Public Meeting

Stop Thatcher's War Drive **Britain out of** the South Atlantic

Speakers Joan Maynard MP Reg Race MP

Peter Tatchell (Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, **Bermondsey South)**

Andrew Thompson (Latin American Newsletter) Argentinian speaker

Brian Grogan, editor Socialist Challenge

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London Monday 19 April 7.30



Socialist Challenge has assembled a platform of speakers opposing Thatcher's wardrive. seems to be the only real public manifestation of hostility to Thatcher's actions.

Socialists have a fundamental duty to come out openly in their opposition to wars waged by their rul-ing class. All Socialist Challenge supporters, all our friends and anvone wanting to hear and argue for an alternative to Thatcher and the jingoism of Labour's front bench must make every effort to come along to this meeting.

Thatcher might very well be trying to divert attention from the horrors her government have created in Britain. But her war threat is real and must be opposed by all means at our disposal.

Inside this week



British imperialism

Alan Freeman looks at what it is and its bloody history. Centre pages

The left and the **Falklands**

Brian Grogan examines how the left has stood up to the propaganda barrage and Tory press hysteria. p4.

down. Thatcher's cabinet will make no compromise. It is bent on war.

The issue is not about the Falkland ment is to stop Thatcher's Fleet. Islanders. It is about maintaining Britain's world imperialist role.

Through trying to regain the Falklands militarily, Thatcher is warning against any other attempts to chip away at Britain's colonial possessions.

Salpenia viete tianasi.

AMERICAN diplomacy has broken She is also concerned to shore up her bench spokespersons complicity with own shaky government.

The key task of the labour move-

The labour movement cannot be implicated in this warmongering adventure. We need:

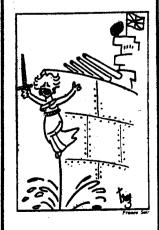
• Resolutions from trade unions and **Labour Parties to flood Michael Foot's** office denouncing his and other front counted.

Thatcher's warmongering

 Public meetings to be called involving all those that oppose Thatcher's war drive including MPs

Pickets to be organised outside military establishments or local Tory headquarters.

Now is the time to stand up and be



The political crisis

Phil Hearse looks at the possible consequences for the Tory government. p2.

Editorial

PO Box 50, London N1 2XP Phone 01-359-8189/8180 (editorial and distribution)

Stop the fleet!

- Recall the fleet
- Recognise Argentinian sovereignty over the island territory and surrounding
- Give the islanders the chance to resettle in where they choose at Britain's cost
- Re-open Britain's doors to Latin American refugees and mobilise labour movement support for Latin American working people in defence of

These are the policies which Socialist Challenge proposes to fight Thatcher's war mania.

The Tories no longer pretend to 'defend the islanders'. As we go to press, Thatcher has rejected even Haig's package, which involves a near-total climbdown by Argentina.

She seeks confrontation and British control to show the whole world that Britain still rules the waves.

Why? Because Britain doesn't just rule the

Anywhere revolution threatens, the British navy - third largest in the world - is there to stop it.

In Gibraltar it controls the mediterranean approach to Southern Europe and the Atlantic approaches to North Africa.

From its Indian ocean bases it surveys South East and South Asia.

From Belize it helps Reagan crush the peoples of Central America.

In Europe Thatcher conspires with Reagan to impose Trident and Cruise missiles.

Thatcher wants to keep this world role and its spoils. She knows that, left to rely on British assets after the carnage they have wreaked on Britain's industry, her class and cabinet would sink never to rise again.

If the Tories provoke confrontation, millions of workers the world over will stand to gain from the defeat. The fleet will not depose the junta: it is the thread by which Galtieri clings to office. If he falls to Thatcher, Reagan and Haig will nominate his replacement within the hour.

Only the cowardice and confusion of our own labour movement has let Thatcher get away with it. If it persists we shall pay a terrible price. Michael Foot digs Labour's grave. To Thatcher will fail every jingo vote the Labour Front Bench has whipped up.

The Parliamentary Labour Party is apoplectic with calls for national unity against Argentina: it has taken giant strides towards 'national unity' against the next economic crisis. That is, the working class paying for the crisis - even under a coalition government with Labour Party participation.

This is not a minor issue, a diversion, something that will go away 'when the islands are retaken' so we can 'return to the class struggle'. If Thatcher wins, the class struggle will never be the same again. She must be stopped.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

If you	wou	ıld l	like	to	be	put	in	touch	with
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Union/CLP (if any)..... Send to: Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50. London N1 2XP.

-----Falklands Crisis

THE TORY CRISIS Between the Magic Circle and the backwoods

'GOVERNMENT LEFT REELING' was a typical headline after the resignation of Peter Carr-Thatcher's Foreign Margaret Secretary. Carrington's resignation was the result of a sustained campaign by Labour and the SDP, not to mention some Tory backbenchers, for the sacking of Carrington and Defence Secretary, John Nott.

The speculation that the government might not be able to survive the crisis is not without foundation.

Apart from Labour and the SDP/Liberal Alliance, Thatcher faces three main enemies. They are the Tory wets, some of her more nutty back-benchers and the United States government. These forces are coming together in a deadly constellation which could finish her off.

The background to Carrington's sacking is instructive. He decided to resign when it became clear that Thatcher, as a last line of defence, was planning to sack him and John Nott should the Falklands expedition end in failure.

In other words, since he has always been in favour of ceding sovereignty of the Falklands to Argentina anyway, he decided to go when it was clear that he would be made one of the scapegoats for the coming

Pym

But Carrington also insisted on resigning only when he was sure that he would be replaced by Francis Pym, now the most senior and least vulnerable of the Tory being groomed the Tory hierarchy (the 'Magic Circle') as the replacement for Thatcher.

In other words, his resignation is also deliberate ploy in the war against Thatcher being surreptitiously waged by sections of the Tories who have opposed her domestic policies since the beginning.

Thatcher is also under fire from a more surprising side. Plenty of Tory backbenchers, absolutely in accord with Thatcher's economic policies, are furious that she has been prepared to run down conventional forces and in particular the Navy, in order to pay for the Trident submarine missile system

Perhaps the most devastating potential enemy of Thatcher though is the United States government. It is determined to prevent a military clash between two crucial allies. And it can torpedo Thatcher at a moment's notice, should she go ahead with her insane military adventure, by simply engineering a run on the pound as they did

Already the pound has been under pressure in the international money markets, and the government could not survive another sharp fall. As in 1956, the United States' price for sanctioning IMF help would be the cessa-tion of military hostilities. Thatcher would not be able to survive such an outcome.

during the Suez crisis in

Thatcher's chance of surviving the crisis and coming out of it relatively unscathed depend on a successful conclusion of negotiations with the Argentinians. The outline of a deal is undoubtedly being worked out by Alexander Haig in his trans-

atlantic shuttling.
But even if the Argenti-

troops

and Thatcher emerges unscathed, the prime responsibility will lie with their support for the naval adventure has been to

within a right-wing nationalistic framework.

If the islands are now returned to British administration, if not sovereignty, all the Labour leadership will be able to leadership will be able to do is give hearty congratulations to Thatcher. On top of that they will probably be drawn praising the 'brilliant statesmanship' of Alexander Haig in his role of Mr Fix-it!

Whatever the outcome of the Falklands adventure, there is no doubt that sections of the Tory party have now definitively concluded that Thatcher must go, and are actively working to ditch her and install Francis Pym. Even a right-winger like John Biffen, now elevated to Leader of the House of Commons, is at pains to demonstrate his 'independence' Thatcher (not that it will do him any good when the Magic Circle has its 'night of the long knives').

from the Falklands in exchange for the withdrawal of the naval task force, a deal will involve many points of compromise which are difficult for the

If a deal is worked out the Labour leadership who have jumped on the jingoistic bandwagon with a vengeance. The result of drastically limit public discussion of the crasi

> After the 1956 debacle, it was possible to happily replace Eden with Macmillan, and pretend that nothing had happened. Macmillan then went on to win the 1959 General Elec-

> Today, changing horses in mid-stream is a much more hazardous exercise. The policies of this government are stamped with Thatcher's own approach which Pym would change towards more 'centre' SDP-type policies. An attempt to change the existing government in this direction means a general election and prolonged ructions throughout the Tory party.

The possibility of the government falling poses



Labour with a number of important tasks. Labour must be prepared to fight a general election in the short term. It must advance clear socialist solutions to the crisis, with no compromises. In particular, the Labour leadership must be broken from its jingoistic complicity with the Falklands adventure.

More Labour must give a clear assurance here and now that there will be no coalition with the SDP/Liberal Alliance after a general election. The Tory crisis can be the labour movement's opportunity — but only if it stands on socialist policies in Britain and internationally.



Scottish workers march against Trident

By Tony Southall in Glasgow

MORE THAN 20,000 people marched through the centre of Glasgow last Saturday in Scotland's biggest ever anti-bomb demonstration.

Organised by the Scottish Campaign Against Trident, its size reflected massive opposition to the missiles to be sited only 20 miles from the city cen-

The Clyde's role as the base for Britain's new first strike missile system has created a movement with overwhelming support in Scotland. Polls show more than 80 per cent oppose Trident.

Even more significantly a clear majority unilateral favour nuclear disarmament. The march was widely representative. Organised contingents came from numerous Labour Parties and trades councils, nearly every major trade union and the Scottish National Party.

The multitude of banners from local CND groups showed the anti-nuclear movement now exists in virtually every town and village from the Shetlands to Solway.

But this was no mere nationalist demonstration. Collections for the FDR of El Salvador and the Scottish Medical Aid Campaign for Nicaragua raised more than £140. Marchers obviously realised that the fight against the bomb is part of the against imperialism international-

Speakers committed CND to building a contingent for Reagan's reception in London on 6 June double the size of the representation from Scotland from last October's demonstration. Clearly it is the proximity of Trident that makes it possible to build such huge opposition here in Scotland.

CND throughout Britain should now make repulsing Trident central target. Doubts about Trident in ruling class circles now make this a real possibility.

It could provide CND with its first major victory, laying the basis for defeating Cruise and opening the way to winning our full target of unilateral disarmament.

Scottish Campaign Against Trident





SCAT420 Sauchiehall St. Glasgow 041-332 3141



Reagan trains Argentine torturers

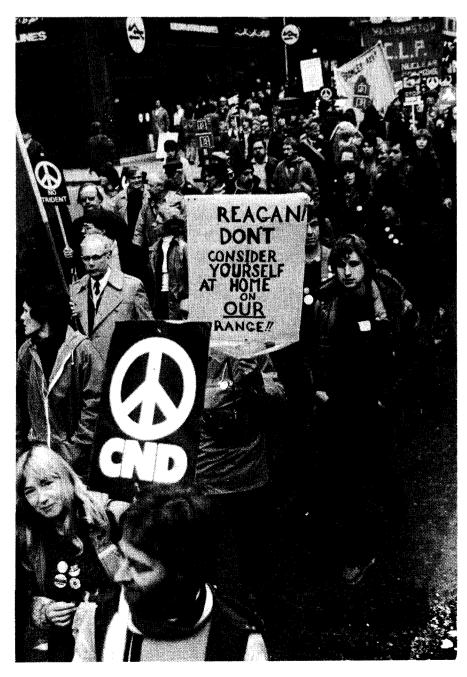
ISN'T IT amazing how many politicians have suddenly discovered that Argenrun dy tascist dictators/ i ne absolutely right, of course, even if their hypocrisy in previously refusing to back protests against violations of human rights in Argentina sticks in the throat.

And there are no two guesses for who supplies the Argentinian junta with its electric shock machines to torture trade unionists and human rights campaigners, or who allows the Argentinian military elite to be trained in torture treatment.

Yes, it's President Reagan, the man of 'peace' in the current Falklands dispute. Never a US president to be concerned about 'human rights', Reagan is straining every nerve to prevent his two reactionary allies falling out over such a trifling matter as the Falklands.

After all Thatcher is his most fervent ally on installing US Cruise and Trident missiles in Europe, and the Argentinian military is needed to be part of a counter-revolutionary strike force against the revolutions in Central America.

The best way to keep that worried look on \$\\^\\$ Reagan's face is to join the European-wide movement to give him a warm reception for his June visit - the first step towards creating a Reaganfree world.



Campaign grows against Reagan

REAGAN Reception Committees have sprung up all over the country. Labour movement and anti-imperialist activists are uniting with CND groups to ensure the maximum turnout for the national CND march on 6 June and the other anti-Reagan actions planned for 7/8 June in London.

Birmingham: Ronald Reagan Reception Committee set up on 5 April.

Sponsors include: Les Huckfield and David Winnick, Labour MPs; Paul Mackney, chair of the Trades Council, and Greg Campbell, secretary of District Labour Party; Birmingham CND and the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign; Young Socialists branches in Ladywood, Sparkhill, Selly Oak and Handsworth; ethnic organisations including the Bangladeshi Workers Association, British Muslim Association, Midlands Region

Activities planned include; 3 May launch rally with Jon Snow invited; a campaign to get all Labour MPs to boycott Reagan's speech to parliament: a Disarmament Non-intervention Week of Action from 23-29 May with FDR speakers touring colleges and workplaces; a Rock Against Reagan gig on 29 May. The chairperson is Stephanie Grant and the secretary, Valerie Coultas, c/o 137 Digbeth, Birmingham, B5.

North-West London: Reagan Reception Committee action on 8 April 1988. mittee set up on 8 April.

Sponsors include: Ken Livingstone, GLC leader; Illtyd Harrington, GLC Councillor (Brent South); all local CND groups including Youth CND; Brent South LP; local trade unionists including Tom Durkin (president of Brent Trades Council) and John Godfrey (Secretary of Neasden ASLEF) and AUEW shop stewards at Desoutters; Socialist Challenge and Revolution Youth.

Activities include a public meeting on Tue 18 May showing the film El Salvador — another Vietnam and featuring speakers, and a motorcade through Brent. Brent Youth CND is holding a Keep Reagan out of Brent concert on Sat 17 April at Tavistock Hall, Tavistock Rd, NW10, 4-11pm. Featured are speakers, live theatre, music, displays and refreshments.

East London: Reagan Reception Committee set

up on 2 April.

Sponsors include: Ernie Roberts, Labour MP; all East London CND groups and East London Region CND who convened the meeting to set up the campaign; the El Salvador Solidarity campaign; the Labour Club at City Polytechnic; the Tower Hamlets Trades Council and the NUR branch at Kings Cross, as well as other Labour Party and trade union branches.

Activities include: mass leafleting of markets; statement for local celebrities and labour movement figures to sign opposing Reagan's visit and supporting the anti-Reagan events of 6/7/8 June this will appear as an ad in local papers in June; a Rock Against Reagan gig in Stoke Newington Hall on 20 May and a rally in same venue on 26 May. The co-ordinator is Phil Waterhouse, c/o THIS, Oxford House, Derbyshire St, London E2. Manchester: sponsors include Michael Meacher, Frank Allaun, George Morton, James Lamond, Andrew Bennett, Labour MPs; Eric Hughes, regional secretary UCATT, Colin Barnett, secretary of North West TUC, who is the honorary president of the committee; the El Salvador Solidarity Committee, and many local CND groups sent representatives to first meeting of the campaign. Chairperson is Mike Hyns, Greater Manchester councillor responsible for coordinating Greater Manchester's nuclear free zone policy and the secretary is Redmond O'Neill, c/o 214 Princess Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.

Activities planned include: CND march on 17 April with Frank Allaun and Mike Hyns speaking; tour by FDR speaker on 20-22 April including a rally with Manuel Bravo of FDR and Colin Barnett, NW TUC at Lesser Free Trade Hall at 7.30 on 22 April; a Reagan Reception Committee Rally on 29 April at Unicorn, Church St. Piccadilly; a solidarity with El Salvador week of action on 17-22 May with FDR speakers touring union branches and workplaces, including showings of 'El Salvador — another Vietnam' and Camerawork El Salvador exhibition, culminating in a major indoor rally on 22 May; sponsored walk to raise money to send youth down to the 6/7/8 June events in London.

National Reagan Reception Committee can be contacted at PO Box 51. London SW 19

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ALMOST incredibly Britain is blundering towards war with Argentina under the blind leadership of the Tories..

The origins of the crisis itself are not to be found in simply asking 'who struck the first blow?', but in the class relations in Argentina and Britain, and it is on this pasis that socialists must look at the possible outcome. Whose class interests are served by the Argentine invasion and whose class interests are served by a British military expedition?

From the point of view of the Argentine regime, there is no doubt that the whole adventure arose because of the growing opposition at home ... a fundamental obstacle to any complete absorption of the islands into Argentine, other than the British traditions of the residents, was undoubtedly the absence of democratic rights there.

Given the class basis of the Argentine regime and the effects of the invasion on the Islanders themselves, there can be no hesitation in condemning the invasion that

took place on 2 April.

But it would be equally wrong to support the jingoism and the chauvinism of the Tory press and the Thatcher government in Britain ... Workers can give no support whatsoever to the lunatic adventure now being prepared by the Thatcher government. In order to save face for itself, it is gambling with the lives of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and sailors, both British and

The labour movement cannot align itself either with the Argentine regime or the Thatcher government. The interests of workers in Britain and Argentina will not be served by supporting either capitalist government in this

Ultimately the only action which can in any real way help the Falkland Islanders is international class action against the junta. It is not excluded that Thatcher will float the idea of a trade boycott through the United Nations, the EEC and other international capitalist bodies.

The labour movement should give no support to such a policy, which would be based on purely capitalist sanctions against a regime which they have belatedly found to be unacceptably 'fascist' ... Nevertheless the labour movement has a duty to take action in support of the

Falkland Islanders and the Argentine working class ... The British labour movement must take the initiative in calling for the blacking of all trade with Argentina, calling on the labour movement internationally for sup-

Morning Star

THE special sitting of the House of Commons on Saturday (3 April) was nothing less than an orgy of frenzied 19th century jingoism, irresponsible bellicosity, unabashed hypocrisy, and pure farce in the tradition of Gilbert and Sullivan. The performance of the Labour Front Bench in that unseemly spectacle was frankly a disgrace.

Nothing in fact can excuse the double-talk and double standards displayed on all sides of the House of Commons on Saturday ... Anyone in Britain who supports the NATO alliance with the US is actually supporting an alliance with the very country responsible for the existence in South America of the fascist juntas, be they in Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile or elsewhere...

The Morning Star has always maintained that international disputes must be settled by negotiation. That is why it is against the use of force by the Argentinians ... Britain's claim to sovereignty over these islands thousands of miles away is actually quite untenable, in practice and in terms of natural

The Islands were taken by force and Argentina has never ceased to demand their return. The claim to sovereignty is nothing more than an attempt to cling on to part of the last few remaining square miles of the British Empire, which has now collapsed and gone for ever

To launch a counter military action now would only compound the errors of the past ... There is now only one thing to do - to negotiate on the basis of which should have been adopted all along. To cede the claim to sovereignty, and, under UN auspices, to seek the ways of guaranteeing the rights and legitimate interests of the inhabitants.

Committee for Human Rights on Argentina

Human Rights in Argen-tina (CHRA) feels that the needs to intensify represaspirations of the in-habitants of the islands can in no way be served by that all military aggression a military confrontation on both sides should stop, between Argentina and as the first and essential Britain, either on the step towards holding islands themselves or in negotiations involving the

surrounding waters.

Committee for Islanders, and provide the realisation of the sion against the Argenti-legitimate desires and nian people.

We therefore believe A confrontation would groups concerned bring a real threat to the Argentines, British and security and welfare of the Islanders.

Black workers at Ford Dagenham have been consoling middle aged white workers with a friendly pat on the back and a reminder: 'Never mind, you've still got Tonga.

E LEFT AND THE

Truth will out. The Tories' pretended concern for the Falkland Islanders is no more than a fig leaf to cover the warmongering of the Thatcher government.

As this becomes clear, the reaction of the Labour leaders is more and more seen as an absolute disgrace. Trying to outdo the Tories in bellicosity can only succeed - if at all - in strengthening Thatcher's government.

Britain's Despite claims, Falkland Islands are economically integrated into Argentina. Yet even the lefts have allowed themselves to be taken in by the 'humanitarian' claims of Thatcher. Once again they have failed to understand the immutable maxim that war is simply politics by other (that is, violent) means.

War threats against Argentina are part and parcel of the previous politics of the Thatcher government. They flow from the same basic interests: to keep the entire region, including Argentina, under imperialist domination. And that means keeping the path open to further plunder, oppression of nations and suppression of the working class movement.

Heel

Britain has backed the trampling under foot of democratic rights by the junta. This policy was necessary to keep Argentina under imperialist domination. This remains the issue in relation to the Islands not Islanders themselves.

The achilles heel of the Labour left is to make its starting point the 'interests of the Falkland Islanders.' It would be inappropriate for socialists to blithely aside concern for them. However, such concern must not get in the way of a strict analysis of what is at stake. To worry away at the poor Islanders 'facing fascist aggression' to substitute the uninteresting question of who fired the first shot for

such an analysis. The Falkland Islanders have every right to remain British if that is what they desire. They have every right to settle in Britain presently denied them by the Tory immigration laws. But equally they also ought to consider living under Argentinian jurisdiction — alongside the 20,000 British residents already in Argentina.

But they cannot claim the Falkland territories as British. These islands were taken from the Argentinians by force and have been claimed by the Argentinians ever since.

The Islanders are a settler population inseparably linked to the attempts by imperialism to deny Argentinian sovereignty. We have to defend their human and democratic rights but it is a falsehood to grant them national rights.

Not that they are demanding independence.
They are demanding to be
British. Once this false
claim of British sovereignty is accepted, it is difficult in logic to defy Thatcher's bandwaggon.

Tony Benn, Joan Maynard, Frank Allaun and other left MPs have called for the return of the fleet. Good. But basing this on 'the interests of the Falkland Islanders' rather than opposition to imperialism's false claims, they fail to break from Thatcher's framework and are prone to being drawn into it.

Junta

At least Reg Race admits the contradiction. But his solution — to 'solve the issue by negotiais inadequate because it fails to provide the principles by which such negotiations should proceed.

The Morning Star, reflecting the position of the Communist Party, is certainly unequivocal that Britain should cede sovereignty. But it is tight-lipped on the Argentinian's case. It hints at the Argentinian's rights but fails to tackle them head on. In the face of the pre-

sent propaganda offensive such an omission disastrous.

In denying Argentinian rights, the left also gets diverted by making an over-riding concern the political character of the semi-fascist junta. To be sure workers throughout the world have a profound hatred of this gang of murderers. Yet in reality any British victory in this crisis will not help the Argentinian workers.
Certainly Galtieri will

fall. But he will be replaced by an even more blood-

thirsty fascist. This is imperialism's way. The only way to approach the in-terests of the Argentinian workers is from an understanding of world dependence of the present Argentinian government on imperialism.

Leipzie R Co

Militant rejects this Trotskyist basic framework. Its starting point looks OK: 'The origins of the crisis itself are not found in simply asking "who struck the asking "who struck the first blow?", but in the class relations in Argen-

tina and Britain'. But the class relations in Argentina cannot ignore the domination of Argentina by imperialism.

But by doing this, Militant's analysis leads them to pin-point the root of the crisis in 'the growing opposition (to the junta) at home'

This simply begs the question. For how was it that the dictatorship was able to play this card? Something more must be than issue longstanding demagogic claims of sovereignty. In

Dalry/Tynecastle Labour Party Branch

The following motion on the situation in the Falkland Islands was adopted as policy by the above body at its meeting on 7 April 1982.

'Dalry/Shandon Labour Party condemns the support given by Michael Foot and some of the Parliamentary Labour Party to the warmongering of Thatcher and the Tories. We oppose the use of military force to solve the situation in the Falkland Islands.

'In no way do we support the repressive fascist junta in Argentina and we totally condemn the manner in which they took over the Falkland Islands, as there can be no guarantee that the civil liberties or way of life of the people of the Falkland Islands will be upheld by the military jun-

'This ward however recognises that the Falkland Islands are much nearer to Argentina and that there is no way that anyone can claim that they are part of Britain and no British government can always defend the Falkland Islands from

eight thousand miles away.

'We do not believe that the loss of British, Falkland or Argentinian lives or the economic cost of using force to try and retake the islands is justified. War would not be in the interests of the Falklanders, British or Argentinian

'We therefore say that the inhabitants of the Falklands, if they wish to be British, should be allowed to come to Britain, or to a place of their choice with suitable compensation for their loss of livelihood. The Coalite company shareholders should only be compensated on the basis of proven need.

'This ward party rejects the tactics used by both the British government and the Argentinian junta to divert attention from their internal chaos by fostering a patriotic, war-time hysteria.

'We call on Robin Cook, MP, the Labour Party NEC and the PLP to oppose the use of military force and urge that negotiations, based on the preceeding statement, be started.'

Peter Tatchell

THE Falkland Islands belong to Argentina, and it would seem more to negotiate rather than to send out the fleet in a show of military bravado which may in fact jeopardise lives of the islanders.

Will the people who are captivated by war fever and jingoism be so enthusiastic when the government raises taxes to pay for this and when our soldiers and sailors, and the islanders are killed in battle?

The Labour Party has for years campaigned against the fascist dictatorship in Argentina while the Tories have happily traded and sold arms to the junta. It's a pity Mrs Thatcher and David Owen didn't heed our warnings a few years ago.

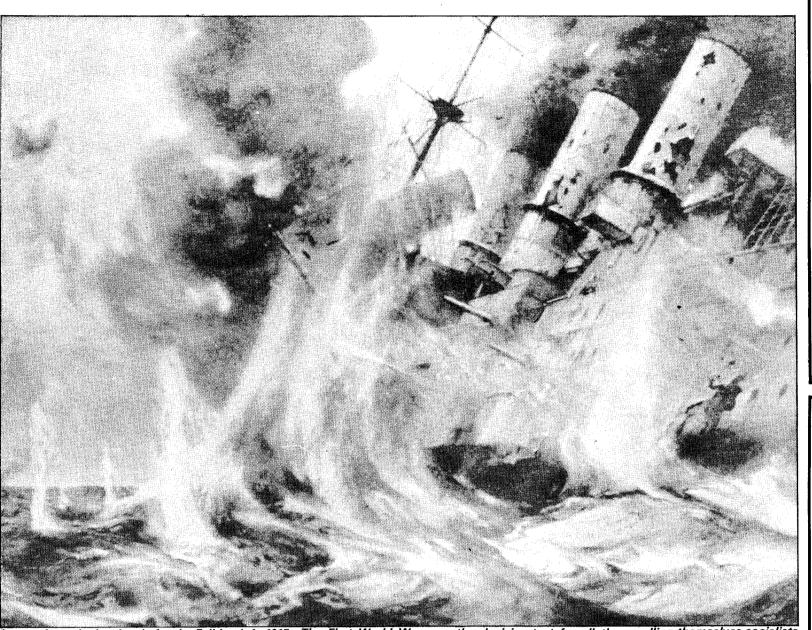
Nevertheless cessive governments including Labour bear some responsibility for the present because they stalled on negotiating decolonisa-

Frank Allaun

THE Tory government got us in this mess. If they had acted weeks ago, this situation would not have arisen. Similarly if they had not armed the fascist generals of Argentina and other southern hemisphere countries then we would not be in this plight.

But now there are only two choices: the first is to fight it out between the two navies. This would involve the destruction of 1800 Falkland islanders in the crossfire. Then in addition several thousand

FALKLANDS CRISIS Socialist Worker



Scenes from the last battle for the Falklands in 1915. The First World War was the decisive test for all those calling themselves socialists. It was the decisions of the leaderships of all the European socialist parties to defend their 'own fatherlands' and lead workers into mass slaughter which made necessary the building of new socialist workers parties. It signified the end of the Second International as a vehicle for socialist change.

truth, Argentinian govern-ments of all stripes have persistently raised their claim ever since they were kicked off the islands lock, stock and barrel by the British in 1833.

Militant practices the worst kind of social chauvinism (socialism in words, chauvinism in practice) when it attempts to reduce the crisis to a fight between the capitalist governments — 'the interests of workers in Britain and Argentina will not be served by supporting either capitalist government in this dispute'. What confusion.

The issue is not that of supporting either govern-ment. It is the claims of peoples and nations: one an oppressor nation, the other an oppressed one. Socialists cannot remain neutral in such a conflict as they would in one between two imperialist powers. It is necessary for British workers to break from imperialist claims for as Marx said 'a nation which oppresses another will not itself be free'.

A victory for Argen-

tina could perhaps shore up Galtieri in the short run. But this is not the whole story. Any Argenti-nian success will help undermine the hold of the regime. The mass mobilisations and the antimass imperialist demands' they have promoted will have a tendency to cut a cross the pro-imperialist stance of

the junta. Militant argues that the salvation of the Falkland Islanders rests in the hands of the Argentinian opposition. This is true. But all the main forces of the op-

position endorsed last weekend's mammoth demonstrations. This included the Argentinian trade union federation, the CGT, who had the previous week organised general strike action against the government.

Even Argentinian revolutionaries forced into exile in Cuba by the junta were reported as volunteering to defend the islands against the British task force, despite their undying opposition to the junta. The defeat of Britain and the victory of

Argentina in any military conflict is the best way to 'help the opposition in Argentina' and lay the conditions for the over-throw of the junta.

Any other road leads us play to accommodation with imperialism as the case of Militant shows. In reflecting the Tories' demands for economic boycotts, it calls for workers to black Argentinian goods — thus in practice for workers. tice favouring a British victory. No socialist can follow this road.

British people in the Argentine would be at risk. Last, the British and Argentinian servicemen are in grave danger.

Even if, after all the carnage, the Royal Navy won, warships would have to stay there indefinitely. One British life or one Falkland islander's life is more precious than all the acres of sheepland. Mrs Thatcher and Mr Nott having been trounced in the parliamentary debate may overreact and behave

The second alternative is to resettle the islanders who wish to come to Britain or New Zealand, probably they would wish to do so. If you paid each of the 600 families £30,000 each it would cost £18m, which is peanuts compared with the cost of the naval exercise.





Frank Allaun

'Stop Thatcher's war drive'

Brian Grogan spoke to

What is your attitude to the Falklands crisis?

Our first task is to oppose the jingoism in the Labour Party and the labour movement generally. We must discuss the crisis with two main principles in mind. First, the burning need to stop Thatcher's war drive, and second to supporting the Falkland islanders who have been subjected to clear military aggres-

Do you think the Argentinians have any real claim?

Whether they have a claim to sovereignty is irrelevant. The fact is that all the people there are British. There are no Argentinians. It is a straightforward case of military aggression by a fascist state.

But centring on the Argentinian's action, without looking at it from the broader view of who has jurisdiction over the Falklands, creates the big

danger of being drawn in behind

Not at all. There are two conflicting objectives. One is to stop war but the other is to defend the Falklanders. This means insisting on negotiations whose aim should be to take the Falkland islanders off if they want to leave. This is the only

What do you think we should do in

sensible course.

Britain? We must give a lead to oppose the war drive. The de facto attitude of many people in the Parliamentary Labour Party is to support Thatcher. There is talk about not giving a blank cheque to the Tories but in reality there is little opposition to what looks like a very real danger of war.

What do you think of Tony Benn's position in calling for the fleet to be stopped?

There is nothing we can do about the fleet now. It is therefore the wrong issue to centre on. The main thing is to fight the war danger.

THE fact is that the Falkland Islands are geographically part of Argentina, dependent upon that country for their supplies and communications. They are only 'British' because a gunboat seized them 150 years ago as part of the process of building an Empire upon which 'the sun never set'. Today the only sure future for the inhabitants of the Islands lies in learning to live as part of their giant neighbour ...

Finally, we are told Argentina is ruled by a fascist military junta. This is the only bit of truth in the whole war hysteria. It is hardly news to genuine socialists.

It is only when they want trade unionists in this country to support their war lunacy that suddenly we hear of the right wing death squads and the thousands of murdered and tortured people...

They do not care how many Argentinians, Falkland Islanders or British sailors die in the process. We urge all our readers to resist this lunacy ..

THE 'Iron Lady' can hardly preach peace in such a situation so she's running in front of the storm trying to restore her credibility. She believes she can buy party support by making Carrington, and probably at a later

stage, John Nott, the scapegoat.

But she may end up weakening her own government even more. The last time this happened, over Suez in 1956, the result was a fiasco which destroyed the Tory

The Tories' disarray could be the opportunity for the working class movement to fight back over the government's real crimes — unemployment the anti-union laws, cuts and fare increases.

It's a disgrace that instead of rising to these issues the Labour leadership of Foot, Healey, and Silkin are joining calls for war.



Tony Benn: 'No to task force'

NO blank cheque for this operation has been given to the government by the Opposition Front Bench. If somebody is to try later to cash a blank cheque, it might be better to say now that we do not want to issue a cheque at all. That is my position. The risks of this exercise far exceed the gains and indeed contradict the legitimate objectives of the govern-

I give three objectives to the government. First, the safety of the islanders should be our prime concern. If we get it wrong, as I said, there will be no one to consult. That must mean seeking a local administration that will protect the islanders from the tyranny of their new occupying consul.

Alternatively there must be resettlement, but do not threaten them with landing craft. Their little wooden houses would quickly be destroyed by either the invader or our assault troops.

Second, a United Nations peace-keeping force must be established in the Falkland Islands ... If that proposal includes a United Nations mandate, the question of sovereignty could be merged into the United Nations, and the world will support Britain against Argentina.

Third, now is the time for the Prime Minister to say that we would be prepared to cede sovereignty — to a condominium or to the United Nations ... We must be prepared to contemplate a range of solutions provided that the Falkland islanders can

None of these legitimate and constructive proposals require the task force. The task force involves enormous risks. It will cost this country a far greater humiliation than we have already suffered, and if history repeats itself, it will cost the Prime Minister her position.

The dictators confront one another South GERRITORY SOUTH GERRI

AS THE British battle fleet sails southwards, rumours circulate about the possibility of British use of Chilean ports against the Argentinians. Chile and Argentina are in conflict over the possession of three small islands south of the Beagle Channel, and in 1977 came close to

The difficulties faced by Argentina's General Galtieri could be seized upon by the Chilean dictator, General Pinochet, to deliver a stab to Argentina's back.

Galtieri is the fourth general to hold the office president since the military coup in Argentina in 1976. The coup was the end product of a process which began with the workers uprising in Cordoba, the second in-dustrial centre, in 1969 against the Ongania against the military regime.

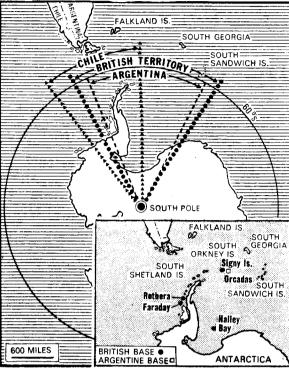
Ongania had attemp-to impose lasting authoritarian government, but was defeated by the mobilisation of Argen-tina's immensely strong labour movement. The revolt in Cordoba — the 'Cordobazo' — was Cordobazo' defeated by the army after three days of struggle, and followed by revolts in other Argentinian cities.

Ongania resigned in 1970. The generals who followed him decided on a process of partial return to civilian rule. But the elecwhich followed resulted in the election of the Peronist candidate Dr Hector Campora in the first free elections for 20 years. Any hope of a civilmilitary alliance to keep control went out of the window.

The resurgence of Peronism was remarkable. Peron himself was president of Argentina between 1945 and 1955. He mobilised the working class around a programme of nationalist industrial development. Balancing between the capitalists and the workers, he capitalised on the post-war conditions of international boom to satisfy both the workers' demands for better conditions and the bosses' demands for higher pro-

Using state control of the agricultural sector he was able to buy cheap from the landowners and sell dear to the booming international grain and meat market. The surplus was pushed into industrial investment and workers' living standards.

His ten year period in government thus became looked upon as an idyllic period in Argentinian history. After the Peronist electoral victory Peron himself was brought back from exile in 1974 to be President. But Peron and, after his death, his widow, Isabel, were unable to repeat the operation of the original Peronist govern-



Rival claims by Chile, Argentina and Britain in An tartica

After years of austerity, wages were allowed to rise. Consumption rose but exports declined. The economy went into a spin. Sections of the Peronist movement — both the main labour federation the CGT and the radicals of the Peronist youth and the Monteneros - opposed the government.

When the generals saw what was happening they decided that the 'democratic interlude' had gone far enough. The result was the 'cold' military coup military coup without mass opposition or violence brought General Videla to power in 1976.

Since that time the successive generals have used the threat of 'terrorism' -



Pinochet

organisations were all but defeated by 1976 anyway — to launch a wave of repression against the Argentinian workers.



General Ongania, Argentinian dictator until 1970

Thousands have been murdered and 15,000 have 'disappeared', which means they have been secretly abducted and in most cases tortured to death by the dictatorship.

Galtieri's General move against the Falklands comes in the wake of the biggest wave of trade union demonstrations for many years. There is no doubt that it is directed towards creating national

government's difficulties. Pinochet is of course a

much better known figure than Galtieri. Brought to power by the anti-Allende coup in 1973, Pinochet's period in office is best summed up by the fact that today something like ten per cent of Chileans live in exile.
Chile is the country in

which monetarism has been most systematically put into practice under the supervision Milton Friedman.

The result has been a widening gap between the mass of workers and the unemployed who have become increasingly poor, and the increasingly affluent middle class.

Despite periodic rumours to the contrary, at no stage has the regime made even tentative moves towards democratisation or a democratic interlude. The torture and the repression remain as vicious as

ever.
The dispute between Argentina and Chile over the three uninhabited islands south of the Tierra del Fuego is primarily a dispute over rival claims to sectors of the Antarctic — rich in potentially rich in minerals. The islands protect a region of sovereign-ty, which under the existing laws of the sea, could give one or other party a better legal basis for their respective claims

Both the Chilean and Argentinian claims, how-ever, overlap with Britain's. For Britain as well, control over the Falklands and South Georgia has at least strategic significance, in protecting British bases and the British claim Argentinian against military personnel already in the Antarctic.

Nicaragua mobilises!

By Michael Baumann in Managua

NICARAGUA is mobilising to defend its revolution against further blows from the United States.

In the space of only four days, Reagan's threats have been backed up by the bombing of two bridges near the Honduran border, an attack on two fishing vessels in Nicaraguan territorial waters, and the killing of three soldiers in a clash with a counterrevolutionary band.

Hungreds of meetings have been held at workplaces throughout the country to discuss the gravity of the situation and the immediate measures that need to be taken. One of these meetings, held in Managua on 17 March, brought together representatives of every single union in the city. Similar gatherings have taken place in other areas.

Emergency networks of defence, production, food distribution, price control, information, health and sanitation, and construction are being set into place.

There is wide popular support for this decisive reponse to the US-backed attacks, including for the measures in the decree establishing a state of emergency in the country

On the legal front, the government decreed a suspension of the constitution, suspended news broadcasts on capitalist-owned radio stations, and ordered pre-publication review of all newspapers and periodicals. Also suspended was the broadcast of 'opinion programs of political parties and all other organisations.'

These measures are to remain in force for thirty days, at which time they may be renewed if deemed necessary.



Sandinista soldiers display explosives captured from counter-revolutionaries operating

Response to appeals for militia volunteers has been massive. Eighteen thousand members of the Sandinista Youth alone have enrolled.

Here in Managua, thousands have turned out three nights a week for training in each of the several centres.

In Matagalpa, a city of 40,000 to the north, 2,500 volunteered 16 March. After several hours of evening training, the new recruits held a march through the main street of the city in answer to Reagan. In Juigalpa, a city to the east a similar demonstration was held the same

night after the evening's training. In León, a city of 250,000, five centres of militia training were required to accommodate

In addition to joining the militias, the peo-ple of Nicaragua are contributing whatever skills they have to the defence of the revolution.

Doctors and nurses are being organised into medical brigades to assure battlefield care and general medical care for the population under conditions of war.

A brigade of engineers and geologists is be-

ing formed to aid the population in constructing bomb shelters.

And in a country where the battle for

culture and literacy remains one of the highest priorities, special brigades of artists, per-formers, teachers, and journalists have been formed to ensure support to the means of com-munication, accurate news and historical accounts, and mobile cultural events.

Special attention has been paid to the critical task of guaranteeing continued supply and distribution of food. In the large central markets where most food is sold, a major effort has been made to enrol individual market-stall proprietors in the militia and vigilance commitand in some cases to fortify the markets against military attack.

Trenches have been dug at the Roberto Huembes outdoor market in Managua, where two-thirds of the proprietors have already joined the militia or the Sandinista Defence Com-

Price committees have also been established to ensure that no one takes advantage of the heightened tension to artificially hike food

In Managua's Eastern Market, thirty-four CDSs are already on duty for precisely this purpose. In the large supermarkets, the supermarket workers' union is fulfilling the same

All of these steps are proceeding calmly, in a highly organised way.

The watchword was given by a member of the Government of National Reconstruction, Sergio Ramirez, in a nationally televised speech 17 March:

'Defence is not solely a military matter; it also requires production, work, and above all order and discipline. That is what the country needs at this time.

And that is what it is getting.

Socialism and war

By Brian Grogan

WITH THE DISPATCH of the British naval task force to the Falklands, the possibility of war between Britain and Argentina becomes very real.

Even if this crisis does not result in a military clash, the question of what attitude socialists should adopt is being earnestly debated in the labour movement

The starting point is that war is simply politics by other means. We can no more support Thatcher in war than we can support her attacks on our living conditions and democratic rights here in Britain.

Despite the awful jingoism of the Labour leadership, this basic mistrust of Thatcher has come through from rank and file militants.

What confuses many is their deep felt hatred of the Argentinian butchers. Surely, they argue, we cannot support their military victory over Britain?

This is not the first time that such a situation has developed. Leon Trotsky, who together with Lenin led the Russian Revolution in 1917, took this issue up on a number of occasions.

He fought long and hard against those who took as their starting point the form of the government rather than the relation between classes and nations. For him, the basic issue was what relation the countries and their economies had to each other.

He argued that in any conflict between an imperialist country like Britain and a dependent one, like Argentina, socialists always took the side of the dependent country whatever its form of government.

His starting point was the impact of such a conflict in world politics. For him a defeat for the imperialist power would stimulate and strengthen the struggle of all oppressed peoples and weaken the ability of imperialism to keep them down.

He also thought that whatever short term benefits the dictatorship might gain, the overall effect would be to undermine it.

This is the general position of Socialist Challenge in relation to the conflict between Britain and Argentina.

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HERE we reproduce two pieces by Leon Trotsky. In the first extract, written in 1938, he deals with an exactly analogous situation of a putative conflict between Britain and the then semi-fascist Brazil.

Getuilo Vargas who held power at the time, had declared strikes illegal, closed down labour movement publications and arrested union leaders.

His 1937 constitution had denied workers as a class all rights.

The second was written in 1938 in response to the

• IN BRAZIL there now reigns a semi-fascist regime that every revolutionary can only view with hatred. Let us assume, however, that on the morrow, England enters into a military conflict with Brazil.

I ask you, on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally — in this case I will be on the side of 'fascist' Brazil against 'democratic' Great Britain.

Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism.

If England should be victorious, she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil.

If Brazil on the contrary should be victorious, it will give a mighty impulse to national and democratic consciousness of the country and will lead to the overthrow of the Vargas dictatorship.

The defeat of England

The defeat of England will at the same time deliver a blow to British imperialism and will give an impulse to the revolutionary movement of the British proletariat.

Truly one must have an empty head to reduce world antagonisms and military conflicts to the struggle between fascism

and democracy.

Under all masks one must know how to distinguish exploiters, slave owners and robbers!

From Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39), Pathfinder Press

Italian invasion o Ethiopia.

It argued against the leaders of the Independent Labour Party in Britain who had previously split from the Labour Party to the left and for a time had been sympathetic to building a new Fourth International.

The ILP leader, Maxton, refused to support the Ethiopians against the fascist Mussolini on the grounds of the equally reactionary character of the Ethiopian ruler, Haile Selassie (the Negus). He wanted to take a neutral stance.

fact relieves the proletariat of the duty of making a choice between two dic-

They thus define the character of the war by the political form of the state, in the course of which they themselves regard this political form in a quite superficial and purely descriptive manner without taking into consideration the social foundations of both 'dictatorships'.

A dictator can also play a progressive role in history, for example, Oliver Cromwell, Robespierre etc.

On the other hand, right in the midst of the English democracy, Lloyd George exercised a highly reactionary dictatorship during the war.

Should a dictator place himself at the head of the next uprising of the Indian people in order to smash the British yoke — would Maxton then refuse this dictator support? Yes or no?

If not, why does he refuse this support to the Ethiopian 'dictator' who is attempting to cast off the Italian voke?

Italian yoke?

If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples of Africa and elsewhere.

The victory of the Negus, however, would mean a mighty blow, not only at Italian imperialism, but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the op-



Leon Trotsky

• MAXTON and the others opine that the Italo-Ethiopian war is a 'conflict between two rival dictators'. To these politicians, it appears that this

pressed peoples.

One must really be completely blind not to see this.

this.
Writings of Leon Trotsky
(1935-36), Pathfinder Press.



Demonstration in Buenos Aires in support of the demand for the return of the Falkland Islands to Argentinian sovereignty — supported by the workers movement.

Socialist Challenge FUND DRIVE '82

Invest against jingoism

The last two weeks should have proven once again to all our readers how invaluable a weapon Socialist Challenge is.

Ours has been the only paper to take an uncompromising internationalist position against the Tories war drive.

What the last days have shown is how powerful the propaganda drive of our ruling class can be and how quickly political forces can get skittled over. This is only a small taste of how things are going to develop as international class polarisation increases. Socialist Challenge is your investment against the ruling class felling all before it.

No single reader or supporter can individually assemble all the arguments, all the facts, all the analysis that is necessary to win our co-workers to an internationalist consciousness. Only Socialist Challenge can do that

But last week was our worst week for some time financially, as our fund drive total shows. We need at least £1,230 a week to keep Socialist Challenge on the road — yet last week we recieved less than a third of that.

Help us to get out the truth. We ask every one of our supporters (and that means YOU) to make an extra special effort.

Our thanks this week to our supporters in:

Outer West London £150.00 Exeter 27.00 Rotherham 11.00 Middlesborough 30.00 Wolverhampton 21.00 Lambeth (H.T.) 5.00 J. Stott 4.46 Hemel Hempstead 50.00 Nottingham 10.00 Edinburgh 80.00 **TOTAL** £388.46 Should be £1,230.76 Shortfall this week £842.30





Freedom of s their behalf.

'POOR LITTLE BELGIUM' was the cry on every politician's lips when Britain went to war in 1914. Millions of British, French and German workers were sent to their deaths to 'defend small nations against the militaristic Prus-

But then as now, when Britain's imperialists went to war they cloaked their greed in hypocrisy. Belgium itself had been created by Britain to weaken rivals France and Holland.

Even as the cannon fodder left for Flanders, the new coalition government was burying the remains of Lloyd George's Home Rule for Ireland Bill. 1916 saw the Easter Rising in Dublin, mercilessly crushed by troops withdrawn from France.

Then, as now, Britain's rulers fought for 'freedom' beside the most reactionary governments of the

Helping democratic Britain fight the rapacious Hun was the semi-feudal autocracy of Tsar Nicholas holding down over thirty small nations and an army of serfs.

A year after the Dublin rising Rus-

sian workers taught their 'civilised' European sisters and brothers a new way to fight for freedom when they overthrew the Tsar, and six months later made the first socialist revolution. The new government granted self-determination to nations such as Finland.

But it soon emerged just whose 'freedom' the British armies were defending as Russia's 'allies' turned

their forces against the new revolution. The Russian road to freedom was infectious: 1918 German workers overthrew their wartime government and sued for peace. Only then did British workers begin to fight their own rulers as a wave of strikes swept the country. In 1921 the TUC set up 'Hands off Russia' committees all over the country and industrial action stopped war supplies leaving the

It had taken six years to discover what Labour's leaders still have not realised: that British armed forces could never be used in workers' interests because they were paid, run and officered by the ruling classes, who wanted only to defend the privileges and domination of British investors.

The lead-up to 1914 was a greedy scramble for colonies. Under the excuse of 'civilising' the world. British traders and investors had built the strongest navy in the world and coloured a quarter of the world map pink, dominating more people and countries than any other previous em-

But Britain's empire was different from those that went before in another way. The colonies paid formal tribute to Queen Victoria, but the real robbers were Britain's industrialists. This was the world's first capitalist empire.

The empire began with colonisation. From the 17th century onwards English adventurers shipped out convicts, political dissidents, and the starving peasants of Ireland and Scotland to settle huge areas of the globe on

In countries like Canada, America and Australia they murdered the indigenous peoples and drove them from the land: in countries such as Africa and India they set up puppet ruling structures.

Behind the drive lay fantastic pro-fits. In the 18th century English traders reaped huge fortunes from the 'triangle trade' capturing slaves in Africa, who were sold for cotton in America. The cotton was brought to Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol and London - whose cloth financed adventures in Africa.

Other traders, like the East India Company, ran whole continents for private gain, calling in the army when their greed caused revolts.

But with the Industrial Revolution came a new relation with the colonies. Britain, began to organise world markets to plunder them for food and raw materials in exchange for British manufactured goods. From Africa and South America came minerals and food, from the East spices and cotton from the dominions came mutton. Out went railways, bridges, mining machinery and gunboats.

To become the world's workshop, Britain had to force her customers to buy. The empire prevented the enslaved countries developing their own industry, creating dictatorial and cruel regimes to hold down starving people to suit Britain's thirst for profit.

The army has mostly been driven out — but the chains and the scars remain. The 'third world' is a British creation. The poor, and the dictators, of Argentina, Chile, Africa, and the far and Middle East are the product of British greed - maintained even today by that same greed.



London Demonstration against British presence in Oman

THE BRITI

Politicians such as Tony Benn have argued that Britain's empire is a thing of the past and that Britain is now a colony.

The war hysteria of the last fortnight has been a salutory reminder that jingoism and gunboat diplomacy are more than a Victorian relic. British imperialism, weakened though it may be, is not dead. ALAN FREEMAN analyses the roots of the empire and explains why it is still very much alive and very much kicking.

Carry on up the empire

the 'special relationship' and Britain's world role

This disaster shows we should have kept a strong navy' chorussed Labour's Front Bench as the news of the invasion came in. Healey even claimed that the Tories' mistake was to buy Trident instead of conventional

Four days later he was singing a new song. Confronting Benn in the Parliamentary Labour Party he argued that Labour would now have to rethink its policy towards America. His meaning: since Reagan is helping us to fight the nasty junta, shouldn't we help Reagan out?

In other words, we should support his dirty work in the Caribbean, stay in NATO and agree to be a nuclear fortress. So much for the idea that the navy is an alternative to nuclear weapons.

But this should come as no surprise. If you accept the idea that the British navy should deal with the Argentinian junta, instead of the Argentinian workers, then you are forced to use existing world alliances to back you up.

Our armed forces are a world police force for the multinationals and banks against all threats — which means both threats from other capitalist powers, and from 'communists and subversives' - that is, socialist revolutions. You can't have one without the other. By relying on the navy, the Labour Party cannot avoid compromising itself counterrevolution.

In order to play a Great Power role, the British state relies on collective security arrangements. But security against whom?

Britain is bound to America b what is called the 'special relation ship' - a collective security deal i which the two countries agree to com to each other's military aid, and give each other special preference in trade exchange of technology, and militar facilities. But if Britain wan Reagan's backing in the Malvina then it has to pay the price, take Tr dent and Cruise, and support Reaga in the Caribbean.

Breaking the special relationship and ending Britain's Great Power role, is an essential part of a socialis

But what lies behind the specia relationship? Left wingers such a Tony Benn claim Britain has lost it empire and become a colony of America.

In fact the opposite is true. True America and Britain are rivals America's bosses have forced som bitter pills down British bosses throats. But this happens not because Britain has no empire but because won't let go of it.

Speaking on 'Question Time' Judith Hart claimed that 'the empir was replaced by the Commonwealth' This is not true. The empire wa renamed the Commonwealth. It wa founded in 1926 when the Tor government, smarting from its partia defeat in Ireland, convened an 'inter imperialist conference'. There it pro posed a scheme first invented by the arch-reactionary Tory Joseph Chamberlain in 1905 to defend British interests under simultaneous threa from other imperialist powers and

SH EMPIRE





1979 'General Election' in Belfast

revolutions at home and from abroad.

The colonies, Chamberlain said. should be self-governing. But they should stay loyal to the Crown, and carry on trading with Britain using the Because of British industrial, military and financial supremacy, Britain ruled the waves — and waived the rules — long after the gunboats left. The empire never ended.

For the Tories it was a brilliant scheme and pioneered what was later called 'neocolonialism'. Those who drove the British out were forced to hend the knee because of dependence on British markets for their products. British banks for finance, and British

industry for manufactures.
Under the guise of 'defending their friends' British armies went in to back up dictators under threat from revolution. When other imperialist powers threatened British possessions, Britain could fight them off claiming to defend 'national sovereignty' for its own colonies. 'national

The system proved its worth in the thirties. The volume of food imported

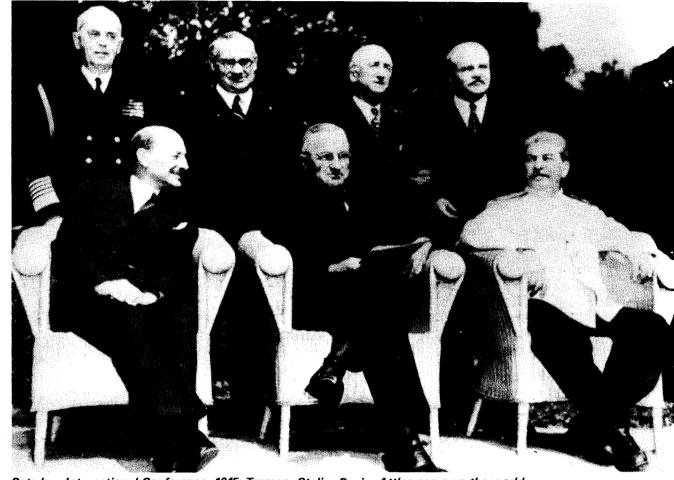
stayed the same while its price dropped by a third. Britain's 'partners' stumped up for the depression.

But it was after the war that it really came into its own.

In twenty years over £121/2 billion the Empire. South African sweat, Australian sheep, African minerals, Indian foods and cotton, and Middle Eastern Oil were the foundations of Britain's share of the postwar spoils.

A weakened Britain could not rule its Empire without a Big Brother. The 'special relationship' was designed so that Britain could cling to its spoils. Even while fighting with America for a new division of the spoils, British rulers ran at its heels like a tame sheepdog.

At the wartime conferences of Teheran and Yalta the three 'world leaders' - Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill — divided up the world between them. The condition of British control over the Commonwealth was its backing for American interests in world politics: a parternship of thieves to carry on plundering the



Potsdam International Conference, 1945: Truman, Stalin, Bevin, Attlee carve up the world.

Working class tragedy, Labour's cannot defeat the Tories' arguments about the Malvinas, because it accepts the right of the British government and navy to deal with the dictatorship — instead of promoting world workers' unity. But not only are they powerless to defeat the Tories' inscience.

LABOUR'S Dame Judith Hart was asked an embarrassing question on Robin Day's 'Question Time'. 'Why are you a Dame Commander of the British Empire,' asked the speaker, 'if you aren't prepared to defend it?'

The exchange spotlights Labour's Achilles Heel. For despite sentimental humbug, it does support the empire. It supports a world role for British investors and their armed forces; it endorses the Commonwealth; over the Malvinas it has tried to outdo the Tories in nationalism and aggressiveness.

This is the biggest obstacle bet-

ween Labour and socialism. It dates back to Labour's early days. 'Socialism means an organised internationalism rooted autonomous nationalities,' says a 1920 lecture by Sidney Webb, 'with a collective guardianship of the nonadult races. The socialist conception of empire is not domination but a democratic federal hierarchy.

But a 'democratic hierarchy' is naked domination clothed in fine words. Like rubber bullets, the description is softer than the real thing, but just as lethal. British Labour Party socialism accepted the empire and then argued with the Tories about how to run it nicely.

It never understood that Britain's world role was a cover for British bosses' money-grubbing. It never realised that so-called 'backwardness' was not a natural state of 'inferior' races but subjection caused by British greed: that iingoism, racism and warmongering had to be fought at source by challenging Britain's capitalists' right to operate abroad under any

In the First World War Labour's leaders entered a coalition government, in exchange for the slaughter of millions of workers. The system of wartime controls seemed to them an ideal way to run socialism. State reforms became the orthodox Labour Party creed.

But state finances depended on the confidence of the capitalist class - which was oriented to foreign investment. Labour's vision of state socialism committed it to safeguard this foreign investment.

In 1924 and 1929 it administered and propped up the colonies. In 1940 it went into another coalition government which hatched both the welfare state and the postwar division of the

Labour's Attlee replaced Churchill in the international conference at Potsdam in 1945, the American secretary of state noted that 'as far as we could discern there was no difference!'

Labour helped suppress the partisans in Greece between 1945 and 1947. It committed the army to the Korean war and even signed a secret agreement to make war on China. Under the 1964 Wilson government it prosecuted a vicious anti-communist war in Malaysia and in the late 1970s supplied more arms than anyone else to Chile and Argentina.

British involvement in South Africa and with NATO has always been maintained by Labour — in 1974 Benn was nearly thrown out of the cabinet for arguing against joint naval exercises with the South African

British troops were sent to Ireland by Callaghan in 1968 and a bipartisan policy was held ever since.

Most important of all, even when Labour did oppose a military adventure in Suez in 1956, it did not defend the rights of those oppressed to Br-tain. No one supported Egypt or gat to nationalise the Suez canal.

The working class has paid a terrible price for this attempted short cut to socialism.

When Labour tried to combat a particularly excessive act of international banditry it faces the miseducation it has given its own supporters. It

defeat the Tories' jingoism. Socialist policies at home have also be impossi-

Labour's commitments led Aneurin Bevan to abandon unilateralism in 1957, and is leading Michael Foot down the same path. Every Labour government has been at the mercy of the IMF and world bankers — half of whom are British. In short, Labour has become the prisoner of the most backward and parasitic sections of British society.

Worse still, Labour's approach has created the very conditions which obstructs a united working class response to the capitalists. Ramsay MacDonald's betrayal in 1931 was much easier because Labour supporters, led to believe in a 'national interest' standing above parties, had come to think that a crisis of the bosses' making was actually produced by an 'external threat' against which everyone had to unite.

Michael Foot's betrayal has been brought ten times nearer by last fortnight's hysteria.

Everyone who fights for a Labour government to carry out socialist policies should fight to reverse Labour's traditional commitment to empire by demanding

 No nukes, no navy. Bring the ships back.

● End Britain's world military role: British forces out of Ireland, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Belize and all other overseas possessions. Withdrawal from all involvement in NATO and SEATO.

• End Britain's neocolonial role: no reserve role for the pound wind up the Commonwealth and Sterring Area Disclose and nait ber Esta roerri la seisnot British investors, hand them to the governments of the countries in which the assets are, and organise international trade union struggle for worker control of the multinationals.

● Support for anti-imperialist struggles the world over.

Who shot Bishop's Stortford?

LAST WEEK the Labour Party's organisation committee threw out Hornsey constituency's decision to accept Tariq Ali as a member. Now Eric Heffer, chairperson of the organisation committee, and David Hughes, national agent, will 'visit' Hornsey to try to get them back on the straight and narrow.

They have to do a similar job in Bermondsev where the constituency have adopted Peter Tatchell as parliamentary candidate, who in turn has been rejected by the national executive committee.

TESSA VAN GELDEREN spoke to both Tariq Ali and Peter Tatchell on how they saw the present state of the party.



Tariq Ali

MY application for membership to the Labour Party was caught up in a right wing offensive against *Militant* and the broad left. The right have attempted, with some success, it should be said, to use my application against

Now its a matter of restige for different layers on the National Executive, both the hard right represented by John Golding, Denis Healey et al, and the Foot/Kinnock camp. The left should have no truck with the witch-hunt. It should fight it all the way.

When Healey and co attacked the left after Hillhead, Foot realised that the hard right were breaking his consensus. It was necessary in preserving his own position as party leader to attack them and he did so.

But it doesn't get over the fundamenta' problem which confronts the party today. That is 90 per cent of constituency parties are for radical far-reaching socialist policies and economic reforms which

challenge the rule of capitalism while 80 per cent of the Parliamentary Labour Party are staunch believers and upholders of the capitalist system.

As far as the trade unions are concerned there is no organised left as such which is a big pity. I think there is room for a welldefined broad left united front inside every union. Unless the Labour left does this it will find itself confronting innumerable problems.

This is a problem for the Labour Party as a whole not just the left. The SDP/Liberal Alliance is committed to introducing laws which will force the unions to opt into membership of the Labour Party rather than opt out. When this was first in-

troduced after the defeat of the General Strike in the '30s, Labour Party membership in the unions dropped by 40 per cent. If you think about it, it is not a very large drop.

However, the prolonged experience of Labour in office has demoralised large sections of workers and they have yet to be won back. This slump in party membership in most of the industrial unions would be catastrophic.

Peter Tatchell

TARIQ ALI, Militant and myself are tied together as part of a general offensive against the left at a time when we need to unite to fight for socialist policies which can bring about a real measure of social justice and equality.

The premise of party unity must be that the constitution is upheld. This has not been the case with my own endorsement and that of Pat Wall's in Bradford North. Nor has it been the case in the non-acceptance of Tariq Ali as a member and the foisting of eight nominees back on the London borough of

Southwark's panel of council candidates.

In all these cases the national executive has usurped the right of constituencies which are in the best position to make judgments about who they should admit into membership and select as parliamentary and council candidates.

The principle of party unity which Bishop's Stortford sought to achieve is quite desirable. However, the manner in which the Bishop's Stortford conference was convened is highly questionable. It circumvented

democratic the party's democratic decision-making process of regional and annual conferences and thereby excluded ordinary rank and file members in the decisions taken.

Veto

A genuine unity cannot be forged simply by a handful of leading MPs and trade union general secretaries. It has to be a party unity which is created at the grass roots among ordinary members.

There seems to be a very strong body of sup-port that I should stand for the NEC. We are seek-ing the views at the constituency level around the country before making any final decision. This would be a way in which the constituencies could show their clear rejection of the NEC's veto of my candidature and affirm the right of all CLPs to choose their own parliamentary candidates.

Other people have suggested that it would be good to have a non MP and a more grassroots party member on the NEC to provide a more direct link

We are most concerned in Bermondsey that if the present MP, Bob Mellish, does resign later this year, the NEC may seek to impose a candidate or offer the party a chort list which the party a short list which does not include my name. We feel this would be disastrous for the local party because such a person would not have the confidence of Bermondsey members.

Damage

Without this we don't see how an effective and vigorous election cam-paign could be conducted. When we've been canvassing local people have said that they thought Tatchell and the local party were OK. But Michael Foot's condemned him and Michael Foot's a left winger so this Tatchell bloke must be a real extension. tremist.

There is no doubt that the attitude of the NEC Michael Foot has done the local party a lot of damage.

between the leadership and the party's constituen-cy base. Whether it's me standing or not, I agree with these arguments.



London Transport 100% Increase

London goes to the polls

LOCAL ELECTIONS are with us once again. In London, all Borough councils are up for grabs. It will be a crucial test for Labour. On the one hand it will be confronting the Liberal/SDP Alliance. On the other, the experiences of the Greater London Council, elected on a left manifesto one year ago, raises many issues for future Labour councils. A number of prospective Labour councillors for the London Borough elections have pledged themselves, on taking office, to do all in their power to implement the following policies:

1. Defend the jobs, services, and living standards of the people of London. We will refuse to cut Council provisions no matter what the pressures and threats.

2. Do not recognise the right of the District Auditor to fix the priorities of local authorities. ties as democratically determined at the ballot-The Auditor's directives will be defied except to the extent that they concern investigations into corruption or similar matters.

3. Where threats of legal action — including sur-charges — are made, we announce in advance that we will not tolerate these as reasons for abandoning our manifesto commitments; instead we will as the rulings of the District Auditor but also the whole undemocratic system of rule by unelected judges.

4. While the GLC and the ILEA have been isolated and forced to retreat on a number of issues, we see Labour victories in May as an important means of providing added strength to these bodies in resisting pressures from the Tory government, the judges and the establishment.

5. We will not tolerate present levels of racial harassment and attacks on people from ethnic minorities. street assaults, attacks on women and other forms of crime in London. We will work to set up more accountable and more effec-

tive methods of policing our own communities, acting on demands made by ethnic minority', wo-mens', tenants', residents', and working class organisations throughout the capital.

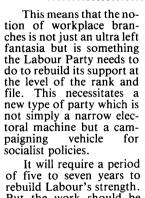
6. We are fighting for victory in the May elections in order to strike a blow against the Tory govern-ment, whose rule we aim to end. We will seek to unite Labour local authorities and the trade union movement in a mass campaign to bring down this government and the system it represents at the earliest possible oppor-

7. We will support moves to establish an 'Association of Socialist Councils in London', to co-ordinate action for policies.

8. Finally we see our victory in London as necessary in order to secure for a future socialist Labour government some part of that base of strength and alternative machinery of democratic rule which it will need in order to defend itself and carry through its programme to the full, in opposition to the forces of the establishment and the



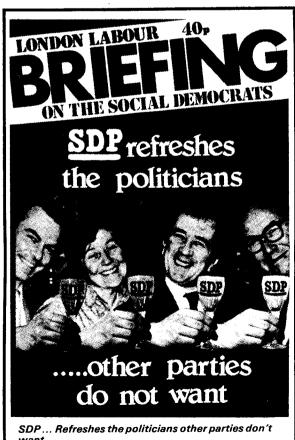
Reprinted from London Labour Briefing April 1982.



of five to seven years to rebuild Labour's strength. But the work should be started now and not wait till after the general elec-

If the attack against Militant is successful it will represent a major defeat for the entire left inside the party and no broad grouping or caucus will be safe. If there are any attacks on Militant there will be uproar inside the constituencies. Michael Foot has to choose between the unions and the constituen-

Frank Chapple is a signatory of the Limehouse declaration. A number of EETPU full timers are active members of the SDP. It is therefore not surprising they're anxious to hurt and damage the Labour Party as much as they can.



London Labour Briefing's new pamphlet. Available from The Other Bookshop. Price 50p plus 20p p&p from

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Socialist Challenge 15 April 1982 page 10

YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONFERENCE A Step Forward

By Brian Heron

Socialists Labour Party Young conference, over Easter weekend, was a battle for ideas from beginning to end. For the first time for many years, youth in action against racism and missiles, for women's rights and solidarity with El Salvador and Poland found their reflection in the YS conference.

supporters Revolution spoke in every debate presenting a line of march for building the LPYS based on mass action and in the spirit of socialist internationalism. Similar themes ran through all of the debates. The platform 'hammered out policies' explained how 'present events unfold' and read 'present out horror stories about the rich and powerful and the misery of the poor.

But in each debate a challenge emerged in opposition to the crass reduction of all issues to wages working conditions.

SDP the conference agreed on the seriousness of the threat to the labour movement but failed to analyse what produced it and therefore how to defeat that threat.

Steve, a delegate from Leeds North east summed up the debate this way: 'To be sure, to fight the SDP, the Labour Party needs a clear socialist programme, but conference fails to recognise the need to mobilise for action now against the Tories and the trade union bureaucrats as the best way to defeat the

Falklands raised its embarrassing head early on Saturday when a platform speech by NEC member Joan Maynard called for the withdrawal of the British fleet from the South Atlantic. The NC statement demanding

Argentina did not mention this elementary socialist position.

John Cutts, delegate from Hazel Grove, Manchester, explained Revolution supporters' view of the Falklands debate: 'The Militant tendency have taken a chauvinist position. Their demand for economic boycott of Argentina is forming a united front with the imperialists. Argentina has the right to sovereignty. Socialists cannot support British imperialism's attempt to keep its colonies.

'Militant' s point is their attempt to build a Marxist Labour Party in Britain. We are building an international revolutionary party. They think they can afford mistakes on international questions. What they questions. What they don't realise is that Britain's imperial past is catching up with them. The mistakes of the Militant tendency will lead them into the arms of the wrong

Positive action was the issue which dominated the women's oppression discussion. The Newport composite resolution which supported positive action and the Labour action and the Party Women's Festival was hotly contested by a succession of Militant supporters. The delegate from Newport, Ruth Haswell, said, 'Although Militant has come out for the festival in writing, there



DUNCAN EDWARDES, an AUEW delegate conference, at the denounced the Tories' war drive and called on the LPYS to come out clearly for a defeat for British imperialism in the conflict with Argentina. But the conference went on to adopt a statement from the National Committee which did not call for the recall of the British fleet!

has been hardly any mention of it in the debate. I think that they are just going to waffle on about health care and how awful oppression is.

One Liverpool delegate believed that positive action did not strike at the root of the problem of women's oppression. 'You can't legislate against sex-ism,' he said, 'any more than you can legislate against racism, any more than you legislate against



Fiona Rowan

Fiona Rowan, delegate

ingham YS, answered from the rostrum that the workers movement was already divided. 'We need an action programme bringing women into the labour movement in order

The major success of the YS last year, the YOPs campaign, was fully aired. The platform made a commitment to a major demonstration in Liverpool on 16 October to protest youth training pro-posals. This action received unanimous support.
But the highlights of

conference were the international debates. On Ireland, on Zionism, on Poland, disarmament and Reagan, delegates fought the platform for basic socialist internationalism. The Militant leadership of the YS were pressured into support for the anti-Reagan mobilisations on 6/7 June.

The battle on Ireland and Poland was not so successful. But an anti-imperialist line was forcefully presented. Revolution supporters led the challenge to a YS leadership which hesitated in front of interna-tionalism and through its abstention on many of the mass actions of youth has no policy to confront the labour bureaucracy in Bri-

This fight by Revolution supporters, reflected youth on the march, at present mainly outside the YS. Today the YS stands committed to the women's rights festival, the anti-Reagan march and the demonstration. This is a considerable step forward. One Militant supporter commented. 'Revolution Youth is bloody dangerous.' Too

REVOLUTION

New pamphlet just out 20p a copy plus 15p p&p available from Revolution PO Box 50 London N1 2XP.

strength. The fight against the Tory government and imperialism is not going to go away.

'We are the organisation that can lead this fight, on the streets and in the factories. Basing ourselves on the actual struggles of young people is the route to a mass campaigning YS.

'I am a supporter of the socialist newspaper, Revolution. It is on these policies that we want the YS to be represented on the NEC.

On the fringes 5 June Women's Festival

OVER A hundred people, mainly women, attended the fringe meeting to discuss the 5 June Women's Festival. The meeting was an important step forward for the LPYS on women's rights, as all tendencies were united around the decision to go out and win support for the festival.

Kerry Wade, Revolution Youth supporter, pinpointed the debate that will continue to run through the YS. 'No one thinks that women can fight alone. We have to win over the labour movement to our struggle with women in the lead.

'And that's why we're in favour of positive action on jobs to make sure women are in the labour movement and not shut up at home.

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

ONE hundred and fifty people crammed a joint Labour CND/Youth CND fringe meeting. They heard a YS National Committee member make a commitment to do everything in the NC's power to mobilise against Reagan.

Richard Rozanski, speaking from Youth CND, welcomed this step forward and laid out a policy for implementing the NC's position. Some speakers from the floor, reflecting Militant's position, claimed CND was a middle class and pacifist organisation.

Bernie Cavanagh and Warren Kirk from Sheffield YS countered these points and showed the way to fight the pacifist tendencies of sections of the leadership of CND by building the move-



Revolution Youth

WITH over a hundred in attendance, Ann Henderson, author of the pamphlet Building the **Labour Party Young Socialists**, led off the discussion explaining the policy of Revolution in

A panel of leading supporters of Revolution Youth answered questions raised in the lively discussion that followed. **Militant** supporters who attended the meeting attacked Revolution for not basing themselves on the day to day concerns of ordinary people. Many speakers took up this charge and pointed out that Militant's policies cut

the YS from the massive movements of youth.

National Left Wing Youth Movement supporters appealed for unity with Revolution arguing that issues like the Falklands on which there had been differences should not become obstacles. Revolution supporters, while arguing for joint work where there was agreement, pointed out the necessity of calling for the defeat of your own ruling class in a war with a dependent coun-

John Cutts, a Revolution supporter and a Manchester YS delegate who chaired the meeting, said he thought the meeting was a good demonstration of Revolution supporters' work in

Build the Young Socialists!

RUTH HASWELL, delegate from Newport Young Socialists, made the most impressive speech of conference at the hustings for the YS place on the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. She explained the policy of Revolution supporters at the conference.

'At this conference we have discussed how we as Young Socialists are going to fight on all the decisive tional solidarity, the Tory government, all of them central to the economic. political and international crisis facing the British government and society.

'It is by turning our

decisions into action that we will build the Young Socialists in Britain ... In Central America today the offensive that is being led against the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua is a direct attack by the Reagan and Thatcher led war drive to hold back the growing mood socialism .

'Our job in Britain, to assist and further these socialist revolutions, is both to build solidarity movements and the YS. What this means in practice is on 6 June, under the slogan "Reagan out, Thatcher out" every YS member should be marching on the streets of London for what we've been talking about in this

'In Poland today, we have seen the most important movement for real workers' democracy and workers' rights in Eastern Europe. Young people internationally should be at the heart of the solidarity campaign. This campaign has nothing in common with Reagan's and Thatcher's hypocrisy...

'Turning to the Falkland crisis the decision conference took yesterday to support the National Committee document puts us on the side of British imperialism and cuts us off from action in our YS branches.'

At this point Rath held up the front page of the Observer with the headline "EEC bans trade with Argentina'. The NC document called for a trade



Ruth Haswell

union boycott of Argen-

'The traditional position of socialists has to be reaffirmed against the NC's position. Revolution Youth stands for the defeat of British imperialism and the withdrawal of its fleet, demands not included in the NC document. Joan Maynard, to her credit, called for British with-

'What the youth in Britain are looking for is a lead. It is not enough for us to place demands and wait for a Labour Party committed to socialist policies. We have to fight for that now.

'The doubly oppressed people in society, blacks who face police harass-ment and the dole, young women who face attacks on their right to choose and on their right to work. these are the army of people from which our organisation can grow in numbers and political

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US HANDS OFF CENTRAL
AMERICA: Socialist Challenge/
Revolution Youth public meeting Tue
20 April, 8pm Duke of Clarence,
Manor Place SEI7. FDR speakers
plus film 'Revolution or Death'.

HACKNEY: Womens Right to Work conference Sat 24 April in Clissold Park School, Clissold Rd N16. Speakers: Diana Morley, councillor: Lucy de Groot, Trades Council Low Pay Unit.

Pay Unit.
TRADE UNION CONFERENCE on opposing Sizewall PWR. Sat 24 April, 10am-3pm. Town Hall Corn Hill, Ipswich. Details Anti-Nuclear Campaign PO Box 216, Sheffield S1 1BD, Tel 0742 754691.

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RADICAL NURSES Conference,
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061-236-4905. **LABOUR Committee on Ireland**— **Scotland** Two public meetings with Bernadette McAliskey. Tue 20 April, 8pm The Chaplaincy Centre, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh. Wed 21 April 7.30pm, STUC Conference, Perth.

Commemoration of Bobby Sands MP guest of honour Owen Carron MP plus other speakers. Thursday 6 May 7,30pm in the McNamara Room, the Irish Centre, Murray Street, Camden Town, NW1. ference, Perth.
NALGO FRACTION: Sat 17 April

SOLIDARITY WITH GRENADA: Conference Sat 8 May 10-4. Speakers, workshops, film and exhibition. The English Centre, Sutherland St, SW1. Tickets £1 from Britain-Grenada Friendship Society, 68 Grays Inn Bldgs, Rosebery Ave, London EC1R 4RR.

BIRMINGHAM FRIENDS OF PALESTINE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT CONFERENCE

Digbeth Civic Hall, 18 April, 1.45-6pm. Sponsors include PWA, Bangladesh Workers' Assn, Bangladesh Moslem Assn, Standing conference of Pakistani Organisations, IWA, Islamic resource centre, Pakistani writers' guild, B'ham Univ Palestinian Students' society, Socialist Challenge.

Letters etters Letters Letters Poland Editor reserves the right to cut any letter over 400 words. Write to SC letters, c/o PO Box 50. London N1 and Cuba: a reply to letters

By the Editorial Board

SEVERAL LETTERS have been published criticising the 11 February article on the Cuban leadership's response to the imposition of martial law in Poland.

The article, by Phil Hearse, pointed out that the US imperialists had been quick to seize on the Polish events, and that the response of the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua and their leading spokespeople in supporting martial law, had made it easier for the US imperialists to use the Polish events to fuel their war drive.

The objections have been of three types.

First, it is argued that Socialist Challenge has let its coverage of Poland overshadow its coverage on the war drive (Brian Lyons, 4 March). This is not true. More than any other paper on the left, Socialist Challenge has defended the Central American revolution to the hilt (with many of the articles being written by Phil Hearse).

Far from our Polish coverage jeopardising this campaign at every point we have indicated the ways in which the Polish crisis ties in with imperialism's intentions not only against the Central American revolution but also against the Polish workers.

The proof of the pudding was the large con-tingent that Socialist Challenge and Revolution mobilised for the 28 March demonstration on El Salvador.

Warts

Secondly, it is objected that Socialist Challenge has changed its stance towards the Cuban revolution by failing to present the position of the Cubans on Poland as 'errors', or warts' on a fundamentally healthy body. This is not

The editorial line of Socialist Challenge has fundamentally been in accord with the views of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the Cuban question (see Intercontinental Press, 19 October 1981 for the published resolution).

The positions of the Cubans cannot be presented merely as 'mistakes', nor does this Cubans give an account of their

The Cubans fight for the defence of their revolution by defending the revolutionary movements in Central America who. inspired by the example of the Cuban revolution, are fighting to throw off the yoke of US imperialism. They practise in deeds what the bureaucrats of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union proclaim in words in the struggle against imperialism.

That is why the Cuban leaders and their compatriots in Nicaragua and Grenada cannot be considered subordinate to the Soviet bureaucracy — which is where Brezhnev

would like them to be.

But the 'errors' of the Cubans in respect to their atttude to the struggle of the Polish workers, their uncritical support for the policies of the Stalinists of the PCF, their refusal to back the just struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination, are not just empirical responses.

Camps

They are informed by the same world view which the Cubans use to explain their revolutionary practice in Central America the 'anti-imperialist framework', or the argu-ment that the world is divided between a reactionary camp (imperial-ism) and a progressive camp (the Soviet Union and other states with which the Soviet Union has friendly diplomatic relations, including ruling bureaucratic elites and classes of these countries).

This is not only the attitude of the Cuban government — which is forced to make all sorts of necessary compromises in order to defeat the imperialist offensive — but also of the Cuban Communist Party and especially the Second Congress of this party. This is 'astonishing' only to those who are not familiar with the positions of the Cubans or those who think the Cubans say one thing and do another.

Truth

Thus the Cubans' contradictions do entail revolutionary positions in Central America and support for the counter-revolutionary policies of the Soviet bureaucracy in Poland. Gary Erlisker (18 March) regards saying this as outrageous. Unfortunately it is the truth.

It is true that the Polish political revolution, so brutally crushed by the bureaucracy, and the Central American revolution, still in ascendent, are part of the same process of world revolution. But this process goes on in three sectors - against the rulSolidarity with Polish and Central American revolutions: internationalism entails building on the gains of both. ing class of the advanced capitalist countries, against the bureaucrats of the post-capitalist states, and against the im-perialists and their local

Socialist Challenge

countries. The Cubans' revolutionary tionary practice and outlook does not extend to at least two thirds of humanity.

clients in the dependent

Two things are at stake here: how we defend the Cuban revolution, and how we build a world revolutionary party. We can do neither by silencing our criticisms of the Cuban leadership in the interests of fraternal discussion.

Defence

The best defence of the Cuban revolution is in deeds: in the practical solidarity we give the advancing Central American and Thatcher. It is in this way that we will gain the ear of revolutionaries in Central America.

But we also defend the Cuban revolution by advancing the Polish revolution, and vice versa. A victory for the Polish workers would open up gigantic possibilities for the Cubans. It is only as revolutionary victories make it clear that there is a working class alternative to the 'two camps' — not just in theory but in visible, material form — that the basis for discussions with the Cuban leadership on building a mass revolutionary parties will come into existence.

To stay silent on the attitude of the Cuban leadership towards the Polish workers does a disservice

to both revolutions. It is to act as if one may hold back one revolution in the interests of another. This is a

we, who support building a world revolutionary movement — the Fourth International —

REVOLUTION

Ist ANNIVERSARY

WITH REVOLU

WORLDWIDE

SCHOARITY

Everything nasty eliminated in Cuba

WHAT A refreshing change to read Laura Mitchell (SC 8 April 1982) taking up Dave Smith's ludicrous assertion that 'rape has been virtually eliminated in Cuba'.

The trouble is that if Socialist Challenge goes on repeating it often enough, some comrades will start to believe it.

For myself, I prefer the following quote from the recently published Women and the Cuban Revolution: 'Rape and violent crimes against women are nowhere near as prevalent in Cuba as they are in the United States.' This I can believe.

Even more disturbing was Dave Smith's claim that 'Racism has been eradicted' in Cuba. The book quoted above has a more truthful approach:

discrimination segregation in jobs, housing, schooling and recreational facilities is a thing of the past in Cuba. Some racist attitudes still exist, especially among older

people, and the effects of the legacy of centuries of black oppression have not been fully eradicated. But the whole revolutionary climate of Cuba — the internationalism, the solidarity with liberation struggles in Africa, and the opposition to racism and chauvinism of any kind helps to counteract this and puts Cuba in the vanguard of the fight

against racism interna-tionally. The knack that some comrades are developing of bending reality to serve their particular political views is very worrying. It reminds me of a conversation myself and some friends has with a Stalinist hack in the Soviet Union:

'What's your position on homosexuality?' 'Pardon?'

'Homosexuality - is it illegal?' 'Oh, no, there isn't any

problem.' What do you mean, there's no problem?'

'It doesn't exist in the

USSR! **HILARY DRIVER** Uxbridge, Middlesex

Socialist Challenge 15 April 1982 page 12

Women's

festival

Children's Events

CRECHE AVAILABLE

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LONDON from 12 noon

5TH JUNE

Battersea Park

Refreshments

Music

Forums

right to

Employment

Child care

Services

Education

Equal pay-you've Newton Rose still in jeopardy got to be joking

By Judith Arkwright

HERE WE ARE six full years after the much heralded Equal Pay Act came in and women still earn an awful lot less than men.

According to the latest report of the Low

• women earn less than three quarters of male hourly earnings.

• women are 30 per cent of fulltime workers but 60 per cent of the low paid.

Furthermore. if women didn't go out to work the number of families living below the poverty line in Britain would treble ... so much for the argument that women shouldn't and needn't go out to work.

Action

report phasises the need for the labour movement to take up and fight for women's right to work and the right to equali-

What is really needed is an action campaign to increase public awareness of what is happening to women in the present economic crisis and to press the government something about it.

make

Here's how the 5 June events are being built

NOTTINGHAM: Already has had a week of events centering on International Women's Day with demonstration and rally. Women from the Labour Party and Trades Council set up a mobilising committee.

Public meeting with Mary Zins. US coalminer. Planning Zins, US coalminer. Planning to make women's rights ma-jor theme of May Day.

LEICESTER: Mobilising committee set up from LP women's sections, womens movement.

Public meeting planned for 15 May with Patricia Hewitt of the Labour Womens Committee. At least

women's voices heard the Labour Party organised Women's Festival for Saturday 5 June which will be tremendously important.

In addition the London Labour Party and the South-East Region of the TUC are supporting a march to the Festival calling for a woman's right to work.

It will also be the occasion for a show of solidarity with women in the USA, whose Ronald president, Reagan will be visiting London that weekend.

Reagan

Reagan, in addition to his war mongering efforts in Central America and the Caribbean, has stopped public support for abor-

two trade union coaches ex-

Women trade unionists' conference launched mobilising committee in

Supported by local Labour Party, Trades Coun-cil, local government workers union and health

SHEFFIELD: Series of public meetings organised. On 22 April there will be a forum for candidates in the local elections to put forward their policies on women's rights.

Supported by local Labour Parties, Trades Council and the district committee of the engineering union.

slashed mative action programmes and driven millions of women onto the bread lines by his economic policies. The action commit-

COVENTRY: Eight coaches expected from public employees union Nupe, whose women workers were on strike earlier in the year

HILLINGDUN West London: local government and manual workers unions, NALGO, NUPE and CPSA, support with NALGO puting on a special showing of Rosie the Riveter.

Letter and fact sheet gome around to all prospective.

ing around to all prospective candidates in local elections. At least one coach laid on from Brunel University.

HACKNEY, East London: A Woman's Right to Work conference to be held on Saturday 24 April with local

tee for a womans right to work is planning accomodation for people staying for the entire weekend of acivities.

Theatre

Stalls

councillors and trade unionists reporting on aspects of women's employment in

BIRMINGHAM: Five coaches expected. Events being built by Trades Council, West Midlands TUC and Labour Party.

MANCHESTER: Labour Women's Council centralising campaign and mobilising trade unions to send coaches. On 27 May Manchester Socialist Challenge supporters putting on showing of Rosie the Riveter.

OLDHAM: TGWU and GMWU sending coaches.



National demonstration to free the Bradford 12 held in Leeds in April. Their trial starts MONDAY 26 APRIL. Support the picket of the courtroom in Leeds on the day and continue to write letters of protest to the DPP and the Home Office.

LONDON RALLY: Friday 23 April 7.30-11, Speakers: Anwar Ditta, and from African National Congress, Newton Rose Campaign, Paul Worrell campaign. Plus Dudu Pukwana, South African Jazz. Polytechnic of Central London, 115 New Cavendish

By Toni Gorton

THE DIRECTOR of Public Prosecutions has won the right to appeal to the House of Lords to have Newton Rose, a black East London youth whose murder conviction was overturn ed earlier this year, stand for re-trial.

If the five ancient Law Lords, due to meet on 14 June to hear the submissions agree to a retrial then they will be creating a new, dangerous precedent in British law.

According to lan MacDonald, the bar-rister for Newton Rose, the 1968 Appeal Act states that a person can only be put in jeopardy for a crime once; the sole reservation to this is new evidence being brought forward.

The DPP has no new evidence and is arguing for a return to old com-mon law which allowed people to be tried more than once for the same offence. This would mean a never-ending persecution of those who, for some reason, gain the enmity of the police.

Meetings

Campaigners for Newton are planning a series of public meetings throughout London and areas of Britain where there are large black communities along with pickets and various other protest actions.

Newton and his supporters insist that he is innocent of the murder of Tony Donnelly, supporter of the National Front.

They say that this is a frame up by the local Hackney police who have a particularly vicious reputation for harassing the black community.

Witness

example, the For ignored police of witness evidence Roxanne Walden who asserted in court that she saw Donnelly attacked by four white men.

The Hackney police are at war against the local black youth. During last summer's disturbances, Socialist received Challenge many eye-witness accounts of the unilateral violence of the police.

One group attacked a youth leaving him in a pool of blood with one cop dashing back to give him a final hard kick in the head and

running off again.

It is against this back ground that Newton's supporters charge Det. Inspector Goodall, Det. Sergeants Coomber and Deaney Constables Holloway and Miles with having framed up Newton.

Fair

While it is doubtful if any black person can get a fair trial in this country at least in this case the interference of the judge in the jury was

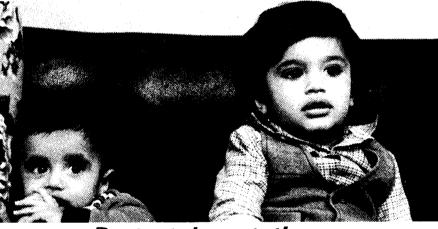
uncovered.

If it had not been discovered that the judge had wrongly instructed the jury to stop its deliberations and give its verdict in 15 minutes then Newton Rose would still be serving a life sentence for a murder he did not com-

mit.
The police and the courts must not be given another chance to get Newton.

Please write to the Home Office, the Direc-tor of Public Prosecutions, and the Law Lords and support activities of the campaign.

Contact the Newton Rose Action Committee for full details of the case with a donation if possible. They can be reached c/o 76 Stroud Green Road, London N4 and tel 01-272 4889.



Protest deportations

MR AND MRS KHAN and their two children have been threatened with deportation for several weeks now.

The Home Office argues that because Mr Khan illegally entered the country at the age of 13 and in common with many others didn't realise that one had to apply for the 1974 government amnesty he has no right

DEMONSTRATE Sunday 25 April Manchester. Assemble corner of Dickenson Rd — Stockport Rd Ipm, Rally 3pm Longsight Library. Donations to Khan Family Defence Committee c/o 593 Stockport Rd, Manchester 13. Tel: 061-225 5111.



REGGIE YATES is a Ghanaian whose grandfather was British. He is married to Felicia a black British citizen. They have one child.

The Home Office doesn't recognise the claim of citizenship by Reggie on the grounds that colonial practice was that white men had free sexual access to black women and that Reggie's

grandfather was not married to his grandmother. Deportation is immi-

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women cost indAs somestion of the

TUC blames members for lack of fight against Tebbit

By Pat Hickey

'WE MEET at a time of crisis. Crisis for the country, crisis for employment, crisis for industry.'

This was Len Murray's opening remark to the largest gathering of trade union officials in the history of the British labour movement.

More than 1000 delegates from trade union executives came to Wembley on Monday 5 April to draw up a strategy to defeat the Tebbit anti-union law. But, crisis notwithstanding, this powerful body did little to advance the fight against Tebbit.

The conference endorsed the TUC strategy. It had little choice. Amendments and resolutions were not allowed. Significantly, no union protested at this

Conference also took the unprecedented step of giving the TUC General Council power to call and coordinate industrial action against the Bill. This contrasts with the fight against the 1971 Industrial Relations Act when the action was led by individual unions notably the engineers' union, the AUEW.

Retreat

This was dressed up as a big step forward. In fact, it is a retreat. Instead of unions undertaking to respond at the point of attack, they have given the General Council the power to decide what response if any there should be.

Len Murray's speech spells this out: 'The GC will ... deal with unions, not with individuals or groups of workers. And the support they give cannot be automatic or unconditional: there will be no blank cheques.

There may well be situations from which we will have to extricate unions: that would not be the first time that the GC has had to advise a union to draw back from a no-win situation.'

The point is repeated in point six

of the eight point plan to smash Tebbit: 'Affiliated unions shall continue to observe strictly the requirements of the TUC Disputes Principals and Procedures.

'The GC will support unions whic', having consulted the TUC, take steps in accordance with its advice.'

In other words, the shop floor will be discouraged from taking action, and decisions about action will be as far removed from the rank and file as possible.

More than that, individual unions will be expected to control their members on pain of being disowned by the General Council and the isolation that would follow.

Big stick

Far from a campaign for mass action on Tebbit, the TUC is seeking to restrict action.

This dovetails neatly with the other prong of its strategy. This is aimed at persuading employers not to use the legislation.

The hope is, that by waving the big stick, employers will not attack the closed shop and will not sue for damages

But the problem is that the legislation leaves it wide open for every tinpot anti-unionist in the country to take action, and it encourages scabs to take on the closed shop

to take on the closed shop.

So even if some employers hold back there will be plenty of people to press ahead. Even then, when an attack comes, the indications in the TUC document are that the GC will most likely opt for legal defence.

The £1m fighting fund will be used not only to fight legal actions, but also to pay compensation.

also to pay compensation.

This combination of tactics, of waiting until individuals take the fight to the TUC, of the tightest possible control from the top, and of relying on legal action, is based on a slender hope that the unions can sit out the next two years of Thatcher and have the legislation repealed by an incoming Labour government without the need for a head-on confrontation



TUC leaders at conclusion of conference

Even this gutless strategy faces big problems. With the SDP now a force to be reckoned with, there is every possibility that the next government will be a coalition involving them. And they have supported Tebbit all along the line.

Indeed, in some respects, notably on LP affiliation, they go further.

The best possible way to ensure the return of a Labour government is to kick out the Tories and fight for a Labour government with radical policies.

Those trade union leaders who support the Labour Party right are in fact building bridges to the SDP and their anti-union positions.

The strategy for defeating Tebbit put forward by the TUC is right in line with the policy they have followed throughout the life of this government, and in line with the policies of wage restraint and austerity they supported during the last Labour government

The result is that the membership is less well prepared to fight antiunion laws than last time around.

The TUC uses this as an excuse for even more right wing policies. Len Murray sees this as a victory for Tory propaganda which 'has even found credence among many of our own members, who ... paradoxically and illogically are at best apathetic and at

worst sympathetic to the government's purposes.'

The situation is not a paradox, nor is it illogical, nor is it Tory propaganda. It is an indictment of the right wing policies of the union leaderships.

As Terry Marsland of the tobacco workers, the only woman delegate to speak, put it, 'The GC should be seen to be giving leadership to the fight for the 35 hour week, and in supporting struggles like those at Lee Jeans and at Plessey's.'

Inevitably, it will fall on the rank and file who will face the spearhead of the attack to start the fight against Tebbit. And then we will have to force the TUC to act.

TUC decisions

From Phil Davies, FTAT national executive

THE trade union movement has got to put up a fight. Tebbit's proposals are more serious than the 1971 Industrial Relations Act.

From the point of view of the rank and file, we could face unions disowning their members.

Tebbit's not just out to divide the unions he's out to cripple them. We've seen the start of this with Prior's Act which got by without a fight and has led to attacks on stewards' committees.

Now we've got to look to the future. The Wembley conference decisions are in my view a step in the right direction.

Some people are still under the illusion that we can persuade this government to change its mind. We can't.

can't.

We need a coordinated campaign
of action. Demonstrations are okay,
but in the final analysis we need commitments by all the unions and particularly the big unions that they will
take mass strike action if any union or
individual is attacked.

Barking teachers win

By Ken Glanfield

THE STRIKE of 900 teachers in Barking, Dagenham is over after seven weeks, saving 104 out of 150 jobs threatened by the local labour council. A mass meeting of teachers on Tuesday 6 April agreed with the settlement by 70 per cent of those present. Those voting against did so mainly because primary teachers have not gained parity with their secondary colleagues.

The National Union of Teachers is fighting for 'no redundancy' only. If the Barking teachers had done this instead of fighting overall job loss, only 30 jobs would have been saved. This was an offer the national union wanted to accept but it was unanimously rejected.

The settlement guarantees

The settlement guarantees that no subjects will be lost from the secondary curriculum; all sixth forms will be maintained; remedial provision in both sectors and specialist provision in primary schools will also be maintained at the January '82 level.

Thus the worst effect of the cuts has been halted.

During the last two weeks four offers were made and rejected by the teachers at mass meetings.

On each occasion the national union representation, led by Bob Richardson, wanted to accept and on each occasion the team reminded the mass meeting which rejected these offers, that the prime object of the union was to obtain no redundancy.

It was the unity of all the teachers, brought about by the mass involvement of teachers and the democratic functioning of the strike, which forced the executive to continue to support the struggle. The support of the parents was also vital.

The lessons of this Barking strike are being discussed at the NUT conference at the Easter weekend by fighting on the floor of conference to ensure the union will call strike action over job loss, not just redundancy, and arguing that the union review its fighting fund (sustentation) so that effective action can be taken by the membership in the fight against cuts.

Barking NUT is also organising a meeting there to argue its strategy for fighting the cuts: for the withdrawal of all teachers in a school; for the union to organise regional and national solidarity action and to take the fight into the whole membership by organising a financial levy.

While the mass involve-

While the mass involvement of teachers in Barking forced the national executive a long way down the road to fighting all job loss their failure to accept these policies undermined the defence of all 159 jobs.

Teachers in Barking have

won an important battle against the cuts and stand strengthened against further cuts next year.

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Bosses move against Massey -Ferguson occupation

By Pat Hickey

THE Michael Edwardes' style of management came to Massey-Ferguson last week with a threat from the M-F farm and industrial machinery division chief Mike Hoffman to close the plant down if the three week old occupation was not ended immediately.

3000 workers have been holding the Banner Lane, Coventry plant to prevent management enforcing 170 compulsory redundancies.

M-F management has moved rapidly to bring the

dispute to a head.
On Wednesday 7 On Wednesday 7 March the company applied for an injunction against the strikers, but union leaders got the hearing postponed for a week.

This can only be a brief respite. The bosses' courts will be sure to back management, and M-F workers can expect a similar performance from Tebbit's boot-boys as was experienced Laurence Scott workers.

In best multi-national tradition Hoffman is playing different group of workers off against each

He has already decided to transfer some work to France, and is threatening to transfer more to other

Efficiency at Coventry, he claims, has to be measured against the effi-ciency of Masseys in other parts of the world, and they are competing for

But as soon as he has achieved 'efficiency' at Coventry he will be telling workers elsewhere that they must compete with

Then it will be time for another turn of the screw at Banner Lane. This kind of blackmail must be resisted, if only because the blackmailer always returns for more.

It will be vital in the next few weeks to turn the dispute out and win the



support of the rest of the

labour movement.

Certainly Hoffman can rely on the support of the courts and the media.

The local paper, the Coventry Evening Telegraph, had three ar-Evening ticles on 8 April urging the Massey workers to 'face the harsh realities rather than jeopardise another 4000 jobs in beleaguered city'.

It does not add that accepting the 'harsh realities' at British Leyland and at Talbot led only to more redundancies, and to a current unemployment rate in Coventry of 17 per

The stand against redundancies and for work-sharing is the best answer to the 'compete or die' line being peddled by

the Telegraph and by

Bosses' touching concern

IN A CLEAR attempt to divide the workforce Massey-Ferguson has written to all employees appealing for a return to

Health workers mobilise for pay struggle

Managing director, H J Hebden shows a touching concern for the welfare of the workers in his opening sentence: 'You are probably sitting at home worrying about your chances of having a job to go to when this is over.

He goes on to pretend that the occupation is the action of the work of a minority' ... a group of shop stewards and a few of your fellow employees are illegally occupying the Coventry location as part of a campaign which they claim will protect jobs.'

The letter contains the usual threats about lost orders, transfer of work and closure.

It then tries to brand the stewards as wreckers: 'what are the motives of these shop stewards? Do they want to destroy Banner Lane? Perhaps some of them do.'

In reply, the Joint Shop Stewards have written to the managing direc-tor which has been distributed

The stewards point out that the strike committee is a democratically elected body carrying out mass meeting decisions. The oc-cupation was carried by an overwhelming majority at a mass meeting, which followed three others, all of which decided to resist compulsory redundancies.

Hypocrisy

The letter repeats the workers' demands for work sharing and short time working as an alternative to compulsory redundancies.

It goes on to point out the hypocrisy of management's complaints about the cost of the dispute.

Massey's are willing to sustain the cost of a prolonged dispute and pay for expensive legal action against the strikers in the High Court, rather than make an agreement to save 170 jobs.

London transport lobby MPs 23 April

THE PUBLIC wants the return of cheap fares Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union on behalf of the London Transport Trade Union Defence

'Our task is to convert the tremendous support that there is for cheap fares into mass and active support'.

The South East Region of the TUC is organising a broad-based campaign to change the law on Denning's fares ruling and to make the government pay its fair share towards public transport costs in the capital.

Comprising organisations representing consumers, employees of London Transport and the wider trade union movement in London its priority in the next period is to win the maximum support for the second reading of the Jay Bill.

A mass Lobby of Parliament has been called for Friday 23 April from 11am onwards.

Various trade union and consumer organisations have been meeting at a London level. Within two months they expect to see similar structures at a local level in each of the London boroughs.

For further information contact: Bill Morris, TGWU, 01-828 7788 Andy Dodd, NUR, 01-387 4771 Jack Dromey, SERTUC, 01-574 1391

By Dominic Johnson, NUPE convenor,

Churchill Hospital, Oxford, in a personal

BRITAIN'S largest employer is facing serious trouble on the wages front. The National Health Service employs 800,000 - most of them women, and most of them abysmally

This year for the first time there is a common settlement date of 1 April for all the main groups - ancillary workers, nurses and midwives, administration staff, ambulance drivers and technicians. The prospect of a united struggle has strengthened the confidence and resolve of health workers.

No group of workers has so far accepted what is offer. Ancillary workers — some of whom gross less than £60 for a 40 hour week — administration staff and ambulance

drivers have all been offered four per cent.

The lowest grades on the professional and technical grades are being offered nothing at all.

Nurses and midwives,

many of whom take home only about £60 have been offered 6.3 per cent, some of which is to be financed by further cut backs.

The elitist non-TUC affiliated Royal College of Nursing has not yet accepted this.

The basis clearly exists for a united co-ordinated campaign of action in pursuit of the claim — a modest 12 per cent.

Pressure is building up from below from an increasingly impatient membership. Three weeks ago 3000 health workers in the Manchester area struck for half a day following a lobby of the Area Health Authority.

Unfortunately response of the union leadership so far does not inspire confidence.

Under the headline 'Fourteen unions in action', the latest copy of NUPE's journal outlines how NUPE's executive sees the next step: write to MPs; lobby MPs/AHAs/ DHAs, hold meetings to discuss the claim.

Action

No mention of a campaign to win the membership of all the unions to support for nationally organised industrial action which will be the only way to win anything from the present government.

The only action called by the TUC health services

committee is a one hour stoppage on Wednesday 14 April with workplace meetings to discuss the pay

These meetings must be used to prepare for joint action and to let the executives and the government know we mean business.

COHSE, an important health service union, has upped the stakes by announcing it will be taking selective action

If this action is not to be isolated and ineffectual the other unions must respond immediately.

Celebrate 50 years Solding Confine Con Sunday 2 May 6.30 till late A Tribute to Charlie van Gelderen A member of the Left Opposition and a founding member of the Fourth International

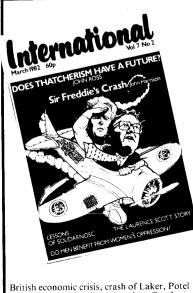
Organised by Brent Socialist Challenge and Revolution, it will be an evening of enter-tainment which celebrates the revolutionary

struggles over the last 50 years. Tickets available from PO Box 50 London N1. Cheques payable to Brent Readers Group. Price £4 (£2.50 unwaged) includes 3 course

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Socialist Challenge Sraelis poised for Lebanon invasion

THE ISRAELI ARMY is on the verge of a massive onslaught against Lebanon. The aim of the invasion will be to smash the Palestinian strongholds and deal a decisive blow to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

An invasion will give the Israelis more land in the north, control of the Litani water resources and a more 'secure' border — with the objective of giving them a freer hand in annexing the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza strip.

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policeman of imperialism in the Middle East. Its against 58. for once by pushing the

Since the middle of March there has been a determined mobilisation against Israeli military rule by the Arab populations in the occupied territories, which have involved a general strike and the deaths of seven Arabs on

the West Bank. The Israeli plan is to

proceed with the annexa-tion of the occupied ter-ritories and to establish puppet civil administrations in place of the elected, often pro-PLO mayors and local councils. This plan goes hand in hand with the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights, which was met with a general strike by the

13,000 Druze inhabitants. Once puppet ministrations have been established in these areas the Israelis will consider giving them a fake 'autonomy' — but in reality they will remain under

Israeli control. The Begin government has chosen to provoke a test of strength with the PLO and the Palestinian and Arab populations. The political crisis in Israel which the Arab rebellion has given rise to has made an invasion of the Lebanon more likely.

The Labour Alignment opposition in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, put down a censure motion against the government and combined in the vote with more right wing Zionist forces. Begin survived by only managing to draw the vote - 58 vote

The result is that another general election is very likely. For Begin, an invasion of Lebanon would be the best possible prelude — war hysteria would probably sweep him

back to power. One of the most important repercussions of the anti-Zionist mobilisation of the 700,000 Arabs who have lived under Israeli occupation on the West Bank for fifteen years has been the emergence of solidarity strikes among Arab workers in Israel itself.

For the Israeli government, a strike into Lebanon would be an attempt to cripple the PLO northern border back and making guerrilla attacks extremely difficult.

A strike into Lebanon now would come at an extremely favourable time for the Israelis. The Arab states, in addition to their normal caution, are tied up with their own internal problems. In particular the Syrian Ba'athists are involved in a tense internal struggle with Islamic fun-damentalists. More damentalists. More generally, the United States which alone has the ability to sometimes restrain the Israelis, is deeply involved in trying to resolve the Falklands

crisis. Israel is the main simultaneous plan to annex the occupied territories and to invade Lebanon would be a blow not only to the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, but to all those in the region fighting imperialism. For example, in Lebanon it is not only the Palestinians who would be the targets for the Israelis, but also the Lebanese left.

The net result would be

to strengthen the right wing Maronite Christians led by the Falangists. The Arab masses fighting the Israelis in the occupied territories are very isolated in the face of brutal repres-

A new war in the Middle East will bring untold suffering to the Arab people. Now more than ever it is necessary for all anti-imperialists to give active support to the Palestinian

National Sales Day

REPORTS are steadily coming in of your activities on National Sales Day. In Hackney they nearly doubled their usual sales - 35 were sold on one estate alone!

Hackney have now organised themselves into teams to sell every week at the local factories, bus garages, and estates. They aim to increase their sales by at least 50 per cent by the

In West London both Hounslow and Hillingdon supporters used the Sales Day as an opportunity to establish regular sales. new Lewisham inaugurated an estate sale with notable success.

What is needed now is to build on the successes of National Sales Day, Don't see the sales day as merely a one off event — it is part of a campaign to increase our regular sales of Socialist Challenge.

Let us know how well your area did on National Sales Day and what plans you have to follow up those sales in the future. Ring Alan 01 359 8371.

SELLERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS

Do you regularly buy your Socialist Challenge from one of our sellers? If you do why not take out one of our Sellers' Subscriptions. Because we don't have to pay postage we are able to offer subscriptions at a lower rate — £9.50 for a year or £5.50 for six months.

All you have to do is to complete the form below and return it with the money to SCD, PO Box 50, London N1 and your seller will then deliver it to you each week.

I wish to take out a SELLER'S SUE	3 to Socialist
Challenge	
I want a 1 year/6 month sub*	

I enclose £9.50/£5.50*	
Name	

*Delete as necessary.

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