power campaigns to bring these movements together into a New

World Party of Socialist Revolution – the Fifth International.

This is a momentous time, one of those times when the true nature of the world we live in suddenly becomes clear to millions. Capitalism is revealing itself to be a system of war, conquest and global inequality. By taking to the streets against war and capitalism, hundreds of thousands of people are showing that they have seen through the lies.

Take the next step and join Workers Power. Phone us on 020 7820 1363 or email us at workerspower@btopenworld.com

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the home of European neo-liberalism. Britain will also probably host an EU summit. We must summon the youth of Europe to shut down these gatherings of thieves and murderers.

We must set out to stall and throw into retreat the assault on our social gains, wages, hours. We must oppose the neoliberal EU constitution, the wave of privatisations, and win the workers' movement to a programme of nationalisation under workers control.

The Assembly must create a Standing Council of the Assembly, which should meet several times over the year to oversee this campaign.

Last but not least it should draw up proposals for the January 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, where it should convene, with organisations from the other continents, a World Assembly of the Social Movements. The disillusion with Lula's betrayal in Brazil means that this WSF will take place at a critical moment.

If we do not take these steps forward now, the anticapitalist movement that achieved so much between 1999 and 2003 could degenerate into the pure talking-shop that the right wing elements that have seized control of the WSF so desperately want.

The preparations for the London ESF have already seen a take over of the official platforms by Labour's Ken Livingstone and the "centre-left" union bureaucrats, who want a "nice event" to restore the prestige of trade unionism and left reformism, but no open confrontation.

They want to make Livingstone – London Mayor – look radical but respectable. They harbour illusions that one day Ken will lead the Labour Party and usher in the socialist millennium. Dream on!

Militant anticapitalist forces – which constitute a majority of the rank and file of the movements of the early 21st century – need to challenge the old and decrepit reformists that are trying to hog-tie the new movement with legalism and bureaucratic conservatism.

The reformists' horizons are narrow ones. Ours are far broader and bolder: the grandest narrative there is, human liberation. To match the militancy of Seattle, Genoa and Buenos Aires, which saw in the turn of the new century we need to create a new world organisation, a new world political party, a Fifth International. We need it to co-ordinate the struggle against a global enemy, the brutal empires centred in Washington or Brussels and win through to another, socialist world.

KEY MEETINGS

- **Future of the European Social Forum**
Friday 9-12 noon
- **For a democratic and social Europe**
Friday 9-12 noon
Annick Coupe (G10), Franco Russo (Cgil)
- **Our world is not for sale**
Friday 4-6 pm
Evo Morales, Mark Curtis
- **Privatisation and political parties**
Friday 7-9 pm
Alex Callinicos (SWP)
- **Networks of struggle or new world party?**
Saturday 2-4 pm
Richard Brenner (L51), Kirstie Paton (Workers Power)
- **ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**
Sunday 9-12 noon

Transform the Unions

... continued from front page

In the US, a similar alliance with radical youth recruited workers in the new industries and among migrant communities and attacked the increasing use of sweatshops by the likes of Gap and Nike.

In the Global South, globalisation threatened workers and indigenous peoples: it would be wrong to believe the globalisers propaganda that people in the Far East, for example, enjoyed working for 20 cents an hour, 18 hours a day, with one day off a month. Organisations such as the Korean Congress of Trade Unions, the Mexican Authentic Labour Front, the Indonesian FNPBI led by Dita Sari have demonstrated at WTO meetings and sought out international alliances.

In Europe, France and Italy have seen the growth of radical syndicalist or autonomous unions. SUD-PTT (communications) and the CRC (health) were built by militants expelled from the main French unions which refused to support the unofficial co-ordinations, which developed in the course of strikes. In Italy, the CUB and Cobas similarly owe their origins to bureaucratic clampdowns. The 1992 betrayal over a pay formula that gave Italian workers protection against inflation, and the 1995 strikes that saw off the "plan Juppé" in France proved turning points with the growth of SUD and Cobas type unions.

In Germany, Britain and the northern European countries, developments were slower. But left leaders have been elected, and tensions with the workers' traditional parties in government have reached breaking point.

But recent years have proved that the unions, especially in Europe, are inadequate to the tasks facing us.

Cobas led the struggle in defence of Article 18, which gave some protection to workers against sackings, forcing the big unions to unite in a general strike. But Berlusconi is still there, Fiat shedding jobs, and the referendum on Article 18 was lost.

In France, Electricite Français and France Telecom have been privatised. The 35-hour week is under threat. Pension reforms – the issue that brought down plan Juppé – have been secured.

The German unions have been defeated over pensions, the 35-hour week in the East, unemployment and sickness benefits.

All of these defeats were unnecessary. In every case, the workers showed they were ready for a real fight. But the unions must be transformed into fighting rank and file organisations if they are to win and roll back the neo-liberal offensive.

To turn things round we have to urgently:

- Unite in struggle to defend and extend the social gains of post-war Europe: health and education services, pensions, unemployment benefits, union rights
- Forge cross-border links at every level of the unions so that workers cannot be played off against each other
- Build rank and file movements in every union, across the unions, and over the borders, that can hold their leaders to account, launch action when they sell out, and replace them with new ones once they are exposed.
- Call on the union leaders to use their influence to demand that the social democratic, socialist, communist and labour parties defend the workers' gains and attack the rampaging capitalists through taxation, regulation and – yes – nationalisation; or decisively break with them and form new parties that will.

These tasks cannot be achieved by sectarian abstention from struggling inside the major unions, nor by simply electing new "left" leaders, nor by playing within the union rules. Our unions, across Europe and the world, have been usurped by a caste of bureaucratic leaders, who would rather preside over defeats than see their little empires crumble.

They have made their peace with capitalism. The 160 million union members worldwide – and the countless others denied organisation – cannot. They – and we – need anticapitalist unions and revolutionary socialist parties. That can be the only content of the slogan, "Turn the anticapitalist movement toward the workers, make the labour movement anticapitalist!"

KEY MEETINGS

- **GLOBALISATION**
Friday 9-12 noon
Andy Stern (SEIU)
- **Privatisation of postal services**
Friday 9-12 noon
- **Union activism**
Friday 1-3 pm
Markus Dahms (IG Metall), Anick Coupe (G10), Piero Bernocchi, (CoBas)
- **Should unions form new parties?**
Saturday 9-11 am
Pat Spackman (RMT), Jimmy Nolan (Liverpool dockers), Matthias Fritz (IG Metall)
- **Labour and social rights**
Saturday 7-9 pm
Bob Crow (RMT)

Youth are the future

... continued from front page

and even death taking the fight to the forces of state repression.

Over the course of 10 years the anti-capitalist movement has undergone immense changes. From being highly libertarian and anarchist influenced in its politics in the period up to the protests at Genoa it now encompasses broad political forces – former Communist Parties, far left organisations, NGOs, lobby groups and Trade Unions. A potential mass movement exists united in opposition to neo-liberalism.

The ESF will reflect this broadening of the movement to an unheard of extent. The European Trades Union Council has now formerly turned to the Social Forums. Its British equivalent the TUC too will be supporting it plus the National Union of Students. And London's Mayor Ken Livingstone.

Revolutionaries should welcome these organisations and individuals into the movement, despite their historic reputation for conservatism. We demand though, that if they come into the movement they are to be aware that this is a movement of action and struggle on the streets. We demand that they mobilise their memberships in a renewed struggle against war, racism and neo-liberalism.

But where does this leave young people who are after all the militant wing of this movement? At this year's ESF the platforms speakers will be overwhelmingly – not one young person will speak in a plenary session. The organisers of the ESF – the TUC, GLA and SWP – blocked all attempts to get a fully simultaneously translated Youth Assembly let alone a self organised space for young people.

At a recent programme group meeting the NUS bureaucracy, who also opposed

all moves to gain the above, made impassioned pleas for two young people (surprise, surprise two bureaucrats from NUS) to chair plenary sessions at the ESF because 'We have to represent young people on the platforms'.

The ESF must organise and unite the young militants around a political strategy for the movement itself. This will begin to give a voice to young people but can also play a key role on leading the entire movement in a revolutionary direction.

Several youth organisations are organising a youth assembly at this year's ESF to discuss the marginalising of young people at the ESF and what we can do about it and to discuss plans for mobilising for the G8 meeting in Scotland next year and the European Union Council meeting which will also be in Britain.

At the Youth Assembly, young people must take steps towards organising ourselves on a higher political level. That is why the socialist youth group, Revolution will also propose that all the groups involved in the youth assembly should form a Youth International. A co-ordination should be set up of organisations at the Assembly who want to take this project forward and hold a delegate based meeting in 2005. We must not confine ourselves to the struggles of Europe but take it outside Europe too. The next opportunity to do this will be the World Social Forum in 2005.

By organizing a key component of the militant wing of the movement on an independent and class basis now we can actually lay a foundation for higher level of both unity and militancy in the entire movement itself.

Young people will be able to show concretely through their own actions that the formation of new international organisations that challenge capitalism is a real possibility, indeed a necessity, in the 21st cen-



tury not an old fashioned and out dated idea.

By taking militant action and calling on workers to join them in that action we can challenge the dead hand reformist leaderships of the international workers movement not through a sectarian decampment but through a political struggle against their reformist policies and bureaucratic methods of organising. In conclusion, young people can be a crucial component in organising an effective fight for another world.

KEY MEETINGS

- **Stop and search and ASBOs: the politics of youth exclusion**
Friday 9-12 noon
Socialist Worker Students
- **Youth, students and the anti-war movement**
Friday 4-6 pm
- **Casual labour**
Friday 4-6 pm
- **Unite the struggles of youth**
Saturday 11.30-1.30 pm
Revolution Europe
- **Role of youth in changing Europe**
Saturday 2-4 pm
Amnesty International Hands Up
- **Young workers**
Saturday 7-9 pm
- **YOUTH ASSEMBLY**
Saturday 4.30-6.30 pm



The war on Iraq has led to an increase in Islamophobic attacks

the state that defends it. But the working class as a whole – black and white – makes up the overwhelming majority of the population. United in struggle, the working class could bring the whole racist system crashing down.

Racism will not disappear automatically because it is a reflection of real divisions – within society and within the working class itself. When black and white workers live alongside each other and struggle together, as in the anti-war movement, barriers begin to dissolve. But to win the working class as a whole to the fight for black liberation, a constant, conscious struggle against racism is necessary.

This is why we think that fighting racism should be at the forefront in the fight against capitalism. We need to build up a new revolutionary working class party, to unite black and white workers and youth in the fight for:

- An end to all discrimination in

housing, education and jobs

- Organised self-defence in communities against police, racist and fascist attacks
- Smashing of all immigration controls and fight against all deportations: open the gates of Fortress Europe
- Full rights for migrant workers
- For a united working class fight against the system that causes racism: the capitalist profit system.

The roots of racism lie in global capitalism. Only its overthrow will lay the foundation for a new society, one in which racism can at last be consigned to the dustbin of history.

KEY MEETINGS

- **Asylum rights**
Saturday 11.30-1.30 pm
- **Roma**
Saturday 2-4 pm
- **Stop fascism**
Saturday 7-9 pm

Who are the Fifth Internationalists?

Fifteen years ago with the downfall of "communism" the rulers of the world proclaimed that capitalism was victorious, that no alternative to it was possible, that a new world order had arrived.

They believed that a tiny handful of billionaires could with total impunity:

- Take over the whole world.
- Put entire continents on rations.
- Amass vast fortunes while millions still starve.
- Turn the fruits of humanity's labour into their private property.
- Bomb, blast and blockade any country whose rulers defy their will.
- Pump poisons into the atmosphere while the globe burns, the deserts spread and the oceans rise.
- Pollute our food, debase our culture and divide our species against itself with racist and religious hatreds.
- Make us worship their dollar or their euro, covet their branded banalities, dream their consumer nightmares.
- Slander us, tear gas us, beat us, imprison us, shoot us and bomb us if we dare to resist.

But the masters of the world celebrated too quickly.

In the Global South, from Chiapas to Soweto, from Jakarta to Gaza, people rose up in their millions against the austerity programmes decreed by the International Monetary Fund, against the takeover of industries and agriculture by huge American and European corporations, against "road maps" for national annihilation dictated by the arrogant G8 leaders to deny oppressed people their liberation.

In North America and in Western Europe too, young people and militant workers rose in revolt. In Seattle, Prague, Quebec, Gothenburg and Genoa a new movement, calling itself anticapitalist, erupted onto the streets.

True, it was one of great diversity. Trade unionists, ecologists, human rights activists, landless peasants, anarchists and communists all discovered that their different struggles brought them face-to-face with the same enemy – global capitalism.

They discovered that it was capitalist corporations, profits, patents, business secrecy, mass media, laws, governments, police and armies, that stand in our way of a better world.

The hired hacks of the system have taunted this movement because it has

many reasons for opposing capitalism, but as yet no agreed final aim. In the League for the Fifth International, we believe that while diversity may mean strength it can also mean divergence and disunity. We need to achieve ever greater unity in our struggles; we need to reach agreement on common aims. What should they be?

- We say:
- The capitalists must be expropriated, with not penny paid to them.
 - Capitalism must be abolished across the globe and a world without class division, state repression, the oppression of women, subject races and nations created. What Marx, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky called communism.
 - All power must pass from the capitalist cliques into the hands of democratic councils of delegates from the working class, the peasantry and the poor: directly elected by the masses and subject to instant recall. These councils must be supported by the armed working class and its allies.
 - The resistance of the exploiters must be broken by the force of millions acting together in a social revolution. Armed workers must forcibly break up the police and army that exist to support the rule of private property.
 - All production and distribution must be organised democratically and sustainably, without private ownership and the blind and brutal dictatorship of market forces.
 - Social inequality and the underdevelopment of whole continents must be overcome through the planned allocation of humanity's resources: raw materials, means of transportation, communication, technology and labour.
 - The 21st century must become the century of human freedom!

There is only one road to this freedom. It is the road of class struggle, the fight against all forms of exploitation: of the workers, the peasants, the urban poor. It is the fight against racism, national oppression, the oppression of women, youth, gays and lesbians. We must give maximum support to all their struggles: to every strike, occupation, picket line and march.

We will aim to bring together in unions the vast numbers of unorganised workers, young workers, those in new industries, and those slaving away in sweatshops without the right to

organise.

We fight against imperialism: the great global capitalist powers and corporations that use their vast military machines to pulverise peoples who resist them. We support all resistance to them. We oppose every penny spent and every person sacrificed to its invasions and occupations. We demand an end to the US, the UK and its allies' bloody bombing and enslavement of the Iraqi people. We support the Palestinians in their heroic struggle against national oppression and the racist Israeli state.

We fight the global financial institutions that starve the world: the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organisation. We will resist their plans: austerity programmes, privatisation, and free trade treaties, which enforce submission to multinational corporations. We will chase their congresses and summits across the globe, until they have been abolished once and for all.

We fight against racism, which divides us and acts as an excuse for deep-seated global inequality. We demand equal rights for minorities, an end to all discrimination and an end to the lies of the racists in the mass media and press, which whip up violence against black people, Asians, Latinos, Roma, Jews, Albanians and Turks.

We fight for full rights of asylum and for the right of all to travel where they want. The capitalists send their money to chase around the world in search of the best return, causing havoc and leaving devastation behind it when it pulls out without a moment's notice. Yet the victims of capital are denied the right of free movement. We fight to break down all borders, to defend refugees and asylum seekers from the capitalists' sinister lies. When fascist and reactionary gangs engage in physical attacks on refugees and minorities, we will not flinch from physical confrontation to drive them back.

We fight to free women from systematic inequality, discrimination, whether open or hidden, consignment to domestic labour, sexual exploitation, low pay, daily abuse and the denial of reproductive rights. We struggle to eliminate the root cause of women's oppression by creating a society in which the work of childrearing, cleaning and cooking are carried out in a rational, planned way, not divided up

among billions of families in which the woman is left to do all the unpaid labour.

We fight the catastrophe of climate change and global warming, resisting corporations which pollute the earth, governments that refuse to take action against the emission of greenhouse gases, and policies which put the profits of big oil and the auto industry before the very survival of our species.

We organise young people to fight for their democratic rights: the right to vote at 16, for an end to child labour, for fully funded, free, universal education, under the control of the youth themselves, not in the service of big business. We fight for an end to conscription and militarisation, which prepare the youth for slaughter in our masters' wars.

We oppose reformism and the policy of the labour, socialist, social-democratic and mis-named Communist parties. Capitalism cannot be reformed through peaceful parliamentary means, by elections: it must be overthrown by the masses through force.

We oppose the control of the trade unions by bureaucrats, the privileged officials of the trade unions. These overpaid officials must not control mass organisations; the members should have full democratic control. All officials must be elected, recallable and removable at short notice; they must earn the average pay of the members they claim to represent.

We oppose Stalinism, which was not communism but a dictatorship over the working class by a privileged bureaucratic elite. Though their socialised economies did represent a gain of the working class, without a political revolution to establish democratic planning and workers' control over this, it was doomed to collapse, eventually.

We reject the failed policies of the official communist parties: the nationalist policy of socialism in one country; the self-defeating policy that the revolution must limit itself to a non-socialist "democratic stage"; the policy that the working class must tie itself to capitalist forces in "patriotic blocs", or "peoples' fronts".

We declare our goals openly and reject all deceitful attempts to mimic reformism in the belief that history or the objective process will do the job that open and honest revolutionaries alone can perform. We oppose the strategy of centrist parties, that zigzag

between revolutionary words and reformist practice.

Sharing power with reformist capitalist governments, relying on parties that blur the distinction between reform and revolution is a recipe for confusing the workers at the crucial stage. We fight for the establishment of revolutionary parties in every country.

We reject the passive propaganda of sects that oppose active involvement in the anticapitalist movement and the daily struggles of the working class. We will forge unity in action and a united front with all working class forces against our common enemy, without renouncing our views or our revolutionary methods.

With our communist goal firmly in our sights, along the road of the class struggle, we propose the unity of all revolutionary forces in a new Fifth International, a party organised across national boundaries to fight for world revolution and a global communist republic: a World Commune.

The capitalists, for all their arrogance, are watching apprehensively as the forces assemble for the great battle of the 21st century: the battle to free humanity from their grip. Certainly those forces have not yet attained the necessary degree of organisation, discipline and clarity to achieve this. But they can and they will – if the new generation of working class fighters can unite to build a new world party of social revolution. For this to happen revolutionaries must dare to proclaim this goal and openly rally the forces to achieve it.

That is what we Fifth Internationalists are doing. If you agree with our goal and our methods, then join us.

KEY MEETINGS

- **Privatisation and political parties**
Friday 7-9 pm
- **Left parties (ongoing debates)**
Saturday 9-11 am
Saturday 11.30-1.30 pm
Saturday 7-9 pm
- **Networks of struggle or new world party?**
Saturday 2-4pm
Richard Brenner (LSI), Kirstie Paton (Workers Power)
- **ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**
Sunday 9-12 noon

Should we fight to take power?

This year's ESF will see as number of fringe events, autonomous events outside of the official structures: Life despite capitalism, Beyond ESF, Solidarity Village, or the exotically named Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination.

The groups and individuals involved in putting on these events vary from the Wombles, who specialise in militant self-defence of demonstrations against police attacks, to various academics and journalists, like John Holloway and Hilary Wainwright (both of whom are also speaking at the ESF proper), who want to work with post-modernist concepts of networks and value-free association, and to community-based activists, setting up exchange schemes and squats.

What unites all these people is their rejection of the traditional political objective of taking power, either by reformist means or by revolution. Because power implies power over someone else, the argument goes, to take power will only start a new cycle of violence and repression. If taking power is the most important moment in the anticapitalist struggle, the horizontals object, then our diversity is undermined by the prioritisation of some struggles over others. The revo-

lutionary party, in their eyes, is the embodiment of this "hierarchy"; instead we need to develop networks and "horizontal" structures.

On the face of this, the horizontals' arguments can be persuasive. After all, we want to replace capitalism with its regulating of human lives to the nth degree, and its armed forces, so why use such command mechanisms in our own movement?

No sane activist wants to repeat the tragedy of the Communist Parties of the last century, who gave themselves a constitutional right to lead the masses and then bureaucratically controlled every part of society... until those masses overthrew them. The grotesque aping of this tradition by tiny groups like the Socialist Workers Party, who use their battery of full-timers to marginalise radical opposition and create sterile fronts like Globalise Resistance, has turned many thousands of activists off the idea of party organisation and a strategy for power altogether.

So what's the alternative?
Naomi Klein and others look to the Argentinian uprising in December 2001 for inspiration.

Four presidents were forced to resign in seven days of revolutionary

street fighting. Sacked workers took over at least 1,000 factories, the jobless blocked main roads and the poor broke into supermarkets to distribute food to the hungry. On the surface here was an example of ordinary people taking control of their lives without having to take power.

But this future society of solidarity was undermined precisely because it left the capitalists in power. The capitalists regrouped and promised stability – job security for those who were not sacked, a stable currency for those with any savings left – in return for law and order. In the end, the wave of factory occupations was smashed, the jobless now sit by the roads and the poor go hungry. Because the best fighters who brought down four presidents in a week could not offer an alternative solution to the crisis, the bosses and the capitalist state imposed theirs.

Capitalism is a crisis-ridden system. It is not a Marxist conspiracy that creates revolutionary situations, like in Argentina. On the contrary, capitalism itself, through the laws of competition, tends towards such crises. Society then faces a choice: either the capitalists restore profitable production at the expense of devastating hardship and

bloody repression of those who will not bend the knee; or the workers and the poor seize the means of production themselves and rebuild society according to democratically agreed plan to meet peoples needs.

To achieve the latter will necessitate breaking up the capitalists police forces and their armies, abolishing their parliaments and legal systems, otherwise will face months or years of bloody civil war. In other words we have to take power.

What is ruled out in such revolutionary situations as in Argentina, is the slow accumulation of pockets of ideal democracy and alternative economic and social models. Of course, after a successful revolution, the new humanity could blossom as a thousand different flowers; but capitalism, in its search for profits, will cut off their heads before they can pollinate.

Which brings us back to the question of organisation. Every activist knows that being oppressed and exploited does not make a person enlightened. Some see the enemy as capitalism and its state; others blame immigrants, "terrorists" or the trade unions. Should those who want to use capitalism's crises to smash the system combine, develop their ideas, concentrate their



efforts – i.e. form a party – or should they wait for the pure revolution to arise?

For revolutionary Marxists and hundreds of millions around the world, we do not have the luxury to ponder such a dilemma.

KEY MEETINGS

- **Strategies for social transformation**
Saturday 9-12
Fausto Bertinotti (Rifondazione), John Holloway, Hilary Wainwright
- **Life Despite Capitalism**
Saturday
- **LETS co-operate**
Thursday
- **Beyond ESF**
Wednesday-Saturday