

Socialist Challenge

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B'HAM 19 SEP



Exclusive!

Eleventh hour plot to stop Benn

AT LEAST 20 'left wing' Labour MPs — egged on by party leader Michael Foot — have joined a last ditch conspiracy to stop Tony Benn becoming deputy leader of the Labour Party.

Socialist Challenge has exclusive and totally reliable information that the MPs — members of the Tribune Group — are organising behind closed doors to abstain in the crucial second ballot for the deputy leadership on the eve of the party conference. Michael Foot has secretly advised MPs to adopt such a course of action.

Other leading MPs behind the plot include Neil Kinnock, Joan Lestor and Stan Orme.

Although these 'lefts' are pretending that all they are saying is 'don't know' in the battle between Healey and Benn, they are fully aware that, if their plot is successful, they will ensure that Healey will win the deputy leadership contest.

The concrete evidence of these moves is a letter, being privately circulated for signature among Labour MPs, which makes clear their intention to abstain. Socialist Challenge knows that at least 20 MPs normally associated with the 'left' of the party have already signed the letter.

Likely signatures include, as well as those already mentioned, Frank Field, Robert Kilroy-Silk, Oonagh MacDonald, Norman Buchan, An-

drew Bennett and Jeff Rooker.

In a further move by the 'gang of 20', Neil Kinnock, writing in the forthcoming edition of *Tribune* will argue the deputy-leadership contest is 'divisive'.

If the 20 were to abstain this will be the equivalent of 400,000 votes in the trade union section at conference. It will cancel out the support which pit-head ballots of the miners' union are expected to give Benn.

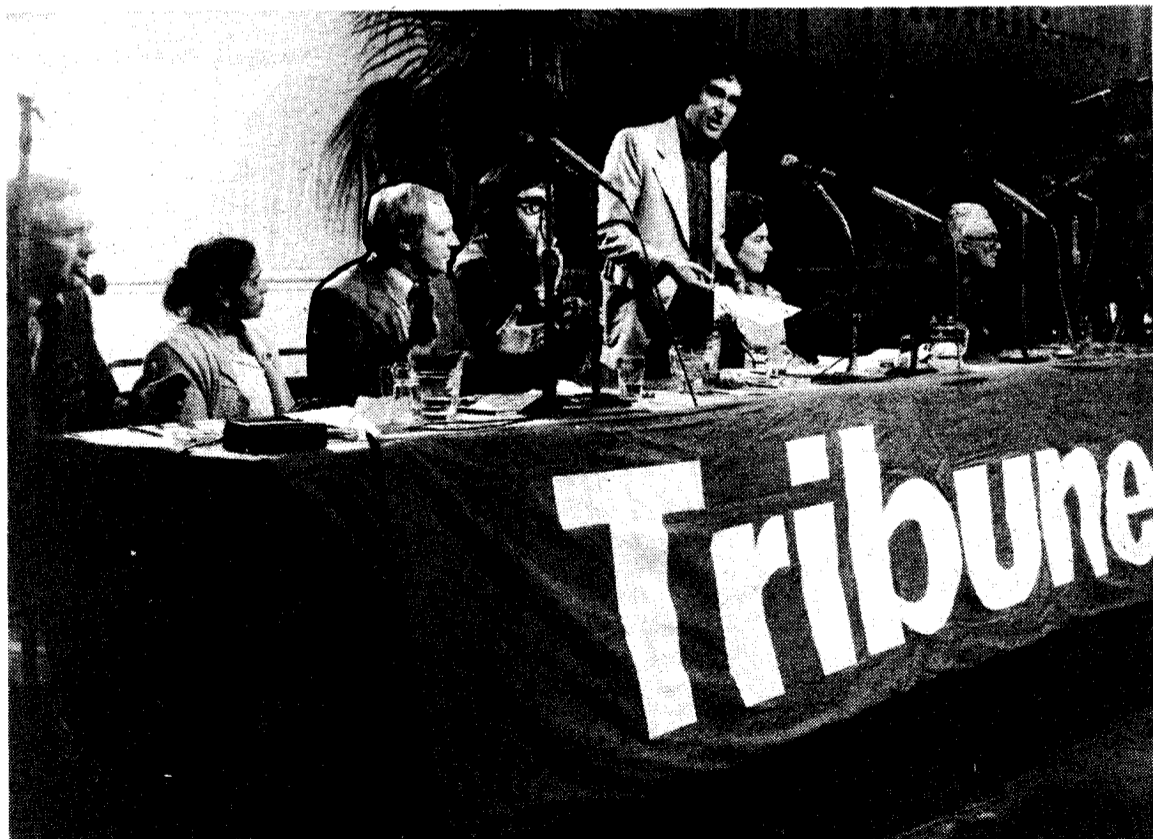
Kinnock and Lestor represent constituencies which have already come out in favour of Benn. Many of the potential abstainers are in the same position.

Kinnock and Lestor are also members of Labour's national executive, and are voted onto these positions by the constituency section of the conference. This has come out in overwhelming support for Benn.

It is because they fear an angry response from conference delegates and their constituency members that the 'gang of 20' were planning to keep their moves secret until the last possible moment.

In releasing the information available to us, Socialist Challenge has now made this particular part of the conspiracy impossible.

Now the real left in the Labour Party need to urgently organise against this pro-Healey plot in its entirety.



Sharing a Tribune platform with Benn in happier days — now they are plotting against him

KICK OUT THE TORIES

Editorial

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No tears for the wets

MARGARET THATCHER is preparing for war with the trade unions. That's the only interpretation of Monday's cabinet reshuffle.

The Tory leaders is surrounding herself with those who think that now is the time to go for the kill. The temperate Jim Prior is banished to Ireland. In his place comes Norman Tebbit, popularly known as the 'skinhead of Chingford' — no offence meant to skinheads who are not associated with the far right.

Thatcher has obviously decided that all the fighting talk and resolutions of last week's TUC are so much hot air. Recent history supports such a view.

Fate

The union leaders have passively observed the carnage of the last two years. They have stabbed in the back many real challenges to Thatcherism which have emanated from the rank and file of the unions. The struggles at British Leyland and Laurence Scott are obvious examples.

Thatcher presumes Len Murray to be of the same ilk as his favourite Tory, Jim Prior: that he too will go quietly to a corner and do as he is told.

Fortunately, the fate of all workers is not in the hands of union general secretaries. As the miners and Laurence Scott workers have shown, Thatcher has to take on rank and file leaders who are not as compliant as the TUC 'wets'.

Recognition of this reality is producing an opposition within the Tory Party to Thatcher, focused around Edward Heath, Ian Gilmour and Peter Walker. In an unprecedented outburst sacked minister Gilmour spoke of the new Tory crew facing shipwreck 'on the rocks'. The rocks in question are the working class.

Course

There is nothing progressive about the Tory wets. Their difference with Thatcher is that they prefer to go for a slow poisoning of the working class, rather than a quick stab at the jugular.

This government cannot change course. British capitalism is in too deep a crisis. It needs the workers to pay the full price.

The workers movement now needs to clear the decks for a fight. As a start, that means Tony Benn as deputy leader of the Labour Party. That process can then be taken right through the Labour Party and the unions, on the shoulders of a vigilant rank and file.

We don't need another 'winter of discontent'. We need armageddon. Our industrial strength needs to be mobilised to bring down the Tories. Nothing less will do.

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

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

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

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

Labour Party



Thirteen of Islington's sixteen SDP councillor/defectors — this wretched bunch of careerists have been subverting the Labour Party and carrying out vicious anti-working class policies for years

Islington Labour Party under threat

By Mick Sullivan, Islington North Labour Party

ISLINGTON Labour councillors face an intriguing and unenviable choice on Friday — how to respond to a Social Democratic Party proposal to cut the rates.

After last week's much-heralded defections and their council byelection victory the SDP now have 23 councillors and the Tories two. With at least three more of Labour's 27 councillors seriously considering joining the SDP, the Labour Party could soon lose control of the borough. The issue that threatens to bring it all to a head is the rates.

The Labour council recently agreed to raise a supplementary rate of 20p in the £. This was to cover the GLC fares reduction and the ILEA precept, plus a local supplementary rate to recoup Heseltine's penalties for council 'overspending'.

Rise

This rate totalled almost £3 a week for an average working class household.

Following last week's successes the SDP have tabled a motion to Friday's council meeting that the local supplementary rate be dropped. Ironically Heseltine then announced that the council will not be penalised by £2m, so the local supplement was unnecessary anyway.

Labour councillors are now left with the choice of dropping the rate rise with the SDP claiming the credit, or holding on to the money even though it isn't needed which would also drum up support for the SDP. The Labour left strategy of rate rises has got the Labour Party into this impossible 'no-win situation'.

Drop

Socialist Challenge supporters in Islington Labour Party have argued against rate rises, and for linking the dropping of the supplementary rate rise with a commitment to no further rate rises next year.

It is an indictment of the rate rise strategy that it

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST AT CENTRE OF ISLINGTON DEFECTION

The rise of a hardliner

By DAVID NORRIS

IN the 2½ years since he left the Trotskyite International Marxist Group to join the Labour Party, Mick Sullivan has come a long way.

The bespectacled telephone engineer is one of 150 hard Left activists, whom Islington's breakaway councillors claim have taken over the North London borough's Labour Party.

Mr Sullivan, who describes himself as a 'revolutionary socialist,' is said to be the thinker and strategist behind the moves which caused 22 Labour councillors to quit in disgust and go over to the Social Democratic Party.

In the shifting, changing world of Labour politics his New Left background is impeccable.

He once stood against Labour in a GLC election. His party at that time was the IMG. Later, he stood against

Labour again in an Islington borough council election as a candidate for Socialist Unity, a coalition of Trotskyite groups.

Now he is firmly ensconced as executive committee member and press officer of the North Islington Labour Party.

At his council flat home on the new Elthorne estate, 31-year-old Mr Sullivan said: 'I want a fundamental political change. I am a revolutionary socialist who wants the ownership and control of wealth to

be taken over by the people who produce it.'

Six of Islington's Labour councillors switched to the SDP in April. Last week the mass defection of 16 others and a by-election victory put the Social Democrats within sight of controlling the traditionally Labour-dominated council.

Mr Gerry Southgate, leader of the latest wave of defectors, said a Trotskyite climate of fear had led to long-serving Labour supporters switching parties.

Former Islington mayor Jim Evans, one of those who left the Labour Party in April to join the SDP said: 'I have no doubt at all that Mr Sullivan was behind this takeover.'

It started about 1975 when new members started coming into my Labour Party ward and taking over meetings.

Asked about his role in the Left-Wing coup, Mr Sullivan said: 'The suggestion that I was the thinker and strategist is far from the truth. In fact I am just a minor officer in the Islington North party.'

Daily Mail
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1981
15p

has allowed the Islington SDP splitters to appear as champions of the people's interests.

For as the *Sunday Times* admitted last weekend the defection to the SDP of Michael O'Halloran, MP, and sixteen experienced Labour councillors is a mixed blessing for the SDP.

O'Halloran's parliamentary career began in shady circumstances in 1969 in Islington North Labour Party. He won Labour's nomination as candidate on the back of at least three votes of delegates who were ineligible to vote.

False addresses, bogus union delegates and the ferrying of specially recruited old age pensioners to vote at crucial meetings remained O'Halloran's stock-in-trade to retain his power base.

The Islington North Party was suspended for

six months in the late 1970s after it expelled Keith Veness for criticising O'Halloran in a local paper, and refused to reinstate him despite a national executive ruling that the expulsion was unconstitutional.

The rest of the local Labour Party had its problems too. Tyrant of the local Council for many years was Councillor Bill Bayliss.

He created a storm by announcing that the old East Islington Labour Party was 'full up', and could accept no new members.

This blatant method of maintaining his grip was too much for the national executive who sent Bob Mellish, no left winger, to sort Bayliss out.

The defectors to the SDP have run the council as a private clique for years, just as O'Halloran ran North Islington as a private fiefdom. The Labour left have rightly

been organising for years to remove these enemies of the working class from office.

This struggle has spilled over into a struggle to remove the other two right wing Islington MPs George Cunningham and John Grant. Both now face a real possibility of removal through reselection.

One might have thought that the SDP had already scraped the bottom of the barrel in accepting these dubious Islington defectors. But no, their latest ploy is to try and create a witch hunt in the local Labour Party against the left.

So-called International Marxist Group infiltrators are blamed for the Labour Party's move to the left, with one Mick Sullivan as their alleged ringleader. The SDP have enlisted that well-known labour movement newspaper, the

Daily Mail to lead the witch hunt.

But the events of the last week in Islington show who the real infiltrators are.

It is the SDP and their right wing allies in the Labour Party who have infiltrated the Party, and who use it solely to win positions of power and further their careers. They are the ones whose policies have nothing in common with the labour movement.

Socialist Challenge supporters are a growing force within the Islington and national Labour Party. That's because we're recognised as fighting to build the Labour Party and to win it to socialist policies.

The best way to defend the party against the ravages of the SDP is to continue the fight for such policies and for the Party to firmly oppose bans and proscriptions.

How to fight the SDP

By Steve Potter

IT'S been a good week for the Social Democratic Party, and that should give socialists cause to worry.

The defection of the right wing of the Labour Party in Islington and the subsequent by-election victory have put them, within inches of hijacking their first local council.

The publication of their first set of policy documents was warmly greeted by the press.

David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party, has threatened to back SDP candidates against those of his own party who don't toe the line of alliance, and the latest MORI opinion poll shows increased electoral support for such a Liberal/SDP link-up.

Up till now the response of the Labour left to these events has been to trivialise these achievements, comparing them to previous split-offs from the Labour Party which subsequently disappeared. Comparisons are made with Desmond Donnelly's Democratic Party which split in 1968, the Democratic Labour Association of Dick Taverne and the Scottish Labour Party which was formed in 1976.

But the SDP are a much more formidable proposition. Apart from the massive and free publicity they receive from the press they are quietly confident of raising the necessary financial support to enable their party to fight a general election.

'No serious efforts have yet been made to raise money. But I don't think that it would be an inhibiting factor.' (Roy Jenkins, *Observer* 8 March 1981.

The reasons for the enthusiastic sponsorship which the SDP has enjoyed as compared to previous right wing splits from the Labour Party rests on its ability:

- * to act as a deterrent against further democratic advances in the Labour Party by providing a stick for the right wing inside the party to beat the left with.

- * to deprive the Labour Party of enough votes at both the general election and the council elections in May 1982 to have a Labour majority.

- * to provide insurance against the collapse of the Tory vote in the next general election.

For all these reasons, and for the foreseeable future, the SDP is here to stay.

How should they be fought?

The SDP stick must be taken out of the hands of Healey, Shore and Hattersley and used to beat them with.

Support

On politics. The right wing claim that the growing shift to the left in the party is building support for the policies of the SDP. The reverse is the case.

On disarmament Healey will yield nothing to David Owen in his support for Britain's nuclear

deterrent, for Polaris and for continued membership of NATO. He has made it clear that he will not serve in any Labour government committed to unilateral disarmament.

As against Labour Party policy Healey continues to be part of the pro-EEC lobby that has as its acknowledged cheer leaders, Jenkins, Owen, Rodgers and Williams.

In pleading the case for 'voluntary' incomes policy the SDP leaders are only proposing the same wage-cutting policy that was implemented by Healey under the last Labour government.

It is Healey who is building and feeding support for the policies of the SDP, not the left. Healey's policies are the policies of the SDP.

Disrepute

On Labour Party democracy. Healey claims that the process decided by the Labour Party conference to elect its leaders has brought the party into disrepute and aided the growth of the SDP.

The most prominent of Healey's backers, James Callaghan, says the same thing, calling for a reversal of the reforms already decided to restore to MPs the unchallenged right to dictate party policy in government.

But once again it is the right wing who are aiding the attacks of the SDP on the Labour Party by echoing their attacks on the new structure of the Labour Party.

The threat of the SDP to take enough votes from Labour to prevent the Labour Party winning the next general election is one that needs to be taken seriously. Given the changes in electoral boundaries and the growth of the SDP, Labour will have to win a victory similar to the landslide achieved in 1945.

The way to beat the SDP threat is to start to build for this type of victory now. Last July's Warrington by-election, when the media ensured a high vote for Roy Jenkins, showed that the only way to achieve such a victory is through mass political action, channelling the enthusiasm of the whole working class against the most unpopular Tory government since the Second World War.

Part of the fight for a victory over the Tories and the SDP is the necessity for the next Labour government to be committed to socialist policies, for a clear break with the Wilson/Callaghan/Healey governments which decimated living standards and doubled unemployment.

The fight against the right wing is a precondition for the fight to return a Labour government. If Healey is allowed to retain the deputy leadership,



Who pulls the strings on Denis Healey?



Plotters of the world unite — to keep the Labour Party out of office

there is no way that sufficient support and enthusiasm can be generated to beat the SDP and the Tories.

That's why the fight against the right needs to be taken through to the end inside the Labour Party, and not deferred because of the SDP threat.

At the weekend Tony Benn called the proposed alliance between the Liberals and the SDP 'a game financed by City of London bankers terrified that Mrs Thatcher might turn out to be Britain's last Conservative prime minister.'

The game is that those

voters who will abandon the Tories in droves at the next general election will, instead of voting for the Labour Party, be attracted towards the SDP/Liberal alliance. The Tories would then form a coalition government with the SDP and Liberals.

The stakes in this game

Birmingham Labour debates strategy

'WHATEVER steps are taken by a Labour government that actually challenges the right and the power of the capitalist class to invest where they want, to move their capital how they want, to sack workers as they want, will lead to a massive sabotage by the capitalists of the economy of this country'.

Pat Hickey, former deputy convenor at Rover Solihull, put his finger on the dilemma facing supporters of Tony Benn's alternative economic strategy in a debate last Saturday with Roy Hattersley and Audrey Wise in Birmingham.

We heard the right wing variant of the AES from Roy Hattersley, Birmingham MP now bidding to succeed Wilson, Callaghan and Foot as the next right wing leader of the Labour Party. Hattersley pins his hopes for a revival of British capitalism on a re-run of the 74-79 Labour government-incomes policy and all.

Audrey Wise, ex-Coventry MP, espouses Tony Benn's policies of planning agreements and state spending. Some of these policies we can support, like restoring the cuts, others we reject, like import controls.

But as a strategy, Benn's AES has a major flaw. As Pat Hickey, a Socialist Challenge supporter said: 'It does not say anything about how it is going to force the capitalist class to accept these planning agreements, these extensions of public ownership, in other words about how it is going to mobilise the strength of the working class.'

The meeting, attended by 100 people, was organised by *New Socialist* magazine as part of a Week of Labour in the Birmingham area. This Week of Labour debate culminates in the mass demonstration called by the Labour Party on unemployment this Saturday.

Labour Jobs Rally

Aston Park, Birmingham

19 September, 1.15pm

Michael Foot

March leaves Calthorpe Park, Pershore Road, at 12 noon

How the right rigs the ballot

Post office engineers union

By a POEU member

THE right-wing leadership of the Post Office Engineering Union has pulled every dirty trick in the book to ensure that our union casts its votes for Denis Healey in the Labour deputy leadership battle.

The POEU conference in June saw the opening shots in the battle for the POEU's votes. Eve of conference meetings organised by the Broad Left and the right-wing Mainstream group were addressed by Tony Benn and Denis Healey respectively.

The Broad Left had offered to merge the meetings into a debate, but the right wing declined. They also declined to debate the issue on the floor of the conference itself.

Following the conference the National Executive Council majority came up with a scheme to ensure that the union's vote goes to Healey, while

maintaining a cover of democratic respectability. Their answer was a 'consultative ballot'.

The ballot has been organised by distributing voting papers to every single member through their local union branch, regardless of whether or not they pay the political levy to the Labour Party.

With over 35,000 POEU members having opted-out of the political levy, that means that more than one-in-four potential voters in this ballot is anti-Labour.

The general treasurer of the union, David Norman, claims that the POEU has been forced to

include every member because of the 1913 Trade Union Act. He claims that the union sought legal advice which said that every member was entitled to vote, but the membership has never seen this reputed advice.

Under these circumstances at least one local branch, Westminster, has taken its own advice. Their counsel has said that far from forcing the union to include every member in the ballot, the 1913 Act allows the union to exclude those who don't pay the political levy.

Consult

Just to make absolutely sure that if all else fails and the ballot doesn't go entirely their way, the NEC and Stanley have made it quite clear that this is merely a consultative ballot and the delegation to Labour conference is in

no way bound by the outcome. A clear case of 'heads you lose, tails we win'.

In response to this blatant attempt to hijack the union's 78,500 votes at Labour conference for Healey, the Broad Left has tried to campaign to ensure the maximum support for Benn.

A national leaflet calling on members to back Benn included a special statement from Benn himself.

He outlined his support for the repeal of the British Telecoms Act, for renationalisation without compensation of any parts of British Telecom hived-off to private industry and for an immediate reduction in the working week to 35 hours to share out the benefits of new technology.

Countering the union journal's call to 'vote for the leaders who can win'

the Broad Left leaflet called on members to 'Vote for the policies that can win'.

It is clear to many POEU members that the NEC and Bryan Stanley have put their own narrow sectarian interests above the interests of the union itself. It is obvious that Benn backs the policies that by and large correspond to our own conference decisions, yet they have done everything possible to ensure a vote for Healey opposes them.

Whatever the outcome of our farcical ballot, the campaign to support the democratisation of the labour movement and the fight for socialist policies has to go on.

The days of the right-wing domination of the Labour Party and the POEU are numbered. The next election we're after is for the post of general secretary of the POEU.

Socialism
With A
Human Face



HEALEY

TUC 1981: waiting for Benn

By Brian Grogan in Blackpool

THIS year's TUC adopted a more radical set of policies than any in recent times. But the issue which dominated the whole conference was the deputy leadership election of the Labour Party.

The radicalism of the policies adopted by the TUC (see box) indicates the pressure of the rank and file in the unions for socialist policies. Needless to say however the TUC was silent on the struggles of the working class taking place under their very noses, like Laurence Scotts.

Youth

And the youth rebellions over the summer were mentioned as if they were events on the moon rather than a challenge to the labour movement to do something to get rid of Thatcher.

Of course, the Tories were denounced. TUC chairperson Alan Fisher of NUPE and the much-vaunted TUC wit, compared her to the talking clock. But this comparison more accurately fitted the people he was addressing. Thatcher attacks and inflicts wounds.

How can right wing

NUR leader Sydney Weighell's blusterings be taken seriously that the triple alliance of railworkers, miners and steel workers would be thrown into the battle to preserve public sector industry? In the recent negotiations with British Rail, Weighell signed an agreement which, if implemented, would cost 78,000 jobs and lead to hiving off whole sections of BR.

Then David Basnett, right wing leader of the General and Municipal Workers Union, mouthed fine phrases about mobilising against future shackling of the trade union movement by the Tories.

Not only has he not lifted one finger to fight the present Prior laws, but on the eve of the congress he was instrumental in the decision to throw the block vote of the GMWU behind Healey who is notorious for his failure to defend trade union rights.

But the TUC's huffing



Brian Grogan (Socialist Challenge)

and puffing had a purpose. Its future direction will be decided by the outcome of the deputy leadership battle.

If Healey wins, there are many let-out clauses in the left wing resolutions which can accommodate to his policies.

For example, while rejecting incomes policies under any government, the TUC simultaneously endorsed a Labour Party-TUC liaison committee document calling for the TUC to enter into a new form of social contract with a future Labour government. Many of the resolutions had similar escape clauses.

But the adoption of left policies showed the TUC hedging its bets on a Benn victory. As the bosses' magazine, the *Economist*, put it: 'The unions are divided over the deputy leadership... But the policies the unions backed this week... are

those of Mr Benn.'

Highlight of the conference was an unscheduled event not even on the official agenda: The *New Socialist*-sponsored deputy leadership debate. It was two against one: Healey and Silkin against Benn.

Tony Benn had the largest backing from the audience for his support for radical policies. Socialist Challenge has explained many times why we support Benn's campaign for deputy leader. Nevertheless, it was Silkin who came out best from the debate.

Silkin

Silkin managed to identify himself with the left policies of the TUC and Labour Party, while at the same time endearing himself to the TUC tops for his attacks on Benn's disruption of the cosy relations between the TUC

and Labour Party leaders.

Healey pugnaciously attacked the left and Benn in particular. He may not have won much sympathy from the audience but his sharpness put Benn on the spot. 'You are not just going for the deputy leadership, but the leadership of the whole party,' Healey accused.

Benn's reply, that he was the only one of the three candidates to have

voted for Foot in both rounds of the leadership election, dodged the issue.

Policy

For example Benn explained that people need to know whether a future Labour government will implement party policy on unilateral disarmament or the policy of its front bench spokesperson.

This is true — but who

appointed Brynmor John, who opposes unilateral disarmament, to his front bench position on defence? Michael Foot, whom Benn claims to support.

If Benn is right that the struggle in the Labour Party is about policies not personalities then it's inevitable that he will come up against Foot as party leader, who doesn't support party policy.

TUC backs Turkish socialist

THE campaign to save the life of Turkish socialist Dogan Tarkan received a boost last week at Blackpool.

Dogan is facing deportation from this country, his application for asylum has been turned down. He will receive a death sentence if returned to Turkey's ruling generals, who have already executed ten people during their first year in power. His crime is to have been a socialist militant.

An emergency resolution moved

by Bill Deal of the Fire Brigades Union supporting Dogan's case was passed overwhelmingly under the section of the TUC Annual Report on repression of Turkish trade unions. Activists in the labour movement can give substance to this resolution by campaigning in their branches for action to save Dogan's life.

All resolutions, letters, messages of support directed to the Home Office should be sent to Friends of Dogan Tarkan, c/o Turkey Solidarity Campaign, BM Box 5965, London WC1N 3XX.

Decisions of the TUC

- ★ Rejection of all wage restraint under any government — for the first time in 15 years.
- ★ Clear support for unilateral nuclear disarmament for the first time in TUC history
- ★ Support for a £25bn public investment plan to deal with unemployment and 'reconstruct British industry', including generalising the 35 hour week and a campaign against overtime
- ★ Special emphasis on the fight against youth unemployment and the use of YOPs schemes to undercut union rates
- ★ Support for the right of women to work and a national campaign to recruit women to the unions. It will work for changes to the Sex Discrimination Act in line with positive action for women
- ★ Joint TUC/Labour Party action to resist public expenditures cuts to fight hiving off nationalised industries and for re-nationalisation without compensation of hived-off state industries
- ★ Action against any further anti-union shackles proposed by the Tories
- ★ Immediate withdrawal from the EEC without a prior referendum

Laurence Scott Duffy and Boyd under pressure

Brian Grogan reports from TUC, Blackpool

LAURENCE SCOTT workers lobbied the TUC last week. It was part of a campaign the strikers are waging to get a recall National Committee of the Engineering union, AUEW, to reverse the decision of the executive to withdraw official recognition.

The response from the TUC delegates to the lobby showed the struggle of Laurence Scott workers is having an impact in the trade union movement — and Sir John Boyd and Terry Duffy, the right wing leaders of the AUEW, are clearly feeling the pressure.

The right wing in the union are beginning to realise that the LSE workers won't go away. Executive member, John

Wheatley asked for a meeting with the leaders of the lobby, five weeks after withdrawal of recognition.

Further support came when the AUEW delegation held a collection for this 'unofficial' dispute. Many MPs and trade

union leaders are offering their support.

Ron Halverson, leading left AUEW delegate has given his backing as have Jim Slater of the National Union of Seamen, Eric Clarke of the Scottish miners' union and

Jimmy Milne, Scottish TUC general secretary.

Both Tony Benn and John Silkin went out of their way to shake hands with the LSE workers on the lobby. Sacked BL Longbridge convenor, Derek Robinson and now Broad Left candidate in

the forthcoming AUEW elections, spoke at a fringe meeting at the TUC organised on behalf of the Laurence Scott strike.

'The Laurence Scott struggle,' he said, is a platform for all workers to launch the fight against mass redundancies and this Tory government.' The LSE strike has become an issue for the

Committee continued to back the dispute.

In such a situation, rule 14, clause 16 of the AUEW constitution states: 'In all cases of disagreement between the district or districts affected and the Executive Council, the whole case shall be submitted to, and decided by, the vote of the Na-

the union itself which advised the workers to cash in the redundancy pay. But the real stumbling block has been the insistence of the LSE workers that they will not accept any deal which involves compulsory redundancies.

It's that determined stand which has resulted in financial and moral support from 145 AUEW branches. That is why John Tocher, divisional organiser of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, has written to the Executive demanding a recall NC to consider the dispute according to union rules.

This action has been endorsed by the Manchester North District Committee. The LSE workers themselves have written to every NC member to get a recall meeting. And the Manchester North District Committee are holding meetings of stewards to discuss and advance the campaign.

All AUEW branches should discuss the LSE dispute and demand a recall of the NC. All the Confed unions should be bombarded with resolutions.

'The fight of the Laurence Scott workers is important to every trade unionist in Britain, because the people of Laurence Scotts are fighting for the future of British industry and that is the key to our future.'

Tony Benn MP at the LSE lobby of TUC

Broad Left against the right wing leadership in the coming election campaign.

In their haste and determination to smash the LSE struggle, Boyd and Duffy have blatantly broken union rules.

The EC decided to withdraw official recognition after a mass meeting had, on two separate occasions, overwhelmingly rejected a sell-out return to work formula fudged up by national officials with management. The Manchester North District

tional Committee, to which both sides of the question may be put by each party concerned.'

This rule has been trampled upon by Duffy and Boyd. They have sent out a slanderous letter to all 2,500 branches of the AUEW stating that the real problem preventing a settlement is the supposed refusal of the LSE workers to hand back the unsolicited redundancy payments made by the LSE management.

The fact is that it was



Photo: Brian Grogan (Socialist Challenge)

John Silkin, Property speculator, reading the message from the Scotts lobby of the TUC

What can I do to save my job?

THREE million unemployed is more than a grim statistic. It represents three million people thrown on the scrap heap, unable to contribute usefully to society. Some will be there for the rest of their lives. What can be done about it?

There aren't any simple answers and sometimes there are answers that are just plain wrong. In an occasional series, Socialist Challenge looks at some of the questions that workers are asking in the hope of saving their jobs. This week BRIAN HERON takes up the questions.

Would it help to lessen unemployment if we all, including industry, bought British?

No. It will make it worse. First, every item bought by workers and their families contains some 'foreign' part.

This is because, while the British bosses are willing to feed their workforce on patriotism, they go wherever they can make a profit and buy their resources cheap.

The main producers are multi-nationals. For example, 70 per cent of the components of the brave new British Mini Metro are foreign.

Secondly, if cheap goods come into Britain, it means the workers can buy more. If we buy dearer British goods, our

living standards go down. Less money to spend — less goods bought — more unemployment.

Our enemy is the boss. Our allies are other workers here and abroad.

And that is the political problem with the argument 'Buy British'. It lines us up with our enemy.

Even if a Labour government applied import controls, it would be met with massive international retaliation against British exports and hence more jobs lost.

If my job's being threatened, surely I'd be better off taking a cut in wages than lose my job? After all, the boss can't help it if he can't afford to pay.

The facts show the opposite. In industry after industry, where workers have accepted below inflation wage increases, that is a wage cut, they have been the hardest hit when it comes to unemployment.

Those sectors which have fought on wages have had the most success on the jobs front. The miners are a classic case.

The point is we can't take responsibility for a crisis of a system that we don't own and that we don't control. If we do, we'll end up footing the bill for the whole crisis.

Of course, not every workforce is strong enough to win every fight. But even those who fight and lose do better than those who don't.

— And to be in a position where you're all prepared to fight, you've got to win the arguments. Cut hours, not jobs!

You've got to admit industry — and local and national government for that matter — are overstaffed and inefficient. Wouldn't we all benefit if there was a shake out?

Capitalism misuses all the resources it owns and controls, including labour power. For example, look at the resources wasted on producing the 57th variety of washing up liquid.

In the process a bureaucracy has been produced, and weird and wonderful staffing arrangements tied up with capitalism's completely irrational way of producing things.

The root of the problem is that what gets produced is decided by profit and not human needs. Until these fundamental problems are tackled, fighting so-called overstaffing is nothing else than a hypocritical cover for an attack on workers' jobs.

We can see the bosses' real priorities, because, despite their waffle on the need for a shake out of the economy as a whole, it's in the pits, factories and offices that they propose to start — not the top heavy board rooms, the military and the police.

All these people are completely unproductive and a positive menace.

If you have any questions you'd like answered in this column please write to us c/o PO Box 50, London N1.

Following in Laurence Scott's footsteps

**striking
Start living with
Schreiber**

By Phil Davies, Ex-convenor, Schreiber's Manchester

THE TWO week old dispute at Schreiber's Run-corn is now affecting the whole northern Schreiber group. 420 workers who maintain a 24-hour picket, are striking to save 88 jobs.

At the nearby Whitehouse plant, the 20 workers are out in sympathy which has led to another 600 being laid off in the North West.

Despite all the Run-corn strikers receiving redundancy notices they are standing firm. They are convinced that worksharing is a real alternative to the proposed redundancies.

This latest battle comes at a time of union bashing in the Manchester and Bolton factories where leading activists, including myself, have been sacked. This strike, therefore, is important for taking on Schreiber's, which is a subsidiary of GEC.

The future of our union, the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades, FTAT, is also at stake. There has been a massive run down of labour in the industry.

The strike was made official the day after it started in line with our union policy that we give full support to those who act to defend their jobs.

This strike is crucial for the Merseyside area which has taken such a hammering. Now at last a group of workers have joined Laurence Scott to say 'enough is enough'.

Send messages of support and donations to: Schreiber Welfare Fund, c/o FTAT District Office, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

Jobs not Bombs

Jobs not bombs

TUC decision boosts CND demo

By Brian Grogan, Blackpool.

THE TUC for the first time in its history went on record in favour of Britain unilaterally renouncing nuclear weapons. The resolution also came out against the siting of Cruise missiles, and against the Trident project for the removal of all nuclear bases including those of the US.

It will be very difficult for the right wing to draw any comfort from this resolution. An amendment arguing the multilateralist case was decisively rejected by conference.

Larry Smith, national officer of the Transport Union argued his case on the basis that nuclear weapons made Britain a target for aggression rather than a defence against it. This approach gave, therefore, some credibility to the backward rantings of our very own trade union baron Sir John Boyd, who was able to start from the assumption that imperial Britain was somehow or other a victim of aggression.

Britain's imperialist role on a world scale was not brought into question. Nor was Britain's full backing for the mad adventures of the US in places like El Salvador and by proxy through Israel in the Arab East and South Africa in Angola and other southern African states.

No clear links were made between the priorities of our profit-oriented system and the drive for remilitarisation and nuclear aggression in which Britain is the guilty party.

This was despite the fact that Ray Buckton, of the traindrivers union, in seconding the motion was able to note that a mere 3 per cent reduction in arms spending would pay for electrification of the railways for which presently 78,000 jobs are being traded.

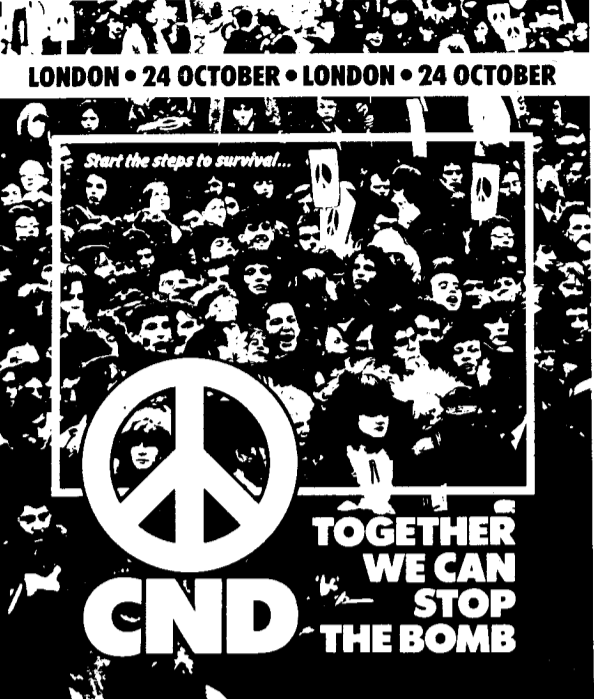
Nonetheless, the adoption of this motion by the TUC removes every single barrier to building a truly massive demonstration on 24 October, the date set by CND to protest the siting of Cruise and the decisions to produce the neutron bomb for use in the European theatre.

This madness can be stopped if the power of the industrial unions is fully utilised. While the TUC tops have no intention of mobilising this strength, the terms of this resolution on unilateralism and government aid for alternative work can be a mighty weapon in the hands of the tens of thousands of activists who have already understood the significance of the call for Jobs not Bombs.

This is also the way to ensure that the now certain manifesto commitment on unilateral disarmament of the next Labour government is actually implemented.



'Jobs not Bombs' T-shirt. Red and black on yellow. Ideal for all unemployment and CND demos. Only £2.99 incl p&p. Sizes medium and large. Orders to SCD T-shirts, PO Box 50, London N1. Cheques payable to 'The Week'.



Youth On Poverty Schemes

By Mary Jacobs

ONE out of every two school leavers will be placed on a Youth Opportunities Programme this year. Sounds good? Well just turn that statement around.

One out of every two school leavers at least will not have a job to go to this year. That's what it really means. That's not a future for anyone. And even if you do manage to get on one of these schemes, other than reducing the unemployment statistics, you're not likely to get much out of it.

The trade union movement has at last woken up to the fact that YOPs are a cheap form of labour that offers little or no training for young people, and certainly no job at the end of it all.

Ghost

Now youth themselves are fighting back against lousy pay and conditions. In June, in Consett, which is a ghost town after the steel works closed down a year ago, YOPs workers went on strike.

The northern division of the public employees' union, NUPE, have launched a campaign to unionise young workers on YOPs. On 28 August they held a rally in Newcastle. Over 500 young workers attended despite losing £4.50 from their 'wages'. Tom Sawyer, NUPE divisional secretary, writing in *Labour Herald*, points out that 'many young workers see the unions as part of the bureaucracy which has been instrumental in channeling them from the dole

queues into schemes which are unable to provide real training or work experiences. They know that after a short period they will be back in the pool of the permanently unemployed.'

Future

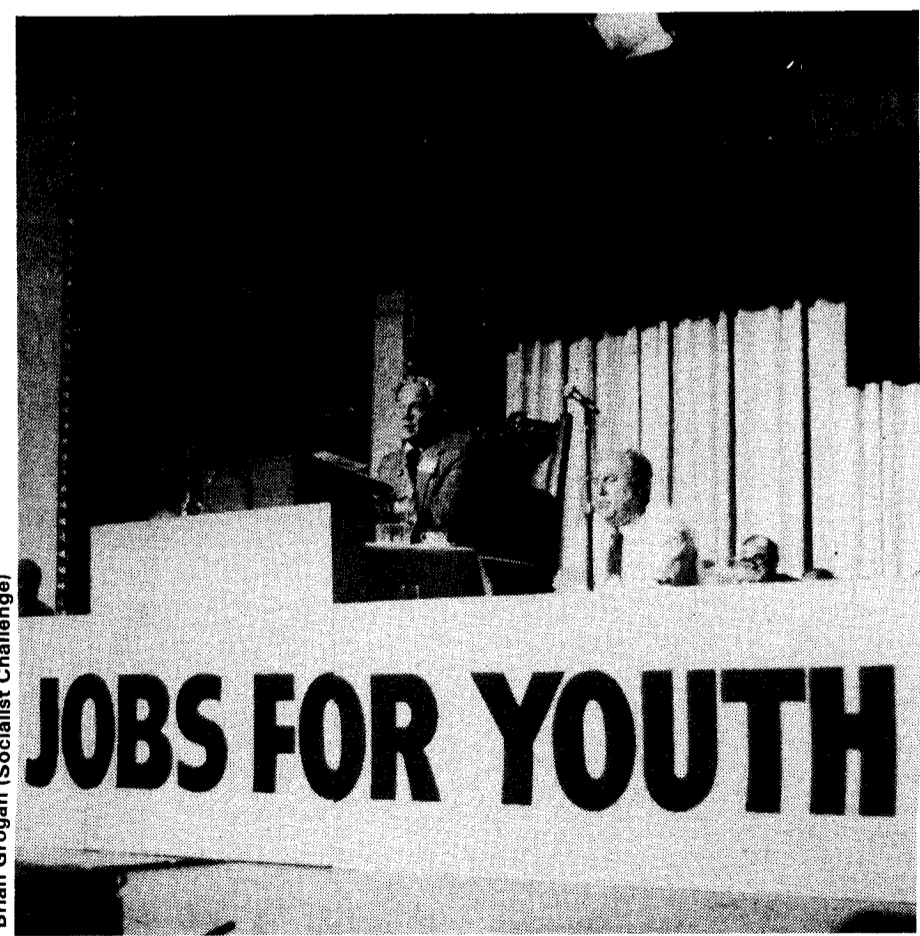
And that's really the nub of the problem. What youth really want is not better YOPs schemes but a job. They want a future. Fighting for the right for everyone to work is the best way the trade union movement will win the support of the youth.

The Jobs for Youth Campaign which has been launched by the TUC, National Union of Students and other organisations including the National Association for Asian Youth, is good news. The campaign aims for jobs and a voice for young people, under the slogan 'Give us a future'.

Festival

The first major national event will take place in November. A Jobs Express will travel round the country, finally arriving in London for a festival, demonstration and lobby of Parliament.

As trade union membership declines drastically because of unemployment, it's easy to be cynical about the motives of the TUC in this



campaign. But if this can really develop into a national campaign against unemployment organised by the trade unions, then we should all be supporting it.

In the meantime, young people are fighting for better conditions. The whole labour movement should take up their demands.

- An increase in the training allowance of £23.50, which has not been increased since 1979.
- The end of the 12 months time limit on schemes.
- Free travel to and from the schemes.
- Improved holidays.
- Adequate allowances for clothing, footwear and safety.
- Full benefits of the Health and Safety at Work Act.
- Improved monitoring of schemes by trade unions, including representatives of the YOP workers themselves.
- Proper training designed to suit the needs and interests of YOP workers themselves.
- A return to full and proper employment.

Jobs not bombs British Airways is pleased to announce.....

NINE thousand redundancies. That's what BA plans by June 1982.

And not only does it want get rid of nearly one-sixth of the workforce, it wants those that manage to keep their jobs to suffer too.

BA management has announced that there will be no pay rise until September 1982. The last rise was due in January this year but was frozen until April. Part of that deal, which the unions agreed to, was that an increase in the London weighting would be held over till 1982.

Now that promise has been thrown out the window. And no doubt if there are not 9,000 'voluntary' redundancies by June 1982, management will use that to further hold down the wages of BA's employees.

British Airways, like many employers these days, is attempting to trample on previous agreements made with the trade unions. BA has an agreement that anyone who is redeployed will be offered three jobs.

Now management has arbitrarily announced that only one job will be offered, and then out on your ear. The trade unions should not give in to blackmail.

Not fighting for better wages and conditions will not save one job. Certainly British Airways will not take good care of its workforce.

Barnes Flexible Packaging

By Duncan Edwardes

WORKERS at Barnes Flexible Packaging, in Cheetham Hill, Manchester have followed in the footsteps of Laurence Scott. For the last three weeks 240 workers have occupied their factory which is part of the Smurfit group. Management had announced closure of the plant after the workforce had refused to accept a 'Survival Plan' that involved redundancies.

Peter Woods, NGA print union striker explained, 'If we'd accepted the redundancies it would have been a victory for management in printing and packaging throughout Britain. They were taking us on because we were well organised.'

The dispute has been made official by both the NGA and another print union involved, SOGAT. Alan Grounds, NGA Father of the Chapel said that a national meeting of all NGA stewards within the Smurfit group agreed to impose an overtime ban, a work to rule and to allow no transfer of work.

Early in the sit-in, Laurence Scott sent a delegation. Alan Knight, a member of the electricians' union, found this very useful.

'We have learnt a lot from Scotts. We have to rely on our own strength. Of course we want national help, but if it's not forthcoming we want to be in a position to win it ourselves.'

Support has started to come in, including backing from local MP, Bob Litherland.

But as Peter Woods put it, 'Overtime bans and work to rules are not enough in a recession. We need to stop production in all the other factories to win.'

Send messages of support and donations to: The treasurer, Len Hughes, 163 Argyl St, Heywood, Lancs.

Sweden's first factory occupation Led by women

AS WOMEN at the Lee Jeans factory in Greenock get ready to return to work after their six month victorious struggle to save their jobs, 70 women workers in a small textile firm in Sweden have just embarked on the first occupation ever in that country.

The similarities between the struggles at the two factories are obvious. Yet again, women are holding the line against the vicious effects of

the world-wide capitalist system. It is important to show the women in Sweden solidarity and the women from Lee Jeans are hoping to pay them a visit soon to give them a few tips about how they did it....

PETER LINDGREN of the Swedish section of the Fourth International, KAF, takes up the story....

ON THE first day of July, most of the Swedish working class packed its bags

and went on holiday. On the second day 70 women textile workers went back to work determined to defy the dismissal notices they'd received.

It is the first factory occupation in Swedish history. The factory is in the north of Sweden in the small town of Solleftea. It is a region with very high unemployment. The factory is part of a combine, Eiser, which is owned by the Swedish state.

Illegal

Every other factory owned by them in the north of Sweden has been shut down and 600 dismissal notices announced in the south. Despite the holiday period, the occupation attracted a lot of attention. Support came from the local social democratic leadership, although the action is illegal, from hospital workers, soldiers and trade unions.

But support at a national level was not forthcoming in the first month. Social democrat leader, Olaf Palme

said that, although he had sympathy and understanding for the women he could 'not support this clearly illegal action'.

The leader of the main textile union also said the women should 'stop the occupation, it doesn't create one single job'.

But as the occupation continued both the employers and the union leaders were forced to change their tune. The company agreed to meet a delegation from the occupied factory — after it had been threatened with non-distribution of 27,000 underpants for the Swedish army!

Even more significantly, the conference of the main textile union supported the occupation and forced the leaders to call a political strike against the government. 'They demand the right to work, a human right. We do not accept further dismissals.'

'Instead, Sweden needs more jobs in the textile industry. We support the Eiser workers demand for new jobs.' Such events and support are rare in-

deed in the heavily bureaucratized unions of Sweden.

There are many similarities with the Lee Jeans occupation. First and foremost, women lead the struggle. Both regions suffer very heavily from unemployment. Trade union and reformist leaders give, at best, half-hearted support.

United

Both occupations have relied on the support from the rank and file of the labour movement. The workers in occupation are strongly united.

The women at Lee Jeans continued their struggle for six months until they won. In Solleftea the women will 'continue until Christmas if necessary. We will keep on until we've won.'

This first ever factory occupation in Sweden will almost certainly be a long drawn out battle. It is an extremely important test for the Swedish working class.



Swedish women workers in occupation: 'We'll keep on till we've won.'

TUC Congress

Women have the right to work - official

By Tessa van Gelderen

LAST WEEK'S TUC recognised that it needs more than words to give women a fair deal. What is needed is action, in particular positive action. That is, the trade union movement should support special measures for women to get jobs.

The TUC General Council was called upon 'to give particular attention to identifying and opposing any barriers to the participation of girls and women in present or future training and employment programmes.'

In also encouraging affiliated unions to implement the TUC Charter for Equality for Women in Trade Unions and the recommendations for positive action, the TUC have recognised that the present Sex Discrimination Act is not adequate.

Free collective bargaining has not achieved equality for women in the workplace; now there has to be a campaign to change the law. The delegates also recognised that 'new strategies are needed to encourage women to join and actively participate in trade unions.'

This point was brought forcibly home to conference when bank union delegate Ivy Cameron presented the TUC president, Alan Fisher, with a shopping bag. It was her way of protesting that women are 'stereotyped' by men.

In a speech which as Ivy Cameron herself said would not have been made twenty years ago, she accused male delegates of leaving their wives at the kitchen sink while they went off to union meetings.

'Men cover their language at meetings,' she said, 'with a mystique to make themselves sound important.'

Let's hope that this year's TUC, which reaffirmed that 'women as well as men have a fundamental right to work', meant more than just words.

Perhaps the increased number of seats for

Now build the demo

THE NEXT important event in the agenda in the fight for women's rights has to be the demonstration on a woman's right to work called by the Labour Party.

For every five jobs lost by men, nine are lost by women. It is becoming urgent that the Labour movement as a whole takes some action to put a halt to this and to draw attention to the specific problems which affect women in the economic crisis.

Building for the demonstration is an important opportunity to mobilise trade unions, Labour parties, women's organisations and youth organisations in defence of women. We have to begin that now, to urge the Labour Party to set the date for the demonstration and to seriously build for it.

Petition forms are already available and the following motion should be put through to trade unions/Labour party bodies.

This branch of welcomes the call by the Labour Party for a demonstration on a woman's right to work early next year. We note with alarm the growing unemployment amongst women in comparison to men and recognise the urgent need for the labour movement as a whole to take up this issue.

We urge the Labour Party NEC to fix the date of the demonstration as soon as possible to ensure maximum mobilisation throughout the labour and women's movements. We must act swiftly to stop the Tory project of sending women back into the home and fight to defend the hard won rights which women have gained.'

Further information from 374 Grays Inn Road, WC2. Send letter of support and resolutions to the Labour Party, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

women — from two to five this year — will mean that in future, women workers like those at Lee Jeans can get more support from the TUC than just a telegram.

It's these women who are leading the fight for a woman's right to work, not the TUC.

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Name of Account to be debited

Account Number.....

Our Bank..... Socialist Challenge

..... Lloyd's Bank, 19 Upper St, London N1

Account No 0179678

Sorting Code..... 30-94-57

Amount to be paid..... Monthly

First Payment due..... And on the same date in the month thereafter.

Signed.....

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Guardian

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IMMENSELY ENJOYABLE" Not

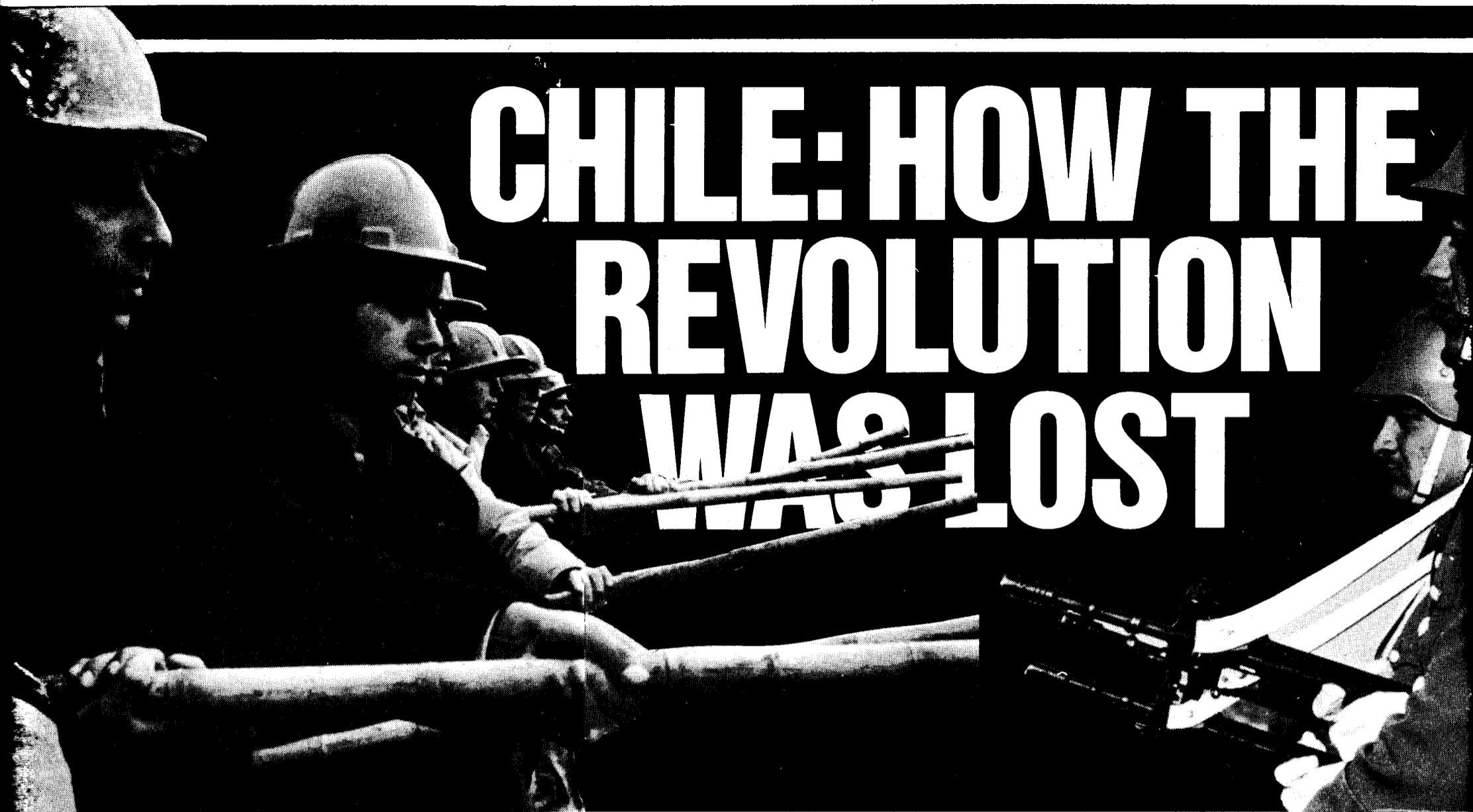


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CHILE: HOW THE REVOLUTION WAS LOST



By Phil Hearse

ON THE morning of 11 September 1973, almost exactly three years after the Popular Unity (UP) coalition had come to power, the Moneda palace in Santiago, the residence of Socialist Party president Salvador Allende, came under attack from tanks and aircraft. The left's nightmare — a military coup — was coming true.

Allende and his bodyguard came out of the palace with machine guns, scanning the sky for the attacking planes. Within hours Allende was dead. The 'peaceful road' to socialism in Chile had come to an end.

In the days that followed the coup, the right wing and the army took revenge against the left. In three days 30,000 socialists, communists and trade unionists were killed by the military forces. Thousands of workers who had been told by the Communist and Socialist parties to assemble in their factories were cut down unarmed when the army attacked.

A reign of terror followed which has not ended to this day. The shadow of the torturer hung over Chile as the experiment with a 'peaceful road to socialism' was dismantled. To understand why, we have to look at what the Popular Unity coalition was trying to do, and how it went wrong.

In September 1970, Popular Unity's candidate, Allende, won the presidential elections. The right wing made the mistake of standing

two candidates; Allende received the highest number of votes (36 per cent) but not an overall majority.

Right from the start Allende tried to make concessions to the right wing; his cabinet contained as many members of the declining and right-wing Radical Party as of the much bigger Communist Party. The strategy of the Popular Unity government was gradually to carry out reforms in the interests of the working class, but not to go too quickly, for fear of alienating the middle class.

Instead of the nationalisation of all the basic means of production only partial nationalisation took place. Instead of mass workers' mobilisations, during the first year of Allende's rule the hundreds of local Popular Unity committees which had been set up during the election campaign were disbanded.

Nonetheless the Popular Unity government did take many steps in the interests of the working class. The number of nationalisations was much greater than the top 25 companies envisaged for Britain by Tony Benn. Wages and salaries were substantially increased.

Free milk was distributed to the poor, and money for public housing was greatly increased. Unemployment fell as the economy grew. Popular support for the government also grew — in the 1971 local elections Popular Unity got a clear majority of the votes.

But the successes of Popular Unity were purchased at a high price. Because the big financial institutions and banks were not taken over, the government had to borrow huge amounts. Inflation began to increase alarmingly.

Ironically, the whole strategy of Popular Unity was to go slowly in order to win over the middle class. But because the gradual approach allowed economic chaos to develop, the middle class went over to the right-wing parties.

The destabilisation of the government by the right wing took many forms. Economically, there was an investment strike by the Chilean bosses. Wealthy farmers took their cattle over the Andes into Argentina, rather than sell them in Chile. The press carried out a slander campaign against the government and the left.

As the economy got in worse trouble, foreign companies refused to invest in Chile. The United States organised an international campaign against Chile — all credit to Chile was ended. The US stepped up its contacts with the Chilean military forces.

In 1972 the political strategy of Popular Unity went into bankruptcy. The determination of imperialism and local reaction to wreck the economy made it impossible to win over the middle class.

The whole process of destabilisation reached a head in the autumn of 1972 when

a bosses' strike was organised. Factories closed down; the middle class truck owners went on strike, leaving transport paralysed. The country ground to a halt.

Popular Unity was itself divided. The right wing, led by Allende and the Communist party, advocated a continued 'go slow' policy — what they called 'consolidation'.

The left wing — the left of the Socialist Party and their allies — put forward a policy of 'advance without compromise'; to push forward to socialism by mobilising the workers. They were supported by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) outside the government.

The workers had something to say about this situation. Against the hoarding of vital necessities, they organised local committees of supply and distribution to try to break the stranglehold of the black market. The support committees organised by Popular Unity were revitalised.

Workers started to fight for control of the land through a series of land seizures. Most important of all, when the bosses' strike occurred, workers in the industrial zones — the *cordones industriales* — set up factory and area commit-

tees. The factory and neighbourhood committees constituted embryonic organisations of workers' power; the workers were beginning to take their affairs into their own hands. Popular power was emerging in Chile.

But the Popular Unity government opposed the self-organisation of the masses. As the bosses' strike developed, the government denounced the *cordones industriales* committees as illegal.

Instead of mobilising the masses, intervening to support the actions of the workers themselves, Popular Unity called in the army to break the strike. Trade union leaders toured the factories telling the workers to rely on 'legality'; to leave it to 'their' government to overcome the crisis.

Throughout the period of Popular Unity government the armed forces of the state had remained intact. Allende constantly repeated his faith in the 'constitutional' character of the army. No attempt was made to undermine the armed forces; no attempt was made to win rank-and-file soldiers to the side of the government. Meanwhile the military retained their links with the United States.

This situation of Popular Unity class they had of the government's apparatus.

The army took the position of the bourgeoisie. The government faced the working class as they moved in.

At the beginning of the right wing but the Catholic the government.

The whole of the army to the 'right' government. Hundreds of raids on factories, shops, unemployed.

The whole situation. On 29 June Colonel Roberto Tanks from the Ministry of the armed forces put down Allende. It was a gun.

The reaction to the coup was fighting workers of Popular Unity distribute arms of 29 June demonstrated the reaction.

When the army demanded that and executed that the workers carried out.

For Allende the last chance was on the side. They wanted workers had wanted to keep.

But Allende precisely the opportunity the government was to make.

Allende figures to join Christian Democracy that the military agreed on 10.

By these Allende only right. The military could overthrow the struggle. On Chile went into dictatorship and

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF THE CHILEAN AND SALVADORAN PEOPLE

National demonstration

Assemble Trafalgar Square Sunday 20 September 2.30 pm

Speakers include Michael Foot, Arthur Scargill, Alex Kitson, Madame Allende, representative of the FDR, Ken Livingstone and Ron Hayward.

Despite the police ban on marches, this demonstration will go ahead as a rally. Socialist Challenge urges all its readers to turn out to support the struggles of the Latin American workers.

Organised by the Chile and El Salvador solidarity campaigns.



Military took over streets

US and dictators team up against democracy

By Jerry Hughes, Secretary,
Chile Solidarity Campaign

THE SUPPORT given by Mexico and France to the revolutionary movement of the El Salvadoran people, both the FDR and the FMLN, has thrown US foreign policy in Latin America into disarray.

It has startled the Reagan administration into realising its inability to control the foreign policy of two of its closest allies.

More importantly for the people of Latin America, the position taken by France and Mexico has been internationally recognised as a positive and logical response to the brutality and dictatorial rule of President Duarte in El Salvador, and particularly an appropriate response to the reports last month of decapitations in both El Salvador and Guatemala.

General Haig has responded predictably, with a vehement attack on Cuba and the Soviet Union who he claims are inciting the El Salvadoran people, and indeed all those struggling for freedom and democracy in Latin America, to a revolutionary position they would not otherwise be taking. This argument is wearing extremely thin.

Reagan cannot win support for his policies towards Latin America from his western allies, except for the passive support of the British government. So Reagan has turned to the dictatorships of Latin America, just as at risk of jeopardising US long term interests in Africa, he is fully backing the South Africans over their invasion of Angola.

Precedent

In response to the French-Mexican initiative on El Salvador, nine Latin American Foreign Ministers issued a communique describing this as a 'very serious precedent' which 'far from contributing to a solution to the problem, by trying to bring it to international attention, promotes its worsening'.

The nine are no surprise: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela. Significantly, the US even failed here, in that the most important nation in Latin America, Brazil, would not sign the communique.

The dictators of Latin America must be pleased that Reagan is not only supporting their internal fights against 'Communism', but also integrating them into a continent-wide 'bastion of freedom'. This is because they realise the impetus to all opposition fighters provided by the victory in Nicaragua and the possibility of victory in El Salvador.

Alliance

In August, US Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, toured Latin America to establish this continental alliance. In some cases she went too far. Costa Rica was told they were ill-equipped to fight against terrorism. In a press conference Kirkpatrick generously said 'We can help them with some training for their police'.

Such training would presumably be similar to that given to other police forces in Latin America, such as the notorious DINA in Chile (now renamed CNI).

Senor Monge, a Social

Democrat politician elected to win the Presidential elections in Costa Rica next year, summed up their response to Kirkpatrick's kind offer:

'A small democracy has been fighting a lonely battle so far. Costa Rica offers a great opportunity for the United States to show that the problems of an economic crisis and underdevelopment can be dealt with democratically. I can't tell people not to take the Marxist-Leninist road if we can't show them an alternative.'

Favourable

Elsewhere Kirkpatrick got a more favourable response, with the military regimes of Chile, Uruguay and Argentina responding warmly to the idea of forming an 'International Brigade' to defend dictatorial rule in El Salvador.

For the Chileans this would merely be stepping up the 'advisers' they already have provided for President Duarte. Pinochet's loyalty is being rewarded by a planned visit of Vice-president George Bush to Santiago in November.

This is the same Mr Bush who, while at the CIA, failed to respond to reports of an unusual DINA team coming to Washington — and so did not prevent the assassination in Embassy Row of former Popular Unity Minister Orlando Letelier, in September 1976.

The Chilean Government is an arm of US imperialism in Latin America. It provides an excellent example of how the Pinochets of Latin America fear the effects of the unsuppressable revolutionary demands of the people on their internal security.

Pinochet felt that his imposition of monetarist policies was going very well, and the necessary repression that went with it was being efficiently and systematically imposed. A year ago he introduced a new Constitution which sentenced the Chilean people to dictatorial rule for the rest of this century with himself at the helm.

This year, inspired by the events in Central America, the Chilean people have shown more strongly than at any other time since the military coup that they are not prepared to let this happen. The political opposition are now working closely with the illegal National Trade Union Coordinating Committee (which represents approaching one million workers in Chile).

In June the Trade Union Coordinating Committee presented to Pinochet a 'National Petition of Chile', spelling out the basic demands of the workers. Pinochet has been



Millions of books, periodicals, papers in flames

unable to silence the open revolt to his rule that this reflects and has encouraged.

It is now assumed in Chile that open demonstrations of opposition result in repression. The national executive of the Trade Union Coordinating Committee were arrested, and the General Secretary and President are still being held. But as soon as some activists are taken and tortured, imprisoned, banished to remote areas of Chile or exiled, others take their place.

Exiled

Just after Mrs Kirkpatrick's visit to Chile, Pinochet exiled four leading politicians for supporting the demands of the trade unionists. Included in the four was a Christian Democrat, Jaime Castille, who is President of the Human Rights Commission.

Even Pinochet cannot stretch to calling him a puppet

of International Communism. Pinochet has spent the last eight years assuring the world of the stability of his rule, and the crisis of the Chilean dictatorship reflects the threatened state of all repressive regimes in the continent.

Support

The National Demonstration on Sunday 20 September (2.30pm Trafalgar Square) organised by the Chile Solidarity Campaign with the support of the other Latin America Committees therefore comes at a critical time.

It will serve to further convince the Reagan administration of the bankruptcy of its policies towards Latin America, and will show that the British labour movement supports the struggle for freedom and democracy in Latin America.

By a massive turnout on the

20th we can show the Thatcher government the opposition in Britain to their support for dictatorial regimes in Latin America and demand that they stop harassing the governments of Nicaragua and Grenada.

Challenge

British foreign policy has for too long been something that has gone unchallenged.

Now is the time to stop this. In the demonstration on 20 September we must show the present government we are not prepared to sit back and watch them fund fascism and fight against democratic revolutionary movements.

In the Labour Party Special Conference on Foreign Policy on 7 November we can start to ensure that the next Labour government is mandated to reflect the foreign policy of the labour movement, not of the multinationals and the USA.

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 sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 Eliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, 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

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.
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.
BOLSOVER: Cross Keys, every Fri 8-10pm.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1. 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmers, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpelier, Bristol 6.
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CHESTERFIELD: SC sold outside Boots, Marketplace, Sat 11.30am-12.30pm.
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LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingly Arcade Centre. Corner Bookshop, Woodhouse Lane.
LIVERPOOL: SC on sale from News from Nowhere, Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.

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.
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MILTON KEYNES: Oakleaf Books, 109 Church Street, Wolverton.
OXFORD: EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd.
LEICESTER: Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Leicester, and V Karia, 53A London Rd, Leicester.
LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1

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Revolution Youth notices

STUDENT FRACTION for all IMG and Revolution Youth student committees: Sat 26 September 11am at UCL Student Union, Gower St, London WC1E. Documentation available from National Office.
STUDENT comrades — any Socialist Challenge or Revolution supporters who will be students this year should contact Ann at the National Office. For details of address and college.
SOCIALIST STUDENTS ALLIANCE NATIONAL COMMITTEE: Sun 27 September 11am at UCL Student Union, Gower St, London WC1E. For more information about

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.
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OXFORD: SC sold Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.
SHEFFIELD: SC on sale Thursday, Pond St, 4.30-6pm; Saturday, Fargate, 10.30-12.30pm.
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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.
HACKNEY: SC on sale on estates throughout Hackney, at public meetings, and local factories. Contact us c/o PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8 2NF or phone Megan or John at 359 8288.
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; Tethric 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.

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SOCIALIST CHALLENGE — a paper written by its readers? This is the direction our paper should go in, said those at our Socialist Challenge organisers meeting last week.

Socialist Challenge is *your* newspaper — so read it, sell it and write for it. Why not use the paper to tell other Socialist Challenge supporters where and how you sell the paper.

Keep us informed about what is happening in your area in the build up to the national CND demonstration on 24 October. And if you feel hot under the collar about something why not write a letter to us? We'd like to know how your co-workers react to articles we have in the paper.

What do you think of our support for the Benn campaign, the hunger strikers and the right for women to choose whether or not to have children?

We want Socialist Challenge to help you take up these vital issues in your workplace, at your trade union or Labour Party branch meeting and wherever you are active.

But you, our readers and sellers, have to help us. Tell us what you'd like to see in the paper, tell us how the paper's been

useful to you and where it's let you down. And, in addition, one of the best ways you can help us, is to sell the paper and get others to sell it too.

Increasing our sales means more people reading what we have to say — and it helps make the paper financially stable. This in turn will make it possible for journalists to get out and around much more, go to occupations and picket lines, to attend labour movement conferences

and, perhaps more important of all, to talk to our supporters. So, if you'd like to have your say, why not pick up a pen and write to us?

Checklist:
 • Try to keep letters to 400 words — preferably typed. We may have to edit for reasons of space.
 • Get your local group of Socialist Challenge supporters to write reports on what is happening around the CND demonstration in your area (and anything else of interest). Keep it

Dear Socialist Challenge

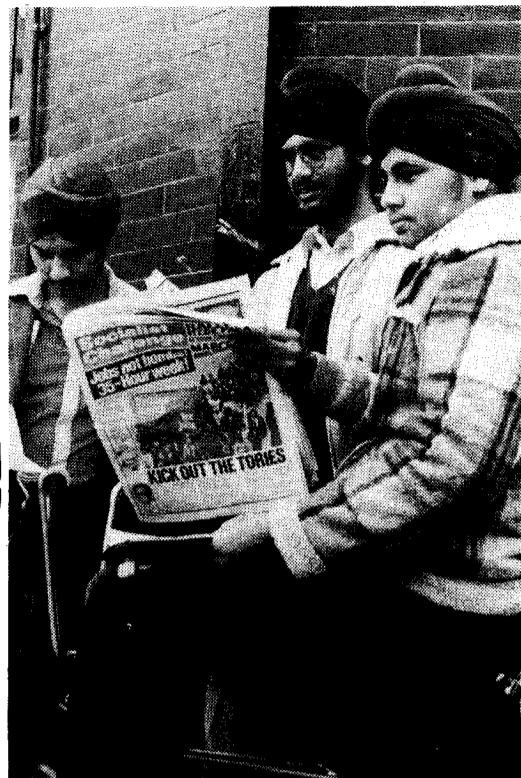


Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

short, typed if possible. If something happens over a weekend you can phone through a short story on Sunday (01-359 8189/80).

• Discuss the paper with other supporters regularly, say once a month and let us know what you think

about it. And remember we'd like to know when we've done something right as well as when we haven't!

• Finally sell the paper regularly and get others to sell as well.



Bernadette McAliskey defies Spanish state

Bernadette McAliskey takes a trip to Spain

LAST Thursday, Bernadette McAliskey was refused entry into Spain and put on a flight to Paris. She had gone to Barcelona to speak at a meeting organised by the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state.

The authorities had accused her of the offence of 'apology for terrorism' and for previously speaking at LCR election meetings. But they had a surprise in store for them.

On Friday, the day of the rally which was to celebrate 'la Diada', the Catalan national day, Bernadette appeared before thousands of Catalan supporters. 'I am not a terrorist,' she said, 'nor am I an apologist for terrorism.'

'The British soldiers are the terrorists and the British government are the apologists.'

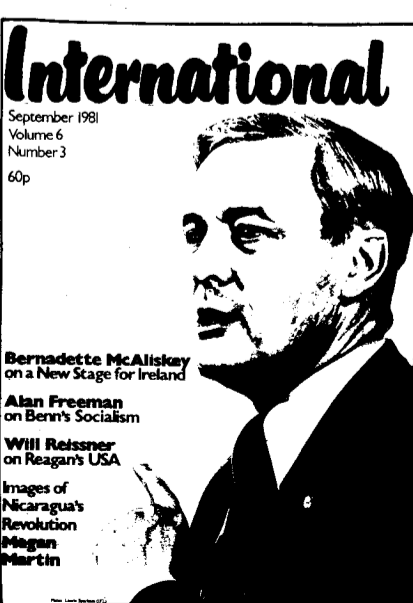
Bernadette McAliskey had previously held a press conference in Paris at the headquarters of the French section of the Fourth International — also called the LCR. On the same day as the rally in Barcelona, the French comrades occupied the British consulate in Paris in support of the H Block and Armagh prisoners.



New issue out now

Articles on black liberation, youth rebellion, Ireland, unemployment, labour movement struggles and much more. Copies available from Revolution, PO Box 50, London N1, 20p plus postage. Rates for bulk orders also available.

4 News from the Fourth International



THE third issue of the new-look International is now out. It contains major interviews with Bernadette McAliskey about the stage of the Irish struggle and with a revolutionary Marxist active within the Polish Solidarity movement.

There is also an analysis of Benn and British socialism by Alan Freeman and of the first six months of Reagan's America by Will Reissner.

The journal, produced by supporters of the Fourth International in Britain, has proved highly popular since its relaunch six months ago.

With the launch of the Labour Party's theoretical magazine New Socialist and the increasing circulation of the Communist Party's Marxism Today there is a

crying need for revolutionary marxist theory.

That's where International comes in: bringing you more extensive analysis and theory than Socialist Challenge has the space to do.

Socialist Challenge urges all its readers to take out a subscription to International and for local supporters to sell it alongside Socialist Challenge in the unions and the Labour Party.

Bulk discount rates of one-third reduction are available for pre-paid orders from local supporters' branches.

Subscription rates are £4.50 a year for Britain and Ireland, £10 for overseas airmail and £5.50 overseas surface mail. Send all monies to International, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

The death of Micky Devine

ON 20 August Micky Devine of the Irish National Liberation Army died on the sixtieth day of hunger strike.

Close relatives maintained a constant bedside vigil in the last few days of his life in the H Block prison hospital.

His sister Margaret's husband, Frankie McCauley, and Micky's uncle, Patsy Moore were with Micky when he died.

FRANKIE McCAULEY told *An Phoblacht/Republican News* what happened.

I WENT in to the hospital on Monday night and came out on Tuesday for a few hours. I then went back in and stayed there until Micky died on Thursday morning. I got a few hours rest lying on a cell floor with a blanket wrapped around me.

We wanted to make sure there was always somebody at the hospital near the end and that Micky would not die a lonely death, the way the prison didn't contact the McElwees and Tom McElwee died alone.

On Tuesday the doctors gave Micky twenty-four hours, but then he passed twenty-four hours, and then Father Murphy (the assistant prison chaplain) on Wednesday night said to me that he couldn't see him passing six o'clock the next morning.

Micky was not in a coma and though he was slipping into consciousness he could hear us because he would move his head to let us know. You couldn't have understood what he was saying as his teeth were sort of locked and his mouth paralysed.

He was in some pain, hadn't been able to take water and hadn't been to the toilet for four days. His bladder was full up and, when he drank, water and acid would have just come out of his mouth.

Earlier Theresa, his aunt, had wanted to put vaseline on his mouth to ease the pain from Micky's chapped lips which he was constantly biting, but Micky said 'No'.

When lying in bed he was always sliding down and would need pulling up so that he could just be in the centre of the bed

with his hands outspread and balancing his frail body.

That Wednesday night, Fr Toner (the prison chaplain) was there and he prayed over Micky before leaving.

We were coming back and forth to the cell and at about one o'clock in the morning when we were waiting in a room we could hear Micky roaring in pain.

Prayed

We then went to him and he was freezing. The medics were changing him where he must have vomited over himself and asked us to give them a few minutes.

We sat with Micky and felt his feet. They were freezing. I went up his leg a bit, if you could call it a leg, it was thinner than my wrist.

Fr Murphy had explained to me that when death was creeping up on Micky coldness would set in. His knees were stone cold, I felt his forehead and his ears and nose and they were turning cold.

We sat and prayed and at about six o'clock on Thursday morning Micky went into unconsciousness. The doctor pressed Micky's heel and said something about it being the weakest part of the body.

There was no response from Micky ... the next thing the priest walked in — the authorities must have known it was nearly over and sent for him.

This was about ten past seven. I said to Fr Toner, 'Were you sent for?' and he said.



The funeral of INLA Volunteer Micky Devine

'Yes'. He started to say the Rosary and Patsy and I sat there praying.

I was watching the monitor which registered Micky's pulse and heart and the next thing I saw it go flat and bleep and I knew Micky was dead.

They told us to get out of the cell; we would have to wait on the Royal Ulster Constabulary and identify Micky's body.

Micky died at exactly twelve minutes to eight because I looked at my watch. The authorities must have taken two minutes to confirm him dead and that's why they said he died at ten to eight.

A cop came in and Patsy went in and identified the body.

Fr Toner then gave me Micky's medal and scapulars and said that he would get me his personal belongings, which I later got.

There was his suit and shoes

which he wore in court when he was sentenced in June 1977, four years ago. There were letters which people had sent into him when he was on the strike and his glasses. And that was it.

Margaret had been exhausted at the vigil and she had left the prison at seven on Wednesday night. We phoned her and told her about Micky's death and that she was not to come up, because that's what they would have told her at the prison gate.

Bond

We left the jail about half eight. Micky's body was taken to Coleraine for a post-mortem. We arrived with a hearse at four o'clock on Thursday afternoon and six RUC landrovers, four in front of us, escorted us as far as the Bogside.

Micky's body was then given an INLA escort to the

Creggan and a continuous guard of honour until his military funeral and burial last Saturday.

One thinks, 'Ten men, how many more have to die?'

We have ours now over us. Next week it will be 'Big Laurence's' people waiting for the same thing. Then the Devlins after that and another boy will go on hunger-strike and another. They'll never break them.

Micky's last request was that if he went into a coma Margaret was not to sanction medical intervention.

The bond between them, she being seven years his elder, and his only sister (both their parents are dead) was very strong.

Micky said to Margaret: 'Now, there's to be no needles (injections). You are going to come under a lot of pressure because you're the only one

belonging to me.'

He always called me McCauley, and he said to me: 'McCauley, look, you go with her, everywhere she has to go in here and watch these bastards. Sign nothing. They'll say to you they want to give you something for my eyes.' Michael hadn't very good eyesight and he knew they'd go first.

He said to me: 'They'll say to you sign for something for my eyes or pains in my head. Just say, 'No'. I don't want anything. I'm depending on you to pull that through.'

I told him I would, and told Margaret, and she said she would be backing Micky in whatever he wanted. And she did back him, although she wasn't there at the very end through no fault of her own.

Decision

The doctor had come in to me and Patsy and said that he could bring Micky round before he went into a bad condition. I said we were standing by his last wishes.

A local priest from the Creggan, told Margaret that he had something to tell her which she should always remember if she ever had any doubt in her mind about what she should or shouldn't have done.

Micky had told him that he was worried about Margaret signing to get him treatment.

But, according to the priest, Micky had told him that 'if Margaret signs to get me treatment she'll only be prolonging my agony, because as soon as I come round again I'm going back on the hunger-strike.'

The priest told Margaret that she had nothing to worry about as those were Micky's very words to him. He said he hadn't told her before because he didn't want to influence her at the time; it was her decision. But she should know that Micky was totally determined to go back on hunger-strike.

Reprinted from *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 29 August 1981.

H Block conference marks growth of movement

By Gerry Foley in Dublin

THE second national conference of the H Block campaign held in Dundalk on 6 September clarified the situation of the H Block movement in Ireland after the deaths of ten hunger strikers. It remains determined and on the course it set more than a year ago, but is suffering from a loss of momentum and resulting problems.

The Dundalk conference registered the growth of the H Block campaign into a mass movement. Over 400 local action groups were represented, as against 20 in the first conference a year ago or 250 at the end of the first hunger strike.

The weight of the movement was indicated by the presence of Paddy Duffy, the bellwether leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party who up until now has generally only trembled on the brink of attending H Block conferences.

Provisional Sinn Fein behaved in a more awkward and heavy-handed way than in the past. Their supporters were given a list of candidates to vote on to the National Committee resulting in a politically narrower National Committee.

The Sinn Fein leaders topped the poll and Bernadette McAisley, the campaign's most prominent leader in the eyes of the public, came in only ninth in the field of 20.

Maura McCrory, one of those most responsible for the growth and development of the H Block movement was not elected.

On the other hand the two representatives of Peoples Democracy and the Irish Republican Socialist Party were re-elected. Later the Provisional leaders seemed to recognise that an error was made and that the composition of the committee would have to be broadened by co-options.

The coverage of the conference in the Provisional's paper *An Phoblacht* seemed designed to reassert the commitment of the Republican movement to a broad campaign. About a quarter of the space in the major article was taken up with reporting Bernadette's report for the National Committee.

It reaffirmed the strategy of mass action. The article also noted with approval that the conference had reconfirmed and developed the mass orientation of the cam-

paign. *An Phoblacht* reproved those Republican supporters who were aroused to sectarian outbursts by the debate on the campaign's electoral orientation.

The discussion on elections was a very difficult one. It raised the issue of abstention versus participation in Parliament, the most divisive question in the Irish anti-imperialist movement, at least since the 1920/1 Civil War.

The major successes of the second hunger strike campaign have been election victories and there is increasing interest in using elected positions to advance the protest movement.

But the present generation of Republican leaders have been committed to non-participation as an inviolable principle. There have been signs of movement on this question but the traditionalists are all the more determined to defend abstentionism as a shibboleth.

The conflict between the Provisionals and the IRSP has also come to focus around this issue since the latter group has moved away from abstentionism in the last few months.

An Phoblacht suggested a formula for keeping the issue from dividing the campaign: 'In fact, as the committee's practice is merely to endorse candidates rather than to

stand them, the sharp debate went somewhat off target and it was made clear, anyway, that the Republican movement would continue to support the committee and build the campaign no matter what electoral policy was adopted by the conference'.

One negative reaction of the Provisionals to political problems arising in the movement has been to try to outlaw 'party politics'. In effect, there were several resolutions that called for that. They were only narrowly defeated.

However *An Phoblacht* rejected this approach pointing out that its incompatibility with the broad character of the movement. If this explanation is accepted throughout the Republican movement it would represent a political step forward.

The H Block movement has been politically able to achieve only a small part of the impact it would have had in the electoral arena because of the divisions over such tactics. Since there is a limited amount of time in a hunger strike, anything less than the maximum effectiveness threatens to be the margin of defeat.

The pressure of time is perhaps the most serious problem. Desperate prisoners are starving themselves to death faster than the mass movement can be extended. This tends to push activists into a rut of routine activity that

leads to narrowing the movement and exhaustion.

Parallel to this it leads to increasing public indifference. The movement has reached a position where it must make a new leap forward quickly or it will run out of steam.

This loss of momentum is indicated by the fact that many prisoners have abandoned the hunger strike and others have effectively been taken off by relatives no longer prepared to accept the deaths of their loved ones.

However the determination of the movement was shown when a number of such setbacks during the conference itself failed to have any impact on the morale of the participants.

Poland

The movement has been expanding internationally. The week before the Dundalk Conference 10,000 people, a phenomenal number for August, marched in Paris in support of the hunger strike.

The impact of the protest continues to grow in the USA. In Poland the hunger strike has roused intense identification and sympathy.

'We know what it is to fight against overwhelming odds', workers leaders at Nowa Huta told me in early August, 'we are like the Irish in that we are also capable of such heroic acts. If the Russians invade we will resist, like them, to the death'.

The potential impact of ten men starving themselves

Relatives of Hunger strikers visit Britain 17-20 September

Relatives of prisoners in the H Blocks (including hunger strikers) will visit London, accompanied by Owen Carron MP during the period 17-20 September inclusive.

The mass delegation is being organised by the National H Block/Armagh Committee in Ireland and is sponsored by the H Block/Armagh Committee in London.

Maura McCrory, a spokesperson for the relatives, states that this 100-strong delegation is coming to Britain in order to impress on the British people and the international community the unity of the prisoners' relatives behind the hunger strike and to demonstrate in a forceful way their full and united support for the five demands of the prisoners.

A Rally to launch the delegation will take place in the London Irish Centre at 7.30pm on 17 Sept. (Murray St, Camden Town NW1)

Speakers include Owen Carron MP and relatives of the hunger-strikers. The rally will precede a social where there will be an opportunity to meet Owen Carron and the relatives of the protesting prisoners.

to death one after the other is extremely powerful, despite the disappointment in Ireland at the decreasing reaction to each successive death.

The impact of the H Block movement can grow

dramatically in the next months but the defenders of the prisoners and of human rights have to make new exertions to mobilise the potential sympathy for the prisoners and weld it into an irresistible force.

Solidarity challenges the leading role of the party

By Davy Jones

AN 'ANTI-SOVIET AND ANTI-SOCIALIST ORGY' was how the Russian news agency *Tass* described the first national congress of Solidarity in Poland. This comment says a lot about the Russian bureaucrats' idea of socialism.

What did Solidarity's congress decide that so enraged *Tass*? First, they issued an appeal to the workers across the Soviet bloc. The appeal read: 'Contrary to the lying "misinformation" put out in your countries we are the authentic representatives of ten million workers, born out of workers' struggles. Our goal is to struggle to improve the conditions of life of all workers.'

'We support those among you who have chosen the difficult road of fighting for free independent unions. We believe that in the not too distant future we will be meeting together to exchange our common experiences.'

Solidarity activists have realised that the best defence of their own gains would be the development of independent trade unions in other Eastern bloc countries.

Second, Solidarity has appealed for the government to use the constitutional provision for a referendum on major political issues to decide between the government's and Solidarity's draft laws on workers' self-management.

The government is only prepared to sanction workers' participation. The union wants workers' councils to have the power to make the crucial decisions in the factory, including the hiring and firing of plant directors. Already workers at the giant Huta Katowice steel plant have voted overwhelmingly in a Solidarity-organised referendum to sack their director who recently shut down the local Solidarity printing press.

If the government

won't agree to a referendum on the self-management laws Solidarity has threatened to sponsor its own national referendum on the issue. The government desperately opposes the union plan which threatens the ruling party's exclusive right to nominate people for all key posts.

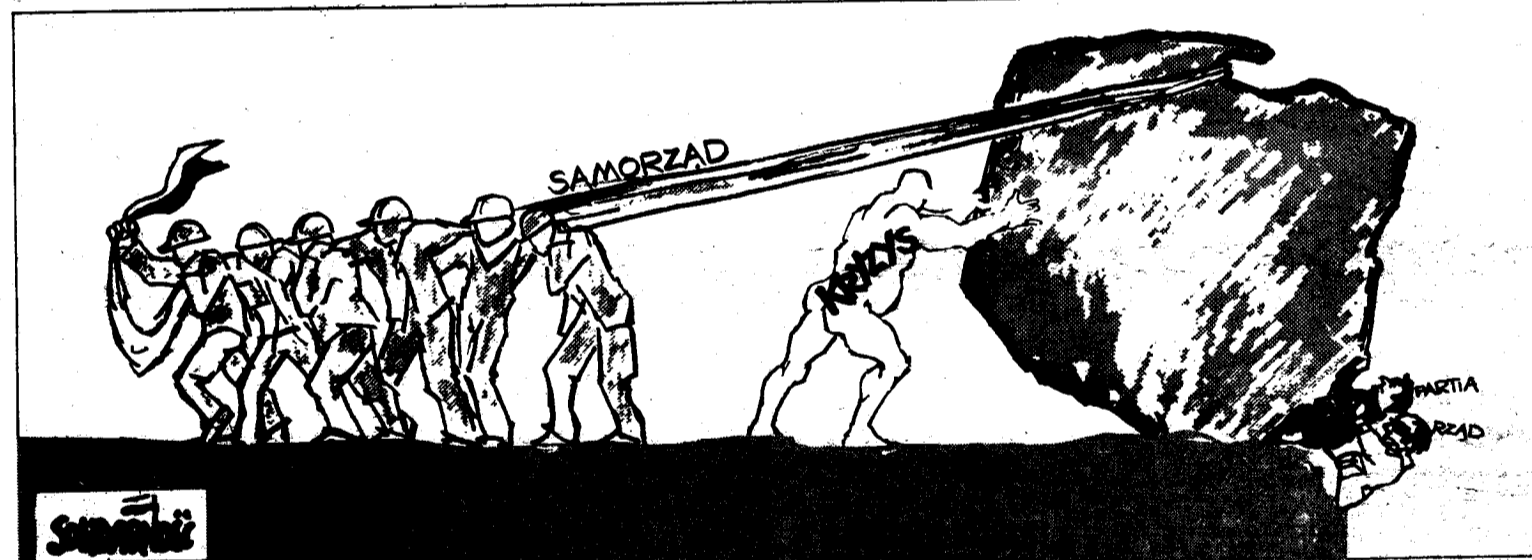
Third, Solidarity appealed for the holding of free elections both to local elections and to the Polish parliament. This amounts to the demand for the toleration of a multi-party system.

It is no secret that Solidarity activists have been discussing for some time the possibility of setting up a new workers' political party in Poland. At present all the legal political parties are closely linked to and controlled by the ruling Communist Party.

The idea of the one-party state has done much to discredit communism in the eyes of the workers of the world. The right to establish political parties which respect the constitution should be a basic norm in any post-capitalist society. Organised political debate through different political parties within the workers' councils would be the most effective way to centralise socialist planning.

Fourth, Solidarity appealed for public control of the mass media. Delegates to the conference were shown a TV camera donated by the Belgian Free Trade Unions. The congress platform declared that if the state TV continued to slander Solidarity they would set up their own network.

There is a common theme running through all the decisions of the congress — free elections,



Solidarity poster shows workers' self-management pulling the country back from the cliff with the giant "crisis" pushing in the opposite direction. The party and the state are being pushed over the edge.

workers' councils, public-controlled media and so on.

Each would undermine the exclusive party monopoly on political life. Each would tend to push Solidarity in the direction

of challenging for political power. The logical conclusion of these steps — that Solidarity should no longer accept the 'leading role of the party' clause in the union statutes — was raised but not decided

upon by the congress.

It is the fear that this conclusion is increasingly being drawn by the Solidarity activists that lies behind the Soviet and Polish rulers' horror at the results of the congress.

But the politicisation within Solidarity is also causing a growing rift within Solidarity itself between Walesa and more radical activists. This was expressed in the debate at congress over the union's

structures which Walesa won.

When the congress re-assembles in two weeks the major question at stake is likely to be the composition of the new Solidarity leadership bodies.

Polish workers aim for self-management

Henryk Szlajfer is an adviser on self-management to the workers at the FSO automobile factory in Warsaw. We reprint below excerpts from an interview conducted with him on 22 July by Jorgen Colving Jorgensen.

How have economic decisions been made up to now in Poland, before the present crisis?

Until the present crisis, the autonomy of the enterprise — that is, in this case, the director of the enterprise — was very limited by orders from the industry associations and Planning Commission (the central planning body), the ministries, and eventually the prime minister or other high officials. It was a totally hierarchical structure.

On the other hand, the totally centralised management (not planning, the two terms management and plan-

ning should be clearly distinguished from each other) created a social anarchy in planning.

An indication of this is that in the last half of the 1970s alone, it was possible to spend more than 50 billion zlotys (about £16m) in special investments, solely on the initiative of Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz himself. These special investment funds simply destroyed the economic plan.

What does self-management mean and what responsibilities would it take on?

In the majority of cases, we have only founding com-

mittees for self-management. In an office, a shop, or a small factory of, say, 100 to 200 workers, it's not so difficult to elect such a committee. But in the big factories and enterprises with 10,000 or 20,000 workers, it is a much more difficult process.

This is the first limiting factor. We should not expect an immediate economic miracle connected with self-management.

The second limiting factor is at the level of legislation. We must carry out a fight for proper legislation on three points: a bill specifying the rights of the individual enterprises, and a bill on economic reform.

The third limitation is the necessity of and the time needed to prepare what we call 'reports on enterprises', that is, each committee for self-management prepares a

report on the problems of the enterprises in which it works.

Our definition of self-management is that all strategic and tactical discussion and decisions concerning the enterprise should be made at the level of the enterprise by the self-management committees.

The final goal of the movement for self-management is to socialise planning, managing, and the construction of the plan by creating a special chamber of the parliament. You could call this the Socio-economic Chamber or the Self-Management Chamber.

In any case, this chamber must directly represent the self-management committees in the factories and other institutions and it must have a say — if not the decision-making power — concerning the economic and social matters of the country.

When and where did the movement start and how was it developed? Are there any particularly strong areas?

The discussion started in August 1980, but there have been a lot of changes in attitudes to self-management.

In November, it was the government and the party that wanted to start self-management — of course in a limited form — as a counter proposal to the recognition of Solidarity as a union covering the whole country.

At that time it was not possible — it would have been wrong — to start the self-management movement.

If I am not mistaken, the first big enterprise to start the discussion and preparations for self-management was the

Huta Katowice steel mill. But for many weeks, months, they were alone.

As a social movement, self-management actually started in April and is continuing still up to this day.

The Siec was created in late March, the beginning of April, and is composed of seventeen big enterprises. It is an initiative by the factory committees of Solidarity in those enterprises. The aims of this group are more in the area of trade-union policy, although they are also discussing self-management.

The Working Group consists of representatives of self-management committees and as such it concentrates exclusively on self-management. Of course, there are many members and leaders of Solidarity in the Working Group, since 80 or 90 per cent of all workers support Solidarity, but the Working Group does not exclude people who are not members of Solidarity, because the self-management committees are

representative bodies for all workers in the enterprise.

Presently we are making attempts to unify the actions of the Siec and the Working Group regarding self-management.

What is the government's proposal for a self-management bill and what is your response to it?

Well, I would rather simply tell you what the workers' demands are. First of all, there are three bills that cannot be separated, the bill on the enterprises, the bill on self-management, and the bill on economic reform. The demands of the workers to these bills are that self-management must have the right to manage and not just co-manage or participate in the management.

The self-management committees must have the right to elect and dismiss directors and high-level administrators and the director should be responsible to the self-management councils.

US aircontrollers' leader explains

Why we had to strike

THE photo of the striking US air traffic controller leader being taken off to prison in handcuffs and leg chains hit newspapers throughout the world, showing a view of America not usually seen.

We reprint here part of a speech given by Gregory Pardlo, president of Local 238 of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organisation at Newark International Airport in which the issues of the strike are explained.

First off, I am currently served with an injunction prohibiting me from supporting illegal strikes.

I'm here representing PATCO Local 238 and the PATCO north Jersey cluster. It encompasses PATCO controllers from Newark airport, Teterboro airport, Morristown and Caldwell-Essex County airports.

We call ourselves forty-three brothers hanging tough.

We're engaged here in what we feel is the greatest heavy-weight fight ever staged. We've taken a tremendous beating and we're still standing and holding tough.

The first thing I'd like to cover is to explode some myths. Hopefully, you can take back some ammunition when people you encounter say, 'Yeah, they should put 'em all in jail, throw away the key; they had no right to do any of the things they're doing'.

Greedy

Myth number one: 'We are 12,000 greedy sons of whatever that struck for \$10,000 across the board. The economy being what it is, what could they possibly be thinking?' Have you heard that?

It is not true. There were ninety-nine items in the contract PATCO submitted to the FAA. The three that we considered most prominent, in order of importance, were: 1) a reduced number of years to retirement, 2) a shorter work week, and 3) a pay raise.

Why would we ask for reduced retirement?

Well, according to the Federal Aviation Authority's own figures, 89 per cent of the controllers that have left air traffic in the last three years have done so under medical disability. The concept of the controller going twenty-five years in a high-density vicinity is ludicrous.

There are statistics that the average controller is good for a maximum of seven years at a high-density facility. After that, burnout — peptic ulcers, heart failure, to say nothing of wear and tear on a family structure from working a rotating shift.

Stress

The second thing we ask for in our contract — a shorter work week.

Controllers in other countries seem to have recognised the stress of working a controller forty hours a week.

They recognised it in France, in Canada, in Germany in England. They work less than forty hours. Let me remind you that the controllers in the US work five times the traffic of any other country. Five times.

We asked for a reduced retirement. What they gave us was \$14,000 severance pay the day you can't make it up the steps.

We asked for a reduced work week, from forty to thirty-two hours, and what they gave us was four hours overtime pay.

Time off

We do not want overtime, we want more time off. We want time away from the facility. We want a chance to see our children grow. We want to not go two weeks without seeing our working wife or working husband.

Well myth number one, I hope, is exploded. I hope you can leave here realising that we entered the collective bargaining arena asking for what we feel we justly deserve.

The monetary portion of the contract was indeed negotiable. This was our asking price. We knew we would get less.

The problem was they did not address our two main issues or the other ninety-nine issues that I spoke of.

They pertain to safety and equipment maintenance and job proficiency, and on-the-job training of controllers. All the other issues were tabled, never to be addressed.

The government asked for a forty-two month contract. That would mean we would not be able to ask again during the administration that's currently in office.

Safe

Myth number two: 'The skies are safe.'

The skies are safe? They told the American public they would cut traffic by 50 per cent. And that would insure safety because the reduced staffing could handle 50 per cent of the volume.

That is a lie. Those who own airplanes are still flying them. What they have done is stop talking to 50 per cent of the traffic. Fifty per cent of the traffic in American air space is now uncontrolled.

Myth number three: 'We can rebuild this system in twenty-one months. We didn't need those controllers to begin with. We're four or five thousand overstaffed. We'll gear up our system and retrain.'

Since 1978, the Federal Aviation Academy in Oklahoma City has trained 5,000 controllers. What they're saying is that in the next twenty-one months they'll train twice that many.

Fourth myth — this is the touchy one: 'But they all signed an oath. They knew what they were getting into. They swore that they would never strike against the government. They should all be locked up because they broke an oath.'

Anybody that's ever had contact with the government or gone into the service or applied for a government job knows that, when hired for a government job, they stick in front of you a fat stack of papers about six inches thick. 'Sign here'. You sign everything because your job depends on it.



Gregory Pardlo — 'telling our side of the story'

I guess the biggest tool the government has is the press. And the press has been used to no small length against us.

So mostly what we're doing now is meeting in groups like this wherever possible.

But I'm not backing off of my commitment because of that. What I'm saying to you is, on the forms I signed I find that oath was number two.

The number one oath was 'I will faithfully support the Constitution of the United States'.

I'd like to recite a little something. It's contained in the First Amendment: 'Congress shall make no laws abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.'

Free

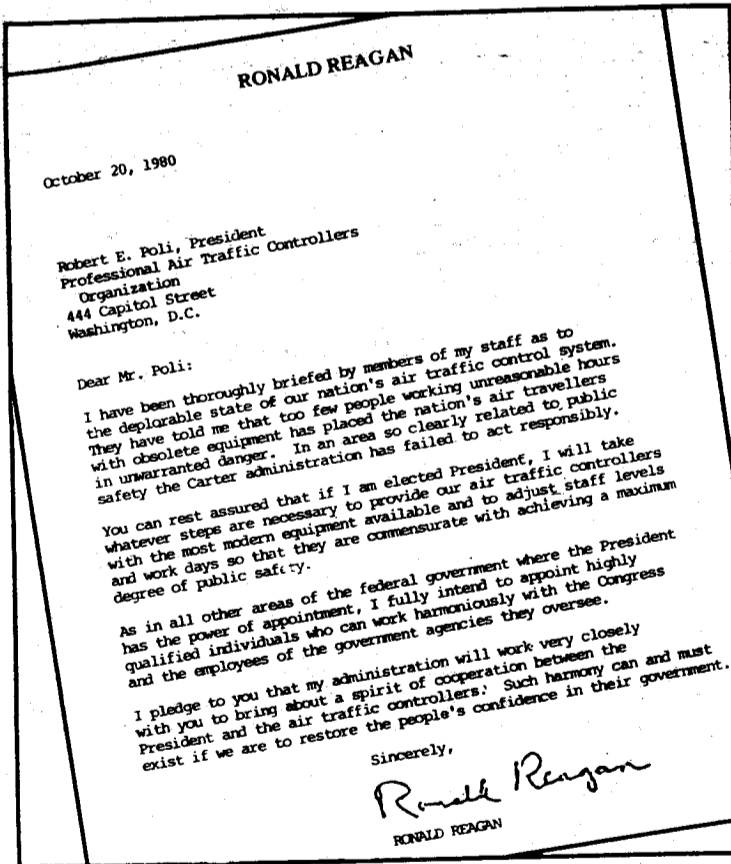
I feel it is a constitutional point. If pressed, we will hold out until the Constitution of the United States is upheld in the Supreme Court.

But can you tell me that, in a free country, a free man does not have the right to withhold his services for what he feels is just remuneration? If that is the case, then 12,000 of us are better off now than we were three weeks ago.

That oath rankles a lot of us, partly because of what you see on the podium in front of you. (A copy of the full page New York Times ad of 16 August bought by the Flight Attendants, with the letter from Reagan to PATCO President Robert Poli.)

It is a pledge given to our president by then-candidate Ronald Reagan to look into what he characterised at that time as the deplorable state of the American air traffic control system.

The fact is, that pledge was renegeged upon.



October 20, 1980 letter from candidate Ronald Reagan to PATCO President Robert Poli

I'd like to apprise you of some of the problems as I see them. The first and most important is that without the right to strike any labour union is relegated to a position of collective begging.

Anyone ever approaching a strike realises that unless you have the numbers you are committing suicide. We knew this and we knew that without 80 per cent we would have to accept whatever the government offered. When 81 per cent of us showed up ready to walk, the time had come.

The biggest problem I guess

we all faced was the strength of the government. The strength of the government is insidious when you realise television and radio stations have to apply to the Federal Communications Commission for renewal of their licences. When you realise the Justice Department, the FBI, the federal marshals, even the postal service, can be rallied and mustered behind this government.

Making ourselves available to sell our side of the story, in the hope that somewhere, some time, the part of humanity in you deplores the fact that one

of our brothers was carried off in chains and leg irons; that you spent your tax dollars to have two federal marshals watch my house for twenty-four hours; that you spent your tax dollars to have FBI agents come to my house every six hours for the first forty-eight hours; that you spent your tax dollars for anonymous phone calls received in the middle of the night, harassing my wife and children.

To touch you in some way, to let you know that this is indeed your fight too. If my union is busted, how strong can you be? If you allow them to do this to us what will they eventually do to you?

Lose

The precedents that are being established in the conflict that we're engaged in will be used as labour-management principle for a very long time.

It means a death knell for organised labour. If we lose, everyone loses. Organised labour as a whole will have suffered a crushing blow. The ripple effect from what's being done to us is starting to be felt throughout aviation.

What's happened is that Ronald Reagan came into office and sweepingly deregulated everything, eliminated whole departments based on what he said was a mandate from the people.

The government is coming down on us. When we applied for our unemployment and food stamps, we were denied.

They knew our names before we arrived. They won't extend our federal mortgages.

If there is a spark of belief in human rights in you, you must support PATCO. If there is the slightest bit of unionism in you, you must support PATCO.

The solution, as I see it, is unionism. Every union member everyone who believes in unionism, must come to the forefront now.

There is possibly a more dangerous side now to this: that being what we now know about the man elected as president of the United States.

When confronted with militancy in any form, he will drop the big bomb. Think about that. Crushing a labour union, shooting down two jets over Libya — maybe these are just separate acts, unrelated.

Maybe they don't point to a psychological meaning, maybe they don't point to a proclivity toward violence. But then again, maybe they do.

Stand

What this means to you is you must take a stand. Time for silence is ended. You must stand up as Americans. I stand before you an accused felon. This country was founded by accused felons.

One of those, a man quite wise, Benjamin Franklin, said something that I think is especially applicable now.

'We must all hang together or, most assuredly we will all hang separately'.

I am here embodying the hopes, the dreams, the aspirations of forty-three of my brothers locally and over 12,000 of my brothers nationally.

No, we are not all rich. No we are not all simply greedy money-grubbers who seize the opportunity to hold a country hostage.

We are people who are being held hostage by our government. Who are told take what we are offered or get out. We believe that the American people cannot stand silently while this happens. And I hope you believe that too.

Reprinted from the *Militant*, weekly paper of the American Socialist Workers Party.

Lowdown

Mets are magic?

By Bob Pennington

LIKE MOST of your readers I am fed up with the way those extremists keep vilifying our police force. Now I am pleased to tell you the Met have answered back and produced a snazzy information folder called 'Facts About The Metropolitan Police', and a catchy sticker with the equally catchy slogan — 'Mets are Magic'.

Right from the start the brochure nails the slander that the police don't care about your complaints. The brochure stresses that '...police officers like doctors, solicitors, barristers and many other professions have their own discipline code'. Now some awkward people do question that procedure and ask 'How come that the same mob who killed Liddle Towers and Blair Peach, just to name two of a rather long list, should be investigating themselves and their mates?'

But the Met put our fears to rest on that score. They explain: 'Members of a particular profession have the greatest interest in maintaining standards in that profession, and they have the necessary knowledge to know what is allowable behaviour in various circumstances.'

When you think about it the Met are right. When an offence has been alleged the Deputy Commissioner considers what disciplinary action is needed and who could be better qualified? Most of the long string of Deputy Commissioners have wide experience of corruption, after all the Met and its officers made and still make a stack of money out of Soho's porn rackets.

London's gangsters like the Kray brothers could not have stayed in business so long without the odd helping hand by magic Met. Clearly the Deputy Commissioners must have been aware of the Met's deeply ingrained racism, everyone else is.

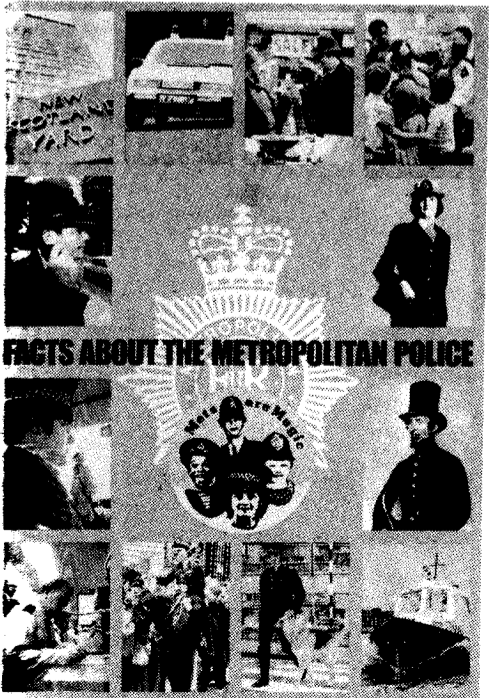
So clearly with such knowledge available and experience at hand, there is no need for independents to start meddling in the disciplinary procedures of our police force.

I think the Met make a most telling point in their remark about knowing what behaviour is allowable. You the readers think that it is wrong to use violence against suspects and prisoners. You think it is wrong to frame people. You are even naive enough to think that the police should not be racists. But the police and the Deputy Commissioners being people of great experience know better.

If people won't confess to crimes they did not commit what alternative have the police got but to beat them until they do confess? If the police did not do that, the amount of unsolved crime in Britain would be staggering and the public would moan about lack of police vigilance.

If the police were not racists how could they make sure Britain's immigration laws were carried out? If we did not have a racist police force it would be very inconvenient indeed for their bosses in the state machine who use the police to keep black people down. A racist police force is only doing the job it is paid for and that is why the Deputy Commissioners are the best judges of their behaviour.

In the brochure under the heading 'Complaints are Important, there is a Latin quotation 'Quis Custodiet ipsos custodes' which means 'who shall guard the guards themselves'. As the Met answers we coppers will guard ourselves and judge ourselves.



Letters letters Letters Letter: letters LETTERS

Ireland - which basket

MARTIN COLLINS stands on good and proved ground when he advocates a flexible tactical approach to building a mass movement in Britain in solidarity with Ireland's fight for freedom. (Letters, issue 211)

It is more than likely that the workers will move at first under banners and slogans which will be less clear than we would ideally like them to be. Ideas always are slow to catch up with the events they express.

Marxism should therefore be alive to any genuine expression of mass opposition by the British workers' movement to ruling class policy in Ireland and be ready to embrace initiatives of mass action.

This should be no matter on how confused a basis they are organised, so as to be better placed to win the workers to a class-conscious policy — freedom for all Irish political prisoners, troops out now, self-determination for the Irish people, and for a socialist 32 county Irish Republic.

I need no convincing of the general methods Martin advocates, but whether the Labour Committee on Ireland's campaign is the basket into which we should place our eggs is another question.

As far as I am aware the LCI's aim is to commit the Labour Party to a campaign for a united Ireland. Contrary to opinion in some ill-informed ultra-left circles, the Labour Party has always expressed its support for a united Ireland.

It did so even as it passed the 1948 Government of Ireland Act (regarded by Loyalists as the Ulster Constitution). Neither does a commitment to a united Ireland as such give us a cutting edge against the Labour Right today.

In *New Socialist* Denis

Healey says he supports the NEC statement to the upcoming Party Conference because it reaffirms 'the party's traditional commitment to the unification of Ireland as an ultimate objective.'

Healey will vote with Benn for a united Ireland in October when they both vote for the NEC statement. Many of the Labour left rank-and-file are therefore going to question the usefulness of an Irish policy which the Right can agree with. Is it our job to blur the difference between Left and Right on Ireland or to clarify it?

The second problem with the LCI is its deliberate policy of confining itself to Labour Party wards and constituencies. Workers in trade unions, especially industrial unions, will be decisive in constructing any genuinely mass movement and any orientation in the Labour Party should take this into account from the very beginning.

A debate has been going on in the trade unions for some while now and this will find some reflection no doubt, in the Labour Party conference. Unfortunately the line of divide in that debate has not been a united Ireland policy versus a 'partition'

policy. Nor has it been for or against Concannon.

Instead it has been dominated in the national conferences of the Scottish TUC, Trades Councils, Labour Party Young Socialists and TGWU either by the policies of the CPG (special category status, withdrawal to barracks, Bill of Rights) or those of the Militant tendency (Northern Ireland prison reform, troops out, Northern Ireland Labour Party).

Both sets of solutions are utopian and reactionary but they are attractive to politically conscious, militant workers because they appear to offer an independent role to the working class in resolving the Northern Ireland conflict and opening the road to socialist development in Ireland.

This terrain of debate is precisely what the LCI campaign runs away from and why those few who have tried to raise the LCI resolutions in the trade union movement have so far been easily marginalised.

On the single occasion the LCI raised its head outside internal Labour Party meetings, virtually the entire population of Mansfield turned out to give its tiny 'Dump Concannon' protest a bloody nose.

In the face of the evidence on the ground, I need to hear more than just arguments on how to campaign in general to convince me that the LCI won't just be an expensive diversion from our struggle to build solidarity with the Irish Revolution.

Ailean O'Callaghan
1/647 TGWU, Brent
East CLP

Ken Livingstone should come clean

Ken Livingstone should not have said that 'rate rises benefit our class.' Innumerable members of the working class have to pay rates.

I am old enough to remember George Lansbury and the other Poplar Guardians who refused to raise the rates or to starve the people in their care. They went to jail.

Not many people of their calibre seem to be alive today, but unless we have them we cannot win.

Being no heroine myself, I cannot sit in judgement on people who are not prepared to face jail for their causes. But Ken Livingstone should have been honest, and stated that he had no alternative other than either to raise the rates or to defy the government by refusing to implement the cuts.

Then it would have been up to people, especially the organised working class, to rally to his defence in defying the government.

I agree with you that we should



defend him against anti-socialist attack.
Kathleen Jones,
Shrewsbury

Monument

IT MAY INTEREST readers in the Dorset area to learn that a sports and country club has been set up just outside Christchurch.

Burton Hall, a Georgian mansion in its own extensive grounds, cost £200,000. A further £450,000 is being spent on converting the building into an exclusive country club, with a great emphasis on wine and dining.

Hotelier Richard Lee is confident that despite high membership fees (£125 for full single membership, £220 for full double membership) he will soon reach a target membership of 3000.

According to Lee, 'Burton Hall will not even be open until October but we already have 500 members.'

When it is complete, Burton Hall, which is a

listed building, will offer members an a la carte restaurant, outdoor and indoor heated swimming pools, a snooker room, five bars, squash courts, an informal bistro, a sauna, solarium and jacuzzi, plus of course a disco in the hall's cellars!

It is monstrous, that at a time when people are committing suicide because they can no longer face being unemployed and hungry, this sort of 'establishment' can be contemplated, let alone completed.

But then, at least as far as Lee and his cronies are concerned, the unemployed are expendable! Burton Hall is nothing but a monument to decadence and humbug. It shows what a sick society we are living in!

Kevin Miles,
Dorset



Anti-semitism

WOULD YOU care to answer the following question? Where does Socialist Challenge stand on anti-semitism? It is a question which should not need to be asked, but evidently it is necessary.

A year ago a bomb left by French neo-Nazis outside a French synagogue killed four people. Socialist Challenge condemned the attack and stressed the need to combat anti-semitism.

Last week, a synagogue in Vienna was attacked by two men armed with submachine guns and hand grenades. Two Jews were killed and twenty wounded. Clearly, in both cases the aim was to kill Jews.

But what was Socialist Challenge's response this time — NOTHING! So what has changed in a year? If anything, throughout Europe there has been a serious escalation of anti-semitic incidents. The need for socialists to offer practical support and solidarity is increasingly urgent.

The crucial factor accounting for your lack of response is that the murders in Vienna were not neo-Nazis, but members of a Palestinian splinter group.

SC's embarrassed silence suggests a belief that exposing and opposing such an act might compromise your solidarity with the Palestinians against 'Zionism'.

In reality it is a frightening concession to plain anti-semitism and will be of no comfort to Jewish communities or to Jewish socialists struggling for a united fight against anti-semitic attacks.

So please make it clear: where does Socialist

Challenge stand on anti-semitism?

Dave Rosenberg,
Jewish Socialist Group

We reply

Dave attributes to us policies and intentions we don't have. We didn't cover the Vienna attack simply because we can't report and cover everything — the rest of the left press didn't cover it either.

We don't support or solidarise with terrorist anti-Jewish attacks, whether they are carried out by Nazis, Palestinians or anyone else for that matter.

Neither do we think that such attacks in any way contribute to the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national rights. Naturally, we would draw a distinction between the Jewish communities in Europe and institutions and agencies of the Zionist state.

And of course, within the framework of our solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinians we would rigorously distinguish between the historic Jewish communities and the settlement being established on the borders of Israel, on the West Bank and elsewhere, with the intention of extending the defensible borders of the Zionist state.

We hope that Dave would join with us in making the distinction between Judaism and Zionism, the blurring of which has played into the hands of every brand of anti-semitic ideology.

Editorial Board

Black workers debate changing the unions

By Toni Gorton

Many of the key issues confronting black people in Britain today were debated at the Black Workers Conference held in Birmingham on 12 September.

The hundred or so participants agreed that Britain is a racist society. But a fundamental line of divide ran between those who look to the trade unions as a source of defence of black people, and those who argue that the unions are so racist that only black organisation outside them can combat racism and defend black people.

Projects

The conference aimed to lay the basis for black caucuses within the unions and to provide ideas and arguments on issues such as black history; the TUC Charter for Black Workers; black women workers; the Nationality Act and positive action.

In terms of attendance and firm projects the conference can only be

described as a limited success but still represented a small step forward for those fighting for black rights.

Women

In a powerful statement on behalf of black women, Trudi de Haney, a research officer for the General and Municipal Workers Union in Nottingham declared that black women are treated as an appendage in the fight for racial and sexual equality. 'We can't allow this', she said, 'we won't wait until black men have won equality.'

'We have passed the stage of brothers giving us a hand up.'

'We will conquer these deliberately contrived divisions between men and women, black and white.'

'What is needed is an urgent campaign in the trade unions'.

Tackling the question of so few black faces in the trade unions she denounced the idea that the cause was apathy of black men and women.

'If the trade unions don't take up our struggle then why should people get active if there is no viable prospect of achieving anything', she said.

She pointed out several developments which indicated at least some trade unions were moving.

Apathy

In addition she pointed to the increasing number of situations like the campaign in British Leyland Cowley by the Black Workers Rights Committee to stop the searching of black workers.

'The fight by black women workers in Grunwicks shows that it's not apathy that's the problem.'

'We can't allow our frustration with the trade



EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES Black and Minority Ethnic Workers

A Pack for Negotiators

NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (LONDON DIVISION)

NUPE positive action pack available for £3

unions and their lumbering progress to side track us.

'No issue is more central than that of equality.'

'We have to put the equality fight into the mainstream of working class politics.'

Bernie Grant, a London division officer for the National Union of Public Employees spoke of the need to get rid of some of the old white trade union terms like 'blackleg' and 'black leg'.

He concentrated on aspects of employment which had to be changed

such as word-of-mouth recruiting and internal advertising which gives power to certain groups to keep the workforce white. He also mentioned the plans of NUPE for positive action to end discrimination.

Liberals

In an aside he declared himself unworried about the National Front — 'the youth will take care of them on the streets'.

Bill Morris of the transport workers union

who is also on the TUC equal rights committee argued that it was necessary to fight with the trade union movement not against it to take political as well as industrial action, for example putting forward black candidates for MPs.

He declared himself 'fed up with organisations in the interests of black people being led by white liberals. It's like putting Jack the Ripper in charge of a blood bank.'

Questions were raised about how the unions should relate to the unemployed; the situation of the black disabled; the quota system to ensure black representation; the role of the Common Market in creating unemployment; the nature of the alliances with white workers; language difficulties; deportation of Filipino domestics, etc.

Argued

But the three positions on how blacks should organise remained unresolved. The organisers argued that a separate black organisation is necessary to progress the fight within the white labour movement; a second position expressed by a spokesperson from

the Brixton Defence Campaign was that an all-black organisation was necessary, capable of uniting all black people in their defence; and a third came from Socialist Workers Party members that unity with whites is necessary, not 'apartheid isolation' in black only formations.

In summary, Trudi de Haney wholeheartedly supported the right of black workers to organise separately, but added 'we cannot go around the trade union movement'.

Charges

Bernie Grant demonstrated how the trade unions were not just about jobs and wages: 'In my branch — Hammer-smith — we gave £300 to a woman whose son had been run over by a police car during the recent riots — that's what being in a trade union is about... That's £300 collected from low paid workers.'

The conference ended with a unanimous vote in favour of a motion from the Brixton Defence Campaign to drop all the charges against those arrested in the youth uprising earlier this year and specifically the Bradford 12.

Momentum builds up behind Bradford 12

BETWEEN 150-200 people, mainly black, picketed the Director of Public Prosecutions on 14 September in protest over the arrest and detention of the 12 Bradford Asian youths on charges of conspiracy.

A series of public meetings are planned and an excellent bulletin has been produced with interviews of the relatives.

Send donations for the bulletin and write to the defendants c/o Bradford 12 Support Committee, London c/o High St, Southall.

Support groups are also organised in Leeds, Leicester, Southall, Luton and Bradford.

Hear the case for the Bradford 12

21 September — West Green Community Centre at 7.30

National picket

1 October — Bradford City Court, coaches leaving from London



Bradford 12 picket outside the Home Office in London

Prejudice — just part of the job description

BRADFORD top cop, detective superintendent Richard Holland told a seminar this past weekend that police have to discriminate against people on grounds like race, age and clothing.

'To detect handbag snatchers and muggers,' he said, police should 'check and search — young athletic West Indian youths wearing jeans, T-shirts, and multi-colour tea-cosy type hats.'

Recommending tougher powers of arrest he said, 'Policemen must discriminate and surely society expects us to do so on their behalf and thus to select such people for our attention.'

So that's official folks! If you're young, black, and wear jeans you're a mugger.

And if you want to be a good cop even though you're a tea-cosy you better arrest it on 'sus'

When a leading police officer said that all black youth are potential muggers and that the Bradford 12 who are presently up on police charges of conspiracy?

How can anyone pretend that police brutality arises from an excess of zeal of young police officers when their superiors like Holland and Oxford justify and proclaim their bias against racial minorities?

It might as well be admitted — prejudice is just part of the job description.

Case dismissed against anti-racist

ON 14 September, anti-racist Donald Tomson had his case dismissed and costs of £100 were awarded against the police.

The story starts on 4 July earlier this year when he was driving through Southall on the day following the confrontation with the fascists and the police.

In front of the burned out Hambrough Tavern he waved to some Asian youths and shouted 'No National Front in Southall!'

Fifteen minutes later he was arrested and charged with using abusive language likely to cause a breach of the peace.

The police charged him with using abusive language likely to cause a breach of the peace.

Another witness showed him as having taken money to the Asian women on strike at Grunwicks and Chix.

To top it off he showed the court pictures of his part-Asian grandchildren and his Anti Nazi League membership card.

Somehow he managed to convince the judge and the case was dismissed.

US plans to invade Grenada

Public meeting

U Whiteman Grenadan Minister of Foreign Affairs

Sunday 20 September 7.30pm at Saint James Hall Saint James Avenue, West Ealing

Sponsored by the New Jewel Movement support group (UK)

BENEFIT

Saturday 19 September 7.30pm Islington Town Hall, Upper St, London N1 Bands include Split Rivitt, Tropicana and the Enchanters

Owen Carron MP and SWAPO invited to speak

Tickets £3 in advance, £3.50 at door, from NSC 188 North Gower St, London NW1 2NB Tel. 01-388 5539

Socialist Challenge



**↑ JOBS
NOT
BOMBS ↓**

**STOP THE
MISSILES**

**DEMO
LONDON
OCT 24**

THEY SHOOT BOSSSES, DON'T THEY?

By Pete Clifford

ARTHUR SNIPE, the JR of Doncaster, owner of both Mining Supplies and Laurence Scott, has done it again. Whilst workers at the Manchester plant at Scotts continue their strike against closure, he's shown his true blue colours. In the last week Snipe has: —

★ paid a record 104,000 guineas for a colt at the St Leger sales;

★ bought three other colts for 40,000 guineas and told the *Sporting Chronicle* that he had 'a hundred or two horses in training'. Two days later he sponsored the Mining Supplies race at Doncaster which was won by top jockey Lester Piggott.

★ made 436 workers at the Scott's factory in Norwich redundant. They're to join the 650 workers at Manchester who received their notice back in May.

Furious

The strikers at Manchester are furious. As TASS steward, Phil Penning, says, 'He can spend all this on four legged animals which will run a few times a year, but doesn't give a damn for our future.'

It's now 21 weeks since the Manchester workforce decided that they had nowhere else to go but to stay and fight. The strikers' actions have forced Snipe to negotiate.

This was set back by a deal between the engineering union, AUEW, and Snipe. Boyd and Duffy fell at the first hurdle when, pleading poverty, Snipe made an offer which wouldn't even guarantee keeping the factory open.

Stifle

They then withdrew official support and launched a vicious campaign to stifle labour movement backing. Now the chickens have come home to roost. More workers are to lose their jobs due to the folly of Boyd and Duffy.

This underlines even more the national importance of the fight at Scotts. Their action has set an example for the rest of the labour movement. Refusing to accept Boyd and Duffy's manoeuvres a national campaign is gathering steam to force a change in the AUEW and win the struggle.

Such a victory at Scotts would be a massive inspiration to all those facing redundancies, not least of all the Norwich workforce.

Financial support is urgently needed. They've had no strike pay for six weeks. Send money urgently to 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire. Scotts pay a visit to the TUC — see page 5.



Laurence Scott strikers give a message to TUC

Photo: Brian Grogan (Socialist Challenge)

Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)



Only three weeks left

'We've reached £10,000 of our quarterly fund drive — but we need another £6,000 in the next three weeks if we're to reach our £16,000 target.'

This week's post brought £30 from K Wood, who has asked us to print a standing order form every week, so he can take one out. Will do! (see page 7.)

Special thanks this week to supporters in Stockport who sent us another £73 from the sale of John Lennon posters, and from Birmingham and Leeds supporters who have both sent us another £100.

Also worthy of special mention is £4.30 from the 'Alan Lenton sponsored haircut' which has clearly been the major social event of the summer in Outer West London. Thanks to:

K Wood	£30.00
Stockport	73
Birmingham	100
Leeds	100
OWL	4.30
Hemel	
Hempstead	8.60
Coventry	30.00
Wolverhampton	39.50
I Parker	8.00
Bolton	4.00
Swindon	31.00
R Pietrasik	3.00
Southampton	46.00
Middlesborough	35.00
Oxford	105.00
Cardiff	90.00
TOTAL	£707.00

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