

Corbyn wins, but can Labour end austerity?



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Socialist Voice

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE | INTERNATIONAL WORKERS LEAGUE - FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

£1



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campaign**



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Socialist Voice

Monthly newspaper of the ISL
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British section of the IWL-FI
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Join the International Socialist League!

1 The ISL aims to build a party that represents the interests of workers and youth because none of the main parties can represent their full interests.

Today the Tory government is unleashing one of the heaviest attacks on workers' rights in the post-war period.

They want to erase all the rights won by workers in the post WWII struggles.

The ISL know these attacks have to be met with strong resistance and genuine militant trade unionism united with community struggles.

We campaign for unity of action in the struggle with workers, youth and other left forces. But neither the TUC nor the Labour Party fights for united class action culminating in a general strike against austerity. Both have held back the working class fight against austerity especially since the pension strike of 2011. We cannot wait another five years.

2. Capitalism offers only crises, wars, poverty, racism, sexism, oppression and environmental destruction.

Those who rule us criminalise our struggles and divide us: Black against White, men against women, unemployed against employed, old against young, indigenous against immigrant and so on.

We fight fascism and every type of oppression: racism, homophobia, sexism, amongst others. Oppression is meant to divide us and divert the struggle against austerity and capitalism.

3. A different social system is possible, one based on a planned economy, on the needs of the vast

majority which can eradicate hunger and unemployment internationally.

A social system that will lead towards the emancipation of every man and every woman.

Only a workers government and nationalisation under workers control without compensation can achieve this. The Labour Party even under a left leader does not want this.

4. Today there are only two roads: either capitalism which will drag humanity towards destruction, or workers take in their hands the direction of the economy. That is why it is necessary and urgent that workers organize themselves for a program of class independence from the rulers and their government.

5. The perspective of class independence of the working class requires the construction of another left, revolutionary, fighting socialist internationalist party. This is the aim of the ISL.

6. A socialist economy can only be won by a revolution. But to do this a revolutionary party is needed.

7. For this ambitious purpose a party only in Britain is not enough.

An International revolutionary party is needed. No type of reformist party can lead the struggle for workers control (e.g. Greece) to end the dictates of the EU or the IMF.

In the UK no variant of the Labour Party will lead the fight for socialism.

That's why the ISL, with dozens of other parties on different continents, is building the IWL-FI, the largest and most dynamic revolutionary organization in the world! Come and join us!

Our financial campaign aims to raise £2000 by 2016, so far we have raised £500. Cheques payable to ISL send to address above

LIFE OF THE IWL

Great actions and strikes have taken place across the world in August and September for public education. Our parties and sympathizers are part of these struggles for example in Uruguay 31 August, Brazil and India.

In Uruguay more than 50,000 marched in defence of education, teachers, students and workers in opposition to

the miserable increase the government wants to impose and they demanded that six per cent of GDP be spent on education.

Striking teachers in Montevideo stopped work all week and students occupied high schools and colleges.

In Brasilia, Brazil during a combative picket blocked the entrance of the Ministry of Planning involving striking education workers and students. At a

large national meeting of many student organisations from all over the country. ANEL (a combative students union) proposed a manifesto of national struggle that was approved.

Indian students of the Institute of Film and Television of India in Pune went on strike for over 70 days. Against government influence in the institute.

Readers who wish to know more about these and other struggles contact the ISL.

Anti-austerity feelings make Corbyn leader

But can Labour defeat austerity?

ISL STATEMENT

The landslide victory for Jeremy Corbyn was due to a deep opposition to austerity, Blairite policies and the status quo. It represents a huge mandate to fight the attacks on the working class by capitalism.

The rank and file of Corbyn supporters want a party that will fight austerity and not implement it, one that would not support war against other countries or immigrants, and one that would oppose the anti-trade union laws, support nationalisation and public services.

Since Corbyn became leader another 40,000 joined the Labour Party increasing the membership to 352,000. And certainly some of these are taking their first political step to fight for their rights.

The size of his victory makes a rebellion against the new leader very difficult and some of the main commentators on Labour's right-wing are advising the opposition not to walk away, but to participate in the leadership and wait for their chance.

Why did this fight take place inside the Labour Party? The answer is because no alternative such as Syriza (Greece) or Podemos (Spain) exists that destroyed other social-democratic parties in Europe. Neither TUSC (Trade Union and Socialist Coalition) nor Left Unity is seen as a mass alternative.

The very wide opposition to Tory, Lib-Dem and Miliband's Labour solution of making the working class and the vulnerable pay for the establishment crisis has begun to find a national voice and shows that if the Labour Party had had an anti-austerity programme they could probably have won the last general election.

Corbyn – a minority in Labour's leadership

However, the Labour party is a party dominated by bourgeois policies of the right wing and the trade union bureaucracy, although through individual membership and union affiliation rank and file workers are also present. The Labour party was built by the trade unions and the working class, but since 1914 and over many decades it degenerated into New Labour and is therefore a bourgeois-workers party.

Corbyn had minority support of only 20



Mass demonstration, 4 October, workers call for the defeat of anti-trade union laws, but the main union leaders, who support Labour, have no plans of action

MPs out of 232 MPs in the Parliamentary Labour Party. His shadow cabinet of 31 MPs has only three Corbyn supporters. The rest supported Burham (9), Cooper (9) and Kendall (1), or did not declare who they voted for, but others were involved in the Miliband shadow Cabinet and two Lords and a member of the Privy Council were also chosen.

Corbyn has joined the Privy Council, accepting a tradition of the ruling class from 1659 when the monarch was restored. "Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council" is an unelected body of advisers to the Sovereign. Its membership is mainly senior politicians who are (or have been) members of the House of Commons or the House of Lords, and it also include church, military and police leaders.

The Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP), which is under the control of right-wing MPs and the trade union bureaucracy, has deep links with the establishment. The Labour shadow cabinet does not reflect the feeling for Corbyn in the ranks.

Corbyn's win does show that it is possible to defeat the pro-austerity Blairite forces and is a blow against the right wing of the party because the victory is the electoral reflection of the desire to fight austerity by workers and youth.

But Corbyn is a leader of a party he does not control. Pro-austerity policies govern in all local councils where Labour is in control. Even where Labour councillors who switched mid-election and said they supported Corbyn, have voted for council cuts over the last four years.

If a right-wing candidate had won, Labour would have lost even more credibility. So, while the right wing was beaten, at the same time Corbyn's win is

their salvation. Jeremy Corbyn saved the Labour party from further decline.

To match the demands of his voters, Corbyn has to fight the pro-austerity MPs and policies inside the Labour Party, if he does not the support he received will have been in vain.

The world crisis continues

The Economist (19 September) warns the Tories against complacency and says, "The populism and discontent that brought him the leadership will not just subside ... There is nothing to celebrate about Mr Corbyn's elevation. For Britain, it is a grave misfortune."

It says, "Only in the time warp of Mr Corbyn's hard-left fraternity could a programme of renationalisation and enhanced trade-union activism be the solution to inequality." But in this attack they acknowledge that inequality has rapidly increased.

Alarming for capitalists the Economist also says, "Yet the leader of the opposition is one Tory meltdown away from power."

What makes the Economist so alarmist? It is the internal problems inside the Tory party which has seen sharp divisions: Osborne's proposals for more local authority cuts (Tory council representatives led the rebuttal of new cuts that will close many services); removing tax credits for the low pay (some Tory MPs think such brutality against low paid workers will provoke anger from their electorate); and the referendum over the EU.

But the Economist concern is also due to other factors: the world economy has not recovered from the crash of 2008; China and the world's stock exchanges have crashed; the US central bank has frozen its interest rate over concern about the fragile world economy; and

much of Europe has stagnated.

Andy Haldane, Bank of England's chief economist, has suggested that the UK interest rate should be cut again, despite all the boasting about recovery from Cameron. Cameron said, "Recent events form the latest leg of what might be called a three-part crisis trilogy. Part one of that trilogy was the 'Anglo-Saxon' crisis of 2008-09. Part two was the 'euro-area' crisis of 2011-12. And we may now be entering the early stages of part three of the trilogy, the 'emerging market' crisis of 2015 onward." Economic problems in Brazil and Russia are also deepening rapidly.

Running through all of this is one simple fact: that while inequality can produce political earthquakes the EU and British capitalism know only one road – to impose more inequality. The only road they can take will also make it worse for their system. The crisis of world capitalism can only bring more wars, more upheavals and more revolutions. British capitalism can continue punishing workers, but it will not solve its deep underlining problems.

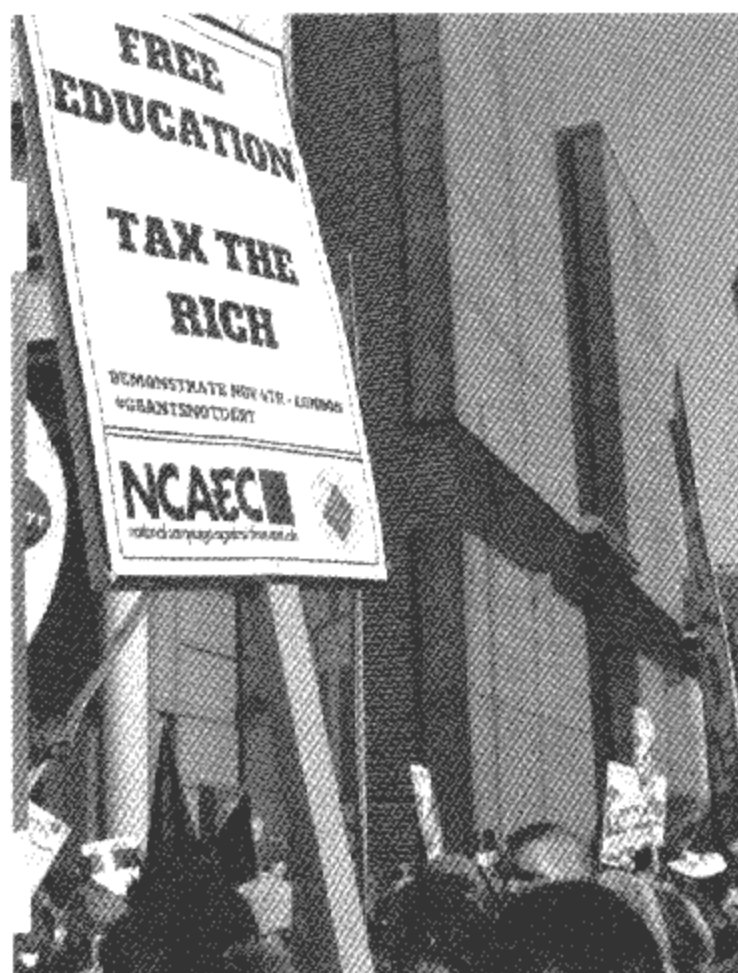
We live in a world of wars and revolutions. The millions that are forced to walk through Europe are a product of capitalist brutality, which is imposing wars on the smaller nations and the peoples of this earth.

No retreat from the anti-austerity struggle

Jeremy Corbyn is no Marxist or revolutionary but the very fact that the new leader of the Labour party opposes austerity is a threat to capitalism. His supporters want a new Labour party and for it to become a combative workers' party. However, such a struggle cannot be carried through by reformists. Labour is an establishment party and is funded by the right wing and capitalism.

The vote for Corbyn is the first sign of mass struggles to come. These will break out against the desire of union leaders, Labour's right wing and many in Corbyn's cabinet. But his position can help spark off renewed working class struggles.

Some union leaders are now calling for co-ordinated strike action and that is what Corbyn must support and call for. After the anti-Tory demo in Manchester they should call for a mass mobilisation to parliament, with the aim of making austerity unworkable and unite rank and file union workers with the community



Students are organising a national demo for 4 November

and the youth.

The Campaign Against Fees and Cuts have called for a national demonstration in London on 4 November against attacks on public education and also in support of no borders and refugees. This event is a test of how serious the anti-austerity Labour leaders are in grasping the only solution to austerity – mobilising on the streets to make austerity unworkable.

The desire to fight capitalism will lead to revolutionary conclusions and the desire for a revolutionary party, but the Labour party cannot become that. And the retreats of Corbyn and his accommodation to Labour's pro-austerity MPs show he will not lead that fight.

Labour party conference

The Labour conference saw Corbyn and the left retreat over the question of nuclear capability and the retention of the Trident nuclear submarine. The deputy Labour leader, Tom Watson, and the shadow foreign secretary, Hilary Benn, supported its retention, along with many union leaderships. Corbyn did not wage a fight on this issue at the conference.

What should he have done? The left leaders should have called for great mobilisations outside the Labour Party conference to demand an end to Trident. What better way to show the enemy they face inside the Labour Party than to take his supporters into an open fight against the right wing. Instead he retreated and the Tory government intends to carry through its plan on Trident, which will only be opposed with 'fine' words.

There has been huge pressure from the press, including the Guardian, to make Corbyn toe the patriotic line, for Queen, God and Country. They say

he should not speak for his political tendency alone, but for all in the Labour party and therefore all the pro-war, pro-privatisation and pro-austerity MPs.

Unfortunately such pressure has caused a retreat in his opposition to the EU and NATO. He has said only invasions supported by the UN would be given the go ahead. The UN, however, in 1990 authorised an invasion and annexation of Iraq and agreed also to apply financial and trade sanctions against Iraq, which created a humanitarian crisis in the country. But it did not support the resistance movement against Saddam Hussein. In the early 1990s the UN was seen as an army of occupation by Bosnians, not a peace keeping force, and it tried to blockade aid and arms to the Bosnian people, which they wanted to survive and defend themselves. It has also approved military action in the Congo. It is a weapon of imperialism.

How far Corbyn will go to fight capitalism will be greatly influenced by the pro-Corbyn youth and activists (both union and community) organising to help the working class to take to the streets to defy the anti-trade union laws; oppose the attacks on benefits and public services; and demand that refugees are welcome into Britain.

Corbyn must deepen support for refugees and make it clear that all immigrants have the right to stay and the right to work.

Pro-austerity policies in local Labour councils must be fought and full support given to all the mobilisations by workers: strikes, picket lines and occupations. If the "new kind of politics" means something more than words left Labour will have to take every opportunity to build the struggle on the streets. Otherwise nothing will change.

Workers will begin to increase their struggles and will do so with their own methods of struggle. As Lenin did and wrote it is important to distinguish between words and deeds. Corbyn has to support and defend all the actions of strikes and occupations. Unless that happens, it means waiting for the next general election and nothing will happen.

The International Socialist League is for building a wide anti-austerity movement against the government and all councils and at the same time we are for the construction of a revolutionary party because no other party can defeat austerity.

John Hall, John Rice, James Allanson, James C Jones (Jay) were sentenced on Thursday 17 September 2015 because they occupied Liverpool's old Bank of England in the middle of April in order to provide shelter and feed the city's homeless people. Three of the five defendants are under 21 and were sent to Young Offenders Institutions, notoriously violent & challenging environments.

Pauline Gillett, mother of Jay, spoke to Socialist Voice about the vindictive sentences received for occupying an empty building, which remains empty.



She said: "The problem of homelessness is caused by a lack of support services and an alarming lack of affordable housing. Jay, with other activists, were providing person centred support at the bank opposed to government services that adopt target centred approaches. I

think custodial sentence for a nonviolent crime wastes tax payers money.

The four who were jailed all enjoy reading and learning. Not being able to send them books and the disjointed communication have caused distress to relatives. I found the initial lack of information difficult. Email a prisoner.com has been good for communication for Altcourse.

Jay struggles to get a balanced vegan diet. It seems discriminatory to make him buy his vegan toiletries. Yet supply of nonvegan toiletries are free of charge.

Facebook: FreetheLovebank5

Left Unity is everything possible?

MARTIN RALPH, ISL

Left Unity applauds Jeremy Corbyn's victory against the right wing, and their main article on this subject is entitled "everything is possible". What LU means is that it is possible to put pressure on the Labour leadership to defeat austerity.

"Everything is possible" can, and has already created illusions of what the Labour Party can do even with a left leader. If everything is possible then Corbyn can remove the majority of pro-austerity Labour MPs or that the Labour Party can lead the fight against austerity, or that the Labour Party could become a mass revolutionary workers party.

The illusions created by this sentiment are very dangerous for LU, to such an extent that some members have left LU and joined the Labour Party. A LU member had to caution, in trying to stop the flow from LU towards the Labour Party, that "simply declaring that we launch ourselves at the Local LP branch is a receipt for disillusion and cynicism". That is true.

History contains many lessons about such "everything is possible" sentiment. On 27 May 1936, Marcel Pivert wrote a famous article with the same title. In it he said, "In the atmosphere of victory, confidence and discipline that extends across the country, yes, **everything is possible for the daring**" and said the "Popular Front of combat cannot be slowed down or betrayed".

In France at the time there was there was a growing revolutionary wave (1936-8). Within days of Pivert's article strikes broke out again with redoubled force. On 2 June many occupations of engineering factories took place and spread rapidly to other sectors. By 10 June over two million were on strike (see Tom Kemp's Stalinism in France).

Trotsky rightly pointed out the massive

strike wave was not primarily a vote of confidence in Blum and the Popular Front that swept into power, led by the Stalinist Communist Party and he said in his book *Whither France*,

"The profound organic and genuinely revolutionary character of the strike wave is best of all characterized by the fact that the mass movement, though improvised, has acquired such vast scope and has exercised so great a political influence. ...Without this, victory would be impossible. But all this is not enough for victory. As against the staff and the plan of the "200 families" there must be a staff and a plan of proletarian revolution. None as yet exists. But they can be created. All the prerequisites and all the elements for a new crystallization of the masses are at hand." 9 June 1936.

Marcel Gitton (French Communist Party) answered Pivert two days later. He wrote in *L'Humanite* that not everything was possible and he meant that the Popular Front government would continue its class collaboration policies to fight Fascism and was against the revolutionary mobilisation of workers. On 5 June 1936 the CP called for an end to the strikes.

Today the ideas behind "everything is possible", only serve to undermine the necessity of a clear programme and action against austerity. We have seen what happened to Syriza who went from anti-austerity to implementing it.

In making these type of statements the Left Unity leaders are preparing their party to become part of the "Popular Front of combat" when Labour is in office. They are giving full support to Corbyn and the "new" Labour without making any criticism of him. No wonder that some members are getting confused and joining the Labour Party.

Stockport, fighting cuts and austerity

PETER WINDELER, ISL



In response to the attacks by the council Stockport United Against Austerity, SUAA, was formed that brings together those that wish to fight the cuts.

Every aspect of life is affected by the cuts including parks and libraries. In particular cuts to mental health services are causing a big uproar, a 25 per cent cut to mental health services have been announced with redundancies for mental health workers and the closure of the Wellbeing Centre – a drop-in centre in Stockport town centre which according to its users has "saved lives" in the past.

SUAA produces leaflets and campaigns in the town centre each Saturday. It holds regular meetings in a local charity premises. Its campaign has had an impact and the council has had to backtrack on the closure of the Wellbeing Centre this summer.

But the council agreed cuts of £15m for this year and it has proposed cuts of £20m in 2016. These were voted for by the Tory and Liberal councillors with the Labour councillors abstaining – a bit like the MPs!

SUAA has received support from local trade unions including the NUT and Unison. The NUT paying for their banner. The group was well represented on the anti-cuts march in Manchester on 5 October outside the Tory Conference. The campaign's NHS cuts group will take a coffin on the march carried by pole bearers wearing surgical gowns with knives stuck in their backs.

All refugees welcome here

Open the borders

ISL STATEMENT

The twenty-first century is witnessing a catastrophe, the lives and homes of millions have been destroyed and millions of people are fleeing worn torn and economic devastation in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia.

With tremendous bravery people are fighting for theirs and their family's survival but are forced to take desperate measures to find somewhere safe.

Heroic and desperate people are drowning and facing further death or injury as their escape to safety is transformed into another terrifying battleground.

Following harrowing images of the dead washed up on Europe's beaches mobilisations of support and aid from the peoples of Europe have been magnificent. A spontaneous human reaction to do something and provide some end to all the suffering, while the Europe Union strengthened its borders.

Why is this happening?

Imperialism is conducting a permanent state of war on the world's smaller nations as it is driven to usurp the world's resources and markets in order to maintain its domination of humanity. There is also a war is being waged by the stooges of the West as in Saudi Arabia, who, for example, refuse to support the democratic Syrian forces fighting Assad and ISIS.

If the West continues to bomb Syria this will not help the refugees but is aimed at strengthening control of a country and region with rulers who can be directly controlled by Western Imperialism.

Building fortress Europe

For those who do manage to cross the borders and enter inside the EU for the pain and misery continues. The brutal and racist immigration legislation has closed all safe and civilised routes to those who have to flee, forcing people to undertake dangerous transportation and routes.

Even if immigrants manage to get into Europe EU Governments collaborate to attack the right to asylum. In 2003 the British border was extended to Calais which has resulted in trapping thousands



of people in appalling living conditions in the infamous "Jungle".

They are also attacked by the French Para-military police and even fascist organisations like National Action. Their camps are destroyed and they struggle in the worst conditions. Some have died in their desperate attempt to find a safe haven in England but the British and French governments prefer spending money on ever greater border restrictions.

We support humanitarian efforts to help the immigrants in Calais, but the only way to solve the problem is to open the border for all immigrants in Calais.

For those who arrive in the UK until the right to stay is granted there is no right to work or access to benefits and services. Thousands are pushed into destitution and thousands are held in detention prisons, always fearing deportation back to the place from where they fled.

On top of all this suffering throughout the EU immigrants face racism and xenophobia as politicians and the media place the blame for cuts and closures on their heads. The real culprits are the politicians who prefer to divide workers with their racist policies rather than invest in homes and services.

For a workers, socialist Europe to end immigration controls

The problem is there has never been a serious intention to make refugees welcome in the EU or the UK. But there has always been a serious intention for the West to secure its domination in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

We need to replace the bosses of Europe and their government with a workers Europe, that will end wars on the Middle East and elsewhere and make refugees welcome.

All those who are opposed to racism,

immigration controls and fascism should fight for a new Europe, only a united socialist Europe can guarantee the end of our cruel and racist immigration system.

We must sustain our actions and pressure and develop a mass movement to demand our government opens the borders and abolishes all immigration controls.

We must end the cruel immigration system inside our borders. Once here all people should be welcomed and receive genuine sanctuary, and not deportation. They have an equal right to live and work, and have equal access to all services and benefits.

**DON'T LET GOVERNMENTS
DIVIDE US
IMMIGRANT OR INDIGENOUS WE
ARE ALL ONE WORKING-CLASS**

Open Dover and Calais demonstrations 17 October



On Saturday 17 October, students and activists, both in Britain and France, will protest against the treatment of migrants in Calais and in wider Europe. They are demanding open borders

The demonstration has been called under the banner of "Open Dover, Open Europe" in reaction to the migrant crisis this summer and the negative press that has come with it.

The UK-side of the demonstration is being organised by groups including the National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts, Left Unity, Folkestone United, and Black Dissidents among others.

Callum Cant, NCAFC NC, said: "We're talking about migrants rather than refugees because we want all people to be able to enter the UK... we fundamentally believe 'No Human is Illegal'. Borders have already been abolished for the rich, now it's time to abolish them for everybody else."

Women, oppression and exploitation in the refugee crisis

CAMILA POLGAR, ISL

Europe is facing the worst refugee crisis since WWII. People are fleeing starvation, war and terror in their home countries looking for a safe haven and a better life.

It is estimated that more than 350,000 people have crossed or have been at the European borders between January 2015 to August 2015, and the numbers in September (up to 17 September) show that 473,887 people tried to reach Europe by sea; approximately 182,000 from Syria.¹ However, the statistics do not show all who have tried to reach Europe.

The Syrian civil war is one of the major drivers of the recent migration flux, a conflict that started five years ago. Scenes of violence, devastation, hostility, torture, death, and barbarism are constantly in the eyes of the entire world.

People seeking asylum in the European Union, are experiencing not only the rigid immigration laws that imperialist countries impose, but they also experience xenophobia, racism and sexism.

Women in particular, have to deal not only the outrageous European refugee legislation, but also oppressive chauvinism because they are women in a capitalist system. Women in

¹ International Organization for Migration (IOM) accessed on 18 September.



war conflicts suffer many abuses from rape, sexual harassment, physical to psychological violence, torture, political persecution, and exploitation. The general conception that women are weaker has developed deep rooted attitudes and the capitalist system has used this idea to economically exploit women.

Organisations such as the Syrian Network for Human Rights and the International Rescue Committee have reported on the status of Syrian women and their exhausting and persisting struggles. This includes reports of women being cruelly beaten by their husbands once they reach the refugees camps in Jordan and Lebanon.

One mother of two reported how her husband constantly beat her because she

disagrees with him on allowing her daughter to marry in order to receive more money to sustain the family. Other women have reported being raped by officials within the camp, and others have been forced into prostitution, in order to provide money for their children.

The agencies also have reported that women, who live outside the refugee camps, have fallen

into the hands of sexual trafficking and exploitation² because many are not legally allowed to work.

These are some examples of gender oppression and exploitation that Syrian women, and others face in their attempt to save the lives of their children and families.

Clearly, the capitalist system takes advantage of the most oppressed human beings in order to gain surplus value even in a humanitarian crisis it has created. It is urgent to demand that the EU opens its borders, and we show class solidarity with the refugees, and act together as an international working class to end oppression and exploitation, and fight to put an end to the barbaric capitalist system.

² "The Guardian" 24 January 2014.

Belgium: Solidarity with refugees

COMMUNIST WORKER'S LEAGUE, BELGIAN SECTION

INTERNATIONAL WORKER'S LEAGUE - FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (IWL-FI) WWW.LCT-CWB.BE

A massive arrival of refugees in Belgium has been marked by a great wave of solidarity from the population. A 'town within the town' has been organised in the Maximilien Park, Brussels.

Without this solidarity the situation of refugees in Belgium would be catastrophic.

The position of the EU leaders, including the Belgian government, does not provide significant solutions. On the contrary, racist and xenophobic comments are heard from politicians on a daily basis.

For example, in Belgium, at Fedasil, (the federal department in charge of asylum requests) workers have been struggling against the government for months.

Several centres welcoming refugees have been closed in Wallonia during the past year - but are now re-opening. Privatisation of catering or security weakens these institutions. The "generosity" of governments (for example, Germany) is questionable when

they claim they want to integrate refugees by offering them a job. The media claims that these refugees will take jobs at 1€ an hour in Germany. Fernand Huts, an executive at Antwerp harbour, says he would hire 500 workers immediately if the federal government will remove the social protection of dock workers. Their objective, far from "helping" refugees, is to profit from their situation. Employers' associations (FEB, Unizo, ...) have mentioned their "interest" in certain refugees for technical jobs where, an available workforce is scarce.

Unizo even opened a desk in the Maximilien Park for refugees to register with them.

But the situation at the Maximilien Park is becoming critical. Cold weather has arrived and it is necessary to find alternatives for refugees. The citizens' platform, the federal government, the city of Brussels, the Red Cross and other institutions have gathered to discuss proposals for accommodation.

The movement has to face the politics



of criminalisation from governments and politicians, whose aim is division - treating refugees as abusers of the social protection system, and stating that "half of Maximilien Park is occupied by homeless people without papers or extreme-left activists".

It is necessary for refugees to become organised and fight for their demands, that they meet Belgian workers, engage in local struggles and fight the ideology of employers. Belgian and other workers together should support the 7 October demonstration, to fight for better life conditions for all, equal working conditions under Belgian law, against austerity and for solidarity with, our class sisters and brothers, the refugees.

Opening the EU borders?

GABRIEL HULAND



EU leaders met on Wednesday 23 September in Brussels to discuss the immigration crisis, but failed miserably. The crisis deepens as the influx of people continues (asylum claims in Europe this year exceeds 530,000). Hungary saw a new record this week as over 10,000 people entered its borders in less than 24 hours. Greece and Italy are to open “reception centres” (detention centres) in the coming weeks to separate economic migrants from those fleeing war. The anti-immigrant, nationalist and right-wing Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has refused to include his country in any plan to open such centres arguing that increased repression should be the priority to “stop the illegal entry of immigrants”.

Wednesday’s EU meeting did not agree mandatory quotas for each country now nor in relation to a long-term policy for Europe. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, said that the EU must build a “de facto border for immigration because otherwise there will be no

control on the arrival of refugees” (El País, 09/25/2015). Tusk repeatedly refers to the “European Fortress” and the need to close its “doors and windows”.

France, on the other hand, is advocating the creation of registration centres for refugees in countries bordering the EU, such as Turkey and Macedonia. Other European leaders want a pan-European agency to control borders, with greater powers than the national police forces of the member states. This would mean a greater transfer of sovereignty from Greece, Italy and Hungary to Brussels. The EU also wants greater coordination with Turkey, from where most refugee newcomers to Europe are located.

In short, European governments are trying everything to escape the problems they have created: increasing poverty, economic crises and wars. All caused by a system totally unable to rationally organise the distribution of global wealth: the capitalist system is in its decadent phase. We can expect tumultuous years ahead.

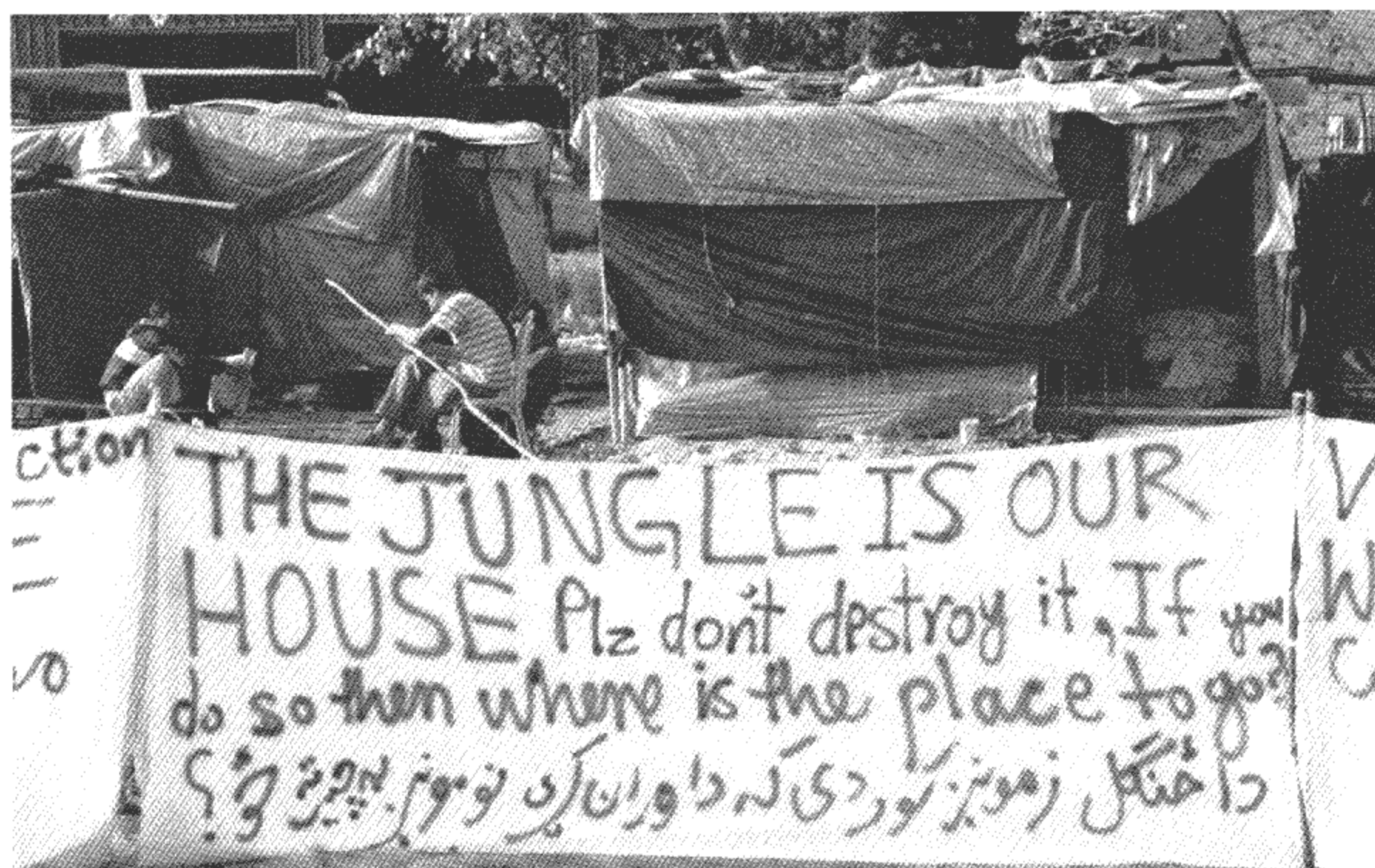
The Agreements between the EU leaders

Despite the tensions and confusion over how to deal with the refugee crisis, heads of EU governments have reached important agreements:

- (1) To prioritise dealing with refugee traffickers.
- (2) To accelerate the process of asylum, so that those refused entry can be returned to their countries more quickly. This implies a separation between economic immigrant and those fleeing wars or disasters.
- (3) Increase border control.
- (4) To increase aid to refugee camps in countries bordering Syria.
- (5) To push a resumption of negotiations with the international community on the Syrian civil war. (source: BBC).

Some brief comments:

- (1) The fight against illegal trafficking of people is absolutely necessary, but the EU will be unable to carry it out, as its policy of increasing repression and border control is the most important reason for the emergence of this business.



(2) Countries such as Germany and Denmark are changing their laws to speed up the issuance of permits and the return of those “denied” the right to stay. While it is true that Germany will receive a large number of people this year (something like 800,000 refugees), at the same time they have recently changed the status of countries such as Albania, Kosovo and Serbia to “safe countries”, with the aim of closing the migratory flow from these countries to the EU.

(3) The need to increase “border security” is the only thing that unites all European leaders. Most recent resources allocated by the EU have not gone to help refugees, but to improve border control.

(4) Europe will increase aid to refugee

subsequent selection of those who want to enter.

That the bureaucrats in Brussels have this agenda is not surprising. What is troubling is that some European left groups and leaders say something similar. The Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, internationally known by leftist intellectuals groups and activists for his work on Lenin, violence and psychoanalysis (among other things), wrote a few days ago,

“The greatest hypocrites are those who call for open borders. They know very well this will never happen: it would instantly trigger a populist revolt in Europe. They play the role of a beautiful soul that is superior to the corrupted

for the Syrian war as if there was a conspiracy to overthrow a progressive government. Nothing is more false. Not denouncing the Arab dictatorships and, especially, in this case, the role of Assad as the one responsible for the war and the death of over 400,000 people in Syria entails in practice supporting the USA, Russian and Israeli argument that the great enemy is the Islamic State (IS), even though many human right organizations have stated that Assad has killed many more Syrians than IS.

There is a progressive movement of solidarity with refugees in different European countries. Between 40 per cent and 60 per cent of the German population (according to a poll) actively support the policy of welcoming refugees. In fact, governments have only responded to the crisis after massive popular pressure.

Active participation in this movement is an essential task of activists of all ideologies and tendencies. Presenting a program of demands to governments that so far have done little or nothing for the hundreds of thousands of people who come to Europe is urgent. It is not known how many people will come or to what countries they will go. The immediate and concrete struggle for the expansion of the derisory mandatory quotas and better treatment for refugees who are already in European countries is necessary.

However, we must also conduct a strategic political struggle. First, with an explanation of the reactionary character of the EU, opposed to those who say it can be reformed, and second exposing the criminal Arab rulers, who are as responsible as the EU for this serious situation, such as Assad, the Iranian regime, the Saudi Arabian monarchy, amongst others.

Only by demanding the end of the imperialist and discriminatory EU – which oppresses people while protecting big capitalists – can we respond properly to this crisis. We must intensify the mobilisations to push the state, regional and municipal governments to open the European borders to all who seek asylum, no matter where they are from, regardless of country, religion, ethnicity or vocational training.

(1) - <http://www.lrb.co.uk/2015/09/09/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway>



camps in Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan. This measure is late and not enough to deal with the four million Syrians scattered throughout the Middle East and other areas. Possibly it will remain more a declaration of intent, but even that is opposed by a sector of European politicians.

(5) The emergence of the immigration crisis pushed the EU to increase its efforts to resolve the conflict in Syria. The measure advocated by innumerable heads of government includes negotiation between the Syrian opposition in exile in Turkey and the Assad regime.

Opening European borders?

The immigration crisis has opened a debate in the media and solidarity movements in Europe on how to deal with it. The existing dilemma is either to open borders or control the entry of people into Europe. The European establishment defends border control through repression, building walls and

world while continuing to get along in it. The anti-immigrant populist also knows very well that, left to themselves, people in Africa and the Middle East will not succeed in solving their own problems and change their societies. Why not? Because we in Western Europe are preventing them from doing so.”¹

Behind the correct point that the EU is responsible for the problems in the Middle East and Africa, what is hidden is a major capitulation to the European imperialist bourgeoisie, as both coincide in proposing “borders control”. Žižek recognizes here a supposed legitimacy of the EU to repress and decide who should live in its countries. It is also consistent with the far-right rants against immigrants who, according to its xenophobic ideologies, take jobs from European workers and cause social problems such as violence and crime.

There are also sectors linked to Stalinism and the old Communist Parties who insist that only NATO and U.S. are responsible

Two legends leave us this 2015

MARGARET MCADAM, ISL

I first met Cecilia Toledo in the 2005 at my first LIT Congress, when she invited me to join her and a group of other female comrades for drinks. I was so happy to be immediately welcomed and treated as a comrade; it was that moment when I knew I would always be comfortable in the IWL and in Brazil politically and socially.

I was already aware of Cecilia's reputation over her outstanding work "Women: gender unites us, class divides us" and other writings on the question of women, oppression and class and although language was a barrier I understood. I would love to have understood more, and strongly agreed with her that the fundamental issue of women's oppression is a class issue on the necessity for both men and women to fight to end class and women's oppression and continue to fight for socialism.

In 2011 Cecilia came to England with Natalia and Iraci to begin the tremendous task of digitalising Bill Hunter's archives, who died this year (see last issue of Socialist Voice). Those days are sealed in the memory of the ISL forever, our multi-lingual breakfast table - collecting words and creating new ones in Portunolish! Post-it notes on the fridge to remind ourselves!

Archiving

Over the archiving, Bill was hard work, he wanted to tell a story about every sheet of paper that came out of a box or cabinet, and fascinating as that was it meant progress was moving at a snail's pace. So it was proposed to Bill that the boxes could be transferred to our house so that the work could proceed at a better rate. But Bill required some convincing as he was never keen for ANYTHING to leave his apartment, "you can read it here but you can't take it away!" With promises of daily visits to Bill's apartment, the return of every single piece of paper, and Bill visiting our house to witness and approve the process, he agreed. Cecilia was also driven by her acknowledgement of the importance of building and growing the ISL, a centre of imperialism with an immense proletarian history. So later in 2011 she returned alone to help us build our "beautiful" party and I am sure she will have strongly insisted within the IWL on the how important this was for



the international struggle for socialism.

In that time we had many fierce discussion, agreements and disagreements often over a glass of Italian or French red, something else we both shared a love of. Cecilia told us stories of her days in Argentina, of Moreno, being a Trotskyist and of living and fighting under dictatorship. We had rich and inspiring discussions where Cecilia was able to capture the essence of our struggle for socialism in ways I had never thought of, frequently bringing to the fore the writings of Lenin and Engels in our talks about the oppression of women. She was never afraid to participate in polemics and fought fiercely for her opinion.

The struggle for Marxism and Morals

It was in those days that Cecilia pushed us, successfully, to re-launch the Socialist Voice. And in order to keep the cost of production manageable we drove over to Manchester to the publishers and worked the printing presses ourselves. It was a fantastic day, we shared many laughs that day as things went wrong but it was such a victory to see the finished edition as it rolled off the machine - Cecilia pursing her lips and kissing the very first copy "our beautiful Socialist Voice", she cried.

Of course having such a prolific leader and acknowledged source of knowledge on the issue of women and socialism in our midst, we did not hesitate to organise public meetings with Cecilia as the main speaker. She spoke passionately at a number of local trade union and labour movement events.

Cecilia was also able to articulate the most correct answer, compared to other Marxist contributions at the time, to the issues raised by the moral crisis in the SWP of January 2013, (regarding the allegation of rape of a young female comrade by leading SWP member Martin Smith and the subsequent inadequate investigation and report at their Conference). She wrote an article and a pamphlet which was widely read.

Without any exaggeration Cecilia won the love and respect of all who met her in Liverpool, including many who are not Trotskyists. And like many Brazilians, Cecilia loved the Beatles so our cultural life included visiting museums, Penny Lane, the Cavern singing along in the car to Imagine, Penny Lane and She Loves You.

With us always

Cecilia's English improved, but at times words were lost in translation and learning created many moments of humour. I remember a trip to the supermarket when Cecilia told me she was going to be a vegetable, I laughed and she asked me why was I laughing - I pointed to the carrot and told her that is a vegetable "I am a vegetarian!" We often referred back to that and laughed.

Cecilia will live on in our memories in our struggle always.

The comrades of the ISL send sympathy and solidarity to our comrades in Brazil and the women's commission. Our deepest condolences go to her son, who Cecilia adored, and her husband and a leader of the IWL Martin Hernandez.

Kevin James Cook 'Cookie': 29 September 1939 25 July 2015

The life of an Aborigine

DEREK MORTIMER

Kevin Cook, the first Indigenous head of Tranby Aboriginal College in Sydney, died on 25 July 2015. Kevin, or Cookie, as he was known to everyone, never gave up fighting for what he believed in, the rights of Aboriginal people, the working class, and the oppressed of the world.

By definition a funeral is a day of sadness. But it was also a farewell for the members of his extended family, his comrades, his union mates, his friends, former students and staff of the Tranby Aboriginal College, and the many people he had touched all over the world.

But nobody who knew the one-time union activist and first Aboriginal head of his great passion, Tranby College, in Sydney, could reflect on his life without also celebrating. For Cookie reached out to many people and many people reached out to him in the farewell and celebration of his life and achievements.

Inside the chapel there was the mournful sound of a didgeridoo, outside, a sudden wind had sprung up and was roaring down the Illawarra escarpment under a lowering sky. Kevin, Cook, 'Cookie', had been brought home, the Wandandian man had returned to his people and the place where he was born south of Sydney.

Everyone who met him had a story to tell of his involvement in virtually every social and political issue involving Indigenous Australians and Torres Strait Islander people since the seventies, of his support for liberation movements throughout the world, his immense skill in bringing together disparate people to work for a common good, his sense of humour, his modesty, his internationalism.

There was a telling reminder at the time of his death that what he had dedicated his life to — the fight for equality for Indigenous and Torres Strait Islander people — is not over.

A national battle was taking place in defence of Australian Rules footballer and Australian of the Year, Adam Goodes following his racial vilification by some fans. The usual media and political voices lined up to condemn Goodes for his angry and despairing response, urging him to "cop it". Goodes, as an elite athlete with a high profile, was being attacked because he would not "cop it".



Cookie also gave a voice to those who would not "cop it". In the early days of Tranby College this voice was heard in the fight for an education for those Indigenous Australians who had slipped through the net of the mainstream system.

He gave it through his support and remarkable organisational abilities to the Deaths in Custody battles, the Long March for justice, freedom and hope, which forcefully reminded the nation and the world during the official bicentenary celebration of British invasion and settlement, that for Indigenous Australians this was not something to celebrate. It culminated in a massive gathering in the centre of Sydney.

He also gave his voice and skills to innumerable other organisations. The many things he achieved were with the support of other dedicated and talented people, because that was his greatest gift, the ability to bring different men and women together in common cause.

I think Cookie would have been gratified by the many voices, black and white, that were added to the chorus in defence of Goodes, what he was for, and what he was against. Cookie knew that the fight was not over, but he also knew that in his lifetime progress had been made and everyone who knew him is aware of the immense contribution he personally made to this.

His voice is now silent, and too soon. But other voices are being raised.

Cookie was no more a saint than any other man or woman, but throughout his life he waged a principled fight for those who haven't rather than those who have.

He is mourned in his passing and celebrated for what he achieved and how he lived his life.

Professor Heather Goodall, in introducing Cookie's story to readers of *Making Change Happen*, said, "He was well-known as a unionist, as an advocate of innovative, Aboriginal-controlled adult education, highly respected as a nationwide land rights organiser, a key player in transnational links with liberation movements and a man of exceptional integrity and dynamism."

But Cookie's book is not in the normal meaning of a biography. Heather went on to say, "Cookie was not interested in searching for the meaning of his own life. Instead, he has always focussed on what he grew up calling 'sticking fats' — sticking together with fellow activists, sharing the good and the bad in everything he was involved in — sharing not just the hopes but the hard work to reach goals and the scarce resources you had to live on to get there."

He is a much missed, friend, comrade and inspiration.

Cookie has always been, and always will be, the heart and soul of Tranby College.





Bill Hunter's Archives

For a workers' government



In the past, state assistance has been necessary for capitalism to develop its infrastructure like railways where immediate returns on capitalist investment were not forthcoming.

Railways and public services, if they were developed under private capital, did so heavily subsidised. Now, the parasitic nature of present-day capitalism means that the state subsidises private buyers and speculators when it privatises industries.

In this day and age of capitalism, privatisation has provided a golden trough for capitalists all over the world. The profitable bonanza from privatisation which opened up new profits for capitalist speculators and 'entrepreneurs' has been impossible without the guarantees and assistance of the state.

There is the whole historical development of the nation state which the multinationals cannot wipe away. Their base still remains in their national country, and in the biggest world combines.

The argument has impressed some Marxists that the state does not have the same role in capitalism because of the development of trans-national companies and of 'globalisation'.

The state is an essential part of capitalism as an instrument for protecting the legal foundation of the capitalist property rights and its contracts.

It grew under capitalism together with the nation guaranteeing the home market for capitalism and then providing protection and assistance for its overseas trade.

The great imperialist powers are Germany and the US. But in imperialist countries the big international combines are closely linked with their state. North American strength and influence economically is bound up with its military and diplomatic might which time and again clears the way for its powerful businesses.

In fact, a great many of the possibilities of these transnationals depend upon the response of their own national state at home and its strength in relation to that of the country in which they operate. Many of the operations of these national

*The new Labour leaders call for re-nationalisation of the railways. However, the nationalisation programme of these leaders does not go even as far as the nationalisations after the WW II. But to defeat austerity the working class will have to go further than it did in the 1940s. As Bill Hunter explains in this extract (written in 1999) from his unpublished book *The Making of Marxism* "without a fundamental overturn of class power and the formation of a new type of working class state, state control can be an instrument for the maintenance of capitalism."*

combines can only take place because with the strength of their national states.

The problems, contradictions and conflicts of the struggle for profit by the increasingly powerful transnationals have also meant an increase of national and ethnic antagonisms and an increase in divisions between the most powerful nations and their blocs.

The unity of capitalist states can only come through the hegemony of one state bringing it about by force. It cannot come by a growing together of capitalist conglomerates or through calling an abstract world market a world state. This is what some writers conclude, who appear to see the movements in the world solely in terms of concepts.

Antagonisms of world capitalism

The antagonisms in the capitalist world were held down by the overwhelming strength of United States capitalism for two and a half or three decades after the war. They broke out in the 1970s, owing to the uneven development which is a law of capitalism. The organisations of representatives of nation states - United Nations, GATT, and European Union go through increasing conflicts and threats of breaking up.

The acceleration of 'globalisation' in the last decades has not led to dampening the conflict on the world scale between national capitalist societies let alone overcoming it.

On the contrary! There is continuing failure of international conferences on world trade which all capitalist countries seek to open up markets for itself. There are the continual conflicts in the European 'Community', which make it plain that unity can only come through one power dominating and suppressing the others - as for example the brief European order of German fascism.

The impressionist writers who define general one-sided linear tendencies ignore the unequal and uneven

development of capitalism and its dialectical development through antagonism and conflict on every plane.

Planned results under capitalism can only take place within certain limits, for certain periods, in a framework where national and international relations are continually establishing and breaking up equilibriums.

Capitalism re-creates anarchy

Capitalism is by its nature and purpose of production, a society which continually re-creates anarchy and uneven development, continually creating a social unity of the world and at the same time breaking it down.

The possibility of wider planning and unity beyond the national state, between a number of capitalist economies can only arise out of the absolute hegemony of one of the powers and that can only be temporary.

Imperialist politicians who tell us that great agreements have been made in which everyone benefits, and cannot explain why the world economic problems and sharp conflicts continue.

The end of this century marks the end of "State Socialism" which began to flourish at its beginning - the ideas of reformist socialism that the state would introduce socialism piece by piece as it gained increasing control over industry.

What is clear is that without a fundamental overturn of class power and the formation of a new type of working class state; state control can be an instrument for the maintenance of capitalism.

As shown in aid by state ownership, it assisted in unlocking capital in the period following the war and then privatisation in a later period when a whole new speculation and money trough could be opened for capital. Never forgetting that the latter was made possible by the retreats and weaknesses of workers' organisations.