

Socialist Challenge

Hands Off Zimbabwe!

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Bishop Muzorewa, clasps the hand of a major shareholder in Zimbabwe's most important companies, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington

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CAPITAL

THE 'constitutional conference' on Zimbabwe is now under way. But the dice are heavily loaded in favour of the white settlers and their favourite pawn, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. For their close friends are now in power in this country.

There can be little doubt that the Tory leaders are strongly attached to their 'kith and kin' in 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia'. Thatcher's first inclination was to go for recognition of Smith/Muzorewa and the rapid lifting of sanctions.

The war is going so badly, however, that there is little chance of the regime surviving in its present form. Hence Thatcher's apparent about-turn at Lusaka and the holding of the present conference.

But while the means of achieving it have changed, the aim remains the same: to protect British capital and British profits at the expense of the people of Zimbabwe. And it is an aim in which many Tories have a direct interest, as a new report by Counter-Information Services shows.*

114 Tory MPs voted to lift sanctions after the Commons debate in November 1978. Eight of them are now in the government, and one, Nicholas Ridley, is a Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

Many of the MPs who voted against sanctions have a direct personal financial interest in the lifting of sanctions. Some are directors (and shareholders) of companies with subsidiaries in Zimbabwe: Sir Frederic Bennett and Tom Normanton are both directors of Commercial Union Assurance which

has property and insurance interests there; while John Osborn's family firm has subsidiaries in both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Julian Amery, that most vociferous supporter of the Smith regime, is a director of two companies in the Anglo-American empire. A South African associate of this mining and industrial giant is Freight Services Limited, one of the companies that facilitated the busting of the oil sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary himself, Lord Carrington, is an ex-director of several of the most important companies in Zimbabwe: Rio-Tinto Zinc, Barclays Bank, Cadbury-Schweppes, the Australia-New Zealand Bank and the British Metal Corporation, and he retains substantial shareholdings and connections in these firms. Ministerial appointment prevents him from continuing these directorships for the moment.

Several other MPs are 'consultants' to companies with interests in Zimbabwe: it was one of these lucrative advisory posts that got ex-Tory MP Duncan Sandys so much unwelcome publicity back in 1971; in his case the best part of £300,000 was paid into a tax-free Cayman Island account by Lonrho.

John Farr, Tory MP and landowner, holds 12,000 acres spread over Northamptonshire, Ireland and Zimbabwe, while Albert Costain's family firm, Richard Costain Limited, in which he is a shareholder, has a Rhodesian subsidiary building a police station with heliport and cells in central Salisbury.

If sanctions are lifted all these people stand to make a lot of money. Dividends paid over the years have been blocked inside Rhodesia. Sanctions lifting will release them in addition to boosting the value of shares and future dividends.

*Sell-out in Zimbabwe. 85p plus p&p from CIS, 9 Poland Street, London W1.

TABLE TWO: Tory MPs with interests in firms operating in Zimbabwe

MPs who voted to lift sanctions	
Eldon Griffiths	Consultant to Caravans International
Philip Holland	Consultant to Standard Telephone and Cables
Peter Horden	Consultant to Fisons
Anthony Kershaw	Advisor to British American Tobacco
John Lanford-Holt	Consultant to Imperial Tobacco
John Farr	Major landowner in Zimbabwe
MPs who abstained	
Albert Costain	Shareholder in R Costain & Sons
Timothy Raison	Consultant to Selection Trust
Reginald Prentice	Consultant to Standard Telephone & Cables
Geoffrey Johnson-Smith	Consultant to Dunlop Holdings
David Knox	Economic advisor to Joseph Lucas & Sons

TABLE ONE: Tory MPs with directorships in firms operating in Zimbabwe

Name	Company	Interests
Frederic Bennett	Commercial Union	Property and insurance interests in Zimbabwe
Julian Amery	Vaal Reefs Exploration & Mining	Subsidiaries of Anglo-American
Geoffrey Dodsworth	Western Deep Levels	Multiple banking subsidiaries
Michael Morris	Grindlays Bank	Handles Fisons, which has interests in Zimbabwe
Tom Normanton	Benton & Bowles	Holds Rhodesian subsidiary via Samuel Osborn South Africa
John Osborn	Commercial Union Samuel Osborn Limited	
MPs who abstained on sanctions		
Daniel Awdry	Rediffusion BET Omnibus Services	Subsidiary of BET which has interests in Zimbabwe
David Crouch	Burston-Marsteller	Handles Wilkinson Match Zimbabwe
Edward DuCann	Lonrho	Large, diverse and contentious operations in Zimbabwe
Russell Fairgrieve	William Baird Hill Samuel & Co.	Asbestos mining subsidiary
John MacGregor	Brooke-Bond Liebig	Multiple interests
Anthony Royle	Sedgewick Forbes	All these companies have subsidiaries in Zimbabwe
John Stanley	Wilkinson Match	Major mining and industrial interests in Zimbabwe
	Rio-Tinto-Zinc	

Lobbying the TUC on abortion

They signed our petitions, but will they fight?

By Celia Pugh

A SPLASH of colour was introduced at this year's Trades Union Congress as delegates wore bright stickers and badges opposing Corrie's anti-abortion Bill.

A Tobacco Workers Union resolution calling on the TUC to 'campaign against measures which seek to deny women their right to free contraceptive and abortion on request', was passed overwhelmingly.

In the debate, Dougie Grieve, general secretary of the Tobacco Union, warned that Corrie's Bill was aimed at destroying the '67 Abortion Act.

'Our argument should be how to strengthen the Act and now weaken it. Women should have the right to choose.'

Judith Hunt of TASS, white-collar section of the Engineering Union, backed this with a strong call for delegates to build for the TUC demonstration against the Corrie Bill on 28 October.

Wherever delegates turned — in the pubs, cafes or the entrance hall — they met leaflets, petitions, badges and sticks from pro-abortion campaigners.

Clive Jenkins, Arthur Scargill and Frank Chapple were among those who signed the petition.

Statements of trade union support are a step in the right direction, but we cannot afford to be complacent.

When union leaders were asked

what they would be doing to build the demonstration they responded with doubtful smiles. They weren't even sure they would be on it themselves.

Many delegates said they had not had any information about the demonstration from their unions nationally. Obviously it's one thing to vote or sign a petition but quite another to actually organise some action.

The Campaign Against Corrie and the National Abortion Campaign will have to ensure that the October demonstration is a success. Local trades councils and trade union branches can be approached to organise transport and support for 28 October.

However, opposition to Corrie cannot end there. After the October demonstration there are proposals for a lobby of parliament during the February third reading.

Ideally, a countrywide strike would be called to coincide with the third reading — this is the kind of action we have to be arguing for in our trade unions now.

The argument that we have to win in the trade unions is that abortion is a right and not a question of individual conscience. Attacks on abortion threaten a basic democratic right — the freedom of women to decide when and whether to have a child.

Women's inability to choose about childbearing has underpinned their oppression, forcing them out of the workforce, into unskilled and casual



jobs, and limiting them to their roles as wives and mothers.

Many male trade unionists are resistant to changing this. They accept that 'women's place is in the home' or they may be prepared to do something for the 'little woman', but won't commit themselves to a consistent fight. Many believe that having women at home cooking and cleaning for them is in their best interest.

We have to argue that it is in the

interests of the whole working class that women are able to play a full role in the workforce and in the labour movement. So that women's low pay does not undercut the wage levels of the whole class, so that women cannot be used as a 'reserve army of labour' to weaken and divide the class.

Moreover, this Tory attack on women is just the thin end of the wedge. Women are weakly organised so they can be defeated most easily.

After women, it will be blacks and the working class as a whole.

The Labour Abortion Rights Campaign is preparing to fight the 'conscience cop-out' at the Labour Party conference to ensure that all Labour MPs vote against the Bill.

It was trade union votes which prevented abortion becoming a question of Labour Party policy in the past. Make sure that your trade union is not going to do the same again.

News from nowhere

One fewer for dinner

ASITSONW tribute to Mountbatten, News from Nowhere this week reprints a glowing obituary by 'The Brigadier' published in last week's *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

I WAS at Balmoral when the dreadful news came, and so it was my painful task to break the news to Herself. 'The fiends have pranged Dickie, Maam' I muttered, as I returned ashen hued from the phone.

And it was then that I saw the true mark of royalty. Not a drop of the Lap Souchong was spilt; a look of annoyance flickered across her brow

and she rang for the butler. 'Benson, there will be one fewer for dinner this evening, please inform cook.' That said it all for me. The dignity, poise and regal splendour of a truly great lady.

Blushing, I backed out and would have made a dignified exit had not that old fool Benson come into the room behind me. Standing up, I banged my head on the tea tray and, blow me, didn't the Meissen teaset shatter all over the floor.

So now it devolves upon me to say a few words about Dickie. Personally, I must confess to never having had too much time for the old fool, but noblesse oblige and de mortuis nihil nisi slobber, as the poet has it. Dickie was very proud of the fact that henceforth the Royal weans are to be known by the surname Mountbatten Windsor, but then he would be, the pathetic old snob.

He came from a long line of German thieves and looters, and was one of the most incompetent naval and military figures of his generation — he was torpedoed, dive-bombed, had his ships crippled and a destroyer sunk under him, but a grateful nation always gave him a new boat to play with after each fiasco.

I was recently talking to him and I jokingly offered to take him on

holiday to Canada. He turned white and then red and admitted that he hadn't been back there ever since 1942, when his military genius led to 3,363 Canadians getting wiped out in one hour at Dieppe.

Come to think of it, the Indians don't have too much to thank him for either, what with two hundred thousand of them getting killed in the riots after he left as the last Viceroy.

I suppose there must be something good I can say about him, but, dash it all, it's hard to think of anything.

He was a mean man, rather surprisingly since he was a millionaire who married a woman even richer than himself, and this is a characteristic he passed on to young Charles, who is a tightfisted little Scrooge if ever there was one.

He claimed to have a great affection for the Irish peasantry, and I'm sure this was true — after all he had been screwing land and money out of them for years.

Not much of a tribute, I grant you, but then, he always was an obnoxious old fool, and I'm in a bad mood. I've just got back from Thiepval Barracks to find a letter from Her, docking me two months pay for the broken teaset. I can tell you, it's no fun being your old chum,

The Brigadier

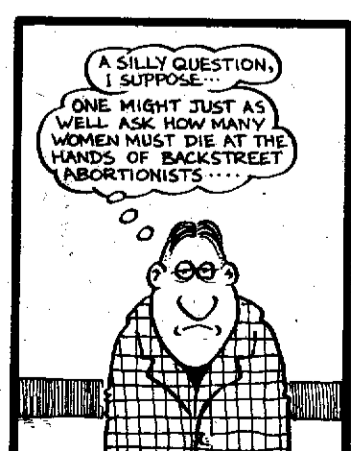
MANCHESTER National Abortion Campaign benefit bop 20 September. 8pm, West Indian Centre, Carmoor Rd, Longsite. 80p/50p unwaged.

MANCHESTER coach leaves for 28 October demo at 8.30am St. Peters Square. Tel. 061-224 4392 for tickets.

BRIGHTON Campaign Against Corrie. Next meeting Wednesday 26 October, 8pm. Resource Centre, North Rd, Brighton.



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)



A Declaration of War
THE PRIOR PROPOSALS

by Bob Pennington

Available from The Other Bookshop 15p plus 10p postage.

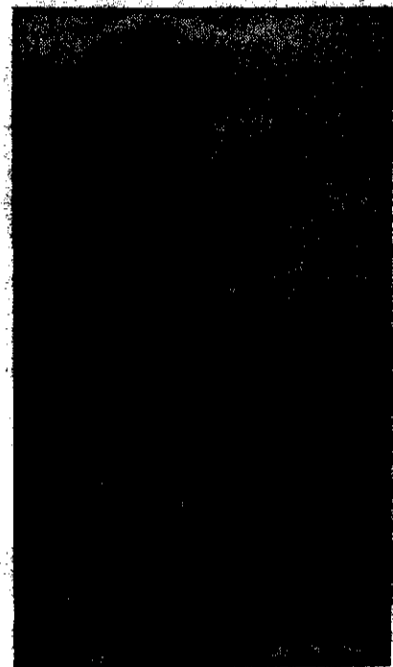
Blackpool '79

In the name of unity!

By Jonathan Silberman

ARE THE trade union leaders shaping up for a fight? Will Callaghan's 'winter of discontent' get a replay this year? These were the questions being asked by commentators at last week's TUC assembled in Blackpool.

Lionel Murray and the TUC tops did their damndest to ensure that as few answers as possible were provided. Congress proceedings were conducted by and large in a monotone, interrupted only by the occasional anti-Tory remark to the effect that this was the most reactionary government since the war and we have to be united in the face of its attacks.



LEN MURRAY

One thing was clear, however. The sort of 'unity' that they talked about was a million miles from the united working class action that destroyed the Heath government in 1974. That unity was forged by the unofficial strikes called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions against the Industrial Relations Bill; by the official strikes called by the AUEW that followed; by the factory occupations and work-ins against redundancy and closure in 1971-2; by the 1972 miners' strike against the 7 per cent norm; by the strikes to free the Pentonville Five dockers in July 1972. All these struggles were launched within the first two years of Heath's premiership.

But the appeals for unity that were made in the Winter Gardens last week went in the opposite direction to preparing such struggles. Instead they were the banner under which Murray, Basnett and Jackson hoped to prevent such action.

The first victims of their kind of 'unity' were motions from UCATT and the Bakers' Union. These motions called for the talks with the Tories to be broken off and for a national day of action against the Prior proposals. After massive pressure they were withdrawn.

Similar pressure — again in the name of 'unity' — was applied to the now famous Furniture Union amendment to the main General Council motion on the economy. FTAT was calling for unions to resist the government's policies by 'all the means within their power', including 'mass demonstrations in various parts of the country'. Despite the pressure the amendment was not withdrawn.

It had been sponsored by the Communist Party, and with a large Left majority in the big TGWU and AUEW delegations it had a serious chance of being carried. It was only defeated by the narrowest of margins on a card vote (61,000 out of 12 million), with Joe Gormley using his interpretation of 'unity' in the miners' delegation to ensure that they voted against.

On the Sunday, the NUM delegation had been told that the amendment was going to be withdrawn. When it turned out that this wasn't the case, Gormley managed to prevent a further meeting to decide how to cast the union's 225,000 votes.

The unions which voted for the amendment had their own ideas about unity, too. Doubtless it was in the interests of 'unity' that they went along with the majority decision of conference. For not one general secretary so much as whispered to the press any intention of pushing ahead to promote mass action to resist the Tory attacks.

The leader most conspicuous by his silence was AUEW president Terry Duffy. The fact that his members form the major part of the two million-odd engineering workers now taking strike action didn't get a mention. Yet the engineers' strikes show that in the real world outside cosy conference halls there is a genuine feeling for a fight. The stage-managed unity of Congress cannot hide that.

But the contradiction between what was happening inside and outside the Winter Gardens does



TUC demonstration against the Industrial Relations Act in 1971.

not even touch the crucial importance of the Industrial Relations Act. The enormous potential power of the unions, it takes more than fighting spirit to win genuine and lasting solutions.

The employers understand this. Frightened by the militancy that was demonstrated last winter, they have been prepared to grant significant wage rises to those workers at the end of the pay round. And they'll be trying to buy off struggles by similar means this time round. Vauxhall have already offered 17 per cent despite their financial state (and have seen it rejected).

But they will combine this with a complete intransigence in the face of any demands such as the 35-hour week which would seriously begin to challenge their plans for rationalisation.

There was no answer to this political problem at the TUC, even

from the so-called 'left wing'. The FTAT amendment was after all an attempt to force the government's policy on the economy.

As Murray explained: 'Ours is a strategy which recognises the need for cooperation in managing the economy, which involves workers and unions at every level and challenges them to accept new responsibilities, a strategy which recognises the need for government control of key decisions... and which gets the economic and social priorities right.'

And he went on to 'recognise that

market pressures have to be accommodated, in the field of wages or elsewhere; we know that industries must be viable where they are competing in world markets...'

But the acceptance of this means the acceptance of capitalist rationalisation. The only strategy that can burst open the blockage imposed by the TUC tops is one that challenges the very heart of the collaborationist schemes. Mass action for socialist policies is what's needed. And the fight for a new leadership committed to such a strategy is vital.

Of peace and other matters

IT WASN'T only on the industrial front that peaceful coexistence was offered as the main strategy at the TUC. Composite 19, debated on Thursday, was concerned with peaceful coexistence worldwide.

Moved by Harry Smith on behalf of AUEW (TASS), it was one of the chief planks of the Communist Party's intervention. Now, of course, everyone's in favour of peace, so the CP was onto a winner in this Congress where unity was considered so highly.

The problem was in how comrades Smith and Gill thought that worldwide peace was to be achieved. What was really touching was their faith in American imperialism and in particular in Carter's Salt 2 agreement with the Russian government.

This agreement is not concerned with the present

arsenal of nuclear weapons assembled to date by the US war mongers. So how it's supposed to reduce the threat of war is not clear. In fact, if anything Salt 2 — by proposing to limit development of nuclear fire-power to tactical weapons — actually increases the likelihood of hawks in the US military high command being allowed to use them.

The only counter to this is taking forward the international struggle for socialism. But this conflicts with peaceful coexistence, so it must be sacrificed — by the Russian bureaucrats...and by the British CP.

They did achieve their unity, though. Even Frank Chapple's EETPU voted for the composite. We say 'even' after the anti-communist tirade from Eric Hammond, a member of

the EETPU executive, during the debate on private medicine. In the true style of his leader, Eric threatened to list the names of trade unionists and politicians who went to the Eastern Bloc for medical treatment!

Congress loves to hate the leaders of the electricians. During the debate on abortion, someone rose to oppose the motion. All around the hall, you could hear delegates joking — 'It's bound to be a member of the ETU!'

Not so. In fact, Frank Chapple signed the abortion petition that circulated so successfully amongst delegates. Asked by the petitioner if he would be bringing a big contingent from the EETPU along to the anti-Corrie demo, Chapple replied 'I doubt it.'

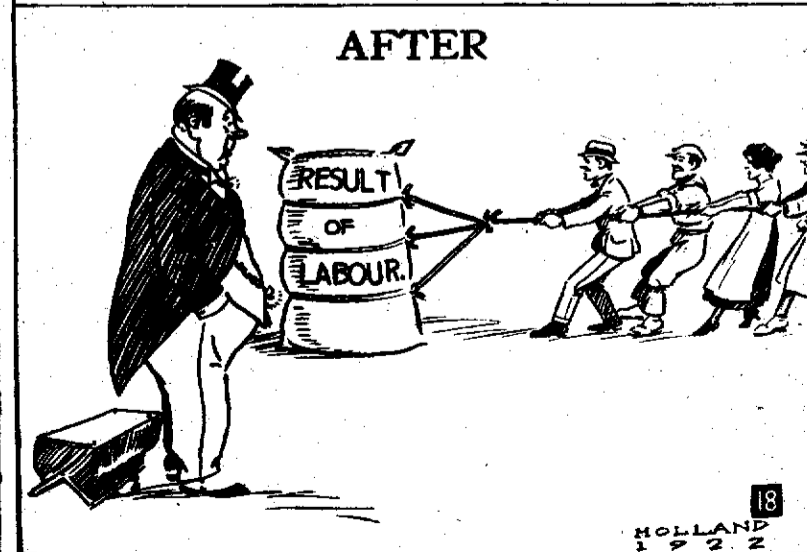
'Don't you support TUC policy then?' our

petitioner questioned. 'We don't support TUC on most questions' Frank replied 'except on nuclear energy.'

Congress supported nuclear energy, needless to say.

The second most hated institution was the press. Well almost. After a tub-thumping act from NUPE general secretary Alan Fisher, who castigated not only the press barons but more loudly the journalists who had christened him 'Hitler' during last winter, delegates then went on to thank the press for covering the conference.

Well, we are very brotherly, aren't we? In fact, almost completely. Out of the 1200 delegates, only 120 were women — though apparently this was the highest proportion in history.



The importance of unity — a cartoon from the TGWU's Record in the early '20s

South London health cuts

The axe meets a very blunt instrument

By Geoffrey Sheridan

DAVE Bloom and John Cox, gardeners and trade union activists at St John's Hospital in Lewisham, are the first to admit that the hospital's hundred or so staff will not be able to prevent its closure on their own.

So they are more than a little gratified at the help which the local anti-cuts campaign is marshalling, in Lewisham itself and in the neighbouring boroughs served by what was Lambeth, Lewisham, and Southwark Area Health Authority.

St John's has the distinction of being the first hospital scheduled for the chop by the area's new health commissioners, suitably secretive gentlemen installed by the government to axe £5m, which the AHA declined to carry out.

To be frank, Dave Bloom and John Cox aren't certain when their hospital will close.

The staff were told at the end of August that it would close on 1 October, duly held a meeting last week at which they voted to work-in from that date, and then they received a letter from district management which hinted that maybe the closure date would be later.

Dave and John aren't quite so silly as to take that seriously.

Options

True, they have got into the habit of expecting contradictory messages from their bosses. A few days before the announcement of the axe, for instance, a news sheet put out by the health district arrived in the post, stating that the long-term plan for St John's was that it should become a geriatric or psychiatric hospital.

Those options the staff are willing to consider, but they have heard enough about the new health commissioners — who refuse to allow anyone to even observe their meetings — to believe that the closure announcement means what it says.

And thus it is that on Saturday 29 September a march will take place through Lewisham to St John's Hospital bearing a simple message for the commissioners: Get lost.

And that march, which will be preceded by much petitioning and



ST JOHN'S hospital workers Dave Bloom (left) and John Cox

St John's Hospital—from backwater to front line

'HERNIA operations and surgery that can wait will be put back' — comment from Lewisham's district health administrator on the planned closure of St John's Hospital. He should tell that to William Black, who had just had a hernia op and was sitting out in the sun on the day Socialist Challenge paid a visit.

'I couldn't have waited any longer,' he says. 'Close this hospital? I'm totally opposed to it. It's different to other places you go in — much more personal, you're not just one of a number. Everybody seems to want to help everyone here.'

Dave Bloom and John Cox couldn't agree more. Both gardeners and trade union activists (John is a steward for COHSE), they are in no doubt that the closure of St John's would mean patients having to join already lengthy queues for health care elsewhere.

With two of the hospital's wards 'temporarily' closed a few years ago, and never re-opened, the newly-installed health commissioners probably considered that closing the remaining two will not meet a mountain of opposition. They are likely to be in for a surprise.

Already the staff have voted to work-in from 1 October, and the porters have resolved to move nothing out of the building. St John's, with its 74 beds, might be small, but for its staff and patients that means beautiful, not least because of the spacious gardens. Besides, the hospital treated over a thousand out-patients in July, and it is one of the few to do abortions.

'Everyone was dumbfounded at the news of the closure,' says John Cox, 'although I've been expecting it since I came here 30 years ago. But we're a very small unit, so we have to get support from other hospitals and trade unionists.'

'And that's starting to come,' adds Dave Bloom. 'Through the meetings of the local and area campaigns we're making contacts. Elliott Automation with 2,000 workers is across the road, and they're sending over a deputation of stewards to see us. And then there's the demonstration on 29 September. From being a quiet backwater, all this has sprung up in a few days.'

leafletting, has been called by the Lewisham Campaign Against the Cuts, which is no mean campaign.

Malcolm Richardson, who is on its committee as a delegate from Lewisham and Deptford Trades

Council, and is no stranger to campaigns, suggests that it is the very model of what such a campaign should be, although that isn't his precise phrase.

A brief history: When the AHA

was suspended last month, Rushey Green ward of Lewisham Labour Party held a public meeting — 350 people turned up, many of them health workers and local trades unionists. They decided to launch a

campaign, and almost half put their name down on the 'I want to be involved' sheets.

Over 150 people came to the next meeting, and elected a committee which has co-opted a delegate from the local abortion campaign, and includes delegates from the area-wide Campaign Against Health Cuts in Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham. The latter was set up by the trades councils in these three boroughs last February.

'It was the resistance to the cuts by the AHA and the rapidity with which the commissioners have moved in, without any consultation with the health workers, that has sparked the level of opposition we are now seeing,' explains Malcolm Richardson.

Opposition

He also points to the unity that has been established, involving organisations such as the Labour Party, CP, IMG, and SWP, who are in agreement on the policies required. A meeting of the area-wide campaign last Friday, attended by 150 people, unanimously called for:

Opposition to all health cuts; more money and resources for the health service; the reinstatement of area health authority members, and no co-operation with the commissioners; full support for any action taken by health workers. The campaign further committed itself to any action needed by way of lobbying, leafletting, demonstrations and the like, to reverse the cuts. It has also called for support from the labour movement leaders.

The 29 September march to defend St John's Hospital is the first initiative. It won't be the last, because the next hospitals in line for the commissioners' bulldozers are: St Olaves, St Giles, Belgrave...

*The demonstration leaves Ladywell Fields, adjacent to Ladywell Station, at 11am, Saturday 29 Sept.

*A conference to discuss how to fight the cuts is to be held by the Lambeth, Southwark, and Lewisham campaign on 10 November, at 11am, St Albans Hall, Penton Place, Lambeth, SE17. Details from the campaign secretary, Janet Maguire, tel. 01-407 7600 ext 3164.

Edinburgh

CUTS in Scotland are beginning to meet united opposition from the labour movement.

Edinburgh Labour Party has called a demonstration and rally, to be held on 22 September, and backing has come from the Scottish TUC, as well as from Edinburgh Trades Council and Lothian Labour Party.

A conference is planned for next month to discuss how best to combat the Tories' cuts. Lothian Labour Party has so far taken an uncompromising stand, refusing to implement either the cuts or rates increases.

Rank and file groups have agreed to make a joint intervention in the demonstration and conference.

At a meeting of the Edinburgh branches of Rank and File Teacher, NALGO Action Group, and Hospital Worker it was decided to campaign for industrial action against the cuts; opposition to

CUTS BRIEFLY

rates increases; no special cases and no talks with the Tories, and for a public sector alliance.

East London

NUPE members at the London Hospital will be among those to take strike action today and lobby the City and East London Area Health Authority in protest against proposed health service cuts of £5m.

The decision was taken at a meeting of over a thousand ancillary workers at the hospital.

Council workers in Hackney are also taking part in the demonstration and lobby, as are trade unionists from private industry and groups from the community who see their health service under attack.

NUPE area officer Ian Barber says: 'The lobby is seen by NUPE as the first

step in a massive campaign against health cutbacks which would result in the widespread closures of wards and entire hospitals throughout East London.'

Ancillary workers at London Hospital will be holding a series of lightning strikes against attempts to cut staffing levels.

*Marchers are assembling at Ockway house, Stamford Hill at 12.30pm to lobby the Inner London Education Authority against school closures before marching to St Leonard's Hospital, Kingsland Road for a rally at 1.30pm.

Islington

By Adrian Yeeles

A TEMPORARY halt in proposed cuts in the Camden and Islington



NURSES and pensioners were among those who picketed last Friday's AHA meeting

health area in North London. That was the result of the local campaign against health cuts and a 100-strong picket of the AHA last Friday.

Cuts amounting to 10 per cent of the health budget had been scheduled

by the authority's finance sub-committee, but pressure from health workers and the community persuaded the AHA meeting on Friday to continue its discussions rather than take an immediate decision.

The postponement came after Camden Labour councillor Derek Godfrey put forward a motion opposing all cuts in services, demanding full information from the administration, and stating that there had to be

overspending.

Needless to say, if passed, these proposals could lead to the suspension of the AHA.

IS your community taking the cuts lying down? If not, let Socialist Challenge know — now.



Thousands more jobless in BL's search for 'Japanese levels of efficiency'

TWENTY THOUSAND jobs have been axed by British Leyland in the last two years, and now it looks as though they will cut at least 15,000 more, including several plant closures. A crucial test of the unions' ability to resist them is the strike by 4,000 workers at the SD1 plant at Rover Solihull, which began on Wednesday 5 September. We asked Pat Hickey, Deputy Senior Steward for the T&GWU, to explain the issues involved.

Management recently declared 1,500 redundancies due to a cutback in the production pro-

gramme. The response of the stewards was to unanimously support the recommendation of the senior stewards to oppose all redundancies and demand that available work be shared without loss of pay. Unfortunately the mass membership meeting split fifty-fifty over this.

Harder

I think one reason was that many wanted to leave the company with a lump sum redundancy payment. That's been a general pattern. The deepening economic crisis means fighting back gets harder, and redundancy payments corresponding-

ly more attractive.

The mass meeting did however decide to oppose compulsory redundancy, and only accept voluntary staff cuts in line with the programme cuts. Management are trying to go a lot further, in some areas cutting staff by 50 per cent, and on the two assembly systems which are maintaining the same rate of production they want 150 jobs chopped.

Under existing agreements, such cuts have to be mutually agreed but management are just going ahead. They say that 'excess labour' should be cut and afterwards discussions held with the unions about whether any is

replaced.

The membership know that if the mutuality agreement is thrown out management will just go ahead with any cuts it wants to make, so the mass meeting voted to oppose this, with only two against.

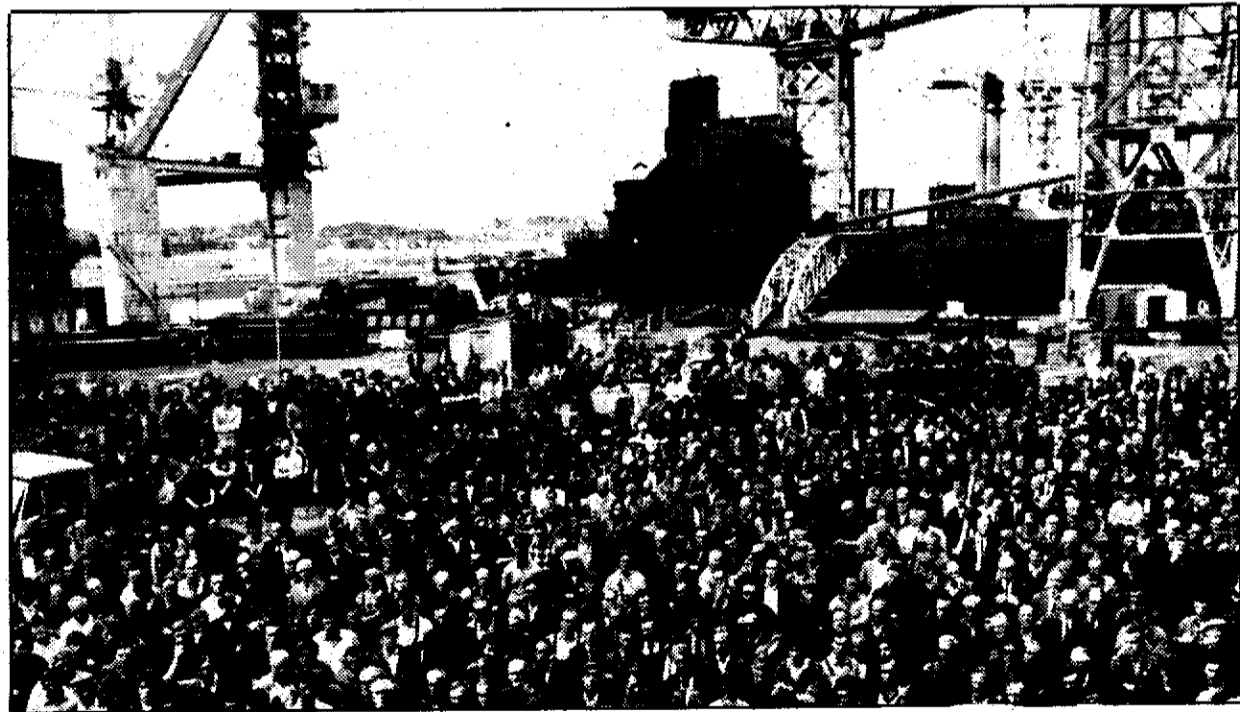
This was despite the really difficult situation where they have had less than two weeks work since the beginning of August due to strikes and lay-offs. The management have been engaging in a number of provocations such as refusing to pay lay-off money and imposing tighter discipline.

Behind all this is probably their plan to restructure the company. It is likely that the SD1, which is Leyland's most modern but least efficient plant, will be earmarked to produce another model taken from another part of British Leyland. Hence management determination to impose what the plant director calls 'Japanese levels of efficiency'.

Offensive

It's vital we spread the action. Last week's mass meeting took no decision on picketing the other 2 plants at Rover Solihull. The mutuality agreement also applies to them, and despite their production programme being expanded management will be looking for speed-up and staffing reductions. We have to win their support in a common struggle, and draw up plans to stop the movement of SD1s from the compounds to dealers or the docks.

The membership have shown they are not prepared to be kicked around. If we win this they will feel more confident that it's possible to go on the offensive against any redundancies and win.



Shipyard unions surrender

By Alan Turner
WORKERS at Dundee's Robb Caledon shipyard voted last Thursday to continue to resist the closure of the yard and the resulting loss of 1,000 jobs.

The move came despite the insistence of the union leadership that not only must the closure of Robb Caledon be accepted, but so too must all the cuts announced three weeks ago by British Shipbuilders and the Tory government. Overall at least 6,000 jobs are at stake.

The decision to accept the cuts was made in Blackpool on 4 September at a 600-strong meeting of shipyard delegates. The meeting voted to lift the sanctions, including an overtime

ban, which had been imposed after the announcement of the cuts.

Leading the retreat was John Chalmers, the general secretary of the Boilermakers Society and chairperson of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Chalmers persuaded the delegates that British Shipbuilders had agreed to try to avoid compulsory redundancies.

He said that management and unions would be making a joint approach to the government to increase the terms of redundancy payment to make job losses 'more attractive to older workers'. But even if the government agrees to such a request there will still be a loss of thousands of jobs — mainly in

Scotland, an area which already suffers from high unemployment.

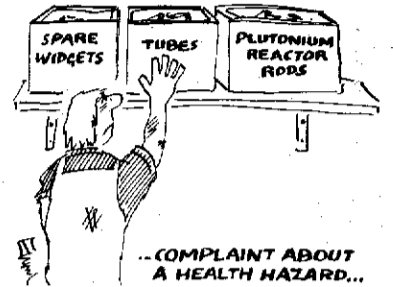
The union leadership has made a vague promise that alternative work will be found for those who don't opt for redundancy, but these assurances were not accepted by the Dundee workers. Robb Caledon convenor Bob Barty said that promises of work in oil-related industries were 'empty words' because workers in the oil industry were already being laid off. Barty said the overtime ban and the non-release of two ships due for launching would continue.

As *Socialist Challenge* went to press workers at the Glasgow yards earmarked for closure were meeting to decide their attitude.

Learning to strike

HOW to win a strike is not something you are taught at school. The Open University doesn't run any courses on the subject. Even the unions tend to concentrate on negotiations and your rights under the law.

So Rank and File has produced a pamphlet called 'Going on strike' which draws on widespread experience of strike action. It has sections on...



...COMPLAINT ABOUT A HEALTH HAZARD...

Before the strike.

Winning support.



TRY BUCKET COLLECTIONS AT FACTORY GATES...

Strike funds.



Picketing.

TAKE YOUR UNION OFFICIAL TO THE PICKET LINE...

The union.

Negotiations.

Available from Rank and File, c/o 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DE. Price 25p.

Defending picketing rights

THE TUC may have rejected any Tory 'trade union reform', but it's the joint stewards committee of Wandsworth Direct Works department which is taking the lead in action. They are fighting the attempts by the Tory council and the High Court to stop effective picketing.

They have been told that they cannot picket two council building sites at which private contractors are doing the work normally done by them. So they responded in just the same way as the dockers did when the Industrial Relations Act was used against them — they are making their picketing even more effective.

A massive show of support is requested for a 'day of action' on Wednesday 19 September. A mass picket of the two sites starts at 7am, and this is followed by a lobby of the council meeting at 6.30pm at Wandsworth Town Hall. Meanwhile the pickets are daily at: Bellamy House, Garrett Lane, SW17. Croudace, Upper Tooting Park, SW17.

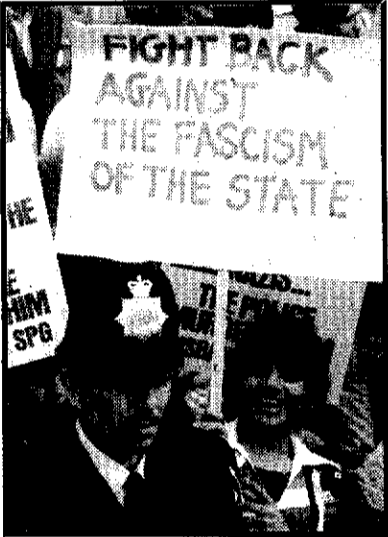
By Oliver New

THE Southall show trials started last Monday. The main trial, that of Clarence Baker of Misty, was postponed till later on and a few defendants were fined. But the two hundred pickets outside made sure that their voice was heard inside the court.

The picket was attended by a number of groups. Many banners were visible: Ford Langley Shop Stewards Committee, Barnet Trades Council, RAR, Blair Peach Memorial Fund, Harlesden Asian Womens Group, ANL and others.

Support for the picket from Southall itself was limited as the Indian Workers Association is busy with internal electioneering and the Southall Youth Movement is opposed to picketing the courts.

The trials will be continuing throughout the autumn. Southall needs money and support. Build local meetings in support of Southall and the Defence Fund. At two meetings organised by the ANL recently in Nottingham and Luton, £80 was raised for the Defence Fund.



STOP THE SOUTHALL SHOW TRIALS! RELEASE THE SOUTHALL 342!

On 23 April the police rioted in Southall. Blair Peach was killed, dozens of brothers and sisters were wounded. 342 people, predominantly black workers, were charged. Some have already been sentenced, but the majority will face show trials from 10 September onwards. Regular picketing is being organised outside the courts.



You can raise the plight of the 342 in your trade union branch or trades council. You can donate money. For further details ring: Parita Trivedy [01-574 1325]

We want your help We want you there

SPG: and now back to the Irish

By David Way

THE STAPLETON pub lies on Stroud Green Road, which links Finsbury Park to Hornsey and Crouch End in North London. It is an area heavily populated by Greeks, West Indians, and Irish people. Police patrols are therefore a regular sight.

The Stapleton is a popular pub for young people as it has live music. On a warm summer evening one of the more pleasing sights is large numbers of young people enjoying themselves on the pavement outside the pub.

Friday 31 August was one such evening. Suddenly a group of people finishing their drinks outside the Stapleton discovered that a large contingent of police had turned up.

Among the group were Diane Maloney, 20, who works for a children's theatre and her younger sister Nicola Maloney, 18, a social worker in South London. With them was another friend, Kevin Codd, together with his brother and sister.

Complaint

Diane told *Socialist Challenge*: 'It was about 11pm. A hundred police officers were there with dogs. They claimed that neighbours had complained about the noise. This was odd because there wasn't that much noise. No more than usual. And in any case a hundred coppers are rarely sent to investigate a noise complaint.'

It soon became clear that it was an SPG raiding party. A senior police officer stood pointing out several people.

Says Diane: 'Two policemen walked over to us and verbally insulted Kevin. He kept his cool. Disappointed at being unable to provoke him, they arrested him for obstruction. I was shocked and tried to drag Kevin back, so I was arrested as well.'

'They flung us in the police van. Kevin was beaten and abused.'

Nicola then tried to get past the police. She was obstructed by a



Kevin Codd

number of policemen. Her top fell off and two policemen grabbed hold of her so she couldn't get it back on. All the time they were commenting on the size of her breasts and making other vile sexist remarks.

Finally they let her put her top on, but for good measure arrested her as well.

Kevin's brother was walking away from the pub to the chip shop. He was pointed out and arrested. Kevin's sister (height 4ft 4ins) was arrested and charged with assaulting a 6ft.-tall constable.

It soon became obvious why the Codd's and the Maloney's had been arrested. They were Irish. When the Maloney sisters gave their names at the police station there were nudges, anti-Irish remarks, and pulled faces.

Strip-searched

In the police station both Diane and Nicola were strip-searched. They protested, but to no avail. Nicola told us: 'I couldn't untie the knots on my dress. My nails are too short. When I told the policewoman she threatened to call two male coppers to tear it off.'

'I found it intimidating to be strip-



Nicola Maloney

searched', says Diane. 'No one else was and the object was to humiliate and insult us. I had a bottle of Petulia perfume on me. One of them said, "That could be liquid cannabis", but they decided not to push that one.'

Abused

Kevin Codd was constantly abused, insulted, and threatened with violence. Though once in the police station he was not actually physically assaulted.

Diane is a member of Haringey National Abortion Campaign and a UTOM supporter. She was on the big Irish demonstration last August. The Codd's are a known Irish family.

Kevin Codd's father received an 'anonymous' phone call at home and was told that his children had been arrested for shouting 'Up the IRA' outside a pub. He was also told that he would be shot. 'Politics was not discussed at all that evening', says Diane. 'It was a lie.'

The question arises: Who rang up Mr Codd and why? It doesn't require too much thinking to work out that the phone call must have been made by someone who knew that the arrests



Diane Maloney

had been made and why. This would indicate that the phone call was made by someone connected with the police force.

It is worth noting that Chief Superintendent Keegan, who was a chief of the SPG for many years, has recently moved to Hornsey police station. His arrival has coincided with a major operation by the SPG in North London. According to the *Hornsey Journal*, the SPG are cutting down burglaries in the area.

Young blacks in Tottenham and the Codd's and Maloney's could be forgiven for not accepting that story.

When the six Irish people appeared before a magistrate in Highbury (where else?) they got a further taste of British law and order.

Barred

The magistrate barred them from visiting the Stapleton Pub till the trial restarted. This makes it extremely difficult to seek out witnesses, though given the record of Highbury magistrates it is dubious if that would help them very much. A local campaign is being mounted.

'If you know about other SPG stories, send them to us.'

Blair Peach— who is the SPG ripper?

By Paul Harbour
REMEMBER BLAIR PEACH? He was killed during the police riots in Southall on 23 April. That was four and a half months ago. The SPG Ripper who cashed him to death still remains at large.

A number of identity parades are taking place. This is supposedly an attempt to discover the identity of the SPG Ripper.

But as has been said by all those who were either with Blair on that fateful day or observed the events in Orchid Avenue, it is impossible for them to identify the killer, so the motive for the parades is somewhat obscure.

Mrs Atwal, who lives in Orchid Avenue and whose family tended Blair in his last moments, said: 'I can't identify the murderer. They all look the same to me.' Given that everyone on the street was trying to get away from the police, this is hardly surprising.

So is a cover up under way? This would seem to be the most logical explanation as the mid-October date for the official inquest approaches.

Despite all the publicity; despite protests by numerous Labour parties and trades councils, could the verdict of 'accidental death' or 'killed by a person or persons unknown' (or some other legal phrase) be returned?

The answer is Yes, unless we make it clear that our campaign against the SPG and the cover-up will continue.

The police aim is simple. They are hoping that the long delay will mean that the campaign will simply fade away except on the pages of *Socialist Worker*, *Socialist Challenge*, etc.

Our aim must be equally simple. To ensure that the exact opposite happens. There are two levels on which we have to act between now and the inquest.

The TUC motion on the SPG has to be taken into every trade union branch and trades council, and meetings organised on the role of the SPG (the *Grunwick* film is both brief and to the point).

Secondly, the ANL branches should start organising a torchlight picket of police stations on the night before the inquest to show that we have not forgotten what happened in Southall last April and to draw attention to the cover-up which is under way.

A peaceful evening picket in all the major cities would have a dramatic effect nationally and would lay the basis for a real campaign after the inquest, should this be necessary.

THE JUDGEMENTS of certain Western historians and politicians who are champions of the 'free world' and enjoy pointing out the 'tricks' by means of which Stalin obtained his satellites and the other aims of his world strategy, while idealising the policy of Roosevelt, show not only a lack of objectivity but also ingratitude.

It can certainly be argued that Stalin, with the help of Western Communist leaders who faithfully applied his policies, made an invaluable contribution to solving the difficult problem which faced the leaders of Anglo-American capitalism from 1939 onwards — how to defeat their dangerous German rivals while still avoiding the danger of revolution in the vital centres of European capitalism.

Trotsky took an excessively optimistic view of the revolutionary situation which would be created in Europe as a result of a Second World War. This optimism derived from his view of the state of capitalism, the exhaustion of its historic capacity to develop the forces of production, etc. However, his prophecy that the Second World War could result in revolution on a European scale was not an extremist fantasy. It expressed a real possibility, and one which the bourgeoisie realised from the first day of the war.

This possibility arose not out of the fact that the capitalist system had reached the limiting stage postulated by Trotsky — who was here repeating the mistake of Lenin's analysis during the First World War — but out of the method it was forced to adopt in order to carry out a 'readjustment' of its structures and pass on to a new stage of development.

The Second World War was the most serious crisis which the capitalist and imperialist system had experienced in its whole history. Yet at the same time it revealed spectacularly, even while the war was on, but even more afterwards, the vitality which the system considered as a whole still possessed, the enormous potential of its industrial, technical and scientific structures, its ability to manipulate the masses and keep them in subjection to the values, ideologies and political attitudes necessary for the survival of the system.

It demonstrated the political intelligence of the old ruling classes, and their skill in manoeuvre, the fruit of centuries of experience. Like the war of 1914-18 and the economic crisis of 1929, the Second World War showed — on a much larger scale — that the 'death-throes' of dying capitalism would last a good while longer.

The global vitality of capitalism, however, included ossified structures which came into sharp conflict with the movement of the system, which was based on three power-centres — Germany, Japan and, above all, the United States. The control exercised by old Anglo-French capitalism over vast colonial territories and over the backward areas of southern and eastern Europe was a serious obstacle to the expansive potential of these centres.

Anglo-French capitalism, threatened in its most precious interests, was not prepared to yield without a struggle. For American capitalism, which had a large field for expansion at hand in Latin America and could more easily advance into the Anglo-French colonial territories, the problem did not present itself as one involving war. For German and Japanese capitalism, however, the only way open was the traditional one of war.

From the point of view of the five main capitalist powers, the Second World War, like the first, was a war for markets, colonies and raw materials, and at the same time it meant the transition of the system as a whole to a new phase, that of state monopoly capitalism. The three powers which were in the lead in this new phase had designs not only on Anglo-French territory (in addition to the colonial territories of Holland and Belgium), but also on Soviet territory. The fact that the United States tried to achieve this objective by alliance with its future victims, while its dangerous rivals tried to do it by military conquest, gave great political and military advantages to the former, but made no essential difference to the nature of the aims of one side or the other.

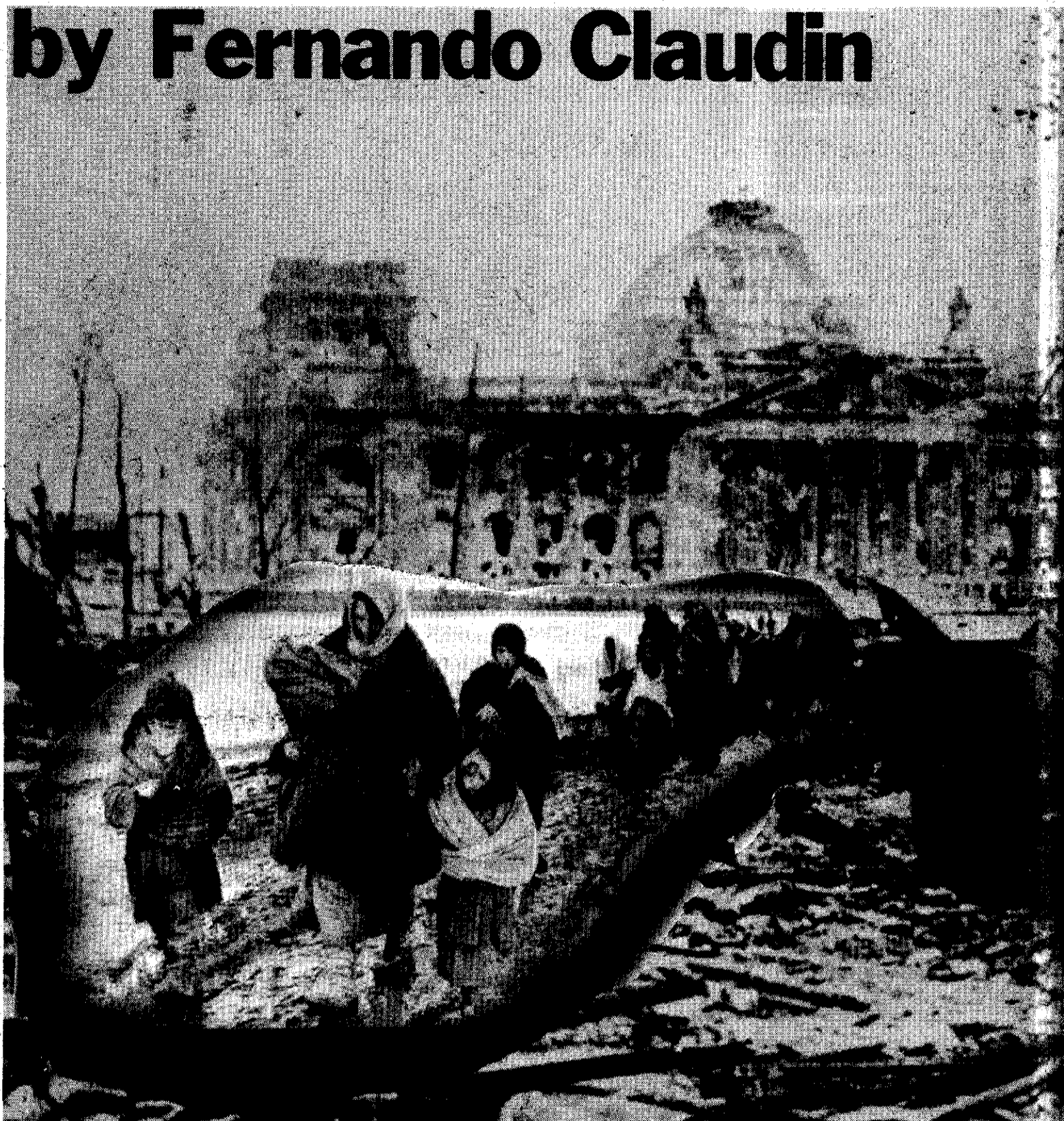
After the experience of the years 1917-20 the bourgeoisie in all countries was fully aware of the dangers involved in the terrible operation which the horrifying logic of the system now again made necessary. The danger appeared all the greater in view of the existence of the Soviet state with its army and the Communist International.

It is true that by the outbreak of war the European revolutionary movements had been defeated and forced underground in almost all the countries of the European continent, but how would the masses react to the effects of this new slaughter? Would not the Communist cells which still existed be able to take advantage of the situation? After all in 1917 the Bolsheviks had only been a handful of revolutionaries.

Each bourgeoisie looked at these unknown factors differently, in the light of the internal situation of its own country. German capitalism was sure of itself, once the labour

WAR AND R

by Fernando Claudin



movement and the Communist Party had been crushed in its country. It thought that military victory would allow it to destroy by similar means any seeds of revolution in the rest of Europe. Japanese capitalism took a very similar view, since it too had reduced its labour movement to impotence.

On quite a different basis — a reformist integration of the proletariat unequalled in the capitalist world — the United States was in a more favourable position than any other power to face the test of war. The British bourgeoisie could not feel the same confidence, as the great strike of 1926 had emphasised, but the Labour Party at least offered a fairly solid guarantee.

This situation looked very different in France. It was clear that in the system of industrial capitalism France was the weakest link. Added to the obsolescence of its political and economic structures was the radicalisation of the proletariat, shown by the social explosion of 1936, the hegemonic position acquired by the Communist Party within the labour movement and the spread of Communist influence among large groups of intellectuals and other social sectors. The French Communist Party's exemplary moderation during the period of the Popular Front was not enough to dispel the fears of the bourgeoisie: was it a temporary tactic or a basic change in the party?

Italy, which had undergone considerable capitalist development under fascism, was an

unknown from the point of view of the solidity of the bourgeoisie. It seemed clear that its situation could not offer the security of Germany, but equally visibly, it did not contain any element as disturbing as French Communism.

Outside the industrial capitalist zone, situations capable of turning into revolutionary crises under the impact of the world war were numerous: the Asian colonies, the republics of Latin America, the backward states of eastern and southern Europe. The most serious and most obvious threat from the point of view of world capitalism, however, apart from the entry of the USSR into the war, lay in the possible coincidence of fascist defeat (and Soviet victory) and a proletarian revolution in France, which would mark the beginning of a process which could end in revolution over the whole continent of Europe.

The British and American bourgeoisie were fully aware of this danger, and their whole policy, all their strategic plans and military operations throughout the war, were profoundly influenced by it, particularly in the last stages of the conflict, when the presence of the Soviet Union, now the first military power in Europe, poised for victory, made itself felt everywhere. At this period the French resistance appeared a considerable force, led largely by the Communists, the possibility of revolution could be clearly seen in Italy, and it became a fact in Yugoslavia and Greece.

The Americans and the British were in agreement on two fundamental aims: the need to defeat their rivals and save capitalist and industrialist Europe from proletarian revolution. They were also naturally in agreement about the need to forestall or crush, as the case might be, any threat of revolution in other parts of the world, and especially in China. They might differ over the means to achieve these ends, but on the ends themselves their views were identical.

Contradictory interests came into play above all in connection with the colonial problem, but that was a question for the future rather than an immediate problem. The community of interests in the most important aims, together with the crumbling British empire's heavy dependence on the United States, was a solid bond for the Anglo-American alliance. The difficult problem lay in the contradiction between the two principal aims, since the defeat of Nazi Germany was a necessary condition for revolution in Europe and the internal logic of the anti-fascist war pointed the peoples of the European continent in the direction of revolution.

A similar problem faced the Anglo-American alliance in the Pacific war, especially in connection with China. In the minds of the leaders in Washington and London, however, the Far Eastern problem was less dramatic than the problem in Europe. At that time the

REVOLUTION



FORTY YEARS AGO, in September 1939, the Second World War broke out in Europe. What was the meaning of this war? Why did it take the course it did? And what role did the European working class play in it?

On these pages we reprint a passage from *The Communist Movement* by Fernando Claudin (Penguin Books £4.75), a book partly devoted to answering these questions.

A one-time leader of the Spanish Communist Party, Claudin under-estimates the crisis of capitalism and the strength of the revolution during and after the First World War. Yet the book contains some of the finest Marxist analysis of the Second World War available in English.

CHRONOLOGY

1933: Hitler comes to power in Germany. European ruling class is apprehensive, but breathes a sigh of relief that the spectre of revolution has been exorcised in Germany.

1936: Popular Front victories in France and Spain. General Franco rebels and starts a civil war in Spain. Factory occupations spread throughout France. A victory for the workers in both countries would put the workers on the offensive against Italian and German fascism. The Communist Parties restrain the struggle within the straitjacket of bourgeois democracy.

1937: German imperialism re-arms. French and British ruling classes attempt collaboration.

1938: Britain and France accept Nazi occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia. British Prime-Minister Chamberlain declares on the German entry into Prague: '...a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing.'

1939: In August Stalin signs a treaty of non-aggression with Hitler. Stalin declares: 'We know how much the German people love their Fuhrer'. In September Hitler invades Poland. Britain and France declare war on Germany. The Second World War has started.

1940: In April the German imperialist armies occupy Denmark and Norway. In the following two months Belgium and Holland fell. France sues for peace. British Expeditionary Force evacuates at Dunkirk. German troops march into Paris. Field Marshal Ironside, Chief of the Imperial Staff remarks: 'This is the end of the British Empire'.

1941: Hitler invades the Soviet Union. Communist Parties throughout occupied Europe join or launch a resistance against the Nazis. From now on the USSR will bear the brunt of the war against German imperialism. After a period of debacles the Russian armies fight back. Japanese armies occupy Indochina. Pearl Harbour is bombed and the United States declares war on the Axis Powers (Germany, Japan and Italy).

1942: Japanese imperialists defeat British imperialism in vital sectors of Asia. Singapore and most of Burma is occupied by Japanese troops. The Japanese are also in occupation of large parts of China, Indonesia, the Philippines and half of New Guinea.

1943: The tide turns. The Germans are defeated in the Soviet Union. The epic Battle of Stalingrad results in the surrender of 91,000 German troops. It is a decisive defeat for German imperialism. The prestige of Stalingrad is reflected in the enormous growth of CPs throughout the world. In China the Communist partisans under the command of Mao Tse Tung, begin to inflict reverses on the Japanese as does Ho Chi Minh in Indochina. In Yugoslavia the forces led by Tito register similar advances.

1944: The British and American armies cross the channel and open the Second Front. There is a race for Berlin by the Russian armies from the East and the Allies from the West. The Red Army takes Vienna in April and by the end of the month has reached the suburbs of Berlin. At Yalta there is a meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin where Europe is divided into 'spheres of influence'. Stalin pledges to prevent revolutions in France, Italy and Greece.

1945: In a Berlin bunker the German Fuhrer commits suicide. In Asia the Japanese are on the verge of defeat, but American imperialism wishes to test a new military device. Atomic bombs are used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. American President Truman says: 'I regarded it as a military weapon and never had any doubt it should be used'. British CP's *Daily Worker* defends the use of the atom bomb. The war is over.

underestimated the chances of the Chinese Communists and the other revolutionary movements in Asia.

The necessity to forestall revolution in Europe logically forced the governments of Great Britain and the United States to seek a compromise with Germany; and, as is well known, they devoted all their efforts to this right up to the outbreak of war.

But the logic of German imperialism was quite different. For it, military victory on the European continent and in the British Isles would enable it to achieve simultaneously two aims: to remove for an indefinite period any threat of revolution in Europe and also to secure an economic and political basis for future expansion. This programme of German imperialism represented for the British and Americans no less a threat, and above all a much more immediate and precise one, than the possibility of revolution in Europe.

Faced with the unavoidable necessity of defeating Germany in order to protect its vital interests, the Anglo-American alliance was obliged to explore another course which might combine the defeat of Germany with the preservation of capitalism in France: a wide-ranging agreement with the Soviet state and the Communist movement. This possibility showed itself first at the time of the Popular Front, but its first important demonstration, which showed how far the Soviets could go in this direction, was the German-Soviet pact, in support of which the Kremlin did not hesitate to

force the Communist parties to abandon their anti-fascist strategy.

Nevertheless, this action was not entirely conclusive, because the Soviet Union had signed the pact with Germany in a position of weakness, and it was not therefore a sufficient basis to predict Soviet behaviour in a position of strength, such as they would enjoy if the Nazis were defeated. But the British and Americans had no alternative to this course, though they combined it with the elementary precaution of acting in such a way that the USSR would be weakened to the maximum in its duel with Germany.

Experience was to show, as we have seen, that the compromise desired by Washington and London was perfectly possible. It enabled them to overcome the underlying contradiction between their main European aims, the defeat of Germany and the prevention of continental revolution. They were less successful in Asia, but the responsibility for that was not Stalin's.

From 1943 onwards, the possibility of a revolutionary outcome to the anti-fascist war in Europe was clearly visible in four countries — France, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece. The defeat of Germany came into sight at the same time, together with the important part to be played in that defeat by the Soviet armies, whose general offensive developed rapidly on all fronts during the summer of that year.

It was the year when most of the British and American press shouted its warnings, and when

the leaders of the Anglo-American coalition demanded the dissolution of the Comintern and the clear acceptance by the Communist parties of a political line excluding any prospect of revolution. It was the year in which Stalin willingly accepted these demands, since they did not affect his strategic and political aims, and indeed could be useful to him as bargaining counters in the great negotiation with the Allies.

The Yugoslav Communists resisted Moscow's instructions; the Greek Communists hesitated, and during 1944 made concessions to Moscow which were to prove fatal to them. Thorez and Togliatti accepted Stalin's line unconditionally, since anyway it coincided with the neo-reformist turn in these leaders' political views which had begun at the time of the Popular Front. The leading groups in these two parties, which had been formed in these views, offered no resistance.

From this point the possibility of revolutionary development in France and Italy was seriously threatened; the position was as it would have been in Russia in the course of 1917 if Lenin's 'April Theses' had been rejected by the Bolshevik Party. The bourgeois revolution would have consolidated itself, one way or another, but the proletarian revolution would not have taken place, and historians and revolutionaries would still be arguing whether the possibility had really existed and whether or not Lenin was a leftist adventurer, as they are now about France and Italy.

20 years after Cuba Latin America up in arms

By Alan Freeman

CUBA's twentieth anniversary rally in Havana went wild for a new revolutionary child — Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua today buildings still lie in ruins from Somoza's bombs, as he tried to justify his boast: 'I'll bring peace if I have to kill every other man in Nicaragua'.

Instead, a new wave of revolt is under way in Latin America, aimed against the cruel dictatorships that imperialism keeps in place throughout the continent.

Twenty years ago the Cuban revolution changed the face of world politics. It kicked out not just the imperialists, and the dictators, but the capitalists too. The revolution kept its promises to the Cuban people. That is why Western rulers fear it so much.

A wave of struggle followed the Cuban revolution too. But the tragedy is that at the end of the day, the Cubans stood alone. Fifteen years later we had seen not two, three, many Cubans, but a succession of bloody defeats.

The Cubans were popular and heroic. They supported and developed resistance, unlike the Russians. But they proved unable to give the political lead the Latin American people needed. Their effort went into guerilla movements — Che Guevara even gave his life — but they didn't link up with any mass movement. A gun in the hand is not enough to fight imperialism. The problem is to organise the people to take up arms.

Moreover, the Castroists and their followers did not understand who could be relied on and who could not. 'Left' capitalists like the Argentinian Peronists, and 'left' militarists like the Peruvian generals, were not prepared to fight when their own interests were threatened. They ended up doing imperialism's dirty work.

Socialist politicians, like Chile's Allende, also led to disaster. He compromised with the capitalists and generals, even while they got ready for a coup, rather than abandon the 'parliamentary road to socialism'.

Mass workers' parties organising the people to take power themselves could have changed this.

There were tremendous waves of

popular revolt, but they were crushed.

There were military coups in Brazil 1964, Chile and Uruguay 1973, and Argentina 1976. The whole Southern Cone came under military rule, alongside the 25-year rule of open pro-Nazi Stroessner in Paraguay.

In Central America, regimes like 'Papa Doc's' Haiti, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and of course Nicaragua administered repression with US State Department backing.

To make sure 'democracy' was safe, the US sent marines into the Santo Domingo in 1965.

Attempts to run a middle course between imperialist control and socialist revolution came to grief.

A left nationalist government in Bolivia, set up in 1952 on the back of an insurrection, could no longer compromise between workers and bosses, and fell to a coup in 1964.

Governments run by left militarists, like that in Peru, could not match imperialism's thirst for profits and ran up huge debts. They had to turn to austerity and repression.

Now even the 'democratic' government of Colombia is using its fake security law, supposed to be directed against 'terrorists', to imprison hundreds of oppositionists.

But the tables are turning. In Brazil the dictatorship, backbone of secret

police networks in Latin America and linchpin of imperialist control, is crumbling. There have been huge strikes in the suburbs of Sao Paulo involving some 200,000 metal workers, demanding not only wage rises but democratic and trade union rights.

Riots broke out in Belo Horizonte as striking construction workers 'took' the town and fought it out with police.

Even Pinochet and Argentina's Videla are feeling the pinch.

The trade unions are reorganising. In Chile there is now a permanent union co-ordination and an open campaign for trade union rights, the CODESH (Committee for the Defence of Trade Union and Human Rights).

Both are pursuing an active fight against continued attempts to outlaw union organisation, and there have been several successful strikes. May Day demonstrations have taken place on two successive years.

Both Bolivia and Peru have been forced to hold show 'elections'. In spite of the fixing that went on, the people used the elections to show their disgust with the regimes.

In Peru over 12 per cent of the vote went to the FOCEP, a united front slate headed by Trotskyist Hugo

Blanco.

But in Central America the most dramatic breakthrough has taken place in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan revolution has sparked off mass protest and action in El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

The new wave of revolt is not just a re-run of the last. Imperialism is much weaker. The US got little backing for an invasion of Nicaragua. A second world slump looms.

The working class is moving to the centre of the stage. In Nicaragua a real popular insurrection, above all in the towns, brought down Somoza.

In Brazil, calls for an independent working class party on the model of the Labour Party are winning union support.

FOCEP's result in Peru shows that the mass of the people are prepared to back a line of class independence after their experience of military reformism.

The new wave of revolts is a challenge to the labour movement. After the Chilean coup, we in the British labour movement realised for the first time that it could also happen here. Our own rulers were strengthened while we were weakened.

This was why such a huge Chile campaign was built. It was able to

stimulate effective boycott action and win places for some 3000 refugees in Britain.

Now, when the working class of these countries has a chance to get moving, solidarity is more vital than ever.

Socialists have to give the imperialists the smallest possible room for manoeuvre. A massive 'hands off Nicaragua' campaign could show the kind of support that the workers movement can offer. We should fight for the resources and consciousness built up in the Chile campaign to be turned to the defence of all Latin American peoples — the best way to defend the Chilean people.

And we should fight, in the new climate, to set up direct links with working class and trade union struggles in Latin America, to build real working class unity.

The Tory government has created huge new problems for the solidarity movement. Already overtures are being made to rebuild diplomatic links with Chile. Refugees in Britain, who have no right of asylum, are being harassed.

The pressure group tactics that were used under the Labour government are not cutting much ice any more. We need a mass campaign, which all Latin American movements could co-operate in, involving the unions and Labour Party, for the release of all Latin American political prisoners, for adequate facilities and rights for refugees, and to build solidarity with everyone on the continent of Latin America fighting against repression and exploitation.

PUBLIC MEETING
Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Eyewitness report from CLIVE TURNBULL
Speaker from Nicaraguan Coordinating Committee invited
Friday 14 September, 7.30pm
Friends Meeting House,
Euston Rd, London NW1
Organised by
International Marxist Group

**No Betrayal of Chile!
No Deals with Pinochet!
Free all Latin American Political Prisoners!**

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION
Sunday 16 September
Assemble 1pm Clerkenwell Green (Farringdon tube)
March to Trafalgar Square

Speakers Michael Foot MP; Moss Evans (Gen. Sec., TGWU); Jonathan Dibley; a representative of the Chilean people.

Organised by Chile Solidarity Campaign (tel. 01-272 4298)

Leftward lurch in the Caribbean



By Sheila Malone

'OUR revolution is irreversible, and I say to the governments of the region: if you want to avoid revolution yourselves, liberate your peoples'.

This was the warning issued by Maurice Bishop when he overthrew the Gairy dictatorship in Grenada last March.

In the months following, right-wing governments have been ousted in the two neighbouring Windward islands of Dominica and St Lucia.

Grenada itself, although limiting its policies to nationalisations and a system of 'democratic assemblies', has since

looked to Cuba for aid and has warned against any US intervention. St Lucia has also reportedly sent a hundred men to train in Cuba as the nucleus of a peoples' revolutionary army.

Little wonder then that US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance now calls the Caribbean a 'trouble spot', and looks worriedly to see how far the ripples of revolutionary change may spread.



Burnham: facing mood of discontent in Guyana

Grenada, Dominica and St Lucia were all islands directly dominated and propped up by imperialism through right-wing puppet regimes.

But in the Caribbean there are also regimes, notably in Guyana and Jamaica, which call themselves 'co-operative socialist' and 'democratic socialist'.

The Peoples National Congress government in Guyana, headed by Forbes Burnham, was actually brought to power with CIA aid in 1953 to prevent the pro-Moscow Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) under Cheddi Jagan coming to power. It rules bureaucratically and corruptly, relying heavily on International Monetary Fund loans, despite its populist and sometimes Marxist jargon.

Although Michael Manley's Peoples National Party in Jamaica had a large majority at the last elections, its similar reliance on the IMF has discredited its claims to 'socialism' in the eyes of the masses.

The failure of either

government to break with imperialism has left the masses in both countries at the mercy of continuing economic crises dictated by imperialism and the world market.

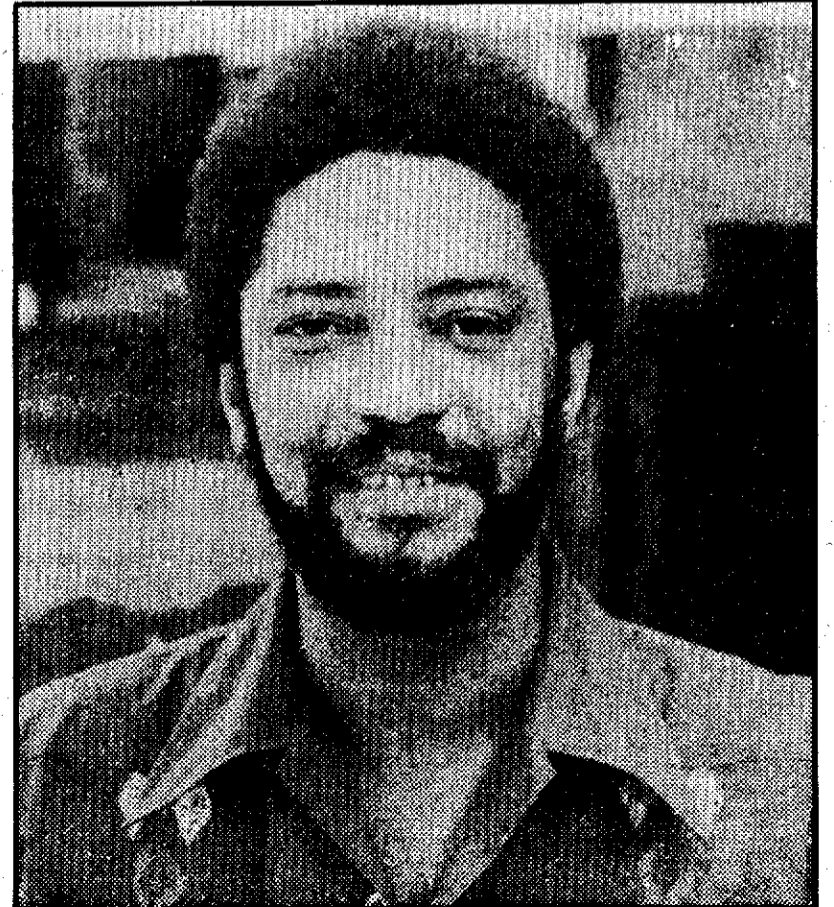
There are movements of discontent making Guyana and Jamaica a second headache for imperialism today.

Headache

Imperialism, however, is not the only one with a headache over these developments. They highlight the illusion of any 'half-way house' to socialism.

The movement of the urban masses themselves, as happened in Grenada, has posed a possible alternative pattern to the failed and already rotten reformism of the Manleys and the Burnhams.

More than this, it has pointed up the bankruptcy of the policies of 'critical support' for those regimes pursued by the Stalinist parties such as the PPP in Guyana and the Workers Party of Jamaica.



Maurice Bishop of Grenada — looks to Cuba for aid

THE campaign to win the release of the ten Charter 77 supporters in Czechoslovakia arrested and jailed in May has been taken up by the Labour Party NEC. A resolution from the NEC describes the arrests as 'the most serious acts of repression seen in Czechoslovakia since the 1950s'. The defendants await trial on charges carrying sentences of between three and ten years in jail.

The NEC also added its support to an international appeal against the trials which has already been signed by 77 Labour MPs and decided to send an official delegation to present its protest to the Czechoslovak Embassy. The delegation included Joan Lester, Alex Kitson, and Tony Benn, but was refused entry to the Embassy on the grounds that the protest represented a gross interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. Joan Lester, chairperson of the party's international committee, said later that the Labour Party

Labour Party lawyers back Charter77

would continue to pursue the matter.

The case is also being taken up by a newly formed Lawyers Committee to Defend the Rights of Political Defendants in Czechoslovakia, which includes the President of the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, John Platts-Mills, and the Solicitor-General in the last Labour government, Peter Archer. The committee intends to take up the legal aspect of the case and do what it can to ensure that the accused are adequately defended.

At the same time the committee is aiming to establish links with the Czechoslovak Committee to Defend Those Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS), to which all the ten accused belong. This poses particular problems for the Prague regime, because it will have to

explain why it is imprisoning people in Czechoslovakia for activity very similar to that of the Haldane Society in Britain — which is praised in the official party press.

The movement of protest against the trial has been the most significant to date by the British labour movement over repression in Eastern Europe. The Labour NEC resolution in particular is a real breakthrough which must be built upon.

There are already signs that the volume of protest in the Western labour movement has surprised the Prague regime, whose international position is especially weak because of its origins in the 1968 Soviet invasion. There are reports of divisions within the ruling group over the handling of the opposition, and this would

seem to be borne out by the indefinite postponement of the trial.

The attack on Charter 77 appears to have been conceived as the first in a series of trials in which the oppositions in Czechoslovakia and East Germany would be cleaned up prior to taking on the most developed opposition movement of all — in Poland. Through its effective disruption of the first act of this performance, the labour movement is now calling into question the future of the whole production.

Socialist Challenge urges its supporters to get resolutions passed and organise collections for the defence. Copies of resolutions to the Czechoslovak Embassy, 25 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8, and to Charter 77 Defence Committee, 14 Elgin Court, 16 Montpelier Road, London W5; money to Charter Defence Fund, c/o Reg Race MP, House of Commons, London SW1.

Kurds fight on in Iran

By John Leadbetter

A LONG and bloody guerrilla war is in the making in the Iranian province of Kurdistan. As government troops and Islamic Guards, covered by Phantom F4 jets and helicopter gunships, marched towards the main Kurdish town of Mahabad, a column of 20,000 Kurds streamed out into the surrounding mountains, promising to return as 'nightly guests'.

The government's superior air power and transport facilities has made it difficult for the Kurds to hold on to the urban centres. But their local knowledge of the mountains of northern Kurdistan gives them an impenetrable base from which to continue their resistance against the Ayatollah Khomeini, now commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Brutal

Military occupation and brutal repression have been Khomeini's response to the just demands of the Kurdish people for autonomy in the running of the province. The project of the Khomeini-Bazargan government — to rebuild a capitalist state machine in Iran — has been seriously threatened by the spread of the peasant revolution in Kurdistan.

In the areas around Mahabad, Bowkan and Saddeq, village councils have been growing up in the last few months. These councils have refused to recognise the landowners, and have been organising the sowing and harvesting of crops and the distribution of the produce among the peasants.

Area councils, based on elected representatives of groups of villages, have been coordinating activities on an area basis, including the organising of armed self-defence groups. Self-defence has been necessary, first of all, against attacks by landlords, who have been provided with arms by the Tehran government for several months. It has become all the more necessary since the all-out war launched by Khomeini at the end of August.

Province

Military occupation of the province may for a time prevent the development of the councils. It is no coincidence that Khomeini has directed his assault precisely against those areas with the highest level of organisation.

His executioner in chief, Ayatollah Khalkhal, has already wielded his summary justice in Saddeq and Pavah with arbitrary executions of Kurdish captives, and is reported to be moving towards Mahabad. But occupations and executions cannot remove the fundamental causes of the struggle — the need and desire of the Kurds, and of all the Iranian people, to participate actively and directly in the running of their own affairs.

Khomeini has whipped up a ferocious hysteria amongst Persian-

speaking people against the Kurds. His claim that they wish to secede and 'threaten the integrity of the Revolution' and his description of their struggle as 'counter-revolutionary' is a vile slander. The Kurdish demand is for autonomy within Iran.

Liberate

Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations secretary for the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad (AKSA), explained this at a news conference in Washington recently: 'We believe that we have to live within the countries we are part of in order to liberate the areas we live in. We believe that unless the countries in the Middle East are liberated, Kurdistan cannot be established.'

Iranian Trotskyists of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party) have consistently defended the rights of the Kurds to recognition of their national status. They have explained that a nation cannot be free if it oppresses other nations, and supported the demands of the Kurdish people for full control over the affairs of their province.

Intercontinental Press
combined with **IMPREGOR**



International outcry demands:
STOP EXECUTION
OF SOCIALISTS
IN IRAN!

THE latest issue of the weekly Intercontinental Press 'Impregor' (Vol. 17, No. 32) contains a full rundown on the international campaign against the repression in Iran, as well as material on the Kurdish struggle. It also continues to cover developments in Nicaragua, as well as reporting on a new wave of workers' struggles in Italy.

Individual copies cost 30p plus 10p post but subscriptions work out much cheaper at £11 for a year (48 issues), £6 for six months (24 issues) or £3 for 10 weeks. Cheques or POs should be made out to 'Intercontinental Press' and sent to: IP/I, PO Box 60, London N1 2XP.



A guard explains there is no room for a Savak torturer because the jail is filled with oil workers, HKS members and the like

Solidarity works!

AMNESTY International has received a reply from the Iranian Foreign Minister at the sentences protest at the sentences passed on 14 members of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party) in Ahwaz. The minister also appeared on TV on Sunday 2 September, and admitted that he had been besieged by enquiries from abroad about the fate of the 14.

The reply denies that the death sentence was ever passed on members of the HKS, and states that their trial is still continuing. However, it adds that two of the 14 have been sentenced for charges including 'blowing up an oil pipeline in Khuzestan'.

This certainly contradicts information received by Socialist Challenge and substantiated in the Tehran daily newspaper *Bamdad*.

Women

This stated that two women members, Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi, had been convicted on charges of 'anti-Islamic activities', slanders against the government. (such as that there is repression and the suppression of democracy) and being members of the Executive Committee of the SWP of Ahwaz'. No mention of any charges of sabotage was made in *Bamdad*.

Confirmation that all 14 socialists are still alive is certainly welcome news. The fact that the govern-



HAMID SHAHRABI

ment has been forced by international pressure to intervene in the trials which are being conducted in camera and without legal representation, proves the vital importance of internationally coordinated defence activity in support of the struggles in Iran.

Nevertheless, international pressure must be kept up. Reports from Tehran indicate that harassment of the left is still continuing. House searches for opposition literature are conducted by armed Imam Guards.

Danger

Furthermore, the lives of the HKS members remain in danger. Two lawyers who visited Iran in August at the request of the International Federation for the Rights of Man went to Karoun jail in Ahwaz, where the HKS members were at that time being held.

The lawyers, Moud

Oussedik and Michel Zavarian, described the prison as 'a concentration camp, operated outside of any judicial control'.

The HKS members, they said, 'had all suffered brutal treatment'. Their political maturity, their refusal to compromise and the influence they have won over their fellow prisoners through their dignified comportment have won them the hatred of the Islamic Committee... they are the ones who risk the most.'

Immense

Protests from around the world have put immense pressure on the Iranian government. Trade union and labour leaders from France, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, West Germany, Australia, Canada and the US have sent telegrams to the Khomeini-Bazargan government.

In this country a letter of protest handed in to the Iranian Embassy in London was signed by Labour MPs Tony Benn, Reg Race, Ernie Roberts, Michael Meacher, Stan Newens and Alf Dubs.

A petition circulated at last week's TUC won broad support.

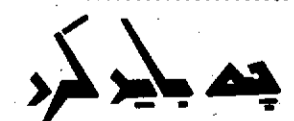
A series of meetings are being organised in England, Scotland and Wales around the question of Khomeini's repression, in particular that against the Kurdish people and the

*Picket the Iranian Embassy again this Saturday 12 to 1pm, 16 Princes Gate, London SW7.

left. Organised by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, these meetings hope to explain what the labour movement in this country could and should do to halt the attacks on the nationalities, the left and the oppressed people throughout Iran.

International solidarity works! As the lawyers who visited Karoun jail said: 'Everyone must be made aware that there are people there, in this prison at the end of the world, and that they risk the worst.'

Telegrams protesting at the sentences on the HKS prisoners and demanding information as to their whereabouts should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qom, Iran. Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Bamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran.



CHE BAYAD KARD [What is to be done] — paper of Iranian Trotskyists. Includes articles on Kurdistan and the class nature of the Islamic Republic plus news from Iran. Available from the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ.

The politics of Tom Nairn

By George Kerevan

ON 2 JULY the Scotsman daily newspaper gave Tom Nairn, a member of the New Left Review editorial board and author of *The Break-up of Britain*, a massive two-page spread to argue his views on Scottish politics after the collapse of devolution.

It is a telling comment on the separate nature of the Scottish politics that a self-confessed Marxist such as Nairn can be taken seriously by the bourgeois press. Unfortunately the far left has so far ignored the realities of Scotland under the Tories.

The crux of Nairn's thesis is that the collapse of devolution was a good thing for the nationalist movement. The referendum result and the subsequent electoral setbacks of the Scottish Nationalist Party will pave the way for the emergence of 'a more mature, hardened National movement located, on many issues, to Labour's left.'

Nairn sees the basis of this ideological regroupment in the call for an independent Scottish republic, as against the current SNP line of a Scotland under the Queen and within the Commonwealth: 'Republicanism is not in any case just a proposal to retire the Windsors and elect a Head of State: it is a minimum institutional manifesto, and one which ought to constitute the base-line of any new Scottish political identity.' The 79 Group has adopted the call for a republic.

Tom Nairn has now clearly decided that the struggle for socialism is not on the agenda. Nowhere in a host of recent articles in the *Scotsman*, *New Statesman* or *Voice of the Unions* does he even pose the question of the struggle for working class power. Instead he has retreated to a 19th or even 18th century programme of radical democracy, national independence, and the republic.

This is the end of a long line for Nairn. He exemplifies a current which does not believe that the working class can throw off the shackles of Labour Party reformism. This sees Labourism as a series of powerful political, social and cultural institutions which so fragment and alienate the working class as to outlaw any classical revolutionary strategy of frontal assault against capitalism.

Most follow the Eurocommunist line, exemplified by Dave Purdie in the CP or Stuart Holland in the Labour Party, of seeking to 'democratise' from within these Labourist institutions rather than mobilise the working class on class struggle issues. Nairn at least has the virtue of still wanting to smash Labourism and the British imperial state. But he goes in the opposite direction in trying to find social forces outside the organised working class to do the job.

Tom Nairn first looked to the student vanguard of the 1960s, when he taught at Hornsey College of Art. Then he saw the EEC as a way of smashing little-Englander Labourism, only to see the Common Market help strangle the Portuguese revolution. Finally, Nairn has become besotted with Scottish nationalism as the only social force which seems to have made any dent on Labour's hold over the working class.

But the obstacle over the past ten years to socialism was not abstract 'Labourism' or 'the weight of bourgeois political institutions'. The obstacle was the very concrete leadership of the working class. It was Callaghan, Jones and Murray who permitted the Tory victory. It was the failure of the Labour leadership which allowed the right-wing petty bourgeois SNP to seize the banner of self-determination in Scotland when the slogan of 'home rule' had been on the books of the Labour Party and the Scottish TUC for half a century. It was the Tribunes who sabotaged the express decisions of Labour and TUC conferences by not fighting for the



'Scots workers have shown themselves ready in the past to break with labourism.'

This record is in stark contrast to the history of working class self-organisation in Scotland; a record of originality and sacrifice consistently ignored by Nairn in his Scottish writings. It was the largely Scottish-based Independent Labour Party which broke with the official party in 1931 over Ramsay MacDonald's betrayal in entering a coalition with the Tories. It was the Fife miners who broke en masse with the Communist Party in 1956 to form the Fife Socialist League, polling over 5,000 votes in elections on a programme of 'industrial democracy and self-government for Scotland.'

It was the workers at UCS, ill-led as they were, who were the first to stand up to Heath and win. It was at Longannet power station as much as at Saltley Gates that the mass pickets broke the back of the Heath government in 1972. It was the Scottish workers who said no to Labour's cuts and formed the Scottish Labour Party in 1976, of which Tom Nairn was a member.

Nairn tries to sidestep the issue of confronting the misleaders of the working class. He has made this mistake before. In 1976, Nairn sided with the bureaucratic leadership of the SLP to expel over half the party's activists who were challenging Jim Sillars from the left.

Undoubtedly, he felt sincerely that the left carried too much ideological baggage from either ultra-left philistinism towards the national question (which was true) or

left social-democracy (which was also true). But rather than help in the ideological clarification of forces which were committed in practice to class struggle — they were leading the Cumbernauld dustmen's strike and the education college occupations — Tom Nairn sided with Jim Sillars.

Alas, Sillars turned out to be an unreconstructed example of a trade union bureaucrat and Labour Party hatchet-man. Nairn has had the honesty to retreat on some of the positions he held in 1976, but it looks as if he has not learned any of the political lessons.

The question of leadership is at root the question of programme. Republicanism is an insufficient basis for a political assault on Labourism. Scotland is not a peasant society struggling against imperialism. Scotland is the Clyde shipyard worker faced with redundancy; the Glasgow woman trying to get an abortion on the NHS without having to go to London; the line worker in a multinational company fighting for a living wage; the unemployed kid in a housing scheme who has never had a job.

The day after the general election, SNP chairperson Willie Wolfe admitted that 'we were seen as simply not relevant' in the face of the anti-working class attack of Thatcher. But Tom Nairn retreats into metaphysics rather than accept Wolfe's acid judgement. Nairn says it was not simple fear of Thatcher that led to the referendum debacle and the growth of Labour support in Scotland

in May. Instead he invents something known as 'numbness and reluctance before the prospect of self-government'.

Tom Nairn should ask himself the following question: if the Scottish workers gravitated back to Labour at least in part because of hostility to Thatcherite Toryism, how do we relate to that 'populist' tradition of anti-Toryism? The crucible in which the fight against the Labourist leadership of the Scottish working class will take place is in this anti-Tory struggle, not around abstract republicanism.

The Labour leadership in Scotland have a huge popular mandate to fight the Tories, but because they wish to 'inherit' the capitalist machine they will back off from leading a genuine fight against the most horrendous austerity programme since the 1930s. This can be exploited by the left.

Tom Nairn, were he to turn his attention to the concrete features of the Scottish political situation, would see that this time round some of the foundations of Scottish Labourism have been undermined. First, the ten-year debate about self-government has educated Scots workers into a higher awareness of politics.

Secondly, Labourism's lieutenant in Scotland — the Communist Party — has been seriously weakened. The CP has long claimed fully a quarter of its total membership in the West of Scotland. But its failure to challenge the betrayals of the Wilson-Callaghan years has drastically weakened the CP organisationally and politically in

Scotland.

The CP's remaining influence lies among the union full-timers rather than in the shop stewards committees. A small chink thus appears for class struggle forces in the industrial unions to take action against the Tories in defiance of the bureaucratic Labourist leadership.

Given proper leadership the Scots workers have shown themselves ready in the past to break with Labourism. The fight for self-determination has created a climate in which Scots workers might be prepared to act autonomously, especially given the greater impact of the Thatcher austerity measures in Scotland.

The key to the situation is to ally class struggle demands to the support of the right of self-determination, in the concrete form of a Scottish Assembly free to determine its own powers. Tom Nairn fails to see this in his abstract embracing of the slogan of a republic.

At the May elections, the all-but-defunct SLP ran three candidates. Jim Sillars in South Ayrshire won over a third of the vote. In Paisley an unknown SLP candidate polled over 8,000 votes compared to the CP's 145 and the WRP's 122.

The Scots working class voters remembered the SLP for its uncompromising stand against Labour's cuts; for its total hostility to incomes policy; for its support of the Assembly. Despite Sillars' destruction of the SLP, the voters were still looking for a genuine leadership to the left of Labour. That is the key to defeating Labourism.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Getting into men's jobs U.S. style

By Valerie Coultas

IF YOU are a woman and live in the United States you can work as a miner or a steelworker. Not so in Britain, where protective legislation and timid equal rights legislation ensure that many industrial jobs are still exclusive to men. Why the difference?

Affirmative action means taking special measures to overcome the unequal position of blacks, women, and oppressed nationalities, which in the case of the USA means particularly people from Mexico and Puerto Rico.

There are preferential programmes in the USA, in relation to training, jobs, and admission to universities. They were introduced in the wake of the black civil rights movement in the early '60s. Legislation was strengthened in 1972 when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was given enforcement powers.

Quotas

Today every company in the USA employing more than 50 people is supposed to have affirmative action programmes for the recruitment of women and their training. Employers are obliged to meet set quotas, and face heavy fines and the loss of government contracts if they fail to achieve these. The EEOC is considerably stronger than its counterpart in Britain. When it took out a case against the American Telegraph and Telephone company, the firm had to pay out \$35m (£17.5m) in compensation to women employees. This company now employs some 400 middle managers exclusively to implement the affirmative action programme.

Before 1973 there were virtually no women coal miners. Women took legal action against a number of mining companies. Last year they obtained a court ruling against the Consolidated Coal Company of Tennessee, which compelled it to hire one woman for every four men until women reached 32.8 per cent of the workforce.

Rather than face similar action, other companies had 'voluntarily' begun hiring



A female plumber is still a rarity

women as miners. By 1978, the number of women in the coal mines had risen to more than two thousand.

How does this compare with the situation in Britain? Last year a total of 35 women received awards of between £1 and £1,000 in compensation for discrimination at work. More than half of these awards were less than

£200. Only two women received more than £1,000. Hardly a big pressure on employers who don't have to make these payments to other women affected by the same discrimination, as there are no provisions in our legislation for 'class action'. These would enable a woman to take a case on behalf of a whole group of women.

Women have been so unsuccessful at the tribunals in Britain that applications are declining rapidly. Between 1 October 1977 and 30 September 1978 nearly a third of the applicants who claimed sex discrimination were men!

Counter attack

Affirmative action in the USA has made a small dent in the huge discriminatory barriers in education and employment for women and blacks. The funds which back up the equality legislation, the ability to compel firms to introduce quotas, and the provisions for 'class action', have forced reluctant employers to act.

The National Organisation of Women has sought out male bastions to invade — even in the New York docks there are now women working as stevedores!

But the ruling class and some members of the white male working class in America is not happy with this legislation. The counter attack has come with 'reverse discrimination' — legal action to claim that it is white men that are being discriminated against, as in the case of Allan Bakke, a white engineer who failed to gain admittance to California University medical school.

The bosses are not happy with the implications of affirmative action on class consciousness. They are not pleased at women miners' attempts to improve safety conditions in the mines. Affirmative action will make it more difficult for the employers to fire women as the effects of the economic recession worsen.

While government legislation has less importance in Britain than in the USA and the trade unions are stronger, it is high time the American experience was looked at more closely by the women's movement and the unions.

*Rights of Women is holding a workshop to discuss the Sex Discrimination Act and to consider strategies for progress within the trade union and women's movements. Saturday 17 November. Details from: ROW, 374 Gray's Inn Rd, London WC1. Tel 01-2786349.

Women miners can dig too!

ILONA GERSH took advantage of affirmative action when she started work as a labourer on the iron range in Minnesota, USA, eighteen months ago.

She is now an electrical apprentice, an active member of the National Organisation of Women and of her union — the United Steelworkers of America.

Liz Lawrence interviewed her at the 30th convention of the Socialist Workers Party and found out what life is like for women miners in the states.

“Affirmative action has increased opportunities for women in industry.

For instance, where I work in US Steel iron ore mine the number of women is now about 10 per cent — 450 out of 4,500 — and it's more than tripled in the last year and a half.

The company certainly haven't complied with the 20 per cent regulation yet through and this is one thing that women in industry are fighting for today.

Independent

Women are concentrated in the labour crews at the bottom of the pay scales. They work as janitors, as sweepers, they hose mud, they shovel rocks, they drive service trucks, they work in the warehouse... but in the last year larger numbers of women have become apprentices in the skilled crafts.

There are quite a few women electrical apprentices and some are becoming mechanics and welders.

Entering non-traditional areas of female employment has had a tremendous impact on women. For one thing, for the first time they're economically independent because of the large incomes they receive. They can support themselves and their families. So many women don't feel as tied to marriage as they did before. Plus it's given women a tremendous sense of confidence and that's why a large number of women in basic



ILONA GERSH — iron ore miner

industry are becoming interested in all kinds of political ideas — because for the first time they have some control over their lives and want to move forward.

Male attitudes to women are changing. Five years ago, when women first came into the mines, it wasn't established that it was a place for women. But today there are so many of us that men generally accept that we can do the same jobs as men do.

Men have generally been supportive in showing us the ropes. There are some exceptions and those are usually the right wingers who are opposed to women's rights and those who think that women should be barefoot and pregnant.

The company bears a lot of responsibility for male hostility. The company doesn't like women moving into the mines.

When women are on probation, a period when they can be fired for any reason at all, the foremen usually give women the hardest jobs and use the excuse that they think the women want to prove that they can do as good a job as the men.

This tends to discourage women. Women have also been strongly discouraged by foremen from entering the skilled crafts and are told that they won't be able to get through the technical schooling or that men in the craft won't accept them.

Women who do enter the crafts and become electricians or welders find that the workers are supportive and

that they can make it through.

We've found that in every department in the mines where women have been harassed by their male co-workers it can be traced directly to the foremen's attitude towards women and their discussions with male workers.

In my union local the number of women participating in union activities has increased tremendously. When I started there were maybe two or three women attending union meetings.

Feminism

We've taken up feminist issues within the union. We've got union backing for the Equal Rights Amendment, for abortion rights, for childcare, for affirmative action — which the union had abstained from until then, although union members were very interested in these issues.

The National Organisation of Women has had quite an impact on American unions. Quite a few miners are members of NOW. In fact it was primarily women miners who helped to establish a chapter of NOW on the iron range, with other women on the range.

They see NOW as a real ally in bringing issues to the union because they recognise that NOW, with over 100,000 members across the country, is extremely powerful, has authority and that people in the union are going to listen to that kind of organisation.

A move by women into basic industry is important in the struggle for women's liberation. In fact I think the new rise of women's liberation today around questions like affirmative action is due to more women getting into industry and gaining independence.

They feel that they have power as working people who run the country to change things. And that they have allies backing them up — ”

WHAT'S LEFT

NAC & ROCK AGAINST SEXISM Gig against Corrie. West Indian Centre, Carmoor Road, Rusholme, Manchester, Thur 20 Sept. 8.00pm. Adm: 80p waged.

HACKNEY WRITERS Workshop & Hackney & Islington Music Workshop present a joint evening of songs, stories and poems with a political cutting edge. Weds 19 Sept, 8pm at the Duke of Wellington, Balls Pond Road, London N1. Adm: 25p.

IMG TRADE UNION fraction meetings: 23 September — ASTMS; 30 September — NALGO, CPSA. For details write to Centre or phone 01-359-8371.

EALING CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORRIE planning meeting to organise activity against the Corrie Bill including mobilising for the Demo. Ealing Town Hall Wed 19 Sept 7.30pm.

COULD ANYONE Give-lend-sell Hull IMG a manual for a Roneo 750 electronic duplicator? If so ring Angie (0482) 4441922.

WORKERS ACTION public meeting 'Fight-back against the Tories'. Speaker: Stephen Corbishley. CPSA NEC (in a personal capacity) Fri 14 Sept 8.00pm at the 99 Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Road, London EC1.

'FREE ABORTION on Demand' and 'No means No' badges are again available from The Week, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Singly 25p each, bulk 12p each. Make cheques or POs out to 'The Week'.

SOCIALIST feminist and child urgently need room for two months. Phone Oldham 692 1468 or Freeman 852 1671.

BOOKS for Southern Africa comrades — money is desperately needed for this vital field of international activity. Or send any books you can spare. Books for Southern Africa, Box 102, Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

POLITICAL PRINTSHOP, London, needs person for design work. Printshop experience would be useful asset. Applicants must have had some experience in design, although training would be given. Applications to: Socialist Challenge (Print), PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

HULL UNIVERSITY FI Society and Socialist Challenge supporters present 'The Patriot Game' (first time in Hull) — Fri 19 Oct, 7.45pm in Middleton Hall, Hull University, Cottingham Rd, Hull. Tickets (75p) from any SC seller, Socialist Books, or ring Angie 441922.

LIVERPOOL Socialist Challenge group has recently obtained premises for SC centre on Merseyside. Donations towards cost of rent, rates, security, etc., gratefully received — send to Socialist Challenge (Box 64), PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Pierre Frank to speak at rally

Trotsky's legacy

— the Fourth International

The Fourth International, The Long March of the Trotskyists.
By Pierre Frank.
Ink Links 1979, hbk £6 pbk. £3.50.

1979 marks the centenary of Trotsky's birth. Ironically it is also Stalin's. When Stalin was fifty the occasion was lauded by a well orchestrated press campaign of personal self aggrandisement and historical distortion. Birthday wishes filled a special 250 page book distributed by the million.

It is certain that this year neither Stalin's nor Trotsky's birthdays will be celebrated in Moscow. But while they've tried to push Stalin into obscurity Trotsky remains a target for slander and political vilification.

In the last decade thirty anti-Trotskyist books have been published in the Soviet Union! The soviet bureaucracy is still haunted by the spectre of Trotsky and more importantly still fears his ideas for democratising the regimes in Eastern Europe.

Trotsky founded the Fourth International forty one years ago in 1938. Today it has members in over 60 countries. The history of the world Trotskyist movement is told for the first time in English in *The Fourth International, The Long March of the Trotskyists*, by Pierre Frank. Published by Ink Links it is now available in paperback.

Pierre Frank became involved in revolutionary politics 54 years ago at the age of 19. He is uniquely placed to write a history of the

Trotskyist movement which he spent his life building. His views are succinctly explained in 150 pages.

He outlines the struggles of the left opposition from 1923 onwards within the Third International and details why a new International was required after the seizure of power by Hitler in 1933 in Germany. From that date the campaign for the Fourth International was waged and finally founded in 1938.

Frank briefly, but systematically, covers the work, debates and crises of the movement in the following four decades. The volume is supplemented by an interesting essay by Ernest Mandel on the Second World War.

Obviously in a book of less than 200 pages many details have been omitted. This is not intended to be the definitive work on the history of the Trotskyist movement. Such a study would run to several volumes.

Frank only has space to outline the most important events in world politics and the political response of the Fourth International. Hence there is very little material on the life of particular national sections within the movement.

The most striking feature of the book is the impression of the historical continuity of Trotskyism. When the Fourth International was founded in the 1930s several relatively large organisations existed to the left of the Communist Parties. Then they were many times larger than the Trotskyists, but today they no longer exist.



In comparison to parties like the POUM (The Workers Party of Marxist Unification) in Spain or the ILP (Independent Labour Party) in Britain the Fourth International has survived as a world political force. In fact since 1968 it has

increased its numerical size and its political influence.

Frank's book highlights the error of the view that the first job is to build strong national sections and only at a later date unify them into an international organisation.

It was the existence of international discussion and support that played an important role in building the national sections. This allowed political errors, which every party inevitably makes, to be corrected more rapidly.

As capitalism internationalises itself still further, both via institutions such as the Common Market or through multinational firms, a world party is more than ever needed.

A European-wide campaign for the right to work and the 35 hour week can only be set up by an international party.

Attacks on abortion rights are not just a British phenomenon. Successful anti-imperialist political work cannot be conducted simply within the boundaries of a nation state. The need for a unified, democratic, revolutionary International has never been greater.

In the '30s Trotsky was criticised for wasting his time and energy in attempting to build the Fourth International with small groups of militants. Trotsky strongly rebutted that opinion. In March 1935 he wrote of his fight for the International:

'(this is) the most important work in my life, more important than 1917, more important than the epoch of the civil war.'

While Stalin's agents cut short the time Trotsky could devote to this task the movement fighting for his ideas lives on stronger than ever.

RIC SISSONS

Pierre Frank

PIERRE FRANK was born in 1906. He joined the ranks of the French Communist Party in 1925. After being expelled in 1929 for supporting the left opposition he devoted his energies to founding the first, French, Trotskyist paper, *La Verité*.

He was a founding member of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

From 1932 to 1933 he worked as Trotsky's secretary in Turkey. Between 1935 and 1936 he was involved in an internal debate in the French Trotskyist organisation which led to his expulsion.

The differences were resolved and he became again a leading member of the French section.

During the war he was interned in Britain for three years. Since 1946 he



has been a leader of both the French section and of the International itself.

He has just completed a major two volume study of the history of the Third International, which will be published later this year in France.

Iranian Trotskyist

HQJABR KHOSRAVI, a member of the political committee of the HKS, Iranian sympathising section of the Fourth International, and ex-political prisoner of Khomeini in Iran, will speak at the rally to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Trotsky in London on Friday 21 September.

A strong supporter of the revolution to overthrow the Shah, Hqjabr Khosravi was arrested by Khomeini for agitating in favour of

freedom for the Kurds and Arabs and for a socialist revolution in Iran.

He was arrested at the same time as other members of the HKS — 12 of whom have subsequently been sentenced to death and two to life imprisonment for expressing the same political views.

He is in Britain to help organise the international campaign for freedom for socialist militants in Iran.

Organised by
Camden Socialist Challenge.

symposium, 400 pages, £4.95, £2.95 to drink to-
gether, poets, & drinking—please, to drink!
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**COME TO THE
SOCIAL
SYMPOSIUM**

Holborn Community Centre
Bedford House, Lambs Conduit St.
(5 mins from Red Lion Square)
7.30pm Saturday 15 September
Drink, food and music provided.

DAY ONE

10.30-1.30pm
CURRENT ISSUES OF MARXISM
Perry Anderson

2.30-5.00pm
Workshops
The Debate on English History, Alternative
Economic Strategy, Bahro's Marxism
Speakers include: Perry Anderson, John Ross,
Alan Freeman, Gunther Minnerup

7.30-10.00pm
RALLY
100th ANNIVERSARY OF TROTSKY'S
BIRTH
Speakers include: Pierre Frank, Tariq Ali, the
Voice of Leon Trotsky and Hqjabr Khosravi
(political committee HKS Iran).

DAY TWO

10.00-1.00pm
IS LENINISM OBSOLETE?
Dodie Wepler and two of the authors of
Beyond the Fragments

Workshops
Class Analysis and Political Strategy, Kautsky
and Eurocommunism, The Communist
International
Speakers include: Robin Blackburn, Pierre
Frank

2.00-5.00pm
CULTURE AND POLITICS
Francis Mulhern
THE TRADE UNIONS TODAY
Richard Hyman, Steve Jefferys SWP,
Pat Hickey (deputy senior steward, Rover
Solihull — in personal capacity)
Workshops include youth and revolution

DAY THREE

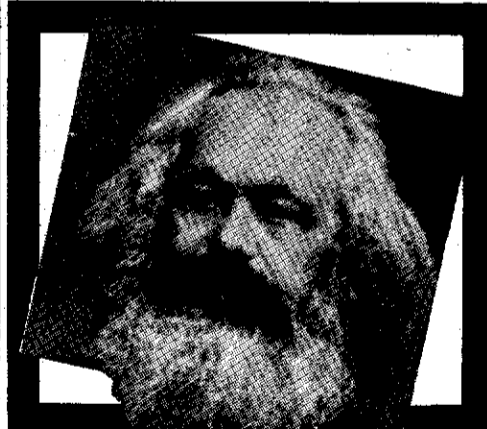
10.00-1.00pm
TWO TRADITIONS OF MARXISM IN
BRITAIN
John Ross

Workshops
Workers Plans and Workers Control, Women
in Eastern Europe.
Speakers include: Hilary Wainwright, Dave
Bailey

2.00-5.00pm
THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN
EUROPE
Chris Harman [SWP], Tariq Ali [IMG]

21-23 September 1979

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£5.50 six sessions excluding the rally
£1 for rally.
£5 for all the sessions except the rally (£6
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The 'Yorkshire Ripper' What the papers really say

By Jude Woodward

'ANXIOUS police warned yesterday that no woman was safe out alone at night.' That's the message the press has been concerned to deliver since the death of the 'Yorkshire Ripper's' 12th victim last week.

Babs Leach died after making a 'fatal mistake' — that of going for a walk on her own at night.

If you go swimming on a full stomach and drown with cramp, or if you drive into a brick wall without looking where you are going, then you could be said to be making a fatal mistake.

Ordinary commonsense tells you it was a silly thing to do, and the consequences are tragic, but that it's your own fault for not taking more care.

This is precisely the judgement of the popular press on Babs Leach — tragic, but her own fault for being so silly as to think a woman could walk the streets in safety at night. 'If you must go out late, have an escort'.

It's such an obvious conclusion, really — impose a curfew on women, for their own safety.

Yet it wasn't only Babs Leach who made a fatal mistake. The *London Evening Standard* told us that the 'Ripper' himself had made 'a deadly error' — an error which was slightly different from the mistake made by Babs Leach. He had killed an ordinary respectable girl rather than a prostitute.

Of course, the 'Ripper' has done this twice before, so it's his third error. His 'error' did not involve leaving clues around. The implication is that no one would have bothered doing much about him if he had merely satisfied himself with killing prostitutes.

Unclean women, not fit to be mothers, not really women at all...

and fulfils a cruel boast

INTO THE RIPPER'S CLUTCHES

TUDENT Babs Leach fatal mistake when she went to walk home from a late-night party.

MURDERED Student Babs Leach, twelfth victim of the Ripper.

Jeopardy Babs Leach was seen walking home from a party at the University of Leeds on the night she was murdered.

HUSBAND ALAN He is desperately ill.

SOS FOR TV ELSIE Beat that! Cop wins £693,000

SENSITIVE SKIN? now you can use Simple from head to toe!

FOOLISH A woman who goes out alone at night is foolish.

TOMORROW Daily Mirror pictures and words to mark the burial of LORD LOUIS

Simple Sensitive skin? now you can use Simple from head to toe!

Simple Soap insist on Simple

NOT PERFUMED - NOT COLOURED - JUST KIND

« fatal mistake »

« respectable girl »

« Best rump »

« foolish for any woman to go out alone at night »

this absolute extent, then blames the women for it.

Traditionally, prostitutes have been set up as the opposite of everything the real woman should be. Yet at the same time the degradation of 'whores' is presented as the fate of every woman who enjoys her sexuality; who tries to live independently of men; who won't play the properly submissive part in relation to men.

There is a real element of gloating over the gory details of the 'Ripper's' killings. The one thing we can be sure to find in every newspaper report of the murder is the fact that the body was severely mutilated.

The other detail no one missed was that Babs Leach had a patch on her jeans which read 'Best Rump'. A guarded hint, perhaps, that she ever so slightly asked for it?

There's no smoke without fire. If young girls will go without bras, in tight jeans, seethrough shirts, then... And when all's said and done, a nice girl wouldn't want to go out walking the streets alone at night.

The Sun made a great point out of the fact that Babs Leach was definitely not drunk; a point that is only of significance if you think it would have made some difference if she was.

All in all, when you look beyond the the outrage and shock-horror headlines, there's not much anger there at all.

Instead there's a grim fascination with all the details of the killings, a told-you-so attitude towards the victims, and a warning to women about what happens if they step out of line.

There has to be a stop to this attitude toward violence against women. Bradford women have organised a protest against the 'Ripper' killings, but also against the police response of telling women to stay at home.

A spokesperson for the group said: 'Why should women stay at home when they have done nothing? We should have a curfew for men and the right to defend ourselves so that all women can walk at night without fear.'

Women organising in their own defence would be the beginnings of an answer to the 'Ripper' and to the police.

THE Daily Mirror's version of Babs Leach's murder

Even Oldfield, the officer in charge of the police investigation, had to apologise for being concerned about the victims' fate.

'Some folk may say "It's only prostitutes" but each of these girls is somebody's daughter', was how he explained it.

Under Review under review

By Geoffrey Sheridan

AN UNCONTENTIOUS cultural page in a socialist newspaper would be hard to imagine. Even a dearth of controversial material, little debate, and a distinct lack of imagination would lead to a fair amount of contention!

Under Review comes in for fewer brickbats than it did in its first six months. Hopefully this reflects the fact that the Editorial Board has responded to some of the criticisms and suggestions made in the early days, and not that people felt their criticisms fell on stony ground.

As a result of all that debate in the early months, what is the current thinking behind the page?

If we take a broad view of culture — to include social aspects of life under capitalism as well as literature and the arts — there are two aspects of culture which socialists particularly need to examine.

The dominant one is that stemming from the bourgeoisie's ideological productions — Hollywood movies, television, much of sport, and the rest.

Then there is what might be termed cultural resistance, in such forms as alternative theatre, left-wing and feminist films,

the ANL-Rock Against Racism carnivals, new wave music, worker writers' groups, photography workshops — the list grows all the time.

Our approach to the first was expressed by Terry Eagleton in issue No 3 of *Socialist Challenge*, when he wrote: 'Art quite often provides us with an insight into the way ideologies actually work which is available to us in no other form'.

To the resistance we take a different approach: to examine it critically and do everything we can to defend and encourage it.

Herein lie the feelers towards culture under socialism (it would be wrong to put it more strongly than that).

Although as yet on a tiny scale, it is these activities which provide part of the challenge to the bourgeoisie's domination of the cultural terrain — a stranglehold that will not be broken without a revolution.

Defense of these activities, especially those which receive state funding, will become increasingly necessary under the present government and its chums in the shires.

There were several notable criticisms about Under Review in its early days. The language of a

number of the contributions, we were told, was inaccessible. We have made efforts to correct this.

Another criticism was that too many of the events reviewed were performed or presented only in London.

We have tried to change this, but London does have a monopoly of much cultural activity in this country, and some is too important to ignore.

A useful addition to the coverage would be a regular round-up of the fringe theatre plays, many of which tour nationally.

One inadequacy has clearly not been satisfactorily dealt with — the lack of television coverage. There is a practical problem about previewing programmes, namely that we don't as yet have the resources to attend the screenings for the press held at the TV companies. But we badly need reviews of TV programmes by readers.

This goes for all other review material. We hope that the kind of articles that we have published show that you do not have to be an expert to put forward your views and comments!

Cultural coverage in *Socialist Challenge* is not

restricted to Under Review. Recently, the TV strike, the question of a TUC-Labour Party daily paper, and so on, have all been discussed on the home news pages.

But since Terry Eagleton's full-page article on 'Art and Revolution', we have not carried a lengthy article of this kind. That would not go amiss.

We also need to maintain our coverage and debate on contributions that feminists and others are making to left-wing cultural analysis.

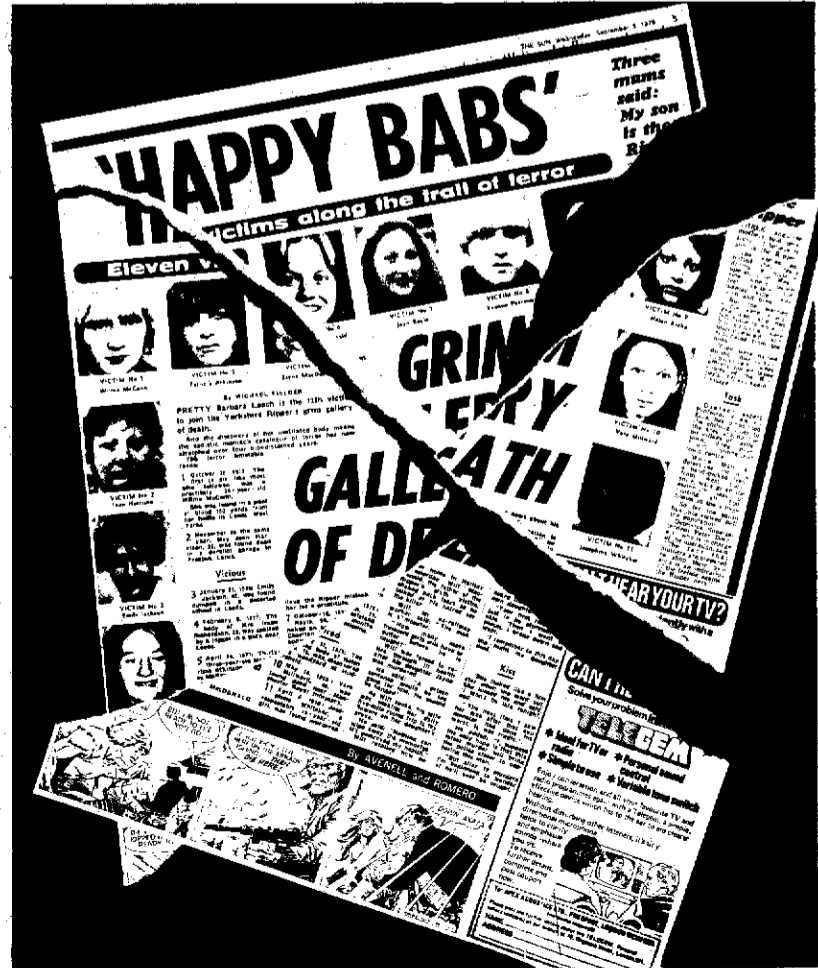
In this context we might immodestly mention *Media, Politics, and Culture — a Socialist View*, just published by Macmillan at £3.95.

Edited by Carl Gardner, the book is based on a series of forums organised by media workers in the International Marxist Group, and includes articles by several Socialist Challenge journalists and contributors (to be reviewed shortly).

Lastly, whatever your views on Under Review we would like to hear from you. Without your comments and criticism we cannot hope to improve the page, which is now to be edited by Martin Meteyard and Valerie Coultas.

somebody's daughter', was how he explained it.

Oldfield's concern sounds fine and full of feeling, but what is he actually saying? That the murder of a prostitute is not of concern as the premature death of an individual, but because someone else will be upset.



Socialist Challenge

Defend the Leyland 25,000

THE BOSSES of British Industry have added a new, macabre twist to their much vaunted principle of 'competition'. Now they are competing as to who can sack the most workers.

Three weeks ago the bosses at British Shipbuilding put in their bid when they said that anything up to 10,000 jobs had to go. But now Michael Edwardes, head of British Leyland, has outdone even British Shipbuilders. A total of 25,000 jobs will be lost in the next two years if Edwardes has his way.

Both British Shipbuilders and Leyland are part of the engineering industry in which 42,000 people lost their jobs last year.

That is one reason why engineering workers, in common with many others, have been demanding a 35 hour week; and taking strike action to back that demand. Their argument is simple. If capitalist economic anarchy and management's mistakes mean that less work is available, then what is available has to be shared out with

no loss of pay.

And it has been the bosses failures which has led to the crisis at Leyland. Even the Financial Times says the root of the problem is 'the lack of a competitive model range', and the right wing Daily Telegraph reports that Leyland's 'technical triumphs' were 'badly exploited' by management. None of this is the fault of the shop floor workers. They have every right to say, cut hours, not jobs.

The second demand of the striking engineers is for a national minimum rate. Whilst many get more due to local agreements the minimum rate is important in defending the least organised sections in the engineering industry.

Each year they have put forward these demands, and each year the employers have rejected them. Each year the union leaders have forgotten the demand for shorter hours, and accepted far short of the minimum rate demanded. Now this year even right-winger Terry Duffy has been forced to take action.

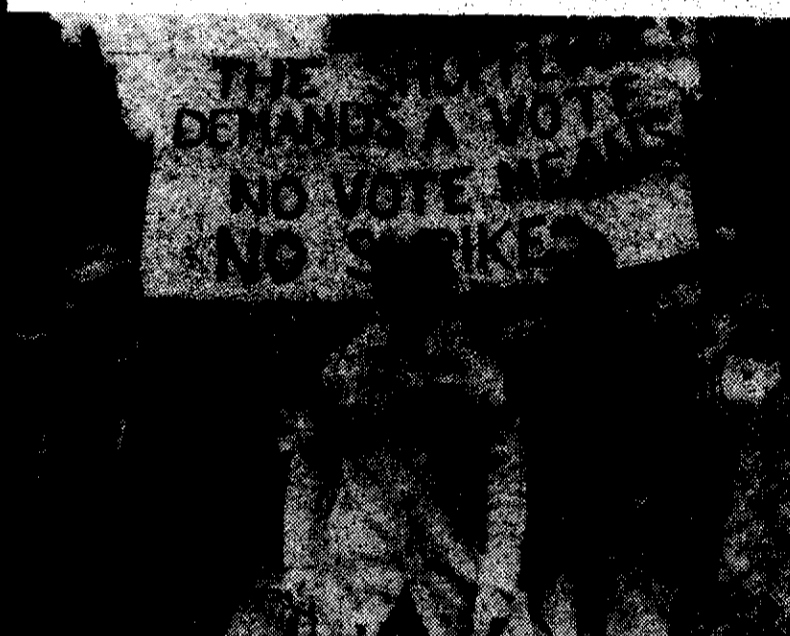
But Duffy and friends cannot be relied upon to lead a fight. Already the demand for one hour off the working day has been dropped to one hour off the working week. Attempts to drop the demand for an £80 minimum skilled rate were only just blocked at the AUEW National Committee.

The employers are trying to sit it out, hoping the rank and file will start drifting back to work thinking that the gains are not worth the sacrifice. The best way to strengthen the action is for the rank and file to press ahead now with action on their local claim at the same time as the national claim is being fought for. Regional and area meetings of engineering stewards to unify the strikes are needed.

The leadership of the stewards in Leyland must be taken to task for its failure to prepare a fight. They have let thousands of jobs go already. It's time there was a national fight in Leyland. It's time Leyland workers said: share the work with no loss of pay, cut the hours.



March of the 'moderates'



MUCH WAS made in the press of 'communist dominance' within the Engineering Union's delegation to the TUC. After all, if you go calling for such hot-headed militancy as demonstrations against Tory cut-backs, you must be extremist!

On the other hand if you launch a 'shop floor revolt' against the engineer's strike action then you're just honest, hard working people demanding nothing more than your right to vote. Or are you?

What the press did not mention about some of the leaders of the Longbridge 'revolt that fizzled out', was that previously they had tried to lead a return to work *despite a mass meeting decision to strike*. So much

for simply demanding the right to vote.

What also is not mentioned is that National Front and British Movement members were among those who marched on the AUEW stewards meeting in Birmingham on 4 September.

Is *this* the voice of moderation?

None of this means that mass meetings and votes should not have been taken. That is after all the best means of explaining why the strike is needed and takes the wind out of the 'back to workers'.

But it should remind us that words like 'moderate' can cover a multitude of sins.

FUND DRIVE

YOU'VE PROBABLY noticed that we returned to 16 pages a fortnight ago after spending the summer at 12 pages.

The decision to reduce Socialist Challenge was based on financial considerations, as well as allowing staff on the paper to take summer holidays.

We had always planned to return to the normal size from the issue produced for the TUC, but when the time came we weren't sure that we could afford to.

Sales declined more than usual over the summer, and in a situation where costs of paper and printing equipment are rising faster than most other prices, this almost spelt disaster.

However, we decided we would take the risk of returning to 16 pages, trusting that our readers will understand the need for a fight to keep it at that size. It hardly needs to be said that with those additional four pages Socialist Challenge has the flexibility to cover a wider range of issues and deal with them in greater depth.

In the coming months — with the

likely development of big struggles against the Tories, the need to build a strong movement against the Corrie anti-abortion Bill, the developing debate inside the Labour Party — our paper will have a particularly important role to play.

Pre-condition number one for our staying at 16 pages is that we meet our Fund Drive targets. That will see us through the immediate problems. So we want you to be arranging parties, bazaars, sponsored events (Brighton SC group raised over £100 in this way), and so on.

Now is not too early to start planning a Christmas event aimed at raising several hundred pounds.

Raising money and donations is only a part of the story. Sales are just as necessary.

It is important financially that we sell the paper wherever we can, to everyone who might want to buy it. Winning new readers for Socialist Challenge has to be at the centre of all our efforts in the coming weeks.

Do you know of a colleague at work who might buy it if asked? Do you just buy the paper every week and

expect other people to sell it? Talk to the person you buy the paper from and offer to take a few to sell.

That's the kind of effort needed to ensure that the paper not only survives, but extends its influence and has a real effect on the fight against the Tory government.

This week our thanks to:

MB	£15.00
H. Wally	2.00
P. Scott	1.00
Haringey IMG	75.00
N. Lockhart	1.00
C. Scott	5.00
J. Osborn	2.00
Newcastle IMG	75.10
Tower Hamlets IMG	27.00
J. Webber	1.00
IMG Irish Fraction	19.82

Week's total £223.92
Cumulative Total £13,945.17

Our apologies and thanks to Leslie Jones of Cardiff whose £5 donation was wrongly credited to R. Haliday in the 9 August issue.

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