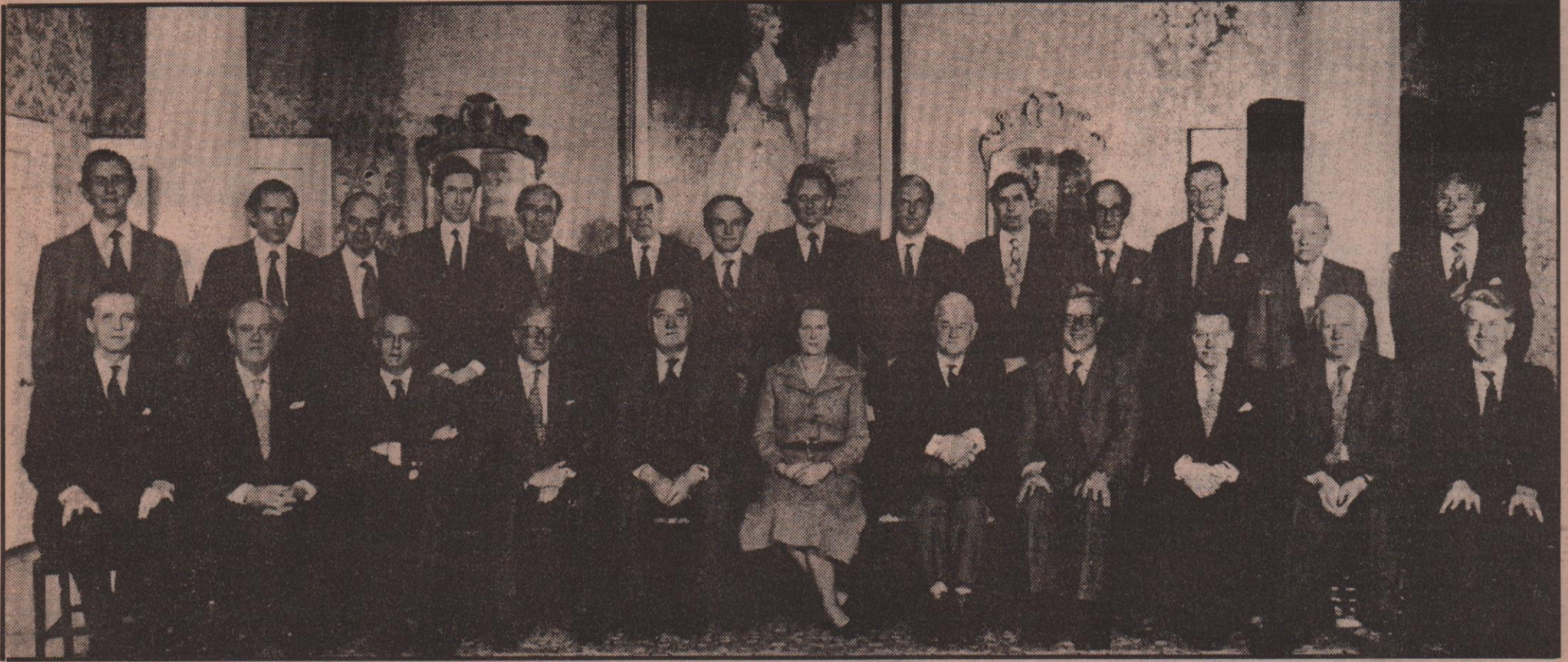


Socialist Challenge



ABORTION: WHO DECIDES?

THE ELECTION of Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister was heralded by the bosses' press as a victory for women. Now her government — almost entirely male — is all set to strike its first major blow against women's liberation.

It is allowing parliamentary time in this session to ensure that Tory MP John Corrie will see his restrictive abortion Bill passed as law.

The Tory victory will allow the anti-abortionists a field day in Parliament. There are now only some 190 MPs who can be expected to vote against restrictive abortion legislation, and many of these will have to be persuaded.

But what gives MPs the right to vote on abortion anyway? The only person who should

be in a position to decide about abortion is the woman concerned. All that Parliament should do is legislate women's right to choose, with the health facilities to back that up.

We will have to fight to get this Bill kicked out of Parliament. We have to say loudly and clearly that being elected to Parliament gives MPs no mandate to decide what happens in women's lives.

If women are not to be forced to return to the back-street abortionists in large numbers, or have to play mother to infants that they do not want, this Bill has to be defeated.

And then we have to say: No more Abortion Bills, and no more debates in Parliament. Instead we want free abortion on demand for all women. It's our lives and our right to decide.

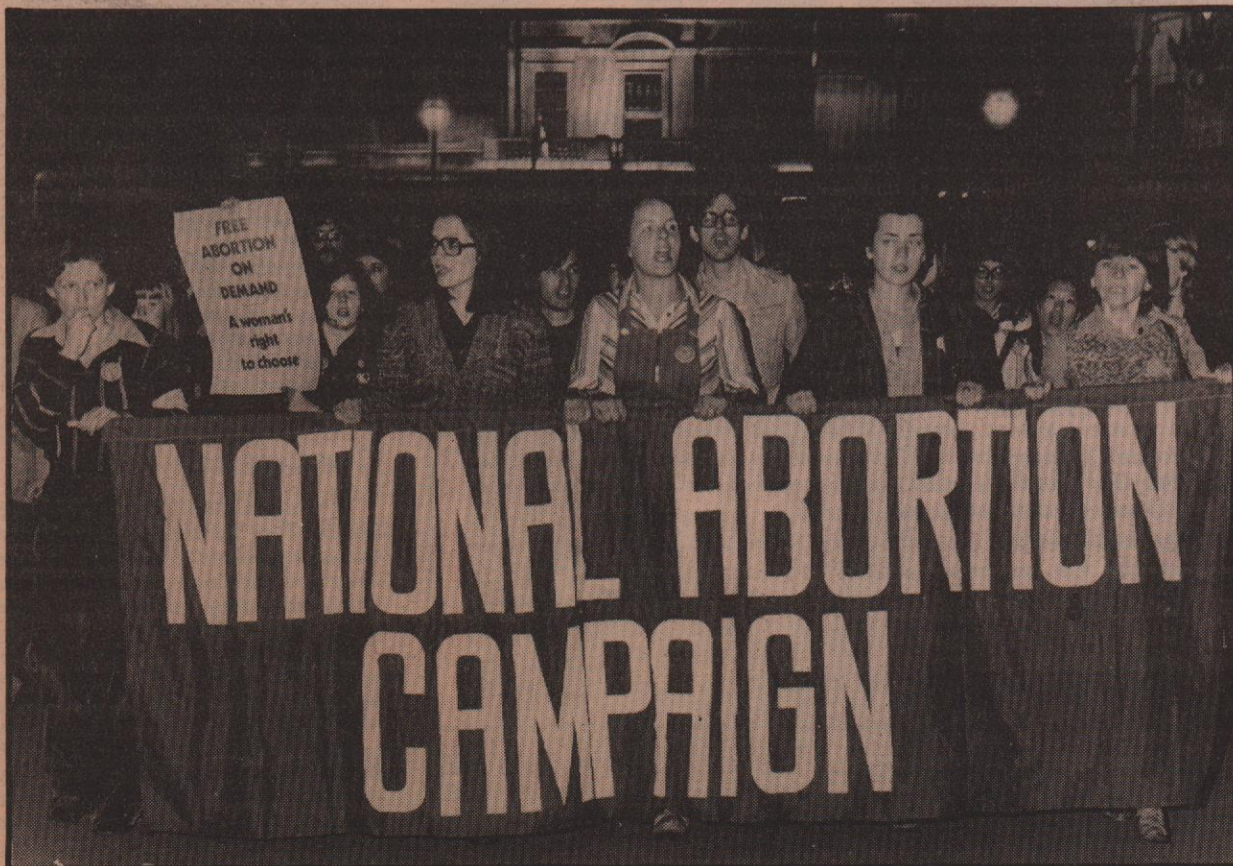


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

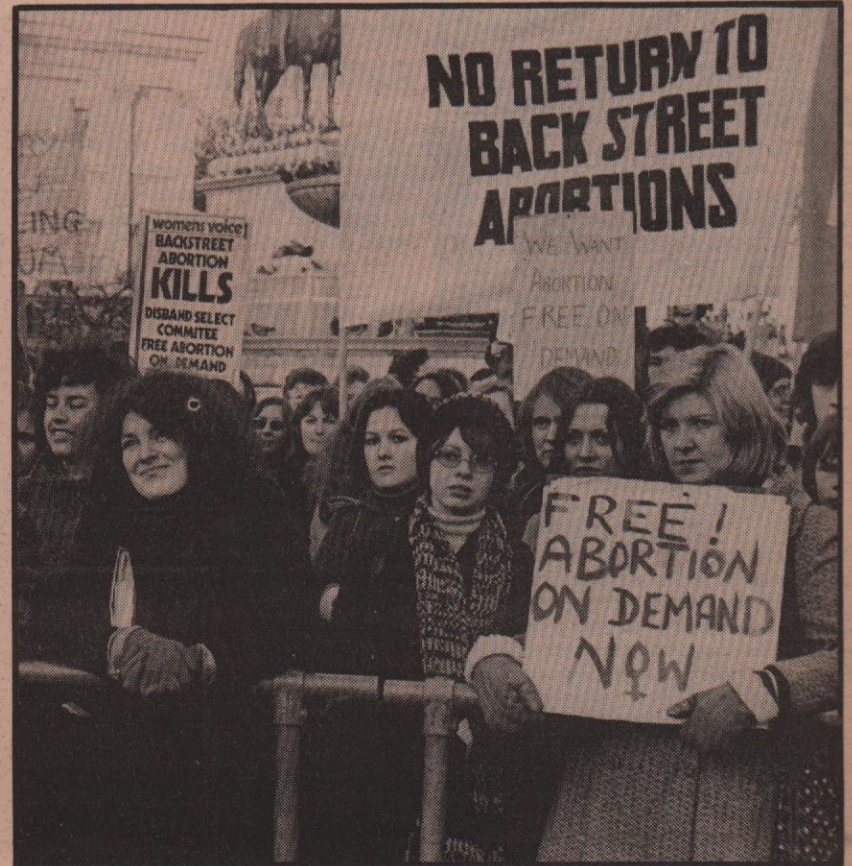


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

SMASH CORRIE'S LAW

OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

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

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

- I am interested in more information about activities in my area.

- I would like additional literature and enclose 50p to cover costs. (Delete if not applicable)

Name.....
Address.....
.....

Send to Socialist Challenge, 328/9 Upper St, London N1.

EDITORIAL

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

Only the dogs will bark

Hi Jeremy,

I just thought I'd drop you a line and say well done old buddy, you pulled it off.

As you know we on this side of the water have always admired your British justice — all those wigs funny clothes and things. We think it's cute; bendable, as they say.

You may remember I practiced law myself back in the old days, so I do know a few things about tipping the scales of justice. I mean Jeremy, I have one up on you, no one ever put me on trial.

All the same, Spiro just phoned and said it was one ... (expletive deleted) shame that we weren't born your side of the Atlantic. With judges like you have — boy I like the way they destroyed that Scott pervert — who knows who we would be bombing now?

Now Jeremy, I want to put a few deals to you. I would be last to hide that our CIA boys have bungled a few things in their time — I mean remember that exploding cigar they were meant to have planted on that Commie Castro?

But appearances shouldn't deceive. Generally

speaking our track record ain't bad and I still have many friends in the right circles. So if you ever want any help in that direction, drop us a tape and I'll see what I can do.

Secondly, I want to speak to you about your public relations. Now you might think that advice from me ain't worth a bent nickle. But although it was one ... (expletive deleted) in the end we did sugar many a candy in our time.

Especially I remember the famous Checkers speech. I was accused of tax fiddles, if you remember. So I went on TV with this dog called Checkers — incidentally I'd never seen the bastard in my life before — and laid it straight down the line.

Well actually, between you and me Jeremy, that ain't exactly true, but that's not the point. The thing is that that dumb dog clinched it for me. The stupid thing's face convinced the US public that I was an OK guy, and all the accusations and facts and evidence were forgotten.

Now I think you should take a leaf out of that book. You see your problem, Jeremy, is that pervert's dog — Rinka, wasn't it called? My God I thought that would mean the chop for you. I mean killing a dog is bad news as far as the great

Anglo-Saxon public is concerned. You know the way they feel about dogs.

So what you have to do, Jeremy, is get over this dog problem. My advice is take the thing head on. Dig the bastard up, Jeremy, dig it up!

Then go on TV holding the thing in your arms. Then say a few words (I still got great speech writers) about how sorry you are about the whole damn thing. Most of all, Jeremy, cry. They got these pills now which can make you cry, I'll send them over.

That should do it I reckon and now, Jeremy, the bad news. The point is you still got that £20,000 (I think it's just great that no pimped ass Washington Post will be allowed to ask you about that) and quite frankly, Jeremy, all these services and advice don't drop out of thin air.

So send a few dollars over, Jeremy, eh? I know that you got your fingers burnt over that property firm that went bust on you (and it was smart that no one was allowed to bring that up at the trial) but still, Jeremy, bunnies don't go to France by themselves, eh?

Yours,
Richard

Of backwoodsmen and back-streets

By Jude Woodward

IT IS now beyond a doubt that Tory MP John Corrie will be seeking to get a restrictive abortion Bill through this session of Parliament.

And in so doing he will not displease Margaret Thatcher and the Cabinet, and it will send the Tory press into spasms of baying delight.

It is the kind of measure that will reassure traditional Tory voters, who may not understand the niceties of economic policy, but are quite certain what they think about hanging, public schools and abortion.

Corrie's proposed Bill, the details of which are unlikely to be available for another week or so, will include a reduction in the time limit for legal abortion. It will almost certainly include a number of other restrictive elements.

Restriction

It could attack the charitable status of agencies like the British Pregnancy Advisory Service, which provides cheap abortions for hundreds of women who cannot get NHS abortions.

It could try to include an element of 'father's right', perhaps not so crass as a right of veto, but some consultative right.

It may try to limit, or more closely define, the grounds for legal abortion, through tightening up on the 'social grounds' clause, which allows so many women to avoid the backstreet abortionist.

Whatever the Bill does, it will be a fundamental attack on the limited right to abortion embodied in the 1967 Act, which was fought for by thousands of women, and has been defended against the attempts at restriction included in three Private Members' Bills under the Labour government.

Unlike the Bills under the Labour government, Corrie's has an exceedingly good chance of becoming law.

Weighted

The House of Commons is now decisively weighted in favour of the anti-abortion forces, many of the Labour back-benchers who lost their seats at Egger were the backbone of the pro-abortion element in Parliament.

Furthermore, the Labour government, while never having the courage of its convictions to the extent of calling a Labour whip against



WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Join your local NAC group. If there isn't one, call a meeting of women's groups, trade unionists, students to discuss how to fight the Bill. Form a group or committee — affiliate to NAC.
 2. Publicise the attacks. Get leaflets from the NAC office and use them outside schools, in shopping precincts. Organise public meetings. Offer speakers to trade union branches, Labour Party branches, trade councils etc.
 3. Picket your MP — demand they vote against the Bill.
 4. Put resolutions through your trades union branch or trades council. Demand that the TUC organise a demonstration against the Bill; that your trade union branch/trades council affiliates to NAC, invites a speaker and gives a donation.
 5. Remember the second reading is on 13 July. Organise local activity. Get maximum publicity for your opposition to the Bill.
 6. In London or nearby on 13 July, come to NAC's meeting, 3pm, Central Hall, Westminster, and rally, 6.30pm, Caxton Hall, St James.
- Contact NAC on 01-278 0153 at 374 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1.

anti-abortion Bills, was never very happy about openly supporting such reactionary measures.

The Tory government has no such scruples. Indeed the Bill gives them a useful opportunity to offer the electors an ideologically powerful piece of law.

It will rally their forces for the other major attacks on the working class that will follow close upon this attack on abortion.

The only way the Bill can be defended is by masses of women and men coming together in united action to smash it.

That means that the trade union movement has to be prepared to take up the fight alongside the women's movement and the abortion campaigns.

But the trade union movement does not have a very good record on fighting for abortion rights. The understanding that the right to abortion is a class issue has not been absorbed into the working class and its organisations.

At the recent Local Government Officers union conference a motion sponsored by ten branches of the

union, read 'That NALGO adopts a neutral attitude on the abortion issue and withdraws its support from the National Abortion Campaign'.

The motion was not taken, but the attitude it expressed is common in the trade union movement — abortion is a question of conscience, not of right.

Necessary

It is this attitude which has meant that at every Labour Party conference where it has come up, the block votes of trade unions have maintained the free vote on abortion for Labour MPs.

Steps have been made to reverse this situation. The National Abortion Campaign and Labour Abortion Rights Campaign joint trade union conference attracted delegates from a wide range of unions.

The Women's TUC in 1978 passed a motion promising a TUC demonstration if there was any effort to restrict the 1967 Abortion Act. This gives us something to build on.

But perhaps now is not only a necessary, but also a good time, to take forward this fight into the trade union movement.

Statements from Tory MPs — that the new technology is not a problem as married women will have to be persuaded not to work — taken together with the Abortion Bill reveal clearly what is really at the heart of the issue.

Conscience

It is not a question of conscience for the Tory government, it is stage one of a process of pushing women out of the workforce, and fixing them firmly where they 'belong' — at home bringing up children.

We must use the opportunity to argue that abortion is a right that women have won, which in the words of the Daily Mirror, has 'freed women — especially working class women — from the crude butchery of the back-street abortionist' and which has taken them one step further towards being able to participate equally in all aspects of social life.

It has begun to give women the possibility of controlling their own fertility.

We have to argue that the anti-abortionists divide the working class, they succeed in pitting women against men in the fight for jobs, pay and a livelihood.

The fight to defend abortion rights is the first step in the fight to defend all our rights.

Deportations multiply, killings continue

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

By Oliver New and Anwar Hussein

OVER THE past three weeks there has been an alarming growth of deportations, and one racist murder. There are now fears that the next step will be 'voluntary repatriation'. Just study the following developments:

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• Tuesday 12 June: Palak Mazumdar, a 39-year-old worker at the Merryweathers engineering firm, in South London, was beaten to death on Frances Street, Woolwich, at 11pm. Only one of the four white youths allegedly involved, Fred Archer, 18, has been charged with murder. He is in Brixton prison.

Mazumdar, from West Bengal, had been working at Merryweathers for five years. He was walking home alone when he was attacked and beaten to death. In the same area a West Indian was attacked some nine months ago. A Bangladeshi worker has stopped working on the night shift because he is scared.

Mazumdar's killing has finally forced police commander Ted Stow, the head of R Division, to admit: 'I and my senior officers are well aware that racist attacks are possible.' And this in an area where there are dozens of documented cases of assault on blacks and where Asian shops are regularly smashed.

A local action committee has been set up, and its first public meeting is scheduled for 7 July at the Sikh temple in Woolwich at 7pm.

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• Thursday 14 June: Shiraz Mitha and his wife Noor Jehan were arrested in Acton and deported to Tanzania. This was the conclusion of a seven-year struggle to stay in this country.

Shiraz's parents, Abdul and Gulbanu Mitha, were shattered. Abdul, 66, had a heart attack after he heard the news and was taken to St Charles Hospital in North Kensington. Abdul Mitha is paralysed by heart disease. His wife has arthritis in her hands and suffers from agoraphobia — a fear of open spaces.

She said: 'The Home Office has ruined us. I can't go out to get food, we have no money and neither of us can work. I cannot go out to see the

social security people. If only the government knew how much we need Shiraz.

'I feel dead to the world. There is nothing left.'

Abdul and Gulbanu are heart-broken and ill. They will not live long, a fact that will bring joy to the racists in the Home Office who cold-bloodedly 'execute the law.'

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

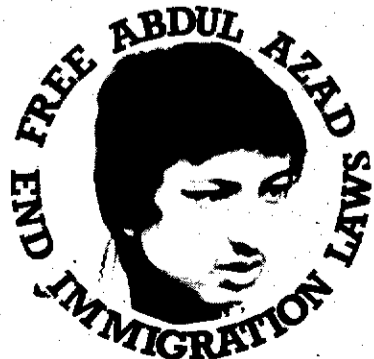
• Wednesday 13 June: Blair Peach's body is lying in the Dominion cinema in Southall. Outside a policeman walks up to a wall displaying a 'Who killed Blair Peach?' poster and inscribes on it the initials 'NF'.

Unknown to him he is being watched by two Asian women. They take down his number. The Southall Action Committee is looking into the possibility of prosecuting this police officer under the Race Relations Act.

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• S, a Kenyan Asian nurse, faces deportation. Why? She came to Britain in 1975 to do psychiatric nursing at St Albans hospital. She passed her hospital finals last November and was told that if she passed the state finals as a registered mental nurse (which she did in January) she would get a job at the hospital.

But she was rejected because she had taken some time off when she was suffering from the after-effects of the



BADGE available from Abdul Azad Defence Committee (see page 6).



ABDUL and Gulbanu Mitha: 'The Home Office has ruined us.'

pill. 'Good heavens, we didn't think that you Asian girls did things like that,' was just one of the remarks passed.

Now, without a job, she faces deportation. Her parents are here, but at 25 she cannot count as a dependent.

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1979

Living in Anger after Asian dies

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• A black South African, X, was arrested in North London under the notorious sus laws. He happened to be wearing a political badge. He was ordered to bring his passport, a slight irregularity was pounced upon, and he was served with a deportation order.

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• A Cypriot couple in Harringey, North London, lost their fight to stay

in Britain. Their children are British citizens and are at a local primary school. However, as they can't stay without their parents they will have to leave as well.

BLACK PEOPLE UNDER ATTACK

• An all-time record was established last month. The Guardian revealed last Monday that three Pakistani children were being held at Harmondsworth detention centre pending deportation. Their ages? Shezad, 6, Naheed, 5, and Sabina, 21 months.

WHAT CAN AND SHOULD BE DONE?

ANL activists in the localities should take up deportation cases and wage a campaign around them. CAIL (Campaign Against Immigration Laws) is organising a national day of action against the laws which make black people's lives a living hell.

On Saturday 7 July, there will be a national picket of prisons where immigration law prisoners are being held. For further details ring Bob Swart on 01-769 1160.

• Make sure you read your local papers. Send in all clippings relating to deportations and immigration laws to Socialist Challenge so that we can help spread the information.

SOUTHALL KIDS

FRI 13th JULY	SAT 14th JULY
THE POP GROUP	THE ENCHANTERS
MISTY	ASWAD
THE RUTS	THE CLASH
PETE TOWNSHEND	THE MEMBERS
THE RAINBOW TICKETS £3 FROM THE BOX OFFICE	
ARE INNOCENT	



Val Dunn, Bakery Workers Executive.

'Defend our unions' conference says 'If you fight you can win'

By Stephen Marks

A DETERMINED national lead in the fight against Thatcher's union-bashing plans came from 1,100 delegates at last Saturday's 'defend our unions' conference in Manchester.

'This conference cheers me up', said Sandersons strike committee delegate Phil Gilliatt in words that summed up the feelings of most delegates. 'It's rare to see so many trade unionists together, standing up and saying "something's wrong".'

Declaration

Delegates voted overwhelmingly for what amounted to a 'declaration of war' on the Tory government's programme of anti-union laws. This is the first national call to action against Thatcher to be issued in the labour movement since the election, and one much needed given the unholy combination of silence, grovelling and wind that has come from most of the TUC General Council since.

In particular delegates called for a programme of action: against talks

with the Tories, for union democracy, against cuts and closures, incomes policies and productivity deals, and for a 35-hour week. They called for support for a united lobby of the TUC on 5 September, for a Right to Work March to reach Blackpool on that day, and for united action with the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

Most important of all, they backed a Code of Practice for disputes which defends the basic trade union principles the General Council betrayed to Callaghan in the Concordat and is now in the process of betraying again to Thatcher.

The conference decisions, and especially the Code, are a good tool for all militants to take into their workplaces and organisations, to campaign around in the months ahead. But in doing so, a number of political problems will arise which were not really dealt with at the conference.

Speakers brought delegates the experience and lessons of a number of key disputes, including Sandersons, Roneo Vickers (Kirby), the Economist bookshop, the Nottingham Post, Dunlop Speke and Birmid

Qualcast (Smethwick) — many of them struggles for the basis right of trade union recognition.

As Phil Gilliatt pointed out, in all too many cases our 12-million strong trade union movement cannot even win recognition. In the course of the two and a half year Sandersons struggle — the longest running current dispute in the country — he often found that 'It's hard to get past the in-built resistance from those who've been organised for years and don't need to fight for it.'

Speakers agreed that, in the face of successive defeats and demoralisation, it was necessary to reaffirm basic principles of militant trade unionism. 'If you fight you can win, if you don't fight you cannot', said A. Todd from Dunlop Speke, whose detailed account of the fight against closure at the Merseyside tyre plant was heard attentively by delegates.

Picketing

'Given effective picketing and blacking we must win; without effective trade union support we will lose', said Marcus Ravel from the Economist bookshop.

Bakers Union delegate Albert Derbyshire summed up the mood of many when he claimed to have the letters MA after his name. 'It doesn't stand for Master of Arts, it stands for Militant and Argumentative. That's what you've got to be. If you're not you're lost.'

Ken King (Leyland Longbridge joint shop stewards committee) went further. 'It's no good us putting up all the fight in the world when people like Duffy can stab us with the stroke of a pen. We must get at the leadership. We asked for the Tory government when we didn't get at the Labour right wing.'

Review

And in a widely applauded speech, Avtar Joul (Birmid Qualcast, Smethwick) stressed the need to review the Labour policies that paved the way for the Tories. 'If in the course of the struggle we topple the Thatcher government, we should be prepared for that and organise so that the next government represents not just social democrats but the real workers of this country.'

To the biggest applause for any speaker so far he attacked the Chapple/Gormley/Callaghan line against political strikes. 'The trade unions are not just to defend the economic interests but all the interests of the working class in this country.'

the unemployed has been set up.

Sarey Desai (National Union of School Students) reinforced the point. 'It won't take long to form an army of scabs from the unemployed; they're pissed off with having no money.'

'Only the trade union movement can help, by banning overtime and fighting for a shorter working week. You're the generation of the employed. Unless you organise alongside us, you will lose as well as us.'

Applause

The biggest applause came for Vishnu Sharma of the Indian Workers Association (Southall), who appealed to delegates for support for the release of the 342 arrested at Southall in the police riot during the protest against the National Front election meeting.

He called on delegates to get their organisations to protest to the Home Secretary against the cover-up over the murder of Blair Peach — 'We all know he was murdered by the police'.

We need a fighting 'code of practice'

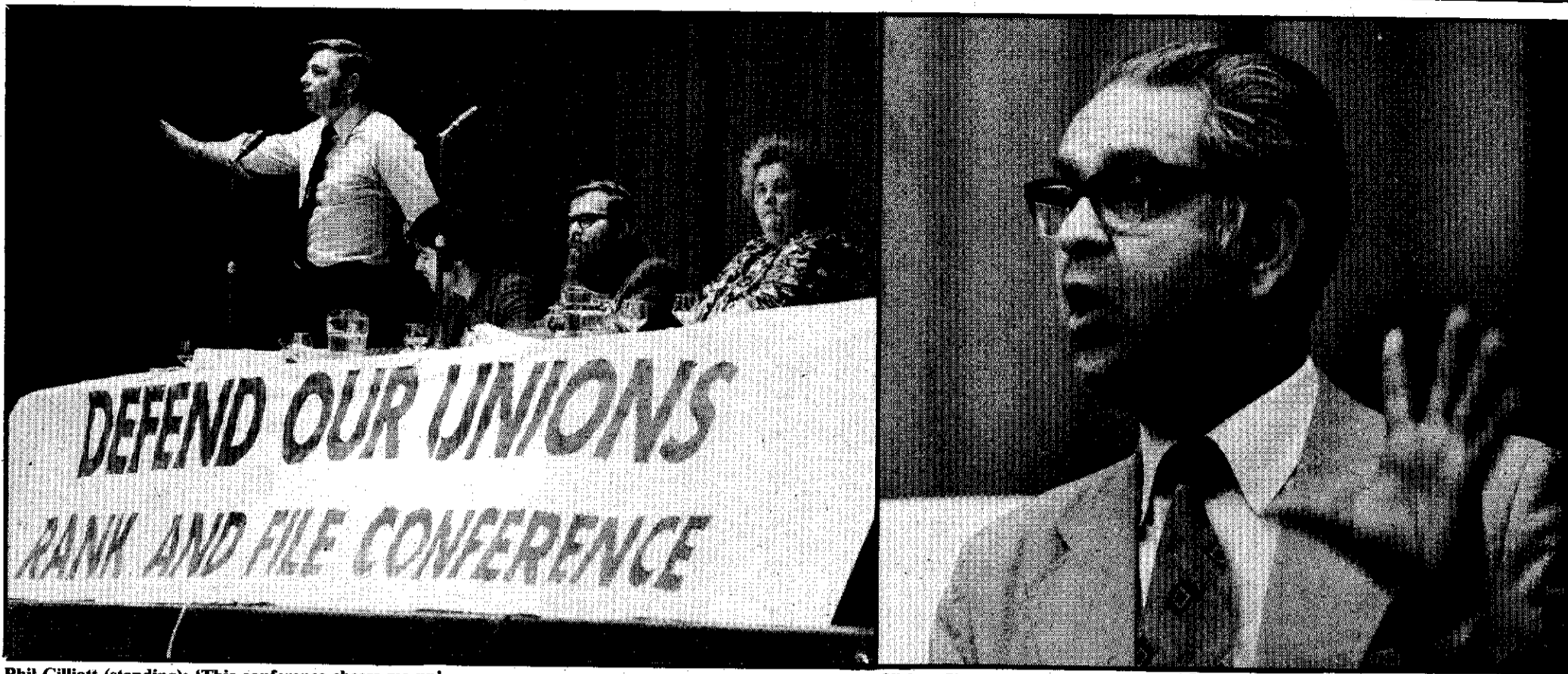
CONFERENCE undertakes to campaign for as many trade union organisations as possible, including those we represent, to adopt the following Rank & File Code of Practice for disputes, to be adhered to irrespective of proposed Tory anti-union legislation. We further undertake to campaign to make this Code of Practice official policy in our respective unions.

RANK AND FILE CODE OF PRACTICE FOR DISPUTES

1. No crossing of picket lines.
2. For the establishment and defence of 100 per cent closed shop, and for sanctions to be applied against any individuals breaking the closed shop.
3. For full rank and file decision making by traditional democratic procedures — no enforced secret ballots.
4. Strikes to be run by elected strike committees and pickets to be positioned at whichever location necessary to win the dispute, and in sufficient numbers to ensure that the picket line is observed.
5. All appeals for blacking, and financial assistance for disputes to be carried out.
6. Support calls made by strike committees for mass sympathy pickets.
7. No settlement of disputes without full reports back to, and decision making by, the members concerned — no enforced 'arbitration' or enforced 'official' settlements.



Avtar Joul, Birmid Qualcast, Smethwick.



Phil Gilliat (standing): 'This conference cheers me up'.

All charges against those arrested should be withdrawn.

In particular he rejected then-Home Secretary Merlyn Rees' talk about 'outsiders' in Southall. 'This is all rubbish; 90 per cent of those arrested in Southall were local people.'

Welcome

But those from outside were welcome. 'He is trying to say we should not unite and express solidarity. We are grateful to those who came under the banner of the ANL, SWP, Socialist Unity and others.'

The only sour note in the conference resulted from the clumsy attempts by the platform to prevent debate on amendments. Inevitably, these had arrived late as the draft declarations were not sent out in time to be discussed by delegating bodies

— a point made by Pat Hickey (TGWU, Rover Solihull) in a successful attempt to move rejection of the Conference Arrangements Committee report.

Pat also pointed out the irony that he was last in this situation at the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference — on that occasion fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the SWP and Rank and File comrades who were now on the platform. It was important that various currents were heard at the conference.

Platform

It is to be hoped that the platform will take to heart the lesson delegates taught it, and take care that future conferences are organised in a way that makes real discussion in the delegating bodies, and the expression of different viewpoints, a realistic

possibility.

It can only weaken any rank and file movement if its own proceedings are conducted in a way sometimes reminiscent of the trade union officialdom it criticises.

Votes

Amendments received on the day were not submitted, but votes were taken on two clauses in a long resolution from a Manchester USDAW branch — on the slogan 'open the books' (narrowly rejected by delegates) and on the need to build international rank and file links and to oppose import controls (overwhelmingly carried).

The conference decisions are a basis for preparing a fighting response to the coming Tory attacks, so long as they are taken up by delegates and acted on by their organisations. This is especially true

of the Code of Practice, which can be a basis for a united fightback including Labour and Communist Party supporters, and leading to local trade union defence committees.

But in fighting for this militants will come up against a number of political problems which the conference, with its rally atmosphere and harking back to 1972-74, tended to gloss over.

Problems

Many militants will be asking how we can make sure that we don't have a simple re-run of the 1974 experience, with another Labour government following in Callaghan's footsteps. This is especially serious because, as John Deason (Right to Work Campaign) put it, 'the price we've had to pay for the Labour government is that many Tory arguments are conceded in advance by our

movement.'

John's answer was simple: 'The movement that is capable of kicking out the Tories is a movement capable of beginning the fight for socialism. What kicked out the last Tory government was a wages offensive. The anger is there; what is lacking is organisation and confidence.'

On that showing, Thatcher and Co. seem to have learnt more from the experience of the last Tory government and all that has happened since than John Deason and his comrades.

Without organisation and confidence we are certainly lost. But we must also think of how to develop and present a workers' solution to the crisis, in a way that can be taken up by mass organisations. Otherwise the confidence will be harder to maintain, and the organisation will be harder to build.

Stop the health cuts

Thatcher's offer to the elderly - drop dead

By Geoffrey Sheridan

YOU'LL KNOW about cuts affecting the general hospitals. Since the Labour Government picked up the health axe in the mid-1970s, there have been many local campaigns to save casualty departments and small hospitals from closure, as well as an 80,000 strong demonstration by public sector workers themselves, almost three years ago.

Just last month there was a march in Hemel Hempstead to demand a general hospital in the town, which had been promised ages ago. Ten thousand demonstrated, closing most of the local factories. In London the EGA battles on.

But there are sectors of health care which make the news only when a scandal is uncovered, and don't often catch the attention of anti-cuts campaigners.

Yet even the official government reports describe geriatric and psychiatric care as the 'poor sisters' of the health service, and the Tories' policy of boosting private medicine at the expense of the NHS will help the authorities to ensure that the elderly and the mentally ill continue to suffer and die invisibly.

So, with Fightback's 'Health — not cuts' conference taking place next Saturday, a few facts and images to illuminate the terrible neglect of many of those whom this society would like to bury.

Take a couple of common complaints among the elderly — cataracts, which can severely affect eyesight, and varicose veins, which make it painful to stand. Both can be treated by simple and inexpensive operations, yet the queue for health care means a wait of up to two years.

Part of the reason for this is that many of the geriatric beds in hospitals are occupied by people who could manage in an old people's home or, with help, in the community. In spite of the fact that the population is ageing, the

cuts have ensured that neither of these facilities is anywhere near adequate.

There is another reason. Small hospitals have been the favourite for the axe. In London, for example, they will take the brunt of the 35 per cent reduction in beds that the health authorities are aiming for.

Yet it is the small hospitals which care for those who need nursing care rather than technical treatment, and their closure means that the elderly have to compete — usually unsuccessfully — for the shrinking number of medical and surgical beds.

Even toe nails can be crippling. They get tougher when you're old, and you're likely to find it hard to bend down to reach them. But is there adequate chiropody for the aged? Is there hell.

When elderly people visit their GP, it's often to be told: 'Well, it's your age.' Often, it isn't. It's the overwork, rotten housing, and the rest of the lousy social conditions this society flings at them. The Tories, of course, will correct none of this, but they will do their best to cut what little health and social services have to offer.

A similar story can be told of the mentally ill: of over-crowded, under-funded, and under-staffed Victorian piles in the middle of nowhere, posing as psychiatric hospitals; shrouded in silence until another scandal breaks to expose a tragedy of patient abuse.

'The Way Ahead', an amusing document produced by the Department of Health in 1977 to spell out the priorities for the NHS, put geriatric and psychiatric care at the top of the list. So much of a priority, in fact, that their share of the health budget was to be increased, respectively, from 13.6 to 13.7 per cent, and from 7.5 to 7.9 per cent over the succeeding four years.

Meanwhile, Thatcher's promise of paying for the increase in wages for NHS workers by



slashing the cash limits for the health service will close more hospitals, put more staff on the dole queues, and leave more patients on the waiting lists or in the wards to rot.

How to reverse these cuts and fight for a socialist health service is the task that the Fightback conference has set itself. Be there, on Saturday 30 June, 10am to 5.30pm, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. There is a social in the evening beginning at 7pm.

11th COMMUNIST UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
7-15 JULY — UNIVERSITY OF LONDON UNION

The top theoretical event in the Marxist calendar offers day, weekend and evening courses; a crèche; music, film, theatre; political discussion; and a one day event on 'Youth and Authority'.

Further details from CUL 11,
16 King Street, London WC2.



Photo: JOHN OWEN

Defend Abdul Azad

WILL detention without trial and access to legal advice ever be introduced in Britain? The answer is that it's here already.

If you are a 'suspected illegal immigrant' you can be held in detention indefinitely without any legal rights, and deported with no right of appeal. If you're black and living in Britain, your life can become a nightmare any moment.

Take the case of Abdul Azad from Oldham. First came the horrifying news that his mother had been murdered. The police investigated. They took blood tests.

Then came their conclusion — that Abdul was an illegal immigrant. What happened next has been spelt out by Abdul in an official complaint to the police:

'They kept me for eight days in the police station.

'They did not tell me what my legal rights are.

'They did not allow me to see my father and brother for six days.

'They did not let me see a solicitor for nine days.

'They forced me to sign statements which I did not understand.

'They beat me up, threatened me and said they would kill me and made me scared.

'They did not let me have any food or drink for at least 24 hours.

Defence

Since then he has been detained three times at Risley remand centre.

Because the threat of deportation still hangs over him, the Abdul Azad Defence Committee is preparing an immediate response to any deportation order. A meeting of 150 people in Oldham on 20 June supported a call for a picket at Risley on 7 July.

This will be just one of many such pickets up and down the country being co-ordinated by the Campaign Against the Immigration Laws, calling for an end to the racist and anti-democratic 1971 Immigration Act.

The new Tory government made an election commitment to firmer action against 'illegal immigrants'. One possible form this could take is the proposed EEC legislation making it a legal offence to employ an illegal immigrant.

Black people would then not only have to face indiscriminate house searches and detention without trial — they would have to take their entry papers along to every job interview!

The nightmare of the immigration laws must be ended. These laws exist for one purpose only — to keep people out of Britain because they are black. Those detained under them are not 'illegal immigrants' — they are prisoners of race.



During Gay Pride Week we look at Gays and the law

By Barry Prothero and Jamie Gough

LAST WEEK, for the second time in six months, the notorious Special Patrol Group descended on the Coleherne, the largest gay pub in London. In two days nine people were arrested on trumped up charges.

This kind of action is familiar to black people in London. Why are the big battalions of the law used against gays?

The present laws on homosexuality originate with the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act. Before then there were laws against buggery (carrying the death penalty!), but the new law made all sexual contact between men illegal — lesbians were not mentioned.

Vagrancy

The laws against homosexual soliciting first appeared in the Vagrancy Act of 1898.

This legislation has to be seen in the context of increased controls on sexuality throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

From the 1860s the laws against prostitution were intensified while the puritanical Victorian sexual morality developed. Its double standards allowed a certain licence for heterosexual men but presented a suffocating ideal of 'the angel in the house' for women.

This ideology helped regulate the massive shifts in the labour force required by industrial capitalism.

Women and children had to be withdrawn from spheres of productive labour, so that family with its rigid roles was strengthened and systematically enforced upon the working class.

The new laws against homosexual men had a place in this framework — homosexuality denied the masculine role as head of the family.

There is another context within which the laws operated — the developing medical model of 'the homosexual'. An approach from this angle can offer a clearer understanding of the way the laws are used as methods of social control.

The earlier laws against buggery were against specific acts, 'sins' which any person could commit.

Disease

The new laws are against a category of people whose very sexuality is seen as a crime.

The term 'homosexual' was coined in 1869 by a Swiss doctor and was not used in Britain until as late as the 1890s.

Now homosexuals were seen as 'diseased', homosexuality was a 'contagion', spread through the 'corruption' of the young. At a time



Gays demonstrating against police bans in Sydney, Australia.

when British capital was expanding through the fuller exploitation of the Empire, then at its height, this contagion was presented as a particularly virulent threat, historically embodied in the Fall of Rome.

The monstrous set piece trial of Oscar Wilde was a huge reinforcement of the values of British manhood and Empire.

A current version of this can be seen in the massive press coverage of Jeremy Thorpe's homosexuality as a 'tragic flaw', inexorably eating away at him and ruining a 'brilliant career'.

Presented as a disease which threatens the security and the moral fabric of society, homosexuality is an area in which the state is particularly active when it is under stress.

Even in the 18th and early 19th centuries, there were notably more charges of buggery brought in the armed forces during times of war when the need for rigid control was greatest.

Since the passing of the 1967 Amendment, the number of charges brought against homosexual men has significantly increased.

Justify

As Britain has moved deeper into crisis the state has systematically developed its strength through calls for law and order.

The ruling class has been preparing for intensified class conflict.

Just as blacks and youth have been exaggeratedly presented as threats to order on the streets — used to justify a huge escalation of police presence and activity — so homosexuals have been increasingly presented as threats to the moral fabric of society (the Whitehouse and Bryant campaigns, the press coverage of paedophiles — 'the vilest men in Britain').

Like the Sus law, the laws against homosexuality allow police harassment and intimidation. The SPG is now used to arrest patrons leaving the Coleherne.

There is a myth that the law does not oppress lesbians. In fact the law, as part of its preaching on the role of women in the family, says lesbians are unsuitable to live with or care for children.

In this country there have been only three cases in which women openly living as lesbians have been granted custody of their children. There were exceptional circumstances in all three cases.

In one case, the judge refused custody on the grounds that the mother 'lacked femininity' and would not 'sacrifice her lesbian proclivities'.

In other words she would not subordinate her sexuality to men.

The danger of 'corruption' of children is constantly raised. The threat of being separated from their children is a constant threat to lesbians. Many feel forced to continue living with men and to deny their sexuality.

The criminal law is used mainly against gay men, but many areas of the law apply to lesbians.

Male homosexuality is completely illegal in Scotland and N. Ireland (the Tories having just dropped a proposed liberalisation in the Six Counties); and the age of consent in England and Wales is 21.

However, the activities of the OBUs ('Queer Bashing Units') that

Police

exist in most police stations extend far beyond these laws.

They arrest gay men for having sex in such 'public' places as cars parked in country lanes. They use agents provocateurs to entrap people for soliciting. (For a man to solicit a woman is not, of course, illegal.)

The police have a cast-iron method of increasing their convictions record: most gay men plead guilty rather than fight the case, due to the danger of press reporting or police tip-off of the accused's employer or family.

Many gay men sentenced for 'sexual crimes' are not given a definite

prison term but are sent indefinitely to mental hospitals and subjected to electric shock 'therapy' or drug treatment.

In court, special and completely discriminatory rules of character evidence apply to homosexuals.

It is vital that gay people resist. The laws can only be effective against us so long as the majority of men charged continue to plead guilty.

Gay men are persuaded to plead guilty because they are told they will avoid publicity, a threat to which they are especially vulnerable. The police then inform employers.

Others plead guilty purely because they feel guilty although they may not have committed any offence.

Alliance

The Gay Activists Alliance is starting a campaign against the legal oppression of lesbians and gay men which aims to give support to people who are up against the law, using militant methods of struggle to win support from other oppressed groups.

The GAA is urging people charged with a criminal offence to plead not guilty as the best way of getting a light sentence or getting off.

Any gay people who would like support in combating the law, whether in criminal or civil cases should contact the GAA c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (tel. 01-388 7631).

GAY PRIDE WEEK LASTS UNTIL SUNDAY

For information on events phone Lesbian Line/London Gay Switchboard: 01-837 7324 or your local gay switchboard.

March/Carnival to commemorate 10 years since Stonewall: Saturday 30 June, 1pm, Temple Embankment, London.

ANL meets 14 July

On 14 July a big step could be taken towards the building of a mass campaign against the Tory proposals on immigration — for that is the date of the Anti Nazi League conference.

The conference has many other tasks to perform of course. It has to continue to reach out to wide numbers of youth to involve them in anti-fascist activity — perhaps for the first time.

Another mass carnival later this summer would provide a much needed national focus around which the activists in local ANL branches could work.

The ANL has to continue the job of exposing the National Front as Nazis and mobilising on the streets to counter their rallies and marches.

Electing a representative steering committee is also a priority.

But perhaps most important is the need to come to grips with the changed situation following the election of the Tories. It will be by pushing the Tories' racist policies to their logical conclusion that the fascists will attempt to overcome their election defeat at the hands of the ANL.

Already we have seen the demonstration last weekend by the National Front against entry to Britain by the 'boat people'. Marching for the extension of Tory policy on immigration to forced re-patriation will be their next step.

Their arguments must be countered head on. Many local ANL branches are already involved in such activity — Oldham ANL, for instance, helped to organise last week's meeting in defence of Abdul Azad. Others have affiliated to the Campaign Against the Immigration Laws.

The ANL nationally is well placed to take the initiative with organisations like CAIL to form a national coalition, involving black organisations and labour movement bodies, to campaign against the Tory proposals.

The sort of mass leafletting of workplaces and estates undertaken by the ANL to expose the fascists is just what's needed to prepare the fight inside the labour movement to end its complicity with racist immigration controls.

Council finances and the SCLV

By Jon Duveen

OPPOSITION to all rate and rent increases was rejected by a conference on 'The crisis of local government finance and services' organised by the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory on 16 June.

About 230 delegates and visitors attended the conference, which began with a speech from Lambeth council leader Ted Knight detailing the Tory attacks on local government spending. He had less to say on how they could be fought, but former Wandsworth councillor Mike Ward started to outline what could be done against the Tory-imposed cuts.

How councils could maintain services in a period of nationally imposed cutbacks was at the root of the political divide in almost all the debates. The discussion climaxed around a motion calling for no rate and rent increases. Some argued that only on this basis could services be maintained. But supporters of Socialist Challenge and Workers Action pointed out that such increases made the working class pay directly for services.

The motion opposing increases was lost by a 2-1 majority. But despite this, and the fact that the conference left behind it no organisation, it was a useful start to a much needed debate on the role of Labour councillors.



Demonstrating against the cuts outside Islington Town Hall on 19 June.

The 'bureaucratic de-radicalisation' of a Labour council

By Geoff Bell

IT IS not often that a former Labour Lord Mayor stands up in a council chamber, accusingly leans towards Labour councillors and proclaims: 'What has happened is that this council has gone through a process of bureaucratic de-radicalisation.'

But such were the words of Islington councillor Patricia Bradbury, mayor of the London borough from 1972-3, at a stormy council meeting on 19 June.

That comment itself makes the council meeting worthy of note, but it also deserves attention for the miniaturised version it presented of the current struggle for the soul of socialism allegedly taking place inside the Labour Party nationally.

At Islington's council meeting Bradbury and Margaret Watson, former chairperson of the council's housing department, led the left.

Cain

Present Labour leader Gerry Southgate, with greying temples and suave manner, was the standard bearer for the right.

He was ably assisted by one Bill Bayliss, who rose to local repute by attacking 'outsiders' who dared to settle in Islington.

Bayliss spent part of the eight hour long meeting reading a religious newspaper, one article of which was headed: 'The land God gave to Cain'.

Ostensibly the argument at the meeting concerned cuts the Labour right was proposing to make in the housing budgets and in grants to voluntary services.

But there was more to it than that; it could almost have been billed 'Labour and the crisis, which way forward?'

Despite its trendy image Islington is similar to most inner city boroughs. Unemployment is twice the national average, there are 10,000 on the

housing waiting list, to which over 100 people are being added a week; around 12,000 private sector tenants lack their own self-contained homes and basic amenities.

In the early 1970s a young, chic, radical wing of the local Labour Party gained control of the council. Their vow was to eradicate the social deprivation.

Lenin

Symbolising the new vision, Mayor Bradbury instructed that a long discarded bust of Lenin be rescued from the town hall's cellar and placed prominently outside the council chamber.

Today Lenin is back in the cellar, and the Labour right, consisting in the main of older, more working class councillors, is back in charge.

Sensible moderation is the order of the day, to which the radical left form an unofficial opposition. The two Tory councillors offer somewhat bemused support to the moderates.

The particular occasion on 19 June began spectacularly. Bill Bayliss had barely risen to his feet when a public spectator did the same to shout 'You're a traitor to the labour movement, Bayliss.'

While the heckler was quickly thrown out a journalist from London Radio attempted to record the fracas. The right described his attempt to report as 'provocative', and he too was thrown out.

Protests

That started the protests from the left. When they ran the council their big thing had been 'participation', with all meetings of any description open to the public and with consultation all along the line.

Such schemes find little favour with the right. Most of the bodies which formulate the cuts policies carry mysterious titles like 'policy

advisory group' or 'special working group'; they are held behind closed doors; in some instances even councillors not on these bodies are prohibited from attending.

Since — according to Southgate — the £10 million worth of housing cuts proposed by Islington Labour is only the beginning, it is hardly surprising that in formulating the policies secrecy is considered the better part of valour.

What may appear odd is that the Labour right argues that its policies are actual vote-catchers. The only alternative, the logic goes, is rate rises and they would prove electorally disastrous.

It is all very similar in tone to the arguments Denis Healey used when motivating his cuts. What does not appear to have sunk in to Southgate and his like is that Healey is out of office.

At the council meeting, in opposing the policies of cuts and secret government, the left advocated participation and...what? That was their quandary.

Criticism

Certainly the left's criticisms were good. 'We are saying to Geoffrey Howe', noted Margaret Watson, 'don't cut Islington's housing allocation, we'll do it for you'.

In the same speech she listed the right's double-speak, how cuts were disguised in a new vocabulary of 'abate', 'rephrasing', and 'slippage'.

Others on the left spoke more in despair than anger. 'We've got our priorities all wrong', complained one: 'it fills me with great sadness', said another.

But what was missing in all this was an alternative.

Some suggested there was no financial crisis at all, others agreed there was and proposed a rates rise, but none of this matched the rhetoric



Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

in which they voiced their criticisms of the right.

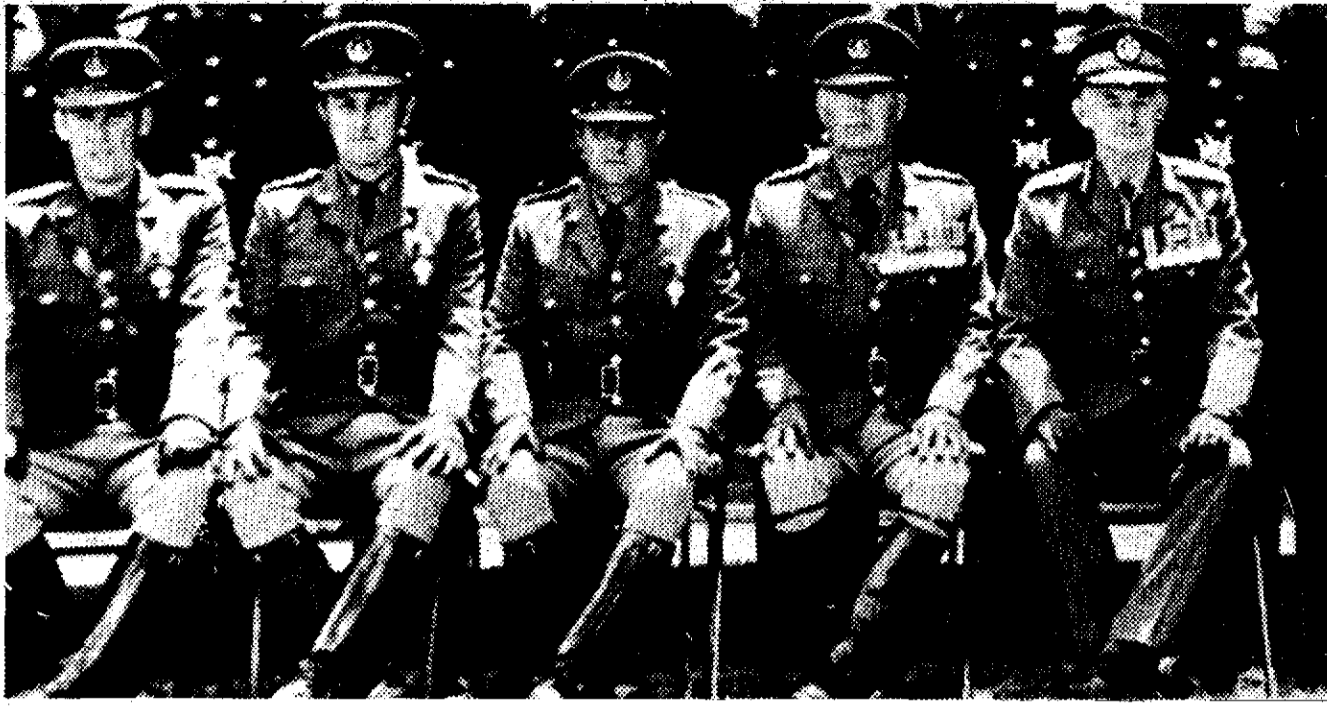
Which helps to explain why the right eventually won. Despite numerous well supported petitions opposing the cuts, in defiance of a 500-strong demonstration outside the town hall and contrary to the official policies of the local Labour parties, Southgate, Bayliss and friends won the vote.

They won by default. Only a direct challenge to the Tory government and its backers — such as a freeze on interest payments — would have answered the 'rates versus services' argument by saying, neither.

For all their radicalness such policies weren't heard from the Labour left in the council chamber.

As it was most of the participants in the meeting appeared to leave it with some satisfaction. The right had secured their victory, the left had argued passionately.

Only those on the growing housing waiting list, and those facing redundancy through the cuts, were left empty-handed.



ZIMBABWE— THE BLOODY HERITAGE OF RHODES

By the Africa in Struggle Collective

IT WAS 1890 when Cecil Rhodes marched into Zimbabwe. Behind him came his settler Pioneer Column and the British South Africa Police. The people they aimed to subjugate were tribal communities, herding cattle with small scale farming.

There were no class differences in Zimbabwean society then. Tribal society was organised along lines of kinship. Inequalities, where they existed, reflected differences of age or sex.

Rhodes's first encounters were with the Matabele tribe — an offshoot of the Zulu kingdom in South Africa who had crossed the Limpopo river and subjugated the local Shona tribes. The Zimbabwe ruins, now a symbol of the nationalist movement, bore tribute to the complex society that had existed under the earlier Monomatapa and Rozvi dynasties.

Fabric

Rhodes's arrival quickly destroyed the existing social and economic fabric. His British South Africa Company gained a monopoly of mineral rights and alienated the original population from their land.

Lobengula, the Matabele chief, petitioned

Queen Victoria against Rhodes's fraud, but the British government turned a blind eye. The BSA Company was granted a charter to rule the country. The Matabeles rose up in revolt but were crushed brutally in 1893.

Fire Power

Out of the ashes of that defeat a great federation of tribes then waged a protracted struggle in the first Chimurenga (war of liberation) three years later. Once again superior fire-power won out.

The period of company rule came to an end in 1923 when the expanding white settler class opted for a self-governing colony rather than joining the Union of South Africa. Their seizure of the rich highlands, leaving the blacks with the poor lowland areas, was enshrined in law with the Land Apportionment Act.

Landless peasants were forced into the white-owned farms and mines. Even those who did own their own land had to sell their goods at extortionately low rates on the state-controlled market or were compelled by the burden of taxation to work for whites as labourers.

The worldwide shortage of raw materials after the Second World War saw a flood of British and South African capital into Rhodesia, until foreign interests (mainly

British) accounted for two-thirds of all capital. But the growth of industry also meant the growth of a black working class, which first tested its muscles with a general strike in 1948.

But the vast profits being made still did not satisfy the thirsts of the Rhodesian capitalists. They proposed the incorporation of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) into the giant Central African Federation to provide a protected market for their goods and an even larger pool of cheap labour and raw materials.

Pickings

The pickings for them were good. But they were even better for the big multinationals. During the period of federation (1953-1963), foreign capital increased its share both of profits and investment.

But the federation became the first target of the black political organisations, and eventually collapsed as a result of their campaigns and the impact of the anti-colonial struggle in the rest of Africa.

Britain was able to cede independence easily to Zambia and Malawi. But the size of the white settler community and its history of self-government made Rhodesia different.

Even the tiny concessions made to blacks in the 1961 constitution as a result of the strikes in 1959 and 1960 proved too much for the whites. A reactionary backlash voted the Rhodesia Front Party of Ian Smith into office. They based themselves on the fact that over half the white population depended on the land for their livelihoods, while most of the others felt their privileged position in state jobs directly threatened by blacks gaining power.

Britain's neo-colonial strategy — conceding political power to blacks while retaining economic vantage points — thus came into collision with a white settler class with its own distinct interests to defend. A series of failed conferences between the British and Rhodesian governments culminated in the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Smith in November 1965.

Meanwhile the black political organisations had begun to gain strength again. The struggle against the federation had given birth to a coalition of urban youth organisations, trade union organisations and political groups called

the Southern Rhodesia African National Conference, led by Joshua Nkomo.

Nkomo (once a railway workers' leader), with his senior officials Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe, organised a campaign of black trade union resistance to the repressive Industrial Conciliation Act of 1959. Their banning in the same year saw the imprisonment of many union and SRANC officials.

The fragmented organisation regrouped briefly as the National Democratic Party, was banned again, and finally emerged as the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU). Differences with Nkomo's 'constitutionalist' approach to black majority rule led Sithole and Mugabe to split and form ZANU in 1963.

All were imprisoned by Smith just prior to UDI along with scores of other party cadres and officials. And the brutal application of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act made sure that the repression continued.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson predicted that the new Smith regime would last 'weeks rather than months'. But open sanctions-busting by the US government in chrome and the British government's complicity in maintaining oil supplies helped to ensure a further decade of Smith's rule. In fact that decade saw foreign investment in Rhodesia double to more than £1,000m.

The response of ZANU and ZAPU to UDI was to develop a strategy based on rural guerilla war. Although ZANU's early campaigns were largely unsuccessful, they were significant enough to merit the involvement of the South African Army.

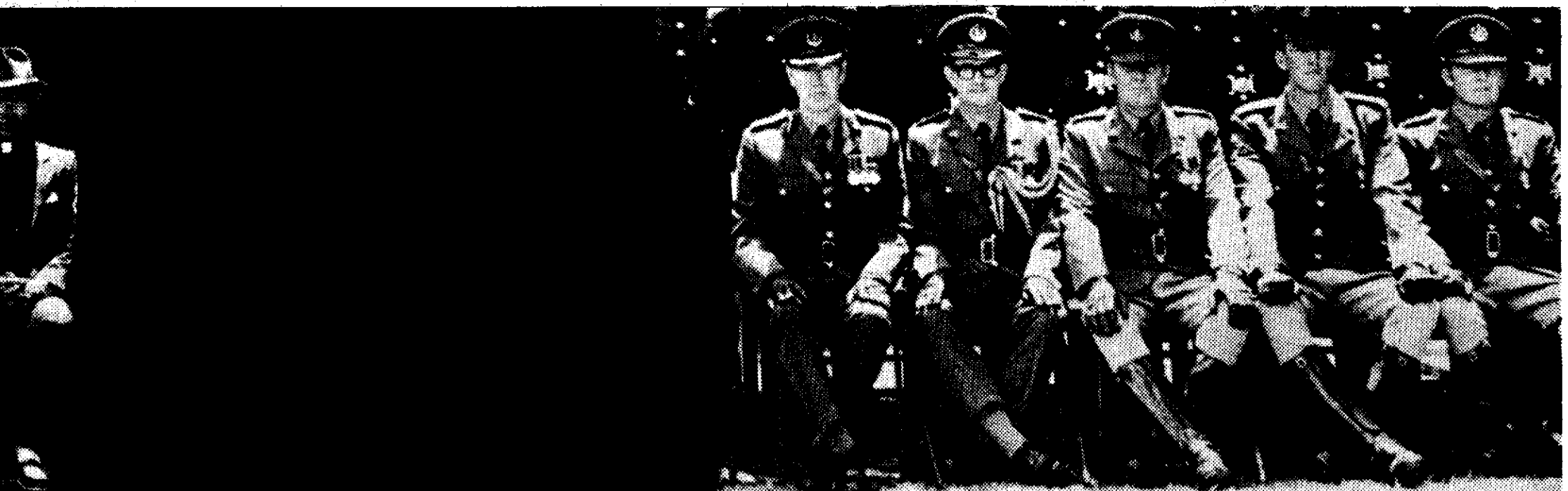
Co-option

The war rapidly escalated, however, after the defeat of Portuguese colonialism by FRELIMO in Mozambique opened up an eastern front. This collapse of Portuguese influence led to a change in imperialist policies in southern Africa as a whole. Kissinger, then US Foreign Secretary, persuaded South African Prime Minister Vorster of the wisdom of 'accommodation and cooption'.

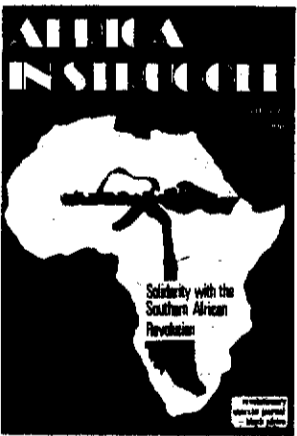
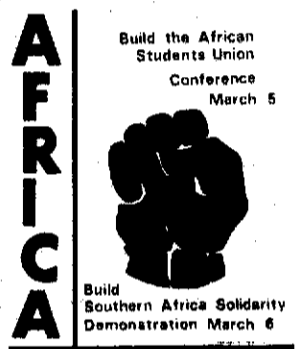
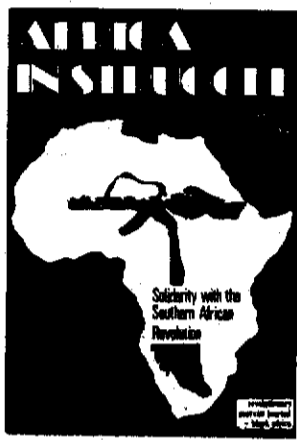
Without Vorster's support, Smith had no alternative but to form some sort of black government. The 'internal settlement' was the result, with Muzorewa and Sithole acting as



WHAT Smith's UDI and the new 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia' mean for the blacks of Zimbabwe: home (left) and work in the fields



laborators.
 Muzorewa had risen to prominence as a leader of the opposition against the Tory government's proposals to sell the Douglas-Home proposals. The Pearce Commission visited Rhodesia to test out the opinion of the white people, Muzorewa's African Council offered the only organised opposition for their opposition.
 Muzorewa, once a leader of ZANU, was expelled from the organisation in 1974 for his unorthodox approach towards the Smith regime and his release from prison.
 The mass support once enjoyed by Muzorewa has disappeared. The fraudulent Muzorewa has been left high and dry. Muzorewa has been left high and dry.



...of course been strong lobbies in the USA and Britain for recognition of the settlement. But this goes against the grain of imperialist strategy — which is the incorporation of the Patriotic Front into the diplomatic alliance of ZAPU and ZANU to any settlement and the calling off the dogs of struggle. This was the basis for the Muzorewa proposals championed by David Owen and Andrew Young of ZANU and ZAPU go along with these proposals. The liberation movement is almost entirely based on the peasantry and the rural masses rather than the million-strong urban masses. Its petty bourgeois leadership is unable to reflect the demands of the black middle class for property and the employment opportunities denied them by white supremacy — simply an end to this rule.

...demands of the black working class, for jobs, wages and the right to form a trade union organisation — run against the representatives of imperialist capitalism. And it is amongst the masses that the new Zimbabwe can be a free, independent country that has no links with the bloody heritage of Rhodesia that must mean a socialist Zimbabwe.



How solidarity can help win freedom

By Steve Potter

THE STRUGGLE of the black masses in Zimbabwe has reached a critical stage. In the next few months decisions by Britain and the USA on whether to recognise the internal settlement and lift sanctions could seriously hamper the national liberation struggle.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has responded by forming the Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee to organise action around three major themes:

- No recognition of the internal settlement regime.
- No lifting of sanctions — for their extension to South Africa.
- Solidarity with the Patriotic Front.

Two major actions are planned: the demonstration on 30 June around the slogan 'No Tory sell-out on Zimbabwe'; and a major demonstration on 11 November before the renewal of sanctions in Parliament.

Such solidarity action can have an important and direct effect on the outcome of the struggle for power in Zimbabwe. It is only mass action, not persuasion or lobbying of MPs, that can stop this reactionary intervention by Britain in another country's affairs.

The success of mass action is drawn from experience. Strike action by London dockers in 1921 stopped the sailing of the Jolly George with arms bound for the counter-revolutionary struggle against Soviet Russia.

The campaigns to defend the Cuban revolution from American imperialist intervention and to oppose the French colonialists in Algeria affected the outcome of those struggles. And it was the impact of mass demonstrations around the world demanding that the US get 'Out Now' and proclaiming solidarity with the National Liberation Front which helped to ensure the US withdrawal from Vietnam.

Every time a strike or political upheaval disrupts production on the oil-fields of Iran or in the gold mines of South Africa, the effect is felt in the stock exchanges and boardrooms of London, Paris or New York. International economics implies international politics.

The capitalists recognise this and organise internationally against working people, in bodies like the IMF, NATO and the EEC. The international offensive of the capitalists demands a united international response from the working class and its allies. And the building of solidarity movements, by bringing the issues of working class internationalism to thousands of workers, will in turn affect the class struggle here, as workers see their real enemies as the capitalists and not workers in some other land.

Certain types of activity are best suited for building this campaign. United action in the streets and workplaces has a far greater effect on the government than narrow 'revolutionaries only' campaigns or pious resolutions in small meetings. On demonstrations in particular the labour movement has the opportunity to show its strength and unite other social forces around it.

In order to build large actions we are prepared to unite with any political party or organisation on the basis of definite agreed demands. We retain our right within that to put forward our own political ideas. To do this we need structured political campaigns. The

Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee set up at the initiative of the Anti-Apartheid Movement is the type of campaign structure we want to promote.

ZECC is correct to see Tory recognition of the internal settlement regime as the main danger, but we have to oppose all attempts by Britain, America or the UN to impose their solution on the people of Zimbabwe. Their concern to achieve an 'acceptable' settlement has nothing to do with human rights or justice, but is about maintaining the capitalists' right to plunder and exploit Zimbabwe.

The campaign should promote the idea that the only people entitled to decide the future of Zimbabwe are the Zimbabweans themselves. And that means avoiding the pitfall of becoming purely a support group for some or all of the liberation fighters.

The IMG unconditionally supports any organisation fighting to overthrow colonial domination — be it the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe or the Provisional IRA in Ireland. The most effective way in which that support can be shown is by organising to stop the British government's attempt to decide the future of the people of Zimbabwe.

Differences over the choice of slogans have led to different practical approaches in the past. During the Labour government's term of office, for instance, the Anti-Apartheid Movement failed to organise mass activity against the Anglo-American proposals being promoted by Foreign Secretary David Owen. The British Communist Party had the same position.

Campaigning vigorously against Labour's policies on Southern Africa would have upset the good relationships that Anti-Apartheid had built up over the years with many left MPs and trade union leaders who were now going along with Owen's imperialist schemes. But when the lefts are prepared to betray our Zimbabwean brothers and sisters it is our duty to rock the boat as hard as possible.

Other organisations have argued that we should organise primarily on the basis of solidarity with the freedom fighters. This is a militant-sounding but pessimistic view. It discounts the real possibility that the working class in Britain and the USA can act to tie the hands of their governments, forcing them not to intervene.

Raising money for arms is a militant gesture which has a negligible impact on the amounts of arms and supplies received. To those who argue that such small gestures raise the morale of those in the front line, we would reply that their morale would be raised much more if the money was spent to campaign and bring thousands out onto the streets to oppose recognition and the lifting of sanctions.

The campaign also has to direct itself to those sections of the labour movement which have the power to halt the Tories' manoeuvres. A commitment should be won from national unions, shop stewards committees and trade union branches to impose sanctions directly against the Muzorewa-Smith regime if they are lifted by the Tories. Such a pledge could be put into action immediately by demanding that trade unionists should be able to inspect the records of those multinationals suspected of sanctions-busting right now.

It's not just trade unionists who can be involved. Youth, particularly black youth, can also be drawn into the campaign, along with

those students who have been to the fore in launching disinvestment campaigns on their campuses.

From the demonstration this weekend local mobilising committees should be formed to make the 11 November demonstration the biggest protest yet against Thatcher's reactionary policies.

* Steve Potter is the International Organiser of the International Marxist Group. Others are welcome to contribute their ideas on the way forward for the Zimbabwe solidarity movement.

ZIMBABWE ACTION!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

HERE'S what you can do to smash Thatcher's threat of recognition:

• EDUCATE. The media is going all out to convince people that the internal settlement elections were fair. Get in contact with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, which can provide exhibitions, leaflets and pamphlets proving that the elections were a fraud.

• AGITATE. Organise local meetings on the need to take action to stop the recognition threat and the lifting of sanctions. Speakers can be got from ZANU and ZAPU, Anti-Apartheid and the Zimbabwe Information Group.

A film All we want is freedom (colour, 70 mins.) can be hired from The Other Cinema. Reach out to youth with a gig for the Zimbabwe struggle — ask Rock Against Racism for advice.

• ORGANISE. Affiliate to the Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee. Set up local ad-hoc committees to mobilise for mass action on 11 November. Get resolutions passed through trade union bodies calling on the whole labour movement to implement sanctions if the Tories lift them, and campaign for the present ones to be tightened up and extended to South Africa. Call for the opening of the big multinationals' books so that the sanction-busters are put on the spot.

STOP THE TORY SELL-OUT!

NO TORY SELL-OUT IN ZIMBABWE

ASSEMBLY: 2.30 PM SMITHFIELDS MARKET BUREAU
SATURDAY JUNE 30
 MARCH VIA FLEET STREET & RHODESIA HOUSE
 TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE RALLY AT 4 PM

- USEFUL ADDRESSES
- ZANU, PO Box 150, London N1 (01-278 0105).
 - ZAPU, 39 Goodge Street, London W1 (01-636 2143).
 - Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee, c/o Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ (01-580 5311).
 - Zimbabwe Information Group, 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1.
 - The Other Cinema, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2.
 - Rock Against Racism, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.

New government announced in Nicaragua

By Dave Kellaway

A MAN cautiously approaches a line of the National Guard in Nicaragua. He tries to prove that he is unarmed. They force him to lie down. Then a guard fires from about four feet and the body gives a little jerk off the ground.

That was the scene on our TV screens last week. A US news reporter had been killed by US-trained soldiers. And because one American national has a higher media rating than hundreds of Central American peasants, people around the world saw something of President Somoza's power in action.

There is still no decisive breakthrough on either side in the war, although it is beginning to turn the Sandinistas' way. The Organisation of American States (OAS) has called on Somoza to step down, which will make it more difficult for him to get fresh arms and support, and there are signs of some demoralisation inside the National Guard.

On the other hand, Somoza still retains a technical superiority, and the bulk of the National Guard will keep on fighting because of their fear of reprisals if Somoza goes.

Cuba-style

The US has wanted Somoza out for some time now. It fears a Cuba-style development which could engulf the whole peninsula, and therefore aims to end the war quickly, weaken the weight of the Sandinistas in any new government, and maintain at all costs a functioning state apparatus against any armed bodies of mass self-organisation.

The political initiative of the anti-Somoza forces has been the proclamation of a five-person provisional government com-

mented by a larger legislative council of state.

The five names announced are: Robelo, a moderate opposition businessman who spent months offering concessions to Somoza after last September's insurrection; Ramirez, a pro-Sandinista businessman; Violetta Chammarro, a rich landowner opposed to Somoza; Moises Hassan, an academic and self-defined socialist; and Ortega, the only Sandinista and a leader of the Tercerista Tendency, which is most open to an agreement with the bourgeoisie.

Peasants

This project shows the tendency of the Sandinista leaders to put agreements with the representatives of capitalist exploitation before the interests of the masses who are bearing the brunt of the fighting. It reflects illusions in the possibility of capitalists, workers and peasants joining together for 'national' development.

What will be crucial, therefore, will be the extent to which the masses develop their own armed bodies of self-organisation and refuse to accept the limits of a nationalist revolution.

Some groupings within the Sandinistas, like the Proletarian Tendency, put important emphasis on this, so the question of the government is bound to provoke debate within the movement.

The Trotskyists of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria are calling for the Sandinistas to take power without any bourgeois forces. This 'government of the poor' should organise Constituent Assembly elections, immediately expropriate Somoza and imperialist interests, and dissolve the National Guard.

At the same time, the Trotskyists are working for the formation of an independent



SANDINISTAS hold a gun emplacement against Somoza's National Guard — but have the guerrilla leaders put their trust in capitalists?

working class party and for the building of soviet-type bodies.

This clear alternative is being argued within the Sandinista-led mass movement, and its relevance will increase as the US switches its policy to some sort of support for the provisional government (an unofficial meeting between the two has already taken place).

Solidarity with the Nicaraguan masses and vigilance against US intervention is therefore still very important. Films, posters and speakers can be obtained via the Central American Human Rights Committee, 59a Church Street, Old Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 6BE.

Profits to blame for DC-10 crash

LAST week the British Civil Aviation Authority cleared DC-10s for flying again after they had been grounded following the Chicago air disaster.

Some spokespersons described the decision as a 'calculated risk'. But then what are human lives compared with the cost of keeping the DC-10s grounded [£350,000 a day in the case of Laker Airways]?

Below we reprint an edited article from the American Militant which pinpoints the role of profits in causing this and other disasters.

By Nancy Cole
FACTS sifting to the surface about America's worst air disaster are fast confirming a trio of culprits:

- McDonnell Douglas Corporation, which designed and manufactured the DC-10 jet;
- American Airlines, which failed to adequately inspect and repair it;
- The federal government, which consistently its unsafe features.

The trio's first response was to dismiss it as a freak accident. Investigators discovered a three-inch bolt on the runway. The bolt was said to have split because of metal fatigue, in turn causing the engine to drop off.

On 28 May, the Federal Aviation Administration ordered quickie inspections of all 138 domestic DC-10s.

No interruption in service was planned for the planes, which carry some 135,000 passengers daily.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, two United Airlines mechanics —



Herblock/Washington Post

Ernest Gigliotti and Lorin Schluter — finished the FFA-required inspection, but then decided they would take it further.

'We removed the access panels and found cracks so big you could trip over them', said Gigliotti.

'Rivets were broken, fasteners were sheared. It gives you a funny feeling in the pit of your stomach to see the extent of that damage.'

Despite all the industry and government experts

'investigating' the crash, it was the mechanics' discoveries that forced the FAA to order all DC-10s grounded until inspections could be made.

On 1 June, the FAA announced that problems had been discovered in nearly half of all DC-10s. Nonetheless, the majority were soon back in the air.

On 4 June, the National Transportation Safety Board suggested that maintenance procedures might have caused the accident.

The engine is supposed to be lifted out of the pylon first, but it is faster — and thus cheaper — to do it all in one operation. But it can damage the pylon.

Finally, on 6 June mounting evidence of a basic design defect in the plane's engine mount forced the federal government to order all 138 DC-10 jets operated by US airlines to be grounded indefinitely.

The full scope of the problems can be traced back to 1970 when the DC-10 was rushed into production to beat out its wide-body competitors. Since then it has been involved in at least seventeen serious accidents.

This includes the worst single aircraft disaster in world history — the 1974 crash of a Turkish plane near Ermenonville, France, which killed 346 people.

The latter occurred after a rear cargo door fell off, a problem with the DC-10's design that McDonnell Douglas and the FAA were aware of in 1969 before the DC-10 was even ground-tested.

But will this tragedy at least mean that it's curtains for the DC-10? Not likely. 'Airlines aren't going to give up their current fleets of DC-10s, if only because of the huge amounts of money already invested in the planes', predicted the Wall Street Journal.

But the two United Airlines mechanics, who had no interest in protecting industry profits but sought only to find the crash's cause, prove that catastrophe will be averted when working people run the country.

Abortion — freed Portuguese journalist speaks out

By Joseph Hanlon

'TO LEGALISE abortion is a real, concrete way to make women more free' says Maria Antonio Palla, the Portuguese journalist who was recently acquitted on charges arising out of a TV film on abortions.

'People who are against the liberation of women are against abortion', and that is why the government acted against her as part of a concerted effort by the right to recoup the ground they lost on many issues, including women's rights and freedom of the press, after April 1974.

The film was actually shown on TV in February 1976. There were protests then from the church and right-wing parties, and she had to give a statement to the police. And that was all.

'But just three months ago, I received a note telling me to be present at the court — and suddenly, the trial comes. There is now a campaign against legalising abortion and it has one big supporter: the president's wife.'

'When they protested against me three years ago, we did not have this president. But he has been there for two years, and they feel more strong to attack.'

Maria Palla is particularly critical of the Communist and Socialist parties — who together have a majority in parliament — for failing to legalise abortion. 'The liberalisation of abortion is in the programme of the Socialist Party, but when they were in government they didn't put it

into effect.'

As for the Communist Party, 'they don't take a position in favour of me because they say that people on the right have a great campaign prepared and, if they do anything, the right will finish with them. But in fact we have spoken about this case for months, and the right is silent.'

The only support for Palla and for legalised abortion comes from parties to the left of the Communists.

Why has this happened? One reason may be that 'if you look at the top of the Portuguese parties, whether they are Communist or Christian, you see just three or four women. And those women are not touched by the problems of women, because they have passed to the other side — they have lost their sex.'

In particular, Palla feels that 'I am much more important as the vice-president of the journalists' union than if I was a deputy [MP], because what would happen to me is what has happened to the others — perhaps they speak once a year in the assembly. As a journalist, I can speak several times a week.'

Which may, she feels, be why she was singled out for the beginning of a crackdown on women. 'As a member of my union all my life, I have fought for the freedom of the press. For me freedom of speech and legalisation of abortion go together.'

'In a democracy, we must campaign and arouse public opinion. The trial was a way to interfere with the debate — an attempt to interfere with the press. But it will not stop the debate, because it is impossible to stop a movement like this — only to delay it.'

DEFEND CHARTER 77

THE ARREST and subsequent charging of ten members of the Charter 77 civil rights movement is the most serious case of repression seen in Czechoslovakia since 1971.

Charter information bulletin editor Petr Uhl faces a sentence of between three and ten years on a charge of subversion 'on a large scale'; the others could be jailed for one to five years on lesser subversion charges.

Many of those arrested are among the most longstanding and consistent fighters for democratic rights in Czechoslovakia, as is shown by their biographies printed below. All ten are members of the Committee to Defend Those Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS).

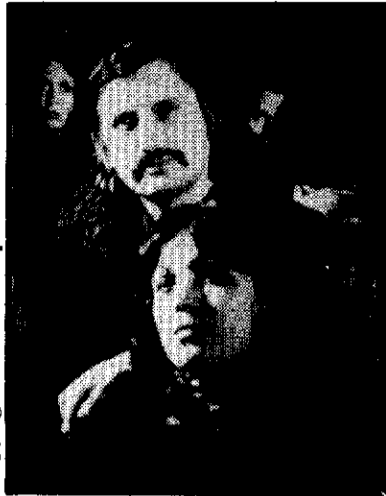


Photo: Ivan Basta (Palach Press)

BEDNAROVA Otka: Born in 1927, she joined the Communist Party in 1945 and was expelled in 1970. During the '60s she was one of the best known female TV journalists in Czechoslovakia; before 1963 she worked for Radio Prague. In the mid '60s she lost her job for one year because of one TV programme; in 1968 she was expelled from her job in TV.

She then worked as a cleaning woman and ladies cloakroom attendant; her health was damaged and she suffered from chronic hepatitis and disordered pancreas. In 1970, while working as a cleaning woman, a blood vessel burst in her brain; she became a semi-invalid and has been treated for the last five years for metro-rhagia.

Since 1973 she received an invalid's pension; it was withdrawn in 1978 and when she protested a court backed the withdrawal. For three years now she has been subjected to continuous harassment in the form of interrogations, detentions, and house searches, and in December 1978 she was physically attacked on the street.

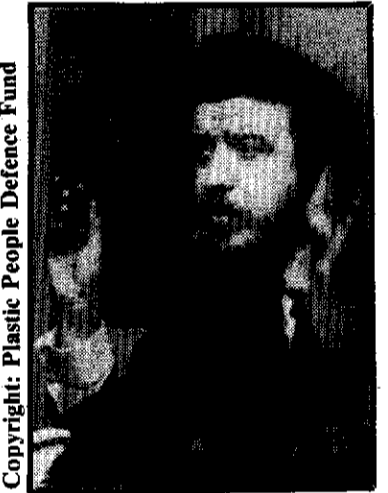


Copyright: Plastic People Defence Fund

BELIKOVA Jarmila: Born in 1948, lost her job as a social worker because of her political opinions. She subsequently worked as a cleaning woman and as a manual worker without permanent employment.

DIENSTBIER Jiri: One of the most prominent Communist journalists working for Radio Prague in 1968. He was later an official correspondent in Washington before being expelled from the Communist Party and sacked from his job because of opposition to the 'Husak normalisation' that followed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

He was interrogated during the 1971-2 trials of leading communists and socialists but was not jailed. He became spokesperson of Charter 77 in February 1979. He has one child.



Copyright: Plastic People Defence Fund

BENDA Vaclav: Born in 1946, a mathematician and philosopher and a prominent Czech Catholic. Described by friends as a 'revolutionary democrat', he was working as a driver

before his arrest while being both the Secretary of VONS and an official spokesperson of Charter 77. He has five children.



Copyright: Plastic People Defence Fund

HAVEL Vaclav: One of Czechoslovakia's most famous playwrights, he was a prominent intellectual figure during the Prague Spring and one of the signatories of the 10 Point Manifesto of August 1969, the last public manifesto against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

A moving spirit behind the creation of Charter 77, he was arrested very soon after its appearance while being one of the three founding spokespersons of the movement. In October 1977 he was given an 18-month suspended sentence.

During the months after the arrest of Jaroslav Sabata last October, Havel acted as a temporary spokesperson again, despite being under virtual house arrest. He is a leading theorist within the Charter 77 movement.

LIS Ladislav: Born in 1926, a skilled worker in the engineering industry, he was one of the organisers of the Prague uprising in May 1945 and subsequently joined the Communist Party. He became a member of the workers' council in the famous CKD engineering works in Prague and in 1949 became General Secretary of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth as well as Vice-President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

After conflict with party leader Novotny in the early 1950s he was removed from these posts and became an instructor within the Communist Party. But in 1961 he was expelled from the party for struggling for the rehabilitation of victims of the Stalinist terror in the early 1950s.

In 1968 he was rehabilitated,

became a secretary of the Prague City Committee of the Communist Party, and was a central organiser of the Vysocany Congress of the party held in clandestinity just after the Soviet invasion. Again expelled from the party in 1969, he became a manual worker in the forest timber industry.

Twice arrested, he had his invalid's pension withdrawn after he joined Charter 77. He has two children.

MALY Vaclav: A Christian clergyman from Plzen. Otherwise as yet nothing is known about him.



Copyright: Plastic People Defence Fund

NEMCOVA Dana: A psychologist, she has played a leading role in organising the Czechoslovak cultural underground. She has seven children.



Copyright: Plastic People Defence Fund

NEMEC Jiri: A psychologist and contributor to the literary periodical Tvar in the 1960s, he was born in 1932. Among his political activities he helped to organise the underground university, and signed with others a statement of solidarity with victims of the Berufsverbot in West Germany in 1978. He has seven children.



Photo: Ishaar Focus

UHL Petr: Born in 1941, a qualified engineer, Uhl became a Marxist while at college in Prague in the early 1960s, and after his experience in the French Communist Party's student organisation in the mid-1960s he became a revolutionary Marxist, sympathetic towards, but never a member of, the Fourth International.

In 1968 he played a key part in founding the Revolutionary Youth Movement, which was one of the first organised movements of the opponents of the Soviet invasion. The movement sought to carry out political propaganda among youth and workers, and for his involvement in this work Uhl was jailed in 1969 for four years.

An important organiser within the Charter movement, he has been editor of the Charter Information Bulletin and figured prominently in the theoretical discussions within the Charter. He has two children and his wife, Anna Sabatova, a former political prisoner, is a member of VONS.

AN international appeal for the release of the ten Chartists has already been sponsored by a wide range of socialist individuals and organisations, including the following: Jiri Pelikan, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the First of May Committee in Brussels, the Bahro Defence Committees in Berlin and Britain, Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, the Sozialistisches Osteuropakomitee in Berlin, Palach Press, the Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign, and many others.

In Britain the defence activity is being coordinated by the Charter 77 Defence Committee, c/o Ruth Tosek, 14 Elgin Court, 16 Montpelier Road, London W5. They are asking for the largest number of labour movement protest messages to be sent to the Czechoslovak Embassy, 25 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8 (with copies to the Defence Committee).

Messages of solidarity can also be sent to: Anna Sabatova, Anglicka 8, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia.

More Trotskyists seized in Iran

SEVEN more members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) have been arrested in Ahwaz in the Arab province of Khuzestan. They were seized outside the main oilworks last Saturday while leafleting and collecting workers' signatures on a petition against the previous arrest of nine HKS members.

The seven are: Hamid Adib, Kambiz Lajvardi, Firooz Farzinpour, Mahmoud Kafaie, Hojabr Khosravi, Ali Hashemi, and Kia Mahdevi. So far the local Imam Committee won't admit that it is holding them, and hasn't presented any charges.

Like the previous nine they could well face execution unless the most vigorous international defence campaign is waged. Telegrams and appeals are urgently needed, and should be sent to: Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister, Tehran, Iran; and to the Islamic Revolutionary Council, Tehran, Iran. Please send copies to Socialist Challenge.

The article below shows why the Iranian Trotskyists have become a target for the Khomeini regime's crackdown — and why they must be defended.

By Gerry Foley

FOR MONTHS before the arrests of nine Iranian Socialist Workers Party [HKS] members in Ahwaz, the Trotskyists in this

southern oil centre had suffered systematic harassment by pro-capitalist forces, including former SAVAK agents, in the local 'Imam' Committee.

In an interview I conducted with Hamid Shahrabi, one of those recently arrested, and other Ahwaz HKS members in Tehran in early April, Shahrabi said: 'Our comrades are constantly being arrested while selling our paper, sometimes two or three times a day. They are taken to the Imam Committee, given the third degree, and threatened.'

The rightists also organised gangster-style attacks. Ali, another HKS member in Ahwaz, described an incident that happened in early March when HKS members were selling their newspaper in front of the oil refinery:

'First a man came by in a car and tried to provoke us. Then a group came in a minibus and attacked us with knives, axes, and brass knuckles. They tried to turn over our car, and they threw our papers in the gutter.'

Fatima Fallahi, a woman HKS member, who is also among those arrested, said: 'The man in the car called the women "whores". When they take us to the Imam Committee, they tell us that it's not decent for women to sell newspapers. But even though there are a lot of backward attitudes about women in Iran, activists at the committee defend our right to



HAMID SHAHRABI

sell.'

Ali described a similar response at the oil company gate: 'People there we didn't know at all defended us. We found out later that the workers there took our papers out of the gutter and read them. It's very important for us to continue to work openly. Everywhere groups are developing that want to assert their democratic rights. They look to us as an example, and that includes groups of soldiers.'

'Fatima is famous in the committees', Shahrabi said, 'for going there and explaining

socialism, opening the paper and saying look at this article, this is why we think the banks should be nationalised, this is why we think that the present way of organising the army is bad and why the officers should be elected.'

'There is a rumour that our party has 4,000 cadres in Ahwaz and 20,000 supporters. The reason is that people cannot believe that a small group of people can stand up under this pressure. They don't know that the force behind our aggressiveness is our confidence in our programme.'

In particular, the oppressed Arab population has taken note of the HKS's defence of Arab rights. 'Our work with the Arabs is very important', Shahrabi said. 'They are the real militants. We want to build a party branch here that has a majority of Arab workers as members. Till now they have been suspicious of all parties. But they say they like us because we defend their rights.'

'To give you some idea of the spirit of these worker militants, we have just recruited one who had a house left him by his father. It was all he had. He came to the conclusion that he should sell it and give the money to the party. He told us: "I have found my house, it is the Socialist Workers Party. I don't need another one." That is the sort of thing that encourages us.'

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Tendency: racial oppression — how to fight it. Last of three forums on how to build working class defence against attacks on black communities. 29 June: Fight Sus and smash all immigration controls. Speaker: Judith Harrison. North Library, Manor Gardens, N7. (Tubes: Archway, Holloway Rd) 7.30pm.

SPARTACIST League Public Meeting. White Rhodesia on Borrowed Time. Tuesday 3 July 7.30pm, Central Library, 68 Holloway Road, N7 (Highbury and Islington or Holloway Road tube).

IRELAND Socialist Review No 5 is now out. Articles include: women and the national liberation struggle; Northern Ireland economic trends; analysis of the general election result in the six counties; plus reviews. Price 40p (inc. postage) from: ISR(B), 60 Loughborough Rd, London SW9.

SMASH all immigration controls! Mass picket of Harmondsworth Detention Centre, 21 July at 2pm. Planning meeting 2 July, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 7pm. All welcome. Organised by RCT.

HACKNEY Writers Workshop and Hackney and Islington Music Workshop invite you to an evening of working class and socialist writing and

Balls Pond Rd, London N1. Adm: 25p. Collection for the Blair Peach Memorial Fund. **SOCIALIST-feminist**, 23, urgently needs own room in friendly household, lowish rent. Susan: 01-340 5493.

BROADSIDE Theatre, a London based socialist touring group requires: 1. a second administrator (graphic design skill an advantage); 2. a versatile female performer (including singing). Both full-time. Long term commitment. Write giving details of experience, skills, politics, approach to theatre and reasons for wanting to work with Broadside to 58 Holbein House, London SW1. For further details phone 01-478 2581.

INTERNATIONAL Contraception Abortion and Sterilisation Campaign public meeting. 'Who controls your body — you or your parents?' Fri 6 July, Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Holborn tube. 7.30pm.

TASK FORCE is a voluntary organisation working with pensioners in 12 London borough-based centres. The organisation is involved in work with pensioners' action groups and social clubs, neighbourhood care schemes, as well as organising volunteer projects, working with individual volunteers and school groups. There is a central resource team which provides administrative, financial and general support to the centres. Task Force is structured on a participative management basis. Commitment to this is essential.

We have the following vacancies: **Greenwich Task Force** — requires a worker to initiate a community development project with a special emphasis on the needs of the elderly. An interest in welfare rights and working with local groups would be welcome. For informal discussion phone the centre (854 2835). For job description and application form, contact Central Office, 1 Thorpe Close, Off Cambridge Gardens, London W10. Tel: 960 9105. **Kensington Task Force** — requires 6th person to complete team. More details from Kensington Task Force, 11 Acklam Rd, W10. Tel: 969 9105. Salary: £3,732pa. Hours: 35 per week. Closing date: 13 July.

ROOM available in North West London from 13 August to 28 August inclusive. Box No 101, c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

BOOKS for Southern African comrades — money desperately needed for this vital field of internationalist activity. Or send any books you can spare. Books for Southern Africa, Box No 102, c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

WORKING class strategies and the transition to socialism is the theme of the Annual Conference of the CSE (Conference of Socialist Economists) at Leeds University, 13-16 July. Send for details to Hugo Radice, School of Economics, University, Leeds LS2 9JT.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist No9: Imperialism, Racism and the working class, a major marxist analysis of racism shows that imperialism and racism are inseparable. Explains the British State's mounting attack on black people. Exposes the pro-imperialist and racist nature of the Labour Party. Essential reading for all anti-racists. Also, final part of Rosdolsky's 'Imperialist War and the Question of Peace'. Editorial explains the link between imperialism, national oppression and the role of the new petit bourgeoisie. Price 50p plus 15p p&p. From RCG Publications Ltd (SC), 49 Railton Rd, London SE24 0LN.

WHO KILLED Blair Peach? Disband the SPG. Tower Hamlets ANL public meeting, Thurs 5 July, 7.30pm. Speakers include: Paul Holborow, Angie Coulthard (ELNUT, Phoenix School) and from Southall Action Committee, Fairholt House, City Poly SU, Whitechapel High St. Aldgate East tube.

NATIONAL Revolution social. Sat 30 June in Islington North London. Ring Redmond — 01-399 8371 — for details. All youth invited. Youth 20p, adults 50p.

BRISTOL — Spartacist League Day School. Sat 7 July, Baptist Mills Community Centre, Horley Rd, St Werburghs. 10am: What is the Soviet Union? 2pm: The Leninist vanguard party. Registration 50p. Readings/details from: Spartacist, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.

YORKSHIRE and Humberside regional socialist feminist conference, Swarthmore Centre, Leeds. Sat 30 June, 10am-5.30pm.

HARINGEY UTOM street meeting, Crouch End Broadway, London N8. 10am, Sat 30 June. To collect signatures for petition calling for troops out.

BIG FLAME, the IMG and the ISA are holding a joint school for women on 'The Women's Movement and the left'. 14 July, 11am-5pm, YWCA, Great Russel St, London WC1. Creche facilities. If you are interested in being invited write c/o Women's School, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Organised under the auspices of the London World Affairs Group.



Security forces demoralised Anti-Republican terror spreads

By Geoff Bell

IT IS NOW beyond doubt that a new assassination campaign against Republicans is underway in Belfast.

The latest victim is 36-year-old Francis Sullivan, shot dead in his home in the largely Catholic Lower Falls district on 19 June. Two people, described as 'youths', killed Sullivan in front of his wife.

The murder came on the same day as Westminster and European Parliament MP Ian Paisley talked of a 'war situation' and declared that 'the Loyalist people of Ulster are not people to tolerate this situation any longer'.

Sullivan's death confirms the pattern of a number of recent assassination attempts. On 2 June the target was 22-year-old Republican Lillian Kelly, a former internee who was working at the time of the attack as a receptionist in a taxi firm off the Falls Road. She only escaped death because the gun of her would-be killer jammed.

Two days previously an attempt on the lives of the Kerr family had taken place in North Belfast. A gunman burst into their home but Margaret Kerr fled out the back door, while her 14-year-old son Martin

escaped upstairs as shots were fired at him. Margaret is the wife of Robert Kerr, who had just been convicted of shooting a British soldier and civilian on the strength of a 'confession'.

Other targets of the new terror campaign have also had a Republican background. In April an IRA volunteer, Billy Carson, was shot dead in North Belfast, while two members of Sinn Fein — Kevin Hannaway and Billy Davidson — only narrowly survived recent assassination attempts.

Less fortunate was Joseph McKee, a supporter of the Official Republicans, who was shot dead in Belfast's city centre on 9 June.

The selective nature of the assassination campaign suggests that those carrying it out have access to knowledge normally restricted to the files of the various security forces. Certainly the Royal Ulster Constabulary in particular is showing signs of increasing panic at its inability to defeat the Provisionals.

On 6 June Alan Wright, leader of the RUC's 'trade union', the Northern Ireland Police Federation, complained: 'If we are not to lose what small gains we may have made, then the army must play a more active

role in the security field.' The Police Federation has also called for the hanging of IRA volunteers convicted of murder.

RUC Chief Constable Kenneth Newman has also noted the decreasing ability of the RUC to deal with the IRA by conventional means. His annual report for 1978, published last week, shows that 843 people were charged with 'terrorist type' offences last year compared with 1,308 in 1977; although the number of explosions rose from 535 to 633.

Newman's report acknowledges that one reason for the RUC's failure to bring charges against more people is the effective tightening up of internal security by the IRA.

Evidence of British Army involvement in previous sectarian assassination campaigns may be provided in a forthcoming trial in Belfast. Three soldiers and one ex-soldier have been charged with the gruesome double murder nearly seven years ago of two Catholic farmers in County Fermanagh. At the time all four accused were members of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders Regiment.

The two who were murdered — one a prominent member of the

Fermanagh Civil Rights Association — had a total of 31 stab wounds on their bodies. The four were finally charged after one of them walked into a Scottish police station six months ago and volunteered information.

In such a context possible RUC or British Army involvement in the new terror campaign cannot be ruled out. The anti-Republican forces in the North of Ireland are now in a state of disarray.

The latest development is the resignation of Harry West from the leadership of the Official Unionists. This follows his failure to win election to the European Parliament, and the overwhelming success of arch-rival Ian Paisley in picking up over 170,000 votes.

Such political divisions in Loyalism, taken together with the demoralised state of the RUC and British Army, provide the groundwork for the crudest form of 'military solution' — of which the new assassination campaign is a sign.

The Provisional IRA, however, has shown restraint in replying to the new terror, preferring to choose members of the security forces as a target rather than individual civilians in the Protestant community.

Round one to Arrowsmith

PAT Arrowsmith has been cleared on the first obstruction charge she faced after her general election campaign in Cardiff.

Pat, who stood against Callaghan as an Independent Socialist, was arrested twice during the run-up to the election — once when addressing a meeting in a shopping centre, and the other time when holding a picket outside an army recruitment centre. It was in connection with the second incident that she was acquitted at Cardiff Magistrates Court on 14 June.

Pat told the court that 'during a general election meeting it is normal for candidates to address street

meetings and I had a right to do this and people had a right to hear me speak'. Arrowsmith's lawyer, Brian Rose-Smith, added that it was normal for politicians to go on walkabouts and that this was never considered obstruction.

The court seemed to accept these arguments, although the police case was so weak that acquittal was always on the cards.

Attention now switches to 6 July, when Pat appears in court over the incidents in the shopping centre. She has already made it clear that she will refuse to pay a fine or be bound over if convicted. And if she is sent to prison she has declared that she will go on immediate hunger strike.

UTOM conference backs 12 August demo

THE twice-yearly conference of the United Troops Out Movement, meeting in Birmingham last Saturday, voted full support to the 12 August London demonstration marking the tenth anniversary of the deployment of British troops onto the streets of the North of Ireland.

UTOM also voted to organise a specific 'Troops Out Now' contingent on the demonstration, which has been called on the basis of demanding that Britain declares its intention to withdraw. UTOM will be producing its own poster and leaflets for the demonstration, which could be the largest for many years on the Irish issue.

After the demonstration, UTOM will then focus its attention on the

Labour Party conference in September. A fringe meeting on Ireland organised by Hemel Hempstead Constituency Labour Party will be supported, and a 'blanket' demonstration outside the conference will be held.

Delegates at the UTOM conference were intrigued to hear that Tony Benn had told one of those attending that he intended to make a speech on Ireland 'soon'. This news was received with a good deal of scepticism.

The conference was very much a working affair, and a decision was taken to build the next conference in November in a more thoroughgoing fashion. But in the meantime the priority is 'all out on 12 August'.

Massimo Salvadori
**'KARL KAUTSKY AND THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, 1880-
1938'**
New Left Books, £9.50 hardback.

By Raimund Loew
FEW SOCIALISTS will think of Karl Kautsky other than as an object of the polemics of Lenin — as a 'renegade', a 'counter-revolutionary' and an 'agent of the bourgeoisie'.

Therefore it is all the more important that New Left Books have decided to translate Massimo Salvadori's *Karl Kautsky and the Socialist Revolution*, which came out at the beginning of this year.

Salvadori didn't want to write an intellectual biography, as he indicates himself in the introduction. He examines the relationship between socialism and democracy in Kautsky's thinking — a project that requires a detailed explanation of the development of all of Kautsky's fundamental political thinking.

Illegal

Kautsky's dominant ideological influence began in the years of the 'Sozialistengesetze' (Socialist Laws), when the workers movement was pronounced illegal by Bismarck. In 1883 Kautsky took over the editorship of *Neue Zeit*, which in the following years became the most important theoretical review of Marxism on an international level.

During this time he formulated the basis of what was later considered as the kernel of the Kautskyan interpretation of Marxism dominating the Second International.

According to Kautsky, capitalism leads of necessity to its own destruction and therefore to socialism, just as winter is followed by spring. All Marxism would need to do would be to recognise the real social processes, and the social-democratic party would have to be the 'organiser of the effort to translate the dictates of historical evolution into practice', as Salvadori puts it.

Kautsky at this time spoke bluntly of the inevitability of revolutionary violence, the destruction of the bourgeois state, and draconian measures against the old ruling classes in order to open the way to 'historical necessity'.

The Erfurt Programme of the German Social Democracy, written by Kautsky and his friend Eduard Bernstein after the abolition of the 'Sozialistengesetze' in 1890, became a classical example of Marxist orthodoxy.

It was divided into two parts: a minimum programme of democratic and economic reforms, and a theoretical part where the antagonistic contradictions of capitalist society, the historical role of the working class, and the necessity of socialism are explained.

The connection between the two parts was left to the objective dynamic of the development of society.

Peaceful

In fact, Europe at that time was in a state of relatively peaceful and stable capitalist expansion, which had been followed by a rapid growth of working class organisations. Thus between 1880 and 1900 the number of unionised workers tripled in Germany from 230,000 to 700,000.

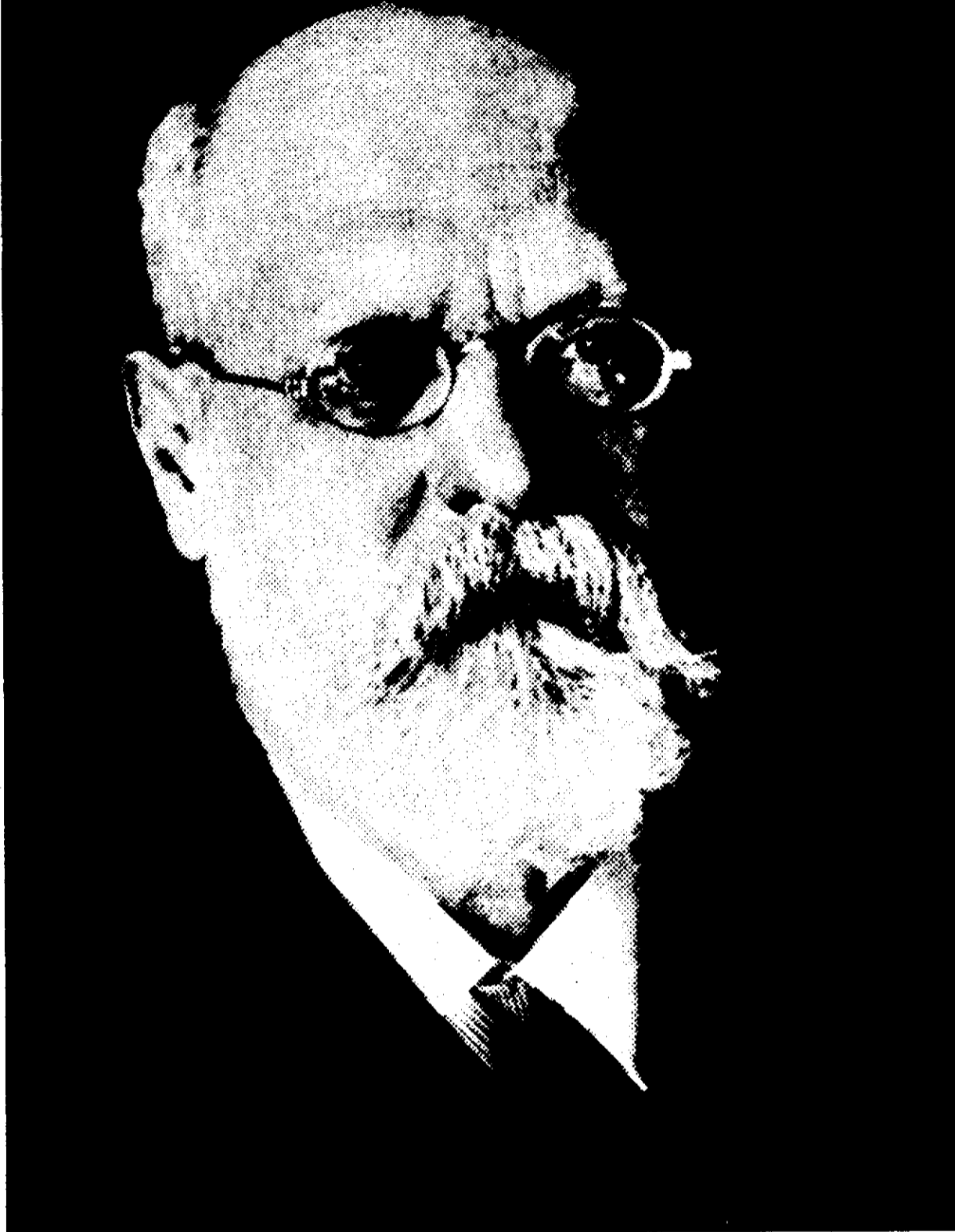
The number of votes for Social Democracy seemed to increase automatically: from 1.4m in 1890 to 1.8m in 1893; from 2.2m in 1898 to 3m in 1903. The increase of the political power of the working class seemed to be the unavoidable consequence of the expansion of the capitalist economy.

Kautsky became the ideologue of this period. He warned against any adventurist temptation to break the law, and showed more and more inclination to a gradualist concept of the taking of power by the proletariat.

According to Kautsky, the democratic parliament could easily be transformed from an instrument of power for the bourgeoisie to an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Kautsky, the democratic parliament could easily be transformed from an instrument for the bourgeoisie to an instrument of the

KARL KAUTSKY more than just a renegade



dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the same time, Kautsky defended Marxist orthodoxy against the revisionism of Eduard Bernstein. In opposition to Bernstein's thesis, he showed that capitalism was not capable of overcoming its own contradictions, and that there were no signs of a weakening in the class struggle.

Accordingly, Kautsky also rejected the idea of the transformation of the SPD into a multi-class people's party, and he defended the necessity of revolutionary breaks with bourgeois society.

Rosa Luxemburg was then fighting on Kautsky's side. Revisionism was rejected by the party and the International. Even in the years after 1905, when the German labour movement became more radical following the first Russian revolution, Kautsky was on the side of the radicals in the party.

In 1909 he published a famous pamphlet, *The Road to Power*, in which he explained that the revolution of 1905 had closed the preceding phase of peaceful capitalist development and opened a period of international conflicts and social upheavals.

Just one year later came the split between Kautsky and Rosa Luxem-

burg. They differed over the evaluation of political mass strikes as weapons in the fight for a democratic electoral system in Prussia. Kautsky opposed the radical left's demand that the 'alte bewährte Taktik' (the old, proved tactics) be re-thought and more importance be given to extra-parliamentary mobilisations.

Centrist

From then on Kautsky took a centrist position, between the revolutionary left and the opportunist right.

The ideological debates on the mass strike anticipated the later split in the German Social Democracy during the war, but at that time very few people were aware of the importance of these debates. Lenin and Trotsky, for example, gave Kautsky full support in his conflict with Rosa Luxemburg.

Kautsky's defence of the former policy of the SPD corresponded to the conservative thinking of an important section of the party apparatus, which was accustomed to electoral campaigns and economic struggles, but which hated the idea of any extra-parliamentary action — this would have endangered the legality of the party, and therefore the material existence of the party bureaucracy.

Eventually, this logic determined the SPD's position over the imperialist war. As is well known, on 4 August 1914 all the Social Democratic deputies voted for the war credits, and the party supported the policy of the imperial government.

Salvadori describes Kautsky's attempt to manoeuvre between the two main positions in the SPD. He wanted to avoid a head-on clash with the ruling class, and advocated abstaining on the vote.

In the end, he accepted the approval of the war credits but demanded that the party should ask the government not to pursue aims of conquest but only those of defence.

Kautsky maintained this middle position throughout the war, which provoked the well-known violent polemics of Lenin against the 'centre' and sharpened the differences with the left around Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Luxemburg called Kautsky a 'theoretician of the swamp'.

His assertion that, far from revealing the political bankruptcy of the Second International, events had only shown that an International is only able to function in times of peace provoked Luxemburg to the following comment:

'The world-historical call of the Communist Manifesto needs an essential amendment and now, after the Kautskyst correction, reads like this: "Workers of all countries, unite in times of peace and cut one another's throats in time of war!"'

Although Kautsky sharpened his criticism of the policy of the SPD leadership during the war, and despite the fact that he was involved in the foundation of the centrist USPD (Independent Socialist Party of Germany), his ideological influence in Germany as well as on an international level rapidly diminished.

His conflict with the SPD had forced him to relinquish the editorship of *Neue Zeit*, and in the USPD as well he remained isolated. During the last 20 years of his life — he died in Amsterdam in 1938 — Kautsky was not able to overcome this isolation.

Assembly

His literary activity did not diminish. Salvadori quotes his numerous articles and pamphlets against the idea of the establishment of workers' council power in Germany in 1919 — Kautsky believed that a national assembly under Social Democratic hegemony would be able to socialise the economy and lay the foundations of a socialist republic.

He considered that the biggest danger for the working class resided in the lack of unity of the labour movement, for which in his view the main responsibility lay with the Spartacists and later the KPD, the German Communist Party.

Despite hard criticism of Noske and the right-wing majority socialists at the time of revolution, he rejoined the SPD in 1922, together with the right wing of the USPD (the left wing had fused with the KPD). From then on, polemicising against the Bolsheviks and the Comintern became his main political pre-occupation. Salvadori speaks of a 'crusade against the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet state'.

After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks in January 1918 the young Soviet state was, in Kautsky's eyes, nothing more than a barbaric tyranny that had less and less to do with the international fight of the working class and socialism.

A Break?

In his book, Salvadori argues that the idea of a break in Kautsky's thinking in 1914 was wrong. He denies the renegade charge advanced by Lenin and Trotsky, and considers that this derives from 'counterposing the image of a fictitious Kautsky to what had always been the real Kautsky'.

It is certainly correct to seek the roots of Kautsky's later positions in his pre-1914 ideas, but to conclude from this that there had been no break at all and that his positions in the 1890s had 'inevitably' led to his later anti-revolutionary crusade is more than doubtful.

Despite all his weaknesses, Kautsky's early position in the class struggle was absolutely clear: he was unequivocally on the side of the working class and its mobilisations. After 1914 he constantly defended the stability of the bourgeois order against the revolutionary workers' movement. What, on a purely theoretical level, may seem to be a gradual development is a clear break from a political point of view.

It is also wrong to say that this degeneration was 'inevitable'. It would have been perfectly possible for Kautsky to overcome his theoretical weaknesses under the pressure of the experiences of the international class struggle. After all, the revolutionary wing of the German workers' movement also came out of the tradition of the Second International!

But this should not at all diminish the importance of Salvadori's book. Giving access to this largely forgotten part of the history of international socialism is of great merit.

Socialist Challenge needs £5,000 by September

By Mike McNair
Socialist Challenge Finance Manager

OUR READERS may have noticed that over the past few months our appeals for financial support have become increasingly urgent. This week we're giving over a page to explain:

*Why we need £5,000 from our readers by the end of September if the paper is to survive.

*Why the financial situation of the paper is so bad.

*Why the International Marxist Group, the main organisation supporting the paper, has decided to merge its own fund drive with ours.

*What you, our readers, can do about this situation.

Expenses

Each week we need to pay out approximately £1,135 to get the paper to you. We spend this, first on expenses for freelance journalists who do a lot of the editorial work for the paper; on bills for the bourgeois press to keep us in touch with their media; on phones — essential to any journalist; for the lawyer who reads the paper for libel; and on rent and upkeep of the office space we use in Upper Street.

Once we've paid out this much we've got the copy — the stories and articles you read. But to turn this into a newspaper we have to pay for photos, cartoons, and design and printing. Even after Feb Edge, our printers, have delivered the bundles of papers to us we still have to pay British Rail to get the paper to the sellers in the localities, and for post to send out the subscription copies.

How do these expenses break down? Our overhead and essential running costs, including rent, phones, British Rail and postal expenses, design, typesetting and printing costs account for approximately three-quarters of our £1,135 weekly expenditure.

Innocent

Editorial costs, including photos, cartoons, newspapers and magazines, and other expenses account for about a quarter of the total expenditure. This is the area some think we could cut back on. But we are already running very close to the bone, and you can't cut the editorial side altogether!

For a while now, our average weekly income has been a good deal less than this figure of £1,135. Of the papers we distribute by rail, about 3,300 are sold by individual supporters at 15p a copy, bringing in £495, and 400 are sold through shops at 10p, for £40.

We receive about £50, corresponding to 500 sales, from shops that



we distribute to nationally. We sell about £150 worth of subs every week, and get in about £20 worth of advertising. We receive £200 a month from bankers' orders from supporters, or £50 a week.

Our regular quarterly fund drives have been bringing in about £1,550, which is £120 in a week; and we make about £20 a week from various other sources. All of which adds up to about £945 a week.

As can readily be seen, this leaves us short by about £190 a week. It's been like this since the beginning of the year, and before — with the result that gradually, week by week, we've been piling up huge debts. The biggest of these is for design etc, for £3,650.

These innocent looking four figures mean in the real world that there are problems every week paying for design and typesetting, and even more in getting in essential supplies to keep producing the paper.

Isn't it just a little bit irresponsible to keep on running a paper for months and months at a £190 a week deficit, you might ask?

We haven't been working on the basis of fiscal irresponsibility and 'waiting for something to come up'. Keeping the paper going has been and is a political choice based on definite

information about where this deficit comes from. There are two particular problems.

Individual sales by supporters of the paper have fluctuated wildly and gone down quite a lot recently. But sales through shops and subscriptions have stayed stable, and if anything gone up slightly. The audience of the paper is the same, or larger if anything; our problem is the activity of our supporters.

We've had a very similar problem with our regular fund drive. Donations from individual readers keep coming in, but the income from events organised by our supporters has been very erratic. This is why we haven't met our last three fund drives.

If we had £54 a week more coming in from the fund drive, which would only be meeting the £2,500 target, and only 910 extra sales by individuals over the whole country, we would be breaking even (leaving aside the accumulated debts). We've assessed that it is possible to achieve these aims, and that it is our responsibility to try.

These two assessments are political. The finances of a paper like Socialist Challenge aren't just a matter of business management. We believe and still believe that Socialist

Challenge can and must continue and develop because of the relevance and urgency of the policies it fights for.

We predicted that Labour would lose the election if a vigorous socialist alternative was not built. We fought to build such an alternative. The victory of the most reactionary Tory government since the war not only confirms our assessment; it also reinforces the need for a campaigning, political, internationalist socialist weekly.

The need for Socialist Challenge underpins the possibility of its existence; if it did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it.

We need, essentially, two things. The first is £5,000 by the end of September. This includes £4,350 to let us break even over the quarter (including what we'd get in from a regular fund drive); and £650 to go towards the most urgent back debts.

To help us achieve this, the IMG has decided to merge its £20,000 fund drive with ours. Most of the organised supporters of the paper are IMG members and sympathisers — not what we'd aimed for, but it's a fact nonetheless.

Since the IMG fund drive was launched, these militants have been faced with competing loyalties. The IMG fund drive has gained at the

expense of ours. Now the IMG has recognised that if Socialist Challenge fails it stands to lose as much as any of the paper's readers. A common effort for £20,000, of which £5,000 will go to Socialist Challenge, will bring in the best results.

You, the readers, can help us keep afloat with your money. Over the next weeks we'll be depending on you. If we don't get the money in we'll go under. If we do, and then meet our fund drives regularly every quarter, the paper can be re-stabilised and developed. If we don't meet these targets we will end up having to raise the price of the paper in order to get in the extra money.

A thousand extra sales isn't such an immense target over the whole country.

We know many areas have reduced their orders for the end of the student term. We need them to seek out new sales, on estates, at factory gates, shopping centres, labour movement meetings. We'll be publishing targets for a sales drive in the next few weeks.

Sales kits, posters, and suchlike are available from the paper's distribution office. Take advantage of them — and if you've any ideas for boosting sales, write in and tell us. But above all — get in the money.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE EVENTS

NORTH WEST
MOSS SIDE Socialist Challenge supporters sell the paper at Moss Side Centre, Saturday, 11-1.
MANCHESTER SC Centre has been closed because of fire damage, but will be reopening shortly. All mail/enquiries should meanwhile be sent via the paper's national office in London.

OLDHAM SC sales every Saturday, 11-1, outside Yorkshire Bank, High St. For further details tel. 061-652 7851.

NORTH EAST

MIDDLESBROUGH paper sales, Saturday lunchtime at Cleveland Centre, near lottery stand opposite Woolworths. Also available from Newsfare in Linthorpe Road and inside Cleveland Centre.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES readers can buy Socialist Challenge and Revolution from Green Books stall upstairs in Spencer Hall indoor market, Stockton High St.

SCOTLAND

For information about the paper or its supporters' activities throughout Scotland please contact Socialist Challenge Books, 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Open Wed, Thurs, Fri and Sat afternoons. Phone for alternative arrangement (221 7481). Wide range of Fourth International publications.

HAMILTON supporters sell Socialist Challenge every Saturday in the Hamilton shopping centre, 1-5pm. For details of local activities contact John Ford, 553 Eliot Crescent, Hamilton.

EDINBURGH Socialist Challenge supporters group meets regularly. Phone George at 031-346 0466 for details.

DUNDEE Information about Socialist Challenge activities from 64 Queen St, Glasgow. Join in SC sales outside Boots (corner of Reform St) each Saturday 11am-2pm.

MIDLANDS

LEICESTER SC group meets monthly at Highfields Community Centre. Paper on sale at Blackthorn Books.

BIRMINGHAM supporters sell the paper outside New Street station every Saturday, 10-4. Phone 643 9209 for details of SC activities.

NOTTINGHAM readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly at Mushroom Books, Leathcote St.

LEAMINGTON Socialist Challenge group meets every other Sunday. Contact 311772.

YORKSHIRE

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge group meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Friendly & Trades Club, Northumberland St.

DEWSBURY Socialist Challenge sales regularly on Saturday mornings in Westgate at the Nat. Westminster Bank. 12.30-2.00pm.

LEEDS Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday at City Centre Precinct, 11am-1.30pm. And at

Elland Rd — when Leeds Utd are playing at home!

HUDDERSFIELD Socialist Challenge sales regularly Saturdays 11am-1pm in the Piazza.

YORK Socialist Challenge is on sale at the York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate or from sellers on Thursdays (12.30-1.45) at York University, Vanbrugh College; Saturdays (11.30-3.30) at Coney Street.

SOUTH WEST

FOR INFORMATION on activities in the South-West, write to Box 002, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.

SOUTHAMPTON Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday from 10am-1pm above bar. Post Office, Bargate.

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 11am-1pm in the 'Hole in the Ground', Haymarket.

ISLE OF WIGHT readers can buy Socialist Challenge from the Oz Shop, 44 Union St, Ryde.

BATH Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday, 2-3.30pm, outside Macfisheries. Ring Bath 20298 for further details.

SWINDON supporters sell Socialist Challenge 11am-1pm Saturdays, Regent St (Brunel Centre).

PORTSMOUTH Socialist Challenge sales, Saturdays 11.30am-1pm, Commercial Road Precinct.

SOUTH EAST

NORWICH Socialist Challenge sales every Saturday in Davey Place (opp. market) and bookstall Thursdays at University of East Anglia.

COLCHESTER SC supporters meet regularly. For details phone Steve on Wivenhoe 2949.

BRIGHTON SC forums fortnightly on Tuesdays. Contact Micky on 605052.

LONDON

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge Group meets every fortnight (phone 247 2717 for details).

PADDINGTON/N KENSINGTON supporters sell the paper every Saturday at noon at junction Portobello Rd/Westbourne Park Rd, W11.

BRENT supporters sell every Saturday, 2.30pm, at Kilburn Sq, Kilburn High Rd, London NW6.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD supporters meet regularly on Sunday evenings. For details phone Mick on Hemel Hempstead 41037. Also paper sales Saturday mornings in Times Square.

WALTHAMSTOW readers can buy Socialist Challenge regularly from Sheridan's Newsagents, 86 Hoe St, E17.

LEYTON readers can buy Socialist Challenge from Patel's Newsagents, 326 Lea Bridge Road, E10.

TOWER HAMLETS Socialist Challenge supporters sell every weekend: Saturdays meet 10.30am, Whitechapel tube; Sundays meet 10am, Brick Lane (corner of Buxton St).

HACKNEY supporters sell every Saturday, 12-2pm, in Kingsland High St, Dalston — meet outside Sainsbury's.

HARROW Socialist Challenge supporters meet regularly, details from Box 50, London N1 2XP.

HARINGEY paper sales at Finsbury Park and Seven Sisters tubes, Thurs evening; Muswell Hill and Crouch End Broadways, Saturday morning. Also available at Muswell Hill Bookshop, Muswell Hill Broadway; Vares newsagent, Middle Lane, N8; and Bookmarks, Finsbury Park.

SOUTH LONDON paper sales at Brixton tube, 12-2 every Saturday. Also available at Oval tube and Herne Hill BR kiosks.

S.E. LONDON SC group meets Saturdays 11am outside Midland Bank, Deptford High St. for paper sale in market. All local supporters please note. Watch this spot for details of next SC meeting.

HACKNEY SC group meeting: 'No to school closures'. Speaker Mike Colley (NUT, Clissold Park School). Thur 28 June, 7.30pm, Britannia pub, Mare Street, E8.

Sledge hammer rock

By Mike Simpson

THE CRASS — new wave, nihilists — were supposed to appear at North London Poly as a benefit for Persons Unknown, but due to various official hassles the gig was switched to Conway Hall in Red Lion Square — not the best of rock venues.

I awaited their arrival on stage with not a few misgivings, having heard that they go in for some very profound heart-searching stuff. For example, 'We're saying to people... why are you standing down there being and audience?'

While the gear is being set up, a film is projected. It lasts 20 minutes and is unutterably tedious; a collage of clips featuring shots of airliners (yawn), tower blocks (oh, god), blue movies (naughty), newsreel footage (snore). Sixties junk dragged out of retirement and dished out as a political statement. Hah.

Now Crass are on stage. Dressed completely in black, lit from below with stark white light and a backdrop of a sinister pseudo-Nazi symbol (circle, cross, diagonal line) outlined in black and white.

It's a powerful visual effect, added to by the presence of two large mean-looking guitarists who stand stock still most of the time. They play fast and loud, only occasionally pausing between numbers.

The vocalist gets to shout a lot. The band launches into a series of songs that are bitter, vitriolic attacks on religion, war, consumerism and the likes, but it's a pity they don't vary their delivery a bit more — playing at the same speed all the time makes for monotony.

As for such bourgeois concepts as tuning guitars or playing in key, forget it. Crass do neither. This results in an act that sometimes is more reminiscent of a cross between a waxwork horror tableau and an amplified scrapper than a rock band.

If only they'd pay a little more attention to making their music more accessible, they could have the makings of a fine band.


Their sledgehammer approach certainly has its moments, though, as in 'Asylum' — a devastating attack on religion and male supremacy spat out with icy, calculated hatred, which is stunningly effective. So effective, in fact, that when it was put on record the workers at the plant refused to handle the record unless the song was taken off.

Another victory for mindless moderation.

I found it difficult to sort out one song from another, but the overall effect is of a grimly determined band of musical guerrillas driving a steamroller over their targets.

Crass do not go in for subtlety or understatement. Worth seeing, but don't expect a cosy evening's entertainment: Crass are out to shake you up. And they do.

TEMPORARY HOARDING



OUT NOW!

SHINE OUT THE BLUE SCUM MILITARY ENTERTAINMENT JAM WARS GANG OF FOUR BUTCH BARNES & LETTERS

Issue No 9 25p
from RAR Box 'M'
27 Clerkenwell
Close, London,
E.C.1.
(Please send
large S.A.E.)

The poetry of Radio LKJ

By Anthony Francis



LINTON Kwesi Johnson is the bard of the oppressed black masses in Britain. He has re-constituted reggae with a particularity which is angled essentially at the harsh political facts of Britain today: Thatcher's Britain. A Britain whose ruling class is increasingly alarmed by its ailing capitalism and greater and greater class estrangement.

The agents of repression have turned with violence upon black people. We are at once seen as a major cultural threat (eg reggae, carnival) and also as a necessary sub-proletariat essential for the continuation of this last most grotesque phase of capitalism.

Johnson declaims to his people this vicious reality. His is a reggae purged of back-to-Ethiopia idealism and he has made his lyric focus sharply upon this Britain of the 1980s.

The image on the cover of his latest record, Forces of Victory, is an old-fashioned radio microphone, but instead of the initials 'BBC' there are the initials 'LKJ' — Radio LKJ making its intervention into mass commercial culture — saying the things that aunty BBC in the name of balance will not mention.

On this album are eight poems that are set to music: rhythm, melody, and words are an integral part of the whole musical design. In the heat of the dance floor, even, Johnson's intimately modulated voice is right up close to the ear with an unmistakable clarity — the clarity of Jamaican patois.

The first song is about wanting to rave, feeling constrained by poverty and having to report to the police station at 6pm every day. There is an anti-sus poem. The most dramatic piece is in the form of a letter from a youth in Brixton prison to his mother in Jamaica; he tells her of how he became involved in a fight and killed a policeman after they arbitrarily set upon his brother.

For white readers of Socialist Challenge, or indeed any politicised white person, the most pointed criticism will be found in 'Independent Intavenshan' where Johnson mentions the CRC, TUC, CP, IMG, SWP, Labour Party — all by name; he castigates them for their history of opportunism and patronage towards black people to 'ride the storm'.

He says: 'What a cheek, them think we meek and can't speak up fe weself'. This is the legitimate and general position of most black people in politics. Legitimate because until these organisations prove in practice to be non-opportunist we cannot put any trust in them.

But to say 'ride the storm' does not answer what active response we should make to them.

The album closes with a call to meet the violence of the state with the violence of self-defence (no wonder the BBC postponed the film about Johnson until after the election), and he ends a million miles from pessimism or idealism on an up-note with 'Forces of Victory' — the title track.

The Hampstead Liberals will not be able to listen to this as easily as they gulped down the romanticism-for-the-scars-of-colonialism that finally engulfed Bob Marley.

• Forces of Victory is issued on The Island label.

An evening for Blair Peach

By Clara Howard

WHEN Blair Peach's body was 'lying in state' at the Dominion cinema in Southall, thousands upon thousands of Asian men and women were filing past to pay their last respects. At roughly the same time, a police constable from Southall police station was seen defacing a Blair Peach poster not far from the Dominion.

The police constable (see page three for further details) was scribbling the initials 'NF'. This trivial and not surprising incident highlights the deep hatred which is felt by many police officers for socialists and anti-racists.

The Southall copper was not a member of the hated Special Patrol Group. He was just an average 'cop on the beat' (sic).

The attitude of the media was (with the exception of the Guardian) much the same. The Express and the Mail hated the funeral. The Telegraph ran a piece by Christopher Booker (a loony Tory ecologist) comparing Blair Peach to Horst Wessel, and by implication the SWP to the German Nazis. For Booker there was no difference between the Nazis and

those whom they seek to victimise.

Given the general ideological climate in Britain it is, therefore, a bold step by the Royal Court theatre to offer its premises for a whole evening so that a tribute to Blair could be organised.

The idea was first discussed by the 'Friends of Blair Peach', and gradually the importance of such an evening began to be appreciated. It is to be a combination of culture and politics. But everyone was agreed that the function of such an evening would be to provide an answer to the question: Who killed Blair Peach?

'There will be music, sketches, reconstructions and a lot else besides,' says John Ure, a member of the committee organising the evening. 'The aim is not to get over-emotional or indulge in nostalgia, but to explain the meaning of what has happened and is continuing to happen in this country.'

Plans are still being worked out, but Belt and Braces are helping to co-ordinate the evening. Misty, the reggae group from Southall, whose manager Clarence was nearly killed, will also be there.

The distinguished Marxist play-

wright Trevor Griffiths is writing a special sketch on Blair, and Edward Bond has offered to help. Glenda Jackson will also provide her talents for the evening. In addition there will be Paul Foot, Tariq Ali, and Dick North to discuss the SPG, Southall, and racism in education.

The proceeds will be divided between the Blair Peach Memorial Fund and the Southall Defence Fund. The latter, in particular, is extremely short of funds. Tickets are in short supply, so book early.

WHO KILLED BLAIR PEACH?

Demand an independent public enquiry



Who killed Blair Peach? — a political answer

At the Royal Court theatre, Sloane Square, London SW1
Sunday, 15 July, at 7.30pm

All proceeds to Southall Defence and the Blair Peach Memorial Fund. Tickets, £2 — s.a.e. to: Benefit, Phoenix School, Bow Road, London E3.

Socialist Challenge

IMPERIALIST HANDS OFF ZIMBABWE!

By Martin Meteyard

BISHOP Muzorewa, the new black prime minister of Rhodesia, is supposed to be different from his white predecessor, Ian Smith.

After all, Smith used to send the Rhodesian armed forces on regular raids into Mozambique and Zambia. Whereas Muzorewa ... ordered troops in to bomb the Zambian capital of Lusaka just hours before the opening of the new Rhodesian parliament on Tuesday.

Then again, Smith was always popping off to see his South African chums for advice. Whereas Muzorewa ... well, guess where he was the weekend before last? Yes, in Pretoria for discussions with South African premier P.W. Botha and foreign minister Pik Botha. Military cooperation is believed to have been on the agenda.

Muzorewa, in fact, is the happy prisoner of the white Rhodesians. No amount of Tory propaganda can alter that fact, as foreign secretary Lord Carrington found out when the Tories' special envoy, Lord Harlech, reported universal hostility from other African states to any recognition of the Smith/Muzorewa regime.

Buy off

The Tories, in fact, are discovering the bitter taste of life behind the imperialist strategy devised by Owen and Young: the Patriotic Front guerrillas can't be defeated, and the only chance is to try to buy off some of their leaders.

That, if you were wondering, is what lies behind the defection last week of eight MPs from Muzorewa's party, the United African National Council, to form a new group which another five of Muzorewa's MPs are expected to join. Leader of the new group, the Zimbabwe Democratic Party, is former UANC vice-president



ANOTHER round in the imperialist manoeuvres over Zimbabwe: Tory foreign secretary Lord Carrington (right) meets his South African counterpart Pik Botha in London last week.

James Chikerema.

It's here that the plot thickens. Before the split, Chikerema flew to London to seek advice on what he should do. The main person he met was 'Tiny' Rowland, chief executive of the multinational Lonrho group.

Rowland is a figure who just keeps

cropping up whenever the subject of Zimbabwe is mentioned. It's not surprising, really, because Lonrho has major interests there (39 companies in 1974). An internationally recognised settlement would not only free the massive profits which have been tied up under sanctions, but would also aid Lonrho's considerable business in other African states.

Rowland has made a point of building up personal contacts with African politicians in Zimbabwe. One of the most prominent of these is Joshua Nkomo, a leader of ZAPU and the Patriotic Front, for whom Lonrho provided legal advisers during the 1976 Geneva conference. Nkomo, also, has recently made a secret trip to London.

Lonrho's central involvement in the manoeuvres over the future of Zimbabwe underlines that what is at stake is not 'justice' or 'human rights' — it is the straightforward safeguarding of imperialist profits.

That in turn makes our task clearer: to build a solidarity campaign based on mass action which does not let up its efforts until the last imperialist is kicked out of Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean people are left free to determine their own future.

• 'No Tory sell-out in Zimbabwe.' All out on Saturday 30 June — assemble 2.30pm Smithfields Market (Farringdon tube) for march to Trafalgar Square. Organised by Anti-Apartheid.



'Tiny' Rowland of Lonrho.

Cane mutiny

By Redmond O'Neill

THIS Sunday school students from all over Britain will be marching to demand abolition of corporal punishment in schools.

The demonstration is organised by the National Union of School Students. It follows a year of mounting action by school students against the cane, compulsory uniforms and the denial of democratic rights at school.

There is a widely held myth that the cane and belt are on the decline. In fact Britain's schools are amongst the most barbaric in the world when it comes to discipline.

A few figures easily demonstrate this:

1958 Eighty per cent of all 16-year-olds were at secondary schools in England and Wales using corporal punishment.

1977 In Scotland over a third of all boys aged 12 to 15 were beaten once a fortnight on average.

1976 The new Avon Education Authority re-introduced corporal punishment into Bristol infant schools for the first time since 1905.

1976 Newcastle authority introduced a heavier strap.

A Private Member's Bill introduced in the last parliamentary session, which called for a ban on the cane in homes for the mentally and physically handicapped, was defeated.

The reality is that the use of the cane and belt is increasing in British schools. Discipline is an easy answer to the 'problem' of controlling school students who know they'll be on the dole whatever they're taught at school.

The cane and belt are hangovers from Britain's imperial past. The South of Ireland is the only other state in Europe to use them. In most other countries they went out with the thumbscrews and the rack: Austria 1870; France 1887; Holland 1850; Russia 1917. Only one country ever reintroduced them — Germany in 1933.

The NUSS demo is a first step in what must be a major national campaign to end this aspect of British barbarism for good. It deserves the support of all sections of the workers movement, but above all of those whose unions are the staunchest defenders of beatings at school — teachers.

• Assemble Speakers Corner, 11am, Sunday 1 July.

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