

Socialist Challenge

SHE HAD NO CHOICE NOW SHE'S DEAD

A WORD of advice to Tory MP John Corrie. If he has not done so already, he should send a telegram of congratulations to the Manchester consultant surgeon who seven months ago refused Susan Bradbury an abortion.

For that surgeon did what Corrie's anti-abortion Bill is demanding all doctors do in the years ahead.

Susan Bradbury had a brain injury as a result of a haemorrhage she had suffered at the age of ten. No abortion, said the consultant.

Susan Bradbury had only one functioning kidney. No abortion, said the consultant.

Susan Bradbury had a heart complaint. No abortion, said the consultant.

Susan Bradbury had a lung disease. No abortion, said the consultant.

Three years ago Susan Bradbury gave birth to a child who died after five days. No abortion, said the consultant.

Last week Susan Bradbury died in childbirth.

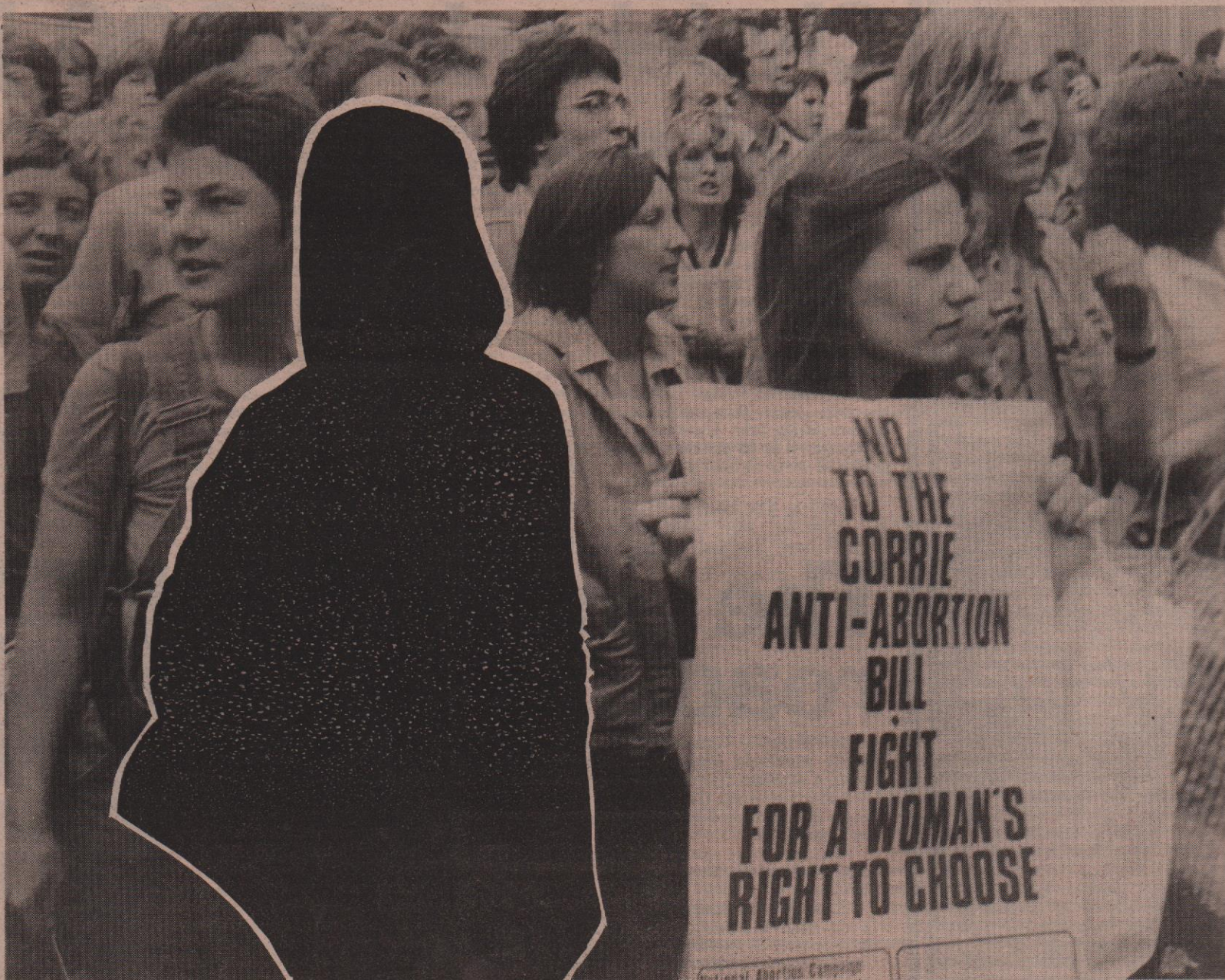
Her husband says that the consultant refused to sign the abortion form as requested by Susan. He says the consultant's action was 'a moral judgement, not a medical one'.

A statement from the National Abortion Campaign points out that 'over the last ten years incidents like this have become very rare'. But 'if the Private Member's Bill introduced by John Corrie becomes law tragedies of this kind can only increase'.

The case of Susan Bradbury answers all those who challenge the right of the woman concerned, and only the woman concerned, to decide whether to have an abortion.

It is a reason for extending abortion rights, but John Corrie's Bill goes in the opposite direction — cutting down the time limit for abortions and drastically curtailing the permissible reasons for abortion.

On 28 October a TUC-sponsored demonstration opposing the Corrie Bill takes place in London. Susan Bradbury cannot be on that demonstration. You can.



DEMONSTRATE SUNDAY 28 OCTOBER/ASSEMBLE 12.00 SPEAKERS CORNER, HYDE PARK

FIGHT CORRIE'S ABORTION BILL

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.....



SOME commentators likened the Tory Party conference at Blackpool to a National Front rally. William Whitelaw urged a taste of harsh military discipline for 'young yobbos'. Julian Amery accused Thatcher and Lord Carrington of selling out their beloved kith and kin in Rhodesia. Michael Heseltine received rapturous applause for his 'social revolution' of handing over council houses and public land to private enterprise. And Thatcher capped it all by claiming that 'millions of workers go in fear of union power' — and received a standing ovation.

No one can be in any doubt about the Tories' strategy for defeating the British trade union movement. But how should we respond? It is not enough to huff and puff as the Labour leaders do about this government bringing its own downfall at the next general election.

There will be no defeat for the Tories in the next election if there is no resistance to Tory policies now. Five years is a long time to wait for leadership when faced with mass unemployment and attacks on democratic rights. We cannot wait for the Tories to fall — they have to be pushed.

Nor is it enough just to push on the 'rally round the unions' angle. We have to fight the Tory attempts to delay giving black people the power in Zimbabwe. We have to fight for work-sharing without loss of pay to ensure the unemployed find jobs. We have to fight for a woman's right to choose whether to have a child. We have to build a movement that can get Britain out of Ireland. We have to fight the Tories on every front.

Clydebank- 3,000 jobs at stake

'I have experienced death before in a human being. Now I am seeing it in a town.'
 — John McFadyen, Convenor, Singer Shop-Stewards Committee

By Alan Turner

ESTABLISHED in 1882, with 2.5 million square feet of space, Singers, Clydebank, is the world's largest and oldest operating factory. Twenty-five years ago it employed 16,000 people, exporting 80 per cent of its output to the United States. Today there are 3000 workers, 1200 of them women. In the past five years, Clydebank has lost more than half of its manufacturing jobs. Unemployment has increased by 45 per cent and one person in six is without a job.

Today the 3000 workers of Singers are threatened with redundancies. Singer's boss, Joe Flavin, flew in

from New York and informed trade-union leaders that the plant would be shut down next June. It is the only factory of 28 around the world which Singers plan to close.

The workers at Singers are angry and stunned by the news. Union officials are saying that Singers will become the biggest campaign for Scots jobs since the UCS crisis seven years ago.

All nine unions at the plant, backed by the STUC and TUC, are expected to unite and put the heat on the Tory government. The Tory Scottish Secretary, George Younger, has already made it clear that the Tories will not intervene to save jobs. This hardly comes as a surprise

to Scottish workers.

They voted Labour in the last election, unlike many workers in England. Scotland remains a labour stronghold and the Tories know this. Many workers detect in the attitude of Singers a multinational's revenge against a part of the world where there are strong traditions of trade-unionism.

John McFadyen, convenor of Singer's stewards, said: 'I have experienced death before in a human being. Now I think I am seeing it in a town.' At a meeting of shop-stewards last Monday it was agreed to fight the closures.

In reality Singers could become the focus of anti-Tory resistance in

Scotland if the mass of workers are involved in the struggle and a decision is taken to occupy the plant. But this occupation needs, of necessity, to be co-ordinated through the STUC with the rest of Scottish industry and a national campaign planned to force the Tories to nationalise Singers.

Urgency

Singers is a major test for the British labour movement. The fact it is situated in Clydebank imparts an additional urgency. More than 6000 people in a working community of 30,000 will be out of work by next summer. For the Tories at Blackpool this didn't mean very much. For Scottish workers it means everything.

The end of the road...

CRAFTSMAN Charlie Michie stands in Singer Street, Clydebank.

Just up the road from Singer railway station and the Singer Cafe.

And he looks sadly away from the huge Singer plant.

For it seems like the end of the road for both of them ... after 23 years for Charlie and 97 years for the factory.

And for Charlie's wife, Lily, and his 20-year-old twin sons, Charles and David.

This time last year, all four worked at the sewing machine plant — Charlie as a sheet metal worker, Lily as a cleaner and the boys as operator labourers.

Then, this April, Lily was paid off. Now Charlie, 47, and his sons face the industrial scrapheap.

And like the town itself, the Michies, of Dickens Avenue, Clydebank, are numb with shock.

Charlie said sorrowfully: 'Generations of Clydebank and Glasgow families have worked at Singers.

'When I walked in in 1956, it was looked on as a

job for life. There were whole families working together.

'I'm a craftsman and might get work away from home — there's nothing within travelling distance of Clydebank. But the prospects for my sons are nil.

'And what's going to be the future for my two children still at school?'

Fitter Benny McAteer, 60, of Abbeylands Road, Clydebank, has been at Singers 32 years — 31 as a shop steward.

He said: 'This is the worst of a series of industrial body-blows. They have left Clydebank people numb almost apathetic.'



Closed since 1974

SOME of the local firms closed since 1974 are:

- John Brown Engineering — 1000 redundancies;
 - Goodyear Tyres — 700;
 - Weir Pumps — 600;
 - Beatties' Biscuits — 600;
 - Sun Ventilators — 200;
 - Equisite Form — 150;
 - Stone Manganese — 100;
 - Duncan Low — 100;
 - Manlove Tullis — 100;
 - Brockhouse Engineering — 100;
 - Colin Hunter — 70
- Total 3,720.

There have also been 4,000 jobs lost at Singers since 1974, and 1000 at Marathon.

John Brown Engineering and the Marathon rig yard stand almost alone.

The company was founded 128 years ago by the man who invented the world's first cheap and effective sewing machine, Isaac Merrit Singer.

Action against Corrie



POLICE broke up a march against the Corrie Bill organised by Cardiff Abortion Campaign last Saturday. This is the latest in a series of attacks in Cardiff on democratic rights — including the arrest of Pat Arrowsmith twice during the general election campaign, harassment of anti-racist and housing campaigners, and the arrest of three Irish solidarity activists.

The police claimed that permission had not been obtained for the march, but in fact they were notified of the route over a month ago and raised no objection. Perhaps what upset them was the obvious public sympathy towards the 150 marchers, who represented a large number of unions, women's groups, and political organisations.

Several coaches will be leaving Cardiff bus station at 8am on 28 October to take people to the TUC demo. Phone Cardiff 43470 for further details.

MERSEYSIDE Abortion Campaign is chartering a 400-seat train for the 28 October demo. The local build-up includes a Merseyside-wide week of action of meetings, petitioning, leafleting of factories, and displays and open air meetings in the main shopping areas. For details of the campaign phone 051-728 7849. Train tickets from the Trades Council, Victoria Street (051-236 1778).

CLEVELAND National Abortion Campaign is holding a public meeting against the Corrie Bill on Friday 19 October at 8pm in the AUEW Hall, Middlesbrough. Speakers include Leonora Lloyd from the NAC steering committee and a local trade unionist. For details of coaches to the demo phone Middlesbrough 87616.

SOUTH LONDON anti-Corrie campaigns in Southwark, Lambeth, Lewisham and Wandsworth are pooling their resources to organise a large display advert in the South

London Press immediately before the demo with signatures of organisations and individuals opposed to the Corrie Bill.

In Southwark the campaign is organising three open meetings next week: Tuesday 23 October, Tenants' Hall, Rockingham Estate, New Kent Road, SE15; Wednesday 24 October, Tenants' Hall, Camden Estate, Peckham Road, SE15; and Thursday 25 October, Information Centre, 29-35 Lordship Lane, Goose Green, SE22. All begin at 8pm and will feature a film, campaign speaker, and a local doctor.

Lambeth has a public meeting on Monday 22 October at 8pm in St Matthews Centre, with John Tilley MP and Jan Makinley (NAC).

MANCHESTER NAC is holding a cavalcade and march for abortion rights on Saturday 20 October, assembling at 11am at All Saints (by the Poly) and going to Albert Square and Piccadilly. On Tuesday 23 October, ASTMS is holding a public meeting at 7.30pm on abortion at the Mitre Hotel, Manchester 1.

Trade union involvement is also reflected in NUPE's decision to send a coach from Manchester to the demo. Other coaches are being organised by NAC and, it is hoped, students at the Poly, University, and UMIST.

HARROW Campaign Against Corrie is holding a public meeting this Thursday, 18 October, at 8pm in Victoria Hall, Sheepcote Lane. Speakers include Jo Richardson MP and Dr Berry Beaumont, and Rights of Women theatre group will perform their skit *Corrie's Dream*.

SWINDON Against Corrie members managed to get a 40-minute broadcast on local TV on 10 October, the day before their public meeting. The trades council is supporting the 28 October demo, but local NALGO and NUPE bureaucrats have blocked discussion

A 50-STRONG picket of Hackney Hospital last Saturday for abortion day-care facilities was the latest in a series of activities organised by Hackney Against Corrie.

Set up three months ago out of a Women's Voice public meeting, the campaign has an informal structure so that anyone who wants to get involved can simply come along to one of the regular planning meetings.

HAC's first activity — which still continues — was leafleting and petitioning against the Corrie Bill. This has been particularly successful on the estates, in the markets, and outside big stores like Tesco's.

'The response has been really encouraging', says HAC member Jane Watt. 'Virtually everybody will stop to

talk to you, and it's not difficult at all to persuade them to sign the petition — even those who are personally opposed to-abortion will support a woman's right to choose.'

Jane is a member of the Civil & Public Services Association at the local DHSS office. She successfully proposed a motion that her union branch support the TUC-sponsored demo on 28 October, and has used the TUC and other leaflets to firm up support in her office.

Other union support has come through Hackney NALGO, which sent a motion to the September trades council meeting urging support for the campaign. As a result the trades council has paid for a mailing to all its affiliated organisations, and has

organised a public meeting next Monday, 22 October, at 8pm at Princess May School, Stoke Newington Road, N16. The speakers will be Isolde McNeil from the trades council, Leonora Lloyd from the NAC steering committee, and Dr David Sloane GP.

HAC also strengthened its ties with the labour movement by organising a contingent on the 13 September local march for action against the cuts.

There are many potential areas of support for the anti-Corrie campaign still relatively untapped in Hackney, and it is to these that HAC will be turning its attention after 28 October. The next meeting is on Monday 29 October at 8pm at 'The Factory', 50 Mathias Road, N16. For further details phone 249 4603.

of the issue in their branches despite their unions' national support for the campaign.

ISLINGTON shoppers had some unusual entertainment last Saturday when a motorcade to publicise the 28 October demo went by loaded up with balloons, posters and singing women. Two thousand leaflets were given out along the route, which covered all the main shopping areas. Petitioning against the Corrie Bill takes place every Saturday from 10am at Chapel Market, the Nags Head, and Archway — help always welcome.

WAKEFIELD now has a NAC group set up with the support of the trades council. It has organised leafleting on Saturday mornings, initiated a vigorous debate in the local paper, and is holding a public meeting on Monday 22 October with a speaker from Leeds West CHC.

A particular focus for the campaign is local Labour MP Walter Harrison, who voted for the Corrie Bill at its second reading. A picket of his surgery is planned. One coach has

so far been booked for the demo — details from Wakefield 890649.

CAMDEN Against Corrie starts a week of action on Saturday 20 October with mass leafleting of estates and markets. On Monday 22 October there is a public meeting at 7.30pm in Friends House, Euston Road, where speakers will include Ken Livingstone (Labour Party), Jill Rakusen (CHC), John Suddaby (NUPE), and a representative from NAC. The day before the demo, Saturday 27 October, there'll be a cavalcade round Camden with a rock band on a float and the play *Corrie's Dream*.

Camden Against Corrie meets every Monday night at 7.30pm at the Greenland Road Neighbourhood Centre, off Bayham Street, NW1. Contact Sue (359 8288, day) for more information.

Hornsey Labour Party and Haringey NAC public meeting Tues 23 Oct 8pm Rokesly School, Rokesly Ave, N8.

THE National Federation of Law Centres has voted to ask every law

centre to affiliate to the Campaign Against Corrie. Contact Legal Workers Against Corrie, c/o 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

NAC/LARC trade union liaison committee meets on 19 October at 7.30pm at the NAC offices, 374 Grays Inn Road, WC1 — all trade unionists welcome. The central Campaign Against Corrie activists meeting is on Thursday 23 October at 7pm in the University of London Union, Malet Street, WC1.

WANTED: accommodation for Scottish supporters travelling down for the demo on the night of 27 October. Offers to NAC on 01-278 0153.

EALING Campaign Against Corrie is holding a public meeting sponsored by the trades council on Tuesday 23 October at 7.30pm in Ealing Town Hall. Speakers are Sally Groves (AUEW, Trico), Teresa Smart (NAC), Maggie Renn (Women's Voice), and a local doctor.

Sexual freedom yes—sexual violence no

ONE DAY last month a man went into the University of London Union building in Malet Street, put an 'out of order' notice on the door of a fourth floor toilet directing female students to another room along the corridor, lay in wait for his victim, and then raped her.

This was the last straw for women students at University College, who have endured a number of rapes and violent attacks over the last eighteen months. Fed up with the inaction of the college authorities, the students decided to occupy the administration block on Tuesday of last week.

Their demands are for well-paid male and female security staff, alarm systems, and improved lighting in the dark corridors. They are asking for student control over the hiring and firing of security personnel and free self-defence classes for female students.

Sir James Lighthill, the college provost, at

first ridiculed the demands. According to him, women are not strong enough to deal with rapists, so they should 'wander round together'.

But now the authorities have been forced to take the issue more seriously, they have decided to tighten up on access to the college, by issuing ID cards and bringing in the police to advise on security. They have also provided personal alarms at £2.60 apiece—which don't work, as a student demonstrated to the press.

The media have had a field day on the law and order angle. First prize must go to the *Daily Telegraph*, which mused on the 'poetic justice' of students, campaigners for the 'permissive society, now suffering the effects of 'sexual liberation' on the 'brutal and dim-witted'.

The college authorities and the media want people to believe that rape is on the increase and that the solution lies in turning colleges into

walled fortresses to protect delicate female students from marauding outsiders. We disagree.

Male students are just as likely to be rapists as are outsiders. In a society that encourages men to view women as commodities there to satisfy their sexual desires, every man is a potential rapist.

Self-defence classes and better lighting systems can make colleges safer for women. But the only long-term solution lies in challenging the view that women's bodies belong to men. The *Telegraph* gets it quite wrong. Sexual freedom, yes. Sexual violence, no.

A demonstration has been called jointly by NUS and UCL to carry forward the campaign. Assemble UCL, Malet St, London WC1 on Thursday 18 October at 6.30pm. Followed by an all-night vigil.

Tories, sanctions and Zimbabwe

What Lord Carrington meant to say

MISLEADING speeches from politicians are nothing new, but the sixth Baron Carrington is promising to elevate them into an art form.

While most speakers at last week's Tory Party conference relied on the old methods of not saying what they meant or not meaning what they said, the Foreign Secretary managed to overwhelm everyone with several layers of ambiguity.

What is Tory policy on sanctions and Zimbabwe? Nobody knows — certainly not the daily paper which told us on its front page 'Early end to sanctions hint by Carrington' and then decided on page four that 'Foreign Secretary rejects calls to lift sanctions...'

Now, however, we are in a position to clear up their confusion. A worker in the Blackpool refuse department found this exclusive document: a substantial fragment of Carrington's original draft speech, obviously rejected because of its frankness when it became clear that opacity was to be the order of the day.

“...flay the bastards. Now, in the course of the debate some people have suggested that I and HM Government have blood on our hands. This really is most unfair. The only blood that we have shed is black blood.

When our chaps...er, the Rhodesian army, invaded Mozambique on the eve of the Lancaster House conference, did we condemn this as an atrocity and violation of international law? No we did not. We only stated the simple truth — that it was inconvenient that this coincided with a British diplomatic initiative.

The last Conservative administration in which I was proud to serve [This bit will have to go. Maggie T] turned a blind eye to oil supplies to Mr Smith. British arms continue to reach Rhodesia in large numbers. Gentlemen, what more do you want?

I know that some of you are worried that it may detract from the dignity of my office for me to sit down and parley with terrorists. Well, first I can assure you that I sit no closer to them than I can possibly avoid and anyway I take very little notice of anything they have to say.

What some of our members have to appreciate is that these terrorists are actually winning the war. This is rather unfortunate, but it does mean that we are faced with two clear choices: we can either abstain from negotiating a settlement, which ultimately means surrender to the terrorists, or we can try to buy them off.

Now, you may be worried that these are rather bloodthirsty chaps straight out of the trees and they're not going to be bought. But what you have to remember is that behind them are some rather more civilised types who are a bit more in tune with the way we British do things.

Kaunda, for example, he eats out of Tiny Rowland's hand and can usually be relied on to deliver the goods. And old Nyerere, who would have expected him to turn up trumps like this? Anyway, if they cause trouble, I'll just remind them that I do also have responsibility for our overseas aid. That usually does the trick.

The other thing you have to remember is that these terrorists can't really make up their minds among themselves. They desperately want to appear reasonable so they're doing their very best to agree to my proposals — and, God knows, I really haven't given much away. I mean, even Muzorewa agrees with them.

Some of their lot are worried they've gone a bit too far along our road. So I just plant a few press stories about impending splits, get on the blower to Lonrho and wait.

So you see, I really have got the thing fairly sorted out. I'm quite a bright chap really, not that there's much competition. To those who doubt my competence I say this: who introduced the three-day week, then? [Couldn't you find a better example? MT].

You see, the trouble with you lot is you're too damned sentimental. You think I don't care about my kith and kin? Of course I do. It's just that I can see a bit further than the end of my nose. Look at my interests in southern Africa — RTZ, Barclays, Sch... you know who. Are you really suggesting that I'm planning to sell anyone out?

What you have to remember is that it is black labour which produces the profits. If black workers are happier — and so produce more — when it's a black hand holding the whip instead of a white one, then that's alright with me. That's why I'm a Conservative. I realise there are some things more important than the colour of a chap's skin.

I go along with what Andy Young said on the telly the other night — not the sort of chap you'd invite to dinner perhaps, but he's got it all up there. He said that the West had the choice of allying itself with 4m whites in Africa or 400m blacks. It seems to me like common sense.

Finally, on to the question of sanctions. Well, if you want a straight answer all I can say is... [fragment ends]



Soweto - roots of a revolution?

By Tony Southall

RECENT Marxist political commentary on South Africa has been written mainly in exile by Communist Party members. A new book by an independent revolutionary, Baruch Hirson*, which deals with the 1976 Soweto revolt in terms of the complex inter-relationship of colour and class, is therefore an important event.

Although the title suggests that it will simply deal with 1976, Hirson's book goes a good deal further. The first half contains a detailed account of the development of the segregated education system and oppositional movements within it (chapters 1, 2, 3, 5), the growth of the black consciousness movement in the 1970s (chapters 4, 6), the development of the opposition through the strike wave 1971-74 (chapters 7, 8), and the immediate lead up to the revolt of Soweto's students (chapter 9).

The central five chapters examine the revolt and its effects in the rest of the country, and the final two attempt to analyse the overall effect of black consciousness both on the revolt itself and within the more general history of the opposition.

*Year of Fire, Year of Ash, the Soweto Revolt... Roots of a Revolution (Zed Press, 348pp, £3.95 paperback).

Three crucial themes run through the book, each of which merits some discussion. Firstly, it characterises the black consciousness movement as no more than a logical extension of the petty bourgeois nationalist current that runs through the history of the 20th century opposition, and attempts to show that it had little influence over the development of the 1976 uprisings.

But stress on its lack of organisational links with the Soweto students is unconvincing: it is well known that the movement tried throughout its brief existence to operate as far as possible in a way that would enable it to survive banning. This meant no tight political/organisational structure.

What does show through, however, is that the ideas of black consciousness were dominant in forming the consciousness of the youth involved. Their identification with these is nowhere more clearly expressed than by the fact that after Steve Biko's death 'in a wave of revulsion the schools emptied throughout the land' (p. 277).

Related to this is Hirson's attempt to imply that the influence of the African National Congress (ANC) was of far more significance. An example is his statement that the 23 August 'Stay at Home' was organised jointly by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) and the ANC.

Tsietsi Mashinini's denial that the ANC were involved (he was then SSRC chairperson) is dismissed as 'incomprehensible' (pp. 251-2). But the only evidence given for ANC involvement is one anonymously distributed leaflet. And the ANC's weakness is admitted by implication in the comment (p. 201) that 'the struggle was not taken into the factories or the mines because this was beyond the capabilities of school pupils and there was no other organisation capable of undertaking such a task'.

The lack of involvement of the workers is the third point stressed by Hirson, and he is correct to emphasise that there was no way in which 1976 could have become the year of revolution without their mobilisation.

It is however questionable to contrast the students' development with that of workers whose experiences in the 1973 strike wave 'took them far beyond...black consciousness' (p.157), or to complain (p.91) that when the Black Peoples' Convention took up solidarity with

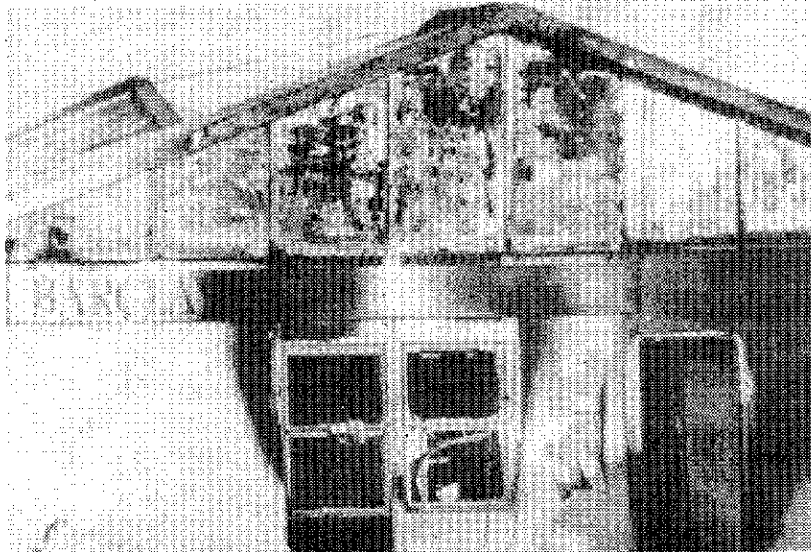
the struggle in Mozambique it merely demonstrated its inability to relate to local events.

Did the students who fought the armed cops on the streets really have a lower level of consciousness than the workers who won some economic concessions in overwhelmingly peaceful strikes? Does demonstrating in solidarity with a movement that has overthrown colonial rule through armed struggle not reflect an important understanding of the nature of the enemy that is faced?

Was it not the example of Mozambique and still more, on Hirson's own admission (p. 167), the defeat of the South African army in Angola, that helped to fuel the Soweto revolt?

There is, to sum it up, a disturbing ambiguity about this book. Despite its implied allegiance to the ANC and conclusion 'that there is little likelihood in the future of any purely peaceful campaign being successful in the face of government intransigence, and political movements which hope to introduce radical changes will have to find military training and military support', Hirson never outlines his own perspective on the future of the South African revolution.

In this sense the book unfortunately fails to come to terms with its introductory rationalisation [p. 2] that 'only a real understanding of 1976 will help the forces of socialism and liberation'.



North of Ireland's new security chiefs Sectarians and failures

By Geoff Bell

THE NEW BOSS of the Royal Ulster Constabulary once appeared as a defence witness for the Loyalist fanatic Ian Paisley? This is one consequence of the shake-up in 'security' in the North of Ireland undertaken by the new Tory government.

OUT has gone Kenneth Newman, the Chief Constable of the RUC. Newman's resignation was announced some time ago after the public exposures of the RUC's Castlereagh torture centre. Newman is off to teach his skills at the British Police Staff College at Bramshill near London.

OUT as boss of the Army goes Lt-Gen Tim Creasy. When he was appointed as General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland, Creasy brought with him a record of overseeing torture in various other campaigns — notably in Oman.

IN comes Jack Hermon as new Chief Constable of the RUC.

IN comes Maj-General Richard Lawson as

GOC of the Army.

IN comes Sir Maurice Oldfield, former head of the British Secret Intelligence Service, as 'security co-ordinator'.

Hermon's appointment is the most scandalous. He is a religious fanatic who shares the same 'born again' evangelical Protestant views as Ian Paisley. Even more astonishing is the fact that Hermon appeared as a defence witness for Paisley during a trial in March 1978.

At the time Paisley was on trial for incidents arising out of the Loyalist strike in May 1977. He was charged with 'impeding the police' by setting up barricades in the County Antrim town of Ballymena. But Hermon testified that he had made a secret deal with Paisley by which the latter would be arrested and then use his influence to see that the barricades were taken down.

Paisley said at his trial that 'it was a face-saving situation', in that once he had become a martyr his followers would feel something had been achieved.

When Hermon took the witness stand he

agreed that he had two secret meetings with Paisley to work out the arrangement. His aim, he said, was to use 'a minimum of force' against the Loyalists, and 'this differed in no way with the views expressed by Dr Paisley'.

Hermon went on to testify that he had not wanted to remove the barricades without Paisley's permission because 'this could have been readily misconstrued'. Heaping praise on the Loyalist leader, Hermon said that Paisley's 'sole aim was to avoid trouble'. The result was Paisley's acquittal.

Hermon's other main claim to fame is his authorship of *The Way Ahead*, a document printed in 1977 which argued that the RUC should take over final control of security from the British Army. Since this policy has been implemented there have been increasing demands from the big-wigs in the British Army that they should be in charge.

The now deposed GOC Tim Creasy was particularly hot on this issue. According to a military source quoted in a recent edition of the *Irish Times*, Creasy 'freaked out' after the

killing of the 18 soldiers at Warrenpoint and threatened to go public with his criticisms of the RUC. It was to calm Creasy down that Thatcher hastily arranged to visit the North of Ireland following Warrenpoint.

Although the Army have also for some time been advocating the appointment of a 'security supremo', they cannot be very happy with the appointment of Oldfield. They wanted a high ranking member of the Army to fill such a post.

Just what skills Oldfield will bring to the role is difficult to say. But as far as his 'intelligence' skills go, the IRA cannot be too impressed. In October 1975, while Oldfield was head of MI6, the IRA bombed Lockett's restaurant in London, just below Oldfield's flat. If MI6 were unable to defend their own offices against the IRA, the best advice for Oldfield is probably to increase his life insurance.

The final character making up the new security triumvirate is Richard Lawson. Lawson's most notable campaign was as Chief of Staff in Aden in 1967. An interesting point is that he was given the post the year after Amnesty International indicted Britain of torture techniques in Aden very similar to those exposed by the same organisation with regard to the North of Ireland in 1978.

Military pundits may now be pondering whether this similarity can be extended. Within months of Lawson's appointment in Aden the British Army was finally booted out of the country.

Gay rights verdict expected

By Barry Prothero

WITHIN the next month the European Commission for Human Rights is expected to announce its decision in the case which the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association (NIGRA) has brought against the British government. Whichever way the decision goes the case has direct implications for the struggle for gay rights in a large number of European countries.

Early in 1976 Jeff Dugeon of the NIGRA brought an action before the European Commission charging that his personal rights and freedoms had been violated by the refusal of the British government to extend the 1967 Sexual Offences Act to the North of Ireland. This Act legalised homosexual acts between consenting adult men in private, but it applies only to England and Wales.

The question of homosexual law reform in the North of Ireland came to the fore during the last years of the Labour government. In an attempt to cling to power that government made a number of deals with the Ulster Unionists. These included an undertaking not to press ahead with the reform of gay rights, despite a recommendation to the contrary by the Northern Ireland Standing

Advisory Commission on Human Rights.

Because of the deals with the Unionists, the Labour government disguised its attitude on gay rights from the European Commission, suggesting on some occasions that it did intend to press ahead with the reforms. Finally, however, it went to the commission and defended the denial of gay rights. The manner in which it waged that defence has alarming implications for gays in Britain as well as those in the North of Ireland.

The government's argument was that the denial of gay rights was 'necessary' for the protection of health and morals. In addition, Britain argued that the law is designed in part to protect young males from influences and pressure of an undesirable kind... which could be harmful to psychological development. Similar influences and pressures do not exist in relation to heterosexual relationship.

This slanderous argument is not just a defence of the lack of gay rights in the North of Ireland but contains within it an attack to gay rights generally. It is for this reason that the European Commission's judgement will have an importance far beyond the North of Ireland.



Jack Hermon, new RUC boss.

Anti-UDR march held in Dundee

By George Kerevan

APPROXIMATELY 150 supporters of the United Troops Out Movement demonstrated in Dundee last Saturday calling for the disbandment of the Ulster Defence Regiment, and for British troops to be withdrawn from Ireland.

The march, which drew support from UTOM branches in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Stirling and Edinburgh, was

in protest at the training of UDR units at Barry Budden army camp, six miles from Dundee. The UDR is under the control of the British Army in the North of Ireland and is almost exclusively Protestant. Hundreds of its members have been found guilty of sectarian crimes.

The demonstration followed several weeks of activity by Scottish UTOM. A Glasgow showing of the film *The Patriot Game* attracted an audience of 150. In Edinburgh and Stirling meetings were addressed by Mary Nelis, founder of Derry's Relatives Action Committee, an organisation campaigning for prisoner-of-war status for the North of Ireland's political prisoners.

Mary and another Derry woman, Vivien Doherty, were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act when they arrived at Stranraer. They were held for 4 1/2 hours and Vivien was treated at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary for injuries received during police 'questioning'. Mary was an official guest of Edinburgh Trades Council, who support the demand for prisoner-of-war status.



Sir Maurice Oldfield.

British Labour and Ireland: 1969-79

A new pamphlet by Geoff Bell with cartoons by Curme, which analyses the costs of bipartisanship over the last ten years. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Cost 40p plus 10p post. Bulk rates on request.

Women's trial looms

By a member of Women Against Imperialism

THE TRIAL of 11 women arrested in March during an International Women's Day protest is set for the end of October in Armagh in the North of Ireland.

The court appearances arise out of a police attack on a demonstration organised by Belfast Women Against Imperialism outside the women's prison in Armagh, where the prisoners include 70 women who have been jailed for their part in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The picket, supported by a number of women's groups, anti-imperialist groups and women in the Relatives Action Committees, was a great success. About 50 women sang, cheered and shouted slogans to the prisoners inside, who responded by singing and shouting themselves.

It was when the pickets moved off to return home that they were attacked by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, who appeared sud-

denly in armoured jeeps and arrested the first 11 women they could lay their hands on.

This attempt to intimidate women from demonstrating their solidarity with the political prisoners in Armagh was answered a month later when a second picket was held supported by feminists from Dublin, Belfast and Derry. This picket marked an important step in building a 32-county movement in support of women involved in the anti-imperialist struggle, and taken further with the holding of the first All-Ireland Women's Anti-Imperialist Conference on 22/23 September.

Defence of the 'Armagh 11' is important for both the women's movement and the anti-imperialist movement. Women Against Imperialism are appealing for international support, and particularly for finance. All donations and messages of support to: Women Against Imperialism, c/o Ann Marie Loughran, 7 Riversale Park Drive, Anderstown, Belfast.

Intercontinental Press
combined with **IMPRECOR**

COVERAGE of developments in Central America continues in the latest issue of the weekly *Intercontinental Press/Imprecor* [Vol 17, No 37]. Individual copies cost 30p plus 10p post, but subscriptions work out much cheaper at £11 for a year (48 issues), £6 for six months (24 issues), or £3 for 10 weeks. Cheques or POs should be made out to 'Intercontinental Press' and sent to: IP/i, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Now it's Ford workers' international

By a Ford worker

A UNIQUE and inspiring meeting took place in Copenhagen, Denmark on the weekend of 5 to 7 October. At the invitation of the shop stewards of Ford Copenhagen, supported by the local shop stewards movement, rank and file Ford workers from the major European plants got together. Their aim: to begin to work out an international workers' strategy to fight the multinational monster.

The meeting came about at the initiative of the shop stewards from the Ford warehouse in Copenhagen. They had followed with great interest the nine week British strike in 1978 which buried Callaghan's 5 per cent policy. At the beginning of 1979 they decided to 'do it themselves' and their strike succeeded in smashing the Danish social contract!

After that, preparation for an international rank and file conference got underway. The British strike had left the Ford UK Workers' Group [the Combine] with contacts in several European plants — like among the 2000 workers at Ford Amsterdam who collected £1000 for the strike fund and made a special donation to the Combine. So when the invitation came from Denmark we all jumped at it.

The problems in dealing with a multinational like Ford are fairly obvious. On the shop floor we are constantly urged to increase production, not to strike or risk losing

work abroad. When strikes do take place Ford bosses try to compensate by transferring production to another country.

This would not be such a problem if the trade union leaders were prepared to build serious international solidarity. But they are not. Consequently, often simply through lack of information, we effectively scab on each others' struggle. This was a major reason for the defeat of the strike for the 35 hour week at the Genk plant in Belgium last year.

More immediately we found out that the workers at the Valencia plant of Ford Spain are still engaged in a ferocious 10-month struggle against speed up and mass sackings. 86 workers have been sacked, including 11 elected delegates. Suspensions of from five to 53 days have been imposed on 500 workers, including 20 stewards. Indeed, two of the Spanish delegates in Copenhagen were sacked and one suspended.

When the Ford workers' leaders appealed to the European Metalworkers' Federation [EMF] for support they were told that such a request could only come through the Socialist Party-run union [the UGT]. The president of the EMF is a worker director on Ford's board in Cologne! We now intend to take the issue onto the shop floor in Ford's European plants.

The international solidarity we want to build was reflected in other action that the Copenhagen meeting committed us to: building towards international action on the 35 hour



FORD Dagenham workers

week and attempting to force an official international conference of shop floor representatives to organise this; opposition to import controls and instead workers' action to stop the switching of production schedules between Ford plants. Our eventual aim is to achieve a common level of real wages, hours and conditions in Ford Europe with a common claim and settlement date — a very long term aim!

If one thing reflected the spirit of the meeting it was the discussion on Ford's exploitation of so-called 'immigrant' labour. At Dagenham about two thirds of the 28,000 workforce is Asian or black. At Cologne, Germany, half the 30,000 workers are 'guest workers' from Turkey and other south European countries. They have to renew their contracts annually and if they are sacked or

become unemployed are subject to immediate deportation.

Many of the guest workers at Cologne are currently on a three or four day week due to a falling market, while the German workers are defined as 'special' and get a full week's work. We recognised that to fight this all countries' immigration laws have to be tackled head on, along with a struggle against racism inside the workers' own organisations.

Our meeting aroused considerable interest in the Danish labour movement, especially the Copenhagen shop stewards movement. Official observers attended from Metalworkers' Union branches and from the Carlsberg and Tuborg breweries and the Butchers Union. The job is to spread the Ford initiative to workers in other multinationals.

What was it Charlie Marx said? 'Workers of the world unite...'

Right gains in Scandinavia

By Nico Baraldsnes

TWO Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, have both had elections this autumn. Both have long and deep-rooted social-democratic traditions — to the extent that even when a bourgeois coalition is in office its room for manoeuvre is limited.

But as in other West European countries, these elections showed a shift to the right.

In Sweden the general election saw the bourgeois coalition retain office for another four-year period. A slight increase in votes for the Social Democratic Party and the Left Communist Party still left them one seat behind the bourgeois majority in the National Assembly.

Moderates

But the most significant change occurred within the three-party bourgeois coalition. The two centre parties lost out heavily to Sweden's major right-wing party, the Moderates, who for the first time are now the biggest party within the bourgeois bloc.

A similar rightward shift was also recognisable in the recent local elections in Sweden's neighbour, Norway. Because Norway is a less centralised state, local elections are a better indication there than in Britain of the national political situation.

What was mainly apparent in Norway was the weakness and internal disintegration of the social-democratic Labour Party. The drop in its vote, though not so marked in these elections, continued a clear downward trend resulting from its pro-capitalist policies in government.

Failed

The Norwegian Socialist Left Party, which enjoyed considerable support in the early 1970s, has failed in its declared role as a check on the Labour Party and a promoter of socialist progress.

As in Sweden, the chief gains in the Norwegian local elections were made by the country's major right-wing party, the Right Party, and the even more extreme Progress



SWEDISH KAF election poster

Party. Both won a large number of votes at the expense of the bourgeois centre parties — the Centre Party, the Christian Peoples Party, and the New Peoples Party.

However a further bourgeois party, the Left Party (liberals), made progress as a third alternative by breaking with traditional bourgeois politics and taking a radical stand on

environmental questions.

But the search by sections of workers for a militant alternative of their own was reflected in Norway in gains by both the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the Maoist-inspired Workers Communist Party. In Sweden an effective election campaign was mounted by the Trotskyists of the Communist Workers League (KAF).

An evening of songs of struggle...

with FAUSTO and ISABEL BARTOLOMEU (Portugal) and JAMES MEDHLOPE PHILLIPS (ANC, South Africa)

and political discussion

with OTELO SARAIVA DE CARVALHO (operational commander of army units which overthrew Caetano)

Fri 26 Oct, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1 Organised by Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee

IMG debates Fourth International perspectives

By Davy Jones

THE REVOLUTION in Nicaragua, the struggle for women's liberation, the world political situation and the fight for socialist democracy — these were among the themes debated by the International Marxist Group at a three-day conference on 5-7 October in preparation for the forthcoming 11th World Congress of the Fourth International.

Every few years the thousands of members of the Fourth International around the world debate perspectives for the movement in the light of new political developments such as Nicaragua and Iran. After exhaustive discussion at every level of the International, each national section organises a democratic conference to debate and vote upon the main issues under discussion, and to elect delegates to the World Congress itself.

After one year of discussion in the IMG in the national leadership and local branches, the conference delegates voted by a clear majority in support of the mainline documents being put forward to the World Congress of the FI's United Secretariat: resolutions on the world political situation, capitalist Europe, women's liberation, and Latin America. Amendments were also carried by the conference to be put forward to the World Congress on the first three of these resolutions. The theses on socialist democracy (publicly available in pamphlet form) were also passed overwhelmingly by the conference.

The highpoint of the conference was a full day's debate on the situation in Nicaragua and the tasks of the Fourth International. Conference overwhelmingly passed substantial amendments to a United Secretariat resolution, sent a message of greetings to the FSLN leadership on their heroic struggle (printed here), and passed a motion condemning the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua.

Finally, money is urgently needed to ensure that delegates from the FI sections in Africa, Asia and Latin America can attend the World Congress itself. If you can spare any cash please send it urgently to: The Week, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Cheques payable to 'The Week'.

Conference message to FSLN

THIS conference sends its warmest greetings to the FSLN of Nicaragua. The heroic struggle which the FSLN has waged over the last decade culminated in an armed mass insurrection and the overthrow of the hated Somoza dictatorship.

The victory of the Nicaraguan masses was made possible by the existence and struggle of the FSLN. It has opened up new revolutionary possibilities in the whole of Central America. It has placed the socialist revolution on the order of the day in Nicaragua itself.

Comrades of the FSLN, revolutionaries throughout the world have applauded your victories. They now wait eagerly to see whether Nicaragua will have its 'Second Declaration of Havana'.

We pledge to build the broadest possible solidarity on every front with the people of Nicaragua in Britain. We pledge that we will fight in our country against any imperialist intervention in your country.

Long live the Nicaraguan revolution!
Long live the Latin American revolution!

At work in Bombay

Dockers who never dream of having a day off

"YOU are not asked to work a 23-hour day, but the wage level leaves you little option. Every minute you are smashed, mentally and physically... A lot of the workers put me on a pedestal, with a conception of me as a leader."

SURESH GROVER was born in Nairobi in East Africa and came to Britain in 1965 when he was 11. His involvement in the Asian Socialist Forum in London persuaded him to visit India, where he recently spent six months working on the Bombay Docks.

DURING MY schooldays in Nelson, Lancashire, and during the skinhead period in the early '70s especially, Asians used to get beaten up very badly. There were ten Asian students at my school, and every single afternoon one of us was beaten up. Every tenth day it would be my turn.

The comment they used to make was: 'He's an Indian. There are beggars in India. He can't fight.' They connected the misery of the people of the sub-continent with Britain's supposed strength. If poverty were no longer prevalent in India, if it came to be regarded as a strong country like the Soviet Union, I don't think there would be the same attitude to Asians living in Britain as there is now.

I've always felt this, and it was this idea which made me want to go to India. I wanted to find out for myself the situation on the docks, which had been discussed when I was in the Asian Socialist Forum in London.

I had read a lot about the docks industry. The question of working in India never frightened me because I had been working since 1971 in various factories, on night shifts, and so on. But with 50 million unemployed in India, obtaining a job wasn't easy.

There are two ways of getting a job on the docks in Bombay. First is to go through the Bombay Dock Labour Board, which is run by the government. If you're not the son of the manager, forget it. And then the only jobs the board gives are manual — loading and unloading — which are looked down on in India because of the caste question. Only the very poor do manual jobs.

The other way of getting jobs is from private firms which handle cargo. I managed to get a job with a stevedoring firm dealing with Soviet ships. Containerisation has just started in India, and I was offered a job as a container organiser, supervising the loading.

I was told the pay was 500 rupees a month — about £30. That's higher than the average wage of a skilled worker. They promised regular hours, a letter of confirmation that I was employed, and more besides. It was all lies.

With a letter of employment I could have joined a union. I never received one. Instead of 500 rupees, I received 150 to 200 rupees a month. As for regular hours, I ended up working a 22 or 23-hour day for three days in a row, then having eight or 16 hours off and then start over again. You are not asked to work for so long, but the wage level leaves you no option.



MEETING during the Bombay dock strike last April. Other photographs — views of the city.

Many others are made promises which management has no intention of keeping.

To imagine what it's like working a whole day with only a couple of hours off, you also have to appreciate the conditions of the job. There are no canteen facilities, no toilets, or anywhere to wash, and no health and safety regulations. These facilities don't exist in the slums where many of the workers live, so there is no real demand for them at work.

To eat, you get a thali — rice, chapatis, and a couple of vegetables. It's a cheap meal, two or three rupees, but the quantity is very small — just sufficient for you to eat and feel hungry two hours later. For someone who hasn't lived in India it isn't easy to manage on it. And the hygienic level of the food is poor, because the people who make it are poor. The same oil is used for frying for a few months. You can't even get water when you're working, because you can't drink the water.

I fell ill with amoebic dysentery, which thinned me down. I was 11 stone when I went over, and I lost 2.5 stone. The dysentery really hampered me. I was so ill my knees would shake.

A lot of the dock workers sleep in containers. Many come from villages, leaving their wives behind, so that during a strike they take the opportunity to go home to their village. That happens in other industries, too. For those whose family is in Bombay, the men will rather earn an extra 20 rupees by staying on the docks than spend the time with their family. That's forced on them because of material need.

In India, the wife never asks anything — she's not expected to. She's at home; she cooks and cleans for her husband. There is no discussion about what happens at work. If there is a strike, she is not supposed to get involved.

At least 40 per cent of the 60,000 workers on the Bombay docks are not in unions. The most serious thing that affected me was that not only are the workers exploited by the management, but also by people who pretend to be their friends — trade union leaders and political activists. What I wanted to know was how I could contribute effectively so that these workers, who have never even dreamed of having a free day, could realise their own strength.

Every minute you are smashed, mentally and physically. There are lepers, beggars; all the poverty you see every day. The unions haven't succeeded in creating a militant tradition on a political or personal basis.

What kept me going was talking to dock workers all the time. In India, to be a supervisor you simply order people about. The workers regard them as *cham cha* — a stooge. But I went out of my way to assist the workers on the job. The management didn't exactly like this because I was disgracing the name of supervisors.

A lot of the workers put me on a pedestal, with a conception of me as a leader. They expected more than I could do, not realising their own strength. The whole tradition of Indian parliamentary politics is based on this. 'Mahatma' in Mahatma Gandhi, for example, means 'near to god', and this idea of the leader runs through the Indian tradition. It means they accept what you say, which is a barrier to

revolutionary politics.

In Bombay I was in a group which is sympathetic to the Fourth International and concerned mainly with industrial issues, with unionising workers and representing sacked workers in the courts. It runs a law centre.



Two of us worked on the docks. The idea was to discuss issues like health and safety, parity of supervisors' wages. These initiatives have come from the trade union leaderships. But the biggest problem the dock workers face is inter-union rivalry, arising from the fact that the unions are linked to political parties.

Now that the Janata Party is in power, for example, the Congress Party's union will take action. That means that only certain sections will be on strike, and this action will be called by the union leaders essentially for manoeuvring purposes rather than winning demands.

When there is a strike, there is no real attempt by the leadership to get the rank and file to discuss the demands and the action. This is not quite the same as in Britain, because if

you are illiterate, as the large majority of Indian workers are, then meetings and discussion become crucial because the workers have no other way of obtaining information.

We wanted to establish a rank and file committee of unionised and non-unionised workers, which could mobilise in a strike situation, discuss conditions in the slums, and so on. The idea was that demands could be properly discussed, and fought for. A forum of discussion like that had never existed.

We had some successful meetings, where two or three hundred came along. And we went along to meetings at which union leaders spoke. We managed to get together a nucleus, discussing how we could organise and so on. Then we decided to take up the question of my not getting paid the amount I was promised.

The reason I'd never asked was because I knew I would be sacked, but we decided to make an issue of it. It was a mistake.

We couldn't screen the people who were coming to the meetings, and one of them reported to management that we were setting up another union, which wasn't true. That would have confused the whole situation.

At first I was warned by management that I was going to cause a strike, and become a leader. Stupid accusations. They wanted to know my nationality, which is British, and they threatened me with deportation! I started laughing.

The next day I went back and asked for my money. They told me I was sacked, so there was a big fight in the manager's office. I argued that they couldn't sack me because they had never given me a letter of appointment in the first place. Unfortunately, they saw through this logic and that was it — I had to go.



That same night, goondas — that's a Hindi word for political gangster — had gone to the slums and visited the homes of some of the workers who were close to us. They slapped wives, broke a few cooking pots, and said there was to be no new union formed. We think they were sent by the unions.

There was a national docks strike at the time I left, last April. It was over bonuses, and the people we'd worked with raised the question of the demands and how the struggle could be carried forward. For the first time there was co-ordination between the clerical and manual workers. The strike, which was started on an anti-Janata government basis, lasted six days, which was long enough to have a sharp impact on the Indian economy because the country is so dependent on imports and exports.



The people I was working with have now decided to join the Communist Party of India (Marxist), for no reason but that there was no other group for them to join. The CPM is supposed to be independent, but it's supported by Cuba and Czechoslovakia. While it has a big trade union nationally, it never had any tradition in the Bombay docks. We saw a glimpse of what we were trying to achieve, in the co-ordination between the workers.

This article is taken from a conversation with Suresh by GEOFFREY SHERIDAN. If you know someone — perhaps yourself! — who you think might make a good subject for our At Work series, do let us know.

HOW TO STOP KILLING LEYLAND

CP says: By any means necessary

THERE was fighting talk from the platform when Derek Robinson got up to speak at the London demonstration last week.

Robinson, a member of the CP, is full-time convenor for the British Leyland Longbridge plant. As you can see from the table on this page, this is not just any old Leyland plant.

He was one of those who attended the Kenilworth meeting called by Edwardes after his appointment as Leyland boss. This meeting, of senior stewards and convenors, voted confidence in Edwardes — equivalent to supporting his plan for Leyland which explicitly included redundancies.

Sponsorship

Robinson is also well-known for his opposition to the tool-makers' strike. And last weekend he announced his support for Leyland's sponsorship of Mark Phillips' show-jumping team... 'They should have gone into sponsorship earlier', he said.

His speech is a case study in how to talk about action without giving a clue what to do.

“We are saying from this meeting that we are serious in our intent and under no circumstances are we prepared to accept that there are any plant closures, partial plant closures, or any redundancies.

We shall fight on any basis that we consider to be necessary. It will be essential for every plant that's confronted with a cutback in labour or plant closure to ensure that their work is not transferred to any other plant in Leyland.

Serious

That means that the TR7 is not going from Canley to Solihull, it means that the work at Castle Bromwich is neither going to Swindon nor Liverpool and it means that if they intend to transfer the Allegro then it's not going to move. That is the message that we're giving.

We are not going to allow any plant to fight in isolation. This is a united struggle that will require the fullest and maximum support from every single factory inside Leyland.

Let's not just concentrate on cars, the situation inside bus and truck is just as serious. They're faced with exactly the same problems — no new models coming through at the rate that's necessary, cutbacks in investment which makes them even more uneconomic to produce.

We've got the same problems and what we ought to be demanding is that the government fully support the trade union alternative for Leyland.

Future

That's the way we are going to secure the future for Leyland in its entirety. And not only that, we have an interest in securing that Britain remains a manufacturing country that's able to produce vehicles of every type in the only wholly British owned motor manufacturer.

We need to launch this campaign from today with all the seriousness and all the determination that we know is possible from our great trade union movement.

And the slogan has got to be: Not a job is lost in Leyland. No work is transferred from one factory to another. And we'll take whatever measures are necessary to ensure that doesn't happen.

We need to say to the Confed executive that we require, without any qualification, the fullest support of our trade union movement.

Campaign

And we'll say that we'll wholeheartedly support the campaign to save British Leyland and to save jobs in Leyland. Thank you.

MICHAEL EDWARDES, the British Leyland boss, has certainly kept himself in the news of late. Most recently the popular press has gone to town on the announcement that British Leyland Range Rover will be sponsoring Captain Mark Phillips — famous royal spouse — to go show-jumping round the world.

Leyland's sponsorship of the royal equestrian followed conveniently on announcements in the press that Princess Anne would not be able to compete in the Moscow Olympics as she can't afford an adequate horse!

What an outcry there's been! Two Labour MPs have already put down questions about it for the first day of Parliament. It obviously is a bit rich of Edwardes to rub in his announced 26,000 redundancies in British Leyland with a £20,000 a year hand-out to royalty.

Action committee launched

SHOP Stewards representing all British Leyland plants met in Birmingham on Saturday 13 October to discuss their reaction to Edwardes' closure plans. The response of the stewards was to overwhelmingly reject the plans and pledge full support to those resisting closure.

Edwardes however is determined to get his way and plans to ballot shop-floor workers over the heads of their elected leaders. PAT KANE was in Birmingham at the weekend and talked to PAUL SHEVLIN, a TGWU steward at Jaguar in Coventry and a Socialist Challenge supporter.



PAUL SHEVLIN

Edwardes sent a letter to the demonstration in London on 9 October saying: 'I don't know why you are holding the demonstration because when we met on Friday we were all agreed to the principle of the closures.'

When the union leaderships met with Edwardes on 5 October, eight hours of talks led them to agree the concept of closure. They'd seen the Industry Secretary, Keith Joseph, who'd refused to advance BL any more money. And Michael Edwardes is clearly saying that he's prepared to put the whole of BL in the hands of the receivers if the unions don't accept. The acceptance of the principle of closures at that meeting, although the leaderships are being forced to step back from it now, has considerably undermined the likelihood of a united fight against the closures.

There is no point accepting the present plan hoping to avoid Leyland being closed down completely. These plans of Edwardes are only the first steps before they start to further cut down Leyland's by selling off bits of it. If these cuts are made it's hard to see that Leyland could continue as a single company in, say, five years time. Small isn't beautiful in the car industry. The built-in logic of Edwardes' plan is to hive off sections of Leyland to raise capital, and the company will get smaller and smaller. So either way everyone is under threat.

However, although everyone is ultimately under threat, the crucial thing is for those plants facing closure to resist. The biggest closures that are coming up are at Canley in Coventry and at Castle Bromwich — if these plants aren't fighting then it will be difficult to get support throughout the company.

The problem is that, despite the Birmingham meeting's rejection of the Edwardes' plan, the record of convenors like Derek Robinson leaves us very doubtful whether they will lead a real fight. And locally, if the shop stewards are not inclined to fight, the whole struggle can be undermined.

However there is an atmosphere of resistance in the plants. At Canley, for example, there have been cars mysteriously damaged on the nightshift — everyone knows that this was done by workers who are pissed off with the closures.

Pressure

Leyland Stewards for the Annual Review — which is a left tendency inside the Leyland unions around the issue of pay — met last Wednesday, 10 October, and decided to set up a Leyland Action Committee to fight the closures. The grouping has support from stewards and rank and file militants in Cowley, Jaguar and Longbridge.

Over the next weeks we will be seeing the contacts we have in Castle Bromwich and Canley [the two biggest plants facing closure] to set up meetings in the plants against the closures. That way we can begin to pull together those people who do want to fight and put pressure on the convenors to give a real lead. We'll also be holding meetings on the council housing estate at Canley where the workers and their families live.

Although the action committee is an unofficial body, by grouping together militants within Leyland we can at least put our efforts into building the kind of action required to turn the verbal rejection of Edwardes' plan into some kind of fighting reality.

But although it's fair enough to complain a £20,000, the outcry should be about the redundancy. Many Labour MPs, and their counterparts in the other parties, would rather ignore the redundancies — after all, they appointed Edwardes to head Leyland, and the bureaucrats gave him and his plan a vote of confidence. Leyland workers have been paying the price ever since.

On 5 October an 'emergency committee' of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (all the unions involved in engineering) met with management for eight hours. At the end they agreed a principle to the redundancies and closures.

But an outcry from the shop stewards led to a demonstration in London on 9 October, which was attended by well over a thousand engineers from



OPEN THE BOOKS

Michael Fathers and John Goodsley, GMWU, Abingdon MG

'THE only way to save jobs in Leyland is through a co-op. Each worker down here gets £80 a week, now we've been told that we get £80 for each £900 we make for the company.'

'But we haven't seen the books — we'd probably have to get an accountant or one of those guys in to look at it all.'

'WE want a costing account. The foremen have been asking for a costing account on the MG for longer than we have. Apparently they are not going to produce one. Why not? That's what we want to know. We want to see the books.'

EDWARDES LEYLAND

LESNEYS: THE STRUGGLE OF ONE IS THE STRUGGLE OF ALL

By Tessa Van Gelderen

THE DISPUTE at Lesneys in North east London is, on one level, a straightforward conflict between workers and management. The company won't honour an agreement to pay time and a third to electricians working shifts. Electricians only working the normal day shift found themselves locked out.

Like most disputes, it is important to win, not just for the immediate monetary gains, but also because that strengthens the workforce in the future. Nowhere is this more true than at Lesneys.

Management have all too often played 'divide and rule' — and in the past they have succeeded. This time management must have been a bit taken aback by the unity and solidarity of the unions.

When an Engineering Union member was suspended for refusing to work a machine repaired by a scab ASTMS supervisor, the foundry and fettling sections immediately came out. And they also took up the electricians demand for time and a third for all shift workers.

Premiums

To get the AUEW back management have been forced to create a national precedent. 'They have paid strikers their full money, and this includes shift premiums, to get them back to work. For a company to pay out so much for workers being on strike must mean they are in trouble,' says Senior Steward for the EETPU, Tony Fairey.

Management have not helped their case by this action. The AUEW will not work machines which are repaired by scab labour and eventually the machines will grind to a halt. And, of course, the electricians are now also demanding wages for the time they have been out. The transport drivers are refusing to cross picket lines and the only way management can get the factory fully functioning again is to talk to the EETPU.

This dispute is vitally important for the whole Hackney area. Being one of the few large companies left with a history of weak union organisation, it is important that this dispute is won. The local labour movement has responded accordingly.

As Tony Fairey says: 'It's incredible, I've never yet in all my years come across such support. We've had support from Hackney Trades Council and from the socialist movement in Hackney. British Oxygen workers (BOC is next door to Lesneys), in particular Micky Boulter, TGWU Secretary, have been a tremendous help.'

Praise

'Not only has Micky raised funds, but the amount of hours he has put in is tremendous. He has liaised with the stewards all hours of the day and night. I can't give enough praise for the efforts that he has made. When you see the actions of BOC you know just what the labour struggle is all about.'

And Micky Boulter, the convenor of BOC, the stewards committee, and the Hackney Trades Council, certainly do know what it's all about. It's about showing the bosses, not only at Lesney's, but everywhere, that the struggle of one section of the working class is the struggle of all.

Tony Fairey is under no illusion as to why they have received the support they have: 'It's because these people believe in the struggle of the working class. It's really as straightforward as that. They are so involved with the struggles of people who are oppressed. They support people who are fighting to pay the bill, to pay the rent.'

Hackney BOC are an example for the whole labour movement. Whatever the outcome of this dispute at Lesneys (and the signs are that the electricians are in a very strong position), with the strength of BOC workers and Hackney Trades Council around them, they will live to fight another day. The days of management's 'divide and rule' are clearly numbered.

STOP PRESS: Victory at Lesneys on Tuesday morning. Management concede the end of night shift working and make ex gratia payment of £1,500 to share between the electricians.



MICHAEL EDWARDES, Leyland boss

the country. CLIVE TURNBULL was there and spoke to militants who were on the march.

On Saturday senior stewards met in Birmingham and clearly rejected the idea of mass redundancies in any Leyland plant. PAT KANE went to Birmingham and was not surprised to find out that there is scepticism as to whether the union leaderships are planning for a fight.

Many rank and file workers are already coming up with answers to Edwardes — they call for a policy of occupations in the threatened plants with strike action throughout Leyland; they want greater shop floor involvement in planning for action; they want to see what the company's books say. To this we add the need for work sharing without loss of pay to counter the bosses' allegations that there is no work. And for a national conference of shop stewards to plan and lead the fight.

'We need a policy of occupations'

ALAN THORNETT, Transport Union deputy convenor at Cowley, is not well-loved by the Leyland management, nor for that matter by large sections of the union leaderships. Clive Turnbull asked him his views on how to fight the closures.

The acceptance in principle of Edwardes redundancy plans by the emergency committee set up by the Confed is obviously a total sell-out. They had no authority to accept it from the Confed itself.

They went ahead and accepted it with Edwards threatening to bring in the receivers and shut down the whole of Leyland cars. They collapsed in front of that and so today's demonstration is complete hypocrisy.

The question we have to ask here is whether they will give a report back on the sell-out and the acceptance in principle — the hand-out that's been given to Edwardes.

The only way it can be fought is by direct action in the plants concerned — occupation of the plants concerned and support for the occupations throughout the rest of the Combine — there's no other way.

It's now very very difficult for those individual plants as it's been accepted at Confed level.

Given that Edwardes' strategy is divide and rule, what kind of



strategy can unite all the plants together to overcome that?

Well, it's a leadership question, it's exceedingly difficult if the leadership is prepared to accept.

The present leadership are unable to tackle the 'viability' problem — as soon as the company says 'viability' they go along with the argument.

They are incapable of taking a position which starts from the independent interests of the workers in Leyland, that's the basic problem.

A policy passed a few years ago by the Combine was against transfers of work from plants under threat of redundancy or closure, in other words blacking of transfers. What do you think of that?

Yes, well you can black, in actual fact that's not a very

difficult policy to carry out. But the crucial question is not blacking but whether you get solid resistance in the individual plants.

Even if you black, if there's acceptance in the individual plants that are being closed then other people will accept the work.

Blacking is only a subsidiary question. The main questions are root and branch resistance from the unions at the top and a policy of occupations with supporting action throughout BL. Blacking is then effective.

It's not effective until you've got resistance within the individual plants — and this cuts the feet from under the individual plants.

The Confed should actively call for a policy of occupations, give confidence to the workers in the plants that are being closed, intervene and give immediate official backing to a policy of occupations.

What about the question of accountability? Things like national conferences of shop stewards have been put forward — together with issues of rank and file control.

Well, that's a much broader issue within British Leyland as a whole, around the question of annual reviews and everything. It goes beyond simply this which is just a question of fighting redundancies.

AUSTIN MORRIS					
Current Jobs	By 1980	By 1981	By 1982	Total	Lost
17,600	17,100	15,000	15,000	15,000	2,600
6,800	5,900	6,000	6,300	6,300	500
1,900	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	100
600	500	400	400	400	200
2,900	2,600	2,100	2,000	2,000	900
3,300	2,800	2,400	2,300	2,300	1,000
33,100	30,900	27,900	28,000	28,000	5,100
3,100	2,500	600	600	600	2,500
36,200	33,400	28,500	28,600	28,600	7,600
6,400	6,200	6,000	5,800	5,800	600
42,600	39,600	34,500	34,400	34,400	8,200
PRESSED STEEL FISHER					
Current Jobs	By 1980	By 1981	By 1982	Total	Lost
6,700	4,000	1,100	100	6,600	600
6,900	6,100	6,100	6,200	6,200	700
1,200	1,200	1,100	1,000	1,000	200
1,600	1,500	1,400	1,400	1,400	200
3,700	3,700	4,300	4,400	4,400	+700
2,500	2,500	2,600	2,800	2,800	+300
2,200	2,100	1,900	1,900	1,900	300
24,800	21,100	18,500	17,800	17,800	7,000
JAGUAR ROVER TRIUMPH					
Current Jobs	By 1980	By 1981	By 1982	Total	Lost
4,800	4,800	4,400	3,800	3,800	1,000
2,500	2,500	2,200	2,100	2,100	400
100	—	—	—	—	100
4,000	4,000	4,400	4,600	4,600	+600
7,000	5,200	1,000	1,000	1,000	6,000
1,000	200	200	200	200	800
1,000	1,000	1,000	900	900	100
700	600	600	600	600	100
6,300	5,200	4,900	4,700	4,700	1,600
4,600	4,500	4,400	4,200	4,200	400
32,000	28,000	23,100	22,100	22,100	9,900
4,900	4,200	3,700	3,400	3,400	1,500
36,900	32,200	26,800	25,500	25,500	11,400

Hewitt, Branch 5, 5908 TGWU, Dge

I think what's got to first of all is that from our stewards meeting in Birmingham on Saturday got to form a common front throughout British

it's got to go back to force, everybody's got

to be told — they haven't got to jump the gun. Report back and organise really from the ground floor.

'If they take on the plants individually then they'll be knocked off one by one — it's only what you'd do yourself if you were the boss, isn't it? Hit the weakest first and get rid of them.'



Rudi Gayle, Steward, 5909 TGWU, Longbridge

'AT BIRMINGHAM on Saturday they are having a very important meeting, but the decision about action in Leyland cannot, and should not, be taken at that meeting. There should be report backs to workplace meetings. When decisions just come down from the top people are naturally very suspicious.'



A face that makes nonsense of the age of consent

Pretty Baby [Ritz, X]. Producer Louis Malle

'Very very good of its kind and is certainly art'
'beautiful camera studies as opposed to porn shots'

Felix Barker, Evening Standard.
'Brook Shields [aged 12] is indeed a very pretty baby, and her main attribute is... a face that makes nonsense of the age of consent'
Hugh Hebert, Guardian.

BROOKE SHIELDS plays in yet another film about a 12 year old prostitute. The 'plot' — a 'love' story — couldn't have been simpler.

A whorehouse set in 1917 New Orleans owns a young prostitute. A voyeur, dressed up as a photographer, materialises on the doorstep to take the 'beautiful camera studies'. Girl, Violet, falls in love with said voyeur, who eventually discovers himself to be similarly affected towards her.



Whorehouse closes down and off they go to get married.

Meanwhile, the mother of the girl [also a prostitute in the same brothel]

has fulfilled her desires to be respectable and gone off with a St Louis pavement contractor. They too get married. This done, they eventually turn up on the voyeur's doorstep to claim back 'their' daughter (now 15 years old) who had originally been passed off as the mother's sister in order to further her marriage prospects.

The politics, however, are not so simple. In allowing children to have a sexuality, the film can only cope with this 'revelation' by setting it against a background of exploitation, i.e. prostitution. Violet becomes a commodity to gratify other people's desires.

Virgin

In the first half of the film Violet is still a virgin and consequently worth a lot. She is duly auctioned off for 400 dollars. Prior to that she has been paraded around on a platter dressed in virginal white and holding a phallic sparkler.

As the bidding proceeds, the camera switches to the face of the black dandy 'house' piano player. The higher the bidding, the more

creased and lined with pain his face becomes. And in a whorehouse where blacks are servants 'only' and customers are white men — the reference to slave auctions is obvious.

But the full vigour of the film's hypocrisy is saved right until the end. Newly wed mother and hubby turn up to crush what little freedom Violet has struggled to achieve.

Standing on the doorstep and dressed in solid black pinstripes, the St Louis pavement contractor issues forth the fateful lines [to the voyeur/husband]: 'Mrs Fuller [newly wed mother] has overcome her past. She wants the same for Violet.' Note the double twist. The mechanism for crushing Violet is the oppression of the mother. The mechanism for Violet's freedom has been a voyeur.

The sick joke is rounded off in the closing shot of hubby taking a photograph of this newly completed family with one of those new box cameras on the station platform whilst waiting for the train to St Louis.

Violet has been successfully relegated from a person to daughter. And thanks to laws like the age of consent, it's all legal.

Has 'Women's Voice' become a section of the SWP?

By Celia Shalom, new member of Women's Voice Steering Committee in a personal capacity.

THE END of September saw the second national Women's Voice conference in Birmingham, attended by about 200 women from 40 different groups around the country. The weekend was very full, with discussion about our perspectives, specific campaigns, and the nature of Women's Voice. Workshops were held on abortion, the cuts, maternity leave, housing, the history of the Women's Liberation Movement, new technology, building WV groups in the workplace and community, and the revolutionary party. It was a great opportunity for women from different parts of the country to share experiences and get to know each other.

The Steering Committee report highlighted that, for quite a small organisation, we had been very active over the past year. WV groups vary in size and make up, but most are based in localities and campaign on two or three main issues, such as health cuts, abortion, or supporting local struggles of women at work. Almost all do sales of the magazine in shopping centres, estates, and so on.

The few workplace groups, like Fleet Street, which is working around the new technology and a nursery, are an example of what can be done over the next year. The Tory attacks on working women, from cuts in the welfare state to reduction of maternity rights, means that groups based at work will be even more needed.

A paper on our perspectives pointed to this need — it saw WV as a campaigning and growing organisation of women with a revolutionary perspective in its activities and arguments. Our opposition to the Corrie Bill, for instance, is not a 'defend the 67 Act' position, rather we say that abortion must be the woman's choice alone.

This platform of Women's Voice, which will go on membership cards, was passed: 'Women's Voice is an organisation that fights for women's liberation and socialism. We fight for: equal pay; free abortion and contraception; we fight against all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex, sexual orientation, or race. Women's liberation is only possible through women organising and fighting for themselves. Women's liberation can only be achieved by linking its struggles to those of the working class and overthrowing the capitalist system. Women's Voice supports the aims of the Socialist Workers Party. It is organisationally independent, but based on the politics of the SWP.'

The last two lines were the most controversial issue at conference, and also the most confused. Some women voted for them because they wanted an openly stated link with the SWP, and nothing more. Others, I think, see Women's Voice as now a section of the SWP, composed only of SWP members and some non-aligned women close to the SWP. Sadly, non-aligned women present at the conference did not force the discussion

enough around their situation, instead the debate was dominated by women aligned to other left groups.

Conference upheld the right of women to be members of other left organisations and still be in Women's Voice. The criteria of membership are selling the magazine, helping to build a group, and agreement with the statement on the membership card.

It was necessary to lay down a specific structure for the organisation, so that we can be more effective, and so that all members can fully participate in discussion and the political development of Women's Voice. The Steering Committee, elected at annual conference, is the political leadership and general co-ordinator during the year. The development of regional meetings between groups, and an internal newsletter to enable discussion among Women's Voice members, were agreed. We also decided to concentrate on making ourselves financially strong enough to be able to pay for our own organiser.

The conference clarified some of the perspectives for Women's Voice, but the real clarification will come from our development over the next year. It is crucial that, however busy they are within their own local groups [which we will be, thanks to the Tories!], all members get involved in the debates within the organisation. The political development of women and a growing confidence to make and carry out our decisions in action is what Women's Voice is all about.



NICOS POULANTZAS, the well-known Marxist writer, died in Paris last week. Poulantzas, who had been extremely depressed by the situation in Indochina and the situation in France, decided to take his own life. Poulantzas is pictured above at the 1978 Marxist Symposium organised by Socialist Challenge in London. We offer our condolences to his family and friends. In next week's issue we will publish an appreciation by Robin Blackburn.

Bookmarx Club

CHRISTMAS QUARTER 1979

The Bookmarx Club is now an established method for socialists to get the best of new socialist books at a big discount—and delivered to your door. HOW IT WORKS. You send us £4.50 for which you will receive the books on List A below plus those on one other list of your choice. Extra lists can be obtained for £2.50 each. Don't delay, send in the form now with your subscription, you will save pounds on the retail value of the books (shown in brackets on the list).

LIST A

TROTSKY'S MARXISM by Duncan Hallas (£2.50)
To celebrate the centenary of Trotsky's birth a new handbook and guide to his unique contribution presented largely in his own words.
THE SPACE MERCHANTS by Pohl & Kornbluth (85p)
In this hilarious parody of the world of advertising the Conies (conservationists) fight it out with the cynical Admen.

LIST B

PALESTINIANS: FROM PEASANTS TO REVOLUTIONARIES by Rosemay Sayigh (2.95)
The vivid recollections of Palestinians in the camps of Lebanon, together with careful research tells the real story of Palestine under the British, the expulsion by the Zionists and the resistance.
PALESTINE LIVES! by Phil Marfleet (40p)
Why we must support the Palestinians in their struggle.

LIST C

THE WORLD ON OUR BACKS by Malcolm Pitt (2.95)
An unforgettable account of the Kent miners and the 1972 miners strike — by a miner.

LIST D

IN THE CASTLE OF MY SKIN by George Lamming (1.50)
A famous novel of Caribbean adolescence by a writer from Barbados.
THE HOUSE OF HUNGER by Dambudzo Marechera (1.25)
Stories which vividly evoke the township squalor of settler exploited Zimbabwe.
AN ONLY CHILD Frank O'Connor (80p)
Autobiographical story of the childhood and youth of an Irish revolutionary.

LIST E

TESTAMENT OF YOUTH by Vera Brittain (1.75)
Portrait of a young girl's life before and during the first world war.
THE MONOCLED MUTINEER by Allison and Fairley (1.95)
In 1917 British troops erupted in mutiny—a fact the official histories have successfully buried. This is the story of the leader of the mutiny.

Special offers to Bookmarx Members
MY SONG IS MY OWN—100 WOMEN'S SONGS (normally £3.95) for £2.95 inc post
THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA by Antou Caliga (normally £5.95) for £4.75 inc post

I wish to join/rejoin Bookmarx and enclose £4.50 (+£2.50 for each extra list)

NAME Please send list A + List(s)

ADDRESS

Send to BOOKMARX CLUB, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London, N4 3

WHAT'S LEFT

GRAVESEND SOCIALIST CHALLENGE
Group meets regularly. Details from Gravesend Tigers, Box 13, Gravesend

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

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION! POW status for Irish Republican Prisoners, Brits Out of Ireland. Oxford, Sat 20 Oct. Assemble 2pm Chapel Street, off Cowley Road. Creche available. Evening social. Organised by Sinn Fein.

HULL UNIVERSITY FI Society and Hull Socialist Challenge supporters present, for the first time in Hull, 'The Patriot Game', in Middleton Hall, Hull University, Cottingham Road, Hull, Fri 19 Oct at 7.45pm. All welcome. Tickets 75p from any seller of Socialist Challenge, Socialist Books, or ring Angie on Hull 441922.

'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'.

PADDINGTON & N. Kensington SC group debate on 'Can the Labour Party bring Socialism?' Speakers: Victor Schonfield (treasurer, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy) and Celia Pugh (IMG political committee). Tues 23 Oct, 8pm, in the Meeting Room, 1 Thorpe Close (under Westway flyover), W10.

BATH: SOCIALIST CHALLENGE on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm - 3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.

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

HACKNEY Socialist Challenge group meeting: 'Solidarity with the revolution in Nicaragua'. Speaker: Clive Turnbull (IMG Political Committee, recently in Nicaragua). Plus slide show. Thur 18 Oct, 7.30pm, Britannia pub, Mare St. E8.

GAY RIGHTS at work: TU day schools organised by Scottish Homosexual Rights Group for men and women active in trade union work. Glasgow Trades Union Centre, Sat 27 Oct; Edinburgh Trades Union Centre, Sun 28 Oct. For full details and registration contact Ian Dutton on 031-225 2424 ext 6298 (day), or Bob Deacon — Livingstone 38394 (day).

TEN YEARS OF THE Irish War; Five Years of the Prevention of Terrorism Act — Troops Out Now, Smash the PTA. Second planning meeting to mobilise for the national demo on 24 Nov, commemorating the 5th anniversary of the introduction of the PTA. Tues 23 Oct, 7.30pm, club room, Conway Hall, London WC1. Holborn tube. Called by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency.

CLEVELAND ANL Public meeting: Stop the Southall trials. Main Speaker Tariq Ali. 7.30pm, Fri 2 Nov. AUEW Hall, Middlesbrough.
PROTEST AGAINST Nuclear weapons: UN Disarmament Week. Sat 27 Oct at St. Martins in the Field, Trafalgar Square, 2pm - 6pm. Stalls, films, exhibitions. Teams will be sent out to leaflet all over Central London. Protests at political party HQs, Downing Street, Ministry of Defence, Nuclear Embassies. Evening Rally at Central Hall Westminster, 6.30pm. Organised by CND.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST Group Day School Sat 10 Nov, 10am - 5pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Workshops on Russia 1917, Spain 1936, Hungary 1956, France 1968, Trotskyism, Beyond the Fragments, Socialism and Democracy. Registration fee £1 on door, in advance (with preparatory documents) from LCG, 27, Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.

LATIN AMERICA Centre at the Christopher Hatton Centre, Laysall Street, off Roseberry

Avenue, London EC1 (Chancery Lane tube). A course and workshop in Latin American culture, including music, theatre, film, etc, with an emphasis on popular culture. Thursdays at 6.30pm from 25 Oct. Further details: Malcolm on 01-552-4270.

WOMAN 26, Trainee midwife, needs own room W.N.W London; prefer shared house. Please contact Alex Webber c/o Andy, 04-278-2601
OLDHAM SC GROUP: Anti-racist film, 'Divide and Rule, Never' and speaker, Thur 25 Oct, 8pm, Sergeant-Ar-Arms Pub, King St, Oldham (opp Co-op).

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Tendency Public Meeting: Imperialism in Africa - Extend the Anti-Imperialist Struggle to Britain. Speaker: Frank Richards. Fri 19 Oct 1.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Holborn Tube.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Papers No 5: The Battle for Africa. The recession is forcing the imperialist powers to compete even more fiercely for control of raw material sources, markets and areas for investment. Frank Richards analyses the material forces underlying the new scramble for Africa, Alan Harding imperialist rivalry in Zaire, and Andre Robinson the liberation movement in Zimbabwe. Available from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency: BM RCT (4) London WC1 6XX. 60p plus 15p postage. Make cheques payable to Junius Publications Ltd.

IT'S BACK!

Belt 'n' Braces
'Accidental Death of an Anarchist'

'Simply brilliant' — Tariq Ali

From 15 Oct, bookings 01-267 6722
Party and wageless reductions

One in the eye for New Zealand Tories

By Martin Meteyard

ROBERT Muldoon is New Zealand's equivalent of Margaret Thatcher. Head of a right-wing Tory government determined to cut wages, boost unemployment, and smash the right to organise.

Bill Rowling is the equivalent of Jim Callaghan. A Labour opposition leader who thinks only in parliamentary terms; who in July denounced the 'disturbing trend towards use of the strike weapon as a negotiating tool', and attacked those talking of an industrial showdown as 'irresponsible idiots'.

Well, on 20 September there were an awful lot of 'irresponsible idiots' around as a 24-hour general strike brought the country to a virtual standstill.

The strike was called by the Federation of Labour after the government used its recently passed Remuneration Act to veto a wage agreement wrung out of the employers by the powerful Drivers' Federation.

Award

The drivers' award — which generally acts as a pacesetter for other unions — was for 11 per cent. The government then stepped in to reduce it to 9.5 per cent, the amount of the employers' original offer before industrial action forced them into further concessions.

The response from other workers was immediate. Stopwork meetings took place around the country. An immediate half-day stoppage was called at the New Zealand Motor Corporation assembly plant in Wellington. The Meat Workers Union pulled out of wage



negotiations and threatened 'appropriate direct action' unless all threat of government intervention was removed.

As a delegate from the Carpenters &

Labourers Union put it at a 900-strong meeting called by Auckland Trades Council: 'Are we going to let the employers walk all over us? If all the workers in New Zealand stand up, I wonder how they'll fit us all in jail.'

Such militancy left the Federation of Labour leaders with little option but to organise some form of national action. Hence the 24-hour strike call for 20 September.

The short notice could have limited its effectiveness, but in fact thousands of workers joined street demonstrations against the Muldoon government in all the main centres. Bruce Fowler, an organiser for the Northern Storemen and Packers Union, explained how it was done at a Socialist Forum organised by the New Zealand Trotskyists the following day:

'One of the highlights was that the Drivers, Storemen and Drug and Chemical Workers Unions organised delegates' militias. Yesterday morning we had up to 250 delegates at our office and we sent these delegates out to sites in cars to make sure that none of the sites were working.'

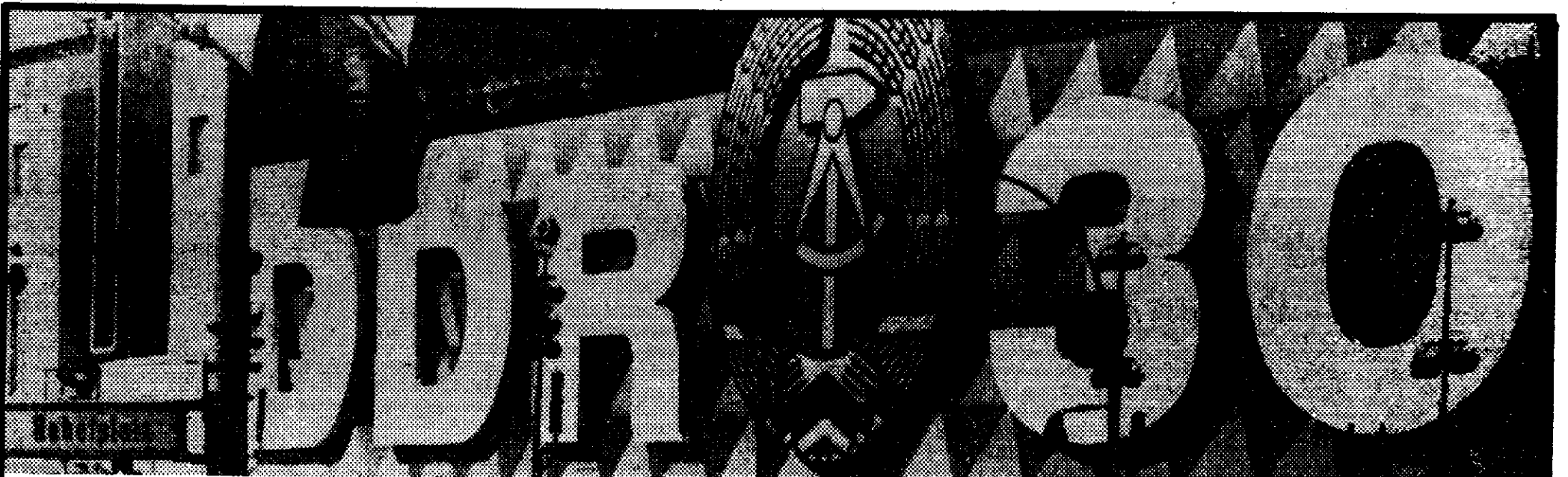
Strength

Muldoon's Remuneration Act now faces the same fate as Public Service Association Derecognition Bill, which the government was forced to withdraw in July under threat of massive industrial action.

Bill Anderson, president of the Auckland Trades Council, summed up the feelings of most workers about the 20 September general strike when he told a rally:

'It's an exercise in strength for us, an exercise in fear for them... we will continue this type of action until the government is changed... We want not only to remove this government, but also the policies it follows.'

What better example could there be of how to fight the Tories?



Thoughts on an anniversary...

By Günter Minnerup

I AM SITTING before my typewriter, ready to produce the piece on the thirtieth anniversary of the German Democratic Republic [GDR] that Socialist Challenge has asked for.

Easy job that, our position is clear. Bureaucratically deformed workers' state, product of the Soviet occupation after 1945 and the Cold War, call for a political revolution that, in conjunction with the social revolution in West Germany, will establish a united socialist Germany.

But what about the actual anniversary? Have a drink on it, before I start writing? Do I, a German socialist, born in the same year as the 'first German workers' and peasants' state, have anything to celebrate?

My first semi-conscious confrontation with the existence of another Germany than the one I lived in was on a New Year's Day in the 1950s. Walter Ulbricht, 'the goat' as everyone called him because of his beard, gave his annual speech about the inexorable progress in the construction of socialism.

Radio

In retrospect, it seems odd that people in West Germany actually tuned in to the East German radio to listen to someone who was then the most hated man in Germany. But it was a sort of love-hate relationship, like the one with the fortified border

running right through Germany, and with the 'Soviet Zone' (to call it GDR amounted to high treason then) in general.

One listened to Ulbricht like people today go and watch Alien, took foreign visitors for a day out along the barbed wire, the watch-towers and the plaques commemorating failed escape attempts, and felt quite smug sending Christmas parcels with oranges, real Swiss chocolate and American chewing gum to our suffering 'brothers and sisters in the East'.

Uprisings

When, during the uprisings of June 1953, a column of East Berlin building workers marched through the American sector appealing for the solidarity of their brothers in the West, it was chocolate and chewing gum that was thrown down to them from the windows.

But I was too young to remember 1953. It was only much later, when involved in my first political discussions, that the events of the day that had been declared a national holiday — 'Day of German Unity' — by the reactionary Adenauer government were continuously thrown at me and other socialists.

'If you don't like it here, why don't you go and join the goat? Socialism? Workers' state? With Russian tanks rolling against striking workers?' It was no use arguing. The German working class, once among

the best-organised and most militant in the world, has seen 'actually existing socialism' at work and said, No thanks.

Then came the Berlin Wall, and the bullet-ridden bodies hanging on to the barbed wire on top of the concrete blocks. Willy Brandt and John F. Kennedy had taken over from August Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg as the heroes of the politically active minority of the German proletariat. The Social Democrats (SPD) had espoused the cause of the 'free market economy', the Communist Party (KPD) — or rather, what remained of it — been banned without a voice raised in protest.

There seems little cause to celebrate thirty years of stain on the good name of socialism. Where could we German socialists be today if it had not been for the free ammunition continuously provided to the bourgeois propaganda machine for three decades, courtesy of Ulbricht and Honecker?

Have a drink on a state whose population has actually decreased since 1949 largely because over three million of its inhabitants have 'voted with their feet' and fled to the West?

Odds

But be fair! Was not the de-politicisation of the West German working class primarily a result of the fascist terror, and also a product of the unprecedented 'economic mira-

cle', the long post-war boom?

And did the GDR not face the most appalling odds stacked against it: a slim industrial base further weakened by the dismantling of entire factories which went to the Soviet Union as reparations, the exodus of hundreds of thousands of skilled workers to the West, the denial of the billions of Marshall Plan dollars that fuelled the West German 'miracle', and the international isolation imposed on it by West German diplomacy for two out of its three decades?

Junkers

Does it not have to its credit the expropriation of the Junker class, the warmongering landlords of German imperialism? And what about the extremely thorough purge of all Nazis from the state apparatus — so much in contrast to the brown freckles on the face of the Bonn democracy?

Does not the fact that, today despite all obstacles, the GDR is among the top ten industrial powers of the world and overtaking Britain in living standards prove the historical superiority of a planned economy — the first workers' state to shed the 'poor relation' image?

And is not the international role the GDR plays in giving substantial material aid to the liberation movements of Africa, to Vietnam, Cambodia and Cuba a progressive one?

I can hear the shouts of 'pabloite revisionism'. I must not be soft on Stalinism. But somewhere deep down there is a feeling of affection for the other Germany. Thirty years of toil by millions of German workers, rid by whatever means of the anarchy of the capitalist system, cannot have been entirely in vain.

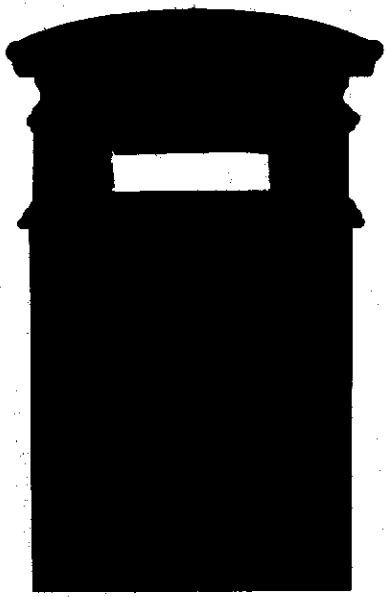
Learn

One day we shall have to build on this foundation. Learn from the rich experience of those many honest communists who set about the task of building a new Germany enthusiastically enough not to need the Stalinist whip on their backs.

It is from their ranks that many of the dissidents — Havemann, Biermann, Bahro and the lesser-known ones — have come, socialists all of them. Alone among the Eastern bloc countries, the voice of dissent in the GDR speaks the language of Marxism. A weak voice, still, but clearly heard in both Germanies. Bahro's book a bestseller, West German trade unionists discussing The Alternative. Times are changing.

Celebrate

On the occasion of its 30th anniversary, the GDR declares an amnesty for over 30,000 prisoners. Rudolf Bahro is one of them. Now here's something to celebrate.



Workers are sexist — but not out of self-interest

THE letter by Ken Pritchard (SC No 115, 27 September) completely misinterprets the views expressed by Ilona Gersh in the interview published in Socialist Challenge No 113 and the views of the American Socialist Workers Party.

In an evening meeting on women in industry at the SWP Convention, which several IMG members attended, there was a full discussion about the problems of sexist harassment at work, including problems with fellow workers. The SWP does not take the view that there is no problem of opposition to affirmative action from male (and white) workers.

Their position, however, is that sexism on the part of workers has a different basis than that of supervisors and employers. In the former case it is an expression of false consciousness, in the latter of class interest. Male workers have no class or material interest in the oppression of women.

This is where Ken Pritchard goes completely wrong when he writes: 'On the face of it, since management is interested in only one thing — profit — it is quite possible that they would be keener to have women doing traditional men's work than male workers are, since the latter fear for their job security, status and the rest.'

On the contrary, affirmative action is in the interests of workers, male and female, because it strengthens the working class as a whole against capitalism, whereas the ruling class benefits from keeping workers divided.

Ken Pritchard's approach does not provide any strategy for working class unity. Condemnations of the prejudices of male workers on their own are insufficient to win them from sexism. Explaining that it is in their class interest to fight for women's liberation does.

The widespread acceptance by the American working class of affirmative action is an important step towards women's liberation. This does not make independent organisation of women redundant. In the article Ilona explained how the SWP had encouraged women steelworkers to set up a chapter of the National Organisation for Women on the Iron Range.

The acceptance by the American working class of affirmative action indicates that it is increasingly the working class, rather than other social layers, who are the best allies of the women's movements and the supporters of progressive positions on social issues.

Ken Pritchard's approach goes in the opposite direction because it implies that the working class is generally more backward on social questions than other layers of society. This is a very dangerous position for socialists to take and cuts across a strategy of winning male workers to support for women's liberation. LIZ LAWRENCE Sheffield.

Who lost the election?

YOUR headline of 27 September, 'They Lost Labour the Election', above pictures of Callaghan and Healey, is very misleading. I thought Messrs Benn and Foot were also part of that government.

Indeed, by refusing to break with the Cabinet over the 5 per cent wage limit they implicitly gave a left cover to Callaghan.

Of course, it is necessary to intervene in the current debate in the Labour Party rather than posture in sectarian fashion from the sidelines. But perhaps a better method of achieving this would have been to lead on the mass action of the engineers, and continue to highlight the refusal of the Bennites to come out and campaign for the victory of the strike.

Revolutionary Marxists stand with the rank and file of the Labour Party in the fight for internal democracy not to ensure Benn replaces Callaghan, but to ensure the resources of the party can be turned to help the workers in struggle. GEORGE KEREVAN, Edinburgh

Blind alleys and new avenues

TARIQ Ali was on the right lines when he described Kampuchea as 'neither fish nor fowl', meaning, of course, that it could not be characterised as either a workers' state or a capitalist state.

We have to accept the fact that the prolonged death agony of capitalism and the increasing world-wide role of the different variants of Stalinism — Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, Havana — have brought about mutations in state structures, not accounted for in the Marxist text-books.

This is true, not only of Kampuchea but of a number of other states such as Ethiopia, Somaliland, Angola, Afghanistan etc. Marxists should not be afraid to face up to this. As Ernest Mandel writes in his *Trotsky: A Study In The Dynamic Of His Thought*:

'In the contradictory course of history, mistakes often become sources of knowledge. Having run into a blind alley, revolutionary thought can suddenly discover a new avenue.'

The 'blind alley' some of us have run into is to take it for granted that every Stalinist-led coup must result in the birth of a workers' state, however degenerate, forgetting that Stalinism is essentially counter-revolutionary.

New avenues will only be opened up by the building of a Marxist international party, integrated into the working class, not afraid to subject new phenomena thrown up by the vagaries of history to critical analysis.

CHARLIE VAN GELDEREN, London NW10

A case of amnesia

RE your recent articles on Kampuchea and Bob Dylan: *Socialist Challenge* appears not to have a memory. Who was it in June 1978, selling raffle tickets to raise funds for the organisation? What was the prize from this grand raffle, organised for such a noble cause?

It was a ticket for a rock concert, at Earl's Court, given by an imperialist, Zionist, sexist, capitalist, who masquerades under the name of Bob Dylan. I'm surprised Nigel Hamilton didn't invent a new social evil, for us to be ashamed of — Dylanism. It could almost be on a par with racism and sexism, as a crime against humanity. But where does such lateral thinking leave Trotskyism?

It seems to be a case of: 'Whatever profits Dylan/Trotsky prophets us.' (The rank and file)

I'm beginning to think that SC has opened up our very own Pandora's Box. How are we to view our heroes and heroines? Marx was into pornography. Engels was into capitalism. Trotsky was heavily into Kronstadt. No doubt Engels was

fairly pleased with himself, keeping Marx supplied with funds, so that the great scribe of socialism could keep up his own good works that would, some hundred years later, inspire us all onto the streets to scream our support for Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge.

As I never went to Stalinist training school, consequently I'm not half as clever as I think Clive Turnbull is. Perhaps Clive Turnbull could demystify, for me at least, why he is inviting discussion about Kampuchea. Is he wanting to see 'which way the wind blows' before he gives us a line that's safe?

Let me quote: 'A staggering two million people have died in the 1970s — the bulk of them after the overthrow of Lon Nol by the Khmer Rouge guerillas in 1975' (my italics). That statement reveals a lot about what we can expect from Clive Turnbull on the forthcoming discussion about Kampuchea.

Bulk is for cargo, a non-human entity. Thus it appears, to me at least, that Lon Nol, a 'capitalist', killed people — Pol Pot, 'socialist', merely shifted cargo.

He doesn't say anywhere, that all us socialists supported and campaigned for the cargo shifter and the Khmer Rouge. That carefully placed hyphen before 'the bulk of them' reads like a divorce of convenience.

He goes on to put a lot of distance between Upper Street and the responsibility for what happened in Kampuchea, by mechanically blaming Moscow, Peking, but how much distance can he put between himself and Tariq Ali, with whom he shares an office if not a typewriter.

Instinctively I would say I was on Tariq's side. It doesn't do the socialist movement any good if we allow articles such as the one Clive Turnbull wrote to appear in our newspapers. We can't shovel our own bloodstained history into the ditch and expect to get away with it.

Are we to take Clive Turnbull and Nigel Hamilton seriously as socialists or just as hatchet people. Or maybe even two slightly shabby and homeless seaside comedians who always wanted to live in the big time but never managed to rise above cheap digs.

DUNCAN BROWN, East London PS It is a truism of Dylan that even if you can't trust the singer you can sometimes trust the song.

A sad day for socialists

THE recent *Socialist Challenge* article on the sad decline of Bob Dylan prompted me to make a few comments.

Like countless others, I too was greatly disappointed by his recent wayward turn (and the really bad album that came out of it). For your writer this was merely the final episode of a process started long ago and indeed, there is probably much truth in this.

Nevertheless, you praise Dylan for his 'anti-establishment masterpieces' and more recently for the anti-racist 'Hurricane'. But, you inform us, Dylan was/is a Zionist and this is presented as a crime of fantastic proportions.

No doubt it was his racist Zionism from which he drew inspiration for anti-racist classics such as 'Only a Pawn in their Game', 'Oxford Town' and 'Hurricane'.

Perhaps *Socialist Challenge* should list other (thought to be) progressives in the music world, supplemented by a synopsis of their views on the Middle East conflict, and if it is still unclear whether they are on 'our' side we should also list their views on the nature of the Soviet Union.

Would you buy records of a singer who thought that the USSR was State Capitalist?

More seriously, it would suffice to say that your blatant and offensively euphemistic use of the term 'Zionist' or indeed 'millionaire Zionist' can only be described as anti-semitic, and this is not the first time that anti-semitic use of the 'rich Jews' myth has permeated *Socialist Challenge's* anti-Zionism.

For Dylan fans there have been many sad days as the once progressive singer declined through hypocritical aggrandisement towards 'born again' Christianity; but it is a sadder day for socialists when a left newspaper uses vile and base anti-semitism in portraying this decline.

In conclusion however far more significant figures have pronounced on the Middle East. Khomeini — the man betraying the revolutionary hopes of the Iranian masses — has the 'right line' on Zionism.

Idi 'Hitler was right' Amin, butcher of the Ugandan people, was a friend of Arafat and has the 'right line' on Zionism.

In view of this it is surprising that many, Dylan and myself included, have the wrong line on Zionism. DAVE ROSENBERG, Ilford, Essex.

British Movement.

*Ban all bands who encourage fascist support, incite racist or anti-semitic violence or who openly declare their support for the NF and BM. For example, The Dentists, White Boss and Screwdriver.

*Ban all members of the public who intimidate the audience with fascist saluting (Seig Heils) and chanting or, who provoke fascist violence amongst the audience. John Dennis pp. Rock Against Racism, Paul King, Paul Loasby, Gill Khosla, Allan Schaverien, Dan Silver MAM Agency, Castro Brown [Dir. Deb Music], Margaret Duvall (Manager Deb Music), Roger Barrett, Partners and crew of Star Hire, Rob Hallett, Paul Hodsmen, Dick Tee, Trevor Phillips, Frances Lass, John Peel.



Exemplary TV programme

CAN you explain at all the content of your review page, *Socialist Challenge* 27 September?

If Bob Dylan was facing a possible prison sentence arising out of his anti-racist activity (like the editor of SC) it would be a bit more understandable. But for most of us Bob Dylan's been RIP for years, and the official announcement in SC could have waited.

In that week something important did happen. An excellent programme by the Southall Campaign Committee was broadcast on TV. It publicised the incredible attacks of the police and courts on the black community of Southall.

Apparently this deserved only a brief mention in your pages. While the rest of the media have so far ignored the aftermath of the police riot, you could at least have given some publicity to the programme, which was screened on your publication day for the second time.

The programme could at least have been reviewed, not only because of the subject, but as an exemplary use of the mass media to put over socialist ideas.

The reviews page has been criticised for being trendy, elitist and central-London oriented. Will it ever change?

HILARY DRIVER, Southall, Middlesex.

British Movement

WE, the undersigned, wish to express our concern at the recent outbreak of fascist violence and intimidation provoked by members of the National Front and British Movement.

We would further encourage the licencees of rock venues to seriously consider the following precautions: *Refuse entry to members of the public who insist on wearing NF and or BM supporters badges.

*Ban distribution of racist, anti-semitic and fascist literature on their premises.

*Ban recruitment to, and illegal collections for, the NF and BM.

*Refuse all bookings from the National Front, their Rock Against Communism organisations or the

The father as beast

YOUR review of *Alien* left out the real theme of this Hollywood blockbuster: the Father as beast.

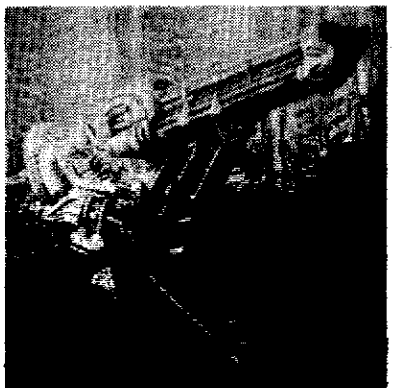
A crew of long-distance space hoppers is being nursed by the Mother, the crew's own name for their space craft's computer and life-support system, but the reference would apply just as well to the whole craft, with its endless cuddly corridors.

Into this womb enters the *Alien*, first as a growth on the face of one of the crew members who has ventured into the great unknown, but then to emerge from its chrysalis as the essence of the Father and patriarchal society — a grotesque prick with snapping teeth.

The prick grows and grows, eventually embracing in its voracious jaws the whole crew — bar one. The third officer, a female and would-be mother herself, resolves that the only way to escape from the Father is to destroy the Mother, in other words, the family death wish.

But when the Mother disappears in a nuclear cleansing operation, the Father has escaped to threaten the surviving daughter, who succeeds in knocking Him into the void. Whether she has rid Him from the subconscious remains ambiguous.

It is good to see that Hollywood has at last begun to put some of S Freud's ideas up front, but typical that it ignores the Lacan developments, which locate the patriarchy not in the great unknown but here and now. JANE FOX, London W11



ABOUT ONE and three quarter million black people live in Britain today. The vast majority either settled in Britain since the war, having been encouraged to come here to meet the labour shortage, or are descendants of those who did.

British capitalism cannot end the oppression which black people suffer in Britain. Equally, any attempt to expel them would encounter tremendous black resistance, and stimulate the fascist far right — a dangerous upping of the stakes which the ruling class cannot lightly embark upon.

The Black people of Britain have become a new and permanent feature of British political life, and the task of Black liberation a major problem of strategy for revolutionary socialists in Britain. Just as the growth of the women's liberation movement forced the Marxist left to re-confront the relationship between the struggle for socialism and for women's liberation, so belatedly we are being forced to confront the relationship between black liberation and socialism.

Contribution

An important contribution towards this process has recently come from Tony Bagues and Kim Gordon, both members of the Socialist Workers Party, whose essays have been published in a pamphlet called 'Black nationalism and socialism'. Below Shiraz Khamis examines their work.

IT IS not often that we read essays which debate the political positions held amongst the black vanguard, and it is rare indeed when these are written by revolutionary socialists involved in the day to day struggles of the black people. For this reason alone 'Black nationalism and socialism' makes important reading for all revolutionaries.

The essays are divided into basically two sections. The first deals with the history of the black movement in the West Indies and USA — Garveyism, Malcolm X and the OAAU, the Black Panther Party, ending with an essay by the veteran black Trotskyist CLR James.

Dynamic

The authors are correct to look at the history of the black movement for two reasons. First, to dispel the myth that the history of black people has just been one of slavery — it has been one of revolt and revolutionary struggle.

Second because each phase in the black movement's development has shown common characteristics. There has been one theme constantly present in the most dynamic and revolutionary sections of the black movement — that it will be the struggles of black people themselves which can bring about their liberation, and that black people themselves must determine and control, through their own organisations, their own future.

Whether it took the form of Garvey's call for black pride in the slogan 'Up you mighty race', or Malcolm X's revolutionary slogan of 'Our freedom by any means necessary', the essence was the same — in short, black nationalism.

Reverse

Many whites charge Black organisations as nationalist. To them nationalism is little more than an epithet, and means "racism in reverse". These whites demonstrate an ignorance on the question of racial oppression. They fail to understand that a racially oppressed group is drawn into struggle against that oppression through nationalism. Black nationalism is nothing more than the desire of Black people to unite as a group into their own movement to fight that oppression'. (Page 21).

That black people should consistently turn to their own self-organisation, an independent political movement, despite their being overwhelmingly working class, is no accident. It is both a product of the racism prevalent within the white working class, and the character of the oppression suffered by black people.

The struggle for black liberation in Britain A new and permanent feature of British political life



BLACK self-defence, 1953, taken from 'Black nationalism and socialism', a collection of essays by Tony Bagues and Kim Gordon, published by the Socialist Workers' Party.

As CLR James puts it: 'The white working class struggles against the objective rule of capital and for some subjective goal, which even on the very eve of revolution, is impossible to visualise fully in concrete and positive terms. The Negroes, on the other hand, struggle and will continue to struggle objectively against capital, but in contrast to the white workers, for the very concrete objective democratic rights that they see around them.'

Rights

The Afro-americans constitute what Bagues calls a 'national racial minority — a set of people having the features of a national minority'. Revolutionary socialists stand for the right of the Afro-americans to self-determination, and defend that right against the capitalist state and among the white workers.

This raises the first problem of strategy for revolutionaries in Britain.

Do the black people of Britain constitute a 'national racial minority', as Bagues calls the Afro-americans? The comrades answer yes, and that exerting the right to self-determination requires the building of an autonomous black liberation movement.

Independent

'The struggle for black rights is the struggle of an independent movement of an oppressed people. Now, when we say independent, what do we mean? We mean a movement independent of the state as well as white organisations'.

First let me say that while I fully support and welcome the political conclusions drawn by the comrades, I think the analysis confused and unclear. Can black people in Britain really be said to constitute a single national minority? The Afro-american nationality was forged out of slavery which destroyed the distinct racial and national identities of the

African peoples taken as slaves.

Black people coming to Britain, and even their descendants, retain

their own languages, religion, cultural traditions — they continue to form separate and distinct national minorities. Whether these divisions will be eradicated over a prolonged time is difficult to say at this stage — but as yet we must speak of the self-determination of the national minorities, and not a single national minority.

Unclear

At the same time British society oppresses black people, not according to their distinct national identities, but according to one common characteristic — they are identifiably black. The need for political unity of the black peoples to fight their common oppression is what calls for a united and independent black liberation movement.

A second question must be asked — what sort of black liberation movement? Here the comrades are less clear.

Tony Bagues points out that within nationalism are two trends — that which ends up collaborating with the system (black capitalism, cultural nationalism) and those who maintain a consistent nationalist position (the revolutionary nationalists). His conclusion is that it is necessary to build an 'independent revolutionary organisation of blacks'.

Foolish

How is this different from a revolutionary party? The party is an independent organisation of all revolutionary workers, and its role is to unite and represent the interests of all the oppressed for a common struggle to destroy the capitalist state.

Why then a revolutionary organisation of blacks? Do we insist that any black liberation movement must be revolutionary at the outset? This would be foolish — we place no such pre-conditions upon participation in the trade unions. To say that revolutionaries support and defend black people in their building an independent liberation movement, and then place conditions upon that support, is in reality to split the black movement.

The black liberation movement revolutionaries seek to build must respond to the immediate issues facing black people, and unite the black peoples for a political struggle based on self-reliance. Within such a movement revolutionary socialists, along with all other currents, must advance their particular strategy for black liberation.

Dangers

Furthermore, that movement will develop out of the debates and divisions growing in the existing organisations of black people and the new organisations thrown up by the struggle — the youth movements, the defence committees, and the different campaign coalitions between the black peoples. It will be a long process.

I feel the comrades are unclear on these issues. There is a danger that Flame, their 'independent revolutionary organisation of blacks', is seen as the liberation movement. If so it can only weaken the struggle to build a black liberation movement, and the standing of revolutionary socialists within it.

'Try and look happy'

By David Bowie, Haringey

EVERY THURSDAY and Friday we sell Socialist Challenge at tube stations in our area. At Finsbury Park we sell 15 in two hours each day. Regular sales mean regular readers.

On Saturday mornings you'll find us in the two busiest shopping areas. We put up posters, have a literature table and petition for the National Abortion Campaign at the same time. We also have a big bucket full of badges which sell like hot cakes to young people. When a school student buys a badge we offer them a copy of Revolution.

Petitioning gets us into conversations with people, which helps us to sell our paper and build support for

campaigns.

The front page is usually what makes people decide to buy. If the back page happens to be better, turn it around. It's worth approaching people who are wearing political badges and telling them what's inside that issue.

Don't forget to take the newspapers round bookshops and newsagents. We sell 18 copies a week in this way. We take the paper with us wherever we go — to work, on demos, campaign and public meetings.

Always have a pen and paper handy to take down names and addresses of readers. Try and look happy — it makes you more approachable!

As the slump gets under way, we ask Are the unions shaping up to the cuts?

By Patrick Sikorski

THE SLUMP has begun. The Tories' response is to tighten the screws on the public sector even more. Elected on a basis of non-interference in wage bargaining, the Thatcherites are now ordering all ministers in spending departments to enforce wage settlements below the inflation level.

An article published in the *Guardian* on Monday put it this way: 'Britain's economic future depends on the outcome of a battle of wills... it is bound to be bloody until someone backs down'. For 2 million workers unemployment means that life is already bloody, and the Tories policies for solving the crisis will add a million to that number within a year or so.

The response of the public sector union leaders has been pathetic. Geoffrey Drain of NALGO has ditched the policy of defence of the services in favour of supporting any action taken by the members against compulsory redundancies. The NUPE leadership has put out an impressive list of things for its members to do, entitled 'Don't let them cut us up'. This is a series of tips and hints for local branches to take up if they want, but it involves no national co-ordination.

The CPSA has produced a glossy 27 page pamphlet, 'The case against the cuts', which concludes with the stunning remark that 'these cuts need to be opposed as strongly as possible' — without much suggestion as to how. The eight civil servants' unions have announced a 'minimum code of co-ordinated action', which is aimed at refusing to co-operate with management measures to overcome or circumvent staff shortages. A clear case of shutting the stable door after the horse thieves have gone.

Six social security workers (members of the CPSA) in the Breckfield office, Liverpool, were sent home after applying these sanctions against the cuts. The dispute spread quickly, closing ten offices. But the useless national policies gave the local branch officials all the room they needed to put an end to the strike, narrowly winning this position at a mass meeting by a small majority.

In other words, the rank and file want to fight back. The massive turn out of the firefighters in Nottingham and Preston last week shows what can be achieved when a union leadership is obliged to call national campaigns of industrial action under pressure from the

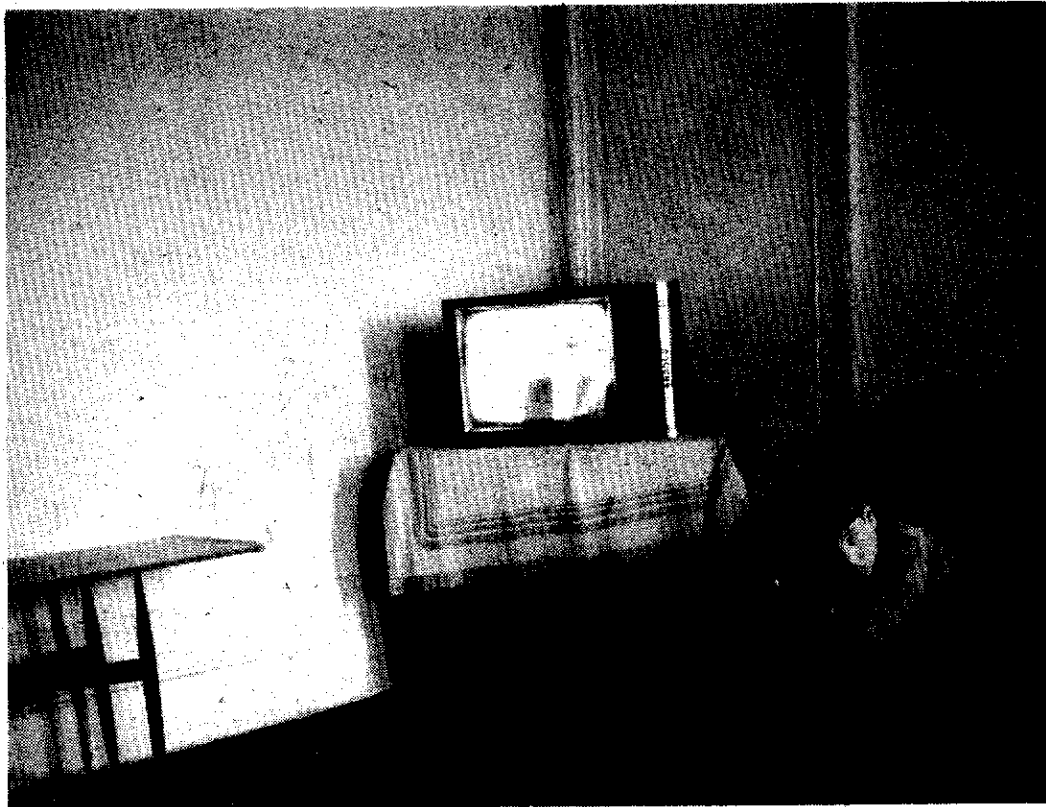


Photo: LARRY HERMAN

rank and file.

In NALGO a combination of organising the rank and file through the branches and joint shop stewards committees and fighting for the national officials to lead the struggle has got underway. For example, having called for a half day of action to lobby the council against the cuts, Liverpool NALGO were able to mobilise a 2,000-strong picket during the summer.

NALGO's North-Western and North Wales District (the largest in the union) has now backed Liverpool NALGO's demand for the executive to immediately revert to the union's policy of official backing for all industrial action against cuts in services as well as redundancies. This proposal is backed by a call for a NALGO one-day national strike and demonstration.

It is not being left to the officials to put flesh and blood on these resolutions. A Merseyside conference supported by the Liverpool Trades

Council and the District Labour Party is to be held on a cross union basis. This will be followed by a day of industrial action and a picket of Liverpool Council.

This is the best preparation for building maximum support for the national day of action that the TUC will be calling in the new year. If it is left to the public sector union leaders the result could well be disappointing. Too often the members have been marched to lobby Parliament and then back to the never ending series of cuts in the localities.

Thatcher's plans will only be halted by a series of national all-out public sector strikes supported by industrial workers and leading to all-out action. Building the maximum support for the lobby of Parliament on 7 November called by Lambeth Council, which is refusing to implement the cuts, and for the national lobby called by the Labour Party NEC on 28 November will be important in this campaign.

Action time for women

By Celia Pugh

'FORWARD in the '80s not back to the '30s' — so read the banner of this year's TUC. Women inside the unions are getting together to make sure this forward march proceeds on two strong legs with the needs of women not ignored, as so often in the past.

The activities of the National Abortion Campaign show the possibilities. But these only skim the surface of the actions of women trade unionists — in women's groups, committees, and campaigns inside the unions, workplaces, and the communities.

The newspaper *Women in Action* provides these trade union militants with an extra weapon to take this fight for women's liberation into the unions. At a meeting in Birmingham last weekend, supporters of the paper laid plans to launch it on a regular basis in the new year.

Each issue of *Women in Action* will contain the statement: 'We want to promote positive action to counter discrimination against women because formal equality alone does not tackle the roots of discrimination — for instance the way home responsibilities affect equality at work'.

We only have a few months of 1979 left to give this journal a good start in the 1980s.

The response to the pilot issue is encouraging. Some two thousand copies have been sold, and support is coming in from women's groups, and union branches in the TGWU, ASTMS, NUPE, NALGO, CPSA, SCPS, NATFHE and NGA.

The CPSA and NUT women's campaigns have given their support, and a member of the NUJ Equality Working Party participated in the Birmingham meeting.

Efforts need to be stepped up to increase this support. The editorial group wants more letters like that from Don Cook, secretary of the London division of the Engineering Union, containing a financial contribution and wishing *Women in Action* 'every success for the future'.

If you want to participate in the editorial group, or can distribute the paper, or feel able to help the £1,000 fund appeal, contact: 'Women in Action', 190 Upper St, London N1.

Blair Peach pickets

By Oliver New, Southall

WE are slowly beginning to break the mass media's conspiracy of silence on the Southall police riots and the trials now in progress. But the operative word is 'slowly', for not a single Fleet Street paper mentioned the pickets outside a hundred police stations on Wednesday of last week, the eve of the Blair Peach inquest.

In Southall, the picket was the largest. Four hundred marched with torches from the Dominion Cinema to 'Fort Southall' — the local police station — past the spot where Blair was murdered. There were loud chants of 'We Want Justice', 'SPG Murderers'. The cops kept well back.

SWINDON: SIXTY pickets demonstrated outside Swindon's police headquarters. In contrast to other areas, a number of policemen stopped to collect leaflets from the local ANL demanding the disbandment of the SPG.

After nearly two hours the local police agreed to accept a petition, but Inspector Knight stated: 'The Wiltshire police have nothing to do with the Metropolitan Police.'

WOLVERHAMPTON: FIFTY people marched from Queen's Square to Red Lion police station in Wolverhampton,

where N S Noor, president of the IWA, and Dave Stevens, secretary of Wolverhampton Anti-Racist Committee, handed in a letter demanding prosecution of Peach's murderer and disbandment of the SPG.

Earlier, Chris Roseblade, treasurer of WARC had featured in a half hour phone-in on the local radio on Blair Peach and the SPG.

On Wednesday 24 October, WARC will be holding a meeting on Blair Peach, at 7.30pm, Wolverhampton Poly on Stafford Street. Speakers will be: Celia Stubbs, N S Noor, and Chris Roseblade.

The WARC has also decided to send its banner to the picket of Barnet magistrates' court on 5 November, and to burn the Barnet magistrates in effigy at a bonfire in Wolverhampton on the same night. It's these racist henchmen who are presently jailing and heavily fining the Southall dependants.

LEAMINGTON: SEVENTY people supported the picket of Leamington police station, which was called by the Leamington Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Committee and supported by the local trades council, constituency Labour Party, and the Indian Workers' Association.

Leaflets explaining the reasons for the picket were handed out to passers-by and a petition calling for an independent public inquiry was handed in to the police. The picket

received good coverage from the local press.

NEWHAM: OVER fifty people picketed Newham police station in East London. Afterwards an ANL public meeting, attended by over 100 people, heard Tariq Ali and Vishnu Sharma attack the immigration laws.

WHITECHAPEL
By Bernard Regan

LEMAM Street police station in Whitechapel was the scene of the Blair Peach picket called by the East London Teachers' Association, to which Blair belonged, and Tower Hamlets Trades Council.

Over a hundred people attended, and a letter was handed into the cops demanding an independent public inquiry. Dan Jones, secretary of the trades council, informed the pickets of a forthcoming conference on the proposed Nationalities Bill, to be held by the trades council.

LIVERPOOL
By Tony Meehan

A HUNDRED people picketed Hope Street police station in the centre of Liverpool. The issue of police brutality in Liverpool is very much to the fore in the area after Jimmy

Kelly in Huyton was murdered by the cops, and Bernie Kavanagh of Kirkby lost a kidney and his spleen after a beating by the police.

The picket was followed last Thursday by a public meeting of 80 people to discuss the cover-up of Blair Peach's murder.

Organised by NALGO Against the Nazis, the meeting was addressed by Prokash Chatterjee from the Southall Defence Committee, Colin Wilson from ASTMS, and the Anti-Nazi League, and Joe Clark an activist from the Kelly and Kavanagh committee.

Clark pointed out the link between the oppression of the black community of Southall and the activities of the police in Kirkby and Huyton, where unemployment and social problems are so acute that the possibility of an explosion is being met with police violence, which is practised with impunity.

CARDIFF
By Barry Wilkins

THE picket of Cardiff police station, organised by the ANL, was attended by 70 people, following a march from Cardiff Castle. Local television filmed the picket.

The main speaker was Terry James, secretary of the local ANL.

We called for a public inquiry and the disbandment of the SPG.

what the press didn't print

The fire next time

By Eric Laverick

FIREFIGHTERS are at the forefront of the fight back against the cuts. In Nottingham and Preston the Fire Brigades' Union organised demonstrations against the cuts last week that attracted big turnouts.

In Nottingham on Wednesday, 8,500 uniformed firefighters from all over the country marched through the city centre. This represented a quarter of the total membership of the union.

There were also delegations from the north of Ireland, other local government unions, the Scottish miners and the Nottingham 'Save Our Nurseries' campaign. It was the first in a series of national demonstrations planned by the FBU in the fight to maintain the present level of jobs and service within the fire service.

The next day 1,200 FBU members marched through the streets of Preston to the headquarters of the Lancashire county council, which plans £7.3m cuts.

Last month an explosion at Attwaters, a Preston factory, resulted in the death of two employees. The local fire service had to seek help from the Manchester area to deal with the crisis, but this did not stop the county council calling it 'over staffed and over equipped'.

The FBU number 5 region has responded by campaigning in the factories on the issue of health and safety to win support for their lobby and demonstration against the cuts.

Cuts in the fire service that have already been announced present a fearsome picture. In Nottingham, 22 firefighters have been served with redundancy notices; in West Yorkshire 150 jobs are due to go; in Norfolk sackings have been announced.

It's not just a question of jobs either, many fire engines are being taken out of service.

Nottingham was the scene of the first demonstration because the redundancy notices had already been served, and the response from FBU members bodes well for a militant fight against the run-down of services.

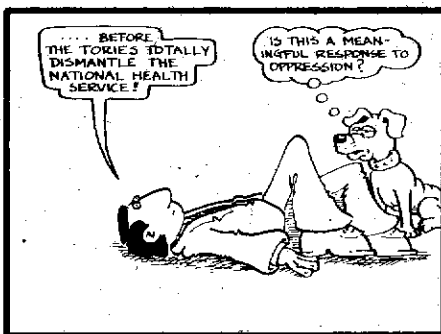
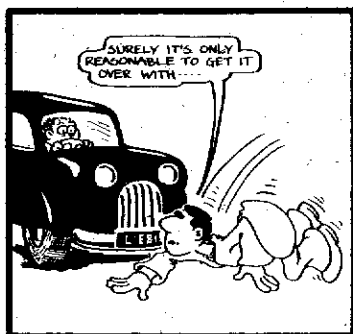


Preston Firefighters march against the cuts

The Tory council's claim that the cuts would not affect adequate fire cover in the county was met with a roar of derision at the Nottingham rally.

Ferry Parry, general secretary of the FBU and current TUC chairperson, stressed that the union was opposed to all cuts in local authority services, not just those that affected the fire services. He urged all trades unionists to link up the struggles against the cuts.

'Nottingham is just the beginning of the fight,' Parry said. 'We shall have mass demonstrations and I shall be out in front leading them. We saw it over the Industrial Relations Bill and I think we shall see it again: 'Things are going to get tough,' he added.



Cutting up rough

Axe

By Carolyn Sikorski

NEWHAM Labour council in East London has not only put forward a plan of cuts but it will obligingly fail to oppose in any active way the Snatcherites' axe against public service. That was made clear to a 200-strong lobby on 9 October, called by NALGO and supported by other public sector unions.

Only three councillors supported a call to defy the axe and refuse to make interest payments on borrowed cash.

NALGO members are to start industrial action, in order to show what the effects of the cuts would be. Newham Trades Council is to hold a local labour movement conference, and there is to be another lobby of the council on 20 November.

Liars

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE's Tory county council is not having an easy time with its cuts. The proposed closure of two day nurseries and cuts in nursery education with the threat of 248 nursery nurse redundancies have sparked off four demonstrations in as many weeks.

The Tories have been exposed as liars in claiming that the nurseries were not needed and that there were no waiting lists for places in those due to be closed.

Last Saturday saw the latest demonstration in which over 800

parents and children, together with NUPE and NALGO nursery nurses, teachers and other trade unionists took part. It was the first-ever demonstration for the overwhelming majority, who were mainly women and children.

The local public sector unions have called a mass lobby of the next full council meeting to show opposition to the cuts. Thousands are expected to attend from all over the county.

Defeat

By Bernard Regan, secretary, East London Teachers' Association

THE INNER London Education Authority encountered a small problem when it met on 9 October to discuss the 5 per cent cut it has been asked to implement. A Tory move to strengthen the call for implementation of the cut was defeated by a combination of the Labour councillors and the teacher members.

Following this vote the Tories combined with the teacher members and two left Labour councillors, Ken Livingstone and Charlie Rossi, to defeat the Labour leadership's proposals to introduce the 5 per cent cut.

These cuts would mean the loss of 1,200 teachers' jobs, massive cutbacks in part-time employees, and the raising of adult education fees, and school meal and transport charges.

The proposal for a five per cent cut will doubtless be reintroduced at the next meeting.

Scargill

By Rab Bird, Sheffield

OVER two thousand people attended a public meeting in Sheffield last week to hear Arthur Scargill and Joan Maynard MP opening a campaign against cuts initiated by the South Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils. The federation has established a committee to fight the cuts which involves the heads of all the Labour councils in South Yorks, and the leaders of the major unions.

Calling for Labour councils to defy the government cuts, Scargill argued that defeats like Clay Cross could be avoided if those fighting cuts are fully supported by the rest of the labour movement. As for breaking the law — 'we wouldn't be at this meeting now if our forefathers hadn't defied the law'.

A lobby of Parliament is planned for 28 November, and the call from the public meeting was that the TUC demonstration promised for the new year should be on a weekday.

Threat

THE General Nursing Council has threatened that nurses taking industrial action may be struck off the nursing register. The health union COHSE has pledged full backing for

Good news

THE FIRST weekly newspaper to be produced by a trades council hit the streets and factories of Hull last Friday. A 16-page tabloid aimed at uniting the labour movement in the city, Hull News notched up a five-figure paid circulation on its first issue.

A letter from Barry Moor, AUEW shop steward at Reckitt & Colman, said: 'I would not use the Hull Daily Mail for toilet paper, let alone buy it...'

'Through a free press the proletariat can express its views and opinions. I shall endeavour to publicise your paper to all my trade unionists.'

John Pilger of the Daily Mirror wrote: 'The importance of Hull News cannot be overstated; throughout so much of our media the view is unequivocally the "established view": predictable, unquestioning, and supporting one set of interests.'

'If Hull News can make a dent in this status quo it will give "freedom of the press" some real meaning.'

This week's issue will include in depth coverage of the public spending cuts, with features on the National Abortion Campaign, education and social services to come shortly.

The trade union organiser on Hull News is Noel Hibbert, a member of the International Marxist Group, who says: 'This must be one of the most important developments for a local labour movement ever.'

'It hasn't been easy, but no one ever thought it would be. There's no reason why every trades council in the country can't do what we've done in Hull.'

To find out more about the paper, contact: Noel Hibbert, Hull News, Corporation Chambers, Trinity House Lane, Hull. Tel 0482 225562.

for Hull

their nursing members who take industrial action, but only where they stick to the executive's new guidelines on patient care.

These are presently being issued to the membership, but if they bear any resemblance to the guidelines that the public sector union leaders put out during last winter's strike then it would be impossible to both stick to them and take effective action.

The only guidelines that should be adhered to are those in the Rank and File Code of Practice. The membership should decide on the level of emergency services to be provided.

Victories

NUPE members at the London Hospital, in Whitechapel, East London, have chalked up two victories against the health authority's attempts to enforce cuts of £5m. A programme of lightening stoppages and a refusal to cover unfilled vacancies firstly stopped administrators unilaterally changing catering workers' place of employment, and then forced the filling of portering vacancies previously being left unfilled.

NUPE branch officials at the hospital are now to open discussions with medical staff with a view to frustrating administration plans to close 80 surgical and medical beds.

Trade unionists at St Matthew's Hospital, Hoxton, have pledged not to be party to moving old people out of their 'home' and will resist administration attempts to close the popular day centre.

Occupied

By Pete Grist, West London

FULHAM BATHS are being closed by Hammersmith's Tory council as part of its cutbacks in spending. That's why the baths are now being occupied.

All facilities are being maintained: laundry, warm baths — which are used a lot by old people — and the swimming pools. Financial support is needed to keep the oil supply, and also people to work, especially in the daytime. Night-helpers can sleep or swim.

The workers from the baths have been re-deployed and are not directly involved in the occupation, so an appeal has gone out for skilled workers to help in maintaining equipment, boilers etc.

Lime Grove baths in Hammersmith are also to be closed, leaving the borough with no swimming pools until a new one opens in late 1980.

On Monday, when the Kensington Tory council held an official ceremony to bestow the freedom of the royal borough on Margaret Thatcher, the local anti-cuts campaign held an 'alternative ceremony' to bestow freedom awards on members of the community who will suffer as a result of the cuts.

Socialist Challenge

Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ. Editorial: 01-359 8180/9. Distribution and advertising: 01-359 8371

Southall 342

Roast the Barnet magistrates on 5 November

By David Wax and Paul Harbour

IN A recent speech to the Magistrates Association, the Lord High Chancellor, Hailsham, advised magistrates not to be stingy with the sentences they meted out to offenders. As we go to press we have no means of ascertaining whether Badge, Cook, Canham and McDermott, the merry magistrates of Barnet, were present at this gala occasion.

If they were then the residents of Southall had better look out. For the sentences at Barnet Magistrates Court will get even tougher if that is possible. For the current stipendiary, Edmund McDermott is continuing the judicial

offensive against black people in this country. A wizened product of the Empire, McDermott hands out sentences at will.

Defence evidence is usually ignored. The police, in most cases, is believed. This is British justice. One Asian brother was sentenced to a month in prison for 'threatening behaviour' by McDermott. He had no previous convictions.

Meanwhile at the Coroner's Court the inquest into the death of Blair Peach has been postponed till mid-November. ANL lawyers will try to get a High Court injunction to force the Coroner to accept a jury trial. A number of witnesses have already

appeared before the Coroner. Amanda Leon, Martin Gerald, Josephine Lang testified as to the circumstances in which Blair Peach was killed on 23 April in Southall.

While the inquest is postponed the Barnet trials continue. They have begun to attract the attention of some sections of the media, but this is not enough. A real campaign is needed to expose the fake character of these show trials. For every day that passes results in more sentences, more fines, more hardship for the Asian inhabitants of Southall.

On the legal front we should be considering a writ in the High Court to demand that Badge, Cook, Canham and McDermott are biased and that they be removed from the bench. The mass evidence already accumulated by defence lawyers is a sufficient basis for challenging the competence of these magistrates.

On the campaigning front we have to nationalise the campaign. At the very least we could do the same as was done with the nationwide pickets on 10 October (see p. 15). The organisations in Southall defending the victims of this judicial frame-up are calling for a picket of Barnet Magistrates Court on

5 November. As many organisations as possible should be represented at the picket.

The same evening there will be bonfires throughout the country. The ANL and organisations supporting it should ensure that they attend with the effigies of the Barnet Magistrates. Make sure that Badge, Cook, Canham and McDermott roast nicely on 5 November. And try and collect money for the Southall Defence Fund in the weeks preceding 5 November. If people can spare a penny for the Guy, they might be persuaded to spare a pound for the defence fund.

What else can be done? Try and get your trade-union branch, Trades Council, students union, womens group to send an observer to sit through one day at the Barnet Magistrates Court. What this observer will witness will compel him/her to become an activist in the campaign to stop the show-trials.

As the House of Commons resumes its sittings make sure you write to your local MP demanding that these show trials are stopped and the charges dropped. Start-off with that and we'll soon have more things for you to do.



SOUTHALL DEFENCE FUND

- 700 people were arrested on 23rd April; 342, mainly young Asians, were charged.
- 70 are likely to be jailed if the present trends continue.
- In cases heard so far very few defendants have received legal aid.
- Fines, costs and expenses are expected to exceed £100,000.

I enclose £ . . . for the Southall Defence Fund.
Name
Address
Send to: PO Box 151, London WC2.



FUND DRIVE

A GRAND total of £18,526 was raised in the Development Fund Appeal launched last November. The aim was to raise money to launch Revolution youth paper, develop Socialist Challenge, expand the IMG printshop and produce more pamphlets and journals.

The very first rally of the fund drive, on the anniversary of the Fourth International in November 1978, raised £2,500, of which £500 went to help build the Iranian section of the Fourth International. A campaign for one day's pay from members and sympathisers of the IMG, coupled with local branch fundraising activities, culminated in a collection of £3518 at the Trotsky Rally last month.

Already this money has brought out 5 issues of Revolution and allowed it to organise a national founding rally last May. It has kept Socialist Challenge at 16 pages. It has brought out the first of a new series of International — the IMG's theoretical journal — and a series of pamphlets on Iran, Ireland, the Prior proposals, the Transitional Programme, and abortion.

Unfortunately the £20,000 target, which was the highest ever set for a fund drive by the IMG, was not quite met. Local branches fell short of their projected targets by a few thousand pounds.

Of course readers will remember that the Development Fund Drive was extended earlier this year when the General Election intruded as a drain on fund-raising resources. Local units of the IMG raised £9000 for Socialist Unity during the election, so the total raised by putting the Socialist Unity and Development Fund Drives together comes to over £27,000 in this period.

However, we still need to make the Development Fund Drive share of that up to £20,000 — every penny is allocated to vital projects. So, please if you want to see even better pamphlets and journals, more issues of Revolution and International, and to develop the coverage of Socialist Challenge, rush your donations to the new 'Socialist Challenge Fund Drive Against the Tories'.

The best way to start is by filling in the form below pledging your tax rebate to the Socialist Challenge Fund Drive.

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.

Name
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

TAX REBATE PLEDGE FORM

I won't be bought off by the Tories' anti-working class Budget measures.
I want the money I receive from the backdated tax cut to go to the fight against the Tories.
I therefore pledge my whole tax rebate/half my tax rebate to the Socialist Challenge Fund Drive. [Delete as necessary]

My Name is
Address

Please forward this form to: Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

The thoughts of Merlyn Rees

REES is Labour's Shadow Prime Secretary. He recently debated Carl Albert Ripston on the merits of the police as an instrument of the oppression of minorities.

A few quotes from Rees will show how out of touch he is with the views of the TUC and his own political party:

"I don't think about Southall, because I don't know what happened there."

"The police are not controlled by the government."

"The police in this country are 99 per cent good (99). They are not the instruments of oppression. It is people in society who are the instruments of oppression (90)."

"The police are not the oppressors. They simply carry out the law. Blaming the police is like blaming the Jews in the 30's or the blacks today."