

Socialist Challenge

INSIDE

Kill the Bill

Build Lobby of TUC 5 April

See p 14.

CRIME: COPS' RACIST LIES

VICTIMS of violent street crime are likely to be between the ages of 21 and 30. It is 36 to 50 per cent more likely that these victims will be West Indian or Asian.

These startling facts remained unnoticed in the gutter press coverage of London's Police 'Big Lie' on new crime statistics.

According to them, suitably illustrated with horrific photos, the single most important crime in the capital was the mugging of elderly white women by vicious young blacks.

The facts are that it is mainly blacks who are subject to street violence — often murder. A lot of it is from racist white gangs and individual racist attacks. The police have the greatest difficulty in accepting these as crimes let alone designating them as racist.

The unprecedented use of racially biased statistics by the Metropolitan police should shatter the myth that the police are 'neutral'. This was a singularly crass political move. It involved connivance between Police Com-

missioner, Sir David McNee, Home Secretary William Whitelaw and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The Tory press lapped it up. Headlines screamed 'London's streets of fear', 'Black crime, the alarming figures', 'Britain's most brutal streets'.

The slavish attitude of the press was well orchestrated. For weeks the police press office had been feeding stories to the papers.

A month ago the *Daily Mail* reported that 'police chiefs are working on new battle plans to tackle the mounting crimes of violence in Britain's city streets... a special drive is to be launched against muggers... in some areas the majority are black youths'.

What's behind it all? It's now almost a year since Brixton exploded in fury against the police, against poverty and against racist treatment.

These conditions still exist and worsen every day. Despite Scarman, the police refused to reject their strategy of heavy polic-

ing operations like Swamp '81 which touched off the Brixton events. In fact there have been a number of these operations throughout the year in areas like Notting Hill and Brixton.

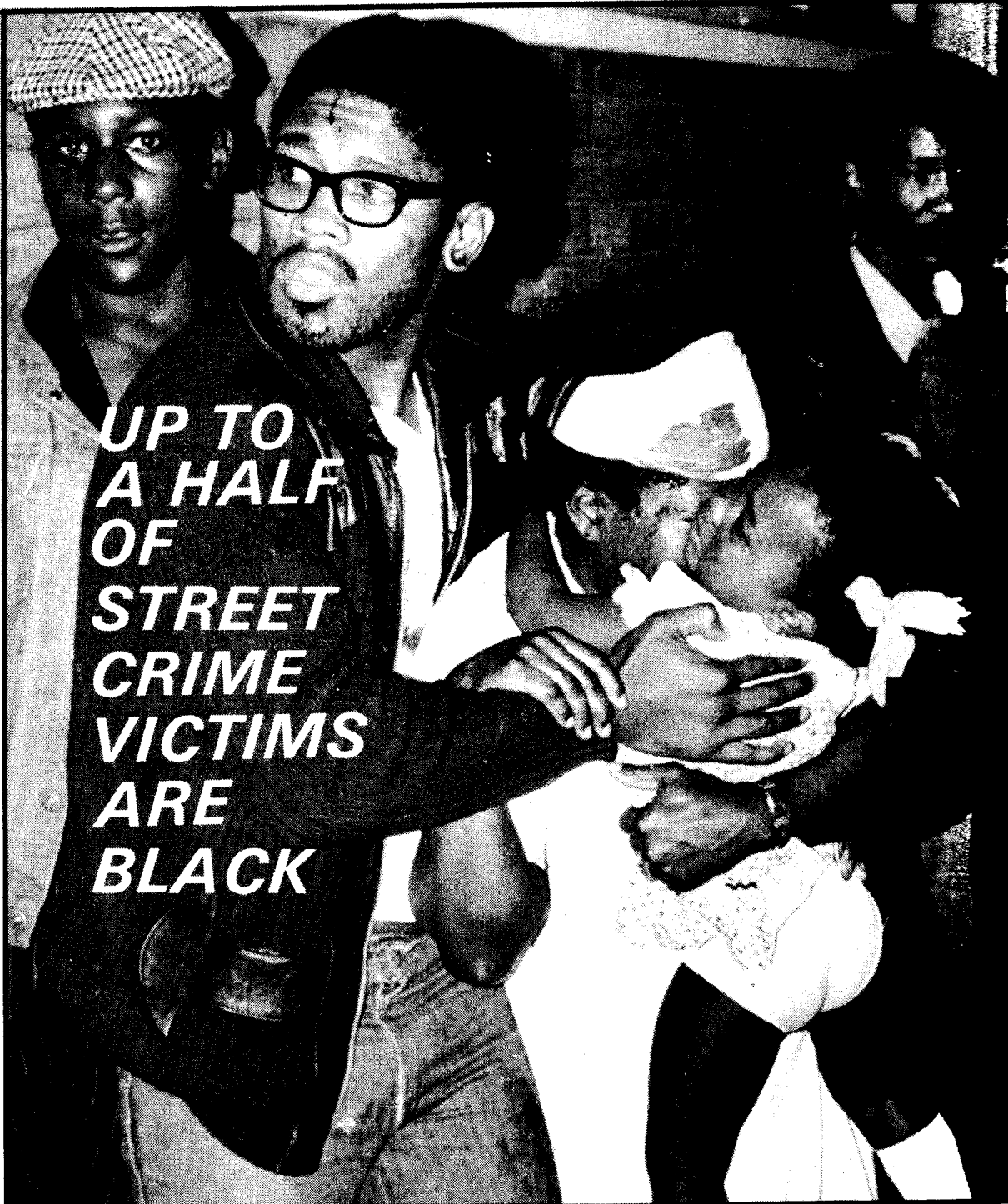
They are preparing the way to smash any further uprisings of the youth this summer. They're also trying to break up the black-white solidarity we witnessed in Brixton, Liverpool and Manchester by building up an atmosphere of terror among the white majority that the black youth are engaging in a race war.

While unemployment grows, police recruitment is increasing. While social expenditure is slashed special equipment has been purchased for the police on an unprecedented scale.

With the calamitous state of the economy and the fact that unemployment is bound to increase further, the Tories are looking desperately for ways to avoid defeat at the next election. They are banking on whipping up the white majority and campaigning around 'law and order'.

Labour can have no part of this hysteria. Michael Foot has been disgracefully quiet over the past days. The Labour Party's leadership has to take a stand to:

- counter the racist police statistics
 - defend the dispossessed of the inner-city areas
 - campaign for jobs for youth and against the Tory slave-labour schemes
 - challenge the increasing arming of the police.
- Silence is assent. The problem is not black youth but a Tory Britain which offers no hope.



THE REAL VICTIMS

British, black — and deported

DEPORTATIONS for British citizens, not seen for over a century, are back in vogue. Carl Williams, charged with the minor crime of stealing a television and two clocks, was bound over by Judge Clay on condition that he leave the country for five years.

His real crime was being black and British and being around at the time of the youth uprising in Brixton last July.

That such a sentence could be handed out to a white person who was born in Britain is unimaginable. It confirms that Britain's courts, alongside the police, are racist through and through. But the outcry should not be directed at the police and judges alone.

Their racism is backed up by the racist laws of the land, particularly the existence of immigration laws. After all, if black people can't come into the country, why not go one step further and kick them out?

The labour movement should launch a campaign to defend Carl Williams, and to sack Judge Clay.

Why a socialist manifesto is needed

THE GENERAL election campaign has begun. The SDP exists for nothing else. The Tories are getting ready for a 'law and order' election: and on Monday Michael Foot and his Shadow employment secretary Eric Varley kicked off Labour's £80,000 publicity campaign.

After three years of Tory misery, Labour says it will spend £9 billion and cut jobs to 1,000,000 in five years. As far as the working class is concerned, Labour should be the only choice: jobs are number one priority. Any attempt to spend this money should be backed.

But can Labour carry out this promise with its present leadership and policies? Spending will create just over half a million jobs in six months. The problem will be the next four years.

Without huge investment — now running at its lowest in half a century — industry cannot meet demand without raising prices or cutting profits. Foot's proposal to cut exchange rates should be welcomed as a direct attack on City and overseas interests — but it will further raise domestic prices unless profits are cut.

Import controls will not only alienate potential overseas support but will deny British workers access to cheap foreign produce, forcing them to pay an indirect subsidy to their employers.

In short someone has to pay: either real wages must fall or profits must collapse.

Investors will be thrown into a panic by this, and by the idea of leaving the EEC, and will not put money into Britain unless they are confident the unions are to be smashed.

Labour, if elected, would thus face a tremendous onslaught from the employers from day one, to make it change course or break it up in a coalition manoeuvre.

Foot and Varley will collapse before this onslaught. Already they are proposing to attack workers instead of bosses. Foot has openly re-raised the idea of a new 'social contract'. Varley spelt out what this means in his radio interview. Without wage controls, he said, we cannot spend this money. Heads you win, tails we lose.

How could Labour fight back? It would have to break the American connection: Foot does not even mention the Trident deal. It would have to nationalise the banks: Foot proposes only to try and 'control' the City. Labour would have to organise, from now, a campaign to nationalise definite, named companies. Foot offers only the vaguest promises.

Most important of all, Labour would have to mobilise the extraparliamentary support of the unions to fight the employers' sabotage. Foot proposes instead to dismantle the unions' fighting power with a new social contract, and witch hunts those in the party who talk of extraparliamentary action.

The conclusion for socialists is obvious: *the next stage of the democracy battle must be a fight to control the manifesto and make sure it incorporates fighting socialist policies.*

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Guards reject flexible rostering

Pete, NUR Birmingham

AT LINCOLN, the guards have accepted the rosters put out by the Rail Board. Already the area management is claiming that there will be no need to replace seven men who are retiring shortly and that they now have a surplus of guards.

The writing is on the wall for all NUR and ASLEF staff.

We must join forces to smash flexible rostering at the final negotiating stage. Then the rank and file must move against Sid Weighell and the right on the NUR executive

before they can sell this year's wage claim down the river.

They are putting up a smokescreen at the moment proposing a 15 per cent wage increase this year to placate the membership — for which they have no intention of fighting. Unfortunately for them they have exposed themselves to the membership and the coming months will see them get their just reward for treachery.

Certainly not a knighthood for Weighell.

Barry, NUR Birmingham

IF WE allow the management to impose these new rosters our social life will be non-existent. I find it difficult enough now to arrange to take my wife out. I hardly see the rest of my family from one month to the next.

If we are forced to work rest days at management's convenience — to cover the new short six hour shifts — it will be impossible to plan anything.

The lads are up in arms — the attitude to feelers put out by the NUR officials are unrepeatable. If they do not stop this roster nonsense and join with ASLEF, wholesale slaughter is possible.



Train drivers march to McCarthy Tribunal

New rail strike looms

By Brian Grogan

THE LEADERSHIP of the National Union of Railwaymen weighed in against the drivers at the re-opening of the rail tribunal. Lord McCarthy was sitting in judgement on the Rail Board's demand that the drivers give up their eight hour day.

The determination of the drivers was illustrated when nearly 200 of them packed into the tribunal after a march to the hearing. The negotiations were reminiscent of Polish Solidarity, as drivers clapped and cheered Ray Buckton, the leader of the drivers' union ASLEF, and showed their hostility to the Board and the NUR leaders.

The protesting drivers brought a petition with tens of thousands of signatures protesting the attempted introduction of flexible rostering. These had been collected in one week.

The problem for the NUR is clear. It has accepted the new flexible rostering in the teeth of bitter opposition from the ranks. On Friday 12 March a new set of 200 guards, this time in Merseyside, went on strike against flexible rostering. They pointed out that the new proposals involve a cut in earnings of between £10 and £15.

In the face of this, the submission of the NUR to the tribunal insisted 'under no circumstances should your decision interfere with or undermine the agreement which the NUR has successfully negotiated for the staff which we represent'. They know that if the drivers successfully resist the Rail

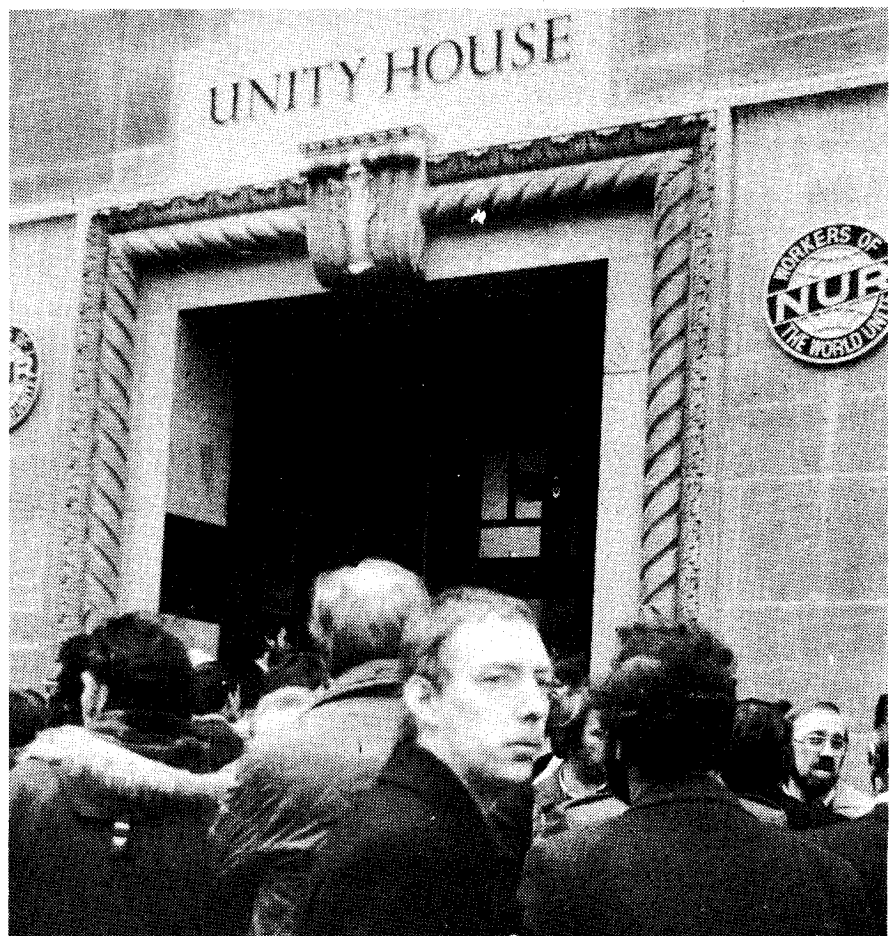
Board's offensive then their own backing of management plans to cut wages, destroy jobs and increase unsocial hours will be fatally undermined.

The NUR has launched a major publicity effort to convince its members — against all the facts — that flexible rostering means an improvement in conditions. But in the frenzy against the drivers the NUR submission itself contradicted this claim.

'The NUR represents all staff' it said, 'and we could not accept any decision from the tribunal which gives preferential treatment to one section of staff'.

Now, either the new rosters have 'brought a wider range of choice and sociability' or a rejection of them is 'preferential' to the drivers. The NUR can't have it both ways.

The drivers are fighting for everyone's interests. The Rail Board's submission to the Tribunal indicated that flexible rostering is only one small part of a wholesale assault on the jobs and living standards and working conditions of railworkers — which ASLEF's submission has proved are the worst in Europe already. The task is for all railworkers to prepare for common action with ASLEF after the McCarthy Tribunal reports.



Guards and platform staff lobby NUR headquarters

★£75m is needed to pay for the strike provoked by British Rail's management. The Tories insist that this be clawed back through cuts.

Somehow this doesn't quite square with the government's 20 February offer to millionaire adventurer John de Lorean. The government decided to call in City accountant Kenneth Cork to re-organise it, write off £70m worth of public

money, and sell it back to Mr de Lorean at a knock down price.

Nor does it quite match up to the status of American millionaire Willi Stern — now living in Britain — who now owes more money than anyone else in the world: £118,690,524 or £600 for every railworker in Britain.

Willi lives in a £1m house, runs a Jaguar XJ2 and sends his children to school in a chauffeured 'T' registration Cortina. He is currently applying to have

the 'onerous' status of bankrupt removed — having paid back his creditors the princely sum of £13,500. 'I get through with the help of God Almighty,' he explained to a sympathetic but incredulous judge.

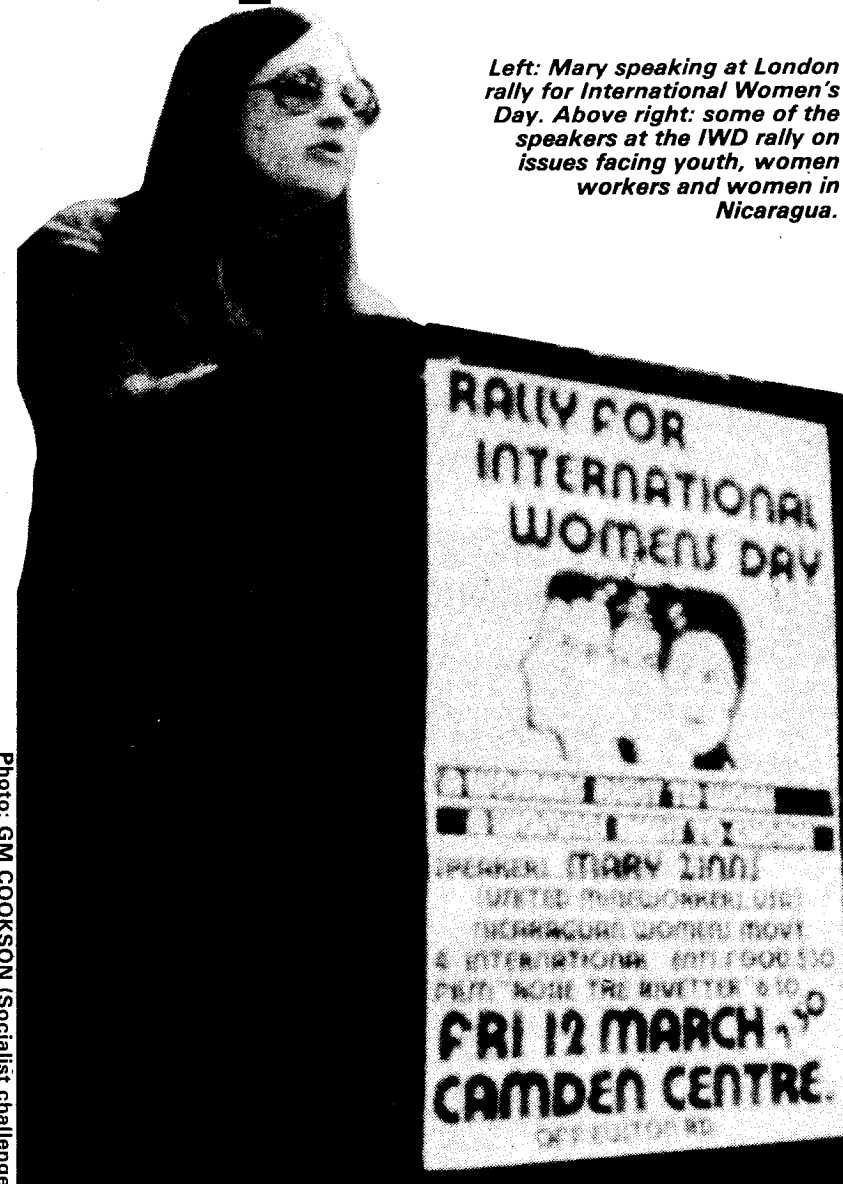
By business standards the strike has done British Rail a power of good — the more you owe, the better you're doing, it seems.

But then who in their right mind would want to run public transport like a business?

Photo: MORNING STAR

Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

Mary Zinns miner, gets 'fantastic response'



Left: Mary speaking at London rally for International Women's Day. Above right: some of the speakers at the IWD rally on issues facing youth, women workers and women in Nicaragua.

MARY ZINNS, a coal miner in America has just finished the first half of her tour of Britain sponsored by Socialist Challenge and Revolution, the social paper for youth. Ann McClery spoke to Mary at the International Women's Day Rally held in London on Friday 12 March.

The response has been fantastic so far! People in Britain are really interested in the fact that over 3,000 women are working down the pits in the USA. There is also a lot of interest in the positive action programmes that exist and that women are entering non-traditional jobs.

It seems that the situation of women in Britain is similar to that of women in the States who only make 59 cents for every dollar a man makes, and so challenging this job segregation has brought up a lot of discussion.

When I was in Wales I met a young black woman who had just finished a welding course and come up against a lot of opposition from employers.

There was no way she could get a job. I also met a woman who was doing carpentry — it seems like all these women come up against bosses who won't hire them.

All the arguments I heard in the States about women I heard again in Britain. A BBC newscaster in Wales asked me if women and men working together, especially underground, didn't lead to complicated situations?

I was a bit taken aback, since the reason women had gone down the mines wasn't to get husbands but to make a living.

A Communist Party member in Wales asked if it was really progress that women were working down the pits as mining is so unsafe. In the States the CP is opposed to women working in the unions because they don't have women working in the mines in the Soviet Union.

The same people who cry crocodile tears over women in the mines because its unsafe say that nuclear power is safer than coal.

The only talk about safety when they want to keep women out of the mines.

Most of the British press have been very curious about the fact that there is such a thing as women coal miners in the world.

There is a subtle insinuation that while it's alright for women to work in coal mines in the US, it's a different matter in Britain where conditions are so horrific.

But when I went underground at the Whitburn mine near Edinburgh it appeared to me that a pit's a pit! It's certain dirty work, it's certainly dangerous work, but it is work that women can do.

There is still the prevalent idea that women are stealing men's jobs,



but the truth is that this is a boss's argument.

What's important for the working class is to defend everyone's job, men's and women's.

It's only by defending the jobs of those people who have been discriminated against, that the working class can present a united offensive against the employers' attack.

That's how the United Mineworkers of America was built in the States — by uniting black and white workers against the company's policy of divide and rule.

Women going into jobs in coal-mining, steel, rail and shipbuilding have given a big impulse to the fight for women's rights in the States. Now women are organising inside some of the largest and strongest unions in the contry — the unions that have the power to actually shut down the country for women's rights.

We've been able to begin to bring those unions into the fight for

women's liberation, the fight for the equal rights amendments and for women's abortion rights.

The media in this country has tried to portray the biggest obstacle to women working down the pits as the National Union of Mineworkers.

But the truth is that what keeps women from working underground is the same thing that women had to fight against in the States.

The bosses do not want to hire women and in Britain it's against the law for women to work underground.

Once women can break through that law I feel confident that British miners and the NUM will defend its women workers which is the principle of the unions.

YOU can still meet Mary Zinns in Southampton on Thursday 18 March, Conference Room, Civic Centre at 7.45pm and in Bournemouth on Friday 19 March, at the fringe meeting at the Women's TUC.



Participants of the Second National Conference of Women Coal Miners, West Virginia, June 1980

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Socialism and the state

— a suitable case for discussion

By Tessa van Gelderen

'UNLESS we understand the need to break the power of this state machine, there won't be socialism in Britain.' It is hardly surprising that these defiant words, by *Militant* supporter and would-be Member of Parliament, Pat Wall, have brought down a storm of fury from Labour's right and from Michael Foot.

Militant, unlike Foot, realises that a Labour government committed to serious reform will be bound to meet unconstitutional resistance from state and employers alike.

Michael Foot should look at his own experience of Labour governments. In 1950-51 the employers effectively sabotaged the nationalisation of steel. In 1974 the army refused to carry out instructions from the Labour government to break the Loyalist strike in the north of Ireland. The Law Lords' judgement on London's fares policy has highlighted yet again the class interests of the courts.

And who do we have to thank for the Law Lords' existence? Repeated Labour Party conference decisions to abolish the Lords have been ignored by the Parliamentary Labour Party. In 1974 the policy was vetoed from the manifesto by the then leader, Harold Wilson.

Labour leaders like Foot, and the trade union bureaucracy, argue that



Pat Wall



The representatives of the state aren't waiting for the election of a socialist government before attacking the working class

Labour has to be elected at almost any price. Anything that may challenge the state will, in these people's view, irreparably damage Labour's chance for all times. The result is that they now stand idly by while the ruling class's 'extraparliamentary' machine tears down everything the workers ever won.

This is why Socialist Challenge defends *Militant* against the witch hunt inside the party and for its stand on the need to confront the forces of the state.

But there is a further problem. The forces of repression are now being used against workers, against blacks, against youth. The racism of the metropolitan police highlighted this week, the deportations and now transportation of black people, the use of the courts and prisons against workers, all this has to be taken up now.

Waiting for a socialist government to be elected before doing that is a

surefire way of ensuring that such a government would not take power. And taking up these issues will be a necessary prerequisite for socialism, which is very unlikely to come through the ballot box.

Foot opposes *Militant's* influence, not because he believes they have the remotest chance of forming the next cabinet, but because he doesn't want to risk any suggestion that he might tackle the forces of 'law and order' now, by sanctioning extraparliamentary activity to oppose Tebbit, Heseltine the Tory government and their courts.

The problem with *Militant's* approach lies in its view that the Labour Party in its present form can bring about socialism through parliament.

Of course the Labour Party will pass through big changes. In the years to come there will be huge upheavals which it cannot be immune to. It will undergo massive splits and recom-

positions, as it is racked by the class struggle.

It could become an instrument for counter-revolution, as occurred with the German Social Democratic Party after the first world war. A large component could break from the present bureaucratic leadership to create a party that fights for workers' interests.

But we can't decide what to do today by speculating about the future as *Militant* does. We cannot forget that at present the Party leadership is in the hands of union leaders who have shown that they are willing to smash it up rather than see it used for socialism.

On 10 March Terry Duffy announced that he was willing to pledge the engineering union to support right wing candidates against the Labour Party unless the left's advances are halted. This week he has renewed the threat to withdraw funds from the Party. How can we fight this?

Our task as socialists is to involve the Labour Party now in extra-parliamentary struggle and support for the left in the unions, without holding back in order to jockey for position in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp of a future socialist Labour parliament.

The Polish workers have been an inspiration for those here as to the need to make their own organisations more democratic and to serve the needs of the workers themselves. This type of development is a prerequisite for changing society — when workers begin to take control of their own organisations and their own struggles, *Militant* with its talk of 'enabling acts' ignores this.

In present day struggles, institutions far more democratic than our present parliament are being forged. If a future socialist government is to defend itself while the army is shooting down workers, this government will have to have proved itself long beforehand — in today's fight for democracy.



Cartoon: The Militant

Liberalism and SDP — no better than the Tories

By Mark Hackett, President Bury NALGO (Personal Capacity)

THE SIX month Liverpool typists dispute last year will reach its final conclusion at the end of the month when the arbitration panel announces its findings. Whatever the outcome, and it seems that copy typists will gain very little, the whole dispute has shown up the anti-trade union and anti-working class bias of the Liberals.

Like the SDP in Islington, Liverpool Liberals, led by Trevor Jones, have pursued Tory policies. The long and bitter dispute cost the council far more than if it had paid the strikers original demands in full.

The council's aim was to weaken or break the local government union NALGO, so that cuts in services, and redundancies could be pushed through. This project failed and locally the NALGO leadership has emerged stronger than before the dispute.

It has learned, through bitter experience, that

isolated, sectional action, no matter how militant, is not enough. Even the national union leadership has recognised the need for national co-ordinated action to defend jobs and services.

Unfortunately, during the Liverpool typists' dispute, the national leadership failed to spread the action to other local authorities. Nor was there all out strike action by NALGO members, in Liverpool itself.

Loud hints were dropped that if arbitration was offered and the NALGO branch rejected it, full strike pay would be with-

drawn. Many of the strikers feel bitter and angry toward the leadership for its lack of support.

There is a need to take on both the employer and the union leaders. The struggle in Liverpool shows the Liberals and SDP for what they really are — no better than the Tories.

The fight against the council has to go hand in hand with a campaign for a national leadership that gives a clear socialist lead and alternative to SDP, Liberal and Tory policies.

The battles inside the Labour Party are affecting all trade union militants and hastens the need for NALGO to affiliate to the Labour Party. We should be campaigning for a clear majority in favour of affiliation in the forthcoming ballot.

And now for something completely different—something completely different

ISLINGTON NALGO members have been forced back to work by their union leadership. Striking against the first SDP council in support of jobs and services, NALGO members had to take part in a secret ballot which asked the 'unbiased' question: 'On the basis of £20 a week strike pay are you prepared to continue strike action until a satisfactory return to work has been negotiated?'

Over 900 voted to stay out compared to 600 who wanted to go back. But another 500 strikers didn't vote, and the union executive ordered the members back. Not surprisingly, Islington NALGO members are now gunning for the NALGO leadership.



Allende's Chile: lessons for us in Britain today

Trade Unions

Plesseys takes up the Laurence Scott torch

By Phil Penning, Laurence Scott strike committee

WE'VE been thinking hard over the last couple of weeks. What more could we have done? The Laurence Scott workers have had to face bailiffs, helicopters, union sellouts, and lorries driving over our pickets. There's only one conclusion you can come to: get rid of Duffy, Boyd, Ken Cure and the rest of the sellout bureaucrats in our engineering union.

This is not just because of LSE. It's for the sake of workers at Leyland, Plessey's and Ford to name but a few.

It sickens me to think that the trade union movement which was only built through bitter struggle, is being abused by a handful of misleaders.

Not once did they stand up for us during the whole eleven months of our dispute. We saw ourselves as trade unionists who were willing to fight for jobs for the generation to come. With the battle drawing to a close at Scotts, we see the torch being kept alight by Plessey's in Scotland.

But we must never allow what happened at

Scotts to happen again. The only way we can achieve this is by campaigning for socialist policies and ridding the movement of the scum which is controlling it at the moment. One way of going towards this objective is by supporting our fight under rule 14 to force new elections.

Role

We must remember the role that the right wing in the AUEW play in the Labour Party. This is not just a campaign for the AUEW members but for the movement as a whole.

So far we have received about 150 resolutions. We need 251 for the rule to be implemented.

There is an urgent need to raise the issue. Not only in your union branches but in the stewards' committees and broad left meetings. We have now produced a fourth strike bulletin. I ask you to request some from the strike HQ.

Read the truth about one of the greatest present day battles and also the need to support the rule 14 campaign.

Remember, if your branch passes the resolution, the copies must be returned to us so that we can monitor the stage the campaign is at.

The need to get rid of Duffy and Boyd gets more urgent every day. God only knows what they will do to us under Tebbit's laws.

Support Rule 14 campaign

Laurence Scott Strike Committee

Protest resolution for AUEW branches

'THIS branch believes executive council has seriously mishandled the Laurence Scott dispute. As this is an issue of concern to all AUEW members the branch demands a ballot for removal of executive council in line with Rule 14, paragraph five.'

Rule 14, paragraph five states: 'The executive council, or any member thereof may be removed from office by a ballot of the membership of the union provided such a ballot is demanded by ten per cent or more of the branches and not less than two thirds of the membership are in favour of such removal. The ballot should be conducted by the General Secretary.'

If your branch supports the protest resolution, make sure it is sent to the AUEW general office, 110 Peckham Rd, London SE15 and a copy is sent to the strike committee, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire with donations.

LAURENCE SCOTT STRIKE BULLETIN

Laurence Scott strike bulletin number 4 now out. 5p from LSE strike committee, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley. Reductions for bulk.

Broad left in the AUEW

Elections are not enough

By Pat Hickey

ENGINEERING union members this month vote on a number of important positions in the AUEW including the key one of the General Secretary, currently held by John Boyd.

But despite massive problems facing workers in the industry, the Broad Left group's campaign has followed a well-worn groove.

Almost regardless of developments in the class struggle the Broad Left moves into action only around elections.

It consistently fails to identify itself with struggles by AUEW members such as those at Laurence Scott or Leyland Vehicles.

It remains trapped in the political framework established during the 1960s, in the fight against General Secretary Carron and the rise of Hugh Scanlon (now Lord Scanlon). That framework depended on conditions of boom and strong plant-

based organisation.

Its political limit was reached when boom became crisis, and plant-based struggle was less and less able to mobilise the members.

The Labour government of 74-79 signalled the end of this period, when the Social Contract turned out to be a new name for the old policies of wage restraint and unemployment on a scale that even the Tories had not dared.

The death knell for this framework was rung by Scanlon in '77 when he threatened the Heathrow

engineers and the Leyland toolroom with expulsion for striking against Phase III. Faced with the onset of the deepest recession since the War and the betrayals of its leaders, the working class retreated.

Building on the political weakness and hesitancy of the class in facing a situation for which they were not prepared, the right wing swept the board.

Boyd and Duffy put themselves at the head of the retreat and led it with a single-minded determination.

The result was a drastic curtailment of the activity of the shop stewards organisations and a serious erosion of the traditional base of the Broad Left.

But the BL has not adapted to these changes, and so remains tied to a small and shrinking layer of older trade union activists.

It has not taken a new approach to the fight for leadership in the AUEW.

It has not turned to newly radicalising workers coming to the fore in the plants and in the struggles.

This leaves the initiative in the hands of the right. Because new militants are not mobilised around campaigns, around support for struggles, around alternative policies, the Boyd/Duffy leadership has been able to base itself on the reluctance of the class to go into struggle without firm leadership and clear policies.

Office

The BL perspective is dominated by the fight for positions within the trade union apparatus, and so is based on the left leaders.

But these leaders are no more concerned than is the right to stimulate struggles. While basing their bid for office on the needs of the membership for an answer to the attack, their first concern is for the trade apparatus.

The BL reduce the

question of leadership to the character of the official. Scanlon's betrayals have no lessons for them.

The *Engineering Gazette*, organ of the BL, concerns itself almost entirely with the question of elections, and in so far as it mentions struggles at all, does so as a commentator (sympathetically) not as leading a campaign of support.

Similarly, in asking for a vote for Ken Brett as General Secretary it does so on the grounds that it will 'help to bring about a much needed change in the present unbalanced position prevailing within the union's leadership.' Hardly a call to action.

While of course we call for a vote for the left against the right and will campaign for this we must also recognise that the BL perspective is incapable of securing a fundamental change.

This can only be secured by basing the fight for the leadership on the rank and file leaders of struggles.

The BL must be turned outwards to these layers, who are seeking to struggle against the bosses' offensive.

In this regard many members of the BL did give support to the LSE struggle, and played a major part in the campaign of resolutions against the leadership's back-stabbing up to the Final Appeal Court and recall national committee. But on the Rule 14 Campaign the BL kept the issue separate from the elections.

Left officials will not encourage this kind of leadership challenge.

Process

However on this there were differences in the BL. In South Wales for example, the BL did support the campaign and militants should try and influence this process.

Many militants who at present are organised around the BL can and must be broken from the political line of its present leaders.

Their struggles will also have to turn in to the union structures, and that will also mean fighting in the BL to turn it into campaigning organisation of militants.

The AUEW elections are too important to be left to the BL's routine trade unionism. The AUEW plays a decisive part in the Labour Party, and under the present leadership has been the back bone of union support for the right wing.

Boyd/Duffy were also to the fore in talking about a coalition with the SDP. And it was Boyd/Duffy who led the anti-Tebbit of pleading with employers to oppose the Bill.

The significance of the BL does not lie in its declining numerical support, but in the fact that it is the organised left in the union, with a considerable base in the activists in the union. But if a class struggle left is to emerge in the AUEW the BL political framework will have to be broken.

Break right wing control in AUEW

GAVIN LAIRD, the right wing candidate for general secretary of the AUEW, explains in his election address that he is acutely conscious of the difficulty of emulating 'men of such stature' as John Boyd. ANDY LILLEY, AUEW shop steward, explains why he should never be allowed the chance.

TWO key posts will be decided in the AUEW in runoffs between Broad Left candidates and right wingers. The contest for general secretary will be between Gavin Laird and Ken Brett, and a national organiser is being elected with Harry Cutts of the Broad Left, opposing W Timms.

If Brett and Cutts are elected, the rank and file will be able to break the right wing's total monopoly in the union's executive committee.

With this monopoly they have been able — in complete privacy — to prepare right-wing campaigns and sellouts with impunity.

The anti-working class record of the executive would fill an encyclopedia. They have wined and dined Michael Edwardes, even meeting him in his private flat.

They have blocked the fight against redundancies, actively sabotaging the Laurence Scott strike.

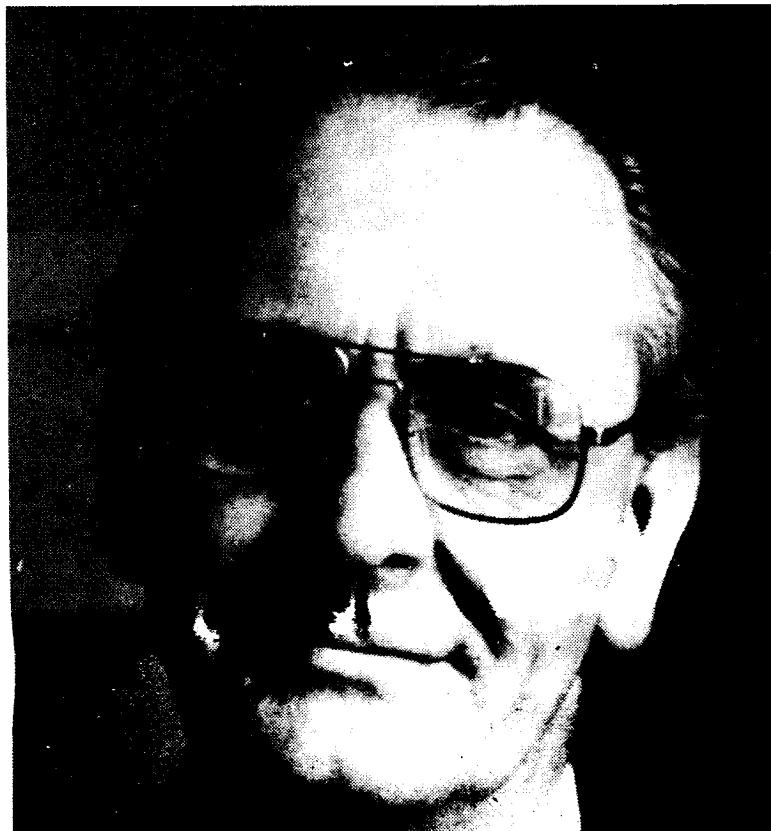
They have been undermining democracy and angling for a merger with the notorious Frank Chapple's electrical union, the EEPTU.

The AUEW block vote has been used to oppose democratic reforms in the Labour Party, and the executive has cultivated right wing MPs — half of whom have now joined the SDP.

Boyd has had editorial control of the AUEW journal, which he has used almost as his personal weapon.

The Broad Left candidates have their limitations. But breaking the right's monopoly on the EC, and replacing leading officials with candidates who have supported the rank and file against the executive, who have backed the democracy struggle in the Labour Party, would create major difficulties for advance in the AUEW.

It is a chance to register a massive vote of no confidence in the present leadership.



Ken Brett, Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW and Broad Left candidate for the post of general secretary



Harry Cutts, Broad Left candidate for national organiser

Hillhead by-election

'Jobs not bombs' crucial issue

By Des Tierney

EVERY by-election is seen as a crucial popularity test of both the government and the opposition. Now the Liberal/Social Democratic Alliance has come onto the scene. How is the Labour Party facing up to this challenge?

The issues raised in the Hillhead by election are the same crucial ones that the working class faces everywhere. Unemployment and the real threat of annihilation from nuclear war should be the main campaigning themes in this Glasgow constituency.

Soaring above the national average, unemployment lies at 17 per cent, while youth unemployment is a horrendous 53 per cent. No end to that upward spiral is in sight as Albion Motor Works, part of the Leyland Group, and one of the constituency's



No Tory defections this time?

major employers, is threatened with closure.

The decision of the Tories to go ahead with Trident has guaranteed that Glasgow and the West

of Scotland will be at the centre of resistance to such plans.

Local and national CND activists and supporters of the Scottish Campaign Against Trident are making this an issue in the campaign. In the last week there will be a CND rally, a youth CND march and a trade union conference of SCAT. In an attempt to diffuse this, defence minister John Nott will be visiting the constituency.

Opportunity

Here is a great opportunity for Labour to show the Tories the extent of the anger and frustration of Scottish people, and in the process winning for

Labour the last Tory-held seat in Glasgow.

Passive

But unhappily, the 'spirit of Bishop's Stortford' is preventing the campaign taking any such advantage. Despite having formal commitment to the fight against redundancies and the fight to get rid of Trident, the Labour Party in this election is turning away from the only methods that will ensure these goals. It is also turning away from those activists in the labour and trade union movement that are fighting for them. Instead, it is content to rely on the passive loyalty of the traditional Labour voters in the area.

Votes and real commitment to Labour would be won if workers and youth saw the Party using opportunities as the by-election to build support for CND in the area.

Danger

In the absence of such a radical alternative to the policies of the Tories, it looks as if the Labour Party is in danger of losing votes to the Scottish National Party. The SNP accuses Labour of having wasted the overwhelming support it received at the last election for their policies in Scotland. In a close contest, any defection of Labour support to the SNP could be critical. The growing support

of the SNP and the lacklustre performance of the SDP/Liberal Alliance should serve as a warning to the Labour candidate, David Wiseman: watered-down socialist policies don't bring out the vote.

The Tories, on the other hand, are maintaining their support. At the last general election the Tory vote had reached its lowest since the war. What remains is a fairly solid middle class vote who could be expected to be relatively supportive of Thatcher's present course. This is also strengthened by the reception of last week's budget.

Unable to capture any significant support amongst organised

Labour in Scotland, the level of SDP support must be determined by the ups and downs of Tory popularity. In turning even slightly away from hard-nosed monetarist policies, the likelihood of massive defections of the Tories to the SDP alliance has decreased.

Stark

The low-key reception given in the media to the campaign of Roy Jenkins contrasts sharply with the situation at Warrington and Crosby. This very much affects the choices of the volatile layer to which they are appealing.

For the working class the choices are far more stark.



LONDON TRANSPORT-WHAT NEXT?

By Helen Flynn, bus worker

'THIS is the best thing that's happened to transport workers in London since the General Strike in 1926'. That was how one busworker summed up the feeling of triumph on Wednesday when our one-day strike was completely solid.

All the old bitterness between different unions seemed to have evaporated. Everyone was delighted to see what power LT workers really do have, and mad at seeing how the press and media scarcely reported this historic action.

The confidence gained last week has made a tremendous difference to our struggle in defence of jobs and cheap fares. Instead of the continuous complaints from all sides that a one-day stoppage would be a futile act of protest, the question

everyone is asking now is: when is the next strike? What action are we going to take now?

Despite GLC councillors and the union leaders not giving a positive lead to transport workers, the National Union of Railwaymen has shown the way by confronting management tactics and refusing to go along with a single redundancy.

Where new rosters are about to be introduced on a reduced service for the Bakerloo line, the stewards have refused to

scrutinise them, and have called on their members to turn up for their normal duties on the day the reduced schedules are brought in.

Such actions unite workers and consumers in the struggles against redundancies and for a decent transport service.

The stewards and local reps of all the unions should meet again as at their recent 'conference of 600' which decided on the one-day strike action. They should send a delegation to the GLC Transport Committee and demand that it open the books to the unions and spell out exactly what cuts are going to be made.

Ken Livingstone should give us the information we need to wage a

truly effective campaign in defence of the Council's right to run London Transport as the voters decided.

An all-out strike has the potential of winning the fight quickly and decisively. 'Can't Pay, Won't Pay' — however well intentioned — acts as an obstacle to that fight. It lets the government off the hook and it fails to unite people around the demand for jobs.

Such a campaign, in placing the burden of the struggle on isolated groups of workers such as bus conductors and ticket collectors cuts across the unity that is needed if we are to succeed. Our one day strike showed the unity is there. We have to build from that.



Give us the gen, Ken

DAVID GORDON



Busworkers on the picket line at Stamford Hill garage: let's build from that unity

Stop the missiles

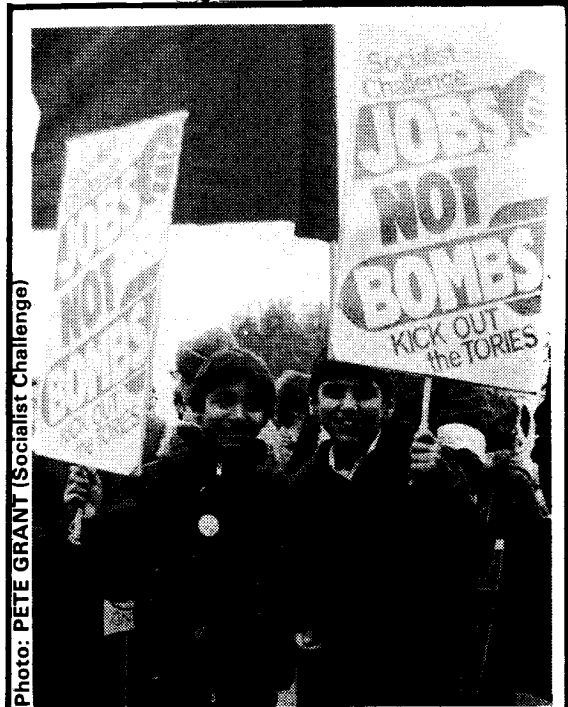


Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

Keep us on target

By P Ryan

TEN BILLION POUNDS — that's all the new Trident II missile system will cost us all. That's £200 from every one in Britain for Reagan and Thatcher's deadly war games.

Socialist Challenge has thrown itself into the campaign to stop Trident and to insist that the money is spent on jobs not bombs. To carry out these campaigns *Socialist Challenge* does not need £10bn, but a mere £16,000 every three months from you — our supporters.

That's just to maintain our arsenal of propaganda, and we plan to expand our campaigning. That's why we've produced another small weapon, a new badge 'For a Reagan-free Europe', don't go into battle without one!

It seems our message is getting through. This week along with a subscription we received a contribution towards our forthcoming pamphlet on Laurence Scott, and instructions to: 'Tell them that it is from a very hard-up elderly woman who wishes them well and that my heart is with them'.

The letter goes on: 'You seem quite right to me, Judge Denning overruled Parliament. That's a fact. That's parliamentary democracy? You want socialism and so do I. You do fill the heart of this old woman with respect and hope with your struggles.'

Our thanks go to this comrade and our other supporters who came to our aid in this good week for *Socialist Challenge's* fund appeal. Thanks to the International Womens Day rally and sterling support from readers across the country.

But please remember: we are still nearly £2000 short on our goal for this quarter. Bills remain unpaid. We have just two weeks to the end of the quarter, and we need £4,300 to make our £16,000 target. Come to the aid of the one weapon worth keeping — Socialist Challenge!

Our thanks this week to:

Manchester supporters	110	Glasgow	13
Sheffield	112	Miscellaneous	50.50
Wakefield	9	Camden	80
Lewisham	80	Brighton	11
Nottingham	151	Haringey	12
Newport	60	Bristol	40
Wandsworth	137	Liverpool	40
Anon	62	Leeds	50
Huddersfield	25	Des Stevens	5
Outer West London	117	Southwark	80
Tower Hamlets	100	A Jarman	10
Coventry	30	Aberdeen	50
Middlesboro	40	Bolsover	15.31
Southampton	60	Exeter	27
Cardiff	109	International Womens Day Rally	455
Oxford	120		
Hackney reader	1		
MD	25	Total	£2,330.81
RTD	5	Grand Total	£11,714.61
Crawley	5	Grand Total	£11,714.61
Oxford	5	Sub Total	£11,714.61

Scottish Campaign Against Trident Demo

10.30am Blythswood Square Glasgow

Sat 10 April

Scottish Labour backs Solidarnosc

THE Labour Party in Scotland is to join the campaign of solidarity with Poland's free trade union, Solidarnosc.

A motion passed by the party's conference in Perth on Sunday pledges it to organise a tour of Scotland by Solidarnosc members and to issue a financial appeal on behalf of the union.

This success is all the more remarkable in that the resolution was adopted against the advice of the party's Scottish executive, which had wanted it remitted as 'too controversial' in the run-up to the Hillhead by election.

Support for Solidarnosc had been widely canvassed among delegates the previous day, however, when Warsaw executive committee member Artur Swiergiel had visited the conference and spoken at a fringe meeting organised by the Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee.

So it was with some confidence that the mover from Cathcart constituency refused to allow the resolution to be remitted. But even he must have been somewhat taken aback by the cynical response of party chairperson George Galloway, who said: 'Let's not have the peace break down on a Sunday morning' — and then called for rejection of the motion!

Galloway scandalously won the support of the block vote of the TGWU, but even they could not prevent the majority at conference from speaking its mind on this issue and voting to back Solidarnosc.

The focus for supporters of Solidarnosc in Scotland will now shift to next month's Scottish TUC conference. A considerable success has already been achieved with the STUC's decision to invite a Solidarnosc speaker to address the conference. So the prospects are good for real Labour Party/trade union action to back the workers' movement in Poland.

Keepout this undesirable element

By Bob Pennington

THE LABOUR MP for Edinburgh East is Gavin Strang. He is normally a moderate man. Yet last week, at the Scottish Council of Labour he called for 'civil disobedience' and 'industrial action' to block deployment of Trident. He is right to urge such action. As he says: 'We are talking about life itself and our children's right to life'. When these issues are at stake, breaking the constitution and flaunting the will of the Tory majority at Westminster seem small beer indeed.

Massive mobilisations, industrial action, and civil disobedience, are not only legitimate means of opposing the incineration of humanity, they are the only ones that offer any hope of winning.

Last week the Tory government decided to splash out £10bn on Trident II rather than cut corners to buy the slightly less lethal Trident I for a miserly £7bn.

The Tories showed they meant business by also inviting Reagan to address both Houses of Parliament at Westminster and to meet the monarchy at Windsor. This is the British establishment's way of saying: 'We support your war drive, Mr Reagan, and we are behind you in your plans to turn Central America and the Caribbean into America's back yard.'

Reagan's visit is an af-

front to the anti-imperialist movement and a challenge to all those people who are against resources being used for war as opposed to social needs — remember the cost of Trident II equals 500,000 new two story council houses!

The British labour movement must tell Reagan to get the hell out of Britain. He is an undesirable element who is prepared to spread death and destruction across the world if he thinks it serves US capitalism.

His lackeys in the Tory government hang on to his coat tails because they know that the survival of the disintegrating capitalist system in Britain depends on the goodwill of their US masters.

The war drive can be stopped if we mobilise behind the policies of unilateralism. We can stop

the possible holocaust if we say no to Cruise and no to Trident. These are already the policies of the Labour Party and the TUC, and last weekend the conference of the Scottish Council of Labour also backed them.

Our task now is to commit the TUC and the Labour Party to support the campaign against Reagan's visit to Britain, and in particular to back the giant CND demonstration, now planned for London on 6 June.

Hundreds of thousands of working people can be mobilised to protest against Reagan, the insanity of Cruise and Trident, and against US backing of the murderous regime in El Salvador.

Greater Manchester CND has given the lead by making the 6 June march its number one priority. It aims to take a minimum of three trains down to London in conjunction with the regional TUC and Labour Party. It has also appealed to CND for the basis of the march to include 'Hands off El Salvador'.

Guatemala and El Salvador: elections in the cemeteries

By Phil Hearse

ELECTIONS in Central America have their own peculiarities. For example, in El Salvador the election on 28 March has two main candidates — President Duarte, leader of the military junta and Major D'Aubisson, 38 year old leader of the death squads.

Most Salvadoreans will not vote in the elections, but those who do can choose between the military junta and the death squads!

This is what Presidents Reagan and Duarte — and the Pope who has urged Salvadoreans to vote — call 'democracy'.

The elections which took place last Sunday in Guatemala had even more democracy — there were *three* main candidates. As well as the military and the death squads there was a 'moderate' fascist candidate. Only 450,000 people out of four and a half million entitled to vote turned up.

The winner (surprise, surprise)

was the candidate supported by the military junta, General Anibal Guevara. Guevara is an army general and former 'defence' minister.

Pretty grim, you might think. But the candidate who came second makes Guevara look like a moderate. Sandoval Alacron violently (to coin a phrase) denies he is a 'National Socialist'. The term, he says, has 'too much to do with socialism'. But he is prepared to accept 'in a general historical sense' the term 'fascist'.

He also admits that his party, the bizarrely named 'National Liberation Movement' (MLN) has a private militia of 3000. But rest assured. It only kills 'communists'.

Alacron and the other opposition candidates, according to a well rehearsed script, claim that the result was a fraud. It probably was. Their real objection is that, not being in power themselves, they were unable to defraud Guevara.

The claims and counter-claims of fraud have made the election even more farcical than it would have been otherwise. The *real* representatives of

The Reagan budget

By Will Reissner

IN THE midst of a serious recession, potentially the worst since the 1930s, President Reagan's proposed 1983 budget contains ever deeper cuts in federal social spending while boosting the Pentagon's arms budget by more than 19 per cent over 1982 levels. The increases in arms spending will result in a record budget deficit.

For fiscal 1983, which begins in October, Reagan wants to spend at least \$216bn on the military, with authority to fund new weapons that could bring the spending to \$257.5bn. An additional \$5.5bn for nuclear weapons will be charged to the Department of Energy rather than the Pentagon.

In fact, over the next five years the White House wants to spend \$1.64 trillion (\$1.64 million million) on the military. That comes to over \$7,100 for every man, woman, and child now living in the United States.

Weapons purchases under the Reagan plan will rise even faster than during the peak of the Vietnam War. The White House claims that the huge increases are needed to 'catch up with the Russians'. But retired Admiral Gene La Rocque, now with the Centre for Defence Information, points out the real relationship between US and Soviet forces:

'Our submarines carry 5,000 nuclear weapons — 3,000 of which are always aimed and ready to fire at the USSR. The Soviets keep 400 nuclear weapons at sea, ready to fire at the US.

The United States has 410 strategic bombers, compared to the Soviets' 145. More than half of the Soviet bombers are still propeller-driven.

We have *always* had more strategic nuclear weapons than the Soviets. Today we can explode 12,000 nuclear weapons on the Soviet Union, while they can explode 7,000 on us.

The United States will build 17,000 new nuclear weapons in the 1980s, if we continue to move forward with current plans for the MX, Cruise, Trident, Pershing II, and other weapons.

Furthermore, White House propaganda notwithstanding, the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) consistently outspend the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the United States and NATO outspend the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact by more than \$300bn in the past decade.

The aim of Reagan's war budget is not, as claimed, to catch up with an illusory Soviet threat. The real aim is to bolster the Pentagon's ability to intervene militarily around the world — and especially in Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East — in defense of the interests of US corporations.

In recent months Reagan administration figures have repeatedly stated publicly that they are drawing up contingency plans to invade or blockade Cuba, and that they will 'do whatever is necessary' to prevent the overthrow of the bloody junta ruling El Salvador. Reagan has also vowed to defend the Saudi Arabian monarchy against revolution.

Reagan's 1983 Pentagon budget shows that these statements are deadly serious. By far the largest spending increases are earmarked for building up non-nuclear intervention forces such as the 110,000-member Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) and the US Navy.

The RDF, set up by President Carter, draws on troops and facilities from the army, navy, air force, and marines and is designed to be airlifted anywhere in the world, meeting up with equipment prepositioned at sites close to the likely scenes of interventions.

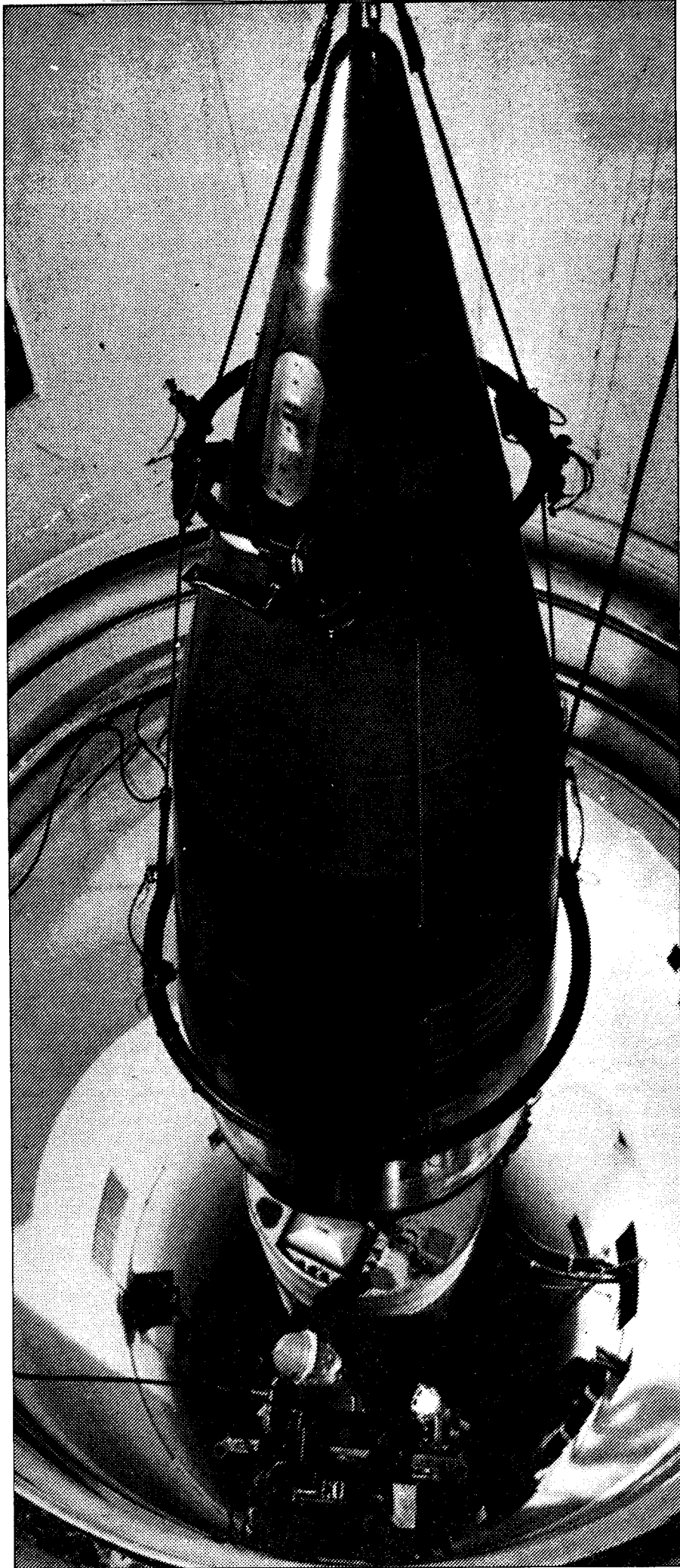
The RDF has already carried out practice invasions of Central America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East. A permanent base for the force has been built on the British ruled island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, where freighters loaded with tanks, artillery, ammunition, fuel, water, and other equipment and supplies are permanently anchored, ready to sail for the Persian Gulf at moment's notice.

Other RDF facilities near the Persian Gulf are being built in Oman, Kenya, Somalia, and Egypt.

The Pentagon plans to spend at least \$11bn on new equipment for the Rapid Deployment Force in 1983 alone. This includes new air transport planes, tanker planes to allow them to reach any place in the world without having to land to refuel, more prepositioned equipment, and additional cargo ships to carry that equipment.

The Reagan administration describes the RDF's main role as blocking Soviet aggression. That is simply propaganda aimed at making the force more palatable to American public opinion.

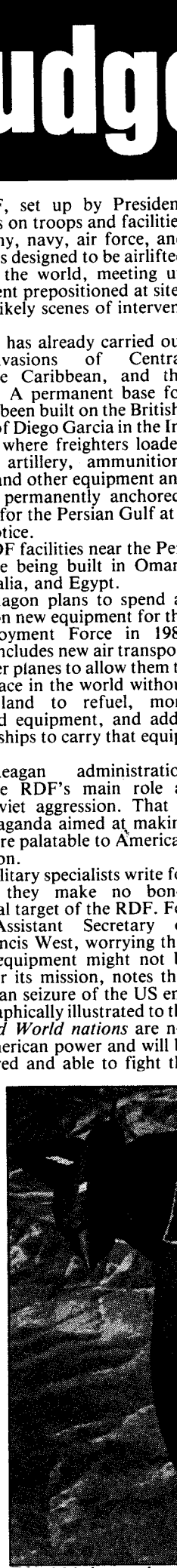
When military specialists write for themselves, they make no bones about the real target of the RDF. For example, Assistant Secretary of Defence Francis West, worrying that the RDF's equipment might not be sufficient for its mission, notes that 'as the Iranian seizure of the US embassy too graphically illustrated to the world, *Third World nations* are now aided by American power and will be quite prepared and able to fight the



Intercontinental Ballistic Missile



Cruise Missile



Blackbird spy plane

the people of Guatemala are the increasingly powerful guerrilla organisations, who were barred from the election.

They have fused to form a joint command — a 'front of national patriotic unity'.

During the elections they attacked military installations and erected road blocks within ten miles of the capital, Guatemala City. While the guerrillas advance, the Lucas Garcia regime engages in wholesale butchery of villagers as its situation becomes more hopeless.

Just as in Guatemala, the election in El Salvador takes place against a background of increasing advances by the left-wing guerrillas. Denis Healey has denounced the elections as a 'sordid farce', without an electoral register and with no possibility of the left-wing parties standing candidates.

In the war last week both the US and the Duarte regime got a nasty shock. Their army fought its first stand-up pitched battle with the guerrillas, dug in around the Guazapa volcano. They sent their helicopter

gunships against the FMLN for three days, and they were continually hit by groundfire and beaten back.

Eventually the guerrillas withdrew, slipping away at night through the army lines. As they withdrew their marching columns could be heard singing revolutionary songs, but the army were still unable to find them.

As a guerrilla leader 'Frederico' told American journalists: 'We can move anywhere. We are not going to fight a war of positions. There are too many targets of opportunity.'

Britain is sending two 'observers' to sanction the phoney Reagan-Duarte elections. Every labour movement body should demand British dissociation from America's policy in El Salvador and the cancellation of the observers' visit.

The future of El Salvador and Guatemala will be decided by the heroic men and women who are fighting arms in hand against the American-backed dictators, not by the fairy tale world of the dictators' elections.

EL SALVADOR SOLIDARITY

DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY 28 MARCH
HYDE PARK LONDON



t: guns not butter

RDF when it lands.' (Emphasis added.)

Crucial to the Pentagon's drive to improve its ability to intervene around the world is a vast ship-building programme for the US Navy. Some \$88bn of the 1983 budget (up from \$41.7bn in 1979) is earmarked for the Navy, to expand it from about 475 ships at present to more than 600 by the end of the decade. All told, some \$96bn is to be spent on a five-year ship-building programme.

The Navy plans to build two additional battle groups around new nuclear aircraft carriers, at a cost of \$17bn per group, bringing the number of carrier battle groups in the US fleet to fifteen.

Additional battle groups will also be built around two World War II battleships, to be recommissioned at a cost of \$761m.

As Secretary of the Navy John Lehman explains, a 600-ship fleet organised around 15 carrier groups could deal 'simultaneously with conflicts in the Far East, Near East, Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, the oil lifelines around Africa to the United States and Europe, the Mediterranean, North Atlantic, Caribbean and Eastern Pacific' (*Washington Post*, 7 February).

When plans to refurbish the battleships USS *Iowa* and USS *New Jersey* were first announced a year ago, Richard Halloran reported in the *New York Times* that 'the Marine Corps is particularly eager to have them back to provide bombardment for amphibious assaults.'

Navy Secretary Lehman also pointed out that the reactivated battleships would be well suited to 'fighting within the narrow confines of the Persian Gulf' (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 March 1981).

Both battleships have been used in past interventions in the semicolonial

world. The *Iowa* and *New Jersey* were brought out of storage for the Korean War, and the *New Jersey* was again reactivated for the Vietnam War, during which it sat off the North Vietnamese coast, out of range of coastal batteries, and pounded away with its long-range guns.

The battleships are now to be refitted with up to 320 Cruise missiles, with a range of 1,500 miles.

In addition to the sharp increases in spending for the RDF and the US Navy, Reagan's 1983 arms budget will boost spending on nuclear weapons and delivery systems by almost \$7bn from the current fiscal year. Four weapons systems are receiving special emphasis.

The MX missile will 'give the United States the ability, for the first time, to threaten all of the Soviet Union's land-based missiles', the 11 August 1980 *New York Times* noted.

Armed with ten independently targeted nuclear warheads, and with a range of over 6,000 miles, the MX could knock out the most strongly reinforced Soviet missile silos.

The submarine-launched Trident II missile, employing a new and extremely accurate guidance system and with a range of up to 7,500 miles, is the first sea-based missile with the accuracy needed to destroy small military targets. The Pentagon plans to deploy 13 Ohio-class nuclear submarines, each containing 24 Trident missile tubes.

A third new weapons system, the Cruise missile, can be launched from land, ships, submarines, and airplanes. It is so small and flies so low that it is virtually impossible to detect by radar. In addition, once launched, the Cruise can continually change direction to avoid obstacles while skimming along barely above treetop level.

It is extremely cheap as such

weapons go, and the Pentagon plans to produce 4,000 to 5,000 Cruise missiles.

A fourth system, the Pershing II, is a highly accurate land-based missile carrying a cluster of warheads. NATO plans to deploy 572 US Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe in 1983. From bases in West Germany, the Pershing II could reach Soviet targets in as little as five minutes, compared to thirty or more minutes for a missile launched from the US.

The Pentagon is also going ahead with a new nuclear bomber, the B-1, and is working on the 'Stealth' bomber, so called because it would be invisible to Soviet radar.

Why are US policymakers pushing ahead with these first-strike weapons? Not to launch a nuclear war against the USSR. They know that would be suicidal. But these doomsday weapons have a very practical purpose, which is directly tied to the immediate plans of US rulers for Central America, the Caribbean, and other areas.

The Pentagon wants overwhelming nuclear superiority as a club to be used to prevent the Soviets from coming to the aid of any victim of a US intervention.

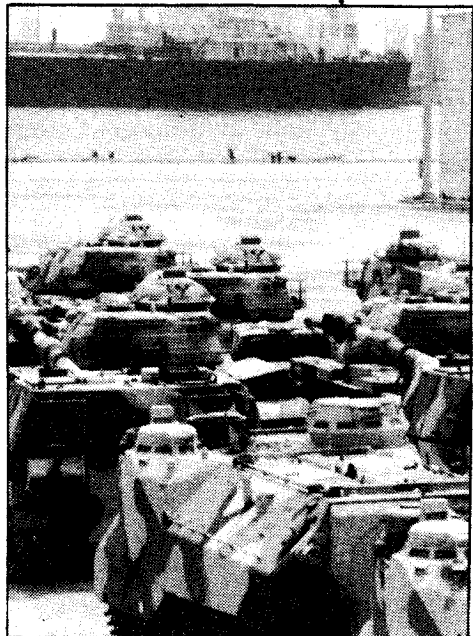
But Reagan's policies face strong opposition both in the United States and around the world. In Europe a massive movement has developed against NATO's plan to deploy US Cruise and Pershing II missiles on Western European soil next year. Whether that decision can be implemented is now an open question.

In the United States, too, there is tremendous opposition to US involvement in El Salvador, showing that the 'Vietnam syndrome' is far from dead.

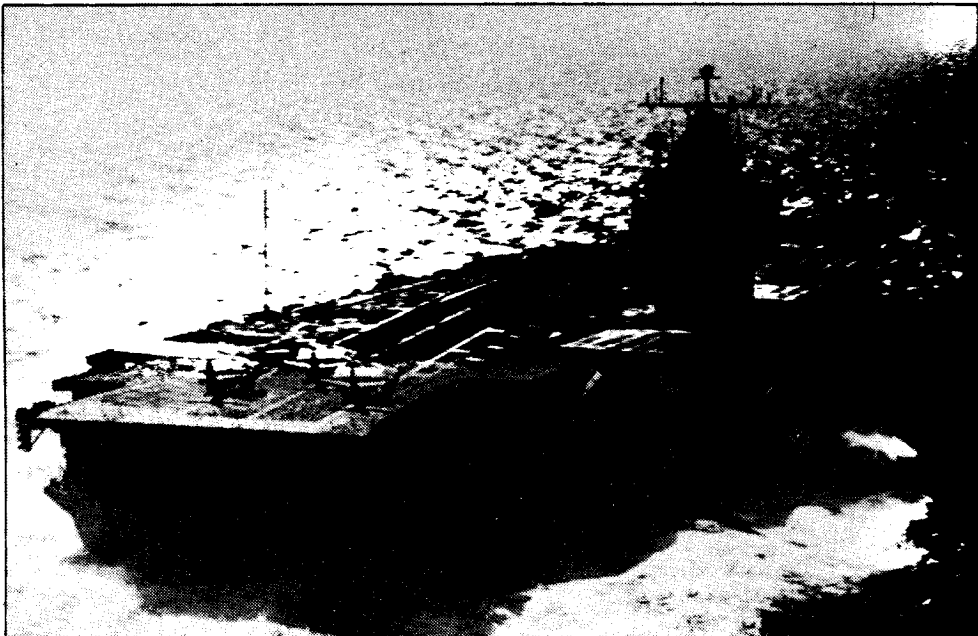
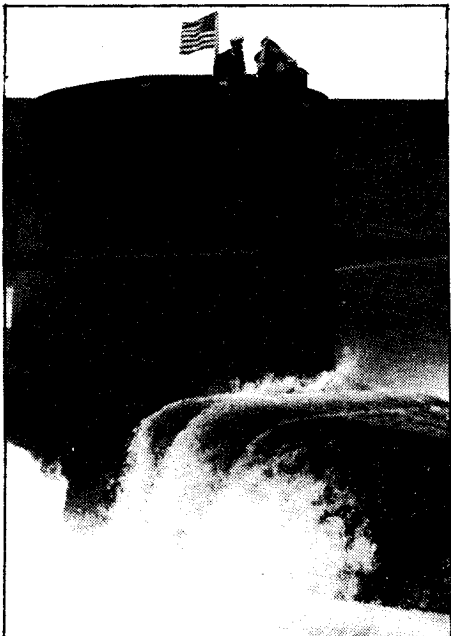
● Taken from *Intercontinental Press*, 8 March, 1982.



The defeat in Vietnam and the collapse of imperialism's relays in places like Iran have forced the US to boost its own military spending to the point of breaking the economy. But to defend their world-wide economic and political domination, they must be able to send US troops to intervene directly.



Diego Garcia



Nuclear aircraft carrier USS Enterprise

Where you can buy Socialist Challenge

Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more info ring Bill 896 284.
EDINBURGH: SC sold Thur 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St Andrews Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Sat 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.
GLASGOW: SC sales every Thur/Fri 4.30-5.30pm at Central Station. Also available at Barretts, Byres Rd; Clyde Books, High St; Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Cresswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.
HAMILTON: SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 53 Elliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, Hamilton.

Wales

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

England

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.
BIRKENHEAD: SC on sale at Labour Club, Cleveland st, Thur nights; in precinct outside Littlewoods, Sat 11-12.
BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643-0669.
BOLSOVER: Cross Keys, every Fri 8-9pm, Bluebell 9-10.
BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpelier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
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 Peaceworks.
LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane Pedestrian Precinct and 10.30-12.00 at Headingley Arndale Centre. Corner Bookshop, Woodhouse Lane.
LIVERPOOL: SC on sale from News from Nowhere, Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.
MANCHESTER: SC sold 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER at Gorton and Droylesden markets 11am-12.30 Sats and at Grassroots and Percivals

Bookshops

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

SC Events

BRISTOL: Joint Revolution/Socialist Challenge Day school on the Labour Party - 'Socialism and the Labour Party today' for our sympathisers. Sat 27 March, 11-5pm. Creche provided. For details of venue contact Bath (0225) 20298.
LEICESTER: Socialist Challenge/Revolution meeting Thur 18 March, 7.30pm: Crisis in British trade

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EAST LONDON TOM. In aid of Irish political prisoners. The Republic plus Chat's Arkesira plus disco. Thurs 25 March 8pm. £1.50 or 75p unwaged.
TURKISH trade unionists on tour. Between 24 March and 2 April five leading figures from the Turkish trade union federation DISK will tour major cities in Britain to raise support for the 52 executive members of DISK currently on trial for their lives in Turkey. Meetings in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle, Bolsover, Liverpool, Oxford and London. Make sure you get your branch to sponsor the tour. Organised by Turkey Solidarity Campaign. BM Box 5965, London WC1N 3XX.

WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS Sat 27 March
 Conference 10am-5.30 at Kingsway Princeton College, Sidmouth Street, WC1. 29 topic workshops. Film: Rosie the Riveter and discussion led by Women in Manual Trades. Bop with TOUR DE FORCE. All-day creche. Some facilities for disabled. Women only. Registration £3.50/£2 includes lunch and films. Contact: Women's Fightback 01-607 9052/5268.

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Rab Butler - founder of liberal Toryism

By Andrew Gamble

When Rab Butler died on the day of the budget he already seemed a fairly remote figure belonging to a different political era - the era of social democratic consensus, relative social peace and world expansion. The era of 'Butskellism'.

A long distance separated Butskellism from Thatcherism. In his tribute Edward Heath declared that RA Butler was one of the main architects of post-war liberal conservatism which, he added, had ended in 1974. It was, after all, Butler who once declared 'those who talk about creating pools of unemployment should be thrown into them and made to swim'.

Butler fought tirelessly against the right in his party and helped ensure the dominance of his own section of party opinion after 1945.

He came from a long established upper class English family, full of masters of Cambridge colleges, headmasters of Harrow, small landowners and civil servants. His father was governor of the central provinces in India.

Butler was born in India and like so many of his generation and his class shared the imperial mystique. His deepest ambition, almost realised in 1943, was to become Viceroy.

There were few other positions in the British state, however, that he did not occupy. He was a government minister for 26½ years, a period longer than any other minister except Churchill so far in this century. This was possible because in the 49 years between 1915 and 1964, the Conservatives were only out of office for nine years.

Empire

This long period of one-party dominance included the whole of Butler's active political life. He entered parliament in 1929 and retired to Trinity in 1965.

It was dominated by two fundamental political problems: the international eclipse of British power and disengagement from empire and the problems of containing the internal challenge from the British labour movement.

During his long career Butler loyally served 6 prime ministers - Baldwin, Chamberlain, Churchill, Eton, Macmillan and Hume. He never resigned and he never refused to serve in any office despite being passed over on three occasions for the premiership.

Although perhaps best known for the 1944 Education Act and his period as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1961-1965, he served for as long in government before 1945 as he did after 1951. He was associated with many important policies and new initiatives.

plement the Beveridge Proposal and in drawing up the 1944 White Paper on full employment.

He expected the electoral disaster that overwhelmed the Tories in

economy to dismantle remaining control and reestablish freedom for private capital and for the City of London. The growth in living standards that followed helped con-

opponent of the traditional Tory right. He was strongly opposed to the hanging and flogging lobby in the party. He favoured racial integration. He had doubts about the Suez invasion. He supported disengagement from the empire and he worked for a lasting political settlement with labour.

He saw himself in the tradition of Peel and Baldwin, pursuing the strategy of gradual reform and timely concessions. It was a style of politics that proved highly successful, but it was always premised on the continuation of the absolute strength of the British state and the relative wealth of the British economy. When these were undermined a new right began to emerge in British politics which launched fierce attacks on the cautious pragmatism of post-war conservatism for appeasing the labour movement and failing to reverse 'socialism'.

By the 1980s few remaining practitioners of the 'art of the possible' as Butler understood it could any longer disguise the breakdown of consensus and the deep political crisis into which Britain was entering.

● Andrew Gamble is the author of *The Conservative Nation, a major work on the history of the Tory Party.*

His most recent work is Britain in Decline - a must for all our readers coming to grips with the British political crisis.

Both books are available from The Other Bookshop.

At present, Andrew Gamble is a lecturer at the University of Sheffield.



In the 1930s as a junior minister he was closely involved both with the India Act, the first step toward complete Indian independence which was bitterly contested by the Tory right led by Churchill. Subsequently, he was the foreign office spokesman in the House of Commons for the policy of appeasement towards Germany.

As Home Secretary in 1929 he introduced the Commonwealth Immigration Act and in 1962 led the mission which confirmed the dissolution of Britain's last imperial fling - the Central African Federation.

As chairman of the Conservative Research Department and founder of the Conservative Political Centre he helped to shape the perspective of the post-war conservative leadership. One of his successes was to recruit new Conservatives like Maudling, Powell and Macleod who worked for the Conservative Research Department.

In the 1947 Industrial Charter and the 1950 programme 'The Right Road for Britain' which were both drawn up by Butler the party signalled its acceptance of fundamental reform and the changed balance of forces brought about by the war, the coalition and the subsequent labour government.

In his chancellorship between 1951 and 1965 Butler demonstrated the pragmatic acceptance by the Tories of Keynesian demand management, high welfare spending and an enlarged public sector. At the same time he took full advantage of the change in the terms of trade and the acceleration of growth in the world

solidate the new conservatives.

His politics were those of the liberal establishment. He was a lifelong

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Women down the mines?

ROSE BROOKS' article on women in the coal industry (SC 4 March) was useful and interesting. However, I think it dodged the most important questions involved in this debate.

The widely-held view in the mining areas is that the 1842 Bill excluding women from underground work was a gain for the working class, won after years of struggle. The view of women's work as presented in the article is misleading. The majority of women worked as 'hurriers'

The hurrier was harnessed to a sledge ('corve'). They would have to crawl miles dragging the corve full of coal, along roads which were usually 3 feet high, water-logged and filled with bad air. It took two men to lift the baskets onto the women's backs.

It was a terrible and unnecessary waste of women's lives — the result

of the refusal of the more backward owners to invest in proper roadways and winding gear.

By all means draw out the positive aspects of women's working experience but not at the expense of romanticising the brutal exploitation which was the daily experience of thousands of women.

Women as a general rule did not work in the pits in areas where there was other work, such as in the textile industries. It was certainly not any attachment to the job which forced women to evade the law and continue working down the pits — it was the threat of starvation.

The campaign for the exclusion of women from underground work was on

the one hand seen as preparing the way for a new Ten-Hour Bill. The campaign wasn't so much about replacing women with men but in eliminating the worst jobs in the pits. But on the other hand, the movement was strongly influenced by radical Tories, Anglican priests and Tory bosses.

These people argued that a woman's place was in the home. The Bill did not represent a class solution to the problem of the brutal exploitation of women mineworkers. It was actually divisive.

Socialist Challenge should be promoting this debate in the labour movement. Our fundamental position should be that women should have the

right to decide for themselves whether they want to work in the pits.

However, the main point is that while conditions in the pits may have changed dramatically, no one would want to work in the pits if they could get comparable pay in another job.

Our major focus should be to get the considerable weight of the miners' union behind the campaign for positive action as an integral part of a workers' plan to end unemployment through a 35 hour week, early retirement, a crash programme of useful public works and real training for skilled trades.

JACK LAVIN
MANSFIELD



Letters letters LETTERS

Write to SC letters, c/o PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Editor reserves the right to cut any letter over 400 words

Cuba, Nicaragua and Poland — the debate continues

I HAVE been waiting for you to print some disclaimer or criticism of the outrageous article by Phil Hearse blasting Cuba and Nicaragua for their positions on martial law in Poland (SC 11 Feb).

Since this has not happened I assume comrade Hearse's views represent those of the paper. As a supporter of the Cuban revolution and its Marxist leaders, and of Solidarity, I would like to take up comrade Hearse's views.

First of all, comrade Hearse's main aim seems not to be to discuss the positions of the Cuban and Nicaraguan comrades with the attitude that what is involved is a discussion amongst revolutionists. His tone precludes that: it is one of open hostility which launches into the Cubans and Nicaraguans as if they were political opponents.

Although comrade Hearse does not say so openly, one could assume that he really views these comrades as centrists wavering between revolutionary positions (in Central America?) and counter-revolutionary ones (in Eastern Europe?).

He leaves out any mention of the many criticisms which the Cubans and Nicaraguans have made of the Polish Stalinists and of bureaucratic misrule in Eastern Europe. No attempt is made to contrast workers democracy in Cuba or Nicaragua with the lack of it in Eastern Europe or the fact that Polish workers are fighting for many things which Cuban workers already have in their workers state.

Going into these facts would be valuable both in educating British workers and in trying to influence the Cubans and Nicaraguans. If these comrades read Socialist

Challenge, however, your article would have no effect in influencing their incorrect views of Solidarity. Rather they would regard you as sectarian opponents.

This is even more so given that Socialist Challenge has taken a quite different tack with other left tendencies with wrong positions on Poland. The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for instance, believes that Poland is not a workers state of any type and the SWP is therefore opposed to defence of Poland in a capitalist war.

This view provides the framework for their stance on events in Poland and for the slogans and demands they raise. But neither comrade Hearse nor any other Socialist Challenge writers have attacked the SWP's position on Poland, which proceeds from a counter-revolutionary framework. In fact you work side by side with the SWP wherever you can on Polish work.

And what of criticising the anti-communism of the Labour Party misleaders who hypocritically campaign against repression in Poland while condoning it (and carrying it out) in Ireland? Or are these misleaders, whose main aim is to administer British imperialism, politically preferable to the Cubans in comrade Hearse and Socialist Challenge's eyes?

Socialist Challenge has marched side by side with misleaders in the labour movement over Poland. And not only with labour movement misleaders,



Castro and Grenadian prime minister, Maurice Bishop. Does Castro 'misunderstand the role of the Stalinist world system'?

Last December, Socialist Challenge enthusiastically built and participated in a London Polish 'solidarity' march and rally which included a wide range of anti-communists from some Polish exiles to Tory Party people to Social Democratic Party-style Tories to right-wing (and some left-wing!) misleaders of the labour movement. Enemies of socialism and workers rights including Shirley 'NATO' Williams addressed the participants.

Over the past few months the Cuban revolution has been facing its most serious threats from imperialism in two decades. Up till the 3 March issue of the paper, which I have just seen, you have done nothing to convey this to your readers. The only articles dealing with Cuba which I have seen for months in Socialist Challenge has been Phil Hearse's criticising Cuba's position on Poland.

GARY ERLISKER
London

THE LETTER from Brian Lyons (4 March) on Poland, Nicaragua and Cuba contains a number of accusations against Socialist Challenge which are both factually incorrect and politically wrong.

He says that the US military buildup against the revolutions in Central America threatens 'the biggest gains made by the international working class in over 60 years' — that is, since the Russian revolution.

This is false. The biggest gain made by the international working class in the last 60 years has been the wrenching of a quarter of humanity out of the grip of imperialism — the Chinese revolution of 1949. Comrade Lyons' attitude to the Cuban leadership makes him see things differently.

Brian charges that the scope of our Poland material overshadows its anti-imperialist framework. First, Socialist Challenge more than any other paper on the left has defended the Central American revolution against US imperialism, in literally dozens of articles.

We have warned of the danger of US intervention and characterised both the Salvadorean FMLN and Nicaraguan FSLN as revolutionary leaderships. Counterposing coverage of Poland to that on Central America underestimates the threat which the Polish struggle poses to the imperialist bourgeoisie and its control over the European working class.

Brian says that my article was 'completely jaundiced by the issue of Poland'. The article tried to explain the objective roots of the political positions which the Cubans and Nicaraguans have taken on the Polish revolution, namely their 'two campist' theory of world politics, which the Cubans expounded explicitly and at great length at their second party congress in December 1980.

Comrade Lyons' slanderous charge that Socialist Challenge 'helped to echo' the Pentagon's charges that Cuba 'acts as a surrogate force for the Soviet bureaucracy' cannot go unanswered. My article explained

Sam Gordon

IT IS with great regret that we announce the death of Sam Gordon. He died in Middlesex Hospital, London on Friday 12 March, after a long illness.

Sam joined the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) in 1928 after attending a meeting in New York addressed by James P Cannon. He was a leading member of the SWP (US) for many years and wrote many articles and pamphlets under the name of Stuart.

He spent some time with Trotsky in Mexico and carried on a correspondence with him for many years.

In 1940 he became secretary of the Fourth International until he joined the Merchant Navy in 1941 as a means of maintaining contact with sections of the International during the war.

He managed to get into Europe at the end of the war, met comrade Jungclas (one of the founders of German Trotskyism) in Hamburg and played a big part in reconstituting the International in war-shattered Europe. With Michel Pablo, he became joint secretary of the Fourth International.

Sam translated Trotsky's *Germany: the Only Road* into English, and his most recent work was the translation of Rudolf Hilferding's *Finance Capital*.

He played an active role in the formative years of the IMG and although ill-health restricted his activities in recent years, he kept up a lively interest in the activities of the Fourth International.

We salute his memory and express our deepest sympathy to Mildred and David.

that the Soviet bureaucracy opposes the extension of world revolution in Central America and that the line of the Cubans and Nicaraguans was in opposition to that of the Soviet bureaucracy. It further explained the contradiction between the Cuban position on Poland and that on Central America.

Taking an objectively counter-revolutionary position on Poland, far from being a mistake, or another subject for fraternal debate between revolutionaries, has grave consequences for the evolution of these leaderships, because it reveals a misunderstanding of the role of the Stalinist world system.

The victory of the El Salvadorean and Guatemalan revolutions, extending the process begun in Cuba and Nicaragua, would be a tremendous step forward for the workers

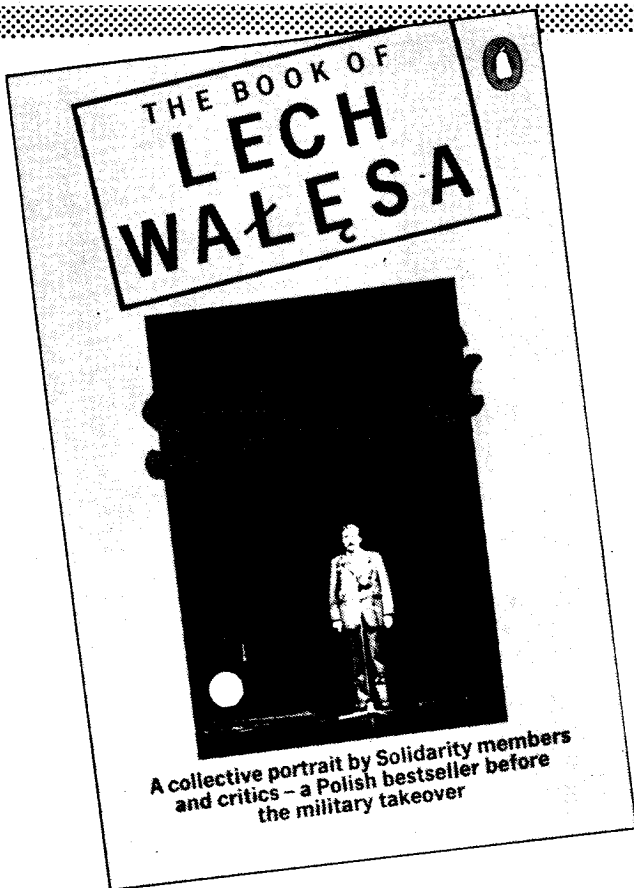
everywhere. But the victory of the revolution in Poland would be a hundred times more significant, as Poland is one of the bastions of the industrial proletariat of the world, the decisive force for world revolution.

The victory of the Polish workers would be a massive defeat for world Stalinism, and would transform the relationship of forces between the working class and its enemies in the whole world, East and West, and in Central America.

Because Solidarnosc mobilised millions of industrial workers, it constituted one of the highest forms of proletarian activity and self-activity that the world has seen since the Russian revolution. Hence, the scope of our coverage in Socialist Challenge.

PHIL HEARSE

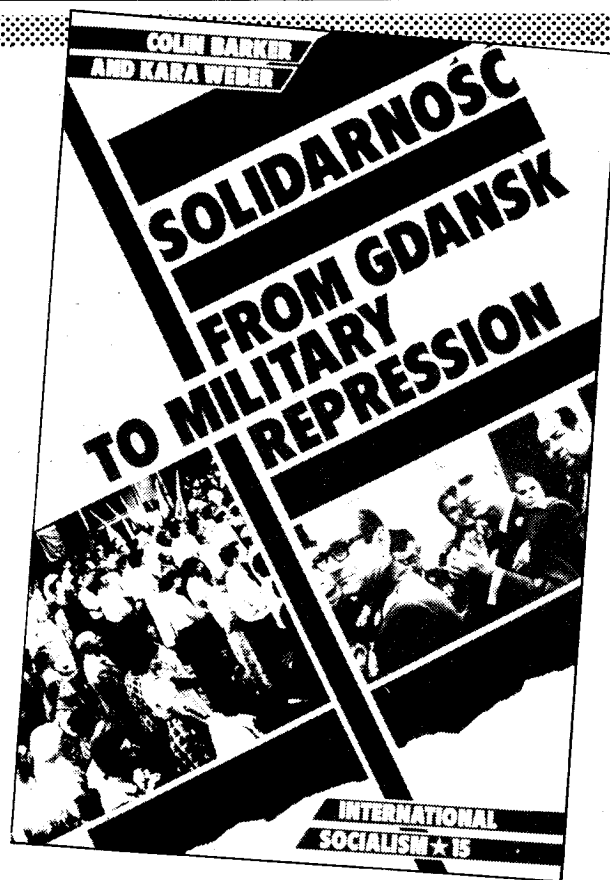
Under Review



The Book of Lech Wałęsa, collective portrait. Penguin Books, £2.50.



The Summer Before the Frost: Solidarnosc in Poland, Jean-Yves Potel, Pluto Press, £3.95.



Solidarnosc: from Gdansk to Military Repression, Colin Barker and Kara Weber, International Socialism Journal, £1.95.

All available from *The Other Bookshop*, 328 Upper Street, London N1 or *Birmingham's Other Bookshop*, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham.

SOLIDARNOŚĆ under scrutiny

By Davy Jones

THREE MONTHS after martial law was imposed in Poland the publishers have rushed into print with their balance sheets of the Polish experience. DAVY JONES reviews the latest three books which offer an interesting contrast of approaches to the Solidarnosc movement.

Go and hear Jean-Yves Potel on his speaking tour next week and buy his book *The Summer Before the Frost*. It may not have quite the same historical depth as Neal Ascherson's *The Polish August*, but its political analysis of the social forces in the Polish crisis far surpasses any other book on the subject.

Potel was in the Lenin shipyards of Gdansk during the famous 1980 strike. His interviews with the militants there graphically describe the development of the nationwide strike movement as workers' delegates packed into the shipyard: 'Good day, ladies and gentlemen ... I am from the Powisle

cooperative of Kwidzyn. We are joining with you — sorry if we're a bit late, we are all united, and we number around 2,000 — and we support your demands! You must excuse me, I am not a public speaker, excuse me ...'

The interviews bring to life the previous rounds of the workers' struggles in 1956, 1970 and 1976. Potel then analyses the Church, the peasantry, the Communist Party and the working class, as well as reviewing the strategy of Solidarnosc in the light of the military crackdown.

Penguin books have pitched in with a dreadful offering of personal testimonies to the 'Walesa phenomenon'. Various journalists, intellectuals and others are wheeled out to tell their own stories about Walesa's history, ideas and idiosyncracies.

Once you've read one, you've read them all — most of it has already been recorded in the glossy magazines over the last 18 months. Solidarnosc is presented through the prism of heroic individuals fighting against the 'Communist menace'.

By contrast the latest issue of *International Socialism* journal, in special book format, is a seriously-researched attempt to draw some lessons from the Polish events. Despite major political shortcomings the book is well worth a read, containing some original material from Solidarnosc bulletins and papers, and detailed figures on the economic crisis.

There are some lessons drawn by Barker and Weber with which we would agree: the incompatibility of Solidarnosc with the ruling bureaucracy, the centrality of the question of power posed by the Polish crisis, and the need for a revolutionary party built out of the Solidarnosc movement.

But their attitude to

Solidarnosc and its leadership is wildly off-beam and sectarian. They claim that: 'Within nine months of August 1980 Lech Walesa was acting as if he were the most hardened trade union bureaucrat from the West'. Walesa like Frank Chapple or Terry Duffy? The very comparison made me want to throw up.

For comrades Barker and Weber of the Socialist Workers Party, Poland is essentially the same as other European countries — there is a capitalist class, trade unions, reformist leaders and the rank and file. The key task in Britain and Poland is to galvanise the rank and file against their union leaders in the struggle for socialism.

'The leadership ... would rush around, trying to cool things down ... The rank and file membership ... would then erupt into angry action over some particular grievance,' and, 'regardless of the reasons for the reformism, its impact was to make the leadership try to prevent the rank and file from struggling', and so on.

Linked to this analysis is a crude division of the Solidarnosc leadership into those dubbed by the Western press as 'moderates' and 'radicals'. The representatives of the latter wing supposedly include Jan Rulewski and Marian Jurczyk from Szczecin. But these 'moderate'/'radical' tags are worse than useless.

For example, Rulewski's verbal militancy flowed not from a revolutionary socialist viewpoint, but from his association with the rightist anti-Soviet KPN nationalists. And Jurczyk on more than one occasion denounced the bureaucracy as 'full of Jews'.

In a forthcoming article in the magazine *International Viewpoint* Zbig-

niew Kowalewski from the presidium of Lodz Solidarnosc characterises Rulewski as the leading spokesperson for the real 'moderates' on the Solidarnosc national presidium: those who counterposed at the 11/12 December 1981 meeting organising a national referendum on the Warsaw Pact to the real task of generalising the workers' councils, launching the 'active strike' and the system of workers' defence guards.

The Polish reality was a lot more complex than the SWP's unsophisticated attempt to fit it into the mould of the British trade union struggle. In most instances the local, regional and national Solidarnosc leaders were far in advance of the rank and file of the union in realising the danger of a confrontation with the bureaucracy.

Of course Solidarnosc leaders had severe political limitations, but as Jean-Yves Potel explain in the post-martial law introduction to his book these weaknesses did not flow from bureaucratism within the union or capitulation to Catholicism.

There were those who 'advised' Solidarnosc to adopt a strategy of 'self-limitation' of the revolution, leaving the basic structures of bureaucratic power intact. These included intellectuals, Communist Party reformers, the Church hierarchy and other forces who had a potential social interest in maintaining the bureaucratic power.

Sections of the Solidarnosc leaders and membership adopted these ideas not to defend any material privileges, but as the only apparent way forward given the very real danger of a Soviet-backed invasion of the country if the movement went 'too far'.

The strategy was in fact dead wrong and it ideologically disarmed the movement. But given the

absence of a strong revolutionary current putting forward an alternative strategy of workers' power, 'self-limitation' filled the vacuum left by decades of Stalinist mis-education.

The bureaucracy launched their military crackdown when it did, not simply because of the disorientation of Solidarnosc, as Barker and Weber claim, but also because sections of Solidarnosc's leaders in the regions were beginning to win increasing support for the 'active strike' (workers' control) idea.

For the workers in Poland to make a successful political revolution to institute real workers' socialist democracy will not be an easy task. The likelihood of Soviet intervention and massive bloodshed should not be lightly dismissed by socialists in comfortable Britain.

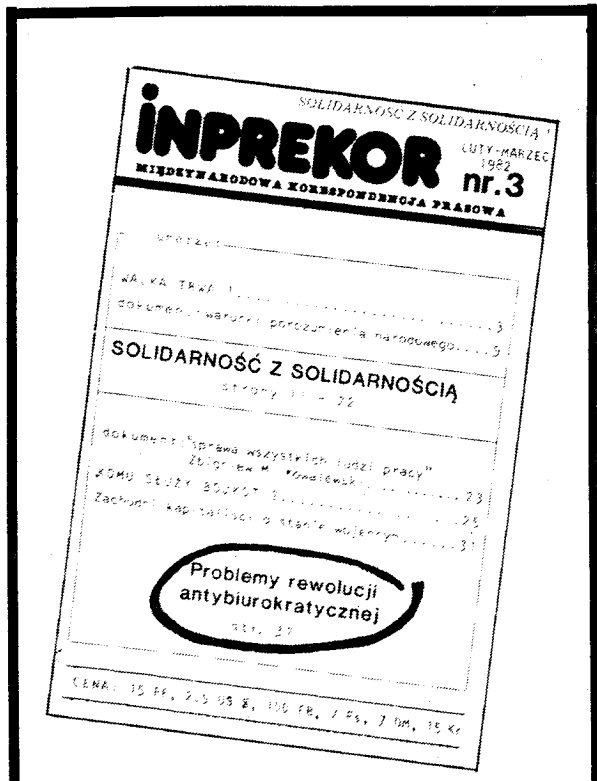
It will entail not just a higher level of political understanding of the unreformability of the bureaucracy, it will also necessitate a more

developed internationalist consciousness within Solidarnosc and the international workers' movement. In short it will need an enormous solidarity movement with Solidarnosc in the West and in the East.

That's the nub of the difference in approach between Potel's book (a member of the Fourth International) and that of Barker and Weber of the SWP. Their book reads like a commentary from the sidelines, sniping at the 'reformist leaders of Solidarnosc' while the SWP has done and is doing next to nothing to build solidarity work.

Socialists should be in the forefront of building unqualified support for Solidarnosc within the labour movement. Within that framework they also have a right and a duty to engage in the political debates over strategy that raged and continue to rage within Solidarnosc.

Potel's *Summer Before the Frost* is the best book yet published for carrying out both these vital tasks.



Polish Inprekor new edition

A new 64-page edition of the Fourth International's publication in Poland — Inprekor — is now out. It's tiny size (pictured above) is to avoid detection from the Polish authorities.

Send cheques and postal orders to help boost its circulation and support to: 'P.E.C.' addressed to Inprekor, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93018 Montreuil, France.

Potel speaks on Poland

JEAN-YVES POTEL, French Trotskyist and author of the new Pluto Press book *The Summer Before the Frost*, will be speaking at a series of meetings in Britain next week. Also appearing will be a Solidarnosc leader from Lodz region, Zbigniew Kowalewski.

Mon 22 March Oxford meeting on Poland at 3pm in Oxford Polytechnic.

Tue 23 March Birmingham Polish Solidarity Committee meeting, 7pm at Lecture room 1, Digbeth Civic Halls.

Wed 24 March Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee meeting, 7.30pm at McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall St.

Thur 25 March Manchester Socialist Challenge meeting, 7.30pm at Unicorn pub, Church St, Piccadilly.

Fri 26 March Guest speaker at Hackney Socialist Challenge/Revolution meeting on El Salvador, 7.30pm at Family Centre, Rectory Rd, N16.

Tue 30 March Other Bookshop/Big Flame meeting, 7.30pm at Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont St, Kings Cross. 50p entrance.

Ireland little change from Labour's front bench

Following last year's protests over Irish prisoners the Labour Party conference adopted a united Ireland policy. This still left the final say with the Loyalists but did begin to break with Labour's traditional bipartisanship over Ireland. MARTIN COLLINS concludes his series on the recent labour movement conference on Ireland by examining the views of the Labour MPs who spoke there.

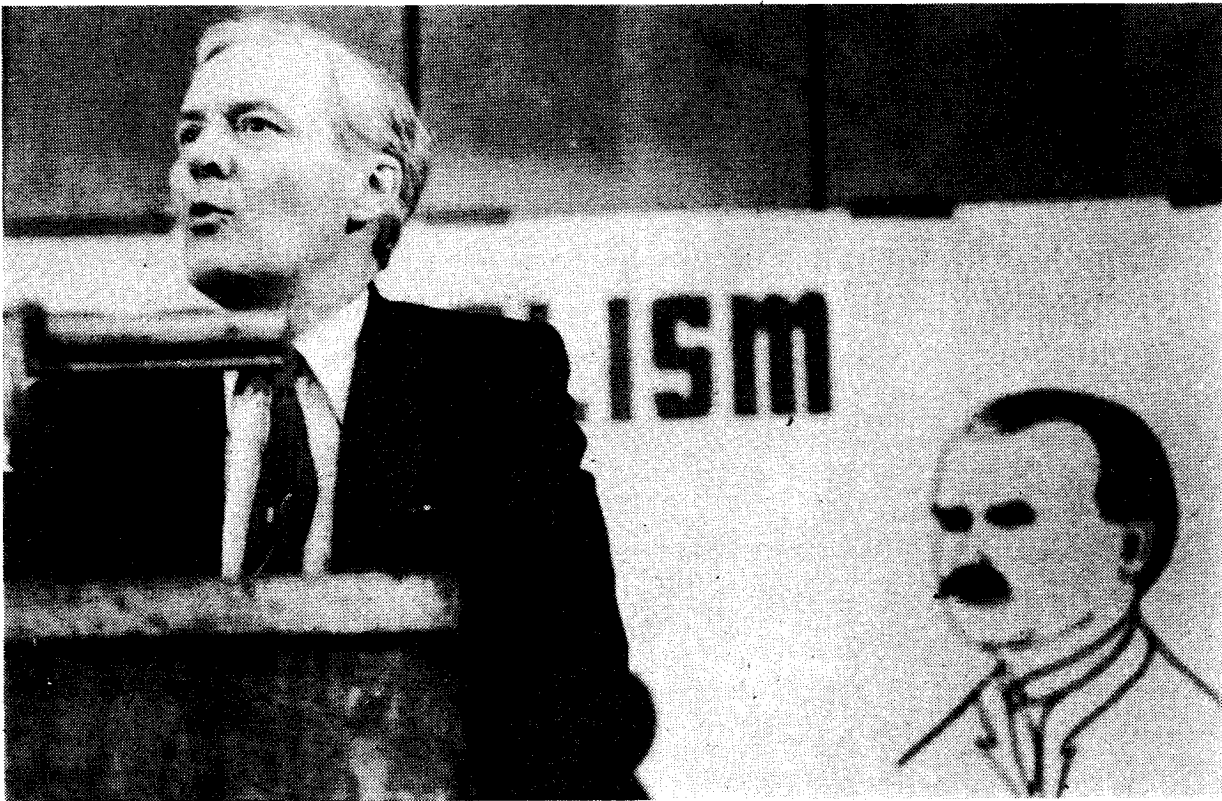
Richard Balfe, Euro MP, described how his work had helped him understand the Irish situation. 'One of the first things that hit me,' he said, 'was watching the news about Ireland on French TV. At first it seemed odd.

'Then I realised that for once you were hearing both sides of the story. On British TV, all you hear is the army officers and politicians. On French TV pictures were taken from the other side: the people who were being pushed around.'

In Britain we get used to it. But in Europe and around the world there is no mistaking that Ireland is Britain's big political crisis. What other 'advanced' country has waged a twelve-year guerrilla war against nationalists in its own territory? Balfe described his role in the Euro parliament of keeping up the pressure on Britain — exposing the torture, the abuse of human rights and the plastic bullet murders.

Clive Soley MP, number two to Labour's appalling Irish spokesperson Don Cancannon, made it clear that he was speaking at the conference with full shadow cabinet approval, whose views were aptly summed up by Alex Kitson at the last Labour conference: 'We want the troops off the streets, just as soon as the police can cope.' In other words after the troops have defeated the na-

tionalist population we can talk about solutions. The problem is the army cannot win, there can be no solution short of an end to partition in Ireland.



Tony Benn already in retreat on Ireland

Nor do the Anglo-Irish talks move towards a 'long term goal of Irish unity through peaceful means and consent.' So far they are nothing but a smoke-screen for joint repression. The Southern Irish government is no more in-

terested in finding a solution to Ireland's problems by removing partition than is the British government. What they want is more help from Britain in dealing with their economic crisis. Thatcher-style policies and unemployment are the prospects for the workers in the South

from both Fitzgerald and Haughey.

The Americans also have an interest in the stability of Ireland. They have a lot of money invested there and want to pull Ireland into NATO to strengthen the Western Alliance. The US government may well have been the brains behind the Anglo-Irish talks, which is further proof of the fact

that they have nothing to offer the workers of either country.

The role for the left of the Labour Party at the next conference is to argue for a complete break with Tory policies. Whether it is the Anglo-Irish talks, plans to export the British Labour Party to Ireland, winning 'fake' unity of the workers around 'bread and butter' issues: there is

no solution other than complete withdrawal of Britain.

The next Labour government must be committed to pull out with no guarantees to NATO, big business or to the Loyalists. That is the only realistic way to take a step towards peace and freedom in Ireland.

Adopt a Polish prisoner!

'WE APPEAL to all those enjoying moral authority in Poland and abroad, especially those national and international institutions set up to defend human rights, to oppose the plans of the Polish military government'. That was the response of the internees of the Jaworzki camp to General Jaruzelski's 'offer' to allow internees to leave the country, permanently.

In a statement smuggled to the West the internees made it clear that they considered Jaruzelski's 'offer' to be a violation of human rights. 'The choice we have been given boils down to this: either total loss of freedom or a life of exile.'

But you can show what the British labour movement thinks about General Jaruzelski's martial law, and help the Polish internees. How? By adopting a prisoner in your labour movement organisation.

The Solidarnosc trade union working group in London has the names of over 2,000 Solidarnosc internees. Adoption involves collecting money on behalf of the internee and their family where appropriate, sending letters of support to the internee, and demands for their release to the Polish authorities and the Polish embassy in Britain.

If you want more information about adopting a prisoner, contact the Solidarnosc trade union working group, 64 Philbeach Gardens, London SW5 9EE or ring 01-373 3492.



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2000 copies sold in first week! Order your copies now of the second edition. Just 25p or 20p for supporters' groups bulk orders.

Solidarity with Solidarnosc meetings

Brent: Labour Party public meeting on Wed 17 March at 7.30 pm in Harlesden primary school, Acton Lane, NW10. Speakers: Eric Heffer MP, Marek Garzdecki of Solidarnosc trade union working group and Oliver MacDonald.

Oldham: Friday 19 March at 7.30pm. St. Andrews Hall off Middleton Road, Oldham. Speakers Piotr Kozlowski, Ursus tractor plant, Warsaw, Michael Meacher MP for Oldham West, and Jon Silberman, secretary of Greater Manchester Polish Solidarity Campaign. Sponsored by Oldham East Labour Party.

Manchester: Benefit Fri 19 March, Hulme Labour Club. Bands include Harlem Spirit. Entry £2.50 (£1.50 unwaged).

Lewisham: Socialist Challenge public meeting at the 'Albany', Douglas Way, SE8. Wed 24 March, 7.30pm. Oliver MacDonald and speaker from Solidarnosc.

Solidarity Committees with Solidarnosc

Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Ian McCalman, 18 Mossiel Rd, Glasgow G43. Ring 041-632 1839.

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

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

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

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

Cardiff Polish Solidarity Committee, c/o Mark Jenkins, 87 Beatty Ave, Cardiff. Ring 0222-764195.

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

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

Eastern Europe Solidarity Campaign, 10 Park Drive, London NW11. Ring 01-458 1501.

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

Polish Solidarity Committee, 69 Edinburgh Rd, London E13. Ring 01-422 2218 for London speakers, or 01-249 2665 for out of London.

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

Labour Poland Solidarity Fund, c/o Co-operative Bank, 110 Leman St, London E1.

Militant Central America and Poland

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

THE LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS conference this Easter will discuss the revolutions of Central America and Poland. Richard Rozanski argues that the approach of the LPYS leadership — supporters of *Militant* — is concerned more with passing resolutions which have a 'pure line' for the revolutions in these countries than with building urgently needed support here in Britain.

For three years now the workers and peasants in Central America and the Caribbean, led by youth, have been challenging the mightiest military power on earth: US imperialism. Yet readers of the *Militant* can be excused for not knowing that revolutions have taken place in the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, or in Nicaragua.

The guerrilla struggle in El Salvador unites some 90 per cent of the population behind the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front.

Ronald Reagan's government understands that this threatens the entire system of imperialist domination in the region, as the guerrilla struggle extends to Guatemala and Honduras.

For months now the US imperialists have been escalating their intervention to prop up the reactionary dictatorships, yet this finds no place in the pages of the *Militant*.

The 19 February 1982 issue finally sees a whole page article on El Salvador. Yet never once does it mention the FDR or the FMLN.

At the end of the article *Militant* explains: 'Only the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism, with workers' control and management and a democratically decided socialist plan of production, can create a basis for solving the problems of the working people.'

This is exactly what the programme of the FDR stands for, yet *Militant* chooses to ignore these revolutionary fighters. And the paper fails to build support for the struggle. No mention is made of the El Salvador solidarity demonstration taking place in London on 28 March.

Militant's attitude to Solidarnosc in Poland is characterised by the same approach. Throughout the autumn of 1981 *Militant* systematically criticised Solidarity's leadership for selling out the Polish workers: 'The Solidarity

leaders do everything to weaken the self confidence of the workers and to misuse their willingness to struggle. More and more they adopt the government's arguments.' (18 Sept 1981).

When the military crackdown came on 12 December, *Militant* was able to beat its chest, having exposed the inability of Solidarity's leadership to decisively confront the bureaucracy. Criticising from the sidelines, while refusing to build support for Solidarity, will do nothing to help the Polish workers learn this lesson. A mass solidarity movement has arisen in Europe. France gets a mention in *Militant* but nothing is said about the growing solidarity movement in Britain.

For the LPYS to become a mass campaigning youth organisation it

needs to break through this hollow 'internationalism'. The Tories' reactionary foreign policy plays a central role in their attempts to hammer the working class.

In our fight against the Tories and the labour right wing we should draw inspiration from the struggles of youth throughout the world. The best way to show this is by building active solidarity movements with the Polish and Central American workers. The LPYS should:

- Build the El Salvador solidarity demonstration on 28 March
- Turn the CND demo on 6 June into a massive show of opposition to Reagan's visit to Britain.

Such actions will do more to help those fighting imperialism in Central America and the Caribbean and against the bureaucracy in Poland than the narrow sectarian approach of *Militant*.

Photo: JOANNE O'BRIEN

'You didn't scab hard enough'

PAT HICKEY looks at Tebbit's attempt to turn union leaderships into a new police force

ELECTED shop stewards carrying out their members' democratic decisions could soon be liable for jail or fines of up to £250,000 — if their union executive disowns the struggle.

This is one of the implications of Norman Tebbit's proposed 'Employment' Bill, which is exposed in an excellent short pamphlet just published by the Labour Research Department.

This open invitation to union leaderships to scab on their members' struggles is central to Tebbit's attack on trade union rights.

The new pamphlet, entitled 'Tory attack on union rights', explains that Tebbit wants to make unions liable for the actions of its officials, that is, the stewards who are:

- acting under national executive instructions
- acting under the rules of the union or on the instructions of someone in authority, unless this has been countermanded by a more senior authority in the union.

If union rules are unclear, the government is considering making the union liable for the actions of its officials unless a more senior body in the union has repudiated them.

In previous cases brought before the Lords, stewards involved in struggles were deemed to be acting as 'agents of the union' — and were therefore liable to legal attack — because 'the union had not done enough to try and stop the blacking despite the fact that it had advised the stewards to cease the action.'

In short, the union will be liable for the actions of its stewards — unless it comes down hard against them.

As the pamphlet comments, 'this proposal is intended to turn trade unions into an industrial police force that will be expected to 'protect' its members' interests by preventing them from taking any action that will put the funds in jeopardy (ie any industrial action)'.

It goes on to point out that this is 'a devious method of attempting to change trade union rules by trying to frighten national executives into exercising greater control over the rank and file'.

Some of them don't need much frightening. Laurence Scott workers have already experienced the effects of this kind of legislation. The union leadership having scabbed on them throughout their dispute, they have now been presented with a Bill for 'damages' incurred by their employer when they were attacked by police and thrown out of their factory.

The 20 page Labour Research Department pamphlet clearly explains the Bill's provisions and what they mean for rank and file workers. It is a must for every trade union activist.

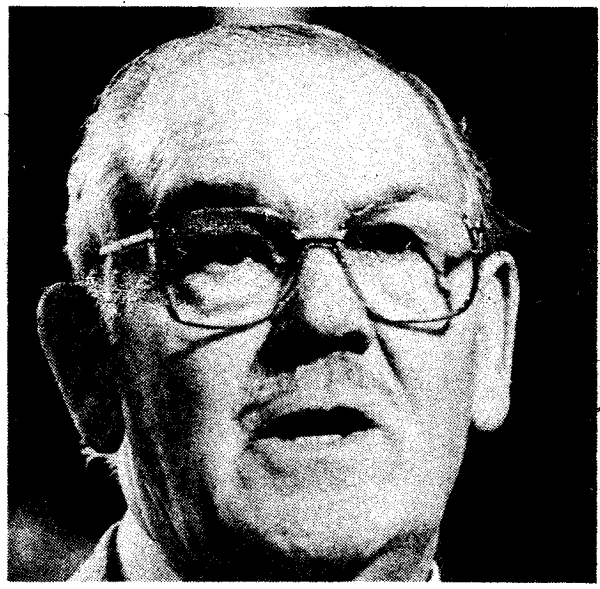
The TUC is now preparing plans against the Bill, and will decide its course of action at a meeting of union executives to be held at Wembley on 5 April. But the record shows that some union leaders may be only too glad of an excuse to rat on their membership. All the more important to build the lobby of



Judge Denning was elected by no-one. Under Tebbit's Bill he can imprison or fine trade unionists for carrying out democratic decisions.

Elaine Cross, AUEW-TASS steward, was elected by workers at Laurence Scott Electromotors, in struggle over the last ten months. If Tebbit's Bill is passed she can be fined up to £250,000. The LSE stewards are already being charged £6000 'damages' — incurred in evicting them from the factory where they are defending their jobs.

Laurence Scott workers are campaigning for an election to replace Terry Duffy's AUEW executive, which refuses to back them. He will be able to protect himself against Tebbit by instructing striking workers to go back to work. The Bill aims to make him 'police' his members. He won't need much pushing.



How Plessey parasites off the taxpayer — Anatomy of a multi-national

How Plessey parasites off the taxpayer

Where Plessey's profit comes from

Profits	£000	%
Telecommunications		
— main exchanges and transmission	25,988	30.2
— office, data and control	14,027	16.3
Electronic systems and equipment	14,027	16.3
Microelectronics and components	22,595	26.3
Aerospace and engineering	3,224	3.7
Consumer electronics	—	—
Group services	5,157	6.0
	86,036	100.0

Where Plessey's sales come from

Sales	£m	%
United Kingdom sales:		
British Telecom/Post Office	238	28
HM Government departments	175	21
Industrial and commercial customers	119	14
	532	63

Exports from, and operations outside, the United Kingdom:

North America	73	9
Europe	51	6
Africa	49	6
Asia	49	6
Australasia	33	4
Latin America	11	1
Others	3	—
	312	37
	844	100

Last year each Plessey UK employee made the company £1600. Half Plessey's profits, and its highest sales, come from the nationalised industries. This is where 'efficient, dynamic' private enterprise makes its money — off your taxes, and off your backs.

A PROFIT of £86,036,000 was declared last April by the company which says it can't afford to keep its 190 female and 30 male employees working at Plessey Capacitors in Bathgate. A fraction of these profits would foot the Bathgate bill.

Why the layoffs? The Tories claim unemployment is unavoidable because of falling productivity, out of date restrictive union practices and wages which price workers out of a job.

Is poor old Plessey struggling to keep its head above water? Not exactly. Last year they handed out £18m in dividends thanks to a 40.7 per cent rise in profits, according to chairperson and chief executive Sir John Clark in his annual report.

So perhaps an uncooperative and surly workforce is forcing the closures?

Sir John didn't quite see it this way last April. 'The Company has experienced great understanding and responsibility from employees and their representatives,' he explained under the heading 'Spirit of Plessey People'.

WORKERS occupying Plessey's Bathgate plant have rejected a company offer put to them by ACAS, under which an unknown company — Arkonics Holdings — would buy up the factory with the loss of 140 jobs out of 220.

The workforce believe this is an asset-stripping operation probably sponsored by Plessey

'Interruptions of normal working hours have been minimal, recent wage settlements have been reached amicably at more realistic levels,' he goes on, and — thank heavens — 'unavoidable redundancy situations have been resolved without disruption'.

In Scotland, where an ongoing unavoidable redundancy situation has pushed unemployment up to 13 per cent, this might seem puzzling.

Why has such a wonderful go-ahead company destroyed 5,600 jobs world wide in 1981 — at a cost of £1.6 million — and closed 20 factories in the last three years?

directors.

Meanwhile Plesseys are pushing for a reversal of the court verdict which stopped them evicting the occupation by force. The hearing has been postponed but will be held in the near future.'

Here Alan Freebman looks at the background to Plessey management's manoeuvres.

Sir John explains that the closed factories 'offered inadequate growth prospects or no longer fitted into the mainstream of group activities.'

So much for luddite workers. In today's electronic world, 220 human beings 'no longer fitted'.

But after all, aren't Plessey profits helping Britain with an export-led track record for dynamic private enterprise?

Not quite. True, Plessey's base is in the modern high-technology electronics and aerospace sector, which grows while all around is collapsing. But it depends on government contracts at fat profit rates, coming straight

from the taxpayers' pockets.

Remember this when you are lectured on the inefficiency of subsidies and nationalised industry.

However like every right thinking patriot, Sir John can draw comfort from Plessey's worldwide role. For Plessey is a modern multinational, operating in 45 countries with major subsidiaries in nearly every West European country, in the USA, in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia — and South Africa.

Its South African company — which also controls its Zimbabwe operation — is the jewel in the crown.

Plessey is thus able to take advantage of local labour conditions by deciding who it can exploit most easily and playing them off against those who fight back. And it can make best use of government grants.

In this respect Bathgate's own history offers a clue to the future Sir John has in store for its workers. The plant was acquired by Plessey in the '60s from a company called TCC, along with an Acton site. The next few years saw the creation of a thousand acres of

wasteland and 3000 redundancies in Acton.

The assets were stripped and the machinery — 'not fit for the scrapheap', according to Bathgate workers — sent to Scotland.

Grabbing a nice development grant, Plessey was set up to milk the new prize dry. Now it's through, it wants to move to greener pastures. The workers are just so much raw material to be thrown on the scrapheap.

In case you're worried about all that land going to waste in Acton — don't be. The *Financial Times* proudly reports that land values in West London are rocketing. The proposed new Terminal Five at Heathrow airport will add on at least 25 per cent to land values when the authorities start buying — with public money, of course.

Meanwhile the Plessey insignia flies over an empty site in Acton, while London's homeless and Scotland's unemployed can praise Margaret Thatcher and Sir John Clark for the contribution made to their welfare by a truly patriotic management that respects the free enterprise values on which our democracy was built.

Commit next Labour government to 35 hour week

By Toni Gorton

ALTHOUGH the Labour Party and the TUC are in favour of the shorter working week of 35 hours there is no commitment for the next Labour government to introduce legislation to bring it about.

A new campaign has been launched in the labour movement to change this situation in 1983.

This campaign launched by the Liaison Committee of Broad Left Organisations outlines the following aims:

- That we prepare now for a mass effort in 1983 to commit the trade union and labour movement to take co-ordinated action to achieve a 35-hour week without loss of pay.

- Each BL to either submit or support resolutions to their union conferences which calls upon the union to a) immediately submit a new claim for the shorter working week; b) press for resolutions to the TUC to work out a strategy for inter-union co-operation

which would include wide-spread leafletting, joint union conferences in the different individual countries, demonstrations and industrial action; c) press resolutions to the LP conference to join in partnership any TUC initiative or failing that to start its own.

- We should seek to commit the next Labour government to introduce a 35 hour week.

For further information and model resolutions contact Phil Holt, secretary LCBLO, Room 328, Derby House, Liverpool L2 3QG. Telephone 051-229 3308.



Newton Rose, centre, being embraced by cheering supporters

'I feel dirty and used' - Newton Rose

By Toni Gorton

THE ORDEAL of Newton Rose is not over. The 21 year old black youth from Hackney in East London had his conviction for murder quashed by the Appeal Court last Tuesday 9 March.

Immediately the Director of Public Prosecutions gave notice of appeal to the House of Lords on a point of law that the Appeal Court should have ordered a retrial.

According to Newton's solicitor he still faces a serious threat of going through the whole affair again.

At a press conference on 11 March, Newton, his mother and father and three friends who were sentenced to six months along with him — Ian Henry, Orville Johnson and Michael Clark — were present to support the case that Newton and his friends are the victims of a racist frame up by Hackney police.

The affects of the last two months are easy to see. Newton Rose answered a question about his reactions by saying,

'I feel dirty and used and silly about it all.

'Silly that my friends and family have had their lives so changed about by this.

'Something has to be done. I've always insisted that I and my friends are innocent and I always will.'

Velda Rose, Newton's mother, said in a moving statement that she was pleased to have Newton

home.

'I'm still angry at his imprisonment. Justice has to be done.

'The murderers of Anthony Donnelly have to be caught so that Newton can walk the streets of London with his head up, not down.

'Some of our neighbours refuse to speak to us because they think he did it — he is innocent. He must be cleared.'

John La Rose, chairperson of the Newton Rose Action Committee called for the investigation of the Hackney police involved in the case who were led by Detective Inspector Goodall, and said the committee was considering taking legal action against the *Daily Star* for an article which appeared 10 March.

The financial appeal continues and the Newton Rose Action Committee can be reached at 76 Stroud Green Rd, London N4. Telephone 01-272 4889.

4000 march against education cuts

By Ken Glanfield, Barking NUT

OVER 4000 people marched through Barking on Wednesday last week, in protest at the savage education cuts being imposed by the Labour council. In the evening the council's rate fixing meeting was lobbied by 200 people.

At the protest demonstration were 900 striking teachers, many parents and school students, striking staff from Barking Tech, and delegations from North East London Poly, Islington local government workers and 17 London teachers' associations.

The demonstration

heard Ken Jones, local teachers' union secretary, explain that the council had admitted it had money to meet the teachers' demands, but claimed this would set a precedent for other public sector workers and bring a penalty under Heseltine's legislation.

Ken argued the council could afford a penalty and should be organising a fightback now against Tory policies and possible penalties next year, instead of attacking its own workers.

The evening lobby was addressed by a speaker from Barking Bus Garage, cuts committee secretary Charlie

Baker, Ken Jones and teachers' union national secretary Fred Jarvis, who called on the council to accept its responsibility as a Labour authority.

Charlie called on the public sector unions in the area to support a call for a half day strike on 31 March.

The council was unmoved and voted the cuts through despite further support resolutions from Barking and Dagenham Labour Parties.

The teachers' national executive is backing the strike. But a Socialist Teachers' Alliance leaflet warned that 'National Union of Teachers' members

must be cautious of any attitude which says we can only afford to support a few disputes at a time.' This would be a gift to the Tory government, it said: 'Barking is the national centre for a fight against all education cuts, not just teacher redundancies.'

The leaflet went on to support the demand of Barking NUT for:

- a national membership levy
- a national demonstration against the cuts organised by the NUT
- full involvement of all London NUT members in support for Barking including a properly organised one day solidarity strike.

On 9 March, Barking NUT reiterated these demands and said the one day strike should coincide with a one day strike against government cuts. It is important that these demands are fought for and supported nationally. Already teachers in Hereford and Worcester and in Greater Manchester are faced with huge education cuts and massive job losses.

Resolutions should be sent to the NUT executive supporting these demands and copies forwarded to Barking NUT.



Tony Benn marching in Anti-apartheid demo on Sunday 14 March. African National Congress HQ bombed the same day is no co-incidence

THE International Book Fair Radical Black Books 3rd World Books

Islington Town Hall, Upper St, Islington, London N1

Sunday 28 March to Sunday 4 April

THE fair, to be opened by CLR James, author of *The Black Jacobins*, will have over 70 publishers participating from Africa, the Caribbean, Asia, Afro-America, Europe and Britain.

There will be a series of events including a variety concert compered by Linton Kwesi Johnson; forums on black writing, fascist attacks on black and radical bookshops, and poetry; an international food fair; and a concert for piano and flute with music by contemporary black and third world composers.

Tickets and programme available from New Beacon Books, 76 Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London N4. 01-272 4889.

Photo: COLIN HEADWORTH (Socialist Challenge)

Picket this racist conference

THE Galton Foundation and Bio-social Society conference on 'Bio-social aspects of ethnic minorities' is to be opened at 2.15 pm Wednesday 31 March by Sir Edmund Leach, Professor of Social Anthropology Cambridge University.

This conference defines black people as a problem and then studies them biologically and genetically. Galton was the originator of racist theories of intelligence who said that among black people 'the number ... we should call half-witted is very large'. He was against 'any pretence of natural equality'.

Picket Wednesday 31 March at 1.30pm University College Union Biology department, Gower Street, London W1.

Further information can be obtained from Black Health workers and patients group, c/o 54 High St, Southall.

London Labour Party, MPs, trade unionists support Bradford 12

By Chris Guthrie

THE London Labour Party printed 5000 leaflets supporting the Bradford 12 and distributed them to delegates at its recent conference and throughout the constituency Labour Parties in the region.

The LLP argued that the twelve Asian youth, who face possible life imprisonment are really on trial for their past anti-racist activity.

The political nature of the charges is shown by use of the conspiracy laws which allow the political beliefs of the defendants to be used against them.

It noted that such charges had been used to put the Shrewsbury building workers behind bars in 1973 and such laws would be used against the labour movement again.

It called for support for the 3 April national demonstration in Leeds.

Further support has come from Bradford, Leeds, Lambeth and Camden Trades Councils; the South East Region of the TUC; and MPs Tony Benn, Les Huckfield, Ronald Brown along with two prospective parliamentary candidates Peter Tatchell and Pat Wall.

Free the Bradford 12 National demonstration Leeds Saturday 3 April

Further information from the national mobilising committee, Box JK, L.A.P., 59 Cookridge St, Leeds 2. London coaches leave York Way, Kings Cross at 8am. Tickets £4, unwaged £1.

Socialist Challenge

Reagan prepares raid on Nicaragua

By Brian Grogan

THE UNITED STATES has launched a major propaganda barrage against revolutionary Nicaragua as a cover for a planned commando-style intervention into that country.

The Washington Post has now confirmed that last November President Reagan authorised a \$19m (£10.5m) CIA plan to establish a 500 strong force to operate from inside Honduras. A further 1000 men are being trained in Argentina.

According to the *Post*, the idea is to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy by attacking power plants, bridges and similar installations.

This is the background to the extra-ordinary publicity effort by the Reagan administration to convince world opinion of the charge that the Nicaraguans are amassing a force to invade the rest of Central America.

In scenes reminiscent of the Cuban missile crisis, the press were called to a CIA briefing at the State Department to have illegally acquired aerial photographs interpreted for them. These photographs purportedly revealed a big military build up by Nicaragua. But even the most basic 'facts' clashed.

The analysis was presented by John Hughes

who did the same job in 1962. According to Hughes' deduction from the photographs, the Sandinistas now had 70,000 women and men in the regular army. These were somehow accommodated in 49 'Cuban-style' barracks capable of housing 500-700 people. As the *Guardian* quipped: 'This suggested that there is either gross overcrowding or between 35,000 and 45,000 people without a bed'.

The Sandinistas were also charged with having all of 60 armoured personnel carriers. Given the capacity of these carriers each vehicle would have to make 60 trips to take one eighth of their forces into a neighbouring country!

1982: the year of unity against aggression

IT IS of course true that the Sandinistas are building up their defences. Given the ever greater belligerence of the United States, this is absolutely essential to defend the revolution.

As one FSLN (Sandinista) official declared 20 February: 'Yes, our revolution is under threat. It would be irresponsible not to take seriously the Reagan administration's desire to crush us. All our political decisions are taken with the aim of warding off this peril.'

'Guaranteeing defence with the participation of the masses' is the priority task laid down by the 'second Sandinista assembly' convened in January. Initiatives which draw in the masses are multiplying.

A campaign to reinforce the Sandinista Defence Committees (CDS's) is in progress to develop their 'revolutionary vigilance'. Meetings of explanation are being organised district by district in order to convince people to join the popular militias.

New centres of instruc-

tion have been opened and the growing numbers in the militias means greater possibility of coordination with the armed forces.

This mass participation has already proved its efficiency. Thanks to it, several bands of counter-revolutionaries have been disarmed before they could act. Not for nothing has 1982 been baptised 'the year of unity against aggression'.

This mobilisation of the masses in defence of the revolution has been coupled with a major diplomatic offensive with the aim of blocking imperialism's encirclement policy.

The Sandinistas can be well satisfied with the initial results. The positions taken by the Mexican President Lopez Portillo against any US intervention is an important victory.

The permanent conference of political parties in Latin America (COPAL) which groups 30 organisations has taken a position hostile to any intervention and affirmed its support for the

Nicaraguan government and the Salvadorean FDR.

The Nicaraguan leaders are conscious of the importance, but also the limits, of these positions. They know that the majority of those opposing US intervention do so out of fear of the wave of anti-imperialist sentiment that they are encountering in their own countries. They know that those who favour a negotiated solution in El Salvador want to limit the impact which a complete victory of the FMLN would have.

So the FSLN leadership is relying on the mobilisation of the masses, on the strengths of the political and military apparatus born in the revolution, and on the progress being made by their Salvadorean comrades. This is clearly of fundamental importance. But the path is difficult and narrow.

More than ever the future of this revolution rests on other victories in Central America and on the support of the workers movement and of revolutionaries the world over.



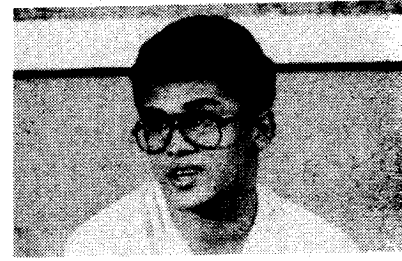
Women play an active part in the militias which are being rapidly expanded to meet US threat

19 year old Rolande Jose Tardencillas will get a hero's welcome when he returns to Nicaragua. He had been produced by the US State Department as proof that Nicaragua was sending troops into El Salvador.

In front of the press Jose declared that he had been tortured into making an earlier

statement that he had been trained by the Cubans. He had in fact gone to El Salvador on his own initiative.

In the face of this debacle, Jose demanded that he be allowed to return to Nicaragua. This was finally acceded to. He is now on his way home.



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