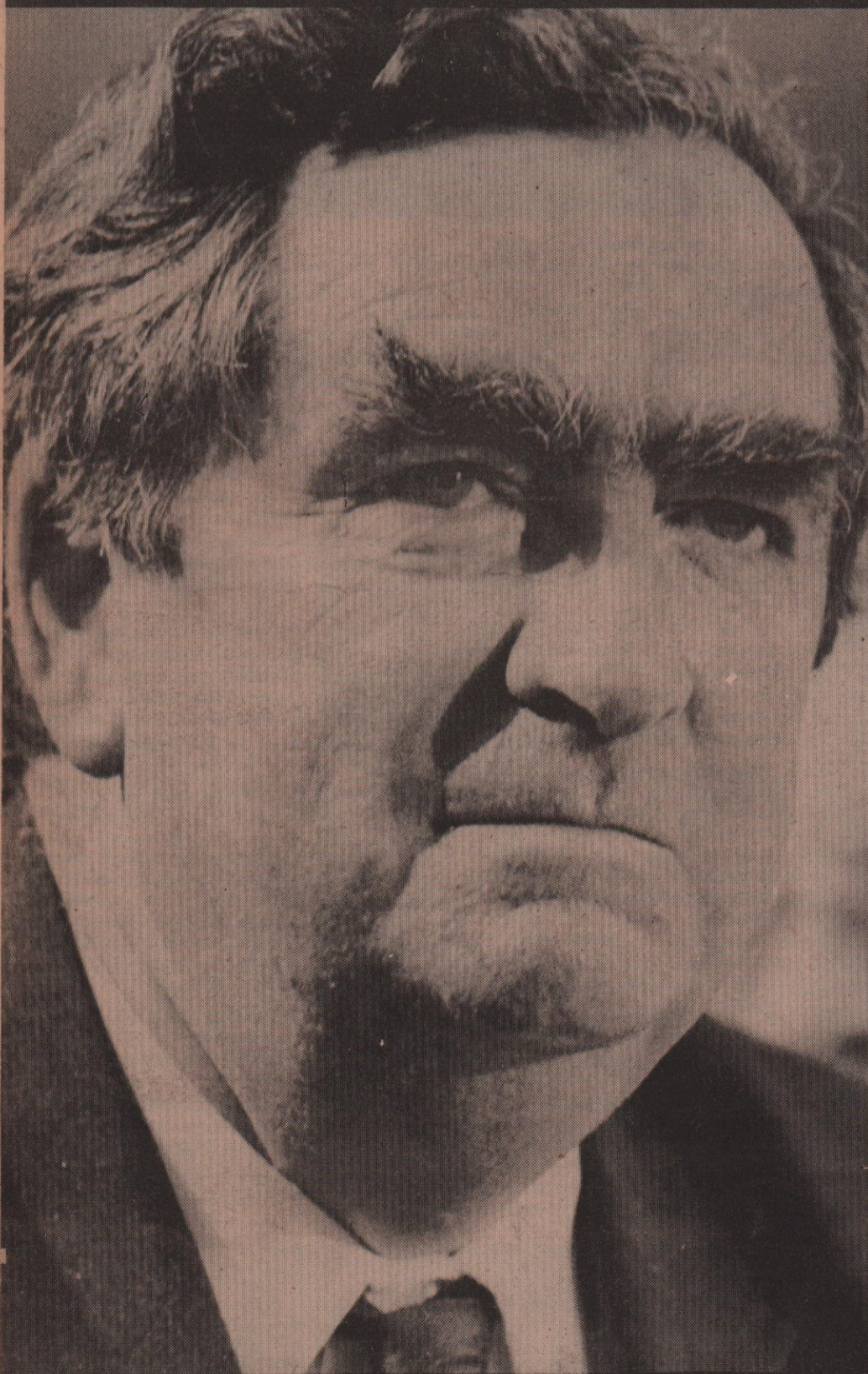


# Socialist Challenge

**THEY LOST LABOUR THE ELECTION  
YESTERDAY'S MEN**



**TIME FOR THEM TO GO**

**INSIDE: Robin Blackburn on Tony  
Benn/Zimbabwe Conference/Labour and**

**Ireland/Kampuchean Atrocities/Labour and  
Abortion Rights/Dylan's Obituary**

## OUR POLICIES

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

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

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

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

Such an organisation should be based on the understanding that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

- I am interested in more information about activities in my area.
- I would like additional literature and enclose 50p to cover costs. (Delete if not applicable)

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# Wanted - Socialism not populism

By Robin Blackburn

THE LEFT is confronting both an unpredictable and a hopeful situation. Labour's election defeat, revealing a loss of support in certain working class communities, could easily have led to a prolonged lull in the class struggle, with a background of disillusion and defeat. In fact this has not happened.

Public political debate may be still largely dominated by the monetarists and New Right. Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph may still appear as the leaders with conviction and passion, while the Labour leaders stand for the status quo. But all the indications are that the Thatcher government is in for a rough ride.

The beginnings of a fightback so soon after the election show that wide sections of the labour movement do not regard the defeat of Callaghan and Healey as a defeat for themselves. They have no confidence in these leaders and no belief in the policies they represent.

A further sign of this is the speed of the left in bringing up the question of democratic reform within the Labour Party and control over its manifesto. This is a very welcome development.

Unless the Parliamentary Labour Party is made both individually and collectively responsible to the Labour Party and the movement as a whole, disasters like those during the life of the last government, and at the last election, will be indefinitely repeated. Never before has the accountability of Labour MPs been raised in such a decided and urgent fashion.

However it is also necessary to question the limits of the radicalism which we now see. In ideological terms the key themes which now define the pronouncements of the left are democratic or populist in character.

If one scans the pages of the Labour press, from *Labour Weekly* to the *New Statesman*, if one considers the campaigns and pronouncements of prominent Labour supporters like Arthur Scargill or Edward Thompson, or if one studies the pages of Tony Benn's new collection *Arguments for Socialism*, one cannot fail to be struck by a dramatic, and welcome, resurgence of concern at the highly concentrated and secretive methods of rule embodied by the British capitalist state so often accepted, or even strengthened, by the Labour leadership. This is allied to a willingness to challenge the undemocratic features of the Labour Party's own functioning.

Since we live in a country with the most archaic political system in the advanced capitalist world the need to overhaul it is widely accepted even in bourgeois circles.

On paper the Labour Party is committed to abolition of the House of Lords — the failure of the Labour leadership to make anything of this commitment is further proof of their utter timidity and conservatism.

But it is not clear that the Labour left is really prepared to press home its democratic critique of the British state. Let me mention a few obvious issues that would have to be taken up by any socialist, or indeed radical democrat, who meant business.

So long as there is a British army fighting a war in the North of Ireland the tendencies towards arbitrary and secretive state power, and towards more sophisticated systems of state repression, are bound to be continued and intensified. Tony



Benn points with alarm to these tendencies in *Arguments for Socialism* and yet, so far, he has said nothing about Ireland.

Similarly in the referendum on devolution a majority of the Scottish voters voted in favour even of the inadequate measures proposed by Callaghan and Foot. Can it be doubted that there would be an even larger majority for a radically democratic devolution proposal involving self-determination for the Scottish people?

Somehow this issue has been allowed to disappear from public discussion as if Labour's proposals were only a concession made to ward off the Nationalist threat, which can be now forgotten. In fact a really radical devolution would be an important component in any plan to challenge the power of the British state.

The political functions of the monarchy have been a taboo subject in British politics since the early Victorian epoch. Leon Trotsky warned that in any real crisis the British monarchy would become the centre for extra-parliamentary forces of the ruling class. Who can doubt that he was right?

In Greece, in the 1960s, the Greek cousin of our own Queen engineered the destruction of the reformist Papandreu government and paved the way for the colonels' coup. In Australia in 1973 the Governor General, exercising powers derived from the monarchy, dismissed the Labour government of Gough Whitlam, despite the fact that it retained a parliamentary majority.

Tony Benn has criticised the Prime Ministerial use of the royal prerogative but has drawn back from suggesting that this prerogative should simply be annulled. Populist rhetoric on the inordinate expense of the monarchy is no substitute for an indictment of its arbitrary political power.

Other similar issues, which I cannot take up here, include the need to change the present highly undemocratic 'first-past-the-post' system of allocating parliamentary representation, and radical measures for democratising the media.

We live in an antiquated political system, in the most decrepit of the older capitalist powers, at a

time of global capitalist crisis. Socialists urgently have to bring forward those 'Arguments for Socialism' which Tony Benn's book, despite its title, fails to produce.

Unless socialists are prepared to develop a detailed and comprehensive socialist programme the struggles against the Thatcher government could, at the decisive moment, run out of steam.

At the centre of such a programme would have to be uninhibited measures for actual expropriation and confiscation directed at capital — with extensive workers control throughout the economy. A socialist economic programme also has to establish the social priority of salvaging welfare services and reorganising them to be more responsive to the communities they should be servicing.

In both the private and public sector working out a socialist programme is immensely challenging. Its broad lines can be based on socialist theory, but to convince large numbers we have to draw on the diverse experience and struggles of different sections of the labour movement.

It will also be necessary to look to those movements that emerged out of the 1960s — women's liberation, the ecological movement and so on.

A programme for socialism must embody a qualitative emancipation of working people. After the experience of the 1970s it is very unlikely that the notion of quantitative economic advance within capitalism will be credible. Thus greater boldness and imagination is needed than is seen among the ideologists of the Labour Party.

The priority today may be for the Labour Party to put its own house in order. It would also be good to see socialists outside the Labour Party more effectively organised. But very soon, and quite possibly before ideal organisational forms have been achieved, resistance to the Thatcher government will need to be guided by much clearer and more audacious programmatic watchwords than those we are hearing from any section of the Labour left.



THE steering committee of the Anti-Nazi League met last Thursday to consider a number of important problems confronting black people in this country.

On the agenda was a joint appeal to the ANL from the Friends of Blair Peach and the Southall Campaign Committee. The appeal called on the ANL to take up the plight of the 342 Southall defendants and the Special Patrol Group cover-up in relation to the murder of Blair Peach.

The steering committee agreed unanimously that a call should be sent out to all ANL branches calling on them to organise pickets of police stations on 10 October, the eve of the opening of the Blair Peach inquest at the coroners' court in Hammersmith, West London.

## Southall 342 ANL calls for national support

The theme of the pickets will be: 'Stop the Cover-Up, End the Southall Show-Trials'.

The ANL also agreed to organise meetings in several major cities on the Southall trials, in order to aid the defence campaign and give it a

national character.

The **Open Door** programme on Southall, transmitted on BBC-2 last weekend and repeated tonight, and Tariq Ali's article in last Monday's **Guardian** have already given the

campaign some publicity. The broadest possible defence needs to be built, preferably by ANL meetings sponsored by trades councils and other bodies of the labour movement.

The attendance at the ANL steering committee by the central leaders of the three Indian Workers Associations reflected the importance of the decisions taken by the last ANL conference.

It was agreed that the Anti-Nazi League would participate in setting up a broad co-ordinating committee to fight the Tory government's new proposals on immigration and the impending Nationality Act.

The ANL, it was decided, would support any national mobilisation planned against these laws in the late autumn, and throw its entire weight into the campaign.

## How the police killed Jimmy Kelly

# 'We want justice . . . wouldn't you if it was your brother?'

'...Immediately prior to his death, Mr Kelly had sustained numerous injuries... I find his injuries consistent with a severe beating' — pathologist's report on Jimmy Kelly, aged 53, who died in police custody in Huyton on 21 June.

Since that date, his family have been battling to discover the facts about the last few hours of Jimmy Kelly's life.

An action committee has collected thousands of signatures to a petition calling for a public inquiry, and a dossier it is compiling details cases of police brutality stretching back for months.

This article is taken from the *Liverpool Echo*.

By Anne Robinson

THE KELLY family are not the sort you would expect to be in open conflict with the police.

None of them has ever been in trouble, and Bobby, who is two years younger than Jimmy, has a daughter and son-in-law in the Merseyside police force. They are, as neighbours in Huyton say, 'respectable people'.

Jimmy Kelly was one of six brothers and two sisters. He lived with his bed-ridden mother, and according to his sister-in-law, Martha, his mum could not have had a better nurse.

He did the cooking, the washing, the housework, the shopping and when a serious operation last year left her unable to walk he bought his own mattress down to the living room in case she needed him during the night.

Martha Kelly held the purse strings. Jimmy would hand over his social security in full and she would allow him a little each week for a drink and his tobacco. Often his pocket money would be used to buy a present.

### Joke

For days on end he would not venture out of the house or speak to anyone. 'She used to joke, did his mother, that he was as much of a companion as a tailor's dummy,' says Lilly, his niece.

When he did go out for a drink he would make a night of it. He enjoyed a sing-song and would invariably be called upon to do a turn during the evening at the pub.

Not one member of his closely-knit family can remember him ever 'having words' with



Jimmy Kelly.

anyone, let alone a fight. And it is the family's collective shock that has united them into the determined team with which the police must now reckon.

The nicely furnished living room of Eddie his eldest brother, a factory worker, has become the nerve centre of their efforts. Several of the family were directly involved on the night of Jimmy's death and in the subsequent events.

And altogether they sort their way through the legal jargon and official procedures that have become an important part of the case.

On the night he died, Jimmy had gone out to celebrate the homecoming of his 'kid' brother Billy, who is 39, from Australia.

They had about eight pints each and a few tots of whisky at the Oak Tree. At the end of the evening Jimmy was chatting outside and Billy decided he would make the ten minute walk home on his own and leave his brother to follow.

It was the last time he saw him alive.

Billy, say other members of the family, has been the most badly affected by Jimmy's death. He has cancelled plans to return to Australia.

'He feels he is partly responsible', says Martha, Eddie's wife. 'We do not think so, but the worry has turned his hair grey. I've never seen that happen overnight but it has with our Billy, and he can't sleep.'

### Tattoos

'I will wring the neck of whoever is to blame for Jimmy,' is all Billy will say.

The first news the family had of trouble was when a policeman called at the home, at about 1.45am, of Jimmy's nephews in Cantril Farm. They asked the boys if their uncle had a series of tattoos running up his arm, but left without giving any explanation.

Their address, it later emerged, was found in a diary Jimmy was carrying at the time of his death. A little while later, brother Bobby received a call from his daughter who is a policewoman.

She had heard her uncle's name over the police radio and urged her father to go at once to Whiston Hospital.

Bobby identified his brother's body, but when brother Eddie saw the body later he was both disturbed and unhappy about the many marks on it.

The following day when the inquest was adjourned, permission to bury was given, but the family decided otherwise. Eddie sought help and a second post-mortem was arranged.

'I don't know much about these things,' says Eddie, 'but I thought to myself once he is six feet



Wreaths are carried on the march organised by the Jimmy Kelly Action Committee in Huyton.

under there is no way I can cause a fuss.'

He was right. It needs an order from the Home Secretary to exhume a body and the delay in obtaining this could well have meant the state of decomposition would hinder any examination.

'I got a solicitor,' says Eddie, 'but first of all he told me he wanted £300 in advance and then when I said he could have it, he told me to take the case elsewhere.' Eddie did and the second post-mortem, paid for by the family, was carried out.

When the Kelly family received the dramatic findings of the pathologist's report on 4 September, they stood by their agreement to a police

request to keep the contents secret until they had had a meeting with the West Midlands Assistant Chief Constable David Getty, who has been called in to investigate allegations of police brutality in Huyton.

Eddie Kelly assumed they would have an opportunity to ask questions of Getty and perhaps see a report of the post mortem, carried out by the police.

'But Mr Getty would only see our Billy,' says Eddie. 'He wouldn't let us ask him any questions, and he wouldn't agree that if we showed our report he would show us his. He just wanted our report and was going to give nothing in return.'

'He treated us like criminals waiting in a court. We discussed the matter between us and decided to release the contents to the press. We didn't show it to him.'

The report, by Dr John Torry, says that Jimmy Kelly had injuries consistent with a severe beating; that he died of acute heart failure and that immediately prior to his death he had sustained numerous minor injuries consistent with punches or blows applied by the knees, and a broken jaw; he had suffered considerably more injury than could be expected of a man who resisted arrest.

Dr Torry added that he had come across considerable obstruction by the

police before carrying out his post-mortem and had found them completely uncooperative.

'Nothing rings true about the police's account of that night Jimmy died,' says Eddie. 'I don't hold out much hope of the police inquiry. How can you when they wouldn't talk to us and clear our minds?'

The Kelly family are intending to bring a civil action in the High Court against the police.

'It's a hard task the likes of us taking on a powerful police force,' says Eddie. 'It can't bring Jimmy back. But we want justice however much money it costs and worry it gives us. Wouldn't you if it was your brother?'

# Fighting the Tory spending

## West London Assembly speaks out

**DO YOU REMEMBER** what happened at Hounslow Hospital? That was where health officials supported by police, carried out a bed-time raid in order to transfer patients to another hospital. Hounslow Hospital was condemned to closure, and hospital staff were conducting a work-in to stop it happening.

Today many of these staff are preparing to face the Tory's cuts and closures. This time however they want to make sure they will not be fighting alone. This time they want to see that the labour movement is fighting with them.

So along with other workers in Hounslow, Hammersmith and Ealing, they booked Hammersmith Town Hall. They produced a cuts bulletin and distributed thousands of copies. And last Saturday they invited trade unionists, campaign activists, and anyone else opposed to cuts in health care to a 'West London Assembly Against Cuts'. Here are some of the things they had to say.



**CARL BRECKER**, Chairperson of the Area Joint Union Committee, speaking from the platform:

**ON AUGUST 8** the Area Health Authority took decisions which changed the nature of that body. From the moment it passed those cuts it ceased to be a body that had the job of providing health care, preventative and curative, to all the people of the area. It became what I choose to call the Area Health Asset-stripping institution.

They voted to immediately cut £1 million, and to have at their October 4 meeting further detailed proposals on how the total £4½ million cuts could be implemented by 1981. These present cuts are due to the system of cash limits, whereby the Government does not make available funds to compensate for inflation, wage rises, rising costs of supplies etc.

The next squeeze will be in the annual Whitepaper on Government spending next April ... if you heard what they said at the association of county councils nobody will be in doubt that there is worse to come.

The AHA are aware of this. They did a study of the cuts that would have to be made to meet the anticipated reductions in spending, and found that every single institution in the area save the four main hospitals would have to close — that's 17 hospitals, health clinics and so on.

What is more they could only do this if two further conditions were met. First that the present regulations regarding redundancy payments and procedure were scrapped, and second if the consultative procedure with Community Health Councils were scrapped.

There has already been an outcry from the doctors in opposition to these attacks, but where are they today? The health unions invited them to come and explain the consequences of these cuts to the public but the maximum of medical opposition has been polite messages to the AHA.

On the AHA are councillors who are supposed to be accountable to those who vote them into office. We



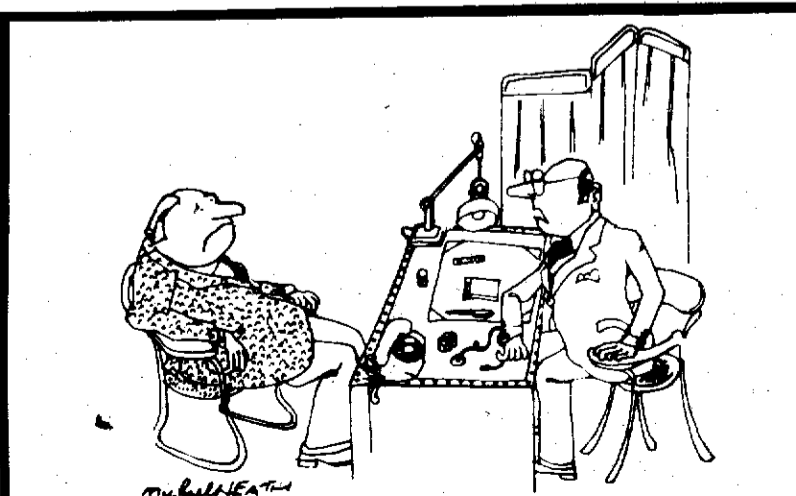
**ENDA DONELLY**, Labour councillor: 'As a member of the Area Health Authority I feel I'm in a funny position opposing the cuts. All I can do on that body is vote against cuts. More important is that I can give all the information I get to the health unions, and be prepared to speak on their platforms when they ask me. They shouldn't be running their campaign to pressure me, I should be using my position to boost their campaign.'

**THE HEALTH** service in Islington and Camden is to be slashed by £4½ million. Previously the Area Health Authority had been divided on whether to implement these cuts, but now the chairperson, who lives miles away in Berkshire, has used his casting vote in favour. There is however considerable trade union opposition.

**SONIA MARTYNIAK**, Further Education student: 'They cut services saying there's not enough money, yet looking through the civic budget we find that they are spending £10,000 on maintenance for the Mayor's Rolls Royce — which illustrates the priorities of the Tory Council.'



**ANDY LILLY**, AUEW Southall: 'When Callaghan and his ilk talk about Thatchers' democratic mandate I think: well I didn't vote for these cuts and neither did anyone else.'



Well, Mr Thompson, you can either die, or have private treatment



### South Wales

By Paul Highfield  
**OPPOSITION** TO the cuts in South Wales is mounting, but remains fragmented. The Rhondda branch of the NUR led the way when they refused to implement a cut in the Valley's rail service from Cardiff.

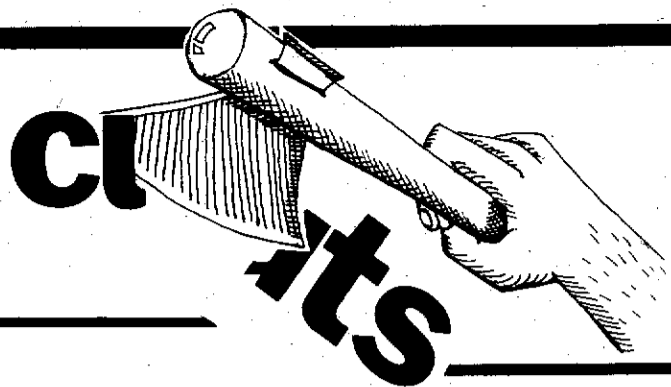
The rail drivers refused to terminate the trains, instead driving them to their normal destinations with the aid of the signal operators. When British Rail suspended all the drivers; the Rhondda branch went on strike, forcing British Rail to climb down.

In the coal industry the NCB is blackmailing the NUM, by saying that they won't proceed with a £140 million investment unless the miners accept pit closures.

The second attempt of South Glamorgan Area Health Authority to close the only orthopaedic hospital in Wales, the Rhydlafer in Cardiff, has been met with demonstrations and pickets which have won the active involvement of other workers — notably the miners.

But the public sector unions have yet to throw their full weight into the fight, and neither has the Wales TUC, despite its paper opposition to cuts.

The county council in Mid-Glamorgan, with Labour, Communist and Plaid members, has declared that for 1979-80 it will refuse to cut its budget at all. It's time all these different strands of resistance are united against the Tories.



# Cuts round-up

## Nottingham

By Eric Laverick, NUPE Nottingham.

THE NOTTINGHAM County Council has decided on 300 separate items to be cut. In health alone this involves: phase 2 of the new University Hospital will not be built till 1981/2, and even then its not assured, resulting in 1091 beds, 7 operating theatres and an outpatient department being indefinitely delayed; the new ward block at Nottingham City hospital is to be delayed two years; no increase in much needed facilities for the elderly.

Trent Regional Health Authority threaten that 'some very painful decisions will have to be taken'. They might have added 'fatal'.

In education things are no better. The jobs to go are 136 nursery posts, 152 class room helpers, 203 posts in adult education, 18 posts in social services day nurseries, 130 part-time school crossing patrols. Two day nurseries and childrens homes will close.

The closure of nurser-

ies has sparked off united resistance by parents and staff. 100 mothers and children occupied the gallery at a Social Services Committee meeting on September 13. After meeting council representatives angry mothers blocked the traffic on Trent Bridge. On September 22 nursery nurses in the social services branch of NUPE marched through Nottingham city supported by parents to demand that there are no closures or jobs lost.

## Lothian

By George Kerevan

LOTHIAN REGIONAL Council, which is Labour controlled, has so far refused to implement any Tory cuts. Instead, the contingency fund has been used to pay recent wage increases. Lothian has also announced there will be no cuts or rates increases next year.

Edinburgh Trades Council has called a delegate conference on November 3 to plan industrial action on the cuts. Such action will be necessary to keep the Labour party to its promises!



BUILDING WORKERS and fellow trade unionists turned out last week for a mass picket of Croudace building site in Wandsworth. The Trades Council and the Direct Works Joint Stewards Committee have been organising daily picketing of two sites in Wandsworth for over 2 months.

As part of their attempt to cut the Direct Works, the Tory council refused to allow their own labour force to tender for these jobs. When UCATT, the building workers union, picketed the two sites in protest, the council took out a High Court injunction against their Regional Organiser, Lou Lewis. It was at this point that the Trades Council stepped in.

At the mass picket T&GWU Regional Secretary Peter Kavanagh pledged that members of his union would not cross the picket line. If necessary, he said, action would have to be taken elsewhere against the two contractors — Croudace and Turriffs. The G&MWU have also issued instructions for their members to boycott both sites.

That is the sort of solidarity needed to defeat the Tories and their allies. The next mass picket will be on October 10th at the Croudace Site, Upper Tooting Park, London SW17. The nearest tube is Tooting Bec.

By Nick Williams, Secretary of Battersea and Wandsworth Trades Council, (in personal capacity).



have to make sure we mount a campaign to force local councillors and MP's to make a stand and vote against the cuts.

One thing has however become clear to health workers — if you are going to stop this scale of cuts then you have to take industrial action. They understand that. But they are cautious. Not about taking up a fight, but about standing out on a picket line, as we did during the last winter of discontent, and being isolated.

When the press and the government tried to kick us in the teeth there were few with us showing

their solidarity. Health workers cannot stop the cuts on their own. They need the help of the mighty force of the labour movement.

When hospitals come up for closure health workers have shown themselves willing to take such audacious steps as occupying and working in. Are we prepared to devote the time and resources to build a united movement with far greater force than before.

Are we going to be content with a march down the High St, or are we building a movement that can force the AHA to stop. **??**

## Rail

By P.M. Grant, ASLEF Paddington

IN THE September issue of the British Railways Board's public relations magazine 'Railnews', the B.R.B. gave vent to their unhappiness about the lack of progress with the unions over productivity, saying that they had paid out their pittance of a wage rise but had not got the productivity they had demanded in exchange. Now a confidential report, revealed by the 'Militant' paper, which is circulating the board-rooms of the B.R.B. and the Department of Transport, shows what the bosses want.

The 'Rail Business Review' proposes that a general rundown of the rail network is the order of the day; that 35,000 jobs go, and that 40 lines are to be axed. The locomotive fleet, already depleted by the age of many of the locos, are to be cut from 2,259 to 1,647; marshalling yards from 181 to 49; and freight wagons from 135,000 to 41,000.

It is not just BR workers who will suffer from these cuts. The proposed line closures will mean less passenger traffic. The B.R.B. is

aiming to cut the local trains, especially in country areas; promising to supplement them with a bus service, but in reality that would also soon disappear leaving whole areas without public transport.

The Tory cash limits will mean increased fares, as even fares at the present high level only account for 60 per cent of the operating costs, the remaining 40 per cent being covered by government grants. The B.R.B. have been told that the present £483m subsidy will have to remain constant from 1981-1989.

The B.R.B. estimate that even if they manage to push through their proposals they will still need a grant of £633m by 1989. The only way the service could break even is by, as the B.R.B. put it, 'a tougher real fares policy'.

## Civil Service

By Sue Owen, CPSA Department of Employment Section Executive Committee. (In personal capacity).

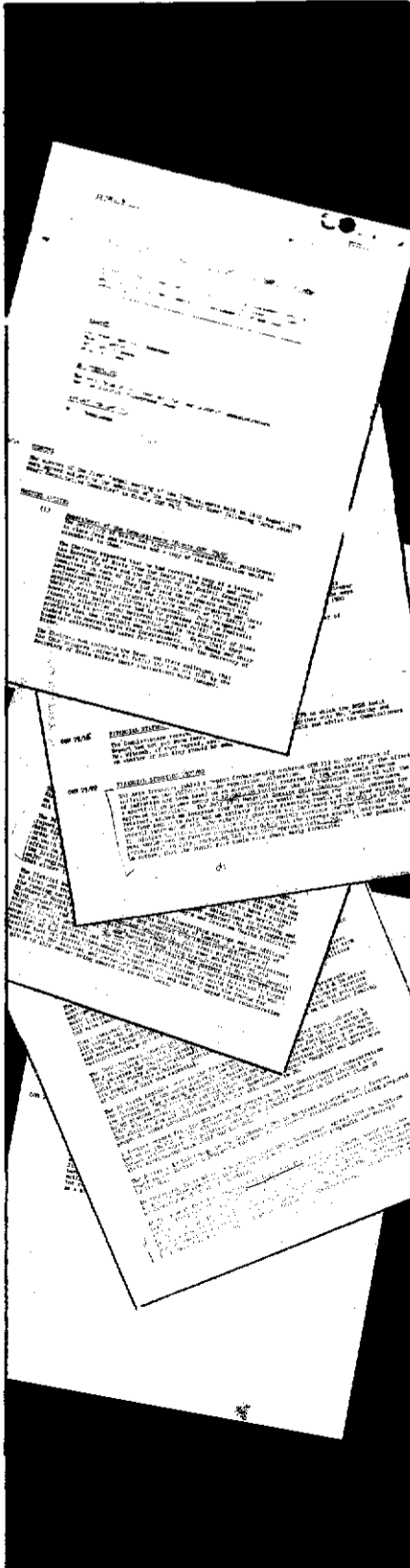
UNEMPLOYED readers will know that claimants are being asked to sign

fortnightly instead of weekly, and will be paid fortnightly as from next week. What they may not know is that the aim of the measure is not to aid them.

For claimants the resulting staff cuts of 17 per cent will mean longer queues, and greater difficulties making benefit stretch out till the next payment. For us it means less jobs and more work for those remaining.

Fortnightly attendance and payment is not new — we have known it was coming for two years. Last year action was limited to token strikes by our national executive committee, and this year the section executive — all of them elected on a Broad Left 'ticket' — substantially rejected even the limited action the NEC were offering.

Resistance to fortnightly signing and payment will now be difficult — though claimants still have the right to choose to sign weekly. But most importantly we have to learn in the CPSA, and the public sector as a whole, that the cuts in whatever form are a problem for us all; and that shorter hours without loss in pay can provide the basis for an effective and united fight to stop the massive cuts in jobs.



# Secret plans revealed in Lambeth

By Rich Palmer

HEALTH WORKER Janet Maguire received a letter from a friend last week. She does not know their name, but a friend they are, because enclosed in the letter were secret plans for health cuts in South-east London — and Janet is secretary of the campaign set up to fight them.

The plans had been drawn up by the commissioners sent in to Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham when the Area Health Authority refused to implement cuts. Amongst other things they mean the closure of 60 acute beds at Guy's hospital, 71 acute beds at King's hospital, and 36 beds in other hospitals.

'Out of the seven members of the Area Health Authority who voted for cuts, two are now commissioners and 5 helping on other sub-committees,' Janet points out. 'At first everyone was shocked at the size of the cuts, and the speed at which the commissioners are moving. We certainly have to act now or the closures will be complete.'

'Now, however, things are starting to move, particularly among hospital workers. In St Guys health district a joint stewards committee met for the first time in years last week. This week we are having a meeting for all stewards in the area — we expect two to three hundred there.'

The campaign against health cuts is growing, and their next step is a demonstration on September 29. It will assemble at Ladywell fields in Lewisham and march to St Johns hospital for a rally. St Johns hospital is due to close in early October — the first to go — and the workers there plan a work-in.

'I think we have to build up an awareness that these cuts mean more private health care,' says Janet. 'Our campaign is opposed to private medicine because it means good care



for the wealthy and ill health for the others.

'One suggested use for the beds at Lewisham Hospital beds that are to close is that they are used as private beds. This is the district management's idea to "save money". I'm very pleased that the general branch of the electricians' union, which covers the electricians who work in the hospitals, have come out against Chapple's plans for health insurance as part of wage deals.'

\*THE Labour group on Lambeth Council came under fire when a lobby on 17 September, and protests by activists in local wards, forced councillor Ted Knight to propose a motion reversing the cuts. He is now calling for council employees to be given the day off when a demonstration against the cuts is held on 7 November.

# Engineers Charter Going all out for effective action

By Pat Hickey, deputy senior steward, TGWU, BL SD1

AS THE Engineering Employers' Federation responded to the unions' pleas for a settlement in the engineering strike by beginning selective lock-outs, the Engineers Charter held a national meeting in Manchester last weekend to plan its response.

Ninety militants from most parts of the country attended. As might be expected, the meeting was entirely in favour of all-out action to win the claim.

There was much criticism of the Broad Left in the AUEW for its refusal to make any serious effort to mobilise the membership behind the claim.

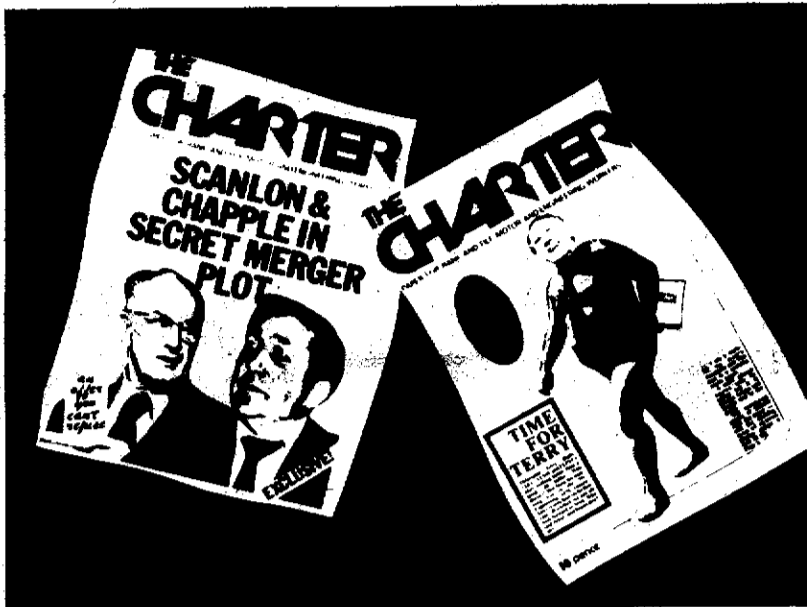
The Communist Party-dominated Broad Left was accused of engaging in a cynical electoral manoeuvre, putting Duffy on the spot so as to reap the benefit when he comes up for election next year.

From the local reports which were given, it was clear that the Broad Left in the districts was doing no more than the leadership at national level.

Charter editor Jack Robertson pointed out that the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, the joint union body that has lodged the claim, was prepared to drop the demand for a shorter working week in return for extra holidays.

The claim has now been so watered down that it was clear that the EEF was determined to gain a complete climb down from the unions.

For the bosses, Robertson argued, the aim is to smash the developing militancy on the shopfloor in preparation for the round of domestic



negotiations which will take place this winter, and for an offensive on speed-up and redundancies.

Engineers Charter, launched by the Socialist Workers Party, has been the only current in the industry organising on a consistent basis for an all-out strike. Weekly broadsheets are now being produced, and Socialist Challenge supporters should ensure their widest possible distribution.

The broadsheets, while strong on militancy and full of good agitational information, have not been sharp enough on how to organise and win the claim.

Calling for all-out action is correct, but this has to be fought for not just on the picket lines but also in the union's official structures.

Charter supporters should be fighting for district shop stewards meetings of the Confed, and these

meetings must organise for all-out action against the selective lock-outs.

The fight to mobilise the membership is the key to success, but the Confed leadership has to be forced to support these actions and the Broad Left dragged from its committee rooms.

We do not wait for these people to move, but neither should we leave them to hide away until it's all over, and then emerge and take up where they left off.

The fight with the bureaucrats, both left and right, is an essential part of the struggle.

Socialist Challenge supporters should give full support to the existing Charter groups and help to establish new ones, while intervening on the picket lines, in the plants, and in the official structures.



The three-week old strike at British Leyland's SD1 plant at Rover Solihull continued into the holiday week with the works committee continuing to display the weakness that helped to divide the membership last week, writes Pat Hickey.

The committee is now recommending acceptance of a company offer which merely dresses up management's original intentions.

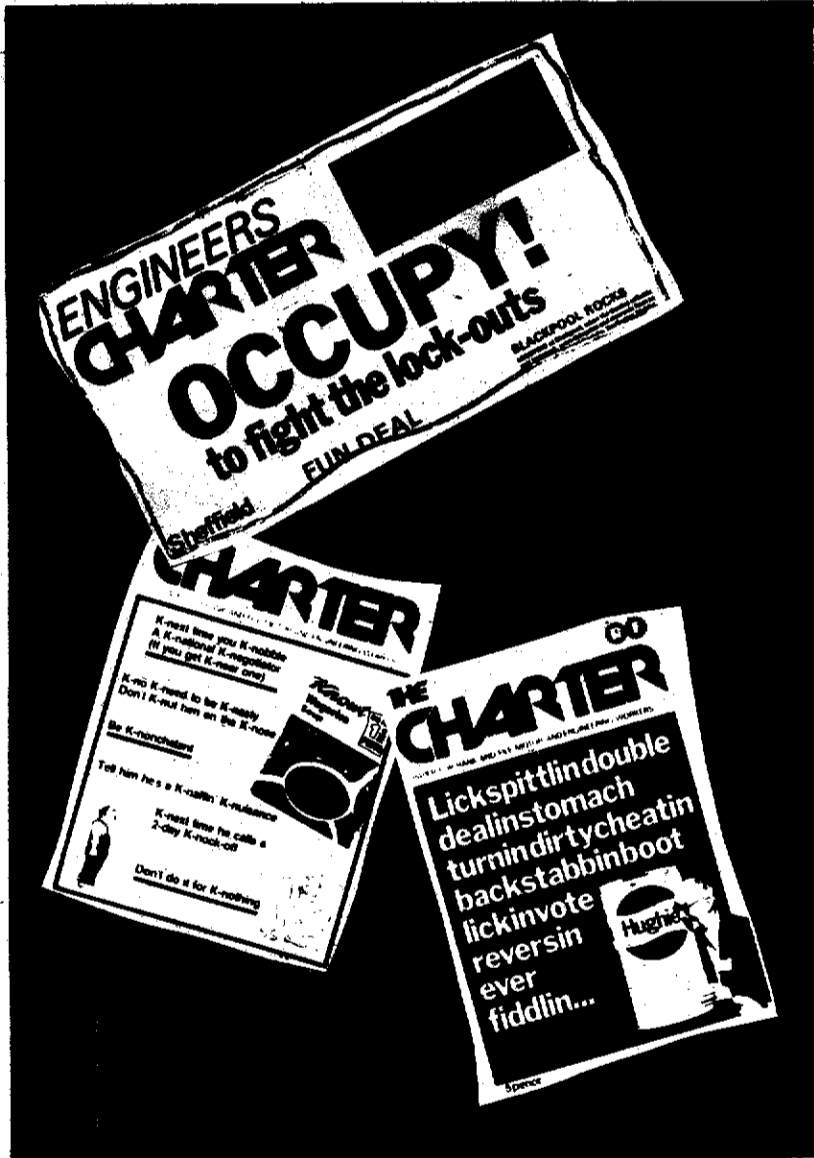
The mutuality and status quo clauses in the collective agreement, which management is challenging, were effectively discarded and the procedures for reaching agreement on work standards will no longer apply.

Instead the company's figures on the number of workers on the job and workloads will have to be implemented and agreement reached afterwards.

Resistance to this deal is beginning to develop. The shop stewards meeting after the holiday, on 2 October, will have to decide whether to accept or reject the works' committee position. The issue will then go to a mass meeting the following day.

If the meeting rejects the recommendations it will be a major step towards confronting the speed-ups planned for BL workers by Edwardes.

The photograph, by the way, is a still from Blue Collar, a film about car workers.



Copies of Engineer's Charter from: PO Box 82, London E2



A QUARTER of the entire population of Corby marched on the talks that took place last Thursday on the future of the town's steel works. 'If this doesn't strengthen the hands of our negotiations, I don't know what will,' said Doug Cameron of the AUEW district committee. The British Steel Corporation's plan is to axe the Corby plant and sack 7,500 workers.

## STRIKE NEWS

### Birmingham

By Steve Griffiths, AUEW branch secretary, Rover Solihull

THE TWO-day strikes have received the support of the vast majority of plants in Birmingham. Even in BL, despite the announcement of redundancies and planned closure, the strike is solid.

At the Castle Bromwich BL body plant, where 7,500 workers are threatened with redundancy, some unions have been attempting to break the strike. They are trying to prove to Edwardes that they are 'good girls and boys', so that some jobs might be saved.

But the majority of workers at the plant are staying out on the strike days.

The local Tory paper, the Evening Mail, has been attempting to whip up a back-to-work movement — without success. The handful of supporters which the scabs initially had has dwindled away. At Longbridge and Lucas Great King Street, where the Mail concentrated its attention, the strike is a hundred per cent.

The new hard line from the EEF will undoubtedly see a number of lockouts begin after the September holiday, which has closed most of the engineering industry in Birmingham

for a week.

It is expected that BL will follow Rolls Royce in imposing a lock out. Militants will be preparing for occupations, flying pickets, and for all-out strike in the district in response to the employers' action.

### Bristol

By Mike Eaude, Bristol Trades Council

ROLLS ROYCE is being used as the spearhead of the engineering employers' offensive. Management has announced that it preferred to close its factories rather than run on three-fifths production.

In response, the hourly-paid workforce at Rolls Royce in Bristol turned up to defy the lock-out on Wednesday of last week. The gates were locked, since management preferred to lay-off all the clerical and admin workers in addition, rather than risk a work-in.

At a mass meeting held outside the gates, John Blackley, AUEW convenor at the plant, and chairperson of the national Aerospace Liaison Committee, called for 'a short, sharp national strike' to win the claim.

The engineering strike is solid throughout Avon. Attempts by local media to

whip up opposition have failed to produce more than two enthusiasts, whose counter-demo was a total failure.

But there is no picketing at Rolls Royce and no attempt by the AUEW to involve workers' families, nor the local labour movement.

### Leicester

By Kay Carter, AUEW member, Leicester

WITH only one or two minor exceptions, the engineering strike in Leicester is solid. There have been reports of some scabbing, but this has been taken care of by the pickets.

The local paper has been forced to search outside the city for its glowing reports of strike breaking. It omits to mention the solidarity and strength of the Leicester strikers.

Branches and shop stewards have been pushing for all-out action from the outset of the strike. A motion calling for a mass meeting was squashed by the district leadership, which confines its action to calling infrequent shop stewards' meetings.

Our Engineers Charter group has organised flying pickets, and has attracted a few members of picket

lines to meetings, to get the information and support that the leadership should be providing.

Some firms have threatened redundancies and lock-outs, and many have organised ballots (not secret).

At Rolly Royce Montsorrel, one lone picket stopped two hundred workers from returning, after the local shop stewards voted not to have pickets.

### Coalville

THE AUEW strikers at T Grieves Coalville in Leicestershire are now entering their ninth week of all-out action. Despite lack of support from their district committee, the strike is completely solid, with 24-hour picketing.

Coalvilles is a small engineering firm, with 400 workers, over half of whom are women. The strike came after a claim for a 15 per cent wage rise was met with a 5 per cent offer. This has since been increased to 12.5 per cent, but with productivity and bonus strings attached.

Although part of the Bentley group, in which workers enjoy the benefit of sickness schemes, overalls, and the like, Coalville workers are still fighting for these rights.

These workers are isolated in a small county community, with no support from their city leadership. They need donations and messages of support, c/o K. Carter, 22 Berners St. Leicester.

# John Corrie's modern witches

By Valerie Coultas

**IN 14th CENTURY** England women who performed abortions were burnt at the stake as witches. Today, in 20th century Britain, Tory MP John Corrie is more civilised — he only wants to brand as 'criminals' doctors who perform abortions of which Mr Corrie doesn't approve. That's what his anti-abortion Bill aims to do, that's why it has to be fought.

The same fight has been going on for hundreds of years. The first state legislation came in 1801 when abortion was made a statutory offence. Another law, passed in 1861, went further, laying down a sentence of life imprisonment for anyone attempting to procure an abortion 'unlawfully'.

At the same time these all-male parliaments were passing such laws the only birth control methods available were abstinence, withdrawal, or such lovely practices as injections of a mixture of alum and water.

Contraception was feared by both moralists and sections of the labour movement. The latter associated birth

control with reactionaries who argued that in order to control the population and avoid famine and poverty the poor should exercise 'moral restraint'. The progressive arguments in favour of contraception were left to radicals like John Stuart Mill, Francis Place and Richard Carlile.

A breakthrough in birth control methods occurred in 1882 when a Dutch doctor invented the Mensinga diaphragm. But for working class women the diaphragm was difficult to obtain. Evidence at the time from doctors and women's organisations showed that back street abortions had reached epidemic proportions.

## Obscene

Those who sought to do something about it received the unwelcome attentions of the state. When, in 1887 Annie Besant, a socialist, produced a cheap pamphlet containing information about contraception she was charged with publishing 'obscene literature'. She had her child taken away from her for being an 'unfit' parent.

But Annie Besant's pamphlet

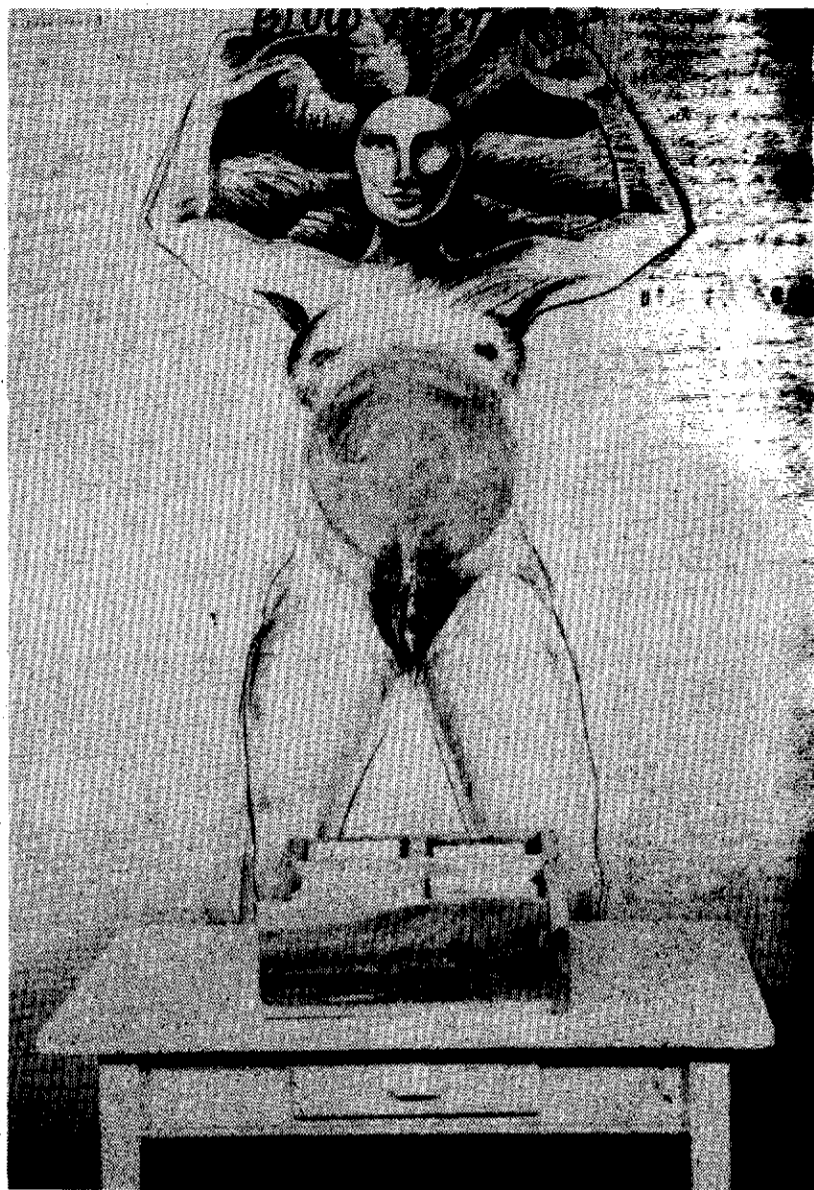
contained the same information that was available for a few shillings in another publication. Annie Besant's pamphlet cost sixpence — her 'crime' was that she sought to spread the information to the working class.

By the First World War the sheath was commonly, if furtively on sale. Dr Marie Stopes was pioneering birth control clinics to provide reliable and well-fitted contraceptives. A study in 1927 showed that 90 per cent of the clients at her clinic were working class.

By then, certain labour leaders were more receptive to birth control arguments. Ben Tillet and John Burns supported Marie Stopes' efforts as did a representative from Huddersfield Trades Council who declared, 'Aye! The time's gone when we'll breed soldiers to be shot for a shilling a day, or workers to addle brass for manufacturers and starve themselves'.

## Maternity

But it was left to women themselves to win practical support from governments and local authorities. When, in 1923, the



## Labour MPs who back Corrie

### No conscience cop-out



**WHEN THE Corrie Bill** to further restrict abortion rights received its second reading in Parliament, 55 Labour MPs voted for it.

That Labour MPs should care so little for women's rights is a scandal, but insult is added to injury when you consider that the Labour conference policy is in support of increased abortion rights.

**How is this justified? Each MP should be allowed to decide 'according to their conscience'!**

Abortion certainly is a matter of individual conscience, or put less emotively, individual choice. But not the individual choice of MPs — the individual choice of the woman concerned.

The job of the Labour Party in Parliament is to vote to give women that right — not to vote to further restrict it.

As Jo Richardson pro-abortion Labour MP says: '...those who used the conscience excuse simply want to impose an alternative and restrictive policy on abortion.'

Not surprisingly the issue is coming up at this year's Labour Party conference. An amendment to the main motion, from Lambeth Labour Party, condemns the 55 MPs who supported Corrie and supports the demonstration called by the TUC for 28 October. Another from Swindon goes to the heart of the matter and calls for a three line whip in Parliament to see conference policy is respected.

The National Abortion Campaign will be lobbying to see that these are discussed — but it seems to be a trend that resolutions aimed at increasing the democracy of the Labour Party are blocked before coming before conference.

The Labour Abortion Rights Campaign will be fighting at the Labour Party conference, but the job of bringing these Labour renegades to heel belongs to us all. Here is a list of the guilty — see they change their vote or change their job.

Leo Abse, Pontypool;  
Donald Anderson, Swansea East;  
Dale Campbell-Savours, Workington;  
Dennis Canavan, Stirlingshire West;  
Lewis Carter-Jones, Eccles;  
Michael Cocks, Bristol South;  
Stanley Cohen, Leeds South East;  
Tom Cox, Wandsworth and Tooting;  
J. Craigan, Maryhill;  
Lawrence Cunliffe, Leigh;  
Denzil Davies, Llanelli;  
James Dempsey, Coatbridge and Airdrie;  
Geoffrey Dickens, Huddersfield;  
Don Dixon, Jarrow;  
A. Duffy, Attercliffe;  
James Dunn, Kirkdale;  
Alexander Eadie, Midlothian;  
Ken Eastham, Blackley;  
Tom Ellis, Wrexham;  
Michael English, Nottingham West;  
Alan Fish, Wigan;  
James Hamilton, Bothwell;  
Walter Harrison, Wakefield;  
N. Hogg, Dunbartonshire;  
Mark Hughes, Durham;

Ted Leadbetter, Hartlepool;  
Dickson Mabon, Greenock and Port Glasgow;  
Frank McElhone, Queens Park;  
Michael McGuire, Ince;  
Gregor Mackenzie, Rutherglen;  
R. MacLellan, Caithness and Sutherland;  
K. McNamara, Hull Central;  
D. Marshall, Shettleston;  
Michael Martin, Springburn;  
Robert Mellish, Southwark and Bermondsey;  
Alfred Morris, Wythenshawe;  
John Morris, Aberavon;  
Michael O'Halloran, Islington North;  
Robert Parry, Scotland Exchange;  
T. Pendry, Stalybridge and Hyde;  
Gwilym Roberts, Cannock;  
E. Rowlands, Merthyr Tydfil;  
Neville Sandelson, Hillingdon;  
Barry Sheerman, Huddersfield East;  
James Timm, Teeside Redcar;  
Tom Urwin, Houghton-le-Spring;  
James White, Pollock;  
F. T. Willey, Sunderland North;  
Alan Williams, Swansea West;  
Sir Harold Wilson, Huyton.

## ABORTION

The struggle in the Labour Movement



Labour Abortion Rights Campaign 40p

Minister of Health refused permission for maternity centres to give advice on birth control the ban was taken up at the Labour Party's women's conference, which passed a resolution by 1,000 to eight in protest.

It was not until 1926 that the Labour Party conference proper passed by a narrow majority a similar resolution and even that decision was reversed the following year. This occurred despite an appeal from a woman delegate that, 'it is four times as dangerous for a woman to bear a child as it is to go down a mine.'

In 1930 the Ministry of Health finally gave way and lifted the ban on maternity centres advising on birth control, although some local authorities had not taken up this option as late as the 1960s.

By then the debate had begun to

switch to abortion, which an Act of Parliament of 1929 had declared legal only if a woman's life was at stake. The same law fixed the viability of the foetus at 28 weeks. The legal restriction on abortion coupled with an increasing demand from women meant that by 1939 up to 150,000 abortions were being performed illegally.

## Suffering

These figures were produced by the Birkett committee which also pointed to the suffering caused by back-street abortions because of the limitations still imposed by the law.

Legal changes recommended by this committee were shelved with the advent of war. Attempts for reform were defeated in 1953, 1961, 1965 and 1966.

Finally David Steel introduced the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill which became the 1967 Abortion Act. But Steel stressed the limits of the changes saying, 'we want to stamp out back-street abortions but it is not the intention... to leave a wide door open for abortion on demand.'

The ruling class soon began the counter-attack with attempts at restrictive legislation through the James White Bill (1975) and the William Benyon Bill (1977).

But they underestimated the fighting power of the women's liberation movement that had emerged in the late 1960s. The mass mobilisations of women defeated these Bills and forced the trade unions to at last see that abortion was a class issue — that all women, not just the rich should have access to abortion and the right to control their lives.

\*Many of the details in this article are taken from 'Abortion: The struggle in the Labour Movement', an excellent pamphlet just published by the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign. Contributors include Mary Donnelly, Ann Kingsbury, Dr Berry Beaumont, and Jo Richardson MP.

The pamphlet, price 40p, is available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Add 10p if ordering by mail.

## Give Corrie's Bill the rope

There will be no shortage of slogans to utilise — marchers' lungs on the anti-Corrie demo next month, but songs are another matter.

Readers have been invited to fill that gap. This contribution, to the tune of Tom Dooley, is written by CLAIRE WEINGARTEN. We hope it will inspire others to put verses to paper.

**John Corrie's against abortion,  
He thinks women 'ought to cope'  
John Corrie's in favour of hanging —  
Let's give Corrie's Bill the rope!**

**Chorus  
Hang down your head John Corrie,  
Hang down your head and cry.  
Hang down your head John Corrie,  
Your Bill is going to die.**

**Some of us are mothers,  
And some of us are wives,  
But all of us are women,  
And we will control our lives.**

**We will have the say-so,  
We will have the voice,  
Not the state, not the church, not doctors,  
But women must have the choice.**

**We will not be bamboozled,  
We will not be beguiled,  
Every mother must be a willing mother,  
Every child a wanted child.**

**We will not be bond-slaves,  
And we will not be toys,  
And we will not be brood-mares,  
Women must have the choice.**

## Abortion events

LEWISHAM CAC is holding a Festival for a Woman's Right to Choose on Saturday 29 September at Woodpecker Centre, Milton Court Estate, Deptford. From 2pm onwards. Social with Au Pairs, South Circular at St Marks Centre, Edward Street, Deptford. 8-12.30am.

LEWISHAM CAC meets every Monday at 7.30pm, Law Centre, Deptford High Street.

GLASGOW NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN meets every Monday at 7.30pm at the Women's Centre, 57 Miller Street, Glasgow.

JOURNALISTS AGAINST CORRIE along with the NUJ Equality Working Party and Fleet Street Women's Voice are jointly holding a public meeting on Wednesday 10 October in St. Brides' Small Hall, Bride Lane, EC4 at 7.30pm.

# LABOUR'S LEFT LOOKS AT WHY WRONG DIAGNOSIS A

THE LAST election was an unmitigated disaster for Labour. It received only 37 per cent of the votes cast, the lowest proportion since the war, and opinion polls suggest that only 50 per cent of trade unionists voted for the mass party of the working class, with almost as many

skilled workers backing the Tories as Labour. But for the Labour left, 1979 was only the final episode of a lengthy agony in which they sat on the sidelines and watched a government elected on the most radical Labour manifesto in recent history pursue policies of a blatantly

reactionary and anti-work. Little wonder that the should be the occasion for week Spokesman Bo important collection of Labour Party figures und

IMAGINE a restaurant. One of those slightly old-fashioned, comfortable establishments where working class and middle class families and solitary diners can all feel equally at home. Individual tables; clean, white linen; well-polished cutlery.

The menu is neatly printed and offers a wide range of tempting fare. But once the customers have made up their minds and all the orders are in, the atmosphere suddenly changes.

The tablecloths are whisked away and in their place cracked china bowls filled with fish-head stew are served up. The courteous staff have been replaced by a team of bouncers who silence any cries of outrage and make sure that no one tries to get away without paying the bill (plus VAT and service charge).

Not a recipe for good business, you might think. But it's the longest-running establishment on record. Of course, like all great trade secrets, its formula for success is simple: it has managed to convince its clientele that it's the only joint in town.

## Remedies

The authors of *What Went Wrong?* are like a group of particularly disgruntled diners whose gastronomic expectations were that little bit higher and whose disappointment is thus that much deeper.

Now they are clubbing together out on the street to discuss possible remedies: 'There must be a better way of running things.' 'I suppose so, but this is the only set-up we've had experience of.' 'Well look, let's take a really firm stand next time — then maybe we can at least get them to leave the tablecloths on.'

Perhaps not a very kind portrait. But one of the most striking features of the Labour left is its inability to criticise and rethink the structures of capitalist society in a radical way.

After all, the 1974-79 episode wasn't the first right-wing Labour government we've had to suffer. As the second Wilson government raced towards electoral defeat flying the banner of 'In Place of Strife' in the late '60s, many Labour lefts pondered deeply about 'What went wrong?'

A young Labour MP by the name of Stan Newens, writing in *New Left Review* in 1968, pinpointed the fact that '...the real power of making decisions has been almost entirely withdrawn from Parliament.'

## Crisis

The present discussion, enriched — if that's the word — by four years of the Heath government and another five years of right-wing Labourism, doesn't seem to have gone that much further.

When the miners felled the Tory government in '74, Labour knew full well that it was coming to power at a time of international economic crisis, with Britain the worst afflicted country in the advanced capitalist world.

The question was whether the Labour leadership would try to ride out the storm in the interests of capital



Labour's legacy — a huge increase in the dole queues

or whether, as Tony Benn put it in 1973: 'The crisis we inherit when we come to power will be the occasion for fundamental change and not the excuse for postponing it.'

Under the immense pressure from the bastions of British capital — which transferred money out of the country hand over fist — and their friends and allies in the International Monetary Fund and the British Treasury, Labour chose to attack working class living standards in order to recreate favourable conditions for profitable capitalist investment.

Pay restraint, public expenditure cuts, the steering of Britain into the EEC, were one side of the package.

The other was the dropping of all the more radical measures to which Labour had committed itself — Tony Benn's National Enterprise Board and 'planning agreement' scheme, which was supposed to give the government powerful leverage over the major industrial firms, was scaled down to insignificance, and the various 'industrial democracy' schemes were just talked into the ground.

The record of the Labour

government in raising profits and lowering living standards is shown in the statistics on these pages. As John Hughes puts it in *What Went Wrong?*: 'The legacy...is there not only in reduced public services, unkempt and obsolete public buildings, and potholes in the roads, but in an additional half a million or so unemployed workers.'

## Decline

The remedy advocated by the Labour left is not so clear as the diagnosis, but broadly speaking it can be summed up as pulling out of the EEC; imposing import controls to protect British industry; and using the instrument of a powerful National Enterprise Board, compulsory planning agreements and widespread trade union participation in management decision-making to force big industrial firms to reinvest their profits in 'regenerating British industry'.

On the basis of the resulting increased productivity and output it would then be possible to satisfy working class material and social

needs, stabilise the economy, and move towards socialism.

There are, however, several difficulties with this scheme. It ignores the fact that the decline of British industry is an historic one that cannot be overcome by a few discreet import duties. Several key sectors of traditional British industry — steel, shipbuilding, cars, textiles and clothing, and much of the engineering industry, among others — have long been uncompetitive on a world scale.

Britain's entry into the EEC spelt the beginning of the protracted run-down of these sectors, with British capital seeking compensation in the enhanced opportunities to invest in more profitable European industries.

British industry is being weakened, but British capital is strengthened. This is a process in which the working class has no interest, and the call for Britain to withdraw from the EEC is quite justifiable.

Yet the solution does not lie in trying to create a 'siege' economy behind the wall of import controls.

For one thing, import controls will do nothing to help export-oriented industries, which include many of those in crisis. Indeed, by inviting retaliation from the more powerful capitalist countries it would have severe negative consequences. And the home market is not a sufficient basis for efficient production under modern conditions.

Socialism has to be built on the foundations of capitalism, but going beyond its accomplishments. The attempt to build an isolated British industrial sector would mean retreating from the international division of labour forged by capitalism, to a less productive, more backward national structure.

The price of this would be to undermine socialist internationalism. After all, if 'socialist' Britain can try to solve its unemployment problem by excluding foreign competition, why is the same course not valid for the French or Italian labour movements? And the real victims would be those Third World countries whose future industrial growth, pathetically restricted by imperialism, depends on the further development of the



# CALLAGHAN LOST AND NO CURE

ng class character.  
lection post mortem  
soul-searching. This  
ks publishes an  
essays by leading  
the title What Went

Wrong? Explaining the Fall of the Labour  
Government.

**ROY ALEXANDER** casts a critical eye on  
these musings and assesses their importance for  
charting the future course of the Labour  
movement.

## What the Labour government did for you

WHEN Jim Callaghan and the rest of the Labour right  
blame last winter's strikes for bringing down the 1974-79  
government, it's worth mentioning what their policies  
meant for the bosses' pockets and ours.

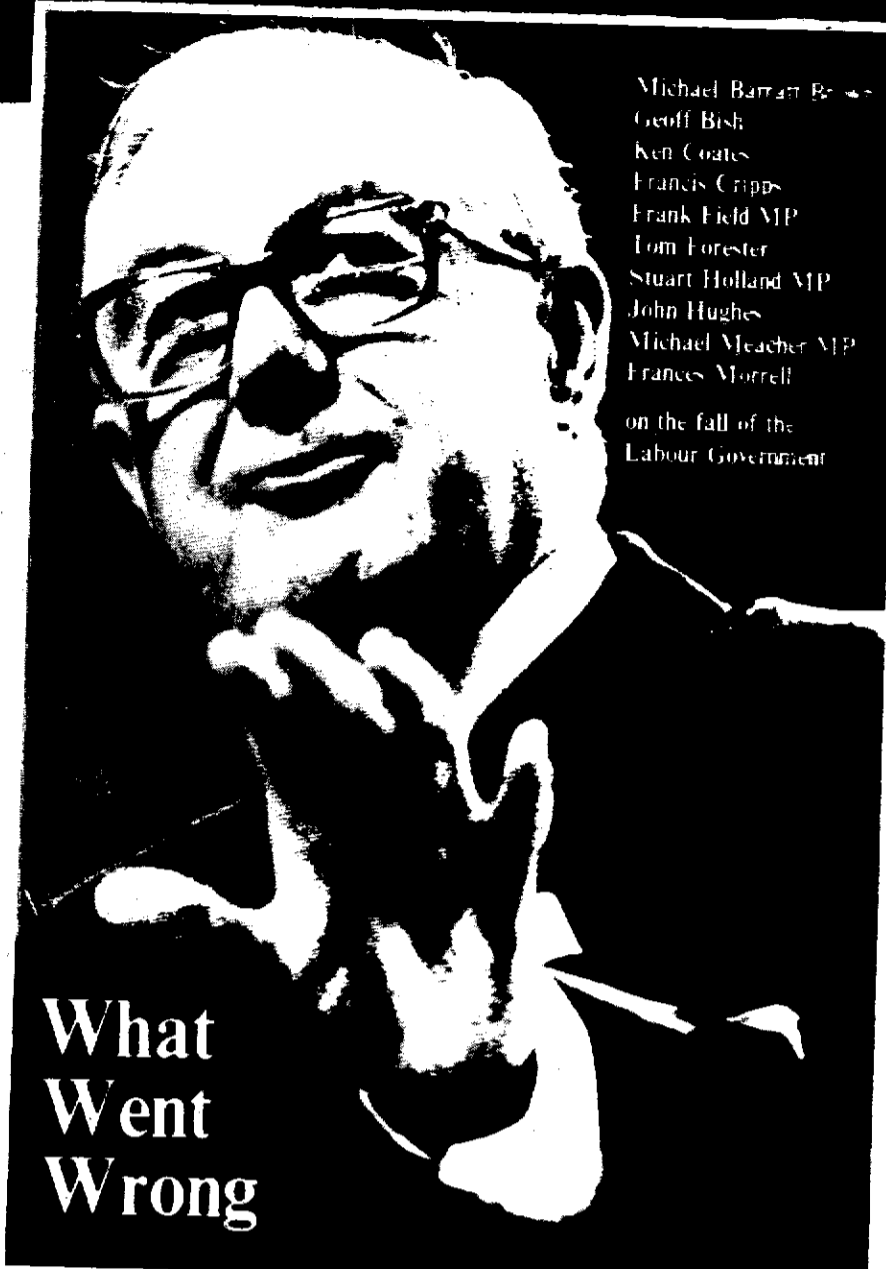
Corporate profits, which had collapsed to only 9.3  
per cent of total national income in the depths of the  
crisis in 1975, were rebuilt to the pre-crisis figure of 13.2  
per cent by 1978.

Meanwhile all sections of the working class had their  
living standards squeezed between rising taxes and pay  
restraint: by April 1977 the real disposable income [that  
is, income after deductions, in terms of real buying  
power] of the average male manual worker was 5 per cent  
less than three years previously.

With unemployment soaring as a result of the crisis  
and Labour's restrictive economic policies, the number  
of those in poverty rose fourfold, with over 1.6 million  
families living on no more than 1.4 times the paltry  
supplementary benefit level by 1976.

After a slight increase in public spending during the  
first two years of its existence, the Labour government  
more than reversed itself with its cuts during 1976-77 and  
continued the cutbacks until it had to hand the hatchet  
over to Thatcher.

By 1978 public capital spending [money spent on  
providing and maintaining buildings and equipment, as  
opposed to paying wages and other operating costs] was  
almost 40 per cent less than it had been in 1974.



Michael Barratt  
Geoff Bish  
Ken Coates  
Francis Cripps  
Frank Field MP  
Tom Forester  
Stuart Holland MP  
John Hughes  
Michael Meacher MP  
Frances Morrell  
on the fall of the  
Labour Government

What  
Went  
Wrong



Labour's legacy — workers sleeping rough in the daily queue for casual hotel jobs in London.

international division of labour.  
These objections are acknow-  
ledged in Stuart Holland's contribu-  
tion to the book. While still trying to  
find a limited role for import  
controls, he makes the point that 'The  
real safeguard in international trade  
for the British economy depends on  
the central question of whether or not  
we harness the economic power of  
giant enterprise — across the broad  
range of its activity — to social needs  
and social ends.'

Holland advocates the far more  
correct idea of 'planning of foreign  
trade'. But if this is not to be just a  
conscience-saving cover for protec-  
tionism, we must ask: planning by  
whom?

The planning of international  
economic problems should be the job  
of the international labour move-  
ment. The crucial policy decisions  
about the European division of  
labour, the location of European  
industry and the equalisation of  
economic and social benefits within  
the European economy should be the

subject of deliberation and co-ordi-  
nated action by the entire European  
labour movement.  
And this would be a two-way  
street. For if Britain has its industrial  
problems, the continent suffers from  
the backwardness of its peasant-based  
agriculture.

The British labour movement  
should have something more to offer  
on this question than grumbling  
about the price of butter and cursing  
the French farmers, who are as much  
victims of monopoly capital as we are.

### Urgency

True, the major European  
countries suffer from politically  
divided labour movements, but the  
prestige of the British TUC and the  
urgency of the problems to be tackled  
could go a long way to overcome that.

We may want to get out of the  
EEC, but we should also be seeking  
the greater unity of European  
workers: the creation of a real Euro-  
pean TUC and Europe-wide combine

and industrial committees.  
Even Stalin had the decency to  
wait for the imperialists to isolate  
Russia before proclaiming 'socialism  
in one country': it is a commentary on  
the political poverty of the Labour  
left that they start from that  
perspective.

This lack of radicalism in political  
thinking reflects itself more widely in  
the approach of the left to economic  
policy. Their complex scheme of the  
NEB, public shareholdings, public  
and trade union directors, planning  
agreements, tighter corporate tax,  
and price controls would all be  
unnecessary if the principal blocs of  
capital — financial and industrial —  
were simply nationalised under  
workers control.

Then proper socialist planning  
could begin. Far from being the  
bureaucratic nightmare that the  
Tories portray, it would be far simpler  
than even their brand of capitalism.

By bringing all important  
economic decisions under a single  
structure it would be able to regulate

prices, determine the distribution of  
incomes, and allocate funds to social  
expenditure in a manner which, by  
virtue of its simplicity, would be open  
to genuine democratic scrutiny and  
control.

The lefts' tortuous elaboration of  
controls and restrictions which stop  
short of the actual expropriation of  
capital seems to be an attempt to find  
a way of decisively eroding the power  
of capital without actually upsetting  
anyone.

But they themselves document the  
bitter resistance of the capitalist-  
controlled press and capitalist  
influenced Whitehall bureaucracy to  
even the mild measures discussed in  
the early days of the Wilson  
government.

### Control

They also ignore an important  
point: the ultimate root of the power  
of capital lies not in its propaganda  
and conspiratorial skills, but in the  
fact that it organises production and  
controls the economy. Any challenge  
to the power of capital thus results in  
economic disruption which provides  
the fuel for the press smears and the  
Whitehall manoeuvres. The tactics of  
capital in Chile under Allende show  
that clearly.

The only effective counterweight  
to the real social power of capital is  
the ability of the working class,  
through its organisations and by  
virtue of its role in the productive  
process, to take control out of the  
capitalists' hands.

The lefts would do well to reflect  
on the dictum of one of their mentors,  
R H Tawney: 'You can peel an onion  
layer by layer but you can't skin a  
tiger paw by paw.'

The failure of the labour  
movement to grasp the significance of  
workers control is documented by  
Ken Coates, who makes the point that  
the death sentence was pronounced  
on 'industrial democracy' once the  
original TUC proposals began to be  
scaled down:

'...It was difficult to see why any  
self-respecting shop steward should  
wish to embroil himself (sic) in such a  
stew of compromise and equivoca-  
tion. Rank-and-file enthusiasm,  
diminished by each successive  
devaluation of the original project,

was already moving towards and  
quite some time before the Queen  
pronounced a promise of legislation  
that was never to come.'

Such will be the fate of all  
high-flown schemes (and this applies  
to those of revolutionaries as well as  
those of the Labour left) which fail to  
make the connection with the pressing  
practical problems and day-to-day  
struggles of the working class.

The failure of the lefts to embrace  
the trade union leaders elsewhere in  
*What Went Wrong?* is the TUC's  
crucial role in the Labour  
government's self-out discussion  
reinforces the impression of many  
militants that their ideas are another  
case of an overdose of rhetoric  
covering up for an insufficiency of  
action.

Discussion of policies and  
structures in the abstract cannot  
substitute for the creation of a  
fighting, committed leadership for  
the labour movement as a whole,  
capable of waging the defensive  
struggles of today in order to go onto  
the offensive against capital.

### Action

But at the same time we must  
recognise that the fight for  
democratic restructuring of the  
Labour Party and the discussion over  
the programme of the next Labour  
government is an important one for  
the building of such a leadership.  
Without adequate answers on the big  
questions of the economy and  
politics, what we have to say about the  
day-to-day struggles will be over-  
shadowed by the propaganda of the  
Tories and Labour right.

It is on this basis that a meeting  
ground between revolutionaries and  
the Labour left is emerging: a  
common ground of discussion as to  
where we should be going and a  
common ground of action which will  
determine whether we are able to go  
anywhere at all.

It is only on the basis of such  
common action that our differences  
can be tested out and start to take on  
real meaning for the mass of the  
labour movement rank-and-file.

\**What Went Wrong?*, published  
by Spokesman Books at £2.95.  
Available from The Other Bookshop,  
328 Upper St, London N1 Add 10% if  
ordering by mail.

Photo: REPORT

# Conference debate on Ireland 1979's guaranteed non-event

IRELAND did not play an insignificant role in Labour's election defeat last Spring. It was the failure of two Irish MPs, Independent Republican Frank Maguire and Social Democratic Labour Party Gerry Fitt, to vote with Labour on the crucial no confidence motion that brought down the government.

Yet despite this, and despite a continuous campaign to 'make Ireland an issue' during the election itself, the late Labour government stubbornly refused to discuss its policy in relation to the six counties.

The Labour Party has not undertaken a thoroughgoing discussion of Ireland for tens of years, while the last time that Labour made it a campaigning issue was in 1921.

Thus it is not surprising that there is no plan by Labour's leaders, either left or right, to make it a subject of debate at the Labour Party conference next week.

## Agenda

There are members of the Labour Party who think it is time that Ireland is discussed and several motions have gone forward to the conference. They are unlikely to get much time on the agenda — they are even less likely to get passed.

Hemel Hempstead CLP's motion calls for an orderly withdrawal of British troops and British involvement. They have produced a pamphlet to explain their positions, which we will review next week.

Edinburgh Central CLP have put forward an amendment to the Hemel motion calling for the immediate withdrawal of the troops.

In all probability neither motion or amendment will get properly discussed, and in the absence of a real discussion inside the Labour party for fifty or so years they are unlikely to get passed.

This is the importance of a motion from Hackney Labour Party, Ernie Roberts' constituency. It calls for a special conference of



the Labour Party within 12 months to discuss Britain's role in Ireland.

Such a conference would allow a real discussion about Ireland to open up in the Labour Party — Labour's record on Ireland would be brought under the scrutiny of party members. Perhaps Benn and friends, so noticeably silent on the issue, would be forced to reveal where they stand.

But even this motion is unlikely to be

carried. We are not yet in a position where the mass of Labour Party members are burning to discuss the issue.

Those who are, which to the shame of the Labour Party includes a large number of Liberals will be meeting in London on 1 March next year.

A forum on that date, organised by the Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland (which called the 12 August

demonstration), looks set to become the biggest discussion on Ireland for many years, with delegates from political and labour movement organisations.

It's about time Labour started discussing Ireland, but we won't wait for them if they refuse. The biggest possible attendance in March will step up pressure on the Labour leaders to begin discussion themselves.

## Why the Liberals will discuss Ireland this year

THE LIBERAL Party Assembly this week will be according major debating time to the question of Ireland.

The Tories won't be discussing it at their conference, although they decide whether to keep the British troops in Ireland.

And the Labour Party won't make it a major discussion, to the shame of the labour movement.

Why are the Liberals discussing it now? Jude Woodward talked to STEVEN DAWE, Young Liberals representative on the Committee for Withdrawal from Ireland, to see how he explained the Liberal's interest in the issue.

Can you explain why the Liberal Party is discussing the question of Ireland at its conference, when the other major parties are not?

I think this is to do with the traditional attitude in the Liberal Party about civil liberties. The Bennett Report and the Amnesty International investigations have made it clear that civil liberties are at risk in Ireland.

Then there's also sympathy with the kind of things that John Pardoe is fond of saying about Ireland — that a solution in Ireland requires some sort of republican initiative.

In addition the Liberal Party — unlike the others — is not convinced of the virtues of emergency legislation.

And finally there's the fact that it's now been going on for ten years — it's a kind of psychological moment when people have to admit to themselves that it is an emergency.

I understand you have recently been on a fact finding mission to Ireland. Perhaps you'd explain what the delegation was and what you learnt from it?

There have in fact been two delegations — an official Liberal



12 August demonstration in London — Young Liberals played a leading role

Party delegation which the Young Liberals were not invited to take part in. And there's been a Young Liberal delegation, the one I was on, which seems to have seen a rather broader range of people.

The overwhelming impression we got from the people we interviewed was for the need for immediate political initiatives.

The SDLP for instance could not really see any future in the kind of British policy that's being pursued at the moment. They saw no future for themselves, they saw no pressure being put on the Unionists to come to terms with them or with anything else.

We also got a strong impression of the daily life — how people live and adjust under the situation.

The reaction to the British army is antagonism on all sides. Nobody believes that the army is playing a peace keeping role, no one is naive enough to believe that — not even on the Unionist side.

Could you briefly describe the motion

that is going to the Liberal Party Assembly this week?

The main motion calls for the setting up of an advisory council on a voluntary basis. To this there are three amendments.

The first calls for the reunification of Ireland within the European Economic Community. The second suggests that the British troops could be replaced by a UN peace-keeping force — this amendment is likely to be divided up so that people can vote for removal rather than replacement.

There's also a third amendment calling for the removal of the Emergency Provisions Act.

Is there no specific amendment simply calling for the withdrawal of British troops?

An amendment of this type was sent in but interest in the idea of sending in UN troops, produced this composited amendment.

Why do people think that UN troops would be any different to British troops?

The present police force, the RUC, in the North of Ireland is totally unacceptable to the minority population. At the same time the UDR is also unacceptable.

If you are a politician you believe that law and order must continue in some form. Therefore, in order to satisfy this demand, and to get rid of or change the existing organisations, you must have something to put in its place.

Therefore the sending in of UN troops is seen as something more acceptable than either keeping in the British troops or of taking them out and strengthening the UDR or RUC. But it would be a stopgap measure.

But aren't these exactly the arguments used for the British troops being there — protecting the Catholic population, preventing a bloodbath, stopping the RUC and UDR going berserk? What is it that's different about the UN troops?

I am a little sceptical about the use of troops in the situation. However I remain open minded on what would happen if it was done. I don't necessarily think that it would be totally unacceptable to many people in that situation.

It would depend on the context. If it was done as a means of creating some new status quo in order that the British government got out of having to do anything about Ireland for ten, twenty years, then it's a quite useless idea.

If it was in the context of regional aid from the EEC perhaps some sort of confederal idea, along the Garrett Fitzgerald, Fine Gael, lines then perhaps one would be talking about something more acceptable to the different parties in the situation.

## Dundee against the UDR

DUNDEE UTOM is organising a protest demonstration against the training of the Ulster Defence Regiment at Barry Buddon army camp, six miles from Dundee. The proposed date for the demo, which is supported by the other Scottish UTOM branches, is 13 October provided police permission is obtained.

There has been a storm of protest in the Scottish press over the decision to bring the Irish war to Scotland via the UDR.

It is hoped to hold a public meeting in Dundee, with guest speaker Mary Nellis, the founder of Derry Relatives Action Committee. Mrs. Nellis has been invited to Scotland in October by Edinburgh UTOM as part of a week of action and education on the situation in the North of Ireland.

For details contact UTOM, c/o 1st May Bookshop, 45 Niddry St, Edinburgh.



A new pamphlet by Geoff Bell with cartoons by Cormac, which analyses the costs of bipartisanship over the last ten years. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Cost 40p plus 10p post. Bulk rates on request.

By Gerry Foley

THE FORCES of the Khomeini-Bazargan government completed their occupation of the towns in the Kurdish areas of Iran on 6 September. The last major town entered by the army was Sar Dasht on the border with Iraq. On 3 September, central government forces occupied Mahabad, a town of about 100,000 inhabitants and the main political centre of the Kurdish area.

In every case, the Kurdish forces left the towns before the arrival of government troops. The towns are generally located in valleys, and are defenceless against the air, artillery, and armoured forces of the army built by the Shah and the US imperialists. The Kurdish guerrillas reportedly made their withdrawal in good order and with their morale intact.

The real battle for the Kurdish areas seems to be just beginning. It is the fight for control of the villages in which the overwhelming majority of the people live, and in which the basic economic activity of the area, agriculture, is centred.

### Disarm

The villages are also the focuses of the agrarian revolution, which the Khomeini-Bazargan government's offensive was designed to roll back. In order to accomplish this objective, the government forces must disarm the peasants and force them to give up the land they have taken.

The peasants seem determined to fight. For example, in the Saqqez area, the government offered an amnesty to all those who turned in their weapons. But according to the official Iranian news agency, a spokesman of the Imam's Committee Guards in the area admitted that in five days only six guns had been handed over, while most Kurdish males are armed, even young boys.

The government occupation of the towns will have the effect of politically isolating the Kurdish fighters, since these were centres of communication with the outside world, as well as of open political activity.

However, the Iranian regime is extremely

# Stop campaign against Kurdish people!



vulnerable to pressure with regard to its repression in the Kurdish areas.

Reports are circulating that in the city of Rasht, one of the largest centres in northern

Iran, whole units of the army have refused to go to fight in the Kurdish areas, and that there are celebrations in the barracks every time that another unit refuses to go.

Although the crackdown has limited the flow of information and the expression of opposition to the war in the Persian centres, it is clear that it is increasingly unpopular. International publicity and support for the Kurds can aid the development of this anti-war sentiment throughout Iran and help stop the government's campaign against the Kurdish people.

SOLIDARITY with the Kurdish struggle is being organised by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Iran, which has also taken up the case of the 14 jailed Trotskyists in Iran, twelve of whom face execution (the other two have been sentenced to life imprisonment).

The committee is organising a teach-in and demonstration in November, and sponsorship for the former has already been won from the National Union of Students. In Liverpool a local branch of the committee has been set up after a successful public meeting sponsored by the trades council and port shop stewards committee.

Further telegrams demanding the release of the 14 Trotskyists of the HKS (Socialist Workers Party) have been sent by NUS, Liverpool SOGAT, Liverpool NALGO, and Hackney North Labour Party. A large number of delegates at the TUC also signed a petition calling 'for the immediate withdrawal of the death sentence against these socialists and the dropping of the charges placed against them'.

Among them were 10 from the Boilermakers Society, 10 from the National Graphical Association, three from the print union SLADE, five from the Civil Service Union, 23 from the Civil & Public Services Association, nine from the print union NATSOPA, three from the Association of Broadcasting Staff, one from the Agricultural Workers, eight from the National Union of Journalists, 12 from the National Union of Tailors & Garment Workers, 16 from the Engineering Workers, 12 from the Society of Civil and Public Servants, and 15 from the National and Local Government Officers Association.

## Nicaragua. 'we want a great worker-peasant alliance'

THE following interview with LEO YBERTA, a Sandinista trade union organiser in the Nicaraguan city of Masaya, was recently obtained by Ron Poulsen of the Australian Trotskyist weekly Direct Action.

How did the Sandinistas set about rebuilding the trade union movement in Masaya?

The first step we took was to call an organising meeting for the Sandinista Workers Centre. We invited all the Masaya workers, and all the trade unions, carpenters, craftworkers, bus-drivers, taxi-drivers, turned up.

We explained the objectives of the centre to them, the aims of the Sandinista Front, and the importance of organising the workers and peasants.

Then immediately afterwards we opened this office and all the trade unions in Masaya came to register. There were the telephone workers, bank workers, drivers, the workers from the Sandinista electrical station, the factory workers, the teachers, and the hospital workers union.

We meet here once a week with the representatives of the various trade unions to hold discussions and give them the technical know-how so they can act on their own behalf. As well, every fortnight we hold separate meetings with each union and talk about social and political matters, or whatever they bring up.

Our aim is to make the unions schools in which everything is taught, from the history of Nicaragua to the reasons for the Sandinistas' struggle. We want to educate unionists politically so that they can come to understand all the social problems we have to confront, to integrate them into the work of national reconstruction.

What kind of work is the Sandinista centre carrying out among the peasants?

The peasants are not formally



The Sandinista Workers Centre in Masaya.

members of the Sandinista centre. They belong to the Association of Farm Workers, and this organisation is affiliated to the centre, so in practice it's much the same.

The Association of Farm Workers existed before we overthrew the dictatorship and played a big role in the struggle against Somoza, organising the peasants and informing them of everything that happened.

Since the fall of the dictatorship the AFW has developed enormously, and has set to work teaching new techniques to the peasants. But aid to the peasantry mustn't be paternalistic. The peasants must obtain it by organising on their own behalf and preparing to defend their conquests themselves. This shows the importance of the work of raising consciousness, of social and political education.

The AFW exists because we want to bring about a great worker-peasant alliance, because we consider that the worker-peasant alliance will be the motive force of our revolution.

What perspectives does the Sandinista centre have for the future?

The Sandinista centre is intended to give the workers the revolutionary power to confront the task we have undertaken. It is directed solely by Sandinista comrades and, together with the AFW, can be seen as the base for creating the 'Sandinista party'. Here we see the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, since the party will be a party of workers and peasants.

The party must play a leading role in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, and we want everyone to understand that reconstruction doesn't simply involve reconstructing the buildings which have been destroyed.

We want to change the Nicaraguan mentality, raise it to a mentality of brotherhood (sic), a more communist mentality, so that we can be more comradely with our neighbours, so that a new person can be formed. This is what the reconstruction of our country is all about.

## TUC admits CIA links

By Don Thomson

THE TUC has for the first time formally acknowledged that its affiliated Latin America regional wing, the Pan American Organisation of Workers (ORIT), has been receiving lavish cash payments from another US-controlled organisation, the American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD).

AIFLD is part-funded by US multinational companies. Its boss is multi-millionaire Peter Grace, who owns numerous Latin American companies. AIFLD has been widely condemned as a CIA vehicle by Latin America worker and peasant organisations. Both AIFLD and ORIT played a vital part in the coup that overthrew Allende's government in Chile in 1973.

### Revelations

This admission about the cash connection between the two is contained in the TUC general council's recent report to the congress. It follows revelations about both ORIT and AIFLD contained in the War on Want report *Where Were You, Brother?*

ORIT, created by CIA agent Serafino Romualdi in the late 1940s, currently claims about fifty affiliates. In fact nearly all are government-controlled 'yellow' unions. The TUC's connection with ORIT, however, has made it impossible for the British trade union movement to link up with the real worker and peasant movements.

Furthermore, the TUC is about the most powerful and conservative influence inside the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). This has made it difficult for the ICFTU to drop ORIT as its official regional wing.

### Breach

The TUC confession may change this situation and thus help to release British and European labour from the CIA in Latin America. ORIT's receipt of these hidden cash payments automatically means that it is in breach of ICFTU rulings. The ICFTU — meeting for its world congress in

### Where were you, brother?

An account of Trade Union imperialism

by Don Thomson and Rodney Larson

A War on Want publication £1.20



Available from The Other Bookshop [328 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ] and other left bookshops at £1.20 plus 20p p&p.

Madrid this November — there has the opportunity to cut free at long last from ORIT.

### Initiative

There are already signs that European labour is preparing for new initiatives in Latin America as a reaction against unprecedented repression of trade unionists. This is likely to include the dropping of the ICFTU's government-run affiliate in Guatemala in favour of connections with the real worker and peasant organisations, many of whose leaders have been killed by government goon squads.

Whether or not this programme of dumping 'yellow' union affiliates — and finally ORIT itself — can be speeded up will depend crucially on the part played by the TUC.

In post-war years the TUC has generally followed US overseas labour policy. The TUC's role at the ICFTU congress, when ORIT will be discussed, will reveal the extent to which Congress House has fallen into Uncle Sam's pocket and therefore into the hands of the bosses.

# Kampuchea—how it happened

JOHN PILGER'S recent reports from Kampuchea have revealed a nation reduced to a vast charnel-house. A staggering two million people have died in the 1970s — the bulk of them after the overthrow of Lon Nol by the Khmer Rouge guerrillas in 1975.

The reaction of socialists throughout the world to the uncovering of Nazi-style extermination camps and the like has been one of horror and revulsion. How did it happen? Below CLIVE TURNBULL offers an explanation. We invite further contributions to this discussion.

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FROM 1970 a saturation bombing campaign was secretly begun by Nixon and Kissinger. The effect on Kampuchea was equivalent to five Hiroshimas. The rain of destruction outdid even the carnage of the First World War. The population of the capital, Phnom Penh, soared as hundreds of thousands of peasants fled from the countryside for their lives.

Out of this baptism of fire the Khmer Rouge emerged to lead the struggle to overthrow Lon Nol. So dependent was this puppet regime on US aid that the Khmer Rouge forces were able to bring its tottering structures crashing down despite their own lack of mass support.

## Shrine

Pilger describes Phnom Penh after the Khmer Rouge marched in: 'It is a Luddites' shrine, a cemetery of machines: cars, ambulances, fire engines, typewriters, generators, television sets. There is a separate pile of burned telephones; all modern communications, including post, were "illegal"... Some two and a half million people were ordered out of the city at gunpoint on that April day, and most of them are said to be 'missing'.

Measures such as these defy any capitalist rationale. No Hitler, coming to power as a last resort of the capitalist class, obliterates the capitalists and their property. The Khmer Rouge leadership didn't change places with Lon Nol and proceed to enrich themselves from the old sources of profits, plunder and graft. On the contrary, they destroyed the old regime lock, stock and barrel.

The entire machinery of Lon Nol's government was smashed — the army, police and civil service. All property was nationalised — not just the factories, banks and land, but even the smallest items of personal property. Money was abolished, and a monopoly of foreign trade established [a formality, as foreign trade actually ceased]. All resources were centralised by the state and directed towards agricultural production.

## Mao

Most socialists were agreed that in Vietnam such measures signified the overturn of capitalist rule, politically and economically. In its place a workers state was established, although one in which the Vietnamese Communist Party kept a bureaucratic monopoly of power. This consideration must



'Nazi-style extermination camps have caused socialists to react in horror' be set against the extreme brutality of the Pol Pot regime.

The Khmer Rouge leaders modelled themselves on Mao Tse-tung and the victory of the Chinese CP. Like Mao, they concentrated on building a peasant army which would win the countryside and then take the cities.

Kampuchea's backwardness determined for them the primitive agricultural base from which reconstruction would have to begin. At the same time they were faced with the problem of how to feed the swollen population of the cities — urban centres which they saw as corrupt nests for counter-revolutionary activity.

The methods they adopted came naturally from their training in the Stalinist school:

forced evacuation of the cities and regimentation of the masses into work brigades. Stalin had carried through forced collectivisation of the land in the 1930s and '40s in just the same way, with 'liquidation of the middle peasants as a class' and the transportation of whole peoples like the Crimean Tartars from their homelands.

Nor is it a matter simply of the historical example of Stalinism. The bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking today bear their share of responsibility for what happened in Kampuchea after 1975. They had the resources to feed and support the population. No such aid was given.

Today, however, the most burning issue is not whether Pol Pot was a Stalin or a Hitler — it is the fact, as John Pilger testifies, that the people of Kampuchea face extinction.

'Today the process begun by Kissinger is nearing completion... "We have six months to save three million people, the majority of the population, from starvation and related diseases", said Jacques Beaumont [a UN official]. "Eighty-five per cent of the women have stopped menstruating, because they are malnourished and exhausted and, like everybody, they have not recovered from the trauma of the terror".'

A massive labour movement campaign for aid to the Kampuchean people is vital.

THE CREATION of a new political party, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), was announced on 1 September at a dissident rally attended by 3,000 people in Warsaw.

This is a major development: for the first time an opposition group has taken up the problem of power. Previous efforts were defined in terms of 'democratisation', which often ended up in pushing for initiatives from the bureaucracy.

The KPN, on the other hand, is saying in effect: no democratisation without overthrowing the bureaucracy. Spokesperson LESZEK MOCZULSKI spoke to a correspondent for the French Trotskyist paper Rouge on the telephone.

Why have you announced a new party?

The existence of political parties which act openly is the only means of reconstituting and institutionalising political life in Poland. An atomised society is impotent against well organised power. The latter can always mislead, silence and destroy it. The role of a political party is to prevent that.

But the Social Self-defence Committee (KSS/KOR) and the Movement to Defend Human and Citizen's

## New party formed in Poland

Rights (ROPCIO), although not formally 'political parties', were in effect playing that role. What is new about your initiative?

The KSS/KOR and ROPCIO act of course as political forces. However, at the same time they stress their 'non-political' character, and the fact that their aims are primarily humanitarian — to struggle against the repression, for human rights, for the practical application of legislative texts recognised by the authorities.

Both have declared that their aim is not to take power. But a political party is something very different. It must on the contrary seek to achieve power in order to transform reality in line with its programme.

What are the aims of the KPN?

They are put forward in a 10-point ideological declaration. The most important says: 'The opportunity to create a new, third Polish republic, independent and democratic, must not be wasted. The only road to this aim is the ending of Soviet domination through the liquidation of the power of the Polish Unified

Workers Party [Polish Communist Party].'

In other words, we want to construct a political system which excludes the exercise of power by a single party, whatever its character. The same goes for the hegemony of an exterior factor.

The question of the ownership of the means of production has always been considered an essential element in determining the character of a party. What is your programme in this regard?

Our party is heterogeneous, hence the name 'confederation'. The first point in our statutes declares: 'The KPN is a party incorporating groups which are both politically and ideologically autonomous, including also those which in the course of their development will take the decision to transform themselves into independent political parties.'

Certain groups which are part of the KPN, above all the Entente Movement of Polish Socialists — which is based mainly among the workers in Nowa Huta [an immense steelworks in the Cracow suburbs],

Katowice, Lublin, and more recently Lodz — think that it's necessary to build a real socialist system. This would include not only a thoroughgoing socialisation of the means of production, but also a system of workers' self-management, or rather the government of the associated producers over the means of production.

Other groups, however, who see state control of the economy as leading straight to totalitarianism, envisage a large area of private initiative.

I myself start from the facts: today the Polish economy — apart from agriculture — is state owned. Even if one wanted to return it to private hands, there are no proprietors to whom it could be returned. There are no social forces, no capital to create a significant capitalist sector alongside the huge state-owned sector, which one certainly wouldn't want to denationalise.

How has your initiative been received?

The authorities wanted to prevent us from proclaiming our party. More

than 40 people were arrested, including those who were going to announce our existence. But we had foreseen the need for replacement teams, and we were able to go ahead in five centres in Poland.

We're not afraid of this repression: far from weakening us, it strengthens the determination of our militants to struggle. At the same time, however, they are trying to mount a slander campaign against our activities. Rumours that we are provocateurs trying to establish a pretext for Soviet intervention have been started by Pax a Catholic organisation founded by a former fascist leader in 1947 which supports the government.

A second example, more serious because it comes from opposition circles whom we respect, is to treat us as parasites who want to take credit for actions led by others. That's ridiculous. We willingly acknowledge the contribution of other movements, and all we want is to be able to carry out our own actions.

The opposition too often wastes its energy in useless quarrels. We're for polemics on policy, on programme — and we hope that other programmes will be set against ours — but not on the basis of corridor gossip!

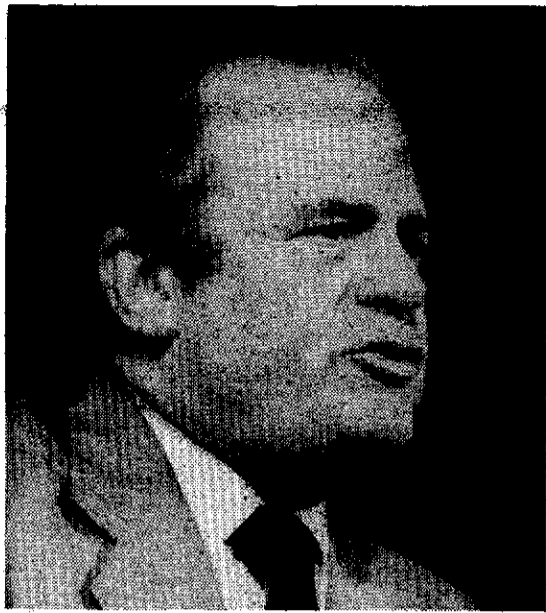
# 'We will impose sanctions' says TGWU

BRITAIN'S largest union is pledged to impose sanctions against the Rhodesian regime if the Tory government unilaterally decides to lift them. Ron Todd, national officer of the Transport and General Workers Union, last week warned the government that 'we will impose sanctions'.

Todd was addressing a rally of 1500 at Central Hall Westminster on 19 September, which also heard Patriotic Front speakers. 'We will not tolerate a sell-out in Zimbabwe,' Todd said.

He referred to the resolution passed at the TGWU's biennial delegate conference earlier this year, condemning apartheid and minority rule in southern Africa and pledging solidarity with the liberation movements in the region. He declared the union's support for the Zimbabwe Emergency Campaign Committee [ZECC], which had organised the rally.

Todd's commitment to implement sanctions was made in reference to the 'Statement of Intent' being circulated by ZECC. The idea is to get signatures pledging 'to continue to do all in our power to implement



Ron Todd — pledged to impose sanctions

sanctions in the event' of the government lifting them.

However, Todd went one better by insisting on direct trade union action to impose sanctions. In this he was echoing floor speakers in the 'campaign forum' at the Zimbabwe Teach-in on 15 September. Activists from the Zimbabwe Information Group, International Marxist Group, 'Big Flame' and Socialist Workers Party stressed the need to approach trade union bodies and shop stewards' committees for an undertaking of action on sanctions.

## Dangers

An IMG speaker pointed out that the government would probably not try to lift the Sanctions Order when it came up for renewal in November. But this did not diminish the importance of a campaign around the Statement of Intent. It was essential to establish the principle of working class action. The statement could be the focus for a nationwide campaign to explain to the trade union movement the dangers of current Tory manoeuvres over Zimbabwe.

The theme of mass action was set by ZECC secretary Simon Hebditch. Campaigning in the unions, Hebditch said, was not reducible to the paper support of a handful of leaders. Rank and file involvement was the key to successful solidarity.

Hebditch, a member of the Steering Committee of the Anti Nazi League, argued the strong connection between solidarity with Zimbabwe and domestic anti-racist struggles. Local ZECC groups should approach anti-racist committees and ANLs for joint action on Zimbabwe.

Hebditch recalled the success of the ANL in reaching the previously uncommitted, especially among young people. Similarly ZECC should have a strong youth orientation.

\* The Statement of Intent is a weapon! Campaigning on it must start now to help build the 11 November national demonstration on Zimbabwe. Socialist Challenge groups and supporters should get copies from ZECC, c/o AAM, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ. The weeks before the November sanctions debate in Parliament are a golden opportunity to approach local trade unionists to pledge their commitment to action on Zimbabwe.

# Bishop bows off historical stage

By Richard Carver

THE London Zimbabwe conference seems likely to end in predictable deadlock. But before that happens it will have given some indication of the shifting political forces in the country.

Most importantly the British government has won important concessions from the Patriotic Front and the Salisbury delegation on essential points of their constitutional proposals.

But even if there were unanimity on a constitution — which is most unlikely — the conference would still not have discharged its most decisive task. That is to determine who will supervise the transition of power — and how.

This is the result of a considerable tactical victory by the Patriotic Front in the first week of the conference. Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington reiterated the British government's belief that the conference's only task was to formulate a constitution. Thereby the Tories hoped to gain a paper agreement — or walk-out — which would license them to carry out the real settlement behind the scenes.

## Control

Carrington was surprised to find the Patriotic Front lying in wait with its own agenda, on which the crucial point was the transition and control of the state apparatus. Muzorewa had nothing to say but to support Carrington. His team's disintegration began when prominent delegation members — including Ian Smith — supported the Patriotic Front's procedure!

By getting its agenda accepted the Front has at least cut off the British government's first line of manoeuvre. Even when it came to the constitutional discussion, which the Nkomo-Mugabe delegation maintained was of secondary importance, it still held the initiative. Both the other delegations were taken aback at the appearance of a set of coherent Patriotic Front constitutional proposals, while Muzorewa could offer nothing better than the tattered and discredited 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia' constitution as his submission.

## Feeble

By this point the near collapse of the Rhodesian delegation was an open secret. Muzorewa's already feeble authority was so diminished that he was on the point of returning to Salisbury. Matters were only salvaged by the decision to come to an agreement with the British.

But Muzorewa has not abandoned white safeguards. The relevant clause in the British proposals still guarantees white representation through a separate electoral roll.

At first the Patriotic Front was scathing about this agreement. Its spokesperson, Eddison Zvobgo, said



Ian Smith has withdrawn to the shadows. But will the Tories ditch Muzorewa?

they might consider it if the government introduced parliamentary representation for racial minorities in Britain!

If the Muzorewa delegation imagines that this concession will be enough to win a lifting of sanctions it is likely to be disappointed. The Tory leaders remain committed to a settlement which will favour British interests in Zimbabwe — that is one in which the war is ended and a stable pro-Western regime installed.

Yet the Front has now made such a solution more likely by its subsequent decision to accommodate to the British and the racist regime on the question of white seats. Its stated readiness to build a 'new' Zimbabwe army in partnership with the present white security forces represents precisely the sort of solution Britain is seeking.

The Patriotic Front's call for United Nations troops to play a part in policing new elections would represent a dangerous sacrifice of the political independence of the Zimbabwean people.

In its statement before the conference the Front insisted that by its acquiescence in the racist regime Britain had forfeited its 'right' to decolonise Zimbabwe. However, the threats posed by imperialism have proved even more potent than it had reckoned. It is this continued British interference in Zimbabwe's affairs

which drives sections of the liberation movement to seek such dangerous solutions.

The Patriotic Front may well be making concessions in the expectation that they cannot be met — but in doing so they are playing with fire.

The distance between the parties remains too wide for the British government to achieve its desired solution at Lancaster House. But the present conference is dangerous because it could mark some progress towards the British goal of a Zimbabwe where elements from the white settler state and the liberation movements coexist in a new exploitative combination.

## Threat

The important solidarity demonstration on 11 November is therefore unlikely to take place under the shadow of lifting sanctions. More probable are behind-the-scenes Tory manoeuvres in pursuit of its sort of settlement. Such a threat makes solidarity more not less important.

We should not be deceived if the Tories ditch Muzorewa in their search for a deal any more than we were deceived when Ian Smith withdrew to the shadows. If Lancaster House has made one thing certain it is that the Bishop, never capitalism's most convincing defender, is near the end of his given historical role.

# Astrid Proll freed

By Valerie Coultas

ASTRID Proll is no longer in prison. On Wednesday of last week the judge at her trial in Frankfurt, Johanna Dierks, decided to grant her bail after the West Berlin Minister of the Interior said that the key prosecution witness could not appear because he was still on active duty 'successfully fighting against terrorists'.

Astrid Proll had been accused by the West German government of being a founding member of the Red Army Fraction and of attempting to murder a counter-intelligence officer in February 1971. But after becoming one of the first victims of the 'silent

wing' in Stammheim jail she escaped to Britain when she was briefly granted bail.

When she was picked up in Britain last year the government made it clear that in order to allow her extradition it was prepared to change the immigration laws if necessary to get over the problem of her marriage to an English citizen.

That Astrid Proll walks free today owes much to the international campaign of protest on her behalf, which was taken up particularly by the women's liberation movement in Britain and West Germany. But the trial goes on — and so does the torture of the silent wing at Stammheim.

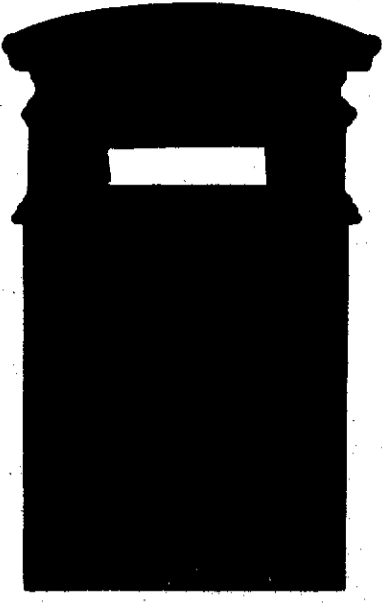
## Intercontinental Press combined with IMPRECOR

NICARAGUA is again featured extensively in the latest issue of Intercontinental Press/Imprecor [Vol 17, No 34]. As well as reports and interviews, there is a statement by a delegation from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and a review of assessments made by other left papers [including Socialist Challenge].

Also in this issue are articles on the

Havana non-aligned conference, the attitude of Cubans in the USA to the Cuban Revolution, the famine in Kampuchea, and an obituary of Marxist novelist James T. Farrell.

Individual copies cost 30p plus 10p post, but subscriptions work out much cheaper at £11 for a year (6 issues), £5 for six months (3 issues), or £3 for 3 months. Cheques PO should be made payable to Intercontinental Press, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.



## Knocking in some press freedom

HAVING just purchased a copy of Denis MacShane's book *Using the Media* I think his bland words on the subject in your paper earlier this month need some comment.

The book is certainly full of helpful and practical information, and on that score it ought to be in every activist's war chest. But MacShane considerably overrates the effectiveness of having a practical and 'professional' approach to the media.

No doubt there are sympathetic journalists dotted around the place, together with nooks, crannies, and contradictions within the media apparatus itself. All these should be exploited to the full, but let's not run away with the idea that this will change much.

MacShane acknowledges this, yet that's as far as he goes. To really deal with the media, activists need to know how to confront it, and MacShane barely touches on this.

The demand for the media to provide a right of reply has to be shouted from the skies (not to mention the picket lines), and it's about time we came to grips with the appalling trade union journals — which MacShane sweeps under the carpet.

If Denis MacShane wants to be friends with the lefts in the trade union bureaucracy, bully for him, but that won't get the working class very far.

There's too many union members — at the bottom of the tree as well as the top — who are quite happy to have a slanging match with Fleet Street without bothering to do anything about the rubbish rolled out from the unions' own presses.

Let's knock some press freedom into the lot of them!  
DENISE AARVOLD, London NW3

## A macho mobilisation?

DESPITE the overall correctness of your support for the Irish struggle, we felt it necessary to make some criticism of your coverage of the mobilisation for the Troops Out demo in London on 12 August.

The information on the NF counter-mobilisation in the 9 August issue of *Socialist Challenge* was reported in an irresponsible way. Our criticism is not that the information turned out to be incorrect; rather, we criticise the report for failing to take into account the prime function of the article — to mobilise for the demo.

While the news that the NF was mobilising from 'as far away as Manchester' may have mobilised some Troops Out supporters on a 'macho' basis, it was equally likely to intimidate some others unused to demos.

We feel that you should have made it clear that on past occasions we have been well able to defend ourselves against fascist attacks. You should have ensured that your reporting raised rather than lowered morale. *Socialist Challenge* is not

simply a newspaper but an instrument of the struggle.  
BRIGHTON Socialist Challenge Forum

## Irish peers

WHILE I applaud your taking the *Daily Star* to task for their hysterical Irish-bashing after the Mountbatten incident, I think you ought to get your facts right.

First of all, Guinness has got two 'n's and the head of this, in fact very, Irish firm is not Tory MP Jonathan Guinness (who is connected with the Guinness Mahon merchant bankers) but one Lord Iveagh.

There are lots of Guinnesses on the board of Arthur Guinness, and most of them are similarly highly anglicised Irish peers.  
CHARLES FOSTER, London N16

## Chewing up animal lib

READING issue 110 (23 August), I chanced upon that itinerant column *News from Nowhere*. After I had read the Guardian style hash made of the Rentaprop item, I was horrified to read the *Animals* one.

Naturally I would agree that the issue of party democracy is the most important one for the forthcoming Labour Party Conference, and it is to be regretted that another motion on another topic should be used to supplant it.

However I wonder if you would have thrown away the replacement topic so dismissively if it had been about gay rights or something else.

I know hardbitten revolutionaries like yourselves find it difficult to take animal issues or environmental ones seriously — you chewed up articles on Torness by myself and another comrade to become short chunks of gibberish.

However, lack of inclination is no excuse. Short paragraphs in *NfN* are no place to start or finish a serious analysis of anything.

PAUL HUBERT, Newcastle-on-Tyne

## A tactical error

AFTER the most successful world-wide propaganda action yet carried out by the Provisional IRA I find it extraordinary that the paper limited its coverage to the exposure of the shooting of the civilian at Warrenpoint — interesting though this was (6 September).

It is not the job of socialists in Britain to tell the liberation fighters how to conduct their campaign, but it is to consistently bring to the labour movement and public the need for unconditional troop withdrawal.

'The Irish Problem' has been the talking point of the nation/media for the last week and its virtual absence from *Socialist Challenge* was an important tactical error.

Otherwise may I congratulate you on keeping alive the banner of non-sectarian sanity in the left press.  
M. JONES, Co Durham

## Southampton LP hits back

I FEEL obliged to reply to your misleading report in *News from Nowhere* (23 August) concerning conference resolutions from Southampton Constituency Labour Party.

As a member of Southampton ILP, I cannot speak for Tribunites, nor for the 'Hodgson centrist grouping' (perhaps SC could tell me who these people are!), nor for comrades who were mandated by ward branches, but I can state that Southampton Labour Party has consistently and actively supported Campaign for Labour Party Democracy initiatives (indeed we were one of the original movers of the resolution some three years ago).

We completely reject the destructive and divisive tactics of the Militant in putting their own 'position' on party democracy in opposition to the CLPD initiative — tactics which have actually impeded progress on this question in the past. Certainly we were not willing to

## Stop the Barbarians!

ON Monday 1 October the South African Barbarians rugby team arrives in this country. It has already been banned from entering France and Ireland, but the Tories are more prepared to play ball with apartheid. They are hoping that the token inclusion of black and Coloured players will divert attention from the continued organisation of sport along racial lines in South Africa.

Some hope! Stop All Racist Tours (SART) are planning a hot reception for the Barbarians, to include trade union boycott action. A big public meeting is being organised on 5

October in London to focus attention on the campaign; it will be held in Central London Poly, New Cavendish Street, W1 at 7.30pm, and the main speaker will be Peter Hain of SART.

A coach will leave after the meeting, at 10.30pm, for the second tour match the following day at Camborne in Cornwall. Transport for the first match, at Exeter on 3 October, is also being organised by SART. For further details please ring SART c/o Anti-Apartheid at 01-580 5311. Readers in the South-west are particularly asked to get in contact.



mandate our delegates to vote against the interests of party democracy.

Militant and ILP members voted together to ensure the success of a conference resolution on Labour Party workplace organisation — it was unfortunate that the choice in the final ballot for the second resolution involved a motion on animal welfare and the splittist Militant position on party democracy.

In such a situation, particularly when no debate or amendment is possible, the only option as far as I'm concerned is abstention.

I suggest that *Socialist Challenge* checks its sources more carefully before repeating idle gossip, particularly when it concerns such a central issue as party democracy — worthy I would hope of more serious political comment.

CAROLYN MAXWELL, Southampton

## A rosy image of women at work

IT WAS good to read about women's fight for equality in the United States and the progress they have made [*Socialist Challenge*, 13 September]. But Ilona Gersh, the iron ore miner, seems to have some odd experiences with male workers.

She says that each time 'women have been harassed by their male co-workers it can be traced directly to the foremen's attitude towards women and their discussions with male workers.'

This view — that it is management who are the women bashers, while male workers are supportive — runs through the article, and is in complete contrast to reports of the shop-floor position in Britain.

Your article about a woman

electrician at work, for example, described horrendous behaviour and attitudes on the part of male apprentices.

On the face of it, since management is interested in only one thing — profit — it is quite possible that they would be keener to have women doing traditional men's work than male workers are, since the latter fear for their job security, status, and the rest.

Unless American male workers are programmed quite differently (and if so, how?), one is drawn to the conclusion that Ilona Gersh's rosy picture has something to do with the view that the working class is worthless.

So goodbye to women's, blacks' and gays' caucuses — the oppressed have got nothing to fight but the capitalist themselves. Wonderful!  
KEN PRICHARD, Bristol

## Opportunist logic

I WOULD like to take exception to *Socialist Challenge's* editorial on Ireland (13 September). It gave the impression that the reason we call for Troops Out Now, and not for 'a declaration of intent', is purely tactical.

The editorial argued that 'a watering down of Troops Out Now will not suddenly ensure a qualitative growth in the numbers prepared to take action on Ireland'. This is true enough.

But the key sentence comes later: 'This is not a criticism of the basis of the 12 August protest. The demand on which the march was called — that Britain declares its intent to withdraw — did allow wider discussion, wider sponsorship, and a greater variety of participating organisations.'

Although it goes on to say that the Troops Out Now demand is liable to

become more important, the article still implies that if we believed we could organise qualitatively more people on the withdrawal demand, then we would have to change our minds — a thoroughly opportunist logic by any standards.

The right of self-determination is a fundamental principle of our movement. It is not negotiable and should certainly not be conditional on the whims and manoeuvres of British imperialism. What are British promises worth anyway?

An equivocation on the Troops Out Now demand inevitably compromises the question of self-determination. We are not asking for Ireland to be left to settle its affairs when Britain decides that the time is right, but now!

In my opinion the editorial will sow confusion in our ranks as to our reasons for supporting the 12 August demo, and in our future orientation to currents such as this.

We didn't join the march in order to link arms with the Liberals, but to politically disarm them and build UTOM. We shouldn't sponsor these people or we will end up disarmed ourselves.

Two competing solidarity movements would be disastrous for UTOM and place great strains on our already fragile unity.

DAVE SHILLINGLAW, Aberdeen

## WHAT'S LEFT

LIVERPOOL Socialist Challenge group has recently obtained premises for SC centre on Merseyside. Donations towards cost of rent, rates, security, etc., gratefully received — send to Socialist Challenge (Box 64), PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

BOOKS for Southern Africa comrades — money is desperately needed for this vital field of international activity. Or send any books you can spare. Books for Southern Africa, Box 102, Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1.

POLITICAL PRINTSHOP, London, needs person for design work. Printshop experience would be useful asset. Applicants must have had some experience in design, although training would be given. Applications to: Socialist Challenge (Print), PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

'FREE ABORTION on Demand' and 'No means No' badges are again available from The Week, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. Singly 25p each, bulk 12p each. Make cheques or POs out to 'The Week'.

IMG TRADE UNION fractions: 29 Sept, CPSA; 30 Sept, NALGO; 21 Oct, health; 3 Nov, rail. For details write to Centre or phone 01-359 8371.

BATH: SOCIALIST CHALLENGE on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm - 3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.

GRAVESEND SOCIALIST CHALLENGE Group meets regularly. Details from Gravesend Tigers, Box 13, Gravesend.

WOMEN AND IRELAND organising conference for women involved in Irish solidarity work or interested in becoming involved, to coordinate and develop activities. 6 Oct, 10am, St Matthews Church Hall, Lancaster Road, London W11. Creche available. Registration: London: waged £1.50 unwaged 75p; outside London: waged £1 unwaged 50p. Cheques, enquiries to: Women and Ireland Group, c/o A Woman's Place, 48 William IV Street, London WC2.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Tendency public meeting: Anti-imperialism v war weariness: for effective solidarity with the Irish struggle. Speaker: Kate Marshall. Fri 5 Oct, 7.30pm, Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road, London. Gooch St/Warren St tubes.

RACISM Newham Anti-Nazi League public meetings. Speakers: Vishnu Sharma, IWA Southall; Scrap SUS Campaign; Tariq Ali. Wed 10 Oct, 7.30pm, East Ham Town Hall, High St South, London E6.

COMMUNITY — energetic, capable person required to join team of two at inner city Community Development Centre in Cardiff. Salary £3406. Closing date 19 Oct. Details from: Riverside Community Centre, Brunel St, Riverside, Cardiff. Tel: 0222-23310.

PUBLIC MEETING: Beyond the Fragments with Sheila Rowbotham and Lynne Segal discussing the contribution of feminism to the building of the socialist movement today. 1 Oct 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Organised by London Big Flame.

ISA conference, Sat/Sun 29 and 30 Sept, starts 10.30am Sat at YWCA, Gt Russell St, London WC1 (Tott Crd Rd tube). Sessions include 'Beyond the fragments' and 'Revolutionary Unity'. Tel 01-267 5035 (Marianne) or 020639 5141 (Jan) in advance if you're coming, to arrange accommodation and creche.

'THE SPIRAL' — the definitive film on the events which preceded the coup in Chile. Sat, 6 Oct, at 7pm, 1 Thorpe Close, London W10 (under flyover, Ladbrooke Grove). Adm £1 Followed by social. Organised by Paddington/Notting Hill IMG.

### TROOPS OUT NOW!

### POLITICAL STATUS FOR BLOCK PRISONERS!

UTOM lobby of Labour Party Conference.  
Monday 1 October, 9.00am  
Conference Centre, Brighton.

Coaches leave:  
York Way, Kings Cross 7.00am  
Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Road 7.30am.

# BOB DYLAN R.I.P.?

By Nigel Hamilton

WHEN IT was first known that Bob Dylan had found religion and got himself baptised it came as something of a shock to many people.

Once upon a time he wrote anti-establishment masterpieces like 'It's Alright Ma', 'With God on Our Side' (now there's an irony) and 'The Times They are A Changing'. Only recently he campaigned actively for the release of Hurricane Carter, a black boxer framed by the police. Now he has thrown in his lot with the Bible Belt. An obituary seems timely.

But the reality is a bit more complicated. Dylan has not

crashed from on high overnight. For a start it has to be admitted that, if you can ignore what he's saying, the music on his new LP 'Slow Train Coming' is as fresh and exciting as anything he's produced in years.

But, more importantly, Dylan is no newcomer to reactionary ideologies. Over the years he has been a consistent woman-hater, Women 'break just like a little girl' or have to 'cook, sew, make flowers grow' or 'Lay across my big brass bed'. He has played the patriarch, the bastion of the nuclear family and then fought hard against giving up any of his property in his recent divorce settlement.

He is a confirmed Zionist, reportedly giving huge sums of money to Israel. He's owned huge mansions on the richest real estate in California. It has been a long time since Bob Dylan was even remotely on our side.

What is different now is that he has openly come out with a solution to the problems his songs have previously only described. Given his position, his wealth and his individualism we could hardly expect that solution to be socialism.

## Compassion

Instead he has plumped for revivalist religion of the crudest sort. 'Either you got faith or disbelief/ain't no middle ground.' This religion lacks even compassion (never his strong point). For example, 'How long can you falsify what is real? How long can you hate yourself for the weakness that you feel?', or 'Imagine the darkness that will fall from on high/When men beg God to kill them but they won't be able to die.' His new songs have one message: We are all helpless against God with no option but to serve him [sic] or be forever damned!

He knows what he's up against as well. On 'When You Gonna Wake Up' he sings 'In order to dream you gotta still be asleep', which you might think an apt comment on the opium of the masses. But he goes on to explain himself: 'Counterfeit philosophies have polluted all your thoughts/Karl Marx has got you by the throat and Henry Kissinger has tied you up in knots/When you gonna wake up?'

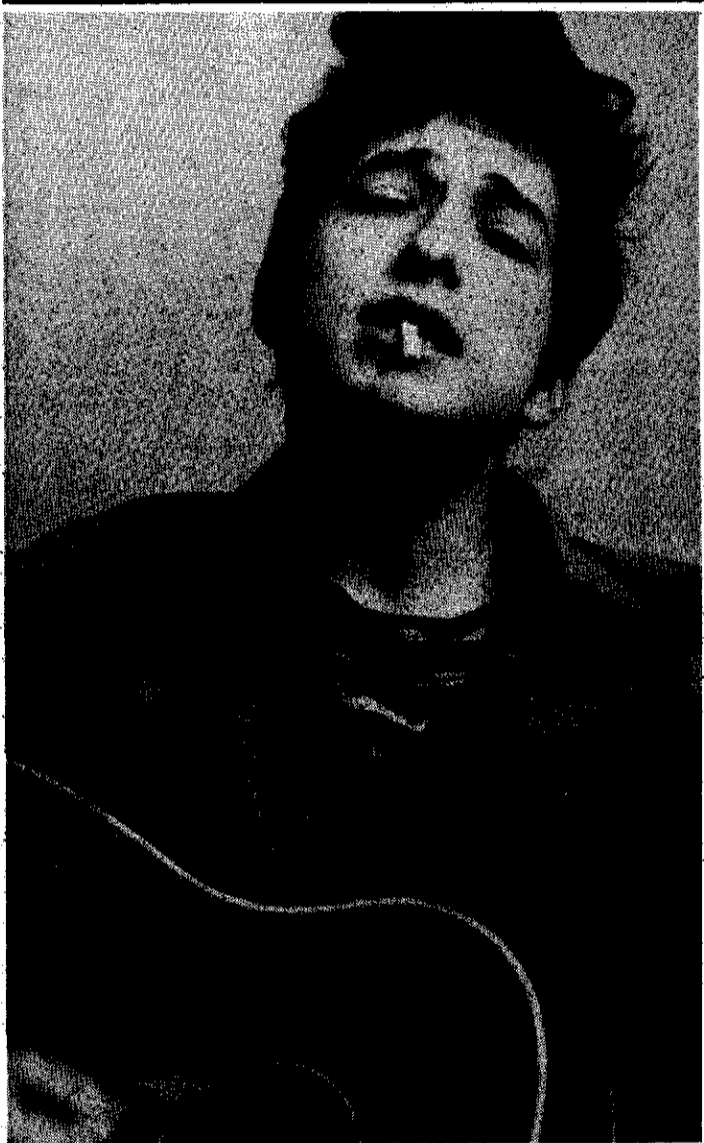
Socialists, we are to conclude, pollute the minds of the people. We are slowly strangling everyone and, to add insult to injury, we are equated with one of American imperialism's foremost advocates. Dylan is clearly not on our side.

## Alternatives

When you consider what else rock music has to offer; when bands like the Gang of Four, The Spoilsports, and, of course, Tom Robinson are consciously challenging the sexism that has so long been at the heart of popular music,

when Linton Kwesi Johnson is so powerfully articulating the reality of being black in Britain (and calling for resistance), when the Resisters and Charge are taking issues like Ireland and anti-fascism onto the streets from the backs of lorries, when Rock Against Racism is one of the most creative forces in rock music, do we really need a reclusive, Zionist, millionaire preaching religion and reaction at us?

I'm sorry to say it, and I cling to the vague hope that his current phase won't last, but Bob Dylan is really no longer anything to do with what rock music is about. And he hasn't been for quite some time.



TWO YEARS ago the BBC banned the original version of a film called *Scum* about the horror of life in a Borstal. Bill Cotton, the controller of the BBC, said he 'did not want it on his channel'. Quite an understandable point of view if, like Cotton, you serve as a lay magistrate.

Written by Roy Minton and directed by Alan Clarke, the film traces what happens to three 'trainees' when they begin a new spell in Borstal. One is black, and another is a slim-built white guy who's inside for a petty offence. Unlike the third boy, these two don't stand a chance: If you can't look after yourself...then you become the victim of an endless round of beatings and harassment.

Many modern films glamourise violence, rape, and suicide. They are not banned and become big box office successes. *Scum*, however, is different. It portrays institutionalised violence, and reveals how the screws themselves nurture the violence of the strong against the weak.

## Hierarchy

Borstal is shown in the film to be a mirror image of the hierarchy of a Public school. The toughest and most brutal rise to the top and create a fag-like system of lackeys around them. At the top of the pyramid is the third boy in the story who helps the screws keep order.

In one scene when 'Daddy', the third boy, smashes another inmate in the face with a sock full of billiard balls, the victim tells the screw he



## Scum-'Only the most brutal rise to the top'

By Judith Arkwright

'fell'. Another screw watches while a boy is raped by three others and calmly tells the boy to get on with his work, accepting his explanation of having 'tripped'.

The unwritten agreement between the screws and 'Daddy' is like a microcosm of the state. The uniformed screws maintain their control by setting the 'trainees' against each

other through racism, repression, and the granting of privileges. When these methods fail, the governor is called in.

And for those who think this sounds far-fetched, some official representatives from Borstal claimed that all the incidents were possible but wouldn't happen in such a short space of time. The main screw is played by an ex-Metropolitan Police officer and all the incidents were based on reports by ex-Borstal inmates.

## Warning

John Judd, one of the actors, says the film should be shown in schools as a warning to wayward young people. We feel differently, however. Britain has the highest prison population in West Europe, many of them young people and more often than not black. The film is a rounded indictment of the penal system, especially its treatment of young offenders, which the government's proposals for 'reform' will do nothing to improve.

The violence the 'trainees' learn to respect inside the institution is far worse than anything they have done outside. The only glimmer of hope in the film is when the youth come together to organise a mini-strike in protest against the suicide of a new Borstal inmate.

The solidarity of this action contrasts dramatically with the rampant individualism imposed on the 'trainees' by the screws throughout *Scum*.

# Socialist Challenge

By Ron Thompson, AUEW shop steward, Sheffield

ENGINEERING shop stewards in Sheffield at their quarterly meeting called for national all-out strike action on our present claim. That was three weeks ago.

The same resolution from factories, Engineering Union branches and shop steward quarterlies are received by the AUEW's executive council every day. After two months of a national overtime ban, and successive one and two day strikes, there is still deadlock in the engineering industry.

The employers and Fleet Street are beginning to show signs of nerves. The Engineering Employers' Federation has given the green light to its members to start mass lockouts.

The headlines in the press are becoming more hysterically anti-union and futile attempts continue to encourage scabbing on the strike.

The duration of the dispute has clearly taken the bosses by surprise. In spite of the inadequacy of the claim itself and the half-hearted industrial action called by the union leaders, the workers in the industry have responded overwhelmingly to the call for support.

Perhaps the strangest aspect of the struggle is the fact that such a bastion of the right-wing as Terry Duffy is in the leadership.

When Duffy was elected to succeed Hugh Scanlon as president of the AUEW, he was welcomed with open arms by the press as a sensible 'moderate' who only declared his desire to see an end to strikes in the industry.

Yet more working days have already been lost in the engineering industry through official national industrial action since Duffy was elected than during the whole period of Scanlon's term of office.

The truth is that Duffy has little choice in the matter. The policy-making national committee of the AUEW has a narrow left-wing majority. It was this body which rejected Duffy's first attempt to sell-out the claim earlier this year.

Since that decision Duffy has been trapped between the pressure of his own membership and the intransigence of the employers. There is no way that Duffy can now recommend calling off the action on the basis of one day's extra holiday — the employers' latest offer — and maintain any credibility with the membership.

His awareness of this problem is no doubt sharpened by the threat that he comes up for re-election as president next year.

Since Duffy is not Scanlon, the Communist Party and its Broad Left

## Big boost for fund drive, but price rise unavoidable

THIS WEEK our fund drive total takes a big jump to £17,188.17. The Rally to commemorate Leon Trotsky's centenary last Friday was attended by over 400 people — and they gave us their backing to carry on Trotsky's work to the tune of over three thousand pounds.

Some of this was individual donations, some of it the proceeds of our supporters' fundraising activities in the localities. But the point is that it puts us within striking distance of our £20,000 target.

So this is a message to every reader of Socialist Challenge. If every one of you gave us only one pound by the end of the month we'd go over the target.

Or, still better, you could follow the example of some of the people at the Rally and pledge us all or part of that tax rebate Maggie Thatcher's trying to buy us off with.

We won't waste the money. Every

ally has no desire to help him wriggle off the hook. His main hope has been that the employers would throw a big enough sop to allow him to save face, but Duffy must be learning fast that the bosses' economic interests come before their gratitude to right-wing trade union leaders.

The main danger now is that the continuation of the two-day stoppages without any conclusion in sight will begin to demoralise sections of the workers.

Any signs of serious weaknesses in the strike will give Duffy his chance to argue for abandoning the struggle. This is why it is vital that all-out national strike action be called as soon as possible, and an increasing number of workers are beginning to realise that this is the only way forward, as is shown by resolutions to the executive council.

But if a national strike is to become a reality, then resolutions are not enough. The rank and file must take action to force the leadership to call a national strike.

Shop stewards committees should demand the recall of the national shop stewards conference held in Sheffield in July of this year. A call from such a conference for national strike action — with or without the blessing of the leadership — would be the most effective way to spark off the movement towards an all-out strike.

A national shop stewards co-ordinating committee, which was promised at the July conference, should be set up to conduct the campaign for the rank and file to take indefinite strike action and force the leadership to make it official.

It is crucial that the rank and file seizes the initiative — not only to escalate the action, but to ensure that there is no further retreat on the demands of the claim itself.

It has been quietly reported in one or two of the national papers that Duffy has informally agreed to drop the demand for the 35-hour week by 1982. This demand was a watering down of the original claim, and it would have a disastrous effect if it were dropped altogether.

Thirty-five hours is the one demand that is uniting the workers and holding the strikes together.

Shop stewards committees must campaign against any deal being made with the employers without ratification by the membership. The solidarity shown by the workers so far has proved that they have the strength to defeat the employers.

But time is running out. Unless the rank and file militants act now, Duffy will find the so-called 'breakthrough' that he is seeking and sell us all down the river.

penny will go to the fight for revolutionary socialist politics. Making the £20,000 will give us a big boost in that fight.

Rush your donations and pledges to SC, PO Box 50, London N1 — and get them in before the end of the quarter.

However, despite the boost to the fund drive, it is not possible for us to avoid a rise in the price of Socialist Challenge. Whilst no left-wing paper can expect to be totally self-financing, since we do not enjoy the massive income from advertising that Fleet Street does, our paper must have a stable base income from which to launch further fund drives.

With increasing costs of all kinds, and further printing increases expected due to the rises in paper prices, we feel that now is the time to go to 20p.

## Engineers:

CHARTER

# TWO DAYS NOT ENOUGH

# ALL OUT

## TO WIN BACKDATE TO APRIL 1st.

CHARTER



Our thanks this week to:

- |                    |       |                       |        |
|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|
| A. Holling         | £1.00 | E. Ryan               | 5.00   |
| I. Miles           | 2.00  | P. Shaffee            | 100.00 |
| Janet Hughes       | 1.50  | AHN                   | 6.00   |
| M. Jones           | 5.00  | P. Roberts            | 10.00  |
| Hugo Dewar         | 5.00  | D. Stevens            | 10.00  |
| IMG Irish Fraction | 2.00  | Amit                  | 10.00  |
| Ed Mahood (Canada) | 10.00 | John H.               | 5.00   |
|                    |       | Rab Bird              | 25.00  |
|                    |       | Nottingham IMG        | 23.00  |
|                    |       | Thomas Boushier (USA) | 1.01   |

|                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| T Roche                   | 2.00              |
| M Rice                    | 10.00             |
| Preston IMG               | 14.26             |
| B Sachs                   | 10.00             |
| R Correll                 | 6.00              |
| Middlesbrough IMG         | 2.00              |
| Camden IMG                | 22.25             |
| Tower Hamlets IMG         | 16.00             |
| Moss Side IMG, Manchester | 30.00             |
| Centenary rally           | 3158.00           |
| <b>Cumulative total</b>   | <b>£17,188.17</b> |

I won't be bought off by the Tories' anti-working class budget measures. I want the money I receive from the backdated tax cut to go to the fight against the Tories. I therefore pledge my whole tax rebate/half my tax rebate\* to the Socialist Challenge Fund. [\*Delete as appropriate]

My name is.....  
Address.....