

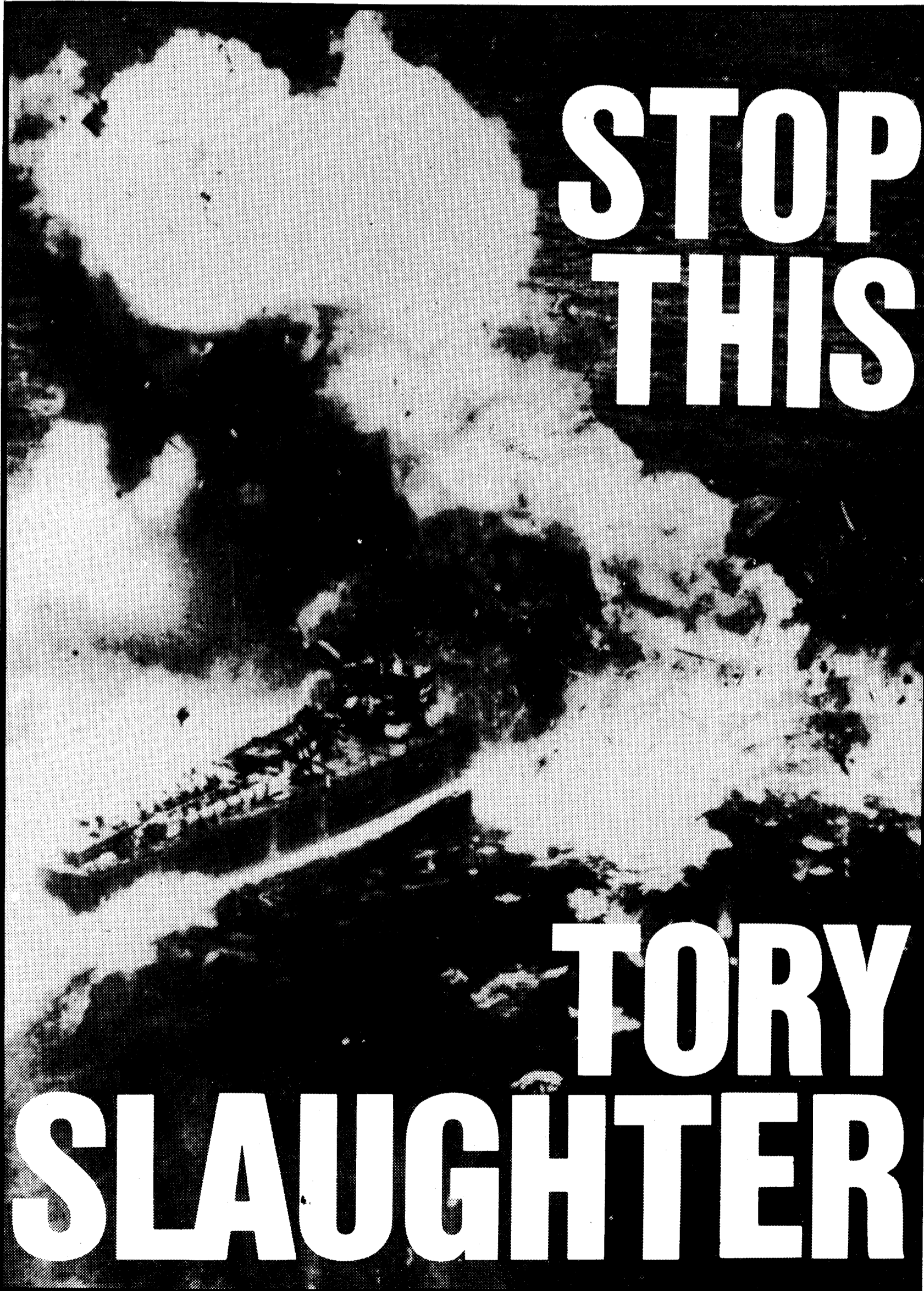
Socialist Challenge

Inside:

In memory of
BOBBY SANDS
1954-1981



Malvinas-Falklands coverage pages 2, 3, 4, 5 and 13



STOP THIS

TORY SLAUGHTER

As we go to press, Britain is on the verge of all-out war with Argentina. An Argentinian warship has been sunk outside the 'exclusion zone'. Argentinian planes and patrol boats have been blown up, and people killed during the air attack on Port Stanley airstrip. Already there are hundreds of dead. If all-out war takes place, then the death toll is likely to be higher than the total population of the Falkland Islands — and there will be many deaths on *both* sides. Such are the bloody fruits of Thatcher's decision to go to war.

Thatcher is fighting this war not out of concern for the fate of the islands' population — which is daily more in jeopardy. She is fighting to preserve Britain's world role as an imperialist power.

There is no justification — geographical, historical or otherwise for the islands being British. They rely for their schooling, their health care, their food supplies and even their post on Argentina. Because of the immigration laws many Falklanders do not even have the right to come to Britain. And everyone knows that eventually sovereignty will have to be ceded to the Argentinians.

But to preserve the myth that the Falklands are British hundreds of young people are being sent to their deaths.

The fighting can only get worse. As the war escalates, the British fleet will come under air attack, and the Argentinian mainland may be bombed by the task force. The British fleet is armed with nuclear weapons, and the fleet commander has the authority to use them if necessary.

The Labour movement must put a stop to this war. The support given to the task force by Foot and Healey must be repudiated. Miners' leader Arthur Scargill has joined Tony Benn and others in calling for the withdrawal of the fleet. Before an even greater tragedy takes place, *this war must end.*

Scargill's Call

Arthur Scargill and Derbyshire Miners leader Peter Heathfield called last Monday for the withdrawal of the British fleet. Scargill said: 'The Tories' warlike moves could plunge us into a war which will produce incalculable losses on both sides. They propose the threat of a nuclear holocaust with wider involvement. The Falklands Islands are 8000 miles away from Britain and can in no way be regarded as sovereign British territory. The trade union and labour movement must campaign for an immediate end to military action.'

Peter Heathfield said that Thatcher should 'think of the anguish being felt by thousands of parents arising from the war policy she and her government are pursuing.'

DOWN WITH THATCHER'S WAR

BRITAIN is now in the middle of full scale war with Argentina. This is what the wanton sinking of the 1938 vintage Argentinian cruiser General Belgrano with over 1000 on board actually signifies. This ship was outside the British imposed 'exclusion zone'. Clearly, from now on, any target is fair game.

Thatcher is intent on re-taking the Malvinas-Falkland Islands. To do this, she will have to attack the Argentine mainland to prevent Argentine air superiority coming into play. It is claimed that there have been no British casualties so far. The further action promised by Thatcher is bound to change this.

Michael Foot's position is in tatters. Having egged on the Tories war-mongering, he is now baulking at full scale war — a development clearly implied from the beginning. No wonder support for the Tories has now shot up to 43 per cent. To most workers who have been duped by his jingoism, Foot now simply appears to have lost his bottle.

The slaughter of several hundred Argentinian workers in uniform exposes all the cant that this war is about 'fighting fascism' and refusing to 'appease dictators'. Fighting fascism has nothing to do with Thatcher's plans.

As recently as five weeks ago she was still involved in arming this gang of thugs called the Argentinian junta. Right at this minute she is working hand in glove with the Chilean fascists.

The latest events in Argentina have given the lie to those who gave Thatcher the role of overthrowing Galtieri. The facts are proving that it is the Argentinians working class forces who will be Galtieri's undoing. The junta will be overthrown, however, as a consequence of the battle to take the Malvinas back from Britain. Those who really

want to overthrow fascism must support the Argentinian claim.

With the junta's need to gain popularity through the recovery of the Malvinas-Falklands, it has had to let its bitter opponent, the Argentinian trade union movement, organise. This has turned the tide against the junta and boosted the confidence of the Argentinian workers.

On 26 April, tens of thousands of workers rallied in Buenos Aires to demand 'No Yankees, No English! Long live Argentina'. This then turned into the largest public condemnation of the junta. More than 40,000 people chanted 'No to the government! Yes to the Malvinas'. There have been other such demonstrations since.

Britain is an oppressor of Argentina. Britain has no claim to these islands, over 8,000 miles away, as Arthur Scargill, Joan Maynard and others have now explained. Whatever the political hue of the Argentinian government, socialists must demand that the fleet immediately returns. This implies accepting Argentinian claims to sovereignty over the Malvinas-Falklands. Foot will continue to dither and be dragged behind Thatcher until this position is stated unequivocally by the Labour leadership.

Support for Thatcher's war is skin deep. Despite the fact that Labour leaders have backed Thatcher, three-fifths of the British people are opposed to any actions leading to loss of life in the South Atlantic. If the Labour leadership were to give a clear alternative lead this sentiment could easily be turned into real opposition as the war now becomes more generalised.

Action by the Labour movement is more urgent than ever to stop Thatcher's madness. No quick British victory is possible. Further intensification

of the attacks on Argentina will inevitably lead to a widening conflict.

The backing given to Britain by the United States involves military aid. Now, it even emerges that the British fleet carries tactical nuclear weapons which the fleet commander has been given authority to fire.

The slaughter of the hundreds of Argentinian seamen shows that the Tories will not baulk at mass murder. If left to themselves this will be extended to the use of nuclear weapons.

Given the ferociousness of British aggression, even right wing governments in Latin America will be under pressure to turn their paper support for Argentina into active assistance. Brazil has already offered military back-up.

Revolutionary Cuba, has offered to support Argentina 'with all means necessary', adding that 'It is necessary to stop aggression and impose law'.

Such generalisation of the conflict is inevitable if Thatcher is allowed to continue on her present course.

Many Labour Party bodies will be meeting for the first time for several weeks after the local elections. From here and from trade union branches, resolutions must bombard the Labour and trade union leadership demanding a clear cut call for the fleet to be withdrawn and all British troops taken off the islands.

Mobilisation for the 6 June anti-Reagan actions must include the demands for the recall of the fleet. This needs to be targetted as the occasion for a massive show of working class feeling against the war.

Eyewitness report from Argentina: 'Workers could not be held back any longer'

The following is an interview with Lucia Gómez, an Argentine socialist who currently lives in the United States. At the time of the Malvinas takeover, Gómez was in Argentina visiting her family. The interview was conducted in New York City on 22 April, shortly after Gómez's return to the United States.

This is a shortened version. The full text appears in *Intercontinental Press*, published in New York.

How did the workers movement and the political opposition respond to the recovery of the Malvinas?

The response of the people was first of all immense joy that the Malvinas had been recovered. But this did not translate into popularity for the government. In fact, people were saying things like: 'For once, the military is doing what it should be doing — defending Argentina — rather than running the government'.

The CGT leaders, who were supposed to have been jailed indefinitely, were all released within

two days and invited by the government to attend the installation of the new authorities on the Malvinas. The CGT's response was a statement saying something like this:

'As everybody knows, this organisation does not exist so far as the government is concerned. We have been considered illegal. So there is no way that our organisation can accept an invitation from a government that does not even recognise our legal right to exist. Nonetheless the ranks of the army are made up of workers and the sons of workers. So we CGT leaders are going to



Demonstration in support of Malvinas recovery but also calling for overthrow of Galtieri

go to the Malvinas to congratulate the soldiers on behalf of the Argentine people.'

The newspapers all published this statement, and the government had to let the union leaders go to the Malvinas.

What about the role of the US government — how was this viewed by the people?

The reaction was immediately one of suspicion. The occupation of the Malvinas took everyone by surprise, so the first thing many people said was that the junta had seized them in order to turn them over to the Yankees. As this rumour spread, the government had to come out and state clearly that it was establishing Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas and had no in-

tention of giving them to anybody else.

Washington miscalculated. They thought it would be easy to get the regime to back down — that the junta was in a desperate situation and would not have the backing of the Argentine people.

The junta miscalculated too — they thought they would have US support, or at least real neutrality. Once Reagan's position became clearer, the regime had no choice but to mount a show of popular support for the taking of the Malvinas.

The day Haig was to arrive for the first negotiations, the radio and television — all government controlled — called for a big rally at the Plaza de Mayo. The opposition parties all lent their sup-

port to this. As for the CGT leaders, they responded by saying they could not participate officially, because that would mean giving support to the government. But they called on all workers to go as individuals and as Argentines to celebrate the recovery of the islands.

When Haig's plane landed, he could easily have been brought by helicopter to the roof of the Casa Rosada (presidential palace). But instead the government had him driven by car all the way from the airport.

The entire highway was lined with people. They drove him right into the Plaza de Mayo, which was filled with nearly 300,000 people waving Argentine flags and chanting slogans. Haig must have

been scared, but he could see how much the Argentine people support the recovery of the Malvinas.

The majority of the crowd was made up of working people — public employees and industrial workers. Many middle class people turned out as well. And many of the chants were the very same as those chanted on 30 March. You never heard any slogans like 'Long live the junta' or 'Long live Galtieri'.

Instead, a favourite chant was 'The English are gone, and now it's Alemann's turn!' Roberto Alemann is the minister of the economy, and the main target of the workers' discontent. People also chanted 'Viva Perón!' and even, 'Se va a acabar, la dictadura

militar!' (The military dictatorship is coming to an end!)

Leftist groups like the Montonero Peronist Movement and the Communist Party participated openly in the rally. The CP youth had a big banner, and led chants of 'The people united will never be defeated'.

At one point, General Galtieri came out on the balcony and declared that he and Haig were going to represent the Argentine people in the negotiations with Britain. People responded with booing and whistling — their way of saying, you don't represent the Argentine people, we do!

Four weeks ago, the Argentine armed forces were talking openly about sending troops to help the US imperialists in Central America. Now their relations with Washington are extremely bad.

Inside the country, the situation has turned completely around. The working class is gaining confidence and coming out of six years of the worst defeats in its history. The government has been weakened tremendously in relation to the workers.

Before March 30, there was the danger of another big wave of repression. But now the government is in no position to do anything other than grant more and more concessions. Even if Galtieri were to fall and some other general take power, they would immediately have to give concessions. And if they back off from fighting Britain, the Argentine people will take things into their own hands.

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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

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

Falklands Crisis

Who speaks for Labour?

By Alan Freeman

ONE VOICE has not been heard during this war: that of the rank and file of the Labour Party. Local elections, the most important in years, have absorbed its energies and most branches have suspended regular meetings.

But while the activists slog away on the doorstep to pick up votes in ones and twos, Labour's front bench has been throwing them away by tens of thousands.

When Socialist Challenge first began contacting MPs to mobilise opposition to the war, one after the other told us that speaking out against the war would lose votes for Labour.

Yet Thatcher's showing in the opinion polls has risen to its highest in years. As we go to press it is too early to tell whether this will be reflected in the local elections.

But one thing is sure: no Labour government will carry out socialist policies while its leadership follows Foot's jingoism.

Labour cannot but lose out. If the war goes well for her, Thatcher will take the credit; and if it goes badly Foot will be unable to make her take the blame.

The front bench's stand greatly increases the prospects for coalition. What excuse has Foot got for refusing to attend all party talks?

In spite of its much vaunted 'refusal to give the government a blank cheque', front bench spokespeople have supported every single military action so far undertaken.

Within the Labour Party the spectrum has been shifted dramatically to the right. Benn and Hart's motion at the NEC, printed on this page, received only eight votes against fifteen. Backbench MPs have gone so far as to put down an early day motion attacking Benn in the Commons.

This attack, presented as a 'humorous dig', shows exactly where Labour's right and soft centre now stand: beside the Tories and the SDP and Liberals against the party.

This drift to the right can and should be halted when Labour activists return from the election campaign to May's consti-

tuency and branch meetings. As one party leader put it 'after 6 May the Bishop's Stortford sticking plaster will come off'.

The pretence of party unity has ceased to exist. Reporting Labour Party reaction, the media presents statements from Healey and Foot, and from Hart and Benn, as if they were speaking for two different parties.

Yet 'party unity' has served yet again as the reason for avoiding a clear break with Foot's stand. At the NEC Eric Heffer abstained on Benn's motion in the interests of party unity; and the supporters of Benn's motion voted for Foot's motion on the same grounds. More dangerous still, Judith Hart and Tony Benn accepted an amendment to their own motion so that, instead of calling for the total withdrawal of the fleet, it called for a withdrawal to South Georgia.

This change neutered the motion. It is the presence of the fleet in the South Atlantic in any shape or form, that is the cause of the present conflict. The war will go on until not a single British

navy vessel remains south of the equator.

The opportunity now exists for the left to take the offensive. Foot has lost all credibility. His wornout reputation as a 'pacifist' of the sixties has been discarded; and the polls show that he cannot even bring about a labour victory.

Labour's next conference should be the arena for a settling of accounts. Even at this late stage the Labour left should consider standing a candidate against Foot for the party leadership, so that the issue can be debated out as were the issues of democracy, unilateralism and economic strategy last year.

The NEC should be bombarded with motions calling for a Labour commitment for total withdrawal of the fleet, condemning Foot and commending Benn and Hart, and calling on Labour to organise a mass campaign to get the fleet out of the South Atlantic.

The true voice of the party has been silenced by Labour's front bench: now is the time for it to be heard.

Labour's NEC on war

TWO RESOLUTIONS were put to the Labour Party National Executive Committee on Wednesday 28 April. The first, from Michael Foot, Denis Healey and Eric Heffer, was passed with two abstentions. The second, from Judith Hart and Tony Benn, was defeated by fifteen votes to eight. An amendment to their motion, which originally called for withdrawal of the fleet, was accepted that it called for withdrawal to South Georgia.

THAT THIS NEC calls upon the British Government to respond immediately and favourably to the statement issued by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the night of April 26, and to institute discussions with him at the earliest possible moment to see how his proposals can best be carried into effect. The Secretary-General's statement was as follows:

'In view of the further armed exchange between Argentine and British forces which has taken place over South Georgia island, it is imperative that the escalation of the situation be halted. In this critical situation the Secretary-General therefore appeals to both parties to comply immediately with the provisions of the Security Council Resolution 502 (1982) and to refrain from any action that would broaden yet further the conflict which threatens to have serious con-

sequences for world peace.'

Michael Foot
Denis Healey
Eric Heffer

THAT THIS NEC, which has consistently, over many years, attacked and deplored the appalling denial of human rights by the fascist junta in Argentina, and the sale of arms to Argentina; while condemning the occupation of the Falkland Islands in clear breach of international law, believes that there should be an immediate halt to all British military action in the region of the Falkland Islands.

It particularly draws attention to those aspects of mandatory Resolution 502 which the Prime Minister ignores, namely, the preamble

calling on the government of Argentina and the UK to refrain from the use of threats of force, and points 1 and 3, which demand: an immediate cessation of hostilities and that both governments seek a diplomatic solution.

It also believes:

1. That the proper response for Britain to adopt is to support all UN initiatives, including direct negotiations to secure a settlement which will safeguard the legitimate interests of the Falkland Islanders.
2. That the Falkland Islanders wishing to leave should be helped to re-settle elsewhere with generous compensation.
3. That the question of sovereignty must be negotiable.

The NEC also wishes to make it clear that the Labour Party will not support the government in a war with the Argentine which could spread; would put innocent lives at risk; and isolate Britain in the eyes of the world. It therefore calls upon the government to suspend hostilities forthwith, by accepting a cease-fire and withdrawing the Task Force to South Georgia; and intends to launch a national campaign to win public support for this statement.

Tony Benn
Judith Hart

May Day marches against war

MAY DAY demonstrations throughout Britain have opposed Thatcher's war drive. In Bristol marches voted at the final rally for the withdrawal of the fleet after hearing Tony Benn condemn the invasion of South Georgia.

In Chesterfield three thousand heard miners' leaders Arthur Scargill and

Peter Heathfield call for an immediate end to military action.

In Sheffield Martin Flannery told 1,000 people that the islands were taken from Argentina 'at the height of British imperialism's jingoism.'

Five thousand assembled at Tower Hill in London heard Judith Hart

condemn the drive and call for the labour movement to 'mobilise to stop the war.' In Glasgow 1,500 attended a May day rally where a resolution was passed calling for the removal of British and Argentine troops and negotiations on the basis of UN Security Council resolution 502.



OVER 400 people marched through Manchester last Saturday calling for 'no war with Argentina, bring back the fleet'.

Ralph Simmons, speaking on behalf of the CP, announced that an ad hoc committee against the war would

be set up during the weekend, and a proposal for mass leafletting next Saturday in Piccadilly Gardens was accepted after being put forward by supporters of Socialist Challenge and Revolution Youth.

Revolution Youth played a major role in building the

march, particularly among students and black youth on Moss Side.

'The clearest opponents of the war are the black youth who declared war on the British state last summer,' said a spokesperson for Revolution Youth.

WHICH SIDE

FMLN

Redmond O'Neil interviews Manuel Bravo, member of the diplomatic representation in Britain of the FDR-FMLN

What is your attitude to the crisis over the Malvinas (Falkland) islands?

First of all, I want to deal with the hard facts. The islands belong to Argentina. The claim of the Argentinian people to sovereignty over them is a legitimate one. Second, the islands do not belong to Britain. The British government's decision to send the task force is an outrageous act of colonialism. It is using this to try to divert the British people from its own internal crisis.

Third, the action by the Argentinian military in reclaiming the islands is a legitimate action. All we demand of the Argentinian government is that they are consistent. We support their claim to sovereignty, and they should respect our right to sovereignty and self-determination in El Salvador. We demand, therefore that they remove all military aid to the military junta in El Salvador, and withdraw their military advisors from our country.

Collapse

Fourth, Alexander Haig has now come out clearly on Britain's side. What does this mean? It means the collapse of the Monroe doctrine, whereby European powers were kept out of Latin America because the US government is allowing a European power to exercise economic, political, and military muscle on Argentinian territory. The US government waited until the last possible moment before speaking out.

Their last chance to remain on the fence would



Harrier Jump-jet

have been if the Organisation of American States had taken a non-committal position. When the OAS supported Argentina, then the US had to declare themselves. Sitting on the fence any longer meant losing the support of both sides.

The US have to put their two pacts into the balance — their alliance with Britain through NATO, and with Argentina through the Rio Treaty of reciprocal aid. The result is clear for all to see. They regard their European imperialist allies as more important than Argentina.

So overall, I want to stress that the Malvinas conflict is not a football match where socialists have to choose one side and cheer it on until the very end. What we can say is three things:

First, Britain is a loser because its outdated big stick intervention will not alleviate its difficulties at home. The fleet cannot destroy the dole queues.

Second, the United States is a loser, because it has been exposed in the eyes of the Americas and the world. The history of our continent, from Canada to Latin America, is the fruit of colonialism and imperialism. The US government demonstrated that before being loyal members of the Americas with its anti-colonial struggle, they are loyal to imperialism.

Today at the time of the struggle against colonialism by El Salvador, be it against Britain, the multinationals or puppet military dictatorships, the USA, before all else, stands for upholding im-

perialist positions.

Thirdly although the claim of the Argentinian people for sovereignty over the Malvinas is legitimate, and always will be, although the military action taken by the dictatorship in recuperating the Malvinas are also legitimate, nonetheless their scope for success is limited by the fact that the Argentinian junta have chosen to fight on the enemy's terms: number of planes, boats, tanks, submarines and in general sophistication of armaments.

It is the anti-imperialist movements which are the biggest weapons against Britain. What we must understand about the Malvinas crisis is not so much who will win round one. Rather it is to realise what a tremendous crisis imperialism is going through at the moment.

How does the crisis over the Malvinas affect the prospects of a US military intervention?

As a result of the positions the USA has taken against Argentina, no Latin American dictatorship will be able to so blindly follow American plans in the future. This will make intervention by proxy more difficult.

However, Galtieri and the section of power that he represents may be pushed aside by imperialism. That is to say, imperialism would manipulate the political crisis of the oppressor in Argentina to produce a different base with a different approach to the whole thing and with whom Britain could settle the crisis, saving face and allowing the UN to act as a mediator.

Imperialism takes on the third world in the South Atlantic

'THATCHER has won the diplomatic struggle', our free and uncensored television newsreaders tell us. The truth is slightly different. The conflict in the Malvinas has become a struggle for imperialism's right to carry on robbing; this is now clear from the diplomatic line-up.

All the imperialist powers have now backed Britain; Japan complied two days after Reagan declared for Thatcher.

In the third world Britain's action is seen as a re-assertion of colonial rights. Even racist divisions have been revived. In 'The Falklands crisis', a glossy pro-British war propaganda sheet which has just hit the newsagents, we are told that 'The White Commonwealth rallied to Britain's side'.

Most significant of all, however, is the fact that those countries and movements

CUBA

A STATEMENT issued on 29 April condemned the British invasion of South Georgia and offered Cuban support to Argentina against Britain. Cuba's position was spelt out in a Radio Havana broadcast on 14 April, as follows:

The Malvinas Islands crisis is drawing world attention to the colonialism still in effect in parts of Latin America. That phenomenon has come under harsh criticism from the UN and the Nonaligned Movement.

The Nonaligned Movement's Sixth Summit, held in Havana in 1979, recalled the long struggle of the Latin American nations for their independence and sovereignty.

The nonaligned leaders indicated that Latin America historically has been one part of the world consistently victimised by Washington's acts of aggression, as well as those of the European imperialist powers. The leaders expressed their conviction that col-



The long arm of the law

onialism, in all shapes and forms, should be wiped out of the Caribbean and Latin America.

Shortly after the summit, on 12 October 1979, top Cuban leader Fidel Castro addressed the UN General Assembly on the question of the Malvinas Islands. As president of the Nonaligned Movement, he reiterated its firm support of Argentina's right to regain sovereignty of the islands.

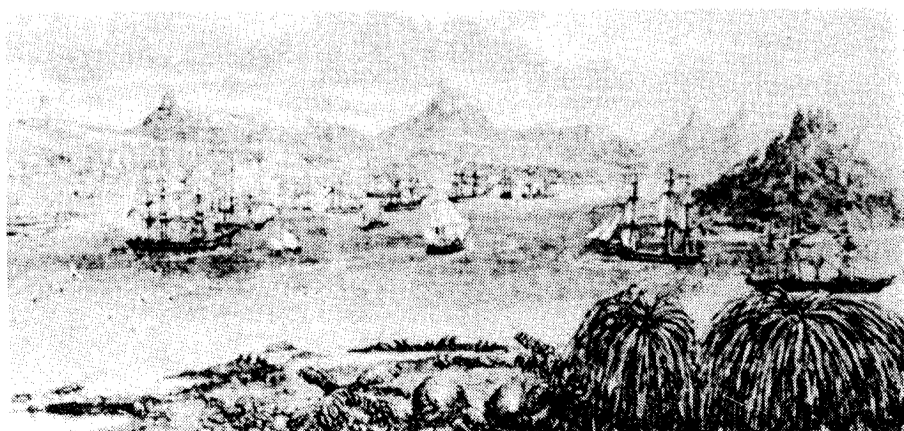
At the Foreign Ministers Conference in New Delhi in February of 1981, the nonaligned

NICARAGUA

THE FOLLOWING statement by the Nicaraguan government was published in the 6 April issue of the Managua daily *Barricada*.

In light of the delicate situation created by the dispute between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom regarding the Malvinas Islands and other adjacent islands, the Foreign Ministry released the following statement yesterday:

The Government of National Reconstruction, in keeping with its anti-imperialist and nonaligned international policy, which is opposed to all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, feels that one of the causes of the disturbance of international peace is the maintenance of anachronistic



Port Stanley in the 1800s

colonial enclaves that contradict the fundamental principles underlying contemporary international law.

The Government of Na-

tional Reconstruction of Nicaragua regrets the failure of the efforts by the Republic of Argentina to peacefully resolve the colonial and illegal

occupation that the United Kingdom has imposed on the mentioned territories, and once again states that it supports the right of all people



Falklands: the graveyard of colonialism

ARE YOU ON?

fighting imperialism have without exception lent their support to Argentina. This includes the guerillas of El Salvador, fighting under threat of a US-sponsored proxy invasion by Argentina.

The reason is very simple; whatever the regime in Argentina, the people owe their misery to imperialism. The Salvadorean guerillas understand something our own Labour leaders have not; that a victory for Britain will strengthen the hand of reaction in Argentina, and that a British defeat will allow the Argentinian people to settle accounts with their rulers. The Argentinian revolutionaries themselves also understand this.

On these two pages Socialist Challenge prints reactions to the crisis from Latin American and Caribbean revolutionaries, so that our readers can judge for themselves: whose side are Thatcher and Michael Foot on?



in the South Atlantic

countries ratified the understanding they reached on the Malvinas during the Havana summit. Once again, Argentina got the solid backing of most of the world's countries, which make up the movement.

As Cuba's ambassador to Argentina has said: 'The Malvinas are an inalienable part of Argentina, and Cuba has always maintained a very clear position on this point. We defended it in all international forums, we said it in every possible way. Even

our president, Fidel Castro, urged the restoration of the Malvinas to Argentina during his student days.'

The situation is clear enough. The confrontation is between a Latin American country, belonging to the Nonaligned Movement, and a colonial power who had been controlling part of Argentina's territory for 149 years.

GRENADA

THE FOLLOWING is the statement of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada on the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands crisis:

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada favours a peaceful, negotiated, political settlement to the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands dispute between the United Kingdom and Argentina.

At the same time the People's Revolutionary Government continues to support Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Islands as just.

Over the years, many International Organisations to which we belong have identified the issue, quite rightly, as one of Colonialism. These include the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Latin American sec-



Argentinians demonstrate against the English and the junta

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Declaration of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

A STATE OF WAR exists around the Malvinas islands. The conflict is not between a 'democracy' and a 'military dictatorship'. It is between an imperialist power and a dependent country that is still semi-colonial.

The Malvinas were seized by Britain from Argentina as part of its policy of armed colonial expansion. They were used by British imperialism as its chief naval base to guard the passage to the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans. They also provided a base for military action against the Latin

American mainland.

What is at issue in this conflict is not the right to self-determination of the inhabitants of the Islands as Mrs Thatcher claims. It is:

- the survival and credibility of the reactionary Thatcher government;
- the resources of the Antarctic;
- the strategic position of the Malvinas in the South Atlantic;
- the oil that has been discovered around the Islands.

That is what British imperialism wants to keep hold of. Its blatant hypocrisy is demonstrated by the fact that it has supplied the Argentine military dictatorship and in part even helped bring it

to power. To a large extent it will be British-supplied arms which will be firing on British ships.

In this conflict the international workers' and revolutionary movements must give their full and entire support to Argentina. Argentinian sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands must be definitively established and internationally recognised without any reservations. British imperialism's war is a totally reactionary war. We must work for it to end in defeat.

The Fourth International calls on the workers of all countries to give their support to the Argentinian nation in this conflict. The imperialist war drive must be fought head-on by the working masses everywhere and above all

in Argentina and in Latin America.

The Fourth International calls on European workers to force their governments to end the blockade measures and economic boycott against Argentina. In the present conflict these measures do not target the military dictatorship. They are aimed against the Argentinian nation. The Argentinian masses or the victims of repression will not benefit from them. The benefits are drawn by the British imperialists. The European working class has no interest in supporting in any way whatsoever the international imperialist alliance, the alliance of its own exploiters against the Argentinian nation.

The Fourth International calls on the British

workers and their organisations to resolutely oppose the chauvinist hysteria. They should demonstrate in tens of thousands as they did during the Suez conflict in 1956 to stay the criminal arm of the City's warmongers. Not a drop of blood should be shed for the cause of the Falkland Island Company — for the sordid interests of the plunderers of the Ocean beds.

The people who are leading this conflict are those who are responsible for three million unemployed in Great Britain, for dismantling the social security system and causing a large increase in poverty levels throughout the country. The natural allies of the British workers are the Argentinian workers and the Argentinian nation, not the British capitalists.

Cause

The Fourth International calls on the Argentinian workers to defend the just cause of Argentinian sovereignty over the Malvinas by sustained class action and by class struggle methods. While working for the victory of Argentina in this war, workers will not give up for an instant their intransigent opposition to the bloody military dictatorship. They will continue their efforts to overthrow it and replace it by a workers' and toilers' government, which is alone capable of finishing the task of liberating the country from the imperialists' hold, of definitively ensuring democratic rights for the broad masses and resolving the serious economic crisis in the interests of the working masses, by taking the socialist road.

1 May 1982
United Secretariat Bureau of the Fourth International

and nations to exercise their full and total sovereignty over the territories that legally belong to them. It repeats its backing to the government of the Argentine Republic in this dispute.

Peace

In addition, the Government of National Reconstruction, whose norm has been to seek peace through dialogue, calls on the Argentine government and the government of the United Kingdom — both of which it maintains cordial relations with — not to carry out any action that could lead to a further worsening of the present grave situation, but rather to strive to be faithful to the principles of the United Nations charter and the norms of international law in order to resolve these differences peacefully.

tion of the Socialist International.

In the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 1514 of 1960, 2065 of 1965, and 3160 of 1973, the question was clearly stated as a colonial problem. The 1965 Resolution recalled the 1960 which inter alia stated — 'was prompted by the cherished aim of bringing to an end everywhere colonialism in all its forms, one of which covers the case of the Falkland Islands'.

Concern

The 1973 Resolution expressed, in addition, grave concern 'at the fact that eight years have elapsed since the adoption of Resolution 2065 without any substantial progress having been made in the negotiations'.

It seems therefore that successive British governments have had ample oppor-

tunity to settle this question in accordance with the UN Resolutions.

The movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the 6th summit in 1979, called for decolonisation, whilst reaffirming its support for Argentina's claim.

The Latin American and Caribbean section of the Socialist International of which the New Jewel Movement of Grenada forms a part, gave its support to Argentina's claim at its meeting held in Aruba during March 1981.

Our support for Argentina's claim to sovereignty is therefore nothing new or strange.

The People's Revolutionary Government, however, wishes to make it clear that it does not support the use of force to give expression to this claim. In a news conference given on Thursday 15 April we declared that Grenada condemned the use



Rex Hunt, appointed governor of Antarctica — and the Falklands

of military force by Argentina to establish control over the Islands.

Equally, we reject the

threat of the United Kingdom to use force to restore the colonial status quo.

As we declared on 15

Organisation of American States. We therefore have a deep interest in the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement in the South Atlantic.

It is to be clearly understood that supporting a country's claim does not suggest support for non-peaceful means of settling the claims, and our policy continues to be that while we support the justice of the claim, we would wish steps to be taken to ensure that the transition, the realisation of Argentina's just aspiration, proceed without resort to force and violence.

Our policy on the Falklands (Malvinas) problem therefore is based on two principles we have long defended: we support Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the territories as just and we reject the use of force to press or settle that claim.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Grenada.

Women's Rights

Laurence Scott woman striker says

'They began to look at us like equals'

NORMA COCKSEY has been on strike at Laurence Scott Electromotors in Manchester for one year. She has stuck with the dispute through thick and thin. **PHIL PENNING**, a fellow striker spoke to her about her experiences as a woman striker and a woman worker.

Norma worked at LSE for eight years as a stator winder, is married with three grown up daughters and is a member of the engineering union, the AUEW.

What was your experience at work before the strike?

We had some hassle over us getting less money than the men for doing the same job. When they brought in the Equal Pay Act we all got the same basic rate and the same bonus rate.

Then two of the men winders decided they wanted to be reclassified to get more money. They weren't skilled, only semi-skilled so they decided that they were doing heavier jobs than us.

It didn't matter that we were doing very small jobs that they couldn't do.

So what happened? Did they get a bigger bonus rate?

No, we took a drop. Union agreed to us taking a drop.

How did the women react to this?

They had no choice. They were told by the union, you see, that this was what they had to do, so they did it.

Not enough women were willing to get involved in a fight especially those in the rest of the factory who weren't affected.

Some people say that women go out to work for pin money....

I go to work to get a decent standard of living. I've always gone to work. From the kids being a



Photo: PETE GRANT

Women and men on the march for Laurence Scott

few weeks old I've done evening shifts or somewhere that I could take school holidays.

This is the longest I've ever been out of work. I've taken a massive drop in living standards.

I'm about 60 quid a week light, that in my hand that.

Which way did you vote on the dispute?

When I first went into that meeting I went with the intention of voting against. But listening to John Tocher (AUEW divisional organiser) and the rest of them talking about the things the boss, Snipe, got away with, how he'd never

been fought and how we were fighting for the next generation's jobs, I decided that we must put up a fight and each meeting I voted for it.

What do you think of the role of the union during the dispute?

Rubbish. I would point the finger at both the local officials and national. But without any doubt Duffy, Boyd and Ken Cure are the main reasons for not winning our jobs back.

Was there any time when you felt like walking away?

Yes, sometimes I felt that it was just a waste of time but I would never have walked away. It felt like a waste of time because we were fighting everybody — the government, the police, the union. It was only support from other workers that kept us going.

Did you have any problems with the men in the dispute from the

point of view of being a woman?

No, I don't think we had any problems with the men from Scotts but if you went out collecting at factory gates some men looked at you as though you were only working for pin money so it wasn't important.

But I do think that men's ways of looking at women changed during the dispute — they began to look at us more like equals.

You have talked about the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act. Do you think they have been successful?

No, because there are far too many women not getting equal pay and the men don't seem to want to support any fight for us.

If we're to change this situation women have got to get more involved in union work.

The Labour Party should bring in a law that will make sure women get an equal chance.

We'll only win something if we get solidarity of all workers together.

Equal pay? You don't say!



Kigass strikers in Leamington Spa into fourth week of struggle

By Judith Arkwright

THIS Tory government is on trial by the European Court of Human Rights for infringing the rights of women. According to the Treaty of Rome — a document signed by all member countries of the EEC — Britain, Belgium and Italy have failed to comply with its regulations.

The charges against Britain are as follows:

Equal pay: the latest figures show that up to April 1981 the average weekly earnings for women were only 60 per cent of men's, less than in 1975.

Social security: gross inequalities exist in such areas as concessionary fares, invalidity retirement

benefits. These are exempted from our 'equality' laws.

Norman Tebbit, as the Minister of (un) Employment, replied to the European Court that women in Britain do get equal pay — but the facts speak otherwise.

During the five years between the passing of the Equal Pay Act and its im-

plementation, employers were able to manoeuvre regarding women so that their work would not even be 'broadly similar' to men.

This meant that in some cases the Equal Pay Act actually led to an increase in job segregation through designating certain areas as women's work only.

The Act failed for two fundamental reasons: First, because so many women work part time. Over 40 per cent of women workers are part timers. In April 1980 their average

hourly rate was £1.67 compared with that for full time men of £2.87.

The Equal Pay Act takes no account of this. The Act says that you are entitled to equal pay providing that there are 'no material differences between your circumstances and that of a man'.

Fate

Although women make up 42 per cent of the entire workforce they are only to be found in one quarter of all occupations, generally in the least skill-

ed, lowest paying industries, occupations and grades.

Employers have craftily argued that working part time is itself a material difference barring women from equal *pro rata* pay. This may be changed by a recent court ruling — but

should be paid what a man would get if he were doing the job.

This would only apply to women who want to claim pay equivalent to a male predecessor or compare herself with a man who has left the firm.

The concept of equal

Concentration of women workers by manufacturing industry (November 1981)

Industry	No of women workers	(% non-manual)*	Women as % total workforce
Food, drink & tobacco	240,700	(23)	40
Clothing & footwear	227,500	(10)	76
Electrical engineering	208,300	(31)	33
Textiles	153,700	(16)	46
Paper, printing & publishing	149,700	(44)	31
Mechanical engineering	109,400	(63)	15
Chemicals	105,900	(45)	27
Metal goods	105,400	(35)	25
All manufacturing industry	1,645,000	(32)	28

* at September 1981

Source: *Employment Gazette* January 1982 Table 1.3, December 1981 Table 1.10

women cannot afford to leave their fate in the hands of the courts.

Second, and most importantly, women are more segregated within the labour market now than they were in the nineteenth century. A system of discrimination affecting women and blacks exists within the highly stratified British workforce.

The Equal Opportunities Commission sent proposals for changing the law to the Government over a year ago.

It proposes that the Equal Pay Act be amended to include a 'notional man', that is, a woman

pay for work of equal value is also included in the proposals; this would involve an equal value clause under which a woman could compare her job with a dissimilar job incorporating similar levels of skill or value.

Change

Such proposals do not really get to the root of the problem. The question of who would evaluate the jobs and what criteria would be used is not dealt with. The evaluation of jobs and divisions into men's and women's jobs is at the heart of the pro-

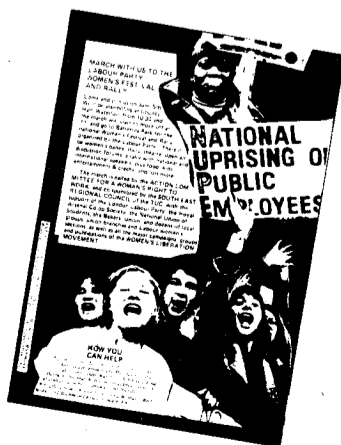
blems faced with the existing law.

It is necessary to change existing law on equal pay but such changes only scratch the surface. A policy for a guaranteed minimum wage backed by the TUC would probably be more effective in this instance.

Flat rate increases and inflation proofing should be fought for to raise basic levels.

The failure of the legislation of the '70s has shown us the fate of women cannot and will not be decided by debates among friends in the EEC or by government committees but by the strength of the mass movement to force the issue of real equality for women and for the working class as a whole.

The Tories solution is very radical — to send women out of jobs and into the home. The labour movement must reply with bold policies and with action to stop them.



LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Tribune

40p VOL 46 NO 18 APRIL 30, 1982

TWO weekly journals of the labour movement have just appointed new editors. New Statesman's Hugh Stephenson is the compromise candidate between the left and the right and will probably take the magazine further into decline. Tribune, once the house journal of Labour's parliamentary left, has a falling circulation of only 8,000.

Next week, CHRIS MULLIN, takes over as editor. In the forefront of the Benn for deputy campaign last year, he intends to make Tribune the forum for the left in its broadest sense. He recognises that he will be directly in competition with New Statesman and Labour Weekly which he believes has 'been nobbled by the establishment.' He spoke to Tessa van Gelderen on the role he saw for Tribune and the present developments inside the Labour Party.

What does you being appointed editor represent and how do you see the role of Tribune over the next period?

Tribune is widely associated in the movement with what one might call the '50s left. If I'm associated with anything, it's the 1970s left, even the 1980s. In that sense the paper ought to begin to change. The level of debate will sharpen up.

I am one of those who believes, rightly or wrongly, that one of the obstacles to socialism in this country is the Parliamentary Labour Party. They are as much part of the right as they have ever been in recent history. Many of them are just as determined not to implement many of the key things in Labour Party policy and some of them are prepared to say so publicly.

Healey, for example, said that he would not want to serve in a government committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. It's not a question of Labour being ahead of public opinion in the country — we're limping along behind the public opinion. Certainly as far as nuclear disarmament is concerned, perhaps as far as the Common Market is concerned, and I suspect as far as withdrawal from Ireland is concerned.

Tribune will not be the kind of paper where I expect all our readers to agree with everything they read. We shall aim to provide a forum for anybody on the left. I'm not talking about the left as between Tribune and Socialist Challenge. If Roy Hattersley has a message which he wishes to address to what he calls the hard left he's welcome to have space in Tribune to do so and then I'll give somebody the right to reply.

The editorial line will change from what it now is but the rest of the paper will be open to anyone who has something intelligent and informative to say.

But is it not the case that these battles for policy still have to be won inside the unions?

Oh yes, you bet your life. One of the most exciting things about the deputy leadership campaign was that it put an end to the idea of non-political trade unionism. We took the fight to large fringe meetings at union conferences. So the delegates at the conferences were no longer the property of the general secretary or the leaders of the unions.

I would like to see the broad lefts in various trade unions encouraged and I would hope to give them space to do that.

There are two major issues I would like to see developed. One already gets an airing and that's the bomb and how we're going to get rid of it. Not just being shrill and sloganising but developing a practical strategy for its removal from this country. And another on which I think Tribune has not been as forthright as it should have been is the women's movement in this country.

I would like to see Tribune becoming a forum for the great upsurge among women, to have an equal share in the society we live in.

How many women journalists do you have?

In my situation I really do have to choose the best. I can't afford to go for someone who can't do the job very well for reasons of positive discrimination. I think you may understand the problem.

It's the problem women face all the time.

Well it is and it isn't ...

If they don't get that experience, they're never going to be the 'best'.

I understand that ...

What should the Labour left be doing now about the witch hunt that is still going on inside the party. Do you think Peter Tatchell should stand for the national executive?

I was one of those who floated the idea and I maintain an open mind. If, by that time, he were accepted as a candidate for Bermondsey I think the case for him standing would fall away.



Michael Foot, editor of Tribune in the '50s. Will Chris Mullin bring the paper into the '80s?

The constituency section of the NEC is always over-subscribed and if you put up nine candidates for seven places, all you will succeed in doing is creating a rift for the right to go through.

I think it's inevitable that the issue of a purge will be high on the agenda at conference. A number of trade unions have already put forward a motion calling for a purge or proscribed list. I wonder if they really understand how damaging that is to Labour's electoral chances. It's a major distraction from the real issues in the country of unemployment, the Bomb and so many other things.

If people believed that by voting Labour at the next election, it would

get rid of nuclear weapons, it would withdraw from the Common Market, it would put the creation of jobs above inflation as a priority, we would actually win votes. That lesson isn't understood in the demoralised and tired section of the leadership.

The Labour left is not seen to be in the forefront of the mass campaigns such as CND, around issues raised around El Salvador, around Ireland and now the Malvinas. The majority of the labour movement are against the Tebbit Bill and yet both labour movement leaders and the left have not initiated action.

Working people in this country are very demoralised at the moment because the biggest threat they face is unemployment. We have failed to communicate to people in the country that this is the most terrible thing since whatever. We've lost the propaganda war for the moment. I think the trade union leaders on this are doing their best. I think they are far more exercised about it than their members.

But surely the members are cynical of their own leaders who have not fought for jobs and so on?

That's right in some cases. It's right in the case of the engineering union. It's spectacular in that union as the workers of Laurence Scott and many other places will tell you. But we have to recognise and all the opinion polls show this, that even among trade union members, trade unions are unpopular.

They have bought the poison that's thrown at them every day. I don't think we can just blame it on the leaders. That's an easy answer. We have failed to persuade the country at large, for good reasons and bad reasons, of the things for which we stand. The votes inside NUPE and TGWU in the deputy leadership election showed that.

Photo: GM COOKSON

What is your position on the Malvinas and why do you think up till now the Labour leadership has endorsed the actions of Thatcher?

My own position is that we shouldn't have sent the fleet. At the same time we should also recognise realistically that to say: 'Oh, let's leave it to the United Nations' is also the same as saying: 'Let's leave the Falklands in the hands of the Argentinians'.

I don't believe the government should ever have got itself into a situation where the Argentinians were put in position to take them over by force but given that they had, I do not ac-

LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Tribune

40p VOL 46 NO 18 APRIL 30, 1982

MAY DAY SPECIAL ISSUE

The war for Thatcher's face

Solidarity

Don't forget Poland!

Unemployment moving towards 4 1/2 million?
CARL JAMES PAGE THREE

We always have to win the arguments!
RICHARD CLEMENTS PAGE NINE

DATA PROTECTION - too little, too late
PATRICIA HEWITT PAGE TEN

Is Militant really on the Labour Left?
ROBIN COOK PAGE TWENTY THREE

Continued on page 56

cept that the risks involved in a war to recapture the Falklands can be justified.

It's not an absolute principle. For example, in the Falklands you're dealing with 1800 people who live 8000 miles away. When some years ago we were dealing with 5 million black Rhodesians who live only 6000 miles away, all the same people who are now urging us to war, were not very keen on our doing anything at all against the white settler regime.

Again, an invasion might not have been appropriate there. That might involve you killing a lot of people you've come to liberate and that's one of the arguments against the present Falkland situation.

It's a confusing and complicated issue. Some people on the left have said, Argentina's a fascist regime, this gives us a chance to bash a fascist regime over the head. I don't think this is the issue.

One mustn't be too cynical but the whole affair is a series of bankrupt regimes, to wit: the Argentinian regime, the Tory government and the leadership of the Labour Party who have all found a convenient distraction from their internal problems.

Labour Liaison '82 meets this Saturday, 8 May. What do you see its role being in the next period?

I'm a little unhappy about the way it's gone so far. It worked extremely well in the Rank and File Mobilising Committee when we had a definite issue around which to unite and it may well work again in the future. I remain to be convinced that it should be an ongoing permanent feature.

Who controls the manifesto is not going to be an issue at this conference. But it's still the case that the content can and should be taken up at the conference.

Absolutely.

So there is a role for something like Labour Liaison '82 to decide to concentrate on a few key issues - the Bomb, the Common Market, incomes policy.

Where united front action works best is where you have a limited one-issue campaign such as the campaign for reselection, the electoral college, for deputy leadership and, who knows, for the leadership.

Camden councillors win victory

CAMDEN councillors last week won a significant victory when the High Court dismissed the case brought against them by the District Auditor. He had claimed that it was unlawful for the councillors to have agreed to an independent pay settlement for local council workers, during the NUPE strike in the winter of 1978/79.

If the judgment had gone the other way, the thirty one councillors — who ironically include some defectors to the SDP as well as Ken Livingstone — would have been liable to a surcharge of £950,000. The District Auditor had brought the case in the 'interests of ratepayers' who now have to foot the £100,000 legal costs. District auditors it seems can't be surcharged.

Although this judgment reverses the recent trend of courts to openly side with the ruling class, the High Court judge made an overtly political intervention. Seven days before the local borough elections, Lord Justice Omrod decided that 'these are matters for the electorate at the next election'.

But as voters go the polls they might like to take note of one other thing the judge said. Unlike the Poplar councillors in 1925, Camden had not been swayed by 'philanthropic enthusiasm'. They had been subjected to heavy industrial pressure. The victory of the Camden councillors is really the victory of the council workers three years ago fighting for a decent wage.

Footnote on Mellish

MICHAEL FOOT and his friends on the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party have avoided outright condemnation of Bob Mellish. The Bermondsey MP has declared his support for at least one candidate who is standing against the official Labour Party candidate in the local elections this week. Having refused to endorse the duly elected candidate for the constituency, Peter Tatchell, the NEC seems very reluctant to take the appropriate action of someone who openly and defiantly breaches the constitution.



Reagan backs Thatcher shock

By Davy Jones
RONALD REAGAN — this is your life: US President, propagator of nuclear war in Europe, butcher of El Salvador, prop of right wing dictators from Guatemala to Argentina, and from Turkey to the Philippines, opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment for women, anti-trade unionist, enemy of workers everywhere, and now ... supporter of Thatcher's war in the Malvinas/Falklands.

Yes, British imperialism's best ally has 'come off the fence' and given its firm support to Britain's bloody hostilities against Argentina. Much as it upset Reagan to dump his pet dictator in Argentina, he had no second thoughts about backing Thatcher's war.

After all Reagan and Thatcher have a lot in common — monetarist austerity policies to attack the working class, war-mongering against the oppressed peoples of the world, be they Irish, Argentinian or El Salvadorean, and support for nuclear madness.

So the one-time actor in crummy movies threw the weight of US imperialism against the uppity Argentinian junta that dared to challenge Reagan's favourite ally.

Fortunately, opposition to Reagan is growing. Reagan Reception Committees have sprung up across the country. And now there is even a Yanks Against Reagan group to show that not every American supports Reagan's deadly policies.

The Chile Solidarity Committee has also announced details of its Festival for Peace and Freedom scheduled on Tuesday 8 June as an alternative forum to Reagan's speech to parliament. The festival in Central Hall Westminster from 11am to 9pm will include speakers, stalls, exhibitions, music, humour, workshops, films, bookstalls and displays. Its organisers include Chile Solidarity Committee, Anti-Apartheid, Amnesty International and El Salvador Solidarity.

Meanwhile Labour MPs John Golding, Roger Stott and John Mac-William are under pressure from their sponsoring union, the post office engineers, to boycott Reagan's visit. Metropolitan North West London branch of the POEU has circulated a petition to all its branches calling on the trio to boycott Reagan's visit and to call for the whole parliamentary party to do the same.

Reagan Reception Committee,
 PO Box 51, London SW10.
National CND demo, Sunday 6 June.
Picket US Embassy, Monday 7 June.
Yanks Against Reagan can be contacted at 7 Carlisle St, London W1.

IN MEMORY OF

ONE YEAR AGO British imperialism brutally murdered Bobby Sands MP, in its war against the Irish people. As Britain launches war against another dependent country, Argentina, it is fitting that the labour movement should remember the Irish hunger strikers, and Bobby Sands in particular. Socialist Challenge recalls the story of Bobby Sands, his life and his writings, and recalls the bloody history of British domination of Ireland.

'I WAS born in Rathcoole, a predominantly Protestant area of Belfast. I was keen on sports and won a lot of medals for Protestant clubs. In 1972 my family was intimidated out of our home and we moved to Twinbrook on the outskirts of Belfast. Soon after this I was intimidated from my workplace at gunpoint. Shortly after this I joined the Republican movement. I had seen too many houses wrecked, fathers and sons arrested, neighbours hurt, too much gas, shooting and blood — most of it our own people's.'

In October 1972, at the age of 18, Bobby Sands was arrested for possession of handguns found in a house in which he was staying. Sentenced in early 1973 to five years, he spent the next three years in the cages of Long Kesh with 'special category' prisoners.

Released in 1976 he became involved in the Twinbrook Tenants Association fighting to raise money for a local youth club among other causes. Within six months he was arrested again with five other men after being stopped near the scene of a bomb explosion on the outskirts of Belfast. All six men were brutally interrogated at the notorious Castlereagh centre.

He joined the 'blanket' protest against prison conditions in 1977, and volunteered to lead last year's hunger strike for the five demands: the right to wear their own clothes, the right to refrain from prison work, the right to free association, restoration of full

remission of sentences, and the right to organise recreational and educational facilities and to receive one visit, letter and parcel per week.

On 1 March 1981 he went on hunger strike. Five weeks later he was elected MP by more than 30,000 voters in Fermanagh and South Tyrone in an extraordinary rebuff to the Thatcher government's claim that he was a common criminal, not a political prisoner.

Despite massive international protests, Thatcher finally let Bobby Sands MP die on 5 May 1981. More than 100,000 people, almost a fifth of the entire nationalist population in the North of Ireland, marched at his funeral.

In the subsequent months another nine hunger strikers died at the hands of British imperialism which refused to concede their modest demands. The Republican struggle reached its highest point for maybe ten years during the hunger strike drawing inspiration from the heroic Irish freedom fighter, Bobby Sands.

'I WAS only a working class boy from a nationalist ghetto, but it is repression that creates the revolutionary spirit of freedom. I shall not settle until I achieve the liberation of my country, until Ireland becomes a sovereign independent socialist republic. We, the risen people, shall turn tragedy into triumph. We shall bear forth a nation.'

Britain's bloody history in Ireland

By Martin Collins
THE OTHER NIGHT on the news, the screen was filled with shots of the Falkland Islanders and life under the jackboot of the Argentinian invaders. 'Here,' said the news reader, 'are scenes of life under military occupation similar to the North of Ireland.'

Evidently the powers that be thought that this particular analogy might be a bit confusing for the listening public so the same film in the next bulletin was purged of its subversive script.

For 800 years the news has been doctored by the extent of the British oppression of the Irish and what lies behind their resistance. For 800 years the people of Ireland have suffered the fate of a people oppressed and exploited in the interests of the British ruling class. If the troops were removed tomorrow, it would be 800 years too late.

The crimes of the British ruling class are known by every Irish person. History weighs heavy. It may have been the blight that killed the potato crop in 1848, but it was the British ruling class who starved one and a half million Irish and drove another 1½ million from the native country.

The landlords harvested the wheat and arranged for its export and sale under armed guard. Food was plentiful. British profits held up. It was the Irish workers and peasants who were buried. It was not the first time, and not the last.

There are three threads that run through Irish history, from the first invasion in 1169, through Oliver

Cromwell to Michael Foot and Margaret Thatcher. The first is the determination of the British rulers to remain in Ireland, to exploit its soil and people.

Second is the resistance of the Irish people using the weapons of the hand, be they ballot box and political movements, or bricks and armalite rifles.

The third is the combination of cunning and brutality used by the British trying to first divide and then smash the resistance. These threads will stretch the road of history that leads to the final ousting of British imperialism from Ireland.

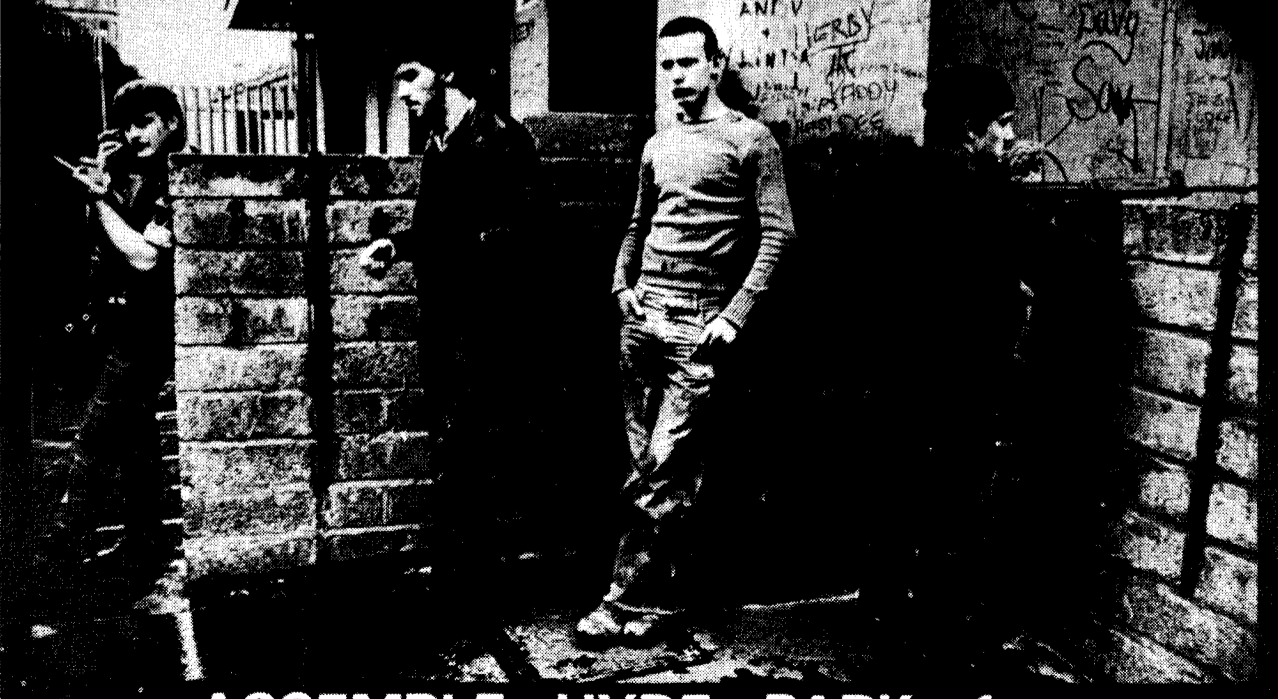
James Connolly, the worker who rose to become the greatest Irish revolutionary leader, stood on the shoulders of Marx and Engels, who fifty years before he took up arms against the British rulers, saw Ireland as the key to the making of a revolution that would shake Europe.

Not only did Connolly see that Ireland's interests could only be served when as a nation it had broken from British domination, he also saw that only the working class fighting for a socialist republic could unite the Irish in their entirety — across religious barriers, men and women, workers and farmers.

The last time the British allowed the Irish to vote, they voted by seventy per cent for Sinn Fein and for a break with Britain. The Tory prime minister, Bonar Law, replied: 'There are some things that are stronger than parliamentary majorities.' By that meant the strength of the capitalist class that was prepared to defy the vote and the army who would ally with that class rather than an

DEMONSTRATE IN LONDON

MAY 8th BRITAIN OUT OF IRELAND MAY 8th
SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE



ASSEMBLE HYDE PARK 1pm

8 May Demonstration

March assembles at 1pm. Speakers include Owen Carron MP and Ernie Roberts MP. The march sets off at 2pm to Court House Westminister for a rally. In the evening at 7pm in Brixton Town Hall, London SW2 there will be a social with Irish, Chilean and Iranian music, and speech from Owen Carron, Daffyd Edwards Thomas MP, and Brixton Defence Group.

Coaches for the march leave from:

- Swansea:** Uplands 7.30am, Central Library 8am.
- Cardiff:** Central Station 9am, student union 9.15am.
- Manchester:** Polytechnic Cavendish St 8am.
- Bristol:** Christadelphian steps, 9am.
- Sheffield:** Tickets from Independent Books, Glossop Rd.
- Leeds:** Trades and Labour Club 8am, University 8.45am.
- Birmingham:** Hall of Memories Broad St, 9.30am.
- Coventry:** Priory St, 9.30am.
- Wolverhampton:** Faulkland coach station, 9.30am.

BOBBY SANDS

nd



government.
Before he was murdered by the British, Connolly said that the partition of Ireland would lead to a 'carnival of reaction'. In 1921 it did just that. It divided the Irish workers, and led to the creation of two artificial sectarian statelets, North and South. Neither is democratic, neither is reformable, both stand in the way of the creation of a government which stands for the workers not the bosses.

Britain spends £1000m a year on maintaining the army's occupation which now enforces the border and partition. The economy of the South, already crippled by its dependence on foreign capital, is further wrecked by the cost of defending partition.

Workers in Britain gain nothing by our ruling class remaining in Ireland: from the days of Cromwell, when the suppression of the Irish led to the blockage of the bourgeois revolution in Britain and the restoration of the monarchy to today, when our rulers' army acquaints itself with methods of combating mass struggle in the cities and puts anti-democratic legislation like the so-called Prevention of Terrorism Act on the statute book.

The most reactionary part of the British ruling class, and the most reactionary section of the labour bureaucracy is based on Orangeism and Ulster Loyalism. By supporting the freedom struggle of the Irish and demanding the British get out, we can help create the conditions for our own victory.

Give Marx the last word — 'a nation which enslaves another forges its own chains'.

I fought a monster today

(First published in *Republican News*, October 7 1978)

I FOUGHT a monster today and once more I defeated the monster's army. Although I did not escape, I survived to fight another day. It was hard; harder today than ever before, and it gets worse every day. You see I am trapped and all I can do is resist. I know some day I will defeat this monster, but I weary at times. I think and feel that it may kill me first.

The monster is shrewd. It plays with me, it humiliates me, and tortures me. I'm like a mouse in comparison to this giant, but when I repel the torture it inflicts upon me I feel ten feet tall for I know I am right. I know that I am what I am, no matter what may be inflicted upon me, it will never change that fact.

When I resist, it doesn't understand. You see it doesn't even try to comprehend why I resist. 'Why don't you give in to me?' it says. 'Give in! Give in to us!' the monster's army jibes. My body wants to say: 'Yes, yes, do what you will with me. I am beaten, you have beaten me.' But my spirit prevails. My spirit says: 'No, no, you cannot do what you want with me. I am not beaten. You cannot do what you want with me. I refuse to be beaten.'

This angers the monster. It goes mad. It brutalises me to the point of death. But it does not kill me. I often wonder why not? But each time I face it, death materialises before me. The monster keeps me naked. It feeds me.

But it didn't feed me today because it had tried so hard to defeat me and failed. This angered it once more you see. I know why it won't kill me. It wants me to bow before it, to admit defeat.

If we don't beat it soon it will murder me. Of this I am certain. It keeps me locked up in a dark smelly tomb and it sends its devils to keep me on edge, to keep the torture going. Each time the door of my tomb opens, the black devils attack me! They nearly won yesterday. It was inhuman. They beat me into unconsciousness. I think, 'is this really happening to me?' and, 'can this happen in this day and age?'

Monsters do not exist. Nor do devils. There cannot be so many devils. I'm mad. Yes, that's it; I'm insane. But my pain, suffering, and grief are real. It must be all real. No, I'm right, I know I'm right. I must resist, I have nowhere to run. My tomb may be my grave. I'm surrounded by a barbed wire jungle. The monster roars at me: 'You shall never get out of here. If you don't do as I say I shall never release you.' I refuse.

My body is broken and cold. I'm lonely and I need comfort. From somewhere afar I hear those familiar voices which keep me going: 'We are with you, son. We are with you. Don't let them beat you.'

I need to hear those voices. They anger the monster. It retreats. The

voices scare the devils. Sometimes I really long to hear those voices. I know if they shout louder they will scare the monster away and my suffering will be ended.

I remember, and I shall never forget, how this monster took the lives of Tom Ashe, Terence MacSwiney, Michael Gaughan, Frank Stagg and Hugh Coney, and I

wonder each night what the monster and his black devils will do to me tomorrow.

They always have something new. Will I overcome it? I must. Yes, I must. Tomorrow will be my seven hundred and fortieth day of torture — an eternity. Yes, tomorrow I'll rise in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. Yes, tomorrow I'll fight the monster and his devils again!

Modern times

*It is said we live in modern times,
In the civilised year of 'seventy-nine,
But when I look around, all I see,
Is modern torture, pain, and hypocrisy.*

*In modern times little children die,
They starve to death, but who dares ask why?
And little girls without attire,
Run screaming, napalmed, through the night fire.*

*And while fat dictators sit upon their thrones,
Young children bury their parents' bones,
And secret police in the dead of night,
Electrocute the naked women out of sight.*

*In the gutter lies the black man, dead,
And where the oil flows blackest, the street runs red,
And there was He who was born and came to be,
But lived and died without liberty.*

*As the bureaucrats, speculators and presidents alike,
Pin on their dirty, stinking, happy smiles tonight,
The lonely prisoner will cry out from within his tomb,
And tomorrow's wretch will leave its mother's womb!*

Poem and story by Bobby Sands,
taken from *The Writings of Bobby Sands*,
published by Sinn Féin POW department,
5 Blessington St, Dublin. Price 60p.

Socialist Challenge FUND DRIVE '82

**Help us get
out the truth
on Ireland**

SUPPORTING the struggles of the Irish people against their British oppressors has not always been the most popular cause in Britain. It has been left to the far left press in general and Socialist Challenge in particular to champion the cause of the Republican movement and the heroic struggle of the hunger strikers and other prisoners of war.

That's why we need Socialist Challenge — to combat the press lies about the situation in Ireland. This week we received a letter from Irish prisoners of war here in British jails thanking us for our support for their struggle. Make sure you dig deep in your pocket this week to help us keep up and extend our coverage of the struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism.

The Irish Republican POWs in Hull prison wish to take this opportunity on international workers' day, 1 May, of sending greetings to the English, Scottish and Welsh working class and its revolutionary organisations.

'We would like to send warmest thanks to the individuals and groups who have practised true international solidarity with the developing Irish revolution in the face of massive media-inspired hysteria and the intimidation by the state forces and anti-democratic laws.

'We would like to ask the workers, youth and national minorities not only to support the struggle for socialism and national independence in Ireland but to deepen the struggle for socialism at home.

'While Ireland may be the grave-digger of British imperialism, it is the English, Welsh and Scottish working class who will put it in the grave.'

PRO Irish Republican Prisoners, Hull Prison.

Our thanks this week to:

Huddersfield	£100.00
Coventry	30.00
Middlesboro	35.00
Southampton	60.00
Cardiff	109.00
Oxford	120.00
Glasgow	30.00
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Wandsworth	17.00
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C&M Gardner	1.00
H Wicks	2.00
R Patterson	5.00
Hillingdon	13.50
'Disillusioned Militant supporter'	5.00
Manchester Central	3.45
Southampton	5.00
J Blanco White	40.00
MB	25.00
RTD	5.00
E Fredenburgh	100.00
Various	37.00
Total	1504.65
Total so far	2530.56
Total should be	4923.04
Shortfall so far	2392.48
Weekly target	1230.76



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Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
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, Crosswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.
HAMILTON: SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 Elliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, Hamilton.

Wales

BANGOR: Sat 10-12 town centre.
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NEWPORT: every Sat in town centre 11-12.30
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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 8-9pm, Bluebell 9-10.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd., Montpelier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop.
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HUDDERSFIELD: SC sold Sat 11am-1pm. The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.
LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingley Arndale Centre. Corner Bookshop, Woodhouse Lane.
LIVERPOOL: SC on sale from News from Nowhere, Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.
MANCHESTER: SC sold 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER at Gorton and Droylesden markets 11am-12.30 Sats and at Grassroots and Percivals

Bookshops

BANGOR: Rainbows, Holyhead Road, Upper Bangor, Gwynedd.
BRADFORD: Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Sandgate.
BRIGHTON: The Public House, Little Preston St.
BRISTOL: Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.
BIRMINGHAM: Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham.
DURHAM: Durham City Co-op Bookshop, 85a New Elvet.
ILFORD: South Essex Bookshop, 335 Ley Street.
MILTON KEYNES: Oakleaf Books, 109 Church Street, Wolverton.
OXFORD: EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd.
LEICESTER: Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Leicester, and V Karia, 53A London Rd, Leicester.
LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1
LONDON: Central Books, 37 Grays

Order from SC, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

What's Left

RATES for What's Left. 5p per word or £4 per col inch. Deadline: noon Sat prior to publication. Payment in advance. Phone 01-359 8180.

SPARE BOOKS! Any books you don't want taking up valuable space on your bookshelves? Send them to the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP.

Benefit for the Cuban Resource Centre. Special screening with speakers. Ritzy Cinema, Brixton, Wed May 26 only. VIVA LA REPUBLICA, Pastor Vega, Cuba, sub-titles, 100 mins. A classic analysis of the Republican era in Cuba's history by the director of 'Portrait of Teresa'. The film shows how N. American imperialism achieved the economic, political, military and social domination of Cuba.
 Plus FIDEL'S SPEECH Santiago Alvarez, Cuba, 1981, simultaneous translation. A rare showing of a special newsreel made by Santiago Alvarez of the speech given by Fidel Castro at the inter-parliamentary Union Congress in Havana, covering many important contemporary issues including nuclear armaments, US aggression, and Britain's involvement in Ireland.

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

Socialist Challenge Events

Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.
MANSFIELD: Fri 3-4pm, Stockwell Gate, Sat 10.30-12 Westgate. Four Seasons Shopping Centre Sat 10.30-12.
NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd. Every Friday outside Newcastle University between 1-2 and outside Newcastle Polytechnic between 12-1 every Monday.
NOTTINGHAM: SC sold every Sat 12-1 pm, Stab Square. For info phone 863916.
OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel. 061-682 5151.
OXFORD: SC sold Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.
SHEFFIELD: SC on sale Thursday, Pond St, 4.30-6pm; Saturday, Fargate 10.30-12.30pm.
SOUTHAMPTON: SC on sale Sat 10am-12 noon at Above Bar Post Office (Shopping Precinct).
STAFFORD: SC on Sale Market Sq Sat lunch-time.
STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly; phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).
SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat, Regent St (Brunel Centre).
TESSIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.
WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; and Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.
YORK: on sale every Thursday, dole office Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vanburgh College 12-2; Saturday at Coney Street 11-1.

London

BRENT: SC sold Willesden Junction Thur 4.30pm.
EALING: SC sold Thur, Ealing Broadway tube, 4.30-5.30pm
ENFIELD: SC at Nelsons newsagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.
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.
ISLINGTON: Every Fri, 8.15-9am at Holloway Road tube and Highbury tube.
KILBURN: SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square, and Thursday 8.30am at Queens Park tube.
LAMBETH: SC 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.

Inn Rd; Colletts, Charing Cross Rd, WC2; Paperback Books, Brixton and Charlotte St; Kilburn Bookshop, Kilburn High Road, NW6; The Bookplace, Peckham High St, SE15; Books Plus, Lewisham; Balham Food Co-op; Housmans, 5 Caledonian Rd, N1; Compendium, Camden Town NW1; Owl, Kentish Town; New Beacon, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Bookmarks, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; Centerpiece, 126 Kingsland High St, E8; Dillons, QMC; Page One, E15; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Reading Matters, Wood Green next to Sainsbury's; Village Books, Streatham; Terrie Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk.
NOTTINGHAM: Mushroom Books, Heathcote St, Hockley.
SOUTHAMPTON: October Books, Onslow Road.
YORK: Community Books, Walmgate.

Commemoration of Bobby Sands
 MP guest of honour Owen Carron MP plus other speakers. Thursday 6 May 7.30pm in the McNamara Room, the Irish Centre, Murray Street, Camden Town, NW1.

WOMEN in trade unions conference, Sat 8 May, 10-4.30pm, Transport House, Victoria St Bristol. Speakers include: Ivy Careon, Asst Gen. Sec. BIFU, Jackie Traylor, AUEW Hoover, Merthyr Tydfil, Women in Telecoms and NALGO typists. Workshops on: Positive action; sexual harassment at work; child care; low pay; new technology. Delegates and individuals welcome. Deis £2, 75p others.

RADICAL NURSES Conference, Park Health Centre, Duke St, Sheffield 2. Sat 15 May 10am-2pm. All nurses welcome. More details 218 Heavygate Rd, Sheffield 10.

Merseyside CND TU/LP committee 'Stop Reagan' public meeting. Wed 19 May 7.15pm AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. Speakers: Phil Holt, secretary Liverpool POEU, John McCabe TGWU and Merseyside Council Cllr, Sadie Blood, NUPE, St Helens, Pat Kane, electrician, recently returned from Grenada.

Women in the mines

I WAS astonished to read Eileen Murphy's article (SC, 8 April) attacking me for something I never even said!

For the record, I said 'The widely-held view in the mining areas is that the 1842 Bill was a gain for the working class won after years of struggle'. I do not share this view. Despite heavy editing I think this was clear from my letter.

This is the argument that the Socialist Challenge supporter at Welbeck pit had to take up before and after Mary Zins' visit to the face where he works. We have to have answers when serious socialist miners who are neither Victorian paternalists nor anti-women's rights put this argument to us. It is also an argument *Militant* readily seize on when they want to discredit positive action policies in general.

It is no answer to play down the terrible conditions suffered by women in underground work, or slide over this to surface work.

My letter attempted to give a serious *political* answer to this question. I tried to deal adequately with the complexity of the the movement for the exclusion of women from underground work. There was considerable working class support for this movement.

While the movement was influenced and led by the middle-class who had no concern for the real interests of women mine-workers it was not just simply a part of the bosses' ideological offensive. There was, as far as I can tell, a considerable working class component which genuinely believed this was the way to defend the interests of women mine-workers and strike a blow against the bosses.

I can see no point in trying to pretend this section of the movement did not exist, or that it was really all a conspiracy to secure jobs for men.

What we have to do is explain why the solution adopted was a bosses' solution, why it was not the best way to defend the interests of women mine-workers, why it did not strengthen the position of the miners or of the working class as a whole against the bosses.

About half of Eileen's article is devoted to an attack on miners and their union. I hope that SC readers in the NUM will not assume that SC supports the charge that the NUM will not defend women members of the union.

No one would say that the NUM (or any other union) has a perfect record, and I'm certainly not going to defend Gormley and his right wing colleagues from the Lancashire leadership. However Eileen Murphy's



view is very one sided, not to mention 20 years out of date, and drawn from one small right-wing area of the NUM.

For instance Nottinghamshire recently gave full backing to the fight by women canteen workers for the same coal allowance as other surface workers. Yorkshire is about to call an overtime

ban on the same issue and is also fighting to get cleaners incorporated into NUM/NCB agreements.

Eileen's remarks do nothing to help women NUM members fighting for equal rights or NUM members taking up the fight for women's rights in their union.

**JACK LAVIN
Mansfield**

Support Argentinian workers, not Argentina

CONGRATULATIONS on deriving the only internationalist position on the Falklands crisis. A victory for the military will strengthen their economic and political lobby in Britain and in the Western Alliance generally.

However, the article 'Argentina: oppressed or oppressor?' (SC 22 April) raises the need for further widening of socialist understanding on this issue. The Argentinian economy is part of the scaffold of world imperialism — the rich and urban middle class benefit whilst the majority suffer.

Hence the fact that the anti-capitalist forces in the country are overwhelmingly working class and socialist inspired. In 'third world' or fully dependent economies, it is typically the

peasant/rural population who lead anti-imperialist movements.

The way in which European and American imperialism 'sub-contracts' its economic and political power (and in the process develops the country to its own ends) must not be ignored.

Application of Trotsky's writings in a 'biblical' way would blur this distinction and lead to a wrong emphasis in the paper, leading many to believe we support Argentina, instead of Argentinian workers.

The central slogans are right as is the emphasis placed on the issue in Socialist Challenge.

**MIKE HOLBROOKE
Co Durham**

Letters letters LETTERS

Write to SC letters, c/o PO Box 50, London N1
 Editor reserves the right to cut any letter over 400 words.

No sides in Iran - Iraq war

FOR BRIAN GROGAN a revolution is a revolution is a revolution. For Trotsky, however 'the history of a revolution is for us first of all a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny.' (Preface to The History of the Russian Revolution — my emphasis. CvG).

By no stretch of the imagination can it be shown that the Iranian Islamic Revolution, under the leadership of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the mullahs fulfill this definition nor that it is moving in that direction. Just the opposite, in fact.

On the same page of Socialist Challenge (8 April), which carries Brian's article, there is a report of the confiscation of KARGAR, the 'legal' newspaper of the HKE and the increasing harassment of HKE members, despite that organisation's devoted loyalty to the Islamic Revolution.

Brian heads his article 'Iran's victory threatens imperialism'. Further on he refers to the 'consternation of imperialism'. This has hardly been reflected in the capitalist press — it made the front page of *The Times* and the *Guardian* exactly once. Nor did it make an impression on that infallible barometer of capitalism, the stock exchange. Shares were barely affected by the Iranian victory.

Of course, imperialism would not want to see a victory for the Shi-ite Islamic forces. But, to my mind, the *Observer* of 4 April summed it up rather more realistically than Comrade Grogan. 'The local States (Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, etc) trembled at the idea of either Iraq or Iran dominating the Gulf region, and drew some comfort from the sight of these two rivals enfeebling each other' (my emphasis). This reflects also the view of imperialism.

A victory for either



Saddam Hussein or Khomeini will bring no benefits to the workers and peasants and the oppressed nationalities in either country. Victory will only strengthen the hand of whichever of the reactionary regimes comes out on top. The Islamic revolution is not a stage en route to the proletarian revolution but a step backward in history, toward medievalism.

Marx wrote long ago: 'But we say to the workers and the petty bourgeoisie it is better to suffer in modern bourgeois society, which by its industry creates the material means for the foundation of a new society that will liberate you all, than to revert to a bygone form of society, which, on the pretext of saving your classes, thrusts the entire nation back into medieval barbarism'. (as quoted in Lowy's Combined and Uneven Development p13 footnote).

That was written when the international workers' movement was still in its infancy. Today, in the age of imperialism in decay, only the proletarian revolution can lay the basis for the new society. The urgent task for revolutionaries in Iran and Iraq is to create a leadership which will take its place at the head of a mass movement to overthrow both tyrannies — in short, to turn the war between the two bonapartist-capitalist states into a civil war.

Elsewhere in the same issue in connection with the debate on Cuba, Brian writes about 'linking up the new generation of revolutionaries of action'. I agree with this provided we do not lose sight of the Marxist axiom: 'Without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement'.

**CHARLIE VAN
GELDEREN
London**

Socialist Challenge News

Mexican PRT convention attracts 7000 supporters

THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL convention held 28 February in Mexico City by the PRT, the Mexican section of the Fourth International, and its allies marked a new highpoint in the revolutionists' campaign for the general elections to be held in June.

The convention, held in the Cine Variedades in the centre of the Mexican capital, was not only filled to capacity but hundreds of people had to sit on the floors and stairways. Almost 7,000 persons attended the convention and the march that took place afterward.

The PRT is supporting the country's best known human-rights activist, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, for president. It has sought to make her campaign a broad socialist alternative to the demagogic ruling nationalist party, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional). In a bloc with the PRT are the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (MRP) and the Union de Lucha Revolucionario (ULR).

The convention presidium indicated the broad support attracted by the PRT campaign. It included representatives of an Artists Committee supporting Rosario Ibarra de Piedra; trade union activists; leaders of the peasant movement, such as Gregorio Paredes from Veracruz,

Fausto Leon from Sonora, and Aurelio Vazquez Gomez from Chiapas (all of whom are PRT candidates); leaders of the gay movement and women's liberation movement; as well as leaders of the shantytown dwellers associations.

A new development was shown by the presence of several ex-leaders of the Mexican Communist Party (now called the Partido Socialista Unificado de Mexico — PSUM). Led by Joel Ortega, a former CP Central Committee member, they came to express their support for the campaign.

Also represented at the convention was a dissident state committee of the Partido Socialista Unificado de Mexico.

The highpoint of the convention was a fighting speech by Rosario Ibarra de Piedra. She concluded by saying: 'For us every vote represents a commitment to struggle, an activist ready to fight in the battles that will come in other areas after the elections. That is what we are mainly interested in.'

The next major activity scheduled in the campaign after the convention was a meeting to form a Front of Women's Committees in support of Rosario. This will be the first time in Mexican history that women have organised as women to defend and popularise their struggles through an election campaign.

Reprinted from *International Viewpoint*

El PRT en radio y TV



La importancia de hacer del primero de mayo una verdadera jornada de lucha y unidad obrera contra los ataques patronales, y por la independencia política de los trabajadores será el tema principal del próximo programa de radio y televisión del PRT. No dejes de verlo, e invita a tus compañeros de trabajo, y a tus amigos y familiares a hacer lo mismo.

TELEVISION		RADIO	
canal 11		Martes 20 de abril	
Lunes 19 de abril	21:30 a 21:45 horas	XEX	11:00 a 11:15 horas
Martes 20 de abril	19:45 a 20:00 horas	XEB	12:00 a 12:15 horas
Miércoles 21 de abril	22:00 a 22:15 horas	XEW	16:00 a 16:15 horas
		XEQ	19:00 a 19:15 horas

PROGRAMA ADICIONAL DE 5 MINUTOS

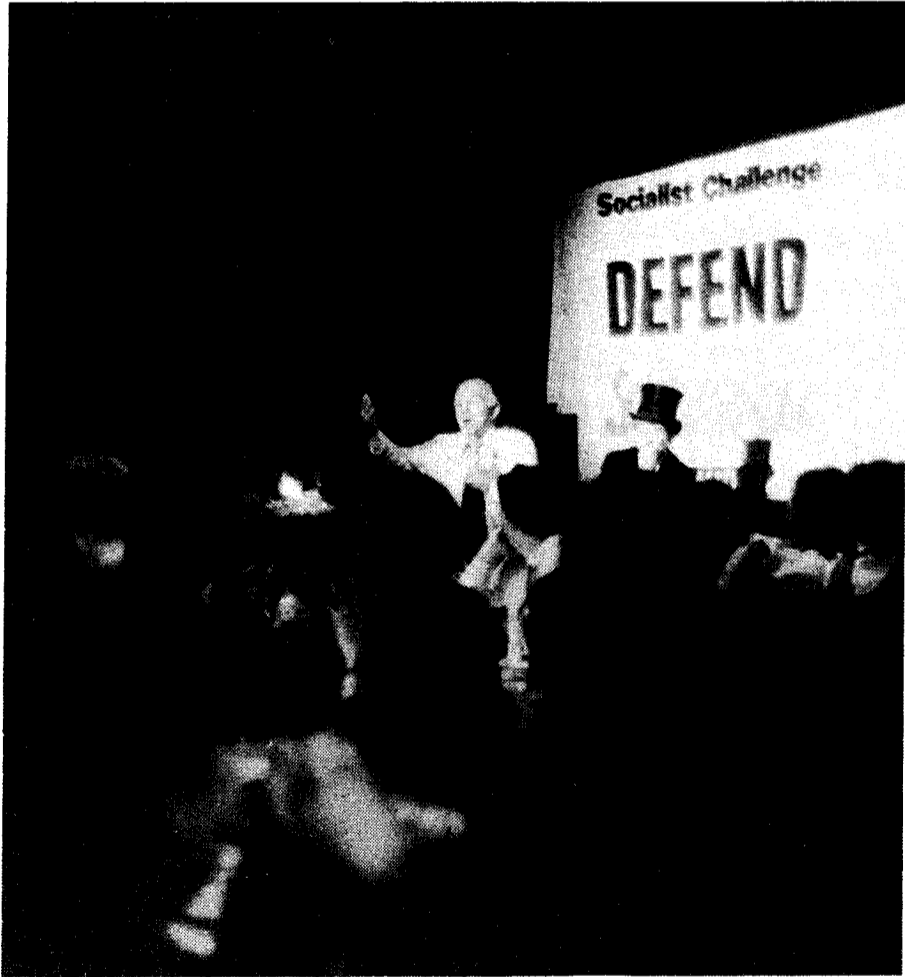
Martes 27 de abril
Canal de TRM
19:00 horas

One of the features of the PRT presidential campaign has been regular 15 minute radio and TV broadcasts — see advertisement reproduced here. So far the PRT has done programmes on Poland, Central America, women's liberation, trade union struggles, and the 'socialism we want'.



Celebrating fifty years of world revolution

By Paul Lawson



Livio Maitan recalls his early days in the Trotskyist movement



'I NEVER DOUBTED that only the Fourth International could win the full socialist democracy that we fight for', said Charlie van Gelderen to the 150 people who came to pay tribute to him at a party last Sunday.

The party was paying tribute not only to Charlie's 50 years of activity in the Trotskyist movement, but to the other founders of the movement in Britain.

Many of these pioneers were recalled in a fighting speech by Harry Wicks, 78-year old veteran of British Trotskyism. Harry paid particular tribute to Starkey Jackson, secretary of the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s, tragically killed in the 2nd World War.

Harry also explained the role that Charlie van Gelderen had played in the struggle of the Trotskyists in the Labour youth organisation before the war.

Most of all, Harry Wicks paid tribute to

Charlie's unceasing activity in fighting for Trotskyist ideas in the broad labour movement.

Another founder of the Trotskyist movement to bring greetings to Charlie was world famous writer, CLR James, author of *Beyond a Boundary* and *The Black Jacobins*. CLR James explained how he had met Charlie and, in writing about the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1936, he had discussed his ideas with him.

No longer a Trotskyist, CLR declared 'I'm with you in spirit, if not in detail' and expressed his pleasure in seeing so many young people taking up the fight.

Hosted by Pam Singer and Stella Coyle with songs from Alan Freeman and Chris Guthrie, the participants followed the course of revolutionary struggle over fifty years.

Bringing greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth

International, Livio Maitan explained how isolated the Trotskyists were in the early days. He recalled speaking at an Italian Communist Party meeting as a young man. 'But', said the workers there, 'if what you say is right, then Togliatti is wrong.' And even more decisively: 'and Stalin must be wrong!' When he said yes, all the workers thought he was crazy.

Steve Potter, national secretary of the IMG, spoke of Charlie's role in helping to build the Trotskyist movement in Italy and South Africa as well as in Britain. As a young serviceman during the war, Charlie helped to organise the first Trotskyist group in Italy, and still possesses his membership card — member number one of the Italian Trotskyist movement.

Charlie himself said that the Trotskyist perspective of revolution had been fulfilled — the past fifty years had seen revolutions all over the world.

Some people argued that your revolutionary fervour declined with the years, he said, but his hadn't. 'So don't betray, don't give up the fight' was his message.

Nonetheless, he expressed his pleasure at the founding of *Revolution Youth*. 'It is on your shoulders', he said to the young comrades present 'that the struggle will be carried forward.'

And he paid tribute to the women's movement. It was its existence that had changed the ideas of men like himself and which had made him realise the importance of fighting sexism.

Livio Maitan explained that the Fourth International is in its 'pre-history' — the real history of the Fourth International will be written when we build mass revolutionary parties.

And when we do, it will have been made possible by the unceasing devotion of comrades like Charlie.



From left to right: Harry Wicks, CLR James and Charlie van Gelderen

EL SALVADOR

New President as right wing gangsters fallout

By Phil Hearse

AFTER THREE WEEKS of wheeling and dealing, the right-wing dominated Constituent Assembly in El Salvador has elected a new President — Alvaro Magana, President of the Hipotecario Bank. Magana is a leading member of the Party of National Reconciliation (PCN).

The fraudulent elections on 28 March to elect a Constituent Assembly — all the parties who participated were right wing or ultra right wing — were boycotted by the revolutionary and left wing forces.

The result was a surge of support for the fascist ARENA party, headed by death squad leader Major Roberto D'Aubuisson. His party, in alliance with other right wing parties, now have sufficient votes in the Constituent Assembly to outvote the Christian Democrats.

For the United States the outcome of the election was a great embarrassment. D'Aubuisson is well known as the leader of the death squads, and despite his popularity inside the anti-communist

middle class, to make the leader of the death squads President would isolate the US's support for the Salvadorean rulers even more internationally.

There have been three weeks of wheeling and

dealing to try to find a President acceptable to the three ruling power forces now in play — the army, the United States and the Constituent Assembly. In the meantime D'Aubuisson and his supporters inside the Constituent Assembly staged a strategic coup which outflanked all the horse-trading.

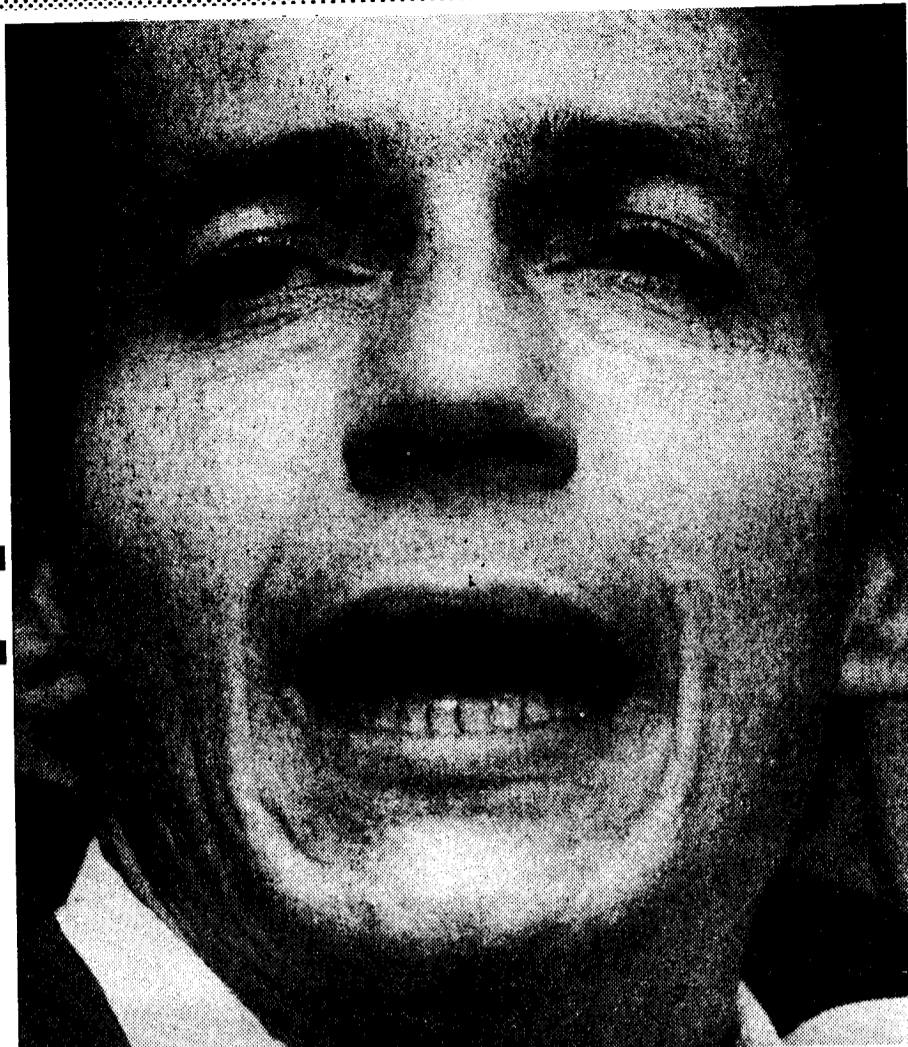
First, D'Aubuisson himself was elected President of the Assembly. Second ARENA pushed through the assembly a number of constitutional changes which have turned the administrative procedures upside down.

The assembly has voted to itself the power to elect the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the head of the electoral commission for next year's presidential

election, all judges including those of the Supreme Court, and all government ministers. In other words, whoever gets appointed President, D'Aubuisson and his ARENA thugs will try to use their control of the Assembly to call the shots.

But D'Aubuisson, besides not being able to get the agreement of the United States to appoint himself as President, had to contend with another potentially hostile factor — the army. In El Salvador the military is split into two — the army proper and the 'para-military' National Guard. The latter is in fact just a parallel army, if anything more brutal and murderous than the army.

The death squads are particularly linked to the



Roberto D'Aubuisson, El Salvador hard man

National Guard. The Salvadorean military has historical links not with ARENA, a comparative newcomer on the political scene, but the Party of National Conciliation.

The army made a 'very strong suggestion' that Magana ought to be elected President. Eventually D'Aubuisson was forced by this pressure to

agree. When he made the proposal in the Constituent Assembly he was booed and hissed by the supporters of his own ARENA party, who wanted no compromise.

They, like D'Aubuisson, understand that despite the sweeping powers of the assembly, Magana backed by the army and the US can create an alternative

power centre.

The El Salvador government is bound now to be permanently racked by in-fighting. But whatever the differences of style and emphasis between Magana and D'Aubuisson, the outcome for the people of El Salvador will be the same — more bloody repression.

Nicaragua - new threats to revolution



Nicaraguans prepare to defend their revolution

By Michael Baumann and Jane Harris

WHILE WASHINGTON is talking about opening negotiations on relations with the government in Nicaragua, four US destroyers have positioned themselves in Nicaragua's territorial waters off the Atlantic Coast. Nicaraguans are wondering if this new act of aggression is a step toward a naval blockade.

On 15 April, the very day the Nicaraguan government extended the current state of emergency for 30 days, the Nicaraguan revolution was attacked from a new direction.

Adding fuel to the imperialists' fire, former guerrilla commander Edén Pastora ('Commander Zero') — who describes himself as the 'most loved of all the commanders,' but who is currently busy reopening the business interests he held in Costa Rica before the revolution — chose this week to publicly declare his 180

degree turn to the right. In a betrayal of the revolution, he delivered an anticommunist tirade, declaring that the time had come 'to straighten things out' in Nicaragua 'by driving the government out with bullets'.

Ten months ago, Pastora left Nicaragua, telling friends he was headed to Guatemala to con-

tinue Che Guevara's internationalist heritage.

Yet on 15 April, he personally invited some 100 journalists to a news conference in a luxury hotel on the outskirts of San José, Costa Rica, with the opposite goal in mind. At the press conference Pastora read a two-hour long statement.

He accused the nine commanders of the Nicaraguan revolution of betraying their people by 'alienating' US imperialism. He said this could cause the United States to attack Nicaragua and 'could cost the lives of 200,000 people'.

Making no reference to the complete military encirclement of Nicaragua

by US and other counter-revolutionary forces, Pastora argued that Nicaragua was engaged in a dangerous military buildup.

He complained of the alleged Cuban and Soviet military presence in Nicaragua, calling on the Nicaraguan people to 'remain on a war footing' as long as a single foreign soldier remains in the country.

Pastora threatened 'military action' to change the course of the revolution. He complained about land and factories being confiscated.

Nobody would deny that Edén Pastora played a significant role in the Nicaraguan revolution.

He participated in the armed opposition actions of the 1950s. In the 1960s he helped in recruitment and carried out logistical work for Sandinista guerrilla operations.

He lived in exile until he returned as 'Commander Zero' in charge of the famous 22 August, 1978, attack on the National Palace, through which many imprisoned Sandinista leaders were freed. During the final offensive he became the military commander of the Southern Front.

After the revolution Pastora was assigned to be vice-Minister of Defense and was placed in charge of the Sandinista People's Militias. Indeed, Pastora was very popular.

But he could not accept that getting rid of Somoza also meant getting rid of a whole system of rule propped up by the United States for more than a century, which denied peasants access to the land they worked and kept the vast majority of the population submerged in illiteracy, hunger, disease, and other ills. These social evils exist throughout Latin America — except in Cuba. They cannot be eliminated without challenging the capitalist system.

Pastora, a businessman who comes from a landowning family, was not willing to break with his class and go all the way with the revolutionary process. He has now become its open enemy.

When he left Nicaragua last year, allegedly to join the revolutionaries fighting in Guatemala, every effort was made to maintain friendly relations with him, 'despite increasingly disturbing reports we received about the type of persons of dubious moral standing, and forces hostile to the Nicaraguan people and our revolution that he was increasingly surrounding himself with'.

Commander Ana Maria of El Salvador's FMLN issued a statement expressing confidence that Pastora's betrayal would in no way undermine the Nicaraguan revolution.

'When a leader betrays his people', she said 'and goes before television

EL SALVADOR PUBLIC RALLY



Film Premiere
DECISION TO WIN!
(The First Fruits)

Speakers from
**EL SALVADOR
GUATEMALA
CUBA
THE BRITISH
LABOUR
MOVEMENT**

including
Dr. SALVADOR
MONCADA
FDR-FMLN
of El Salvador

7.00 pm
Saturday May 15th
Conway Hall
Red Lion Square
(Holborn E-1)

cameras and reporters to declare his treason, this does not divide the revolution from the people, but instead earns the traitor the hatred of those who formerly believed in him'.

Her words were borne out as militia members throughout the country began turning in their militia cards, which still bear Pastora's signature. In a demonstration in downtown Managua 17 April, hundreds of militia members showed their support for the government by burning their old membership cards. 'We don't want a militia card signed by a traitor!' they chanted.

Perhaps the most welcome response to Pastora's betrayal came from Commander Jaime Wheelock, Nicaragua's Minister of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform. The day following Pastora's press conference, Wheelock announced that 28,000 morazananas of land (1 morazana = 1.73 acres) would be distributed to peasants around the country, as the revolution continued to fulfill the pledge that 'no campesino will be left without land'.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Falklands Crisis

American socialists against Thatcher's war

EVERY EVENING our 'democratic and free' television and newspapers bombard us with pro-war propaganda. Over the North Atlantic, American viewers have been getting a similar barrage for a lot longer — in support of Reagan's war drive.

Now the American media has taken up Thatcher's adventure. The TV and media are full of denunciations of Argentinian aggression against peaceloving Britain who, with no empire left to defend, is 'standing up for the right of self-determination'.

Socialist Challenge reprints on this page a series of questions and answers on the war which were carried by the American revolutionary newspaper *Militant*, which is in solidarity with the Fourth International.

In a nutshell please, which side are you on?

The Malvinas, called the Falklands by the British, are an inalienable part of Argentina. Most nations of the world recognise Argentine sovereignty over the islands. Britain has held the islands as a colony since it seized them by force 150 years ago. London should give up its claim to its colony and stay out.

But much more is now involved than the islands alone. There is a military, economic, and diplomatic confrontation between one of the world's mightiest imperialist powers and a country oppressed by imperialism. In this conflict, we side unequivocally with the country that is the victim of imperialism.

We demand that Britain turn its fleet around, lift its economic embargo, and recognise Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas.

Your position is clear enough. But I'm not convinced. Isn't there a real dispute over the sovereignty?

A glance at the map will tell you that, geographically, the Malvinas are part of Argentina. Historically, the story is the same. In the 1700s Britain, Spain and France all made claims on the islands.

The Spaniards bought out the French and drove out the British. Spain governed the islands, as it did Buenos Aires and most of Latin America. When Argentina declared its independence from Spain in 1816, it claimed sovereignty over all of its territory and took control of the islands.

In 1833, however, a British warship took the islands by force. The British rulers have ignored Argentina's protests for a century and a half.

Yes, but whatever the historical merits, how can you side with the

aggressors?

I guess the last answer wasn't clear enough. The British seized the Malvinas by force 150 years ago. They have held it by force since. They are the aggressors.



Argentinian workers demonstrating in favour of their recovery of Malvinas-Falklands

According to the imperialists' moral code, if they steal someone's land and hold on to it long enough, it becomes theirs. Whenever oppressed peoples anywhere in the world fight to regain control over their own territory, they are called the 'aggressors'.

What's more, Britain refused every Argentine effort to negotiate in good faith. In 1965 Argentina finally got a resolution passed in the United Nations calling on the British to negotiate. As recently as this past February, Argentina's diplomats at the UN pressed for a speedup in the drawn-out talks. The British refused.

But what about the residents of the Malvinas Islands? Margaret Thatcher says Britain has no interests in the islands and is fighting solely for the right of the islanders to self-determination. Of course, I don't really believe her, but isn't the issue itself important?

The real issue of self-determination is Argentina's right to exercise sovereignty over its own territory.

The islanders do have interests in this conflict, however. Their most immediate concern is to avoid having the British fleet attack the islands and destroy their homes.

In fact, the islanders themselves are victims of British capitalism in more ways than one. The land they live on and the sheep they tend are owned by British absentee landlords. A single company, the Falklands Islands Company (FIC), owns 46 per cent of the land, most of the sheep, the warehouses, and the ships that transport the wool to Britain.

'The FIC has never reinvested a cent in the Falklands,' said one legislative councillor from the capital city of the Malvinas. 'They have continually put the squeeze on us to make more money for their shareholders in the UK.'

What's more, under Britain's new racist immigration law the islanders no longer even have the right to move to Britain.

The islanders are victims of British imperialism. They will benefit, above all, from a worldwide movement that can force the British fleet to turn back.

OK, I agree that it's absurd that the British imperialists would be fighting anywhere for anybody's self-determination. Look at their occupation of Northern Ireland! But, then, what are they fighting for?

Like John Reed said: profits.

Can't you be more specific?

Sure. Oil, for one. Some estimates have said the oil in the waters around the Malvinas could rival the rich North Sea deposits. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 6 April, 'Bernardo F

Grossling, an international petroleum expert formerly with the US Geological Survey and currently with the Inter-American Development Bank, says that "many people from the petroleum industry consider the area off Argentina one of the most promising in the world, and I agree with them".

Exxon and Arco are engaged in exploratory work off the Argentine coast. One successful test well yielded 5,000 barrels a day. Last December, when Argentina advertised for oil prospectors in waters off the Malvinas, the British government kicked up quite a fuss about whose oil it was.

Of course, the exact reserves are unknown. And British and US government officials are downplaying the amount as part of their pretext of displaying only humanitarian motives. But some US oil companies have already begun negotiating a drilling pact with Argentina.

Sovereignty over the islands also bears directly on ownership of the seabed, the Antarctic, and the vast potential wealth there.

Of course, profits are at stake in a broader sense as well. What concerns London — and Washington — is that the masses of the colonial and semicolonial world are getting the idea that now is a good time to take back what belongs to them. They see the weakness of imperialism, especially since Washington was defeated in Vietnam. That is what Reagan is running up against in Central America today.

Okay, I see what London and Washington are up to. But your position still makes me uncomfortable. How can workers support the bloodsoaked military dictatorship in Buenos Aires? Aren't they the immediate enemy?

It is not a question of supporting the military dictatorship. To support

Argentina against Britain does not mean to serve the military regime. It means supporting the fight against imperialism despite the military regime. By supporting the struggle against British imperialism, the Argentine workers are not giving political support to the regime, which they justifiably detest. Their goal is to bring down the generals, and they correctly see a defeat for Britain as a step forward toward that objective.

Class-conscious Argentine workers are the most resolute in the fight against the British. But they don't count on the military government to lead an uncompromising struggle. Just the opposite.

The last thing the generals want is to mobilise the working people in the kind of struggle it will take to defeat Britain. In fact, the government's occupation of the Malvinas was timed to curb the mass struggle and protect its own increasingly shaky rule.

But the regime's motives and intentions are not at issue. A conflict is under way between imperialism and a country oppressed by imperialism. In this conflict the workers have a decisive interest.

The struggle of the Argentine toilers for a workers and farmers government is not separate from the struggle against imperialism. It is part of it. The Argentine workers and peasants, in order to bring to power a government that defends their interests, have to fight to free their country from imperialist domination. A victory for Britain would increase the subjugation of Argentina to exploitation and oppression by foreign capital. The workers and farmers will suffer.

On the other hand, if Britain fails in its efforts to bring Argentina to its knees, working people there will be in a better position to carry forward the fight against the military dictatorship and imperialism.

'We do not put all wars on the same plane'

The following is from a September 1937 letter sent by the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky to Mexican artist Diego Rivera. When the Japanese imperialists opened up a war against China in July 1937, there were some communists who balked at taking the side of China, which was ruled by the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek at that time. The considerations raised by Trotsky in regard to the Sino-Japanese war are also relevant to the conflict between Britain and Argentina today. The complete letter is printed in *Leon Trotsky on China*, Pathfinder Press.

We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutionary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the tsar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy ... at all events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abd-el-Krim¹ rose up against France, the democrats and Social Democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a 'savage tyrant' against the 'democracy'. The party of Léon Blum² supported this point of view. But we, Marxists and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Rifians against imperialist domination as a progressive war. Lenin wrote hundreds of pages demonstrating the primary necessity of distinguishing between imperialist nations and the colonial and semicolonial nations which comprise the great majority of humanity. To speak of 'revolutionary defeatism' in general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists.

In the Far East we have a classic example. China is a semicolonial country which Japan is transforming, under our very eyes, into a colonial country. Japan's struggle is imperialist and reactionary. China's struggle is emancipatory and progressive.

But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of the independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.

Let us use the example of a strike to clarify the question. We do not support all strikes. If, for example, a strike is called for the exclusion of Negro, Chinese, or Japanese workers from a factory, we are opposed to that strike. But if a strike aims at bettering — insofar as it can — the conditions of the workers, we are the first to participate in it, whatever the leadership. In the vast majority of strikes, the leaders are reformists, traitors by profession, agents of capital. They oppose every strike. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the objective situation forces them into the path of struggle.

Let us imagine, for an instant, a worker saying to himself: 'I do not want to participate in the strike because the leaders are agents of capital.' This doctrine of this ultraleft imbecile would serve to brand him by his real name: a *strikebreaker*. The case of the Sino-Japanese War is, from this point of view, entirely analogous. If Japan is an imperialist country and if China is the victim of imperialism, we favour China. Japanese patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive ...

But can Chiang Kai-shek assure the victory? I do not believe so. It is he, however, who began the war and who today directs it. To be able to replace him it is necessary to gain decisive influence among the proletariat and in the army, and to do this it is necessary not to remain suspended in the air but to place oneself in the midst of the struggle. We must win influence and prestige in the military struggle against the foreign invasion and in the political struggle against the weaknesses, the deficiencies, and the internal betrayal.

Notes.

1. The Berber tribes in the Rif region of Morocco revolted against Spanish colonial rule in 1921 under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim. After defeating the Spanish colonialists, they attacked the French sector of Morocco, but were defeated by a combined Spanish and French army in 1926.

2. The French Socialist Party.

Rail engineers fight closure

AS LORD McCarthy reports on flexible rostering in the rail industry, British Rail has announced 5,000 redundancies in its workshops.

This includes 1,660 at Horwich near Bolton, about 2,200 at Shildon, County Durham and 1,293 at Swindon.

The engineers at these workshops are fighting mad. Telly viewers will have seen the whole town of Shildon on the march in protest over the threatened loss of so many jobs central to the town's economy.

Socialist Challenge spoke to DENNIS GREEN, deputy works convenor at Horwich about the fightback.

On Thursday 22 April we took 80 workers down to Rail House in London to demonstrate, along with 200 from Shildon Works, and others. There were about 400 in all.

Friday we had a mass meeting of all 2,300 employees to explain the situation, and Monday we had a mass walkout of the workforce at noon to march through the town of Horwich with the local people. Local labour MPs Roger Stott and Ann Taylor pledged their support for fighting the closures.

The next big focus is the National Union of Railwaymen delegates meeting in London on 5 May to discuss how to

fight the redundancies nationally. I'll be pushing for our union leaders to call a national rail strike and to mobilise the triple alliance of miners, steelworkers as well as railworkers.

This issue could bring down the Tory government, and that's where we should be aiming.

The gloves are off now. We'll fight to the bitter end to save our jobs.

We've got to fight this thing on a national level, link up with Shildon, Swindon and wherever we can get support. There's plans to cut 15-20,000 jobs up to 1986.

Just as the government are trying to carve up British Steel and British Airways and hive off the

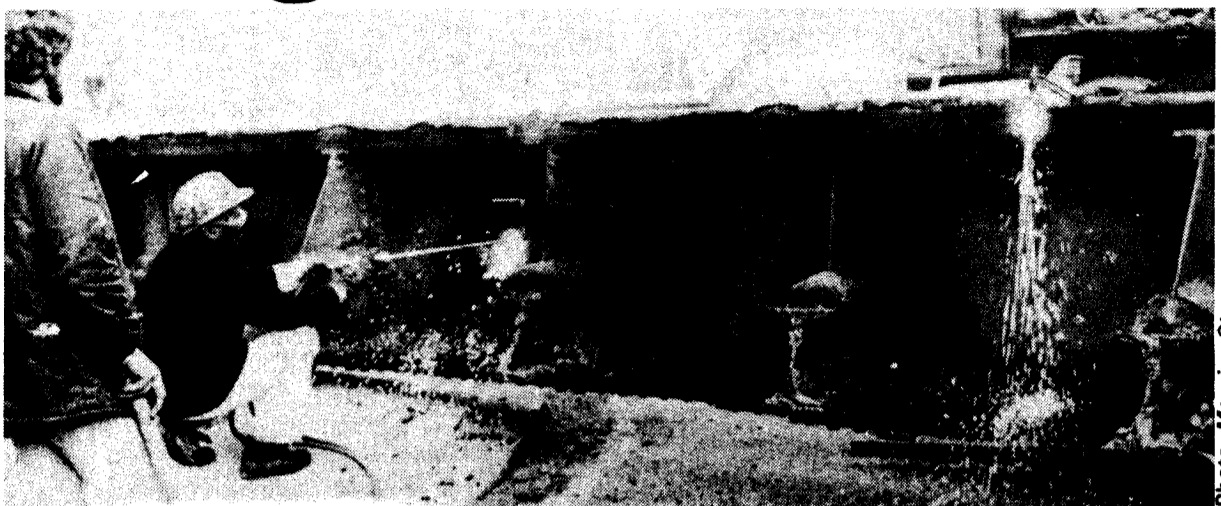
best bits for private enterprise they're doing the same thing with British Rail.

At Horwich, after they've cut most of the workforce they plan to sell the mechanised foundry — one of the most modern in Europe — to private industry.

Last week at the Crewe Works in Cheshire, BR had GEC reps in looking the place over, I'm sure for a similar motive.

It's a hard fight but we can win it. We've got to look at the experiences of others as well. We've had the Laurence Scott workers here a couple of times during their dispute, raising money, showing solidarity.

Now we need the experience and assistance of others to help us. As one of the lads said to me the other day, 'We can make the Laurence Scott dispute look like a tea party!'



Engineers working on trains

AT SWINDON plans are in hand for a mass demonstration on Friday 7 May. Not only will there be the job loss but the apprentice school is to close as well. At one time there were 14,000 workers and only 3,500 remain.

The works committee has drawn up its battle plan which includes:

- pressure on the TUC for a fight for an investment programme and against the closures
- lobbying MPs on modernisation and electrification
- a call for blacking of all work designated for Swindon
- talks with ASLEF, NUR and TSSA about blacking
- lobbying the local

council to refuse planning permission for anything not railway work

● lobbying management about training school

The works committee had previously cooperated with early retirement against official NUR policy.

Alaun Rees, works committee chairperson

now says, 'We let more than 100 men out of the door without any fuss or bother and this is how they repay us.'

The leader of the local Labour Group, Jim Masters said, 'When I took early retirement I thought I was helping a lad to get a job. But there's been no discussion and the obvious next step is total closure.'

Unity needed to fight rail closures

By Hazel MacPherson, Paddington NUR No.1

IF British Rail succeeds with its plan to close down its workshops and bring in private contractors, it will be a major blow to all railworkers.

The 5,000 strong demonstration at Shildon, Co. Durham against the closure of the local works, around which the community is based is an indication of the readiness of railworkers to fight for their jobs.

Closure of the workshops is just one aspect of this government's overall plan to shed over 40,000 rail jobs by 1985.

This attempt by the union's leadership to regain what credibility it had before the rail drivers' dispute earlier this year comes only days before McCarthy is due to report on flexible rostering. The word is that he will be coming up with a compromise designed to save NUR general secretary Weighell's face.

That is, to say 'no' to flexible rostering for drivers, to withdraw the 39 hour week and most important to offer local

negotiations for those who wish to opt for flexible rostering.

Therefore, if the national strike call is actually made, the union leadership will presumably be looking for a muted and divided response, in order that it can shift responsibility from its own shoulders onto the rank and file.

'It's not that we don't lead, but you don't follow' is a familiar refrain in many NUR branch rooms.

However, there are many dangers. The militant response of the NUR membership in opposition to flexible rostering in support of ASLEF took the union leadership by surprise.

There is a growing awareness that all aspects of productivity must be fought in a united fashion.

The example of the ASLEF strike and the victory that they won will not be easily wiped out from

the minds and memories of the NUR membership.

A national rail strike over workshop closures could easily develop into a major dispute over all rail jobs — and this is the risk that Weighell and the NEC is running.

We must base ourselves on the ASLEF victory, actively campaign for the workshops and demand that the NEC makes its threat a reality.

Sir Peter Parker, British Rail chairperson, said that flexible rostering was 'the first hurdle in the Grand National of Change'.

ASLEF made sure that the government and the British Rail Board fell at the first hurdle. It is up to us to make sure that they do so again at Beechers Brook.

● Drivers at Old Oak Common (Paddington) ended a work to rule this week in protest over management attempts to do away with 26 spare turns. Following their victory the drivers went on to pass a resolution opposing the workshop closures.

Famous Names in strike over low pay

Terry Stewart of the Bristol District Labour Party speaks to Joe Reddick, TGWU shop steward and Alan Bunyan, TGWU district organiser.

When did the strike start and over what issues?

It was over the question of pay. The company had offered us 5 per cent, but what the workforce wanted was a straight £10 across the board. The strike is really around the low paid workers.

There are 350 workers at Famous Names, making confectionery of different sorts, probably the most well known is Famous Names Liqueurs chocolate mice. Over 80 per cent of the workforce are women.

Are the women on equal pay?

Well, it depends what you mean. All the women are more or less on the bottom grades, which is £61 for a 40 hour week. The women are employed in packing, sorting, foiling, and cleaning. Men here earn more starting on a different grade from £65 for a forty hour week.

What has been the response of management?

The management of the former firm, then called Caviner's, bought Goldsmith out. They changed the name to Famous Names. Each director paid £25,000 for their share in the firm. Goldsmith was involved in asset stripping, but since this new management took over they've made over £1.6 million profit in the last trading years.

The strike started Friday and ACAS were called

in on Monday, so that's where we are at present. It'll be made official within the next week.

Are there any other unions involved in the struggle apart from the TGWU, Food and Drinks section?

There's ACTSS and the AUEW, but they settled for the company's offer separately from us. The AUEW is not handling any spares that are going through the picket.

The firm owns another factory in Southpool, Liverpool. We understand that the 250 workforce came out on 21 April when they were offered the same pittance of 5 per cent.

Why have they demanded £10 across the board instead of a percentage increase?

Take management's offer of 5 per cent, what that means for the low paid women workers. It won't even pay for their rise in gas bills.

The strike is about low pay, and the shop stewards committee has the full support of the workforce to win this demand, particularly that of other workers on higher differentials.

What support has been forthcoming so far?

The first we've had is Bristol West LPYS, Easton Labour Party.

Donations, letters of support and telegrams should be sent to the senior shop steward: BARBARA FARTHING, 25, DUNSTER ROAD, KNOWLE, BRISTOL BS4 1BY.



Workers from the Raleigh plant among 1000 lobbying MPs against the Tebbit Bill on 29 April.

Socialist Teachers Alliance
DAY CONFERENCE
on the Alternative Economic Strategy
and Labour Party
Saturday 15 May
County Hall, London

Correct correspondence address: STA c/o 143a Ham
Park Rd, London E7 or phone 01-470 2822.

Socialist Challenge/Revolution
Public meetings
Denis Barry
works convenor and strike committee chairperson
Laurence Scott — the lessons

Thursday 6 May: Glasgow
City Hall, Candleriggs at 7.30
Tuesday 11 May: East London
Family Centre, 50 Rectory Rd, N16 at 7.30

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE BANKER'S ORDER FORM

Your Bank

Name of Account to be debited

Account Number

Our Bank..... Socialist Challenge
Co-operative Bank Ltd
110 Leman St, London E1 8HQ 1

Account No 70267802

Sorting Code..... 08-03-08

Amount to be paid..... Monthly

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

Signed.....

Bradford 12 face 'rigged' jury

By Paul Hutchinson

ON MONDAY 26 April hundreds from the Bradford 12 campaign gathered outside the Leeds Crown Court to demand the dropping of all charges and the freeing of the defendants who face life imprisonment if found guilty.

Inside, the public gallery was packed as the defence council protested the use of a jury panel which contained no Asian names and was composed largely of people from the white middle class areas of Leeds.

The protestors stood directly outside the court room chanting slogans against a rigged jury and later marched through the city centre.

When people reassembled in the afternoon police made six arrests — three from Bradford and three from Leeds. The charges involved obstruction and section five of the Public Order Act. The six were granted bail and will appear in court on 5 May.

On Tuesday 27 April Judge Beaumont dismissed the defence application to discharge the jury.

Defence council stressed the need for a jury that would take account of the particular and exceptional experiences of the Asian community.

One of the defendants Tariq Ali representing himself said: 'I think it would be impossible to tell a jury of what my feelings and experiences are if there is not even one of my own people on it.'

During Tuesday's proceedings the judge received a telegram from Labour

MP Joan Maynard which demanded a multi-racial jury.

The judge decided to release the panel until 4 May when it will be merged with a panel summoned for that week. This contains just one Asian name.

Incredibly, the judge thought it would be of comfort to the defendants to learn that a jury panel summoned from Bradford for the following week contained no Asians at all.

The Bradford 12 National Mobilising Committee declared: 'The inescapable conclusion that black people are being systematically excluded from the opportunity to serve on juries must surely follow.'

'One wonders who sits on the juries for Southall, Brixton and Toxteth.'

Garth Frankland, secretary of the Leeds District Labour Party and councillor for Chapel Allerton said: 'The moving of the trial from Bradford to Leeds and the subsequent presentation in Leeds of a practically all

white panel must give rise to suspicions about the motives for moving the trial and cast doubt on the ability of the Leeds court to conduct a fair trial.'

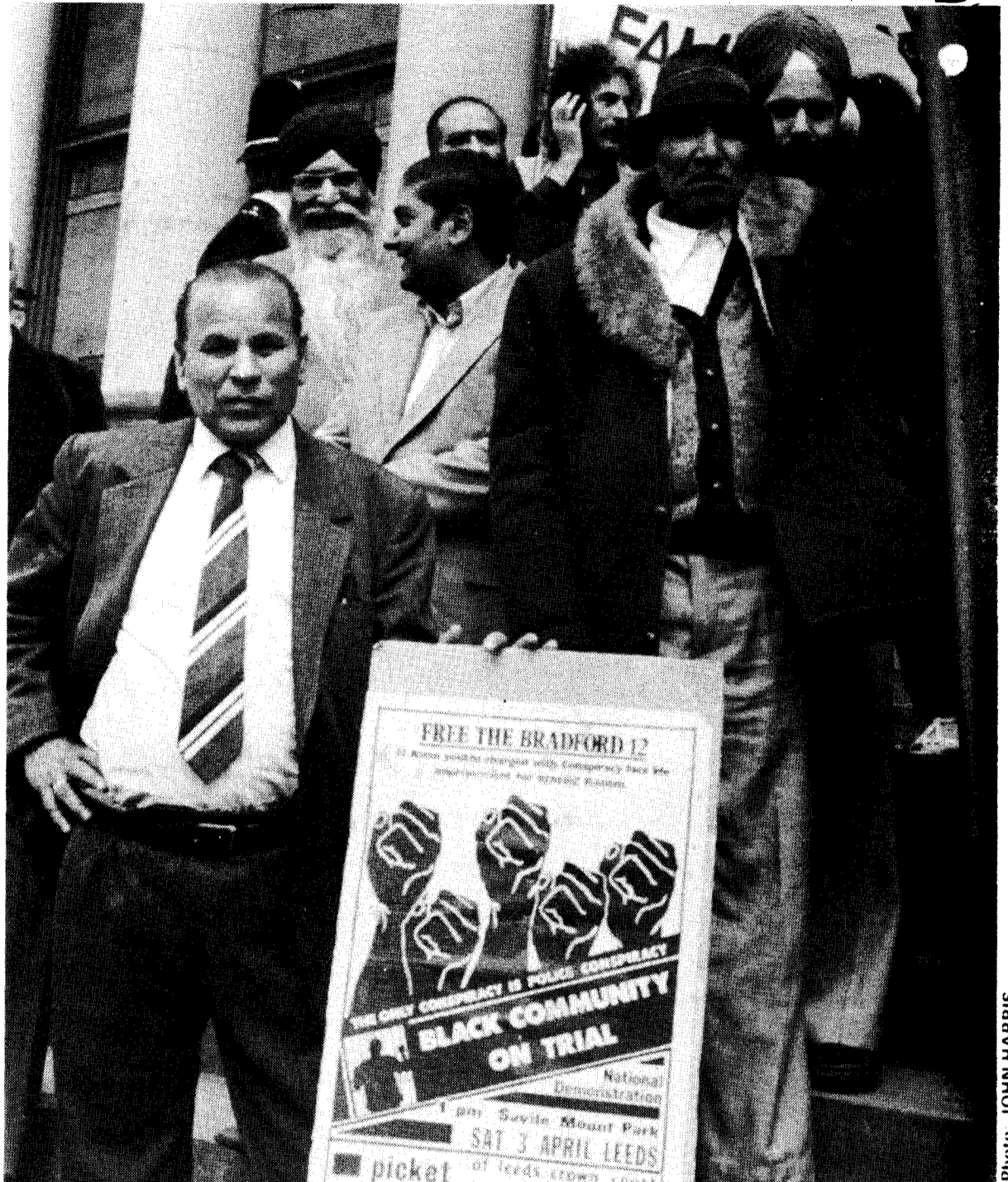
'People like the Bradford 12 face the possibility of life imprisonment while racist white youths who beat up two black women in Chapletown have yet to be caught.'

When Socialist Challenge asked councillor Lorna Cohen, Labour Harehills, an area with a large Asian community, for her views on how Labour Party and trade union activists can help the campaign, she called on them to 'bombard MPs with letters calling for support for the Bradford 12 and pointing out how the conspiracy laws are used against the working class and black and Asian activists.'

'People should also take collections and send donations to the campaign which is still desperate for money.'

The events coming up are: mass picket Wednesday 12 May; women's mass picket Friday 14 May; and the trade union mass picket Wednesday 19 May.

Contact the Bradford 12 National Mobilising Committee, Box JK, 59 Cookridge St, Leeds 2. Cheques to be made payable to Bradford 12 Defence Fund.



Some of the over 500 protestors at Leeds Crown Court on the first day of the trial

'A miracle no-one died'

By Toni Gorton

'THEY have declared war on black people. They came here to kill and went for anybody who got in their way, black or white, man or woman and even a young boy. It's a miracle no one died.'

As Frank Critchlow, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant in Notting Hill says, it's a miracle no one was killed in the police blitz on 20 April when 200 officers in full riot gear rampaged through the West London area. They extensively damaged two black-owned restaurants, terrorised the local people, seriously injuring a number including a boy of 12 who was hospitalised.

One local black councillor, Ben Bousquet, declared that it was 'organised police vandalism' and added: 'If this kind of thing happens again I personally will have no option but to say that if violence is used by the police, the people should reply with violence themselves.'

This 'kind of thing' has happened before and will happen again — with even greater ferocity. The youth uprisings in Brixton, Southall, Toxteth and other black areas in Britain last year convinced the Tories to step up their repression.

They intend to control the black youth of the inner cities whatever the cost.

Policing strategy has 'refined' itself so that any incident, no matter how trivial, will be met with an all out response with military-type organisation and equipment.

Warned

While Scarman may have warned against saturation policing operations like Swamp '81 which touched off Brixton last year, the police have over the past few months been regularly embarking on 'Swamp 81s' in many areas.

Black people have the absolute right to defend themselves from fascist and state harassment — by any means necessary.

The New Cross Massacre Action Campaign, the struggles against deportations and restrictive immigration laws have played a crucial role in the defence of the black people.

A victory today for the Bradford 12, the Asian youths threatened with life imprisonment on charges of conspiracy, would be a serious set back for the Tory 'law and order' campaign.

It would inhibit the Tories in their use of the courts as a weapon against black militants. It would also be a clear warning to the police about further 'frame ups' and politically restrain them in their use of CS gas, plastic bullets, and armoured vehicles.

All this would change the balance of forces in favour of defence of the black community.

Allies within the white working class are already being won who see that fighting for democratic rights, for justice, decent living standards and human dignity is a fight black and white have in common.

Spirit

Margaret Thatcher and her 'muggers in blue' will only be defeated by the mass activity of the entire working class. Key to this is the leadership by black people.

Black workers at Grunwicks and Imperial Typewriters have already shown the fighting spirit they can bring to industrial disputes.

The spirit of the whole black community is bold and audacious, its new leaders among the black youth are being called upon to take it in the right direction.

VOLCANOES & HURRICANES

Revolution in Central America and the Caribbean

For a Reagan-free Caribbean

'THE PEOPLE are like volcanoes: no one sets fire to them, they explode alone. And Central America is a volcanic region.'

Fidel Castro, July 1980

Defence of the revolutions in Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua and support for the revolutions in progress throughout the region are the twin themes of this new pamphlet.

Published this month by Socialist Challenge supporters in East London it provides up to date, factual information and is an invaluable introduction to politics in this area.

16 pages: 3 colour cover, 30p a single copy plus 12½p postage. Bulk rates available on request. No sale or return.

Also a singularly beautiful new badge! For a Reagan-free Caribbean in yellow, red and black. 20p each plus 12½p postage. 15p each for orders over ten.

Order both from East London Socialist Challenge c/o PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8.

Other badges can be ordered as well, please specify: 1. Jobs not Bombs 2. I won't die for Thatcher: Stop Cruise Missiles.

Bradford 12 broadsheet

10p each + p&p; £1 for 10 post free, bulk orders welcomed at reduced rates. Send to: Boc JK, 59 Cookridge St Leeds 2, Tel 0532-439500.

Grenadian festival

THOUSANDS OF GRENADIANS living in London packed into the Commonwealth Institute in London last Saturday for the second ever Grenadian Festival.

The festival, now an annual event, is the main reunion where Grenadians meet and exchange views and information. It was a huge success.

Such festivals play an important role for the Grenadian revolution. Not only is it a forum where Grenadian nationals come together, they and their friends can witness the gains of the revolution.

Many rumours circulate amongst the Grenadian community, all aimed at slandering the revolution. The festival is a method of positively countering these rumours by displaying the many achievements of the revolution.

Cultural activity has been one of the main growth areas since the revolution; steel bands, dance groups, calypsonians and poets all attended the culture show reflecting everyday life in revolutionary Grenada.

The hall was ringed with stalls, selling home made Grenadian food and handicrafts. An important staple sold products from Grenada's agro-industry. None of these products were available before the revolution.

A tourist show encouraged both Grenadians and others who attended to holiday in Grenada.

As with so many other things associated with Grenada, it took a revolution to get the community here in Britain together.

PAT KANE, who was interviewed last week in Socialist Challenge on his return from Grenada, is currently touring the country speaking on his experiences. Pat has a slide show and several exhibitions on life in revolutionary Grenada. So far he has been to Manchester, Sheffield, Rotherham, Hillingdon and Oxford. Meetings have been arranged in Lewisham, Brixton, Nottingham, Mansfield, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

If you would like Pat to attend your CND group, Labour Party or Trade Union, or if you want information on the tour contact 01 359 8371.

Socialist Challenge

Health unions - a fight for wages and jobs

HEALTH SERVICE unions have backed widespread industrial action to win their claim for a 12 per cent pay rise. On 29 April, the TUC health services committee announced further that none of the 14 unions represented had refused to take industrial action.

COHSE members are now carrying out two-hour strikes, working to rule and banning non-emergency admissions in many areas.

Socialist Challenge correspondent **Richard Correll** spoke to **Steve Ferris** who is secretary of Southampton Hospitals branch of the National Union of Public Employees, about the issues.

Health service workers have been made a 'final offer of 4 per cent. What has been the reaction of your members?

My members understand very well that 4 per cent, worth about £1.50 per week to a full time worker, is a drop in real wages. With some grades earning as little as £44 weekly we can't afford to settle for less than the full claim - 12 per cent.

Alan Fisher is in favour of taking the claim to arbitration. What is your reaction?

Arbitration takes the claim out of the hands of the members, and relies on a supposedly independent body that will side with the government.

As it is almost certain to award 5 per cent or less,

going to arbitration is tantamount to abandoning the full claim. If we are going to win, it will be through mass action, not dealings in smoke-filled rooms.



Will strike action include nurses?

Nurses form half the NHS workforce, about half a million, and I think it is essential that they participate. This will mean stopping routine admis-

sions, and providing only emergency cover.

The government have tried to split the health service by offering nurses 6.4 per cent. But this would mean 2.4 per cent coming from the existing health service budget, that is about 5,400 jobs would then be cut.

For these reasons I would urge nurses to reject this offer, and fight alongside the rest of the health service to the full 12 per cent.

Doesn't the cash limit system mean that winning the claim can only mean more jobs lost?

Settling for 4 per cent wouldn't save a single job. Mrs Thatcher wants to cut wages and jobs. If we are defeated this time on pay she will be back again to take more jobs.

We are determined to protect both pay and jobs, and force her to abandon the NHS cash limit. That's why our claim includes a thirty-five hour week and increased holidays.

Can the government afford to meet the full claim?

Yes. Many other groups of workers have succeeded in breaking the 4 per cent limit: local government workers got 7 per cent, miners and firemen got 9 and the police got 13 - a small rise in real terms.

The full cost of the claim is about £200 million. The present adventures in the Malvinas could end up costing that much, which shows that the money is there. It only requires a political decision by the government to use it.

How will you be able to take on the government?

We can only do this by fighting back on a national scale - this dispute can't be won hospital by hospital. It also means that all workers in the NHS must unite in an agreed campaign of massive industrial action, and we will need the solidarity of workers in other industries.

My branch is in favour of forming an all-union strike committee, and at the NUPE Annual Conference we will be fighting hard to see that the union leadership organise the sort of strike action that we need to win.



ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE SAY FREE WALES

By Davy Jones

MAY DAY, international workers' day, saw the most remarkable demonstration of the continuing strength and support of Solidarnosc, Poland's mass independent social and union movement. In two 'illegal' marches in Warsaw and Gdansk, the Baltic birthplace of Solidarnosc, one hundred thousand people marched in open defiance of the military bureaucratic rulers.

'Free our Lech, imprisoned Wojciech' they chanted, referring to General Jaruzelski, prime minister and head of the Communist Party. 'Away with the junta' and 'Come and join us' were the other most popular slogans. On Monday a further march of more than 20,000 people was broken up by riot police with tear gas.

This extraordinary display of Solidarnosc's continuing power and popularity comes in the wake of a series of spectacular actions by the underground opposition to martial law - flying strikes, civil disobedience and the recent radio broadcasts.

The opposition is being coordinated by the new four-person national Solidarnosc underground leadership of Zbigniew Bujak from Warsaw, Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk from Wroclaw, Bogdan Lis from Gdansk and Wladyslaw Hardek from Krakow. The co-ordination is now planning a nationwide strike for 13 May, five months since the military crackdown.

The military bureaucratic rulers of Poland must be terrified at the open resurgence of Solidarnosc in public actions. So too must be

Thatcher and Reagan who cynically jumped on the Polish bandwagon to step up their attacks on 'communism' in the wake of the military coup.

That is why the labour movement must take the lead in organising support for Solidarnosc. An excellent opportunity to develop such solidarity will be the national labour movement conference in solidarity with Solidarnosc that has been called for October.

The Greater Manchester Polish Solidarity Campaign has issued an appeal for the conference which has already been endorsed by the Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee, Ken Livingstone and Labour MPs, Eric Heffer, George Morton, Frank Allaun, Michael Meacher and Roger Stott.

The appeal reads: 'We believe that it is vital that the labour movement comes to the aid of our Polish brothers and sisters at this time of need. Millions of trade unionists throughout the world have been inspired by the struggle of the Polish workers for genuine democratic socialism.

'The declaration of martial law on 13

December last year has undoubtedly set back that struggle but it is by no means all over. The resistance is growing. They need our solidarity now. Moreover, we cannot allow the likes of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher to parade unchallenged as friends of the Polish workers.

'They support dictatorial regimes from Turkey to El Salvador. They are no friends of workers in Poland or any other country. It is time for the labour movement to speak out for an end to martial law, for the release

of the interned/arrested trade unionists and for the restoration of the democratic and trade union rights won by the Polish workers through struggle since August 1980; and against the hypocritical boycott campaign of Reagan, Thatcher and Co.

'We hope you will sponsor the conference and help build such a labour movement campaign.'

Picket Polish embassy on 13 May at 1pm to coincide with general strike call in Poland.

Solidarnosc Solidarity Committees

Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Gordon Morgan, 59 Durward Avenue, Glasgow G41. Ring 041-649 8958.

Edinburgh Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Edinburgh & District Trades Council, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

Greater Manchester Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Jon Silberman, 51 Montrose House, Crete St, Oldham, Lancs. Ring 061-620 2885.

Leeds Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Dave Feickert, 28 Roundhay Mount, Leeds 8, Yorkshire. Ring 0532 490927.

South Yorks Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Rab Bird, 279 Ellesmere Road, Sheffield, S4 7DP. Ring 0742 617174.

Nottingham Labour Movement Solidarity with Solidarnosc, c/o 3 Elm Close, Nottingham.

Birmingham Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Roger Murray, 28 Blackford Road, Birmingham 11. Ring 021-773 5396.

Coventry Solidarity Committee, John Fisher c/o ASTMS, 26 Queens Road, Coventry.

Oxford Labour Committee on Poland, 468 Banbury Road, Oxford. Ring 0865 58238.

Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign, 10 Park Drive, London NW1. Ring 01-458 1501.

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, Box 23, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8.

Solidarnosc Trade Union Working Group in UK, 64 Philbeach Gardens, Earls Court, London SW5. Ring 01-373 3492.

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