

Socialist Challenge

**Inside: Interview
with Ted Knight**



CHOP THE TORIES

**DEFEND THE WELFARE STATE
KICK OUT THE TORIES
ALL OUT WEDNESDAY 28TH NOVEMBER!
ASSEMBLE SPEAKER'S CORNER 12.00 FOR RALLY
MARCH TO PARLIAMENT
1.30 MASS RALLY CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER.**

OUR POLICIES

Capitalism is in crisis. The leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions offer solutions that are in the interests not of the workers but of the capitalist class.

Socialist Challenge believes that the two vital tasks confronting revolutionary socialists are:

- To build broad-based class struggle tendencies in opposition to class-collaborationism in the labour movement. These should be non-exclusive in character, grouping together militants holding a wide range of political views.

- To begin to fight for the creation of a unified and democratic revolutionary socialist organisation which can, through an application of united front tactics, begin to be seen as an alternative by thousands of workers engaged in struggles.

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

1 The struggle for socialism seeks to unite the fight of workers against the bosses with that of other oppressed layers of society — women, black people, gays — struggling for their liberation. This socialism can only be achieved by creating new organs of power and defeating with all necessary means the power of the capitalist state.

2 Our socialism will be infinitely more democratic than what exists in Britain today, with full rights for all political parties and currents that do not take up arms against the socialist state. The Stalinist models of 'socialism' in the USSR and Eastern Europe have discredited socialism in the eyes of millions of workers throughout the world. We are opposed to them and will offer full support to all those fighting for socialist democracy.

3 The interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilable on a world scale. Capitalism has not only created a world market, it has created world politics. Thus we fight for working class unity on an international scale. This unity will in the long run be decisive in defeating both the imperialist regimes in the West and the brutal dictatorships they sustain in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

In Britain it implies demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and letting the Irish people determine their own future.

4 The Communist parties in Europe are in crisis. Neither the 'Eurocommunist' nor the pro-Moscow wings have any meaningful strategy for the overthrow of the capitalist state. New revolutionary socialist parties are more necessary than ever before. Conditions today are more favourable than over the preceding three decades. But such parties can only be built by rejecting sectarianism and seeing internal democracy not as a luxury but as a vital necessity. This means the right to organise factions and tendencies.

If you agree with these principles and want to be involved in activities by Socialist Challenge supporters in your area, fill in the form below and send it to us.

- I am interested in more information about activities in my area.
- I would like additional literature and enclose 50p to cover costs. (Delete if not applicable)

Address.....

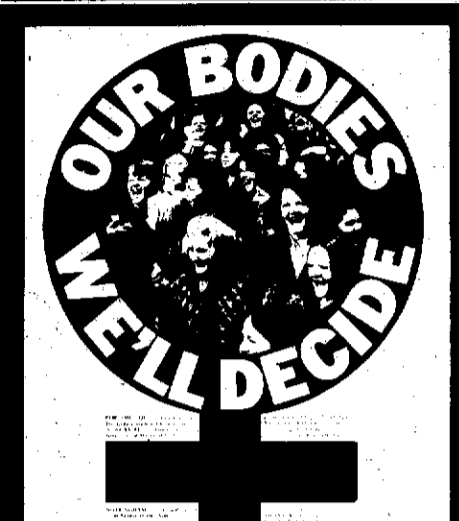
SELL YOUR PAPER

Socialist Challenge

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!



Socialist Challenge



Socialist Challenge

BLAIR PEACH



FIGHT THE COVER-UP

OUR TARGET - 5,000 STREET SALES

Lambeth order

1,000



HILARY TARR, treasurer of the Campaign Against Health Cuts in Lambeth, Southwark, and Lewisham, told us why Lambeth and Wandsworth branches of the

International Marxist Group have ordered an extra thousand copies of this issue of Socialist Challenge.

The demonstration against the cuts on 7 November called by Lambeth Council is our biggest opportunity yet under the Tories to boost our sales of Socialist Challenge. The Labour council has given council workers the day off to protest at the vicious policies of this Tory government.

We're selling this issue — rushed to the printers as a special offer of 5p a copy, enclosing reduced-price subscription forms — to win new regular readers.

The cuts have hit South London hard. The area health authority has been sacked; St John's Hospital in Lewisham is being closed down; St Olave's in Bermondsey is threatened with closure.

Along with the local Labour Party, Lambeth fightback which we are involved in forced the council not to cut back on social services this year.

Teachers in Lambeth are utterly opposed to any closure of schools.

Workers in the area know what Tory priorities mean. Tax subsidies for the rich to boost profits and an end to the NHS and the rest of the welfare state.

Socialist Challenge tells you how people are fighting back in other areas. It gives you the political arguments you need when politicians say the only solution is rate increases.

It tells you how workers are organising in other countries against their 'Tory' governments. It explains that what we need are socialist priorities not Tory priorities.

The route of the 7 November march is plastered with our posters for the demonstration, advertising Socialist Challenge. Supporters of the newspaper will be handing out 5,000 leaflets to the marchers with our special offer subscription forms on the bottom.

We expect to sell out of Socialist Challenge early in the day, which will mean ordering more copies for our regular sales. Our aim is to double these regular sales

by Christmas.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE is your paper and it puts you — its readers — first.

We've done this in the anti-Corrie campaign, the campaigns against the cuts and arising from the Southall police riot last April. Socialist Challenge has consistently exposed the racist nature of the trials now taking place.

Now, it's your turn to do us a favour.

We want you to sell your paper, not just the odd one or two here and there, but wherever you go — at work, at the dole office, in shopping precincts, outside factory gates, at Labour Party and socialist meetings, in women's groups.

Our target is for 5,000 copies a week to be sold directly by the supporters of the newspaper.

The Tory government is forcing people to fightback. Make sure you're involved in the struggle and make sure your newspaper is sold.

*The hotline number to order extra copies of Socialist Challenge is 01-359 8371. Ask for distribution.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Britain: 12 months £12.50; 6 months £6.50
Abroad: 12 months — Surface Mail £12.50
— Airmail £18.00

Multi-Reader institutions: Double the above rate

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Address

I enclose a donation for the Fighting Fund of

Cheques, POs and Money Orders should be made payable to 'Socialist Challenge'.

Complete and return to: Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

LEICESTER SC group meeting, 21 Nov, Highfields Community Centre 8pm: 'Why the Fourth International?'

HACKNEY SC group meeting on 'Beyond the Fragments', with Lynne Segal, Judy Watson and Jo O'Brien: Thur 15 Nov, 7.30pm, Britannia pub, Mare St, London E8.

PADDINGTON SC group forum Tues 24 November 'The Tory Attacks — How should trade unionists respond?' with Carl Brecker 8pm, Meeting Room, 1 Thorpe Close, under Westway Flower, London W10. SC on sale every Saturday 11.30-12.30 at the Westbourne Park Road Junction, and every Thursday at 5.15 at Ladbroke Grove tube station.

'Fight the racist immigration laws'. Meeting on Tuesday, 20 November, at 7.30pm, Central Hall, Oldham St, Manchester. Speakers from IWA, Nasera Begun and Said Bibi Defence Committees.

IMG TRADE UNION Fractions: 10 Nov, CPSA; 17 Nov, Rail. For details write to Centre or phone 01-359-8371.

BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. For more info contact Box 2, c/o Fulmarks, 110 Cheltenham Road, Montpellier, Bristol 6.

LIVERPOOL: SC 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.

OXFORD: SC sold Fri, Kings Arms, 12-2, Sat, Cornmarket, 10-2. For more info phone 47624.

S.W. LONDON: SC on sale at Oval tube kiosk, Herne Hill BR kiosk, Tetric Books (Clapham High St.). Also on sale Sat 11-1, and Thur/Fri mornings at Brixton tube.

LIVERPOOL: SC forums every fortnight on Thursday, 8 Nov: Trotsky, 22 Nov: Zimbabwe, 6 Dec: The Cuts, 20 Dec: Immigration Laws. All at 7.30pm at 15A Richmond St (off Williamson Sq).

READ IT, BUY IT, SELL IT

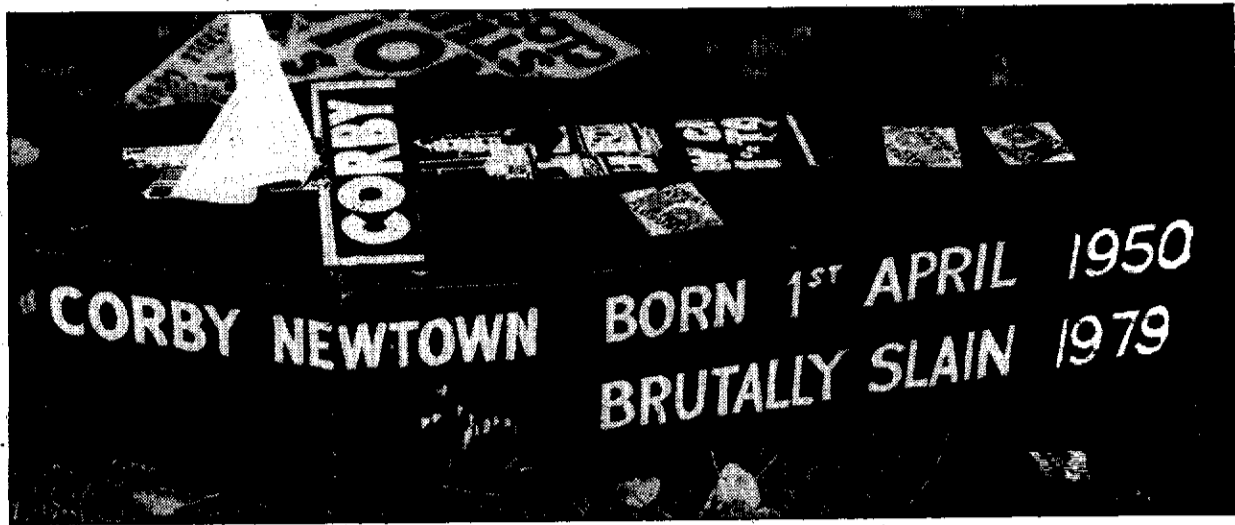
HOMENEWS

10,000 march to save a town

No to steel closures in Corby!

ON THURSDAY 1 November 10,000 people marched through Corby New Town demanding an end to threats to close the steel mill which employs two-thirds of the working population. At the same time, in the town, steel bosses were meeting with union bureaucrats over bottles of wine, behind a cordon of a thousand police.

Closure plans were all that emerged from their meeting.



By Jude Woodward

'CORBY born 1 April 1950, brutally slain 1979' was the slogan on the small black coffin carried by half a dozen Corby school kids on the demonstration through the town last Thursday.

Later the same afternoon the British Steel Corporation bosses formally announced that the Corby steel works would close, that the last basin of liquid steel would be poured into its mould, in March 1980. Their announcement is not just the death-knell of a steel works, it is a threat to the whole town. Corby is only there because the steel mill is there.

Corby was nothing more than a Northamptonshire village until the steel works were opened. The town was purpose built to house the workers, mainly from Scotland and some from Wales, who moved to escape unemployment.

These antecedents are still obvious — the high proportion of Glaswegian accents, the prominence of the Strathclyde Hotel (the tallest building in the town) and the orderly street plan give a lot away.

Most people have quite a grim view of new towns — concrete jungles with gangs of alienated youth roaming the streets. In Kettering, eight miles from Corby, that's what they think: 'Don't take a camera to Corby, they don't like being photographed and they'll probably smash it', 'If you leave a car parked overnight in Corby it won't be there in the morning'. And so on.

But that isn't Corby.



KAREN is a steelworker in Corby. She was very angry about the plans for the plant.

'People can make speeches, but what are we going to do about it. There are people who are in there working today while we are here. They ought to be ashamed of themselves. It's their jobs we're fighting for. Next time they all have to be out.'

There's no rail station so for a visitor it's a train to Kettering and then a local bus. The half hour journey is through rolling Northamptonshire countryside which extends right up and into Corby. In the town centre you can see out into the open countryside — even the steel mill is only a series of industrial chimneys emerging from behind a horizon of trees.

There is no doubt that the new inhabitants of Corby like their town, they want to go on living there. It may not be paradise, but compared to the urban squalor of most industrial areas it has its own charm. The demonstration on Thursday morning made that completely clear.

10,000 inhabitants of Corby marched through the town centre as the talks between the iron and steel trades union leaders and the British Steel bosses began.

Surrounded

Graham House, where the talks took place, was completely surrounded by police in full battle gear, but there were no confrontations. One felt that even the police realised they looked more than slightly ridiculous.

The Corby iron and steel works employ 11,000 people, approximately two-thirds of the working population of the town. British Steel announced the closure of the smelting and ore works, employing 6,000 people, saying that it will keep the tube mills and the administration sections open. This means no jobs for one in three members of the working population.

But very few people in Corby believe it will stop there. They have drawn the lessons of the Edwardes' plan in Leyland — once the job cutting and asset stripping starts it doesn't stop.

Colleen, Margaret and Jill, punch operators in the administration block, together with Elaine and Mandy who are clerical workers at BSC, took the morning off work to go on the demonstration. They are all members of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the main union involved at BSC.

'There are seven of us in the office and five of us are here today — virtually everyone who's in the union has come out. There's a skeleton staff left in the plant. Some of it's still working, but about 75 per cent are out here this morning.'

'The thing is that there's nothing much else in Corby if the steel goes. Most of our families work there and it's hard to find jobs here already. They say that the administration is staying but quite honestly if they succeed in closing down the steel works then we'll be next in line, whatever they say now. And if our jobs go we just won't get another job here.'

The number of women and young people on the demonstration was particularly noticeable. There was no question but that the whole town was on the move, the end of the steel plant means the death of Corby and no one wants that.

Apart from steel there is only the Golden Wonder factory and a couple of small shoe factories in the area. There were substantial delegations from all of these. Seven of the town's biggest stores closed for the morning.

Festive

There were also delegations from Nottingham NUM, BL Cowley TGWU, Northamptonshire Agricultural Workers' Union, half a dozen trades councils, AUEW, NUPE and many Labour Parties, CPs and so on, among countless others.

Despite the festive air, the serious purpose of the gathering was clear. The platform was open to anyone in the crowd to get up and make their points, and many did, including those who had come from other areas to express solidarity.

But the demonstration and local

general strike didn't have much effect on the meeting at Graham House. After the union leaders and bosses had wined and dined together through most of the day, a firm statement that the plant would close was the only outcome. It will take more than demonstrations to turn back the tide.

Alan Thornett, who had come in support from BL Cowley, called for a policy of occupation to prevent BSC closing down the works. This would be a decisive first step for the Corby steel workers — occupation would keep the workforce together and prevent the company stripping the

plant to sell off assets.

However, production would cease as BSC would doubtless refuse to deliver ore to a plant under occupation, so the next step would have to be the calling of a national steel strike.

Bill Sirs, general secretary of the ISTC, after the announcement of closure, said that 'unfortunately' he might be forced to call such a strike. Bill Sirs now has to be the main target — if he doesn't call the national strike it will be more than 'unfortunate' for the people of Corby.



DENNIS SKINNER MP, former coal miner, got rapturous applause for his anti-Tory speech from the platform.

'When Parliament talks about the wealth creators they mean people like Sir Charles Villiers, Chairman of BSC. But you are the real wealth creators here today. The Tories are making cuts, yet they spend millions on central heating at the House of Commons — they can't keep their MPs awake as it is. Maggie Thatcher gets two Daimlers to ride around in.'

'But it's not just the Tories, Labour MPs shouldn't be allowed to forget the part they've played in helping Villiers. And Len Murray. I say to him, it's about time you stopped talking about saving jobs and took some action.'

'Bill Sirs had a meeting with Callaghan the other day to discuss the left in the Labour Party — he should have another meeting to discuss how to save Corby. They said 'rationalisation' could make the pits pay — after all the pit closures they still couldn't balance the books. Closures won't make a thriving steel industry either.'

'The last Tory government saw USC, and we've seen the movement to release the Pentonville 5. Now we have to turn the tide against this Tory government.'



STOP THE CUTS

Where's the money to come from?

Cut capitalist waste

THATCHER'S PLANS for the social services were unveiled last week. The government's expenditure plans for 1980-81 will cut the already frayed social services to the point where some of them almost cease to exist. They lop off £2½ billion even before increased inflation takes its toll.

The government uses the same old excuse — "The country can't afford it". This is a lie. They have found enough money to push military spending up to £8 billion — enough to pay for a 50% increase in the health and education budget. The cuts are not being made because there are too few resources in the economy, but because profits and the profit system cannot be propped up otherwise.

In his speech to the 1976 Labour Party conference, Callaghan tried to justify this by saying we need profits to invest for the future. This is a disastrous policy. Profits are not being used to invest for the future in any case — investment in manufacturing stayed put at £3 billion in 1975 prices, right through Labour's terms of office.

But far more importantly, this is a tremendously wasteful way to run the economy. Private enterprise is not efficient. We are in a crisis, not because we are short of machines, resources or workers, but because private enterprise cannot organise them properly. To safeguard profits we have to put up with waste on a scale that puts the most spendthrift local authority in the shade.

We should counter the Tories' arguments with a list of cuts we want to see — to cut out capitalist waste.

1. **Cut out idle capacity.** Since the dawn of capitalism, manufacturers have tried to hold up profits by cutting production — so boosting prices. Since the war, monopoly has grown so much that this is the rule rather than the exception. In other words, to protect profits, private enterprise stops producing things people need; keeps prices up so they can't afford to buy them; and sacks workers!

We will spell it out by reversing Geoffrey Howe's argument. What social services could be achieved by running the economy properly? Economists Andre Glyn and John Harrison, who supplied these figures, calculate that full employment would allow the production of around £32½ billion extra goods and services per year at 1978 prices. This could buy:

- * a full wage for those now unemployed costing £6.7 billion.

- * a 50% increase in benefits costing £5.0 billion.

- * a minimum wage of £80 (at 1978 prices, or equivalent taking inflation into account) costing £9.6 billion.

- * a 75% increase in house building costing £3.9 billion.

- * 25% on health and education costing £4.0 billion.

- * 50% on manufacturing investment costing £3.4 billion.

If workers had the simple right to inspect company books and take over any firm working under capacity, reconverting to produce for need and not profit, then this waste could be ended at a stroke. Councils and the local labour movement could make systematic lists of idle capacity, organising takeovers and occupations of profiteers and firms declaring redundancy.

2. **Cut the idle rich.** Capitalism supports an army of parasites and scroungers. Dennis Healey promised to 'tax the rich until the pips squeak' — but he attacked the poor and the rich got richer.

At least £8 billion could be released just by cutting out unearned income and reconverting luxury goods industries to produce real necessities.

How could these resources be released? By the best incomes policy of all — **end unearned income.** Take away the right to make money out of other people's labour.

Even before this is achieved, we should fight for a wealth tax, for punitive income tax on salaries above £10,000, and for the right of local authorities to levy a proportion of this sufficient to meet their needs.

3. **End Britain's imperialist role.** Foreign investment and military involvement only serve to line the



'Heard Maggie's latest joke? — she says she's cutting unnecessary waste.'

pockets of a tiny layer of overseas investors. They make British workers complicit in exploiting and oppressing the very workers abroad whose support and solidarity we need against the multinationals. It gives capital a bolt-hole to run to when workers here start attacking profits.

Withdrawal

We should demand immediate withdrawal from the EEC and NATO; we should fight for the unconditional transfer of foreign assets to workers abroad; and we should fight for the negotiation of direct, long-term trading agreements immune from fluctuations in world prices, with the countries of the third world and the workers states, that would provide the basis for long-term, planned domestic expansion.

4. **Cut the army and police.** They do not defend people but property. The army's main job is to terrorise the people of countries like Ireland that Britain has occupied. They will use what they have learned, like the Chilean army, against British workers trying to make socialism.

In spite of their tarnished "village bobby" image, the police are no better. The murderers of Blair Peach, Jimmy Kelly and Liddle Towers are

even now used as strikebreakers, and to repress black and other working people. According to the government White Paper "Defence" will cost £8 billion next year and "law and order" will cost £2½ billion — more money down the drain.

5. **Unnecessary costs of competition.** Because the economy is not planned, huge amounts of money go down the drain in duplicated effort, advertising, promotion and packaging.



The Stock Exchange.

Even worse, banking and business services have grown out of all proportion to the real productive needs of the economy. This sector now employs a staggering 1,152,000 people — whilst only 7 million work in manufacturing.

The City

Finance is a particularly big parasitic sector of the British economy because the City is so heavily involved in financing imperialism abroad. Interest payments by local authorities now amount to £3 billion — almost enough to wipe out the Tory cuts. Even under Labour, banking profits increased by a staggering 76%. The Tories' policies of high interest rates

Crawley

By Chris Bird

'BRING extra clothes and a torch to school' was the message given to some middle school students at the beginning of this term. However West Sussex Education Committee plan more than just heating and lighting cuts.

Plans to make the 'consumer' pay more include increased school meal prices, no subsidy on transport, charges for examination entry and further redundancies. Last week Crawley National Union of Teachers decided to launch a mass campaign of action and publicity against the cuts.

After the local Executive had been censured for their lack of action so far, the meeting agreed plans to organise the following: a press and publicity campaign, a newsletter to all union members, a meeting of all public sector unions to discuss common action, to organise public meetings to explain the effects of the cuts to all those affected, and support for the Labour Party and Trades Council campaign against the cuts.

The next meeting will discuss direct action in the schools.

Potential increases in output

	With present hours	With additional overtime	With additional labour
Food, drink and tobacco	6.3	11.0	15.5
Chemicals	16.9	18.2	19.5
Mechanical engineering	13.6	21.5	35.0
Motors	1.4	6.7	33.6
Metals	6.0	10.6	11.5
Textiles	7.4	13.0	18.8
Clothing and footwear	15.0	20.8	24.5
Paper and printing	13.4	22.4	28.3
Construction	14.9	22.2	36.0
Total	7.6	12.4	21.5

National Institute Economic Review February 1977

Surveys done by the National Institute for Social and Economic Research in 1976, the results of which are in the accompanying table, showed that increases in output could be achieved simply with existing capacity. They show that 20 per cent of the economy is lying idle to keep profits up. There are 1½ million workers on the dole, all of whom could be given work without building a single new factory.

Nerve

Geoffrey Howe has the nerve to say, in the Sun, "we can't afford year-by-year increases in Whitehall spending when the country isn't producing enough extra goods and services to pay for them". But it is the owners, not the social services, that are at fault.



Capitalism leaves resources lying idle.

and a high exchange rate are designed to boost the City even more.

We should be demanding the nationalisation under workers control of all banking and finance, and the scrapping of the outstanding interest burden of local authorities. We should be fighting for a democratic planned economy in which the waste of competition would be ended.

6. **Cut out the costs of capitalist supervision.** Everywhere that workers have taken over production themselves, they have found that a lot of the manager's work was redundant — because their main function was to discipline workers and make sure they were exploited to the full. This could be ended by genuine, democratic workers' control, because workers would be working for themselves and not for parasites.

Similarly a lot of the huge and cumbersome apparatus of the State is not there to provide services but to hold back legitimate demands for democratic rights and proper services. The administration of both factories and the state should be taken over by workers' councils, and by workers' representatives who are elected and subject to recall, and paid no more than the average wage.

The truth is very clear. It is private enterprise which is to blame. It is the profits of the rich that stand in the way of adequate social services.

The workers cannot, and should not accept that they must pay for the crisis. The message to the Tories and the bosses should be clear: you can't run the economy to meet our needs — so we're going to fight to run it ourselves.

London Hospital

ANCILLARY WORKERS at the London Hospital, Whitechapel, have started boycotting private beds as a protest against the plan to close 82 NHS beds, including a female surgical ward. A mass meeting of 700 health workers had voted for action — and to strike in support of the demonstration in Lambeth on 7 November.

Health workers in Tower Hamlets are experienced in fighting cuts — they have been fighting for the last two years to keep Bethnal Green Hospital open. Now they are faced with fighting cuts throughout the borough on a united basis.

The cuts include: the 'temporary' closure of the 120 bed London Jewish Hospital; the abolition of routine medical checks in secondary schools and visits to old people's homes; cuts in infant welfare, family planning and district nurses; a 20 per cent cut in outpatient appointments; and a 15 per cent all round cut in services.

It is predicted that the £2 million cuts being planned for Tower Hamlets will mean the hospitals being unable to make any emergency admissions this winter.

Through the Trades Council a number of initiatives are being built by the anti-cuts campaigns. As well as building for the demonstration in Lambeth on 7 November, and the Labour Party demonstration on 28 November, a lobby of the full council meeting will be held on the evening of 28 November. A meeting is planned of all stewards from the public sector unions for 26 November.



Teachers Organise

By Will Reese, Coventry NUT
THE TORY VAMPIRE is shaping up to take education by the jugular. In just one area — Avon — 406 redundancies are threatened, and similar plans are being drawn up by every Local Education Authority. The new Education Bill proposes to end the legislation requiring authorities to provide school meals. Comprehensive schooling is coming under attack.

Faced with the gravest challenge to education for many years, the response of the leadership of the National Union of Teachers has been pathetic. So the Socialist Teachers Alliance and Rank and File Teacher are organising a joint conference to organise for action amongst the union membership and demand a fighting lead from the union executive.

The conference will discuss a broad range of issues raised by the Tory attacks — comprehensives, nursery and primary education, the ideological assumptions of Toryism, as well as anti-sexist teaching and other issues. On the second day we will be concentrating on discussing campaigns around these issues.

An important aspect of the conference will be a speaker from the 'Ecole Emancipee' group of radical teachers in France. Of particular interest will be their work in putting into practice alternative, socialist educational objectives.

This conference is an important step in the growing co-operation between the two main opposition groupings in the teachers union. Although we in the Socialist Teachers Alliance still have differences with the comrades of Rank and File, we believe that concrete moves towards greater unity and ultimately a common organisation are possible on the basis of a clear socialist platform and internal democracy. At the conference itself we will be launching an appeal for a unified opposition of socialist teachers.

The major proposal the STA will be putting forward at the conference is the call for a national labour movement conference in defence of education. This would be a delegate conference, which we would aim to win NUT Associations to calling initially, hoping to win broader support on the basis of that.

Be at the conference.

Stop racist fee increases

By Pauline Roe, NUS Executive (in personal capacity).

THE GOVERNMENT is now committed to introducing fees of two to five thousand pounds per year for overseas students from October 1980. This racist measure, aimed at dividing the student body, will bring the government an extra £100 million in fee income. In doing so though it will squeeze thousands of poorer students out of higher and further education, involve course closures, redundancies and even threaten the future of some institutions.

The decision of the government to implement these increases came as no surprise. After increasing fees for this year by 23 per cent in the Budget of 12 June, the introduction of so called 'full cost fees' was openly debated. Given the scope of the cuts that the Tories are hoping to make, an attack on overseas students was inevitable.

The response of the Union of Students National Executive failed to anticipate the seriousness of this threat. From the outset they have concentrated on calling for hardship funds for those already registered on courses. It is only around this issue that they have advocated direct action. The future status of overseas students, they argued, has to be secured through an educational campaign to establish the contribution they make to the British educational system and why they would be such a loss.

Thankfully a handful of

colleges in London and the North West were prepared to take action. Fee strikes are going on in several colleges and occupations have occurred in a number of Polys and universities. The small number of occupations though, and their short duration, reflects the lack of national leadership and the cautious approach that local leaderships are taking. Memories of the defeats of 1977 and 1978 mean that the most active colleges no longer expect support from the NUS and are dubious about going it alone.

Breaking the isolation of these colleges is therefore crucial. At one level this can be done by seizing on the one concession that the NUS has made — the need for a campaign of mass action. The 24 hour occupations that they have called for on 8 and 9 November need to be transformed from token actions to apply pressure to the DES, to ongoing occupations aimed at broadening involvement in the campaign. But this also means fighting to link the overseas student campaign in the NUS to the general campaign of opposition to the cuts.

In a number of areas, such as Manchester and Bristol, action on the cuts is already planned and student unions have to ensure that the issue of overseas students is taken up within these. Nationally student unions should be organising for a mass turn out on the demonstration and lobby against the cuts taking place in London on 28 November.



WHAT'S LEFT

PUBLIC MEETING: 'Zimbabwe — what must be done'. Thur 8 Nov, 7.30, St Anne's Hall, Venn Street, London SW4. With film & speakers from Patriotic Front, ZECC, & Ted Knight.

CHILE SOLIDARITY Campaign Day School on Chile: An Introduction for Londoners. 10.30am, Sat 10 Nov, Polytechnic of Central London Students Union, 104-8 Bolsover St, London W1. With speakers, workshops, theatre, films & evening social with MAYAPI. Details from CSC, 272-4298.

CONFERENCE on 'Workers' Plans' — Cutting Edge or Slippery Slope? 10am-6pm, West Ham. Precinct, North East London Polytechnic, Romford Road, London E15. 17 Nov. Papers & registration £5. TU delegates priority. Workshops on Heavy Ind., Power, Engineering, Motor Industry, Telecoms, Aerospace, etc. Ring: Tammy Walker 597 4630 or 599 5141 x 86.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Tendency public meeting: 'Ten Years of the Irish War — Five Years of the Prevention of Terrorism Act'. Speaker: Nick Jenkins. 14 November 1979, 7.30pm at Fairholt House, City of London Poly, Whitechapel High Street, London E1. Adm: 20p.

WORKERS' ACTION MEETING TROTSKYISM AND NICARAGUA
Speaker: John O'Mahony (Workers' Action editorial board)
Friday, 9 November, 8pm at the General Picton, London N1 (corner of Wharfedale Rd and Caledonian Road. Nearest tube King's Cross)

'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'.

TWO DANISH Trotskyists need a room during a study tour of London (24 Nov — 20 Dec 1979). We would prefer a collective or the like. Please write as soon as possible to: Paul-Erik Philbert, Holsteinsgade 7, 3, 2100 Copenhagen, Denmark.

IRANIAN socialist seeks room urgently. North London preferred. Please contact by phoning Socialist Challenge. Tel: 01-359 8180. Or write to Iranian fraction, PO Box 50, London N1.

CONFERENCE Against Cuts in the Health Service. Sat. 10 Nov, 11am to 4.30pm, St Albans Hall, Penton Place, off Walworth Rd, London SE1. Speakers include: Bernard Dix, asst. gen. sec. NUPE; Ted Knight, leader, Lambeth council; Stuart Holland, Labour MP for Vauxhall. Organised by the Campaign Against Health Cuts in Lambeth, Southwark, and Lewisham. Adm *1.

LEWISHAM Socialist Forum public meeting on Women and the Cuts. Speakers: Janet Maguire, on health cuts; Pauline Mathews, on Beyond the Fragments; Bea Campbell; Pat Angove, on local health cuts campaign. Tues 13 Nov, 8pm, Bell Green Community Centre, London SE26. (Lower Sydenham station or 194, 75, 108b buses)

COMMUNE CUM STUDY CENTRE 50 MILES FROM LONDON SEEKS NEW MEMBERS.

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Scouse turnout on 28 November

By Al Walker, Liverpool NALGO.

30,000 WORKERS in Merseyside will be given the day off, with pay, to attend the demonstration against the cuts in London on 28 November, if the Labour group on Liverpool Council get their way. The proposal to give all council workers the day off has already been passed by the council's Personnel Committee, which is Labour dominated, though it is less likely that the full council meeting on Wednesday 7 November will endorse the proposal as Labour is

in a minority.

If the proposal is carried Liverpool will join Sheffield council which has already voted to give its workers the day off — though without pay.

At a conference organised by Merseyside Anti-cuts Committee last weekend, 250 delegates voted to see that a 550 seat train booked to take people to the London demonstration would be filled. They also voted to support the lobby of the Liverpool council on Wednesday 7 November, and on that day the unions taking some form of industrial action include the G&MWU, NATFHE, NALGO, UCATT, NUS, and the Liverpool city council shop stewards and staff representatives committee

— which represents the 30,000 council employees.

Amongst the speakers at the conference were Tony Benn MP, Mike Bowen from Sheffield City Council, and John Cowling of the Corby Steelworkers Action Committee who threatened that they might be dumping steel ingots in the streets of Corby as part of their stepped up campaign to save the steelworks.

Also contained in the declaration passed by the conference was a call for building links with similar campaigns around the country with a possible view to a joint national conference on fighting the cuts. This is certainly needed — it is the Tory government which must finally be confronted if the cuts are to be halted.

WOMEN AND NEW TECHNOLOGY

Discover it before it discovers you

Workshops on the following: Office work, shop work, telecommunications, housework, health and safety, film and slide show.

Saturday 10 November 10.30-5.30

Harkness Hall, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC...

Labour's left states worthy intentions

By Geoff Bell

APPROXIMATELY two hundred members of the Labour Party met in Manchester at the weekend with the aim of turning their organisation into a 'mass party...active in all fields'.

The conference was called by the Labour Co-ordinating Committee which played its part in the victories on internal reform won at the recent Labour Party conference, many of the faces associated with those victories were seen at the weekend.

Tony Benn and Arthur Scargill spoke at a rally on the Saturday evening. They didn't attend the conference itself but among those who did were Peter Hain and MPs Stuart Holland and Michael Meacher.

The conference was billed as one for 'activists' but it was dominated by public figures and there was a disappointing turn-out from rank and file members of the Labour Party. That is one indication of the size of the task the LCC faces in what Peter Hain described as 'creating a mass party'.

Changes

Hain's paper to the conference argued that the 'central changes' required in the Labour Party 'are not organisational but political'.

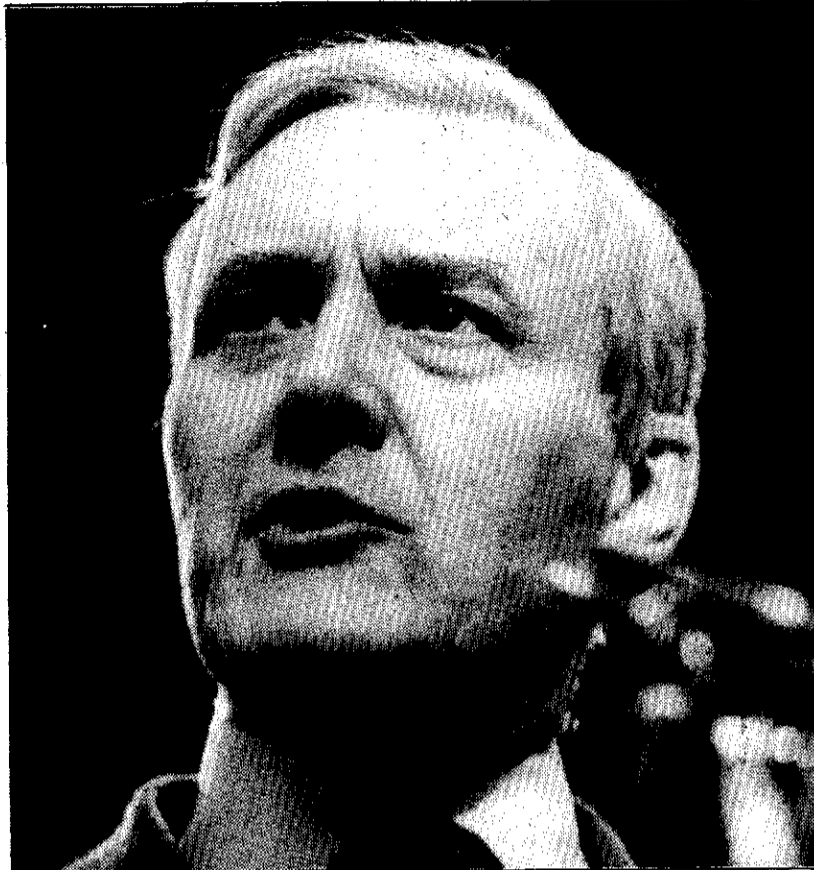
He stressed the importance of 'extra-parliamentary activity' and said that the 'immediate targets' of the LCC should include shop stewards, 'those in or around pressure group politics' and the 'periphery of Socialist Worker and Socialist Challenge'.

Stating such aims and achieving them are two different things. It was, for instance, a sign of how much the leaders of the Labour left have yet to learn about impressing the 'periphery' of the revolutionary left that it failed to organise a creche for the conference.

The issue of women's rights produced one of the best discussions of the weekend.

The leadership of the LCC came to the conference supporting, 'from a purely democratic point of view', the abolition of the women's section of the Labour Party. There was, said a paper presented to the conference, 'a measure of agreement on all sides about this'.

That proved not to be the case. A



spirited defence of the women's section was made by Ann Ceseck of North Islington Labour Party. She referred to the general principles on the right of women to organise separately and the practical consequences of such a right.

'The reason the TUC supported the anti-Corrie demonstration on 28 October,' said Ann, 'was because of the pressure put on it by the Women's TUC and by the Women's Liberation Movement.' Her speech secured an overwhelming vote in favour of the continuation of the women's section.

One consequence of that discussion was the support shown at the annual general meeting of the LCC for the holding of a special conference on women's rights. This initiative, as well as a further conference on economic strategy, will be discussed by the LCC executive. The AGM also agreed to calling a national decision-making conference.

The latter meeting will hopefully clear up many of the ambiguities

which surfaced at the weekend.

An example was the issue of Callaghan leadership. One speaker argued: 'If we want to build a mass party the main obstacle to all the changes we want is the present leadership. One of the main aims of this conference should be to say "Callaghan must go".'

There was little opposition in principle to such sentiments, but the dilemma the Labour left faces was stated by another speaker who warned: 'It is stupid to get rid of Callaghan if Healey is going to replace him.'

In the end, the question of the Callaghan leadership was left in abeyance.

No vote was taken; what was agreed was that if Callaghan went before the next Labour Party conference, which will debate the means of electing the party leader, the deputy leader of the Labour Party should take over on an interim basis. The present deputy leader is Michael

views widely known before the ballot and the LCC did not hold factory gate meetings or issue leaflets explaining why the workers should have voted against the Edwardes' plan.

Similarly, while Benn was sympathetic when a delegation from the threatened ICL factory cornered him about their struggle, what comes of such sympathy only time will tell.

Nevertheless the LCC now has the leadership of the Labour left. It has an individual membership of six hundred, with 39 affiliations from constituency Labour Parties and one from a trade union branch.

Ireland

That lack of enthusiasm for the LCC from rank and file trades unionists indicates that it needs more than a few well-known names and promises of action to re-establish the authority of the Labour left.

And eventually it will be the actions which the LCC initiates and the support it gives to workers in struggle by which it and the Labour Party generally will be judged.

Similarly, it is all very well to talk of the need for the Labour Party to be 'active in all fields', but it is interesting that the issue of Ireland did not surface during the LCC conference. And yet, in the last ten years, it has been one of the greatest indictments of the Labour left that is has, by and large, kept its mouth shut on Britain's war in Ireland.

Unless the LCC breaks from such traditions it may well be that those on the left outside the Labour Party will conclude that the LCC is just the old, discredited Labour left under new initials.

Foot.

Other decisions taken at the conference included support for the establishment of factory branches and the election by an electoral college system of Labour cabinets and shadow cabinets.

The discussion on such issues represented a general move towards securing greater democracy within the Labour Party, but they also reflected the obsession many on the Labour left continue to have with the party's internal affairs.

This, together with a somewhat drawing room, academic atmosphere at the conference will not help the LCC in its stated intention of relating to 'workers in struggle'.

Suggestions were made on this front. These ranged from community politics to the more grandiose anti-nuclear campaign. Special attention was paid to fighting the cuts.

Such issues are seen as a means of revitalising the base of the Labour Party. But this intention, honourable or otherwise, will need more than the 'resolution mongering' referred to by one speaker.

For instance, Tony Benn at the rally on Saturday evening spoke out against the Leyland ballot and why the workers there should have voted 'no'. But Benn did not make such



Peter Hain

'Defeat the government by any means we can'

ONE of the main debates at the LCC conference concerned the fight against the cuts in public expenditure.

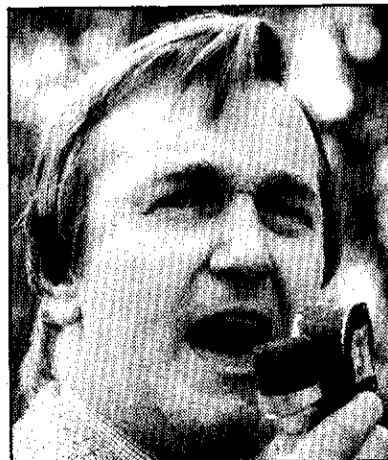
Many speakers stressed the need for united action against the cuts and for the Labour left to link up in struggle with all those fighting the Tory axe. There was opposition expressed to rate rises, an opposition we agree with.

TED KNIGHT, leader of Lambeth Council in South London, was one of the main speakers at the LCC. In a separate interview with Socialist Challenge, Knight gave his views on the cuts and how to fight them.

In Lambeth we are facing something in the region of £4 million worth of cut in central government funding in the current financial year.

The Lambeth Labour council decided that such cuts were socially unacceptable and we asked the local Labour Parties to discuss the general situation. They were quite determined that there should be no cuts and that the Labour group on the council should lead a fight against the Tories.

We discussed this with the trade unions representing the employees. They were equally firm and promised support for the council in the fight



Ted Knight

against the government.

So the Labour group has decided that there should be no cuts in the current year and that we should conduct a public campaign against the Tory government. The highlight of that campaign is the march to Parliament on 7 November.

We are conscious of the need to break our isolation and we are making the demand that other Labour councils follow a similar position to our own. We are calling on Labour

Parties and trade unions to bring pressure on Labour councils, particularly in London and other key areas to oppose all cuts.

That is why we are putting such emphasis on the 7 November demonstration — hoping that it will show that it is possible to draw the labour movement, the Labour Parties, trade unions, and others of the left, into a common fight against the Tory government.

Most Labour councillors are worried that they will be isolated. The Clay Cross example is a deterrent because the Clay Cross councillors were deserted by the Labour Party and the Labour government.

Some of those councillors are still paying financially for the consequences of their action.

What we have to show is that there needn't be this isolation again.

So we would urge that Labour Parties in their regions should call conferences which would bring together the various sectors of the labour movement; so that they can thrash out a clear line and build support for each other, link up with each other and with other struggles taking place on the question of jobs and wages.

The Greater London Regional

Council of the Labour Party is committed to such a policy, but if we can't push it into calling such a conference we in Lambeth won't hesitate to call one ourselves.

On the issue of a rate increase next April, I don't believe it is a principled question.

The object of our whole activity is to mobilise workers into a struggle which will defeat the Tory government. I don't believe you can mobilise on cutting services or on doing nothing and handing over to the Tories.

But if we don't increase rates next year to off-set the government's measures, Lambeth would be bankrupt in a short time and the Tory commissioners would be in.

But we don't start from the base

that we have to increase rates next year. We are starting from the base that we have to organise to defeat the government.

I'm in favour of industrial action to achieve a political end. I believe the fight against the Tories will take place outside of Parliament, and that the party and trade unions should bring about the defeat of this government by any means we can.

SOCIALIST Organiser London meetings: Stop the cuts now, support Lambeth's fightback. Brent: speaker Ted Knight (leader Lambeth Council), Tues 13 Nov, 8pm, Anson Hall, Anson Rd/Chichele Rd, NW2. Camden: speakers Matthew Warburton (Lambeth cllr), James Ryan (Islington Campaign against the Cuts), Thurs 15 Nov, 7.30pm, 'Inquire', 85 Charlton St, NW1.

Conference to discuss new technology/alternative plans

17 November — N.E. London Polytechnic

Separate workshops on GEC, heavy engineering, aerospace, telecommunications

Details and credentials from N.E. London Poly Resources Centre or phone Tammy White, 01-597 4630. Sponsored by Lucas, NEI Parsons, T&G Speke.

TROTSKY 100



LEON TROTSKY

On swearing

ABUSIVE language and swearing are a legacy of slavery, humiliation, and disrespect for the dignity of man, one's own dignity and that of other people...

Swearing in our lower classes was the result of despair, embitterment, and above all, of slavery without hope and escape. The swearing of our upper classes...was the outcome of class rule, of slave-owners' pride, and of unshakeable power...

But how can one create a new life based on mutual consideration, on self-respect, on the real equality of women...on the efficient care of children — in an atmosphere poisoned with the roaring, rolling, ringing, and resounding swearing of masters and slaves, that swearing which spares no one and stops at nothing?

The struggle against foul language is an essential condition of mental hygiene just as the fight against filth and vermin is a condition of physical hygiene...

On reading

A WELL-WRITTEN book is that which has the power to change the way we think and to give us a new vision of the world. It is always been and will always be the most valuable and intimate product of culture.

On fascism

AT THE start of his political career Hitler stood out only because of his big temperament, a voice that was louder than others, and an intellectual mediocrity much more self-assured. He did not bring into the movement any ready-made programme, if one disregards the insulted soldier's thirst for vengeance...

There were in Germany plenty of ruined and drowning people with their fists on the table. This Hitler could do better than others. True, he knew not how to cure the evil... (but) doomed classes, like those fatally ill, never tire of making variations on their plaints nor of listening to consolations. Hitler's speeches were all attuned to this pitch...

Fascism has opened up the depths of society for politics...there lives alongside the 20th century the tenth or the thirteenth... What inexhaustible reserves they possess of darkness, ignorance and savagery! Despair has raised them to their feet, fascism has given them a banner.

Everything that should have been eliminated from the national organism in the form of cultural excrement in the course of the normal development of society has now come gushing out from the throat: capitalist society is puking up the undigested barbarism. Such is the physiology of Nazism...

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TODAY:

A detailed analysis of the situation inside the Fourth International will appear in next week's issue of Socialist Challenge.

NOW AVAILABLE: Socialist Challenge's 1980 calendar [from which the above montage is taken] on the life of Leon Trotsky. It contains many photographs never before available in Britain and is exclusively designed by David King. Individual orders £2 plus 40p p&p from Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. For bulk rates telephone Mike on 01-359 8371.

SELECTED READING

'Trotsky: A study in the dynamic of his thought', by Ernest Mandel. NLB, £2.95

'Trotsky's Marxism', by Duncan Hallas. Pluto, £2.50

'My life, an attempt at an autobiography', by Leon Trotsky. Penguin, £1.95

'History of the Russian Revolution', by Leon Trotsky. Pluto, £7.95

'Permanent Revolution', by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder, £2.45

'Revolution Betrayed', by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder, £2.75

'Struggle against fascism in Germany', by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder, £3

All available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1. Add 10 per cent if ordering by mail.



The years of exile

By Tariq Ali

NATALIA SEDOVA, Trotsky's widow, has left us with an extremely powerful and evocative description of one aspect of Trotsky which is not so well known. It continues to haunt one for it sums up the agony of isolation which the old revolutionary underwent, especially in his last exile in Mexico.

Natalia describes how Trotsky used to pace up and down in his study and talk to himself. On occasion he would have imaginary conversations with Zinoviev and other old Bolsheviks. He would go over once again the old debates and struggles in the Soviet Union.

It is an image which both haunts and moves. It is far too easy to ignore the enormous personal sacrifice made by Trotsky — the emotional and mental upheavals on hearing of the suicide of his daughter, the assassination of his sons, the trials and executions of his old comrades, the torture of his supporters in the concentration camps of Stalin. And yet he did not falter.

It is hardly surprising that he felt politically isolated. He was the sole survivor of the classical Marxist tradition, but his ideas were kept from the masses by the most powerful slander machine in history. What were the options for this man?

He could have retired to the watch-tower and confined himself simply to writing books and articles, maintaining limited contacts with friendly intellectuals. But Trotsky consciously rejected that choice.

His past mistakes on 'organisational questions' (his early hostility to Lenin's organisational concepts) had aided his defeat at the hands of Stalin. His close friend and

fellow-revolutionary Adolph Abramovich Joffe had committed suicide in 1927. Ill-health and political despair had exacted its price. But Joffe had left a last letter addressed to Trotsky. In it he wrote:

'...But I have always believed that you lacked Lenin's unbending will, his unwillingness to yield, his readiness even to remain alone on the path he thought right in the anticipation of a future majority, of a future recognition by every one of the rightness of his path.

'Politically you were always right, beginning with 1905, and I told you repeatedly that with my own ears I heard Lenin admit that even in 1905, you, and not he, were right. One does not lie before his death, and now I repeat this to you... But you have often abandoned your rightness for the sake of an overvalued agreement, or compromise.

'This is a mistake. I repeat: politically you have always been right, and now more right than ever. Some day the party will realise it, and history will not fail to accord recognition... You are right, but the guarantee of the victory of your rightness lies in nothing but the extreme unwillingness to yield, the strictest straightforwardness, the absolute rejection of all compromise; in this lay the very secret of Lenin's victories...'

Trotsky took these words to heart. From 1927 onwards he became a total Leninist in the real sense of the word. His remaining years were spent in analysing world politics, building revolutionary organisations, and producing some of his most important works: *History of the Russian Revolution*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, *My Life*, etc.

But his most powerful writings were his indictment of the Comintern and the German Communist Party in the years preceding Hitler's rise to power. Trotsky was the only strategist who offered a way to defeat Hitler. Perry Anderson's tribute in *Considerations on Western Marxism* is more than justified:

'Isolated on a Turkish island, he wrote from a distance a sequence of texts on Germany, whose quality as concrete studies of a political conjuncture is unmatched in the records of historical materialism.

'In this field, Lenin himself never produced any work of comparable depth and complexity. Trotsky's writings on German Fascism constitute, in fact, the first real Marxist analysis of a twentieth century capitalist state — the making of the Nazi dictatorship. The internationalist nature of his intervention, designed to arm the German working class against the mortal danger threatening it, was maintained throughout the rest of his life.'

A model

One only need add that the writings on Germany were a model of Marxist analysis precisely because they sought to apply Marxism to a life and death struggle. They symbolised the unity of theory and a correct political practice.

The traditions of classical Marxism were upheld by Trotsky and his followers at a time when Europe was submerged in the 'hell-black night' of fascism in Germany and Stalinism in Russia. All Trotsky's errors of perspective fade into insignificance when one realises the magnitude of the tasks that faced him. After the

executions of Bukharin, Rakovsky and Tukachevsky, a friend wrote and said that she was deeply pessimistic. He replied:

'Indignation, anger, revulsion? Yes. Even temporary weariness. All this is human, only too human. But I will not believe that you have succumbed to pessimism. This would be like passively and plaintively taking umbrage at history. How can one do that? History has to be taken as she is; and when she allows herself such extraordinary and filthy outrages, one must fight her back with one's fists.'

Torture and death

And the Trotskyists fought back. Despite the slanders heaped on them by Stalinism, despite the tortures and deaths suffered at the hands of the GPU and the Gestapo, thousands of militants kept alive the traditions of proletarian internationalism. Trotsky remained the only Marxist theoretician who could analyse both fascism and Stalinism with dispassionate lucidity. And his writings were read and studied in Moscow itself.

In his monumental three-volume biography of Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher writes that even in the Moscow of the Thirties senior party members could be heard whispering: 'What does the Old Man think?' Stalin's aim was to destroy every possible alternative to his rule. Trotskyism, Zinovievism and Bukharinism were drowned in blood. But Trotsky was alive. His brain was functioning and his pen never ceased writing. In 1940 a Stalinist agent penetrated his study and put an ice-pick in his skull.

And yet Trotsky's ideas are even more powerful today than they were in his lifetime. Dissidents in Prague and in Peking study his writings. The Soviet bureaucracy continues to produce dozens of books to denounce his ideas. Trotsky lives on.

The Fourth International which he fought so hard to build is still confined to small organisations. It is not the mass International of which he dreamed. But such an International

2c TRUTH ABOUT THE MOSCOW TRIALS NEW YORK N.Y. APRIL 1937

TROTSKY BARES MOSCOW FRAUD

John Dewey Heads Mexico Inquiry

Noted Statesman

UTH MASK-UP

Lenin's General Staff

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALSO

Rykov Shot	Bukharin Shot	Sverdlov Dead	Stalin Survivor	Zinoviev Shot
Kollontai Missing?	Uritsky Dead	Krestinsky Shot	Shul'gin Shot	Nosenko Dead
Lomov ?	Sibiryakov Dead	Berzin ?	Muranov Disappeared	Artem Dead

OF THE fifteen members of the Politbureau during Lenin's lifetime, eight were executed by Stalin, six died a natural death, and one disappeared. The majority of Lenin's Central Committee were executed as 'agents of fascism or counter-revolutionary Trotskyism'. The witch-hunts and the 'confessions' were reminiscent of medieval barbarism.

In the Middle Ages the religious confessions of those exorcised of demons stated: 'I am a satellite and disciple of Satan. For a long time I was a porter at the gate of hell, but

several years I began to... As we were... wine and... earth for th... In Mos... Satan. Lis... defective B... anti-Bolshe... arrived at... fascism a... Trotskyism

TROTSKY 100 TROTSKY 100 TROTSKY 100

remains a vital necessity. For Trotsky the very moment of constructing a party only on a national scale was alien, a reflection of the internationalisation which resulted from the Stalinist liquidation of the left wing of the workers movement.

The best way to study Trotsky is to read his writings. They have no equal in the Marxist movement. The range of subjects discussed is, in itself, unique. But Trotsky, like Lenin and Marx, should be studied critically.

Classical Marxism never presented itself as a religion, and those who view it as such are likely to go very far. Those who mummified Lenin and put his body on show in the Kremlin did so to destroy the legacy of Lenin. Those who seek to do the same with Trotsky should know that he would have regarded idolatry with revulsion.

Isaac Deutscher's concluding paragraphs in his biography of Trotsky remain as true today as when they were written, nearly two decades ago:

Pilgrims Progress

'Trotsky sometimes compared mankind's progress to the barefooted march of pilgrims who advance towards their shrine by moving only a few steps forward at a time, and then retreat or jump sideways in order to advance and deviate or retreat again; zigzagging thus all the time they approach laboriously their destination.

'He saw his role in prompting the "pilgrims" to advance. Mankind, however, when after some progress it succumbs to a stampede, allows those who urged it forward to be abused, vilified and trampled to death.

'Only when it has resumed the forward movement does it pay rueful tribute to the victims, cherish their memory and piously collect their relics; then it is very grateful to them for every drop of blood they gave — for it knows that with their blood they nourished the seed of the future.'



Oppositionists in Moscow, 1927 — bottom row, left to right, Istchenko, I. Smirnov, Trotsky, I. Smilga, Alsky.

of 1917

REMAINS



go, with eleven of my companions, waste the kingdom of the Franks. ordered, we destroyed the corn, the other fruits produced by the of man.'

in the Thirties, Trotsky became to Zinoviev at his trial: 'My heivism became transformed into m, and through Trotskyism I cism. Trotskyism is a variety of Zinovievism is a variety of

Four pillars of Trotskyism

1. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS IN THE WEST. In the developed capitalist countries there is only one way to get rid of capitalism: the mass mobilisation of the working class to overthrow the existing statepower and substitute in its place a workers state based on proletarian democracy. Socialist revolutions are the only way to prevent a reversion to barbarism.

2. POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE EAST. In the countries where capitalism no longer exists a bureaucracy has usurped political power. It preserves itself by a combination of coercion and a complete monopoly of politics and the means of information. Only the overthrow of this bureaucracy and the establishment of socialist democracy can lead to the development of socialism. Thus a political revolution is vital.

3. PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THE 'THIRD WORLD'. In the 'third world' countries the strength of imperialism has meant that they will always remain dependent states unless there is a social revolution. Only such a revolution can guarantee real national independence, radical agrarian reform, and accomplish the tasks which in the West were carried out by the bourgeoisie.

4. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM MEANS BUILDING AN INTERNATIONAL. The processes of world revolution are intertwined and interrelated. The completion of socialism cannot be envisaged within national boundaries. Revolutionary parties have, from the very start, to be built on an international scale, with an international programme and a revolutionary strategy for all parts of the world. The Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938 remains the only nucleus of revolutionaries organised on a world scale.

TROTSKY 100

Duncan Hallas and Leon Trotsky

An uncomfortable dialogue

By Phil Hearse

Trotsky's Marxism
By Duncan Hallas
Pluto Press, £2.50

A BOOK on Trotsky to coincide with his centenary by a leader of the Socialist Workers Party is bound to be both interesting and revealing. Duncan Hallas' book is a concise and largely accurate account of Trotsky's ideas. The balance sheet drawn of Trotsky's life and work is overwhelmingly positive.

Long gone are the days when Tony Cliff, the leading theoretician of the SWP, could seriously argue that Rosa Luxemburg's analysis of working class consciousness was far superior to the 'substitutionist' theories of Lenin and Trotsky. Or that Leninism was responsible, in large measure, for Stalinism.

All that has been junked. Under the pressure of the rise of world revolution since 1967-8, the central leaders of the SWP have undergone a political evolution bringing them close to orthodox Leninism and hence Trotskyism. Naturally, for us, this is both welcome and refreshing.

Thus Hallas vigorously defends Trotsky's critique of ultra-leftism and syndicalism; his positions on the revolutionary road to socialism, and internal party democracy. He comes out strongly to stress that Trotsky's writings on the united front remain an indispensable part of our strategic armoury today.

Limited

And yet when one studies the text in detail it is clear that Hallas' sympathy for Trotsky is somewhat limited.

He defends Trotsky, the leader of the Bolshevik Party and of the Third International. Trotsky from 1916-1923. As Hallas says of this period: 'Trotsky had the common outlook of the whole Bolshevik leadership, an outlook which did not exclude sharp differences of opinion on this or that issue, but which was essentially homogeneous.'

Trotsky's own unique and specific contributions to Marxist theory are either rejected or underplayed. His writings on Russia, *The Revolution Betrayed*; on socialist revolution in the 'third world', *The Permanent Revolution*; the programme and tactics of revolutionary parties, *The Third International After Lenin*; or his specific programmatic contributions on the question of the Fourth International do not find much favour with Hallas.

The reason for this is not difficult to fathom. It can be traced to two formative factors in the politics of the SWP: the theory of 'state-capitalism', and the SWP's break with the Fourth International.

It is these breaks which impart inconsistency to the SWP's theoretical views and create a permanent contradiction between their practice as revolutionaries in the class struggle and important aspects of their programme. The breaks also aid in making Hallas' critique of Trotsky somewhat incoherent.

State Capitalist

Hallas repeats the 'state capitalist' critique of Trotsky's views on Russia. We won't go over this ground again, except to remark that once again Duncan Hallas fails to explain how a society without capital or capitalists, and in which, according to Cliff in his book *State Capitalism in Russia*, the law of value has been suppressed in favour of state planning, capitalism can exist in any form.

But the rejection of Trotsky's theory of Stalinist degeneration necessarily leads to a rejection of the theory of permanent revolution. Since the mode of production in China and Cuba, for example, is qualitatively the same as in Russia, Hallas and the SWP must explain how 'state capitalism' arose.



The young Trotsky.

In Russia it apparently arose out of the defeat of a successful proletarian revolution. No such argument can apply to Cuba or China. Therefore they have developed the theory of revolutions or mass upheavals which replace imperialism with 'state capitalism'.

This is where the problems arise. The aim of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was to demonstrate that the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries — national unity, independence, the solving of the land question, the creation of a genuine national market, and so on — could only be solved by a proletarian, socialist revolution.

Trotsky correctly concluded that in the imperialist epoch the national bourgeoisies were tied hand and foot to imperialism, and would not open up a struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie to achieve their 'own' bourgeois democratic revolution.

Since it was precisely the achievement of these tasks which made a self-sustained industrialisation possible, Trotsky concluded that only the socialist revolution can open up the possibility of starting to solve the problems of the super-exploited workers and peasants of the 'third world'. No form of capitalism can do it.

Puzzle

But in Cuba and China these tasks have been accomplished. For the SWP the puzzle is: How? Their explanation, to be consistent with the theory of state capitalism, has to explain how it wasn't a social revolution.

On China, Hallas comes up with a remarkable theory. Other SWP writers have pointed to the overwhelmingly peasant composition of the Chinese insurrectionary army. But Hallas is emphatic: '1949 was not a peasant movement!'

He understands that to attribute the Chinese revolution to the peasantry is to say that the latter adopted a massive independent role in world history, in the epoch of imperialism; a possibility that not only Trotsky but also Lenin thought impossible.

Yet Hallas' theory is even more improbable: the victory of 1949 was a peasant army led by 'declassed intellectuals' whose specific class situation remains unelaborated. In reality this is another way of arguing that the revolution was led by a section of the petty bourgeoisie.

It was precisely this class — whether in the form of the peasantry or 'declassed intellectuals' — which Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky had said would split in a revolutionary situation between the proletariat and the peasantry.

Communist Party

Hallas fails to demonstrate how his own theory is less improbable than that based on Trotsky's analysis. Is it not possible that these (thousands) of 'declassed intellectuals' were in fact the militants of the Chinese Communist Party, a party of proletarian origin with a (deformed) proletarian ideology, which took the route of building a bureaucratically organised peasant army as the means of conquering power?

This orthodox Trotskyist position not only shows how China — and by derivation Cuba, Vietnam, and so on — confirm the theory of permanent revolution, but it also locates these transformations within the Leninist conception of the epoch. Hallas' theory leads to the conclusion that into the worldwide struggle between the working class and imperialism, steps... the declassed intellectuals to create state capitalism!

The only logical way out of this nightmare for the analysts of the SWP is to reinstate Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. But that

additionally requires reinstating Trotsky's theory of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratised workers' state.

Throughout the last two chapters of Hallas' book he wrestles with two undeniable facts: that Trotsky founded and built the Fourth International, and that he declared that in principle one starts with the international movement.

Both facts are very uncomfortable for the British SWP. The discussion in the far left around Trotsky's foundation of the FI has traditionally gone along the lines of a debate between those who thought Trotsky was right and those, like Isaac Deutscher, who thought he was wrong.

For Hallas to simply declare that Trotsky was wrong poses other uneasy problems. Trotsky's last years were devoted to building the FI, which he considered his life's most important work. Hallas overcomes this difficulty by concluding that Trotsky had no option but to build an international tendency, but the ideas which justified it were off the mark.

Moreover, Hallas has in mind not just the errors of perspective which Trotsky made, but the approach which argues that simultaneous construction of a national revolutionary party it is necessary to strive to build an international.

On this Hallas is just incoherent. His own organisation, the SWP, according to another of its theoretical leaders, Chris Harman, strives today to build an international tendency as well as to construct a national revolutionary party. Hallas argues that Trotsky (and by derivation subsequent Trotskyists) confused building an international tendency with building an international revolutionary party.

Yet no one believed or believes that the Fourth International of small leagues and propaganda groups was or is the mass Fourth International which we strive to build.

Hallas and the SWP should be

quite explicit: are they definitively in favour or opposed to building an international tendency? And if they are for it, then doesn't it have to have an international organisation, a programme, leadership bodies, publications? If the answer is Yes, then the conclusion is that Trotsky was right to build the FI, and it is right to do the same today.

On the political fate of Trotskyism after Trotsky, Hallas is again ambiguous. Of course, he is right to point out that the Trotskyists were isolated, often disorientated, demoralised and even politically incoherent. All kinds of political errors afflicted orthodox Trotskyism.

But it is one-sided to ignore the past of his own organisation — a tendency which became so confused that it failed to take sides in the Korean war, abandoned the Leninist theory of organisation, abandoned the Marxist theory of capitalist crisis, failed to defend Cuba during the missile crisis and, in practice, failed to capitalise on the real opportunities for growth and building (seized by the orthodox Trotskyists) after 1956 in Britain.

Linked

This failure was intimately linked to its inability to defend Leninism while at the same time explaining Stalinism. Just as with the orthodox Trotskyists, many errors have since been corrected by the SWP. But people who live in glass houses should behave with circumspection.

Hallas can't resist ending by pointing to the problems of proletarianisation faced by the Trotskyists. He claims that the Trotskyists were led away from 'a single-minded concentration on proletarianisation' and their petty bourgeois character was reinforced.

No one denies the problems which have existed on this score. But they afflicted the IS/SWP too. And Hallas well knows that the British SWP is no more proletarian than the larger orthodox Trotskyist organisations in the world.

The problem of winning workers to Trotskyism was not one of theories, but of objective conditions during the long period of capitalist boom.

Hallas' book then is an uncomfortable dialogue with Trotsky. Precisely because he wants to distance himself from orthodox Trotskyism, he has to distance himself from huge slices of the mature Trotsky's political thought; from the most creative development of Marxist theory since the death of Lenin.

It was precisely in his writings during the long and difficult struggle to build the Fourth International that Trotsky surpassed anything written by Lenin or Gramsci on the united front, the nature of the revolutionary party, the rise of the bureaucracy, and proletarian internationalism.

Unique

These unique elements of Trotsky's Marxism survive despite all the errors of perspective, such as telescoped time-scales, that he made. And those who mock the Transitional Programme should compare it to the Communist Manifesto, for many of its predictions, too, have yet to be realised.

It is because they have failed to assimilate this contribution by Trotsky that the ideologues of the SWP remain relatively impoverished theoretically despite their dynamic march back towards Lenin. And whether they like it or not, the fact remains that the only real debates on strategy and tactics for revolutionaries throughout the world take place within the boundaries of orthodox Trotskyism.

Instead of standing on the sidelines, confined to an offshore island in Europe, the SWP should, despite its differences, return to the Fourth International and help to build a mass international.

****Trotsky's Marxism** is available from The Otherbookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Add 10% if ordering by mail.**

IRELAND

Prisoners say—

'Unity is our strength'

By Geoff Bell

A NEW 'Smash H-blocks' campaign has been launched in the north of Ireland. This follows a 600-strong conference held in Belfast on 21 October.

The conference was a turning point in the campaign to win political status for Republican prisoners, many of whom are housed in the 'H-blocks' at Long Kesh prison, near Belfast.

Henceforward participation in the H-block campaign will not be dependent on support for the Provisionals' armed struggle, or on any other tactical position held by organisations or individuals.

The call at the conference was for unity around the sole issue of political status.

Single Issue

The Provisional Republican Movement has supported the emphasis on a 'single issue campaign'. The latest edition of its newspaper, *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, explains:

'Whatever have been the organisational or political differences in the past, these must now lie in the past. In the coming weeks and months tactical differences must be sunk and a purely positive and outgoing attitude struck...

'Despite the fact that for Republicans the H-block struggle is a part of the war-effort and is a heroic continuation of the centuries-long struggle to free this country from foreign domination, there are many people that Republicans can fully unite on this issue, who will not support the military actions of the Irish Republican Army...

'Conditions placed by the Republican Movement in the past for political status campaigners to also support the armed struggle no longer apply.'

Attending

The 21 October conference was attended by a wide range of organisations and individuals.

Included were Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Peoples Democracy, the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression, Women Against Imperialism, the Socialist Workers Group, the Socialist Labour Party, the Irish



Kieran Nugent reading a message from the prisoners on the blanket.

Workers Group, and the Peace People.

One call for unity came in a smuggled-out letter from the H-block prisoners. Said the prisoners:

'Our unity is our strength. They have taken everything else from us. But despite all their torture, degradation and deprivations it is our unity and the righteousness of our demands which has given us the strength to overcome...

'This is our message to you today. It's a strength that can lie in our unity, a power which can throw open, bring down and smash the H-blocks and we appeal to you to come together, to unite your voices and your actions...'

This call was taken up enthusiastically by most at the conference. Even Ciaran McKeown of the Peace People said that he hoped 'past recriminations can be set aside'.

His view was that 'the propaganda of the British government which says the prisoners are criminals is a lie'. McKeown ended his speech with the words: 'We stand ready to help'.

Among motions passed was one proposed by the revolutionary socialist organisation Peoples Democracy. It called for a lobby on the issue of the prisoners at the forthcoming conference of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. A PD proposal for a march on New Year's Day was also

accepted.

Two members of PD were among the 17 elected on to the new 'Smash H-block' committee. Among others elected were two members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and four members of the Provisional Sinn Fein.

Although the new committee will be the main body organising and building mass support for the prisoners, the Relatives Action Committee will continue to exist.

In the past it is the RACs which have done most to publicise the cause of the prisoners, and the sense of unity and non-sectarianism which some of these RACs experienced on a local level can now be translated nationally.

What now on abortion

By Penny Duggan

FORTY thousand on the streets on 28 October was twice the size of any previous pro-abortion demonstration. It shows that the TUC action in calling the protest represented a real step forward.

Not many of the unions went all out to build the demonstration. There were some notable exceptions, such as the National and Local Government Officers Association, which produced and circulated its own leaflet.

But white-collar unions have been prominent in their support for the abortion campaign since 1975.

More significant was the large contingent from the General and Municipal Workers' Union and from industrial unions like the Transport & General Workers and the Engineers, both of which have a large number of women members.



TUC sponsorship gave local campaign groups and individual women within the unions greater authority in demanding official, active support for the demonstration from union branches and trades councils.

For the first time, many trade unionists will have had to think about the right of women to have an abortion because the official union movement took a public stand against Corrie's anti-abortion Bill.

The demonstration brought together in united action thousands of women from the trade union and women's movements — a vital step in building a mass women's movement.

Unfortunately, this point was overlooked by the small section of the women's movement which demanded the right to lead the demonstration, although most of those who participated in pressing this demand had done little to build the 28 October march.

Good start

And when they did rush to the front of the march, they ignored all the women from the unions and others who had, perhaps for the first time, come out on a demonstration in support of their interests as women.

Nevertheless 28 October was an excellent start to the campaign, but it has to be just that, a start. From now on the campaign against Corrie needs to be even more consistent and public.

A mass lobby has been called for 5 February. That is the next target, and particularly that means directing attention towards the trade union movement, calling on it to use its strength to defeat the Corrie Bill — by organising industrial action on 5 February.

Other ways of helping the campaign include:

- * Hold street, factory, workplace meetings.
- * Arrange for speakers at schools, youth clubs, colleges.
- * Use the Campaign Against Corrie petition: it's a good way of getting to talk to people.
- * Picket your MP — remember Labour Party policy is to oppose the Corrie Bill. Call for a three-line Labour whip against the Bill.
- * Picket and occupy local hospitals and area health authorities, demanding better abortion facilities.
- * Call for support for strike action on 5 February from your workplace branch, trades council, or student union.

— What's your opinion on the way forward for the anti-abortion movement? Write to Socialist Challenge.

Women's trial adjourned

THE 11 women arrested outside Armagh gaol on an International Women's Day protest appeared in Armagh court on 31 October. The case was adjourned until 2 January.

The women are charged with a variety of offences — including assault on the police — arising out of attacks on them by the Royal Ulster Constabulary at the end of a picket held in solidarity with women political prisoners in Armagh.

Before last week's hearing, a spokeswoman for Women Against Imperialism, the organisers of the picket, said: 'We were the innocent victims of a brutal attack. The guilty ones are the police.'

'Guilty, too, are the prison warders and the prison governor who keep women prisoners in horrific conditions. We give full support to their fight for political status.'

Support from Britain for the 11 women has come from the Women in Ireland group, sections of the women's movement, and the United Troops-Out Movement. A London-based defence committee has been formed and support has also been received from people in Bradford, Sheffield, and Manchester.



UTOM Conference

THE biannual conference of the United Troops Out Movement will be held in London on 8-9 December.

The UTOM is the largest organisation in Britain campaigning around the twin demands 'Troops Out Now' and 'Self-Determination for the Irish People'. It now has 40 branches throughout the country.

The conference on 8-9 December will take account of the opportunities for yet further growth — opportunities which have been evident over the past six months.

The success of the London 12 August demonstration — the largest Irish protest for seven years; the interest shown in Ireland at the recent Labour Party conference; and the failures of both the last Labour government's and the present Tory government's policies on Ireland have opened up the possibilities of organising a significant 'troops out now' sentiment in Britain.

The UTOM conference will be open to all those who support the two demands, although only UTOM members will have voting rights. The hope is that the conference will be organised and conducted in such a way as to appeal to wider forces than those just organised in UTOM.

Further details from UTOM, 22 St Pauls Rd, London N1.

Zimbabwe - the campaign we

THE Lancaster House talks on Zimbabwe have moved into their most dangerous phase yet. The Tories and the Muzorewa regime remain committed to the existing settler state. Either the Patriotic Front will be forced to give way to irresistible pressure or the British will hurry towards recognition of a barely altered status quo.

This Sunday, 11 November, anti-racist demonstrators from all over the country will converge on

London to demand a genuine transfer of power in Zimbabwe. A good moment, then, to ask: what are the underlying motives behind British policy on Zimbabwe and what can we do about them?

Here RICHARD CARVER, in a slightly edited version of a contribution to a teach-in organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in September, puts the viewpoint of the International Marxist Group.

WHEN Cecil Rhodes marched into Zimbabwe in 1890 he was not quite playing the conventional imperialist. He claimed the territory not for a crown but for a company: his British South Africa Company.

One aspect of this is well known. Rhodesia's status as a self-governing settler colony is what has prevented successive British governments from effecting a smooth decolonisation. This is one reason why we are faced today with the task of building a solidarity movement.

But there is another side to the history of Rhodesia which is more easily obscured — the dominant role of British capital. It is conventionally assumed that this declined to insignificance with UDI and the imposition of sanctions. Yet on the contrary, British investments have multiplied over the past 14 years.

Subservient

It is routinely claimed that British governments are subservient to multinational capital, but it is worth remembering just who those multinational interests are in Zimbabwe: Turner and Newall, BAT, Stewart and Lloyds, GKN, GEC, Dunlop, ICI, British Electric Traction and above all RTZ and Lonrho. The list reads like a roll call of British capitalism — and to it can be added substantial government stakes through British Leyland and the British Steel Corporation.

To talk about the primacy of British economic interests over government policy is therefore not just a truism; it is the fundamental fact in understanding the situation. Equally, however, the interests of imperialist capital do not coincide in important instances with those of the white settler minority. That, indeed, is the cause of the Anglo-Rhodesian conflict.

Yet all too often it is assumed that the solidarity movement can simply put an equals sign between the Tories and Ian Smith. No wonder so many on the left were wrongfooted by Thatcher's 'turnaround' at Lusaka.

Imperialist capital's need for a settlement in Zimbabwe flows from the many problems posed by UDI. Clearly the status quo is not adequate. Sanctions and exchange control measures have affected British

companies' freedom to operate. South African companies are increasing operations at their expense. The regime is losing a war against its own population.

Above all, the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe carries the threat of mass upsurge and social revolution throughout the whole southern part of the continent.

These are the considerations which guide mainstream policy-makers in both major parties — and in Washington. Neither concern for justice for the Zimbabwean people nor the racist banalities of their 'kith and kin' have anything to do with it.

Patriotic Front.

While the two tactics momentarily seemed compatible at the Geneva conference in late 1976, the impossibility of a compromise between the unmodified white regime and the Patriotic Front was obvious, and the talks broke down.

The eventual product of that breakdown was a new initiative from the British Labour government and the new Carter administration, followed soon afterwards by the consummation of the 'internal settlement'. Misleading propaganda from supporters of both schemes has concealed the fundamental similarity



A company like Lonrho exemplifies the 'enlightened self-interest' of British capitalism. Understanding that Black Africa offers richer pickings than a backward-looking white colony, Lonrho has established close relations with sections of the liberation movement and their backers. Hence the strange partnership of 'Tiny' Rowland and Joshua Nkomo. At the same time, of course, it has no reservations about continuing to do business with the settler regime.

The Lonrhos of this world hope for a settlement which avoids the dangers of complete social overturn — therefore large elements of the existing state will remain intact — but which is acceptable to the rest of Africa and the international community at large.

That is precisely the sort of settlement sought by British and American governments ever since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in 1975 and the discomfiture of the South African military machine in Angola shortly afterwards.

Transfer

Two approaches were adopted. Henry Kissinger sold Ian Smith the idea of the 'internal settlement' — a peaceful and purely nominal transfer of power to compliant ex-nationalist leaders. But the British government already realised that no stable solution was possible without the



Anglo-American plan, 28 per cent under the 'internal settlement'.

The guarantees against expropriation and land reform in the 'internal settlement' constitution are matched by 'protection from deprivation of property' in the Anglo-American proposals.

Supervision

The similarities are striking and show that the real issues were not constitutional ones. The difference arose over who would supervise the transition and who would be party to the agreement.

Once again the British maintained that no settlement would work without the Patriotic Front, and proposed that Britain should supervise the transition to ensure that nothing got out of hand. The settler regime could swallow the latter only with the greatest difficulty. The former was unacceptable.

But just to underline the desirability of international recognition, David Owen and Andrew Young included in their proposals a multi-million pound 'Zimbabwe Development Fund' (the idea originated with Kissinger) to underwrite the settlement, help attract foreign capital, and foster the emergence of a pro-Western black middle class.

(It should be noted, incidentally, that for all the Tory accusations about Owen consorting with 'terrorists', it has never been the intention that the Patriotic Front should be allowed to survive intact. Hence every diplomatic initiative has as part of its aim to

split ZANU and ZAPU apart, incorporating one and ditching the other. In addition imperialist policymakers have always envisaged the need to liquidate the threat of guerilla fighters who will not accept a neo-colonial settlement. That would be one of the prime tasks of foreign troops sent in to supervise any transition.)

The Tory government has never at any point deviated from the essential tenets of the Anglo-American plan. One of the first things Lord Carrington did as Foreign Secretary — even before meeting Muzorewa in London in July — was to despatch Lord Harlech to sound out the leaders of the front line states and (though this received less publicity) the Patriotic Front.

One of the main aims of successive British governments has been to recognise an acceptable regime in Zimbabwe and lift sanctions. Less perceptive commentators assumed that when Thatcher said she would do just that this signalled a major turn.

But though the Tories may well at some point recognise a Rhodesian settlement excluding the Patriotic Front — that is why the Lancaster House conference is important — they would not do so without first trying to find a more satisfactory solution. The Lusaka 'turnaround' was just such an attempt.

Cynical

It is ironic that if a Labour Prime Minister had done exactly the same thing at Lusaka, many in the solidarity movement would have

between the two.

Both allow for the retention of the existing police, judiciary and civil service. In neither is there any role for the guerilla armies after the settlement. The 4 per cent white population gets 20 per cent of the parliamentary seats under the



SMITH'S army in action. 'The primacy of British economic interests...is the fundamental fact in understanding the situation'

Intercontinental Press

THE MOVES to set up a Workers Party in Brazil are featured in the latest issue of **Intercontinental Press/Inprecor** (Vol 17, No 40). Other articles cover assessments of the situation in Kampuchea, the concessions forced on the Khomeini regime in Iran, etc.

Individual copies cost 30p plus 10p p&p, 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/POs should be made out to 'Intercontinental Press' and sent to: IP/I, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

need

praised his/her sagacity and statesmanship. Only because it was a Tory was everyone so quick to spot the cynical truth.

It is clear that on the main question where the two previous plans diverge, Thatcher and Carrington side with their Labour predecessors rather than with Smith and Muzorewa. The government is unequivocal that it is Britain's task to decolonise — a proposition roundly rejected by the Patriotic Front in its pre-conference statement of position.

Decolonisation would be supervised by foreign troops as a way of dealing with liberation fighters who rejected the settlement. These could be British but would far more likely be Commonwealth as envisaged under the Anglo-American plan. (Was it just coincidence that Carrington had secret talks with delegates from India, Nigeria and Jamaica at Lusaka? These were the countries destined to send troops under the Owen-Young plan.)

Finally, just to remind participants at Lancaster House of the rich prize of a successful neo-colonial transition, Thatcher is offering the old Zimbabwe Development Fund dressed up in the new guise of the £600m 'Commonwealth Resettlement Fund'.

What is missing from all this is any recognition of the wishes and rights of the Zimbabwean people themselves. Just as Ian Smith only held the 'internal settlement' referendum among the white population, so the British government is determined that the 'solution' will be foisted on the people of Zimbabwe from outside.

We do not think it is necessary to agree on all the above analysis to be able to find a common perspective for the solidarity movement. We believe that this should be based on a correct and time-honoured principle of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements: the right of nations to self-determination. In the present instance that is summed up in the slogan: Hands Off Zimbabwe!

Slogans

However, we do think our analysis gives some insight into the shortcomings of previous slogans of the solidarity movement. We criticised 'No Tory Sell-out in Zimbabwe' when it was first coined and we think that time has shown that a Tory 'sell-out' is hardly the problem!

Of course, we recognise that we may well be in a minority in our assessment of the Anglo-American plan, and nevertheless insist that in the immediate task confronting us it is possible to unite around the issue of 'Hands Off Zimbabwe'.

That may upset a few cosy relationships, though. Remember that one of the first people to endorse Thatcher's Lusaka initiative was the Shadow Foreign Secretary, Peter Shore.

Mass solidarity has a long history of direct influence in favour of anti-imperialist struggles. The obvious example is the worldwide campaign for US withdrawal from Vietnam, but its history stretches back to the Russian Revolution, when London dockers stopped the supply of arms to the counter-revolutionary forces.

Given the enormous British interest in Zimbabwe the responsibilities of the British labour movement are immense and self-evident. Behind successful solidarity action could lie victory for the liberation struggle and



ZIMBABWE solidarity picket. 'We are not out to "put our point of view" to governments and capitalists'

enlightenment for British workers on the international system that links them with the Zimbabweans in common struggle.

Mass activity is the key. We are not out to 'put our point of view' to governments and capitalists but to compel them to surrender through the overwhelming weight of the social forces we can mobilise.

The Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee is an important step in this direction — a broadly-based campaign structure initiated to organise solidarity on the streets. But there is still plenty more that can be done.

For example, if at some point the Tories do decide on recognition of the internal settlement and lifting of sanctions, a mere demand for reimposition of sanctions won't cut much ice. We will have to campaign in the trade unions for direct action to reimpose (and reimpose far more effectively than before) a total blockade of trade and commerce with the racist regime.

What is more, to make such action effective it is necessary to fight now for pledges from trade unions and shop stewards' committees that they will directly implement sanctions

when necessary. In that way it is possible to launch an immediate campaign of education on the meaning of the present manoeuvres.

This should be combined with the demand that the multinationals open their books to reveal the extent of their Rhodesia dealings. After the Bingham report on oil sanctions busting, nobody can doubt that such deals take place. But to reveal the details would be invaluable both for publicity and for planning a campaign of direct action.

Aid

Some people argue that a central focus of the solidarity campaign should be the provision of material aid to the liberation movements. We have no hesitation in supporting the Patriotic Front 100 per cent in its struggle against imperialism and the settler regime.

But the energy devoted to purchasing a handful of weapons is much more usefully spent in closing down the supply of arms to the enemy. The latter is conceivably within our power, the former a fruitless venture in the foreseeable future.

Where we can have a vital impact on the military struggle is in the event of British troops being sent to police a settlement or the despatch of British-backed Commonwealth troops.

Legitimate

It is clear from what we have argued so far that in no circumstances will British or Commonwealth troops be used to guarantee the Zimbabwean people's right to self-determination. On the contrary their sole purpose will be for use against the Patriotic Front or other legitimate expressions of that right.

The practical means of organising such campaigns are many: demonstrations, shop floor committees, workers' inquiries, local solidarity committees, film shows, exhibitions, Rock Against Racism gigs — all sorts of activities that we have discovered in the past and no doubt many more that will emerge in the future.

What is needed now is agreement on the main lines that the campaign will follow. Will it simply request the reimposition of sanctions or will it try to organise sanctions itself? Will it allow the secrecy of the multinationals to go unchallenged? Will it take a position of agnostic inactivity if foreign troops are sent into Zimbabwe or will it organise the most massive campaign for their withdrawal?

We think the answers to these questions are self-evident. They will be consummated in a campaign of mass activity to demand: Hands Off Zimbabwe!

DEMONSTRATE
SUNDAY 11 NOVEMBER
14th anniversary of UDI

Support the Zimbabwe liberation struggle
Victory to the Patriotic Front

No sell-out in Zimbabwe
Hands off Zimbabwe

No collaboration with the Muzorewa-Smith regime
Sanctions must stay

ASSEMBLE 1.30 PM SPEAKERS CORNER
MARCH TO RALLY IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Korean coup — made in the USA



THE KILLING of South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee on 26 October has been presented as a complete mystery — a real whodunnit — by the media. But things become a lot clearer once one asks the classic question: whose interests did it serve?

You'd never guess it from the press, but the three weeks before Park's death were marked by massive protests against the regime.

They were set off by the expulsion of New Democratic Party leader Kim Young Sam from the National Assembly on 4 October. On 13 October the entire opposition bloc resigned. This was against Kim's

advice; Washington Post correspondent William Chapman commented that 'the opposition party's almost unanimous decision would not have occurred unless many members had felt pressure from constituents angered by the expulsion'.

Three days later, on 16 October, that anger exploded onto the streets in the country's second-largest city, Pusan. Park's response was to declare martial law there, but on 18 October the protests — perhaps the biggest since the upsurge of 1960 that brought down President Syngman Rhee — spread to the industrial city of Masan. There, as in Pusan, troops were sent

in, a curfew imposed, and universities closed.

But the protests continued to spread to other cities — including the shipbuilding centre of Ulsan, as well as Kwongju and Taegu. An on-the-spot witness of these events was none other than US Secretary of Defence Harold Brown, representing Park's main imperialist backers. He had arrived for talks with his South Korean counterparts on 17 October.

Then on 25 October, in an unprecedented step, the NDP leadership issued a statement proclaiming their solidarity with the protesters in Pusan and Masan, and

warning that more protests would follow 'if democracy is not restored'. Just one day later, Park was no more!

Meanwhile the 38,000 US troops in South Korea were placed on immediate alert. Warning North Korea against 'taking advantage of the situation', Brown announced that an American aircraft carrier and radar warning planes were being ordered in.

Show case

The swift US action is an indication of the crisis of the regime. Although portrayed in the capitalist press as the economic showcase of Asia, South Korea is currently in the midst of a recession. Inflation is running at over 25 per cent, while the government has imposed a wage freeze. Tight credit policies aimed at curbing inflation are driving many companies bankrupt, boosting unemployment.

In line with this, a UPI despatch from Masan on 22 October noted that 'many of the city's protesters were identified as factory workers'. Learning from Iran, Washington obviously got the message.

The difficult part is what to do next. The new regime clearly has little room for concessions. And the working people of South Korea, having dug the grave of one tyrant, will hardly be willing to accept another.

Indonesia's President Suharto
MASS MURDERER AT LARGE IN LONDON
State Visit: November 13-16 1979

This man
... killed a million in Indonesia and arrested at least 800,000 in 1965-6
... has killed at least 100,000 since invading East Timor in December 1975
... has killed 90,000 in West Papua New Guinea
... still holds tens of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua New Guinea.

Come to a
PROTEST RALLY
Guild Hall, London EC2
5.30pm, Wednesday 14th November, 1979

For more details concerning this and other protests contact:
TAPOL (British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners) 854 2262 or 293 2216
BCJET (British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners) 274 5945

LIBERATION 607 2411

Smash Pol
Pot's army

WHEN Tariq Ali and Charlie Van Gelderen stress, in the SC correspondence on Kampuchea, the need for an analysis of the situation in all its concreteness and uniqueness I agree that this is the Marxist approach as opposed to the dogmatist one. But at the same time 150 years of Marxist analysis of world-wide class struggle, and of revolutions especially, has presented us with genuine gains in our theoretical knowledge. One of these gains has been a set of criteria by which we judge whether a revolution led by non-Marxist forces has succeeded in setting up a workers' state.

Trotsky's defence of the Soviet Union in the 1930s as a worker's state, and the long discussions on the overturns in China, Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe should have some bearing on the Kampuchea debate. The discussion on Cuba, which led to the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, underlined and reinforced the validity of the criteria established in the previous debates.

Those criteria: the smashing of bourgeois property relations; the nationalisation of the economy; the establishment of a monopoly of foreign trade; a planned economy; and a state committed to the preservation of these gains.

When we apply these criteria to Kampuchea we find that the revolutionary process which included peasant uprisings in the Bettambang in 1967 and proletarian general strikes in Phnom Penh in 1974 and which booted US imperialism out in the Spring of 1975 led on to the creation of a workers' state in Kampuchea by sometime in 1976 albeit by brutally bureaucratic and barbarous means.

Now, when Tariq and Charlie challenge this orthodoxy — as they have every right to — they nevertheless bring upon themselves the onus to prove it to be inadequate and outdated. This cannot be done in a letter and SC should immediately release major resources for a full debate. When it is begun I predict serious problems for the comrades' 'fish-fowl' thesis.

Of course what we all agree on is the fight for a healthy proletarian democracy in Kampuchea. This has not yet been seen there for a single day.

Unfortunately neither Clive Turnbull's original article, nor the letters in reply, took a position on the event dominating the process leading to the creation of a proletarian democracy. That event is the civil war.

Clive's line of 'aid for Kampuchea' is meaningless while the major obstacle to it being distributed is imperialism's continued recognition of Pol Pot. While space does not permit me to argue the case, the immediate recognition of Heng Samrin's government and solidarity with the fight to smash Pol Pot's army should be the demands which precede the calling for international aid. AILEAN O'CALLAGHAN, London NW10

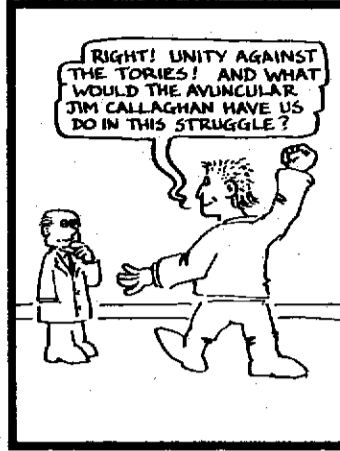
Monster...

I thought Alien was a monster movie until I discovered Socialist Challenge. LUNACHARSKY

No conciliation on sexism

NOW WE have it, the perfect solution to sexism. Sisters, don't weep, men are sexist 'but not out of self-interest!' (Letters, 18 October).

Is an unpaid cook, cleaner, nurse, and maid not a material interest? What about men's sexual freedom, freedom from pregnancy, and the responsibilities of child-care, not to mention the social power all these things give them over and above women? If these things are not material interests I don't know what



one of those is. Unlike Liz Lawrence, I would say that men do have a material but not a class interest in oppressing women.

But even if I am totally up the creek on that, what consolation is it to women that men's sexism is not in men's interest? We know it's not in ours, and as far as I can see Liz's argument implies that men are not only sexist but stupid too — after all, they gain nothing according to her.

From the sublime to the ridiculous, we are then told that male workers' sexism must be explained to them — if only they understood it was not in their interest they'd stop being sexist. I think not.

In my humble opinion and experience sexism has to be confronted before it can even be explained, preferably by large numbers of angry women.

One example of this might be the continual barrage of sexist rubbish emanating from the Nottingham News, a paper run by people sacked by the Nottingham Post and funded by my union.



Explanations have not made much difference, I'm afraid, and yet the mass pickets of the Post have been well supported by women — one estimate put the last picket at two-thirds female. I am now forced to the conclusion that the only way to get the point across is for women in the NUJ to refuse to support their struggle for re-instatement unless they support us.

That's what I mean by confrontation and independent action by women. I don't think anyone would suggest being as conciliatory as Liz does if it were racism we were talking about, rather than sexism. Fighting sexism in the working class means forcing men to relinquish the material gains they make from our oppression, saying 'this hurts us', not 'this doesn't benefit you'.

Finally, can someone explain how the false consciousness embodied in sexist attitudes can have no material basis in Marxist terms? If there is none, where does it come from? SUELANDAU, London NW3

Nun mistake

I AM WRITING to protest at the picture on page three 23 October, which showed nuns with the caption: 'If you get stuffed you can lump it, sweetie!'.

What is achieved by such a caption? Is it educative? Does it make a political point? Does it help us fight to control our own bodies? Does it motivate us to make the strongest possible fight for a woman's right to choose?

My answers are all in the negative. The caption tells us nothing about the issues involved in the abortion struggle. It is a crude attempt to suggest that the anti-abortion movement is rooted in a desire to

repress female sexuality. Repression of female sexuality is not the cause but the result of anti-abortion laws.

The caption disguises who the real enemies are. Nuns, women who have been encouraged into a repressive religious institution because of superstition and fear, are not women's enemies. It is the ruling class, which preserves its own wealth and power through the family, which is the real enemy.

It did not tell us how we should fight, unless we are supposed to insult individual nuns. But they are powerless. The state should be our target, and our method should be the largest possible mobilisations. But did the caption motivate such involvement? It explained nothing to those beginning to think about the abortion issues; it did not involve them.

In some countries Catholics and even nuns have come to support the pro-abortion movement. Such flippant captions do a disservice to the people who are associated with the paper.

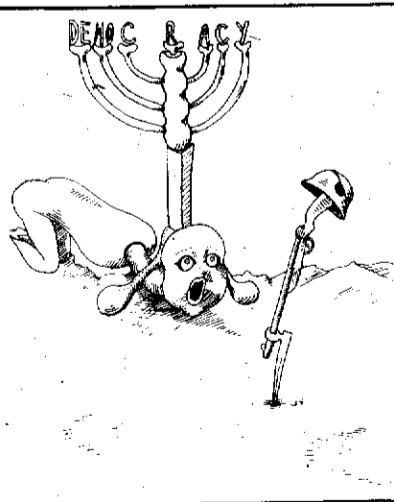
Finally, the photograph used in the illustration is grossly sexist. Why choose female members of the Church to ridicule — aren't there any priests or vicars in Britain? JO'BRIEN, London N16

Jewry's tragedy

SO Dave Rosenberg has the right line on Zionism, and I assume on the Palestinians (Letters, 17 October).

I suppose that means he supports the Zionist Alliance with Lebanese fascists; the Zionists' attempts to smash the Lebanese economy; to alienate the Lebanese people from the Palestinians, and to make the latter refugees for the fourth time (this time with nowhere to go).

He must also approve the Zionist links with the mass murderers in Pretoria, and the deposed murderers of Iran and Nicaragua.



In his attack on the critics of Bob Dylan, Rosenberg employs a strange logic. It's equivalent to saying that because Amin and Khomeini oppose Zionism, and both are racist murderers, therefore Zionism must be right!

From the point of view of socialists, the approach to take to Zionism is that of the classical Marxist principle that the tragedy of European Jewry was based on the survival of capitalism. The evolution of 'Israel' since 1949 confirms that analysis. DAVE CAPPER, Oldham

Funds for Blair Peach

IT IS now six months since Blair Peach was killed in Southall. The Memorial Fund was set up immediately to cope with the many donations which began to pour in from individuals and workplace collections, and to help organise a campaign to ensure that Blair's assailant(s) was brought to justice.

Over £17,000 was collected, of which £4,000 was promptly paid to his dependents, £5,000 set aside for a long term memorial project, and to date approximately £7,000 has been spent on our public campaign.

Already, though, we are about to run out of money, and we have yet to face what might be the costliest part of our campaign: full scale legal representation at the Coroner's Court.

The law, as someone once remarked, like the Ritz Hotel, is open to all. Whereas all police expenses involved in this case come from public funds, ours we have to raise ourselves. We could be involved in finding up to another £10,000 simply to bring the immediate campaign to ascertain who was responsible for Blair Peach's death to a preliminary conclusion.

If this campaign, which includes the demand for a full public inquiry into the events at Southall, is successful, it could have an important bearing on the cases of the 342 people currently being tried with some severity on charges arising out of the same police action at Southall.

We are therefore appealing to your readers to contribute as generously as possible to this fund, once again seriously in need of money. We are determined that justice shall be done.

ANGIE COULTHARD, MARTIN GERALD, JO LAING, AMANDA LEON, DAVID RANSOME, JOHN URE, KEN WORPOLE, For the Blair Peach Memorial Fund, c/o ANL, PO Box 151, London WC2.

A voice in the women's movement

IN HER article 'Do we need a communist women's movement today?' (25 October), Valerie Coultas correctly pointed out: 'The women's movement is broad and heterogeneous and allows anyone who has a view to put it forward in a written and an oral form.'

So broad and heterogeneous is the movement that an enormous void existed within it which Womens Voice is attempting to fill. Womens Voice is part of the women's movement, and its function is to put forward, within

the movement, a class struggle perspective. Who is Valerie Coultas that she is able to say which group is or is not part of this broad, unstructured movement?

Her article went on to applaud the movement's lack of structure, having already stressed that 'hectic' though it might be, all views are welcome. Charming though this amateur approach might be, it is the view of Womens Voice that the struggle for women's liberation must be linked to the struggles of the working class, and that in order to put forward this view consistently, imaginatively, and convincingly we need to be organised.

Without a structure any view put forward, orally or on paper, becomes so much spittle in the wind.

Womens Voice is an independent organisation based on the politics of the SWP — quite openly. It was at a Womens Voice conference that such a motion was passed, there was no behind the scenes wheeling and dealing as Coultas suggests.

Womens Voice has actively campaigned around all those issues which affect working women: the low pay campaign last January, new technology, women's health, women in the unions, and the anti-Corrie campaign. As an organisation it has attracted to it large numbers of women who have never been active before and who found the main concerns of the women's movement before Womens Voice irrelevant to them as working women. It has introduced many women to revolutionary politics — many of them have since joined the SWP.

Most importantly, Womens Voice is committed to building the revolutionary party. As socialists and feminists this surely ought to be our primary task? Nowhere in her article does Coultas refer to this. Surely this is the area where discussion between us would be most fruitful.

Yes, socialist ideas are popular. They are discussed widely in drawing rooms, at dinner parties, in various journals, by many different people. However, one (or even one thousand) socialist feminist conference(s) does not a revolution make. What distinguishes us as revolutionary socialists is our awareness that 'no women's liberation without revolution, no revolution without women's liberation' is more than an empty slogan; and our understanding of the need to build the party if the slogan is to become a reality.

So, in answer to the question that Coultas poses and fails to answer — Yes, we do need a mass communist women's movement. We need to be organised to build it. Womens Voice has laid the foundations. Perhaps Valerie Coultas would care to help erect the scaffolding? HAZEL MACPHERSON, NW London SWP



HOME NEWS

March against racism on 25 November

They are here because we were there!

ONCE upon a time the ideas of people like Ian Smith and Julian Amery were considered rather extreme among Conservative Party supporters. Margaret Thatcher and William Whitelaw have said goodbye to all that.

The latest Tory brainwave — to stop black fiancés and husbands coming over here to join their black fiancées/wives — must make Martin Webster splutter with delight.

Only the intervention of moderates in the Tory Party stopped this measure from being applied to British born women as well. After all, it would be a bit much to penalise white women for making the mistake of marrying a 'foreigner', eh chaps?

The ban — which will stop about 9,000 immigrants from entering Britain — is quite clearly a concession to the most disgustingly racist and sexist members of the Tory Party.

It will not apply to women who are members of the EEC. It will not apply to men who wish to marry non-EEC women.

Anita Bhalla, of the Asian Resources centre in Birmingham, told Socialist Challenge: 'By appearing to make a concession to white women over the question of fiancés they are trying to divide women. Women should have the right to decide their own destiny. Yet once again it is a decision made by racist white men for the benefit of white middle class people.'

It will mean that young Asian women particularly will not be allowed to marry the men they [or their community] choose. It will mean that, as in the South African bantustans and mining areas, black wives are forced to live separately from their husbands.

It blows apart the rantings of the Tory Party about the sanctity of the family — sanctity that quite clearly applies only to those who happen to have been born with white skins.

The immigration laws in this country give the green light to such 'uncivilised' attacks. These laws assume that the 'British Nation' must be protected from the 'Asian hordes'

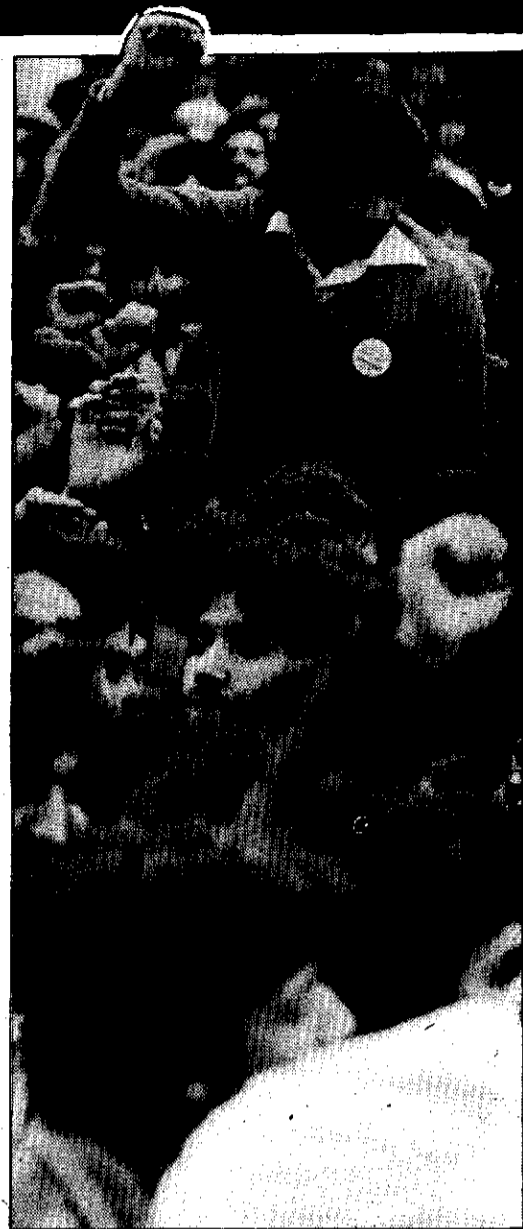
with their 'peculiar' traditions — including marriages of convenience.

Every single immigrant who comes here has the right to settle in this country, because our country has forced Asian, West Indian and African people to live in poverty for centuries. And they have the right to live how they choose and marry in the way they choose. It is not up to British people to tell immigrants to accept our customs.

The Tory Party has no real respect for the values it claims to hold. Respect, dignity, freedom are kept for those who are rich and white — disrespect, forced separation, poverty and continued harassment are proffered to the poor — especially if they are black.

The women's movement in this country has a particularly responsibility to oppose this ban and build a massive contingent of women on the demonstration in opposition to the Tories' Nationalities Bill.

By Valerie Coultas



Abortion - lies, damned lies and press lies!

ACCORDING to Marie Patterson of the TUC, the demonstration against the Corrie anti-abortion Bill which filled the streets of London two weeks ago was the biggest demonstration since the 1971 TUC march against the Industrial Relations Act. Despite the enormous significance of such a huge demonstration for liberal abortion laws, nowhere was this fact recorded by the British mass media.

'Journalists Against Corrie', a group of media workers opposed to the Corrie Bill, monitored the press reportage of the march — and their findings have prompted them to circulate a statement within their union calling for action to counter biased reporting. Here are some of their findings:

FACT 1: The TUC estimates that between 40 and 50 thousand people took part in the demonstration. Some would put the estimate much higher — it took 4 hours for everyone to reach Trafalgar Square.

The BBC said that 'thousands' marched, whilst the ITN said 10,000 which they later amended to 17,000, and the Mail and Mirror said 20,000. The Guardian probably gave the largest estimate in saying it was 'huge', whilst the Telegraph said nothing of its size.

FACT 2: The demonstration was the first ever in defence of abortion rights to be organised by the trade unions, in this or any other country. Nowhere did the media mention this.

Instead ITN, the Mail and the Mirror chose to dwell on the incident where a contingent of women demanded that women, rather than the TUC, should lead the march. Whilst this certainly happened, and warrants reporting, the inflated importance given to the incident meant the main story was missed.

FACT 3: The anti-abortionists numbered 1,500 at most, yet the BBC

gave equal time to the report of the 20 or 30 times larger TUC demonstration. The Telegraph even led their report on the counter-demonstration, barely mentioning the main march.

Journalists Against Corrie point out that 'The one thing we can be sure of is that if the tables were turned, those of us who favour liberal abortion laws would not have been accorded the same generous treatment which the anti-abortionists got. So much for objectivity.'

FACT 4: The Telegraph report harped back to one of the alleged 'baby born alive after a late abortion' incidents, yet a fact not mentioned is that official DHSS inquiries into all such incidents completely discredited the exaggerated reports of them.

Neither were the circumstances under which those women had such late abortions dealt with. In at least one case hospital delays cost a woman who had been in contact with German measles an 8 week wait.

Sue Landau of Journalists Against Corrie sums up the attitude of the press in this way: 'The media treated a highly serious issue with contempt, derision and a total lack of objectivity, which flies in the face of even the most minimal journalistic ethics. We find it strange that they can trivialise a demonstration over such a serious issue into stories of 'little women take on the might of Len Murray'.

Journalists Against Corrie are not only campaigning in their unions against biased press coverage — they intend to produce a guide explaining how local groups can take action to counter biased reporting, and get reports of their activity in the local press.

They can be contacted c/o 13 Hillmarton Rd, London N7.

'We're coming from Brum'

By Ahmed Yusef

ANGER with Tory racism is rising. The TUC and Labour Party have decided to back the demonstration against Tory immigration laws on 25 November. It looks as if it could be a repeat of the massively successful anti-Corrie demonstration.

Avtar Jouhl, President of the Indian Workers Association (GB), spoke to Socialist Challenge after a big public meeting in Birmingham last Tuesday.

'This is the first time that all the ethnic organisations have come together in a united front with the organisations of the labour movement, not only to campaign against the Tory proposals but also to call for the repeal of the 1971 Immigration Act.

'We do not see this demonstration in isolation from other working class

struggles against the Tories, who are placing the rights of pensioners, students and children alike in danger. On the contrary, this demonstration will unite the labour movement against the Tory intention of dividing the workers, black from white, over the immigration issue.'

In Birmingham, the anger, enthusiasm and commitment to making 25 November a massive success is reflected in action.

In the Salfley area a successful meeting called by East Birmingham IMG in defence of the Southall 342 is being followed up by Asian youth who will be going into pubs and clubs to raise money for the Southall defendants and to win support for the campaign.

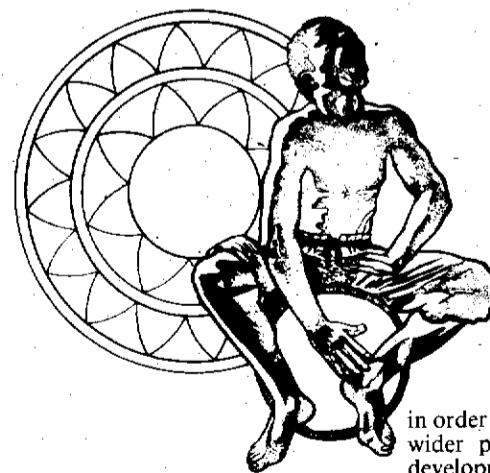
In the Sparkbrook area the Communist Party, along with

Sparkbrook Campaign for Racial Harmony, are calling a meeting.

In Selly Oak the ANL is campaigning and the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism — a major labour movement body — has set its sights on a big rally in the city centre to launch the campaign.

The National Co-ordinating Committee Against Racist Laws, which is organising the 25 November demo, also met in Birmingham last Saturday. A march is being organised from Bradford to London by the Asian Youth Movement at the beginning of next year.

The message from the black community is clear. The Tories are not going to get away with it. Whether it's the tinpot jailers of Barnet or Whitelaw's racist poison the alarm must be sounded and both black and white people mobilised.



SOMBARR Black Book Fair

ST. MATTHEWS MEETING PLACE DRIXTON
LONDON SW2 (opposite Lambeth Town Hall)
9-10th NOVEMBER 1979

in order to bring to the attention of a wider public some of the adverse developments in education.

Through the story telling sessions and workshop, we are reviving one of our oldest traditions, the oral tradition, which we believe has its place in education.

The idea for the Black Book Fair arose out of the urgent necessity experienced by these two bookshops in Lambeth, to draw to the attention of educationalists, the wide variety of

literature that is readily available in the United Kingdom dealing with all aspects of the multi-racial society.

Soma Books' activities puts them in the forefront of introducing Indian language and Asian materials into schools, while Sabarr Books covers the area of Afro-Caribbean literature from children through to adult requirements.

We hope you will participate in this event, enjoy it and benefit from all it has to offer.

Sombarr Black Book Fair is more than an impressive exhibition of books reflecting black backgrounds and cultures. It is an event in which black people are coming together to express their creativity and talent in Britain today.

It is also an event where the local community, educationalists and pupils can participate in a face to face exchange of ideas with authors, poets, painters, publishers and distributors; where topics of particular concern to the black community such as, Disruptive Units, English as a second Language, Mother Tongue, are being raised and discussed at the Book Fair,

SPEAKOUT

DAYSCHOOL ON IRAN AND KURDISTAN

Saturday 10 November
10am to 6pm

Conway Hall,
Red Lion Sq, WC1

Speakers include: Stuart Holland MP, Magin von Bruissen, Kurdish and Iranian speakers, and a speaker from the Iranian Women's Solidarity Group.

Films, Kurdish food
Entrance £1 (75p unwaged)
Organised by Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Iran

Socialist Challenge

BL ballot result

EDWARDES MAY BE SMILING TOO SOON

By Pat Hickey, Deputy senior steward, Rover Solihull

THE EDWARDES' plan to run down BL won overwhelming support from BL workers in the ballot. Seven to one voted for his plan to 'slim' the company by getting rid of 25,000 jobs.

This is clearly a victory for BL management, and it could also easily become a victory for the Tory government. The Tories' offensive against the nationalised industries involves paring down and breaking them up to prepare for the re-entry of private ownership.

This has already been begun in the Post Office, where the lucrative telecommunications section is to be split off from the loss-making posts.

The plan for Leyland fits into this scheme of things — shed the loss-making sections, pare it down, modernise and then sell it off bit by bit.

The only barrier to the Tories' and the bosses' plans is the strength of the union organisation in BL — this is what has been severely threatened by the ballot result.

It is a setback for all BL workers. Why has this happened?

The central blame for the situation in Leyland must be laid at the door of the Communist Party leaderships in the plants. CP leaders like Derek Robinson, full-time convenor at Longbridge, BL's biggest plant, were crucial in accepting the Ryder plan, with union participation with management.

This lies at the root of much of BL's troubles. Robinson, and the Communist Party-dominated Combine — the national shop steward's committee — may have opposed the plans to lop off 25,000 jobs. They called for a No vote in the ballot, but that was all.

They didn't organise a campaign for that No vote, in order to counter the mammoth publicity devoted to Edwardes' appeal for a Yes. More significantly, participation has them trapped; they couldn't completely oppose the bosses' ballot.

Arthur Scargill, the Yorkshire miners' leader, at the Labour Co-ordinating Committee conference last weekend, explained what the proper response to such a ballot should be:

'Big business is now interfering in ballots, and on occasions are conducting their own. Recently we

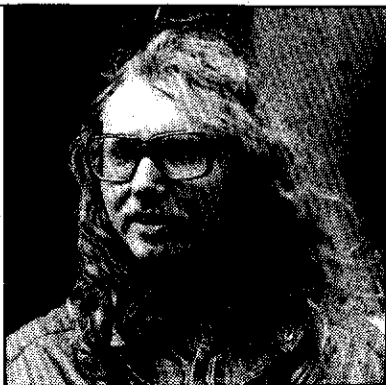


saw the ballot in BL, backed by the most comprehensive and co-ordinated campaign... with the

THE JAILING of Charter 77 supporters in Czechoslovakia at the end of last month has been followed by a further crackdown. Nine active supporters of the Committee to Defend the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) were rounded up by police last Friday on the basis of an 'anonymous letter' which 'stated the intention of destroying an important building and assassinating the President of the Republic'.

Among the nine were two sons of Otka Bednarova, the VONS activist jailed in October; two former members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party jailed along with Petr Uhl in 1969; and one of the most popular singers in the musical underground.

However, the use of the terrorist scare appears to have been too outrageous to deceive anyone, and as we went to press it seemed likely that all nine would be released. But continued vigilance by the labour movement in the West is obviously necessary to prevent further attacks from being pressed home.



JAROSLAV SUK, former RSP member and one of those arrested

pressure of blackmail that if they didn't vote for the survival plan they were all going to be out of work...

'If ever again they attempt to conduct this sort of dirty tactic inside the movement then we should respond swiftly and decisively with strike action before any such thing takes place.'

Participation results in systematic undermining of the independence of the union structures at plant level. This is what most urgently needs to be rebuilt in BL. However, it would be foolish to pretend that without the CP struggle would be easy.

There is an urgent need to convince BL workers that there is an alternative to the Edwardes' plan. The world car industry is faced with

massive overcapacity, declining profits, and stagnant markets. Problems on this scale cannot be solved at the level of a single company; still less on a plant-by-plant basis.

The failure of the present leadership to unite the Combine committee around a fighting policy leaves individual plants to face their problems alone. It certainly doesn't begin to pose a workers' solution for the whole of the car industry.

The present problems in the car industry can only begin to be solved through demands which confront capitalist control. Such demands would centrally include calling for the nationalisation of the whole of the car and components industry.

Alongside this we have to fight for the books to be opened, not just in the crisis-hit companies, but across the board in the whole industry. Then we can begin to find solutions which unite workers in the various sections of the industry, rather than the management's divide-and-rule salami tactics.

But the unions in BL have not been smashed. The fact that Edwardes has to use ballots at all is an indication of this. The victory in the ballot will be used to try and prove that 'militants' do not represent the membership.

But even the Economist doesn't think that Edwardes has won yet. The ballot, the journal considers, 'clears the first hurdle in BL's path. But only the first. The appeal direct to the workers has produced a massive defeat for BL shop stewards, who voted last month to reject the plan.'

'The question now is: can BL get the same backing on each plant closure, and on wage bargaining?'

The Economist goes on to say that the first big test comes next week when union leaders reply to management's wage offer of 5 per cent with countless strings.

This is a chance to show Edwardes, and the Tory government, that they may have won a battle, but they haven't won the war.

The task for militants in BL is to fight to replace the present leadership with one that uses the strength of the shop floor rather than fearing it.

AS you can see, we're nearly seven weeks into our quarterly fund drive and we haven't even reached the £500 mark!

It's a shame more Socialist Challenge readers haven't followed the example of one London railway worker, who sent us £50 immediately he received his tax rebate from the Tories.

We know times are hard and Xmas is coming. But Socialist Challenge isn't getting a tax rebate from the Tories. They don't want papers like Socialist Challenge around, particularly during this winter.

They'd much prefer workers to be reading in the Sun, Mail and Express about how they have to accept cuts in their living standards because there's no alternative — except the dreaded 'dictatorships' in the East.

Socialist Challenge does have an alternative to the Tories. We support any fightback of working people against this government in Britain and

anti-working class regimes throughout the world.

We debate out the socialist policies needed to take on the bosses and win. We argue that the only way out of the crisis is a planned economy, one which workers control and which workers organise. The Tories fear these ideas may become popular as they attack our rights and begin to dismantle the welfare state.

It's a long term investment giving your tax rebate to Socialist Challenge but the dividends you'll receive will never lose their value. So don't delay this week in sending us the cash.

Our thanks to:	
Anon.	£10.00
J. Strauther	10.00
M.B.	15.00
Dundee Supporters	2.00
R. Mahood	2.00
AHN	12.00
B'ham SWP member	2.00
Week's Total	£53.00
total so far	£475.41

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fightback action sheet 3

PRIVATE MEDICINE

CAN YOUR HEALTH AFFORD IT?

"Denationalising a part of the NHS... what's wrong with that?" PATRICK JENKIN, Health Secretary of State

"It was my generation who fought for the NHS. I've paid my taxes and stamp all my life, now they're closing my hospital. No more meals on wheels and BUPA won't touch anyone over 65."

FIGHTBACK is a campaigning organisation set up to fight the cuts when Callaghan and Healey were wielding the axe.

Born out of the work-ins by hospital workers trying to prevent closure at Hounslow Hospital and others, Fightback says the cuts cannot be fought hospital by hospital, or in isolation from the fight to defend services in education, housing, and welfare services.

It publishes a national bulletin called Fightback (illustrated above), along with action sheets which can be used to explain the issue in your workplace. A hundred and fifty organisations are already affiliated to Fightback, and further affiliations from labour movement bodies are sought in order to strengthen the campaign's fight in the unions and labour movement for mass action against the Tories.

All activists should ensure that their union branch, Labour Party, or stewards committee is affiliated, and takes copies of the bulletin. It's available from Fightback, c/o 30 Camden Rd, London NW1. Phone 01-485 6810.