

Socialist Challenge

STOP THE MISSILES



**JOBS
NOT
BOMBS**

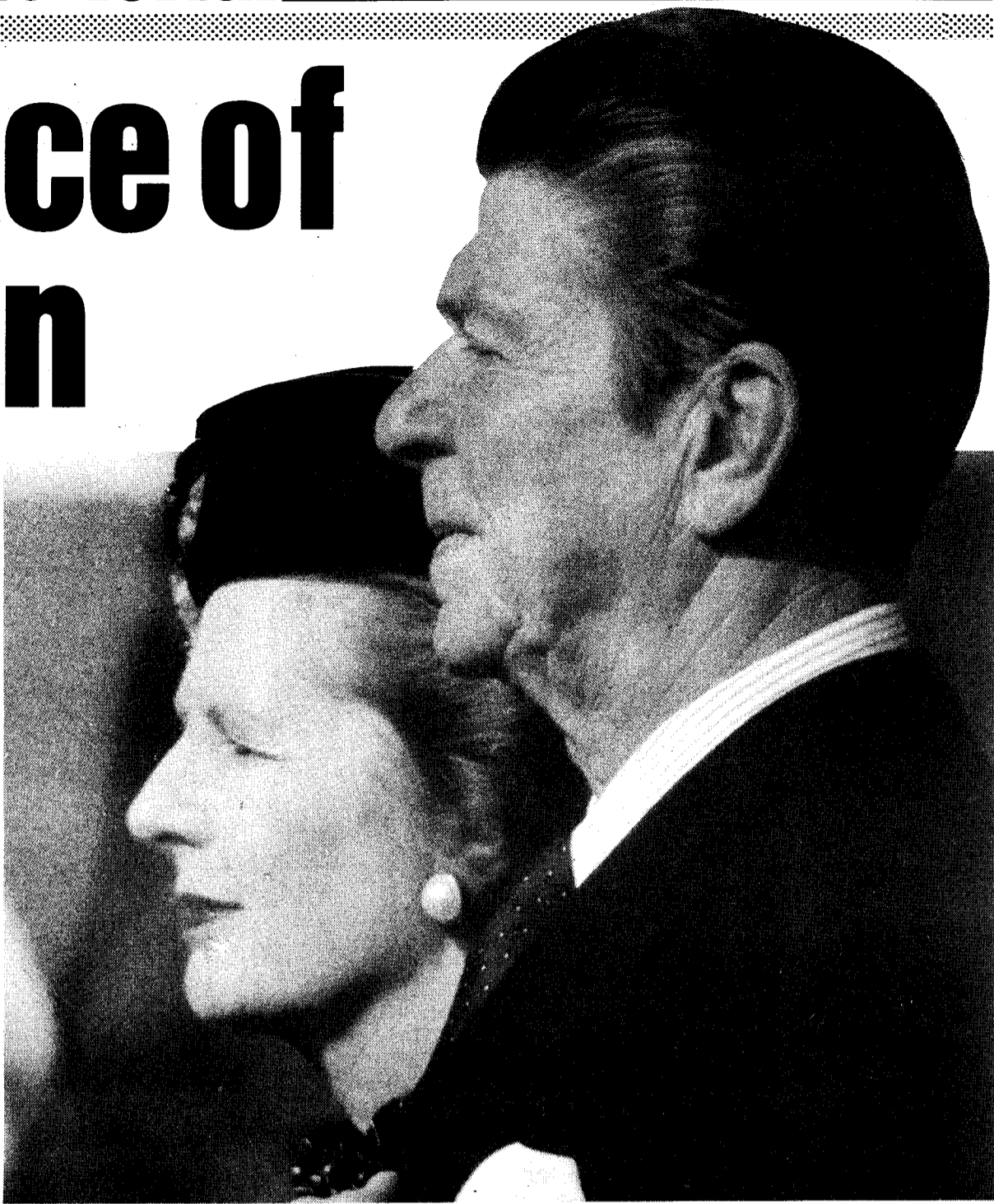
DEMO LONDON OCT 24



Why die for
Thatcher?

**STOP
THE
MISSILES!**

The real face of Tory Britain



YOU MAY NOT have heard of TINA. But TINA is the Tories' answer to all those who oppose their deadly anti-working class policies. Thatcher spelt it out again to the party faithful at last week's conference:

There Is No Alternative.

And in the last week the real face of Tory Britain has become clearer than ever. The Tories aim to carry out a 'fundamental shift in the balance of power and wealth' to their class: the bosses and the rich. At the same time they intend that Britain should be a front runner for NATO's grisly war machine.

Even well-known enemies of working people like Edward Heath were brushed aside by Thatcher and her cronies as too 'soft'. And BL boss Michael Edwardes was applauded by Thatcher for threatening to shut down the whole of Leyland if the workers struck for a better pay offer.

Let's look at the Tories' achievements.

On the Dole

This week's unemployment figures, while recording a fractional drop, also show the number of 'hard-core' unemployed continues to rise. All economic reports predict at least three and a half million next year and **FOUR MILLION** unemployed in 1984.

In some inner city areas unemployment is heading for 20 per cent. And thousands more young people are kept off the dole through the cheap labour YOPS schemes.

According to the government's own figures 20 per cent of all manufacturing industry has been destroyed in the current economic slump, and more will be lost in the coming year.

We are told that high unemployment and low wage settlements are needed 'to beat inflation'. Yet inflation is also expected to rise again over the coming year, eating into working people's living standards.

The Tories have slashed social spending. On housing, for instance, spending has been cut by 26.2 per cent since Thatcher took office. Cuts have not eliminated 'wasteful bureaucracy'.

They have hit those most in need: the old, the sick and the poor. Their plans to tax the pitifully inadequate social security handouts, having cut the higher levels of income tax, shows their real targets.

On the make

Now the Tories are turning their attention to the nationalised industries. In Parliament last Monday they revealed the 'biggest programme of privatisation ever brought before Parliament': selling off the British National Oil Corporation (BNOC) entire oil producing business and the British Gas Corporation (BGC) offshore oil business, as well as ending the BGC monopoly right to purchase North Sea natural gas.

Even the right wing David Owen of the Social Democratic Party denounced this free enterprise bonanza as 'purely party political dogma' designed to please the Tories' friends in big business.

The BNOC is a juicy bait for the City and business sharks. Last year it made a cool £309m profit. In the current depressed state of the market it will be sold off for a knock-down price so the Tories can lay their hand on some quick money. Those to suffer will be working people as jobs are lost and prices rise.

This is not the first denationalisation plan of the Tories. They have already split up the Ppst Office and ended its monopoly. They have threatened to sell off the Gas Corporation's hundreds of high street gas showrooms. Given half a chance they will hand back all the profitable sectors of state owned industries to their business friends.

On the warpath

While working people are asked to 'tighten their belts', the Tories have earmarked massive sums of money for the falsely named Ministry of 'Defence'. British troops are to maintain their murderous role in the North of Ireland at an annual cost of £238m.

The British armed forces will continue to play a role in NATO's war games like the recent exercise in West Germany, code-named 'Crusader'.

Most important, the Polaris nuclear submarine is to be replaced by the Trident nuclear submarine. Trident was supposed to cost £5 BILLION originally. Tory estimates now put the figure between £6 and £8 BILLION. And at the same time Britain is to become a floating aircraft carrier for the US imperialists and their Cruise and Pershing missiles.

Our alternative

But make no mistake: TINA is a lie. The alternative we propose is a *workers'* solution to the crisis: a fundamental shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of *our* class. That's why Socialist Challenge has popularised the slogan *Jobs not Bombs* as our alternative starting point to the Tories.

Three million unemployed could be wiped out through slashing the working week with no loss of pay, nationalising

under workers' control all firms creating redundancies, and a massive programme of public works financed by taking over the banks and insurance companies.

Slashing the 'Defence' budget could provide more much needed cash to create more jobs and raise living standards.

But the Tories will never implement these policies. They have to be kicked out of office. The miners showed in 1974 that nationally led industrial action can bring the Tories to their knees. The workers who have occupied to save their jobs in Gardners, and Lee Jeans have shown that a fightback can be successful. That's why support for the BL workers, and those at Laurence Scott and Staffa are so important.

And the massive campaign for nuclear disarmament can play a vital role in halting the Tories' war-mongering. We can take strength from the huge 300,000-strong recent march in West Germany and the election of a Greek government committed to pulling out of NATO's military wing and shutting down US bases.

The Tories have to be crushed in a pincer movement of mass campaigns for jobs not bombs. We have to have a Labour government committed to socialist policies: one that will guarantee full employment, renationalise those industries the Tories have hived off, and get Britain out of NATO.

Stop the missiles

WINNING THE BATTLE AGAINST THE BOMB

By Toni Gorton

THE 24 October CND demonstration will be the biggest step yet taken against the mounting missile madness that affects the leaders of the 'free' world.

As tens of thousands pour into London to speak out against Cruise and Trident, it's a useful time to map out the future direction of the movement.

The most significant development in the 18 months since CND burst back on the scene has been the dramatic events in the Labour Party which pose the possibility of a future Labour government banning all nuclear weapons.

The disarmament movement has received a real shot in the arm as union after union — the transport workers, the rail drivers, and the white collar union ASTMS — voted for Britain to unilaterally disarm.

This was capped off by both the TUC and the Labour party annual conference endorsing the unilateralist call.

The fight in the Labour Party and trade unions over the Benn challenge to Healey opened up all sorts of debates over policy within the labour movement — the nuclear arms issue being central.

The contest highlighted the need to make MPs accountable to the movement which they supposedly represent.

Labour party activists rightly argue that there is little point in fighting for party conference to adopt policies which the Members of Parliament can blithely ignore.

And the Benn-Healey fight exposed the need for democratic control over the use of the trade union vote at the TUC and



Labour's annual conference.

Following the 1980 Labour Conference the leader of the party, Michael Foot, appointed Brynmor John as shadow spokesperson on defence.

John is an ardent opponent of unilateral British disarmament. Foot could put John forward because the movement wasn't strong enough and clear enough politically to stop him.

The situation is turning now. Annual conference has adopted a unilateral policy and Brynmor John is having to consult his friends about whether he can continue to speak for Labour on nuclear arms.

The combination of a campaigning mass movement and the fight inside the Labour Party and the trade unions has undermined the manoeuvrability of the Labour leaders.

What has to happen now is that the pressure must be stepped up. The fight to control the leaders of the labour movement has to reach into every nook and cranny.

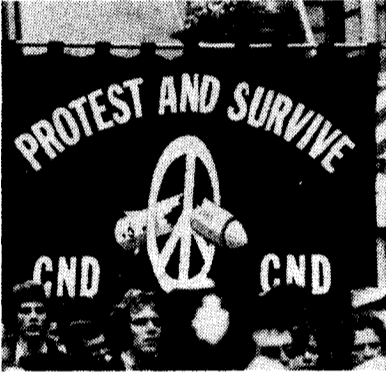
The urgency of this task cannot be underestimated. As the

Tory party fast loses credibility and support the day of the next General Election draws closer.

The next Labour government must be firmly tied to stopping Cruise, stopping Trident — to lead the rest of Europe in nuclear disarmament.

This means that in selection meetings for Labour candidates the nuclear issues must be up front.

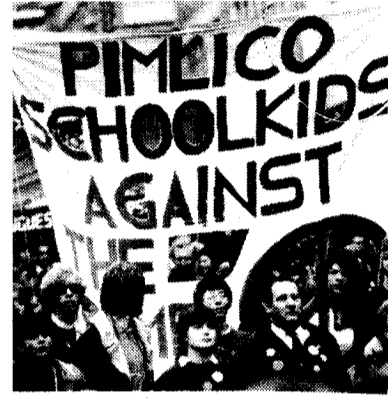
All the major trade unions, especially the engineering union, should be committed to unilateral disarmament.



This isn't a small task. It's going to need all the resources that CND has. CND has to place the labour movement at the centre of its strategy.

It has to build a movement that is centrally placed to use the energy and enthusiasm of thousands of working class youth.

It has to build a mass action campaign absolutely rooted in the working class. It cannot divert its efforts into building a middle class 'peace' movement based on the churches, and



wealthy individuals.

CND has to change its structure so as to gain a bigger individual membership and enable trades unions to move from a token support to a genuine involvement.

Workplace branches of CND should be built and model resolutions should be planned now to go forward for the 1982 trade union conference.

Labour CND must adopt a more vigorous campaigning style in the party and in the affiliated unions. Conferences like last year's Manchester Labour Movement Conference Against the Missiles should be built in all the regions.

An International Day of Action against the Missiles would provide a focus for activity during the coming year — aiming for half a million people out on the streets in Britain in simultaneous action with anti-nuclear organisations throughout Europe, Japan and North America.

CND should step up its sup-

port for Young CND and agree to YCND's call for their age limit to go up to 25 in order to allow it to reach out to young workers in the trade unions and Labour Party.

Moves to lower the age limit to 18 should be vigorously opposed.

Most of all, CND activists and all those opposed to nuclear weapons should forget any idea that MPs of any complexion are primarily persuaded by intellectual or moral argument.

The attitude of the Tory government will be only changed by millions of people making it impossible for them to continue on course. And the next Labour government will decide its policy on essentially the same grounds.

It is the expressed will of the mass of people in this country, on the streets and through their organisations, that will strengthen the hand of those like Tony Benn who seek an end to nuclear weapons and defeat those like Margaret Thatcher and Denis Healey who seek to maintain them.

CND Annual Conference will be held on 13-15 November in Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London E1.

Enquiries concerning the conference should be directed to: The conference organiser, CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ. Telephone 01-263 8546/7047.

Socialist Challenge readers who support our views on how to build CND and commit the next Labour government to unilateral disarmament will be supporting resolutions 27, 29, 31, 41, 45, 71, 88, 108 and 119 at the coming conference.



Jobs not Bombs

FIVE TRIDENT SUBMARINES = 100 new hospitals + 200 new schools

Laurence Scott Dramatic breakthrough

By Patrick Sikorski

OVER THE last week the six month long struggle for jobs by workers at Laurence Scott Manchester has paid off dramatically.

Scott's boss, Arthur Snipe, has offered 150 jobs for the 230 workers still supporting the dispute. But Denis Barry, convenor of the shop stewards, told Socialist Challenge on Sunday that there would be no deal unless there were jobs for all the 230.

'We haven't occupied and then stood outside the factory for the last six months only to leave 80 of the people who have supported us outside the gates.'

The other terms of the offer would involve the factory re-opening on Monday 26 October an initial workforce of 50, building up to Snipe's present offer of 150 over six weeks.

The factory would operate a 40 hour week and, with the company's present order book, would have a guaranteed future for five years.

Snipe has completely removed the demand for the repayment of redundancy cheques paid out earlier in the dispute. He has also guaranteed to honour all Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions' agreements and has indicated that the workforce would be brought up to parity on basic pay and bonuses with the workforce at the Mining Supply parent factory in Doncaster.

This all from someone who had refused to contact or negotiate directly with the stewards for over six months, who had treated the full time officials with contempt and who drove his Rolls Royce at Laurence Scott workers picketing his Doncaster factory.

Laurence Scott has, over six months, when not a single nut or bolt moved in or out of the gates, apparently changed from a company making a 'loss' of hundreds of thousands of pounds to one which is 'viable' on the present order book for five years.

In their long and often bitter struggle, the Scott workers have also had to contend with engineering leaders Duffy, Boyd and Cure, who wanted them to go back for a 3 month trial period and then only after all the redundancy money was repaid. When the workforce rejected this 'offer' both the AUEW and CSEU withdrew all official backing.

It was the Scott workers themselves who made contact with Snipe as a result of the lobby they mounted at the annual shareholders meeting of Mining Supplies last Thursday week. As a result a preparatory meeting was held the next day followed by formal talks at the Louisa Street factory in Openshaw last Thursday.

Snipe's first offer was 150 jobs to be picked by management out of the original 620 who had started the dispute. But by Friday night Snipe had conceded that the 150 should come from the remaining 230.

As Denis Barry, Snipe wants a settlement so badly he's doing backwards cartwheels to get one. The actions of the workforce has put Snipe under immense pressure.

The Scott workers have £2.5m of motors trapped in the factory behind cemented up gates. When he took over the Laurence Scott group in October last year Snipe had to lay down a £5m guarantee that he would fulfill existing contracts with the Admiralty within a year. Half of that year has gone and nothing has moved.

The AUEW Appeals Court has the opportunity

to really turn the knife. The union's executive was charged with breaking union rules by rescinding official recognition. Duffy treated the court with contempt. He refused to submit correspondence on the issue and insisted that it was a matter only for the National Committee, thus breaking several more rules. The left dominated Appeal Court simply buckled under. Some of the heat has therefore been taken off Duffy and Snipe.

It is because 'lefts' like these cannot be relied on that Denis Barry is not counting his chickens until agreement has been signed, sealed and delivered. But the morale on the picket line and in the strike headquarters is at an all-time high.

If Scott workers win then every one of the 230 will have richly deserved her or his victory. It will be a victory for the whole movement in the fight for jobs and against the Tories and it will be a resounding rebuff to all those who said that they should have accepted the agreement reached by the national officials those three long months ago.

The dispute is still not over. Rush messages of support and donations to 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire. And get delegated to the solidarity conference.

Laurence Scott NATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

Saturday 14 November
10am - 5pm

Application for credentials

Please send us credentials for.....delegates. We enclose a cheque/postal order for £.....@ £2 per delegate.

Delegates will be accepted on the basis of four: from Joint Shop Stewards Committees and two from all other bona fide labour movement bodies.

An agenda and more information will be sent with delegates credentials. There will be as much time as possible allocated to contributions from the floor with priority given to those in dispute.

Name of organisation.....

Union or Labour Party.....

Workplace.....

Name of secretary.....

Address.....

.....

Telephone.....

Please return to: W J Partlan, 15 Lines Road, Droylesden, Manchester

Cheque facilities will be provided if requested up to one week before the conference.



TAKING ON MICHAEL EDWARDS AND THE TORIES

By P. Mitchell, Jaguar worker

THE last Labour government installed Michael Edwardes with a contract to 'save British Leyland'. In the era of the Social Contract, planning agreements and wage restraints, Edwardes launched his first 'Survival Plan' with the full co-operation of the national union leaderships.

This plan, promising plant closures, 25,000 redundancies and more to follow, was warmly applauded when it was presented to a national meeting of senior shop stewards. By October 1979, disillusion was growing in the trade unions.

Closures were proceeding without any pretence at negotiations with shop stewards and even the national officials were merely informed by letter.

Threatening a total collapse of BL should the workforce reject his plan, Edwardes secured the support of the executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in favour of a secret ballot.

He then moved to sack Derek Robinson, Longbridge convenor, for opposing the corporate plan. Thousands of BL workers walked out on strike demanding Robinson's reinstatement.

Before a total national stoppage developed, the engineering union leadership promptly ordered everyone back to work. Edwardes built up a legend that he could not be beaten, although it was clear, to many militants that all his victories rested heavily on the role played by the national trade union officials.

This was fully demonstrated during the 1979 pay review which dragged on till May 1980. Management offered a 5 per cent increase in wages wrapped in a 92 page document which aimed to remove all existing agreements, grading structures and

working practices.

BL workers voted two to one to reject the deal while Edwardes insisted this was a vote for strike action and ruin.

Despite the lack of any clear lead a rolling strike began on 8 April as workers in separate factories decided to walk out. Within a week, 20,000 were on strike. Edwardes was threatening to sack the strikers and, against all the odds, a national stoppage seemed imminent.

Once again Edwardes turned to the union leadership in London. He warned them of grave consequences if the strike continued and undertook not to sack any strikers so long as they went back to work. Moss Evans signed and urged his members back to work on the basis of this 'agreement'.

It was another victory for Edwardes but this time the vast majority of BL workers understood exactly how it was gained.

The 1980 wage review came and went under the shadow of this bitter experience, only eight months earlier. BL imposed another effective wage-cut of 6.8 per cent.

A succession of imposed settlements far below the rate of inflation have driven BL wages down from 3rd in the pay league to 92nd. Many workers now qualify for supplementary state aid. At the same time 60,000 jobs have been lost as BL has shut down plants.

The imposition of such harsh conditions has fuelled a simmering resentment

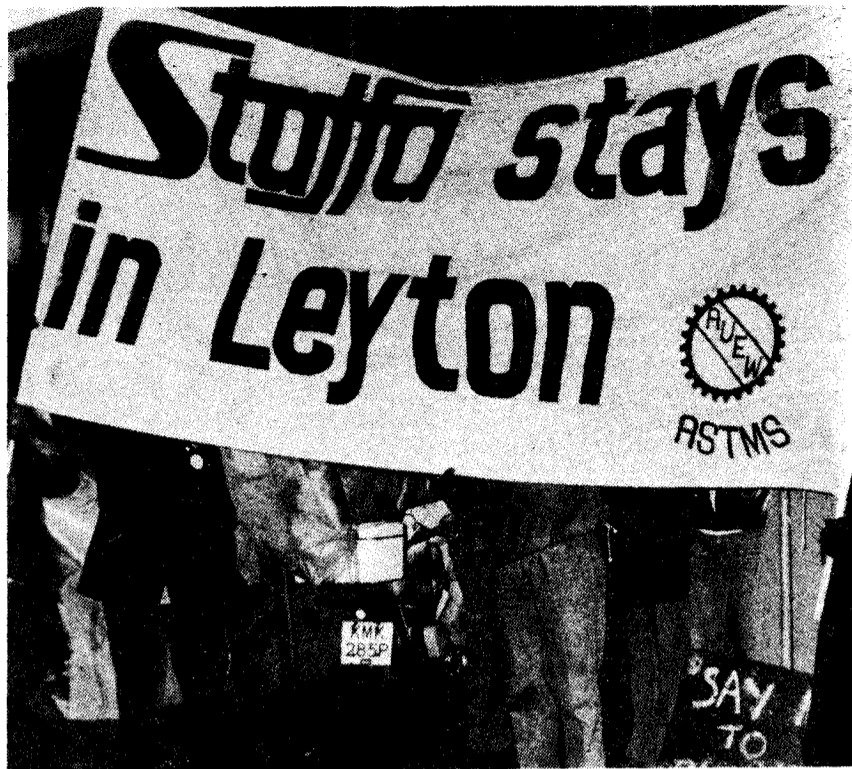


Jack Adams, Longbridge convenor, is not prepared to beg. The Longbridge workers (above) overwhelmingly supported the stewards' call to strike

Photo: MIKE TURNER (Socialist Challenge)

Jobs not Bombs

50,000 new homes + 200,000 cars for disabled + 1,500m school dinners



Staffa stays in Leyton

By Frank Gorton, AUEW Metal Box & TU Liaison Officer Hackney North CLP and Ray Reed

AT 4.45 last Saturday morning, bailiffs, accompanied by 300 police, invaded the Staffa plant, evicting the workers occupying. Management had chosen its time well.

Not only is the weekend a difficult time to raise reinforcements, but many of the Staffa militants were lobbying the Tory party conference with the Right to Work Campaign.

So, despite suspicions that such a move was imminent, it was difficult to mobilise support. That same evening, scab lorry drivers went into the plant and removed all existing stocks from the site.

Prepared

Management was clearly prepared for this dispute, as the secret documents Socialist Challenge exposed in the last two issues indicated. It has already looked into the possibility of finding alternative suppliers should production start elsewhere, thus anticipating any move by the strikers to get present supplies embargoed.

During the occupation by engineering union members, white collar workers in ASTMS had been outside on the picket line. Now that both staff and shop floor workers have been forced together again outside the factory, there has to be effective joint action between the unions.

Vital

Mass meetings of both the ASTMS workers and the AUEW members are vital to ensure the full participation of all the workers in determining the course of the struggle. Both unions have made the dispute official.

The Staffa workers are determined to continue their fight for jobs. They have already established a headquarters in the Leyton Labour Party rooms and have organised a round the clock picket of the plant.

The workers know that, given the determination of management to smash the dispute, they are in for a long, hard fight. They will need the full support of the labour movement if they are going to save their jobs.

Messages of support and donations to Chris Newson, AUEW Strike Committee, 39 Somers Road, Walthamstow E17

What should Socialist Challenge supporters do?

ANY STRIKE needs large amounts of money, both to keep body and soul together and to organise the struggle. Support for the Staffa workers is a crucial part of the fight against unemployment.

We want our supporters to get the issue raised in the trade unions, trades councils and Labour parties. Passing the hat round at meetings will help, but the decisive support has to come from the large donations that branches, stewards committees, district and divisional bodies can give.

Such donations not only are essential if Staffa workers are to win, but are a real way of committing the labour movement to support the strike. Socialist Challenge supporters should be fighting for their local MPs and councillors to solidarise with the strikers.

Leyton Labour Party has donated its offices to the stewards committee and the Greater London Council is being urged to provide a portacabin for the workers on the picket.

Hackney Labour Party are holding a benefit on 6 November to raise money for both Laurence Scott and Staffa. MPs Ernie Roberts and Tony Benn have already given their support to this initiative.

What's happening in your area? Get things moving now and don't forget to keep the strike committee and your paper informed of all support.

Check list

- Arrange a speaker for your Labour Party, union or community organisation
- Pass resolutions of support especially directed to the national executive committees of ASTMS and AUEW
- Take collections wherever possible using the official collection sheets with the union stamp
- Plan fundraising events
- Sell badges — Staffa stays — order from: Chris Newson AUEW strike committee, 39 Somers Road, Walthamstow, London E17 2Z
- Cash 15p postage (no reduced rates for bulk orders) — Cash with order. Quote Socialist Challenge

MICHAEL EDWARDES



The workers' claim

- *£20 across the board increase on the basic rate.
- *Substantial increases for apprentices, including a 53.5 per cent increase for 16-year olds.
- *Sick pay, lay off and compassionate leave on a par with the white collar workers.
- *A commitment to reductions in the working week.
- *Additional holidays to be implemented after the present agreement ends in 1983.

The offer

- *3.8 per cent on gross pay. This would mean an extra increase of £2.50 take home pay for a grade 1 worker and £2 for grade 5.

Michael Edwardes' claim

- *38 per cent on his basic rate

The offer

- 38 per cent. This means £35,000 a year increase for BL's Chief Executive. He has accepted and will not be out on strike on 1 November.

Longbridge, Birmingham

'It's in our hands now'

By a TGWU shop steward, Longbridge

LAST FRIDAY we voted at BL's Longbridge plant in Birmingham for a complete rejection of management's offer of 3.8 per cent on the basic rate. Unless there is a substantial improvement on that offer we will be out the gate from 1 November.

As we assembled on Cofton Park at 8 in the morning, feelings began to run high. Many workers had brought placards calling for '£20 Now' and saying 'Shove your 3.8 we're going out the gate'.

Loud cheers greeted the news that Cowley plant in Oxford has voted to strike. The threats of Michael Edwardes and the BL management to sack the entire workforce and put the company into liquidation, had exactly the opposite impact they'd hoped for.

'Michael Edwardes Talks Rubbish OK' and 'It's Time to Call Edwardes' Bluff' were placards that summed up the mood of the workforce assembling in Cofton Park.

Our convenor at Longbridge, Jack Adams, took this up in his speech to the mass meeting. Threats were, he said, no substitute for negotiations, particularly where the workforce had seen annual increases over the last three years of 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 6.8 per cent, coupled with plant closures and massive redundancies.

'We will get to the situation,' he said, 'where we don't negotiate, but we beg on your behalf.'

At Longbridge we are already facing a loss of another 1,500 workers when production of the

Allegro ends next year. It didn't need many speeches for us to vote overwhelmingly for strike action.

Feelings were running high as we returned to the factory from Cofton Park. We stopped the traffic by taking up the whole road as we walked back and shouted in defiance at the foremen who had been saying we'd never vote for the strike.

The older workers started telling stories about the 'good old days' of militancy before Edwardes came. We cheered everytime news of the vote came over the radio.

The atmosphere was electric. As one worker said to me: 'I've been threatened with the sack before while I've been on strike, but never before I'd been on strike.'

'We don't like being threatened. It's in our hands now. We've got to win.'

Management now has till 1 November to come back with a new offer. If it stands firm, then we're all aware at Longbridge that this strike will become a key test of strength between the whole labour movement and the Tory government. So the whole labour movement — the trade unions and the Labour Party — has to throw its full weight behind this struggle.

against the management. Union officials have been forced to recognise the deep anger among the BL workers.

With the present pay claim, steps have been taken to prevent the manoeuvres from which BL workers suffered in the past. A common claim was presented to BL on which all unions and all plants were united.

It is a modest claim for £20 across the board increase, restoration of lay off pay agreements, sick leave and leave of absence on a par with the white collar workers and a commitment to a shorter working week.

BL's reply was contemptuous. The negotiators immediately recommended rejection and unanimously called for strike from 1 November.

This solid stance was in clear contrast to previous years. For the first time under Edwardes there was a clear call for united national action. The task facing shop stewards was to convince the membership that this year we could tackle Edwardes without an immediate sell out by

officials.

The real prospect of united national action strengthened the workers' resolve. BL workers meeting on 16 October clearly felt that a solid vote for action was the best defence against another sell out.

Unless Edwardes' backers in the Tory government make a new calculation on the likely effects of the strike which leads them to intervene, perhaps through arbitration, the strike looks set to start from 1 November. When BL workers come out they will be aiming to win.

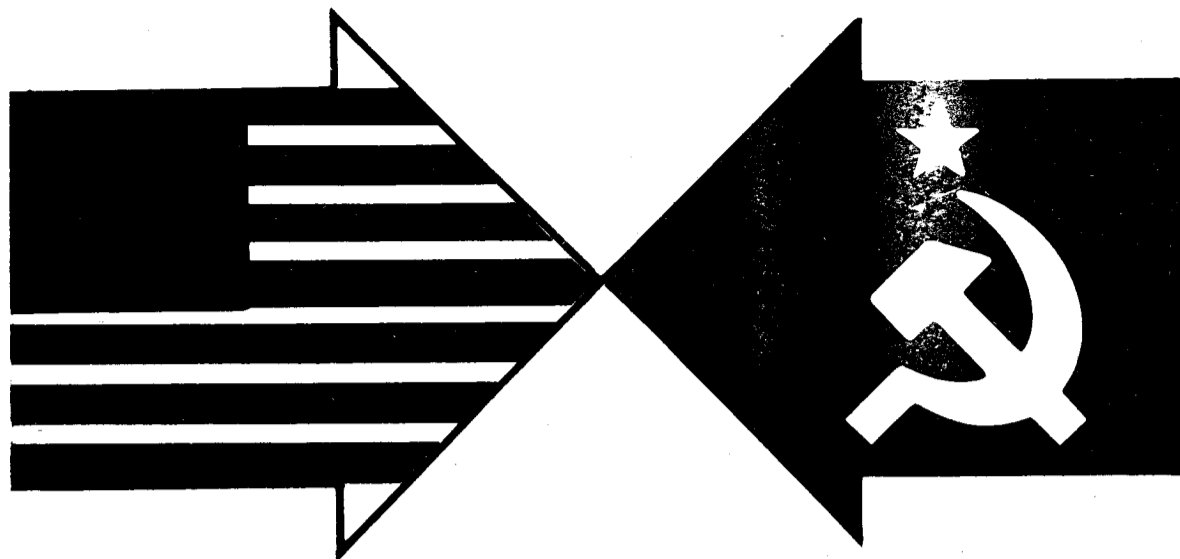
BL is still a major exporter and operations linked with BI accounts for substantial proportion of the British economy. With many potential allies among workers with their own claim in the pipeline, the BL workforce can throw off the mantle of its recent sorry history.

The overwhelming vote for strike action shows the will to fight is there. If this means we have to beat Thatcher as well as Edwardes then BL workers will not be alone in celebrating.

Stop press: Tuesday 20 October
Staffa workers received...
notices.

Stop the missiles

SALT and disarmament



THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS (SALT) have raised many hopes that some real reduction in nuclear weaponry, East and West, will come about. Here BRIAN LYONS looks at the real meaning of the SALT agreements, the theory of 'detente' which lay behind them, and exposes the way in which SALT actually led to arms increases.

There are some people in CND who believe that ratification of the SALT 2 accords would represent a step towards nuclear disarmament. In its founding statement, the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign calls for ratification of the SALT 2 accords.

Although critical of those accords, CND's special broadsheet on this issue urges the movement to support the accords. This is part of what some CND leaders describe as combing *multilateral* initiatives with *unilateral* disarmament. The two approaches, they say, are not opposed to one another.

So what are the SALT accords? What was their aim and how did they originate? The first round of SALT talks began at Helsinki in November 1969. Progress wasn't very rapid since it took two and a half years before an initial agreement was signed. From their inception, though, the talks were never conceived of as reducing, far less eliminating, nuclear weapons.

Parity

The initial purpose of the talks to establish the principle of parity: that is, an acceptance of each side's ability to destroy the other. From this premise was built the now defunct policy of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

There were two basic ingredients to the SALT 1 recipe. The first was to limit *defensive* nuclear capability. If one side was to completely safeguard its cities and military installations, that would be interpreted as a preparation for a first strike. SALT 1 also put a 5-year ceiling on the number of offensive launchers that could be built.

The USA was permitted 'only' 1,000 land-based launchers and 710 sea-based launchers while the Soviet Union was allowed 1,410 and 950 respectively. The Soviet Union was permitted a higher potential 'ceiling' because at that time Soviet offensive missile technology lagged behind that of the USA.

Two years after the accords were signed, it was revealed that the US total of nuclear weapons deliverable by air, land and sea was 7,940 compared to 2,600 for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union could 'only' destroy America six times over compared to the US ability to destroy the Soviet Union fifteen times over!

The SALT 1 agreements not only did not in any way disarm the opposing sides, they virtually necessitated an escalation of the race to develop *offensive* nuclear missile technology.

By the time the SALT 2 talks opened in Geneva in November 1972, the race centred upon the development of MIRV missiles — otherwise known as 'multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles'. In plain language, these are missiles which carry several warheads that fire at different individual targets once the missile carrier arrives at its overall target area.

MIRV

Washington had its first test flight of a MIRV missile in 1968. By the time the Soviet Union made its first test flight, 5 years later, the Pentagon already had 600 of these sophisticated warheads deployed on land-based Minutemen missiles and the Poseidon submarines.

The major purpose of the SALT 2 talks from the Pentagon's angle, was to maintain this relative US superiority and to limit the number of MIRV missiles the Soviet Union could deploy as replacements for its existing launchers.

In June 1974 Nixon arrived in Moscow for a meeting with Brezhnev who hailed the talks as contributing to 'the reduction — and subsequently the complete removal — of the possibility of war between our two states'.

Less than 6 months later, after Nixon had been replaced by Ford, a tentative arms agreement was signed at Vladivostok. This was the main product of the SALT 2 negotiations. Yet again the

agreement was hailed by the Kremlin as signalling a fundamental reversal of the nuclear arms race. 'No one has any doubt now,' said *Pravda* on 24 November, 'that the people of good will on earth have wholeheartedly accepted the positive processes of our epoch.'

Cover

In reality, the Vladivostok agreement — like the entire SALT summitry — provided a cover for the continued pursuit by Washington of its global objectives. Reacting to this agreement, the *New York Times* could scarcely conceal its glee: 'The United States will be free', wrote the editors on November 29, 'to deploy hundreds of B-1 bombers and ten Trident nuclear missile submarines.... There is no restriction on missile flight testing to slow the qualitative arms race. Nor is there any bar to other destabilising developments such as land-mobile and air-mobile ICBM's, cruise missiles launched from submarines and certain major improvements in missile accuracy.' In other words, *all the grotesque nuclear paraphernalia contemplated for us in Europe now was not restricted but sanctioned by the SALT 2 accords.*

Spread

Events have refuted the policy of detente. At the level of conventional weapons, in the same year that the SALT 2 accords were signed, U.S. arms sales abroad more than doubled. Overall the years of detente have seen the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries.

Detente has already proven that it tends to increase the danger of nuclear war because it rests upon and fosters the illusion that imperialism can change its predatory nature.

Because detente rests



Soviet missiles on parade in Moscow

upon maintenance of the status quo, both the Kremlin and the Pentagon are necessarily forced to arm themselves to the teeth to guarantee that neither of them will infringe upon each other's traditional spheres of in-

fluence. For the same reason, detente and the SALT negotiations didn't even begin to challenge either NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

Socialists offer a different road to peace — the only one that offers to put

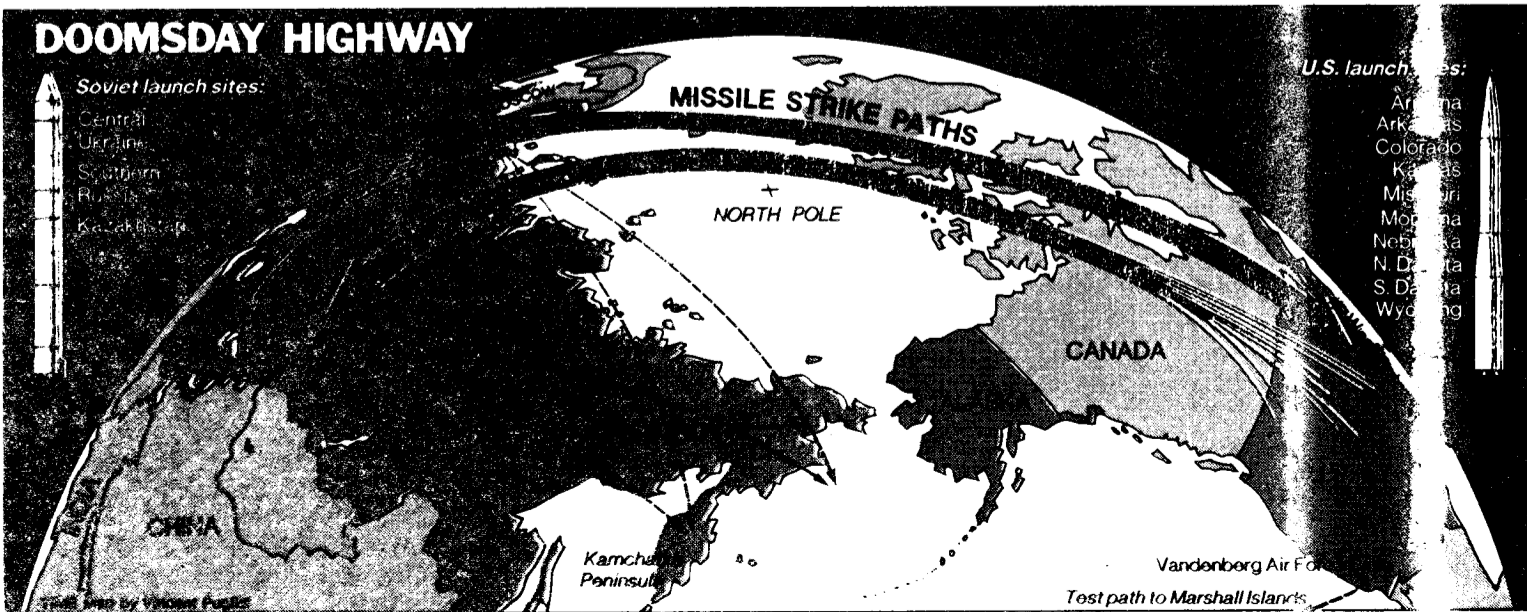
a permanent end to all war. That road begins by recognising that diplomatic deals cannot erase the basic conflicts of our age. You can't just agree to end the conflict between capitalists and workers, between oppress-

ed and oppressor nations, between working people and the bureaucratic ruling classes of Eastern Europe — at least of all if these agreements are signed by bureaucrats and capitalists!

ved

These conflicts can only be resolved and ended by the working majority of the world — taking their power into their own hands. There can be no peace with apartheid, no peace with Zionism, no peace with the brutal exploitation of Latin America, no peace with discrimination against women and children, and no peace with the starvation and death of the people of India and the Middle East.

As long as the capitalist system is represented by the likes of Reagan and Thatcher, the world will continue to live in the shadow of a nuclear holocaust.



Uncle Sam expects you to die for him

By Paul Lawson

IN THE debate on cruise missiles, many people have made the point that Britain could, by virtue of US control of these weapons, be drawn into America's war. The idea of fighting a 'theatre' nuclear war in Europe is now a familiar piece of US 'defence' thinking.

But the precise extent of US military involvement in Britain is not so well known. Britain has a huge number of American bases and installations of every kind.

Whereas it is most unlikely that British nuclear weapons would ever be used without NATO permission the United States retains the right to use its full military might at any time, with or without its allies — and retains operational control of its own forces at all times.

In other words, there is no guarantee whatever that the full nuclear and non-nuclear resources of the United States forces in Britain would not be used without consulting the British government — with potentially disastrous results for the British people. What are the US bases in Britain, and what are

they used for?

The United States has sole or part use of 21 air bases in Britain. From these bases US fighters and fighter bombers would set out on both nuclear and non-nuclear sorties during the early stages of a European 'theatre' war.

As can be seen from the adjacent map, many of these bases are in East Anglia — sure to be absolutely devastated in the event of these bases being used for air strikes in a European war.

Another prime target in the event of war would be the underwater spy base at Brawdy in south east Wales. Brawdy is the focal

point of a series of cables and other underwater listening devices which the United States has 'seeded' in the Atlantic. Their purpose is to detect the position of Soviet nuclear submarines.

These devices give an extremely accurate picture of where the Soviet subs are — and would lead to the very rapid destruction of the Soviet subs in the event of war. Therefore the Soviet Union would be compelled to effect the immediate vaporisation of this base as soon as nuclear weapons had been used in war. Hard luck rural south Wales.

To strike at Soviet nuclear submarines there are stores of American nuclear depth charges at bases in Cornwall and Scotland — guarded by armed US marines.

The United States keeps substantial dumps of nuclear weapons stockpiled in Britain. These stockpiles would of course themselves be

prime targets for a Soviet nuclear attack. The number of nuclear weapons lying scattered over the British countryside would shock most people if they knew about it. The central US stockpile is at the stores depot at Welford in Berkshire.

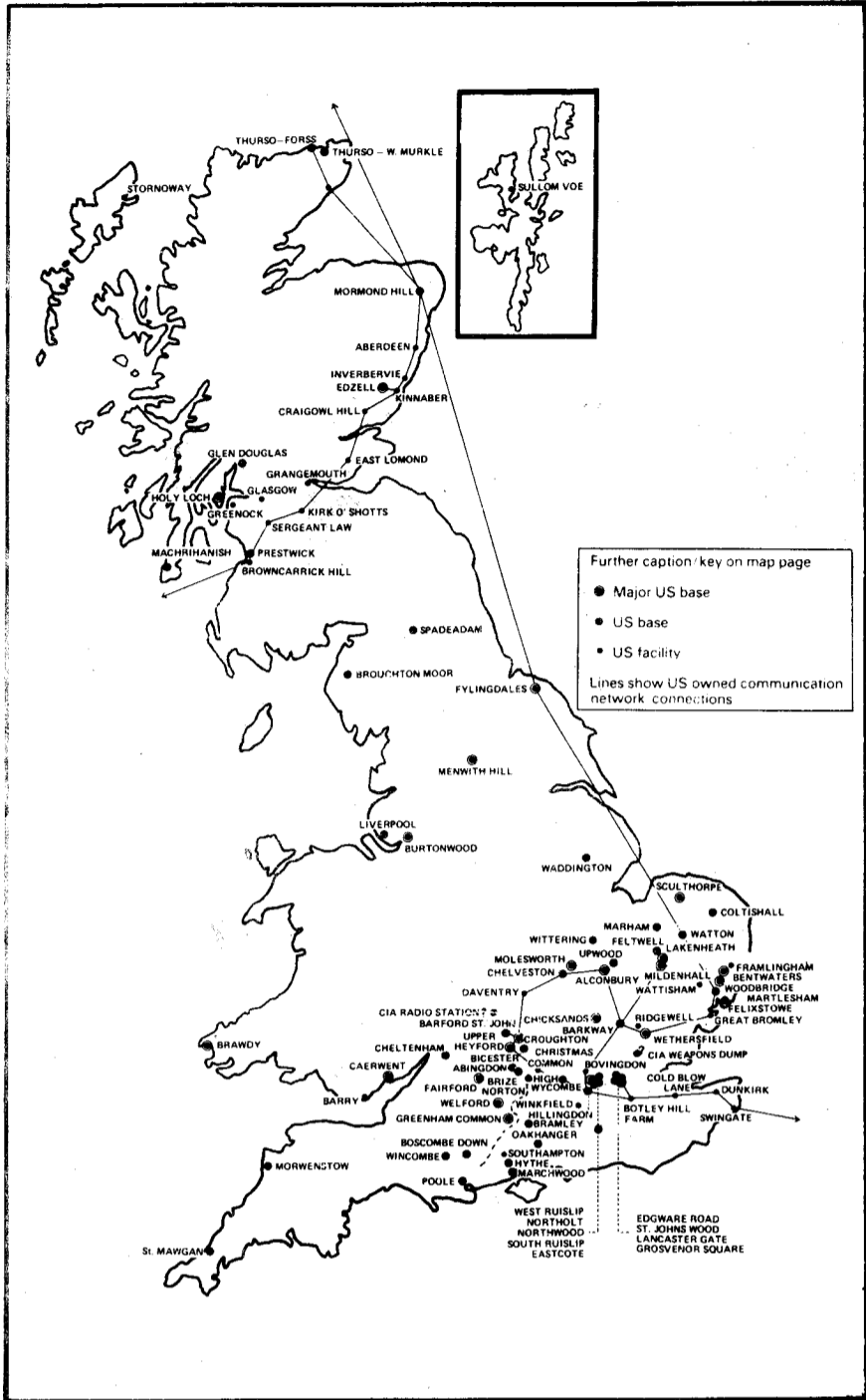
Together with Welford there are nuclear stores near US bases at Upper Heyford, Woodbridge, Greenham Common, and Lakenheath. According to Duncan Campbell writing in the *New Statesman*, the US base at Burtonwood near Warrington is the site of the US's main store of 'theatre' nuclear weapons.

In many ways more fascinating than the paraphernalia of aircraft bases and nuclear weapons dumps is the extent of US spying facilities in Britain.

US bases in Britain control and track American spy satellites and US planes fly missions to catch the film capsules sent back to earth by the satellite. In addition there are a number of 'listening posts', including the ultra-sophisticated electronic communications station at Menwith Hill. This station listens to communications from all over Europe: it has the capacity to listen to all the phone calls made in Britain.

To complete the American intelligence network in Britain are the U2 spy planes which are used to overfly the Warsaw pact countries. These are stationed at Mildenhall.

'America's floating aircraft carrier' — that's the slogan carried on many CND demonstrations. Uncle Sam doesn't just expect you to put up with his bases, his bombs and his spy stations. In the line of duty, you may have to die for him.



'New Statesman' map of US bases in Britain

World cops re-arm

IN THE WAKE of the assassination of President Sadat of Egypt, the Pentagon announced that it was holding military manoeuvres in Egypt. Two 'AWAC' surveillance aircraft are already patrolling Egyptian skies. Soon thousands of US troops will be stationed in Egypt.

All this is just part of the massive re-arming and re-deployment of forces being carried out by the United States to boost its ability to intervene wherever its vital interests are threatened.

The re-arming process has two aspects. First the United States is making a determined attempt to achieve nuclear 'first strike' capacity — in other words decisive nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union.

The second is a massive re-furbishing of the US's conventional forces, including the creation of the quick-strike 'Rapid Deployment Force' which aims to put 100,000 soldiers in the field anywhere in the world within days.

The two prongs of America's war drive are inter-linked. Nuclear superiority gives the United States the ability to threaten anyone who stands in the way of their use of military might — even if that is in the first instance conventional military might.

In order to understand why America needs this strategy we have to understand where and how its interests are threatened. For the US today there are two crucial 'pressure points': the Middle East and Central America. The crucial strategic importance of the Middle East is not hard to understand.

The United States is dependent on oil from the Middle East. Until the Iranian revolution in 1979, the Shah's regime was the key ally of the United States in the region. The overthrow of the Shah was a massive blow against American interests in the region.

But economically it was not such a blow since the United States only received ten per cent of its oil from Iran. Much more important from an economic point of view is the decrepit



Rapid Deployment Force on the march

feudal regime in Saudi Arabia — the 'loss' of which to any form of anti-American revolution would be crushing to US interests.

There is no way in which the US will allow Saudi Arabia to be 'lost' — the US would be certain to intervene with its own military forces against such a development.

From a political point of view, however, a much more direct challenge to US interests is taking place in Central America and the Caribbean. The successful revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada are extending the

revolutionary process begun with the revolution in Cuba in 1959. The crunch point of this struggle at the present time is the guerilla struggle being waged by the revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

American military aid, together with the now-standard 'advisors' are pouring in to boost the shaky right-wing dictatorship, which has been responsible for the murder of thousands of civilian opponents of the regime in the past couple of years.

The cost of this re-arming process is staggering. Despite government spending cut-

EL SALVADOR FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF FMLN



2.30 pm Seminar on United States strategies in Central America
 speakers: Rafael Mejia, ex Rector of National University and economic advisor to FMLN-UDR
 Luis de Sotomayor, European Representative of FMLN-UDR
 and a member of the Political Department of the FMLN-UDR
 subject: Economic development of the Central American region, current political situation in the region
 development of popular arms in El Salvador, achievements and objectives of FMLN-UDR
 Admission: £1.50

7 p.m. CONCERT of folk music and protest songs by the BANDA TEPEUANI
 Admission: £2.50 (Unwaged, OAPs £1.00)
 Admission to both events: £3.00, £2.00 unwaged, OAPs

Saturday 31st October in the Main Building, North London Polytechnic,
 Holloway Road, London N1. (Nearest tube: Holloway Road).

(Organised by El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 29 Jington Park Street, London N1, telephone: 01 352 227)

backs in every other sphere, the United States intends to spend a staggering 1.5 trillion (yes trillion!) dollars over the next five years in what *Time* magazine has called the 'biggest peacetime military build-up in US history'.

In the coming months and years there is the real possibility that the United States will be tempted to use its new military might to confront all those who threaten its interests.

Those who support the revolutions in Central America should not forget that in 1965 the US sent its marines to the Dominican Republic to crush the left-wing government there. Nicaragua is today under siege from US imperialism, in a desperate economic situation, and harassed by US-trained forces operating from Honduras. The left-wing guerrillas are already feeling the brunt of US military aid in El Salvador.

In 1981, fighting the war drive means not only opposing the nuclear build up, but opposing all those actions by the United States aimed to crush the revolution in Central America, the Middle East — or wherever else US interests are threatened.

THE DAY IT HAPPENED *A Short Story* Tom Marlow

THEY had given me the bleeper the day the Americans went into Saudi Arabia. They must have known then that something was likely to happen. Not that I was particularly worried. It was the third time they had given me the bleeper. On the other two occasions they had taken it back after a couple of days. So I was getting used to it, the novelty was wearing off.

Besides, I was quite pleased in a way. Being given the bleeper was confirmation that I was still an important person, in the one per cent elite whose services would be required when it happened. But then, I was Britain's leading authority on nuclear radiation sickness, so I was only being given my due.

I had half tried to get to Saudi Arabia. It was the first time neutron bombs had ever been used, so it would have been useful to see their effect at first hand. That might sound callous, but when you're a doctor there are times when feelings become a luxury you just can't afford.

Anyway, when I made a few polite inquiries about going to Saudi Arabia I was warned off. Despite the bombs there were still thousands of insurgents roaming around, still intent on fighting the civil war to its grisly end. Not that there was any evidence of live people on the TV shots. They had shown pictures after the neutron bombs had been 'deployed'. It was eerie. Nothing moved, just the oil wells stood there, alone but secure.

'Our vital interests remain protected' the US president had said afterwards. 'And the legally constituted government will return once the area has been cleansed. For the moment the American people remain proud to play host to the Royal family of Saudi Arabia.'

Certainly, when they showed the Princes on the box they didn't look exactly keen to return. But then, who would have?

So they had given me the bleeper. Like the other times when they wrapped it around my wrists they told me there would be three short beeps, ten seconds apart. Then it was up to me to get to the shelter. They told me I would have around 15 minutes.

I was in the toilet, would you believe, when the first bleep sounded. I just started at the round little dial on my left wrist. I couldn't believe it, it must be a mistake I told myself. Then came the second bleep. My mouth went dry, I could feel myself shaking. Then the third bleep. This can't be happening, I told myself. But it was.

Afterwards I heard someone blame the Russians. The statement they had issued after the Saudi business was as ambiguous as ever. 'A challenge to peace-loving people everywhere, which cannot go unanswered'. What they really meant by that, I don't suppose we will ever know, but anyway the US president wasn't



hanging around to find out. If this is to be the big one, he must have decided, he was going to get in first. Or rather, Europe should get in first: that way the war theatre might not spread to the US.

Those at the centre of the blast would have had no hope. The heat wave would have hit them first. So hot that metals would have vaporised. Temperatures would be as high as 10 million degrees. Anyone who had somehow survived that would have been killed, mercifully so, by the blast wave.

Nuclear bombs have three effects, I explained: heat, blast and radiation. Within three or four miles from the centre of the blast there would be no survivors, not a human, not an animal, not a building. Some I told this to, didn't believe me. 'But surely someone could have lived, surely there's a small, small chance. Miracles can happen, after all', I was asked. 'There are no miracles in a nuclear war', I replied.

To escape the clamour I walked over to the window and stared out. But there was no escape

through the window either. Out in the distance I could see what I recognised as the black rain, the legendary fall-out mixture of radiation and dust. I knew it would settle on people, animals and buildings. And then there would be blood coming from their mouths, their noses, their bowels. Fish would float to the surface of rivers, as if trapped in some great oil slick. Only this black substance would not be oil.

As I turned away a woman bumped into me. She pinned me to the window with her hands on my arms. She just started talking,

as if she had to.

'We'd done what they said. We were even lucky.' She smiled at that. 'Lucky to be in the shelter when it came. Because there was no warning you know. I always thought there was a four minute siren somewhere, which would give us a chance. But there wasn't, you know.'

'Still we were in the shelter. He had insisted we buy one, though I thought then it was a waste of time. But there we were, checking things. Then we heard



by



the noise.

She paused for a minute but her grip on my arms didn't lessen. She continued:

'He was suffocated. The air was so hot when it came through the ventilators we just couldn't breathe.'

'No oxygen,' I interrupted. She just nodded.

'The wind was next. I never knew there could be such a wind. It blew the roof off. I don't remember what happened next. Except, waking up, on fire.'

I tried to move away from her, but she kept on talking.

'I thought I would get the tube, get the underground. When I got there, there was no underground left. Yet I remember those handbooks. "Go to the underground they said".'

I explained it to her. 'It would have been the blast wave. Probably travelled along the underground tunnels. The experts predicted it would travel along them and kill people up to 20 miles away from the centre of the blast.'

When I uttered the word 'experts' she let me go. She mumbled the word back at me with contempt, turned around and walked away.

I think they must have bleeped me after the first Cruise had been fired. Later I was told it had been launched from Greenham Common, near Newbury. I remember going to the horse racing at Newbury once, it was so peaceful and colourful then.

I got to the shelter in 13 minutes. The nearest one was on

the outskirts of Watford, just two miles away. Nobody knew about it of course, just those of us who had been given the bleepers. It was in the basement of a large mansion, owned by some Earl or other.

I was just going into the shelter when it happened. I don't remember now which came first, the horrendous noise or the blue-white flash which filled the whole sky. The retinas of my eyes felt as though they were on fire. I could see nothing, I could feel my skin being scorched. I regained my sight just as I was being shoved into the shelter. I remember looking back and seeing the huge fireball on the horizon. I remember seeing the rubber on the front left hand wheel of my car burst into flames. How strange, I thought. Its fun-

ny, the peculiar thoughts you get when they drop a nuclear bomb.

The first couple of hours inside the shelter were like a collective numbness. Only the Army officers gave any appearance of activity: telling people that the Army was in charge now, that the government had been suspended 'for the duration', although the duration of what, nobody liked to ask.

I explained to them there was little I could do without my supplies and equipment which were still at the hospital, if the hospital was still there. Already some in the shelter were vomiting, the first sign of radiation sickness. Others had burns, of varying degrees. Some just sat there, on the floor, weeping with the pain of it all.

Amazingly, the only medical

supplies in the shelter were bandages and aspirins. I never thought they would be that unprepared. So they said I should try to get to the hospital, which was just under three miles nearer the centre of London, which probably meant the same distance nearer the centre of the blast. They told me I would probably be all right and that the hospital would still be standing. They gave me a bicycle to get there.

Outside, fires were still raging. Huge winds had swept the area. There was hardly a building left standing. There were bodies on the road that led to the hospital. The further I cycled the more awful it became. The bodies became more and more charred, more and more unrecognisable as human forms. A few black remnants of what had once been trees still poked up from the brown grassless fields. I thought I smelt burnt flesh, but maybe that was just my imagination.

The hospital was damaged, but was still there. By now it must have been about six hours after the blast. At the hospital entrance there was some semblance of order. The police and army, wearing bloated radioactive suits were outside it carrying guns. There were groups of people just standing around watching them.

I tried to avoid looking at them, at their scarred bodies, at the pools of vomit in which they were standing, at their diarrhoea which formed tiny lakes all around them. Most of them didn't even notice me, they were too much in shock. But a few did shout a half-protest as the army let me through the cordon and into the hospital.

The contrast between the scene at the hospital gate and inside the building was amazing. Outside, everything was barren, doomed and silent. Inside it was all noise and chaos. As soon as I went in a couple of nurses grabbed me as if I had brought them salvation. There were so few doctors there. I suspected most of them were in some shelter somewhere. Once or twice I tried to explain that I couldn't stay, but I hadn't the heart to finish the explanations. Instead, I wandered round the hospital, trying to do what I could for the patients who had managed to get there before the cordon had been set up. Friends and strangers grabbed me to tell me what they had seen, or to ask me what was happening outside, what hope there was for those nearer the centre of the blast. I hadn't the spirit to lie. I told them, as clinically as I could.

I felt a sense of utter hopelessness. There was nothing I could really do in the hospital. After all, radiation sickness can't really be cured, not permanently. And even if there was some help I could bring there was no electricity in the hospital and no running water.

Then someone tapped me on the shoulder. It was so polite, totally incongruous to what was happening around me. He was wearing a uniform, spotless, and a flat cap with red ribbon around it. He called me by my name and I nodded.

'We need you,' he said.

'They do here as well, or so they think', I replied.

'Better do as we tell you, old boy. I'm told you're NDP, so I wouldn't want any harm to come to you.'

'NDP?'

'Non-disposable personnel', he explained, grinning.

He took me to the top of the hospital, gave me an anti-radiation suit and put one on himself. There was a helicopter there, although I'd never seen anything like it. He saw me staring at it. 'Like it?' he asked. 'Radiation proof'.

As I walked over to it I looked over the roof to the hospital gates. I had heard noises coming from that direction. They were shots. Obviously some of the crowd outside had tried to storm the cordon, desperate for treatment as they must have been. They were being machine-gunned as I watched. I looked over to the army officer. He shouted at me through his radiation mask. 'Afraid they're not NDPs, old boy'. I couldn't see his face, but I sensed he was grinning again.

We stepped into the helicopter, and within ten minutes were over what had been the centre of London. There was a huge crater below, a couple of hundred feet wide. It was surrounded by fires. There was no fire in the crater because that was full of water that had once been in the River Thames. An enormous tidal wave must have burst the river's banks. On the water I could make out tiny specks, floating there. They were like a giant swarm of tadpoles. They were, of course, people. Or had been.

As we flew to the other side of what had been one of the heaviest populated cities in the western world there was no relief for the eyes. All the houses within a ten miles radius were flattened. The metal bridges, half melted, formed a series of grotesque shapes. There were still thousands of fires burning. There were no telephones left to 'phone the service'. There was no fire service left, even if there had been phones.

'Not too pleasant', he said to me. 'But don't worry, a couple of our missiles got them first. Moscow is no place to be these days, I understand.' I just looked at him, unable to comprehend his mentality.

'Where are you taking me?' I asked, for it was clear now that I was not on the way back to my shelter.

'Well it's really top secret, but I suppose you'll know soon enough. It was the bloody Rolls Royce. I mean who would have expected it. The bloody thing broke down on the way to the shelter. I mean a Rolls Royce. I don't know what the world's coming to these days. When they can't even make a Rolls Royce that won't break down.'

It seemed as if a car breaking down offended him more than anything else that had happened in the last few hours. But I didn't comment. I just asked him what Rolls Royce he was talking about.

'The PM's old boy. Broke down on the way to the shelter, aren't you listening? Anyway, you're the expert they tell me. PM's a bit ill, I'm afraid. Up to you to set things to right. Can't let the PM go. Bad for the nation's morale.'

I came near to strangling him then. Or screaming at him, 'What nation, what bloody morale'. But he wouldn't have understood, so I just laughed. It was a great relief. And at that instant the second bomb fell.

Socialist Challenge News

Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, Thur 4-5.30pm, Fri 4-5.30pm, Sat 11-4pm.
EDINBURGH: SC sold Thur 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Sat 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.
GLASGOW: SC sales every Thur/Fri 4.30-5.30pm at Central Station. Also available at Barretts, Byres Rd; Clyde Books, High St; Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Cresswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.
HAMILTON: SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 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.
NEWPORT: every Sat in town centre 11-12.30
PONTYPRIDD: SC sales every Sat outside Open Market 11-1pm.
SWANSEA: SC sales outside Co-op, Oxford St, 11am-1pm, Saturdays.

England

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.
BIRKENHEAD: SC on sale at Labour Club, Cleveland St, Thur nights; in precinct outside Littlewoods, Sat 11-12.
BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643-0669.
BOLSOVER: Cross Keys, every Fri 8-10pm.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpelier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
CHESTERFIELD: SC sold outside Boots, Marketplace, Sat 11.30am-12.30pm.
COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop.
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: SC sales in Time Square, Sat 10.30-1.30pm.
HUDDERSFIELD: SC sold Sat 11am-1pm. The Piazza, SC also available at Peacocks.
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 outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236-4905 for further info.
NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd. Every Friday outside Newcastle University between 1-2 and outside Newcastle Polytechnic between 12-1 every Monday.
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.
STAFFORD: SC on Sale Market Sq Sat lunch-time.
STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly; phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).
SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat, Regent St (Brunel Centre).
TESSIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.
WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; and Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.
YORK: on sale every Thursday, dole office Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vanburgh College 12-2; Saturday at Coney Street 11-1.

London

BRENT: SC sold Willesden Junction Thur 4.30pm.
EALING: SC sold Thur, Ealing Broadway tube, 4.30-5.30pm.
ENFIELD: SC at Nelsons newagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.
HACKNEY: SC on sale on estates throughout Hackney, at public meetings, and local factories. Contact us c/o PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8 2NF or phone Megan or John at 359 8288.
HILLINGDON: SC sold Fri, 4.30-5.30 at Uxbridge tube station; Sat 10.30-12.00 outside Woolworths, Uxbridge shopping centre.
KILBURN: SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square, and Thursday 8.30am at Queens Park tube.
LAMBETH: SC available from Village Books, Streatham; Tetric Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube Paper. Also sold Thur and Fri evenings and Thur mornings outside Brixton tube.
NEWHAM: SC sold Sat 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park.
PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon.
WEMBLEY: SC sales Fri 6.45am at North Wembley BR Station.

Bookshops

BANGOR: Rainbows, Hollyhead 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 Charlotte St; Kilburn Bookshop, Kilburn High Road, NW6; The 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; Centreprise, 126 Kingsland High St, E8; Dillons, QMC; Page One, E15; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, N1; Reading Matters, Wood Green next to Sainsbury's.
YORK: Community Books, Walmgate.

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NEIL WILLIAMSON: Died in car crash, 13 October 1978. Revolutionary Marxist, staunch supporter of Scottish self-determination, faithful comrade, good friend. Remembered by George.

Fight the missiles with Socialist Challenge

By Alan Freeman
IN 1963 when CND was at its height the Labour Party voted for unilateral disarmament. Yet within a year Wilson was pressing ahead with nuclear armaments, and backing Nixon's genocidal war in Vietnam to the hilt.

Socialist Challenge was set up to stop this kind of betrayal happening again. Two years ago, with the revival of CND, we set out to build CND, to commit Labour once more to unilateralism, and to make sure that conference decisions wouldn't be ignored next time round.

This week's huge demonstration happened because of this struggle. How did we go about it, and how can you help us? The first step was taken last year.

On our initiative, a newly formed organisation — Manchester Against the Missiles — called a 2000 strong demonstration at Labour's Blackpool conference, with two aims: to lobby conference to support anti-missile policies, and to win sponsors for a labour movement conference against the missiles to organise practical action by trade union and Labour Party militants.

Every day our Labour conference bulletin recorded new sponsors, as our team of supporters built an impressive list of over 200 backers. The anti-missile conference was taking shape before our eyes.

The next step was to get the sponsors to agree on the tasks of the conference. We argued it should stay clear of long wrangles about doctrine, and set clear goals for action which everyone could support.

But we said that to make this effective, we had to involve ordinary working people through the unions and the Labour Party. This would lay the basis for industrial action, and pile on the pressure to make MPs stick to conference decisions.

Seven hundred delegates came to the highly successful conference. As councillor Carol Turner explained to our lunchtime meeting of 200 delegates, the most important task facing the conference was to aim for a giant demonstration, built on the momentum behind CND. Such a march would draw in new forces, organise support among working people and give public and convincing expression to the tremendous weight of feeling against Reagan and Thatcher's war-mongering.

Conference gave its overwhelming backing to the suggestion, and delegates left pledged to win support. The message was not lost and the whole movement enthusiastically backed the call.

These successes show why a campaigning combat socialist organisation is needed. Events like this week's demonstration don't just happen. They have to be organised and fought for.

The struggle is just beginning. We should link up with everyone fighting Reagan's madness, including with the freedom fighters in El Salvador and the Caribbean. We should commit the labour movement to breaking all links with the Pentagon and to get out of NATO.

We must ensure that a repeat of 1963 doesn't take place. This is what we stand for. Why not help us?

You can help by selling our paper on the demonstration and where you live and work. You can help by linking up with other supporters in your area, at work, and in your Labour Party.

Last but not least, you can give us money. Take a giant step against the missiles, support Socialist Challenge.

REVOLUTION

SOCIALIST PAPER FOR YOUTH

Youth Fight Reagan's War Plans

QUARTER of a million people marched through Bonn, West Germany, on Saturday 10 October. They were protesting at the government's decision to deploy American Cruise and Pershing missiles in their country. This was the largest demonstration in West Germany since the Second World War.

The demonstration was one of many young people throughout Europe who are protesting against the deployment of nuclear weapons, and the current with the threat of nuclear war.

The youth of America are also protesting against the deployment of nuclear weapons. They are protesting against the deployment of nuclear weapons in their country. They are protesting against the deployment of nuclear weapons in their country.

Young people are not just protesting. They are also taking action. They are organising demonstrations, and they are also taking action. They are organising demonstrations, and they are also taking action.

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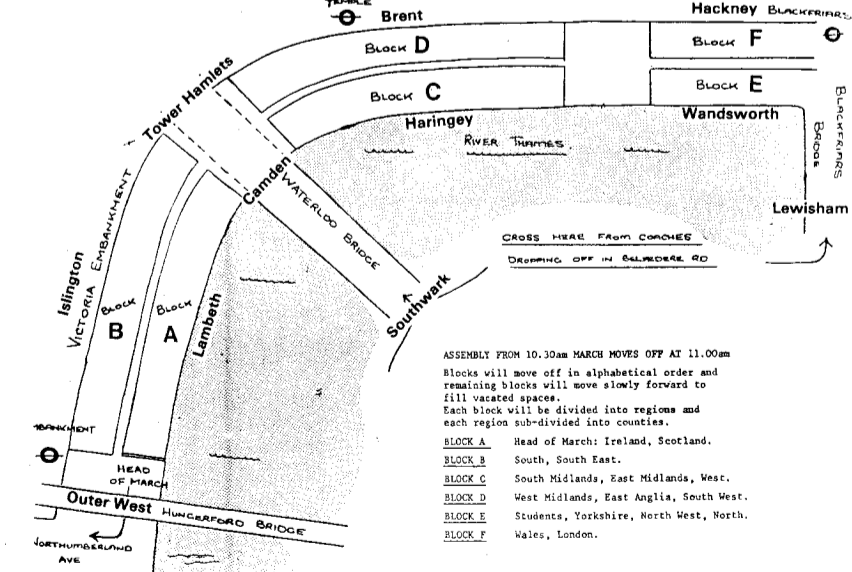
NO CRUISE NO TRIDENT

Revolution Youth special broadsheet on the missiles and the youth fight-back. You can obtain it or contact Revolution Youth at PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Sell Socialist Challenge on the CND march

Supporters from out of London will be selling Socialist Challenge and Revolution on the trains and coaches down to the demo, including selling Socialist Challenge special subscriptions. On the march itself they will be selling on the Youth CND contingent.

Our London supporters will be selling Socialist Challenge and Revolution on the place marked on the accompanying map.



Letters letters Letters Letters letters LETTERS

Transport union- let conference decide

I read Brother Voakes' gallant defence of the Healeyite misinformation campaign in the Transport and General Workers Union (SC letters) and came to a new understanding of the power of the media to brainwash even the most committed socialist.

The Healeyites' version of the vote which Brother Voakes so easily swallowed was that seven of the ten regions voted for him.

What is actually the case is that seven of the ten *Regional Executives* interpreted the vote for Healey. He seems to have had a clear majority in both branches and votes in five regions.

In Humberside, where as a majority of branches were for Healey, a majority of individual members were for Benn.

Contrary to Brother Voakes' claim that 'in Wales on a 50 per cent poll of the branches the vote was for Healey' what happened was that while Healey had the largest share between himself, Benn and Silkin he was very clearly a minority candidate when the votes of the other two were added together.

This is not a minor point when you remember that the consultation was supposed to take into account the policies of the union which both Benn and Silkin (both TGWU members incidentally) claimed to support while Healey opposed. The Rank and File Mobilising Committee was entirely right to claim that the

figures left everything to interpretation.

I find it astonishing that Voakes can attack the lay delegates on the Executive for exercising their constitutional rights in recommending a vote for Benn. He spoke of their move as 'a stitch-up'.

Yet he has no word at all for Kitson and Evans, who on their own volition, attacked the Benn campaign from the beginning.

There is no doubt in my mind that TGWU full-timers lay behind the decision of Silkin to stand, and that if the *ex officio* Chairperson Pemberton had not cast the block vote for Silkin in the first round, then fewer Silkinite MPs would have had the guts to abstain and ensure Benn's defeat.

As for Brother Voakes' recommendation of the NUM system for the TGWU, might I remind him of the nature of the union he is a member of. It is a *general* union.

It combines factory based branches with composite branches which cover a locality or even an economic sector. The pithead discussion and vote system of the NUM is unfortunately impossible for the majority of our members.

It is precisely this fact that made a nonsense of the consultation just as Transport House hoped it would. It meant that in Region 1 for example, the dozen or so people (often delegates from workplaces) who spoke for the hundreds in the West London (RCT) branch had the same influence on the outcome as the tens of thousands of members in the single branch at Fords Dagenham, or the less than two hundred in the one at BOC.

The most democratic body in the TGWU is its biennial conference. Pemberton walked off the top table as chairperson in order to prevent the 1,100 lay delegates voting on the Labour leadership election. Why? Because they would have voted overwhelmingly for Benn.

Any socialist who wants to fight for democracy in our union should be fighting for the sovereignty of the biennial conference, and should back the lay members on the executive in any fight with the full-timers instead of talking abstractions and covering up the role of the bureaucracy.

I recommend this strategy wholeheartedly to Steve Voakes if he wants to play any role at all in reversing the appalling result in Region 9 the next time it discusses politics.

Aileen O'Callaghan
1/647 TGWU
LONDON

a couple of days before it was due to happen they immediately made their feelings known to the National Coal Board 'in no uncertain terms'.

'We told them there was no way we would wear someone like that at our pit,' said Ken Capstick, branch delegate. 'He is an MP who has spoken badly of miners, apart from the fact that he is a Tory.'

The NCB did a quick turn-about and decided the visit 'would not be politic'.

Matthew Creighton
WAKEFIELD

Miners give thumbsdown to Tory MP

'THERE'll be no Tory MPs down our pit,' was the response of miners at Parkhill colliery in Wakefield when they heard that Marcus Fox MP was due to pay them a visit.

The colliery trip had been arranged by a local Conservative Trade Unionists branch. When NUM officials heard of it

Democratic poppycock

THERE is a lot of poppycock talked about democracy. Is it really democratic to wake up slumberers periodically and tell them, in their bewilderment, to vote for good old Tom, Dick, or Denis?

Or is it more democratic for decisions to be made collectively by all those who are active and consistently awake and interested?

Just an example of democracy: about 30 years ago, I was elected secretary of the very left wing committee of a local co-operative party which met frequently and regularly. The latter part of our year of office was an excep-

tionally hard winter, and only a few members used to turn up to meetings.

Finding we always had a quorum we carried on the business. Thus while we waded knee-deep in snow, the general membership kept their feet on the mantelpiece.

Eventually word got round that the party was being run by a bunch of Communists who actually opposed the official policy of the Labour Party (not one of the committee or of the usual quorum was a member of the CP).

About March, when the snow had melted, the chairperson, a political careerist, treacherously and surreptitiously contacted 'interested people'

(right wing Labour members) and chaired a large meeting, which turned out the whole committee.

The chairperson used his casting vote against my re-election as secretary. One 'interested' member said that she did not know my name as she had never seen me before!

This all happened a long time ago. No doubt many active socialists today have had more recently similar experiences in the trade unions and constituency Labour parties, unless the labour movement has changed its spots. The recent conference would suggest that it has not.

Kathleen Jones
SHREWSBURY



Provos' military campaign in Britain: does it help or hinder their cause?

Don't mince words on terrorism

WHY did the otherwise excellent front page article 'Ken Livingstone is right — British Troops Out!' in Socialist Challenge 217 have to be marred by its ambiguity on the terrorist tactics employed by the IRA!

Quote: 'The tactical wisdom of the IRA's action can be called into question!' What on earth is that supposed to mean? Can we now expect a serious and involved debate in the columns of the paper of the tactical pros and cons of detonating shrapnel bombs in a busy London

street in broad daylight?

True, the first responsibility of British socialists is to expose the hypocrisy of British imperialism's fake moral indignation at the victims of its colonial repression daring to fight back, and the bulk of the article did that admirably.

On the other hand, however, everybody who has seriously been involved in building a movement

of solidarity with the Irish struggle knows that we cannot sidestep the issue of the means of struggle employed by the military wing of the Republican movement.

Of course British workers feel a sense of outrage at having nail bombs flying around their ears: our task is not to defend terrorism or equivocate on it with quaint little phrases about 'tactical wisdom', but to explain the roots of terrorism in the anger,

despair and sense of isolation of the victims of imperialism.

Socialist Challenge, with its consistent record on the right of the Irish people to self-determination and defence of the Republican movement and H Block prisoners against British repression, surely does not need to mince words on terrorism in order to establish its revolutionary credentials?

G Minnerup
PORTSMOUTH —

Nicaraguan emergency — caution needed

In issue 216 of SC, Matilde Zimmerman, reporting from Managua, outlined the emergency measures taken by the FSLN government to deal with the economic crisis. But it seems to me that she argues in a very unfortunate way.

She says that during the state of emergency 'various activities are banned'. These various activities are 'price speculation and hoarding, the publication of false information designed to generate economic panic, the sabotage of production, illegal strikes and factory takeover and land occupations outside the framework of the agrarian reform law'.

This running together of 'various activities' is quite imper-

missible, since some refer to the sabotaging activities of sections of the bourgeoisie and others (strikes, land occupations) refer to actions of the workers against the bourgeoisie. Even if all these measures were correct, it would be necessary to differentiate between the class nature of these different actions.

Moreover, Matilde Zimmerman's placing of these things together seems to reflect the 'even handed' approach of the FSLN government itself — some actions against the capitalists, others against the workers.

The austerity measures taken by the FSLN may be correct, but it seems to me that we need more discussion about whether it is right to outlaw strikes and occupations.

We should remember that 75 per cent of enterprises in Nicaragua are

still in the hands of private capital. Eventually, to create a workers' state and a socialist economy, these capitalists will have to be expropriated. The FSLN measures may well tend to dampen the self-activity of the masses, and their determination to take on the capitalists.

In any case nowhere in the articles does Matilde Zimmerman explain why these measures on strikes and occupations are necessary.

I also think that her argument that 'the Nicaraguan workers have never known anything but austerity and sacrifice' is a very ambiguous argument in justification of the FSLN's austerity measures. It is precisely the argument used by every crook — that the people are used to it and will understand.

Philip Jenkins
BRIGHTON

Loyalists step up terror campaign

By Geoff Bell

LOYALIST assassination squads killed their third victim in a week on 15 October when they shot dead a 68-year-old Catholic woman in the Markets area of Belfast.

The woman, Mary McKay, was asleep in her house when two gunmen kicked in her front door at 3 in the morning. They ran upstairs to the woman's bedroom and shot her four times. Mary McKay had no association with any political organisation. She was killed for one reason — because she was a Catholic.

Her murder followed that of Bobby Ewing on 12 October. Bobby, who lived in the 'mixed' Protestant/Catholic area of the Oldpark district in Belfast was just getting ready to drive his nine-year-old son to a boy scout meeting when he delayed for a few minutes to watch the funeral on television of another Loyalist assassination victim, Belfast councillor Larry Kennedy.

Fired

As Bobby was watching the TV, two gunmen ran through his open front door and went straight to the living room where Bobby was sitting with his wife. One of the gunmen fired repeatedly, hitting Bobby twice in the head and killing him.

Larry Kennedy was shot on 8 October while sitting in a social club in the Shamrock social club in the Ardoyne district of Belfast.

Although he was a councillor, and a supporter of the H

Block campaign by the Irish prisoners, it is likely that Larry was another random victim of the Loyalist killers.

The Ulster Freedom Fighter have admitted responsibility for all three killings. They have also boasted of bombing a Catholic Church in Limavady, County Derry on 11 October.

The UFF is a cover name used by the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association, or sections of it. There are feuding sections of the UDA and it is not always clear whether the official leadership of the UDA sanction the numerous assassinations their members have carried out.

Legal

But the UDA leadership has been responsible for the murder of Irish Independence Party politician John Tirley and IRSP members Miriam Daly, Ronnie Bunting and Noel Little. UDA members were also involved in the attempted assassination of Bernadette and Michael McAliskey.

Most recently, a UDA gunman was shot dead at the weekend when a hijacked taxi crashed.

The UDA continues to be a perfectly legal organisation. Repeated demands from nationalist politicians in the North of Ireland for its banning have been turned down by successive British governments.

On Friday 16 October the Irish National Liberation Army replied to the sectarian terror campaign by shooting dead Billy McCullough, a senior member of



The family of Loyalist murder victim Bobby Ewing — a picture that didn't appear in the British press

the UDA.

The Provisional Republican movement has so far resisted such retaliation. The latest edi-

tion of *Republican*, understood

its newspaper, *News*, analysed and as the shrinking

foothold of British rule in Ireland can be defeated through a coherent political policy and firm action directed against the main enemy, the Brits.'

Media hypocrisy over bombs

By Penny Duggan

The British press is waging a hysterical campaign of outrage and horror directed at the Provisional IRA.

Their front pages and special inside spreads are full of the grisly details of those injured and killed by the nail bomb in Chelsea. They sing the praise of the 'calm heroism' of Major General Pringle as he was cut free from his bombed car. They illustrate his great humanity in his immediate concern for the fate of his pet black Labrador, and compare this to the 'callous inhumanity' of the 'terrorists'.

Pringle probably cares more for his dog than for the Irish people. Certainly the conditions endured by the prisoners in Long Kesh were far worse than any animal is subjected to.

Yet not one section of the British media, during the course of the hunger strike, thought it important to explain the conditions in Long Kesh. Not one of them described the filth, the cold, the bad food, the sheer misery and boredom. Not one of them described the terrible suffering of those whose death took 60 or 70 days of starvation.

While ten men died for the right to be treated as political prisoners, the British Army, the RUC and loyalist assassination squads harassed and attacked their supporters. Yet there was no protest in the British press, no denunciation of the callous and inhuman brutality used against the nationalist population.

In this situation it is understandable that the Republican movement may feel driven to vent its anger and frustration against targets in Britain.

Yet the hunger strike campaign did begin to move sections of the British labour movement. Socialist Challenge has argued before that we have big new opportunities to build now the Irish solidarity movement. The statements of Ken Livingstone in particular, as well as those from Tony Benn, have shown it is possible to discuss what policies on Ireland the British labour movement should have, and that it is the time to



Aftermath of the Chelsea nail bomb

change those policies from outright support of the Tories.

A bombing campaign in Britain could reverse those gains. The effect of such campaigns makes it more difficult to argue for support for the nationalist population who are popularly identified with the Provisional IRA. The weight of media propaganda in reinforcing the backward attitudes of vast sections of the British working class will limit the possibilities of arguing for support for the Irish struggle by putting off many who tentatively want to question what Britain is doing in Ireland. Irish activists will face increased possibility of harassment.

However understandable military actions against military targets may be, this

is a mistaken tactic to pursue.

The most important task is to take up the opportunities for real debate and discussion within the labour movement to win its support for a policy of British withdrawal from Ireland. A major opportunity to do this will be at the labour movement conference planned by the Committee for Withdrawal from Ireland in conjunction with the Labour Committee on Ireland. Only the ending of Britain's attempts to impose rule in Ireland will put an end to the deaths in Ireland and in Britain.

Labour Movement Conference on Ireland. 27 February 1981

Details from Secretary: Labour Movement Conference, 37 Carden Rd, London SE15 3UV

Councillors appeal to British labour movement

By Geoff Bell

BELFAST city councillors John McAnulty and Fergus O'Hare have appealed to the British labour movement to come to the defence of the right of protest in the North of Ireland.

The councillors, both of whom are members of the Irish revolutionary socialist organisation Peoples Democracy, were among 34 people arrested on 27 June for attempting to hold a peaceful rally in Belfast's city centre in support of the H Block and Armagh political prisoners.

Trial

Three other councillors, including Carol Turner from the London borough of Southwark, were also arrested.

On 18 November charges against the first of those to be tried, Joe Craig, will be heard in Belfast. This trial is regarded as a 'test case', the outcome of which will effect the chances of the other thirty three.

John McAnulty and Fergus O'Hare have asked representatives of the British labour movement to attend this trial and observe at first hand the workings of British 'justice' in the North of Ireland.

The arrests on 27 June

came as O'Hare and McAnulty attempted to address a meeting outside Belfast's city hall. The Royal Ulster Constabulary immediately moved in and broke up the gathering.

The councillors' appeal explains that the 'centre of Belfast has been used by all political, social, religious and cultural groupings, including Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, CND, CB radio enthusiasts, Oxfam, the trade union movement and many more.

Everyone that is, except those who support the political prisoners in Armagh and Long Kesh.

Protest

What is at issue, say the councillors, 'is the basic democratic right to peacefully protest. This right has been continually violated by the RUC on a sectarian basis.'

The councillors' appeal is being circulated to Labour-controlled councils, trade councils, Labour parties and trade union branches. Copies are available from Socialist Challenge.

Polish rulers prepare for showdown

By Davy Jones

LAST weekend's Communist Party Central Committee set the authorities on a collision course with the Polish workers. There is a strong possibility of a major confrontation with Solidarity in the short term.

Under pressure from the Kremlin the party called for:

- a temporary suspension of the right to strike.
- renegotiation of the Gdansk strike agreements.
- postponement of the demobbing of army conscripts in case of a state of emergency.

The Polish authorities fear the development of a challenge to their rule over the working class. Since the foundation of Solidarity as an independent union the bureaucrats' monopoly of political power has been under increasing threat.

Solidarity's first national congress called for free elections, an end to censorship, and the development of workers' self-management in the factories and enterprises.

Co-ordinate

Already the majority of the major plants have organised workers' councils which have begun to co-ordinate on a regional basis. It is the develop-



Jaruzelski: Poland has a general as party leader

ment of an alternative workers' power that frightens the bureaucrats, and which means that a showdown between the two powers is inevitable.

Socialists in this country should be alert to the

dangers facing the Polish workers. They are not fighting for the restoration of capitalism or for a Catholic state. They are fighting for workers' power and socialist democracy. They deserve our support.

General

And for the first time the party has a general for its leader. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was elected prime minister in February, became party chief to replace Stanislaw Kania, whose weakness against Solidarity had enraged the Kremlin leaders.

At the same time 11 central committee members resigned from Solidarity to protest against its alleged 'anti-socialist' development.

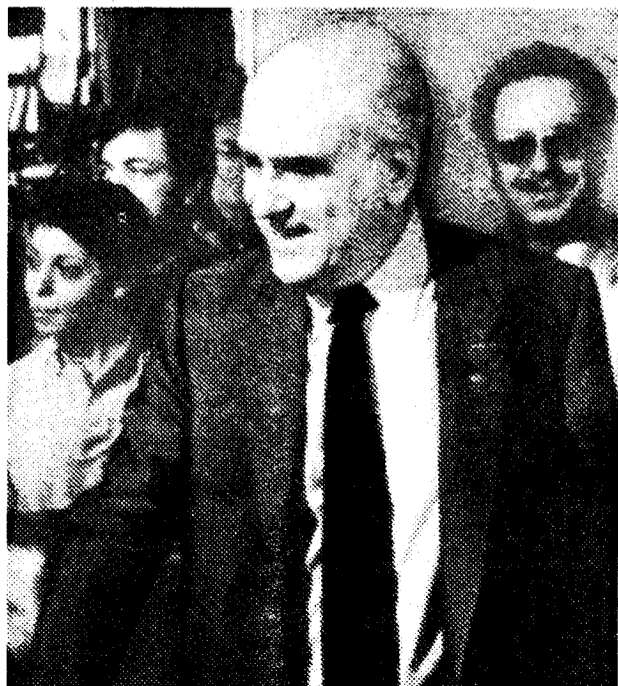
The bureaucrats are preparing the ground for a confrontation with the Polish workers. In that context, hard-liner Stefan Olszowski is likely to be brought in as the next prime minister.

Broad

He has called for a combination of repression and the creation of a 'broad' government of national salvation of the army, church, party and Solidarity 'moderates' to whip the Polish workers into line.



"It has come to my attention that some comrades are attempting to have a more gloriously revolutionary nice day than other comrades..."



Papandreu: will he take Greece out of NATO's military rule?

Another blow to NATO

THOUSANDS of Greek workers and youth took to the streets last Sunday night to celebrate the victory of Andreas Papandreu's Socialist Movement (PASOK) in the general election.

PASOK took some 47 per cent of the vote compared to 36 per cent for premier George Rallis' New Democracy Party and 11 per cent for the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

The Greek workers certainly had something to celebrate. In 1967 the army generals came to power and democracy was only restored in 1974. Since that time the conservative

New Democracy party has been in power with a thumping parliamentary majority.

NATO

But one thing is certain: NATO military bosses won't be rejoicing at PASOK's victory. Because part of Papandreu's election campaign was his promise to withdraw from NATO's military wing and to kick

out US military bases, just as the NATO bosses thought they had 'sorted out' the Mediterranean countries with the Turkish military coup!

Papandreu's programme included other anti-capitalist measures which won't be to the liking of the imperialists. He has promised a referendum on withdrawal from the EEC and the nationalisation of certain important economic sectors — pharmaceuticals, banking, shipbuilding and cement.

He has also promised to lower the voting age

from 20 to 18, and to carry out a decentralisation of governmental administration, similar to that promised by Mitterrand in France.

France

The victory of the left in the Greek elections follows swiftly on the heels of the French Socialists' election success. Both Socialist Parties swept into office after years of conservative rule on the basis of a widespread desire for radical change and policies.

The workers of Europe have tried the politics of the conservative parties over the past five years and found them wanting. Increasingly they are looking to the mass workers' parties for a reformist alternative. And in the process they are increasingly being won to radical policies.

Workers in this country should take heart from the French and Greek elections and step up the struggle to get rid of our own Tory government, and to replace it with a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

Fourth International launches Polish campaign

Socialist literature against the bureaucracy!

After thirty-six years of bureaucratic domination even words have lost their meaning in Poland. One often hears workers say that they are against socialism but for workers' power.

Polish workers who would like to study the experiences of the working class struggle throughout the world, come up against not only bureaucratic censorship but also this deceptive barrier that the bureaucracy has erected between them and socialism.

Thanks to the information coming out on the Polish events (despite the way this information is deformed in certain countries) we can see the historical significance of this life and death struggle between the bureaucracy and socialist democracy which is recreated every day in the struggle of the workers.

On the other hand the Polish workers have the greatest difficulty in getting information about developments on the international class struggle: on the revolution in Central America, on imperialist policy and pillage, on the significance of the Left's electoral victory in France, and on the anti-bureaucratic struggles in China or the Eastern European countries.

Now, they know well enough that their struggle is not confined to the Polish frontiers, that it disturbs other governments than just the Polish bureaucrats, in brief that it is an integral part of an overall movement and relationship of forces of universal significance.

It is in order to contribute to breaking this wall of bureaucratic censorship and disinformation that the Fourth International has decided to publish a monthly edition in Polish of its review of international analysis and information: *Inprecor*.

It is also undertaking the publication into Polish of works such as Petr Uhl's book *Socialism Imprisoned* — a weapon in the struggle against bureaucratic power.

Such an effort requires material resources.

That is why we are calling on you — members or sympathisers of the Fourth International, worker and trade union militants and supporters of the Polish revolution — to help us in this task.

Contribute to the Fourth International's Polish Publications Fund. In defence of Marxism let us together take up the revolutionary slogan of the Polish workers: 'For your freedom and ours'.

Make cheques payable to Red Weekly (Polish fund), c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

Engineering bosses follow Thatcher's 4%

By Bob Murphy

ENGINEERING bosses have made it clear that they intend the government's four per cent public sector pay norm to apply to private industry as well.

According to the engineering union president, Terry Duffy, the latest offer by the Engineering Employers' Federation in the negotiations which opened 5 October amounts to around 4.5 per cent.

Wages in the engineering industry are based on a two-tier structure. Minimum time rates are set nationally, as are hours and conditions; but most engineering workers especially in the more strongly unionised areas are on significantly higher rates due to locally negotiated settlements.

In his capacity as

chairperson of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, Duffy heads the union side in the talks.

'We have told them (the employers) we expect at least an increase in line with the cost-of-living index,' he said.

Last year's national settlement of 8.2 per cent fell well below this target. Many individual firms gave less than this as the bosses used the recession to plead poverty.

In fact, when offset against job loss in the industry, it is estimated that the 8.2 per cent added a mere two per cent to the

wages bill — a tiny part of the nearly 15 per cent inflation rate at the time.

With fewer people working overtime and shifts and other factors related to the recession, a twelve per cent increase this year — which is what the unions are asking — would probably add on 2.5 per cent.

Hours are not part of the national negotiations this year.

Part of the agreement made after the seven week long dispute in 1970 — when the employers conceded a reduction of one hour in the work week to 39 hours — was that there would be no further national talks on hours until 1984.

The 39 hour week comes into effect on 1 November this year. This has shifted discussion to the local level — how that hour should be taken.

Duffy and Co weren't satisfied with simply postponing future discussion for five years. They wanted to get their oar in on implementation of the 39-hour week.

They concluded a Memorandum of Agreement with the bosses in December 1980 which goes a long way to handing the whole thing to management on a plate.

Clause two states that, if there is no agreement 'it shall remain the responsibility of management to determine how the working hours shall be arranged' while clause five stipulates that the unions 'are committed to giving maximum co-operation ... to ensure that productivity is increased so that there are no increases on manufacturing costs as a result of the reduction in working hours'.

Most workers would prefer to take the hour on Friday afternoon. But the bosses are hostile to this idea.

They want to break the hour into 12 minutes off each day. They are so united on this that it seems certain that the EEF has made a national recommendation to its member firms.

For example, only a

handful of federated firms in the whole of the Manchester area have, at this point, agreed to the Friday afternoon hour.

Many firms have gone on the offensive: threatening the afternoon tea breaks, proposing a reduction in piecework averages — all in the name of maintaining existing labour costs!

Literally dozens of firms have registered failures to agree. Engineering workers who have suffered very badly as a result of the recession are calling a halt.

Duffy has already declared his commitment not to challenge the status quo on hours nationally and his record shows that he's not exactly spoiling for a fight on wages.

A massive rank and file based campaign will be needed.

At the moment the AUEW leadership is susceptible to pressure with the national elections for the successor to General Secretary, John Boyd, taking place. So now is the time to start.

Free the Bradford Twelve

public meeting
Friday 23 October 7pm
London School of Economics
Houghton St, London

Anwar Ditta, IWA, Relatives, Paul Boateng (GLC cllr and chairperson GLC police subcttee)

Liverpool typists - solidarity action spreads

By Alan Walker, Vice Chairperson, Liverpool NALGO

TODAY, Thursday 15 October, the Liverpool City Council suspended a further 120 members of the local government workers union, NALGO.

They were suspended for refusing to break the strike of 400 fellow workers — typists, secretaries and machine operators — who have been out for over three months over a claim for salary regrading and more training.

The suspended members, all from the City Treasury Department, have decided to take indefinite strike action in solidarity with the typists and machine operators.

This is the fifth day when Liverpool NALGO members have been suspended for refusing to do work normally processed by typists.

A Special Branch meeting, four weeks ago called for day walk-outs by all members if anyone was suspended and these have taken place on several occasions.

But the City Council determine when and where suspensions, and consequently walk-outs, should take place. They began us-

ing this as a tactic in order to undermine the typists' support.

So the Strike Committee has concentrated more on bringing out particular Departments and keeping key groups of workers on indefinite strike.

There are now 250 workers out on strike in key areas in the City Solicitors, Treasury, Engineers and Housing, bringing these Departments to a standstill.

A special meeting of the City Council has been called for Wednesday 21 October to discuss the dispute. The Labour Group has called for negotiations with NALGO.

As the dispute continues, it could bring the whole of the Liverpool branch of NALGO out on strike in the next few days.

There is every possibility that the Council, with a Liberal/Tory majority, may soon be forced to concede.

Robb Caledon occupation still solid

THE ROBB Caledon occupation is now in its fifth week and is still as solid as ever. The 145 workers at Robb Caledon shipyard occupied it on 18 September to stop it from closing. The yard has provided work in Dundee for generations and its closure would be a massive blow, adding to the 16,000 people in the city already on the dole.

However, the Robb Caledon workers are not fighting only for Dundee but also for the workforce in other yards who might be next in line for closure.

The fantastic support the workers have had from other yards in a series of successful one-day strikes and overtime bans reflects this.

In a new move the Scottish Development Agency is holding talks with port authorities in an attempt to take over the lease on the shipyards.

The Agency hopes it can then sublet to a neighbouring yard, Kestrel Marine, which makes models for North Sea oil rigs.

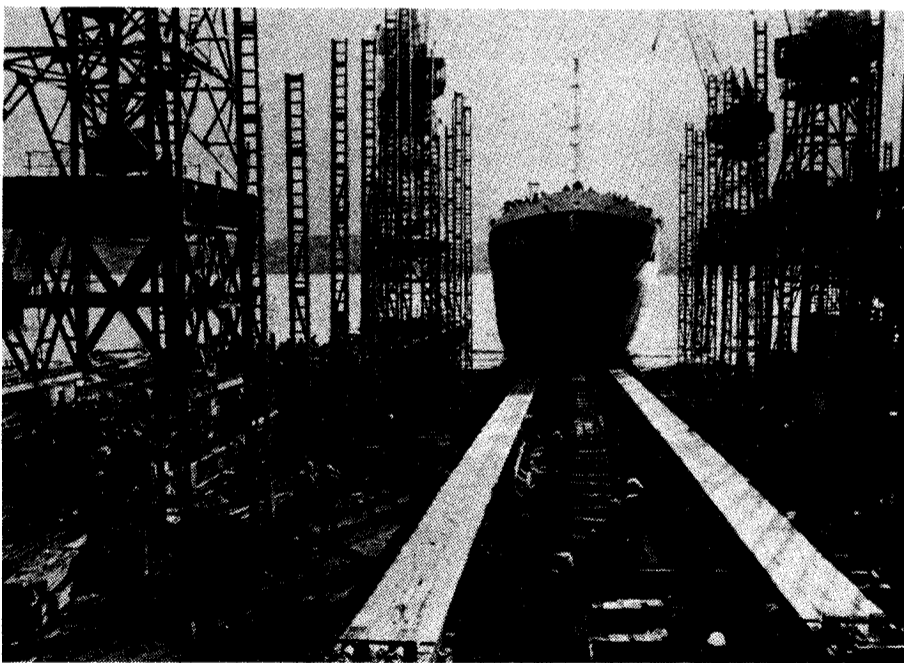
In response to this, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has called off its overtime ban and one-day

strikes and the dispute has been referred to arbitration.

Calling off the action in the other yards has let British Shipbuilders off the hook just at the time when more pressure should have been applied.

Even if the yard stays open and the men come under the employment of Kestrel, it is unlikely that all the jobs will be guaranteed. Nor will there be agreement to the 'no compulsory redundancies' clause which exists between British Shipbuilders and its employees.

Only 150 men are left from the 1000 strong workforce that existed two years ago when British Shipbuilders originally tried to close the yard. For them the next week will be



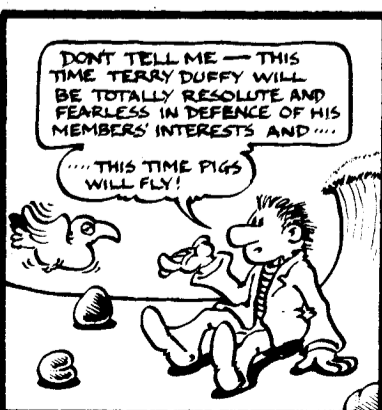
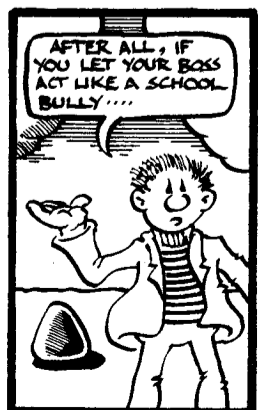
The launching of the 'Byton' — one of the last ships to be built at Robb Caledon

crucial. Although under pressure to settle for some deal, the men who have come this far will be loathe to back out. For this reason the Robb Caledon

workers need even more support in their aim to keep the shipyard open and remain part of British Shipbuilders.

An all-out strike in the shipbuilding industry —

coupled with the potential massive sympathy and support among the Scottish working class for any workforce fighting redundancies — could still save their jobs.



EXCLUSIVE

Sid Weighell - self appointed McCarthyite

By Mary Jacobs

JOE McCARTHY would have been proud of Sid Weighell, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR). Here is a man who is determined to rout any subversives from his union and the Labour Party.

Documentation from Weighell, which has fallen into the hands of Socialist Challenge, shows that he has begun a systematic witch-hunt inside the NUR. His target is, of course, the left.

A special sub-committee is investigating six members of the NUR with a view to either fining or expelling them from the union. Their 'crime' is being 'associated with the issuing of unofficial literature'.

This, according to Weighell, is in breach of union rule 10, Section 1, Clause 10, which states no-one can issue any circular unless it is sanctioned

ed by the Executive Committee or the General Secretary in writing...'

This rule was originally introduced to prevent fascists organising in the union. But like all such rules, it has only been used against the left.

Weighell's targets are leading members of the newly formed Broad Left in the NUR, the *Militant* tendency, the Railworker Group, and the pro-Communist Party *Forum*.

The problem with Weighell is that he doesn't seem to have any faith in his members being able to make up their own minds. He is very concerned, for example, that *Militant*

supporters who have produced a pamphlet 'A Fighting Programme for the NUR' have 'tried to press our members to buy at 25p each.'

Weighell obviously wants to save his members from themselves. He certainly wants to save them from any influence they might receive from anyone not of his political, right wing persuasion.

As he explains in his dossier, Weighell wrote to one of the 'accused', Broad Left supporter, Tom Doyle from Sheffield, informing him that 'as he was organising a meeting designed to influence NUR policy...he was in breach of the rule'.

Weighell also had a neat answer for those members of the union who speak in a 'personal capacity' — a normal procedure for trade unionists who are not speaking on



Sid Weighell (right foreground) — determined to rout out subversives

behalf of their unions.

He wrote to Geoff Hensby, Secretary of Paddington No 1 Branch: 'The fact that he was claiming to be addressing the advertised meeting in a personal capacity emphasises in my mind that he was aware that the leaflet did constitute an unofficial circular...and accordingly he was in breach of the rule.'

Sid Weighell has made no pretence that he wants to kick out the left from the unions and the Labour

Party. It was he, aided and abetted by Bill Sirs, steel union general secretary, who tried to get the Labour Party conference to discuss reintroducing a list of proscribed organisations.

He is now hoping the new National Executive Committee of the Labour Party will put a stop to 'the entry into the Party of all sort of elements whose dedication to democratic socialism is, to say the least, highly dubious'.

Writing in the 9 Oc-

tober issue of the NUR paper, *Transport Review*, Weighell spells out who is in the frontline of attack: 'You will know that I am referring to the evidence of the *Militant* organisation, prepared by Labour's former National Agent, Reg Underhill'.

But Sid Weighell, despite protestations that his main concern is 'democracy' inside the labour movement, seems to have one rule for himself in the NUR and another for his attacks on the Labour Party, which is

not moving in a direction that he would like.

Weighell is at great pains to point out that nothing, but nothing, can be circularised to union members without either his authority or that of the Executive Committee. Yet Brother Weighell blatantly uses his union's journals to viciously attack the left inside the Labour Party.

He used the occasion of a memorial lecture to launch an attack on the NEC of the Labour Party which was then circulated to all NUR members as 'a statement of NUR policy'. He further attacked the Labour Party NEC in *Transport Review* for failing to uphold the expulsion of members on the recommendation of local constituency parties. This is not NUR policy, yet Sid Weighell freely circulates his unsolicited literature.

Members of the NUR should protest loud and clear for Weighell to stop this witch-hunt and get on with the business of achieving better pay and conditions for his members. And if he can't do that then he should be the one to go.

National Abortion Campaign remembers

by Trina Shane NAC/LARC Trade Union Liaison Committee

Two years ago this month, the TUC called a major demonstration in defence of a woman's right to abortion.

Thanks to the unstinting efforts of women and men in the labour movement, abortion was recognised as a class issue, of concern to all trade unionists.

Their success has opened the door for other campaigns on different aspects of women's lives to become legitimate areas

for trade union concern. The demonstration also placed the National Abortion Campaign well and truly on the map. The links NAC was able to forge with the labour movement subsequently have been strengthened through its Trade Union Liaison Committee.

The Liaison Committee has not been able to reach all sectors within the trade union movement but the success of the trade union conference, organised jointly with the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign (LARC), was a step in the right direction.

In 1979, a big victory was gained with the defeat of Corrie's anti-abortion amendment bill but the anti-abortion threat still



Kate Holman, NAC Trade Union Liaison Cttee, addressing NAC/LARC Trade Union Conference

hangs over women. Much still needs to be done to implement the proposals which came out of the trade union conference on positive legisla-

tion which could take the campaign for abortion on the offensive.

The NAC/LARC Trade Union Liaison Committee

is holding a meeting to commemorate the defeat of Corrie, to inform supporters of its activities and to map out the road ahead.

Attention Women trade unionists

by Liz Lawrence

A MAJOR opportunity for trade union women to get together will take place in Sheffield on Saturday 21 November.

A conference is being organised for women who are active in trades council women's committees and trade union women's rights committees.

The conference is sponsored by Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Preston, Wolverhampton and Coventry Trades Councils

In the morning session there will be short reports on the activities of trades

council women's committees and speeches from Ann Gibson, Secretary of the Women's Advisory

Committee to the TUC, and Joanna de Groot, Secretary of York Trades Council.

Workshops in the afternoon will focus on women and unemployment, positive action, women and health and sexual harassment at work.

After the occupation against redundancies organised by women at

Lee Jeans and the TUC conference on positive action, this conference provides a valuable and necessary opportunity for trade union women to get together to share experiences and to discuss future activities for fighting against unemployment and for positive action, both at work and in the unions.

Registration forms for

the conference are available from: Sheffield Trades Council Working Women's Charter Committee, c/o 18 Parkhead Crescent, Sheffield S11 9RD.

Registration costs £1 for employed and 50p for unemployed workers. A creche will be provided.



The micro-chip that's getting up the Lucas workers' nose

New technology strikes again

THE WORKFORCE at Shaftmoor Lane, Lucas Aerospace in Birmingham, walked out on Wednesday of last week. The 1,200 workers were protesting at the introduction of new technology without adequate payment for the operation of new machines.

BRIAN SALISBURY, representative of the technical union, AUEW/TASS, on the Lucas Combine Committee spoke to Socialist Challenge.

We had an agreement between both staff and shopfloor unions on new technology. Individual unions had negotiated agreements over payments, staffing levels, health and safety. So the workers refused to use the equipment.

Management said it wasn't going to pay. They took 16 clerical workers and 13 production workers off the clock. This was effectively locking them out until they agreed to work normally.

In addition, four workers were also taken off the clock at Marston Green — where 200 workers are out. We held a joint mass meeting on the Tuesday — staff and production workers together which is unusual.

The union representatives made the recommendation that unless management put the workers back and moved

into negotiations, the strike should start at 8 the next morning.

The mass meeting overwhelmingly endorsed this proposal. Management is investing in new technology, reducing stock levels and saving thousands of pounds by not having to pay interest charges.

It's willing to invest in equipment but not the workforce. We want payment for weekly use of new technology — some measure of evaluating increased efficiency. We want a bonus for new skills needed to operate machines and a general award for all the workforce.

It's unique for staff and works here to be so united. We'll be asking the other Lucas plants for financial support.

Socialist Challenge



'This time we can win'

By TGWU steward, Jaguar Assembly Plant
FRIDAY 16 OCTOBER. As our mass meeting divides to record a massive 83 per cent vote for strike action, the sun shines brightly. The air is cold and clear over the Jaguar Assembly Plant.

It is a perfect match for the hard determination to win and the sense of returning pride that swells up from the workers crowded at the top of the park. We looked down on the small gathering who are voting to accept BL's miserable 3.8 per cent offer and think, 'We've done it, we've cleared the first hurdle.'

'We have stepped out on the road to victory and this time we can win. We will end Edwardes' reign of terror.' One week earlier a national meeting of BL's senior stewards had voted unanimously to recommend all out strike action from 1 November if BL failed to offer substantial increases paid equally to all grades.

Jaguar stewards had met on Monday and agreed unanimously to

campaign for full support for the strike call. We knew we would face a barrage of carefully orchestrated propaganda and threats from management and the press. But the greatest fears that we had to overcome amongst the workforce were, 'Will we be isolated and sold out again by the national union officials?'

We answered, 'This time we are united, all mass meetings will be held at the same time. We will use the power we have never used before. It will be national strike action and this time we'll win.'

On Tuesday BL announced the axing of three more plants. They will close whether we fight or not. On Wednesday the Board issued its sacking and liquidation threat — with the ominous footnote

that they have invited Duffy, Kitson and Len Murray to intervene.

There was much worry on the shopfloor. On Thursday morning the mood was calmer. We contacted the law department at Warwick University. They say Edwardes can sack us, but only if he sacks everyone with no selective rehiring.

In the afternoon we issued a shop stewards bulletin — not as glossy as the management's stuff, but much more closely read. It ends with the message: 'This year we have got ourselves properly organised, now it's up to you.'

'Tomorrow don't vote for Edwardes, he can look after himself. Vote for national industrial action.'

The mass meeting is 1,881 for and 387 against. As we go back into the factory everyone is smiling.

Groups of workers listen to the radio as the solid vote comes in from other areas. It is only the

ALL OUT, TORIES OUT

beginning but we have made a good start.

People comment that we are making history. Edwardes must go and if the Tories back him they will go too.

There is a new mood of confidence and feeling that we can regain some

dignity after years of humiliation and falling wages at the hands of Edwardes.

Now we have the support of the membership. BL shop stewards must ensure they give the leadership needed to win this fight.

THE OVERWHELMING vote of BL workers for all out national strike action is a magnificent rebuff to Sir Michael Edwardes' blackmailing threats. The 88 per cent vote in support of coming out on 1 November showed the determination of the workforce to oppose Edwardes and his 'survival plan' after years of accepting a decline in living standards and the loss of thousands of jobs.

Given the treacherous role the union leadership has played in being party to these attacks, the vote was even more remarkable. For too long, the workers in BL have been sold out by the Terry Duffys and Moss Evanses of this world.

Now, with the derisory offer of 3.8 per cent on the basic rate, they have said enough is enough. They are no longer prepared to put up with Edwardes' threats. Their determination has forced the union leadership to make the strike official. The whole situation inside BL has been turned around and the workers are fighting back.

Edwardes undoubtedly has the backing of the Tories but their bluff has been called. Everyone knows that if the strike goes ahead, the very existence of the government is threatened. That is why the whole labour movement has to be 100 per cent behind the Leyland workers.

This will be the biggest test facing the working class since the Tories came to power. Over the next ten days every effort will be made by the union leaders to reach a 'compromise' as Terry Duffy so aptly put it. They are not seeking a confrontation with the Tories.

But if we are going to get rid of Thatcher and Co for once and for all, the BL strike will be a clarion call. The whole labour movement has to be four square behind the Leyland workforce. Here we publish an account of the events in the week leading up to the vote at the Jaguar Assembly plant. Inside (pages 4 and 5) how the vote went at Longbridge; what the BL workforce has been through under Edwardes' management; and what the claim is for.



Photo: MIKE TURNER (Socialist Challenge)

Socialist Challenge

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