

Socialist Challenge

GREENHAM COMMON DEMO AGAINST
CRUISE
Sunday 21 September noon
Victoria Park, Newbury
For details of coaches see centre pages

MARCH AGAINST THE MISSILES!

MISSILE MADNESS is sweeping across the West. Britain is no exception.

It is MADNESS to spend £5,200m on Trident, the replacement for Polaris, when school meals, hospitals and social services are all being cut.

It is MADNESS to station Cruise missiles around the countryside, turning Britain into a prime nuclear target in the event of war.

It is MADNESS to support the war hysteria whipped up by Carter, who simply wants to win world opinion behind new American imperialist adventures like that in Vietnam.

It is MADNESS to suggest that nuclear war might somehow be in the interests of working people in this country. In a nuclear war we would all be losers — only the politicians, generals and capitalists would be safe in their specially built bunkers.

We have no interest in encouraging the arrival of doomsday. Quite the reverse. But the only way to stop it is to call a halt to Thatcher's war drive.

The first step is a massive campaign to stop the arrival of Cruise missiles — planned for 1983 — and to stop the spending on Trident.

But stopping the missiles in the face of Thatcher's war hysteria needs the united strength of the entire labour movement. It definitely *doesn't* need 'leaders' like Shirley Williams, William Rodgers and David Owen who back arms drive.

And that also applies to their supporters in the trade union movement like Duffy and Boyd, leaders of the Engineering Union.

That's why anti-missile campaigners in the North-west have called a demonstration to the Labour Party conference on Sunday 28 September. Backed by Arthur Scargill, Tony Benn, Bob Wright, Labour Action for Peace, national CND and many other individuals and labour movement organisations.

The march can really put pressure on the Labour Party to come out against the missiles, which in turn would be a big step towards a movement that can really stop Cruise.

Labour must support a labour movement campaign against the missiles; it must support trade union action to boycott work on missile sites; and the next Labour government must be committed to cancelling the missiles contracts.

Come to Blackpool. Lobby the NEC. Lobby the AUEW delegation.

LABOUR



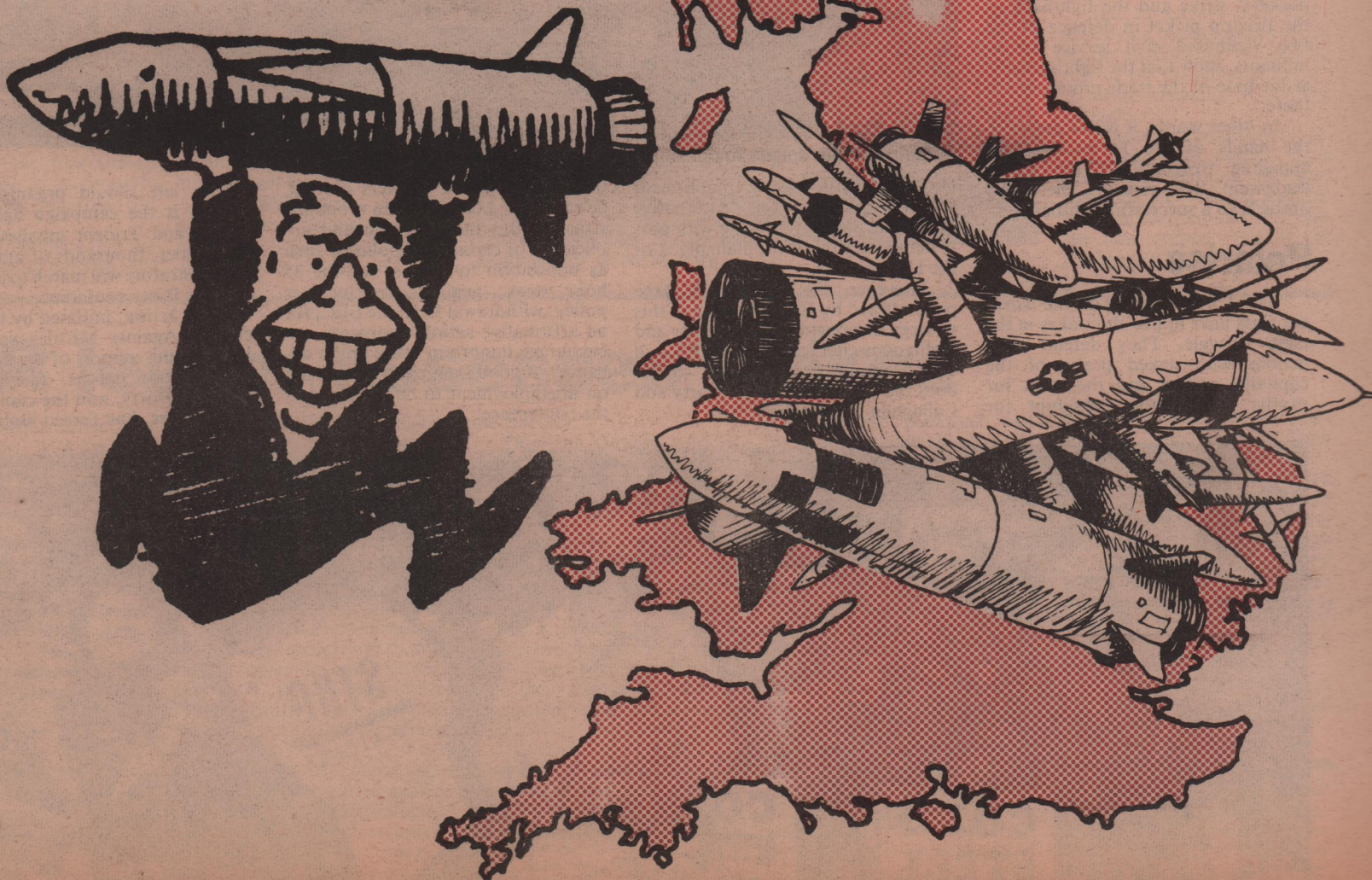
CONFERENCE

**'MARCH AGAINST
MISSILES**

Sunday 28th September

Assemble 10.45 am. War Memorial

(nr. Butlins Hotel) Blackpool



WHAT NEXT?

A guide for militants through the Autumn. By Paul Smith

AT THE TORIES' October conference Thatcher will say that the government will remain firmly on course. For millions of workers that course means huge spending on arms, unemployment, roaring inflation, poorer hospitals and schools and attacks on trade union rights.

Even among the most militant sections of the working class, the question will be raised: Have the Tories succeeded in defeating the strength of the working class?

At the same time, a mushrooming of labour movement conferences and demonstrations, meetings and lobbies follow the TUC and Labour Party conferences, offering the means to discuss and act on the present Tory attacks. The starting point for most of these events is the growing appeal of the policies and personalities of the left wing of the Labour Party for those fighting in the trade unions.

So what are the prospects for joint action between the Labour Party and the trade unions against the Tories?

Unemployment

Unemployment is the main weapon of the Tories against the British working class. With over two million unemployed and many more on short-time working, with no clear lead from the TUC, the trade union movement is on the defensive.

In the car industry, expected wage settlements of 15 per cent over 18 months in Talbot and 10 per cent (20 per cent down on the original claim) in the car components sector of Lucas, show the potential impact of the recession on wages.

The Tory cuts in the public sector, Prior's Employment Act, and the attacks on women's rights are being pushed forward against the background of the recession, which despite the damage to Britain's manufacturing base, is being allowed virtually a full head by the Tories.

But the defensive mood in the workers' movement is by no means the whole story. On the contrary, the steel strike (despite the threat of massive closures following those at Warrington and Consett); the coming dockers' strike and the fightback at the Brixton picket in defence of the two victimised civil service union militants, show that the fighting spirit at the base of the trade unions is still there.

In other words, it is not defeat at the hands of the Tories, but the appalling treachery of the union leadership that remains the main obstacle to a successful fightback.

Polarise

The Tories' attacks on the working class have upped the stakes in the class struggle. They defend their actions with naked praise of the capitalist system and the need for profits. They show contempt for

traditional tinkering with the system. They reject any old-style two party informal agreements about how to deal with the problems of British capitalism.

The Tories stand against systems of import controls, quotas and subsidies and for massive defence spending and unwavering hostility to the Soviet Union. They try to polarise British society.

Consequently, any mass anti-Tory movement is bound to reflect a very deep disillusionment with the capitalist system itself. A successful struggle against this government is a much greater risk for the ruling class than the fall of Heath in 1974.

AES

The fall of Thatcher would not just create a crisis in the Tory Party, not just push to the left all of the organisations of the working class, but create a crisis affecting all the means by which the ruling class dominate. In short, a crisis of bourgeois power.

In the face of the massively mounting Tory attacks, the TUC Congress was strong on rhetoric but very little else.

Even Scargill's impassioned opposition to the Employment Act, masked a weaker position than that adopted by the TUC against Heath's Industrial Relations Act a decade ago. Nothing significant was said about a TUC-coordinated fightback now.

What did emerge was greater concern with the policies of a future Labour government — committed to a pay deal in the terms of Bill Sirs' and Tom Jackson's successful motion. One apparent move to the left was the Transport and General Workers

Faced with a problem in their efforts to ally themselves with a section of the trade union leadership — a leadership for the most part unified around a narrow conservative consensus with all hopes pinned on a future Labour government — the Bennites are having to step up their appeals for support to the trade unions.

Organise

After the battle on democracy and disarmament at this year's Labour Party conference, the whole left will be forced to define themselves more clearly. Already there is a shift in what they say.

Benn has made an appeal to trade unions on the basis of rejecting any incomes policy. Opposition to Cruise and Trident; a growing commitment to unilateral disarmament; import controls and massive public expenditure; total rejection of Prior's law; opposition to the Common Market — these policies are becoming the backbone of the left's platform.

Whatever the result of the Labour Party conference, the lefts will continue to organise nationally in the Labour Party. But in addition the lefts need to *organise* in the unions if they are to start to overcome the opposition of trade union leaders lined up with Callaghan and Healey. Already, around the democracy battle some of the lefts have started to draw that conclusion.

They find a ready audience among those in the unions for whom the policies of the left have an obvious appeal in the fight against the Tories.

In this regard we must mount the most vigorous opposition to policies such as import controls, which feed



At the conference the overwhelming need will be to turn speculation about the policies of a possible future Labour government into a line for action against the Tories now.

The point will be made that pursuing the fightback now will do more than anything else to promote the battle against the right wing inside the Labour Party and boost the challenge of the left.

Cruise

At the moment, the biggest single issue that points the way in which the

to take up the question of nuclear weapons as a part of his AUEW election campaign.

Accrington and North Manchester District Committees of the AUEW are backing the demonstration and already there are moves within the AUEW to set up an 'Engineers Against the Missiles'.

The fullest possible national support for this demonstration will aid the challenge of the lefts in the Labour Party, and drive the issue even deeper in the unions. The lobby of the Labour Party and the 26 October CND demonstration, which will attract tens of thousands opposed to the missiles, are the number one priorities this autumn.

Following the September demonstration, the Labour Co-ordinating Committee conference in Leeds on 1 November has set itself the task of discussing 'a role for a Labour Party rank and file trade union organisation'.

Likewise the proposals to be put to the 'Local Government in Crisis' conference in Lambeth (unfortunately on the same day as the LCC conference) is another example of how policy against the cuts can be developed into a line for trade union action on a broad united basis.

LCC

Equally the opportunity for fighting for action on these policies at the joint Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions/Right to Work Lobby of the Tory Party conference on 10 October must not be missed.

The LCC can call for a united organisation in the unions committed to mass action against the Tories. The conference should appeal to the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and Defend Our Unions to join with the LCC in taking the first steps towards such an organisation through a joint campaign against unemployment and in defence of the trade unions.

So while the initiative is presently with the Tories the general tendency towards confrontation between the classes remains. Inside both the Labour Party and the trade unions a firmer, if as yet small, opposition is emerging. To encourage their unity on the basis of a fight now, is the possibility and necessity this autumn!



Organise in the unions to defeat Labour's right wing

Union-led fight to get a commitment to large parts of the 'Alternative Economic Strategy'. Along with party democracy this is the main plank of the Labour lefts.

However, the support, in large part, offered by Jim Callaghan to this strategy demonstrated the woolly and ambiguous character of the AES — a broad enough umbrella to shelter both the left in the Labour Party and Callaghan and Healey!

off racism, attack workers abroad, and are based on a utopian economic strategy. But the extension and application of certain left policies, such as opposition to Cruise, for the 35 hour week, against any incomes policy, withdrawal from the EEC, for an affirmative action campaign, can encourage important trade union advances. A good example is the policies on unemployment to be discussed at the conference.

labour left should organise in the unions is the campaign against the Cruise and Trident missiles. On 28 September, thousands of anti-missile demonstrators will march to lobby the Labour Party conference.

This action, initiated by the Manchester Against Missiles campaign, has won the support of big battalions in the trade unions. The cold-war stand of Duffy, and the campaign in Manchester, has forced Bob Wright



POLAND



IN REVOLT

Eyewitness — Poland

Bureaucracy sits on a time-bomb

STEVE GRIFFITHS, AUEW convenor at Rover Solihull, and **RICHARD ROZANSKI**, editor of the socialist youth paper, *Revolution*, have just returned from a two-week visit to Poland. Below they report on what is going on and why British socialists must remain vigilant in their solidarity with the Polish workers.

RELIEF. That was the overwhelming feeling when it was announced that the Polish government had reached agreement with the workers in Gdansk and Szczecin.

The bureaucrats were relieved because the agreement gave them a breathing space after the battering they had gone through. The new party secretary, Stanislaw Kania, has already started on the task of trying to shore up the Communist Party apparatus, with visits to Gdansk and Katowice.

The strike leaders were relieved because they had time to take stock and consolidate their gains, establishing a firm base for the new unions.

Finally, almost everybody except the top officials were relieved because the threat of armed intervention by the Soviet Union was lifted — if only temporarily.

Clear

But relief in no way means relaxation. The message is clear. Only by using their collective strength can the workers safeguard their rights.

The trust they put in Gierek after the 1970 strike wave will not be extended to Kania. Strikes were still going on in many areas when we left. In most cases the aim was to ensure that the Gdansk agreement would be applied in their area.

No-one is foolish enough to believe that the government will willingly allow free trade unions to be set up throughout the country. The workers know that they have to impose the terms of the agreement, because the bureaucracy will use every opportunity to undermine it.

At one of Poland's biggest aircraft factories, in the southern city of Mielec, employees were approached individually to sign a statement saying that they were quite happy with the official union. The 18,000 workers immediately struck, forcing the local party boss to back down.

Flooding

Workers are literally flooding into the new unions wherever structures exist. Where they don't, moves are underway to create them.

We visited the free trade union headquarters in Gdansk a week after the signing of the agreement. They have taken over an old hotel in the area of Wrzeszcz, just a short drive from the Lenin shipyard.

As soon as we explained that the purpose of our visit was to take the facts back to the British labour movement we were given a tremendous reception. Solidarity from workers in the West, they explained, was absolutely crucial to their future success.

One of the workers rushed off and brought back a postcard of the Pope. 'I only have two, but you can have one as a souvenir of your visit.' We were put up free of charge in one of the rooms of the hotel!

Deceptive

Eventually we were introduced to one of the most prominent strike leaders, Anna Walentynowicz, who gave us a rundown on the situation.

Next day we were able to speak to Joanna Duda Gwiadza, another strike leader. Here, as in Warsaw, it was obvious how deceptive the apparent lull really is. The strike leaders are simply inundated with inquiries.

Democracy

We asked her what structures they are planning to ensure the greatest possible democracy inside the free



Lech Walesa greeted by supporters.

time officials. Every one of us will hopefully go back and work in their factory.

'The union officials will then be elected by the mass of workers but they should continue to work in the factory. This will ensure that there is no isolation of the leadership from

larger offices in Gdansk, but the whole set-up seems much more stable, with the free trade unions already established in many local plants.

Prestige

This isn't surprising given the immense prestige of the Gdansk Soviet over the past month. The founding committee presidium (MKS) reigns supreme on the Baltic coast.

In Warsaw the militants were still operating out of a tiny flat and were having trouble booking a hall for a local conference of the free trade union. One of the organisers, Jan

Regulski, was arrested while we were there.

The government's aim is to isolate the different regions and thus prevent the free trade union from emerging as a nationally organised force. It also hopes to take advantage of the move by some unions to disaffiliate wholesale from the central state structure.

This is what the dockworkers' and seafarers' unions have decided to do in order to link up with the self-governing independent unions. But other moves in this direction are very suspicious — for instance, an announcement by the Central Council of Unions



Worker democracy is exhausting!

unions. 'This hasn't yet been discussed or decided upon', she told us. 'At the moment people like myself and Lech Walesa have taken a month's unpaid holiday so that we can work full-time for the new union. However once it is properly established this situation will change.'

'My own opinion is that the new unions should have no full-

the workers.' Because Gdansk became the national focus of the struggle, calls steadily stream in from workers in other areas asking how they should go about setting up the new union in their own factories.

The differences between Warsaw and Gdansk are immediately evident. Not merely do they have the use of much



Applause for strike leaders

'ROUND ONE TO THE WORKERS'

Socialist Challenge forums on Poland featuring Steve Griffiths and Richard Rozanski (just returned from Poland) and Oliver MacDonald (editor of *Labour Focus* on Eastern Europe).

Thur 18 Sept
SWINDON. With Richard Rozanski. Phone Chris on 46498 for details.

OXFORD. With Steve Griffiths and Oliver MacDonald. Phone 47628 for details.

Fri 19 Sept
HACKNEY. With Richard Rozanski. Dalston Library, Dalston Lane, E8, 7.30pm.

Weds 24 Sept
MANCHESTER. With Steve Griffiths and Oliver MacDonald. Star and Garter, Fairfield St, Piccadilly, 7.30pm.

Sun 28 Sept
HOUNSLOW. With Oliver MacDonald. Phone 570 4700 for details.

Weds 1 Oct
BIRMINGHAM. With Richard Rozanski and Oliver MacDonald. Phone 643 0669 for details.

Fri 3 Oct
BRISTOL. With Oliver MacDonald. Phone Harriet on 33567 for details.

LIVERPOOL. With Steve Griffiths. Phone Mark on 728 9982 for details.

Tues 7 Oct
BRENT. Phone Tessa on 359 8371 for details.

Weds 8 Oct
HEMEL. With Oliver MacDonald. Phone Mick on 41037 for details.

Weds 15 Oct
COVENTRY. With Steve Griffiths. Phone 461138. for details.

that two professional unions had disaffiliated to set up 'self-managed' ones.

Control

Nevertheless, the general trend is clear: a big move towards the independent unions. As Lech Walesa has put it, this is the second phase of the movement. The third phase, he explained, concerned 'one of the things we want the most: to take control of the land and the factories where we work'.

But to achieve this means destroying bureaucratic rule. It means challenging 'the leading role of the Communist Party'. It means engaging in political struggle.

Forums for political discussion need to be opened up in order to elaborate the best demands for winning the majority of the population behind the new unions. This is the challenge which now opens up.

KOR leader assesses strikes

JAN LYTINSKI, an activist in the *Social Self-Defence Committee (KOR)* and its paper *Robotnik*, acted as an advisor to the Walbrzeg strike committee in Wroclaw. He was interviewed about the significance of the strike wave and the role played by the KOR.

What is your assessment of the strike?

There were several phases to the strike, starting in July. Then the demands were purely economic, and it is very interesting to observe the change to political demands.

In every strike economic demands masked political ones. You can observe two types of demands: firstly, for better wages and secondly, for

better distribution of food. The workers were saying: You give us these things and there will be peace, but since you can't meet these demands there will have to be political changes.

Therefore their demands became overtly political and they began to call for free trade unions. This idea of free trade unions came out of the election of workers' delegations to meet the management and the election of strike committees, which signified a great change in both a political and organisational sense.

The first great change came in Lublin. They voiced explicit demands for the complete overhaul of the trade unions in Lublin. It was the first time that the strike committees refused to dissolve themselves, but wanted to continue organising

the workers.

Then the Gdansk workers went on strike with demands which soon gained widespread support throughout the country.

The strike in Gdansk started in defence of Anna Walentynowicz. This was a new and very important development: it showed that a new workers movement already existed. The workers were saying that they wanted a complete separation from the management.

How did the relationship between KOR/Robotnik and the strikers develop?

KOR and *Robotnik* helped the strikers to articulate their demands. In Gdansk the workers' demands were much more mature right from the

start because *Robotnik* was much more available than for example in Silesia.

Before the strike *Robotnik's* circulation was about 20,000. During the strike it went up to about 50,000 and it still wasn't enough.

The arrests of KOR members were quite significant. We were freed because the Gdansk workers demanded our release.

We had been arrested because the authorities feared we might become too strong. For the first time they realised that we had a crucial impact on the course of the strike.

With our release the whole strategy of the bureaucracy came crashing down. They had hoped to clinch a deal with the workers, and would then have claimed that they could reach

agreement with the workers without interference from troublemakers.

Just holding us for one day after a signed agreement would have been a significant propaganda victory. But though the authorities and 'experts' giving advice to the Gdansk strikers urged them not to press for the release of KOR members, the workers knew what it meant to be arrested.

They understood our role in the strike and so they pushed forward the demand.

**This is part of a longer interview carried out by Labour Focus on Eastern Europe which will be published in full in the next issue of the journal.*

Setting up the new union in Warsaw

By Steve Griffiths and Richard Rozanski

'HOW do we form a free trade union? Should party members be allowed in? Should they be allowed to hold office? Should we start paying dues straight away?'

These were the questions being fired at Jan Regulski by one group of workers after another in a small flat in Warsaw last week.

Regulski comes from FSO Zeran, a huge car plant on the east bank of the Vistula. Together with the strike leaders at the Ursus tractor plant, the Zeran workers decided to form an organising committee for the new trade unions in Masowsze province, which includes the capital.

But although press censorship is supposed to have been relaxed, not one line has appeared in the official press telling workers about this Masowsze committee. Even so, workers' delegations from all over the capital are seeking out the committee.

recognition

The regime is also denying the committee an office, and work is being conducted from one member's flat. During the afternoon we spent there delegations of tram workers, workers from electronics plants, museum workers and others kept arriving to discuss with members of the committee.

Some report that their management is hostile to any moves to found new unions. Others report that their management says they should go ahead, provided they have nothing to do with the Masowsze committee.

In the factories that have participated in the strike movement, the workers' organisation is stronger, the workers are more self-confident and experienced. Workers from other plants are starting from scratch and want to know how to begin.

strike

The delegations raise every sort of problem with the committee. How do they go about setting up a branch? Regulski patiently explains:

'Take this declaration form, get it signed by the workers who want to join, inform the management and the local prefect and elect a workplace committee. Take a copy of the statutes; although they're temporary, they're binding on all members.'

What about the funds controlled by the still existing old unions and used by a very large number of workers to obtain loans? The workers in the old unions are worried that they will be forced to pay all these back immediately if they leave the old unions.

ballots

A committee member explains that new democratic organisations outside the old unions should be elected to administer these funds, which anyway should be outside the control of the old union bureaucrats.

What about the funds for the new unions? The committee explains that there will be a system of dues but the amount is yet to be decided.

What about the election to

the factory councils? We should put forward an independent slate of candidates.

'Our aims are very basic', Regulski explained. 'We want to fight against all forms of corruption, lining of pockets at the expense of the state. As Gierek always said: "The loaf of bread must be fairly divided".'

'The working class must always watch over those with responsibility. We know that nothing will change with fine

declarations; that's why we've resorted to this kind of action.

'We're going to take responsibility for the distribution of the produce of the whole working class. The new unions will be the guarantors of this.'

union

We spoke about what sort of structures the new unions might have. Regulski told us

that the unions were being organised on a regional basis, giving the examples of the Baltic coast, Masowsze, and Silesia.

'There will be a loose centralisation on a national level', he said, 'but not so much that the new unions will stagnate. There will obviously be differences between the trades — car workers, doctors, builders, metal workers — and they will

link up nationally to put forward common demands for the trades as a whole.

'We're exchanging information and trying to solve together common problems such as office accommodation, given that we're operating from a private flat. The exact organisational details have yet to be sorted out; they'll be decided after a period of consultation.'



IN REVOLT



The left and Poland The Socialist Workers Party

By Brian Grogan

'TEACH Yourself Polish' was the memorable headline of *Socialist Worker* (30 August) in welcoming with open arms the struggle of the Polish workers.

They understood that only genuine socialists could advocate that British workers should copy such methods of struggle and mass democratic involvement in the fight against the Tories. As they pointed out: 'The Tories' cheers would be wiped off their faces in a single second if the workers in this country suddenly took heart from the Polish workers and imported just a few of their methods here.'

But the impact of this identification with the Polish struggle has unfortunately been lessened by the peculiar view that *Socialist Worker* takes of the nature of the societies in Eastern Europe.

Unlike the bulk of the human race, the SWP thinks that these societies are identical to the capitalist countries of the West. *Socialist Worker* has therefore argued very strongly that the top bureaucrats in Eastern Europe are 'capitalist, no more different from the managers of ICI than they are from a nineteenth century mill owner'.

The absence of private ownership of the factories, the absence of unemployment, the fixing of prices by a state plan — this is neither here nor there as far as they are concerned.

Such a view completely misunderstands the power of the demands which the striking workers put forward.

How could the demand against the rise in meat prices throw the system into complete crisis if these

states are the same as ours? How could the demand for independent unions strike at the heart of the present regime?

The truth of the matter is that simple economic demands in these societies are immediately political. Democratic demands are revolutionary.

What the workers were doing when they challenged the rise in meat prices was throwing into question the whole plan — the whole way in which the resources of Polish society were to be decided. They were asking for a new plan. And the drawing up of such a plan is a task of government.

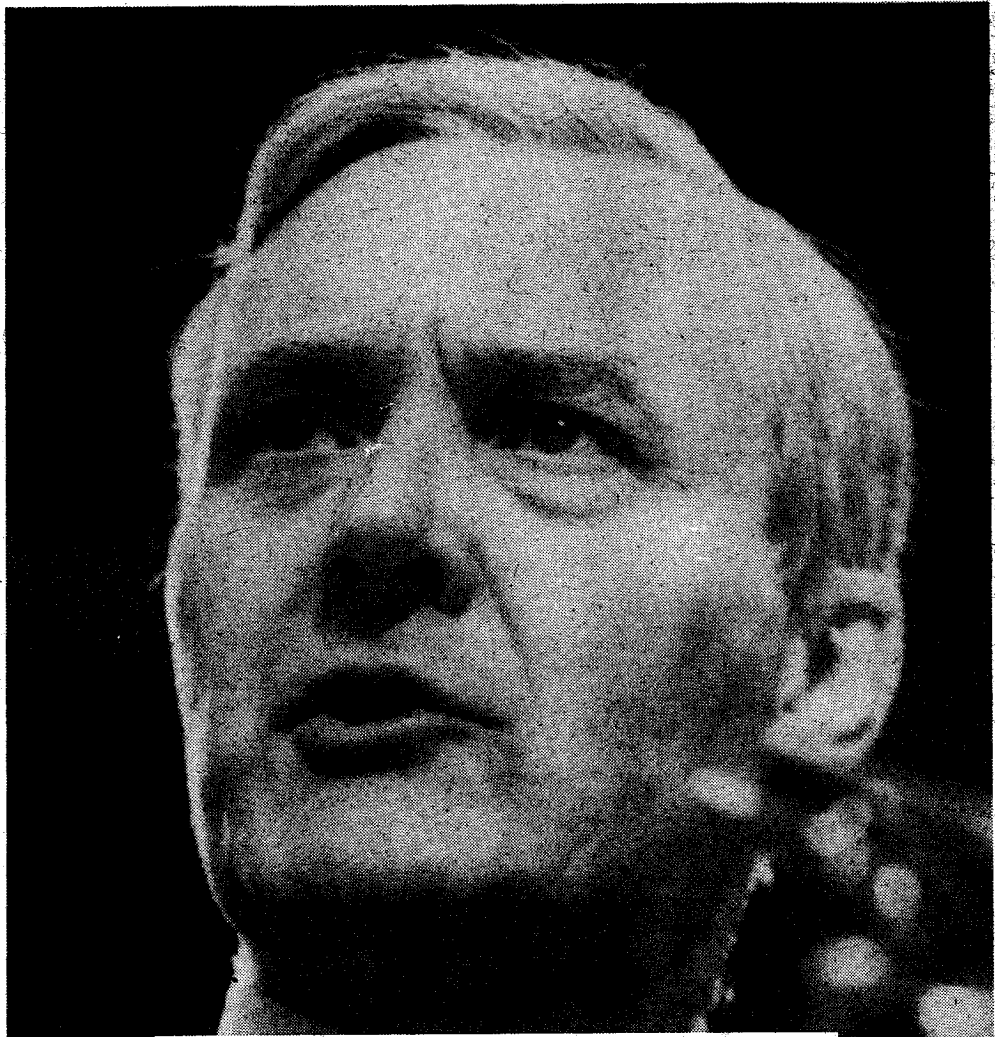
Their action therefore immediately threatened the government. This is what makes these countries so different from the capitalist West.

The revolutionary character of democratic demands derives from the same considerations. The power of the bosses in Britain derives from their private ownership of the factories. The power of the bureaucrats in Poland rests on their monopoly of political power — the one party system, total control of the media, and so on.

This is why the bureaucrats coupled the concession to the Gdansk strikers of the independent union with the demand that the strikers acknowledge the 'leading role of the party' — that is, the political monopoly of the Communist Party.

In reality of course, if the independent union is to remain democratic, the discussion over policy for the union, and therefore for the plan, will inevitably lead to the formation of competing political groups and tendencies. This is why, at the heart of the agreement, there is such a time-bomb.

Socialist Challenge



The NEW STYLE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Next week's Socialist Challenge will be the edition of our new style paper. It will also contain a special supplement for the Labour Party conference, including a long interview with Tony Benn. IMG branches and Socialist Challenge supporters groups should remember that the new style paper will be heavily in demand — rush your orders for extra papers to Yvonne on 359-8189. Socialist Challenge supporters should also remember the special subscription offers we are offering with the new style paper. Next week's Socialist Challenge offers all our supporters a chance to extend their sales — buy it, sell it, read it!

HOME NEWS

Aims of Lambeth conference

And if Labour councils refused to make cuts

THE Tory government is planning another massive round of cuts in local services which will force councils to make thousands of their staff redundant.

The Labour Party and town hall unions in Lambeth, South London, are making a stand against further cuts. They are sponsoring a national conference to be held on 1 November, for local councillors and trade unionists who are prepared to organise action now.

PHYLLIS DUNIPACE, chairperson of the Labour Party local government committee in Lambeth and a delegate to the conference working party, told Socialist Challenge about the aims of the conference and how it is being built.

On the working party we have representatives of all the local authority unions in Lambeth — NALGO, T&GWU, NUPE, GMWU, NUT. There are also delegates from each of the constituency

Labour Parties in the borough and from the trades council.

It is too early to judge national support, but so far about a dozen councils have sponsored the conference, together with Labour Parties. NUPE is involved nationally, and all the other unions at least in London.

Delegation

We are inviting the national executives of the local authority unions and of other major unions to send official delegations.

Most of the left-wing members of the NEC Labour Party have sent their support, and we are asking the NEC to back the conference.

Response

We expect a good response from unions and from Labour Parties nationally because of the cuts which are threatened by the government.

We hope that delegates at the conference will pledge themselves to fight in the unions and the constituency

parties for joint action to force the Tories to reverse their policies and restore funds to local authorities.

We need joint action if councils are not to be isolated and picked off one-by-one.

Labour councils should refuse to make any cuts. The alternative of rate increases, which many councils have adopted, is probably ruled out this year. Rate increases cannot fill the gap between what the government is providing and the money needed to save jobs and services.

Claw back

The government has already cut the local authorities' money three times, and in November it will impose even more cuts. Some councils which Heseltine thinks have overspent may also be liable to a claw back in the rate support grant.

The latter provides most of the money that local authorities receive from central government. In my opinion, rate increases should not be made as they are simply another form of cut, and working people are

already overburdened by high rates and inflation.

Rate increases would not save the direct labour organisations which are already being affected by cuts in the capital spending programme and laying off workers.

Support

We hope that trades unionists will support the stand of the councils by refusing to cooperate with the cuts and new government legislation, such as the sale of council houses. Our main call is for industrial action in January when council budgets are being drawn up for next year.

We think this should involve extended strike action by local authority unions to bring local government to a halt. If these strikes are to be successful they will need the full support of the other unions.

Every trades unionist will be affected by cuts in social services and housing. If there is the type of co-ordinated action we propose, there is a good chance the Tories can be forced to change their policies and that we will save jobs and services.

Isolation kills hospital sit-ins

By Patrick Sikorski

TEN months' occupation of St Benedict's Hospital have shown — if anyone still doubted it — the inhumanity of the Tory cuts and the savagery of the Health Service administrators in carrying them out.

They have also demonstrated that it is the hospital workers who run the NHS as a caring service, as best they can with scandalously inadequate facilities. They don't need managers any more than steelworkers need McGregor.

Fighting

They are the people who are fighting for a decent free health service at the time of need.

If in the end the closure goes through the responsibility will lie with the national trade union leaders, especially Spanswick of COHSE and Fisher of NUPE.

Where was the national action to support and build on the occupation? And where, for that matter, were the calls for mass pickets from the SE Region TUC when it mattered? The occupation at St

Benedict's comes at the end of a series of hospital occupations which have included Hounslow, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, and St George's at Hyde Park Corner.

Struggle

They showed the capacity of every grade of health workers to organise the running of hospitals under workers' control in struggle against government cuts. But none of them managed to break out of the limits imposed by the union leaders to spread the struggle to other unions and sectors in the public services.

They have all been mainly dependent on local community support.

The Lambeth anti-cuts conference on 1 November can break down the isolation of these struggles and bring together the experience of campaigns such as that at St Benedict's; the continuing success of union actions against local government cuts by, for example, Liverpool NALGO; and the fight waged against the cuts by the Lambeth Labour group.

Don't let St Benedict's fight alone

By Steve Potter

THE full force of the law is being aimed at the two hundred staff at St Benedict's Hospital in South London, who have been in occupation against closure.

Injunctions issued last week aimed to stop leading figures in the occupation committee blocking further raids by private ambulances under the direction of the local health authority.

In the first raid on Tuesday of last week, 100 pickets foiled the first bid with only six of the 104 patients removed.

Further clauses in the writs prohibit local union officials from entering the hospital to speak to their members.

Success

One of those named in the writ is Nigel Beckett, regional officer of the Confederation of Health Service Employees, who said at last Friday's mass picket:

'This legal move is unprecedented. It is a measure of the determination of the staff and the success of the occupation that management has been

forced to use such desperate measures as the raids and these writs.'

Staff anger at the hospital was running high after the Tuesday raid. The snatch of the six elderly patients seriously disturbed other long-term patients in this geriatric hospital.

The large number of patients still left make it difficult for the management to mount a blitzkrieg raid of the type carried out by health bosses in Hounslow two years ago.

Comply

Nevertheless management has to comply with the directive of Gerrard Vaughan, the Minister of Health, to go ahead with the closure of St Benedict's.

Ambulance workers have threatened action if the private

ambulance fleet is involved in another smash and grab operation.

These workers should not be left alone in their courageous stand. Other hospitals in London should make pledges of stoppages in the event of renewed raids.

Threat

The threat to the right to picket presented by the injunctions and continuous harassment by police of the pickets outside the hospital should be the subject of a broader campaign by the South-east Region TUC.

As Bert Luthers, Labour councillor for Tooting, said on the mass picket last Friday:

'The real aim of this closure is for the Tories to be able to flog off the hospital to the private sector. It's a sick joke that you get served with an in-



junction for defending the ill and elderly.'

Support St Benedict's Hospital. Rush messages of

support and donations to: Arthur Hautot, St Benedict's Hospital, Church Lane, London SW17. Tel 01-672 2231 (days) 01-228 9154 (eves).



AUEW

Recall National Committee meets

By Jonathan Silberman

IN AN extraordinary move, the right-wing dominated executive of the Engineering Union recalled the union's national committee last Sunday.

The Duffy leadership is determined to take advantage of their majority on the national committee to tie the hands of the delegations from all four sections of the AUEW at the Labour Party conference.

For some years the manner in which the union's votes are cast at the conference has been a highly contentious issue. It came to a head two years ago when Lord (then plain Hughie) Scanlon 'mistakenly' abstained on the vote on Labour Party democracy when the AUEW delegation had overwhelmingly voted in favour.

The question of party democracy continues to dominate national committee discussions. The right-wing leadership wants to line up the

union with the right-wing in the Labour Party.

At the TUC, Terry Duffy was one of the speakers at a meeting organised by the infamous 'Gang of Three' — Rodgers, Williams and Owen.

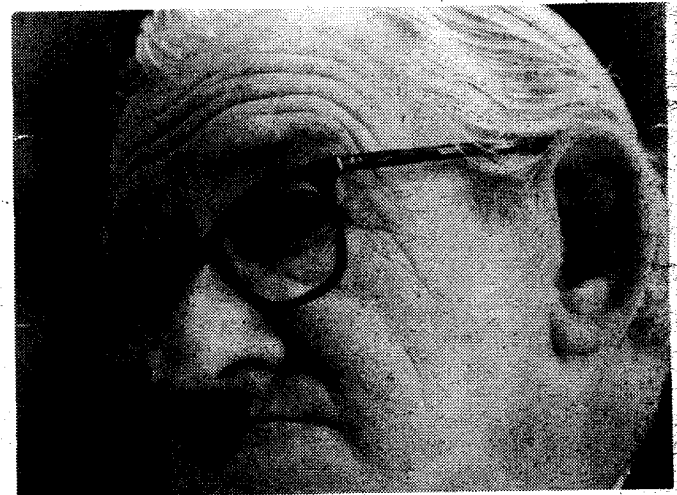
'President Duffy and general secretary John Boyd are planning to cement a right-wing block in the unions and Labour Party, including such clod warriors as electricians' leaders Frank Chapple.

Many of the Duffy-Boyd plans for the AUEW are geared to this objective. At the national committee in May they proposed the amalgamation of branches which would have full-time secretaries, appointed and employed by the executive. Such moves are intended to bring the union closer to the EETPU.

Elected

Nevertheless the strong democratic tradition among engineers led to the national committee deciding that the full-time secretaries should be elected by the branches.

Boyd and Duffy can be defeated. This will be determined by whether a campaign can be developed among the AUEW membership against the rôle of the national committee. This is the best way of ensuring that Boyd and Duffy are defeated on the issue of party democracy and are removed from office in the coming elections.



BOB WRIGHT: opposing missiles

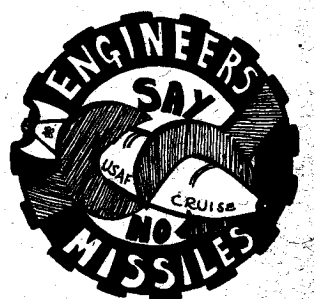
Engineers say No to missiles

SUPPORT is mounting among engineering workers in the North-west for the campaign against Cruise missiles. The North Manchester AUEW district committee has given full backing to the lobby of the Labour Party conference to be held on 28 September.

It has elected six delegates for the lobby, and it is mobilising among the district membership. The committee will be showing the film *The War Game*. Plans for a film-show are also underway among engineers and boiler-makers in Stockport.

Needless to say these AUEW members are angry about the statements by Terry Duffy that the union should give its backing to Britain's NATO commitments, including Cruise.

They are determined to organise an effective lobby of the AUEW delegation at the Labour Party conference to ensure that Duffy doesn't cast the union's block vote in



favour of NATO.

The campaign against missiles has become an important issue in the AUEW presidential elections. The left-wing candidate, Bob Wright, explained his opposition to Cruise at a meeting of engineers in Oldham.

In Bolton the shop stewards quarterly meeting supported a proposal from members of Bolton Against Missiles to back and mobilise for the Labour Party conference demonstration.

Leaflets are now circulating in many of the biggest factories in the Manchester area. Betty Crawford, convenor at Ferranti Measurements, has taken 500 leaflets for her workplace.

In the next fortnight activists will be going all-out for the maximum turnout of engineering workers.



shown adequate leadership in the struggle against unemployment is the sickest of jokes.

Boyd's article is bad enough. Even worse is that, in the best traditions of Boyd's so-called democracy, no alternative view is put in the journal to Boyd's own view of Duffy.

Invited

This is only the latest example of the undemocratic functioning of the campaign. At a large meeting of engineers recently at Manchester's Holdworth Hall, the platform explained that Bob Wright was forced to take two weeks' holiday in order to wage his campaign. He was consistently refused leave to go out of the AUEW'S headquarters at Peckham Road, even when specifically invited.

But perhaps something even more worrying was a point raised

ed at our engineers, meeting in Eccles last week. John Tocher, the local divisional organiser, explained how the count was organised in the presidential campaign. John Boyd and two others were the only people entitled to attend the count — and John Boyd intends to keep it like that.

Not only have the AUEW leadership refused to have the Electoral Reform Society in to the count, but they are also refusing the demands of candidates to attend. 'What is it that Boyd wants to hide?' asked Tocher.

What indeed!

The only response to the bureaucratic manoeuvres of the right-wing leaders is for the left to conduct the most open and democratic campaign, based on the fullest workers democracy. This means mass meetings in the factories where supporters of either side can present their views.



JOHN BOYD: toward a right-wing block

Cheap Tricks

EVERY dirty trick in the book is being used to ensure a victory for Duffy over Wright in the AUEW election campaign. In a completely undemocratic fashion the September issue of the *AUEW Journal* carries an article on unemployment, by editor John Boyd, in praise of the so-called 'marvellous leadership' of the union.

Sick

Of course, Boyd has to engage in gymnastics to justify this position. The idea that Duffy, who last year signed an agreement which prevents a further reduction of the working week for four years, has

What are transitional demands?

By Brian Grogan

CAPITALISM isn't working. But what is the strategy for socialism?

Inside the labour movement reformist misleaders have always tried to erect a divide between the fight for short-term aims — solving workers' problems here and now — and the eventual goal of socialism.

Socialist Challenge argues for *transitional demands*, which link the immediate struggle with the goal of socialism, in order to overcome this divide. What are these demands?

The policies which can defend workers against unemployment and galloping inflation are quite straightforward. The available work should be shared among the workers with no loss of pay.

Wages should rise with the increase in the cost of living. Of course, such policies cut

right across the profit motive. But this is what it takes to defend the workers' interests against those of a tiny handful of profit-makers.

Such policies require a fight; no capitalist class will grant them unless the consequences of refusal are made too terrifying for them. Such a struggle, mobilising the enormous power of the working class, would lead the workers to begin to impose their control over the factories and the bosses, since sharing the work at the same wages would dramatically cut profits.

In such a situation the need for other measures would be raised fairly quickly if economic breakdown is to be avoided.

Control

Opening the capitalists' books to gain control over decisive sectors of the economy; expropriation of the key firms and the banks so that planning could begin; and the self-defence of the workers' organisations against the physical attacks of the bosses' thugs and the police are among the measures that will be necessary.

The question of who rules will then be posed. A genuine

Arguments for Socialism



workers' government which defended this régime of workers' control and extended the encroachment on the power of the bosses would be required.

Transitional demands thus pose definite solutions to the problems which workers face, but they throw into question the whole operation of capitalism and point to a system based on socialist planning.

This approach to workers' everyday struggles is a complete break with that of the reformists, who never link today's struggles with the socialist goal.

Thus the TUC has just adopted a packet of measures to deal with the immediate problems facing workers. These include some splendid proposals along the lines we have already mentioned. Congress called for 'Resisting closures and redundancies... developing

socially useful products, and a large-scale programme of public works' and for: 'Reducing working hours and overtime with an immediate goal of the 35-hour week without loss of pay'.

It coupled these proposals with some reactionary ones, such as the call for import controls. But the worst of it was the proposal on how to win the demands... by kow towing to Thatcher!

In other words the TUC imagines that the type of demands which could begin to meet the problems workers are now encountering are compatible with the interests of the bosses. It acts as if the call for worksharing is the same sort of thing as the call for import controls.

Yet a régime of worksharing with no loss of pay and a crash programme of public works sufficient to mop up the 2½ million unemployed would

wipe out the bosses' profits. To impose capitalist limits on the fight for these demands, would very quickly entail easing into the bosses.

In reality, the only way to bring about such measures is to fight to impose workers control. This means mobilising the working class for action now.

The fight for transitional demands is inseparable from the fight for the united front. The task of socialists is to ensure that the paper positions of the TUC are translated into action and that the bureaucrats put their money where their mouth is.

Shrink

The implications of a serious struggle for these demands will see the bureaucrats shrinking from the consequences and refusing to follow the struggle through to the end.

In the steelworks at the present time, overtime for some sections is still being worked while massive redundancies and short-time working is imposed on others. Yet when steelworkers in Llanwern slapped on an overtime ban, Brian Connolly, a right-wing ISTC official, was down to Llanwern like a short getting the action

Tough deal for the sick

By Alison Cooper

WHEN the government's new Social Security regulations come into effect on 14 September life is going to get decidedly harder for us all — especially for those unfortunate enough to fall sick.

Under the new regulations entitlement to sickness benefit will not begin until the fourth day of sickness, rather than the third day as at present. In addition doctors will not be obliged to issue free national health sickness certificates until after four days of sickness — so if your boss wants a certificate for two days of illness then you'll just have to pay!

If this weren't bad enough, the Tories' Green Paper, 'Income during initial sickness', would make things even worse. This paper proposes that employers, rather than the state, should be responsible for payments in the first eight weeks of sickness. The rationale presented for this is that it will make the taxing of benefits easier and cut costs.

The costs will be cut because the paper proposes a flat rate sickness payment of £30 per week, regardless of family size. And just to punish the low paid, those already on £30, or less, will only get 75 per cent of their usual wage.

Finally, just to rub salt in the wound, while the employer is paying the sick worker their National Insurance contributions will be cut, but the workers contribution rate will remain the same.

Responses to the Green Paper can be submitted up to 30 September. Already many unions and pressure groups have condemned and rejected the Green Paper. Make sure that yours does too.

Squat against cuts

By Piers Corbyn

LAST Wednesday London squatters hit the television news when they disrupted a property auction at the Cumberland Hotel in London to advise dealers not to buy any of a group of properties which the London Squatters' Union had earmarked for squatting.

Kladasi Anandji and I appeared on Thames at Six for the London Squatters' Union.

The houses are part of a 'forced sale' by the Family Housing Association which at the behest of the housing corporation, is asset-stripping itself!

The 'squat against the cuts' campaign began on Sunday, 7 September, when squatters took over one of the properties, 62 Claverton Street in Chelsea. After an illegal eviction and two arrests on Monday they reoccupied

Labour Coordinating Committee conference A chance to fight back

By Sylvia Bliss

THE Labour Coordinating Committee conference on 1 November will present rank and file Labour Party members and trade unionists with a big opportunity to organise the fightback against the Tory offensive.

Since being elected, Thatcher and friends have shown their determination to roll back every gain won

by the working class since the war. As the first step they are out to undermine the power of the organised labour movement.

The main elements of the Tories' strategy are clear: mass unemployment to undermine our ability to struggle, a media campaign to divide and distort, and legislation to limit and shackle the power of the unions. Stopping this offensive requires

a united fightback from the entire labour movement, from both the unions and from the Labour Party. The LCC conference on 1 November aims to begin the discussion on how to fight the Tories, and how to achieve the election of a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

All this demands democratic accountability in our own movement, to ensure that the struggle against the Tories is not led off track, and to guarantee that the next Labour government does not end up like all the others before it — demanding sacrifices from working people rather than changing things in their interests.

The conference is sponsored by the Labour Coordinating Committee, the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory, the Independent Labour Party and Clause IV.

Socialist Challenge supporters should start now to make sure that their trade unions branches or Labour Parties are sending delegates to the conference — or get there yourself.

Details from: LCC, 9 Poland St, London W1.



Audrey Wise MP



Bernard Connolly

Police defend Nazis in Preston

By Paul Corry

SOME 400 National Front demonstrators marched through Preston on Sunday protected by three columns of police on foot, horseback, and motorcycles.

At least five coachloads of police were drafted in from all over Lancashire to protect the Front. Martin Webster duly praised them for their co-operation, and called on the demonstration to give the cops a vote of thanks.

The help given to the Front included re-routing the march out of Preston town centre and through one of the densest immigrant areas.

An Anti Nazi League rally and march in the morn-

ing attracted some 300 supporters, but at that stage few local immigrants.

Members of Revolution Youth, the Socialist Workers Party, and the International Marxist Group led the way in confronting the fascists, by linking arms across the road. It was then that the local West Indian and Asian youth completed the barriers.

Although these barriers were attacked and broken by the police, we continually reformed along the route of the march.

Arrests began early in the afternoon when ANL members were attacked by Front supporters. Three arrests were made, all of them were Asians.

On the counter-demonstration itself there were another 20 arrests, including young West Indian and Asians, along with members of Preston IMG and Revolution Youth.

A defence committee has been formed to demand that all charges are dropped. Donations and messages of support to: Preston Defence Campaign, c/o 32 Nines St, Preston.

the house, and have now taken over other properties in different parts of London. The squatting will proceed whether the houses have been sold or not.

Ivan Beavis, secretary of NALGO's housing association branch, said: 'We support these squats as they are helping to prevent the sale of properties to private speculators.'

The campaign would welcome resolutions from labour movement organisations supporting the campaign and demanding that Family Housing Association drop the charges, stop the sales, and allow the squatters to stay. Messages of support to: 62 Claverton St, London SW1; enquiries: 01-701 5691.

Shipyard strikers arrested

By Marion Weir

FORTY-eight pickets were arrested outside Ayrshire Marine Constructors, Hunterston Yard, Ayrshire on Wednesday, 10 September. Workers at the yard are out on strike, fighting for safe working conditions and recognition of shop stewards and safety representatives.

The strike began on 28 August after workers were asked to work under a

suspended ring weighing 120 tons which the union said was unsafe. When workers refused to work in these conditions, management declared that they were in dispute and stopped time. After trade union representatives had met management, they held a site meeting which voted to bring 900 workers out on strike in support of the 110 involved.

Workers organised pickets of the yard gates to stop supplies and to stop the supervisors scabbing. On the first day of picketing, Wednesday 10 September, management complained to the police that pickets had stopped the supervisors.

The police responded

by arresting 48 pickets, all charged with a breach of the peace.

Since the dispute began local GMWU and Boiler-makers officials have not been near the shop stewards committee. The attitude of the general council of the Scottish TUC has been even worse. A strikers delegation to the general council told workers to go back to work.

The strikers need money badly. Please send contributions to Irvine Trade Union Club, Irvine, Ayrshire.

Tandy's strike for union recognition

By Mick Archer

PICKETTING at Tandy's hi-fi equipment warehouse in Wednesbury, near Wolverhampton, came under attack last Monday when police arrested 5 of the 50 pickets. A little later all but 10 of the pickets were ordered to disperse or face arrest for obstruction.

The Tandy dispute began on 21 May when the company refused to recognise the Transport Union and negotiate the

pending wages review. When union officials reported this to the workforce, 54 people, mainly manual workers, immediately struck. In the subsequent 17 weeks management has done everything possible to break the strike.

On 14 August, the workers received notices sacking them. Their jobs were advertised and new workers recruited, while those on strike were

reemployed on condition that they gave up union membership. The new workers were taken on at substantially higher rates than those sacked.

Janet Marsh, a member of the strike committee, is one of those still on strike. While about 15 of the strikers have gone back to work, and others have given up the fight, 25 remain on strike. As Janet Marsh says: 'There's no way we're going to get rid

of our union cards.'

If the Tandy's dispute is to be successful they need much broader support. Support for pickets is needed at the daily picket at the warehouse, Bilston Road, just outside Wednesbury. Boycotts of Tandy's stores should be organised in every town.

Financial contributions should be sent to: J Jones, District Officer, TGWU, Transport House, 33 Berry St, Wolverhampton, West Midlands.

Dewsbury anti-racists hit back

By Erica Barnett

A PIG'S head placed in a mosque in Dewsbury sparked off a near riot as Asian Youth, immediately and spontaneously, marched to the police station chanting 'We demand justice'.

Reassured by the police that it was merely a 'youthful prank' and not a racist attack, and ignoring a number of other incidents in the Dewsbury area, the elders of the community refused to participate in a demonstration called for the following Saturday by the Asian youth movement.

The demonstration was well-attended with banners from anti-racist committees in Huddersfield, Leeds, and Dewsbury, from Labour Parties and from branches of the SWP and IMG. The

march went to the mosque and then to a meeting in the town hall. A speaker from the Asian Youth Movement stressed that they would continue to fight all racist attacks.

Other speakers pointed to the need to fight the Immigration Laws, the need for Asian self-defence and the need to involve Asian women in the campaign. One speaker called for greater police protection but others argued that this would be no defence.



Fly the flag — at gunpoint

By Geoffrey Sheridan

TWO men were escorted to Heathrow last week and forcibly put on a plane to Teheran. Their deportation brought howls of delight from much of the mass media.

Yet the two Iranians had not, for example, been buying arms to mow down and torture hundreds of thousands of Iranian people.

That was the privilege of the late Shah of Iran, whose visits to Britain were accompanied by ceremonies at Buckingham Palace and the neighbouring Palace of Westminster.

Neither had the two deportees been spying on Iranians in Britain, which was the role of Savak, the former Iranian police-terrorist squad, who received the hospitality and assistance of the British Home Office.

The two Iranians were among the 72 arrested outside the American Embassy in London for the

crime of protesting at the country's support for the tyrant Shah and its continuing attempts to bludgeon the Iranian people into accepting the rule of imperialism.

The demonstrators also had the audacity to protest at being assaulted by the Metropolitan Police. They ought, of course, to know that it is 'unBritish' to object to being beaten up by the cops on picket lines.

For these assorted threats to civilisation as we know it, 44 of those arrested face deportation.

For the government, the magistrates, and the popular press such as the Daily Mail (front page headline: 'Exit a trouble maker'), the deportations are an opportunity to wave the shrivelled fist of British imperialism at the people who dared to overthrow the West's puppet.

Socialists should oppose the deportations, and condemn the racism and chauvinism which accompany them.

STAR It's the old heave-ho as Britain GOOD turfs out first of Ayatollah's mob RIDDANCE! 83mpg METRO MISER THE 1981 SUPER STUNNING STAR BIRD CALENDAR - SEE PAGE 7

Daily Star's racist front page denounces Iranian students. One of the authors is former deputy editor of Labour Weekly.

DON'T DIE FOR THAT

SINCE the USA destroyed the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atom bombs in 1945 it has set the pace in the nuclear arms race. Its clear object has been to maintain a decisive military and nuclear superiority over the USSR.

By 1945 Japan had lost control of the Pacific Ocean and was already a defeated power. There was no military reason for the use of the A-bomb by the USA. In fact 250,000 people died when the cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima were destroyed simply to show the world that the United States' rulers not only possessed the most terrifying weapon in human history, but that they were also prepared to use it. That demonstration was directed in particular at the USSR. Since then almost every major step in accelerating the arms race has been taken by the USA.

At no time has this been more true than today. The USA has almost twice as many nuclear warheads stockpiled as the USSR, and the combined missile systems of the USA, Britain and France easily outnumber those of the Soviet Union. The aim of the US in developing a new generation of nuclear weapons is not to 'deter' the growing Soviet military threat. The US deterrent force is already more than sufficient, as President Carter explained in a recent speech:

'Our deterrent is overwhelming, just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines — comprising less than two per cent of our total nuclear force — carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-size city in the Soviet Union.'

The American government plans to spend 100 billion dollars building the new MX missile system precisely in order to break out of the logic of deterrence (you destroy us — we'll destroy you). The aim is to achieve a 'first strike capacity' — the ability to destroy the Soviet missiles before they leave the ground. 460 new Cruise missiles are to be sited in Europe. They are not covered by the arms limitation treaties because they do not have the range to hit the USSR from the USA. However, whereas the Soviet equivalent, the SS20, cannot reach the USA from its bases in Southern Russia, Cruise will be able to destroy much of Russia from its European base.

The American objective in developing the Cruise and MX systems was summed up by the head of the National Security Agency of the US, Brzezinski:

'I am saying that the United States, in order to maintain effective deterrence, has to have choices that give us a wider range of options than either a spasmodic nuclear exchange or limited conventional warfare.'

In other words deterrence no longer means preventing nuclear war, but rather winning a 'limited nuclear war', quite possibly in the European 'theatre'.

Behind the Arms Race: A War Drive

SINCE it cannot be seriously maintained that the USA is in danger of lagging behind the USSR in nuclear weaponry, perhaps there is more truth in the claim that 'soviet expansionism' threatens 'Western interests'.

When American defence strategists speak of expansionism they generally refer to the threat to Middle East oil, to America's 'vital interests' in Central America, or to 'the advance of communism in South East Asia'.

Undoubtedly the Vietnamese revolution has

shaken American control of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly the fall of the Shah, who was armed to the teeth by America and Britain, has introduced increasing 'instability' in the oil-rich Middle East.

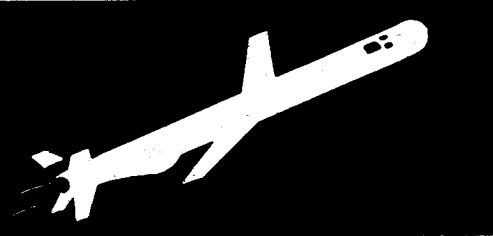
No objective observer can deny that South Africa — that bulwark of anti-communism and 'the West' — is today increasingly threatened by the struggle of black people from Zimbabwe to Namibia against their racist oppressors. And it is certainly true that on America's very doorstep, in Central America, every right-wing military dictatorship fears that their own workers and peasants will draw encouragement from the Nicaraguan revolution and Cuba's aid to it.

If these revolutions were the result of the activity of 'Russian spies' or even Soviet diplomacy, then we would have to admit that the Soviet rulers do indeed have powers of thought control far exceeding America's military might. But for our part we see both these revolutions, and the hostility of the American and British ruling classes towards them, as explicable in much more mundane terms — in a word 'money'!



In the world today 65 per cent of the population live in underdeveloped countries, yet these countries account for no more than two per cent of the world's industrial production. 450 million people in the underdeveloped world suffer from malnutrition. 900 million people were illiterate in 1979. Per capita income in the advanced capitalist countries, like the USA and Britain, is, on average, fourteen times that in the underdeveloped world.

These facts are a thousand times more convincing as explanations of the wave of revolu-



tions in the Third World since 1945 than any 'Soviet conspiracy'. They also indicate the reasons for America's alarm. This massive inequality in the world's wealth and resources is the product of economic domination and exploitation of the Third World — as a source of cheap labour and raw materials — by the ruling classes of a small number of imperialist countries.

In order to maintain this economic domination the imperialist countries must organise a system of military domination. The First and Second World Wars were fought out between the great capitalist powers to determine control of the 'colonies', and so control of the fate of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

The USA emerged from the Second World War as the most powerful imperialist power on earth. But the war at the same time weakened imperialism as a whole and unleashed a wave of revolutions in the colonial countries. These revolutions were not fomented by Stalin and the Soviet rulers. In fact the opposite is true.

On the basis of the nationalistic theory of 'socialism in one country', Stalin entered into agreements with the imperialists of France, Britain and the USA — at Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran — to divide the world into 'spheres of influence'. In exchange for guarantees that the imperialists would not launch a new war to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Stalin agreed to oppose revolutionary developments elsewhere in the world.

However, despite Stalin's instructions, in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party led an almighty revolution which overturned capitalism in the world's most populous nation. The same happened in Yugoslavia and later in North Vietnam and Korea.

The lesson of the 1917 revolution in Russia — that only by freeing themselves from



capitalism and from imperialist domination can the peoples of the colonial world free themselves from poverty — was more powerful than Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. It is this example of the Russian revolution, of the elimination of hunger in China, of the elimination of illiteracy in Cuba, that the American ruling classes fear, not 'Soviet aggression'.

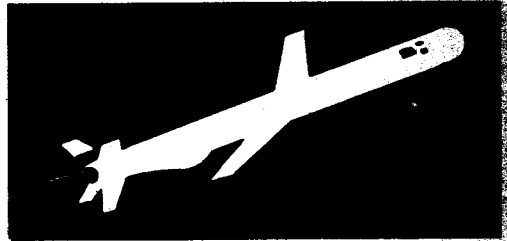
That is why between 1949 and 1970 the USA intervened on average into one Third World country every 14 months. That is why, in order to maintain its economic dominance of the world, the USA has 450,000 troops stationed in 50 countries. That is why the USA and Britain have financed and armed some of the

The new campaigns and the threat of nuclear war have different interpretations. Both superpowers equally. The United States preparing for a nuclear war. Should we be neutral? The United States and the Soviet Union reproduce an excerpt from a pamphlet, 'Don't Die for That'.

most brutal dictators in history from the Shah of Iran to Somoza in Nicaragua.

It is only in this light that the renewed American war drive can be understood. After the USA had lost the war in Vietnam — despite dropping more bombs there than were used in the whole of the Second World War — the American working class and youth called a halt to it. They made it clear that their taxes and their lives were no longer available for adventures to defend the profits of oil companies and banks. As a result the Pentagon had to watch impotently while the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, Angola and the Caribbean unfolded. They had to watch impotently when the USSR sent troops into Afghanistan to prevent a right-wing imperialist backed regime from coming to power on its borders.

The new war drive and rearmament is about all about launching a counter-offensive against



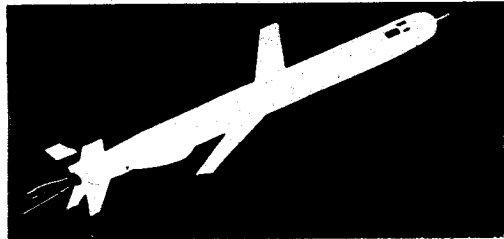
these developments. That is why 25 billion dollars is to be spent on developing the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). The RDF is a force of 200,000 American soldiers specially trained and equipped for mobility and available for immediate use anywhere in the world — and especially in the Middle East and Central America. Its commander, General Paul Kelley, recently explained quite openly that the RDF is not designed simply to counter 'Soviet aggression':

Campaign Events

**Labour Conference March
Blackpool demo assemblies
at 10:45am at the War
Memorial**

near Butlin's Hotel rallying at 1pm at the South Pier. It will then lobby the AUEW delegation at 1.45pm at the AUEW headquarters in Station Road. Then the march goes on to lobby the Labour Party NEC at 2pm at the Grand Hotel.

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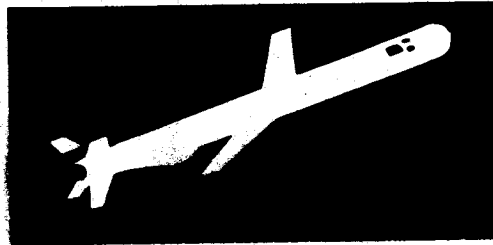


...st nuclear weapons war have produced of the arms race. Are y to blame? Is the or a new world war? a clash between the viet Union? Here we from the new IMG 'Thatcher' by REDMOND O'NEILL.

'The force could be ordered to launch a pre-emptive strike to seize threatened ground before the Russians got there.'

What does this mean? It means that if a revolution overthrows an important US ally, on the assumption that this is an aspect of Soviet aggression, US troops will rush in to defend 'democracy and freedom' with napalm and

To claim that 'guilt lies squarely upon both parties,' as does the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign (END) and other neutralist or pacifist groups, can only help the rulers of the United States and Britain. They seize every opportunity to employ the genuine disgust at the Soviet bureaucracy's suppression of democracy for their own ends — to gain support for new wars against colonial peoples and to add further twists to the spiral of nuclear rearmament.



Salvador it is a US-backed dictatorship, financed by American corporations, that is gunning down 30 people a day with American rifles and helicopter gunships. America fears losing yet another area of the world from the grip of its economic domination.

Nor can the European theatre be lifted out of this world political and economic context. As the new world crisis bites deeper into the economies of the West the imperialist powers become ever more unremittingly hostile to that third of the world that has already escaped from their economic and political control. It is this permanent hostility that drives a rift through Europe — the arms race is generated by the imperialist powers as a result of this. Europe cannot be turned into an island of peace in a world of wars and revolutions, and the Western governments know it! That's why there will be 460 Cruise missiles aimed at the USSR.

Wishful thinking about a 'neutral Europe' will not be effective in countering this real escalation in the 'arms race'. Such an approach falls into the lap of Thatcher and Schmidt because their argument is precisely that they need Cruise in order to persuade the Soviets to disarm. By accepting the logic of 'mutual disarmament' — multi-lateralism — END is unable to counter Thatcher's argument that to achieve this a strong negotiating position is necessary for the West — a negotiating position backed up with Cruise missiles!

For EP Thompson it is 'unrealistic and could be divisive' to 'ground our actions on a preference for one or the other blocs'. Because: 'So long as each bloc's resistance movement can be categorised as the ally of the other, exterminism will be able to police its own territory...'

In other words, any stand other than pacifist neutralism — arguing for Europe to drop out of the class struggles and antagonism between different social systems — will be labelled in the West as 'pro-communist' and in the East as 'pro-capitalist'.

This is undoubtedly true. The Tory government, for example, will certainly label any serious movement against its war preparations as 'communist or Trotskyist inspired', just as they label any movement against their war in Ireland as 'terrorist'. In the United States the first debate in the movement against the war in Vietnam was whether to adopt the demand 'Troops out now'. Those pacifists who were against the slogan argued that the administration would call the movement 'unpatriotic', 'stabbing our boys in the back', 'communist', if the position for immediate withdrawal was adopted.

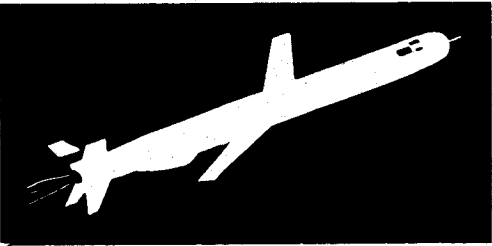
The American anti-war movement had to take sides. The same applies today. To be effective the movement to stop Trident and Cruise

missiles must demand unconditional, that is unilateral, nuclear disarmament. This is all the more vital given the nature of the campaign which is used to justify rearmament. Thatcher and Carter are out to convince workers in the West that the economic crisis is not a crisis of capitalism but the product of Soviet 'expansionism' — in the form of revolutions — which threatens 'our most vital interests': oil in the Middle East, raw materials and investments elsewhere, and 'democracy and freedom' worldwide.

So their recipe for prosperity is economic sacrifices by the workers at home combined with a show of military force overseas.

In the West today trade unionists cannot even take strike action without being labelled 'reds'. The frenzy of witch-hunting that will greet any serious anti-war movement will be a thousand times more venomous. But, as in any strike, the answer to the red scare is to prove the justice of our actions, not to bend over backwards to accommodate the Fleet Street press..

If the ruling class succeeds in dividing and defeating the Western working class and in crushing the colonial revolution, then the threat of a Third World War would become a real one as they moved on to try to restore capitalism in the rest of the world. The interests of British workers in this situation are not served by neutralism or non-alignment, but rather by militant opposition to austerity at home and solidarity with every struggle against imperialism overseas. The history of our own century should tell us that as long as imperialism exists it will use all means, including war, to defend its profits and bank balances. The war threat will exist until the warmongers are disarmed by their own working class — MX, Cruise and Trident are ineffective in a civil war.



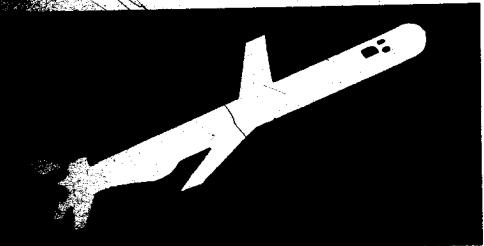
Just as workers will support even a hopelessly bureaucratized trade union against the bosses, because it nonetheless remains a union, so too the USSR remains a workers' state despite its bureaucratic leaders. If it was crushed by imperialism, the working class of the entire world would suffer its gravest defeat this century. The war drive is an imperialist war drive. Understanding that fact is key to countering it.

How to Stop the War Drive

'WE propose to make in Europe a theatre of peace. This will not, even if we succeed, remove the danger of confrontation in non-European theatres. It offers at least the small hope of European survival.'

That is how EP Thompson summed up the approach of the European Nuclear Disarmament campaign. Its strategy is based on the assumption that 'power blocs', East and West, have been taken over by the logic of the nuclear arms race. The aim is a neutralist Europe as the first step to dissolving the 'power blocs' altogether.

But as Thompson himself points out: 'This will not remove the danger of confrontation in non-European theatres.' In fact, such confrontations are taking place every day, although not at nuclear level. For example, as we write, in El



...ets, as they did in Vietnam. Nuclear rearmament fits into this network. If decisive nuclear superiority over the USSR can be attained, especially a 'first strike capacity' and the possibility of 'limited nuclear war', then the American ruling class can effectively deter the USSR from aiding or supporting such revolutions.

In the great revolutionary struggles of China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Cuba, and in the fight against racism in southern Africa, huge inspiration has been taken from the ideas of the October 1917 Russian revolution and the existence of a workers' state outside of the control of imperialism. Simply the fact that the USSR today is ruled by a conservative, geriatric, bureaucracy which, to maintain its power, crushes socialist democracy in Eastern Europe and intervenes in the most bureaucratic way possible against the landlord rebellion in Afghanistan, does not make the USSR the same as the USA. It does not make it 'equally responsible' for the threat of war and nuclear annihilation.

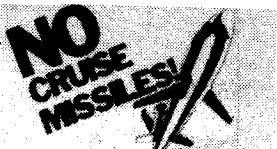
Common
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...noon on Sunday 21
...leave from Ox-
...from teh Martyrs
...from London will
...End, St Pancras and
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...at: 01-242 0362 (days)
...Lambeth TC coach
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CND National Demo

CND's national demonstration takes place on Sunday 26 October. The demo starts 11am at Speakers Corner and marches to a rally at 2:30pm at Trafalgar Square. The demonstration is demanding No Trident, No Cruise Missiles, Cut Arms spending. Publicity material from CND, 29 Great James St, London WC1. Telephone 01-242 0362.

Scotland

Marchers against the missiles in Scotland will be participating in their own demonstration in October. The demonstration will be held in Glasgow on Saturday 25 October.



'Don't Die for Thatcher — How to Stop the Missiles'

New Socialist Challenge pamphlet by Redmond O'Neil price 20p from 'The Other Bookshop' 328 Upper St. London N1 add 10p p&p

STOP THE MISSILES

Coming next week NEW STYLE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

Next week *Socialist Challenge* is changing. It will have a different format and some new features.

PHIL HEARSE is a member of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, which sponsors the paper. He has helped to draw up the plans for the new paper, and we therefore asked him to explain what is going on.

What's the basic idea behind the change?

The Tory government and its attacks on working people mean that there is a new radicalisation developing. The paper has to become much more accessible to worker militants and first time readers.

Let me put it simply. Recently a member of our editorial board went to an IMG branch to discuss the paper. A miner comrade said: 'OK, I take *Socialist Challenge* to sell in my pit. Some people like it, but some people bring it back and say they can't understand it.'

That's the situation we've got to change. We need a paper which comrades are much more confident of taking into the labour movement.

How do you intend to achieve this?

We're approaching it in two ways. First, we're going to try to have more shorter articles, agitational articles which present the facts.

Facts are very revolutionary. Too often we have unsubstantiated assertion.

Second, we want more basic propaganda, to explain the fundamental ideas of Trotskyism. You can't win people to revolutionary politics unless they understand the ideas behind what you say and do.

Doesn't this mean that the paper will be less political?

No. It's a question of explaining our political ideas in a simpler and more direct manner. But *Socialist Challenge* will be just as revolutionary, just as internationalist.

Is it really possible to produce a paper in which everything will be understood by the first time reader?

No. Our paper has to serve a variety of needs.

For one thing, it's one of the most important means of communication with members of the IMG

To celebrate the launching of the new look *Socialist Challenge*, why not join us all at the mammoth **SOCIALIST CHALLENGE SOCIAL**

Featuring:

*Secondhand book and record sale

*Disco dance

*Great food on sale

*Bar

*Film 'With Babies and Banners' (55 mins) — the story of the sit-in at General Motors in the 1930s as told by women who were involved in the 'Women's Emergency Brigades' and children's picket lines which played a decisive role in winning the strike. Contains much film taken at the time.

*Exhibition 'Red Mole to Socialist Challenge'!

*Sale of souvenir copies of *Red Mole*, *Red Weekly*, *Socialist Challenge*.

SATURDAY 20 SEPTEMBER, 6.30-11.15pm.

CAXTON HOUSE, 129 St John's Way, London N19
Nearest tube: Archway (Northern line). Tickets £1 in advance, £1.25 on the door (in advance from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, N1).

DON'T MISS IT!

there's going to be a sustained change depends on what the IMG does in the next period. Ultimately, a revolutionary newspaper will reflect the organisation which takes responsibility for producing it.

If you have an organisation which is chronically sectarian, then no amount of brilliant journalism will save the paper.

But if the organisation continues to focus its activity around the key features of the class struggle, rooting itself more deeply in the workers movement, then the preconditions are created for a more vital workers' paper.

Changing *Socialist Challenge* is going to be a long term process.

What do you mean by the 'key features of the class struggle' that *Socialist Challenge* will cover?

The 64,000 dollar question! In terms of the broad sweep of the British class struggle, what's most obvious today is the way in which the struggle in the unions is increasingly bound up with what is going on in the Labour Party.

A good example — something the paper has been campaigning on in a big way — is the fight over Cruise missiles in the Labour Party. Whom do the 'gang of three' — Williams, Rodgers and Owen — approach for an alliance but union leaders Terry Duffy and Frank Chapple! The fight inside the party immediately links up with the fight against Duffy in the Engineering Union.

Socialist Challenge is going to have to focus a lot of attention on the emergence of the new left wing in the Labour Party. **What should *Socialist Challenge* supporters be doing to promote the new paper?**

More than ever, the revolutionary press has to be at the centre of building a revolutionary party. New opportunities are opening up all the time to expand our influence.

So we hope that all comrades, whether they are members of the IMG or just supporters of the paper, will feel a new confidence about taking it to contacts in the labour movement.

We particularly want to run a campaign for new subscriptions, to firm up our base of regular sales.

There's also one other thing. We want IMG branches and other supporters to be discussing where they sell *Socialist Challenge*.

If there are new opportunities for selling the paper in the labour movement, then comrades have to be thinking about more factory gate sales, regular sales at trade union branches — even where we have no supporters — and so on.

That item should be on the agenda of all our supporters in the coming weeks.

and those who support it 10 per cent of it, then obviously they're not going to be very attracted towards finding out more of about we stand for.

It's the balance that has to be changed. Which audience you prioritise determines the whole way you put the paper together.

But on the other hand, if a worker militant who is new to the ideas of socialism buys the paper and can only understand

Socialist Challenge was launched as an 'open' paper, fighting for revolutionary unity. Do you think that idea of the paper was wrong?

Absolutely not. One of the great strengths of *Socialist Challenge* was that it broke with the narrow sectarianism which often characterises British Trotskyism. And we're going to continue this fight, because it's absolutely in the interests of the working class to have a united revolutionary organisation.

But you have to be realistic. *Socialist Challenge* can't be the paper of a unity that doesn't exist.

Most other revolutionary forces, in particular the Socialist Workers Party, have slammed the door on unity with the IMG. That's very bad — bad for them, bad for us.

Take this 'Beyond the Fragments' development. These people are drifting, going nowhere. They have no organisation, no programme, no perspectives, nothing.

If there were serious moves towards revolutionary unity, the best of these people would be won over. But there is no revolutionary unity.

Socialist Challenge is sponsored by the IMG and we're going to defend our line in it.

Let me also say that we want *Socialist Challenge* to be open in a much more fundamental way — open to the rank and file leaders of struggle, to speak out and express their views on the way ahead. This is something we tried to do with the steel strike.

So there's going to be a dramatic change?

Yes and no. We're going to change the way the paper looks, and a lot of its features. But whether

Socialist Challenge
BENEFIT
with
RED RINSE
OXY
&
THE MORONS
and disco

Food available,
bar extension applied for
SATURDAY 27 SEPTEMBER

METROPOLITAN pub,
Farringdon Road,
EC1 (Farringdon tube)
Admission £1.50 (£1 unwaged)

SUBSCRIBE TO SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

For new readers we are offering TEN ISSUES of *Socialist Challenge* for the incredibly low price of £1. (Real value £2.90!)

With subscriptions for 12 months we are giving away a FREE COPY of *Trotsky for Beginners* by Tariq Ali and Phil Evans, published by the Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative. (Usual price £1.95!)

SPECIAL OFFER

★ 12 MONTHS £12.50

plus free copy of *Trotsky for Beginners*

★ 10 issues for £1 only

★ delete where appropriate ★ 6 months £6.50

Name

Address

Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper Street, London N1.

Other THE BOOKSHOP

WOMEN AND WORK, by Sheila Lewenhak Fontana, £2.25. Drawing on anthropological and historical evidence this book shows how women's status as workers has declined in recent times.

MAO FOR BEGINNERS, by Rius and Friends. Writers and Readers, £1.95. The latest addition to the cartoon book series explains how Mao rescued China from rock-bottom ruin.

Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N.1. (tel 01-226 0571).

THE SECOND SLUMP, by Ernest Mandel. Verso, £2.95. This important work of Marxist economics is now in paperback with a new postscript.

SOUTH AFRICA — WHITE RULE, BLACK REVOLT, by Ernest Harsch. Pathfinder, £3.95. This book tells the story of South Africa's black majority from Dutch colonialism to the Soweto rebellions and beyond.

Add 15% if ordering by post.

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

CARDIFF: SC sales Newport Town Centre outside Woolworths 11-12.30; Cardiff British Home Stores 11-12.30. Also available from 108 Books, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. For more info about local activities phone 461138.

DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, every Thursday 4-5.30pm, Friday 4-5.30pm, Saturday 11-4pm.

ENFIELD: SC available from Nelsons newsagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.

HACKNEY SC forum: 'Eyewitness in Poland', with Richard Kozanski (editor of *Revolution*, just returned from Poland) and a speaker from the editorial board of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*. Friday 19 September, 7.30. Dalston Library, Dalston Lane, E8.

HACKNEY jumble sale: Saturday 20 September, 2pm, at Centerprise, 136 Kingsland High St, E8.

HACKNEY supporters sell SC every Saturday morning at Ridley Road market, E8. HAMILTON: SC on sale 8-11 every Sat. outside County Bar Almada Street, every Sat outside Safeway 1.30-5. For more info contact Paul, 17 Clyde View or John at 54 Eliot St, Hamilton.

HUDDERSFIELD: SC supporters sell papers every Saturday 11am-1pm. The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.

LAMBETH: SC now available at kiosk Brixton tube, Oval tube, Herne Hill British Rail and Tetric Books Clapham.

MANCHESTER SC Meeting. Poland: Eyewitness account of the struggle for workers' power. Wed 24 Sept, 7.30. Speakers: Oliver MacDonal, editor, *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*; Steve Griffiths, AUEW convener, Rover Solihull. At Star and Garter, Fairfield St., Piccadilly. MANCHESTER SC supporters sell 11-1pm Sat. at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at STOCKPORT in the Merseyway precinct; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.

NEWHAM: SC sale every Saturday, 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Market, Upton Park.

OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel: 061-682 5151.

OXFORD: SC supporters sell every Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket. SC supporter in London needs accommodation, preferably near London Bridge area. Phone Mahry 01-248-5710 (after 5pm).

STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday 1pm Mersey Square. Tel: 061-236 4905 for more information.

SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat., Regent St (Brunel Centre).

TESSIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.

RATES for ads to appear in What's Left. 5p per word or £4 per col. incl. Deadline: noon Sat. prior to publication. Payment in advance.

WOMEN in the NUT Conference, Sat 27 Sept, 11am at Highbury Hill School, London N5. Information and papers from: Carole Reagan, 29 Wayland Ave, London E8.

INTERNATIONAL Contraception, Abortion and Sterilisation Campaign jumble sale noon Sat 20 Sept, Camden Labour Rooms, 8 Camden Road, London NW1.

JOB VACANT: printer wanted to join left press in New Cross. A3(A1850) litho work. Some experience preferred. Union rates. Some political commitment required. Phone Rye Express (TU) 01-732 5356.

GROUP for the Study of Leon Trotsky and the Revolutionary Movement Conference, Sat 20 Sept. In the Polytechnic of Central London, Marylebone Rd, (Room 319-320). Original papers for discussion on: 'Why and how the Independent Labour Party Left the Labour Party in 1932'; 'The Aylesbury by-election in 1936, when Reg Groves stood for Labour and the CP backed the Liberals'; 'The Neath by-election in 1945, when Jock Haston stood for the Revolutionary Communist Party'. Starting 11am. Two sessions. Collection to meet expenses.

WIRRAL TRADES COUNCIL, Birkenhead, are holding a half-day conference on Ireland, 20 Sept, 2pm-6pm. Labour Club, Cleveland St, Birkenhead. All labour movement sections and organisations invited. Credentials from J Harland, 1 Airlie Close, Noctorum, Birkenhead.

SOUTH London Irish forum presents a Day School on Ireland sponsored by SE London and Lambeth IMG at South Bank Polytechnic Students Union. Sat 20 Sept 10.30am to 5pm. Adm 50p. 'FIGHT Racism! Fight Imperialism!' No 6 now out. Main articles: British prisons — a murderous regime; Banks lead imperialist offensive — British banks spearhead stranglehold on oppressed nations; The Communist Tradition — fighting imperialism! — the Baku Congress and the anti-imperialist tradition in the Third International.

Other articles: Apartheid strike breakers; Ireland — British and Loyalist terror; St Pauls Uprisings: 1831-1980; Miami — the latest developments; the PTA attack on RFI supporters; 20p + 15p p&p from RCG Publications Ltd (SC), 49 Raiton Rd, London SE24.

BIRMINGHAM RALLY FOR LABOUR DEMOCRACY

Speakers: Tony Benn MP, Bob Wright, Les Huckfield MP, Audrey Wise

Monday 12 September, 7.15pm

Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham

Organised by West Midlands Trade Union Committee for Labour Democracy

H Block prisoners story

Why we won't give in

JOSEPH MAGUIRE is 27 years old, married with two young children. He spent three and a half years on the blanket, and was released on 25 January this year.

Because he was a short-term prisoner, he served the first fifteen months of his sentence in B Wing, Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast. When the blanket men in Crumlin Road joined the 'no slop out' protest they were transferred to the H Blocks at Long Kesh.

Here Joseph Maguire talks to three members of the Troops Out Movement about his experiences.

The degrading mirror search, which he describes in horrific detail, still continues. The British authorities have now added insult to injury by offering as an 'alternative' to the mirror search visits in a special partitioned box, in which prisoners are separated from their relatives by a perspex screen: the blanket men are refusing such visits, regarding them as an attempt to degrade their visitors as well as themselves.

Socialist Challenge is proud to publish this remarkable account of the ways in which the Republican prisoners are resisting all the attempts of the authorities to break them.

I WAS brought into reception at Crumlin Road and given the prison clothes. I refused to wear them, because I considered myself to be a political prisoner and not a criminal. I think it's obvious to everybody that the Six Counties in Ireland are being occupied, as were the Twenty Six Counties before the Treaty.

Wife

On that same day a prison officer came to me in the reception and said, 'Your wife's here to see you, and your sister'. I said, 'Dead on'. He says, 'You have to wear prison clothes'. I refused to wear them and therefore I was denied my visit.

So I never saw my wife on the day I was sentenced. This is a thing that is granted to every prisoner when they are sentenced - a committal visit, it's called.

So I was brought into B Wing and put into a cell, and my clothes were taken off me, the prison uniform was sent in, and a blanket. So I put the blanket on myself.

And out the back, I noticed it right away, there was a heavy droning sound. This was a big boiler house, right behind these cells. This constant drone was going on all the time, and if you tried to shout to someone in another cell, or out of the door, you could never make out what they were saying. It was very monotonous, very penetrating.

That night I found out there was another two men on the blanket in this wing. I eventually

found out that there were three cells between each one of us. We were completely isolated, one man to a cell.

So they came with my tea, and that night again they came late on. They opened the door and said, 'Sop out'. This means you lift your chamber pot and your water gallon, and you go down and empty your pot and fill your water gallon.

Well, I was going to do this with the blanket on me, but the prison officer stopped me and said, 'Take the blanket off'. I didn't know what to do. He says, 'Take the blanket off. You chose not to wear prison clothes and not to do prison work, so any time you step out of that cell, you'll step out naked. You'll go to the slophouse naked. You'll go to the Governor naked. Anywhere at all you'll go naked.'

So this lasted every day I was there.

Abuse

Every 11 days we went before the Governor for punishment to comply with prison regulations. When you were going up the wing, there was always a full wing of criminals who were going out to work.

You just had to walk right through all these people, naked. There was abuse from the criminals, and always abuse from the officers.

The Governor charged you and sentenced you to three days CC - solitary confinement. I was in my cell in solitary confinement 24 hours a day, seven days a week, every week. But he still done this thing called solitary confinement.

This meant that when I went back from the Governor's office to my cell, everything was taken out of my cell except the prison uniform, water gallon, pot and a bible. I was left in the cell naked, and I was to be fed on a Number One diet for three days - that's bread and water in the morning, then a potato with a drop of soup, and bread and water at night.

We went through the winter and it was really freezing. For the three days of punishment and Number One diet, we just continually walked round the cell naked from seven o'clock in the morning. We never got to mass, we had no reading material, no cigarettes, no radio, a letter a month - sometimes the letters you can't get. And we were completely isolated from each other.

Protest

Well, that was for fifteen months I was in the Crumlin on my own in a cell.

The H Block protest escalated to 'no slop out'. We heard about this escalation, and we decided ourselves that we would carry this out; that we would follow the H Block protest and refuse to slop out.

So we refused to slop out and we were transferred from the Crum straight to H3.

When we arrived at the H Blocks, there was a wing move

RALLY FOR CHARTER 80
Saturday, 27 September

THE CALL for the British government to agree to the demands of the political prisoners in H Block and the women prisoners in Armagh is growing stronger every day.

Apart from Tony Benn, seven other Labour MPs have signed the Charter 80 petition which supports the prisoners in their demands for:

- *The right of prisoners to wear their own clothes.
- *The right to refrain from prison work.
- *The right to free association among other prisoners.
- *The right to organise their own educational and recreational facilities and to receive one visit, one letter, and one parcel a week.
- *The right to full remission of sentence.

The issue will be raised loud and clear for this month's Labour Party conference from the founding rally of the Charter 80 campaign which takes place on Saturday 27 September at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

It begins at 1pm and speakers include Irish trade union leader Kevin McConnell, Bishop Winter of SWAPO and Chris Myant, deputy editor of the *Morning Star*.

— they had started to move the men from one wing to the other, so that they could clean the dirty wing.

We didn't know what to expect. They opened my door and gave me my cell card - this is the card that sits outside your cell, it gives details of your name, your age, religion, your sentence. As soon as you take that your blanket's drawn off you, and you're grabbed by the hair and arms up your back, and run up the wing.

Circle

Now each leg of the H is a wing, and the crossbar is the centre of the block, and that's called the Circle. That's where the doctor and the POs' office, welfare, everything is - that's the heart of the building. You must cross this Circle to get to the other side of the block. So if you were being moved from one wing to the other side of the block, you have to go through the Circle.

This particular morning we were going through the Circle, and I was run up the wing. All the prison officers were wearing blue overalls, zipped up, and no hats. When I went up the wing another two prison officers took me and run me in the same fashion into the Circle.

And there I saw about 25 screws. They were all standing round a small table. They said to me, 'Bend over it.' They wanted me to bend my body over the table with my arms out. I refused.

I then felt my wrists being taken and my ankles. I was naked and I felt myself being lifted up in the air, and I ended up in a horizontal position as if I was flying. And my two legs were pulled apart. I thought I was going to be torn apart, I felt it in my hips, they were pulled apart so wide that it was really painful. And my arms were pulled from me, as if I was being stretched. And then I felt hands at my backside opening

my back passage with his thumbs.

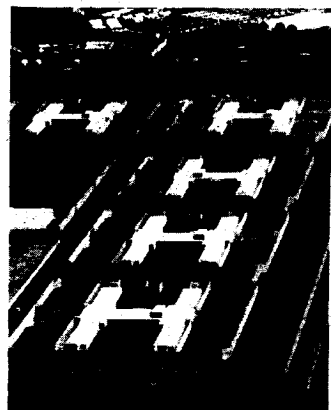
After that they put me down and slapped me about, kicking me and abusing me. They like abusing you about your mother and your wife. This seems to be a favourite. They say the worst things that

they can say about your wife. It's usually sex, something that they think will really bother you. They even make references that they have been with your wife, and they'll be with her tonight. 'We'll laugh about you tonight.' There's things I wouldn't repeat, I would be embarrassed if I was to say them to you now.

They stand you on the ground spreadeagled, your arms in the air. And they search under your armpits, they search between your fingers, search your hair, search your ears, search your mouth, and they put their finger into your mouth, to search behind your lips to see if you've anything hidden. They search the soles of your feet, between your toes. They all stand and say whatever they want to say - it's a great joke.

There was a big outcry about this table search procedure that they were carrying out, so they changed it to the mirror search. The same again: you were run up the wing, run to the Circle, the same squad was there to meet you. The impression I used to get was, it was just like going into a sectarian mob, because the attitude of them was as if you just weren't a human being.

It was as if you weren't a person, you were just something to be teased about, something to be abused and humiliated.



And when you arrived at the Circle they had this mirror sitting in the middle of the Circle, a standard-size mirror like you would see in a public toilet. Maybe it's about 10 or 12 inches broad, 18 inches long. It's lying on the ground, there's no frame or anything.

There were two bits of tape on each side of this, and you put your feet on these. That left you in the position that your legs were apart, over the mirror, and the mirror was just directly between your legs.

So then they said to you, 'Squat'. They wanted you to squat down onto your hunkers, so that your back passage would be open and it would be directly over this mirror, so that they could have a good view. Well, this you refused to do, because I don't think personally that anybody would openly squat down to be searched like that.

Kidneys

They then started to punch you, mainly round the body, and the back of the kidneys, and at the back of the head. At times they'd punch you in the face. There was men got their nose broke, black eyes.

When they see that you're not going to go down, two will take your wrists, and - the prison officers wear heavy duty boots - they'll then kick you at the joints behind your knees, and they'll kick you as if they're kicking a ball and trying to score a goal.

At times my legs have flew right out and I've landed on the mirror. Men have landed on this mirror and it has broke and they've received cuts on their backsides. We were getting moved once a week and the backs of our legs were permanently black and blue.

When they have you down for a length of time, they shine a big torch on your back passage. One would shine a torch and another would get down and pull at your back passage, maybe put a pencil in, poke with tweezers, and maybe put his finger right into your backside and search it.

It's a terrible feeling. And then the finger that they've used to search your back passage, they've put in the men's mouths to search behind their lips.



Joseph Maguire on his release from Long Kesh on 25 January. Top: the H Block at Long Kesh

Next Week: Joseph Maguire tells what it's like on visiting day at the H Block, and how the prisoners learned Gaelic.

The people of El Salvador must not stand alone

The general strike — success

THE general strike of 13-15 August closed down 80 per cent of industry and 70 per cent of public transport, according to the Nicaraguan daily *Baricada*. It also had an impact on shops, government facilities, banks and offices. Half a million workers were estimated to be involved on the first day.

Although some 60 per cent of shops eventually opened their doors under military and government pressure, the Spanish news agency EFE reported that they had few customers. Many were again closed by early afternoon.

The junta also militarised urban transport in the capital, San Salvador. The bus terminals were occupied, forcing buses and taxis onto the streets. The regime then pointed to this activity as evidence of support for its policies!

The scale of the repression

IN the single week of 1-8 August, the archbishop's office in San Salvador listed 219 people 'from the popular and progressive sectors of El Salvador' murdered for political reasons. They included 120 peasants and agricultural workers, 18 students, five industrial workers, three public employees, two schoolteachers, two journalists, and two small

In fact, despite the sharpness of the confrontation, the strike showed that the insurgent forces are gaining in strength. For the first time, uniformed guerrilla and militia forces entered San Salvador and other cities.

Revolutionary forces attacked a number of military posts and set up barricades in many areas of San Salvador. During the course of the strike they were able to cut the roads linking San Salvador with San Miguel, Santa Ana, and Aguilares.

Many neighbourhoods in and around the capital were in the hands of revolutionary forces at some point during the strike. The largest battle took place in El Coro, on the outskirts of San Salvador, where guerrillas ambushed a military convoy, engaging army forces for three hours.

The combined opposition grouping, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), claimed that 700 government troops were killed or wounded during the three days of the strike.

merchants. The occupations of the others were unknown.

The repressive forces responsible for the murders were also named: '105 murders committed by combined contingents of the armed forces; 34 murders committed by the National Guard; four murders committed by the paramilitary organisation ORDEN; four murders committed by the National Police; 53 murders committed by civilian agents; and 15 murders committed by the Death Squad.' The remaining four were carried out by unknown assailants.

THE three-day general strike in El Salvador last month was said to be a flop by the international press. In fact it was the most hard-fought confrontation yet between the regime and the forces of the popular opposition.

The ruling junta, made up of the military and the Christian Democrats, has the total backing of the imperialist powers. It is fully prepared to carry out a massacre of the population.

Plans for imperialist intervention are well advanced. American 'advisors' and foreign mercenaries are already taking part in repressive operations.

Appeals for solidarity therefore have a real urgency. Since the start of the year, 4,500 workers and peasants have been killed. The struggle is likely to become still bloodier.

That is why action is vital to frustrate Washington's manoeuvres. For details of solidarity activity in Britain contact the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 27 Islington Park Street, London N1.

'The United States will never permit a new Nicaragua, even if it must take the most reprehensible measures to prevent it.'

— Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor to President Carter.

'TOTAL WAR'

'WE are in a situation of total war.' That is how events in El Salvador were summed up by a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) at a press conference earlier this month.

Rutilio Sanchez described the three general strikes this year as 'tests by which to measure our influence among the masses'. According to him, the August strike 'allowed us to test out the self-defence and offensive capacities of the people, as well as the state of the government forces'. And from that point of view it was a success.

'The unity around the FDR has allowed us to advance on the ideological level. The peo-

ple are aware that they themselves must control their destiny.'

The FDR unites the main left-wing groupings as well as the mass organisations of the workers and peasants and important sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Its main priority is to integrate the mass struggle with the military actions of the vanguard organisations. Increased popular involvement in the armed struggle has been shown in the mushrooming of neighbourhood committees, people's militias, and other such structures.

'If the USA did not support the junta, the Salvadoran people could win without shedding a drop of blood', says Rutilio Sanchez.

U.S. to Give El Salvador \$20 Million More in Aid

Turkey - the IMF's coup

By Soleiman Ehmet

DURING the days of the Turkish sultans, the Ottoman Debt (the amount of money owed by the Ottoman empire to its creditors in the West) was a banker's nightmare.

Today the situation is not so different. Over the last few years Turkey has been involved in the largest debt renegotiation in financial history. Swiss, German, American and British banks all have big commitments there.

The world crisis of the capitalist system has affected Turkey rather dramatically. The result has been a growing political polarisation and the rapid growth of the fascist Nationalist Action Party.

Gangsters

The NAP developed an organisation of armed gangster units known as the Grey Wolves, who carried out a systematic campaign of terror against the working class and the left groups. Dozens of people were killed every day.

The Turkish left suffered further splits and tiny groups modelled on the Red Brigades and the German Red Army Faction responded in kind. Successive governments refused to distinguish between the fascists and the left, although the state moved mainly against the left.

Socialist militants were brutally tortured in Turkish prisons at the same time as trade unionists and left-wing professors and students were being mown down on the streets by fascist gangs.

The economic and political chaos was undermining the foundations of the Turkish state: fiercely secular and committed to 'modernisation'. Parliament was paralysed and the major political parties utterly discredited.

Violence

Bulent Ecevit, the main opposition leader, had proved incapable of dealing with fascist violence. Indeed, while in office he had gone so far as to ban democratic organisations in the police which wanted to resist fascist encroachments.

Ecevit's successor, Demirel — who was unseated by the army early last Friday — proved equally incapable. He authorised the state-sponsored persecution of the trade unions and the left and even backed the fascists.

The generals take over Turkey for the third time in three decades. In 1960 the military arrested and hanged the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, a politician of the right. In 1971 they intervened to oust Demirel. Now it has happened again.

The coyness of the Western press notwithstanding, it is obvious that the coup was carried out on the instructions of the United States (probably under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, whose officials were in a state of despair about the state of the country).

Turkey is a crucially important part of NATO. US military bases and radar in-

stallations there provide the Pentagon with up to one-quarter of its information on the missile capacity of the USSR.

The growing instability in the country had reached such a pass that a civil war could not be excluded in the coming months. The coup was designed to prevent such a development and to 'stabilise Turkey'.

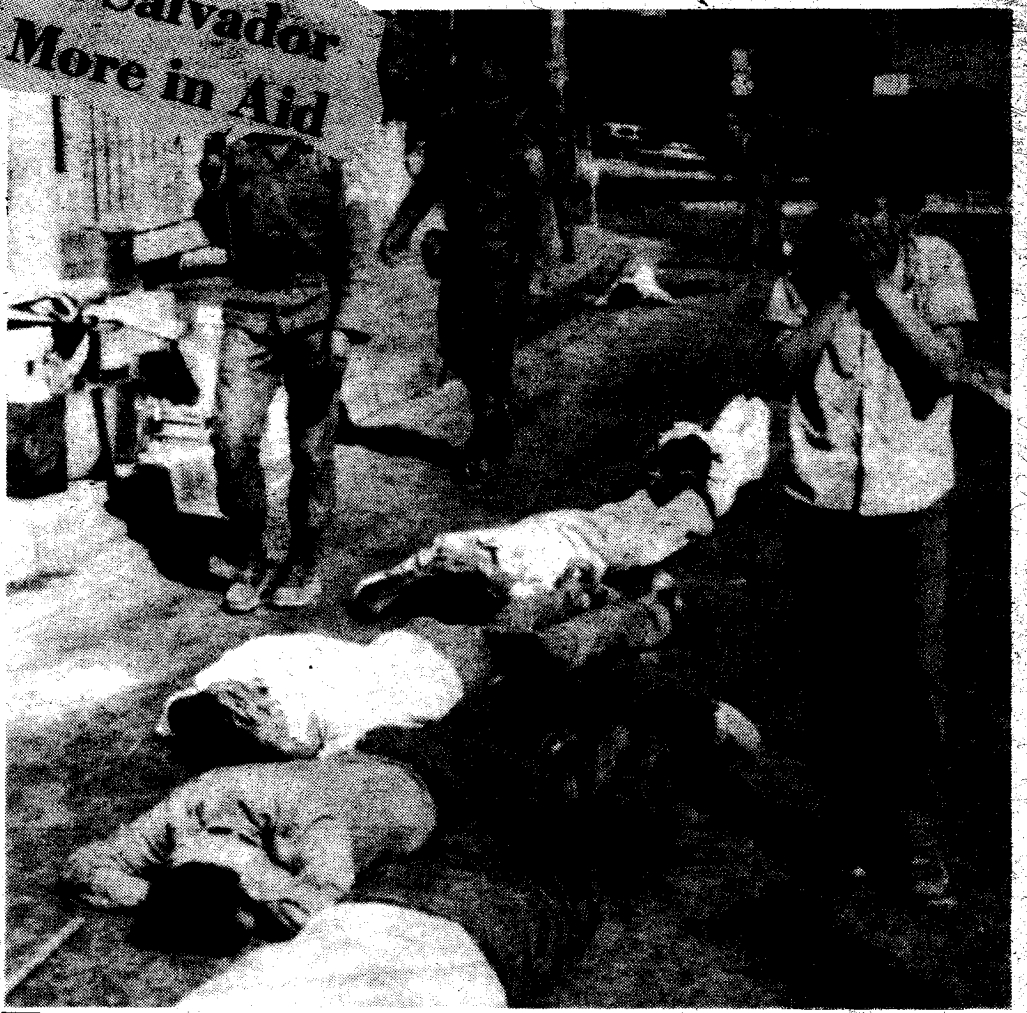
The first act of the generals was to ban the main trade unions (where the left is strongest), introduce censorship and impose a curfew. But the Turkey the United States wants the army to 'stabilise' is not the same as it was in 1960 or 1971.

The economic crisis has created a large pool of unemployed. The turning back of Turkish immigrant workers from Germany has dealt a further blow to the economy. The generals thus confront a set of tasks which it will not be easy to resolve.

Temporary

The 70 per cent wage increase which has been decreed shows that it is impossible for the army to move immediately to crush the workers — it is trying to buy time. But that is only a temporary solution which cannot prevent a new wave of strike action in several months time.

The coup had been expected for some time, but whether the new rulers will be able to carry out the aims desired by the US State Department remains a moot point. And if it can't then the Turkish cauldron will begin to bubble again.



US election campaign hots up Pulley for President

By Pat Kane

AN AGEING cowboy actor, Ronald Reagan, may be the next president of the United States.

The British press tell us that the only alternatives to Reagan are Jimmy Carter or the outsider John Anderson.

But in 30 states working people will be able to vote for a socialist alternative to these politicians.

Andrew Pulley, a steelworker from Gary, Indiana, is also running for the Socialist Workers Party — the American supporters of the Fourth International.

Myth

His campaign challenges the myth that the only road for the American labour movement is to support Carter's Democratic Party.

Pulley became a socialist during the Vietnam war. While in the army, he opposed the war, and along with seven other GIs was arrested and later court-martialed.

He became nationally known through the defence campaign as one of the Fort Jackson Eight. Later he was to become prominent in the struggle for black rights throughout the United States.

Pulley believes that working people should have their own interests represented in the presidential elections.

Oil

'Working people need their own party. Both the Democrats and Republicans represent the oil, steel and auto companies. We need our own labour party, based on the unions, to give workers their own voice.'

More and more American trade unionists are becoming aware of the need for a new independent party.

The Democratic Party has always been associated with the union movement. But disillusionment with Carter's right-wing policies has posed the question of who trade unionists should back.

Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, expressed this growing sentiment when he pointed out that 'the Democratic Party is the party of Oil. We have to be naive not

also supported the demand for a new party.

When Pulley demands a labour party, he also says what that party should do.

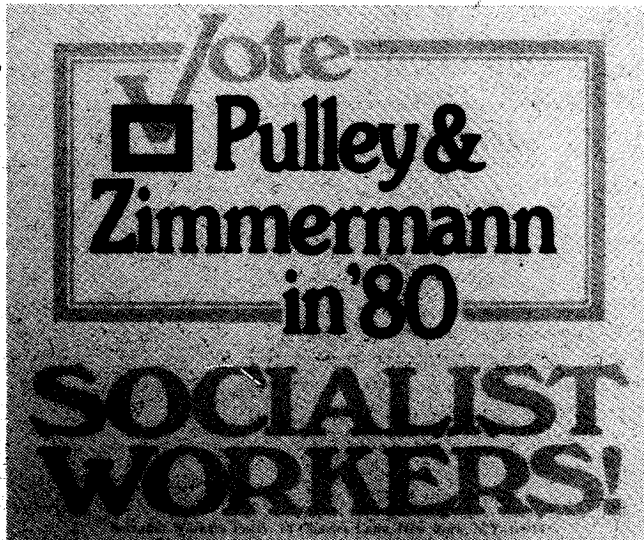
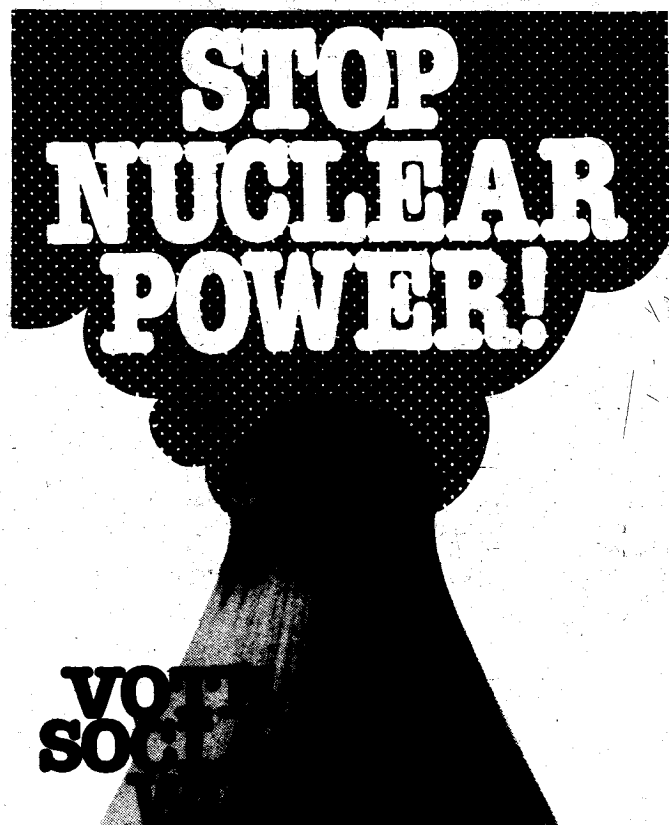
He wants a fighting labour party, that could halt the run-down of industry by fighting for the nationalisation of those industries causing redundancies.

Pulley says that the labour party he wants would 'help organise massive support for demonstrations in the interests of working people, such as

When blacks took to the streets in Miami against the racist acquittal of a white cop, Pulley and a team of campaign workers went down to show their solidarity and help organise against further police harassment.

He has also campaigned to defend the popular revolutions in Iran and the Caribbean, and a feature of the campaign is its emphasis on organising solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Andrew Pulley won't be the next president of the United States. But it would be a better world to live in if he was.



Socialist Workers candidates say...

"Working people keep the country running: working people should run the country."



to see that, and we need a new political mechanism, and that's a labour party.'

Mazzocchi was speaking at a major union-sponsored conference to discuss 'Big Business on the Rampage'.

He told the conference that they should be running 'candidates who are products of the labour movement. I don't want an individual who represents the entire community. I want someone who represents us, period.'

Other leading unionists, like John Henning of the Californian AFL-CIO (the equivalent of the TUC) have

marches to support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA — for women's rights), stop the draft, shut down nuclear power plants, and end Ku Klux Klan terror and police shootings of blacks'.

Miami

Pulley and his SWP supporters aren't sitting around waiting for this party to be formed by the union leaders. They are using their campaign to talk with ordinary workers, black militants, and women's rights activists about how to take the next steps towards it.

They have produced extensive material on a variety of national campaigns, and are using the opportunity of the elections to publicise and build demonstrations like those in support of the ERA.

Democrats

THE United States is supposed to be the home of democracy. The electoral system is used as a model for other countries.

But in actual fact the two party system is designed to exclude other candidates from the ballot — especially socialists like the SWP.

The Democratic Governor of California, Jerry Brown, is currently trying to prevent all the SWP candidates from appearing on the state's ballot form. Apart from Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmerman for vice-president, the SWP are running George Jackson for the Senate and Mark Friedman for Congress.

The campaign is particularly embarrassing for Governor Brown, since Friedman's 'Democratic' opponent is the Grand Dragon of the racist Ku Klux Klan.

The Democratic and Republican parties appear automatically on the ballot, but minority parties have to collect a specified number of signatures from registered electors.

The California legislators demanded 101,300 signatures for the SWP candidates to get on the ballot. They were handed 145,000 for Pulley and 139,000 for Johnson and Friedman.

Electoral officials ruled however that most of the signatures were not from registered voters and were therefore invalid. Johnson claims that this attack on the SWP's democratic rights is politically motivated.

'The Democrats', he says, 'see the SWP's campaign as encouraging independent political action at the very moment when the state trade union movement is discussing the need for a labour party.'

Johnson and Friedman have now taken Governor Brown to court for open violations of the state election laws. They are confident that they will win, and that their case will help to expose the real nature of the American electoral system.

For this kind of harassment is not just confined to California. In Missouri, for instance, the authorities are trying the same trick although the SWP has collected almost double the number of signatures required.

By the time of the elections, the SWP will have collected hundreds of thousands of signatures to place socialists on the ballot in more states than has ever previously been achieved by a socialist party.

VOTE Socialist Workers



PULLEY for President

Three of a kind

THERE's not much difference between the three main candidates running for president. Carter, Reagan and Anderson all share the same basic outlook.

Writing election manifestos for American ruling class politicians is a very tricky job. The main yardstick is that they should be as vague as possible and avoid committing the candidate to any specific actions.

But the same vagueness isn't present when it comes to which class they support.

It should be easy to spot which class Carter supports. As president he has masterminded the attempted invasion of Iran, eight million unemployed, and increased discrimination against immigrants and blacks.

But although Carter, like the other main candidates, represents the interests of a tiny minority, he has to have the votes of working people in

order to get elected. So the campaign is spiced with promises of jobs and a better life.

Carter opposes federal funding for jobs programmes and abortions for poor women. Yet he supports the \$34 billion MX missile system. Reagan also supports this new system.

Anderson is against it — but only because he prefers more concentration on Cruise missiles and long-range bombers.

They differ not on whether there should be military expansion, but simply on the best way to carry it out. All three candidates support NATO, and a host of reactionary regimes around the world.

At home they all favour more tax cuts for the rich. American workers do not have a National Health Service, or other benefits like free schools. But none of these candidates proposes to establish such basic services.

Reagan talks about 'fiscal and monetary restraint' to curb government spending. They propose to cut the small welfare benefits that already exist.

The economic recession is now starting to hit American industry. Unemployment and short-time working are increasing in steel, cars and rail.

Again there is no provision for unemployment benefit. Anderson denounces such schemes as 'fostering dependency'.

All these candidates are financed and supported by the American bosses. None of them has policies that can counter the threat of war, stop unemployment or inflation, and defend democratic rights.

With 20 million trade union members, and three candidates who all want to introduce anti-union laws, it is becoming more and more obvious that working people need their own party.

Party or class?

YOUR article 'A political revolution is needed in Poland' contained more than the usual number of Leninist falsifications. You claim that 'in no theoretical document of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky and in no programmatic document of the Third International under Lenin (sic!) did... defence of the one-party system appear'.

Lenin first: 'Yes, it is a dictatorship of one party! This is what we stand for, and we shall not shift from that position...' (31 July, 1919, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p 535). Next, Trotsky: '...we are the only party in the country, and in the period of the dictatorship it could not be otherwise' ('The New Course', 22 December 1923, in *The Challenge of the Left Opposition*, p.78).

Even when driven into opposition by Stalin, Trotsky did not yield on this point, insisting on 'the Leninist principle, inviolable for every Bolshevik, that the dictatorship is and can be realised through the dictatorship of the party', and that 'the dictatorship of the proletariat demands at its very core a single proletarian party'. (*The Platform of the Left Opposition*, 1927, pp. 62, 111).

As late as 1937, we find Trotsky still defending the 'objective necessity' of 'the revolutionary dictatorship of a proletarian party' ('Dictatorship and Revolution', 23 October 1937, in *Writings 1936-1937*, p. 513).

The same concepts of party dictatorship are discernible in basic documents of the pre-Stalinist Comintern. 'Political power cannot be seized, organised and operated except through a political party'.

insisted the 'Theses on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution' (July 1920). 'Only if there is such a disciplined organisation of the working class elite (sic!) is it possible to surmount all the difficulties confronting the workers' dictatorship on the morrow of victory.'

The task of the party was therefore to 'take in tow' the Soviets, thereby making nonsense of Lenin's cynical slogan issued before the October Revolution of 'all power to the Soviets'. And was it not the same Lenin who told the Ninth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in March 1920 that 'the will of a class may sometimes be carried out by a dictator, who sometimes does more alone and is frequently more necessary' (*CW*, Vol. 30, p. 476)?

You refer approvingly to Marx's admirable axiom that 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves'. Yet I quote: 'The thesis that the emancipation of the proletariat can only be accomplished by the proletariat itself must be modified, either in theory or in practice, to mean that it is the revolutionary party's task to emancipate the proletariat and to establish the workers' state on behalf of the proletariat — first in the latter's name and then, in certain historical situations, against it.'

This is how Ernest Mandel outlines what he terms the 'dialectic between the vanguard and the masses' in his pamphlet *On Bureaucracy* which, I see, you are advertising. Your comments please. **ROBIN BLICK**, London W13

No lesser evil

IN your 28 August issue in the 'Around the World' column you have a little piece on the United States which deserves a comment.

The piece describes the victory of Gerald Carlson in a Republican Party primary in Michigan, pointing out that Carlson is a member of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, and so on. It concludes: 'With allies like that the prospect of Ronald Reagan becoming the next president gets more frightening every day.'

You could have easily written a piece about Tom Metzger winning the Democratic Party's Congressional primary in San Diego, California. Metzger is an open member of the KKK and is running a campaign he describes as 'racist'. Would you then write: 'With allies like that the prospect of Jimmy Carter becoming the next president gets more frightening every day'?

The unfortunate implication of the piece is that somehow Carter is a lesser evil than Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party is somehow 'to the right' of the Democrats.

I think you should be careful about getting caught up in the 'Ronald Reagan Neanderthal' syndrome since it implies



Martin Luther King pulls a KKK burning cross out of his lawn that individual candidates rather than ruling class interests determine policies of the number one imperialist power.

I am reminded of a letter I saw in a newspaper here in 1965, after the Johnson-

Goldwater race, when Johnson ran and won on a 'peace' platform against the 'war monger' Goldwater. The letter extolled the virtues of the US democratic process.

The writer stated: 'They told me that if I voted for Goldwater we'd

More on the F.I. please

IN the new, improved but hopefully not 'more-workerist-than-thou' *Socialist Challenge* will we perhaps begin to see some recognition that the paper is sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International (no initials please — there are still some people who don't know what they stand for)?

Will it regularly con-

tain (edited) statements from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International? Will it refer to the work of the FI's other sections more than it has done? Will it perhaps carry translations of articles or even comments from those sections on events in their countries? I bloody well hope so.

ROB JONES, London N16

We Reply:

ROBIN Blick's letter is a textbook example of the dangers of using quotes out of context to back up a political argument.

Let's take the quote from Trotsky 'that the dictatorship of the proletariat is and can be realised through the dictatorship of the party'. Trotsky evidently doesn't mean that the dictatorship of the proletariat must be expressed in this way, but that it can be.

Blick has to look at the context here. Was it the case that in the Soviet Union, after the near-destruction of the working class in the civil war, and the decay of the soviets, that the dictatorship of the proletariat was preserved by the political power of the Bolsheviks?

To answer 'no' means

to accept the theory — a totally idealist one from the viewpoint of historical materialism — that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be expressed through a regime of workers councils. This theory, common among state capitalists and anarchists, would put the destruction of the Russian revolution somewhere in 1918! Indeed, to be very strict, was there ever a socialist revolution in Russia at all?

Or again, let's take the quote that Blick has dug up from the Comintern that 'Political power cannot be seized, organised and operated except through a political party'. Only the most biased reading of that quote could suggest that it was meant as anything other than an emphasis on the need

for a revolutionary party to prepare for the seizure of power.

But why is it that if you have a revolutionary party then you cannot also have soviets? If you say the two are mutually exclusive, then you end up with an anarchist theory of opposition to political parties as such. The workers should just wait around for the soviets to arise!

Robin Blick has managed to find some quotes in which Lenin appears to say that the Bolsheviks stand for one-party dictatorship as such. For every one of these, you can find dozens which say the precise opposite.

The danger of selective quotation is best highlighted by his citation from Mandel. In fact this is a proof reading error! In the first edition of the pamphlet (we'll

send a photocopy to Blick on request), the sentence reads: 'The thesis that the emancipation of the proletariat can only be accomplished by the proletariat itself must not be modified...'

The quotation as it stands is so obviously in contradiction to the whole of the rest of the pamphlet that it is difficult to see how Blick could genuinely have taken this to be Mandel's real position.

Perhaps the fact that Robin Blick's experience of 'Trotskyism' has been that of the Healy/Lambert school has led him to believe that Trotskyism seriously stands for the liberation of the working class 'on behalf of the working class' or 'even against it'. Rest assured, comrade Blick, that is not our view. —EDS.

Festival for women's rights

A PLANNING group, open to all women, has been meeting to organise a broad-based event which would attract as many women as possible who would support a festival for women's rights — against Tory attacks. We decided it was important to have as wide a sponsorship as possible from women's organisations, unions, campaigns and the labour movement, but this has proved difficult.

At the national planning meeting of the National Abortion Campaign in July the aims and motivations for a women's festival were supported. However there were disagreements over the date suggested (7 March — International Women's Day weekend). The Saturday before International Women's Day (which will be 7 March next year) is traditionally the day for women-only marches and events and NAC therefore will not sponsor the festival on that date and proposes that either (1) the date be changed or (2) the festival is made women-only, in which case sponsorship would be reviewed.

The planning group definitely wants to organise a festival for women's rights against Tory attacks. But because this decision of NAC has been reiterated by other groups and individuals in the women's movement, it is essential that the date of this festival and whether it is women-only should be rediscussed and finally decided at a planning meeting from 2pm to 6pm on October 4 at the Intensive English School, 21 Star Street, London W2.

It is essential that all women supporting this festival are involved in making the final decisions. The agenda for the day will be: (1) the date of the festival, (2) whether it should be women-only, (3) the venue, (4) the day's events.

THE PLANNING GROUP (with agreement of NAC Steering Committee).

have a half a million troops in Vietnam. Well, I voted for Goldwater and sure enough we have a half a million troops in Vietnam.'

Finally, regarding the electoral preferences of

the KKK, it is worth noting that historically the KKK has, in fact, been part of the Democratic Party, not the Republican Party. **WILL REISSNER**, New York

Shattering the past

JACKIE Charlton left the pitch in tears. Why the press outrage? He and the Sheffield Wednesday players he manages had just been stoned by their supporters at Oldham.

To stone Jackie Charlton is indeed a transgression of what football is all about in the national press. He represents a state of football, actually long gone before his career, in which the game was a local, community, even family affair — Jackie and Bobby, the Charlton brothers who back in the 1960s, in the best of imperial traditions, helped England to the World Cup.

This was a simple, homely England with no prominent black

players, a country in which clubs could not trade in the international player market. Nation, race and class are nostalgically fused in the image of Charlton.

Football was a money-spinning affair even then, but the supporters themselves had less to worry about. Saturday afternoons at the match were events at which the bodies on the pitch — attacking, co-operating, breaking away alone, struggling — could be used as counters to carry both individualistic and collective meanings and desires.

But if the team loses now, the supporter loses all. It's September 1980, there are 2 million unemployed, and the 'football hooligan' has struck again, with bricks and metal and against the essence of football — the national glory of the past, with a working class accent and rooted in the



We're a union — support us

SCHOOL students have no rights and no say in how their schools are run. We are not allowed to express our ideas — we have to fight to have our say. Schools are supposed to be for our benefit, but we are never consulted about what goes on.

Last year the National Union of School Students involved school students in action all over the country. We fought and will continue to fight the education cuts. Although we don't agree with the education system as it is, we want to change it, not have the Tories take it away from us.

NUSS fights around all things that affect us in school. One example is school uniform. Last year in Sheffield we had a large campaign against

uniform — trying to get it banned.

During the campaign we produced 25,000 leaflets and held a number of public meetings. Obviously this cost NUSS a lot of money. But at the end of the year, the Sheffield Education Committee recommended the phasing out of school uniforms!

We can't run our union on pocket money. We need money for printing, organising campaigns, postage and phones, etc. Here you can help us. Because our members don't work, we rely on donations from people who do.

Associate membership costs £2 a year and your union branch can affiliate for £5 (write to 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1). In return we'll keep you in touch with our activities.

We hope to hear from you soon. It will be money well spent. **HARDY DESAI**, National Chairperson, NUSS

family, i.e. a Charlton.

They are known as 'football thugs', but just as a supporter doesn't stop thinking of his/her club after leaving the ground, so youth, passing through the turnstile on the way in, don't discard their condition as unemployed or low paid, sexually and racially oppressed, prospectless victims of the capitalist crisis.

The response to their anger will presumably be more rigid crowd control — as a consequence of the crisis the strong state is needed in the football ground as well as outside the factory. The outrage of the police, national, and local icons for a few minutes on a Saturday afternoon — all these are measures of the potential of a correct revolutionary strategy for youth struggles.

KEVIN DAVEY, Brighton

The Media Machine Bias, distortion, and plain lies

By Colin Robinson

Socialist Challenge readers who failed to switch off their TVs after *Playhour* a couple of Thursdays ago will have seen the TUC passing a resolution which attacked the bias of the mass media and demanded the right of reply for the workers' movement.

The issue will come in for further discussion when the Labour Party meets in Blackpool at the end of this month. An opportune time, then, for the appearance of two new publications dealing with the right-wing distortions of press and broadcasting.

In *The Media Machine* (Pluto Press, £4.95), John Downing takes a long and comprehensive look at the symp-

oms and mechanisms of this distortion. Concentrating on the way that trade union disputes, blacks, and women are unfavourably portrayed, there is much of interest in the book.

Absent

He mentions, for example, a survey of 345 TV news bulletins on industrial disputes in which only one out of 12 interviews were with workers actually involved in the strike.

There is an examination of the pro-police stance of the media on race issues — helped along by the burgeoning 'public relations' department of Scotland Yard.

And the author provides a

study of the trivialisation of women's lives by the press — from the 'chocolate box' covers of women's magazines, to the portrayal of Barbara Castle's talks with women workers at Ford's as 'popping in for a chat and a cup of tea'.

The examples used are rather out of date (the chapter on reporting of trade union disputes is illustrated, almost exclusively, by reference to the 1970 dock strike), but illuminating nonetheless.

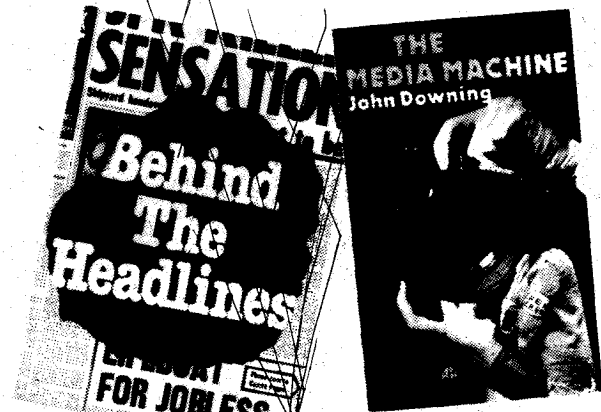
Downing also has a go at some of the left press for failing to provide an alternative forum

for the frustrations of working people and, while his manner is offhand, reference to the mere 1 per cent of front page and in-

side lead stories on women's struggles in *Socialist Worker* (from a sample survey stretching over eight years: 1970-78), and the similar paucity of attention paid to racism in the *Morning Star*, does lend weight to his argument of economism.

The one thing which is totally absent from *The Media Machine*, and it is a big weakness, is any reference to action that could be taken to fight the bias of the media.

Despite a fascinating chapter on workers' radio stations in Italy, which have been used in a very dynamic way to promote and strengthen struggles, the book ends up merely describing problems without offering solutions.



Behind The Headlines (TUC, 60p), produced by the Media Working Group of the TUC, is certainly not lacking in proposed solutions. Unfortunately, these are so flabby, misleading, and generally useless that it would almost be better if the pamphlet didn't offer any at all.

Lest anyone should ever doubt the TUC's commitment to good old British democracy, right from the outset the pamphlet points out how fortunate we are to have such a free and open media: 'There is much to be proud of' in the British press and 'Our broadcasting services are widely regarded as being among the best in the world.'

Reply

Amidst all this patriotic flag-waving the pamphlet does grudgingly admit that the media misrepresents trade union disputes.

The main problem, as the TUC sees it, is not that strike reports nearly always give only one side of the story, but that in a society where 'the number of workers in dispute at any one time is tiny' there are any strike reports at all!

'In many countries strikes are simply not regarded as news but in Britain they are news and recorded in far more detail than similar events would be in the national press in other countries', the pamphlet complains.

Presumably the TUC regards *Pravda's* coverage of the recent Polish strikes as the sort of ideal for which we should all be working.

So what should be done about this misrepresentation of the 'tiny numbers' involved in,

say, the 14 May Day of Action?

The sheer audacity of the TUC's proposals is breathtaking. Print workers, for instance, have an important role to play by 'examining in conjunction with newspaper owners methods of achieving industrial democracy'. Times workers, who recently returned to work after nearly a year of being locked-out by their management, will surely find this advice very helpful.

So, too, will workers on the *Observer* whose management have been trying the same trick recently, though some may regard their determination to secure a right of reply for the Grunwick strikers, securing a front-page spot after stopping work on a Saturday night, as a tactic more likely to succeed.

As to an alternative daily workers' paper — well, of course, this is solely a marketing problem, a question of 'identifying and reaching the appropriate market'. Nothing would be worse than 'a well-publicised launch for a newspaper which then proves to be non-viable', the TUC concludes in its usual rousing way.

You can almost hear Len leaning over to Terry and whispering: 'But if this daily newspaper thing gets off the ground, thousands of workers will be reading about our policies every day — god forbid!'

That the pamphlet should be published on the same day that Congress voted overwhelmingly to secure the right of reply suggests that it will be up to militants — and not the trade union leaders — to demand and secure this right.

'Cambodia Year One' For Pol Pot, thank Washington

By Paul Lawson

JOHN Pilger's film shown on TV last year, *Cambodia Year Zero*, brought home to millions of people in Britain the devastation wrought on Kampuchea, first by the secret war waged by Nixon and Kissinger, then by the barbaric régime of Pol Pot.

The response to *Year Zero* was incredible. British people forked out millions of pounds for famine relief and medical aid. As Pilger says, they were mainly ordinary people who could least afford it.

ATV's *Cambodia Year One*, shown on Wednesday of last week, recounted the progress that has been made since Pilger's original film. The new Vietnamese-backed régime has been able to bring a semblance of normality to most of the country.

Phnom Penh has been gradually brought back to life, through international aid. Hospitals have been re-built and starvation eliminated in most parts of Kampuchea.

Jeopardy

Now the bad news. The gains that have been made, with aid from international relief agencies, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union, are in jeopardy. The new régime has decided to put priority on rice for planting, rather than consumption.

This is putting an immense strain on Kampuchea's fight against hunger, but it is inevitable in view of the need to restore the country's agriculture.

The problem is that the relief agencies associated with the United Nations are not sending relief to the new régime, because the UN still recognises Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces as the legitimate government of Kampuchea. The Western powers, and in particular the United States, are backing Pol Pot.

Pilger visited the 'refugee' camps in northern Thailand. These camps today are little more than staging posts for Pol Pot's army.

Pilger interviewed American 'advisors' in the



John Pilger with Kampuchean children. A year ago they were starving.

region who claimed that they were there to co-ordinate relief work. In fact some of these same relief workers were named in William Shawcross's book *Sideshow* as CIA coordinators of the previous American war in Kampuchea, when the US was fighting Pol Pot rather than backing him.

Why this switch around? American foreign policy in the region is now based on a tactical alliance with China against the Soviet Union. Pol Pot is backed by China; Vietnam by the Soviet Union.

Blemish

The role of the United States is to try, by channelling relief to Pol Pot's army rather than the Kampuchean government, and by blocking UN recognition of the new government, to de-stabilise the country and disrupt the reconstruction effort.

Pilger's film is an excellent exposé of the role of the West in keeping Pol Pot's guerilla army in existence. It included a bizarre interview in one of the 'refugee' camps with a Khmer Rouge commander who insisted on being referred to as 'Monsieur Le President'.

It showed how the UN-linked relief agencies were pressurised by Western governments into helping Pol Pot, and how the relief effort in Kam-

puchea, financed by thousands of ordinary people, is being sabotaged.

The political framework in which John Pilger's story was told is, at best, confused. Pol Pot, the 'Hitler of our time', appeared to have carried out mass murder because he was 'fanatically left-wing'.

Repulsed by their methods,

Pilger hasn't made much of an effort to understand the theories which led the Khmer Rouge to empty the cities and massacre millions.

Despite this blemish, the overwhelming thrust of Pilger's report was to blame the West for what had happened in Kampuchea over the past decade. Once again, John Pilger is right on target.



Khmer Rouge soldiers in Thai 'refugee' camp.

Socialist Challenge

Dockers fight for the right to work

By Pat Kane

BRITISH dockers are ready to strike to save their jobs.

As we go to press a national meeting of dockers' delegates from the Transport Union has agreed to support indefinite strike action to save 178 jobs at the Liverpool docks. The Tories are worried that this strike could cost British business over £100m each day.

Unemployment has now reached two million, and there is little chance that the Liverpool dockers could find other jobs. Liverpool is typical of most major industrial areas — the Tories want to close it down.

But now Liverpool's dockers have decided to fight for their right to work. This is the biggest challenge to Thatcher's policies yet.

The bosses are scared. The National Docks Labour Board has asked the Liverpool employers to find the dockers alternative jobs.

The employers want to buy their jobs through increased redundancy terms. Liverpool's dockers have rejected this. Instead they are preparing for all-out action.

If the strike takes place it will show every worker faced with redundancy how to fight — by militant, national, industrial action.

All over the country thousands of workers face the sack. A victory on the docks will

transform the prospects for a fightback against unemployment.

The dockers need to organise to win. In the successful 1972 strike, the Tories used non-registered ports to break the strike. This time they should be closed down through mass picketing.

Prior's law shouldn't stop the pickets. The steel strike showed that effective picketing is needed to win, and that means closing down manufacturing industry.

Fords import most of their components — they should be closed down. All food imports should be stopped.

Dockers have always been the first to support other strikers. In Liverpool, they were willing to take strike action to help the steelworkers. Solidarity from the labour movement will make sure they win.

The Tory press has already started to attack the dockers. Only last week the same hack writers were applauding the actions of Polish dockers in toppling the Gierek regime.

If the strike starts, the employers and their friends in the Tory government will do everything to make sure their side wins. We have to do the same. A victory for the dockers will be a victory for the right to work.

Turkey

THE long-expected military coup in Turkey has occurred. Over the past few weeks political murders have rocketed, underlining the chronic political crisis which Demiref's Justice Party government had been incapable of solving.

The army has tried to give the impression of an 'even handed' approach. All the leading politicians have been arrested, and political activity temporarily suspended. This approach has been followed with the trade unions — both 'left' and 'right' unions have been banned.

But the main target is the biggest union — the Confederation of Progressive Workers Unions (DISK). The generals are just putting a temporary muzzle on the Grey Wolves so that the organised workers movement can be broken.

No-one should have any illusions — the generals are no friends of the workers.

* Turkey Under the Generals — see page 12

'COVERAGE of Poland has been brilliant', writes Mike Holbrook this week with an £8 donation to the Fund Drive. If you agree and wish to see *Socialist Challenge* continue to give full coverage to important workers' struggles in the rest of the world then why not send a donation too?

Next week we'll be producing the first issue of the new look *Socialist Challenge*. To celebrate the event — and to raise some funds — there will be a mammoth social in London on Saturday 20 September at Caxton House (for details see page 10).

Outside London, we hope that readers will make a massive effort to send in donations so that we can announce a really big total next week to help give the new look paper a good financial start.

Our thanks this week to:

D. Ross	£10.00
Bath IMG	2.75
E. Mahood	10.00
D. Power	5.00
G. Tomlinson	10.00
I. Miles	2.50
M. Holbrook	8.00
WEEK'S TOTAL	£48.25
GRAND TOTAL	£440.02

ROUT THE TORIES!

Demonstrate 10 October

Midlands Carworkers and Inner London Schoolkeepers are among the latest to pledge support to the 10 October demonstration against unemployment at the Tory conference in Brighton. Tickets for train (leaves Victoria 10am £3 return) from RTWC, 265a Seven Sisters Rd., London N4

