

Socialist Challenge

Labour Parties against the witch-hunt

Conference of delegates from CLPs, unions, LPYS branches, LP branches, women's sections

30 October
Country Hall, London

Contact: Labour Parties against the witch-hunt
107 Nevill Rd, London N16.

No

On Monday 27 September the trade union leaders, the right-wing MPs and the so-called moderate left, united to impose a register on the Labour Party. Calling for unifying the Labour Party they made their first condition of 'unity' — the right to expel the left.

The Labour leaders want a united party, or more correctly a compliant obedient party, that will reverse the decisions on unilateralism, nationalisation, the EEC, re-selection and the election

of the party leader. They know that they can only do this by a purge of the left who fought for and won the party to these policies.

The right needs a mandate to drive the opposition out of the Labour Party and it sees the register as its right to do that. If they succeed the Labour Party will go down to yet another ignominious electoral defeat and the Tories will get their mandate to make even more ferocious attacks on the working class.

This is why the socialists and militants inside the party cannot compromise with the register. Every attempt by the right to expel has to be resisted. The constituency parties have got to make sure that not one single solitary left winger is expelled.

Meanwhile a massive campaign has got to start inside the trade unions so that support grows amongst the rank and file against the expulsion drive of the right. Furthermore a campaign has to be built inside the unions

that can start the process of reversing this year's vote. Trade unionists need a Labour Government that will fight for their interests. They can only get that by fighting the register.

The Conference called by the Hackney North and Stoke Newington Labour Party against the register, has increased in importance following Monday's vote. Make sure that your Labour Party and trade union is represented so that a fight back can start now.

expulsions!

the fight must



go on

Millions take action

By Brian Grogan

MILLIONS of trade unionists responded to the TUC's 'day of action' last Wednesday. In so doing, they flagrantly defied the government's anti-union laws whose centre-piece is a ban on solidarity action.

Tory ministers declared that 90 per cent of Britain worked normally. More astutely, bosses leaders claimed that it was simply an action of those in the public sector and nationalised industries. But these claims were only face-saving lies. The government has been struck a body blow.

In reality, there was a massive response to the TUC's actual call — for a stoppage of one hour or more. It was not a call for a 24 hour general strike, despite the campaigning effort of *Socialist Challenge*. Three quarters of a million took action in Scotland alone and 400,000 in Wales.

And more than 2m workers struck for the day.

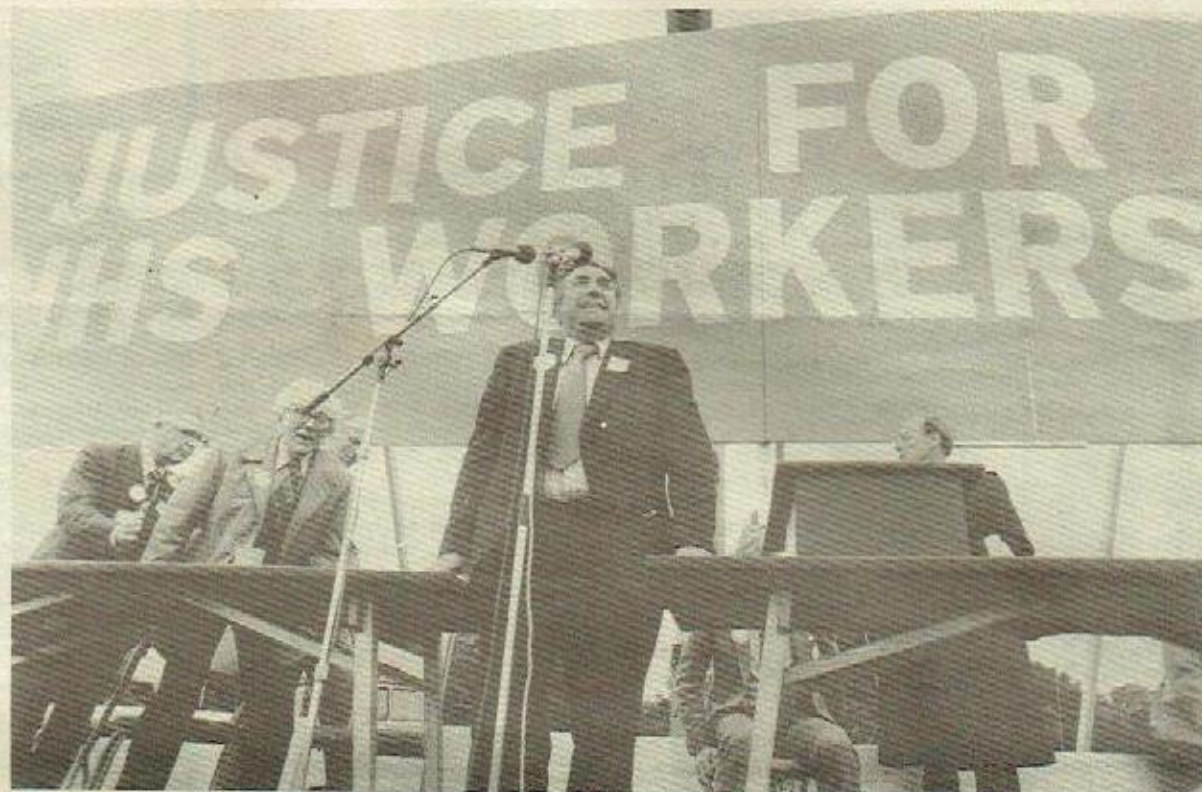
Over 300,000 took to the streets in a half dozen major cities. This included 120,000 in London, 100,000 in various Scottish cities, 25,000 in Liverpool and 30,000 in Sheffield. In addition there were demonstrations in nearly every town. There was even a 300 strong demonstration in Shetland.

The claim that private industry failed to respond is a total concoction. To be sure, the character of the response varied depending on the lead given. In general, the further North, the more solid the action. Moreover, what the

Engineering Employers Federation failed to mention when they claimed that only 100 engineering firms had been hit, was that large sections of the engineering industry were on a weeks holiday. This strongly affected the West Midlands and parts of Yorkshire.

Nonetheless, engineering was badly hit in Scotland and Wales. Fords Bridgend was closed for the day. In Sheffield, 25,000 workers from engineering and related industries took a whole days action. Included were most of the biggest employers. Apart from River Don steelmaking, hit were Twist Steel, Aurora, JS Neills, Presto and Union Carbide. There was an equally good response on Merseyside. Fords Halewood was out for the day and Vauxhalls for a half day.

Manchester and Stockport were well featured as was the rest of the North West. In



Frank Chapple, not the most popular man on the 22 September — he did not even vote for it! No wonder the boos were loud and long.

Preston, not only did the 8,000 British Leyland workers strike but British Aerospace, GEC's and Rockwell graphics contributed to a massive shut down. Most major engineering plants were closed in the East Midlands.

To further assess the

bosses claim, it is interesting to take just one area: that of the West London industrial belt. Private industry was supposedly affected hardly at all in London. Yet here the roll call of private industry hit, reads: Magnetex, Lucas CAV's, Fairey (Hydraulic), EMI (records), EMI (Hayes), GEC-Osram,

Chiswick works, Acton works, Rolls Royce Motors, Crown Cork, Walter Kidde, BOC Wembley, PLC and Shell and BP tanker drivers. At Heathrow airport, 15,000 transport union and several thousand engineering union members took action.

In food, employing

mainly Asian workers, there was also a big turnout in West London. They included: Walls, Lyons, Mothers Pride, Nestles and Callard and Bowser.

It is true, of course that the nationalised industries and the public sector responded more massively. Healthworkers were

near unanimous in taking a full days strike. Over 80 percent of miners were out all day. Docks were virtually completely closed. Shipyards were badly affected.

There was a strong response from civil servants and local government workers (particularly from the DHSS). And the combination of the action of teachers and caretaking staff closed many schools, including over half those in London. Most bus workers took action, including many for the whole day.

It is true that Rail worked normally. But despite this being disputed by many militants, it was a result of an appeal by the health workers unions to allow workers to get to the demonstrations.

Most symbolically revealing action of all was that of the print workers who, amongst other actions ensured no national newspapers appeared on the day. Last time, the Newspaper Proprietors Association had taken court action. This time, they dared do nothing.

What is clear is that given a strong lead, we could not only force a humiliating retreat by Thatcher on the health workers claim. We could bring this government down.

A day in the life of a health worker; 22 September 1982

By Eve Turner, TGWU Shop Steward, St Bernards Wing Ealing Hospital

9.30pm Tuesday 21 September

ALL NIGHT pickets begin well at Ealing. Nurses in high spirits despite the cold, helped by generous donations of brandy and gin by sympathetic passers by. Police an irritation. Vote taken to ask them to leave — unanimously passed but unfortunately the police choose to ignore the democratic wishes of the people and stay.

7.30 Wednesday 22 September

The 'great' Day finally arrives. The picket lines are starting to swell with hospital workers. The first outside support to arrive is from the local Trades Council and Labour Party. Hopping from St Bernards (where I work) to Ealing it is clear that local workers identify with the now 'infamous' Ealing Nurses.

Solidarity within Ealing Hospital is impressive with almost total support among nurses, porters, technical staff and all maintenance staff (electricians, engineers, plumbers). At St Bernards support is far more erratic although nearly all the workforce is involved it varies from 2 hours to all day.

9.30am ...

Support is mounting all the time. Over 200 nurses are now out at Ealing. The coaches have now arrived and excitement is mounting. Specially for Thatcher a little song of imminent victory has been prepared by the nurse's shop stewards. Joined by the ambulance crews, out in force for the first time, they climb onto the coaches proudly brandishing the cardboard cheque for £100 presented to them by Southall NAT-FHE — 30 of whom are going with them on the march.

Of those left behind the support from other workplaces is impressive; Post Office Engineers, building workers, dustmen, telephonists, social workers, ASTMS members, local government workers, even the local paper had struck for the day to join our picket!!

11.30am ...

Demand growing for speakers to address mass meetings — DHSS Ealing and Southall Offices, Fairey Electronics (Hayes) Heathrow Airport — nurses needed for meetings involving a membership of 26,000 workers. After a mild panic due to all the nursing stewards having gone on the march

speakers are found.

1pm ...

Off to Fairey Electronics to speak — still a great feeling on the picket lines. Money is flooding in from local unions and sympathetic public; £75 from BBC Ealing Studios; £30 from local schools; £17 Southall Bus Garage plus £50 in donations from the public. NUT, local GPO, CPSA/SCPS members now arriving joined by local factories out for 1-2 hours in support.

Southall and Hanwell Bus Garage maintenance staff walk-out in support and demonstrate outside their Meeting at Faireys good but small, nurses with me speak for the first time.

2.30pm ...

Return to Ealing in time to hear that demonstrations still leaving Jubilee Gardens. Jubilant nurse returns from Heathrow having scored a major success. Nothing moving at Heathrow for 2 hours; chaos from Iceland to Brazil! A fair number of domestics have now joined the picket line at Ealing. Many of them feel they should have been out all day. Local NUR branch doing a fine job on the

picket line much to the dismay of local police.



Eve Turner

5.30pm ...

Coaches start to return, everyone exhausted but exhilarated. General feeling that we must win with such fantastic support from other workers.

6.30 ...

Overall everyone agrees that its been a great day, not just within the hospital itself but the impressive show of solidarity from other workers and the public who tooted their horns, gave us money and joined us on the pickets.

What we're fighting for

AT ITS last conference, the NUM voted to demand the minimum wage of £115 per week for surface workers — an increase of £27 per week, and flat-rate increases for other grades. A special delegate conference has been called for next Monday to decide on the NUM's response to the coal-boards 8 percent offer.

It is almost certain to call a pit-head ballot at the end of October. MARK HUNTER, at Welbeck Colliery, Nottinghamshire, discusses the major issues in the NUM claim that have been ignored by the press, and the kind of campaign that is needed in the pits.

One of the most important issues is rate protection. This means that a bloke won't have to take a cut in wages if he's injured, ill, or just too old to work on the face.

The other week we had a bloke working with us who is 56. He's got another four years to do. His lungs have gone because the dust has got to him. The Board have virtually killed this bloke, he can't have a night out, he can hardly breathe.

He can't afford to come off the face, it's not only the loss of wages — and it is a big drop — but he also stands to lose out on his pension which is taken on his last two years earnings, even though he's been paying the pension at a face workers rate for 40 years.

That's why we also need early retirement. A

bloke like this hasn't got long to live. He should be able to retire on full pay, not have to carry on working on the coal face till he drops.

Early retirement would also create jobs for the youth in the villages, at the moment there's nothing for them. You see all the kids sat knocking about, if you're unemployed in a pit village you stand no chance.

A four-day week would not only make things a lot better for a miner, but could create thousands of jobs for the unemployed kids.

There's been no campaign in the pits up till now, all that's coming in is from the garbage press. There's a lot of confusion about what we're asking for.



Mark Hunter

We need a big campaign from the union. Not just leaflets and papers, but canteen meetings as well. We need more information. We can't expect the members to back the union if they don't know what's going on.

We need to turn the list of priorities upside down. The four-day week, jobs and pit closures, early retirement and rate protection — these should be at the top of the list. These are the vital issues the union has to campaign for.

A great day!



GM COOKSON



THE DAY OF ACTION WAS AN INSPIRING OCCASION. The health workers and their allies demonstrated in their hundreds of thousands all over Britain. In London the first marchers had reached Hyde Park before the last demonstrators had left the starting point at South Bank.

It was a march of militancy and anger against the Tories. It was also a march that made people happy because it was a great show of working class solidarity, when nurses, cleaners, porters and technicians from the hospitals marched with their sisters and brothers from Fleet St, telecommunications, docks, post, teaching, engineering, transport and the acting profession.

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE shows below the awe inspiring strength and power of the demonstration.



Photo: NEWSLINE



GM COOKSON



GM COOKSON

Civil war in the Party

By Alan Freeman, Blackpool

LABOUR'S right wing have launched a civil war in the party. Both the NEC report on the *Militant* tendency and composite 48 from APEX and the EETPU, which calls for 'determination to uphold clause 2 of the constitution in respect of any unconstitutional activity within the party structures', and its 'duty to declare that organisation in conformity with the constitution are incompatible with membership of the Labour Party', were passed by over 5m to 2m votes.

Roy Grantham, moving composite 48 for APEX, spelled out the right wings plan to defeat socialist policies. In a speech recalling Senator Joseph McCarthy's finest hour, he called for the ejection of 'the cuckoo from our nest'. *Militant*, he said, are 'a different species'. And why? 'Because they do not believe in Parliament'.

With these words, he gave the lie to Michael Foot's claim that the witch-hunt 'is not directed against people's ideas'. 'We demand that the editorial board and the paper sellers be removed and prospective parliamentary candidates go,' said Grantham, directly contradicting party secretary Jim Mortimer's claim, backed by Foot, that 'only the inner circle' would go.

Clause 2

After Grantham's speech and the ranting support from John Spellar EETPU and prospective candidate from Birmingham Northfield, few constituency delegates felt inclined to trust Michael Foot's assurances. 40 years in Parliament — all the way from Clause 4 to Clause 2 — and it was on Clause 2 that the right established the beachhead. As Pat Wall pointed out to applause, clause 4 seems to have faded from memory in Foot's defence of the constitution.

The confusion and bitterness created by Foot's futile attempts to defend a 'middle ground' were given voice by Martin Flannery MP which brought two thirds of the

hall to its feet. Foot's summing up had less than half this standing, with even a few union delegates refusing to join.

Flannery denounced the illusion that the witch-hunt would stop at a few leaders. And spelt out its real purpose with chilling clarity. 'We all know which way the vote will go,' he said. But it should be made clear that 'there is no unity in the party. Those who press this witch-hunt are dividing the party in the face of the enemy.'

Behind the witch-hunt, he said, lay 'an all-out attack on our policies... Next they will go on to attack unilateral disarmament, our position on the NEC, and before you know it they will be imposing the five per cent wage limit that lost us the last election.'

Flannery was right. The party is committed to policies like unilateral disarmament which are based on gains made in mass struggle: as delegates' enthusiastic response to the Manchester 'Jobs not Bombs' marchers showed, these will not be given up easily. But the leadership is scared stiff of coming to office on these policies. They are prepared to risk the next election and the destruction of the rank and file to roll these policies back.

NEC Vote

The strength of rank and file opposition showed: in Pat Walls huge NEC vote of 103,000; in the thousand strong audience at *Labour Herald* Monday night fringe meeting which

cheered to the echo Arthur Scargill, Norman Kitson, Paul Boateng, EETPU Broad Left candidate John Aitken, Ken Livingstone, Joan Maynard and Tony Benn.

But this response has to be organised. Throughout the week support has been building up for the conference and fringe meeting called by 'Labour Parties against the witch-hunt and initiated by Hackney North Labour Party. Speakers now include Joan Maynard, Martin Flannery, Phil Holt of the POEU Broad Left, John Aitken, and support is broadening all the time.'

But on the road to united fight against expulsions, a political problem has to be overcome. When Martin Flannery told conference that the issue at stake was not confidence in Michael Foot, he left delegates confused — just as they felt disoriented and confused by the CLPD's majority emphasis on trying to secure a 'fall back' amendment in favour of 'a democratic register'.

The source of this confusion is the belief, fostered by Tony Benn since Bishop Stortford, that socialist policies can be defended and a Labour victory assured without challenging Michael Foot's leadership of the Party.

Roy Hattersley spelt out the right wing's conception of unity just before conference. 'It is all very well for the lion to lie down with the lamb', he said 'But it is no good if the lion eats the lamb'. The problem is that Grantham and Hattersley are the lions and Foot invited us to be the lamb — to be lead to slaughter.

Only if the left defends both its policies and its rights, only if it treats each and every expulsion as a blow against the mass movement and a blow against a Labour victory — regardless of the effects on Michael Foot's standing — will we be able to win



Jim Mortimer making witch-hunt speech for NEC.



Labour delegates

Lambeth witch-hunt meeting

By Carol Turner, Vauxhall CLP and POEU

'THERE CAN be no compromise on the witch-hunt!' Ted Knight summed up the mood at Lambeth's public meeting. 'Once you allow it, he said, it will not stop at one group. There can be no question: we stand side by side with the comrades of *Militant*, and refuse to accept the witch-hunt. Differences are secondary.'

Speaking at the 20 September meeting against the Witch-hunt sponsored by Norwood, Lambeth Central and Vauxhall Labour Parties, Knight described the witch-hunt which followed the ban on *Socialist Outlook* in the 50s: a picture of unnamed accusers, enquiries without witnesses, and the atmosphere of inquisition which led to the expulsion of 180 members of the Norwood Labour Party.

If any doubt lingered among the 100 strong audience, it was dispelled by Jim Atkinson, Secretary of the South West London EETPU branch, who spoke of events in his union. 'We know what witch-hunt and registration means,' he said, 'because those of us on the left in the union have been subject to them since 1961 when Chappell and the right wing won control. Since then we have fought

an unremitting battle. The action by Fleet Street electricians during the health workers dispute has done a great deal to redeem the name of the electricians union.'

'If you get too much democracy, you can't control your membership,' he said. The same 'treacherous philosophy' is behind what's happening today in the Labour Party. That was why he was proud he'd moved the EETPU motion against the register at his Battersea GC.

Resistance to the witch-hunt is part of the fight to kick out the Tories. 'What are our Labour leaders doing about this Tory govern-

ment?' asked *Militant* supporter Teresa Wrack. 'Conspiring to kick out the left! The witch-hunt against *Militant* and against the left in general plays into the hands of the Tory government.' MP Jo Richardson concurred: 'The right has whipped up hysteria against a small group of people, she said. 'Why are they doing it? To fudge the policy issues... Some of the right have decided that *Militant* will be the issue at this year's conference. The press and the Tory Party must be delighted — it takes all eyes away from the evils of Thatcherism!' Joan Maynard MP struck the same clear note:

'There are some people in our movement,' she said, 'who detest two things: one is democracy, the other is socialism. Those same people want to expel *Militant* and introduce the register.' She explained why 'I'm in favour of extra-parliamentary activity and industrial action. The truth is that every single right that you and I have, has first been won outside parliament.'

MPs are only as strong as the movement outside. The Tory Party understands the need to weaken trade unionism with unemployment. The Labour Party was becoming a campaigning party on unemploy-

ment — that's been stopped, and it must be brought back.' The need to resist the tactics of the right in order to build the campaign against the Tories brought the audience of Labour Party members and trade unionists to this meeting. Contributions from the floor concentrated on how to build country-wide resistance to the imposition of a register.

Speakers pointed to the Hackney North initiated conference, called for 30 October and open to delegates from CLPs and affiliated organisations. Local committees too were needed, so that CLPs

didn't find themselves isolated like Norwood in the 50s.

Vauxhall Trade Union Liaison Officer and NUR member, Greg Tucker showed the way to build support for the 30 October Conference. 'We have written to all affiliated trade union branches,' he said, 'outlining Vauxhall's position, asking them to discuss it at their branches, and to support our stand. What's needed is firm and united action against the register and against the witch-hunt by all CLPs and affiliated organisations.'

Editorial

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Victory to the health workers

Last Wednesday the workers' movement stood up to be counted. In its overwhelming majority it said 'we support the health workers'.

Drawing on the deeply ingrained support that the idea of a free health service enjoys among working people, and the rising groundswell of anti-Toryism, the Day of Action and the mass demonstrations, spelt out a message loud and clear — this is a struggle that can be won!

Millions responded to the call of the TUC for one hour of action in support of the health workers. Well over two million and half people went beyond the call of the TUC and downed tools for the day. The government faces the biggest revolt from the labour movement since it took office. Giant forces now exist that can roll back the defeats in steel, cars, rail and other sections.

But these forces have to be brought into action. The refusal of the cabinet to budge, even after Wednesday, means that the TUC has to up the stakes. Its suggestions of a series of 'rolling regional strikes' has to be extended. The confidence, the increased militancy, and the justifiable anger of the health workers, has to be turned into action that really bites. This means all-out strike action with emergency cover only.

This will show the Tories that the health workers really do mean business. It will make clear to their millions of supporters in the labour movement that the dispute can be brought to a speedy and successful conclusion, providing the health workers' actions are backed by a series of 24-hour solidarity strikes building up towards a general strike.

The will and the confidence of the health workers is there. The support among organised labour is there. The Tory government would be forced to capitulate to such a force or it would, like the Heath government of 1974, be forced out of office.

Only the vacillations and compromises of the TUC leaders can lose this dispute. Their 'militant' declarations of solidarity have to be turned into even more decisive action. That means Congress House must be flooded with resolutions from every trade union branch calling for solidarity action, leading if need be to a general strike. The left, headed by Scargill must fight inside the TUC for such a policy.

A victory on this issue can turn the tide in favour of all the working class. The millions that can be mobilised to win the NHS dispute are the same millions that can fight Tebbit and take up the struggle against unemployment and mass redundancies.

A defeat would set back the movement for a long time. When the stakes are as high as this we can only have one slogan: Victory to the health workers.

JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

If you would like to be put in touch with Socialist Challenge supporters in your area or would like more information fill in the form below

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

Union/CLP (if any).....

Send to: Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Save taxpayers' money — die now

By Bob Pennington

WE DO WASTE A LOT OF MONEY. Cash is poured down the drain to pay older people their pensions, unemployed layabouts get social security. Billions are spent on caring for the sick and the infirm. Working class children get a free education. Even worse tax payers' hard earned money has to go towards paying for nukes. No wonder Lord Vesty and his mates spend so much of their time working out how to dodge paying income tax.

But don't despair. The Central Political Review Staff (think tank) have been getting their heads together and have now got a scheme which will stop all these abuses.

They reckon if we got rid of the NHS and replaced it with a private health scheme, a lot of us might die prematurely, but it would save the tax payer at least £4 billion a year. This seems sensible. The rapid demise of the working class would cut back the unemployment figures and save millions in social security payments.

Before we get there they say we should pay more for seeing the doctor and pay more money for drugs and prescriptions. This would put more money in government coffers and help to give those hard-done by doctors and consultants a few bob more — after all would you like to live on a miserly £20,000 a year? All this will cost the average family about £600 a year.

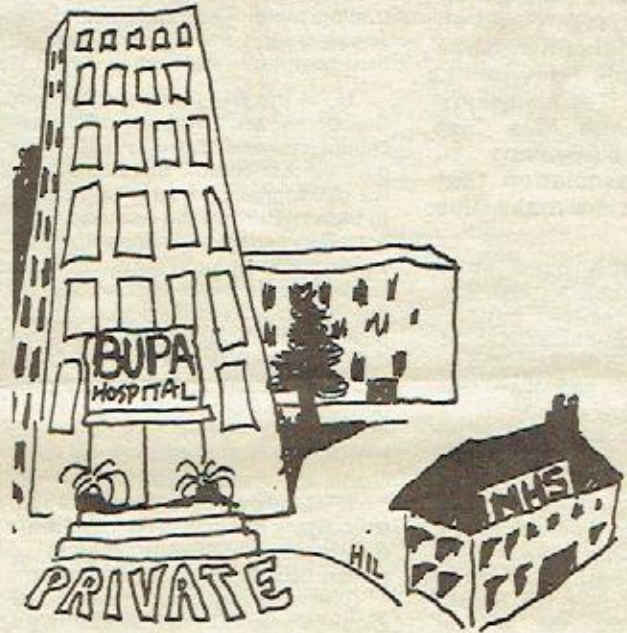
Youth

At last the Tories are tackling the problem of education. After all why spend billions and billions educating people who will probably never work in their lives? So they have set a fee based on market rates. If you want to go to university for three years then it will set you back £12,000, but if you can't raise the ante then they will lend you the money and deduct it out of your dole money when you leave the

campus. Luckily some people will get to university. We will need people, reliable people, I might add, to run business, the police, the military, the civil service and develop nuclear weapons. So they are making 300,000 state scholarships available. The scholarship system will mean the right boys and girls get into these jobs. Academic qualification number one will be home background and cash. Intellectual ability will be way down the list. That's called restoring the old values.

So the lower orders don't get ideas above their station and think they are entitled to be educated free of charge — after all the ruling class has to find the money to send its brats to Eton, Harrow and Rodean — the think tank suggests people buy educational vouchers to send their kids to school. All this will cost is a miserly £600, which is nothing compared to the £1200 per term the upper class mums and dads have to fork out to send their offsprings to a decent public school.

Unfortunately when it got to defence spending, the thinkers stopped thinking. Some suggested that the troops bought their own guns and ammunition. Others noted



that credit controls had eased and thought maybe tank crews could buy their own tanks on the HP. Finally, it was decided that the only way to raise the money for arms was to cut unemployment benefits, social security, family allowances and pensions. So in 1983 people on state benefits will only get a three percent rise which will mean a four percent cut in real terms.

The biggest cheer leader for the proposals is Geoffrey Howe, the monetarist chancellor who was infuriated when the cabinet 'wets' lined up to block discussing the proposals. But he was not half as furious as his boss, Mrs Thatcher who was said to be quite beyond herself at the insubordination of the 'wets'.

But she has nothing to

worry about. The 'Think Tank' says exactly what the Tories want to do. Fowler really likes the ideas. But not yet! He can hardly tell the health workers they must accept his 7½ and 6 per cent, in order to save the NHS, and then come out in support of the CPRS's proposals to shut the whole thing down!

Prior, Whitelaw and company are frightened that many Tory voters might not like the idea of forking out some £1500 a year per family for health and education. But what really worries the 'wets' is the thought of the conflict these proposals might unleash.

As one of the cabinet remarked 'If these bloody workers come out in support of the health worker's

pay claim, Christ know what they will do if we try and get rid of the NHS.'

The labour movement has got to make sure that these Tory fears come true. The TUC and the Labour Party should see right now that if these proposals to turn the clock back are ever drafted, the last Wednesday's Day of Action will be repeated or an even more massive scale until they are dropped.

What to do

What our readers should be doing to win the health dispute:

- Getting speakers from the health workers to — your union branch, workplace, labour party, women's group etc.

- Getting the above organisations to collect a weekly levy and to send regular deputations to the hospital picket lines.

- Building joint labour movement meetings in the localities to put the health workers case.

- Organising local demonstrations or labour movement organisations in support of the health workers.

- Selling Socialist Challenge at the meetings, demonstrations and on the picket line.

LT tube cuts pushed through

By P Siddall

Full time negotiations of the unions led by NUR Assistant General Secretary Andy Dodds, have stabbed London Transport workers in the back by accepting the timetable cuts which had been successfully fought off by a seven day strike last June by traincrews. The exact formula is that the cuts are temporarily accepted until the NUR Special General Meeting in Birmingham on 13 and 14 October. This is a thoroughly cynical and threadbare cover for cutting 58 trains every day during the rush hour.

Once in operation it will of course be impossible to restore the timetables without recruiting several hundred new staff over and above those needed to replace 'natural wastage'.

Within 24 hours the full implications of this defeat became clear as LT announced the need for further drastic cuts in off peak services and the closure of up to 13 stations by December. A jobs for

money deal has been stitched up by the NUR negotiators and the executive committee with its new right wing majority has agreed to put it to the SGM which will give it the rubber stamp.

The SGM will also vote on the LT management's pay offer of 7 percent backdated to April. Included in this deal is the fusion of the grades of railwo/men (platform) and leading railwo/man

(barriers).

For train crews the cuts will mean a massive increase in the distances they will have to travel before picking up their trains in the pre-dawn hours and after stabling them after midnight. The wait to get rostered at the home depot will be at least doubled from the present average of 12 to 18 months. Promotion from guard or guard/motorman to motorman will be extended at a stroke to 3-4 years depending on seniority.

Budget

This entire situation has been brought about by the GLC budget, which does not provide funds for enough staff to operate the full timetable. The justification for the temporary timetable is thus to

tailor the number of staff available.

LT bus workers accepted the loss of 750 buses from the roads in September. LT workers also took no action in support of the NHS workers last Wednesday and they all face further rounds of cuts. Through all this the GLC's ruling Labour group has stayed silent. Their latest survey shows 78 percent of the people of London in favour of Fares Fair — but what about a bit of support for those who are actually fighting now to prevent any further erosion of the service?

What was, and still is needed, is joint union and Labour Party action to fight every cut and for a massive cash injection from government. To make the Fares Fair issue the only way to save the service is to give the im-

pression that the Tories would allow Labour to get away with a rates subsidised fares cutting policy and that the few extra million this would generate every year could solve LT's structural problems.

Activists

Activists face a hard fight to change a situation in which the rank and file especially in the undemocratic NUR are unwilling to take action unless it is sanctioned by the Head Office. Organisations to fight the next round of cuts in December must start now. Workplace and depot meetings should be held supported by branch bulletins. Especially important will be mandating union delegates to the London Region LP conference on the Manifesto on 13 and 14 November.

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

By Nigel Ward

Origins of Zionism

One of the main arguments used by Zionists against their opponents is that any and all opposition to Zionism inspires and anti-Semitic viewpoint. To begin with, it is necessary to deal with the idea that Judaism is equivalent to Zionism, an association that allows Zionists to make this statement.

The equation is based on a falsification of Jewish history. The Zionists claim that the Jews were forcibly dispersed from Palestine at the time of the wars with the Romans and the fall of Jerusalem, and longed ever after for a return to Palestine.

The Zionist project for the ingathering of world Jewry in Palestine is therefore a seemingly logical response to this aspiration.

In the first place, it was not merely 'acts of violence' that motivated the dispersion of the Jews. This dispersal began centuries before the fall of Jerusalem; three quarters of the Jews

lived outside of Palestine. In fact, the emigration of Jews from Palestine were in response to the better existence to be gleaned elsewhere. Studies of Palestine at this time have shown that Palestine was a major trading route. The experience of the Jewish traders was utilised to secure their position in the Roman empire.

Up to the 11th century in Western Europe, the Jews were noted for their commercial and usurious activity, a position that became threatened with the development of early capitalism. In Eastern Europe, the Jews remained as traders and middlemen, a situation which continued until the attempts of modern capitalism to impose itself on this underdeveloped region. 'The poverty of the Jews in Russia dates only from the abolition of serfdom and of the feudal regime in rural property. So long as the former and latter existed the Jews found wide possibilities for subsisting as merchants and middlemen.'

It was because the Jews were able to occupy a particular economic position that they retained, amongst other things, their religious particularism.

Where then, and when, did Zionism originate? We should begin with Eastern Europe at the time of the

collapse of feudalism. The Jews, having existed with a clear economic task in the old order, were now outcasts and the scapegoats for the violent shocks that were rocking the old society.

This led to massive emigration of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe — five million went to America and the 'new countries' where they rapidly became assimilated. New York alone today has more Jews than the whole of Israel. But the emigration to Western Europe was in vain.

Whilst the feudal society of the east was being ruined, the already developed capitalist economy of the west was being racked by economic crises. Thus the Jews were not assimilated into the fabric of western society. Rather, the middle classes, motivated by the pressure on their position created by capitalist concentration, were diverted into making the Jews scapegoats for the crisis of capitalism.

This was the cauldron in which Zionism was born — the Russian pogroms of 1882 and the Dreyfus affair in France.

In fact, it was the latter event that stirred Theodor Herzl to write the

book *The Jewish State*, that later became the foundation stone of the Zionist movement. What were the ideas of the early Zionists based on? We have already said that Marxists look for explanations of ideas in the development of society. So it is for the emergence of Zionism.

The development of capitalism was the bearer of two political phenomena: nationalism and colonisation of underdeveloped continents. All Zionist political thought did was to interpret the dominant views of the time in relation to the persecution of the Jews in Europe, utilising the argument for an ingathering of Jews in Palestine. *Zionism was therefore a product of its time.*

As Herzl said, 'We should there (Palestine) form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilisation as opposed to barbarism.' It would be hard to find a clearer statement of the sort of reactionary nationalist ideology that was prevalent in Western Europe at the time.

This view of the development of Zionism is confirmed by the history of Judaism. Zionists often claim that Zionism and Judaism are compatible or even identical. Why then were the forerunners of Herzl, such as Sab-batai Zeli, violently attacked by orthodox Judaism? The only answer can be that Zionism did not gain its foothold until the social conditions for its emergence were ripe.

The crises of a rising capitalism in Eastern Europe in the late 19th century were matched in the first half of the 20th century with the decline and stagnation of the already advanced capitalism in Western Europe and the US. Whereas the former had produced the first socialist revolution in Russia, the latter was accompanied by a wave of defeats for the revolutionary movement and the rise of fascism.

Once again, the Jews, Gypsies, and other minorities became the scapegoats. A wave of anti-Semitism swept Poland in the 1920s and Germany in the 1930s and 1940s.

Although it can be said that Zionism originated in Eastern Europe, it most certainly developed and came to maturity with the spread of fascism. For the first time the Zionist movement acquired for itself a genuine mass social base. Emigration to Palestine increased enormously as this table shows:

Year	No of Jews in Palestine
1922	83,790
1931	174,606
1945	579,227
1946	608,225

Zionism and Imperialism

We can trace political Zionism back to the first congress held in Basle in 1897. But this new nationalist current was significantly different from the movements in Western Europe that were its forerunners and inspirers. The Zionist movement was born in Europe with virtually no links with the Jews of Palestine. It wanted to colonise not simply for the economic and political benefits motivating the imperialist countries, but also in order to create its own national state.

The Zionist movement was therefore presented with an obvious problem: how do you obtain a geographical area under the control of a great power when your supporters are hundreds of miles from the area?

Precisely because there was no Zionist state, the traditional European method of acquiring colonies



Bloody aftermath of Zionist attack on King David Hotel



Theodor Herzl — founder of Zionism

ZIONISMS?



Palestine (which were not very great in any case) but the country itself for the establishment of a new national state which through immigration would create its own classes — including a working class. The Arabs were therefore not to be exploited, but totally replaced. Consequently the central slogans of the Zionist colonisation process were: 'Conquest of the Land', 'Jewish Labour', and 'Buy Jewish'. In short, Israel was to be exclusively Jewish in every respect (economically, socially and politically).

It is important not to forget the complicity of the Arab ruling classes in the Zionist project. The main landowners, the Al-Husseinis, Auni Abdul Hadi, and others all sold land to the Zionists, who it must be remembered, had regulations forbidding its re-sale to Arab.

On the political level, the Hashemite kings collaborated with Zionism. In 1922 King Faisal signed an agreement with Weizmann, including the endorsement of the Balfour declaration and an article stating: 'All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage, and stimulate immigration into Palestine on a large scale.'

Finally, in 1948, Ben Gurion and Abdullah, King of Jordan, agreed to divide Palestine between themselves.

It is well known what the result of Zionist colonisation was. In 1948 there were 580,000 Arab refugees; massive land confiscations meant Arabs lost 40-50 per cent of their land. Perhaps the clearest reflection of Zionist ideals is the infamous 'Law of Return', promulgated in July 1950.

This states that every Jew has the right to come and settle in Israel. The law of nationality passed nearly two years later conferred Israeli nationality on any settler.

However, the Palestinian Arabs who had fled the fighting following organised massacres like that of Deir Yassin were to be treated as foreigners; naturalisation would be granted only after the applicant had sworn an oath of allegiance to the new state and the application had to be approved by the Minister of the Interior.

The Israeli nationality law is revealing of another fundamental cornerstone of Zionist ideology deriving from the false equation of Zionism with Judaism. The Zionists believe that world Jewry constitute a nation which was scattered thousands of years ago during 'the Diaspora', but which still retains its common basis. This preposterous notion can at best only make the concept of a nation or nationality meaningless.

How can Jews from different countries, with completely different economic, social, cultural and political histories be considered a single unit! And if they did constitute a nation, why is it that today, 34 years after the foundation of the Zionist state, the overwhelming majority of Jews consciously chose not to emigrate to Israel no matter how ardently many of them defend the policies of the Israeli state.

It is estimated that 3½ million out of a world population of about 16 million Jews reside today in Israel.

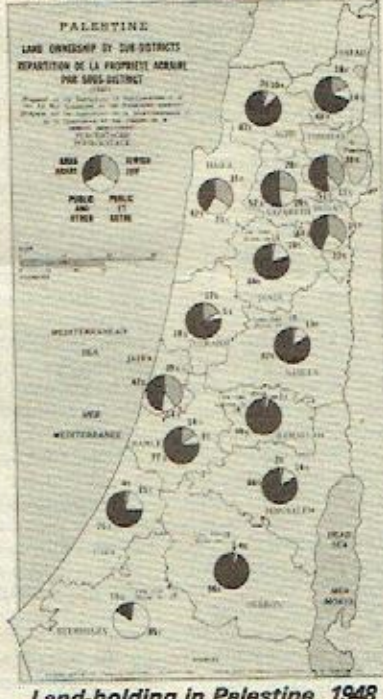
When we begin to review the practice of Zionism, including the creation of the Israeli state, it becomes apparent as to why this ideology can be described as racist. Zionism has created a creature that has institutionalised expulsion of Arabs from their land, discrimination against Arabs in every aspect of life, and does not even officially recognise the existence of 'Palestinians'.

The rationalisation of the colonisation of Palestine at the expense of its Arab inhabitants has created an ideology and society which is racist to the core.

However, it would be wrong to simplistically project this onto the early Zionist movement. In fact, the early Zionists were oblivious to the situation in Palestine and even the existence of its Arab inhabitants. When Max Nordau, Herzl's second in command, first received details on the existence of an Arab population in Palestine, he came shocked to Herzl, exclaiming: 'I never realised this — we are committing an injustice.'

This original naivete quickly gave way to the pragmatic policies of the Jewish Agency, the head of whose colonisation department, R. Weitz, commented in 1967 that 27 years earlier he had made the following notation in his diary: 'Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country ... We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River) without Arabs ... And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left ... Only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb the millions of our own brethren. There is no other way out.'

Later speaking in the aftermath of the Six Day War (1967), he made this interesting comparison: '... the War of Independence (1948) broke out to our great fortune. In this war, a two fold miracle occurred: territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs. In the Six Day War, there was one miracle: a tremendous territorial victory. But the general population of the liberated territories remained 'stuck' in their places, and this may destroy the very foundation of our state.'



Land-holding in Palestine, 1948

by armed occupation, wars, and gun-boat diplomacy, were not available to the Zionists.

The only road open was to persuade whatever great power was controlling Palestine that the creation of a Jewish state would be to its advantage. So began the negotiations of the Zionist movement with the great powers.

As one imperialist power blossomed forth, so the Zionist movement would orientate towards it; with the emergence of a new power in the area, so the movement re-oriented.

Herzl's deputy, Max Nordau once proclaimed: 'Our aspirations point to Palestine as a compass point to the north, therefore we must orientate ourselves towards those powers (Germany and Turkey) under whose influence Palestine happens to be'. Or, returning against to Herzl himself: 'If His Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine we could undertake to regulate Turkey's finances ... As a neutral state, we would remain in constant touch with all of Europe, which would guarantee our existence.'

Thus the Zionists sought to gather

pickings from the disintegrating Ottoman empire. But the decline of Ottoman power, and the possibility of gaining ground by exploiting the inter-imperialist conflict of the First World War, demanded that they turn toward Britain. Seeking to utilise the Jews, the British government issued the infamous Balfour declaration — a promise to favour the creation of a 'national home for the Jewish people'.

Prior to this the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann had written to the government saying: '...in submitting our resolution we entrusted our national and Zionist destiny to the Foreign Office and the Imperial War Cabinet in the hope that the problem would be considered in the light of imperialist interests and the principles for which the Entente stands.'

Later with the decline of the British empire and its proven inability after the Arab Revolt of 1936-39 to maintain control in Palestine, the Zionists sought US support for their project.

The outcome of the reliance of the Zionists on imperialism for the crea-

tion and maintenance of the Israeli state was the ardently pro-imperialist policies of the Israeli state from the time of the Korean war onwards.

The Establishment of Israel

We have shown that the Zionist movement saw its task as colonising Palestine for 'civilisation' — read imperialism. However, it would be misguided to equate this colonisation with what happened for example in South Africa. The white colonists there were the frontier fighters of laissez-faire capitalism. They sought to exploit the local resources and population for immediate benefit.

Today we see the economic apartheid in South Africa — blacks forming the backbone of the manual working class whilst the whites fill the skilled and managerial levels.

The outlook of the Zionists was very different from this. The specific feature of Zionism which distinguishes it from all other modern settler colonisation movements is that it wanted not simply the resources of

Stop the missiles

Unions and CND

Out of NATO

By Alan Freeman

ONE YEAR AGO the Labour Party conference rejected, by 5,206,000 votes to 1,000,619 composite 33 calling for withdrawal from NATO, the removal of all American bases, 'early warning' systems and military vessels from British territory, and the termination of military links with America.

This year conference is again discussing withdrawal from NATO and the removal of American bases; at the time of writing we do not know what the upshot will be but there is a pretty good chance that the vote will be similar, with most of the big unions casting block votes in support of NATO.

Do their members approve or even know? Unions totalling 6,000,000 members are affiliated to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament — and CND policy is to oppose NATO, CND, and Labour Party activists including the Young Socialists, could do nuclear disarmament a great service by launching a debate in the unions about NATO's role and its relation to the nuclear deterrent.

Why does it matter? Because you can't scrap the missiles without leaving NATO. The 'Western Alliance', which links America and Europe together through a series of mutual military arrangements, is seen by Reagan and the Pentagon

as an integral whole. American strategy in Europe is nuclear. They use the threat of nuclear war, as opposed to conventional war, quite explicitly as the main threat which will be held over Russia's head.

But the real function of this threat is not to stop soviet 'aggression' but to ensure that Russia continues to stand back from, or try to derail, third world revolts in places like Central America. It is part of the Pentagon's world strategy and American interests everywhere would therefore be weakened by any holes in the European nuclear 'umbrella'.

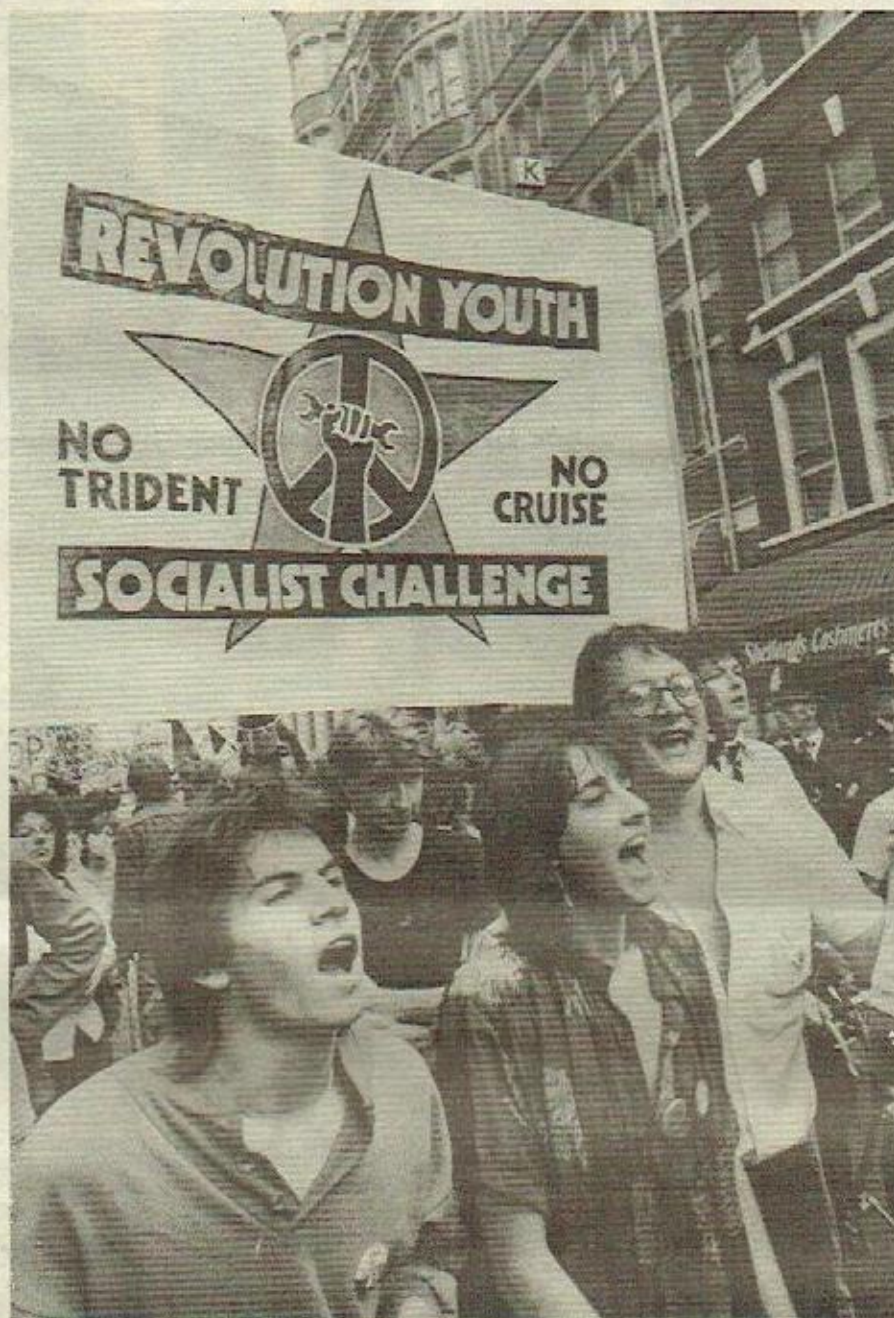
Britain, as the country most strongly aligned with American policy, would spark off a general move towards the denuclearisation of Western Europe if successful unilateral disarmament went through.

But it is patently obvious, the moment you think about it, that you cannot have a nuclear European strategy if no European country is willing to allow nuclear weapons on its soil!

British nuclear disarmament is therefore completely contrary to American interests and they would fight it tooth and nail. But how would they fight? Well, NATO is one of the main weapons they would use. How can they use it? Simply, because NATO also protects so-called 'British overseas interests'. NATO is part of a special understanding between Britain and America, concluded after the Second World War, in which Britain was allowed to remain a world military power in exchange for acting as America's junior partner.

Out of this role as world power, our bosses have extracted major advantages. One of the reasons that capital can flood out of Britain every time a Labour government comes to office — for example — is the fact that British 'spheres of influence' — protected by Britain's world military role — provide a bolt-hole for the money to flood to. The arms trade is also a major lynchpin of British overseas activity, and in fact Britain was Argentina's fourth largest military supplier before the South Atlantic war!

But because Britain is getting weaker, it now relies on American support. Thatcher worked hand in hand with Reagan



Mass action is needed to defeat the nuclear threat

Direct Action and Nuclear Disarmament

Scottish CND discusses next step

TONY SOUTHALL writes on Scottish CND's discussion about tactics. He is a member of Glasgow West CND committee and a delegate to its recent Annual General Meeting. He was prominent in CND's 'first wave' in the 1960s and together with Julian Atkinson wrote 'CND 1958-65: Lessons of the First Wave' (available from Socialist Challenge, 50p).

The debate on whether CND should turn to non-violent direct action came to the forefront at Scottish CND's Annual General Meeting in Glasgow on 10/11 September. It took place at the end of a year of mounting successes in Scotland.

30,000 people marched against Trident in Glasgow this Easter. In the Hillhead by-election there was more CND propaganda and campaigners than from the parties. Polls during the election showed 80 per cent against Trident, including a majority of Tories. Jenkins, who won, was forced to shuffle off into shamefaced opposition to the new missiles.

The Strathclyde Region, home of half Scotland's population, also houses the new base on the Clyde. This has been a focus for the highly successful Scottish Campaign Against Trident, started up by CND. SCAT is holding a week of action at the end of October, culminating in a mass picket in Glasgow. There will be a Scottish convention against Trident in the New Year.

Less people were involved in the 1982 Peace March Scotland, which

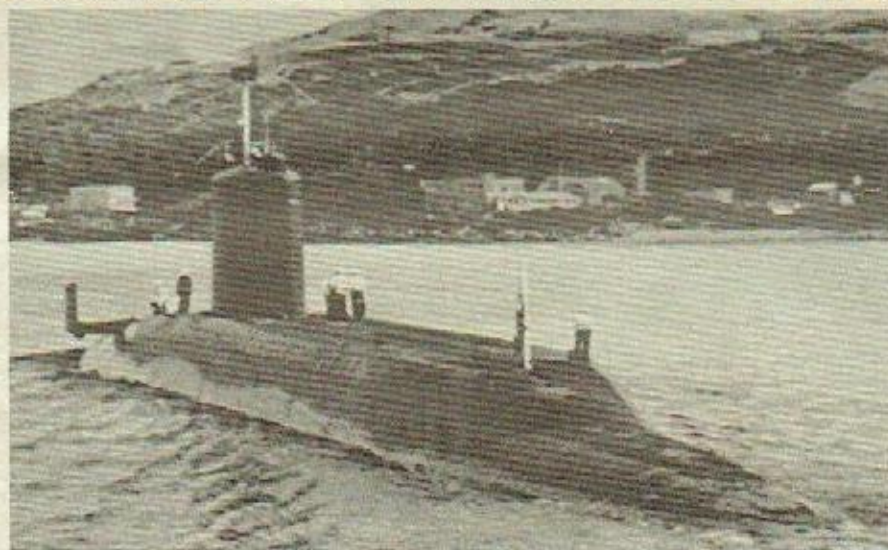
went round the country for a couple of months, and the Peace Camp outside the Faslane Polaris base, but these actions got important publicity.

Against this background the CND Annual General Meeting recorded a movement uncertain about just going on as before, and impatient for a quicker alternative. The National Officers put a resolution expressing this, reaffirming 'support for non-violent direct action as a campaigning tool' while recognising that there is no obligation on any section of CND to back specific actions, and calling for every proposal to be judged in the light of the 'pressing need to build up and develop a broad-based campaign'.

This is not the first call for a commitment to direct action. Why are these proposals coming up after two years of apparently successful campaigning?

First, the continuous escalation of the arms race. Activists have a real fear of this and are receptive to any formula that promises quick results.

Second, activists despair of 'conventional' methods in face of an ever more powerful military machine



backed by state and media. Massive demonstrations, with twice the number we got together twenty years ago, seem to have no effect.

If some of us want to caution against such resolutions it's not because we don't want to look for new ways to take the campaign forward. A mass movement like CND would be on its way out if it didn't continually throw up the most diverse proposals. If some of these arise from frustration we should still be glad that this is leading to proposals for action and not to people throwing in the towel. So it's in a spirit of dialogue with fellow members.

Two experiences from the first wave of CND in

the early sixties are worth recounting to highlight the problems.

The Direct Action Committee, a pacifist organisation pledged to 'non-violent resistance' organised symbolic actions to interfere with military preparations: such as Holy Loch, May 1961, when demonstrators vainly tried to get onto the Polaris depot ship.

This kind of action has been and will continue to be the province of a small number of committed activists who feel able and willing to pursue this line of action. On occasion they provide valuable publicity.

But there is no way they could be generalised to become its main tactic. And they can promote the

illusion that our opponents are essentially reasonable people who will be moved to disarm by our self-sacrifice.

The Committee of 100, founded in 1960, pursued direct action of a different kind. It promoted mass sit downs that would, it was claimed, directly challenge the government's ability to carry on war preparations.

Three such events took place in London in February, April and September 1961. More than ten thousand were involved in the last. Thousands were arrested. This took up the energy of active campaigners throughout that year. It held out the promise of a quike victory — but all we finished with was a pile of fines to pay!

Worse, it took us away from the fight to ensure the Labour Party, which had gone unilateralist against the opposition of its leader Gaitskell in 1960, stuck to its new line.

Nobody has yet proposed a similar course of action in 1982. Direct action resolutions to SCAT and CND are very vague. Not a single specific project has been proposed. Yet the very opening of the road in this direction could threaten the basis of mass action and political campaigning on which our campaign has grown over the past three years.

Direct action as a perspective for CND is inadequate — 1961's experience shows that it won't halt the war drive, but it can easily demoralise the campaign. I believe it is also irrelevant to the main battle through which we can win: to ensure the Labour Party sticks to its unilateralist programme despite the wishes of its present leaders. Once again 1961 is full of warnings.

But, comes the objection: 'the state won't let us win. So we must take illegal action. Especially, we must hit war preparations through strike action. How do we answer?'

Our campaign can already record several victories. Hard Rock was cancelled. Reagan was forced to open the Geneva talks on theatre arms limitation — after refusing to for two years. The im-

to support the dictators in El Salvador (Britain was the only European country to send observers to the recent farcical 'election' there). In return, Reagan backed up Thatcher in the South Atlantic. NATO and the 'special relationship with America' therefore pays dividends for British big business and banking.

The pro-NATO lobby in Britain is therefore a very powerful one — and America could summon it into action by threatening to withdraw military and financial co-operation in retaliation for unilateral disarmament.

'Destabilisation' from America would be ably assisted by the City, British multinationals — and the Labour leadership. Make no mistake, if the Labour Party is committed to defend NATO, then all America need do to split the Labour Party down the middle is to deliver a simple ultimatum: change your plans for nuclear disarmament, or the postwar arrangements — encapsulated in NATO — are off.

We shall be in the best position to defeat this kind of pressure if we resolve here and now to break with NATO, here and now not to be blackmailed by the Pentagon, and here and now to prepare a fight to the end against their friends in the City and the board rooms of Britain. That is why British trade union members should make sure, when their leaders get back from Blackpool, that they are asked 'What did you do about NATO in Blackpool?'

Youth march confronts Michael Foot

By Redmond O'Neill

'WE HAVE WALKED', we have walked, we have walked, 60 miles, 60 miles, 60 miles'. This was the proud chant of 150 youth marchers for 'Jobs not Bombs' as they joined 3,000 demonstrators for nuclear disarmament outside the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool. Along the route from Manchester to Blackpool, the marchers visited factories, hospitals and schools. They got a fantastic response.

While right-wing Labour Party leaders claim that socialist policies are the cause of Labour's problems, the Youth March brought home the fact that the majority of people in this country are against nuclear re-armament. Amongst youth this majority is overwhelming.

They marched to the Labour Party conference to demand decisive action by the Labour Party and trade unions in 1983.

In Blackpool the Labour Party NEC bent over backwards to associate themselves with the march which even the TV, radio and press could not ignore. The NEC broke an hour early on Sunday to greet a delegation of 35 marchers.

They may have expected starry-eyed young idealists, but they were met by young fighters who'd learnt a lot over the last 60 miles. The marchers' statement spelt out the kind of action necessary to make a reality of the Labour Party paper commitment to nuclear disarmament. This included opposition to any witch-hunt in the Labour Party — because the marchers understood that the witch-hunt is aimed at silencing people like themselves. Of

course this was a little too much for the Labour Party NEC!

But even so the statement was circulated at their meeting and 19 members, a clear majority, signed those parts which did not deal with the 'delicate' questions of the register and withdrawal from NATO.

These 19 thereby committed themselves to organising demonstrations and strikes against Cruise and Trident missiles in 1983.

They backed the youth marchers call for scrapping all nuclear weapons to be included in Labour's manifesto.

And surprisingly perhaps they supported the marchers' opposition to any attempt to remove supporters of these policies from the Labour Party.

So on Sunday Michael Foot representing the NEC before the TV cameras could say 'If there are expulsions of supporters of unilateralism in the Labour Party I will be the first to go'. Yet on Monday the NEC proposed a witch hunting register to the Labour Party conference.

This hypocrisy was not lost on the marchers. Nor we may hope on many

conference delegates. As unemployed 19 year old Jimmy Standing from Oldham put it 'In replying to Michael Foot: 'That's very well said, but can we trust you?'

The conclusion of the youth marchers is 'No!' But their morale is sky high despite Michael Foot's double-talk.

The march taught all of them that now the mass movement is driven into the Labour Party then the left can be forced to speak out and the treachery of the Michael Foots can be exposed.

The youth marchers won't be waiting for anyone in their fight to change the LPYS and the Labour Party.

Their confidence comes from the response of people along the route and the dozens and dozens of shop stewards committees, unions, CND branches that made the march possible.

They will be reporting their conclusions back to the shop floor workers and activists who have supported them.

Their message will be 'don't trust the left to fight on your behalf — only if we take our fight into the Labour Party standing with the mass struggles and movements can we make the left break from their pseudo-unity with the Michael Foots, Dennis Healeys and Frank Chapples of the Labour Party and TUC!

Despite their sponsorship of the march, the Labour Party Young Socialists National Committee were notable for their absence throughout.



Brian Marden (Chair of Bury and Radcliffe LPYS). He works for McPhersons

'I've never been on a long march before. We've got to get an overwhelming majority for unilateralism at the Labour Conference. That's only the beginning of the job. Because we will have a hard fight to make sure that a Labour government carries it out.

The next step is the demo against Tebbit on 16 October. We need a 'Jobs not Bombs' contingent on that. This march has made it easier for the LPYS and YCND to come together.'



Nigel (Preston)

The march went well. We got a big response, a lot of donations and a lot of sympathy.'



Lee (Coventry YCND)

'It's important to go to the Labour conference. It's there that the march can have its biggest impact. It's useless to expect anything along the lines of what we are fighting for from the Tories or Liberals.'



Mike and Andrew (Preston), and Gordon (Chorley).

Mike: 'I'm on a youth scheme. That means I'm general dogs body. Its scum work. I don't like that and I don't like the bombs. The march is a good way to bring the two issues together.'

Whilst the national leadership of Youth CND pulled out all the stops to mobilise forces for the march the LPYS leadership did nothing.

The lesson for the marchers is that the LPYS must change, and only if it does change will it withstand the right-wing witch-hunt and the youth march in quite a small way demonstrates exactly how

a truly mass young socialist movement can be built.

That is as a transmission belt from the mass movement against nuclear weapons, the rebellions of black youth and the fight against unemployment and low pay into the political fight for a socialist alternative in the trade unions and Labour Party.

An Appeal to the Delegates at the 1982 Labour Party Conference

We, the youth march for 'Jobs not Bombs' have marched from Manchester to Blackpool. We are here to lobby the LP conference. Organised by the Youth CND and sponsored by the National Committee of the LPYS, the March wishes to put the following points to conference delegates and the National Executive Committee of the LP:

1. The Conservative Government plans to bring Cruise missiles to Britain in 1983. The LP and many trade unions are committed to opposition to all nuclear weapons.

Therefore we call upon the Labour Party Conference, the LP NEC, and the trade unions to organise massive action in 1983 to mobilise their members in demonstrations and industrial action against the introduction of cruise and trident missiles. If the power of the Labour Party and trade unions is fully mobilised then nuclear re-armament can be stopped.

2. The Labour Party is committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. We call upon conference delegates to ensure that no future Labour Government is committed to carrying out this policy. As the first step we are fully in support of those fighting for the necessary 2/3 majority at this conference to make unilateral nuclear disarmament part of the Labour Party's manifesto for the next general election.

3. We the marchers, give our fullest support to all of those campaigning for nuclear disarmament in the Labour Party and trade unions. This policy has tremendous support in society as a whole.

We therefore call upon conference and the NEC to reject any attempt to remove this policy or the people who support it from the Labour Party.

Therefore the marchers stand opposed to the attempt to implement the register which will have the effect of instituting a witch-hunt against some of the most committed supporters of this policy. Finally, the march itself, stands on the policies of CND. This includes British withdrawal from NATO.

The CND believe that the threat of nuclear weapons will not be pushed back without taking Britain out of the nuclear alliance on which the British nuclear re-armament is based.

On Sunday night, after the demonstration, 15 youth marchers went to lobby delegates at the Imperial Hotel, where the NEC are staying. Management called the police and the marchers were thrown out. Ken Livingstone put on a yellow jacket and police tried to throw him out. Joan Lester and other NEC members intervened to say Ken was their guest. The youth marchers then asked if they couldn't be guests also. So Alex Kitson invited all the marchers in as guests and they stayed at the Imperial drinking till early in the morning!

Socialist Challenge
FUND DRIVE '82

Socialist newspapers in the firing line

THE PASSING of the 'register' by the Labour Party conference — courtesy of Michael Foot's right wing buddies in the trade union leaderships — has put socialist newspapers in the firing line in the Labour Party.

The witch-hunters always take aim at the most visible signs of socialist opposition to the right wing in the party. In the 1950s it was *Socialist Outlook* — today it is the *Militant*, and after that other socialist papers will follow.

The right wing always have ample access to the press to express their views. Dennis Healey is retained by Express newspapers at £8000 a year to say what he wants. Foot and his friends have easy access to the *Daily Mirror* and a host of other papers.

Socialists have no such luxury. They have to express themselves in their own papers, and finance them from the small contributions of their supporters.

Socialist newspapers don't just present ideas — they fight and organise for them.

After the Labour Party conference the fight against the witch-hunt goes on and will deepen. *Socialist Challenge* has been in the forefront of organising the 30 October conference initiated by Hackney North CLP. The fight against the witch-hunt will be a long and bitter one. More than ever *Socialist Challenge* needs your contributions to be at the forefront of the fight.

Our thanks this week to:

Haringey	130.00
Bristol	58.00
MB, RTD	30.00
Bath	22.50
Sheffield	20.00
Manchester	0.70
Cardiff	100.00
Tower Hamlets	100.00
Southwark	70.00
Middlesborough	40.00
Oxford	20.00
Hemel	32.30
Swansea	105.00
Edinburgh	67.50
Lambeth	200.00

Hackney	200.00
Southampton	60.00
Islington	100.00
Brent	200.00
Newport	60.00
Wandsworth	17.00
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Ferris	5.00
Pietrasik	3.00
Wolverhampton	11.00
Leeds	134.50
Liverpool	50.00
Stevens	14.00
Reading	35.00
Glasgow	50.00
Bolsover	18.00
Outer West London	150.00
Rotherham	11.00
Portsmouth	22.00
York	34.00
Swindon	3.00
Holbrook Jones	15.00
Wardle	5.00
Anon	10.00
Blanco White	40.00
Leamington	10.00
Aberdeen	110.00
Total	£2493.40
Total so far	£7306.64



What is Trotskyism?

Who is Khomeini?

In the last issue, John Ross showed how capitalist regimes in the semi-colonial world inevitably remain loyal to their class interests despite taking far reaching anti-imperialist measures. This week he looks at Khomeini's regime in Iran from that point of view.

WHAT IS the nature of the Khomeini regime in Iran? What attitude should be taken to it? That is a question which has created wide confusion on the left.

When the Shah of Iran was overthrown in February 1979 this was greeted with great joy throughout the world. The seizure of the United States embassy in Tehran also created enthusiasm.

The Khomeini government declared itself a 'revolutionary Islamic' regime. Some on the left saw it as an 'anti-imperialist force'.

Others pointed out the repression carried out against the working class by the regime, its torture, its savage war against the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities, its denial of the rights of women.

That the regime was 'even worse than the Shah' was taken up in the press and echoed in some left wing papers.

In reality, however, the apparent contradictions of the Khomeini regime are not contradictions at all. The government's nature, and the attitude to be taken to it, are clearly outlined in the theory of permanent revolution. It is indeed one of the illustrations of the great strengths of this analysis that it can explain a regime such as Khomeini's.

The character of the Khomeini regime becomes

clear when its class nature, as a government of a semi-colonial capitalist class, is looked at in the concrete situation in Iran.

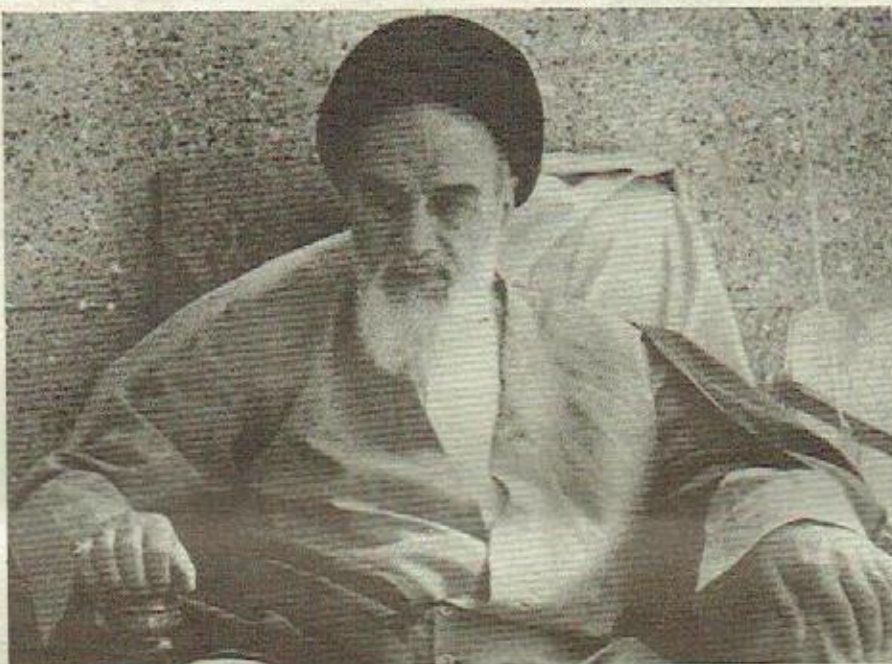
Every capitalist class attempts to maximise its interests. A semi-colonial bourgeoisie has two immediate enemies. One is imperialism. Above all, however, as we discussed earlier in this series with Nasser, a semi-colonial bourgeoisie must defend itself against its own working class.

Prior to 1979 the Shah of Iran had maintained the closest possible ties with imperialism — above all with the United States.

Through this alliance he had concentrated in his hands, those immediately around him, such resources and profits that his government had become intolerable and oppressive not only for the working class and peasants of Iran but also for layers of the Iranian capitalist class itself.

Meanwhile the only significant mass independent working class organisation, the Communist (Tudeh) Party was deeply discredited by its whole previous policy.

The huge mass mobilisations which



started against the Shah were therefore composed of the workers and peasants of Iran but supported by far wider layers than that. In the end these mobilisations developed such a dynamic that not only the Shah but his regime was overthrown by a vast popular insurrection.

This situation, however, posed the Iranian bourgeoisie with a tremendous problem. In the case of most 'populist' bourgeois regimes — for example Nasser in Egypt or Peron in Argentina — the capitalist class maintains a strong state apparatus. In particular these regimes need a strong army with which to control and repress the working class. The capitalist class was prepared to engage in anti-imperialist actions only because it had this powerful state with which to control the working class and peasants, execute their leaders, break up their organisations, and prevent them asserting their independent class goals.

But in Iran this state apparatus was tremendously weakened, and its central core, the army, almost smashed by the insurrection. The bourgeoisie could not rely on normal 'administrative' methods of repression because its state apparatus was too weak. It had to rely on another force to channel and control the working class and peasants while the state apparatus was rebuilt.

The only force which could do this in Iran was Khomeini. Khomeini possessed the most powerful political weapon with which to control the masses — his prestige as symbol and leader of the struggle against the Shah. He possessed in the Shi'ite clergy the strongest administrative apparatus in the country from which to launch repression against the working class and its allies.

A figure such as Bani-Sadr might have had a 'tidier' and more rational short term economic plan for the Iranian capitalist class. But to maintain its class rule is, for the bourgeoisie not primarily a question of 'careful' economic planning or

more efficient administration. To rule, the bourgeoisie must have as powerful as possible political control of the masses and as strong as possible repressive apparatus. A figure such as Bani-Sadr lacked the political support and administrative base from which to control, repress, and defeat the working class and peasants.

The Khomeini regime was needed for the Iranian bourgeoisie not primarily because it was the most anti-imperialist. On the contrary its real anti-imperialist actions were extremely small compared to a figure such as Nasser. Its importance was that it was the strongest force in the country for breaking up any independent movement of the working class, peasants, and oppressed nationalities.

Once that fundamental character of the regime is understood then all its subsequent twists and turns fall into place.

Next week, we will look at the development of the Khomeini regime — its repression amid 'anti-imperialist' demagoguery.

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Israel not achieved aims

'FIGHT LIKE a man and die with our boots on' adds up to a good line in a John Ford movie but a disastrous one for the class struggle. Yet the thrust of the centre-spread and back-page articles in *Socialist Challenge* by Phil Hearse and Ros Kaplan (19 August) clearly add up to a demand that the Palestinian fighters sacrifice their mass organisations in return for a heroic martyrdom

Israel's main aim has been denied them. Even their repeated provocations in breaking the various ceasefires didn't work and Reagan was forced to step in to halt the rapid deterioration in the political standing of the US-Israel alliance.

A more disgraceful example of what Lenin called 'infantile leftism' is harder to imagine. But what else can you call statements like 'The PLO can best prepare the ground for continuing struggle by staying in Beirut and fighting to the bitter end' or, 'the lessons of all defeats is that it is immeasurably better to go down with a fight'.

These two statements were in Phil Hearse's article along with the view that the PLO's 'real victory would be to stay to fight to the end'. Victory through death is a slogan of the reactionary Catholic

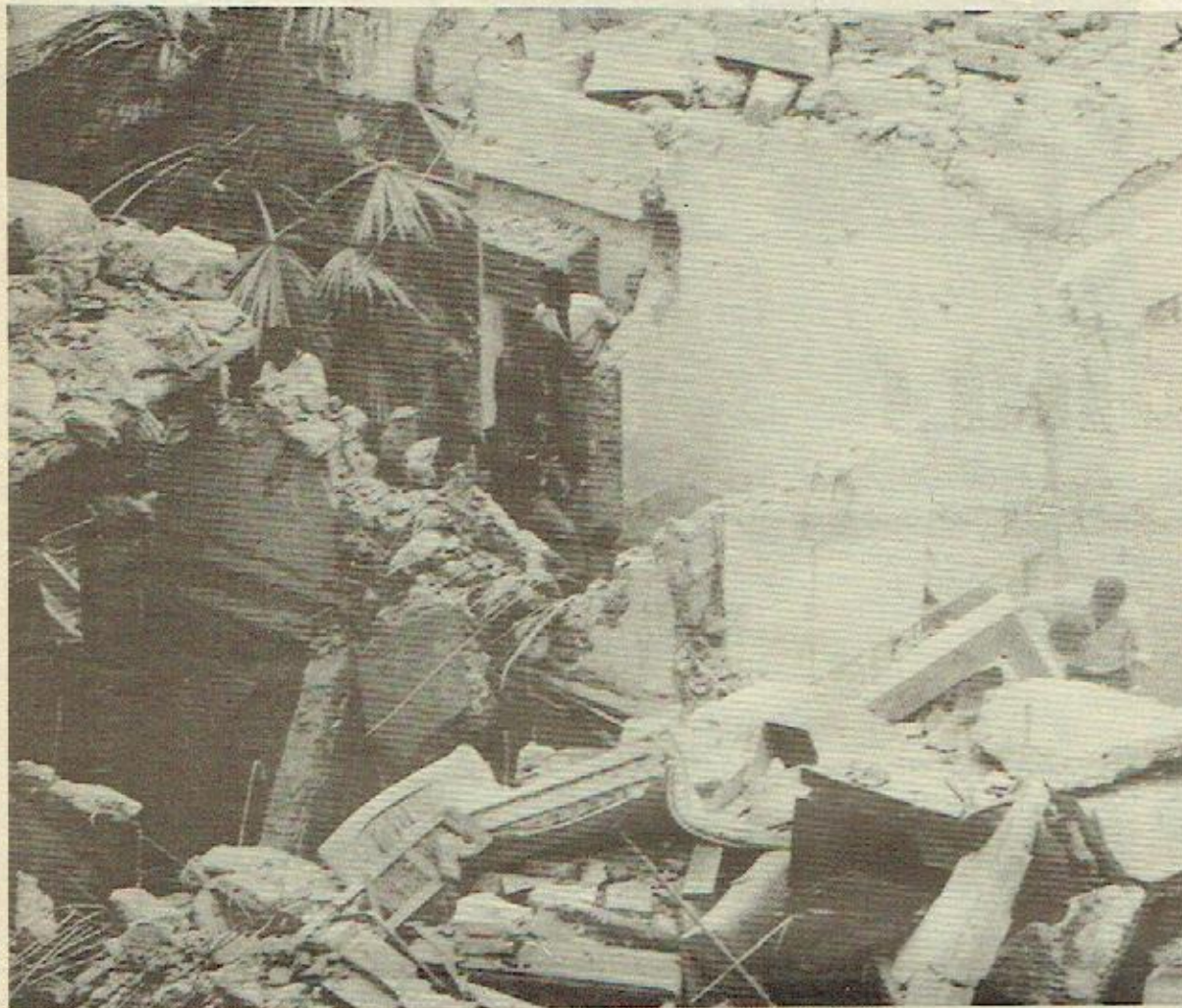
Church and not of revolutionary Marxism, Phil should be reminded.

The centre-spread almost does the impossible by being worse than the back-page article. Here, in Ros Kaplan's piece, the PLO withdrawal is denounced in advance as 'capitulation to Israel and imperialism', a sentiment echoed in the pathetic statement of the RCG where the heroic eleven-week struggle is given the verdict of 'a shameful capitulation'.

The facts remain, Sharon failed in his attempt to impose a final solution on the PLO. Despite the military blows

In this situation *Socialist Challenge* should have been turning the heat, not on the PLO, but on the Labour leadership in Britain whose silence has been nothing short of criminal. Demands should have especially been placed on the Lefts such as Tony Benn whose links with Zionism are well known. Phil and Ros targetted the wrong people, and in doing so served the interests of the wrong class.

Aileen O'Callaghan
1/647 TGWU and Harrow Central CLP



PLO strategy wrong

THE WORST thing about Phil Hearse's and Ros Kaplan's articles (SC 19 August) was not their concentrating on tactical advice best left to those on the spot. It was the way this let the PLO off the hook on its main weakness — its strategic orientation.

The majority within the PLO have always posed their struggle in sectoral and classless terms: a struggle for the liberation by the Palestinian people. They have in practice separated out the Palestinian question from the other problems of the Arab East. They pose the solution mechanically — originally by military means, and now, more and more, by diplomacy.

This has led the PLO to partially subordinate its activity to the interests of the petty bourgeois and semi-feudal Arab regimes. And more recently to European imperialism.

If anything is to be salvaged from the wreck in the Lebanon, these lessons are going to have to be learned by the Palestinian vanguard. The articles in question not only failed to make these points but actually disguised the truth in two ways.

Firstly, by stressing the importance of the Palestinian militia's, the articles give the impression that these were still a nuisance to Israel. In fact, this ceased to be the case some years ago.

The main threat to Israeli strategy has for some time come from the Arab population in the occupied territories and within the 1948 borders. As such, the fate of the Palestinians fighters only beats indirectly on the future of the Palestinian struggle according to how it affects the morale of the internal resistance. For the PLO to fight to the last in Beirut, taking thousands of civilians with them, would therefore have been a fairly futile gesture.

Secondly, the articles suggest that any decision to evacuate would be an accommodation to imperialism. Unfortunately, this is exactly what the PLO majority has been seeking for some time.

In fact, there is no principled objection to the PLO using every tactical division within imperialism to obtain the best possible terms for their withdrawal.

The point that must be made is that for all its counting on the European political leaders and for all its 'moderation', the PLO ultimately had no friends.

The PLO leadership will undoubtedly continue its rightward evolution in its scattered bases. But the hope must be that a new leadership will draw the lessons and give fresh impetus to the struggle.

HANNA KHAMIS, HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.



Who killed Gemayel?

CHRISTINE PLATT's article about Beirut was interesting, as well as posing some serious questions. In particular, why are the Israeli's allied with a Nazi organisation and who did kill Bashir Gemayel?

It was reported at the time of the assassination that Yasser Arafat blamed the Israeli's, but this was dismissed as propaganda. But in dealing with Zionists, one must always ask 'Who benefits?'

With Gemayel as President, and the PLO out of Beirut, there is a strong possibility that Lebanon would have become a 'stable' country. This 'stability' would have removed the *raison d'être* for the Israeli presence there. The indecent haste in which the Israeli's moved into West Beirut is more than just a little

suspicious. Also the ease with which the assassins penetrated the Israeli ring around West Beirut — and then being able to plant the car bomb let alone detonate it at exactly the right moment — pushes the bounds of coincidence.

For seven years, neither the muslim militias nor the PLO were able to pull off such a feat — and without the presence of the Israeli army.

Suddenly, when Bashir Gemayel is surrounded by the protection of the Israeli army, is President

elect and the PLO are nowhere around, he is killed!

Private Eye has recently exposed how the Israeli's have established two settlements in South Lebanon and have issued maps showing Hebrew place names for numerous Lebanese towns, including Beirut (Be'erot).

Finally, for seven years, the Israeli's have backed the Phalangists without a qualm. Suddenly, with the PLO out of the way, two recent items in the Jewish papers in the north have pointed out the Phalangist Nazi links. Evidently, the Zionists have decided that they no longer need their 'allies'.

Bill D. Manchester.

Socialism in our lifetime

By Ernest Wakefield

If helping the workers is classed as left wing, then right wing must stand for the opposite thing. Which leads one to think that one thing must be said: 'Workers need right wingers like a hole in the head'.

The creation of goods from the crust of the earth, should not lead to opulence for some and for others a dearth. But to fair shares for all and security for life, without all this rat-race and struggle and strife.

The creation of jobs could be the easiest thing in this world, but under the capitalist system they make it absurd. For they will only invest their pilfered wealth where they can get more slave labour by their stealth.

If capitalism was the only way to create much, then it would be argued we should follow such. But workers should know it need not be that way, for capitalists need us, but we do not need them.

And furthermore, in this micro-chip age if it's left in their hands some still will slave. And instead of us having a four day for all, it'll be riches for them, and the rest to the wall.

Now if we could all be conservative or capitalists for that, then into that ring we could all throw our hat. But capitalism thrives only by keeping some poor, but we could all become socialists and share out the score.

So there surely is an alternative way, and that is when socialism is here to stay. So vote left wing and get rid of the blues, for capitalist competition kills, but socialist cooperation builds.

Socialist Challenge

ISRAEL THE REAL TERRORISTS

By Jeff King

WHETHER IT WAS the mobsters of the Israeli-backed Major Saad Haddad, or the thugs of the Phalange internal security committee boss, Ali Hbeika, or even an ad-hoc group of Christian mercenaries who carried out the Sabra and Chatila massacres is not the main point. True enough the gangsters of the Phalange murdered their way through the two camps, sparing no-one in their frantic blood lust. And it was the Phalange thugs who tore the saline drips from the arms of the wounded in the Aca hospital and murdered their victims in the hospital corridors.

Yes the massacres and the atrocities were carried out by the Phalange but they were inspired and instigated by the two 'god fathers' of Jerusalem, Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon.

Sharon had wanted the Lebanese armed forces to enter the camps and deal with the Palestinian population but the army chief Khouri said his government had forbidden him to do so.

This is where Israel's Phalangist allies came in. If the Lebanese army could not do the job, then the Phalange could be relied on to do it. The camps were then obligingly sealed off by the Israeli army.

All through the night the skies were lit up by the Israeli flares so that the Phalange could hunt down their unarmed victims. The murder squads were even provided with Israeli military rations — murder is a hungry business.

When a group of surviving Palestinians, mostly teenagers found some abandoned Kalashnikovs and fired at the Israeli positions they were wiped out by phosphorous and high explosive shells from the Israeli soldiers.

To Begin and Sharon the purpose of the exercise was twofold. Firstly, it was to strike terror into the Palestinian refugees.

They were to be taught that the slightest resistance

to Israel meant draconian punishment, even death.

By using the Phalange the Israeli leaders wanted to show the world that Beirut and the Lebanon was unstable and that only an Israeli presence could guarantee order. The Phalange could do the dirty work and then conveniently take the blame.

The whole sordid exercise has begun to blow up in the face of the Begin administration. Each day it becomes clearer that the massacres were carried out for the Israelis and that the Begin administration has duly earned its title as terrorists.

In Israel the atrocities committed at Sabra and Chatila have sent tremors of revulsion through a population already growing more and more sick with Begin's dirty war.

The demonstration of 400,000 people shows the depth of the crisis facing Begin. That protest has to be extended on a world scale. In every country the labour movement should be demanding the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli and imperialist troops from the Lebanon.



Zionist massacre in Beirut.



Israeli's demonstrate outside Begin's residence.

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