

# Socialist Challenge

**INSIDE**

YCND



**Jobs not Bombs  
March to Labour Party  
Conference**

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# Solidarity can win

The trade union movement was founded to fight for the interests of the working class. It took as its motto that true and inspiring slogan: An injury to one, is an injury to all. And for the workers' movement that is just as valid today as it was then.

At Congress House however, people seem to have forgotten why a trade union movement is needed. They seem to think it has something to do with providing soft jobs for beauraucrats and seats in the House of Lords for pensioned off officials. To them solidarity has become a dirty word.

Fortunately for workers in general, and health workers in particular, people like Sean Geraghty still believe in the principles of trade unionism. He along with his fellow print workers was not prepared to stand by whilst the Tories carved up the NHS and the health workers. Like the miners, steel workers, and the other workers who have struck in support of the 12 per cent claim, the electricians have put to shame the spineless cowards of the TUC who sold out ASLEF and will fail the health workers if left to their own devices.

Every socialist and every trade unionist should say — right on Sean Geraghty, you showed the labour movement what trade unionism is all about, and you showed how the health workers can win.

The lefts on the TUC must take a leaf out of the book of Geraghty and their rank and file. Let them demand the TUC organises:—

*Solidarity strikes with the health workers*

*Collections in every workplace to support the 12 per cent claim.*

*Bring forward the proposed demonstration to early September.*



# Editorial

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THE DECISION to only fine print electrician Sean Gerachty £350 plus costs represented a clear climbdown by the Tories and their courts. So too was the decision of the Newspaper Proprietors Association to refrain from seeking civil damages — which, under the Tory anti union laws, would have netted them £1m plus.

This outcome was no thanks to the TUC tops or to Albert Spanswick general secretary of the Confederation of Health Service Employees (COHSE). Brother Gerachty was arraigned in front of the courts for contempt of the 1980 Prior anti-union legislation which have forbidden solidarity action of any sort. As such it was a test case for every single worker that responded to the TUC's call for solidarity with the health workers week of action.

But the TUC did nothing in response to this blatant attack. Albert Spanswick even appealed for all the newspaper unions to call off their action after the NPA had received an injunction under the terms of the Act. The despicable Frank Chapple, leader of the Electricians union, not only refused his members any backing but more or less called for the courts to imprison his member.

So a glorious opportunity to give a body blow to the Act, ensure the victory for the healthworkers and threaten the existence of the Tory government was lost. The Tories have backed off. They, however, not only live to fight another day, but have established a certain precedent.

Yet despite the tacit support of the TUC, the Tories did not think they could carry the day. The health workers fight has stirred up broad solidarity and shown the underlying weakness of the Tories, despite their successes of the past couple of years.

The miners have, of course, led the way. But most sections of the labour movement have taken some action — like the 1300 Scottish steelworkers who came out despite the threats of a revenge closure of their plant.

The call by George Bolton, Scottish miners' vice-president for a Scotland-wide conference of shop stewards to prepare a one day general strike in support of the healthworkers has been shown by this affair to be appropriate to the depth of feeling against the Tories. It should be supported. Similar calls should go out in other areas.

War against the Tories is too serious a thing to be left in the hands of the TUC tops. They must be forced to act through the rank and file taking things into their own hands.

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# Trade Unions



Pat Kane

# After the traindrivers strike

Fred Orton is the chairperson of ASLEF at Saltley depot in Birmingham. He talked to Valerie Coultas about the state of the battle between the labour movement and the Tories following the scandalous betrayal of his union in the recent rail strike by the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC.

'The ASLEF members at Saltley feel sadly let down', he said. 'We didn't get support when there was an attempt to worsen conditions in the railway industry. It was felt that the F&GP committee had ignored that side of things and accepted management's arguments about flexible rostering.'

## Different

Fred was reluctant to make any criticisms of the left wing of that committee: 'Although the decisions of that committee were unanimous, we felt that this was with the particular support of the right wing. If Alan Fisher and Marie Patterson has been there, there would hopefully have been a different result.'

A discussion took place about the right wing in the unions and how they should be fought. 'What I believe', said Fred, 'is that in those unions where the leaders make decisions not

in line with the membership, attempts should be made to ensure that the leadership is in the hands of the membership. In ASLEF, we are very democratic. The facts are put before the membership and a vote is taken.

'In many battles, the membership have been let down by their leaders. We've had Birmetals and Ansell's in this area. Fighting this government, you must use all your powers, not part of them.'

In Fred's view, democratising the unions is intimately linked to democratising the Labour Party. He is a firm supporter of Tony Benn: 'My own personal view is that I would support the ideas of Tony Benn because it is the only way we can get the sort of society I want to see in this country.' But Fred was of the opinion that Michael Foot had to be supported until after the next election, when Labour would be returned to power. If Foot then doesn't carry through Labour Party policies, the



Saltley depot traindrivers picket together with health workers

leadership question should be looked at again: 'You've got to make your policies clear to the electorate and the Labour Party must go forward and not rat on them. Once the Labour Party does that, then the problems start.'

The TUC's role also came in for a dose of criticism. 'Powerful groups of workers like miners, waterworkers and seamen are being placated

by the government. But until we get a TUC that is prepared to stand behind any group of workers, we won't be able to hold onto what we've got, let alone go forward.'

'The TUC should be fighting for a 35 hour week and retirement at 60 as a solution to unemployment. This type of approach would have people flocking back into action to defend jobs.'

Fred is a member of the

Labour Party, but his main concern at the moment is his union work. 'I don't accept it's necessary to have witch-hunts. People should have free speech. If the Labour leadership are not leading people along democratically decided lines they have to be removed. Witch-hunts play right into the Tories' hands because it takes people's minds off the real issues.'



# Solidarity

## On the picket line in Brum

EVERY MORNING on the week of action from 9 to 11 o'clock the street outside Selly Oak hospital was lined with domestics and other ancillary staff out on strike for their 12 per cent claim. Lightning strikes took place at the Queen Elizabeth, at the East Birmingham Hospital, where the Central Sterile Supply Unit came out for three days causing a reduced service at Solihull, as well as the East Birmingham. Beds were pushed into the city centre, high streets were leafleted.

By Friday the Good Hope, Rubery Hill and Dudley Road hospitals had all come out. The picture was one of a rising curve of activity among health workers. In Coventry the Central Sterile Supply staff have been out for a full five weeks. GRAHAM TOPPLEY and VALERIE COULTAS report.

Strong organisation in the hospitals will obviously influence the response of the workers to any call from the TUC or the regional co-ordinating committee but the picture from the Birmingham picket lines was not one of NHS staff wanting — in

general — to hold back from a confrontation with the government. The Regional Co-ordinating Committee were the ones who seemed more concerned about 'holding back' on the action than the pickets. According to Alan Clark the regional

committee did not call a city-wide rally this time round because they wanted the TUC to call a national rally.

However, as Dave Rowley, a porter at Selby Oak Hospital pointed out this meant that neither took place, saying 'while we're not having demonstrations we're not getting the support from other unions we did have'.

### Need

Missing from this week of action has been a clear lead either from the TUC or the Regional Co-ordinating Committee in the West Midlands. As late as Friday last week the regional committee seemed to be issuing no clear instructions for what co-ordinated action the health unions should take. This had its inevitable

result. Flare ups of militancy by domestics at Selly Oak, Porters and Central Sterile supply staff at East Birmingham, lighting walk-outs by every different ancillary worker at different times of the day at the Queen Elizabeth — but essentially it was left with the local branches to take the initiative

Pickets not surprisingly were divided about the need for all-out action. Rose Leech, a NUPE branch secretary at Selly Oak, said there was no way that domestics could afford to lose the money from an all-out strike. But there was not unanimity on this point. Other domestics at Selly Oak wanted all-out action arguing that they'd win the claim, and the back pay, more quickly through that action. Alan Heard, a NUPE shop steward at the

East Birmingham wanted to see lightning strikes by key groups of workers on a continuing basis as he thought this was the most effective tactic. Ken, an operating assistant took the same view as the Socialist Challenge bulletin that was handed out saying 'Our regional committee have ignored all the feeling among the membership for an all-out strike. I'm an operating assistant, a so-called professional job and I take home £52 a week.' He saw an all-out strike as the only way to win the dispute. Many other pickets said that this was how it should have been done in the first place.

The TUC guidelines also came in for some stick from the pickets. 'When we took 24 hour emergency action people

moaned about the emergency cover. The TUC have said all children must be covered, and geriatrics, and emergencies ... We're in a catch 22 situation. If you leave enough cover for the patients your action's not effective. If you don't the patients suffer. Every government we've ever had has used the health service in this way. They're using us again today.'

### Victims

Despite the escalation of the action towards the end of the week the strike wasn't as widespread as the last days of action in Birmingham. Alan Clark, one of NUPE's regional organisers said the reason for this was the lack of strong organisation within the hospitals. 'Manage-

ment here are trying to crack down on the shop stewards for having time off to discuss strike action, they've been trying to stop their pay. This hospital, the East Birmingham, is the one that Kenneth Clark came to when he started to crack down.

### Action

There's a lot of antagonism with the management here and the porters are quite militant. The idea that it's a battle against the government often gets lost at a local level. When you actually get down to organising strikes, the TUC can make any amount of militant noises, but it's often decided by local circumstances, local personalities. If we called for all-out action in a lot of areas we wouldn't get support.'

# 'We can win'

says health worker Janet Maguire

The health workers have fought another week of action. Once again they have shown their willingness to take on the government. Likewise other workers have shown how much they value the NHS and how much they are prepared to support our claim.

The electricians in Fleet Street set an example of working class solidarity that inspired every striking health worker. But instead of welcoming this Albert Spanswick appealed to the print unions not to take industrial action. The National Graphical Association unfortunately responded to his appeal, but luckily for us, the electricians led by Sean Geraghty ignored Spanswick and came out, shutting Fleet Street down.

Never has a dispute been so finely balanced. On one side we have the growing support for our case from big sections of the trade union movement representing millions of workers. On the other hand we have a Tory

government that neither cares about the health of the working people, nor about the living standards of the health workers. Nevertheless, this government could be forced to pay our claim if the labour movement was called into direct action.

Unfortunately the TUC and its health committee is more frightened of the mass labour movement than it is of Thatcher and Fowler. Instead of calling for a wave of co-ordinated solidarity strikes they have sat on the sidelines trying to look statespersonlike. They have not organised any mass secondary picketing to show Thatcher we are serious about winning this dispute and that we will break her legislation if

they try and us it against us.

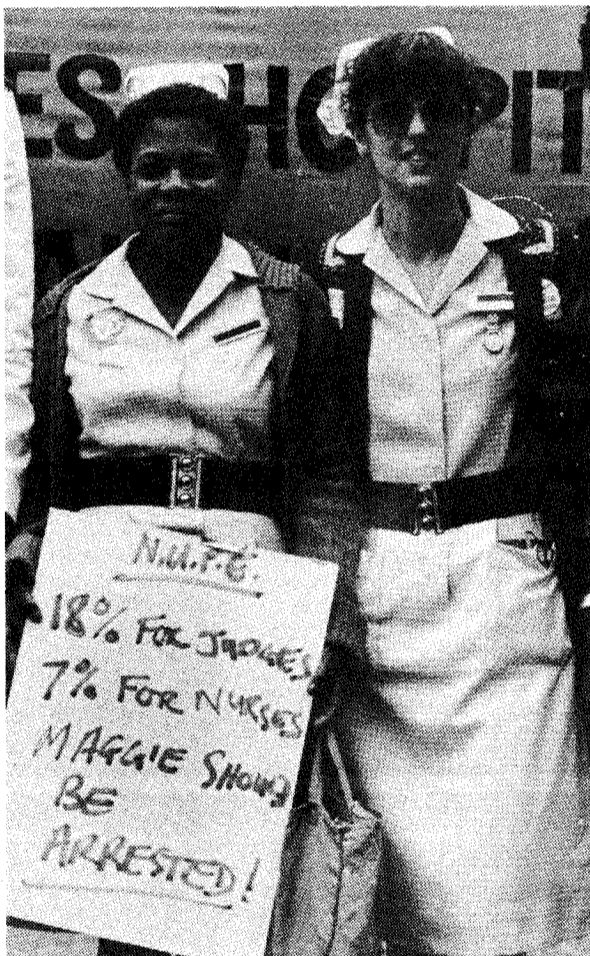
Neither have the leaders of the TUC launched a public appeal for funds so that key workers could take permanent selective strike action. Truly with friends like these who needs enemies? Sad to say we still do have lots of enemies and these are sitting in the Tory cabinet. This bunch of hardfaced people will not be swayed by public opinion appeals for fair play. Even *Lancet*, a medical journal hardly noted for its left or liberal opinion, has accused Fowler of looking for a death to discredit our strike. The only thing that will make this government pay up is strike action on a national scale by health workers in alliance with other workers.

The call by George Bolton, the Scottish NUM vice-president, when he addressed a rally of 5000

workers last week in Glasgow, for a conference of all Scottish stewards to organise a one-day general strike shows the real way forward.

The Govan ship builders, unlike the TUC, have done something about raising money by voting a 50p a head levy per week for the health workers. The actions of the Govan ship yard workers and the workers at Clydesdale Tube Works who downed tools for a day of solidarity with us shows that we could get a massive response to George Bolton's call.

This kind of action can win our claim and this would be a giant step forward in the defence of the health service. Such a victory would also show to every worker suffering from the effects of Thatcherism that there is a way forward and that this government can be defeated.



A good message from strikers



This is what is needed — joint solidarity to beat Thatcher



Health workers say thanks to Fleet St. 'sparks'

**Pay the Health Workers**

Pay the Health workers badges available at 25p each

Orders for 10 or more badges — 20p each  
Orders for 100 or more — 15p each

Cheques payable to 'Cardinal Enterprises' and send to 'Badges' PO Box 50 London N1. Why not get your trade union or Labour Party branch to order some?

## Defeat the witch-hunt

by Tessa Matthews

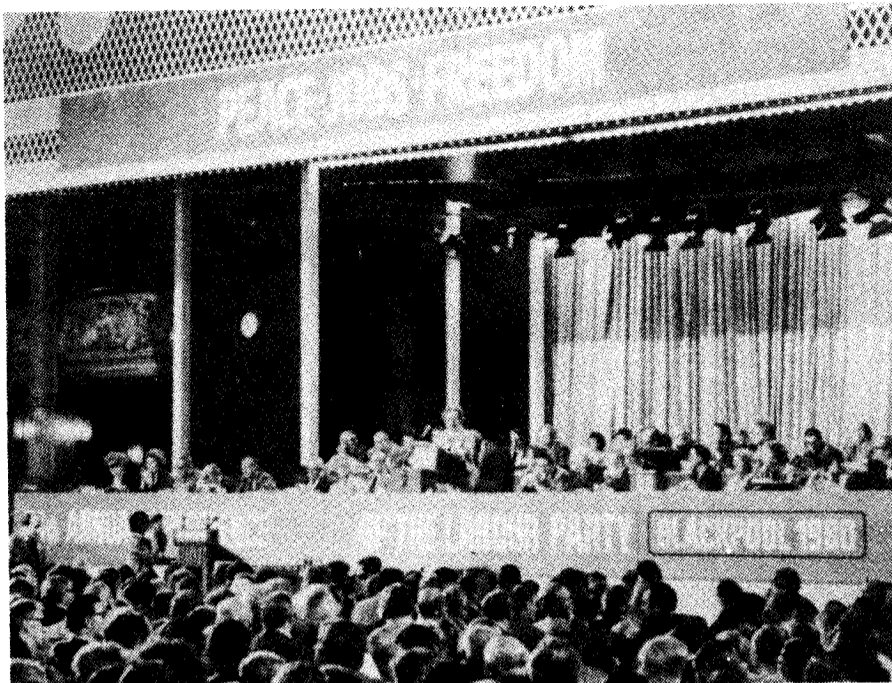
The right wing-leaders are determined to have a real showdown at this year's Labour Party conference. The idea of a Labour Party committed to unilateralism, to withdrawal from the EEC and to taking over control of large sections of investment to them is intolerable. And the idea that they should be accountable to the labour movement is something they can never accept. Their accountability is to the establishment and its state, and they know you can not be accountable to two masters at the same time.

The battle over registration is going to decide the future of the Labour Party for many years to come. If the left are hounded out of the party then Labour will have been made safe and the right's masters can sleep safely in their beds at night. Labour's more radical measures will be ditched, and there will be more re-runs of the ASLEF betrayal.

The working class and its allies have too much at stake to dodge the issue of registration. The Campaign for Labour Party democracy has circulated proposals amongst its members for a plan at this year's party to prevent any action on the report about Militant. The CDLP describes any action to specifically reject the

report as 'tactically irresponsible'. They favour the proposal which suggests conditions be laid down in the party constitution under which groups could operate and this would mean that the party executive would have to prove to delegates at the annual conference any alleged infringements of these conditions.

If all else fails and is defeated, then Socialist Challenge would urge a vote for the CDLP-backed amendment. But in our opinion it is wrong to begin by accepting that the right will be allowed to establish the principle of a register. The register has a very simple aim which is to kick out the left and to make the Labour Party a safe and reliable ally for British capitalism and its



1980 Blackpool conference — will left gains be repeated

imperialist allies

This is why Socialist Challenge is against any form of witchhunt whatsoever and that means we are against registration. Furthermore we have to support without any reservations the right of Militant to be in the Labour Party. At present the Mil-

tant is the main target of the right wing and any hesitations or equivocations about defending Militant will open the door to further purges of the left. Building for the conferences called by Militant and Hackney North CLP are important ways of mobilising the widest

possible numbers from labour movement against the plans of the right.

The left of course cannot hope to win in the long term if the working class is defeated. The half-hearted leadership of the TUC over the health strike and their dreadful action over the ASLEF strikers serves

to weaken the fighting capacity of the trade union movement. In contrast the determination of the train drivers and the health workers shows the fighting capacity that does exist in the workers movement.

It is on this capacity for struggle that the left must base themselves. Faced with declining living standards, threatened by unemployment and living under the shadow of a nuclear holocaust people want a solution. The left has to show that it does have such a solution and

that an important part of that solution is breaking the grip of the right-wing trade union and Labour Party leaders.

Only by involving itself in the great battles of the workers' movement can the left push aside the right and turn the Labour Party on the road to winning the next election. To compromise in any way over the witchhunt will reverse the gains made in the last two years and seriously damage the interests of the real labour movement.

### Get delegated!

Socialist Challenge urges all its supporters in the Labour Party and trade unions to get delegated to the Labour movement conference against the witch hunt on 11 September at Central Hall, Westminster. Credentials from 23 Ironside House, Hometon Rd., London E9 5PW.

Ditto for the Hackney North organised conference on 30 September at County Hall Westminster. Details from Hackney North CLP, 28 Beatty Rd., London N16.

## Bob Mellish or the everyday life of a local MP

BOB MELLISH has served the people of Bermondsey for 36 years. Now he is under attack. A motley collection of lefts and troublemakers have ganged up on him.

BOB PENNINGTON for Socialist Challenge, takes up the defence of this much misunderstood MP by replying to a constituent's questions.

Is it true Bob Mellish has always fought for the dockers in this area?

Oh yes. When he was first an up and coming MP under Attlee Bob Mellish was very worried about the reds and the Trots who were trying to subvert the portworkers. He even joined with three other MPs to work with M15 - he knew that the intelligence service was devoted to the cause of the dockers - to defeat the 1949 dock strike. In 1951 he supported the Labour government when it put seven dockers on trial for striking for higher wages, Bob knew the strike was led by reds.

Bob always had the support of the dockers didn't he?

Well most important he had the support of Arthur Deakin who was the boss of the TGWU and Arthur's right hand man, TGWU organiser Bert Fry. They promoted Bob from being an office boy into a full-time official for the TGWU docks section, where some unkind people claimed he was still Mr Deakin's office boy. Because Arthur and Bert always knew what was best for the dockworkers they did not bother holding an election for Mellish, they simply appointed him.

In 1946 when the parliamentary seat of Bermondsey and Rotherite became vacant his two

mates made sure he got the TGWU vote which assured him of a seat at Westminster.

Surely Mr Mellish was not just interested in south London, he was very interested in international affairs.

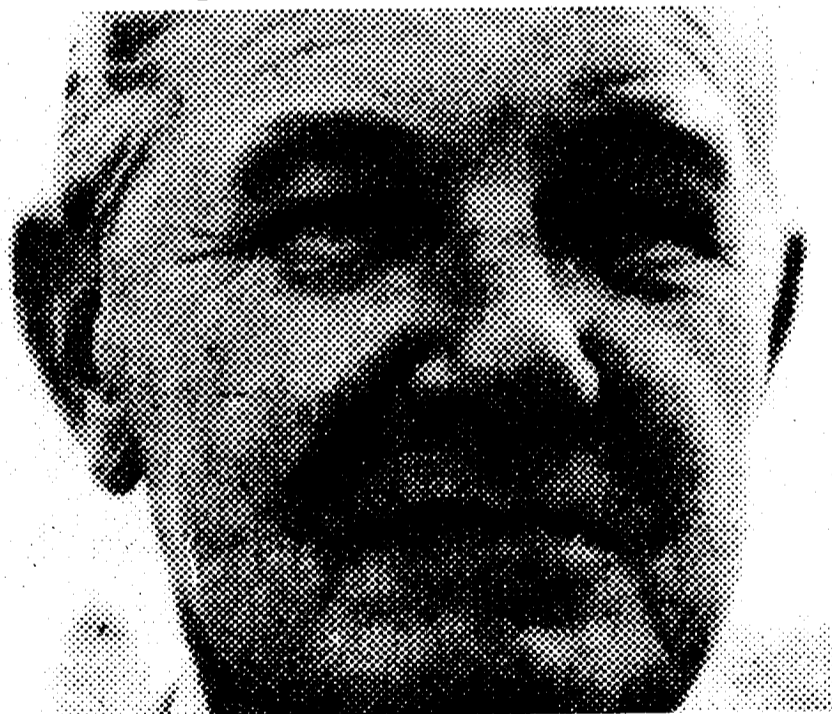
Dead right. He liked Franco and Salazar. These two men had got rid of all those people who wanted to mess around with Christian values. That is why he was for a time the deputy chairman of the Anglo-Spanish group, which tried to make Spanish fascism more acceptable to the British public.

In 1954 he even left his beloved Bermondsey to go to Angola where he was able to report that Portuguese fascism was doing a good job of keeping the natives in order, as Mellish said he 'saw no signs of repression'.

For his honest and candid defence of catholic standards the Roman church made him a Knight of St Gregory.

He has done a lot for local people hasn't he?

Too right. He gave his support to a call for the release of Charlie Richardson who is a home-grown south Londoner who made torture a profitable profession. In the fifties he favoured the release of one 'scareface' Parsons. Maybe 'scareface' was a hoodlum and a gangster, but as Bob



Bob Mellish — local lad made good

knew he was a local lad, which is more than you can say for all these immigrants.

Mellish is not like those dogmatic socialists of the left. Surely he believes in the mixed economy and not all that nationalisation?

Quite right. Bob has been prepared to befriend any person trying to get the economy going. He was a big mate of Oliver Cutts who made a fortune by developing property in Bermondsey and Deptford. Cutts used to treat Bob to a meal twice a week at the Savoy. He even put up £4000 of the £7000 that the Mellish family needed to buy their pad in Deptford.

When Bob's eldest son was 21, Cutts spent £280 on his birthday party, but Cutts did not like the cake so he destroyed the caterer's car - that's what I

call having a loyal friend!

Eventually Mellish got Cutts an MBE. However the courts convicted Cutts of malicious damage, perjury and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice, so a lovely friendship came to an end.

But surely Bob Mellish kept on trying to make the mixed economy work?

Oh, he was not easily discouraged. He was a friend of T Dan Smith, the architect John Poulson, and the property tycoon Sir Eric Miller. Unfortunately Mr Smith and Mr Poulson were given free board and lodgings by the Queen, and Sir Eric blew his brains out before he too was taken to a state hotel. You see poor Bob was let down by his friends again.

Unlike those lefties Bob Mellish is not a sectarian, he will work with

anyone for the common good eh?

Most definitely. In January 1962 he started a company with a Sunderland Tory MP called Paul Williams. For a fee this company was willing to act as industrial peacemakers. Again Bob's motives were misunderstood, and the suspicious members of the Sunderland Labour Party kicked up a fuss about him working with a die-hard Tory who later became chairman of the Monday club, so Bob had to pull out.

Well you have to admit that Bob Mellish has done a lot to house Londoners, that's something you can't deny.

You are right there. When he is parliamentary secretary to the ministry of housing he

worked really hard to promote the industrial building of tower blocks. But things went wrong. Within 14 years a lot of these estates were being pulled down. However Bob is an honest man and he admitted that building these blocks was 'an appalling blunder'. Who else would own up to the

wastage of millions of pounds of public money and to sticking people in homes that started to fall down around the inhabitants ears?

Well readers, you can see the record of Bob Mellish speaks for itself. Would you buy a second-hand Labour candidate from this man?

## More rather than less support for Tatchell in Bermondsey

By Jane Kelly

BOB MELLISH got out of the Labour Party before his local party in Lewisham kicked him out. The revelations in the press about Mellish's past has strengthened the determination of the local party to re-select Peter Tatchell as their parliamentary candidate.

Although the timetable for Bermondsey's selection conference has not yet been agreed, Mellish could resign his seat before the endorsement of Tatchell if it suits him. Mellish is no longer in a position to twist Foot's arm, nor can he persuade the Labour Party to keep on attacking Tatchell, and it looks almost certain now that Tatchell will get endorsed by the Labour Party national executive.

But it is on the cards that either Mellish, or a candidate with his support, will stand as an independent against

Labour. Names being touted are, Coral Newman — the independent Southwark councillor, who Mellish supported in the local government elections, or John O'Grady who is the ex-leader of the Southwark council and is still in the Labour Party.

Support for Mellish is now restricted to two wards and he badly needs a tacit agreement with the SDP/Liberal Alliance, which would make sure the anti-Tatchell vote is not split. This is however a tough proposition. Although the SDP likes the politics of Mellish, the local Liberals are not at all happy about him and his record.

Over the last months the Bermondsey left and Tatchell have been out campaigning and working in the area. In the last seven months Tatchell has visited over 4000 homes, and has had a great response. He has fought against the closure of St Olaves hospital and is bitterly opposed to the idea of it being used as a centre for police riot training.



# Stop the missiles

## STOP THE MISSILES IN '83

# Support the YCND march

By Redmond O'Neill

**IN 1983 the first Cruise missiles are due to arrive in Britain from the USA. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher will have no second thoughts about trampling on the wishes of millions of people, expressed through mass demonstrations in Britain and throughout Europe.**

For all those who stand for nuclear disarmament, 1983 will be a decisive year. Youth CND are campaigning to make 1983 the year when the mass movement against the missiles shows its teeth.

That is why they are organising a four-day youth march for 'Jobs not Bombs' to this year's Labour Party conference in Blackpool.

Already the march has won wide support. It is backed by the National Committee of YCND; the North West Region of the TUC; the Lancashire Association of Trades Councils; Labour CND; and a large number of Labour MPs including Tony Benn — together with many Labour Party and trade union bodies.

### Ignore

The August meeting of the NC of the LPYS will also be giving sponsorship of the march 'sympathetic consideration'. Why has this event taken off so dramatically? Simply because it fits into the burning need to take a new step forward in the scale and power of the mass movement against nuclear weapons.

It is already clear that Thatcher will ignore opinion polls and that even demonstrations of a quarter of a million are not yet enough to stop the missiles. In 1983 what will

be necessary is united action of the most powerful organisations in British society — the trade unions and the Labour Party.

It was the Labour Party's demonstration in June 1980 that started off the mass movement against the missiles in Britain. Since then this movement has grown to involve the biggest demonstrations in Europe since the Second World War. In July this year the demonstration of over one million people against nuclear weapons was the biggest political demonstration in US history.

### March

The message of Youth CND's march to this year's Labour conference will be: 1983 is the year when resolutions for unilateralism must be turned into decisive action by millions of workers and youth.

The Labour party and trade union leaders have the power to stop Thatcher's war-mongering government in its tracks. We'll be marching to say: 'now is the time to use this power'.

Youth CND will be marching hand in hand with the LPYS on this march because you have to stand together for a nuclear-free future.

Within the Labour Party and trade unions,

youth whose future is at stake, have a special right and responsibility to have their voices heard against nuclear re-armament and war-mongering.

This of course is exactly why the witch hunt organised by the right wing of the Labour Party and the trade unions is aimed not only at the left but also against the youth wing of the Party.

### Opinions

It is the youth who will be the cannon-fodder in future editions of the Falklands war. It is youth whose future is at risk on the tightrope of the nuclear arms race. These youth will be the most determined fighters against those who threaten their annihilation.

They will be the first to take a stand against any sell-out by a Labour government.

There is a debate within CND about how to stop the missiles. This march will point in the direction of mobilising the ranks of the Labour movement against this Tory government and for a government committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The war mongers won't be disarmed by 'sitting in' at missile bases, still less by picking the missiles up and lobbing them into the sea, as some 'direct actionists' seem to think.

So the youth march will be supporting those who will fight at this Labour Party conference for a manifesto commitment for unilateral nuclear disarmament. For the

right wing witch-hunters like Healey, Foot and Shore such a commitment would be a disaster. The SDP split the party precisely because they understood that the bankers of the City of London and Wall Street will throw everything they've got into blocking such a Labour government from coming to power.

For the Labour Party right wing the only conceivable Labour government is one that gets its stamp of approval not from the ranks of the labour movement but from the City and Fleet Street.

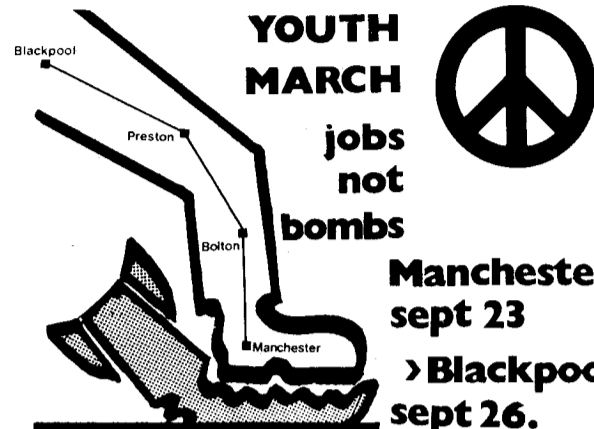
So they are trying to drive out those who want a fighting Labour Party, one that organises all-out action against Cruise and

Trident in '83 and commits itself to scrap all nuclear weapons as soon as it comes to power.

The youth march is part of the fight to stop the witch-hunters. It will start from Manchester on the morning of 23 September and pass through Bolton, Chorley and Preston, arriving in Blackpool on Sunday 26 September.

Along the route Labour Parties, TUs and CND groups will be organising receptions, public meetings and social events. In Blackpool the marchers will join the Labour CND march on Sunday, and lobby conference delegates on the Monday.

Money is needed to finance the march. Trade union and Labour Party branches should be ap-



### How you can help:

- 1 Participate as a sponsored marcher.
- 2 Ask your trade union, Labour Party, CND group, club or community organisation to send a delegation onto all or part of the march.
- 3 Get them to sponsor one or more marchers at £25 each.
- 4 Distribute leaflets and other publicity for the march in your area.
- 5 Take part in the events organised where the march passes through your area.
- 6 Arrange meetings to publicise the march and its aims, invite a speaker to your organisation (YCND will provide speakers).
- 7 Arrange transport to the Labour CND demonstration in Blackpool.
- 8 Join CND.

Leaflets, collection sheets, details of the march itself and speakers, can be ordered from the March offices at the address below. Please fill out the order form.

I/We (name/organisation) .....  
Address .....  
Tel. No .....

- Please send me:
- Details of how I can participate as a marcher
  - leaflets, £1 per 100. £\_\_\_ enclosed
  - Acknowledge of the enclosed donation of £\_\_\_
  - Acknowledge of receipt of £\_\_\_ enclosed to sponsor marchers. £25 per marcher
  - collection sheets
  - A speaker on (date) Details enclosed
  - More information

Please make cheques payable to: Greater Manchester YCND.  
Return to: Greater Manchester YCND, 48 Swindon Close Gorton, Manchester. Telephone: 061-236 4905.



## 'Nuclear war, practical option' - Reagan

By Brian Grogan

**THE REAGAN administration now consider nuclear war to be a 'practical option'. A recent Pentagon plan leaked to the Los Angeles Times overturns all previous ideas and proclaims the US 'capability of winning a protracted war against the Soviet Union'.**

The plan provides for:  
\* 20 million US dead.  
How many are projected for the Soviet Union and the rest of Europe is not revealed.

\* A nuclear war fought over a period of 6 months. £11.5bn has already been committed to provide a communications system that could endure such a war.

The explicit idea is that such a war with such casualties and destruction could still end with one side the victor 'with enough of its resources and population to start again'.

In reaction to the revelation of this plan many commentators have declared such a policy to be 'mad' or 'insane'. Of course this is true from the point of view of ordinary

people. But for Reagan and his Pentagon planners, such thinking is the only way they see of hanging onto their privileges and power in the face of the rebellion of workers and peasants against the exploitation and oppression of their system. The lengths to which imperialism is prepared to go has been proven by the unimaginable barbarity of the Israeli rape of the Lebanon and destruction of Beirut. It is to prevent serious solidarity developing against such aggression that Pentagon plans have been elaborated.

Revealing, serious consideration of this strategic masterplan co-incided with Washington's decision to step up activity against the revolution in Nicaragua, US backed

Honduran forces have already attempted one invasion in recent weeks. According to the *International Herald Tribune*: 'The two week US Honduran operation involved US pilots, mechanics, air traffic controllers, and two US C-130 aircraft helping to transport a Honduran battalion to a new base just north of Nicaragua!'

It has now been revealed that the US is contemplating military action to destroy any MIG-17's supplied by Russia to Nicaragua. A similar US threat to destroy Russian supplied Cuban missiles almost led to nuclear war in 1962.

It is in the framework of ensuring the US's ability to intervene militarily where ever and when ever it wants that such inhuman plans are drawn up by US imperialism. It is by ensuring humiliating US defeats as with Vietnam, that we can push back their plans.



## The destruction of Beirut

'JUST BEFORE 5pm there is a barrage of artillery fire so fierce, so extensive, so positively horrifying in its intensity that (we) are stunned into silence. Building after building comes crashing down. Great flashes of fire light up the sky. A crescendo of noise like some dreadful thunder rolls across the city'. So reports the chief *Time* correspondent in Beirut William Stewart.

What has happened in Beirut has been the most concentrated destruction of a city in warfare, the most savage attack on a civilian population, since the American bombing of North Vietnam, and before that the US destruction of the city of Pyongyang during the Korean war.

The International Red Cross has claimed that 'at least 80 per cent' of the casualties are civilians. Other sources put the civilian guerrillas casualty ratio at something like 80 to one.

The extent of the Israeli air, sea and land bombardment of Beirut can be easily seen just from the figures. The death toll in Beirut is near 2000. The *Sunday Times* reports that over the past nine weeks the Israelis have hit five UN buildings, 134 embassies or diplomatic residencies, six hospitals or clinics, one mental institute, the Central Bank, five hotels, the Red Cross and innumerable private homes and office blocks.

There is absolutely no doubt that the Israelis have tried to make the whole of the population of West Beirut pay for the Palestinian presence, presumably with the aim of driving a wedge between the Muslim Lebanese and the Palestinians.

But if that was the objective, it failed.

According to William Stewart: 'Since the attacks began on Sunday there has been a remarkable transformation of opinion in this beleaguered city. Instead of desperately wanting the PLO to

leave in order to avoid further bloodshed, Lebanese civilians we talked to all over West Beirut now want to see Israel defeated'.

The butchery and calculated savagery of the Israeli attacks have been extraordinary. Apart from the random shelling of whole areas, the main aerial weapons of the Israelis have been cluster fragmentation bombs and phosphorous bombs.

The phosphorous bombs cause horrendous casualties. Fragments of phosphorous cannot be stopped from burning when they have entered the human body. For many victims of phosphorous attack nothing can be done — they just go on burning.

One widely-reported case involved twin babies killed in a phosphorous attack. Because they continued to burn they had to be placed in a bucket of water overnight. The next day they were still smouldering.

The plight of the ordinary civilians has been terrifying. The electricity and water have been regularly disconnected by the Israelis. Food is in short supply. Many civilians have suffered the tragedy of having their homes and all their belongings destroyed. Some have been forced to move to relatives homes only to see those homes destroyed as well.

Above all this mayhem hangs the threat that the lack of fresh water, the destruction and the hundreds of bodies still in the ruins of the bombed building, will create an epidemic of typhoid or cholera. The rat population of West Beirut is multiplying rapidly. A catastrophe even greater than the Israeli slaughter now threatens.

Another aspect of the Israeli barbarism has been the treatment of PLO prisoners. A French doctor has reported to the International Red Cross his eye-witness account of the summary execution of 20 PLO fighters. There are many other reports of executions and torture. Moves are afoot to establish an international war crimes tribunal to bring the full horror of the Israeli actions to the attention of world public opinion.

# COUNTER REVOLU

**THE ISRAELI invasion of the Lebanon has wreaked the most appalling destruction. The Palestinians and the Lebanese left have their backs to the wall. Should the Palestinians agree to withdraw? And what are the United States, the Israelis, the Soviet Union and the European powers up to. ROS KAPLAN argues that any Palestinian withdrawal, any agreement worked out which disarms and scatters the Palestinian resistance would be a capitulation to Israel and imperialism.**

The siege of West Beirut is now into its eleventh week. Over the last two months we have heard non-stop contradictory reports on the progress of negotiations, while the Israelis have continued their non-stop extermination campaign, cynically violating all the cease-fires with further bombing raids. What's really going on? What are the objectives of Israel and imperialism?

Israel invaded Lebanon to crush the Palestinian national liberation movement and to drive them out of Lebanon. Israel demands the evacuation of the guerrilla forces from West Beirut, where the majority are, and from the Bekaa valley in eastern Lebanon along with the Syrian forces stationed there since the civil war in 1976.

What kind of withdrawal has still to be worked out — whether an unconditional surrender and total defeat (which Israeli Defence Minister Sharon would like to see) or a phased withdrawal where the Palestinians and their allies would be replaced by a multi-national 'peace-keeping' force (mainly of French, Italian and US troops) which America and the west is working on.

In all this it is everyone's concern that the Palestinians should get out — instead of Israel! All the western powers want to see the defeat of the Palestinian revolution.

Reagan, Thatcher and even social democrats like Mitterand in France support the Israeli invasion. They have supported Israel for years in its oppression of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, the bombing campaigns it has waged against Lebanon and the Israeli invasion in 1978, the illegal annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights in 1981 ...

Their supposed 'anger' at the continuing attacks on Beirut and Israeli breaches of the ceasefires doesn't mean they've stopped supporting Israel (for example the US vetoed the Soviet-sponsored motion in the UN for sanctions against Israel) but that

the US and Western powers are becoming increasingly worried about the excesses of Israel's occupying army.

They are worried this will threaten US plans for consolidating alliances with the conservative Arab regimes, notably Saudi Arabia (potentially a new replacement to the Shah's Iran as imperialism's main police force in the Gulf area) and Egypt.

Certainly this policy of allying more closely with reactionary Arab regimes has created a split in Washington between those who favour stronger support to Israel and the European allies on the one hand and those who favour prioritising imperialist relays like Saudi Arabia and Argentina.

The split in Washington over which strategy to adopt in future foreign policy blew up over the Malvinas war and the invasion of Lebanon and led to the resignation of Haig.

Compared with their reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or the Argentinian invasion of the Malvinas, imperialism's response to Israeli's adventure has been very muted. All the imperialist powers understand that if the PLO left Lebanon the situation would be very favourable to their aims in the region.

The proposed setting up of a 'stable regime' in Lebanon means in fact a semi-fascist government of the Maronite Christians backed by their Phalangist militia; a government which will become an ally of Israel and Turkey to the north, and which will oppress all progressive forces in the country.

The silence is deafening from the reactionary Arab regimes. They are deeply worried about giving political asylum to the PLO guerrillas. This shouldn't come as a shock. Although they have used (and financed) the Palestinian liberation movement to set themselves up as great 'champions' of this cause and used the rallying call of anti-zionism and 'we're all Palestinians' to distract the workers and peasants from the fight against oppression in their own countries, they have consistently sold out the Palestinians when it came to the crunch.

For example King Hussein organised the massacres of the Palestinians in Jordan in 1970 (Black September) aided by Israel and America, and Syria intervened against the Palestinians and the Lebanese left in 1976 in the civil war.

Regimes like Syria and Jordan are well aware that the presence in future of Palestinian guerrilla forces and the thousands of refugees who will be forced to leave Lebanon with them, will create the potential for great instability inside their countries — they



could provide the catalyst for mass uprisings in countries where the regime's power rests on a minority group and where others such as Kurds, Palestinians, Shi'ite Muslims are oppressed.

The reactionary Arab rulers will undoubtedly try to prevent any effective regroupment of the guerrillas in their fight against the Zionist state. We should not deceive ourselves that asylum in Syria, Jordan, Egypt or any other Arab country will permit the Palestinians the freedom to organise and recover from this war. It will undoubtedly mean for the majority of them either imprisonment or other forms of repression, coupled with an attempt to turn them into puppets of the regime.

And what is the Soviet Union doing? The Kremlin will not risk a confrontation with the West over Lebanon. Their near-pleading in the telegrams to Washington over the escalation of fighting in Lebanon shows their embarrassment at their inability to act. This may well have lasting effects in the Middle East — the Arab workers and peasants will draw the conclusion that communism and socialism has failed — yet again — in the face of imperialist aggression.

With this in mind the oppressed masses in the Middle East could turn

## To all who refuse to capitulate

*Statement of the Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanese Section of the Fourth International*

COMRADES and Fellow Fighters,

The last days have shown to those not already convinced that the official PLO leadership was serious about seeking a way 'to surrender with honour'.

It is in fact public knowledge that this leadership is prepared to accept the principal condition of the Zionists and their American sponsors — that is, to remove the Palestinian armed presence from Beirut.

It is also obvious that new Jarash and Ajlun (1) to which the Palestinian fighters will be led if they follow the orders of the leadership to surrender will at best be a giant prison and at worst a graveyard.

We must emphasise that a very great responsibility for the present state of affairs, in which defeatist proposals are being openly or officially proclaimed, falls on the majority of the leaderships of the Lebanese national movement.

If the main fighting organisations of the national movement had adopted a firm patriotic attitude, rejecting the Zionist conditions, and insisted on keeping the Palestinian fighters in Beirut — as the Independent Masserian movement (the Murabitus) have done till now — no Palestinian leaders, regardless of their political views, would have been able to accept surrender.

However, the majority of the leaderships of the National Liberation Movement have shown that they are not only ready to countenance a withdrawal of the Palestinian resistance from Beirut but that they are even anxious to see this, and are bringing pressure to bear to assure that it is done as soon as possible, under the base pretext that it is necessary to 'save Beirut'.

Comrades and Fellow Resistance Fighters, time is running

out, and we have to begin taking measures to block the surrender before it is too late. In order to do this, we have to bring together all the parties, forces, groups, and currents that are determined to fight on to victory and which reject the shameful capitulation that an evacuation of the entire Palestinian resistance from Beirut would represent. These forces must unite around a national accord that can be the basis for a Lebanese-Palestinian Patriotic Resistance Front. Such an accord must include the following points: —

1. Rejection of all capitulationist solutions, especially a withdrawal of the Palestinian resistance from Beirut.
2. Continuation of an unrelenting struggle against the Zionist army of occupation, denying it a moments respite, making it pay very dearly for every moment it occupies our land.
3. Announcing the decision to oppose militarily any attempt, by the American army or the official Lebanese army, to enter Beirut in collusion with the Zionist army.

This, comrades and fellow resistance fighters, is what we think represents a genuinely patriotic platform in the present period.

A historic responsibility falls on those forces that refuse to surrender. This responsibility demands that they demonstrate their determination and join their forces for the battle in which our national destiny is at stake.

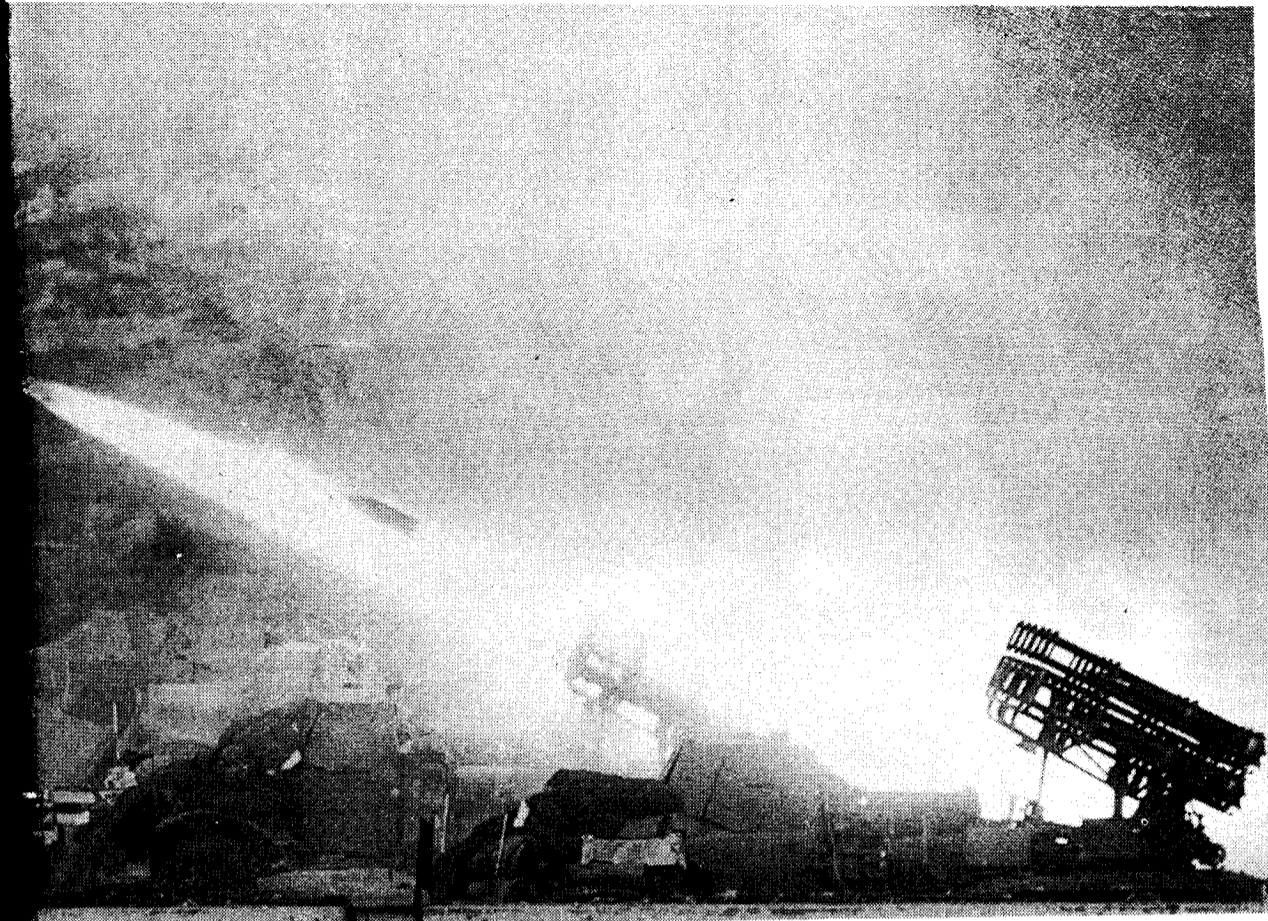
Ever onwards to the victory!  
We will win!

1. In 1970, after the resistance had been evacuated from the towns in Jordan, it was concentrated in the Jarash and Ajlun plains.





# ATION IN LEBANON



to more traditional forms of struggle, for example through religion, and this will be a serious set-back to the future socialist revolution in the area.

Out of all this, the only optimistic signs are coming from some sections of Israeli society who are joining the anti-war movement in their thousands.

The largest demo in the world against the Israeli invasion came from inside Israel when 100,000 marched in Tel Aviv on 3 July.

Although the majority of people supporting this movement are still Zionists in that they support the Zionist state, they no longer accept the government's argument that they had no choice but to launch a full scale war against the Palestinians. They believe there was a political option — that of bringing the Palestinians into the negotiations over the future of the Occupied Territories and leading on from what was started at Camp David, the possibility of a mini-Palestinian state.

But this is precisely what Begin's government didn't want. The invasion has accelerated the polarisation between the right and left-wing Zionists which has been rumbling under the surface since the last invasion of Lebanon in 1978.

The PLO pushed on by the leaders of the Lebanese National Movement

are entering into the negotiations for their withdrawal from the Lebanon. It would appear that leaders such as Arafat are trying to arrange a deal with the US where they will be given some dubious political and diplomatic concessions in return for leading their forces out of the country, as long as it looks like an honourable surrender to retain credibility with their guerrilla forces.

The Israelis are murdering civilians deliberately to put pressure on the PLO to go — and to turn the Lebanese people away from the Palestinians. But, this is now having the opposite effect, with the majority of the civilians caught up in the bloodshed in West Beirut wanting the Palestinians to stay.

The longer the PLO forces stay in the country and do not agree to evacuate, the longer Israel will be bogged down in endless indiscriminate brutal attacks while the opposition to the war at home grows and international opinion turns more and more against Israel.

The alternative is for the PLO to agree to leave and be replaced with an imperialist occupying army and the prospect of Israel occupying vast areas of Lebanon for years.

Then the plans Sharon has in store for the Palestinians in the Occupied

Territories will probably become a reality. If they win in Lebanon their attention will turn to these areas for a massive campaign to expel the majority of Palestinians and annex the area as they did with the Golan Heights.

The PLO fighters should not abandon Beirut. The opinion of the Lebanese masses in the capital is firmly on their side. To accept any imperialist plan for dispersing the resistance around the Middle East would be to put back the struggle against Zionism for decades. It may well be that if they refused to leave Beirut the PLO fighters would have to make a last ditch stand against a massive Israeli attack. Military and politically such an attack would be immensely costly for Israel. The guerrillas will certainly give a good account of themselves in hand-to-hand fighting. If they leave Beirut they are finished as a military force anyway. The task now is to prepare the basis for future military and political resistance, which cannot be done by tamely going off to the four corners of the Middle East.

International solidarity is now more than ever needed to ensure that the maximum amount of pressure is exerted on Israel, the United States and the Western powers to halt the bloody atrocities of Begin and Sharon.

## Solidarity in Britain

# Israel hands off Lebanon!

Despite the deafening silence of the labour and trade union leadership over Israel's invasion of Lebanon — the most immoral, murderous act carried out by the Zionist state to date — working people in Britain are becoming more horrified at the scale of destruction in Beirut and solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people is growing. Despite the cynical report in the Guardian that patriotism in Britain is growing — that the money raised for the Lebanon appeal was nothing compared to the funds for the Falklands and the Penlee lifeboat — we will carry on building support in the labour movement. 7,000 marched to Trafalgar Sq. on the 31 July national demo against the invasion, the largest to date in Britain. Many Labour Parties are calling public meetings and forums and Palestine solidarity groups and broad fronts against the invasion are being organised round the country.

But to organise solidarity for the heroic struggle of the Palestinians and Lebanese is no easy task — Zionism has a strong and long

standing base in the British Labour Party and the intimidation and violence against people speaking out against the Zionist invasion is growing. *Outwrite*, the feminist newspaper has had threats against them for their articles condemning Israel and many Jewish people who are bravely standing up and saying 'we don't support the Israeli aggression and being Jewish does not automatically make us Zionists' are receiving similar threats.

We strongly condemn the murder of Jewish people in Goldenbergs restaurant in Paris last week and any other acts of terror against Jewish communities around the world — they are not responsible for the actions of the Israeli government. This campaign is just disguised anti-semitism using the Israeli war as an excuse for a hate campaign against Jewish people! Such actions will only convince more Jewish people of the need for an exclusive Zionist state to get away from this. The Labour movement must support them against such acts of terror.

### Solidarity Events

**Birmingham**  
Solidarity Campaign with Palestinian People — phone (021) 643 5904 or (021) 692 1765 for details of activities.

Demo against Israeli invasion  
4 September (details later).

**Coventry**  
Demonstrate against Zionist genocide of Palestinians (Palestine Solidarity Campaign).  
Sat. 21 August. Assemble 1pm  
Edgwick Park, Soles Hill Rd. Rally  
Cathedral Sq., 3.30pm.

**London**  
Labour Committee on Palestine (LCP), open meeting 3 September, County Hall at 7pm.  
Labour Party Conference — LCP meeting at Queens Hotel, South Promenade. 28 September, 6.30pm.  
Brent East CLP public meeting, 15 September 7pm, Anson Hall, Anson Rd., NW2. Speakers, Ken Livingstone, Chris Khamis, Nira Yuval-Davis and Alf Filer.  
Palestine Solidarity Liaison Committee meets every Tuesday 6.30pm at Oxford House, Derbyshire St. E2.

**Manchester**  
Campaign for Peace in Lebanon Demo, 21 August.  
Oldham Socialist Challenge public meeting Israel out of Lebanon. 22 August 4pm, Bengali Cultural Cen-

tre, Main Rd., Westward, Oldham. Speakers include Nadir Hussein, Mr M Khan (Pres. Bangladesh Assoc.) Michael Meacher MP and James Lamond MP.

**What Socialist Challenge Supporters can do:**

- Campaign in your Labour parties for public meetings in support of the Palestinians and Lebanese people
- Push for emergency motions to the Labour National Conference demanding unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and support for the Palestinians.
- Organise factory tours/meetings in solidarity with Palestinians and Lebanese with Palestinian, Lebanese and anti-Zionist Israeli speakers. (Phone Socialist Challenge if you need help with this).
- Organise Socialist Challenge public forums and let the paper know about activities in your area.

**Who to get in touch with for national information:**  
Palestine Solidarity Liaison Committee, c/o THIS, Oxford House, Derbyshire St., London E2.  
Labour Committee on Palestine, c/o 28 Carlton Mansions, Holmleigh Rd., London N16.



## News from Israel

The anti-war movement in Israel is now into a new phase. Mass mobilisations are no longer being organised as the war drags on, but the anti-war activities are still gaining support.

A Committee Against War in Lebanon was formed by the Bir Zeit Solidarity Committee and the Women Against the War Committee. A demonstration they organised on 7 August drew 5,000 people in Tel Aviv to protest against the proposed invasion of West Beirut, and 3,000 marched on a recent Peace Now night demonstration to Begin's office in Jerusalem.

The protests are now smaller and more concentrated on specific activities. In Jerusalem last week there was a hunger strike outside Begin's office, which lasted for a week ending in a demonstration calling for an end to the war and horrors of Beirut.

Many people who participated in this were not from any political

group. In Tel Aviv a group called Women Against the Invasion of Lebanon Campaign holds pickets every Tuesday and these are supported by about 60 women each time.

In Jerusalem Women Against the War is organising a conference called 'Palestinian and Israeli women talking during war time' to be held at the end of the month.

Two significant groups of soldiers have been set up. One comprises of reserve soldiers who haven't yet been sent to Lebanon and they are demanding that they not be sent over the Green Line (Israel's 1948 borders). The other is 'Soldiers against Violence', and is made up of soldiers who have returned from Lebanon. They are demanding the resignation of Sharon and that the silence is broken inside Israel about the crimes being committed in Lebanon by the army.

## 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, Cresswell 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.

**CARDIFF:** every Sat in Bute Town 10.30-12. Also available 1-8 Books, Salisbury Road.

**NEWTOWN:** every Sat in town centre 11-12.30

**PONTYPRIDD:** SC sales every Sat outside Open Market 11-1pm.

**PORT TALBOT:** Sat 11am-1pm town centre.

**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 643-5904.

**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, Montpellier, Bristol 6.

**BURNLEY:** SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.

**COVENTRY:** SC available from Wedge Bookshop.

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD:** SC sales in Time Square, Sat 10.30-1.30pm.

**HUDDERSFIELD:** SC sold Sat 11am-1pm. The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.

**LEEDS:** Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingley Arndale Centre. Corner 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 Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.

### 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 Inn Rd; Colletts, Charing Cross Rd, WC2; Paperback Books, Brixton and

**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 12-1pm Slab 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).

**TEESSIDE:** SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.

**WOLVERHAMPTON:** SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; and Saturday near Beaties, town centre from 11am-2pm.

**YORK:** on sale every Thursday, dole office Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vamburgh 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, 5-6pm.

**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 11.30-12.30 in shopping precinct, Uxbridge.

**HOUNSLOW:** SC sold outside Hounslow East tube, every Wed 5.15-6.15pm.

**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.

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; Centerprise, 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; Tethric Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk; Shakti Books, 46 High St, Southall.

**PORT TALBOT:** McConville's Newsagent, Station Road.

**NOTTINGHAM:** Mushroom Books, Heathcote St, Hockley.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** October Books, Onslow Road.

**YORK:** Community Books, Walmgate.

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; Centerprise, 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; Tethric Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk; Shakti Books, 46 High St, Southall.

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**SOUTHAMPTON:** October Books, Onslow Road.

**YORK:** Community Books, Walmgate.

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 01-369 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.

**BADGES MADE:** Glasgow SC supporters have a badge-making machine, will make badges quickly and cheaply for your campaign/union/Labour Party — and all the money goes back into the struggle for socialism! Write for details/quotes to: SC (Glasgow), PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

**POSTERS:** Cheap, good and fast. Order from The Other Printshop, 061-236-4905.

### Socialist Challenge Events

**SOCIALIST CHALLENGE** needs a telly! Our journalists' television has broken down and our funds don't stretch to another. Vital for media scrutiny and analysis. Can you help? If you are throwing out a working television, please contact us and we will arrange to pick it up.

**WOMAN'S RIGHT** to work/Woman's right to choose badge. 25p plus 15p postage, 10-99 20p post free, 100+ 15p post free. Cheques to Cardinal Enterprises, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

**TROOPS OUT** Movement Delegation fundraising disco with the King Biscuit Disc Kil plus food. Prince Albert pub, Wharfedale Rd, London N1, Saturday 31 July, £1 (50p unwaged)

**EL SALVADOR** Solidarity Campaign meeting Thursday 12 August, 7.30pm, Star Pub, Glossop, Derbyshire

**BIRMINGHAM** rally in solidarity w. the Palestinians. Saturday 4 August 7.30pm Digbeth Civic Hall. Speakers: Ernie Ross MP, Dr Uri Davies and PLO speaker. Organised by Ad-Hoc Committee in Solidarity with the Palestinian People.



# Central America

## Mexican PRT

# 'We're the fourth largest party'

Below we reproduce an interview with Edgar Sanchez, a leader of the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) the Mexican section of the Fourth International. Sanchez explains the striking political breakthrough made by the PRT in its election campaign.

*It's more than a week now since the elections and the government has still published only fragmentary and apparently disputed results.*

Since the polls closed, a real war of figures and percentages has been raging.

The main opposition parties, including the PRT, set up facilities to total the results from a significant number of polling stations in various election districts. These totals were published quite quickly, along with estimates, based on them, of what the final outcome would be.

As for the government and the official party, the PRI, they first kept quiet. Then they offered some 'estimates', but without indicating on what specific partial results they were based. Finally, as the pressure increased and the protests multiplied, the results for some districts were given, but only for rural districts, which should take the longest to add up than for others. Needless to say, the figures given by the government were markedly different than those released by the opposition parties.

*Could you explain precisely what you are referring to?*

For the top five political formations — the others got much smaller votes — the opposition gave the following estimates. For the PRI, 60%; for the Partido de Accion Nacional (PAN—the traditional right-wing party), 25%; for the Mexican United Socialist Party (PSUM, a coalition dominated by the CP), 6%; for the PRT, 3.5%; for the Social Democratic Party, 3%.

On the basis of its 'estimates', the PRI claims 75%; it grants the PAN 15%, PSUM about 5%, and the PRT and Social Democrats 2% each. All these percentages refer to the presidential vote. The vote for the senators and deputies is much more difficult to estimate with accuracy.

*So, do you think that there was massive fraud?*

That's a tradition of the Mexican political system. There was a lot of fraud, on the polling day itself. In the state of Puebla and in the city of Puebla itself, which is one of the largest cities in the country, a lot of polls were installed an hour before the polling stations opened, without poll watchers being present. They already had

In a lot of rural districts, the PRI by itself organised the 'vote' and the 'count'. There are many other examples and other forms of cheating, both crude and 'sophisticated'. But it would take too long to list them.

*In what sort of shape is the PRT coming out of the elections?*

We now have legal status. All the political parties regard this as an accomplished fact. The government does as well, despite its refusal to release the results.

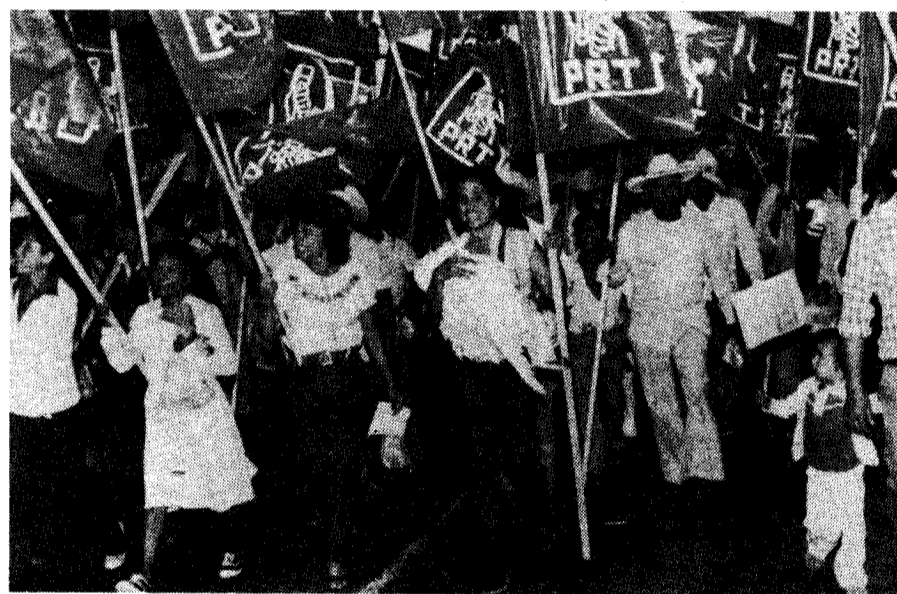
Our organisation is now considered the fourth largest party in the country. Among the manipulations going on now is the shifting of some vote to the Social Democrats, to make it look as if we are only the fifth largest. But this is basically a silly game.

The campaign not only made the PRT and its program known in the entire country. It laid the basis for a real national organisation, which in a country as large and decentralised as Mexico represents a qualitative step forward. We now have organisations in 29 of the 32 states. Innumerable nuclei of sympathisers are working with us. More than 4,000 of these sympathisers registered as poll watchers. They spent the day at the polling stations and kept scrupulous counts, which they relayed to our election offices. That is one of the most tangible signs of our increased support

Our biggest failing up to now has been our conservatism about recruiting. We have not opened the doors of the organisation wide enough for those who participated in the campaign and want to come into the party.

A lot of people today consider themselves members of the PRT whom we have not yet given a chance to become real members. They are more numerous today than the actual members of the party. The challenge that faces us in the next weeks and months is to turn this situation around, to bring these activists into our ranks.

The tasks and responsibilities that fall on us today are incomparably greater than they were before this campaign. To give impetus to the struggles of the workers and the peasants who have been hard hit by the government's policies, to represent these masses at the national level and in parlia-



Above, scenes from the PRT eve-of-poll march and rally 'for a workers and peasants government' which attracted 50,000 people. The PRT got one million votes.

ment, to build mass solidarity with our comrades in Central America, to build the party of revolutionists that the exploited people of Mexico need, for all these tasks these new forces are desperately needed.



## What is Trotskyism?



# The revolutions of 1848

John Ross continues his historical explanation of the emergence of the major forces in world politics, the essential background to the development of revolutionary marxism. This week he deals with the revolutions of 1848, the transition of the capitalist bourgeoisie from being a revolutionary class to being a reactionary class, and what Marx and Engels meant by 'Permanent Revolution'.

**By John Ross**  
**FOR 300 YEARS the capitalist class led revolutionary struggles against feudalism in Europe. Each of these went far further in its methods and international impact than the one before.**

The first successful capitalist revolution was the eighty years struggle of Holland for independence from Spain (1567-1648). This had a revolutionary impact on thinking throughout Europe. But Holland was too small a country for its revolution to shape the face of the continent.

The second capitalist revolution, the English Civil War of 1642-48, however created the state which was for two hundred years to be the most powerful in the world. It laid the basis for the industrial revolution and therefore for all modern society.

Finally the French revolution of 1789-99 was the greatest upheaval the world had ever seen. So great was its force that for more than 20 years France was able to fight the combined force of every other major state in Europe. The modern political system is very largely a product of the French revolution. The scope of its struggles was to have no comparison until the Russian revolution of 1917.

As each capitalist revolution was far stronger and more powerful in its impact than its predecessor what was more natural than to expect that the next one after

France would be more powerful still? By the middle of the nineteenth century, when Marxism was coming into existence, it was widely understood in Europe where the next bourgeois revolution would be. Germany was becoming a great economic power. But politically it was hopelessly divided into a series of small feudal kingdoms — of which the most important were Austria and Prussia.

## Strikes

The result of this contradiction between its economic and political situation was rising discontent in Germany which burst into political activity in 1817 and 1830.

By the 1840s a farming and trade depression was leading to rising social clashes. This included in 1844 a major revolt by the weavers of Silesia — one of the first mass working class struggles in history. This in turn led to working class strikes and demonstrations in Berlin, Prague, Breslau and other cities.

Marx was therefore expressing an opinion that was not just his own when he wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* in

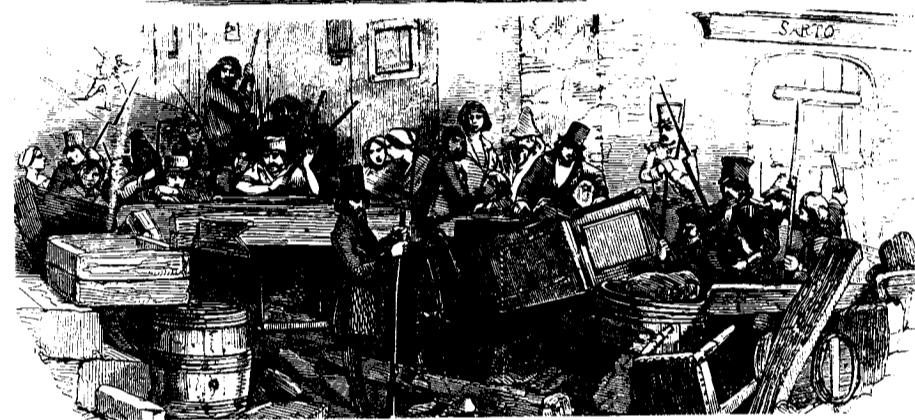
January 1848 that, 'The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but a prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.'

## Manifesto

Marx's view of a developing German revolution was rapidly confirmed. A month after the writing of the *Communist Manifesto* the population of Paris rose in revolt against the monarchy, sparking off a vast revolutionary wave throughout Europe — and in particular in Germany, Austria and their possessions.

In five days of street fighting in Milan from 18-22 March 1848 the Austrian armies were defeated by the population and driven out of the most important north Italian possessions they then ruled. Rioting in Vienna led to the resignation of the Austrian chancellor Metternich on 13 March. In Hungary, then part of the Austrian empire, the parliament adopted laws for self-government in March 1848 and war broke out with Austria in September. From 15-21 March mass rioting raged in Berlin.

In short the revolutions of 1848 started on a vastly greater scale, precisely because of their international scope, than any



Barricades and debates in 1848

capitalist movement seen before. The revolution seemed to be moving towards its logical culmination when on 18 May 1848, the first all German capitalist parliament in history met in Frankfurt. It adopted a constitution for a German state in March 1849.

In these struggles of 1848 the capitalist class even at the beginning hesitated and vacillated.

For example it did not proclaim a Republic but offered the crown of Ger-

many to king Frederick William of Prussia.

However this kind of hesitation had happened at the beginning of other capitalist class had produced revolutionary leaders such as Cromwell and Robespierre who had called massive revolutionary actions, and utterly destroyed the power of feudalism.

This pattern of revolution also seemed to be developing in Germany when in September 1848 armed insurrection broke

out in Frankfurt. This was followed in October 1848 by a mass armed uprising in Vienna which drove out the army and liberated the city.

But now at the decisive moment the capitalist class did absolutely the opposite to what it had done in previous revolutions. Instead of leading the revolutionary struggles the capitalist class sabotaged and crushed them.

In Frankfurt the capitalist parliament called in the feudal armies of

Prussia and Austria to crush the insurrection.

This meant the capitalists delivered themselves into the hands of the reactionary monarchies. After the crushing of the Vienna uprising the 'German Parliament' in Frankfurt absolutely refused to organise any serious resistance or any solidarity at all. At the very moment when the Prussian monarchy was preparing its armed forces to physically smash the revolution it only allowed passive resistance to be used. Emboldened by this capitulation the Prussian monarchy acted to crush resistance throughout its territory.

## Change

Finally when in May 1649 the king of Prussia refused the crown of Germany offered to him by the Frankfurt Assembly the capitalist representatives simply gave up and dispersed.

A completely new historical situation had therefore developed. In previous struggles the capitalist class had vacillated on small actions but taken massive revolutionary action on the most decisive issues. Now the reverse had happened. The capitalist class was prepared to take action on limited questions. But on the most decisive ones it would now capitulate.

This was a total reversal of the previous role of the capitalist class. It marked the ending of its position as a revolutionary force. This change was only to be confirmed by later events. It was on the basis of this new situation that the theory of permanent revolution was developed by first Marx and then Trotsky.

## Standard Oil versus Sandinistas

From Andy de la Tour in Managua

**OUR LAST DAY in revolutionary Nicaragua. We visit the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation, the CST, to buy as many books, posters and badges as we could carry. In the reception area enormous pictures of Marx, Engels and Lenin look down on us.**

One of the CST comrades gives us a copy of a leaflet run off that morning. At 4pm there is a picket of the privately owned Esso refinery on the outskirts of Managua. There is a struggle going on over unionisation. The management in line with the company's international policy are trying to set up a 'company union'. The workers want the CST recognised in the plant.

Tired as we all are from a hectic two weeks there is no question of not going down to show solidarity. When we arrive the 200-strong crowd is in full voice. Speeches, interrupted every half minute by militant slogans, denounce the role of the management — also accusing it of manufacturing a fuel shortage which has forced petrol rationing to be introduced.

We are warmly welcomed, and a Spanish-speaking comrade is invited to address the crowd. Two minutes of



May Day rally in Managua

his militant speech are shown that evening on national television.

What distinguishes this scene from familiar scenes in England is that this one is addressed by a representative of the government: 'We will not tolerate this nest of counter-revolutionaries. This govern-

ment represents the workers and we warn Snr. MacDonald (the senior plant manager) and the rest, that if we respect private property here today they cannot be sure that we will do the same tomorrow'.

A better experience could not have been learned by us to understand the

knife-edge upon which sits the strained relations between the Sandinista government and the private industrial sector.

There is a virtual investment strike going on in the private sector. 'It is becoming impossible' says a representative of the International Relations

Department 'to develop good relations with the bourgeoisie when they sabotage production and destabilise the economy, and at the same time respond to the demands of the popular sector'.

And we know what the demands of the 'popular sector' are. They are for socialism of that there is no doubt. The workers have no illusions in the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, as on dozens of occasions they have shown in struggles in the factories and in the streets.

But the crunch is coming — the private sector knows that the government is not making idle threats about nationalisations, confiscations or imprisonment. At the same time it is sabotaging production and refusing to collaborate with the Sandinistas in any way. In short it is waiting for the counter-revolution from outside the country to win. The fight for economic power is taking place on the Honduran border. If the army of the Nicaraguan masses can defeat the armed counter-revolution then the days of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie are numbered.

At the end of the demonstration outside the refinery the CST leader again thanks us for being there. 'Long live proletarian internationalism!' the whole crowd shouts, and for five minutes there were hugs and embraces all round. A more moving experience we are not likely to have for many years.

# 'Otherwise, they're the same as other men!'

By Jane Kelly

**'YOUNG RAPISTS'** on LWT Sunday 15 August set out to answer the question: 'Who are they, why do they do it and what should be done with them?' Particularly when discussing the first and last questions, the programme had some interesting things to say. Contrary to the general myth, the majority of rapists are not older persons, but are between 16 and 25 years old. Also the idea that long prison sentences are an effective punishment or deterrent was squashed.

A comparison between 20 men convicted and imprisoned for rape, with 20 men found not guilty, showed that the same number in each group would commit another sexual crime. The programme came down on the side of individual or group therapy as the answer to rape.

At least the stereotype of the middle-aged, tall, dark, bearded rapist draped in a long mackintosh who should be sent down for life was laid to rest. This useful evidence is a counter to those who call for long prison sentences for rapists and it also counters the claim that only 'abnormal' men commit rape.

Unfortunately this initially progressive slant to the programme was undermined by the answers given to the middle and central questions 'Why do they do it?'. Despite the fact that their own statistics showed most rapes are committed by ordinary men, of the three rapists they interviewed, it was on the 'abnormal' Peter the programme focussed on. So we do not find out why ordinary typical men commit rape, like 'men who

lose touch with reality and convince themselves that their victim is willing to have sex with them'; men who feel guilty afterwards; men who even ask for their victim's telephone numbers afterwards and others who actually ask for another date afterwards.

Peter, one of the minority with sexual problems was the centre of the programme. Described as socially inadequate, but not as dangerous or disturbed, as the stereotype would have us think, Peter explained how, with the help of a prison psychiatrist he had started to understand his problems in relating to women as being a product of a sexually repressed childhood. He explained how his mother had scrubbed '... us with a scrubbing brush and wacked us both with it ...' when he had been playing doctors and nurses as a six year old. He told how therapy had enabled him to start relating to women and to keep his fantasies to his head and to 'control his urges'.

Married now and aged 31, his wife goes nearly everywhere with him and

while he still has fantasies of 'stroking, touching and rubbing up against women' he stops himself carrying out what he correctly describes as sexual assault.

But here is the problem. Peter is presented to us as a statistical minority (imprisoned twice for sexual crimes) — abnormal — but what he describes as wanting to do to women is only what all men fantasise about, and what a good many of them do every day, on buses, on the tube, at work, and on the street.

Ignoring their own statistics that shows rape is committed by ordinary men, the picture the programme presents is the rapist who is 'different' like the Cambridge rapist who was described as 'a real psychopath', the Yorkshire Ripper characterised as 'the prostitute hater' to the 'socially inadequate' Peter the question of the ordinary man committing rape is ignored.

In a programme of 40 minutes length only two minutes was given to a discussion of the social issues involved. These were two important minutes. They included a short interview with Carol Topolski from the Canterbury Rape Crisis Centre who defined the problem as one of male attitudes to sex and women. She explained it in the context of how men and women see themselves and of how sexuality is defined in

society. The other part was comments from two sixth form pupils who also described the crime of rape as a problem of sexual pressures and attitudes based on domination and oppression.

The other time that the programme showed that the problem had something to do with the position of women was when it showed two adverts, one for Elbeo tights, the other for Rest Assured Beds with: 'We can improve your night life' written on an image of a woman between pink satin sheets.

But such comments and clues were rare. Finally any progressive message that might have come out of the programme was smothered by the two closing remarks, again by two sixth formers. One asked: 'Is it really rape if you know the man?' The other said: 'If a girl accepts a lift and eggs the bloke on, then it's not fair to punish the bloke.'

The programme just did not explain that rape is a socially produced crime and that rape is the logical extension of the relegation of women to a position where they are secondary to men. It never explained that rape is the result of a society which oppresses women in every aspect of their lives, as sisters, as mothers, as workers, as lovers, as wives. Nor did it explain that rape is the inevitable result of a society



which does not recognise the crime within marriage!

In the end 'Young Rapists' was a hypocritical film, which although exposed as stereotyped the preconceived ideas of the rapist — ideas which are to some extent created by the media itself — it replaced them with a set of ideas which placed the problem within the individual

psyche of men who can be cured of this 'one abnormality' by a session of therapy. This hypocrisy was driven home by the adverts shown before, during and after the programme. These as usual showed women as stupid, nagging, narcissistic and sexually provocative. Probably the adverts showed us more about the problem we face than the pro-

gramme did. Perhaps the most useful thing to come out of the programme was when Peter explained he 'would have run a mile' if his victim had turned around and said: 'Look you little pervert go away. She didn't, she just asked him not to hurt her. At least his remark gives the lie to the usual advice of don't fight back.'

## Rich man, poor man, policeman, thief?

By Bob Pennington

Last week the press were pestering Sir Thomas Hetherington, director of public prosecutions to find out if he had been 'moonlighting' on *The Observer*. Of course Sir Thomas and his press office did not want the other newspapers to think that he favoured *The Observer* so he flatly denied the story. In fact they issued four statements in all and it was only the last one that did admit he had been helping out with the odd article.

Why people should attack the director of public prosecutions for giving up his Saturday nights, without making any claim for working unsociable hours, beats me. Arthur Hambleton, the copper who was in charge of countryman even insinuated it undermined his enquiries when the article he helped out on, claimed countryman would be 'an embarrassing and expensive failure' which would only net a 'few minnows'.

Well Hambleton might be right, but he must realise that any undermining of Countryman involved big savings in public expenditure. Surely he realises what it would cost to prosecute the majority of the Metropolitan police force, and the mind boggles at the money needed to keep them all in jail.

All this publicity about the public prosecutor, the allegations made about the Yard top brass and even hints that the Home Office were not

too keen on the Countryman enquiries, is undermining the new methods our police have perfected to counter crime.

And we have real proof that these methods are working. Two weeks ago on Granada Television's *World in Action* programme, Alf Sheppard a London criminal admitted the police were defeating the thieves.

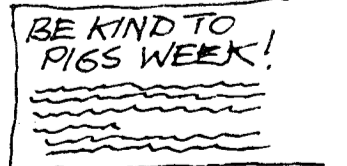
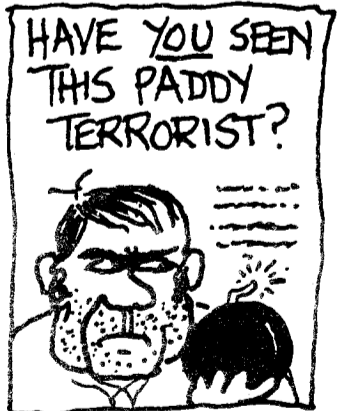
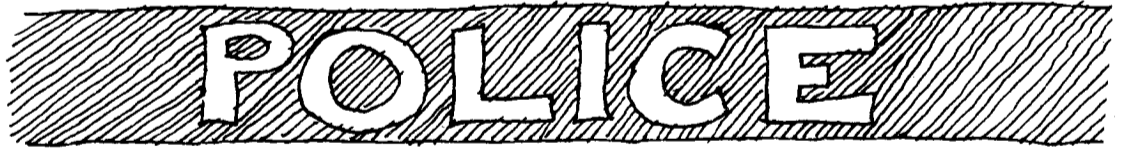
He said some police officers had become so greedy that crime was becoming unprofitable. 'If you looked at it sensibly, all you were doing was working for the police to give them a lion's share of what you were getting,' was Alf's sad comment.

A source close to the police tells us that this has nothing to do with so-called greed, or corruption. According to him if you nick the loot from the thieves and they do not get any profit they will mend their ways and stop stealing!

Even these drastic measures can't completely eliminate crime. But the police have also perfected quite radical techniques for keeping it under control. Alf Sheppard told how Chief Inspector Cuthbert from the City used to help thieves to set up robberies, and how he kept other police away from the area — this was done of course to protect other policemen and to make sure that they were not subjects of violence. The police also escorted the robbers away with their loot and their guns, this sensible practice was adopted to protect innocent citizens.

By using these methods the City police made sure they knew what jobs were going to get done, crime was kept under a form of police-control and better relations were established between the police and the criminal community, which is after all what liberals have been demanding for years.

Now all this painstaking work is being put in jeopardy, if we are not careful our jails will be full of police, if some fanatics get their way. Then who is going to maintain law and order for Mrs Thatcher?





# Labour Gay Rights Conference

By Peter Purton

**TWO CRUCIAL decisions were taken by the 60 participants in the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights (LCGR) Annual conference in Nottingham on 24 July. After a sharp debate, LCGR voted overwhelmingly to have nothing to do with the NEC's proposed register of organisations, and to ally with other bodies which also refuse to register.**

The main question the Campaign has to answer was how to respond to the positions on Gay rights which have been taken by the NEC as part of Labour's programme to be voted on at LP conference. The original proposals from a NEC sub-committee had called for full equality in law and an end to all discrimination

against gays. Despite some weaknesses, particularly the absence of any consideration for the problems which lesbians and young gays face, the adoption by the Party of these recommendations would have been a big advance in the fight for gay rights.

However, the 'right wing' of the NEC backed by Foot and Kinnoch suc-

cessfully reduced the programme to a set of patronising and contradictory proposals.

On the positive side, the new Programme will commit Labour to legislation to outlaw discrimination in employment on grounds of sexual orientation, and to amend the 1956 Act on soliciting to remove the present bias against gays. Set against this, and in contradiction to the Programme's stirring proclamations of its commitment to full equality, is the proposal to reduce the age of consent for gay men from 21 to 18, rather than 16 as for

heterosexuals. In doing so the Labour Party is telling gay men that they are not really equal — and that the Party is afraid to turn rhetoric into action for electoral reasons.

The new proposal is discriminatory and unacceptable to gays. At the same time, it is better for the Labour Party to have at least a commitment to legal equality for gays, and to ending discrimination, than to have no policy at all. The LCGR will therefore be fighting for policy to be adopted, while also taking advantage of the contradictions in the programme to raise the issues

of gay rights more widely in the LP and trades unions. There is to be a fringe meeting at the Conference, with Joan Lestor, Ken Livingstone and Peter Tatchell speaking.

Perhaps the most important thing to emerge from the LCGR conference was the understanding that gay people are not yet strong enough to win their fight in the LP. It is necessary to win the support of the rest of the Left of the Labour Movement. Will the Left respond?

The LCGR can be contacted c/o 61a Bloom St, London.

## Tory campaign against Irish voters

By Niall Power

**IN THE ATMOSPHERE following the war in the South Atlantic and with the added impetus of the recent London bombings as an excuse, the Tory Government and its Fleet Street Press are attacking enemies a bit nearer home.**

One newspaper recently devoted a page headlined 'One Man, Two Votes' suggesting that the Irish in Britain could vote twice, once in each country. This, and other fabrications, are being used in a clear attempt to divide the working class.

It is very likely that the Tory Party Conference this year will call for a disenfranchising of the Irish in Britain; more importantly however, the matter will be looked at by an all-party Commons Select Committee.

There are almost as many Irish citizens living in Britain as in the Irish Twenty-Six Counties itself. The figure reaches eight million if you add those entitled to be Irish citizens. And the suggested aim is to force these people, seen particularly prone to disloyalty to this

state, to 'choose' Britain or be edged out. It is the same process that is underway with a different section of the working class by means of the new Nationality Act.

But the problems surrounding these plans are many: are Irish citizens in Northern Ireland (a large proportion of the nationalist population there) to lose their vote too? What about Irish citizens born in Britain? Would the Dublin Government give the right of postal vote in Irish elections to any newly disenfranchised Irish in Britain?

From the early years of the arrival of the Irish to Britain in the last century they had traditionally voted Liberal. This was because the Liberal Party, in particular under Gladstone, was seen as the

most sympathetic to Home Rule. With the growth of the Labour Party in this century, however, the Irish united with the great bulk of the working class and shifted its loyalty to Labour. Indeed without the millions of Irish votes a Labour Government today would seem very unlikely.

It has been a loyalty too much taken for granted since, which makes it all the more vital for a fight to be waged by the Labour Party not only in defence of the basic democratic right of the Irish in Britain, but also for the Party to launch a campaign now around the one main issue that will keep their support with Labour in the future — the removal of British military and political presence from Ireland.

One group that will certainly be fighting the proposals is the newly formed 'Irish in Britain Representation Group'. With branches sprouting

all around Britain, it is a much needed development among the Irish Community being a pressure group that sees the need not to be limited by purely sporting or social activities, but to develop a

broad political campaigning role too. Thus it organises against the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act, against anti-Irish jokes and now in defence of the right to vote.

## Birmingham's Other Bookshop

*Birmingham's Other Bookshop is one of the foremost stockists of left wing literature in the West Midlands. We stock a wide range of books, pamphlets, journals, periodicals and papers, covering Marxism, Socialism, Feminism, Labour History, international events, economics, politics, theory, nuclear energy, nuclear disarmament etc. We also stock badges, posters, postcards, diaries and calendars. If you live in the West Midlands, or are visiting, why not come and visit us?*

**We're at 137 Digbeth, Birmingham — just a couple of minutes walk from the Bull Ring. Telephone (021) 643 5904.**

## Socialist Challenge FUND DRIVE '82

### A marathon effort for Socialist Challenge

*One of our Birmingham supporters is making a supreme personal effort to help the finances of Socialist Challenge — but to do it he needs your help.*

*Steve Faulkner will be running in the September 'People's Marathon' in Birmingham to raise money for the paper. Steve will be making a determined attempt to complete the full 26 miles of the course. But to make his effort worth while, you have to sponsor him for so much per mile — and get others to do the same. A mere 5p per mile will raise £1.30p if Steve holds out that long.*

*Steve is doing his bit to help us, so we ask all our supporters to swing in behind the 'Red Trotter' and get the sponsorship rolling in. Write with sponsorship and for forms to SCD, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.*

#### Fund drive '82

Portsmouth	£ 44.00	Brent readers	11.00
Islington	10.00	'In memory of Lewis Davis'	25.00
Nottingham	20.00	Newport	6.00
MB, RTD	30.00	Camden	30.00
Exeter	30.00	Oxford	101.00
Newham	39.00	Glasgow	2.50
Southampton	5.00	Brighton	5.00
Bath	5.05	Haringey	17.00
Leeds	134.00	Middlesborough	1.00
Brent	100.00	Sheffield	10.00
Wardle	4.00	Wandsworth	2.00
Lambeth	60.00	Newcastle	51.00
Rotherham	11.00	Standing Orders	59.50
Blanco White	40.00		
Liverpool	40.00		
Cardiff	18.50		
Hackney	218.50	<b>Total</b>	<b>£2856.74</b>

## Demonstrate for David Kitson

**DAVID KITSON** was arrested in South Africa in June 1964. He has been in prison ever since, accused of being a supporter and military leader of the African National Congress.

He was sentenced in September 1964 and has been incarcerated by the South African regime ever since. His conditions in jail are getting worse, and he is suffering from bronchitis.

His family and Anti-Apartheid are organising a picket of South Africa House, Trafalgar Square on Wednesday 25th August at 1pm.

Socialist Challenge urges all its readers who are able to attend this all-day demonstration.

## Come to the ... INTERNATIONAL 'Debating Socialism' Weekend

*A weekend discussing a socialist programme for the British crisis 23/24 October, Kingsway Princeton College, Sidmouth St., off Grays Inn Rd., Kings Cross, London WC1.*

Programme includes **Ernest Mandel** on the crisis of world imperialism; **John Ross** on the break up of British politics; **Ken Livingstone**, **Francis Morrell** and **Alan Freeman** on the new Labour left; **Bea Campbell** and **Val Coultas** debating *Sweet Freedom* and *Womens Liberation*; **Mike Davis** on 'Exterminism and Cold War'; **John Harrison** on the British Economic Disaster; **Chris Harman** debates *John Ross* on the Labour Party; **Pat Hickey** debates *John Deason* on the trade unions; **Perry Anderson** and **Bernadette McAliskey** also invited.

**Book this date in your diary now. October 23/24**



Speaking at the conference. Clockwise Ernest Mandel, Pat Hickey, John Deason, Bernadette McAliskey

## New Deportation Case Defend Josie Thomas!

By Erica Barnett

**YET ANOTHER** defence campaign has been formed to prevent yet another deportation. We have seen the Jaswinder Kaur case in Leeds, Anwar Ditta in Rochdale and numerous other cases. This time the scene is set in Huddersfield where a 42-year old Grenadian woman called Josephine Thomas has been served with a deportation order.

Josephine came to Britain in 1962 and has lived and worked in Huddersfield ever since. She has four children all of whom have British citizenship. She worked at a local factory, Standard Fireworks, paid tax and national insurance and joined a trade union.

However, Josie went back to Grenada in 1974 after a family death. While she was there Grenada became independent and she automatically lost her British citizenship.

She was away longer than the permitted two years and lost the right to return to Britain. When she eventually returned to Britain she did so as a visitor and was told she must leave.

A defence campaign has been set up by the Huddersfield Action Committee against Racism (HACAR) and is supported by many local people with whom Josephine has worked. Josephine Thomas has lived and worked for 16 years in Britain. Now she stands to be deported because of a misunderstanding about the convoluted citizenship laws. We must not allow her to be deported.

Messages of support to: Josephine Thomas Defence Committee c/o HACAR, 54 Deighton Rd., Deighton, Huddersfield.

**ALAN FREEMAN**, author of 'The Benn Heresy' and **TONY BENN**, author of 'Arguments for Democracy' discuss their new books



**Thursday 2 September 1.0 until 2.15pm. Institute of Contemporary Arts. The Mall, SW1**

This discussion is organised jointly by Pluto Press, Penguin Books and ICA.

# Socialist Challenge

## LEBANON

# NO US-ISRAELI 'PEACE'!

By Phil Hearse

**IT IS NOW eleven weeks since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and nine weeks since the start of the siege of Beirut. These weeks of bloody conflict and heroic resistance have demonstrated beyond all doubt the character of Zionism and the Zionist state — expansionist, brutal and ruthless. Israel's support has never sunk so low — in the UN general assembly the Israelis were defeated by 127 votes to two.**

The resistance by the Palestinians and the people of West Beirut has been of epic proportions; this example will live on through the next generation of Palestinians and among the Arab people as a whole, and strengthen their determination to fight for the Palestinian revolution.

The responsibility for the death and destruction, for the massacre of

thousands of Lebanese, lies above all with the United States. Despite Reagan's much publicised phone call to Manachem Begin telling him to stop the bombing of West Beirut, in reality the United States has done not one single thing to put pressure on Israel.

The ending of the devastating Israeli air attacks has always been tied in Reagan's comments

with the PLO's agreement to leave West Beirut.

Demands from many countries that the Israelis not be supplied with further weapons have been rejected by the United States.

Even Reagan's phone call to Begin came in the wake of a call from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who made a thinly-veiled threat to cut off US oil supplies.

The United States' attitude is of course no surprise. Israel is imperialism's major ally in the Middle East. Whatever the US need to ally with some of the more reactionary Arab states the United States is never going to give up its alliance with Israel.



Devastation everywhere in Beirut



Ronald rings up Manachem

The major problem for the Palestinians has been the fact that they have been fighting alone. The Syrian regime has backed off from any serious confrontation with the Israelis. All the other Arab regimes have made the right noises, but not lifted a finger to give the Palestinians real support. The role of the Soviet Union has been pathetic — they have hardly bothered even to pay lip-service to the need to defend the Palestinians.

Despite their isolation the Palestinians have fought heroically. They have inflicted surprisingly high casualties on the Israelis, in the Bekaa valley as well as in Beirut, despite the total control of the skies by the Israeli air-

force. But despite the heroic and determined resistance of the Palestinian fighters, the struggle is in danger of resulting in a bitter and long-term defeat for the Palestinian revolution.

There should be no doubt that the evacuation of West Beirut, and the dispersal of the PLO fighters throughout the Middle East, and the imposition of a 'peace keeping force' of troops from imperialist countries would mean defeat not only for the Palestinians but also for the Lebanese left.

Apart from crippling the PLO as a military force, such a solution will result in the reconstruction of a Lebanese state dominated by the Phalangist Christian

militias.

A great deal of nonsense has been talked about the 'gains' which can be made by the Palestinians by turning themselves into a 'sensible' political force, rather than a military-political force. But the reality is that the political influence of the PLO has rested on its ability to deploy serious military force and to harass the Israelis.

With its militias dispersed throughout the Middle East the PLO groups will become more and more dependent on the reactionary Arab states in which they take refuge.

Of course the temptation to end the suffering and casualties among the people of Beirut is very strong. But the PLO can

best prepare the ground for continuing the struggle by staying in Beirut and fighting to the bitter end.

The lesson of all defeats is that it is immeasurably better to go down with a fight. For the Israelis to try to defeat the PLO by razing West Beirut to the ground would be to suffer a major political defeat. It would cost them heavily both in lives and political prestige. There is no guarantee that such a venture would be successful.

Do not be fooled if the PLO fighters leave Beirut as heroes, waving their Kalashnikovs — they will be going as the defeated. Their real victory would be to stay and fight to the end.

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## Solidarnosc challenges Polish bureaucrats

By Paul Lawson

**LAST FRIDAY** saw widespread rioting against martial law in many Polish towns — including Gdansk, Warsaw, Cracow and Wroclaw. Ten thousand workers marched in the demonstration in Gdansk, which after placing a wreath at the monument to those who were killed by the police in the 1970 uprising, marched to the headquarters of the Communist Party. In both Gdansk and Warsaw the demonstrators were repeatedly charged by baton-wielding police who fired tear gas and attacked them with water cannons. The workers demanded an end to martial law and the release of Lech Walesa.

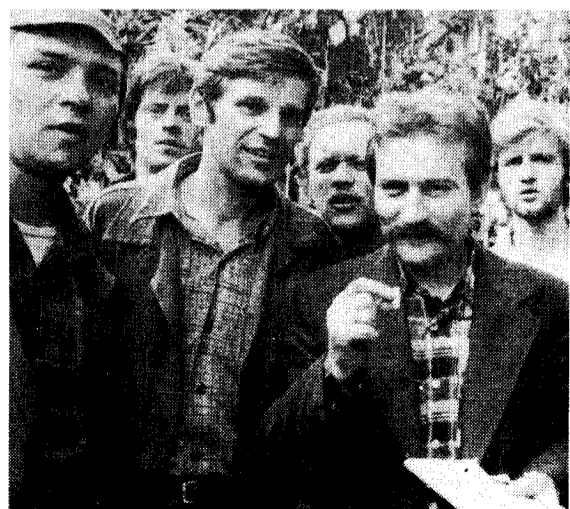
The demonstrations occurred on the second anniversary of the formation of the Gdansk inter-factory strike committee — the precursor of Solidarnosc itself. 200 people were arrested.

Last Monday police carried out widespread raids against underground newspapers and Solidarnosc leaders operating in clandestinity. The Solidarnosc leaders have called for nationwide demonstrations, leafletting, slogan painting and other acts of resistance to take place on 31 August —

the anniversary of the Gdansk agreement.

Friday's riots were followed up by peaceful demonstrations on both Saturday and Sunday in Warsaw's Victory Square, where Solidarnosc banners were unfurled.

The demonstrations on the second anniversary of the formation of Solidarnosc in themselves constitute a defeat for the regime and a victory for Solidarnosc. Nine months after the imposition of martial law the regime had hoped that the country was returning to normal-



'Release Lech Walesa' say Polish workers

ty. Over the past six weeks something in the order of 1400 Solidarnosc activists have been released from jail. The bureaucrats hoped that these 'concessions' would add to a mood of apathy and acceptance among the Polish workers.

The events over last weekend show that the

Polish workers continue to resist martial law, that the underground leadership remains intact and that support for Solidarnosc remains strong. The memory of a movement of ten million workers cannot be expunged by bureaucratic diktat

But the fact remains

that 31 August will constitute a much bigger test of strength between Solidarnosc and the authorities. If the underground resistance is incapable of mobilising a significant number of people in the streets, it will constitute a victory for the Jaruzelski leadership. Jaruzelski hopes that, aided by the Catholic hierarchy, the bureaucrats can convince the overwhelming majority that further resistance to martial law is useless and that Solidarnosc has gone for ever.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of Polish workers continue to support what Solidarnosc stood for, and want the end of martial law. But support for Solidarnosc is not the same thing as coming onto the streets. If Solidarnosc cannot mobilise literally tens of thousands on 31 August then support will dwindle. Either way, there are still major clashes to come.