

The reality of **American** democracy page 3

Iraq: the slaughter of the innocents





For socialist renewal!



Columbus: Hero or villain? page 12

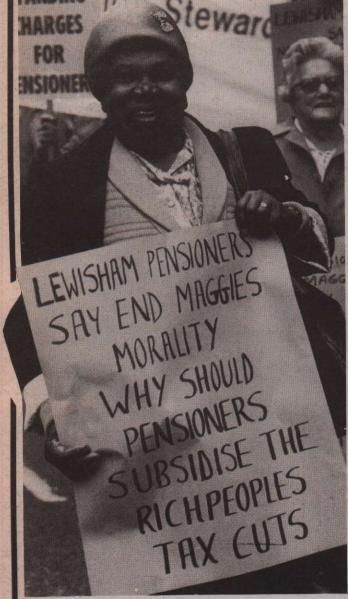
Peace in the Middle East? Keller and Warshawsky report

pages 4 and 5

Unite the Left!

Vote Labour Nov 7!

18 SEAME



Tories rob pensioners

Major's electioneering exposed page 7

hile unemployment continues to rise — condemnmillions to poverty and demoralisation, and some to homelessness and despair -Britain still has the longest work hours in Western Europe.

According to John MacInnes of Glasgow University, speaking at a conference organised by the Scottish TUC recently, ten per cent of male workers in Britain do more than 68 hours a week, and over 40 per cent do more than 46 hours.

Workers are forced into long hours of overtime by low pay. If the hours were cut, and the work shared out among all those wanting jobs, then every worker could have a decent job and a decent

- Jobs cut while shorter hours could save them
- Pensioners fobbed off with pennies
- Health service set for privatising
- Education starved, students pushed into poverty

livelihood. But it is more profitable for bosses to use the fear of unemployment to squeeze more work from smaller workforces. And so that's what happens in Tory

Britain: millions jobless in poverty, millions forced into long hours and overwork, and a small minority

Turn to page 2

Lift sanctions on Iraq

The slaughter of the innocents

By Thomas Macara

he number of Iraqi children who have died of disease and starvation as a result of the American bombing of Iraq has to be counted in the tens of thousands.

Infant mortality is now four times what it was before the war. One in 10 Iraqi children dies before reaching the age of 5.

According to a justpublished report by doctors and scientists who

conducted a survey in Iraq, the number of children who die like this will increase dramatically unless something is done.

They call for an immediate lifting of the sanctions which curtail Iraq's ability to sell oil.

They investigated conditions in 30 cities, and visited 9,000 homes. They report raw sewage in the streets, a water supply system on the verge of collapse, and half the people already drinking contaminated water.

They encountered

cholera and typhoid, which will spread murderously if social conditions continue to deteriorate.

People are starving. Inflation has risen by 2,000%.

As always, the children suffer most in such conditions. Young children die from diorrhea an adult can survive.

Tens and tens of thousands more of them will die if the economic blockade of Iraq continues.

The US, Britain and

their Allies said they were out to destroy Saddam Hussein. They bombed Iraq back in time half a century or more.

But they left Saddam Hussein in power. The savage butcher continues to rule, and the "international com-munity", which allows Saddam Hussein to survive in power, con-tinues to punish the children of Iraq.

This barbarism must cease. Lift the sanctions now! Stop slaughtering the children of Iraq!



A victim of American bombing during the Gulf War. Children continue to suffer and die as a result of the war and the continuing sanctions - from disease and poverty

Jobs to go at Thames

Statement by Thames TV's joint shop stewards committee

hames Television's Committee representing BECTU, EETPU and NUJ, are appalled at the failure of our company to retain the London weekday fran-

licence is entirely due to a vindictive piece of legislation brought in by the current government after the excellent Thames programme,

The direct result is that 1,000 or more people at Thames could pay with their

trade unions, a company capable of submitting a high-quality application to the Independent Television Commission. We have no doubt that Thames would have retained the franchise had the licencing process been left to licencing process been left to

rather than a lunatic system based on the highest cash bid. Thames's "talent for television" is their staff. It is they who have been responsible for making quality pro-grammes which comprise almost half of ITV's network

We are calling on Thames management to stick to their union agreements in order that the goodwill necessary for a successful transfer from sion's major independent production company is main-tained.

Prakash and Prem must stay!



Prakash Chavrimootoo and her young son Prem are fighting against deportation. Prakash left a violent marriage and tried to start a new life. She works for Birmingham

On 16 October Prakash had an appeal hearing against her threatened deportation at the Immigration Appeals building in Birmingham, at which a picket was held. Photo: Mark Salmon

Enright should stand down!

By Dave Marshall, Secretary, **Hemsworth CLP**

ollowing the result of the NEC panel decision to impose Derek Enright as Labour candidate in the Hemsworth by-election, I can only say that this is an insult to the Labour voters, party members and the memory of George Buckley.

The dictatorial attitude of the Labour leadership will make it harder for us to win the support of traditional

Labour voters to achieve what we all want — a Labour government.

Derek Enright has very lit-tle support within the constituency and would not have won the position of can-

If Derek Enright believes in democratic socialism then his course of action must be to withdraw and force the NEC to reconsider the whole procedure.

The NEC should draw up a short-list including Derek Enright and Ken Capstick, who received broad support within the constituency, obtaining five out of a possible ten Labour Party branch nominations.

Scandal of Tory Britain

From page 1

coining profits!

The same relentless drive for profits lies behind other scandals in Tory Britain.

Pensioners have been fobbed

off with a few pence extra, in a feeble Tory attempt at a pre-election drive. The Tories' plan is to push people towards private pension schemes, leaving the state pension system only as minimal relief for paupers.

Market forces are the Tories' "plan" for education. The result: many students have been forced into crippling debt, or have had to take part-time jobs while they study. Adult educaion, and nursery education, are

being destroyed.

Market forces are the Tories plan for health, too, however much they try to deny it now. Just this week they have had to impose a hasty ban on their "trust" hospitals charging

NHS patients for treatment outside regular health authority "contracts".

We need to kick out the Tories. We can make a good start with a strong Labour vote in the by-elections coming on 7

Poll tax non-payment spirals

By Cate Murphy

housands of people are refusing to pay part of this year's poll tax bills added to compensate for last year's non-payers.

Most councils are finding it even harder to collect the tax, and they are way behind in their collection rates.

Only the Tory flagship council Westminster granted extra money to ensure a very low bill of £36 is ahead on collection rates. Patten's Bath constituency, the local council is issuing 1500 liability orders against people refusing to pay the non-payment levy

Liverpool has collected a mere 10% of revenue due. and Hackney - which levied £80 extra to cover last year's non-payment - has got in

The Tories may have hoped that their announce-ment of abolition would kill off the non-payment move-ment, but the reverse appears to be true. Millions are not

Councils are still chasing non-payers from last year, and with figures rising all the time, they're not going to be able to chase all this year's

non-payers.

The fight must continue to get Labour councils to stop harassing working class peo-ple with the bailiffs and the courts, and to win a pledge from Labour that a Labour amnesty for non-payers and poll tax prisoners.

Anti-Fascist alert! Oppose the BNP rally outside Castle Donnington Community College, 1.00pm, Saturday 26th October

The lie machine



Nice Mr Major is not always quite so nice — not nice at all when he is trying to intimidate the BBC.

Clearly the Tories see intimidation of the BBC as an integral part of their election

Kinnock did his best to help Jack Dromey beat Adams. The Tory press is ungrateful. Kinnock is smeared with Adams. Jack Adams is no more a communist than Neil Kinnock is!

The Sun does its bit. But maybe they miscalculate. A lot of people would gladly trade a small tax increase for a restored NHS.

Labour witch-hunt against NUM

By Steven Holt

nother case of Walworth Road's witch-hunt against socialists in the Labour Party became clear on Thursday 17 October when Ken Capstick, vicechair of the Yorkshire NUM, was not shortlisted as a candidate in the selection for Hemsworth by-election.

Ken Capstick is a popular figure in the local Party and trade union movement, and his undemocratic exclusion is strongly resented by the labour movement Hemsworth.

The NEC of the Fire Brigades Union has demanded the National Executive reconsider its decision, whilst the NUM nationally will be reconsidering its contributions

NUM President Arthur Scargill has said that "We will always pay our contributions to those constituencies where we have mining MPs. But I can see no point in continuing contributions of £3 million [to the Labour Party nationally since 1982] when the party rejects an NUMnominated candidate who has the support of the selection meeting.

The Yorkshire NUM has decided not to fund the election campaign for the impos-ed candidate and will be arguing within the NUM nationally for the withholding of funds from the Labour ParLessons of the Judge Thomas affair:

The reality of America's democracy

The idea that in our society people are socially equal, and the belief that ours is a democratically organised society, are the two great myths of modern capitalism.

But these myths fall apart and dissolve into nothingness in the workplaces of the capitalist world.

With few exceptions, in workplaces people are not equal, but cogs in a hierarchy run by capitalists (or government appointed managers). A world in which private capital allows a few to own the means of production on which the lives of millions depend can have little room for workplace democracy.

democracy.
Everywhere, some have power over others. Everywhere in our society there is exploitation and degradation, more or less disguised, more or less openly brutal.

And where ever men have power,

women are sexually pursued, harassed, coerced and exploited. It is the norm in our society.

The women's liberation movement has made people more aware of it had some people more aware of it had some people more aware.

The women's liberation movement has made people more aware of it, and some ashamed of it, but has so far been able to do little to change it.

change it.

It is all too probable that Judge Clarence Thomas, George Bush's candidate for life membership of the US Supreme Court — which has a central political role, and is in many ways more powerful than Congress — did use his power over a subordinate woman colleague, Anita Hill, to harry her sexually. We do not know. We cannot know. The TV circus in which Thomas

The TV circus in which Thomas was accused by Anita Hill was not a trial. It was, as Thomas himself told his tormentors, more like a high tech lynching. He did not get "due process" — a properly conducted trial — and, in the outcome, neither did Anita Hill. The apparent rejection of her charges by the powerful Senate committee which went ahead and appointed Clarence Thomas a

justice of the US Supreme Court, seems to leave her branded a liar.

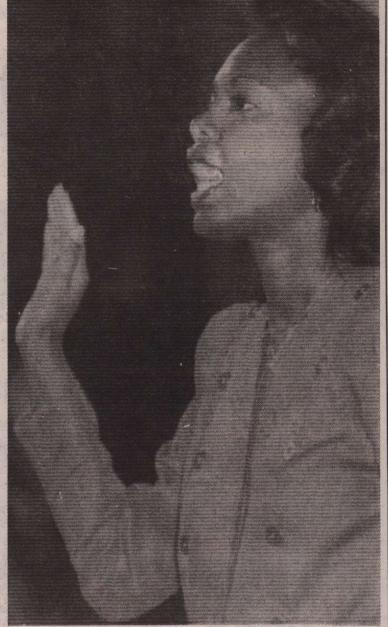
But it was not only and not mainly either Professor Anita Hill or Judge Clarence Thomas who came out of this attemped high tech lynching bloodied and discredited. It is the American bourgeois democracy.

Here we saw a radically sick system in operation. A conservative black man, the President's candidate for the Supreme Court, was almost destroyed for alleged sexual misbehaviour by a Senate committee which included Senator Edward Kennedy, notorious for such things!

Thomas — the stooge candidate of the brutally racist Republican Establishment — finally triumphed over his accusers by trumping their charges of sexism against him by charging them with racism!

Thomas's future really was at stake, but it was all a great immercent the property of the stoogle of the state of the state.

stake, but it was all a great insincere pantomime, played with demagogy and insincerity on both sides, in which both sides used the battle



Anita Hill: caught in the political crossfire

cries of sectional interests and pressure groups as so much convenient small change.

This is a political system in which rich members of the bourgeoise like Edward Kennedy pass for "liberals", the best there is in a bourgeois political world where money counts for everything. A system in which there is a known minimum price for the chance to win a Senate seat: currently \$25 million, which is what an effective media-conducted campaign costs.

It is a system currently open only to the rich, or to those financed by the rich. It is a system in which vastly expensive personal political beauty contests between personable candidates who share a profound agreement on everything that matters, has brought "politics" into such disrepute that — in the world's most important democracy — not much more than one third of the electorate bothers to vote.

People know that, whoever wins the election, the plutocracy is always the real winner.

That political system now holds a terrifying mirror up to the people of Britain. In the last decade, British politics has taken giant strides towards "Americanisation" — that is towards electoral contests from which almost all real political content has been emptied out, and all real decisions are made behind the pseudo-democratic facade by the rich and their top civil servants. In the USA many such key decisions are made by the Supreme Court!

The long dominance of Thatcher, a "conviction politician" disguised this process, at the same time as speeding it up by way of compelling fainthearted renegade socialists like Kinnock to accept the essentials of "Thatcherism".

Now that Thatcher has gone, and Major provides the Tories with a slightly softer and slightly more human face, we are left with a political system in which only such things as Labour's wavering and too timid commitment to preserve and — perhaps — repair the NHS, divides the parties where policy is concerned.

The Kinnockites are helping push British politics closer to the American model with their craven acceptance of a Labour-Tory consensus based on the Thatcher counter-revolution. Thereby they betray not only socialism — to which they no longer even claim any allegiance — but democracy, too, of which they pretend to make a god.



Edward Kennedy: spot the hypocrite

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Fight for the soul of the labour movement!

n almost any political clash between Neil Kinnock and Arthur Scargill, socialists will side automatically with Scargill.

And it is a scandal, the way the Labour Party leaders heavy-handedly excluded NUM-nominee Ken Capstick as a possible Labour candidate in the upcoming Hemsworth by-election.

But when Arthur Scargill and others in the NUM — the Yorkshire Region, for example — start talking about disaffiliating from the Labour Party in protest, then it must be said that they are playing straight into the hands of the Kinnockites

What would they do instead? Start their own political party? Withdraw the miners' union from politics? Anyone who thinks that this is the way to fight Kinnock has lost sight of what the fight with Kinnock is all about.

It is a fight for the soul of the labour movement; a fight in which the left refuses to accept that the labour movement is the secure property of the Kinnockites.

It is a fight in which the left cannot admit defeat unless we are also willing to write off the entire existing labour movement and declare the need to begin all over again.

It is, to say the least, premature for the left to make a declaration of such a historic defeat, and withdraw voluntarily from the Labour Party, vacating the field to the Kinnockites.

To do that because of the vetoing of a candidate would be nothing

less than monumentally stupid.

Right now, our fight is an unequal one against people who control the commanding heights of the movement, and who are backed by all the might of the bourgeoisie in society. It is a fight in which the left is suffering blow after blow.

But the right is coming to its day of reckoning with the labour movement. It will be judged by the labour movement when Kinnock forms a government next year, or is exposed as doubly bankrupt for losing Labour the fourth general

election in a row.

Arthur Scargill is right against Kinnock on almost everything: on this, the left in the NUM should tell him that he is dangerously wrong. They should tell him plainly and forcefully.

"The emancipation of the working class is also the emancipation of all human beings without distinction of sex or race." Karl Marx

Socialist Organiser PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA Newsdesk: 071 639 7965 Latest date for reports: Monday

Editor: John O'Mahony Published by WL Publications Ltd, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA Printed by Tridant Press, Edenbridge Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office

Articles do not necessarily reflect the views of Socialist Organiser and are in a personal capacity unless otherwise stated

Bro. James says cheese"!

See if you can make any sense of the following:

"Now I will guarantee you never could guarantee in all the time I've signed agreements man and boy and I never signed a perfect agreement. And I've been doing it all my life, but there is always somebody By Sleeper who'll criticise this



INSIDE

who'll criticise this
aspect or that aspect, but the alternative to an agreement
is no agreement and it's anarchy. Tell me when you get a
perfect agreement with your employer, tell me when you
get the perfect agreement with Captain Bob or Aussie,
what-d'you-call-him, Aussie Jack. Nonsense. And who is
going to argue that is talking nonsense. We're in the
business of representing the men. Now, they're not
perfect, but we're all perfect human beings. A pity the
reverend is sitting here, but mebbe he'll say a prayer for
us. It will prove and it will stand the test of time. We
may be wrong and if we're wrong, tell us. And we'll say
'Cheese!''
No, that was not a da-daist monologue from this

No, that was not a da-daist monologue from this year's Edinburgh Festival. It was Jimmy Airlie at the press conference that followed the signing of the "Hookagreement between the Offshore Contractors Council and the AEU, EETPU and the GMB, this summer. It was a lousy agreement by any standards, giving the oil

was a lousy agreement by any standards, giving the oil companies the power to de-recognise the unions at a date of their choosing. It was a deliberate blow against unions like the MSF and the TGWU and it was intended to isolate and destroy OILC.

Whether Airlie's embarrassing incoherence was the result of failing powers, emotion or tiredness, we may never know. But it may have been a bad conscience.

Because Airlie, the man who now acts as an unquestioning henchman for Rill Jordan and Cavin Laird, was not ing henchman for Bill Jordan and Gavin Laird, was not

always a craven right-wing hack.

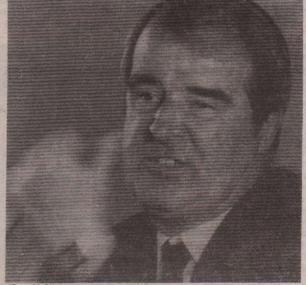
Back in the early '70s, Airlie was a respected left-winger and a leading organiser of the great Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' sit-in (where he actually played a much more important role than the better-known Jimmy Reid). Throughout the late '70s and '80s, as the right-wing consolidated its grip on the AEU, left-wingers looked to Airlie as the last bastion of good old-fashioned socialism on the AEU Executive — an impression that he was only too happy to play up to. At the same time, the more astute elements of the AEU leadership began to realise that Brother James could be quite a useful "left" cover for their own dirty deeds.

By 1988, Airlie was fronting for Jordan and Laird over the Ford Dundee debacle, when the AEU offered the company a single-union deal that would have completely undermined the TGWU's organisation in every other Ford factory. When AEU Broad Left members protested, Airlie bellowed: "This is a broad left and anyone who disagrees with that can get out!" (AEU Engineering Gazette rally, 1988). Gazette rally, 1988).

What went wrong? Was Airlie an empty vessel, full of sound and fury signifying nothing, all along? Or was he a good left-winger who got confused and demoralised by the defeats of the late '70s and '80s?

At least part of the answer lies in Airlie's stalinism. He always identified with monolithic power structures (whether they were the old AEU Broad Left machine, or the USSR) dispensing "left" policies to the deserving masses down below. Rank and file organisation was always alien to him. Now that the USSR has collapsed and the old Broad Left is a shadow of its former self, he's only left with the Jordan/Laird bloc to cling to.

With the hook-up agreement and the sustained attacks on OILC in recent weeks, Airlie has reached a new low. Hopefully, his "left" credentials will finally be exposed for the sham they are. Let's all say "Cheese!" to that!



'See this?'

Israeli socialists speak out:

Peace in the Middle East?

The peace conference is bluff

Michel Warshawski, in Jerusalem, spoke to Socialist Organiser

do not believe that the peace conference is an important event. I think it is a big bluff.

Nothing real is on the agenda. The formalities have been dictated by Israel. If the initial parts of the conference take place, then the Israeli conditions for continuing will become much stiffer. The chances for breakdown will

become that much greater.

The US would like some movement from Israel. But I do not see them putting Israel under real pressure. Without pressure Israel will make no compromise.

This regional peace con-ference provides a smokescreen for the Israeli government. In the next two or three years they are looking to change the demographic and political reality in the West Bank and Gaza. They aim to "Judaise" the West Bank in such a way as to make any real autonomy or independence almost impossible.

The political framework for the conference is set around bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. They aim to avoid dealing with the Palestinian national question.

I think this Israeli government is ready to negotiate with Syria. A deal could even include withdrawal from part of the Golan Heights. But the only way the Palestinian question can enter the agenda through so-called

This "autonomy" for the West Bank would be in the interests of Israel. It would mean a type of Bantustan on the West Bank

As for the US, the only action they have taken is to postpone \$10 billion of loan guarantees until Israel takes part in these negotiations.

For the next few years, Israel is still important from the US's strategic point of view. Israel's is still the most stable and efficient army in an area which is basically unstable.

The present situation is not so bad for the Americans. Obviously they would like a political settlement — if it is available cheap.

I think that the role of Israel as a strategic asset for the Americans will be seriously weakened within three or four years. But the

Americans will not change a 20-year-old policy overnight. In Israel, the Likud realise

that they have about three years to achieve their goals, change the reality of the West Bank, and make meaningful Palestinian selfdetermination impossible.

We have seen precisely how little the Americans are prepared to do: they agreed that Israel should not freeze the building of settlements in the occupied territories while the conference was actually meeting. I do not believe that this Israeli government would stop building settlements, even in return for a lifting of the Arab states' trade

The conference will pro-

"The Americans will not change a 20 year old policy overnight"

bably be drawn out for a very long time. The commissions could be drawn out for months or years. Meanwhile, our government continues a very aggressive policy of settling the West Bank.

The real losers will be the Palestinians. It is hard to see what they can gain from this conference.

They will attend as secondrank participants, with few rights. They will be at a con-ference which is clearly intended to postpone any solu-tion to the Palestinian ques-

This could provoke the dismantlement of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which would be a tragedy. The PLO is a unified Palestinian national movement. Divisions could be created in part by some sort of Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza, through Israeli-Jordanian agreement. Such autonomy would have little to do with the aspirations of the Palestinians elsewhere in the world, and could create divisions and disillusionment.

Why have the Palestinians accepted this conference? Most of the Palestinians I have spoken to say: "Our situation is so bad that we can do nothing else". This is really not a good answer.

I think some of the Palestinian leaders still hope that Israeli intransigence will provoke a united Arab front. I wish that were true. But I fear



Palestinian being searched in Jerusalem

Terrible Days - a 200 page book by Adam Keller about social divisions inside Israel.

Available from WL Publications, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA. £3 plus 75p p&p. Cheques to "WL Publications".

The Other Israel. The

alternative news journal.

Available from Adam Keller, PO Box 956, Tel Aviv, Israel 61008.

The Alternative Information Centre can be contacted at Box 24278, Jerusalem, Israel.

uaza waits

Mary Khas reports from the Gaza Strip

m I hopeful about the planned peace not sure how much pressure the US is prepared to put on Israel. I am not sure what Israel is willing to give.

If this conference turns out to be just a lot of talking and handshaking it will make no difference to the Palestinians in Gaza.

The concrete issues are: will the Palestinians achieve self-determination and political rights?

If there is an Israeli com-

promise made to grant some autonomy, I will still be ask-ing, when will there be complete self-determination? Without full selfdetermination the people will not be satisfied.

In my opinion the Palestinians have reached the end of their compromises. There will

be no more compromises.

I think that the people in Gaza do not see much hope in these talks. However, people are watching and waiting. People are saying: miracles may happen, the Americans may twist the Israeli government's arm.

While people watch the talks progress, the direct struggle has eased off. There is less activity on the ground.



Israeli peace protesters. Demo organised by Women Against the Occupation

Will the USA push Israel?

Adam Keller reports from Tel Aviv

n Israel there is a clear majority in favour of the government attending the Madrid conference.

The Israeli cabinet have just approved attending the conference by 17 votes to 3. Sharon was in the minority — but he will not resign. Only the extreme right oppose participation. The small right-wing parties are now in crisis, it seems

some may split.

The conference will open with Bush, Gorbachev and all the delegations present. The conference will then divide into working groups. The different Arab groups will coordinate their various discussions with Israel.

The first stumbling point will be the issue of the settlements. The Arabs will demand that the Israelis freeze the building of settlements in the Occupied Territories. It is likely that the Arabs will say that until this issue is solved they are not willing to go further.

The Israelis then have a few options. They could use the settlements issue to break the conference up. They could also do a deal whereby the settlements are stopped in return for the Arab states stopping the Arab boycott against Israeli.

If Shamir tries to stop the talks over the settlements issue, it will be because he calculates he can rally the Israeli right and win the next election on the issue.

The problem for Shamir is that this type of action will make the Americans and also Europe very angry. It will also unite the Israeli

left against the government.

Of course, the big question is:
how much pressure will the US
place on Israel? Right now it would seem the US is prepared to put Shamir under a lot of pressure. They have already refused Israel loan guarantees.

There have been a number of smaller American moves, including an administration-orchestrated press campaign against Israel. The US Senate has also refused to pay an additional \$200 million in Israeli defence aid.

Last week the US made a very sharp protest against the Israeli air force's violation of Lebanese, Syrian, Saudi and Jordanian airspace when they flew a mission over Iraq. The US accused Israel of putting the UN's policy in the

region in danger. Bush is also co-ordinating pressure with Europe. Israel was ex-

pecting DM 10 billion in aid from Germany. But Kohl is also not giving the money until Israel shifts position on the settlements.

I think that Bush and Baker from their personal points of view would like to go down in history as the people who brought peace to

"If the US pressure stops, the whole process will grind to a standstill. But a lot depends on the Israeli peace movement"

the Middle East. It may also be a way for Baker to make his mark on the way to becoming President.

The Americans would like to establish a pax Americana in the region. They would like all the states, without exception, to fit neatly into their new order

There has been a big shift in the US's attitude towards Israel. The American-Israeli alliance was a product of the Cold War. Israel was an outpost in the Middle East against the Soviet threat. Israel is not so useful against a threat emanating from the region itself - an Arab nationalist regime like Saddam Hussein's or fundamentalist Iran.

Unless Israel becomes integrated into the region it is not a US asset, but a burden. This was very clear during the Gulf war.

It would seem that the US wants a three or five year period of autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza. Perhaps this will be accompanied by a small number of US troops acting as a buffer force.

If autonomy is agreed in principle, there will follow months of negotiation. There are several crucial issues.

Firstly, who will have control over state lands and water resources? The settlements are built on state lands and, in fact, a large part of the West Bank is state lands. Currently the Israeli government controls the water sources and diverts water for the use of the set-

The central question is: does autonomy mean that the Israeli ar-my is excluded from Palestinian villages and towns? If it does, then autonomy is, de facto, a Palestinian state with isolated Israeli settlements and military bases. The only question then would be the removal of the remnants of the Israeli presence.

Such negotiations will be very difficult. There are lots of places where such talks could break down.

I think the Palestinians have acted quite cleverly. Formally, they have yielded to the Israeli govern-ment's demand for no PLO representative and no delegation from East Jerusalem. But in fact they have made it very clear to the whole world that the PLO is appointing the Palestinian representatives and that Israel is, in fact, talking to the PLO.

The Israeli government looks more and more ridiculous when they say they will never talk to the

If the US pressure stops the whole process will grind to a standstill. But a lot also depends on the Israeli peace movement.

Peace Now, together with other groups, is organising a two-week peace campaign. There are rallies and meetings in most towns.

We are organising a big rally in Tel Aviv town hall on Saturday 26 October. I hope there will be tens of thousands demonstrating.

More from **Socialist Organiser**





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20 pence From SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA

Free Abie Nathan!

he veteran Israeli peace campaigner Abie Nathan has been jailed for 18 months for breaking the Israeli law against contact with the PLO.

Israeli peace activists are demanding his release. Pickets of the jail will take place on the 10th of

every month

Peace activists are aiming to nominate Abie Nathan for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Please get your organisation to write a letter of support to:

Abie Nathan Mashayahu Prison Ramlah Israel.

The missing link

GRAFFITI

ut-of-date department: Back in the summer (as in many previous summers) readers may remember that sellers of **Socialist Organiser** were banned from the SWP's week of "debate", Marxism '91.

Excuses varied — standing on tables, being Zionist, calling Tony Cliff a liar. The real reason is that debate is about as welcome in the SWP as Jimmy Airlie at an OILC branch meeting.

Now it has come to light that the honour of being kicked out of the SWP's self-congratulatory talking-shop is not solely preserved for SQ

The "Radical Anthropology Group" (RAG) also incurred the wrath of SWP full-timers by:

• believing that sex differences originated before class society. In primate society, they argue, the first collective consciousness was that of females. Lumbered with child-care they were unable to go and hunt.

To persuade their men-folk to bring them meat, they went on 'sex-strike' — this being expressed in the synchronising of their menstrual cycles to that of the lunar month. This, RAG believes, was the origin of human evolution.

Trying to argue the above in anthropology workshops at Marxism '91.

The SWP full-timers stopped people speaking, removed tickets and kicked people out.

Three things can be deduced from all of this:

 RAG's ideas seem to be a few shards of pottery short of an anthropological study;

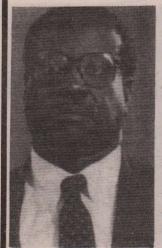
 any group who needs to counter their arguments by throwing them out of their meetings is suffering from Stalino-paranoia;

 the missing link between ape and people is obviously the SWP fulltimer (before any chimpanzee reaches for a pen to complain, I offer to withdraw that last remark)

aft Quote of the Week
Award goes to Patrick
Younge writing in his column in Black Britain.
Previously he has favoured the
banning of the rap act NWA
because they give black people a
bad name. This week he writes:

"Am I the only person who thinks that on balance the whole Clarence Thomas versus Anita Hill nomination show was a big step forward for the black community?

"The downside, if there is one, is that we never got to the bottom of the sexual harrassment allegation — after all, one of them must have been lying."



Clarence Thomas. Maybe he was

The Daily Express has come up with one of the most unconvincing reasons for not voting Labour.

"Michael Caine will leave Britain, it was feared last night... He has bought a £1.4 million Hollywood bungalow and there is speculation that he could quit if Labour wins the next election and brings in tough taxes".

Ties will not be completely severed. Mr Caine owns a large slice of Oxfordshire, including a whole village which he views as his fieldom.

On that reckoning, Labour has got my vote. Any chance of getting rid of Roger Moore as well?

ugen Varga, the leading writer on economics for Stalin's Communist International, is said to have replied to a telegram demanding an article urgently with the question: "What do you want? Boom or slump?"

East German weatherforecasters, it is now revealed, had to operate in the same way. According to the German paper, Bild am Sonntag, they were ordered to forecast warm, dry weather for the days of the major Stalinist festivals.

The owner of a kidnapped cat from Croydon was reported last week as saying: "I know the Prime Minister's brother and I've a good mind to tell him about it".

For those believers in the theory that men don't benefit from sexism, research from the Low Pay Unit would seem to argue the opposite.

Men earn £102 billion a year more than women. Some £42.44 billion of this is accounted for by overt discrimination in shift and bonus payments, occupational segregation and flexible working patterns.

So Margaret Thatcher wrote to Bruce Gyngell, boss of TV-AM, to say how she felt responsible for him losing his job. How soon do the rest of us get our letters?

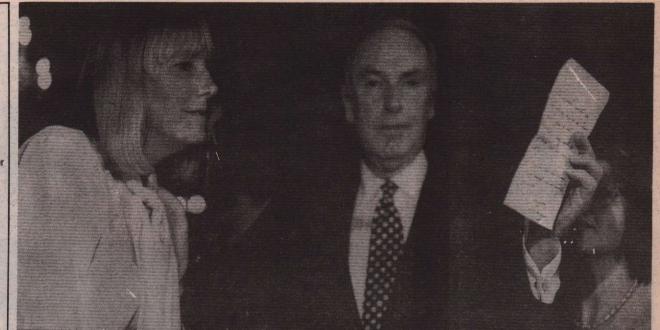
Reports reaching us suggest that this November's SWP conference will be concerned with filling the vacuum on the left.

The best way to fill a vacuum is, of course, with hot air — in this case "Build the SWP" over and over again.

But, so the SWP leadership believes, there are hindrances to building the SWP. It has too much politics, a National Committee, branch committees. Do away with them!

The prospect of a less democratic SWP with less politics in its paper might be hard to imagine. However, it seems to be on the cards.

Meanwhile, some members of the SWP put their names to the "Sign Up Against Cliff" campaign. In the traditions of the group, most or all of the names are of people who left the SWP years ago.



Bruce Gyngell holds up his letter from Thatcher to TV-am journalists

Tabloids target TV twits

ntil last week few people outside the media had heard of Bruce Gyngell.

He was probably less well known than, say, Norman Lamont. Until last week few people outside the media had heard of the Independent Television Commission, or knew anything about the allocation of TV franchises.

Then, suddenly, it was front-page news in broadsheet "quality" papers and tabloids alike. And Mr Gyngell became a household name overnight.

The British media loves stories about itself. In particular, the tabloid press loves stories about TV. The chaotic scenes outside TV-am's offices on Wednesday summed up the whole incestuous business: rival TV reporters jostled each other to get interviews with people they thought were TV-am employees, but who turned

PRESS GANG
The Guardian

By Jim Denham

out to be newspaper reporters also looking for TV-am employees.

The press had already unanimously declared the franchise allocation an unmitigated disaster. Even the true-blue Daily Telegraph solemnly declared: "The Broadcasting Act, of which yesterday's ITV franchise allocations are the first fruits, was one of the most signal acts of folly of the last years of the Thatcher Government".

But for the Sun the blame lay with the Independent Television Commission. "TV Twits Turn Off Our Fun" bello wed Thursday's editorial. According to the Sun's analysis, the "High Commissioners" (aka ITC, aka "TV twits") are a bunch of killjoys who've "not had a popular thought in their lives and could not possibly allow the public to enjoy its TV".

Mr Gyngell began to

mr Gyngell began to emerge as the hero of Greek tragedy — a brave, noble figure struck down by cruel fate (or the ITC). A brief summary of Mr Gyngell's career at TV-am may help explain the enthusiasm with which the Murdoch press espoused his cause.

In the winter of 1987-8, Gyngell presided over a fourmonth strike of ACTT technicians, sacked all 229 of them, and brought in new technology. TV-am emerged as a slimmed-down, highly profitable outfit, churning out a diet of lowbrow chat and cheap imported re-runs. Sounds familiar?

Sounds familiar?

The ITC looked set to take its place alongside the TUC, the EC, and the Church of England in the Sun's pantheon of hated institutions. Then came the "Dear Bruce" letter: Mrs Thatcher admits it was all her fault... and apologises!

This astonishing development made it rather difficult to continue blaming the ITC for the downfall of TV-am and the man in the pink suit. Anyway, by Monday, the Sun had another target in its sights: the BBC. The charge was that old chestnut, leftwing bias.

Do you ever get the feeling that the Murdoch press will never be satisfied until the entire British media has adopted the same standards of "quality" and "impartiality" that characterise Sky TV, the Sunday Times, and

The plight of young homeless women



WOMEN'S EYE

By Liz Millward

have written before in this column about the pressures on young women to diet. Some young women would simply like to be able to get enough to eat.

"Debbie is no more than a child. She still has puppy fat on her face but has lost more than a stone in weight in the last 6 months..." This quotation is from the Observer's

report on a study of young homeless in Nottingham.

Health problems like scurvy, caused by vitamin C deficiency, were reported. Similar studies in London reported the growth of tuberculosis amongst the homeless. Both these diseases had been virtually eliminated in this country until Thatcher began promoting 'family values' by punishing those whose families broke up.

Young women like Debbie are not only at risk of turning to prostitution or crime, but of starving to death, or permanently damaging their health because of poor diet. In fact, prostitution and crime seem like 'good' options compared to starving.

Between the ages of 16 and 18, young people are generally not entitled to welfare benefits, because the Tories think their families should look after them. If they leave home they get nothing.

A homeless young person is caught in the trap best summed up as "no home — no job; no job — no home". Without help to break the cycle, the young person cannot possibly support themselves

legitimately. And that help is not forthcoming, except for the lucky few.

the lucky few.

Although the government claims that there are enough hostels and other 'bed spaces' to go round, they do not take account of young women's needs. Many hostels are primarily used by older men, often with problems like alcohol addiction. A young woman might stay in such a place in an emergency, but she will hardly make it her 'home'.

Even where young women do find hostel accommodation suited to their needs, there is an acute shortage of move-on accommodation. So a hostel bed may be a brief interlude before being back on the streets. People cannot be reasonably expected to hold down a job in such circumstances, or a YTS place (which is the only way to get Welfare benefit)

Welfare benefit).

The Nottingham study found young homeless women have a high incidence of cervial cancer and miscarriages. If they do have a child, they are at least assured accommodation, but overstretched local

authorities are most likely to put them into bed and breakfast. Poor nutrition is rife in B & B because of the absence of proper cooking facilities, so the young mother may be separated from her child — and will almost certainly be separated from her boyfriend or husband.

While some young women are still at school, others are being told that society doesn't even care enough for them to ensure that they get enough to eat. The Tories have abandoned these people, not caring what happens to them. They even have the cheek to blame them for turning to crime, begging or prostitution.

Now Norman Lamont wants to cut taxes by another 5p in the pound. The Tories think they can buy another 10 years in office with promises like these. What will be the social price of the next taxcut, of the next ten years?

Cholera? Poor women giving birth in the streets? After all, who in 1979 would have believed that amid plenty, young people would once again starve in Britain?

Tories make OAPs £13 worse off

By Anne Field

ver their years in Office, the Tory government has trimmed back pension increases. Now, just a few months before the General Election, they have cynically "rediscovered" the elderly. Evidently they see Labour's promise to increase pensions by £5 for single people and £8 for couples as a votewinner.

This week, Tory Minister Tony Newton is announcing a £15 increase for 200,000 old people in care, and an increase in the bonus for over-80s from the grand sum of 25p a week to £1.

The increase for over-80s will not even bring back their bonus to more than a fraction bonus was started twenty years ago! The basic formula for pension increases will remain unchanged.

Because the price index us-ed for pensions and benefits excludes housing costs, at the moment it is running higher than "headline" inflation, so the routine pension and benefit rises will look as if they are real improvements. They are not.

Since the Tories came to power in 1979, pensioners in Britain have suffered one cut-

back after another. In 1980 the Tories scrapped the linking of pensions' increases to wage increases. If the index-linking had been maintained, single pensions would now be over £13 a week higher, those for a cou-

ple £22 a week higher. Since 1980 pensions are supposed to have increased in line with inflation. But the official inflation figure is

of inflation experienced by

There has been no increase in the pensioners' Christmas bonus of £10 since it was introduced in the early seventies. If it had been increased in line with inflation, it would now be worth £50. If it had

"Since the Tories came to power in 1979, pensioners have suffered one cut-back after another.

increased in line with earnings, it would be worth £70. The Tories have held back on the annual up-rating of pensions. In 1980 up-rating was delayed for two weeks, and in 1985, for one week. The overall loss to pensioners was £14 for a couple, and £9

for a single pensioner. Pensioners have also suf-

of its value when the 25p often lower than the real rate fered under the impact of have an income less than many other Tory policies.

The social security "reforms" introduced in 1988 left over two million pensioners worse off. Nearly 4 of a million lost more than £3 a week. Pensioners also lost out with the introduction of the poll tax as so many lived in homes with low rateable values.

Pensioners use the Na-tional Health Service more than others, and have therefore suffered particular-ly from NHS cutbacks. The Tories' attacks on public transport have meant particular hardship for pen-sioners only 3 out of 10 of

whom have access to a car. British pensioners are now amongst the worst off in Europe. The value of the British pension is 75% that of the French, 60% that of the German, and 50% of the

90% of British pensioners

average earnings. 50% have an income less than half average earnings. Two

million pensioners get In-come Support, a further 2 and a half million draw Housing Benefit, and a further two million are only just above the basic pension level. Of course, not all pen-

sioners are worse off. In her last year in office, Thatcher had the pension due to her in retirement raised from £25,069 to £33,425. This increase alone was higher than the current level of state pen-

While pushing down the living standard of those dependent upon state pensions, the Tories have encouraged more people to "opt out" of the State Earnings-Related Pension Scheme [SERPS]. Four million have already quit the scheme, and a further two million are expected to quit

Labour has promised that, if re-elected, it will:

 increase pensions over and above the rate of inflation by not less than £5 for a single pensioner and £8 for a cou-

· restore the index-linking of pensions to pay increases or inflation, which ever is the higher;

introduce a non-means tested bonus for pensioners over the age of 75;

· look towards an ultimate target of a pension which is of average earnings for single pensioners, and one half of average earnings for a

couple; Such proposals are welcome but would not even restore the value of pensions to what they would have been if they had remained indexlinked. And Labour's "ultimate target" is posed as a vague aspiration rather than a definite goal.

Peace and violence in Northern Ireland

Students debate Ireland

Ireland remains one of the most important questions facing the British labour movement. It's policy on Ireland will be a key test of the nature of a Labour government. The Labour government of 1974-9 pursued disgracefully repressive policies against the Northern Ireland Catholics.

Here, Pat Murphy takes up ideas expressed in a recent Labour Student article

here are socialists in Britain, Ireland and beyond who "romanticise" the struggle waged by the IRA. Misguided comparisons abound with the violent, bitter struggle of the vast majority in places like South Africa or Vietnam in the 1960s.

The very real communal division in Northern Ireland, which is based on more now than the British presence, makes the IRA's choice of a nationalist military campaign an especially inappropriate, counterproductive weapon.

There is, however, another problem, just as serious, in the way



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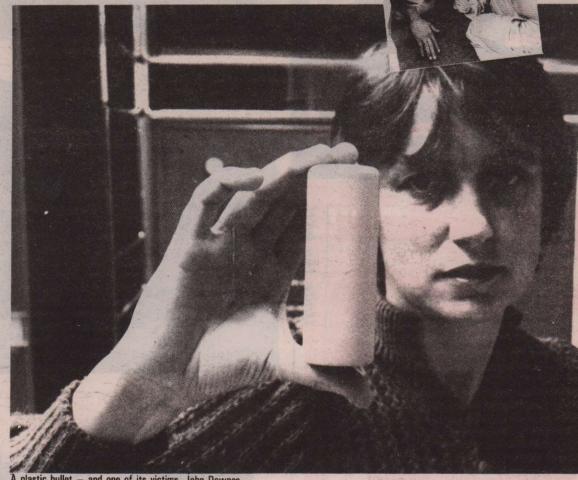
that socialists approach the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland. It is illustrated by Gary Kent's article in Labour Student on the "Peace Movement" that now exists in Northern Ireland.

Gary Kent, more genuinely, but also more naively, believes in a Northern Ireland that exists only in the minds of a few English liberals bemused by the resilience of communal politics in the Six Counties. It is a place where the main cause of political instability and violence is the campaign of the paramilitaries. It is a society brutally and callously denied "normal" politics and "conventional" democratic debate...by a few hundred extremists, the ubiquitous "men of violence".

Without any illusions in the project of the IRA, it is esential to understand that Northern Irish politics have never been "normal", and the existence and activities of the paramilitaries are a product, a symptom, of the political situation in Ireland, not the cause. We have only to chart the development of the Provos to see that: non-existent during the 1960s' Civil Rights campaign; setup properly during the brutal police and loyalist response to that movement; mushrooming in size in response to internment in 1971; becoming a significant political force only after years of failed attempts to reform Northern Ireland, and the symbolic deaths of prisoners demanding political status.

The relationship between the Provisionals and nationalist people is ambivalent. There is little convinced support for their strategy, but they are not regarded by most as "criminals pure and simple". They retain significant passive support from sections of the community because they represent an answer to a legacy of repression for people who can see no other. ent falls into the oldest of

liberal traps — the paramilitaries are terrorists, the state, which has a shoot-to-kill



A plastic bullet - and one of its victims, John Downes

policy, rubber bullets, no-jury courts and armed garrisons in working-class districts where they are unwanted, is the legitimate source of security.

ow, then, can the British left contribute to peace in Northern Ireland? Not by ignoring the injustice at the root of the "Troubles". I suggest only

(1) Recognise the complexity of the problem and the hostile, anti-Republican environment within which we operate. This shouldn't gainsay independent criticism; political criticism of the Republicans must be sharp, clear and unapologetic, but it must be distinguishable from condemnation and denunciation.

(2) A major priority, given the real causes of violence in Northern

Ireland, is solidarity with the oppressed. Socialists gain a hearing by clearly highlighting and opposing state repression in Northern Ireland. To ignore that and concentrate, instead, on the response to it of paramilitaries is frankly inexcusable.

Such a policy shouldn't be allowed to masquerade as "peaceloving" either — for it is in fact tacit support for state violence. The more paramilitary violence is seen as the problem the more state attempts to "deal with it" and normalise Northern Irish politics become excusable and even welcome. (The once-radical Workers Party are lost somewhere down this road.)

(3) The first priority is to advocate and work for a political solution which addresses the real cause of violence, ie. the partition of Ireland and the resulting sharpening of sectarian and communal divisions.

Socialists should support moves to reunify the island, allow selfgovernment and give the fullest political autonomy and protection to the Protestant Irish minority, including the right to federal government.

I think we should also be sympathetic to the idea of voluntary confederal links between a United Ireland and Britain as a recognition of Protestant/Unionist identi-

Labour Students have produced yet another knee-jerk reaction to much of the far-left romantic illusions in Sinn Fein and Republicanism. But knee-jerks create mirror images.



Tories out!
Fight for a
Labour victory!



Bring back benefits £70 per week minimum grant

IN DEPTH

Those who do not learn from history are condemned to relive it

The seedbed of today's

The early '60s: when the SWP was anti-Leninist

he Labour youth movment of the early '60s was the seedbed of the modern British Trotskyist movement. This article, part 2 of a series, surveys the different factions in Labour's Young Socialists in 1961-2. The Labour Party was right-wing and intolerant; it still kept control over the YS, but with difficulty; the major boost for the left came from the big and active campaign for nuclear disarmament; the biggest left group in the YS was "Keep Left", linked to the SLL led by Gerry Healy, and the future SWP (led by Tony Cliff) and "Militant" (led by Ted Grant) also had some support.

while frantically organising to defend their paper, and their existence within the Labour Party, Keep Left supporters also turned outwards to build mass working class YS branches.

A turn was made away from inwardlooking small discussion-circle type branches, towards organising branches which combined social activities for working class youth with some often elementary politics.

Wigan YS, existing in a small and dull town richly endowed with Labour Clubs and their facilities, was the pioneer here. Organising dances, the original nucleus of half a dozen politicos soon recruited 300 youth to the YS.

Keep Left had previously opposed attempting to 'compete with the social facilities available under capitalism'. Like the other tendencies, it had a sectarian-propagandist bias towards comparing and discussing 'line' and fine points of theory and analysis, rather than taking its political line into the working class youth to fight for it there.

The 'mass YS' policy provoked the hostility and jeers of other YS leftists, more concerned with having exclusive circles of friends and congenial fellow 'thinkers' than with organising working class youth. In fact, it did prove possible in many areas to 'refine' from mass YSs a hard core of working class boys and girls who developed politically and got involved in campaigns and struggles. The policy meant that the hard-core Keep Left supporters had to transform themselves from smug, bookish contemplators and 'thinkers' into people who could talk on all the varied levels required to the real raw material of a YS movement — working class youth; take up their concerns; draw them into activity. It was often very difficult - for some people it proved impossible — but it was an antidote to the sort of frozen impotence that gripped the Labour Party youth sections in the later '60s and, under Militant control, all through the '70s and early '80s.

A spokesperson for the *Keep Left* tendency put the policy like this: "Building large YS branches, initially from socials, is not easy... Anyone who thinks because he can quote from volume 2 of the Selected Works of Lenin that he is better than the young working class boys and girls who come to rock and roll, is not just on the wrong foot — he is on the wrong planet. We must realise that these young people are potentially the future leaders of the labour movement".

The policy allowed *Keep Left* to mobilise working class youth, and, ultimately, it explains how they came to dominate the YS. In the context of a bitter three-way fight in the YS, the 'raw youth' were, it is true, often counterposed to the sort of discussions of issues and political perspectives which were essential to the development of a realistic as well as a militant youth movement.

And, in the exigencies of the faction fight, Keep Left cadres may too often have been

manipulative with the "raw youth". But that was caused by the intense factional warfare and Transport House harassment; it was not something intrinsic to the drive to turn out to working class youth. It was that drive which marked Keep Left out as a serious revolutionary tendency.

If in the end nothing good came of this policy, and little was consolidated, it was because of the weak side of the Keep Left/SLL tendency, which led ultimately to a grotesque degeneration: that is, to its politics

he first YS conference did take place at Easter 1961, and was relatively free of restraints.

Through 1960 Labour Party youth groups had multiplied almost threefold, and by Easter 1961 721 YS branches were registered. 381 delegates attended the conference. Free political discussion was allowed, contrary to the initial Labour leadership blueprint for the YS.

A National Committee was elected by conference on the basis of regional blocks of delegates simultaneously electing a representative from each of 11 regions.

The conference was a prolonged battle battle between the Labour leaders and *Keep Left* for influence over the non-committed delegates.

The conference voted 222 to 97 against NATO and for unilateral disarmament. A vote of no confidence in Hugh Gaitskell was carried by 189 to 113. Roger Protz, the editor of the official YS paper, New Advance, circulated a personal statement against the

bureaucratic running of the paper.

The witch-hunt of Keep Left continued.
Right-winger Ray Gunter denounced Keep
Left for once criticising Aneurin Bevan,
recently dead and already a labour movement
saint. In Bevan's lifetime, Gunter had tried
to have him expelled! Demagogy won, and
by 172 to 148 a motion deploring the attack
on Keep Left was lost. Only one Keep Left
representative was elected onto the National
Committee, Liz Thompson.

In the heat of the conference, a number of the left currents disagreeing with *Keep Left* decided to pool resources and publish a new journal. *Young Guard* began to appear six months later, in September 1961.

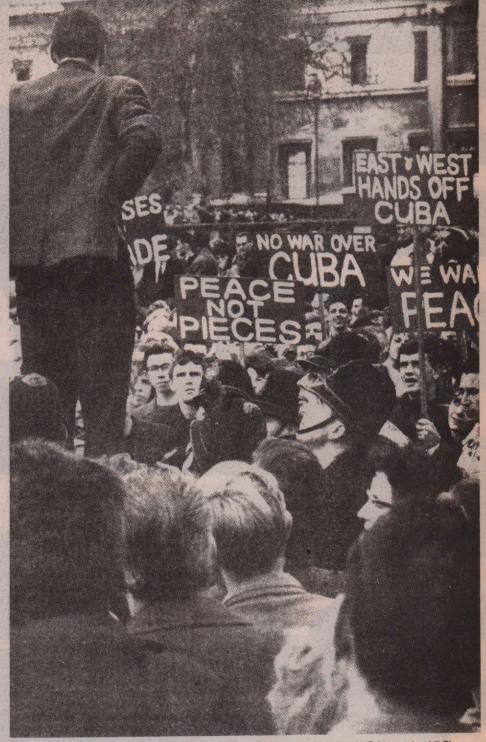
This split in the left had big consequences. Most of the supporters of Young Guard considered themselves Marxists. In Young Guard, Rebel, the paper of the Cliff tendency, amalgamated with Rally, the duplicated publication put out by the Labour Party supporters of Ted Grant's group through Walton Young Socialists. The 'Nottingham Tendency', forerunner of Socialist Outlook, which had recently separated from Grant was involved. Left reformists from New Left Review and the Voice of the Unions also enlisted.

New Left Review was then a journal of those such as EP Thompson, Stuart Hall (now a guru of Marxism Today) and Doris Lessing who had split from the CP after Hungary and, essentially, moved to the right of the CP's nominal revolutionary politics.

The war between Keep Left and Young Guard was from now on to be often as bitter as Keep Left's war with the bureaucrats.

Despite its coalition character, politically Young Guard was in fact heavily a Cliff group paper. In 1962-3 it was perhaps the main paper of that tendency, together with International Socialism journal. Labour Worker (it became Socialist Worker in 1967) which they also published, was narrowly syndicalist by comparison.

All the successive editors of Young Guard



Demonstration, Trafalgar Square, October 1962. The Cliffites echoed the pacifism of these demonstrators with Paul Foot saying: "Better 'all hands off Cuba'

were Cliffites. One of them, Gus Macdonald, is now head of Scottish TV. The Grant tendency did not withdraw from *Young Guard* until September 1963, but was little in evidence politically (though one of its people, Keith Dickinson, was business manager).

1961-62: Keep Left versus Young Guard

what divided the two groups, Keep Left and Young Guard? Keep Left believed in building a serious Marxist organisation within the labour movement, and that the time to work at it was at hand.

So, in theory, did the Grantites, but Young Guard's majority rejected this idea. Many Young Guarders considered Stalinism to be the product of Bolshevism, and a 'Leninist Party' to be a Stalinist abomination. (Some of the features of the Healy organisation reinforced them in such ideas).

The Cliff group's propaganda centred around such ideas. For example, in 1960 Tony Cliff published a big pamphlet on Rosa Luxemburg in which he declared that Luxemburg was right against Lenin in being suspicious of sharply-defined, centralised organisation. When he reissued the pamphlet in 1968, he was again a "Leninist". The

than 'more rockets for the Cuban workers'." The Cuban people were being asked to surrender to imperialism

discussion and argument on the issue was reprinted unchanged from the first edition; only the concluding sentence was changed, and now it said that Lenin was right against Luxemburg on organisation!

The Healyites and the Grantites belonged to mutually hostile international associations—the Healyites adhered to the "International Committee of the Fourth International" set up by J P Cannon in 1953, though they began a process of splitting with Cannon in 1961; the Grantites were the official section of the Pablo-Mandel "Fourth International" until 1965.

The Grantites and the Healyites had a position on Stalinism of "critical support" and "make a political revolution"; the Cliffites considered the Stalinist states to be "state capitalist", at the very end of capitalist historical development, as distinct from the others, who saw them as "post-capitalist".

The Cliff group had started in 1950 as a Leninist, Fourth-Internationalist group (70 strong at the beginning, though by 1958 it was 20), disagreeing with the others on "state capitalism". It circulated the magazine of the American Shachtman group (the Independent Socialist League) through the '50s. By 1960 it was politically very decayed, organised as a loose federation, recruiting youth on opposition to the Healyites' "toy-town Bolshevism", by which they meant the self-proclamation and posturing that today's SWP lives off. At the centre of the loose

left

federation, as it grew in the 1960s, was a "state-capitalist" sect around Tony Cliff and Michael Kidron, but there were other strands too: as late as 1968, some prominent AEU militants in Manchester resigned from the organisation because it opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the USSR and the War-

saw Pact in August 1968!

The Cliffites explained war as being tied to capitalism because arms production kept capitalism going. This was the "permanent arms economy" theory, a shibboleth for the group then hardly less central than "state capitalism", but long ago abandoned. They took it from the Shachtmanites.

From it they developed a bland, pacifistsocialist conclusion that socialism was necessary and that CNDers should come into the workers' movement, ie. the Labour Party

They produced New Year greeting cards in 1963 with the same slogan as the CP: 'For Peace and Socialism'. Both Russia and the USA, they argued, were equally capitalist. Third World struggles might perhaps be supported, but were not centrally important. They would redefine themselves during the Vietnam War: but if someone had proved then to Tony Cliff that he would support Iran in the Iran-Iraq war, and then laud the revolutionary significance of Iraq's conquest of Kuwait, he would probably have hanged

Keep Left explained the drive to war in the traditional terms of Leninism: Imperialism produced war. They considered support for the colonial struggles of decisive importance. Moreover, states like the Soviet Union and China were, they said, not capitalist, but degenerated and deformed workers' states. Socialists should take sides with them against imperialism.

bviously the Young Guard tendency was best suited to coexist with the CND and Committee of 100 which, led by Bertrand Russell, organised mass sit-down protests against nuclear weapons. They could recruit from that milieu and from those generally "socialist" but not committed to building a fighting organisation here and now.

The defence of the Soviet Union was a major issue in the YS. The Cliffites, pacifists and Tribunites said to the Trotskyists: You have no right to oppose British capitalism's H-bomb unless you oppose Russia's. The Grant tendency agreed with Keep Left on the question, but threw their weight behind the Cliff group. Young Guard carried the Cliff line while the Grant group kept their mouths

In the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when President Kennedy was threatening to drop H-bombs on Cuba if the USSR did not remove rockets which the Cuban government. wanted in Cuba, (there had been an American-backed invasion 18 months earlier at the "Bay of Pigs"), the Newsletter came out with headlines: 'Say No to Yankee War', 'Hands off Cuba!', 'Defend the USSR'. Young Guard shouted: 'Our demand is 'All hands off Cuba". But without the Russians' 'hands', (serving the USSR's interests), the USA would have squashed the Cuban revolu-

In Young Guard, a certain Paul Foot explained the Cliffite pacifist view, during the controversy that followed with Dave Ablitt of the Nottingham group (the Grantites were, as usual, silent) as follows: "Better 'all hands off Cuba' than 'more rockets for the Cuban workers'". This meant surrender of the rights of the Cuban people to control their own island to the power of imperialism. if imperialism upped the stakes enough. It was a good explicit expression of the crass pacifism in which the Cliff tendency dabbled at this period.

Paradoxically, the pacifist/CND period prepared the way for its own inversion and for the overthrow of one of the dogmas on

which the Cliffites founded their tendency. When the Vietnam War flared up, with the giant American war power trying to pulverise the Vietnamese, there was a great revulsion in CND circles, and many swung behind the slogans 'For the NLF'. The Cliffites did too, effortlessly, in 1965.

In principle it is impossible to separate Vietnam from Korea, opposition to support for which led to Cliff's separation from the "orthodox Trotskyists" in 1950. And Vietnam, like Cuba in 1962, could have led to nuclear war.

inally, Young Guard disagreed with Keep Left on the need to fight the bureaucracy in head-on conflict.

On the contrary, John Palmer, a leader of the Cliff tendency, put it like this in 1963: "The onus is on the YS to find a relationship with our Party which will radically reduce those frictions and clashes which are leaving such a bitter heritage in the ranks of young people joining the YS. One thing must be made clear above all. There is no future for the YS outside the Labour Party; our only hope is to find a relationship even more close to it than at present, but one which will allow us essential freedom as a youth movement"

Which is quite a tall order given the right wing policies of the Labour leaders, then soon to be in government carrying our vicious attacks on the working class. A tall order — if what is meant is a fighting socialist youth movement. The point is that Young Guard had a rather cosy view of the future.

The Cliffites did not believe much could be done (until they developed a perspective of industrial work, in the mid-60s). Capitalism was stable, and would remain so for many years. This view is now sometimes presented in mythology as the Young Guard coalition being realistic, as against Keep Left, which foolishly tended to consider a major crisis of capitalism as more or less always imminent (or in progress). In fact, Young Guard were no more realistic in their assessment than Keep Left.

Believing that capitalism was indefinitely expanding and stable, they were bitterly disappointed after 1964 that the Labour government did not deliver reforms to the

The Young Guard tendency did have more of the character of a real youth movement than Keep Left, because of its looseness, lack of a driving purpose and lack of discipline.

Keep Left youth were driven; and essentially they were a hard faction, led by a highly disciplined and centralised (indeed bureaucratic) organisation, vigorously warring with the Labour Party leadership and the general softer left while at the same time striving to build the organisation in the raw

The assessments of immediate reality made by the Healyite SLL were often wrong. Yet their urgency about building an organisation was not wrong; on that, they were entirely right. The 1960s would soon produce a resonating series of major class struggles, which would reach a tremendous level in the '70s. A serious, democratic, realistic and responsible Marxist organisation could have shaped those struggles and ensured more stable working-class gains from the series of victories we won.

The Marxist organisation, working in the trade unions and Labour Party, could at least have become tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands strong. The SLL was geared to such developments, the others were not. The tragedy for the YS youth and for the rank and file members of the SLL was that the SLL leaders, who had an unbreakable stranglehold on the organisation, were not up to the job politically, and not up to it personally or morally either. Drunk with limited success, they turned themselves into a destructive sect and then into something worse. But that was still a while in the future, after the SLL had won the majority in the



A Red Army battalion recovers after a battle during the civil war. After the civil war Lenin argued that trade unions were still very necessary - in the conditions - to defend

Did Lenin really favour a monolithic state?

WHAT THEY **REALLY SAID**

Did Lenin really favour a monolithic state? Check for yourself by reading this extract from the minutes of the Bolshevik party congress in 1921. The civil war had just ended, but the workers government was in terrible straits. The country's economy was shattered; famine was abroad; the working class was dispersed and exhausted; the people who had sacrificed so much to win the war against Russian counterrevolutionaries and foreign invaders now wanted improvements quicker and bigger than the government could possibly achieve. At this black moment decisions were taken which later served as stepping-stones for Stalin: the banning of the left-Menshevik opposition, the formal prohibition of factions within the Bolshevik party, the conquest of Georgia. Desperate to restore the economy, some Bolsheviks, notably Trotsky, proposed the creation of "labour armies", to turn the discipline forged within the Red Army towards the revival of industry. This is what Lenin said.

omrade Trotsky commits a mistake. According to him, it is not the role of the unions in the workers' state to protect the material and spiritual interests of the working class.

This is a mistake. Comrade Trotsky talks about the "workers' state". Excuse me, this is an abstraction. It was natural for us to write about the workers' state in 1917; but those who now ask, "Why protect, against whom protect the working class, there is no bourgeoisie now, the state is a workers' state", commit an obvious mistake. Not altogether a workers' state; that is the whole point. This is where Comrade Trotsky makes one of his fundamental mistakes.

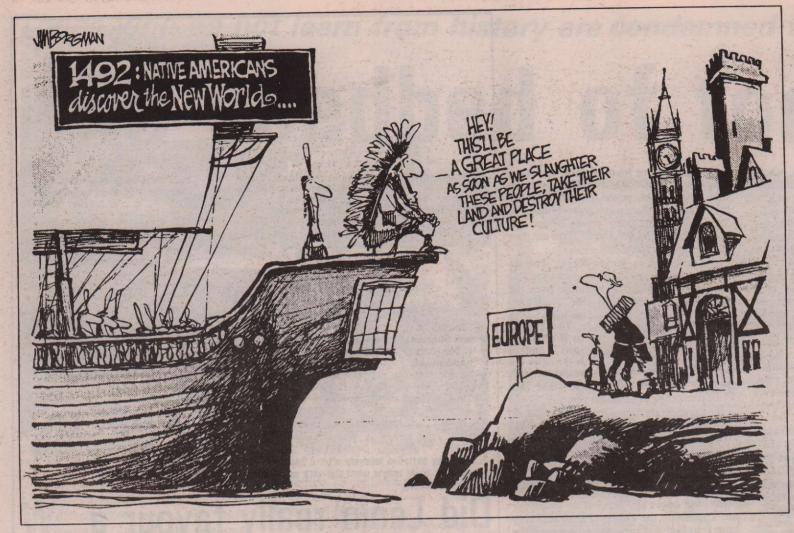
We have now passed from general principles to businesslike discussion and decrees, and we are being dragged away from the practical and businesslike. This will not do. In the first place, our state is not really a workers' state, but a workers' and peasants' state. And from this follow many things. [Bukharin: "What kind of state? A workers' and peasants' state?"]

And although Comrade Bukharin behind me shouts, "What kind of state?" I will not stop to answer him.* Those who care to, let them recall the Congress of Soviets which has just come to a close, they will find the reply in that.

But more than that. It is evident from our Party programme — a document with which the author of the "ABC of Communism" is familiar — it is evident from this programme that our state is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions. And we should have stuck this sad — what shall I call it, label - on it. Here you have, then, the reality of the transition. Well, the state has in practice taken this form; does that mean that the trade unions have nothing to protect, that we can dispense with them in the protection of the material and spiritual interests of the entirely organised pro-

No. That is an entirely wrong argument theoretically. It carries us into the sphere of abstractions, or of the ideal which we shall achieve in fifteen or twenty years' time, and I am not sure that we shall achieve it even in that time. We are confronted with reality, which we know very well - that is, if we do not allow ourselves to become intoxicated, to be carried away by intellectual talk or abstract arguments, or by what sometimes seems to be "theory", but what in fact is a mistake, a miscalculation of the specific features of the transition. Our present state is such that the entirely organised proletariat must protect itself, and we must utilise these workers' organisations for the purpose of protecting the workers from their own state and in order that the workers may protect our state.

* In speaking of the discussion of December 30, I must correct another mistake I made. I said: "Our state is not really a workers' state, but a workers' and peasants' state." Comrade Bukharin immediately exclaimed: "What kind of state?" And in reply I referred him to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, which had just closed. Reading the report of that discussion now, I realise that I was wrong and Comrade Bukharin was right. I should have said: "A workers' state is an abstraction. Actually we have a workers' state; with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class population that predominates in the country, but the peasant population; and, secondly, it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions". Anyone who reads the whole of my speech will see that this correction does not affect my argument or my conclusions.



Controversy surrounding 500th anniversary of "discovery" of America

Columbus: hero or villain?

A tale agreed upon

By Anne Field

s the 500th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of America in 1492 draws closer, controversy over his alleged achievements continues to escalate in the United States, as well as in Latin America and Europe.

Columbus first achieved national stature in America with a book published by Washington Ir-ving in 1828. In the aftermath of the war of 1812 against Britain, the search was on for non-British heroes for America. Columbus, at least as portrayed by Irving, seemed to fit the bill — an Italian sailing under a Spanish flag who allegedly displayed true American

Columbus got another boost in the later nineteenth century in the controversy over Darwin's theory of evolution, which came under

sustained attack from the church. Not unjustifiably, the Darwinians wanted to portray the church as hostile to any scientific advance. As "proof", they argued that when the church was dominant in the Middle Ages everyone believed that the earth was flat, until Columbus "proved" other-

In fact, flat-earthers were as scarce in the Middle Ages as today. But the controversy established the myth that Columbus proved that the earth was round.

Columbus finally achieved official recognition as a national hero in 1934 when the American President declared 12 October (the date on which Columbus sighted land on his voyage of 1492) to be an annual national holiday.

In 1965 Columbus was back in the limelight as his pedigree as the "discoverer" of America was challenged by Yale University which claimed that the "Vinland Map" allegedly dating from 1444, showed that the Vikings were well acquainted with America long before Columbus sailed.

The chairperson of the Columbus Day Parade in Chicago denounced the map as a "Communist plot". "You can almost see the Russian influence in the

title," he said.

John Linday, then campaigning
for Mayor of New York (which
has a substantial Italian-American population), equated any criticism of Columbus with denigration of the Italian musician Toscanini. According to an Italian-American politician in Cambridge, Yale's claim was an attempt to "disgrace the Italian race of America".

Fanfani, the Italian foreign minister, summoned a special meeting of the Italian diplomatic corps in America in order to defend Columbus - by comparing

him with Newton.

Many people before Newton
had had an apple fall on their
head, argued Fanfani, but Newton
was the first to discover gravity as a result. So, too, however many other people had travelled to America before Columbus, he was the first to discover it.

Given that Columbus thought he had reached India, this was a rather weak argument.

In 1973 a book by Simon Wiesenthal provoked disbelief rather than controversy when it claimed that Columbus was really a Jew who, under the pretext of working for Spain, was really planning to set up a Jewish state in any lands he discovered, in order to provide a refuge for Jews facing persecution in Spain.

There was another upsurge of controversy in 1978, when President Carter declared 9 October to be Leif Ericson Day, in memory of the Viking who "discovered" America.

"To dilute the importance of the discovery (of America) by the courageous Genovese navigator, the Admiral of the Ocean Seas, is insulting to millions of Americans of Italian dissent," wrote the Supreme President of the 250,000-strong "Order of Sons of Italy in America" in an open letter to Carter.

The latest controversy is much more serious than its predecessors.

On the one hand it challenges the mythology that has been spun

around Columbus as an individual pointing to his anti-semitism, his activities as a slave-trader, his medieval ideas about an imminent Apocalypse, and the falsification of his logs on his voyage. (To make it appear as if he really had reached Asia, Columbus inserted extracts from Marco Polo's accounts of his travels to China in his logbook.)

On the other hand, it points to the consequences of Columbus's "discovery" of the Americas: genocide in Latin America and, in later years, in North America, the transatlantic slave trade, and the North-South divide which continues to exist today.

"Columbus's voyage was an important moment in the beginning of the age of nation-states and of colonial expansion. The plunder of the Americas and the enslavement of millions of Africans was not the fault of one man, but the form taken by the development of capitalism as an international system".

Some Italian-Americans have again rallied to the defence of Columbus (although it is doubtful whether Columbus was Italian in the first place - he never wrote a word in Italian, and wrote even to his father in Spanish).

According to one Italian-American, in a book specially published for the "Columbus

Quincentenary": "There is no evidence to show that Columbus did any physical or psychological harm to any Jew, or, for that matter, to anyone else... That Columbus suc-ceeded in his voyage of discovery is to his credit and to the benefit of all of us who have come to America...No man has yet done for the world what he did. But he

continues to be denigrated."

Yet the other side of the latest Columbus controversy is not without its problems, too. In many ways it is ahistorical. Columbus's crime is not that he was a White European Male, as some enthusiasts for the "Politically Correct" movement in America pose the issue. And it is foolish to make Columbus bear the blame personally for all the crimes committed in subsequent centuries.

Columbus's voyage was an important moment in the beginning of the age of nation-states and of colonial expansion. The plunder of the Americas and the enslavement of millions of Africans was not of millions of Africans was not the fault of one man, but the form taken by the development of capitalism as an international

Capitalism did indeed, as Marx put it, come into the world dripping blood from every pore. But even to "blame" capitalism is off-

In 1492 it was not materially possible to organise humanity worldwide as a cooperative com-monwealth which creates comfort, security and freedom for each individual. The meagre level of industry, technology, science and culture did not allow it.

Today it is possible — if only the working class can take power. It has become possible through capitalism. The feudal or other tribute-paying economic systems before capitalism were every bit as brutal as capitalism, but they promoted industry, technology, science and culture much less.

If Columbus gave a boost to capitalism, he gave a boost to exploitation, colonial oppression and genocide - but also to the possibility of an effective movement against exploitation and oppression.

Progress and vileness are inex-tricably linked in the history of the last 500 years - and we cannot undo that. To go back over that history, awarding praise or censure to individuals on the basis of whatever late 20th century moral system you prefer, is less than useless. What we must do is seek the lessons in history which help us to go forward.

Was Wittgenstein a Trotskyist? Book

Martin Thomas reviews "Ludwig Wittgenstein: the duty of genius", by Ray Monk, published by Jonathan Cape

as Ludwig Wittgenstein a Trotskyist? Offhand, the question seems ridiculous.

ridiculous.

Wittgenstein who died in 1951, was the most influential philosopher of the 20th century in the English-speaking world. He originated two major schools of thought, "logical positivism" and "linguistic analysis", both of which are generally associated with hostility to any "philosophical" criticism of established society.

Personally he repudiated both schools, but tended (as Monk shows well) towards mysticism and even hostility to some sciences rather than

hostility to some sciences rather than to greater radicalism. Yet in 1946 — so Monk reports —

Wittgenstein's response was "sym-pathetic" when his friend Rush Rhees

the Trotskyist movement.

Wittgenstein objected only with conventional banalities — a philosopher, he said, should retain a freedom to think inconsistent with the discipline of a revolutionary political party—and Wittgenstein, an extremely prickly character, was the last person to resort to such flim-flam if he had deeper obtained.

to such film-flam if he had deeper objections. Rhees was not only a friend but also one of Wittgenstein's most trusted philosophical co-thinkers.

If Wittgenstein really did move close to Trotskyist views in the last years of his life, it was the end of a very long journey. Born in 1889, he was the son of one of the richest industrialists in Austria, and as a youth conformed to Austria, and as a youth conformed to the authoritarian, sexist, patriotic and anti-semitic politics of his social class with no "philosophical" detachment at all.

at all.

An awkward, unhappy character, he disliked the bland, conventional hypocrisies of his class, and had a romantic admiration for the supposedly industrious, straightforward and frugal working classes. In 1919 he gave away the whole of his huge inheritance to other members of his family.

But he was still very conservative.

to other members of his family.

But he was still very conservative.
He was frightened and disgusted by the real workers and peasants he met (at technical school, in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, and as a village school-teacher after the war). He was frightened and disgusted too, by the liberal and socialistic ideas of his philosophical mentor, Bertrand Russell.

In the 1930s he admired the Soviet In the 1930s he admired the Soviet Union, and went there hoping to exchange his life as a philosophy lecturer at Cambridge University for that of a manual worker in the USSR. (The Soviet government fobbed him off). But his attitudes here were still scarcely left-wing. He told Rush Rhees that "tyranny doesn't make me feel indignant"; objecting to a friend serving nant"; objecting to a friend serving treacle with suet pudding, he recom-mended life in the USSR as being without treacle or similar indulgences.

The Nazi persecution of Jews pro-bably drove Wittgenstein leftwards. As late as the early 1930s, he was extremely anti-semitic. Then his family, though long assimilated, was classed as Jewish under the Nuremberg laws. His wealthy relatives in Austria were eventually able to buy special exemption, but the shock made Wittgenstein drop his anti-semitism.

In World War II his attitudes shifted further: he volunteered to be a hospital porter, not a soldier, and he was critical of nationalism. In the 1945 General Election he strongly supported Labour. The USSR's military occupa-tion of his native Austria may have completed his disillusion with

And, probably as important, his previously very uptight attitudes to sex

loosened up.
Such was the result of the agonising efforts of an intense and keen-witted man to grapple with what he called "disintegrating and putrifying English

A fascination with upper class traitors

Television

By Mick Ackersley

ike the whole of the British media for the last 40 years, Alan Bennett is fascinated by Britain's bizarre crop of upper-class traitors, the gilded youth of the British bourgeoisie who went over to Stalinism in the 1930s, when capitalism seemed to be going down the spout.

He wrote a play about the actress Coral Browne's strange encounter in Moscow with exiled British traitor Guy Burgess.

Now he has written one — A Question of Attribution (BBC1) —

about Sir Anthony Blunt, the upper-class intellectual snob who was, it seems, the Stalinist masterspy, and who then lived on, even after he was unmasked, in freedom and comfort, pursuing his other career as the master of Queen Elizabeth's vast collection of paintings. He was knighted for that work.

Bennett stumbled upon a brilliant metaphor for the whole business of the unmasking of the successive layers of upper-class British Stalinist spies — Burgess and Maclean, "the two", who went to Moscow in 1951; then Kim Philby, "the third man", who hung around in Britain until 1963; then "the fourth man", Blunt, and, lately, "the fifth man", Cairncross.

An "Old Master" in the possession of the Queen and under the curatorship of Sir Anthony Blunt was discovered to be a fake; in addition to the two visible figures in the picture it was discovered that there was another hidden figure that had been painted over, and behind that yet a fourth figure, detectable only on

x-ray photos.

In A Question of Attribution,
Blunt and the Queen discuss the

That people are still fascinated by the British upper-class Stalinist spies is understandable. Not only is the story a reminder and proof, no doubt frightening, of the deep collapse of morale experienced by the British ruling class in the '30s, it also encompasses in a uniquely

dramatic form the story of the surprisingly large part of that bourgeois generation who fell for the "Great Illusion", the "God that failed", Stalinist "Communism".

Unknown numbers of bourgeois and petty bourgeois people flirted, more or less seriously, with "communism" and socialism, and a few with Trotskyism. Most of them quickly retraced their steps, especially when capitalism pulled itself together again for the great slaughter of World War 2. Those who had joined the Stalinist secret services could not go back; they

were caught and hooked. And it was a true tragedy: for they must have been among the most serious and selfless ones. They too must have experienced a dawning realisation that they had been conned by Stalinism, that they had sold their souls to the devil. There was no way back unless they were caught!

Blunt was unmasked in 1964, soon after Philby flew the coop and got safely to Moscow. He was interrogated, debriefed, and then... allowed to get on with his career! The ruling class's old boy network protected him — or was

it merely protected in — of was it merely protecting itself, hushing up yet another scandal? It is indeed a fascinating piece of recent history. It is salutary for socialists to keep it in mind that those traitors to their own class mistakenly thought, when they signed up with Stalin, that they were crossing over to ours. For that they deserve respect.

A pallid "Rage in Harlem"

Cinema

Mark Osborn reviews "Rage in Harlem"

isissippi, 1956: deep in the racist south, Emmabelle (Robin Givens) and her unpleasant friends steal a fortune in gold.

The black robbers are set up by white criminals and have to shoot their way out of a police trap.
Emmabelle gets the gold and runs to Harlem, New York. Believing the

rest of the gang have been killed by the police, she visits "Easy Money", a man who will buy her

"I was also deeply disappointed because it is based on a novel by Chester Himes, one of the best, most idiosyncratic and most enlightening crime novelists who ever put pen to paper."

Emmabelle needs cash. In fact, she has not even got enough money to pay for a hotel room. This problem is solved when she picks up a nice young undertaker called Jackson.

She stays with him. Very quickly

this young man's life speeds up.

Jackson falls in love. Then he is robbed by the Misissippi men who turn up unscathed. From here on there is quite a lot of killing.

The story splits into several chases. Jackson searches for his true love; the Misissippi gang is after money; the police are attempting to arrest most of the cast.

In order to find Emmabelle, Jackson has to enlist the help of his streetwise brother, Sherman. Sherman who hates his name because it doesn't sound tough.

To avenge a friend's murder, Sherman wants the gold gang dead. He sorts it out with the police: "Some people are going to have to die..." "As long as it ain't me, I don't give a shit", answers the cop-

A happy ending? Yes. Requited love; brothers' reconciled; quite a bit of work for Jackson's under-

I enjoyed "Rage in Harlem". But I was also deeply disappointed because it is based on a novel by Chester Himes, one of the best, most idiosyncratic and most enlightening crime novelists who ever put pen to paper. Judged by Himes' work, this film is a shallow,

pallid travesty.

Himes set his crime stories in

where half a million blacks live.
In Himes' novels — written in the '50s and '60s — there is a rich and vast array of the lives of the black community, still marked by the rural origins of many of those who came in the '40s and '50s as part of the several million strong black migration to the towns.

Himes himself served a term in jail and his regular hero cops, Coffin Ed and Gravedigger Jones, are very far indeed from the conventional crime novel cops. They are brutal and frequently savage thugs whose job it is to beat down the unlicensed thugs of the area.

Himes does not preach much about the condition of blacks in that part of America and their relationship to the mainly white society around them. He shows it for what it is, clearly and starkly, and occasionally there is an explicit comment, like a flash of light.

I quite enjoyed the film, but my advice is: read the books!



Danny Glover plays Easy Money, a Harlem king-pin

The children's room

By Minnie Ryan

ou think sociology is dull? Sociologists are duller, if you believe The Men's Room.

This is a serialisation of Ann 's bestseller about the sexual reawakening of a woman sociologist from a stale marriage which has left her with four kids, by way of an affair with a crummily pathetic departmental

She is also being awakened politically, it seems, and channelling her feelings into "the women's movement".

The cast is good (Harriet Walter,

Charlotte Cornwell and Bill Nighy), but the overall effect is of a plastic world inhabited by plastic people pretending to copulate on camera for a considerable part of the time.

We see the sexual collision of two people, bringing havoc and pain not only to their old partners, but to the six or seven children they have between them.

On each side there is the "family home" and children, but the sexual nexus is eroded, so the children are

traumatised. It would be hard to find a clearer illustration than the story enacted by these plastic people of the absurdity of such a way of raising children, resting the whole thing on unstable sexual

relations. It is a painful family drama - and tragedy for the kids - in a world

where the old family is dissolving before we have got round to organising a better and more stable way of raising children.

Periscope

Critical Eve

Pack up the Troubles Geoff Bell makes the case for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. 9pm, Thursday 24 October, Channel 4

Start of the hunt saboteurs' season

Campaign to end cruelty to animals!

LETTERS

s November draws nearer, huntsmen all over the country are preparing to murder thousands of foxes during their six month season by having these beautiful creatures mutilated by packs of hounds.

"Beautiful creatures"? You may not think so if you had your dustbin raided or your garden shed collapsed into the fox earth dug beneath it. But these are rare problems, caused by the urban fox.

Fox hunts do not take place in the town. They are out in the country, where the fox in its natural habitat presents no problems for anyone.

The fox is the victim of many absurd myths with little basis in fact. Ridiculous stories appear in the tabloid press: "Packs of foxes raid local school — 15 children missing", "Fox bites elephant", and so on.

Like other forms of animal exploitation, foxhunting is carried out away from the public gaze. Few people who see the hunt "meet" in a rural village are around later to see a scared and defenceless fox ripped to pieces by a pack of hounds.

The hunt mainly consists of people from ruling class families where bloodsports have long been considered the "thing to do". These people look down on hunt saboteurs not only as a nuisance, but also as a lower form of life.

They obviously have no regard for animal welfare or they would not derive pleasure from ripping foxes to pieces - but they have a different attitude towards their hounds and horses. These animals are expensive to buy and keep, a lot is spent on their welfare. Even so, after five years, when the hounds are too old, the pack is killed.

To the hunt saboteur it

Nicaragua. Mr Gates sees

nothing wrong in the most powerful state in the world

attacking a small, desperately

reports which suggested that

the Soviet Union was going

changes in recent years. In

Mr Gates' opinion it was all

part of a cunning Communist

plot to make America 'drop

its guard'. The USA should

make no concessions, in fact

it should accelerate the arms

international terrorism was

controlled by the Soviet Union. One CIA report went

so far as to give the number of the room in the Kremlin from which it was controlled!

ficials in the CIA, he is now

suffering from memory loss

Agency, Gates wants to ex-

pand it. In his view, the world

is more unstable now than in

the days of the two super-

powers, and the struggle has

changed from the political

stepped up their economic es-

pionage, and the CIA has to

ruthless thug but he has no il-

lusions about US power being

ultimately based on economic

Gates might be a narrow,

Japan and France have

arena to the economic.

counter that.

about the Irangate Affair.

Along with other senior of-

Far from cutting back the

Gates also believed that all

Mr Gates recently changed

fundamental

poor country.

through

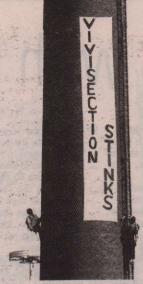
often appears that we're run-ning aimlessly around muddy fields all day. But we can save lives using non-violent methods, such as cutting the foxes' scent with strong smelling harmless sprays and re-directing the hounds by copying the huntsmen's horn and voice calls.

Contrary to public opinion, violence on fox hunts does not stem from hunt saboteurs. Instead it comes from the hunters, who hire terrier men as their "heavies".

At a hunt in Kent a few weeks ago a BMW tried to run a vehicle belonging to saboteurs off the road.

Futile acts of violence or even terrorism in the name of animal rights, such as the bombing of vivisectors' cars by the Animal Liberation Front, are a different matter.

Hunt sabotage is commendable as far as it goes. As well as saving the lives of several foxes, it arouses public awareness and increases hostility towards hunting. But it is only a minor way of saving the lives of animals.



All pain and suffering inflicted on animals is needless and morally

The ideas behind animal suffering should be challenged, and then campaigned against in a way that will mean the end of cruelty to millions of animals, and not just save a few here and there.

The pain and suffering inflicted upon animals in factory farms, laboratories, fur trades and elsewhere is both needless, morally unacceptable, and comparable to the persecution of human beings on grounds of race, sex or religion.

Debbie Leonard Brighton

WHAT'S ON

"The Labour Party and the General Election", Leeds SO meeting. 7.30,

Northampton SO meeting. 6.30, Nene College Park Campus "Crisis in Yugoslavia", Newcastle SO meeting. 7.30, Rossetti Studio "Socialists for Labour", Luton College. 1.00. Speaker: Cate

simmons, Liverpool Tory councillor

Saturday 26 October

"Women, war and resistance" organised by Women for Socialism. 10.45, Wesley House,

College. Speakers include: Ronnie MacDonald (OILC), Bob Arnot (Critique), Mariam (CARI), John O'Mahony (editor SO). £4 waged/£2 unwaged. Social in the

"Is socialism dead?", Stoke SO

meeting. 7.30, Staffs Poly. Speaker: Mark Sandell

Tuesday 29 October

"The Case for Socialist Feminism" Manchester University SO meeting 1.00. Speaker: Allison Roche

Wednesday 30 October Demonstration: "End Student Debt". Assemble at 12.00, All Saints, Oxford Road, Man-

chester. Organised by Man chester Area NUS

"Fighting debt and building a cam-paigning NUS", meeting organised by Left Unity. Manchester Town Hall, after the rally. Speakers: Jeremy Corbyn MP, Mark Sandell

"Party and class" Southampton SO meeting. 7.30, Portswood Housing Advice Centre

Friday 1 November

"Socialists and the Labour Party" Huddersfield Poly SO meeting

Saturday 2 November

"Is socialism dead?", conference organised by Stand Up for Real Socialism! 11.00-5.00, Caxton House, North London. Details: Mark on 071-639 7965

Monday 4 November

Forum. Debate between Roger SO). 7.30, ULU, Malet Street, Lon

'Ireland: what should socialists say?" Manchester SO meeting. 8.00, Bridge Street Tavern. Speaker: Pat Murphy

Evewitness account

Israel, the left and prospects for peace

Janine Booth, NUS Women's Officer, recently took part in an **NUS** delegation to Israel and the West Bank. These are her impressions

he Israeli peace movement in its broadest sense is represented by Peace Now. Peace now was set up by war-weary army officers at the end of the 1970s, and is an umbrella peace movement similar to CND in the 1960s.

There is much criticism to be levelled at Peace Now. Their demands are vague, and consistently fall short of anything concrete. So while they make noises about "territorial compromise" (giving up some of the Oc-cupied Territories in return for peace), they will not say unequivocally that Israel should withdraw to its 1967 borders.

Peace Now was at its height during the Lebanon war. This was an unpopular war amongst Israeli people to an extent that many of them could be mobilised into demonstrating for peace. Since then, it has declined as a political force. In the aftermath of the Gulf war. Peace Now's commitment to recognition of the PLO has been watered down because of Palestinian support for

Iraq.
Professor Stan Cohen, activist in the more radical section of the peace movement, explains it like this: "The clue to understanding the limitations of Peace Now from a radical left perspective is to understand that it is the only peace movement in the world which is pro-American. If Baker comes up with a plan — if the plan happens to exclude (as the current one does) any real recognition of Palestinian rights and bypasses the Palestinian question almost entirely — Peace Now will more or less go along with

But within a largely liberal peace movement there is an active left. The more radical section of the peace movement is small, but has taken important stands on important issues.

Perhaps the most significant is army refusal. Israeli society is highly militarised. Young men do three years compulsory military service at the age of 18, women do two years at the same age, and men do reserve duty for 45-50 days every year up to the age of 55. Groups such as Yeshgvul have been established to support conscripts who refuse to serve in the Occupied Territories.

One of the most significant success stories of the Israeli left is the women's movement. It has managed to break out from isolation, and has drawn in women from the more liberal groups into a more active struggle against the occupation.

On my recent visit to the Occupied Territories I joined

the Women in Black demonstration in Jerusalem. Around 100 women dressed in black, displaying the slogan "End the Oc-cupation" — keep a vigil in France Square every Friday between 1 and 2pm. And every Friday, right-wing extremists Rach counterdemonstrate (in much smaller numbers).

It is interesting to note that everyone I met on my visit, from both the Palestinian side and progressive Israeli Jewish groups, takes a "two states" position. Not everyone is totally en-thusiastic about it, but the tiny number of Israeli socialists who cling to the "democratic secular state" position are not an influen-tial part even of the radical movement.

Sadly, much of the British left completely dismisses the role of Israeli socialists, and stubbornly refuses even to show an interest in their existence and activities. There are many justifications given for writing off any hope within Israeli society — the left is weak and isolated, the political consensus is rightwing and becoming more so, the organised labour movement collaborates with the state.

All this can also be said of Britain. War brings out a popular gung-ho nationalism in Israel, just as it does in Britain or in the USA. We would not advocate dismissing the British left — that would mean giving up on ourselves.

A more dangerous argument still is that the Israeli working class can not fight for socialism. The Israeli working class has been so showered with privileges, so the argument goes, that it has been totally bought off, and is incapable of waging

class struggle.

The logic of this is that in Israel there exists a working class whose interests coincide with those of its own ruling class, and contradict those of the Palestinian working class. And so the argument abandons Marxism. For socialists, internationalism means recognising that the workers of all countries have more in common with each other than with any of their despotic rulers.

But the common currency on the British left is to go along with national divi-sions, and to divide the world into "good nations" (eg. the Palestinians) and "bad nations" (eg. the Israeli Jews). If one national ruling class represses another people (as Israel's does) then all the people of that state are held responsible, and are given no progressive role to The fight for socialism

has to be based on workers' unity. The resolution of national conflicts is important because national conflicts are an obstacle to workers' unity. A just peace in the Middle East is in the interests of workers of all nationalities.

Possibilities for united action by Palestinian and Israeli Jewish progressive forces may be difficult, if not remote, but they are important.

The CIA's new chief

hat would you do with somebody who was in favour of bombing the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, who systematically falsified Government reports, and was involved in illegal activity?

That's right: you would nominate him to become head of the CIA.

Over the last few weeks, a US Senate committee has been considering whether a Mr Gates should become the Agency Chief. The Senate investigations have given us some interesting insights into the workings of the 'Company' (the nickname of the CIA) and the people who run

Gates, along with other leaders of the CIA, recommend that all measures short of an invasion should be used against the Sandinista regime. These measures included air strikes against



Unlike Mr Gates, we can remember the Contras

Thursday 24 October

Packhorse Pub "The fight for women's libera-

Murphy
"Is the future capitalist?", Liverpool Institute SO meeting, 12.30,
Mark Sandell debates Steve Fitz-

Wild Court, London WC2. Speakers include Bernadette McAliskey Glasgow Socialist Organiser Dayschool. 10.00-6.00, Queen's

Demonstration against police harassment. Assemble, 10.30 Princes Park gates. Organised by the Liverpool 8 Law Centre

Sunday 27 October "Party and class", Newcastle S0 dayschool. Details: 091-284-6347

Monday 28 October

John Moloney, Bermondsey Why Trotsky would have supported the ban on the CPSU

was surprised to see Duncan Chapple protesting at the ban on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (letters, SO 503).

Is Duncan aware of the position Trotsky took on this question?

Back in 1938, during the discussions on the Transitional Programme within the Fourth International, Trotsky became involved in a controversy with Joseph Carter, who later became one of the leading figures in Max

Shachtman's Workers' Party.

Carter argued that the slogan "Drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the Soviets!" was incompatible with the Fourth International's commitment to socialist democracy. "There does not appear to be any valid reason to establish an a priori disenfranchisement of entire social groupings of present-day society. Disenfranchisement should be based on political acts of violence of groups or individuals against the new Soviet power".

Trotsky replied that Carter

was posing the issue in the wrong way. Carter's views, argued Trotsky, "express a juridical, purely constitutional attitude on a question which must be approached from the revolutionary-political point of view. It is not at all a question of whom the new soviets will deprive of power once they are decisively established... the question is how to get rid of the Soviet bureaucracy which oppresses and robs the workers and peasants".

Trotsky underlined the absurdity of Carter's position. "How can the bureaucracy be

overthrown and simultaneously given a legal place in the organs Events have vindicated

Trotsky on this point. Though the "organ of the uprising" proved to be the Russian Parliament, not Soviets or factory committees, the decisive act in the August revolution was undoubtedly the banning and breaking up of the CP.

Socialists should be dancing on the grave of the CPSU, not bleating about the loss of its democratic rights.

Max Gordon,

NCU Broad Left

Telecom workers must defend jobs

By Maria Exall

he National Communications Union Broad Left AGM on Saturday 26 October will face important issues.

NCU members must be prepared for industrial action to meet the compulsory redundancies coming from BT in the near future. Right now, the Broad Left is the only organisation that has shown any possibility of changing the union leadership and its policies.

But the Broad Left itself is in crisis. Some of its leading

members are forming a new "Unity" group, an attempt to capture the centre-left ground and attract the more "reasonable" members of the "moderate" grouping,

"moderate" grouping,
"Members First".

This is a terrible time to
weaken the forces of the left in
the union. We should be pulling
together to build a united fight in
defence of jobs.
Branches are cell

Branches are calling for a one-day special union conference on redundancies. More branches must back this call — 50 per cent of branches are needed, under union rules — and after the con-ference we must hold the National Executive to the decisions

Too often the Broad Left's main priority seems to be having an efficient electoral machine. That is not sufficient. We must work at winning the membership over to our policies and ensuring that the union leadership is ac-

Several motions from the "Unity" group are on the agenda for the Broad Left AGM. Unfortunately, most of them just score points off other factions, or support the position of the union's General Secretary, Tony Young. They need to be oppos-

Motions calling for strikes against compulsory redundancies, strengthening the Broad Left in policy-making,

amalgamation with the UCW on the basis of election of full-time officers, quotas for women, sup-porting the "Unshackle the Unions" campaign, and flat-rate settlements, should be supported.

The motion on "campaigning" sets out the agenda of a fight against job losses, including demands for:

• a 32-hour, four-day week;

 a democratically accountable union;

· opposition to discrimination; • repealing all Tory anti-union laws; and

• a Labour victory in the General Election.

This is the basis for the Broad Left to go forward in unity.

Adams

ship, it is good to see that the members were not taken in by a man with Dromey's obvious lack of industrial experience. It was also good to see, come the crunch, that old "machine" still

ack Adams, Communist Party member and Broad Left candidate, Labour leaders, for the post of Deputy General Secretary of the TGWU.

The votes were: Jack Adams 77,180; Dromey 65,806; Pat Higgins 20,305; and George

was around 17% of the T&G's 1.2 million members.

In a separate development, Dromey was deposed as chairman of the joint union committee negotiating pay for 900,000 local government manual workers. Fellow negotiators were unhappy with him for blabbing about votes in favour of this year's pay offer before a deal had been reached.

tle to choose politically between the two — as a car worker put it:
"it's a choice between being
poisoned slowly or very
quickly" — nevertheless
Adams' victory is significant.

Dromey was the candidate of the openly pro-capitalist Labour leadership keen to tame the T&G Broad Left. Adams was the candidate of that old-style Broad Left electoral machine.

In these days of defeats and setbacks for the union member-

would want security screens but while we pay out poverty levels of benefit and we don't have enough staff to provide a decent service, then screens can be necessary to protect members who would otherwise get a thump in the mouth or a baseball bat round the head from an angry claimant who can't be bothered to go to Downing Street

to protest.
When the screens came down in London and Bristol in April three violent incidents occurred, and CPSA asked for the screens to be put back up. Management refused. This led to disputes at Bristol, Forest Hill and St Marylebone: all have been out since April.

screens.
In an ideal world nobody

Thursday 10 October.

Management threatened to sack all the strikers and, fearing a split in the workforce, shop stewards recommended a united return.

Stewards blamed the national officials of the main union in-volved, the AEU, for giving them no back-up. It is ever reported that one national of-ficial complained to the company that, after being booed at a mass meeting, he couldn't sell a rotten deal despite his best efforts.

No national AEU official would help the stewards when they received the letters threatening the sack.

orkers at Hussman Craig Nichol in Glasgow have shown that militant action can win.

The workers, who produce large fridges for shops and supermarkets, occupied their plant two weeks ago after management had threatened to sack workers after a series of three half-day strikes over pay.

Management have now retreated and the workers have won a pay increase of £13 per week over 13 months after management's final offer of £9. Convenor Jack Ballantyne

low-paid members.

Explaining the NUCPS NEC's said that the workers have gone back "disciplined and confi-

Link London weighting to national pay

Strike on Nov 29!

By a civil servant

he National Union of Civil and Public Servants (NUCPS) has voted to ballot London members for a one-day allout strike on Friday November 29th in support of the Council of Civil Service Unions claim for London Weighting to be restored to its 1988 value.

The NUCPS Broad Left, which has long argued for strike action, has promised to "pull out all the stops to ensure that the majority for action is as large as

This decision has not come a moment too soon. The Tories have refused to increase London Weighting for 3 and a half years as the cost of living in the capital has soared. Inner London inflation was over 9% last year and 13% the year before. The freeze on London

Weighting has really battered the NUCPS's Support grade members whose pay is already below the European Council's decency threshold and for whom London Weighting is a signifi-cant proportion of take-home pay. The fight against the freeze is both a fight to maintain members' living standards and a central plank in the fight against poverty amongst London civil

Potentially, the NUCPS has launched a fight not only for this year's claim but for the very existence of London Weighting. The whole thrust of the Tories' paperson has been to absenden approach has been to abandon the very concept of a flat-rate across the board compensation

"The union leaders have reacted with astonishing inertia."

for cost of living in London. Instead, they have chosen to 'target' groups of civil servants on a 'recruitment and retention' basis through a mixture of local and grade-based payments (from which Support Grades are almost entirely excluded). This policy is deliberately divisive within and between unions, increases pay differentials and is preparing the ground for the eventual abolition

of London Weighting. In 1989 the Treasury told the Council of Civil Service Unions: "you asked whether, if London Weighting was frozen this year, staff should take it that there would be no further increase in London Weighting in subsequent years either. This must be a possibility given the logic of our position."

Since then London Weighting has withered on the vine as the unions have lobbied MPs, petitioned Departmental Permanent Secretaries, done everything except call strike action. There is now a small but growing demand especially from those who have benefitted from the 'targetting' — to consolidate London Weighting into basic pay. This is precisely what the

Tories want. They are now pro-posing to include London Weighting in the negotiations on the various long-term pay deals. This proposal is intimately tied up with their drive to break up national bargaining and the na-tional rates, increasing performance pay as a proportion of take-home pay. A flat rate Lon-don payment is increasingly out of step with Tory policy. The link between the strike ballot for London Weighting and the defence of national bargaining and national rates must be ham-

mered home by activists.

The fact that NUCPS alone is ballotting for action is a disgrace. In particular the CPSA leadership's continued, gutless do-nothing attitude will do im-mense damage to the union's

decision to last week's meeting of London Branch Secretaries, Deputy General Secretary John Sheldon stated that there was 'no chance of moving COCSU further than the huffing and puffing of the last three years'. That is no doubt true within the confines of COCSU (within which NUCPS officials have done their air share of huffing and puffing). But it isn't necessarily true if rank and file activists in CPSA, IPMS and IRSF take up the demand for a ballot of Lon-don members. Activists in these unions should be calling emergency branch meetings and moving resolutions which demoving resolutions which de-mand their own leaders ballot members with a positive recom-mendation. NUCPS branches should open their campaign and ballot meetings to all trade unionists to ensure that the arguments are heard and unity

If the basic demand for unity in action is not taken up nationally, activists should argue for unofficial solidarity action with NUCPS. It was clear from the NUCPS branch secretaries' meeting that if the ballot is won, NUCPS branches will be mounting picket lines and appealing to other union members not to cross. This fight is a common one and such picket lines should

be sacrosanct.
Wrongly, the NUCPS NEC has not mapped out any way forward after the one-day strike.
This will be a major stumbling
block to persuading NUCPS
members that the action can be successful without the other unions. The NEC should be stressing the need for a campaign to defend national bargaining

and the rate for the job.

The significance of the latter point cannot be underestimated: we desperately need to kick start the pay campaign. A London Weighting strike offers all ac-tivists across the unions a real opportunity — if not an ideal one — to begin the campaign with or without their union

leaderships.

To their eternal shame, the union leaders have reacted with astonishing inertia to the Tories' astonishing inertia to the Tories' threat to break up national bargaining, destroy national rates, and reduce basic pay against performance pay. Membership meetings have been organised wholly on the initiative of local activists. The CPSA has only put out one branch secretaries' circular. The IPMS has managed just one branch secretaries' circular and one article in its national journal, 'taking ce in its national journal, taking comfort' from the 'importance' Treasury attach to the long-term pay deals. Indeed, the IPMS NEC will not even meet to discuss the Tories' pay proposals until October 30th! The Treasury nation of its withdrawal gave notice of its withdrawal from the various pay agreements on 27th September! The real situation has been

clearly set out by NUCPS. 'If Departments and Agencies went their own way, with separate pay rates and even grading struc-tures, it would threaten the whole concept of a national pay agreement.' The NUCPS leader-ship clearly understands the Tories' plans for civil service pay and promises special district meetings to consult activists, but are not proposing to hold membership meetings until late November. This is far too late. The meetings must start now!

The position is clear: if the pay and conditions of civil servants are to be defended, union members will have to force their leaders to fight. Emergency branch meetings must be held and resolutions passed demanding special pay conferences, protest strike action before those conferences, and a clear leader-ship statement that national bargaining will only be defended by industrial action.

CPSA, IPMS and IRSF branches should be demanding a ballot for London Weighting action alongside NUCPS. Current events are the best demonstration in a long time of the need for a civil service-wide rank and file movement.

Adams beats Kinnock's mai

has beaten Jack Dromey, the candidate supported by Neil Kinnock and other

By John Williams,

member

victimised DE CPSA

By Steve Battlemuch,

Notts Trade Council,

Socialist Movement

Trade Union Committee

he struggles of the past

couple of years by the

OILC gave a lot of hope

to trade union activists

depressed by years of defeats

and climedowns in the trade

The fighting spirit shown by a group of workers who work in

he case for a socialist

revolution to replace

capitalism remains as

In the Third World,

increasing poverty, misery

capitalism today means

and hunger, imposed in

payments demanded by international banks.

order to meet the interest

In the advanced capitalist

countries unemployment is

high and rising, and the

welfare systems won by

decades of working-class

under attack. In Eastern

Europe and the USSR, the

turn millions into paupers.

rush towards capitalism will

reform effort are everywhere

strong as ever.

union movement.

national aggregate

ballot of all Employ-

ment Service local

Although there is perhaps lit-

atrocious conditions for union

recognition was an inspiration in these days of business and credit

The response of the

bureaucracy is not surprising — the last thing Airlie and Co. want

is an effective rank and file looking over their shoulders. Who

knows, very soon they might question what those full-timers

did for their fat salaries!
All unions, Labour Parties
and Trades Councils should now

The Alliance for Workers'

The Alliance for Workers' Liberty was set up in May this year. It declared then: We need a crusade to clarify and restate the ideas of socialism, free from all taint of Stalinism, and to help the political reconstitution

That crusade is even more urgently needed now. The AWL

is supporting the Stand Up For Real Socialism campaign launched by Socialist Organiser.

It strives to tie together work in

that campaign with daily activity in the trade unions and

workplaces, in anti-poll-tax groups, in colleges, and on the streets; and to link all that

activity with a drive to educate

organise a stable, cohesive, alert

Contact the AWL c/o P O

Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

ourselves politically and

contingent of Marxists.

of the working class.

card unionism.

Join the Alliance for

Workers' Liberty!

DE workers must unite: all out Nov 1st offices around the country have been brought out for two-week offices (integrated job centres and unemployment benefit

offices) is being held for a The fact that the ballot is a naone-day national strike on 1 tional aggregate is a possible set-back for strikers and activists. November over the issue of However, a strong campaign open plan offices. should convince traditionally As a build up to the strike day, weaker areas to vote for the ac-

OILC — support needed now! It is vital that 1 November is a success and that prolonged guerrilla action is continued after the

one-day strike.

The dispute started in April when there was a national direc-tive from Department of Employment management to make all offices open plan — thereby taking down the security

In Brief

mobilise support for OILC. Pass resolutions of support — moral and financial — in your branch.

Don't side with the bureaucrats reside with the OILC. ondon Underground appears set on cutting up to 1,000 jobs, mainly clerical and administrative but one third of which are ned to be station staff.

This is despite the possibility of extra government cash as transport becomes a political football in the run-up to a General Election.

Details are to be announced as part of LU's company plan on 12th November. Compulsory redundancies will follow the voluntary redundancy offers.

Admin jobs have increased over the last 3 or 4 years when management and administration of the lines was split up so they could be run separately.

The job cuts announcement

comes after a recent Monopolies and Mergers Commission report showing deep under-funding by the Government and recommending hundreds of millions of pounds more be spent.

early 2,000 manual workers at Perkins Engines Peterborough were driven back to work on

Conference set for 2 November

and the second second that the part of any and the second

Saturday 2 November, 11 to 5, at Caxton House, St John's Way, Archway, London N19. Organised by "Stand Up For Real Socialism".

Opening session: Capitalism and the working class. Speakers include a

building worker militant, an oil worker from the OILC, Joe Pinto (speaking on capitalism and poverty in India), and Gail Cameron from SO.

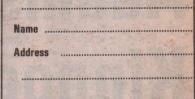
Debates: Is socialism dead? John O'Mahony, editor of SO, debates Professor Kenneth Minogue of the

Free market or socialist planning? Martin Thomas debates Professor David Marsland of the West London Institute. Can capitalism protect the environment? Speaker: Patrick

Problems of socialism: Did Marx and Lenin lead to Stalinism? Discussion with Bill Lomax and a speaker from SO. Is socialism democratic? Speaker: Ruth Cockroft. The poverty of anti-Stalinism - speaker: Bob

There will be a creche, a bar, food, and stalls. Tickets are £6 (waged), £4 (students and low-waged), and £2 (unwaged). Cheques to "Stand Up For Real Socialism"

This conference is sponsored by Socialist Organiser. For more information phone Mark on 071-639



ticket(s) to our enclose £ for 2 November conference. Tear out this slip and return to "Stand Up For Real Socialism", 56 Kevan House, Wyndham Road, London SE5.

Why we are coming November

"The Tory government has cut the NHS and other public services. On the railways, management are cutting corners on safety and slashing jobs to prepare for privatisation. We need workers' control on the rail and throughout industry. The working class is the only class capable of putting human need before profit".

Rob Dawber, Sheffield and

Chesterfield District Council,

"Women need socialism. Lesbians and gay men need socialism. For us there is no other real choice. In the end, socialism is the only answer to the day-to-day harassment and discrimination we face"

Janine Booth, National Union of Students women's officer.

"The Tories have been attacking education for 12 years. We need a government prepared to fund education properly. All students deserve a decent standard of living, and jobs at the end of their courses"

Richard Love, convenor, Manchester Area National Union of Students.

"We need to kick out the Tories and put in a Labour government. Labour is the only available working-class alternative to the Tories. We also need to continue to fight for our socialist ideas. Socialism is the only system which can guarantee working-class

people decent lives".

Ruth Cockroft, women's officer, Sheffield Central CLP; currently referred to the National Constitutional Committee of the Labour Party for expulsion on grounds of association with SO

(All statements are in a personal



NUS Women's Officer Janine Booth at the head of the 1989 MANUS demo

Students must fight back!

By Richard Love, Manchester Area NUS

enneth Clarke, the Secretary of State for Education, says that students have more to live on than ever. Like his colleague at the Department of Health who says that the NHS is doing fine, students, unable to make ends meet, know that he is lying.

The Tories have robbed students of the right to claim benefits and

imposed loans on them. That's only the latest attack. Since 1979 the Tories have again and again stuck the boot into

· They have abolished the travel grant and the minimum grant.

• They have cut the grant by over

• They have underfunded education so that lectures are too crowded and there are not enough books in the

To make matters worse, they have brought in big business to run parts of education that used to be under the control of locally elected

Students in Further Education get little or nothing to live on. This hits working class youth particularly hard.

It is time to kick out Kenneth Clarke and the rest of the Tories! That is why students will be on the streets of Manchester on October 30th on the demonstration organised by Manchester Area NUS.

For now, the only way to get rid of the Tories is to elect a Labour government. But we cannot stop

Labour is promising far too little. Labour's right-wing leaders say they will not write off the loans borrowed under the Tories or restore all the benefits lost under the

We must raise our own demands for grants and benefits to be restored back to 1979 levels.

Demonstrations, sit-ins and other action is important to making our voice heard for these demands.

Unfortunately, the Kinnockite leadership of NUS are too incompetent to run a campaign on student poverty. So up and down the country, student unions and area NUS's

END STUDENT DEBT

have been taking their own in-

Left Unity and Socialist

forefront of building the

Organiser supporters have been at

fightback in the colleges and linking

that fightback to transform NUS

into an organisation that really

More than that, we'll be leading

Kick out the Tories! Make

the campaign to demand that Labour doesn't sell students short.

Left Unity meeting: immediately

after the end of the rally, in the

Lesser Free Trade Hall, Peter Street. Speakers include: Jeremy

Corbyn MP, Richard Love

(MANUS Convenor), Janine

Booth, NUS Women's Officer (the

latter two in a personal capacity)

defends its members.

Labour deliver!

itiatives.

Wednesday 30 October Assemble 12 noon, All Saints, Oxford Road, Manchester Called by Manchester Area NUS

Clarke is a liar! Thousands of res, we need

real socialism! has faltered this

The money coming in -£62.25 — has been only a small fraction of the sums received in previous weeks.

The running total now stands at £2542.92. To reach our £10,000 target by the end of the year we now need to receive an average of over £800 each

We need the £10,000 to buy new equipment. We also need an extra £10,000 a month in regular contributions to our "200 Club".

Thanks this week to Brighton readers (£15.25), Nottingham

readers (£20). Donations to (and 200 Club forms from) SO, PO Box 823, London SE15

Subscribe to Socialist Organiser! £25 for a year, £13 for six months. Tear out this form and send with money (cheques payable to 'Socialist Organiser") to Box 823, London SE15 4NA

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