

Socialist Challenge

4.5m unemployed by 1985? Never!

Kick out the Tories

FACT: This month's official unemployment figure stands at 2,680,977. By the mid-80s it is estimated that there will be 4.5 million unemployed.

FACT: There are ten millionaires in Thatcher's cabinet, including the prime minister.

These two facts are not unrelated. Quite the contrary. This Tory government works in the interests of the millionaires, big business, high finance and the land owners.

For example, Lord Carrington, the foreign secretary, is a former director of Barclays, Hambros Bank and Rio Tinto-Zinc, and owns £2m worth of agricultural land, spread over 25,000 acres.

Privilege

This millionaires' government fully intend to hang on to their lives of privilege. And if it's at the expense of the rest of us — tough.

But workers have this nasty habit of fighting back — they go on strike and occupy their factories — to demand a better life for themselves and their families.

So the ruling class is doing its best to defend its profits by attacking the working class. Divide and rule is its banner: black and white, men and women, skilled and unskilled, young and old.

Now we have employed and unemployed. Workers who are concerned about their pay and conditions, continually look over their shoulders at the 3 million unemployed outside the gates. Even when it comes to fighting for their own jobs there is a sense of hopelessness.

Tasks

But there are signs that the working class is not prepared to see its hard fought organisation dismantled before its eyes. The occupations at Laurence Scott, Gardners and Lee Jean show how to fight back. But they also clearly indicate our tasks: full support and solidarity from the rest of the working class.

The labour movement leaders, in the trades unions, the TUC, and the Labour Party, should be leading these struggles to kick out the Tories. The march for jobs in Cardiff on 4 July should be the springboard for mobilising the strength of the working class.

Wrong

Let's show those who claim there will be 4.5 million unemployed by the mid-80's that they're wrong.

Let's show the economists, the millionaires and this vicious government that they all left out one thing: we're not going to allow ourselves to be trampled on. We're fighting back to get rid of the Tories once and for all.

FOOT SLANDERS BENN CAMPAIGN

MICHAEL FOOT is desperately trying to stop Tony Benn's campaign for the Labour Party deputy leadership by heaping slander upon slander upon Benn. His arguments are becoming more and more right wing.

Foot, elected as the 'unity candidate' for party leader, is now leading the campaign to 'unify' the right and centre of the party against Tony Benn. To do this he is resorting to sectarian slanders.

This was glaringly evident in Foot's interview on BBC TV's 'Panorama' on Monday night.

Deputy leadership

IT WAS A SLANDER for Foot to claim that Benn's campaign is responsible for making 'deeper' the 'gulf between the parliamentary party and the

party outside'. The basis of the Benn campaign is quite the reverse — it is to bring the parliamentary party in line with the party as a whole, and with the policies of the conference. It is Denis Healey, Benn's main opponent for the deputy leadership, who has repeatedly stated his unwillingness to abide by conference policy.

Big support

That is why Tony Benn has overwhelming support in the constituencies. It is Michael Foot who, by championing the Healey campaign, is separating the parliamentary party from the party outside.

IT IS A FURTHER SLANDER for Foot to claim that Benn's campaign hinders the battle to 'throw out this Thatcher government'.

Take one of the more recent attacks Foot made on Benn — when Benn voted against the Tory defence proposals. Foot publicly attacked him for not following the line of the shadow cabinet and abstaining in the vote.

Just how does abstention 'throw out this Thatcher government'? And how does voting against the Tories sabotage this fight?

What make's Foot's hypocrisy all the more sickening is the way he is constructing one law for the left and one law for the right.

Tory defence

For example, Tony Benn was carpeted for voting against the Tory defence proposals.

But on Monday, when the Tories Bill to prevent Irish political prisoners standing in elections was given its second reading in parliament, although the shadow cabinet has decided to oppose the Bill, Michael Foot allowed Labour MPs a 'free vote' because various right wingers had threatened to defy a Labour whip.

IT IS YET ANOTHER SLANDER for Foot to claim that Tony Benn could 'cost us the election'. When has the type of left wing policies Tony Benn is advocating ever cost Labour a general election? The most radical programme Labour ever stood on — in 1945 — won Labour its largest ever parliamentary majority. The most right wing policies Labour has ever implemented — from 1974-79 — plunged Labour's vote to a post-war low.

Obvious conclusion

Adding all this up there is an obvious conclusion. Every time Michael Foot opens his mouth these days the more whining and untruthful he becomes. There is one merit only in his whimperings — they show how necessary the Tony Benn campaign for deputy leadership really is.



NATIONAL MARCH AND RALLY AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

CARDIFF 4 JULY

ASSEMBLE: 11 AM NATIONAL MUSEUM
RALLY: 1.15 PM PONTCANNA PARK



JOBS NOT BOMBS: CARDIFF 4 JULY

Tories in a mess Is a U-turn coming?

THE GAP between crisis meetings of the Cabinet shortens. Last week the Tories came closer than ever to dropping hard-line monetarism.

Five hundred million pounds, is going into the coal industry, and cash has been allocated for electrification of the railways, and other projects.

Does this give the labour movement hope that there is light at the end of the tunnel?

Does it justify the line being pursued by Len Murray, and supported by the Communist Party and many left MPs, of fighting for government to 'change course', instead of trying to confront it and throw it out?

The Cabinet's decisions do show the stupidity of monetarist arguments. Wholesale slaughter of jobs and industry isn't necessary. If the government can put £500m into the coal industry now, why couldn't they do it last year?

Why couldn't they stop the decimation of the steel industry and the rundown of BL? There are two and a half million on the dole because the government took a political decision to put them there.

The argument that the country can't afford it is so much rubbish. Every worker on the dole costs the treasury £3,500 in benefits and lost taxes. This means the present unemployment costs taxpayers nine billion pounds — £500 a year from the pockets of every worker in the land.

This is 18 times what it will cost to save jobs in the pits. So why not use the rest of the cash to save jobs in steel, cars, computers, rail and engineering?

The answer is obvious: it's because the Tories' economic policies are simply the excuse for an all-out drive to break the labour movement. And that's why a 'U-turn' won't help.

If we can force cash out of the Tories — like the miners did — by industrial action, that's fine. But miners got results because the Tories knew they had to give in or get smashed.

A U-turn on the wets' terms would look very different, as we can see from the policies which they are canvassing.

They would not spend money to save jobs and services. There are no plans for new houses, new hospitals, or new schools, and Heseltine is still brandishing his axe over local authorities as fiercely as ever.

What's more, another attack is looming. If the government loosens control of the money supply it will have to clamp down on wages, or profit margins will stay in the doldrums.

It's why we're hearing loud noises about an *incomes policy*. Thatcher's vindictive stand against the civil servants is only a taste of what's to come.

The first prong is a major assault on public sector wage rises. The second is an attempt to use state firms like BL to enforce wages policy on component suppliers by renegotiating contracts every year and dictating wages and productivity policy as part of the contract — this from the people who drove Benn from office because he backed state intervention in industry!

Finally, we are hearing ominous noises about 'pay rises only in line with productivity', which always herald an attack on wage increases.

The union leaders will have a line which fits comfortably into this strategy: go easy with the pay rises, and we'll persuade the Tories to give us jobs. *This is the most dangerous answer of all.*

The lesson we learnt from the social contract is that if you give way on any front, money doesn't go to save jobs but into the bosses' pockets. We have to take the money needed to save jobs from the bosses and weaken their resistance — not ours.

Of course, we should put forward our own alternative. We want hospitals, houses and schools. We want to destroy the Tories' missile madness. We want a proper plan for energy, social services and industry.

But the way to pay for it is to take the money from the tiny minority of parasites who run the system — not the vast majority of working people.

Setting the Laurence Scott example

By Pete Clifford

AFTER ten weeks sitting-in, the strikers at Laurence Scott and Electromotors, Manchester, have learnt a great deal about how to fight redundancies.

The factory is one of Manchester's better organised engineering plants. In 1972 it was the first of over 20 factories in the area to occupy.

Dennis Barry, a toolroom steward, was involved at that time: 'From that sit-in came forward the activists who are now today's stewards.' They established a closed shop and strengthened their organisation but 'in those days, when you sat-in, at least everyone knew they would be going back to a

job; now it's different.' Now all 650 jobs at Laurence Scott are under threat. 'We've got £2.7m worth of work here,' explains Dennis. 'Any other form of action would let the owner, Snipe, eat away at that and re-direct our orders.'

Peter Rowen, chairperson of the joint stewards

committee, stresses 'that the sit-in has to be a base for organising and a base for unity. We have a rota system for the sit-in', he explains, 'involving the entire work force.'

'The sit-in itself is like a nerve centre.' The sit-in is run by various rank and file controlled committees — for finance, delegations, publicity, security and food.

Base

But the strikers know that the occupation won't win by itself. They have 'to get financial support' as

Dennis Barry explains. 'But that still won't win.'

'We have to get support from other workers to black Snipe's company. Mining Supplies.'

The sit-in is a base from which to escalate the dispute even further. So in the next week Laurence Scott strikers will go to Doncaster, Norwich, and Wolverhampton plants owned by Snipe.

Peter Rowen explains their intentions: 'We're going for supportive action and eventually we will be picketing Snipe's factory in Doncaster.'

In the Manchester area

the strikers are calling for a special meeting of shop stewards throughout the Confed engineering unions to raise further support.

No one at Laurence Scott has any illusion that it will be an easy battle, but they all agree by sitting-in, they are in the strongest position to fight back.

'None of us should sell another person's job,' says Dennis Barry. 'We've got to start setting the Laurence Scott example whenever there's a closure.'

'There's no alternative but to occupy.'

NO CLOSURE!

Fight for the Right to Work

CSEU

SIT IN

STRIKE!

What is Scarman trying to do?

By Toni Gorton

I WAS told as a child to always agree with the police. It's the safest course,' joked Lord Scarman on the fifth day of the official inquiry into the Brixton uprising in April.

We would be underestimating the situation if we take the above comment at face value and consider Scarman's role as simply to cover up that of the police in Brixton.

What we are more likely to see is an even-handed evaluation of the problems leading to the uprising.

On the one hand, Scarman will no doubt conclude, we have deprivation and discrimination suffered by black youth in Brixton. On the other, we have immature police officers, possibly out of control, and that the decision to launch Swamp 81 was ill-judged.

But most importantly, whoever was to blame, violence can't be condoned.

In the past, Lord Scarman has made recommendations which have been largely ignored by governments. It would seem that this time the government does intend to consider carefully the proposals that he makes. According to some legal experts, the rapidity with which Scarman was appointed is different from his other two inquiries — into Red Lion Square and Southall.

Explosions like those in St Paul's, Bristol last year and Brixton are awkward for the government. First because they make Britain look bad internationally, especially in Caribbean countries and India and Pakistan.

But more importantly, they increase the danger of 'law and order' collapsing entirely in some parts of Britain, particularly in the densely populated inner-city areas.

The rising levels of unemployment which increase social tensions is especially evident among the youth. In March, 781 youths were registered at the Brixton careers office

and 18 jobs were available. This statistic doesn't measure those who didn't bother to register.

More and more youth are being forced to live on the streets, out of control of their families, any work-place discipline, or community care.

Sensitive

If in some of the big cities, whole areas are dominated by youth who are subject only to the control of their own will and the policeforce, then the quality of policing is of utmost importance to the state. Possibly proposals on politically 'sensitive' policing will be entertained.

But to look for a 'military' solution in Britain at the moment is to admit that they have lost a political battle to convince an important part of the population to remain 'decent and law abiding'.

Much of Scarman's job will be to convince local community leaders that black people can get justice from the British courts and police and that they should try to keep their young people under control.

This will be facilitated if some of the truth is told about the police activities in Brixton. It is a delicate line to tread, which is why the government has enlisted such a politically skilled and sophisticated judge.

One of the delicacies in this situation is that while the government may not want more Brixtons at this time, there is also a campaign being conducted by the police and



Problems of Brixton can't be solved by more black police

Whitelaw to politically prepare the ground for new laws that will provide for a more heavily armed and militarised police force.

By using the age-old tactic of giving a little to gain a lot, to achieve a degree of self-policing, Scarman will admit some of the truth about Brixton. He will attempt to re-establish the authority of the traditional black leaders like Courtney Laws and Renee Webb.

Dialogue

He will try to engage the black youth in a dialogue, hopefully winning their support by what he allows to be said about the police and co-opting the leaders of the youth into new relationships with authority.

Scarman has already won the participation of four of the

five main black organisations in the area.

Isolate

Scarman isn't an impartial adjudicator. He is there in the interests of the entire state — not any one part of it.

A major part of his job will be to isolate the militants, to condemn them as unrepresentative and dangerous to the well-being of the black community and to head off any possible moves in the direction of black self-defence.

This is not a fact-finding exercise. As Chris Sutton, secretary of the Lambeth Trades Union Council said: 'The problems of police-community relations are correctly documented in Lambeth council's recent Final Report of the Working Party into Police/Community Relations.'

'We see little point in going over the argument again.'

Boycott Scarman — for a labour movement and community inquiry

PLANS are well underway for an independent inquiry based on the labour movement and community and there will be a meeting on 2 July to finalise arrangements.

Lambeth Trades Council which issued the call early in May said that 'the Trades Union Council has continually called for more money to tackle these major problems and the government's recent cuts have only made things worse.'

'We are calling for an independent inquiry into the needs of Brixton community and want the Labour Party and the TUC to support our initiative.'

The purpose is to provide an alternative to Scarman which will bring out the racist nature of the police, use the evidence provided in the Lambeth Council report on police/community relations; bring out the social conditions and most importantly to lay the basis for campaigning for changes after the inquiry is over.

The London Labour Party, and Norwood, Streatham, Lambeth Central and Vauxhall constituency Labour Parties added their voices and the GLC is expected to make a big contribution.

The Greater London Council, Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham Trades Councils are boycotting Scarman, along with the Brixton Defence Campaign which is the major umbrella group for black organisations in the area.

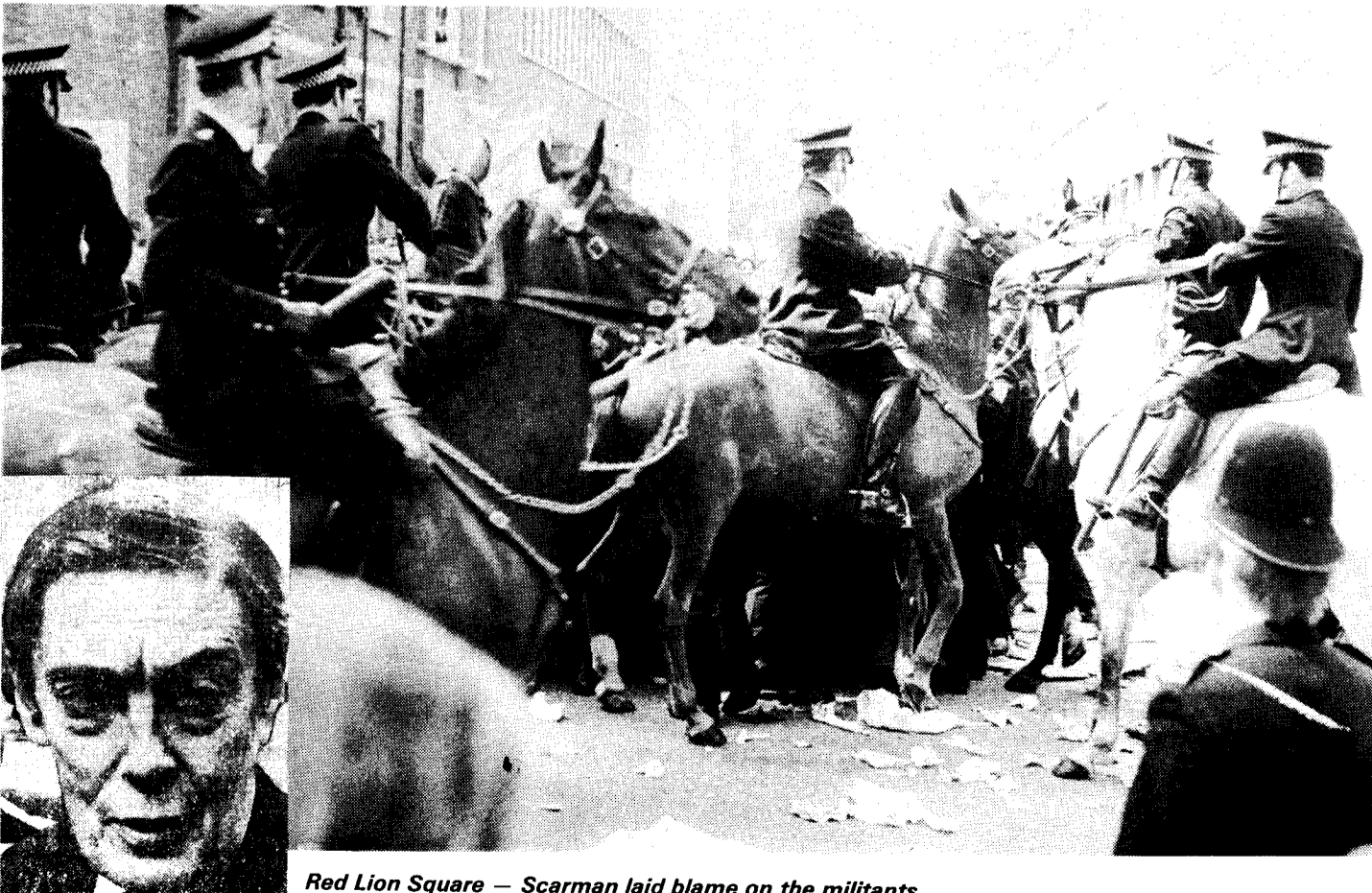
The BDC was set up to support the legal defence of those arrested and to lead the campaign.

Some organisations have agreed to give evidence to Scarman during phase two of the inquiry in order to highlight the deprivation in the area.

The Brixton Legal Defence Campaign which originally supported the boycott changed its mind saying, 'The defence group has become concerned about the nature of the evidence presented to the inquiry over the past four days, and feels that the interests of defendants should be safeguarded by having a legal presence at the inquiry.'

Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council has given evidence to Scarman in his personal capacity.

For further information contact the Brixton Defence Campaign c/o Abeng Centre, Gresham Road, London SW9. Donations to the legal defence can be sent to Brixton Legal Defence Campaign c/o Lambeth Community Law Centre, Brixton Road, SW9 tel. 01-733 4245.



Red Lion Square — Scarman laid blame on the militants

Labour executive plans factory branches

By Paul Lawson

AT THE 1980 conference of the Labour Party, two resolutions proposing the establishment of workplace branches were adopted. In line with these resolutions, the National Executive of the party has drawn up proposals for the establishment of workplace branches and circulated them to affiliated organisations. Comments on the proposals have to be sent to the NEC in the next couple of weeks.

However, serious problems are raised by the parameters set down by the NEC in its proposals. Two key paragraphs in the consultative document read as follows:

'Branch Business. To ensure that there is no conflict between the role of the workplace branch and

that of the trade union branches in the workplace, the rules of the workplace branch should clearly confine branch business to political matters, so that there is no overlapping with industrial matters that are only pertinent to the trade union branch.' And moreover:

'To comply with the Conference decision and in order to conform to the objectives proposed, it is essential for a workplace branch to be made up only of individual members of the Party employed in the workplace.'

Encapsulated in these two proposals, which are not mentioned at all in the conference resolution, is a limiting conception of the role of factory branches which would effectively sabotage their most useful function, and prevent the industrial/political divide being overcome.

To build factory and workplace branches may,

of course, increase party membership. But unless the workplace branches have a role in the workplace, then there is no earthly reason why they should meet separately from the constituency parties.

Point

The whole point of organising in the factories is to link up the 'political' struggle and the 'industrial' struggle and to understand that so-called 'industrial' matters are in this period of capitalist crisis eminently *political*.

Let's take an example.

In a British Leyland factory, like Rover Solihull, faced with closure because of the Edwardes plan, it would be ludicrous for a Labour Party branch not to discuss the closure of the plant because it was 'industrial'.

Labour Party branches in factories must have the right to draw out the political meaning and implications of the issues which affect people in the very place which the branch is supposed to cover.

Equally, the workplace or factory branch should take these issues affecting the workplaces into the constituency party to

which they are affiliated.

This is precisely the way to overcome the industrial/political divide. Otherwise, if the NEC has its way, the factory branches could be reduced to impotent discussion clubs with no rationale.

Levy

The same question is involved with the composition of the workplace branches. To effectively overcome the artificial industrial/political divide the best way to organise would be to allow *all union members who pay the political levy* to participate in the branch.

This would be a really effective way of organising political levy payers, who are ritually counted in the Labour Party's 'six million members'.

If the objective of the NEC is to build a mass party, then rather than attempt to recruit new members to factory discussion clubs, they should take this golden opportunity to organise their affiliated mass membership on the issues which affect them in their day-to-day struggles.

Affiliated organisations and constituency parties should demand that the NEC rethinks this question.

Healey's turn exposes left's programme

By Phil Hearse

'THE CAMPAIGN over the Labour Party deputy leadership is not about personalities, but about policy'. This has been the constant theme of Tony Benn and his supporters and rightly so. It was inevitable then that Denis Healey should make his move on this front, and predictably his recently presented programme has a distinctly 'left' flavour.

He refers to 'our alternative economic policy', calling for a 'massive increase in public investment' and 'ceilings on the growth of imports' — unabashed by the fact that he followed precisely the opposite policies when he was chancellor of the Exchequer.

These policies are put forward in a context of a priority of 'returning to full employment' and the 'rebuilding of our social services'. Smartly moving to outflank his left opponents on other key issues, Healey calls for moves to 'restore the sovereignty of Britain from the control of the Common Market' and for 'genuine disarmament internationally, including the need to cancel the Trident missile system' — notwithstanding the fact that he was a member of a working group of the last Labour government that prepared the plans for Trident.

agreements with major companies and so forth. The problem is that the 'alternative economic strategy' according to Len Murray, Tom Jackson and other right wing bureaucrats — supported by the Communist Party — means first and foremost *import controls*.

Step

At the Hyde Park rally in support of the People's March for Jobs, leading members of the Shadow cabinet — Foot, Healey and Stan Orme, hammered away at the theme that import controls were the essential next step towards solving the economic crisis.

To be an accredited supporter of the alternative economic strategy it is enough to make reference to import controls, and Healey has now as much claim to members of the AES supporters club as does Len Murray.

The left is finding itself programmatically outflanked by Healey because it's not basing itself firmly on demands with an anti-capitalist thrust, which would put the cost of the crisis onto the capitalist class.

In particular, demands like those of a 35-hour week with no loss of pay, and for a massive programme of public works to mop up unemployment would draw a sharp line of divide against the pro-



capitalist Labour right.

Healey's change of line on the Trident system is another slick move. On the issue of nuclear weapons the key line of divide is that of unilateral nuclear disarmament. Tony Benn does support this demand.

But Healey has exploited the fact that much of the left, even the 'Ben-nite' left, conducts its debates on this question within the framework of trying to define what is the most 'rational' and 'effective' defence policy, without for a moment challenging the foundations of British military policy — the imperialist alliance NATO.

Even if Healey's new-found opposition to Trident doesn't yet match Benn's position for unilateral disarmament, it in-

serts an effective wedge into the left's debate.

Healey's position that we should 'restore the sovereignty of Britain from the control of the Common Market' again pinpoints the weaknesses of the Labour left's programme.

Almost without exception the labour left has opposed the Common Market not on the basis that the EEC represents an alliance of capitalist states in the service of the multinationals, but because the institutions of the Common Market are a challenge to the 'sovereignty' of parliament.

Once the key objection to the EEC becomes the defence of parliamentary sovereignty, then there are innumerable schemes short of withdrawal from

the EEC which can lessen the power of the institutions of the Brussels bureaucrats to override the power of the British parliament.

Bogus

The whole argument of the Labour left is a bogus one in any case, since the real power of the EEC institutions to determine anything fundamental about the course of British capitalism is extremely limited, and because — contrary to the dreamland myths of the likes of Michael Foot — the 'sovereignty' of parliament, the ability of parliament to make the fundamental decisions about the economy and even the law, has been made progressively more

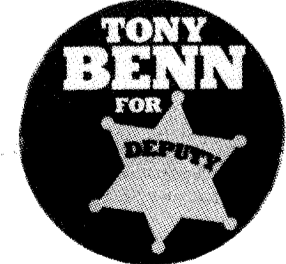
marginal for decades.

Denis Healey, of course, has no intention whatever of being a member of a government which even begins to implement the programme which he has outlined. A little bit of left rhetoric in opposition never did anyone any harm. His sudden conversion won't fool many activists at the base of the Labour Party.

But what his move does do is provide the trade union leaderships with an argument for supporting Healey and opposing Benn. After all, if the policy statements aren't so different, then maybe it's a question of personalities after all — and why upset the apple cart for a few policy differences?

If the left finds itself outmanoeuvred by

Healey's move, then it will purely and simply because of the left's own political weakness. A salutary lesson.



Tony Benn for Deputy — 'The fastest selling badge on the People's March, (Morning Star, 1 June). You too can have a copy of this hot property for just 20p (plus 1½p postage).

Give-away bulk rates are available. Write to: Islington Research Group, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Managing the unemployed, TUC style

By Malcolm Richardson

EVER conscious of their self-appointed role as benefactors of the working class, TUC bureaucrats have recently devised 'guidelines' for establishing local unemployed workers' centres.

A big step forward, even though a trifle late, you might think. This is not the case.

When the TUC's plan was first revealed in January at a conference against unemployment, organised by Newcastle Trades Council, the 250 delegates threw it out in disgust.

Among the instructions in the guidelines are:

- Unemployed workers' centres should only concern themselves with counselling and advice; organising contact between the trade unions and the unemployed; promoting Manpower Services Commission schemes, and wringing a few concessions on fares and recreational facilities for the unemployed.

- The need for such centres and the level of resources would be determined by setting up committees composed entirely of representatives from regional TUCs, trades councils, and full-time officials.

- Centres once established, with local authority help on funding and premises, would be managed by committees composed equally of regional TUC nominees and local authority representatives.

Other groups such as voluntary bodies 'might be invited as observers'. The unemployed? Well, 'it will also be important to include representatives of the unemployed', the TUC adds.

- Running the centres will be the job of 'full-time officers' and 'other experienced officials', in conjunction with the TUC and local authorities.

Action

Should the unemployed begin to take action outside the control of these officials, the TUC demands to be informed of any activities 'outside the TUC guidelines... which could damage the interests of the unemployed or the trade

union movement, or put at risk the public funding of the centres'.

Rumour has it that the TUC hurriedly cobbled together these rules with the MSC, when Tory unemployment minister, Prior, threatened to cut-off MSC funds to politically active unemployed workers' centres.

Policed

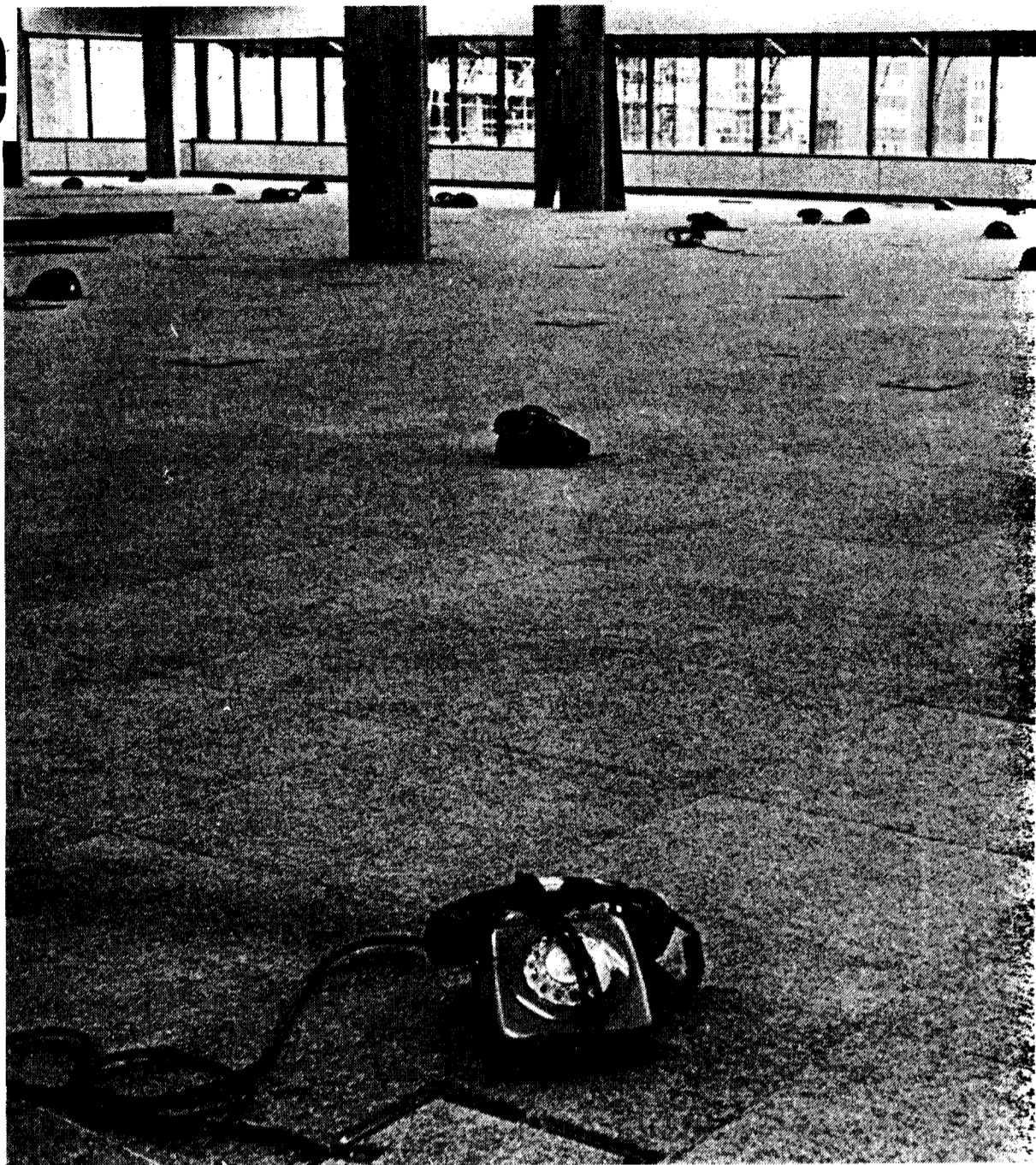
In return for 'Tory gold', TUC bureaucrats gave a guarantee of good 'non-political behaviour' on behalf of the unemployed, policed by union officials and backed by threats of loss of funding for conduct 'outside TUC guidelines'.

What could be more convenient for the Tories than having the TUC policing the unemployed and doling out 'safe' advice over cups of tea as more and more workers join the dole queues?

The TUC has circulated trades councils and other union bodies with its proposals.

Militants should reject the TUC's corporatist approach and demand that:

- The TUC lead a campaign for the right



to work based on the implementation of the 35-hour week and full support for all workers taking action over closures and redundancies.

- The unemployed be given full trade union

membership rights, including representation on local trades councils and at the TUC.

- That unemployed workers' centres be set up in every locality, run by

the unemployed, with active support from the local trades councils, union branches, and CLPs.

- Local councils and the government — through the MSC, urban

aid and similar schemes — should provide funding and premises for such centres, with no strings attached, in addition to the resources mobilised by the local labour movement.

The Benn movement rumbles through the steel union

By Celia Pugh

THE Labour Party leadership battle shook the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation conference last week.

ISTC, the largest steel union, is one of the most right wing and undemocratic.

Only a handful of national conferences have been convened in its 50 year history, and these have no power to make policy.

Last year's conference, following a 13-week strike and 50,000 redundancies, was cancelled because of alleged lack of funds.

General secretary Bill Sirs is a proud supporter of the right-wing Labour Solidarity Group and through the union's journal, *The Banner*, he has built a campaign to reverse the Wembley decisions on electing the party leadership.

The headlines of the journal's conference issue trumpeted: 'Michael Foot, Joe Gormley and Sid Weighell to speak at conference'.

But this time Sirs didn't get all his own way. His passionate speeches on behalf of the executive could not stop the overwhelming votes in favour

of the campaign for unilateral disarmament and for 'the union to actively campaign for the withdrawal from the EEC'.

Defend

Even with the big guns of the Labour right platformed for action against the Wembley decisions, the resolution to defend them was only narrowly defeated with a vote of 110 for and 118 against.

Many delegates considered that this shift showed the impact of Benn's campaign for deputy leader.

They commented that Sirs' conference address reflected this pressure, with his demands for 'radical alternative policies', for a shorter working week and restriction of overtime, for 'renationalisation without compensation', for a plan of public works, and the scrapping of the 'costly Trident missiles'.

Confirmation of these

shifts to the left came at the first day's fringe meetings. Supporters of Benn's campaign drew over 50 delegates to their meeting, in spite of denunciation of the meeting from the conference platform as 'having nothing to do with the ISTC'.

There were also veiled threats from Sirs of an investigation into the sponsors of the meetings.

Labour Solidarity's guest speaker, Denis Healey, drew only half this number, despite the glossy publicity placed by conference officials on the seat of each delegate.

Chairing the left's meeting, ISTC member Ray Davies from the Llanwern Steel Action noted:

Jobs

'There is a demand for change in our union. This was felt today with the vote against the Common Market. The democracy fight is spilling into the trade unions. The call for democracy has come clearly from the constituencies.'

The biggest obstacle to change are the full-time

trade union officials, who are worried that their jobs will be threatened and their seemingly god-given right to take decisions for us will be taken away through accountability.'

Warned

Speaking on the jobs fight, Stan Sheridan, chair of the Scunthorpe ISTC Joint Group, warned:

'This is a make or break conference. We will go back from here to further decimation of the industry. There's talk of more slimming down, but the only slimming down left is a major plant closure.'

Drawing the meeting's attention to the absence of a jobs fight, he continued: 'Let's look at the conference resolutions — how many are there opposing closure, how many of the Triple Alliance coming in behind us in the fight for jobs? — none.'

'It's all very well talking about nationalisation without compensation, like Sirs did this morning, but what about doing something about it? All it needs is a statement from

the platform that there will be opposition to closure — this will unify our response.'

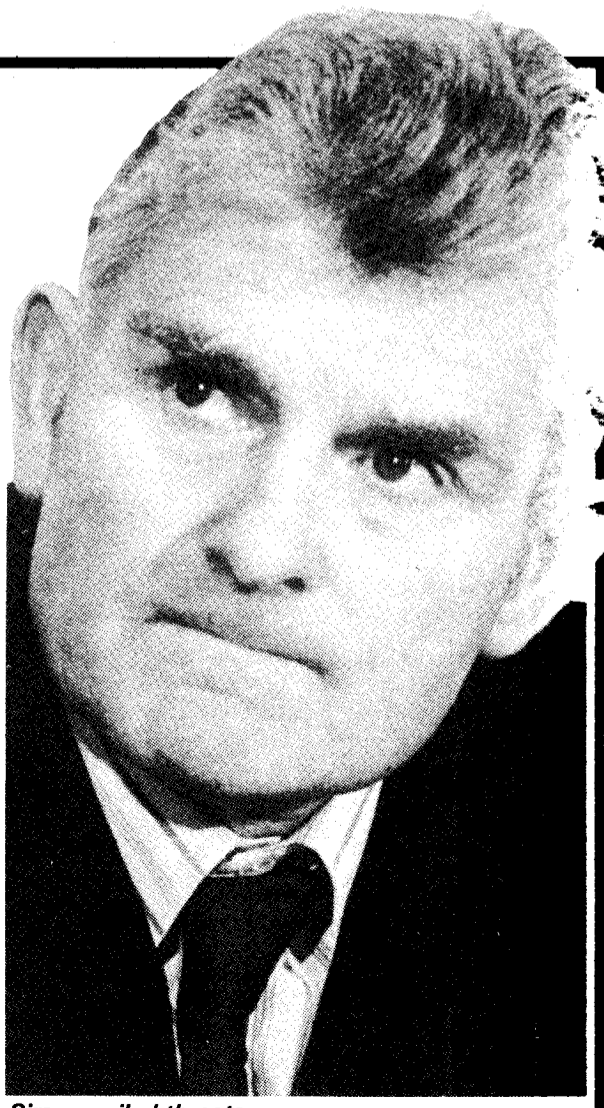
Executive member Bill Irvine, who proposed the successful anti-EEC resolution, told the meeting: 'I support the policies of Tony Benn. The best way to get these policies through is to fight for them. There are plenty of channels to do this. We should not be frightened to put socialist policies back into the Labour Party and the trade unions, where they belong.'

Delegates left the fringe meeting with no illusions that this campaign for democracy and socialist policies in the ISTC will be an easy task.

Tide

The failure to adopt conference resolutions to make full-time officials electable and accountable, and the absence of a real fight against closures, show what a long way there is to go.

But a ball has been set rolling and Bill Sirs and his co-right wingers won't find it easy to turn the tide.



Sirs — veiled threats

THE ISSUE of Oxford left-winger Ted Heslin's expulsion from the Labour Party remains unresolved after a meeting of the local party last week.

Heslin, a Transport Union shop steward was expelled from the party over 2½ years ago for supporting the politics of the Workers Socialist League (WSL) and selling its paper *Socialist Press*. After hearing his appeal the NEC decided to readmit him in May 1980.

NEC must reinstate Heslin

By Mike Picken
(Oxford CLP)

Now the ball is firmly back in the NEC's court. After a visit to Oxford by organisation committee chair Eric Heffer and the national agent David Hughes, the NEC wrote to Oxford party saying they would accept Heslin back if the organisation committee would interview

him, seeking assurances from him that he would not repeat the actions nor critical statements made by him against the party.

But even this back-tracking was not enough for the Oxford right wing. The Oxford party will only accept Heslin back 'on the understanding that he

gives assurances that he will refrain from the actions for which he was expelled — ie. supporting the WSL, selling its paper and distributing its literature'.

The NEC will now have to interview Heslin and decide what to do about the conditions. Socialists in the party

should be campaigning for no restrictions on the membership of Heslin and for unconditional reinstatement by the NEC.

Tories

This would involve a conflict with the right wing majority in the Oxford

party which so far the NEC has been reluctant to engage in.

If the NEC places conditions on Heslin's membership, such as his selling newspapers, then this will be a big boost for the right wing and should be fought by all those on the left.



Eric Heffer

Save Rovers, sack Edwardes: diary of a BL deputy convenor

'All decisions will be taken at mass meetings'

Monday 15 June. Committee meeting in morning to discuss the situation in the plant and how we should respond. The general assessment is that the mood is continuing to worsen, with rumours that the plant committee has rejected improved redundancy terms, and as a result all the plant closure terms will be lost.

'It is clear also that some of the shop stewards cannot handle this situation. Over the last 14 months of defeat and passivity they are not used to mobilising their sections.

A mass meeting is therefore essential to dispel these rumours, assure the members that all major decisions will be taken by mass meetings and reaffirm support for the campaign against closure.

We will call a shop stewards meeting tomorrow and recommend a mass meeting be held on Wednesday.

We organise three coaches, one for the lobby of the national automotive committee on Thursday, in Brighton, and two for the lobby of the Transport union biennial delegates conference on Monday, also in Brighton.

Tuesday Shop stewards meeting held at dinner time. Fairly thorough discussion of the present situation.

A move to abandon the campaign in favour of pressing for more redundancy money is easily quashed. The shop stewards are behind a fight but the main question is whether they will be able to fight for that position in their sections.

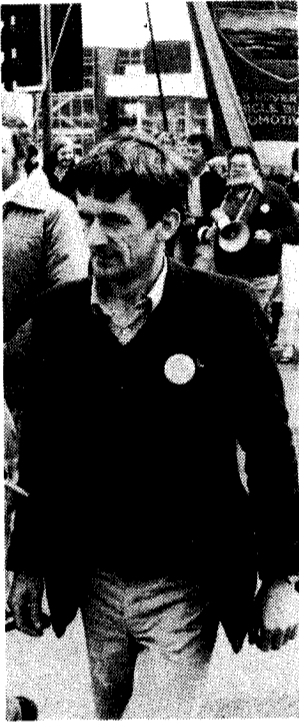
There is considerable doubt as to how the mass meeting will go. The pressure for a 'make or break' decision at the mass meeting disappears in the light of this situation.

We agree a resolution affirming the position of opposition to closure, and of support for continuing the campaign.

In the evening I meet shop stewards from Longbridge and Cowley. Cowley confirms it won't be accepting any transferring of work from Rover.

Wednesday The date of the national conference, the final stage of procedure, is set for 6 July.

Rumours abound that



Photos: MIKE TURNER (Socialist Challenge)

By Pat Hickey, Deputy Convenor SD1 Rover, Solihull

the company are going to offer an extra six to eight weeks pay to buy off the opposition to closure.

We prepare for this by confirming that this is quite likely but is totally unacceptable in the face of the planned demonstration on 15 August. There is a good deal of applause.

We conclude with a call for a united stand. There were no jobs at Longbridge or Cowley — the only jobs we had were the ones we have to defend.

major decisions will be taken to mass meetings.

Mick Clarke the convenor gives a long speech which is well received, explaining the campaign so far and the planned demonstration on 15 August. There is a good deal of applause.

We conclude with a call for a united stand. There were no jobs at Longbridge or Cowley — the only jobs we had were the ones we have to defend.

The meeting ends with an almost unanimous vote of support — a better vote than we had at the first meeting.

In the evening a meeting with delegates and officers from the engineering and automotive district committees begin to organise the 15 August demonstration.

After that, I attend a district aggregate of members and supporters

UNEMPLOYMENT:



A 35 HOUR WEEK NOW!

BY PAT HICKEY

20p

Socialist Challenge pamphlet on unemployment available from Birmingham Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham. 20p plus postage.

of Socialist Challenge. It is well attended and I explain the need to fight for the occupation of the plant and the opportunities that exist for revolutionaries throughout engineering in the Birmingham area.

We agree to organise Socialist Challenge sales at

all the major car and car component factories in Birmingham.

Thursday The coach for the lobby in Brighton leaves. I stay at the plant and the shop floor collection goes extremely well.

Shop stewards are a lot happier with the feeling amongst the membership.

Friday Those who were on the lobby return worn out. The TGWU national committee gave its full support and the SD1 situation should figure largely in the automotive report to the TGWU biennial conference.

In the afternoon, Mick Clarke, and I attend a meeting of the newly established car council at county hall. We are given a briefing which includes, in addition to Rover Solihull, items on the general state of industry in the West Midlands.

The meeting is attended by Labour MPs, and councillors, as well as Brian Mathers, the regional secretary of TGWU. There are also Tory MPs and councillors and the regional CBI.

A committee is established and a press statement issued.

This body is going to be a problem for us later, or we are going to be a problem for them. We will have to make sure that it is the latter.



Photos: MIKE TURNER (Socialist Challenge)

The fight for socialist policies in industry 27-8 June, London

Socialist Challenge REVOLUTION

Industrial Workers Conference

London 27-8 June

Entry by ticket only from PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

For a new leadership in the labour movement

By Pat Hickey
(Deputy convenor,
SD1 Rover
Solihull)

THE Industrial Workers Conference organised by Socialist Challenge is a milestone in the development of our movement. It will register the first fruits of our struggle to have a majority of our members in the main unions and industries in Britain, and will prepare the next stage of the struggle.

Our task at this conference is to prepare our members and supporters for the struggle against the Tories and against those misleaders of the labour movement who control of the organisations of the working class.

Socialists must ensure that the removal of the Tories does not lead to a Labour government of the Wilson-Callaghan type, devoted to austerity measures.



Jobs

Resolving the crisis in Britain in the interests of the working people needs socialist policies and an unshakeable commitment to the struggle against capitalism. The fight to build a revolutionary party is an essential part of this struggle.

Unemployment has reached three million and

is still rising. Real wages are falling. The social services are being slashed. Unemployment benefits are being screwed down to subsistence levels.

With official encouragement, through such measures as the Nationality Bill, racism attempts to shift the burden of the crisis on to black people.

The advances that

women have made after long struggles are being taken away, as unemployment forces women back into the home and makes them dependent on men.

The reactionaries who welcome this development as right and natural attempt to reinforce it by attacking abortion and by placing the burden of social welfare on the family.

For millions of young people the crisis has taken away the possibility of independence from the family. In Ireland the brutal colonial war waged by Britain attempts to suppress the desire for the Irish people for national independence.

Unemployment is the biggest single problem facing the working class. For

those out of work capitalism offers only years of hardship. For those in work the threat of unemployment is being used by the employers to attack trade union rights, hold down wages and force through speed ups.

Support

The massive support for the Liverpool, Glasgow, London demonstrations against unemployment, the impact of the People's March, the occupations against redundancy at Gardners, Lee Jeans and Laurence Scott show that workers are saying that enough is enough, and are seeking the policies and leadership needed for a fightback.

But the policies they are seeking are not those the right wing leadership have offered for years. The last Labour government came to power on the back of big working class struggles against the Heath government. Under Wilson and Callaghan that government abandoned any pretext of defending the working class and turned to incomes policy and attacks on trade unionists.

Their policies paved the way for the Tory victory.

Under the Tories these policies have been carried much further but the right wing leaders have made Thatcher's task easier.

The shop stewards organisations which were born in the '50s and '60s

found it more and more difficult to respond to the changed conditions.

The old shop stewards organisation found that their traditional response of factory and sectional struggle was no longer capable of winning the support of the members.

In the successive waves of redundancy that have swept through British industry many of the old layer of shop stewards have disappeared.

Remains

But the organisation remains, and a new layer of stewards has begun to emerge. They have emerged in conditions that demand a national answer, national leadership and national political clout.

'For accountability and democracy'

Ray Davies, Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, chairperson of the Llanwern Steel Action Group sends greetings to the Socialist Challenge Industrial Workers Conference:

There is no doubt that Socialist Challenge has played a vital part in building the campaign for democracy and accountability in the Labour Party and trade unions.

The unselfish way it has provided its resources and assistance in the calling of fringe meetings at Labour Party and trade union conferences up and down the country has been of great importance.

An organised campaign for democracy is vitally important. The paths we have travelled in the steel industry in the last five years have led to nothing but disaster. I believe there is an alternative but this can only be attained if we organise for a trade union movement which is completely accountable to the rank and file.

Some years ago people organised for constitutional changes in the ISTC. Some of them were victimised. But for everyone victimised there are others to take their place. The rank and file are now more confident to say, enough is enough.

The demand for accountability and democracy in the trade unions will grow as rapidly and enthusiastically as it has inside the Labour Party.

This is crucial because the trade unions' primacy inside the Labour Party will be the vital continuing component to prevent the Labour Party from declining into just another bunch of arm-chair socialists.



Why I'll be there

By Elsie Broad, Royal Pride Strike Committee, Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades (FTAT)

WE'VE been on strike at Royal Pride, Salford, for 17 weeks fighting for union recognition and our jobs. In that time my attitude to unions has changed completely.

The most serious reason why my attitude changed was because of the factories we visited. There wasn't one that wasn't involved in some kind of struggle as far as their jobs went.

And yet, everyone of them was willing to help us financially. I realised then that the fight wasn't just going on at Royal Pride.

It was a fight that involved everybody against the tactics of the bosses and what the Tory government is pushing forward.

whole thing right in his pamphlet when he says: 'We have the strength, we've got the organisation. But have we got the leadership?'

If you look at the trade unions and the Labour Party, as they are now, the answer is no. Our job is to change that. The Tory cuts are affecting women more than anyone else. I'd like to see women organise more in the unions and in the Labour Party.

Why this conference is useful is that it is a chance for those of us who think the same about the union leaders to get together.

We can find out what is happening in different parts around the country and get the message across to the rank and file.

FOR the first 17 days of his hunger strike Bobby Sands, later to be the MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, kept a diary. This was smuggled out of Long Kesh prison and last week printed, in full, in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

We reprint an edited version which attempts to capture the flavour of what is a remarkable document.

The entire diary can be obtained by writing to An Phoblacht/Republican News, 44 Parnell, Dublin 1. Send 30p plus 20p for postage.

DAY 1: I am standing on the threshold of another trembling world. May God have mercy on my soul.

My heart is very sore because I know that I have broken my poor mother's heart, and my home is struck with unbearable anxiety.

But I have considered all the arguments and tried every means to avoid what has become the unavoidable: it has been forced upon me and my comrades by four-and-a-half years of stark inhumanity.

I am a political prisoner. I am a political prisoner because I am a casualty of a perennial war that is being fought between the oppressed Irish people and an alien, oppressive, unwanted regime that refuses to withdraw from our land.

I ate the statutory weekly bit of fruit last night. As fate had it, it was an orange, and the final irony, it was bitter. The food is being left at the door. My portions, as expected, are quite larger than usual.

DAY 2: Much to the distaste of the screws we ended the no-wash protest this morning. We moved to 'B' wing, which was allegedly clean.

We have shown considerable tolerance today. Men are being searched coming from the toilet. At one point men were waiting three hours to get out to the toilet, and only four or five got washed, which typifies the eagerness (sic) of the screws to have us off the no-wash.

There is a lot of petty vindictiveness from them. I saw the doctor and I'm 64 kgms. I've no problems....

DAY 3: I'm feeling exceptionally well today (it's only the third day, I know, but all the same I'm feeling great).

I had a visit this morning with two reporters, David Beresford of *The Guardian* and Brendan O' Cathaoir of *The Irish Times*. Couldn't quite get my flow of thoughts together, I could have said more in a better fashion...

They put a table in my cell and are now placing my food on it in front of my eyes. I honestly couldn't give a damn if they placed it on my knee. They still keep asking me silly questions like, 'are you still not eating?'

Got papers and a book today. The book was Kipl-

ing's 'Short Stories' with an introduction of some length from W. Somerset Maugham. I took an instant dislike to the latter on reading his comment on the Irish people during Kipling's prime as a writer:

'It is true that the Irish were making a nuisance of themselves'. Damned too bad, I thought, and bigger the pity it wasn't a bigger nuisance!!

DAY 4: I have not felt too bad today, although I notice the energy beginning to drain. But it is quite early yet.

I got showered today and had my hair cut, which made me feel quite good. Ten years younger the boys joke, but I feel twenty years older, the inevitable consequence of eight years of torture and imprisonment....

Noticed a rarity today: jam with the tea, and by the way the screws are glaring at the food, they seem more in need of it than my goodself.

DAY 5: ...I'm saying prayers — crawler! (and a last minute one, some would say). But I believe in God, and I'll be presumptuous and say He and I are getting on well this weather.

I can ignore the presence of food staring me straight in the face all the time. But I have this desire for brown wholemeal bread, butter, Dutch cheese and honey. Ha!!

It is not damaging me, because, I think, well human food can never keep a man alive for ever, and I console myself with the fact that I'll get a great feed up above (if I'm worthy).

But then I'm struck by this awful thought that they don't eat food up there. But if there's something better than brown wholemeal bread, cheese and honey, etcetera, then it can't be bad.

The March winds are getting angry tonight, which reminds me that I'm twenty-seven on Monday. I must go, the road is just beginning, and tomorrow is another day.

I am now 62 kgms, and, in general, mentally and physically, I feel very good.

DAY 6: ...I have felt the loss of energy twice today, and am feeling slightly weak.

They (the screws) are unembarrassed by the enormous amount of food they are putting into the cell and I know they have every bean and chip counted or weighed.

The damned *fools don't realise that the doctor does tests for traces of any food eaten.



Regardless, I have no intention of sampling their tempting morsels.

I am sleeping well at night so far, as I avoid sleeping during the day. I am even having pleasant dreams and so far no headaches. I wonder how long I will be able to keep these scribbles going?

I have no doubts or regrets about what I am doing for I know what I have faced for eight years, and in particular for the last four-and-a-half years, others will face, young lads and girls still at school...

They will not criminalise us, rob us of our true identity, steal our individualism, depoliticise us, churn us out as systemised, institutionalised, decent law-abiding robots. Never will they label our liberation struggle as criminal.

I can hear the curlews passing overhead. Such a lonely cell, such a lonely struggle. But, my friend, this road is well trod and he, whoever he was, who first passed this way, deserves the salute of the nation. I am but a mere follower.

DAY 7: I am 61 kgms today, going down.

I'm not troubled by hunger pangs, not paranoid about anything pertaining to food, but by God the food has improved here. I thought I noticed that during the last hunger-strike. Well, there is a lot at stake here....

The screws are staring at me perplexed. Many of them hope (if their eyes tell the truth) that I will die. If need be, I'll oblige them,

but my God they are fools.

And I may add there is only one thing lower than a screw and that is a Governor. And in my experience the higher one goes up that disgusting ladder they call rank, or position, the lower one gets....

It's raining, I'm not cold, my spirits are well, and I'm still getting some smokes — decadence, well sort of, but who's perfect? Bad for your health.

DAY 8: In a few hours time I shall be twenty-seven grand years of age. Paradoxically it will be a happy enough birthday; perhaps that's because I am free in spirit, I can offer no other reason.

I was at Mass today,

and saw all the lads minus their beards, etc....

One of the lads collapsed before Mass, but he's alright now. Another was taken out to Musgrave military hospital. These are regular occurrences....

I read some wild-life articles in various papers, which indeed brought back memories of the once-upon-a-time budding ornithologist!

I am awaiting the lark, for spring is all but upon us. How I listened to that lark when I was in H-5, and watched a pair of chaffinches which arrived in February.

Now lying on what indeed is my death-bed, I still listen even to the black crows.

DAY 9: ...I always keep thinking of James Connolly, and the great calm and dignity that he showed right to his very end, his courage and resolve.

Perhaps I am biased because there have been thousands like him, but Connolly has always been the man that I look up to....

Well, I have gotten by twenty-seven years, so that is something. I may die, but the Republic of 1916 will never die. Onward to that Republic and liberation of our people.

DAY 10: ...From what I have read in the newspapers I am becoming

Bobby Sands' hunger strike diary



Photomontage: Colin Headworth (Socialist Challenge)

into consolidating my resistance.

That is most important. Nothing else seems to matter except that lingering constant reminding thought 'Never give up'. No matter how bad, how black, how painful, how heart-breaking. 'Never give up', 'Never despair', 'Never lose hope'.

Let them bastards laugh at you all they want, let them grin and jibe, allow them to persist in their humiliation, brutality, deprivations, vindictiveness, petty harassments, let them laugh now, because all of that is no longer important or worth a response.

I am making my last response to the whole vicious inhuman atrocity they call H-Block. But, unlike their laughs and jibes, our laughter will be the joy of victory and joy of the people, our revenge will be the liberation of all and the final defeat of the oppressors of our aged nation.

DAY 13: ...I was not so tired today, but my back gets sore now and again sitting in the bed.

...The birds were singing today. One of the boys threw bread out of the window. At least somebody was eating!

I was lonely for a while this evening, listening to the crows caw as they returned home. Should I hear the beautiful lark, she would rent my heart. Now, as I write, the odd curlew mournfully calls as they fly over. I like the birds.

Well, I must leave off, for if I write more about the birds my tears will fall and my thoughts return to the days of my youth.

They were the days, and gone forever now. But I enjoyed them, and at least I haven't forgotten them. They are in my heart — good night, now.

DAY 14: Again, another uneventful somewhat boring day. My weight is 58.25 kgs, and no medical complaints. I read the papers, which are full of trash.

Tonight's tea was pie and beans, and although hunger may fuel my imagination (it looked a powerful sized meal), I don't exaggerate: the beans were nearly falling off the plate.

It was inviting (I'm human too) and I was glad to see it leave the cell, never would I have touched it, but it was a starving nuisance. Ha! My God, if it had have attacked, I'd have fled.

On a closing note, I've noticed the screws have been really slamming the cell doors today, in particular my own. Perhaps a good indication of the mentality of these people, always vindictive, always full of hate. I'm glad to say that I am not like that.

Well I must go to rest up as I found it tiring trying to comb my hair today after a bath.

DAY 15: Frank has now joined me on the hunger-strike. I saw the boys at Mass today which I enjoyed.

Again it was a pretty boring day. I had a bit of trouble to get slopped out tonight and to get water.

I have a visit tomorrow and it will be good to see my family. I am also looking forward to the walk in the fresh air, it will tire me out, but I hope the weather is good. I must go.

DAY 16: I had a wonderful visit today with my mother, father and Marcella. Wonderful, considering the circumstances and the strain which indeed they are surely under.

I've noticed the orderlies are substituting slices of bread for bits of cake, etcetera — stealing the sweet things (which are rare anyway) for themselves.

I don't know whether it's a case of 'How low can you get?' or 'Well, could you blame them'. But they take their choice and fill of the food always, so it's the former...

There was no mirror search going out to visits today — a pleasant change. Apparently, with the ending of the no-wash protest, the mercenary screws have lost all their mercenary bonuses, etc., notwithstanding that they are also losing overtime and so on.

So not to be outdone they aren't going to carry out the mirror search any more, and its accompanying brutality, degradation, humiliation, etc.

Why? Because they aren't being paid for it!

DAY 17: ...I saw one of the doctors this morning, an ill-mannered sort. It tries me. My weight was 57.50 kgs. I had no complaints.

The governor was in with me and gave me some lip. He said 'I see you're reading a short book. It's a good thing it isn't a long one for you won't finish it!'

That's the sort of people they are. Curse them! I don't care. It's been a long day.

I was thinking today about the hunger-strike. People say a lot about the body, but don't trust it.

I consider that there is a kind of fight indeed. Firstly the body doesn't accept the lack of food, and it suffers from the temptation of food, and from other aspects which gnaw at it perpetually.

The body fights back sure enough, but at the end of the day everything returns to the primary consideration, that is the mind. The mind is the most important.

If you don't have a strong mind to resist all, you won't last. You wouldn't have any fighting spirit.

But then where does this proper mentality stem from? Perhaps from one's desire for freedom. It isn't certain that that's where it comes from.

If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you. They won't break me because the desire for freedom, and the freedom of the Irish people, is in my heart.

The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show. It is then we'll see the rising of the moon.

increasingly worried and wary of the fact that there could quite well be an attempt at a later date to pull the carpet from under our feet and undermine us — if not defeat this hunger-strike — with the concession bid in the form of 'our own clothes as a right'.

This, of course, would solve nothing. But if allowed birth could, with the voice of the Catholic hierarchy, seriously damage our position.

It is the declared wish of these people to see humane and better conditions in these Blocks. But the issue at stake is not 'humanitarian', nor about better or improved living conditions.

It is purely political and only a political solution will solve it.

We wish to be treated 'not as ordinary prisoners'

for we are not criminals. We admit no crime unless, that is, the love of one's people and country is a crime.

Would Englishmen allow Germans to occupy their nation or Frenchmen allow Dutchmen to do likewise?

Must go as I'm getting tired.

DAY 11: I received a large amount of birthday cards today. Some from people I do not know....

I was trying to piece together a quote from James Connolly today which I'm ashamed that I did not succeed in doing, but I'll paraphrase the meagre few lines I can remember.

They go something like

this: a man who is bubbling over with enthusiasm (or patriotism) for his country, who walks through the streets among his people, their degradation, poverty, and suffering, and who (for want of the right words) does nothing, is, in my mind, a fraud; for Ireland distinct from its people is but a mass of chemical elements.

There are still too, too many who walk among the people bubbling over with false enthusiasm, false patriotism and false concern.

Political maggots and political opportunists and parasites, the Fitts, Devlins, Humes, Sticks, Haugheys, FitzGerald and the rest of those disgusting band of ambitious, unscrupulous wasters.

Total equality and fraternity can't, and never will be, gained whilst these parasites dominate and rule the lives of a nation. There is no equality in a society that stands upon the economic and political bog of only the strongest make it good or survive.

Compare it in any decade in history, compare it tomorrow, in the future, and it will mock you. There are no luxuries in the H-Blocks. But there is true concern for the Irish people.

DAY 12: ...Physically I have felt very tired today, between dinner time and later afternoon. I know I'm getting physically weaker, it is only to be expected. But I'm okay. I'm

still getting the papers alright, but there's nothing heartening in them.

I heard of today's announcement that Frank Hughes will be joining me on hunger-strike on Sunday.

I have the greatest respect, admiration and confidence in Frank and I know that I am not alone. How could I ever be with comrades like those around me, in Armagh and outside.

...I have poems in my mind, mediocre no doubt, poems of hunger-strike and MacSwiney, and everything that this hunger-strike has stirred up in my heart and in my mind, but the weariness is slowly creeping in, and my heart is willing but my body wants to be lazy, so I have decided to mass all my energy and thoughts

Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, Thur 4-5.30pm, Fri 4-5.30pm, Sat 11-4pm.
EDINBURGH: SC sold Thur 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Sat 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.
GLASGOW: SC sales every Thur/Fri 4.30-5.30pm at Central Station. Also available at Barretts, Byres Rd; Clyde Books, High St; Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Cresswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.
HAMILTON: SC on sale 8-11 every Sat outside County Bar Almada Street, every Sat outside Safeway 1.30-5. For more info contact Paul, 17 Clyde View or John at 54 Eliot St, Hamilton.

Wales

BANGOR: Sat 10-12 town centre.
CARDIFF: every Sat in Bute Town 10.30-12. Also available 1-0-8 Books, Salisbury Road.
NEWPORT: every Sat in town centre 11-12.30.
PONTYPRIDD: SC sales every Sat outside Open Market 11-1pm.
SWANSEA: SC sales outside Co-op, Oxford St, 11am-1pm, Saturdays.

England

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BIRKENHEAD: SC on sale at Labour Club, Cleveland St, Thur nights; in precinct outside Littlewoods, Sat 11-12.
BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643-0669.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpellier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
CHESTERFIELD: SC sold outside Boots, Marketplace, Sat 11.30am-12.30pm.
COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. For more info about local activities phone 461138.
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: SC sales in Time Square, Sat 10.30-1.30pm.
HUDDERSFIELD: SC sold Sat 11am-1pm. The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.
LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingley Arndale Centre. Corner

Bookshops

BANGOR: Rainbows, Hollyhead Road, Upper Bangor, Gwynedd.
BRADFORD: Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Sandgate.
BRIGHTON: The Public House, Little Preston St.
BIRMINGHAM: Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham.
DURHAM: Durham City Co-op Bookshop, 85a New Elvet.
ILFORD: South Essex Bookshop, 335 Ley Street.
MILTON KEYNES: Oakleaf Books, 109 Church Street, Wolverton.
OXFORD: EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd.
LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1

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IMG notices

WOMEN'S Liberation work — next fraction on 18 July in London. Venue to be announced.

Bookshop, Woodhouse Lane. LIVERPOOL: SC on sale from News from Nowhere, Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.

MANCHESTER SC sold 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.

NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd.
OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel. 061-682 5151.
OXFORD: SC sold Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.

SHEFFIELD: SC on sale Thursdays, Pond St, 4.30-6pm; Saturday, Fargate 10.30-12.30pm.
STAFFORD: SC on Sale Market Sq Sat lunch-time.
STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly, phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).

SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat, Regent St (Brunel Centre).
TEESIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.

WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; and Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.
YORK: on sale every Thursday, dole office Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vanburgh College 12-2; Saturday at Coney Street 11-1.

London

BRENT: SC sold Willesden Junction Thur 4.30pm.
EALING: SC sold Thur, Ealing Broadway tube, 4.30-5.30pm.
ENFIELD: SC at Nelsons newsagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.
HILLINGDON: SC sold Fri, 4.30-5.30 at Uxbridge tube station; Sat 10.30-12.00 outside Woolworths, Uxbridge shopping centre.
KILBURN: SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square, and Thursday 8.30am at Queens Park tube.
LAMBETH: SC available from Village Books, Streatham; Tethic Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk. Also sold Thur and Fri evenings and Thur mornings outside Brixton tube.
NEWHAM: SC sold Sat 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park.
PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon.
WEMBLEY: SC sales Fri 6.45am at North Wembley BR Station.

LONDON: Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Rd; Colletts, Charing Cross Rd, WC2; Paperback Books, Brixton and Charlotte St; Kilburn Bookshop, Kilburn High Road, NW6; The Bookplace, Peckham High St, SE15; Books Plus, Lewisham; Balham Food Co-op; Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd, N1; Compendium, Camden Town NW1; Owl, Kentish Town; New Beacon, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Bookmarks, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Centreprise, 126 Kingsland High St, E8; Dillons, QMC, Page One, E15; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Reading Matters, Wood Green next to Sainsbury's.
YORK: Community Books, Walmgate.

BENEFIT for Kilburn 33 Defence Committee. Irish and English traditional music. Sat 27 June 8pm-late. Hackney Trades Council and Labour Club, 96 Dalston Lane, London E8. Admission £1.50 (75p unwaged).
CAMDEN and Islington Troops Out Movement. Evening of international solidarity with the H Block hunger strikers. Sat 27 June, 7.30pm. Music, poetry, speakers. Hemingford Arms, London N1. £1.50, £1 unwaged.
SPARE BOOKS? Any books you don't want taking up valuable space on your bookshelves? Send them to the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP.

Conference of Socialist Economists 1981

On the theme of **Exploitation and Oppression — Rethinking Socialist Strategy**
 Bradford University, July 17-19
 Booking/details: CSE 16 St Alphonsus Rd, London SW4

ISLINGTON: Socialist Challenge supporters' forum on Thur 2 July, 'What way forward for the Labour Left?', speaker: Carol Turner (Southwark LP councillor). 8pm at Railway Tavern pub, St. Jude St, London N16.

SUBVERT the Royal Holiday! Badges: 'July 29 — General Strike against the monarchy!' Gold on black, 25p each. Postage 14p (up to 10 badges). Discount for bookshops etc. Hudson Pace Graphics, 95a, Bolingbroke Grove, London SW1.

Socialist Challenge News

One paper more!

By Yvonne Taylor, Socialist Challenge business manager

FOR most of the year, socialists lead extremely hectic lives. No wonder then that we look forward to the summer as a time when we can slow down the pace for a few weeks.

Most trade union branches, trades councils and campaigns shut up shop during August. And while many of us can't afford to go away for our holidays this year, we will all want to have a few weeks respite from the usual round of political activity.

Unfortunately, for the newspapers of the left, the summer can spell financial trouble. We depend totally upon the commitment of our supporters to sell Socialist Challenge regularly each week to work-mates, fellow students and friends as well as, in sales teams, at regular pitches outside factories, in shopping centres, at bus and tube stations.

Holiday

With both sellers and buyers taking their holidays at different times all through the summer, many of the regular sales we rely on can go by the board, losing hundreds of pounds.

Socialist Challenge recognises that our sellers need an annual break and the paper itself will be closing down for two weeks

At the same time, we don't want to see our level of sales slip during these summer weeks! On the contrary we want our supporters to use the summer to sell one paper more each week. We want to boost our summer sales to give us a flying start when political activity gets back into full swing in

September.

Is this possible? We think so.

For a start, we want all our sellers to arrange for their regular buyers to pay for and receive their copy all through the summer. If you can't arrange this locally, then make sure your readers take up our

special offer of 10 copies for £2 by filling in a subscription form.

If your regular pitch at a workplace or college won't be possible for a few weeks, we want your sales team to test out new sales areas: in pubs, on estates or in bus stations. You could use the summer to try new sales in bookshops and newsagents in your area.

If you regularly buy Socialist Challenge but have never tried selling it, now is the time to have a go! Ask your regular seller to give you extra papers to sell yourself or contact Socialist Challenge directly. We will post papers to you on a sale or return basis. Subscriptions mean that Socialist Challenge receives money in advance for sales and secures a guaranteed weekly sales figure for the future year.

Drive

We're launching a big drive for more subscriptions this summer. We are hoping that large Socialist Challenge Supporters Groups will be able to find at least ten new subscribers for the paper, and smaller ones at least five. This could bring in £5000 or more to swell Socialist Challenge's coffers.

The Summer Sales Drive will begin on 1 July and end on 1 September. While it continues, we'll be publishing regular details about your successes. Make sure your supporters' group is ready for the summer sales drive by discussing your local plans now.



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Get away from the wedding
Lewisham Socialist Challenge offers you a chance to escape royalty on a day-trip to Boulogne at the incredibly low rate of £10 London return. Wednesday, July 29. Please ring 01-691 8791 a.s.p.

Labour Womens Conference meets

By Penny Duggan

OVER 300 delegates from constituencies, women's sections and trades unions met for the Labour Women's Conference in Buxton last week. The growth in women's involvement in the Labour Party and trades unions was reflected in the number of new and younger delegates present.

They were determined that the decisions taken by the conference should have a real effect on Labour Party policy and activity.

Two of the speakers at the conference rally on Sunday night caught the mood of the conference. A

leading woman member of the ANC spoke movingly of the struggles of the peoples of South Africa for liberation and the new offensive which their struggle has taken.

Jo Richardson was greeted with rapturous applause when she argued strongly for the need for the Labour Party not only to adopt policies on women's rights, but to implement them through

legislation when it next forms a government.

The conference discussed many topics, ranging from the traditional 'worthy causes' to committing the Labour Party to campaign for women's right to work.

Debate

The most lively debate of conference was on the role of women's organisation in the Party. As delegate after delegate asked — what is the point of the conference when neither the conference itself nor the National Committee of Labour Women has the authority or the resources to decide policy or initiate campaigns?

The whole conference seemed to be agreed over the need for the women's organisation to have a stronger role in the Party.

But the division occurred on the practical means for achieving this. Two simple steps put forward, the right for women's conference to put five resolutions on the agenda of annual conference and for the National Women's Committee to be elected from conference were defeated after a stormy debate.

Policy

At present the resolutions from the conference simply go to the Women's Committee which in itself can only pass them to the NEC.

For the resolution to affect Party policy or even to get a hearing among the Party as a whole, women members have to have a separate fight to get them to annual conference through the constituencies.

The National Committee of Labour Women is at present elected through a secret ballot of constituencies for regional reps. The constituencies rarely know the women that are nominated and there is no chance to hear their political views before voting.

Election at conference would introduce the notion of accountability of the committee to the women members in the women's organisation who they are supposed to represent.

Voice

Replying to the debate for the platform, Joyce Gould, National Women's Officer, pointed out steps that had been taken to strengthen the voice of women in the Party.

The new journal 'Focus', the setting up of a NEC women's committee to discuss all policy documents, dropping the word 'Advisory' from the name of the Committee were examples.

But these cosmetic changes hardly allow the rank and file women members to have their right to influence Party policy and ensure that the Labour Party wins more women members through its campaigning support for women's rights.

Delegates went away determined to come back next year and win the commitment of the conference to a national demonstration for a woman's right to work.

Abortion campaign on the wrong track

by Judith Arkwright

IN THE UNITED STATES an unprecedented attack on abortion rights is taking place. If the proposed legislation goes through, abortion and some methods of contraception could be defined as murder.

In Spain the law courts are threatening sentences of up to 60 years for women 'procuring' abortions.

In country after country, the ruling class attempts to control the lives of women through controlling their bodies.

In successive attempts to curtail abortion rights driven back by the combined strength of the women's and labour movement. The National Abortion Campaign (NAC), which has always been in the forefront of this, held its national conference ten days ago to debate the key problems facing the movement.

Delegates

On 1 July the abortion facilities bill is going to parliament. The conference delegates discussed how to use the publicity and support around this to go forward with a campaign on positive legislation, and the role of the law in achieving a woman's right to choose.

The conference decided to hold a forum on facilities in the coming year open to trade unionists, women's groups and Labour parties to monitor the attacks on abortion rights, and to discuss what kind of positive legislation is needed to ensure a woman's right to choose in reality as well as in theory.

Aims

However, much of the debate centred on whether or not to change the aims of the campaign. Conference voted against doing so. Nevertheless, it agreed to organise a national contraception campaign. This means that the fight for positive legislation will not now be in the forefront of the activities of NAC.

Of course, it's true that the Tory government cut back in all social facilities including contraception. In the Brighton area, for example, family planning clinics are being closed. In Devon contraception is not available to young people without parental permission and Depo provera, the contraceptive drug, is used in an exploitative way on black and working class women in particular.

We have to highlight these issues.



But given the extent of the Tory attacks on women's lives, we have to choose the main issues on which to fight back. The measures attacking abortion rights in Corrie's proposed bill last year are being implemented through the back door.

Now is not the time to diversify our campaign on abortion rights. If we lose the fight on a woman's right to choose, then we lose the fight on everything else.

The conference failed to prioritise the fight for abortion rights in this country and solidarity with similar struggles abroad.

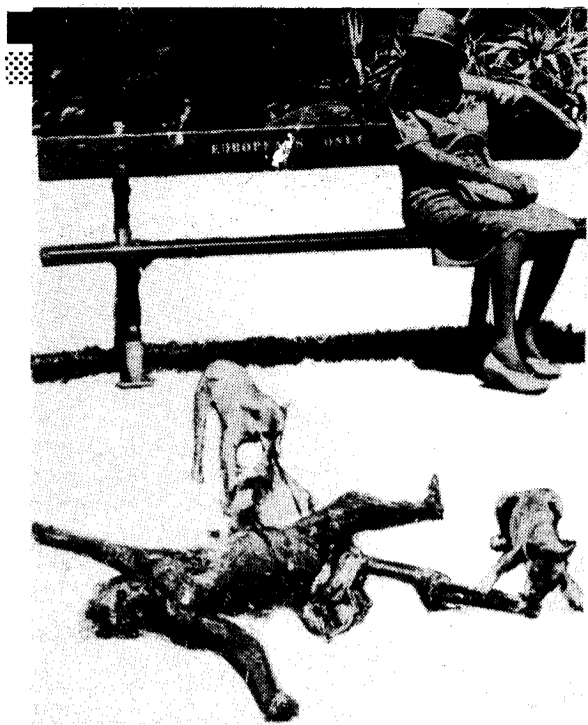
Socialist Challenge

supporters and others argued that this was a mistake, and that we had to affirm that the campaign on abortion rights was the crucial issue, whatever else NAC might take up as a subsidiary issue.

Unfortunately, the conference did not agree with us.

Many positive things were proposed at the conference. But over the next year we have to take them out to NAC's broad based support, especially in the labour movement, rather than get caught up in inward looking and sometimes rather fruitless discussion.





Apartheid's chocolate bars

THE article of N 'Ndabeni on 'South Africa's republic day' (11 June) was wrong to assert that workers at the Rowntree chocolate factory 'near Port Elizabeth' are on strike 'demanding pay increases and better conditions'.

There is a dispute at the Wilson Rowntree plant, which is in East London. In February nearly 500 black workers, members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) were locked out. They have since been replaced with newly-recruited labour.

SAAWU began organising the factory last year. Until then the only union was the Sweet Workers' Union, affiliated to the white-controlled Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). By October SAAWU had enrolled 753 out of 1,140 black workers.

The lockout followed the refusal by three workers in the toffee department to repair a machine. They had previously been given written warning for doing this without permission. When they were sacked a series of sympathetic actions took place.

Management claimed that the workers had dismissed themselves by walking off the job. In reality it was a welcome chance for the bosses to try to rid themselves of a union that had at last

begun to stand up for the majority of the workforce. Rowntree's admitted as much when they said that in 40 years of SWU organisation they never had a dispute, whereas in five months SAAWU had been responsible for 17 stoppages and 45 other disputes!

Interestingly, the parent company here in York has given full backing to local management. It also recently went against the trend by increasing its stake in the South African operation from 53 per cent to 100 per cent. Most multinationals prefer to remain minority shareholders: that way they can reap all the profits from management contracts, supply of technology, and so on, but still disclaim any responsibility for the operation.

Rowntree's is the biggest employer in York and our local Anti-Apartheid branch organised a picket of the shareholders AGM which attracted considerable coverage from the local media. We are now issuing a challenge to Rowntree's management to take part in a public debate on the question.

The local trades council has given its backing to plans for a public meeting and we are actively trying to build support for this among activists in the factory. The majority of the unions involved at the factory have sent messages of support to SAAWU.

TONY SOUTHALL, York

Letters letters LETTERS

Shock! Woman had lived with her attacker

TESSA van Gelderen (18 June) is quite right to point out that when women are attacked, raped, or murdered they are usually blamed for the violence used against them. This is particularly so when women have had any relationship with the man concerned.

Only last week a man was jailed for five years after twice raping a woman. He had held her for seven hours, 'threatened her with a hand grenade and a carving knife. The woman was knocked unconscious, stripped naked, tied up and forced to perform sexual acts' (*Daily Star*, 16 June).

Horrific, and the sentence seems a bit lenient for most people's standards. But wait for it... the judge told the man that he took 'into account the fact that you lived with this woman for over two years and I reduce the sentence substantially on that account.'

Whether long jail sentences

should be demanded in such cases is not really the issue here (although I think Socialist Challenge should take up the debates that have taken place in the women's movement on this question). What cases like this show is that society has a total contempt for women.

The daily papers were far more concerned with the 'titillating' details. Where they did mention the remarks of the judge it was only in the context that the woman concerned had obviously brought this horrendous attack on herself.

In fact, papers like the *Daily Star* were more concerned with pointing out that the 'stigma of the case' would mean that the man could never return to his home town. I think it's good that Socialist Challenge reports these kind of cases but let's have more in-depth reporting as to why they happen.

Mary Jacobs, London



WRITE TO US!
Think of this page as a noticeboard for your comments, criticisms, or even congratulations. Be brief, to leave space for others — maximum 400 words.
Write to: Letters, Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP. (tel 01-359 8180/9)



Unilateralists want unconditional disarmament

ALISDAIR Beal's persistent assertion (latest example, Letters 11 June) that it is possible to support both unilateral and multilateral nuclear disarmament contains a fundamental flaw.

The distinction between the two is not simply whether 'only one country disarms' nor whether 'all countries disarm'. The question is: What concrete action should we be trying to force the British government to take?

For unilateralists the answer is simple. We want the government to renounce nuclear weapons, regardless of what any other country does. For us, disarmament is *unconditional*.

Multilateralists, however, want the government to enter into negotiations with other governments with a view to bringing about mutual nuclear disarmament. Their approach is therefore *conditional*.

The two approaches are directly counterposed. Contrary to what Alisdair Beal says, it is impossible to support both positions. You have to choose!

ZAID MARHAM, Oxford Youth CND

Trades council's policy on Ireland

THE recent trades council's national conference discussed a motion on Ireland put by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

While Len Murray and the right wing attacked the motion, it was by no means a socialist policy on Ireland. The introduction sounded good. It condemned the partition and called for a united Ireland.

This was presented as a propaganda demand for a long-term solution, not something to campaign on now.

Some of the clauses were okay, such as that calling for an end to the Diplock courts. Others were definitely chauvinist, like the Bill of Rights demand, which accepts partition and British state interference in the Six Counties.

In Middlesbrough we got the trades council to ask every affiliated union branch to discuss the motion and report back. We contacted the local SWP and other militants to let them know the debate was coming up, and to argue for troops out now and victory to the hunger strikers.

The trades council was almost evenly split between reactionary opposition and positive abstentionism; that is, for the trades council to argue for abstention at the conference. We lost by only two votes.

The conference vote for a hodge-podge of CP proposals was a defeat for the right, but hardly a great victory for the left and the campaign for Irish freedom.

Unfortunately the question of principled abstention doesn't seem to have been widely discussed. We hope there'll be a better motion on Ireland up for debate next year.

ALAN THEASBY, Middlesbrough

Right on

SOMEONE brought home from a meeting a copy of your paper and I greatly relished the attack by Geoff Bell on Militant and its policy on northern Ireland.

Every week a friend sends me cuttings from the Irish News, a Belfast nationalist paper, and it occurs to me that you might cull the odd grain of wheat from that. I'll send you the cuttings.

FRANK SHORT, Birmingham

Maggie meets her match By Freddy Anderson

Maggie Thatcher died one day and with her neck of brass she thought that through those pearly gates that she was bound to pass.

St. Peter slammed the gates tight shut, and stopped her with a grin, 'Now if I open up for you, the devil I let in.

'And heaven is the home for souls, good deeds and kindly things, and Maggie, you have never earned a harp or angel's wings.

'Look how you stopped the children's milk, but don't you seem well-fed a fitter corpse I never saw for one who should be dead.'

St. Peter read the Doomsday Book, he read the pages through, 'Oh, Maggie, I see Tory tykes, but none as bad as you.

'You helped the rich get richer, you trod upon the poor, so heaven has no room for you, not even at the door.

'You raised the prices in the shops, the unions you'd destroy, and heaven is a friendly place of peace and love and joy.'

'You tried to ban Olympic Games, you'd spoil the World of sport, and Maggie, we've no halo here for any of your sort.

'But if it's war and hate you want, a place to suit you well is hotter regions down where you can kick up hell.'

Poor Maggie took her bags and climbed down the golden stair, but Old Nick stood with his pitch-fork and stopped her coming there.

'Oh Maggie, we have heard of you from every kind of source, and though our hell's a wicked place, you'd make it ten times worse.'

So Maggie wanders round the world, still burdened down with sin — for Pete or Nick are not the fools who voted Maggie in.



By Nan Bailey, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party (USA)

THOSE who are determined today to fight racist attacks, imperialist war, and exploitation and oppression in all its forms have much to learn from the life and ideas of Malcolm X.

Like so many who are radicalising today, Malcolm was a product of capitalist exploitation and the racist oppression it breeds.

'I believe that it would be almost impossible to find anywhere in America a black man who has lived further down in the mud of human society than I have, or a black man who has been any more ignorant than I have been; or a black man who has suffered more anguish during his life than I have,' Malcolm wrote in his autobiography.

MALCOLM X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925. His mother, Louise, was from Grenada. She was born as the result of her mother's rape by a white man there.

When Malcolm was six, his father was killed mysteriously. The family believed that he was lynched.

A high school dropout at fifteen, Malcolm took up odd jobs as a waiter, busboy, and shoeshine boy. Later, gambling, drugs, and pimping became his lifestyle.

Burglary

In 1946 Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in prison for burglary. He was twenty years old.

When Malcolm left prison on parole in 1952, he joined the Black Muslims, the organisation known today as the World Community of Islam in the West. He was given the name Malcolm X.

The Muslims were a religious organisation. What attracted Malcolm and many other young blacks to them was their militancy and their emphasis on taking pride in being black.

As a spokesperson for the Muslims, he became recognised as a gifted public speaker. In Philadelphia and New York Malcolm proved his capabilities as a leader and political organiser by recruiting hundreds to the organisation.

But in 1964 he split from the Muslims. Malcolm described the political differences that led to his split with the Muslims:

'I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggle our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation — don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practising what it preached, it was clear that this part of its programme was bankrupt.'

Malcolm spent the last year of his life, from March 1964 when he left the Muslims to February 1965 when he was gunned down, developing his political ideas, and acting on them. He spent close to half of that year travelling in the Mid-east, Africa, and Europe.

Negotiate

What were the political ideas he offered?

He said that blacks would win their freedom only by fighting for it. 'You get your freedom by letting your enemy know you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it,' Malcolm said.

Malcolm criticised conservative black leaders who counselled tolerance and negotiation in the fight for black rights.

'I say bluntly,' Malcolm once said, 'that you have a generation of Africans who actually believed that you could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate and eventually get some kind of independence.'

'But you're getting a new generation that has been growing right now, and they're beginning to think with their own minds and see that you can't negotiate up on freedom nowadays. If something is yours by right, then fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it.'

He told black people that we must



study our own history, that we should be proud of our heritage. His attitude instilled confidence in blacks who listened and looked to him.

Malcolm explained that blacks should look at the federal government as 'the government', not 'our government'. The government is responsible for maintaining racism, Malcolm said. The same government is responsible for the murder and rape of our brothers and sisters in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, he said.

Malcolm practised his understanding of the need for black unity and independent political action in the Organisation of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), the organisation he was trying to build at the time of his murder.

In Malcolm's view black unity was

an essential first step to progress in the fight for black liberation. This conception was embodied in the perspectives of the OAAU. Every black person who agreed on the need to fight for black freedom was welcome in the organisation. This kind of unity, regardless of political or religious differences, was what Malcolm advocated and promoted.

Strength

Malcolm explained that black people must decide the strategy and tactics for the black struggle. And that blacks must choose their own leaders. It's on this basis, Malcolm said, that blacks can make alliances with others from a position of strength.

These ideas reflected Malcolm's concept of black nationalism: black control over the lives and destinies of black people.

Malcolm rejected the concept of 'turning the other cheek' in the face of racist attacks and physical intimidation. He sharply disagreed with those civil rights leaders who advocated 'nonviolence' in the face of such attacks.

'In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, the Organisation of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done — whatever the price and *by any means necessary*'.

Malcolm X: 'by any means necessary'

The last year of Malcolm's life marked a deep evolution in his thinking on the question of race and the roots of racism.

As a Muslim, Malcolm had pointed to the white race of 'blue-eyed devils' as the source of the problem. He advocated separatism — that is, the establishment of a separate black state — as the only solution to racism.

Travels

But while Malcolm remained a black nationalist until the day he died, his thinking on some of these questions changed. The changes were largely influenced by his travels and discussions with revolutionaries in other parts of the world.

Even before 1965, as he rethought who were the real enemies and potential allies of black people, he said:

'We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their colour is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that black people in this country are afflicted by.'

'No matter what their colour is, no matter what their political, economic, or social philosophy is, as long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturine system that has been sucking the blood of black people in this country, they're all right with us.'

Malcolm clearly stated his abandonment of advocating separatism as the only solution to black oppression when he answered an interviewer's question, 'But you no longer believe in a black state?' with 'No, I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings on the basis of equality.'

Vietnam

Malcolm was a revolutionary internationalist. He denounced the US role in Vietnam and Africa. He exposed US complicity with the murder of African freedom fighter Patrice Lumumba in the Congo.

Malcolm explained why an internationalist outlook is important. He pointed out how the fight for black liberation in the US is part and parcel of the worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation.

He said, 'We are living in an area of revolution, and the revolt of the American negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterised this era...'

His starting point was that of a victim of capitalism, committed to fighting oppression and exploitation 'by any means necessary.'

In the OAAU, Malcolm was trying to build something never attempted before: a militant, democratically organised black organisation with a collective leadership. He understood this kind of organisation was what was needed to build a mass black liberation movement.

He was about to speak on the perspectives of the OAAU in Harlem on February 12, 1965, when three gunmen pumped sixteen bullets into his body.

Slander

Who killed Malcolm? The question remains unanswered. We do know that the government feared and despised him. The FBI spied on him, the big business media slandered him, and FBI files point to government complicity in his murder.

Millions agree with him that black pride and consciousness are the beginning of black liberation. That freedom must be fought for to be won. That among white and brown workers in this country black people can find allies in the fight against racist oppression and economic exploitation. That the exploited and oppressed in this country have more in common with the workers and farmers of exploited countries around the world than we do with the US government and the big-business interest behind it.

There is no more fitting way to commemorate Malcolm than to study his ideas and to share them with the young Malcolms in the unions and the black community who are stepping forward today to lead the fight for a better society.

From an article in *International Socialist Review* (February 1981).

Socialists take US government to court

The witch-hunter's dilemma

By Tom Martin in New York City

THE SHADOW of the 1950s hangs over America today. The witch-hunters are back, and though the code-word has changed from 'communist' to 'terrorist' their enemy is the same: all those who oppose the imperialists' drive for war.

Yet this time something is different. The shadow cast by the witch-hunters is just that: it has no substance. America has moved on. Nowhere was this clearer than in the appearance of a shrivelled old man in court here last week.

Herbert Brownell once struck terror in to the hearts of millions of Americans. As President Eisenhower's Attorney General, he more than anyone was responsible for sending Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair in June 1953 after their frame-up conviction for passing atomic secrets to the Russians.

Brownell's testimony was intended to back up what is now the government's only defence in this trial: that it had every right to do what it did to the SWP and YSA. That is, to get party members fired from their jobs, to burgle SWP and YSA offices, to open their mail, to tap their phones, and generally to disrupt their political activities — all for 40 years, and without uncovering evidence of a single criminal act!

Thunder

It was Brownell who stole McCarthy's thunder by accusing President Truman himself of having covered up for communists; Brownell who once boasted that he had 10,000 naturalised citizens under investigation for subversion; Brownell who publicly compared 'Communists and fellow subversives' to 'mad dogs' who should be 'put away'.

Wire

Brownell explained that it was all justified because the SWP were 'subversives'. How did he define the term? There was no need to, he replied. 'There was in general a consensus of opinion on what it meant.'

Citing the President's authority 'not only as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, but also as the person in charge of our foreign relations', he explained how this overrode the constitutional guarantees in the Fourth Amendment when it came to wiretaps and illegal break-ins to install bugging devices.

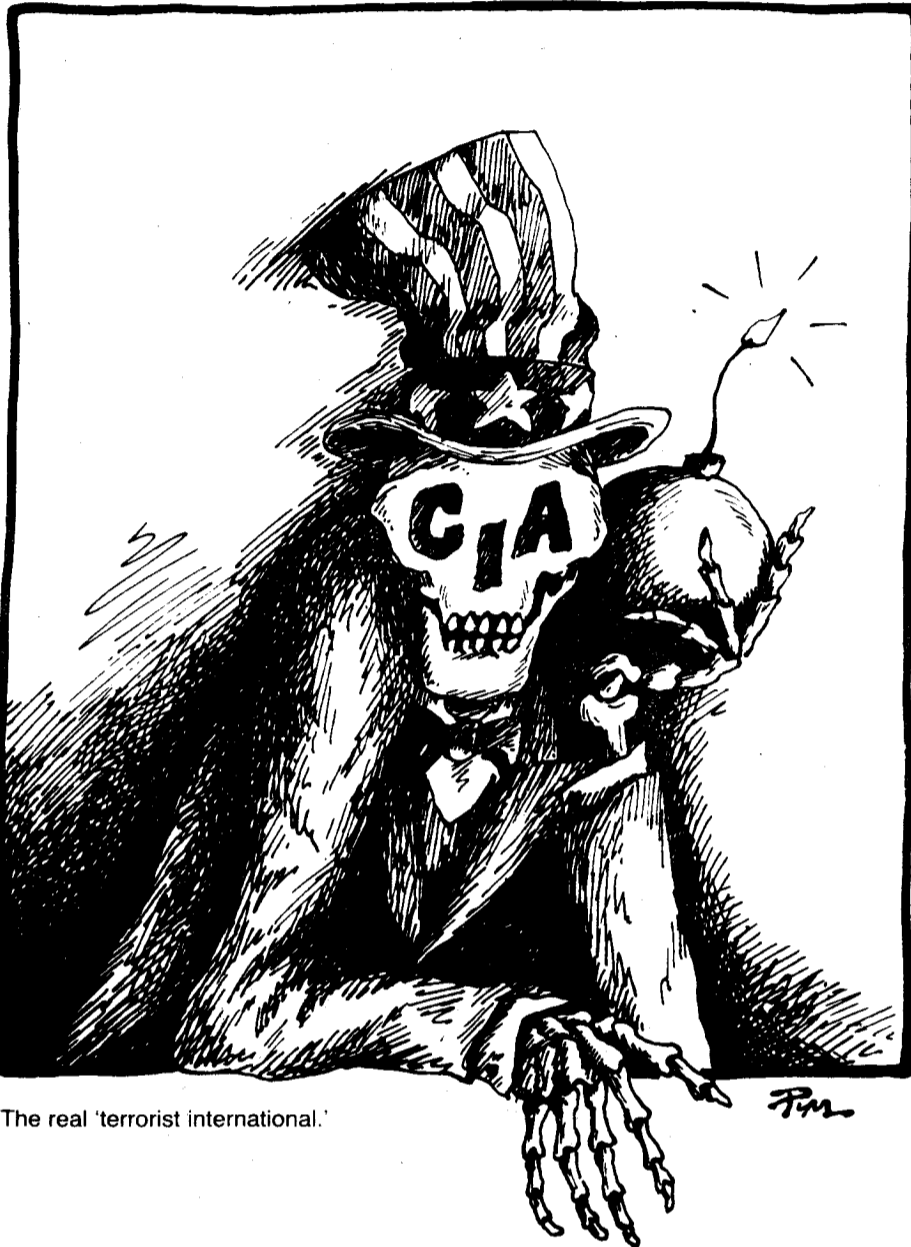
Fallen

But how are the mighty fallen! In the 1950s it was the United States government which went after communists. Today it is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) who are going after the government.

Their suit now being heard here demands \$40m compensation for illegal acts against them by the FBI and other agencies, and an injunction against such acts in the future. And Brownell was reduced to appearing as a witness for the defence.

Outlaw

Nor was it just a question of flouting the Constitution. Brownell further testified that as Attorney General he had given the FBI the go-ahead to use these methods even when court rulings appeared to



The real 'terrorist international.'

outlaw them. And this was supposedly the nation's chief law-enforcement officer!

Brownell was followed onto the stand by Robert Keuch, a top official in the Justice Department.

Keuch had earlier been called by the SWP/YSA to testify on the govern-

ment's authority for investigating them. Exposing him for a second time turned out not to have been such a good idea for the defence.

Already one contradiction had occurred to Judge Griesa. When asked whether the FBI had been authorised to *disrupt* the

activities as well as just investigate them, Keuch had said that, 'the Justice Department was not aware of those activities'.

But Brownell's testimony included production of a 1956 report to a White House meeting by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover which specified that the agency 'sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganise and disrupt' the Communist Party.

Splinter

Did that just apply to the CP, asked the judge, or did it extend to what Brownell had described as 'splinter groups' — including the SWP? 'I would say the latter', replied Brownell. So much for the Justice Department being

unaware of any disruptive activities.

Keuch could probably have survived this single blow to his credibility. But then a far more serious matter was raised by SWP/YSA attorney Margaret Winter.

At the end of his first appearance, Keuch testified that he had only been involved in the SWP case to the extent of once heading a Justice Department section responsible for working with the FBI to produce documents requested by the plaintiffs — and, in fact, that was even done by attorneys under my direction, not by me'.

But Winter recalled a Justice Department report on an inquiry into how FBI burglaries of SWP and YSA offices, known as 'bag jobs', had been concealed from the court between 1974 and 1976. No names were included. But one of the figures mentioned bore a certain resemblance to Keuch.

Bag

This individual had attended a meeting about the SWP case on 30 January 1975. The report quoted one of the agents present as saying: 'FBI agents discussed bag jobs in veiled terms, referring to them under the broad label of "confidential investigative techniques"... He stated that it was his impression that the section chief, in particular, understood what was being said.'

'Is that section chief yourself?', Winter asked Keuch. 'Yes, it is', he replied.

Nevertheless, the SWP and YSA are gradually forcing the facts of yet another government cover-up into the open. A report on the matter is now being prepared for the judge, who will then decide what action to take. Meanwhile Keuch's credibility as a witness has taken a dive.

Attorney

This is rather unfortunate for the government, which didn't have much of a case to begin with. Indeed, its defence almost stopped before it started when it called its very first witness, SWP leader Caroline Lund.

Defence attorney Edward Williams was determined to prove that the party kept a secret file of

Fourth International minutes. Judge Griesa wasn't really interested. 'Let's get to the merits of the case', he kept on saying.

Still Williams nagged away. Suddenly the judge exploded: 'I'm not going to have this. If you don't go on with the merits of the case I'm going to declare you to have rested (your case), Mr Williams, and I mean that.'

'But we don't have anything on the merits', Williams responded. He could hardly have put it better! A few minutes later Lund was allowed to step down.

Merit

The real merit of this case is that it is exposing before the public the way in which the capitalist state works. Watergate was not something out of the ordinary; Keuch and Brownell more or less testified that this is how the ruling class has always gone about its business.

And as they also explained, the new guidelines and other public restrictions on FBI activity came about not because anyone in the government had a change of heart about what was permissible.

They didn't terminate the 40-year-long investigation of the SWP because they thought the party had suddenly changed. No, it was because, as Keuch testified, 'there are different periods and different times and different needs'.

Protest

What was different in 1976 was that working people in the USA were deeply unhappy about Watergate, deeply unhappy about the way the government had dragged them through the Vietnam War. Their voice was heard in protest and the ruling class had to retreat for a while. That was what made the whole SWP/YSA suit possible.

Now the ruling class badly needs to seize the offensive again. But its basic problem remains. Working people don't want another war, and are opposed in their millions to even the present level of US intervention in El Salvador. That is the witch-hunters' dilemma. And as the SWP/YSA suit is showing, it won't go away.

'HANDS OFF THE POLISH WORKERS!'

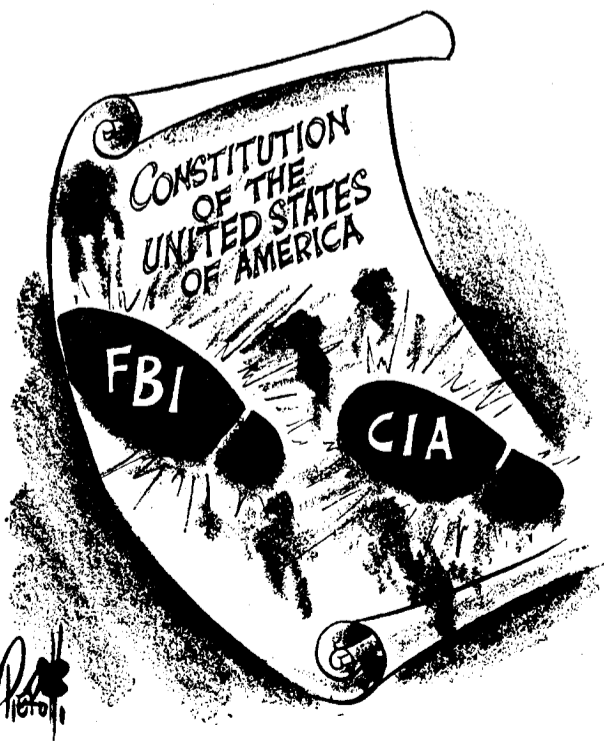
Thursday 9 July
7.30 pm
COUNTY HALL

SPEAKERS:

A Speaker from Poland, Wlodzimierz Brus, Eric Heffer MP (Labour Party NEC), Ken Livingstone (GLC Leader), Bernard Dix (NUPE, Labour Party NEC), Norman Jacobs (CPSA Executive), Tariq Ali, Frank Hansen

The Polish Communist Party Congress is due to open on 14 July amid efforts by the Soviet leadership to undermine the movement for reform in the Communist Party and disrupt the pre-Congress preparations. The 'Hands Off the Polish Workers Campaign' is organising the rally as part of its campaign in support of Solidarity and the movement for socialist democracy in Poland.

Hands off the Polish Workers Campaign,
c/o Graham Bash, 158 Thorold Rd, Ilford.
Tel: 01-514 0060.



The Italian connection

IT'S HARD on the US government, but real life has a way of backing up key points in the trial testimony of SWP and YSA leaders.

For instance, they have explained over and over against that it's not the socialists who want to take up arms and use violence. But they predict that the minority ruling class will 'seek to overthrow with force and violence' any free expression of the majority will, and they advise the working class to prepare itself accordingly.

The court hasn't seemed too convinced about this. After all, the judge is himself part of the capitalist state apparatus. But what happens in the midst

of the trial? A secret Masonic Lodge is uncovered in Italy which includes Cabinet ministers, members of parliament, generals, bankers, judges, journalists and other leading members of the ruling class.

Its purpose? The New York Times (28 May) quoted 'a ranking Western diplomat' as saying: 'If the membership list is even partly true, the organisation seems to have been created as a contingency structure to prevent the Communists from coming to power the way Allende did in Chile.' Which was, of course, through elections.

Makes the socialists seem like the only sensible ones around, doesn't it?

Art attacks apartheid

By Peter Feuilherode

'PRIME minister' reads the caption to a striking close-up of white South African leader P.W. Botha, wearing a bloody butcher's apron and displaying the heads of recently-executed black guerrillas on a shelf behind him.

This is one of the thirty paintings and photomontages included in Martin Lovis's exhibition, 'Art Attacks Apartheid', some of which will be on display at the 'Festival of Progressive Art' organised by the African Dawn Group from 21 August to 4 September at The Africa Centre, 38 King St, London WC2.

The collection provides a powerful visual record of

apartheid and black resistance since the Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa 32 years ago. But as Lovis points out, the symbols can also be read and understood by oppressed people in other countries.

He transforms the standard government hand-out photos of beaming benevolent politicians by blotting out facial detail and emphasising the shadowy and sinister atmosphere in the ministerial offices.

In 'The Future' we see Vorster and Botha looking to each other for mutual support while a wreath in the foreground carries the slogan 'God bless Suid Afrika'.

Another montage has the faceless men of the Department of Military Intelligence in front of a background of sophisticated military and surveillance equipment provided and maintained by South Africa's friends in the West.

Glossy

For 'Capitalising on Apartheid', Lovis has taken as his format the standard glossy group portrait of the board of directors of any successful multinational; but the faces here are more familiar to us in Britain: Thatcher, Oppenheimer, the chairmen of Barclays, Rio Tinto Zinc, Racal, and BL's Michael Edwards....

This is the third London showing for 'Art Attacks Apartheid' and Lovis is constantly adding to and updating the collection to reflect developments inside South Africa.

The colour painting called 'Soweto — Adapt or Die' has been used as the fold-out cover on a publication by the International Defence and Aid Fund on South Africa, 'The Whirlwind Before the Storm'.

As Lovis's work reminds us, the black population in South Africa constantly preserves and recycles the symbols and images of its economic and political struggles.

Now, in Soweto, today's news photograph is tomorrow's political poster.

The exhibition deserves a wider viewing than it has received in this country and Martin Lovis is prepared to hire out his work to galleries, festivals and the like, he can be contacted through Socialist Challenge's address



'Soweto — adapt or die'



Faceless men of military intelligence

South Africa—to the last drop of blood

The reality is different

THERE are so few programmes on television which present the point of view of those resisting apartheid in South Africa, that Peter Taylor's 'To the Last Drop of Blood' on Panorama (15 June) came as a refreshing change.

The film was not only sympathetic to the black struggle, but allowed its participants to speak in their own words — we saw rare footage of ANC guerilla training camps, trade union meetings inside South Africa, as well as discussions with a group of Soweto school students who were courageous enough to reveal their identities on film, and interviews with Winnie Mandela and other black leaders.

'Never'

The film also conveyed some of the strength and urgency of the liberation struggle, while showing the nature of the enemy it is up against.

The interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha revealed ruling class white ideology fairly well, and left no doubt that beyond a certain point, apartheid is not to be tampered with: 'Never', Botha replied, when asked if 'one man, one vote' would come to South Africa.

Pik Botha, however, had one strong line of defence which is the stock-in-trade of apartheid propagandists. He claimed that there isn't democracy anywhere in Africa: that there are one-party states, without proper elections, or freedom of expression, where political repression and censorship are the order of the day.

'You people don't understand Africa,' he snarled. 'What right have you to criticise us?'

Deny

Of course, the lack of democracy in independent Africa can't be used as an argument to justify apartheid, but nevertheless this argument usually throws liberals in the solidarity movement into confusion as they attempt to deny, or to apologise for, repression in black Africa.

Precisely because there is so little freedom or genuine advancement for the masses in post-colonial Africa, it is important to



Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life on Robbin Island

know the extent to which the liberation movement in South Africa sets itself different political objectives from the political leaderships of the independent African states.

What, then, did Peter Taylor's film have to say about that? Unfortunately, precious little. What it did say was superficial and simplistic when it was not actually inaccurate or misleading.

Exile

For instance, the African National Congress (ANC) was represented as the only significant political force in the black movement, and its ideology was stated to be anti-capitalist.

In fact, while the ANC in exile is by far the most influential organisation, it cannot claim to provide leadership of most current mass struggles inside South Africa.

Nor is it a revolutionary organisation with a socialist programme: with the support of the South African Communist Party, the ANC claims to unite all class forces opposed to apartheid.

The low level of the film's political analysis was also revealed by the silly contention that South African is surrounded by 'Marxist states' to the North.

By
Alexandra
Feldman

A more accurate observation, however, was that skilled, organised black labour is more feared in Pretoria than the ANC guerilla struggle.

A brief but interesting sequence on a trade union meeting of black workers at a SIGMA car plant showed something of the vitality of black trade unionism and workers' struggles in South Africa, but the commentary glossed over the implications of this by claiming that the workers and the guerillas were comrades in the same struggle.

The reality is more complex than this. The upsurge of black worker militancy in South Africa has not only occurred independently of the ANC, but also bears little relation to the ANC's military strategy of confronting the regime.

Future

The film also claimed that the Soweto generation of militant youth are crossing the border in large numbers to join the ANC guerilla forces.

While some have undoubtedly done so, it is also the case that when forced into exile by the repression at home, little future faces these young militants in the inhospitable environment of the neighbouring territories unless they join the ANC which is poised to recruit them.

For socialists, the point is not so much to denigrate the ANC as to find effective ways of supporting mass struggles in South Africa. In this task, Taylor's film does not help us very much.

One day Conference on Namibia organised jointly by the Africa Centre and the Namibia Support Committee. Saturday, 22 August. Contact Tony Humphries at the Africa Centre, 38 King St, London WC2 (01-836 1973) for details.



Winnie Mandela, banished and banned under Apartheid's inhuman laws

Socialist Challenge

Other Bookshop attacked

Fascists gravely injure socialist

By Davy Jones
FASCIST thugs viciously attacked Socialist Challenge supporter Sheila Malone last Saturday leaving her in

a pool of blood with a fractured skull. The fascists struck at 10.30 in the morning in The Other Bookshop in Islington where

Sheila works. The bookshop is in the same building as the offices of Socialist Challenge. Sheila explained: 'They were pretending

to buy badges when suddenly I was hit on the head with a lead-filled cosh or an iron bar.'

The attackers left a gruesome message:

'SS Deathshead NSDAP, Death to IRA lovers and all Communist scum, God save the Queen, Heil Hitler'. And on a cassette tape left in the shop they announced that all socialists and left wingers were now fair game for similar violent attacks.

Others

Even the police admit this was a political attack by right wing extremists. The blow struck against Sheila could easily have killed her or caused severe brain damage. As we go to press Sheila is to undergo an operation and is expected to recover fully.

This attack follows in the line of other fascist attacks against black people, Jews, gays, socialists — in fact anybody that opposes the barbaric policies of the fascists.

Fed by rising unemployment and the failure of the labour movement leaders to fight for a real socialist alternative some young people are attracted to the fascists' 'radical' solutions to the crisis.

Intent

Socialist Challenge's office and the Other Bookshop have both been the object of previous fascist assaults, including fire-bombing. This particularly vicious attack was clearly an attempt to intimidate socialists and anti-fascists and to deny our democratic rights to sell our literature and organise our campaigns.

Prophetically last week's Socialist Challenge was headlined 'Attacks on the increase, Defeat the racist onslaught'.

But neither the Other Bookshop nor Socialist Challenge have any intention of being intimidated. We will redouble our efforts to expose the fascists and to continue our campaigning activities.

Appeal

In that light the Other Bookshop has launched a financial appeal for £500 to purchase more security equipment and to help finance a convalescent holiday for Sheila.

We would appeal to all our readers to do the following:

- ★ Send messages of support/get well cards to Sheila, c/o The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N1.
- ★ Raise the issue of fascist violence within the labour movement
- ★ Give generously to the Other Bookshop Appeal Fund (address as above), including donations from labour movement bodies
- ★ If you were in or near the Other Bookshop last Saturday morning please contact us — you may be able to help as a witness.

Islamic reaction threatens gains of Iranian revolution

IRANIAN president Aboihassan Bani-Sadr is now in hiding. At the weekend he was impeached by the Iranian parliament.

Also over the weekend at least 24 people were killed in street fighting between Bani-Sadr's supporters, the left wing, Moslem Mojahedin, and supporters of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

This was followed by Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards summarily executing 15 people who had demonstrated in favour of Bani-Sadr.

Informed press reports from Iran now say that the country is on the edge of civil war.

None of this makes pleasant reading. When the impeachment of Bani-Sadr was announced, parliamentary deputies shouted: 'Thank God, America has been defeated'.

Support

To put it mildly, that is a misjudgement. The repression which is now an everyday occurrence in Iran will not bother US imperialism one iota, especially when it is directed against the leftists in the Mojahedin.

Certainly, Bani-Sadr has his strongest support among those sections of Iranian society who endorsed the despotism of the Shah — the middle classes and the officer corps in the Iranian army. It is also the case that Khomeini appears to have re-



Bani-Sadr and Khomeini in Paris in happier days: will Bani-Sadr end up back there again?

tained his base among the urban poor.

But that does not make Khomeini right and Bani-Sadr wrong, and it in no way justifies the repression

which is being directed against Bani-Sadr's supporters.

That repression, whatever the anti-US rhetoric, will be of little benefit to the 25 per cent of the population of Iran who are unemployed, nor will it be welcomed by the oppressed national minorities in Iran who have tended to support Bani-Sadr in preference to Khomeini.

Within those unem-

ployment figures, within the continued suppression of the national minorities lies one reason why Khomeini is conducting his campaign against Bani-Sadr.

Scapegoats

The name of the game is searching for scapegoats for the failure of the 'Islamic revolution' in Iran to qualitatively im-

prove the material life of the people.

In the past, Khomeini has blamed: left wingers and socialists in Iran; US imperialism, the Soviet Union, and many others. Now it is the turn of Bani-Sadr.

Although the ousted president does not represent the interests of the Iranian proletariat; although he wavers between a semi-social democratic Islam and reliance

upon the armed forces, he is not the villain of the piece.

The vengeance of Khomeini should be condemned. Not because of the politics of Bani-Sadr, but because it is an abuse of the democratic gains of the Iranian revolution.

Those gains are in danger, and the source of that danger is Khomeini and his Islamic fundamentalists.



Socialist Challenge

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

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Address.....

Age.....

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

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

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