

Socialist Challenge

JOBS NOT BOMBS

NO TO REAGAN'S NEUTRON BOMB

'A VALUABLE addition to our forces,' said new US defence secretary Carl Weinberger, 'which we shall probably want to use.'

The new American administration wants to use the neutron-bomb, which will be in the form of an artillery shell, to stop Soviet tanks in Europe.

That it has decided to develop this weapon shows the shift being made by the US under Reagan — towards a strengthening of militarism and an escalation of American intervention abroad.

President Reagan has sacked the American ambassador in El Salvador, Robert White. Although White supported the dictatorial regime he is not considered sufficiently 'hard' against the rebels.

Each day, ten Hercules planes now bring massive arms supplies to the tottering regime in El Salvador. The number of American military 'advisers' is being stepped up.

Reagan is also considering proposals for the permanent stationing of large numbers of US troops in the Middle East, together with the permanent siting of the Rapid Deployment Force within striking distance of the Middle East and Iran.

Aided and abetted by Thatcher, Reagan is setting the West on a spiral

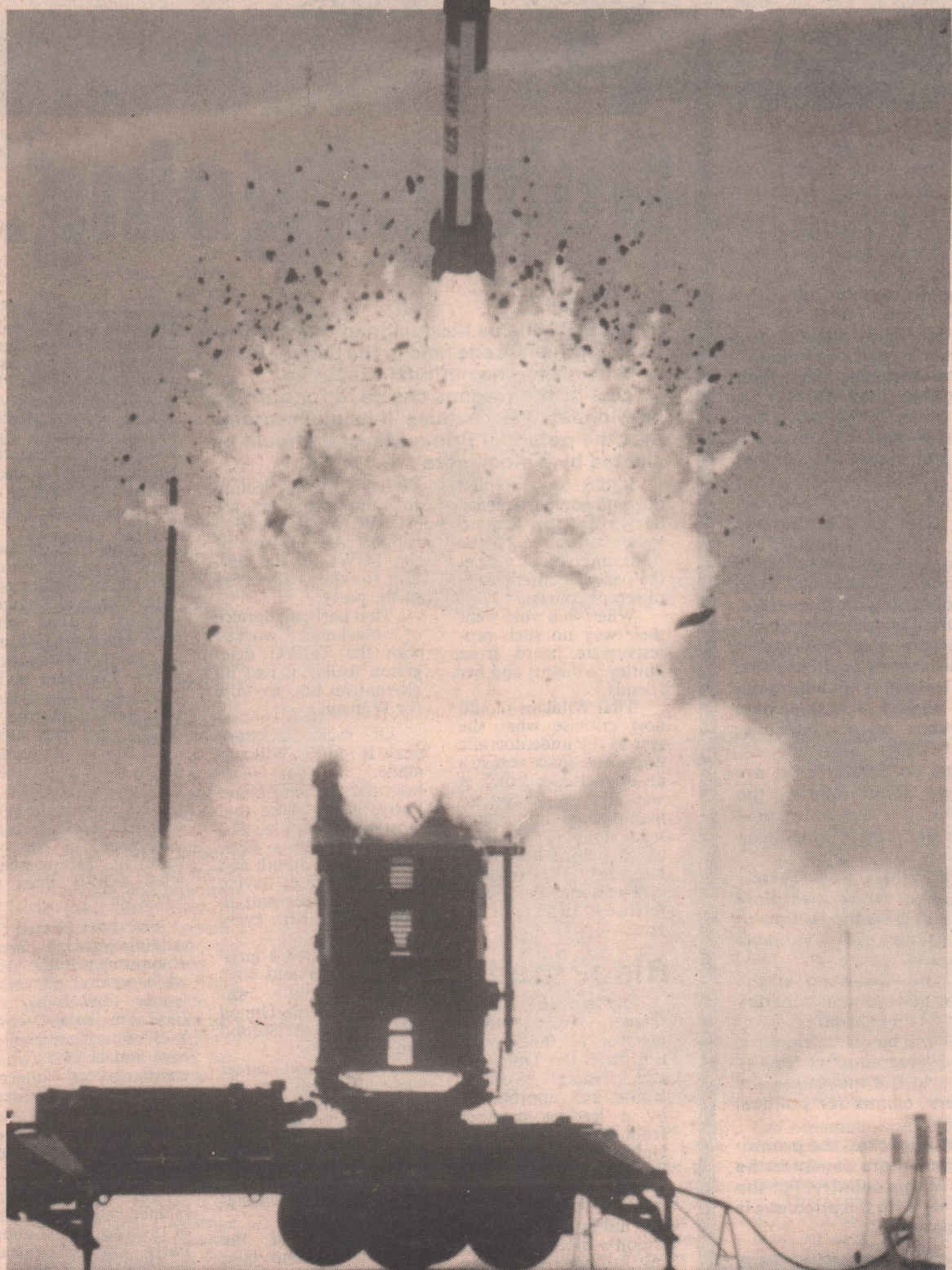
of arms race escalation — Cruise, Trident and the neutron bomb are just the first examples of a new series of nuclear weapons being prepared.

The American intervention in El Salvador is a trial run. If the United States succeeds in stopping the revolution there, it will be encouraged to further acts of intervention.

As the Reagan regime careers towards military aggression and nuclear insanity, working people everywhere are threatened. Popular movements in the third world face the threat of new Vietnams being prepared against them, and the people of Europe in particular face the drastic consequences of nuclear conflict.

That's why the task of building an anti-nuclear movement needs to go hand-in-hand with building solidarity with the struggle of the people of El Salvador. Their life-and-death battle with the reactionary junta and its American backers has world-wide repercussions.

The enemy is one and the same: the United States government and its enthusiastic supporters in the Tory cabinet.



SHIRLEY WILLIAMS
Portrait of a social democrat. As Shirley Williams prepares to leave the Labour Party, Socialist Challenge looks at her background and political history, p.2

POSITIVE ACTION
Practical steps in fighting racism and sexism, pp 8-9

EL SALVADOR
Mike Chanan has just come back from El Salvador. In Socialist Challenge this week he looks at the lessons of the military offensive of the FMLN. See page 4.

NEW CRISIS IN POLAND
As another Polish prime minister is sacked, and rural Solidarity is refused recognition, we look at the rapidly developing workers' militancy, p11.

IN NEXT WEEK'S PAPER....
A special issue for the 21 February demonstration, with 8 pages of material on the struggle against unemployment plus a special surprise feature.

No US military intervention in EL Salvador
PICKET THE US EMBASSY
Friday 20 February, 5.30-7.30pm
Grosvenor Square, London W1
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Paisley and the prisoners

THE MEDIA have been unanimous in their condemnation of the Rev Dr Ian Kyle Paisley and his imitation of Sir Edward Carson.

Margaret Thatcher is even said to be annoyed at Paisley's cavorting around hillsides in the north of Ireland and his parading there of some 500 loyal sons of 'Ulster' waving bits of paper.

With such criticism a denunciation of Paisley from Socialist Challenge would appear rather small beer. Still, it needs to be pointed out just what exactly Paisley is up to.

In modelling himself so closely on Edward Carson's tactics in the 'Ulster crisis' of 1912, Paisley is doing as Carson did and threatening civil war. That is a serious business and it would be a mistake to dismiss Paisley's latest antics as no more than buffoonery.

Throughout this century the 'Loyalists' in the north of Ireland have threatened to use massive force unless they got their way, and throughout this century that mere threat has been sufficient to enable them to get their way.

At times, most notably in 1912, the Loyalists have had the unqualified support of the Tory Party when promising violence. The term 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right' was first coined, way back in the 1890s, by the most respectable of Tories, Randolph Churchill.

How will the present Tories react to this latest action-replay of Churchill and Carson?

Despite their protests against Paisley it can be pointed out that the Thatcher government, as with the previous Labour one, already permits the existence of a mass, unofficial army of Loyalist volunteers.

This goes under the name of the Ulster Defence Association whose leadership is now openly admitting that its members have murdered and attempted to murder supporters of the Republican cause. 'Counter revolutionaries' was how UDA boss Andy Tyrrie recently described the thugs under his command, and indeed they are.

If the Tories sanction the UDA they also promote, defend, and pay for the Ulster Defence Regiment, many of whose members, officially under the control of the British Army, have been convicted of countless acts of terrorism against the Catholic population in both parts of Ireland.

If British politicians were sincere in their condemnation of Paisley they should be equally antagonistic towards the UDA and UDR. Specifically, they should call for the immediate disbanding and disarming of that regiment.

The threat that such 'counter-revolutionary' gangs pose to the Catholic population of Ireland is likely to grow if the new hunger strike, announced last week by the Irish political prisoners, goes ahead. It is, of course, no reason for calling off that strike.

Britain might give in to Loyalist blackmail, but Republicans know that maintaining and strengthening their resistance to all aspects of British presence in Ireland — including the home-grown Loyalist variety — is their best defence against threats from whichever source they come.

Similarly, for those in Britain who are wondering what to do about Paisley, the hunger strike — assuming it does start on 1 March — is the most immediate mobilising focus.

It needs to be said that the support received in Britain for the hunger strikers last time was disappointing. But at least the failures of that campaign last time offer valuable lessons for the next round.

Those lessons will be discussed at the Troops Out Movement conference, scheduled for the weekend of 14-15 February.

Socialist Challenge will be discussing in a subsequent issue how best support for the prisoners can be won. In the meantime the justice of the prisoners' claims for political status remains.

However difficult it might be, the promotion of those claims once more demands the attention of socialists in this country. For the moment, standing firmly with the prisoners is the best answer to Paisley.



Going... going... gone...?

By Tom Marlowe

SHIRLEY Williams has resigned the last position of influence she held in the Labour Party — her seat on the national executive.

One of the reasons she gave for quitting on Monday was because 'it is unacceptable that the potential Prime Minister should be elected by a block vote'.

It has been pointed out with some frequency lately that the Labour right's objection to the trade union block vote at the party's conference is of recent coinage.

When that vote went their way no such protests were heard from Shirley Williams and her friends.

That Williams should now criticise what she sees as the undemocratic use of the block vote has an even deeper irony: it was that very system, manipulated in a most scandalous manner, which helped her retain her seat on the executive at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool last year.

Blackmail

On the eve of the conference a leading member of the delegation from the Transport and General Workers Union was approached by a leading member from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

The AUEW leader told the TGWU leader that unless the Transport Union's block vote was cast in favour of Shirley

Williams in the election for the executive the AUEW would refuse to support Alex Kitson of the TGWU in the election for the chairperson of the party.

That particular piece of blackmail worked with the TGWU delegation feeling it had no alternative but to vote for Williams.

Of such backstage deals is Shirley Williams made. She has never been part of the Labour Party in the sense that most members are. She was born with a silver spoon in her mouth and the advantage of having two living-in servants to look after her every need.

She attended a girls' public school and then Oxford, and was evacuated to the United States during the Second World War.

Her political career was advanced by the secretaryship she held of the Fabian Society where she attached herself to Tony Crosland who was then making a name for himself for 'revising' social democracy.

Williams and the others in her group claim to place themselves in the

Crosland tradition. Such pleading was rejected by Crosland's wife, Susan, who declared in a recent letter to *The Times*: 'Nor is equality conspicuous among the priorities of some Labour right-wingers, who wring their hands unable to decide whether they will or will not abandon the Labour Party...'

'What is impertinent, however, as well as unattractive, is appropriating Tony Crosland's name to support actions which were anathema to him.'

'From his standpoint a few of these people years ago moved so far to the right that they've disappeared from sight.'

If Shirley Williams is not as much a disciple of Crosland as she likes to pretend, and if she is not averse to seeing the block vote used for her own personal advancement, what exactly does she stand for?

She has claimed her guiding principles are a commitment to the 'mixed economy' (in other words capitalism), the EEC (in other words West European capitalism) and NATO (which translates as international capitalism). These, she says, are threatened by the decisions taken at the 1980 Blackpool conference.

Yet at that conference she gave no hint of leaving the Labour Party. On the contrary she declared at a fringe

meeting at Blackpool: 'We are going to fight to save this party, and by God we think we can win.'

But Shirley Williams never has been a fighter. She has always had opportunities presented to her.

Like the rest of the Labour right, her real objection to the present direction of the Labour Party is that for once the rank and file of the party is starting to insist that the necessary qualifications for being in the leadership of the party should be more than having friends in the right places and enjoying a good media image.

Indeed, in many ways Shirley Williams is a creation of the media.

It is worth remembering that the promotion of her personality — her supposedly great vote-catching ability — has a very fragile relation to reality. The one simple, pertinent fact is that she lost her seat in parliament in the last election on a higher than average swing to the Tories.

But then Shirley Williams is not exactly an expert on tests of popular opinion. In a number of pronouncements she has noted that Labour's vote has declined steadily since 1951 and that accordingly 'strongly socialist' policies have no attraction to voters.

The truth is that the decline in Labour's vote

has coincided with the dropping since the war of more and more 'strongly socialist' policies.

What evidence there is points to the conclusion that it is Shirley Williams, rather than the left of the party, who is more out of touch with public opinion.

Acceptable

As a devout Catholic she opposes abortion, but opinion polls have shown majority opinion in the country is strongly in support of a woman's right to choose.

Her support for the EEC is, according to the latest poll, objected to by a two-to-one majority. Popular opinion is also swinging behind the campaigns against nuclear weapons, but Shirley Williams is not so minded.

It now seems inevitable that she will leave the Labour Party. Throughout her career she has had a reputation for dithering and for changing her mind, but even she can hardly pull back from the brink this time.

In leaving Labour, the party will be losing what has been described as 'the acceptable face of socialism'. Acceptable to whom? Well the description has appeared in the right-wing *Daily Telegraph*. In the company of such friends, Shirley Williams is best judged.

Council gives in to auditor threat

By Geoff Bell

THE Labour-controlled council in the London borough of Camden decided last week to impose sweeping cuts in the living standards of council tenants and workers.

The cuts were proposed after a government auditor had threatened to bankrupt the councillors and ban them from office.

Faced with the alternative of fighting the auditor and becoming another Clay Cross, or giving in to the demand from central government to slash public spending, the council capitulated. But not all the councillors agreed to meet the demands of the auditor.

At a meeting of the council's Labour group on Wednesday of last week, ten councillors voted for defiance. After losing the vote, one of the ten, Phil Turner, said bitterly: 'This is a night of shame. I am as sick as a parrot.'

The council's proposals include raising council rents by £3.50 a week; freezing wages this year for more than 1,500 council manual workers and cutting 600 jobs in the council building department.

The council will be faced with a fight when it

tries to impose the cuts.

John Suddaby, secretary of the local NUPE branch, told Socialist Challenge: 'We will be considering a campaign of action, including industrial action to force the council to reverse its policy and stand up to the auditor. We will link this fight to the whole question of government policy.'

Strike

John Suddaby said that among the options now being considered by leaders of the local unions and tenants was a rents and rates strike. John expects his members to back such an action, and he added that for NUPE's part they would be considering industrial action, including 'as a start, a one-day strike on 4 March'.

It was action by Camden NUPE two years ago which has indirectly led to the auditor threatening to take the council to court.



John Suddaby

During the 'winter of discontent' Camden council made a local settlement with its low-paid workers after an all-out strike by Camden NUPE. This settlement was in excess of the one agreed nationally and, claims the auditor, Ian Pickwell, was 'so excessive as to be unreasonable in law'.

Pickwell's warning about court action could have cost each councillor around £60,000.

But it would have been a year before the case against the councillors would have reached the courts — a delay which, argue the local unions and the Labour left, would have given the council plenty of time to organise resistance to the auditor.

John Suddaby sees the backing of the council as having national consequences. 'The precedent of a successful auditor threat will have been set if the council impose their cuts. If Camden is hit it could be any council next.'

• **THREE** hundred people marched against the cuts in Camden on Saturday in a demonstration called by the campaign to save the Camden Journal.

Journalists on the newspaper were told nearly two months ago that the paper was to be closed and since then they have been on official strike.

Although journalists on London local papers have voted against a second city-wide one-day strike, NUJ office branches are rising funds to maintain the strike.

The weekly *Save the Journal* newspaper, produced by the strikers and local supporters, has backed opponents of the Camden council cuts announced last week.

Support and donations to: *Save the Journal Campaign*, 38-40 Camden Rd, London NW1. Tel 01-485 8207/8.



Youth protest at Tory cuts

By Martin Tolman

THOUSANDS of young people demonstrated last week in the Tory bastion of Solihull, near Birmingham, against massive cuts proposed by the Tory council.

The council had proposed cuts in the borough of £5m. This would have included the sacking of 600 council workers, including 150 teachers, 33 social workers and home-helps, the closing of all nursery schools, youth clubs, sport centres, and five branch libraries.

Students

A 20 per cent rate rise was also proposed.

This programme of cuts would not only have played havoc with virtually all council services: it would have hit youth disproportionately hard. The sacking of 150 teachers would have resulted in a severe restriction of the subject options for school students, as well as generally harming their educational prospects.

As a response, meetings were organised in the schools where students discussed the implications of these cuts and decided on action. There were a series of walk-outs from schools, one involving 300 students, culminating in a walk-out last Tuesday to coincide with a demonstration by a thousand local authority workers.

That evening, several

thousand people turned up to demonstrate against the cuts at a meeting of Solihull council. Despite backing by all the local authority unions, the majority of the demonstrators were school student and young people.

Labour

At the council meeting, six Tory councillors — horrified by the response to the proposed cuts — put forward an alternative plan involving a 40 per cent rise and no cuts.

Labour leader David Threlkeld eventually supported a compromise, which was carried, involving a 30 per cent rate rise — an average of a £75 a year for each household — and cuts amounting to £2.9m.

This compromise is not the end of the matter — a fight will now have to take place over the cuts still on the agenda.

Despite the rate rise solution supported by the Labour councillors, the cuts struggle in Solihull is a remarkable one. The mobilisation of hundreds of young people brought about an extraordinary alliance in the community against the destruction of local services.

Solihull president of the National Union of Teachers Jackie Law, told Socialist Challenge: 'The support we received from students in this fight was absolutely



decisive in forcing the Tories to retreat. We have to keep this alliance going to prevent further attempts by the Tories to destroy social welfare and educational services.'

Despite the partial

climb-down by the Tory council the whole episode shows the problem of Labour councillors becoming involved in a rates versus cuts trade-off. At the council meeting on Tuesday last week the Labour group

had essentially to decide between a 20 per cent, 30 per cent, or 40 per cent rates increase.

This shows that there is no local solution to the crisis of local authority financing. Only nationally co-ordinated ac-

tion of the labour movement and Labour local authorities can take on the government and finance houses and force through a 'no cuts, no rate rises' position in the interests of working people.

Rent Strike in Paisley

CONDITIONS on the Ferguslie Park estate in Paisley are so bad that the tenants are on rent strike.

Tommy McNamara and John Bradley of the Ferguslie League of Action Groups (FLAG) told Socialist Challenge: 'The council has neglected the area for 30 years. Over half the houses suffer from damp.'

The Labour-controlled Renfrew district council, which owns the houses, tried two weeks ago to hold a council meeting to ratify rent increases of 50 per cent. But the meeting was stopped by a hundred demonstrators from FLAG and the tenants association.

Tommy and John believe that if the rent rise is implemented there will be a 'dramatic escalation' in the numbers joining the strike.

They say that at least 65 per cent of those in the area are dependent on social security benefits, and that the area has an above average number of single parents whose children's health is at risk if essential repairs are not carried out.

It may have happened like this, and probably did.

'Sit down, Mr Clarke. Well you want to be Deputy Secretary of State? Now just a few questions. We must make sure that you are the right person for the job.'

'You are William P Clarke Junior?'
Clarke thinks 'Christ, the difficult ones first.'

'You do know that the State Department is in charge of US relations with the world?'
'Yes sir, the Commies.'

'Well, Mr Clarke, not all countries are red, er, I mean with the Russkies. Anyhow Mr Clarke, who is the Prime

A Job for the Lad

Minister of Zimbabwe?' 'Huh?'

Then the Reagan aide said to Clarke, 'Look Willie don't just grunt, say something.'

'OK Mr Clarke, Zimbabwe is a long way away. Try this one. What is happening in the British Labour Party?'

'Well, I've never heard of that — are they commies?'

The Reagan aide said, 'Look Willie, like we taught you, remember?'

The Reagan aide felt bet-

The Insane Society

ter when Clarke told his interviewer that he did not have an opinion at this time on the relations between Israel and Egypt, and was heard to mutter: 'Better, Willie, much better.'

The aid positively beamed when Clarke, replying to a question about how the Europeans felt about having US missiles on their soil, said: 'It would be inappropriate to give my views at this time.' Although he did whisper an aside to the effect that Clarke should keep it short and not put out

too many words.

But as Clarke proved, knowledge is not necessary. He once said that Reagan 'values loyalty about competence' and Clarke, who flunked out of law school, is living proof that stupidity rules OK.

After all Reagan did appoint this failed lawyer as a justice of the Supreme Court of California and now he is the US Deputy Secretary of State.

Arse-licking and red-baiting are the best qualifications for jobs at the

White House — who needs brains and integrity?

ONE man's head was held under the assailant's arms whilst bullets were pumped into him. Another was clubbed before being shot.

These murders were witnessed and reported to the Westminster Coroner's Court by two men, Mr Abbas Fallahi

and Mr Ali Akbar Tabatabai.

This was not a scene from Ghaddafi's revenge, but the inquest on the deaths at the Iranian Embassy siege last year.

Such graphic detail reported by witnesses, hardly biased towards the dead men as they had been the dead men's hostages, was not going to deflect coroner, Dr Paul Chapman, from his patriotic duty to support the

SAS who had done the killing.

He told the jury to 'think of Britain' as he warned them of the '...implications to this country if a verdict of unlawful killing is recorded...'. The 'true-blue' Dr Chapman was a little put out that the jury had taken 'quite so long' as 55 minutes to reach its verdict.

Like the trigger-happy SAS, the doctor thought the jury should reach its verdict in the time it takes to pump 50-odd bullets into a 'foreigner's' skull.

Perhaps the next time the SAS go on a shoot-out, and another jury is needed for the required verdict, Dr Chapman could play them a tape of 'Land of Hope and Glory'?

Results of the first 'generalised offensive'

Eyewitness in El Salvador

THE US ambassador to El Salvador was last week summarily sacked by Reagan. His temporary replacement is the Pentagon appointee Frederic L Chapin, who headed the military aid programme to El Salvador which included sending 'training teams' and a score of helicopter gunships.

This move reflects the desperate attempts by the Reagan team to shore up the demoralised

repressive military junta of Jose Napoleon Duarte in the aftermath of the first phase of the 'generalised offensive' by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

MIKE CHANAN was in El Salvador during the period of this offensive. He was with the guerrillas, primarily in the El Vicente region of the country, filming for a television programme. He recounts his impressions for Socialist Challenge.

THE first generalised offensive against the Duarte regime was a limited but important success. We shouldn't speak of a final offensive. That is the way the US and the junta describe it in order to claim that it was a failure.

The FMLN launched thousands of fighters against military installations in six provincial capitals; Chalatenango, Suchitoto, Zacatecoluca, Sensuntepeque, La Union and San Francisco Gotera.

They were able to occupy these major cities for periods of up to 72 hours, retiring from some and then re-occupying. It was able to hold all the working class neighbourhoods in San Salvador itself at the beginning of the offensive.

Siege

They laid siege to the military airport in San Salvador. In Santa Ana, the garrison rebelled, going over to the side of the revolutionary forces and destroying most of the barracks. Three top officers defected, including an officer of the National Guard.

Majano, who was edged out of the junta, has gone into opposition without joining the revolutionary forces. The rebellion and



the defections to the revolution show that there is a more radical wing in the army than Majana and his supporters.

Large liberated zones have now been established in the provinces of Santa Ana, Chalatenango, San Vicente and Morazan. Junta forces can only come into these by mounting a military strike force. Because this often ends in significant casualties for them, they don't undertake it lightly.

I was caught in an encounter in San Vicente province 40 miles east of San Salvador. About 400 military launched an offensive. This included the army, the national guard and ORDEN — the fascist militia. The

army won't go out alone — it's too demoralised, it needs the others to give it backbone.

Attack

A diversionary force of about 20 guerrillas held off the attack for an hour, suffering two light casualties. In the meantime, a force of 150 assembled in a non-chalant and unhurried way showing that the guerrillas were experienced in dealing with these episodes.

The diversionary force retired and the main force held the army for about two hours without casualties, and forced the army eventually to retreat.

It is clear from my experience in San Vicente that the FMLN has the near unanimous support

of the peasantry.

The main problem of the offensive was in the towns with the operation of the mass organisations. Originally, FMLN strategy was to use mass mobilisations to take over parts of the cities, organise militias and defence groups and then retire with minimal losses. It was never the objective to permanently occupy the towns.

Funeral

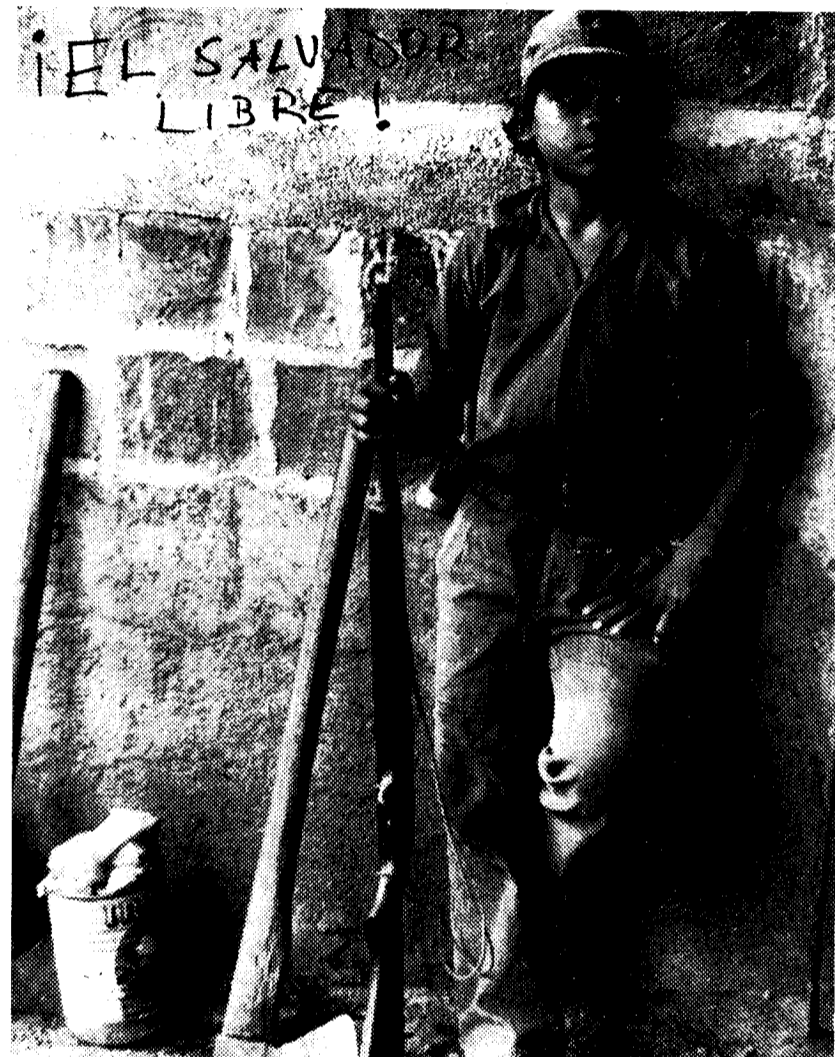
However the level of repression had considerably risen since last summer when the army went in for cold blooded massacres as at the funeral of Archbishop Romero, making impossible the sort of mass mobilisations that had been planned.

It was remarkable that despite the militarisation of the main industrial zones and repressive activity some 50 per cent of the work force in San Salvador joined the general strike, paralysing 40 of the largest enterprises.

Military

Local government and bank employees also joined. Only 10-20 per cent of the public transport operated — that owned by military officers.

In the days prior to the general strike, 30 union leaders had been arrested. Anyone miss-



'The FMLN has the near unanimous support of the peasantry'

ing work without adequate excuse (for example, no transport) was threatened with the sack and being handed over to the military authorities.

The FMLN was formed from a fusion of the military wings of four revolutionary organisations and the Communist Party.

The armed wing of the CP is fairly small, having joined the front early in 1980 after a self-criticism leading to its withdrawal from the junta.

The FMLN is committed to smashing the junta through mass mobilisations, and replacing the capitalist state with organisations based on the masses, including the militias which it promotes.

It proposes the nationalisation of all major factories and enterprises and the monopolisation of foreign trade. The banks are already nationalised.

The public representatives of the revolutionary movement is the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). This groups all the mass organisations associated with the FMLN as well as the most important trade

union organisations and the General Association of Salvadoran University Students.

The FDR includes representatives from the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR) which maintains ties with the second international and the Peoples Christian Movement (MPSC) which arose out of splits from the Christian Democratic Party. The bourgeois representatives from the MNR and the MPSC accept the leadership of the struggle by the FMLN.

The Duarte junta would not survive without foreign backing. Already Honduran and Guatemalan forces are operating inside the border regions of El Salvador.

In Santa Ana there is a 500-strong contingent of ex-Somoza National Guards is stationed which regrouped in Honduras after fleeing from Nicaragua. There are 800 US 'advisors' operating in the country.

I have a recording, taken from a CB radio, of a conversation between two north Americans concerning military activity of the junta's army on the mor-

ning of Sunday 11 January.

Even a cursory analysis shows that these Americans were in the streets with the army.

Six US 'advisors' have been killed including one positively identified as a certain Thomas Bracken. It is claimed that planes which carried out bombing raids in Chalatenango in the north of the country had US pilots.

It is clear that US imperialism, either directly or through its puppets in Guatemala or Honduras, is prepared to invade to prop up this regime which in 1980 alone claimed 13,000 lives.

In an interview which I conducted with the main leader of the FMLN Salvador Cayetano Carpio, he renewed his appeal to the people of the world to 'Tie the hands of the imperialists' through massive protest actions. This is the least we can do.

Mike Chanan is working on a 30-minute solidarity film bringing an up-to-the-minute report of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. Copies of this film will be made available through the El Salvador Solidarity Committee.

Stop the missiles

El Salvador and the Bomb

By Bob Pennington

THE day Reagan had his presidential inauguration, two demonstrations met outside the American Embassy in London. Both were against the US imperialists — one in support of the El Salvadoran national liberation struggle, the other against Cruise missiles in Britain.

This symbolic meeting dramatically brought together what US policy is all about. The USA has a double-edged strategy. On the one hand it has its Rapid Deployment Force through which it can send its military trouble-shooters into areas of political upheaval where the local population is trying to run its own affairs.

On the other, it has alliances like NATO, and strategies such as *Counterforce*, which are nuclear-backed military alliances and strategies aimed at keeping the Soviet Union in line.

Concerns

American imperialism has two main concerns. It wants to make the world politically and economically safe for capitalism, particularly US capitalism.

This is why it made military interventions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, as well as organising the overthrow of Mossadeq in Iran and Allende in Chile. Today it sends military aid to the bloody regime in El Salvador.

Its hostility to the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe has nothing to do with the anti-democratic and bureaucratic nature of the governments of these countries.

What infuriates the Americans about Russia and Eastern Europe is that they are countries which no longer provide fields of investment for a profit-hungry capitalism. Furthermore, despite their regimes, they represent to the peoples of the colonial world in particular a living proof that it is possible to get by without bosses and landlords.

Carve up

Worse still for the Western capitalists, the Stalinist bureaucrats in order to look after their own interests are often compelled to give support to those colonial revolutions which undermine US interests.

Ever since the end of World War Two, this conflict between the colonial revolutions and the United States has moved in a direction that is unfavourable to the Americans.

At Potsdam and Yalta in 1945 the Western Allies, and the USSR came to an agreement whereby the world was carved up into spheres of interest. Fortunately the peoples of the colonial world had other plans which completely disrupted this scheme of the 'Great Powers'.

In China the patriotic war against the Japanese spilled over into a revolutionary struggle against America's ally Chiang Kai Chek.

In Vietnam the people rose against their French oppressors, while in Korea the workers and peasants fought with the aid of the Chinese Peoples Republic to unify their country.

Throughout the third world the flames of revolution flared and America took on more and more the role of world cop.

Right through the late '40s and '50s and into the early '60s the Western imperialists took military action against the national liberation struggles.

Often, as in Greece, Iran and Malaya, they were able to push back the revolution as the Western working class failed to mobilise against the wars of their ruling classes.

Cuba

However the Cuban revolution began to change things. In 1959 the American-backed dictator Batista was thrown out and only 90 miles away from the American mainland a new workers' state was established.

This was a crippling blow to the USA and a tremendous inspiration to all the liberation movements, especially in Latin America. Later the growth of a mass anti-war movement contributed to the defeat of the US in Vietnam.

Given confidence by the victories of the revolutions, the people of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Grenada and Nicaragua have pushed forward their own struggles.

America, debilitated by its defeat in Vietnam and shaken by Watergate, was unable to play the role of imperialism's cop.

These victories set the best guarantee of world peace. They weakened the camp of the imperialists and divided their populations, making it difficult for the capitalist governments to line up their own working class behind their war drive. They took the initiative out of the hands of the capitalist class.

Initiative

Now imperialism has to find a new way of regaining the initiative. Not only is it threatened by the colonial revolution, but as inflation and unemployment plague the metropolitan countries it is haunted by the fear of what its own working class might do.

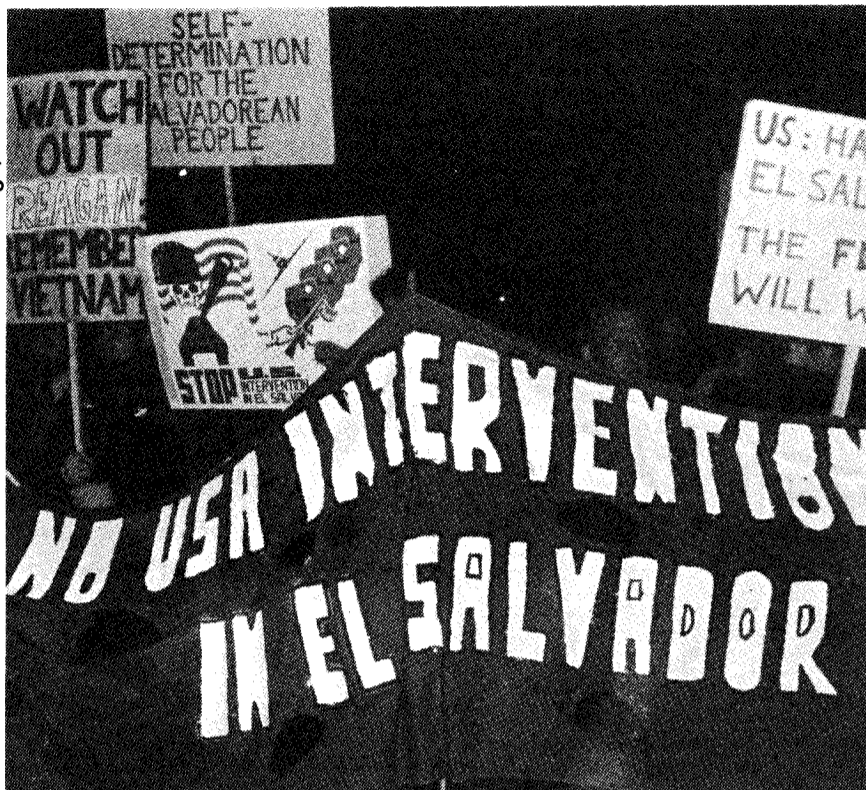
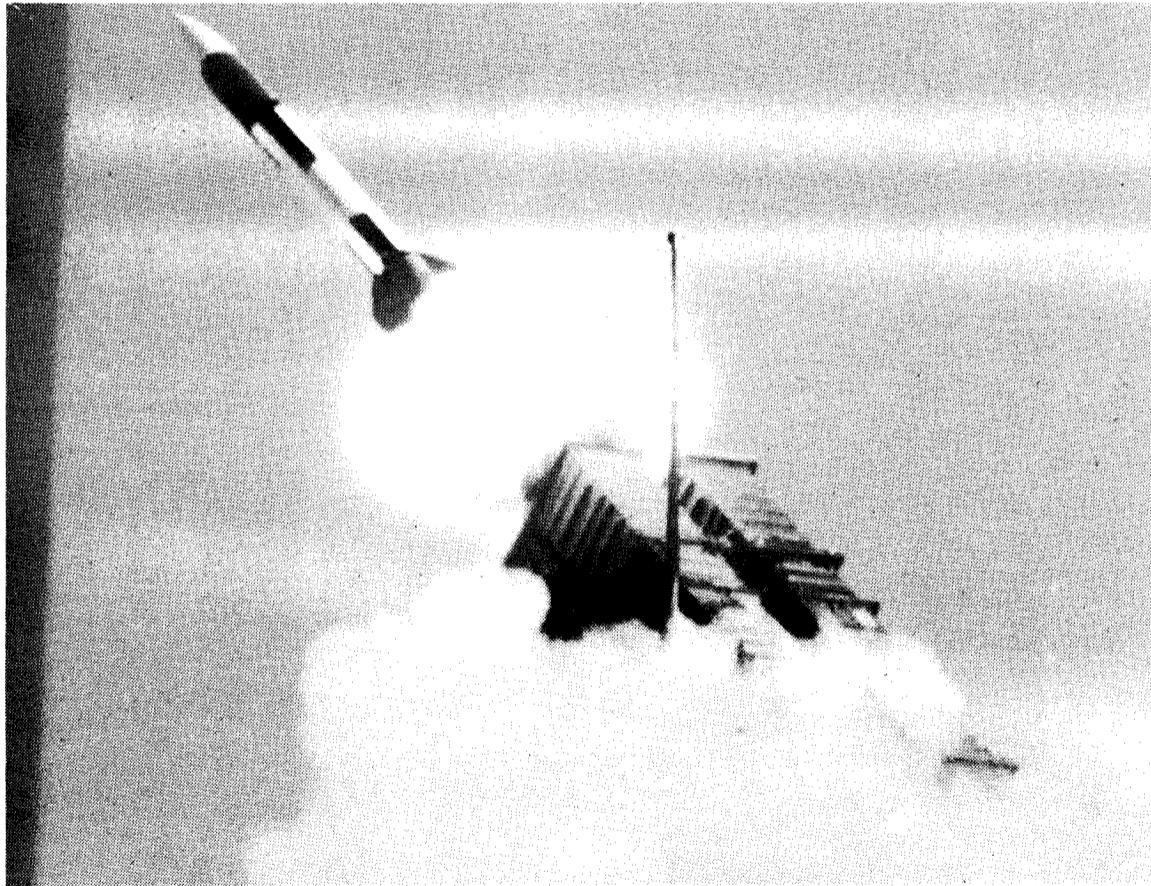


Photo: PM GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

PICKET on 20 January of the US embassy in London against American involvement in El Salvador



Under no circumstances can it allow the struggle in the colonial world to fuse with the struggles of its own workers. For the sake of its own survival it must smash the colonial revolution and defeat its own labour movement.

This is why CND is wrong when it writes in an editorial: 'We will take nuclear disarmament out of the realms of politics into the realm of commonsense where it belongs.' It is not common sense that will stop war. It is not appeals to reason and God that will avert the nuclear holocaust.

What will stop war is the advance of the colonial revolution. Vietnam made Angola and Nicaragua possible and stopped America's warmongers in their tracks. The extension of these revolutions, particularly

into the metropolitan countries, is the best, in fact the only guarantee of peace.

That is why the workers in the advanced capitalist countries have everything to gain by rejecting alliances with their own bosses and allying themselves instead with the colonial revolution.



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Anti-missile Action Guide

WHAT'S on against the missiles? The following events are listed by CND. If you have a film show a demonstration, a public meeting or other anti nuclear event, please send the details to us and CND



14 February: CND petition will be handed in at 10 Downing St at 12.30pm by film actor Susannah York and CND general secretary Bruce Kent.

21 February: CND student conference at North London Poly, Holloway Road, London N7. One delegate each from a student union or CND student group.

28 February: Ealing CND picket of local civil defence bunker.

7 March: Bristol CND labour movement conference: 'Jobs not Bombs'. Sponsored by Bristol Trades Council and Tony Benn. Shepherds Hall, Old Market, 10am-5pm. Films, workshops, creche.

14 March: Sheffield nuclear disarmament demonstration and rally. Assemble 10.30/11.30am

Carlisle St. Rally in the City Oval Hall featuring Neil Kinnock MP, Ray Buckton ASLEF, Bruce Kent CND.

28 March: Labour movement conference in Manchester. Delegates will be accepted from all bona fide trade union and Labour Party organisations — two from each Labour Party branch or constituency, trade union branch, trades council or shop stewards committee, at £3 a delegate.

4 April: 'Jobs not bombs' march in Stockton (Bill Rodgers' constituency). Speakers from LP, CND, Trades Council, Assemble Norton Green, 12.30pm. Details tel. 0642 2444316

11 April: Youth CND Conference in Birmingham.
12 April: Trans-Pennine march starting in Manchester and arriving in Leeds on 16 April.

Second stage in Brussels on Easter Saturday, 18 April, where a demonstration will take place outside NATO headquarters. This will be joined by anti-nuclear demonstrators from several countries.

Information from: Sebastian Halliday, Pennine Anti-Nuclear Co-ordination Committee, Laneside, Woodtop, Hebbon Bridge, West Yorks.

14 April: March across the sky. Disarmament demonstrations across West Yorkshire, featuring flares and fireworks, Organised by Bradford END c/o Ruth Overy, 7 Albert Tee, Wyke. Bradford BD12 9BS.

18 April: Hillingdon CND march from NATO HQ in Northwood to go past military installations in the area, including RAF Uxbridge, RAF Northolt (Airport) and USAF Ruislip.

Easter: No Aldermaston march will take place. There will be large events in all regional centres.

May Day: National CND conference in London. Details from: CND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4. Tel 01-263 4954.

6/7 June: Scottish CND major demonstration from Faslane Polaris base on the Clyde arriving in Glasgow 7 June for rally and festival.

N-bomb would bring war nearer

THE Reagan regime's suggestion that it may well go ahead with the neutron bomb project is more than a threatening gesture. If NATO forces in West Europe were armed with the N-bomb it would greatly increase the chances of nuclear war.

The 'enhanced radiation weapon', or neutron bomb, would be a shell fired by an 8-inch artillery cannon. The nuclear ingredients are mixed in such a way that there is relatively more short-life radiation and relatively less blast and heat.

By exploding it above enemy forces, the neutron bomb can be used to kill soldiers without causing the amount of blast damage normally associated with nuclear weapons.

Theoretically this type of bomb could be used to kill civilians in an enemy city, but it is mainly designed for use against tanks — killing their crews without completely destroy-

ing the surrounding area.

This would enable forces using the N-bomb to advance fairly rapidly into the area attacked. It is not yet certain that an N-bomb could be manufactured which could kill civilians in a city without damaging the buildings — after all, to produce the radiation there still has to be a nuclear explosion.

However, the deployment of N-bomb artillery shells would probably lead to their early use against Soviet tanks in the event of a European war.

The Warsaw Pact countries have an enormous numerical superiority in personnel and tanks, only partly offset by the West's technological superiority. The temptation to roll back the Soviet tanks by use of the N-bomb would be very great. Despite the fact that it is a 'battlefield' weapon, the nuclear barrier would have been crossed by its use. Nuclear war would have begun.

By Patrick Sikorski

Almost half the 10m full-time manual workers in Britain have now negotiated with their employers a working week of less than 40 hours.

According to the TUC, progress towards reducing working hours has been brisk in the past 12 months, although Congress House acknowledges that some agreements have yet to be implemented.

Nearly every trade union conference during the 1970s adopted a policy for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay.

In 1972 the Trades Union Congress called for 'a working week of 35 hours in all industries with a further target of a 32-hour, four-day week

Work or full pay – slash the hours

without loss of earnings.' Yet if the 35-hour week is becoming more widespread and the unemployment figures are still rising, is there any point in fighting for such a policy? How effective has the TUC campaign been?

Overtime

The slump has brought down the total number of hours of overtime worked from 13.5m in 1975 to 9.19m last year, but the amount of overtime per worker is still as high as ever and averages out at a full extra day a week.

In their drive for profits, the employers are

demanding increased productivity through cuts in staffing levels, redundancies, and speed-ups.

At the same time they are ruthlessly restructuring and rationalising the manufacturing base of the country and using the opportunity to introduce new technology.

This will make permanent the present unemployment levels.

Heath, Wilson, Callaghan and Thatcher have all sung the same tune, claiming that only by boosting profits from this rationalisation process could more jobs, more investment, and future prosperity be assured.

An indication of why jobs have not been saved is offered by the TUC itself:

'It has been an essential part of the TUC's campaign that reductions in hours are introduced in a way which increases efficiency and ensures a better use of resources over a shorter period of time through such methods as rescheduling and reorganising patterns of work.'

'Unions and managements in many sectors are working together to achieve this.'

It is hardly surprising that while the index of average weekly hours worked by each worker fell throughout manufacturing industry by 10 per cent between 1969 and 1979 the actual output per person

employed went up by 22 per cent!

The average hours worked in all manufacturing industries is still a staggering 60.9 hours a week!

But the introduction of new machines and the closing of old plant and factories has not been job saving. All it has done is to cut the wages bill for the bosses.

New technology has eliminated jobs and raised productivity by forcing the remaining workforce to work harder, to produce even more than they did before their co-workers were put on the dole.

In the present recession more is being pro-

duced than the bosses can sell. The steady stream of job losses is now turning into a tidal wave, and as the Tories cut back in the public sector this area can no longer soak up the unemployed from private industry.

The TUC went along with the arguments about new technology and the need to boost profits, hence its anxiety to make sure that the introduction of the 35-hour week increased production.

Slash

This is why the trade union leaders can offer nothing better to combat unemployment than calls for increased public expenditure of £6 billion. Since the Tories are anxious to slash public expenditure, such appeals are unlikely to succeed.

The TUC is, of course, worried about unemployment, but as long as it goes along with the argument that profitability comes first, it can do little more than make suggestions to the Tories on how best to run the economy.

There is only one way to stop the Tories axing public spending and raising production at the expense of jobs — mobilising the labour movement. Closures have to be met with occupations. That way the workplace can become a base from which to organise solidarity.

The demand for work or full pay should become the rallying cry of the labour movement. Such a demand counters the logic of the Tories and the right-wing leaders of the TUC and the Labour Party.

Bosses

It is a demand that challenges the right of the bosses to decide. It can only be realised if firms' accounts are opened up to the inspection of the workforce, and if the equipment and machinery of firms which threaten to close is taken over by the workers.

As long as the employers' right to make profit goes unchallenged, the wasteland of closures and cuts can only grow. Firms like Tate and Lyle in Liverpool will close its 'unprofitable' sugar refining plant, making over a thousand Merseyside workers redundant and hitting the livelihoods of thousands of workers in the West Indies.

Lucrative

Tate and Lyle won't mind too much. It can capitalise more lucrative ventures.

There is no way that this can be halted without fighting for such companies to be taken over so that their profits can be used to subsidise the less profitable plants like Merseyside.

All these measures mean a fight to bring down the Tory government because no amount of 'well reasoned argument' from the TUC will persuade Margaret Thatcher and company that people matter more than profit.

Liverpool May 1 15.4%

Salford May 5 9.4%

Manchester May 6 9.4%

Stockport May 7 9.4%

Warrington May 4 10.0%

Macclesfield May 8 7.3%

Congleton May 9 7.6%

Stoke-on-Trent May 11 9.1%

Stafford May 12 6.3%

Cannock May 13 11.8%

Walsall May 15 11.8%

Wolverhampton May 14 12.0%

Birmingham May 18 11.1%

West Bromwich May 16 10.5%

Meriden May 19 11.9%

Rugby May 21 8.4%

Northampton May 22 6.8%

Bedford May 23 5.5%

Letchworth May 24 6.4%

Hemel Hempstead May 26 4.3%

Luton May 25 7.5%

Watford May 27 4.3%

Wembley May 28 5.9%

London May 29 5.9%

Peoples march

for jobs

MAY 81 LIVERPOOL-LONDON

IF YOU can help, need more information or want posters, leaflets, badges, tee shirts, sponsor forms or petitions, get in touch with the march organisers. In the North-west contact Colin Barnett, North West TUC, 222 Stamford St, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancs, OL6 7YZ. Telephone 061-308 4551. Or in Birmingham phone Pete Carter on 021-643 4151, and in the South-east Jack Dromey on 01-574 1391.

MPs to join marchers

SOME MPs will no doubt be disgusted at the thought of a column of angry people marching the length of the country to make their feelings known at the seat of government.

But not all. Others like Frank Allaun, Labour MP for Salford East, will not only go out to meet the marchers, but join them on the march.

He says: "This march to London from the North is a really brilliant idea.

"It could catch the imagination of the whole country in the way that the Jarrow marchers did in the '30s. That's why I am supporting it and intend to march part of the way."

"Everyone who has had a spell of unemployment knows how soul-destroying it is. We have got to stop any further spread."

Build the Liverpool-London March for Jobs

FOLLOWING the enormous success of the demonstration in Liverpool last November and the prospects of another giant demonstration on 21 February in Glasgow, the march from Liverpool to London called by the Liverpool Trades Council, and sponsored by the North West Region of the TUC, West Midlands Region of UCATT and the South East Region of the TUC promises to be the biggest demonstration of anger and unity against Tory joblessness to date.

The march organisers are calling for all workers to extend their lunch breaks by one hour as the march passes through their area and also to set up factory gate meetings along with rallies and demonstrations on the route.

A monster demonstration is planned for when the march arrives in London on 29 May. The South East Region TUC have hired a football stadium in London for a rally and there will be a giant rock concert for youth.

The march must be made a decisive show of the organised power of the working class which if really mobilised can 'Kick out the Tories'.

The maximum number of trade union and Labour Party branches must send delegates on the march (the whole or part of the way) and/or sponsor a marcher. Just as important will be the setting up through union branches, joint shop stewards committees, Labour parties and trades councils, of Support/Reception Committees especially in the areas on or near the route.

Every town and factory on route and every stop must provide a display of solidarity and support. The only condition for delegation to such committees should be that they mobilise support for the march. But socialists should be getting delegated on the basis of policies such as a 35-hour week and worksharing with no loss of pay — which can give a lead in the fight for jobs and put the TUC leaders on the spot.

Information from: Reprint box from *Morning Star*.

Labour Party — your position is not clear

I THINK that most socialists in the Labour Party would welcome the stand by your paper in publicising and supporting the demands for democracy within our party.

You are quite right to say that the fight for democracy in our party is crucial if we are to present an alternative to the Tories.

However, the real struggle for democracy began and continues with the rank and file members arguing and voting for their ideas at endless branch meetings. This battle had been going on when the objective of the IMG was to build a revolutionary party outside the Labour Party.

Your position at the time was that the Labour Party could not be reformed and that the alternative was to organise separately.

The position of socialists in the Labour

Party was and is that the Labour Party reflects some of the major reformist ideas in the labour movement, both now and in the past.

For this reason we see the place to argue against reformism and for socialism to be in the Labour Party itself. The battle for democracy is a major step on that road. We may yet be defeated, but nevertheless we would continue to try to win support for our ideas within the party.

Socialist Challenge's position is not clear. If you believe in forming a revolutionary party outside the Labour Party, we disagree but respect your position.

If you believe in joining the battle for democracy within the party, then at the moment you are standing as mere observers to the struggle.

If you intend to join the party after the struggle for democracy has been won hoping to find an easier ground to present your politics, then you would be as welcome as the cavalry that arrived ten minutes after the battle.

D HUGHES, Bermondsey LPYS (personal capacity)

Sowing illusions in the Labour Party

AS A member of the Socialist Workers Party (does that mean this letter won't be printed?) and a supporter of genuine revolutionary unity, I am worried about the line taken by the IMG towards the Labour Party.

Recent editions of Socialist Challenge have talked about the need to build a mass campaigning Labour Party — committed to socialist policies! This is totally misleading in that it implies that the Labour Party is capable of achieving socialism.

But socialism is not about putting the economy under the control of the bourgeois

state, as the Labour left seek.

It requires the revolutionary overthrow of the state structures — including parliament — and their replacement by a system of workers' councils to control society (this is explained in *The State and Revolution* by a minor Russian writer, V I Lenin).

Although entryism can be a necessary tactic under certain conditions — which do not exist at present — Marxists should not lose sight of the need to build a revolutionary party to lead the overthrow of the state.

Those IMG members who want to build such a party now should seriously consider splitting from their sectarian comrades and build the only real alternative — the Socialist Workers Party.

GEOFF COLLIER, Hull

Pornography — mass action not legislation

I WOULD like to reply to Denny Fitzpatrick's letter (29 Jan). Denny raised three points:

1. Links between acts of violence and pornography.
2. Whether a ban on pornography is correct.
3. Stiffer penalties for

rapists.

On the first point: the links between pornography and rape argued by certain sections of the women's movement are oversimplified. In my view violence against women does not stem primarily, if

at all, from pornography.

It is a product of the oppressive social relations which affect both men and women, in all classes of society, and of the oppression of women under capitalism in particular.

A survey carried out a

few years ago revealed that doctors and policemen topped the list for battering their companions — two authoritarian professions.

In Franco's Spain there were very harsh laws against pornography — which was

Hanging — 'last defense of the ruling class'

THE letters from Denny Fitzpatrick and Judith Connor (29 Jan) on sexual violence contain some dangerous lines of argument.

To equate the question of hanging the 'Ripper' with withdrawal from the EEC or to link the penalties for rape to some abstract concept of patriarchy are equally misleading.

Hanging has always been the last line of defence for the British ruling class against the oppressed, the poor and the confused. It certainly never protected women from murder, nor anyone else.

Of 106 murderers hanged between 1949-56, twenty-two had killed members of their own family and 23 had killed lovers or girlfriends. Forty-nine had definite records of insanity.

Remember Derek Bentley, a 19-year-old mentally retarded epileptic, hanged because his 16-year-old accomplice shot a policeman.

Remember Timothy Evans, hanged for a murder he didn't commit.

Remember Ruth Ellis, hanged for shooting her former lover. At the trial she was described as 'hysterically and emotionally immature'.

Remember Margaret Allen, 20th child of a family of 22. A transsexual who killed her lover in a quarrel... hanged.

The list is endless. It's no accident that the lynching or judicial hanging of

blacks accused of rape was a popular sport in the deep south of the USA, that well known haven of sexual liberation.

There is strong evidence that psychopathic murderers are actually encouraged by the death penalty. Sensational press coverage such as that given to John Lennon's killer is an inducement for a nobody to kill.

The USA has many cases of such apparently motiveless murders, such as Charlie Starkweather, portrayed in the film *Badlands* and Smith and Hickock of *In Cold Blood*.

We cannot let the honest desire to avenge 13 murdered women and to protect others blind us to the fact that to make any concession on hanging is to hand a weapon to the state which it will turn on the oppressed.

We must stick to our guns: expose the corruption of the police and demand that they take sexual violence seriously.

We should demand that an incoming Labour government closes down the porn merchants and provides finances for progressive and educational erotic literature; that state aid to women's refuges is stepped up; that sex education in schools is treated seriously and the violent socialisation of male pupils stopped.

We should defend women who fight in their own self-defence from attacks by the courts.

To suggest that trade



unionists would 'rip up' anyone fighting for these demands, as does Judith Connor, is complete paranoid nonsense. In my experience it's not hard to convince them of the validity of these points.

To construct socialism people have to change — let's start now.

JOHN KREEGER, London

VIEWING THE RELEASE OF THE IRANIAN US HOSTAGES

I sit viewing TV clap-trap about the released US prisoners held hostage for some months in Persia — boring announcers maunder on, evidently not even knowing which actual aircraft was flying the freed Americans back home.

I listen and watch closely, noting down the telly waffle. "Let us be sure," they keep repeating "this really is the hostage plane.... It is incredibly difficult to say what's really going on."

IT'S NOT.

An ex-prisoner, I realise how these people must have suffered; yet this jamboree is sad, absurd.

Who are these captives? (Which their plane?) The fuss, pomposity, concern is hypocritical, ridiculous; certainly it's not victorious.

What about the South East Asians? Chileans under Pinochet? South Koreans? Dominicans? Victims of the CIA?



Shah-oppressed, tortured Iranians? Resisters in El Salvador?

Has the voice of these thrashed people ever been so loudly heard?

Written at dawn the day the US hostages in Iran were released — 21.1.81.

Pat Arrowsmith

The Other Bookshop

Judith Arcana
Our Mother's Daughters
Women's Press, £2.95

Through a series of interviews with 120 women, Judith Arcana unfolds the complexities of the mother/daughter relationship.

M/F Nos 5 and 6
Double issue on sexuality, £2.95

This latest issue includes articles on pornography, rape, homosexuality and psychoanalysis.

Crispin Aubrey
Who's Watching You
Penguin, £1.50

In this book Aubrey, a defendant in the 'ABC' trial, shows how the security services are continually casting their net wider to include trade unionists, students, anti-nuclear protestors and a host of other possible 'subversives'.

All books available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP. Please add 15% to each title if ordering by post.

difficult to obtain — but violence against women was widespread.

We should campaign against pornography which portrays women in degrading and exploitative ways, but this is not the same as banning it.

I don't believe that we should line up with the Lord Longfords of this world in campaigning for legislation — not because it means lining up with the right wing, but because it is a response which does not take sexual oppression as its starting point. Such legislation would make matters worse.

We should have mass campaigns against porn images of women because they are a product of sexual oppression. The women's movement has made considerable advances on this with Reclaim the Night demonstrations, the production of literature like *Our Bodies, Ourselves* and numerous articles on sexuality, asserting women's rights and challenging social oppression.

I think for example, that mass sit-ins of *The Sun*, *Mirror* and *The Star* to protest against page 3 nudes would be excellent propaganda that could eventually result in mass boycotts.

We should popularise the tactics of the German women journalists whose editor refused to listen to their complaints against featuring a nude woman draped with Xmas tinsel on the front cover of their magazine. They finally stripped him, draped him with tinsel and put him on the front cover!

A campaign of politicisation against sexual oppression should also demand that the media features articles and debates on sexuality instead of the voyeuristic reporting that is rampant on rape trials and so on.

The third point concerns the type of punishment to be meted out to rapists. Demanding the death penalty or longer prison sentences is no substitute for the self-organisation of women, and it is one more step in strengthening the state's repressive armoury.

It is no accident that an authoritarian like T S Sainsbury, a leading anti-abortionist, is now promoting a bill on pornography along the lines of the Whitehouse and Longford brigade.

This doesn't mean to say, however, that if a woman does decide to take a rapist to court we shouldn't support her, particularly against the reactionary procedure whereby the onus is on the woman to prove her innocence.

But I don't believe we should support strengthening the state which already excels in penalising the individual for the ugly distortions of society that are a consequence of women's oppression, legitimised by society.

PAT MASTERS, London

Thank you!

The following letter was attached to a completed 12-month subscription form:

'Just want to say that I'm really grateful for your paper helping me to understand the real struggle inside the Labour Party — and indeed the real struggles in the world — as it's often very difficult to grasp a real understanding of world events from the daily papers! Keep up the good work.'

CHARLOTTE MACKIE, London

OVERCOMING A LIFETIME

TWO events last week brought racism back into the centre of the news. The Joint Committee Against Racism led a deputation to the Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, to protest against a sharp rise in racist attacks.

Less publicised was the decision of an industrial tribunal that a hospital's refusal to allow a Sikh girl to wear trousers rather than regulation uniform was racial discrimination.

Discussion on racism inside the labour movement is increasingly concentrating on the need for positive action — known in the United States as 'affirmative action' — to assert the rights of black workers.

The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) London division has launched a campaign for 'equal opportunities for all ethnic minorities at work'. DAVY JONES looks at this and other labour movement campaigns for positive action for black and women workers.



NUPE calls for positive action for black workers

By Davy Jones

'EQUAL opportunities for black and ethnic minority workers' is the title of the negotiators' pack produced by London NUPE to help its members fight racism. It argues that 'words on paper are all very well, but it will only be when we get positive action to implement them that we can change things'.

The introduction to the pack explains: 'In our own union we need to recognise that unless we defend the rights of black and minority ethnic workers we will be helping the government to defeat the fight for the low paid as a whole. Fighting discrimination against them is one way of fighting for better conditions and opportunities for all manual workers.'

'Formal law is not enough to change attitudes and formal equality is not enough to end discrimination. We need to take positive action (sometimes called "affirmative action") to allow ethnic minorities to catch up with the experience of white employees, to overcome a lifetime of discrimination, and to change requirements to recognise the positive experience of ethnic minority groups.'

Workplace

The pack outlines the steps necessary to confront the power of racism at the workplace. It argues for every employer to adopt a positive policy of equal opportunities.

'Your employers may be horrified by the accusation that they discriminate against workers on racial grounds... but they may not be aware of indirect discrimination. As a rule of thumb, if black workers are to be found in a few departments only, or only at low levels of work, indirect discrimination is present.'

Any equal opportunities policy must ensure: 'That no one who applies for a job, or is already employed, faces discrimination on racial grounds; that terms and conditions at work or in job applications do not put workers at a disadvantage on racial

Socialist Challenge spoke to Raghieb Ahsan, T&GWU shop steward in Rover Solihull, about the need for positive action.

'SINCE the early '50s people in Britain have become more, not less, racist. Colonial attitudes have given way to home-based racism and in many areas of life to tougher measures on the part of the state.'

'Today blacks are discriminated against at every turn, in employment, housing, education,

culture, and so on. As the capitalist crisis grows the need for positive action to combat racism becomes more urgent.

'This means not only fighting for jobs for blacks in preference to whites, but also for positive action on promotions, education, and social services.'

'One example is the right of blacks to have extended holidays in order to visit their countries of origin. When this was raised at a stewards' meeting in Rover, even the most militant stewards opposed it on the grounds that this concession could not be won for all.'

'It was racist not to recognise the special posi-

tion of immigrants. Fighting for positive action challenges the complacency of white workers who think that being anti-racist is just being nice to individual blacks.'

'It also means that the state has to take some concrete measures, and in doing so has to acknowledge that racism does after all exist.'

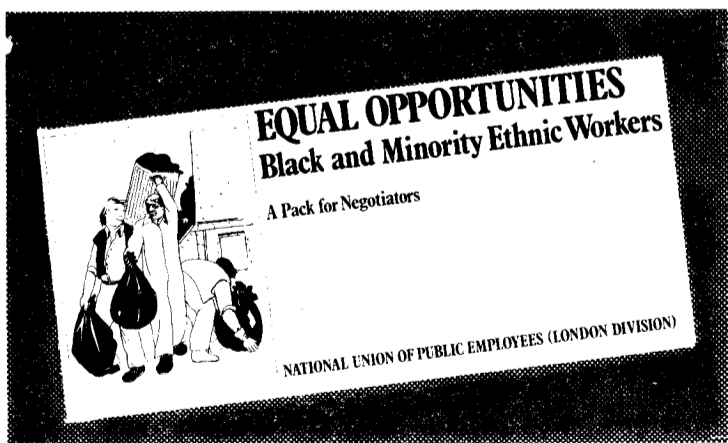
'Positive action is a start to ending centuries of injustice against blacks. It will not defeat racism, but it will increase the combativity of the working class, particularly the blacks, and thus decrease the possibility of dangerous divisions.'

lected, how it is to be stored, and who will have access to it.' The pack explains the need for special training: 'To win people to the policy and make it work, ensure adequate training for the job, get rid of disadvantages for ethnic minorities and to challenge racism.'

In particular it outlines the need for language training as many sections of the ethnic community do not speak English as their first language. For example, 43 per cent of Pakistani men and 77 per cent of Pakistani women speak English only slightly or not at all.

Finally to ensure equal opportunities within the union itself the pack argues for branches to organise educational campaigns among the membership including schools and the establishment of race advisory committees.

Socialist Challenge is critical of some of the weaknesses of the NUPE campaign, particularly their failure to argue for clear quotas and goals for black employment to be supervised by the union. Nevertheless their campaign is a welcome first step on the road to positive action for black workers — an example which other anti-racists and union activists should study carefully.



grounds; that all employees receive special training and encouragement to take advantage of equal opportunity at work.'

A number of London councils have some form of equal opportunities policy — Camden, Hackney, Lambeth and Wandsworth among others.

For such policies to work a number of practices of the employers on job recruitment need to change. 'We are all stuck with the idea of the "best person for the job"'. In reality there is seldom one best person for the job. Different people might not do the job less well,

but they would do it differently... the positive aspects of racial difference have to become part of our selection criteria in jobs.'

The NUPE pack argues for careful monitoring of job entry, training and promotion to check that an equal opportunities policy is working. It adds: 'Some people are scared of records and believe that the information kept can be used against them by employers or handed over to the police and security forces.'

'It is therefore essential that the union negotiates an agreement with management on what information is to be col-

Positive action for black workers

by Jude

The next in the series in the 'Marxist dominated' on positive action for women and men a per cent of the going down for women a low paid.

Resolute Women's building UCATT, an insurance (BIFU) both in the positive action for women. At the sponsored positive action argued against the law on Pay and S. Acts had to be.

A Woman's Right to Work
The case for positive action

OUT NOW! New IMG pamphlet, available from: The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. 50p or 45p for orders over 20.



ME OF DISCRIMINATION



tion for women

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men's TUC will be discussion to end on between women. earn only 75 men's earnings percentage is because nettoised in

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Women's employment pattern

Non-manual	48%
Supervisory	1%
Unskilled	6%
Skilled & semi-skilled	45%

from Employment Gazette 1980

But this argument misses the point. The Equal Pay Act may not have achieved its stated aim but it did give a boost to the struggle for equal pay and forced employers to drop their most blatantly discriminatory policies.

The TUC also argued that legal changes interfered with voluntary agreements and the rights of 'free collective bargaining'.

Again this argument is misplaced. Legislation defending the rights of women workers is not com-

parable to the Industrial Relations Act which attacked 'free collective bargaining'. Positive action legislation is in the interests of all workers. The Industrial Relations Act attacked the rights of all workers.

The bankers' union resolution explains the legal changes that are necessary. First, employers must be obliged to draw up goals and targets for drawing more women into the workforce or into particular grades. Secondly, the disclosure of information laws would need changing as employers can withhold the information on hiring and firing practices and the number of women employed in particular grades.

The UCATT resolution goes further in arguing that employers should be obliged by law to fulfill goals and targets for women's employment. This would mean hiring less 'well qualified' women to fill positive action quotas. The problem with this system in the United States is that the unions themselves do not draw up or supervise these quota systems. It is left in the bosses' control.

Opponents of targets and quotas for positive action programmes refer to the likely 'backlash' from male trade unionists. But that argument could be used against challenging any past discrimination.

There is likely to be a backlash against positive action. To counter it there needs to be the widest possible discussion to convince the labour movement that positive action is in the interests of the whole working class. The discussion at the women's TUC this year could be a useful start to that process.

By Ann Fiander

'Black people and women may have been discriminated against, but isn't positive action merely discrimination in reverse and therefore equally unfair?' That is the question most often raised within the labour movement when positive action is discussed.

First, the facts of discrimination against blacks and women are overwhelming (as the tables printed with this article show). If you are white and male you have more chance of being employed, and that employment is more likely to be in professional, managerial or white collar jobs.

Privileges

The question for the labour movement is whether it wants to perpetuate these relative privileges of white male workers against the justified aspirations of women and black workers. If the answer is no, then positive action to draw up targets and quotas in every job is the best way to move towards non-discriminatory employment practices.

Is this unfair discrimination against men? Shouldn't the simple criterion for employment be the best person for the job, with everyone treated equally? The best way to see the fallacy of this view is to take an analogy.

Marathon

The whole population enters a marathon race. Half the population is forced to carry a 50kg sack of potatoes. Halfway through the race the organisers realise that those carrying the potatoes have been unfairly discriminated against. They remove the potatoes and declare everyone equal from that point.

But by then half the runners have won a huge advantage and are miles ahead of the other runners. It is cynical and absurd to simply declare that both halves are now equal. Only by compensation for the discrimination they have suffered can half the runners stand any chance of winning the race.

Equal

Equal opportunities legislation has begun to remove the potatoes, now only through positive action can those who have suffered centuries of oppression and discrimination be expected to compete on 'equal' terms.

The labour movement should draw up positive targets and quotas for women's and black employment and force the bosses to meet them. Such a campaign would strengthen the unity of the whole workers' movement.

IS IT UNFAIR?

Date	Blacks as percentage of all unemployed
Nov '73	2.2
Nov '74	2.6
Nov '75	3.7
Nov '76	4.1

from Department of Employment Gazette

Percentage of men employed in professional, white collar and managerial jobs

White males	40 per cent
West Indian and Bangladeshi men	8 per cent
Indian men	20 per cent

Percentage of men in unskilled and semi-skilled work:

White males	18 per cent
West Indians	32 per cent
Indians	36 per cent
Pakistanis	58 per cent
African Asians	26 per cent

From 1976 Department of Employment Gazette

Shift working by black and white workers

Type of shift	% of whites on shifts	% of blacks on shifts
Night shifts	9	19
Day shifts/others	5	12
Total on shifts	15	31

from Smith's 'Racial Disadvantage in Britain'

Average gross hourly earnings, excluding overtime, employees aged 18 and over

	1970	1975	1977	1979
Men	67.4p	136.3	177.4	226.9
Women	42.5p	98.3	133.9	165.7
% of men	63.1	72.1	75.5	73.0

Source: New Earnings Survey 1970-79.

Women at work

All ages women	1911	9.6%
	1921	8.7%
	1931	10.0%
	1951	21.7%
	1961	29.7%
	1971	42.3%
	1979	51.3%

Source: Department of Employment Gazette

In a famous court case in the United States over 'affirmative action' for blacks, professors Cohen, Nagel and Scanlon defended

preferential employment for minorities thus: 'Blacks were excluded because they were thought inferior and undesirable; they were

really discriminated against because they were black, and it was an insult of the most fundamental kind; under a preferential policy, white males are not being told they are inferior... the aim is simply to help women and minorities.'

Remedy

And a Federal judge in the same case remarked: 'Like the infections of the human body which are cured by injections of the same poison, the anti-toxin of affirmative action is a justified remedy to the toxin of discrimination.'

The fear of 'reverse discrimination' only arises because there is a genuine fear of job loss in the current situation of high unemployment. This fear of redundancy is a tool used by the ruling class to divide and weaken the whole workforce and to depress wages.

Fightback

Allowing women and blacks to be the first to go 'down the road' does not help the fight for jobs. It weakens the united fightback of all workers — men and women, white and black. Nor should high unemployment be used as an excuse to put off the fight for positive action.

Rights

If the labour movement could be convinced of the rights of black and women workers to their jobs this would strengthen the case for a militant, united fight by the whole labour movement for jobs for all. It would strengthen the case for policies which could provide jobs for all, such as the campaign for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay, and for a programme of socially useful public works.

Priorities

Positive action for black and women workers points to the need to create a new society with new priorities: a society where discrimination against women and blacks is outlawed, where the economy is organised to provide jobs not bombs, a society organised by the workers for the workers: socialism.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Do you think positive action is unfair?
Has your trade union branch discussed it?
Do you know of experiences which show the need for it?

If so, write and tell us at Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Where to buy Socialist Challenge

ABERDEEN: SC sold Saturdays outside C&As — for more info ring Colin, 574060.
BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.
BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643-0669.
BRADFORD: SC available from Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.
BRIGHTON: SC sales regularly every Sat outside Open Market, London Road, from 11am-1pm.
BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info from Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpelier, Bristol 6.
BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.
CARDIFF: SC sales Newport Town Centre outside Woolworths 11-12.30; Cardiff British Home Stores 11-12.30. Also available from 108 Books, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.
CHESTERFIELD: SC supporters sell outside Boots, Marketplace, Saturdays 11.30am-12.30pm.
COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. For more info about local activities phone 461138.
DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Fridays every Thursday 4-5.30pm, Friday 4-5.30pm, Saturday 11-4pm.
EDINBURGH: SC sales every Thursday 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square; Saturday 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.
ENFIELD: SC available from Nelsons newsgents, London Rd, Enfield Town.
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.
HACKNEY: supporters sell SC every Saturday morning at Ridley Road market Eb.
HAMILTON: SC on sale 8-11 every Sat outside County Bar, Almadra Street, every Sat outside Safeway 1.30-5. For more info contact Paul, 17 Clyde View or John at 54 Eliot St, Hamilton.
HUDDERSFIELD: SC supporters sell papers every Saturday 11am-1pm, The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.
KILBURN: SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square.
LAMBETH: SC available from Village Books, Streatham; Tetric Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk. Also sold Thur and Fri evenings and Thur mornings outside Brixton tube.
MANCHESTER: SC supporters sell 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.
NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd. For more info ring Phil or Pete on Newcastle 737507.
NEWHAM: SC sale every Saturday, 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Market, Upton Park.
OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel. 061-682 5151.
OXFORD: SC supporters sell every Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.
STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly: phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).
SWANSEA: SC sales outside Co-op, Oxford St, 11am-1pm, Saturdays.
SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat., Regent St (Brunel Centre).
TEESSIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.
WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; an Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.

Is your town or city mentioned above? If not, send in details to this sales column.

International Marxist Group notices

IRISH LIBERATION: fraction on Sun 1 March. Details to follow.
ABORTION: Day school on 1 March. Ring centre for details.
IMG MEMBERS: We urgently need you to fill vacancies in a variety of technical posts in National Centre. Any cdes interested ring Penny on 01-359 8371.
ANTI-RACIST: national fraction on Sun 8 March at national centre.
SOCIALIST CHALLENGE: organisers' fraction on Sat 14 March at national centre.

STAFF NEEDED for The Other Bookshop. IMG cde needed with accounts experience or aptitude who could be trained. Cdes to do ordering and work on counter. Apply by ringing 01-226 0571.



SNAPPY one-inch badges in black, white and pink. Vital wear for anyone faced with Tory attacks on the public sector. Only 15p each (plus 12p p&p) or 10p each for orders of 50 or more.
 Available from Badges, Ideal Design Ltd, 1 Hamilton Road, Southall, Middx. All proceeds to Socialist Challenge.

Revolution Youth notices

MEMBERSHIP CARDS: Cards now available for members of Revolution Youth. All branches should place orders with national office.
TU/LP subcommittee Sun 22 Feb in Manchester. All cdes involved are invited. Phone Alix on 01-359 8301 for details.
SCHOOL STUDENTS subcommittee Sun 22 Feb in London. Phone Richard on 01-359 8301 for details. Meeting to discuss school students and RY perspectives.
LONDON Revo branches keep 1 March date free for a London Revo members' meeting. Details to follow.

'What's Left'

RATES for What's Left. 5p per word or £4 per col. inch. Deadline: noon Sat. prior to publication. Payment in advance.
DAY School on Women and Ireland. Sat 21 Feb at 10am AUEW House, The Crescent, Salford, Lancs. Details Helena 061-224 6650.
FRANK Stagg Commemoration — the 5th anniversary of his death on hunger strike in Wakefield jail. Public meeting 'Irish political prisoners in English jails', plus speaker from Ireland on the current stage of the H Block crisis. Fri 13 Feb, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1. Organised by Sinn Fein POW Dept Britain.
DEFEND the Longbridge 8 Conference. Sat 14 Feb, 2-5pm. Dr Johnson House, Bull St, Queensway, Birmingham. Speakers from Longbridge and other victimisation struggles. Sponsored by Selly Oak LP. All welcome. Details 021-471 1964.
THE Irish War: What is to be done in Britain? Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! public meeting. Thurs 19 Feb, 7.30pm. Longsight Library, Stockport Rd, Longsight, Manchester.
BENEFIT for 9 May Festival for Women's Rights — Against Tory Attacks. Organised by the Festival Planning Group. Including — NAC, ROW, Womens Fightback, Womens Voice etc. 14 Feb 8pm University of London Union, Malet St, London WC1. Entrance £2 (£1 unwaged, students). With Jam Today and Tour de Force.
SPARTICIST League public meeting. Civil War in El Salvador. Where is Central America Going? Fri 13 Feb London School of Economics Houghton St, Aldwych, St Clements Bldg, Rm S300. Speaker Judith Hunger, SL/B Central Committee.
NUNEATON Women's Festival, 10am to 4pm, Sat 14 Feb. Programme includes health films, Ladies of the Green Willow (clog and Morris dancing) photography exhibition, fun for children, stalls on welfare rights, girls' groups, and a lot more. At the United Reform Church Hall (opp council bldg). Adm free.

International Rally Greensborough Massacre

51 Anti-racists murdered by FBI/KKK in USA. Fightback against fascism and racism! Tues 24 Feb, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1. Film and speakers; Dale Simpson (widow of victim); Rudy Narayana; Alistair Logan; Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! speaker. Organised by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!

REVOLUTION
FOR AN ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANISATION
10p

JOBS NOT BOMBS

Revolution, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

REVOLUTION No 15 'Jobs not Bombs' just out! 10p from Revolution, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Pull out all the stops for national sales day

By Yvonne Taylor, Business Manager

'THIS demo is the best opportunity to blitz potential readers in Scotland with Socialist Challenge, and many new readers can be won. The Glasgow Socialist Challenge group is unlikely to have such a chance again to contact so many militants.'

This is what our supporters wrote in a letter to Socialist Challenge. Our Scottish groups are pulling out all the stops for the Glasgow march.

They have asked all Socialist Challenge supporters going to the demo to meet at an agreed assembly point (see map) to pick up extra papers and be assigned a sales pitch.

We want to use the National Sales Day to make a massive impact on the Glasgow march. Our supporters round the country have indicated their plans for the sales day.

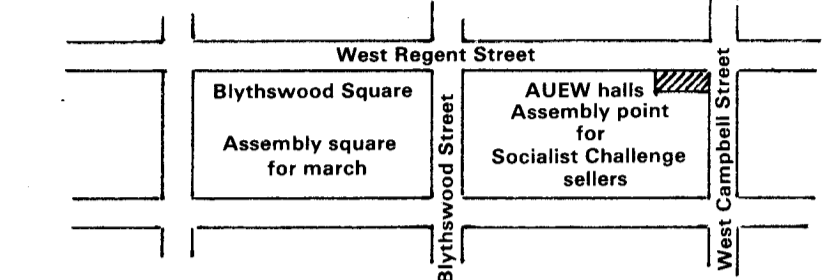
Pete Clifford from Manchester told us: 'There are three special trains, as well as coaches, going to Glasgow from here.'

Manchester Socialist Challenge supporters will be making a big effort to send teams of people to sell the paper on all of them just as the Birmingham supporters did on the CND demo last year.'

Coaches

Clive Turnbull from Sheffield explained that half our Sheffield supporters would be selling papers on the coaches up to the Glasgow march. Further south in London several areas are planning to send teams of sellers on the special train.

Those Socialist Challenge supporters who can't make it to



Glasgow are still planning to use the National Sales Day to boost their sales locally. In South Wales, Swansea supporters plan to leaflet a housing estate on the sales day and to follow up with sales on Sunday.

you're organising a sales team to go to Glasgow or to sell locally, that what we want are new regular readers for the paper.

Offer

So make sure you tell buyers where they can find their next copy of the paper. Ask them to take out an introductory subscription — excellent value at £2 for 10 copies!

Or ask if they would like to take advantage of our new free book offer. You could even offer to deliver their next copy yourself — so make sure you have pen and

paper ready to note down addresses!

We'll be producing a new subscription leaflet for the march which will be sent out with next week's papers, so put in your order now together with your increased order for Socialist Challenge.

After the sales day, we'll be publishing details about how supporters organised sales. Make sure you let us know how many papers and subscriptions you sold.

And ask your local photographer to record the event — we want to print as many pictures as possible in Socialist Challenge.

Help needed for Bolivian Trotskyists

By Brian Grogan

SINCE the army coup last July the Bolivian junta has launched a massive campaign of repression against the left and the trade union movement. It has also promoted a brutal austerity policy against the masses.

Bolivia is in a huge economic crisis. Tin, the main export of the country, has taken a nose dive on world commodity markets. This combines with the problems created by the international isolation of the junta and its massive increase in military spending. The International Monetary Fund has intervened to demand a drastic devaluation of the Peso (from 23 to around 40 to the dollar). It has demanded the dismissal of 10,000 public employees and the denationalisation of large sections of the mining sector.

The situation is so dire that government workers, which includes the nationalised mines, have not received wages for over a month.

Despite the repression, the COB (Central Trades Union federation) called a successful 48-hour work stoppage on 12 and 13 January. Workers in many factories were forced into work at rifle point.

Nonetheless some demands were won in a number of factories and mines. In the Huanuni mine the workers achieved the recognition of the plant committee, the release of detained workers and the back wages they were owed.

The repression of the political organisations has taken a heavy toll. For example the MIR, the most important component of the

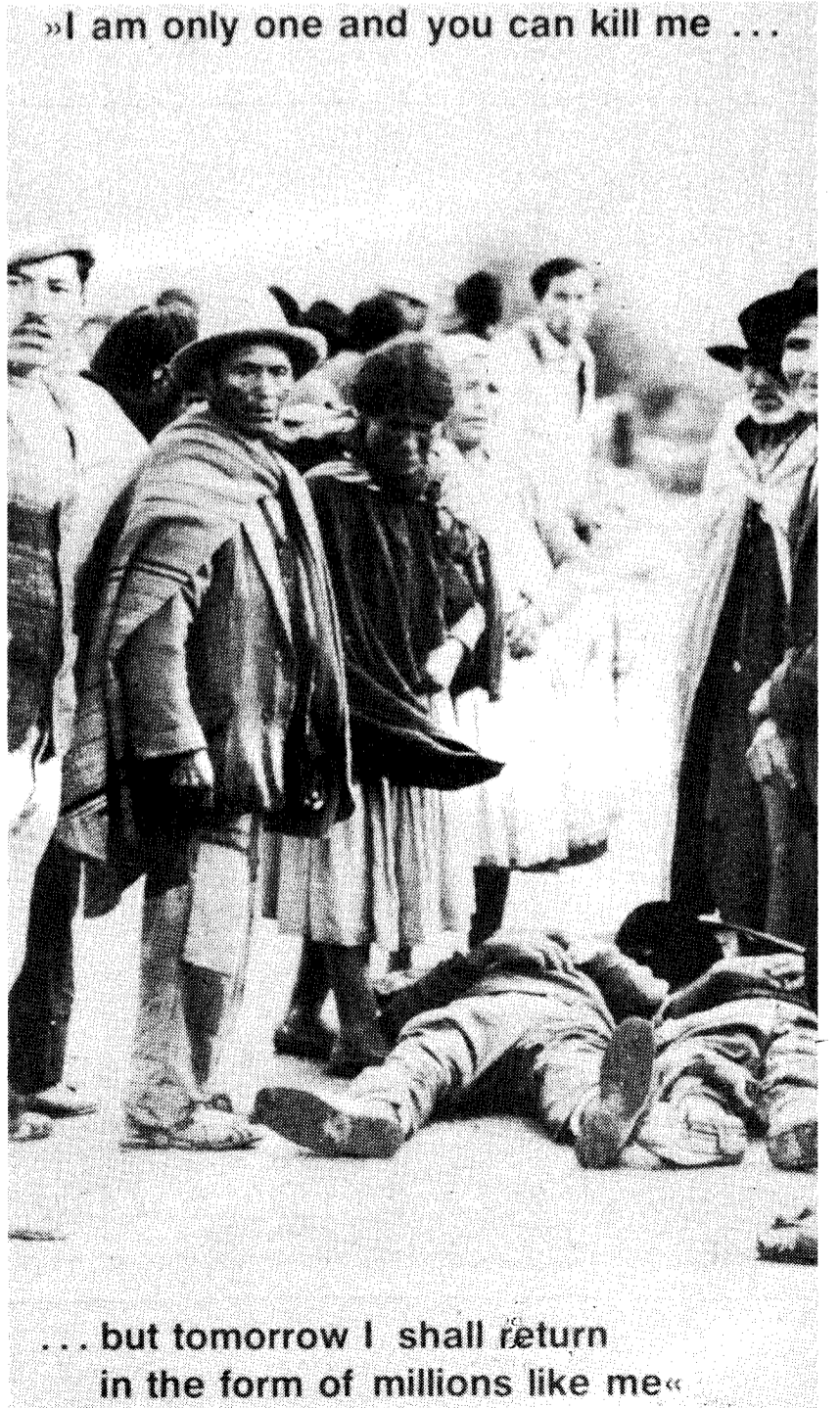


Unidad Democratica Popular electoral bloc which won a majority in the June elections last year, has been virtually wiped out. Last week 8 leaders of the MIR were rounded up and killed.

The POR (Combate), Bolivian section of the Fourth International and one of the key groups of the Bolivian left, continues to function. Its paper *Combate* appears now regularly every 2 weeks.

It circulates in 23 factories in the capital La Paz, as well as in the mines where they have an important presence. A factory bulletin *Combate Fabril* circulates in the factories in La Paz in 5,000 copies.

The POR (Combate) desperately needs finances to continue its work. Anyone prepared to make a donation please send to Socialist Challenge, Bolivian Appeal, PO Box 50, London N1.





Workers' democracy in Bielsko-Biala

THE strike wave in Bielsko-Biala against corrupt local officials was an inspiring model of workers' democracy. The two hundred thousand workers involved in the dispute were kept fully informed of all strike information

through an ingenious communications system.

The entire negotiations with government officials were broadcast live throughout the province. About eighty of the 110 factories on strike were linked up to the system and relayed everything by loudspeaker.

And by dialling the telephone system, staffed by Solidarity supporters, anyone could listen in live to the negotiations.



General Moczar

Watch these two!

THESE two men are jostling for position to replace Polish Communist Party leader Stanislaw Kania.

In the '60s STEFAN OLSZOWSKI (right) was a member of the 'Partisan' group which was associated with authoritarian and anti-Semitic drives against party liberals. He became foreign minister in 1971 and boosted the drive for trade with the West.

After 1976 he became secretary to the party on the economy and was centrally involved in the economic commission with 'technocrats', including non-party members, pressing for economic reforms. Through this group he acquired a 'liberal' reputation.

Sacked by Gierek in February 1980, he used the popularity he had gained with lower ranking party officials for his opposition to Gierek's economic policies to gain rehabilitation in August 1980 when Gierek was purged.

Now secretary to the Central Committee and Politburo member, he has increasingly taken a hard-line, pro-Russian stance to deal with the 'hopeless' situation.

General MIECZYSLAW MOCZAR was a wartime resistance leader very popular in the army. He achieved public notoriety in the late '60s when as minister of the interior he led the anti-Semitic



Politburo member Olszowski

drives. He also masterminded the vicious crackdown on the student movement in 1968.

He was ousted from the party leadership by Gierek in 1971. Now back in the Politburo, he has the backing of Moscow as a potential strongman.

For the moment he is supporting the Kania wing of the bureaucracy.

Poland - forward to full workers power

This is an abridged version of a resolution passed by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on 1 February.

THE continuing rise of the Polish workers' militancy and self-organisation since last summer has led to important changes in the political situation.

First, the radicalisation of the working class, especially in the big enterprises and among young workers, has continued in the big strikes over the implementation of the Gdansk strike agreements.

More radical forms of action, like occupations of public buildings to obtain the dismissal of corrupt and incompetent party officials, have become more frequent.

Monopoly

This development of the workers' struggle shows the incompatibility of massive workers' self-organisation with the bureaucracy's monopoly of political power. There are signs of a growing recognition of this incompatibility by larger sections of the working class.

Secondly, the Kania leadership of the bureaucracy has started a serious counter-offensive against the workers. The bureaucrats continually challenge the gains won by the workers last summer and attack the most militant sectors as 'anti-socialist elements'.

Attack

They hope to demoralise the workers and through eliminating their radical leaders to prepare a more general attack on the whole independent union movement.

Thirdly, the process of political differentiation within Solidarity has begun. After the original unity around immediate demands there are growing differences within the union movement on the next steps.

A more radical left wing has emerged among the local and regional union leaders, as well as a more openly collabora-

tionist wing under the influence of the Catholic hierarchy.

Finally the tremendous rise of workers' self-organisation and thirst for socialist democracy has started to penetrate deeply into the official Communist Party.

Powerful rank and file tendencies have developed in a number of cities like Torun and Lodz arguing not only for a reversal of party policy but also for the total democratisation of the party.

These currents are looking to the party congress in March/April to answer their demands.

Radical

At this stage no section or leading figure of the bureaucracy is likely to support these radical currents within the Communist Party or Solidarity. The Kremlin wants to assure at all costs that the party congress begins a process of 'normalisation' within the party.

A powerful coalition is being constructed to fight against the new independent union movement. It consists of the Kania-led bureaucracy, the Catholic church hierarchy and a Stalinist wing inside Solidarity mainly composed of former 'official' union members.

Economy

They use two main arguments against Solidarity: that the economy is in too bad a state to allow any economic concessions; and that any further political concessions to the workers will provoke a Kremlin intervention. Both these 'common-sense' arguments are completely false.

Workers in a number of enterprises have produced facts and figures



Walesa celebrates another victory over the government

to show that any loss in production from moving to a 40-hour week could be more than offset by

eliminating the bureaucratic waste and mismanagement of the economy.

When the bureaucrats deny these claims the workers demand the 'opening of the books'.

The logic of this process is for the workers to draw up an economic counter-plan to the bureaucrats.

Assets

There has been a marked change in the attitudes of the Western ruling classes to the Polish events. From initial support for the independent unions they are now more concerned about their own economic assets.

The Western banks are urging the Polish bureaucrats to impose austerity on the Polish workers so they can retain some hope of recovering the \$20 billion they are owed.

Most of the Communist parties throughout the world have also lined up behind the Kania bureaucracy. The Hungarian, Cuban, and Italian CPs have all characterised a large part of Solidarity as 'anti-socialist' and 'counter-revolutionary', which prepares the ground for military intervention by the Kremlin.

Everything which weakens the unity and solidarity of the Polish proletariat objectively aids the chances of Soviet intervention. Everything which strengthens the independent union movement will act as a deterrent to such an invasion.

Tanks

A policy of 'moderation' will not stop Soviet tanks rolling into the country — any more than it did in Czechoslovakia where Dubcek followed such a policy.

The only way to stop Soviet tanks is to convince the Kremlin that in the case of military intervention every Polish factory would be a centre for active and passive resistance.

Tanks can achieve many things. But they cannot force twelve million workers to collaborate with a hated management or to

work harder without the most extreme terror, way beyond the scale of Hungary in '56 and Czechoslovakia in '68.

A major confrontation between the two opposing powers in Poland is looming. The enemies of Solidarity are clear on their objectives and their strategy of defeating the workers. Unfortunately it is a major weakness of Solidarity that it is less clear on its objectives and how to achieve them.

Onslaught

The most important minimum measures to meet the onslaught of the conservative forces would be:

- National-wide unity of action of all the radical forces in Solidarity and the Communist Party to prevent any repression.

- Eight million workers must be won to the idea that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that repression against any Solidarity member or dissident must be opposed.

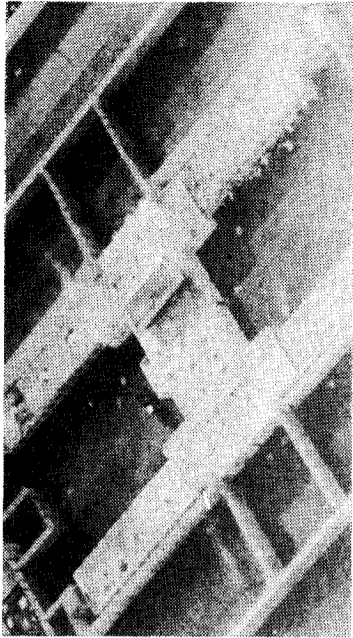
- A national discussion on political programme to prepare the forthcoming party congress. Left forces should use this debate to map out a concrete programme for workers' control and self-management around which millions of workers and peasants can be mobilised.

Tendencies

Such a discussion would inevitably lead to a discussion on the necessity for the right of tendencies inside the trade unions.

The Fourth International has no reason to underestimate the tremendous power of the Polish working class. If the left wing of the Polish workers movement unites it can carry forward the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants in a resolute resistance to the bureaucrats' counter-offensive.

Why we are going back on hunger strike



H Block: new hunger strike starts soon

From the Irish political prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh
 'WE, the Republican political prisoners in the H Blocks of Long Kesh and Armagh prison, having waited patiently for seven weeks for evidence that the British government was prepared to resolve the prison crisis and having given them every available opportunity to do so, declare our intention of hunger-striking once more.

'On 18 and 19 December the hunger strikes in the H Blocks and Armagh prison were ended.

'When this happened we were expecting that within a few days all protests could begin to be de-escalated and that the first hurdle, the blanket men receiving their own clothes, could be got over in the sequence described by Atkins in his 19 December statement.

'Obstacle after obstacle was placed in our way but we felt morally bound to explore every avenue before giving into exasperation and anger. The

pettiness of the British administration was well demonstrated on 25 January when the prison governor acting under orders refused a number of men their own clothes.

'These 20 men had taken part in successful wing-shifts from dirty to clean cells and had begun slopping out, then washed, shaved and had their hair cut before applying for their own clothes.

'It is a fact that ordinary prisoners in conforming blocks are generally wearing their own clothes unchallenged, and we were angered that the Brits were more intent upon humiliating us once again than on settling the prison crisis. Thus on 27 January, over 90 prisoners in the H Blocks smashed up the cells as an expression of their anger.

'However, in turn, the screws assaulted large numbers of men, moved them from the clean cells into fouled cells, and overnight denied them blankets and mattresses, drinking water, and access to the toilet.

'Our last hunger-strikers were morally blackmailed by a number of people and politicians who called upon them to end the fast and allow the resolution of the protest. The hunger-strikes ended seven weeks ago and in the absence of any movement from the British we have not seen or heard from these people since.

'It needs to be asked openly of the Irish Bishops, of Cardinal O Fiaich and of politicians like John Hume, what did your recommending ending of the last hunger-strike gain for us?

'Where is the peace in the prisons which like a promise was held before dying men's eyes? And who but the Brits are responsible for our state which is far worse today than it ever was?

'We the blanket men, and we the women political prisoners in Armagh, have had enough of British deceit and of broken promises. Hunger-strikes to the death if necessary will begin commencing from 1 March 1981, the fifth anniversary of the withdrawal of political status in the H Blocks and in Armagh jail.

'We are demanding to be treated as political prisoners which everyone recognises we are.

We call upon all those who supported us during the last hunger-strike to again rally to our cause and we call upon those who sat on the fence to now see the intransigence of the British and the justness of our cause.'

By Charlie Baird

IN THE last two to three years the extreme Loyalists in Glasgow and the West of Scotland have become increasingly organised.

Linked to their counterparts in the north of Ireland, these Loyalists have yet to meet the sort of mass resistance fascists faced in the rest of Britain during the Anti Nazi League campaign in the run up to the last election.

Yet support for extreme Loyalists is growing at an alarming rate in Glasgow, and although they have not publicly made organisational links with the fascist groups in England, the danger of their politics is that they are using one issue to bring to the surface ill-concealed divisions in society.

Religion

There may be a tendency to dismiss the Loyalist threat as coming from 'a bunch of thugs' who have no support in the labour movement, and whose whole existence is based on intimidation and violence.

Such a dismissal would be an error and a mis-estimation of the strength on which the Scottish Loyalists can draw. Unless they are taken seriously — and strongly opposed — it could well be that a monster could grow up, fed on religious bigotry.

This process has already begun, as the following examples show:

● 21 April 1979: the United Troops Out Movement calls a demonstration in Glasgow in protest at the presence of British troops in Ireland. In a counter-demonstration between 800 and a thousand assorted supporters of the evangelical Protestant, Pastor Jack Glass, turn up.

Queen

● 15 March 1980: the National Front calls a demonstration in Glasgow. It is banned under an order from the Secretary of State for Scotland which prohibits all demonstrations and marches for one month.

The NF turns up anyway, sing 'God Save the Queen'. They make fascist salutes and start to march. Approximately 50 of them are arrested and are subsequently fined an average of £10.

● 20 April 1980: As part of a Scottish tour, Bernadette McAliskey is due to speak at a meeting in Glasgow's Maryhill community centre.

The other Loyalists

a war in Ireland, and Scottish soldiers are on the streets of Belfast and Derry. And everyone takes sides.

Ominous

It is also ominous that the level of organisation of the Loyalists is far superior to those who support the Irish struggle for freedom, and that the level of support for the Loyalists is increasing.

Around 30,000 people usually demonstrate in Glasgow on the Orange demonstration on 12 July. But simply marching once a year is no longer all the Loyalists do. Attacks are made on pro-Irish marchers, and bombs have been planted by Loyalists in Glasgow pubs frequented by pro-Republicans.

The attitude of organised labour is to turn two blind eyes and label everyone who tries to bring up the question of Ireland as an extremist.

Labour

In Edinburgh on the other hand, where there is not such a physical threat from Loyalists, Ireland has been raised in the labour movement and significant sections of it have adopted a 'troops out' position.

To raise the issue of Ireland and to support in particular the withdrawal of Britain from Ireland is a legitimate exercise in the labour movement.

To try to avoid this, as has tended to happen in Glasgow, is in effect to surrender to Loyalists and their insistence that 'Ulster is British'.

The best way to challenge Loyalism in Scotland is to take Ireland into the trade union and labour movement, and get that movement to commit itself to challenge Britain's right to be in Ireland — in other words, to call for the immediate withdrawal of troops, and self-determination for the Irish people.



Glasgow loyalists harass troops out demonstration

The meeting is broken up before it gets started, with the doors being smashed down by Loyalists.

● 16 August 1980: Scottish Loyalists hold a demonstration to commemorate the death of Lord Mountbatten. Around 400 turn up to watch the laying of a wreath. They face no opposition.

These examples illustrate that the Loyalists are trying to build support in Glasgow and in so doing are attempting to gain some sort of respectability.

Meanwhile, the Irish solidarity movement and the labour and socialist movement is unable to mobilise strong enough forces to stop them — and in many instances is unwilling to even try.

Why are Loyalists in Scotland able to rally support? To understand that it is necessary to look back to the time when the divide between 'Orange and Green' was first fostered.

Orangeism

In the 19th century what happened in Ireland effected society in Scotland to an even greater extent than it does today.

After the various famines, many Irish people were forced to emigrate in search of survival. Some came to Glasgow

and the West of Scotland.

The majority of such immigrants came from the north of Ireland, and although there are no accurate statistics as to their religion it is reasonable to assume that a significant minority were Protestant; famine not being sufficiently partisan to prevent some of those driven to the verge of starvation being non-Catholic.

This Protestant minority brought a militant Orangeism which they transplanted to the growing industrial towns and mining villages in West Scotland.

Catholics

The ideas of militant Protestantism, both in its religious and social values, appealed greatly to the popular anti-clericalism of Presbyterian Scotland. But no such welcome was offered to the Catholic Irish with their 'idol-worshipping' religion and their even lower level of economic subsistence.

It is probable that a majority of the Irish immigrants were Catholic. They came to the area desperate for work. Many had to support starving relatives back home, which meant that they were willing to do anything to earn a few pence.

Accordingly, the bosses in the coal industry used Irish unskilled labour as strike-

breakers, and although in better times Irish labour was absorbed more peacefully into industries such as coal, the divisions were already there.

Reports of fights, riots, and demonstrations involving the Catholic Irish are frequent in the local histories of Glasgow and Lanarkshire.

At the same time the kind of propaganda and bigotry used against Catholics in Ireland was being fostered by the militant Protestant organisations in Scotland. The Protestant Association was formed in Scotland as early as 1835, and religion and local politics came together in that mix upon which sectarian bigotry is based.

Riot

In 1821 Orange lodges ventured onto the streets in a demonstration which ended in a riot. That set the picture for the 19th century growth of Orangeism, based on religious fervour from 'fire and brimstone' ministers and anti-Catholicism in social and economic life.

From this came the discrimination against Catholics in jobs, houses and education — the material results of the religious divide.

Such is the historical background to Scottish Loyalism. What is not clear is why the strength of Orangeism, and lately of ex-

treme Loyalism, continues to grow, as it did even before the upsurge in Ireland in 1969.

Their material privileges are not obvious; there is not the level of discrimination which exists in the north of Ireland.

War

For an explanation it is important to stress the role of ideology. In the same way that Loyalists in the Six Counties fear what a United Ireland will mean — a loss of their privilege and power — Loyalists in Glasgow fear what a lessening of their 'social superiority' will mean.

If there was not a war in Ireland this sociological situation might be studied as part of a university anthropological course. But there is

Labour Party and Ireland

THE series on the Labour Party's discussion paper on Ireland will be resumed in next week's Socialist Challenge.

The Labour Party has asked CLPs and affiliated unions to set up study groups and submit their views on this consultative paper.

This should be done as quickly as possible as a deadline of March has been set for evidence to be sent to the Labour Party's national headquarters.

By Pete Rosner

TRADE unionists view new technology with suspicion. They know that management uses new work practices, new machinery and time studies to increase profitability — and this usually means job loss, de-skilled tasks and more intense pressure.

Most books written on technological change and the way work is organised are written for management. *Architect or Bee* is different. It is written for the workers' movement by well-known activist Mike Cooley.

Useful

Mike was involved in drawing up the Lucas Aerospace combine committee's alternative employment plans. Instead of management's arms-related projects, the union proposed the manufacture of socially-useful products like kidney machines and the rail bus.

Cooley's years of technical experience and struggle in industry have gone into this collection of writings. Examples are given of brutally precise time and motion studies, shift systems, fatigue, job fragmentation

Are science and technology neutral?

and loss of skill. The worker has indeed become an appendage to the machine.

New technology is used by management not just to increase productivity but also to increase its control over the workforce.

While boredom has come to be expected on the assembly line, design is felt to be one of the last areas of skill and interest. Even here Computer Aided Design systems (CAD) mean increasing stress, routinisation and loss of creativity.

In 1973 technical designers in the AUEW at a large Birmingham factory claimed 'parity of environment' with the CAD equipment — the machines had better conditions than the workers! It took three industrial stoppages for the workers to win their demand.

Cooley argues that trade unions must pay much more attention to the work process itself; the view that science and technology are neutral and are only abused by capitalism should be abandoned.

done.

Science and technology under capitalism are geared to the needs of the system, and, says Cooley, any strategy for fundamental change must include a revolt against the system's technology and work processes.

This must be combined with the development of an alternative technology that places humans at the centre of the work process, interacting with the machine to enhance skills and creativity.

Safe

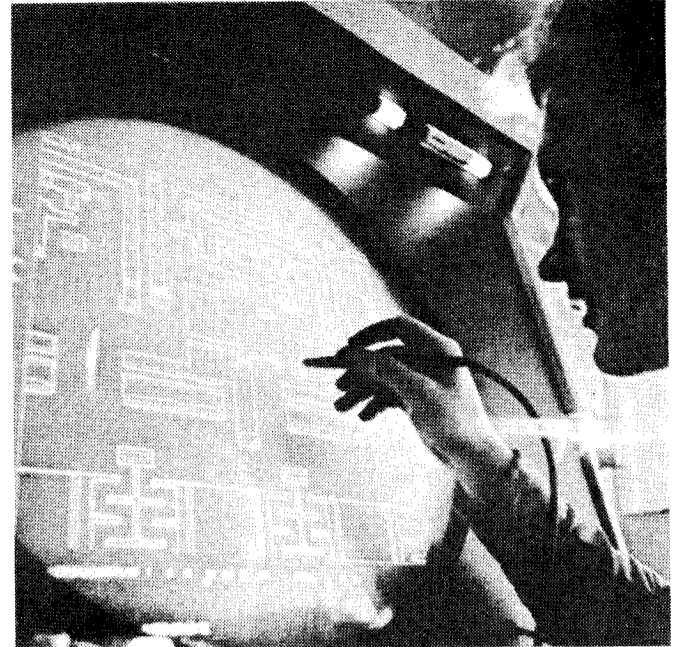
Examples of such alternative 'human-centred' technologies appear throughout the book, such as devices which enable maintenance workers on oil telechiric pipelines to carry out their highly skilled work from a safe distance.

With these ideas Cooley issues a challenge to the left which, he claims has stuck with the outdated notion that all science and technology is inevitably progressive.

But existing technology is double-sided. Computers and sophisticated communications systems have a tremendous potential. In a socialist society they could be used to dramatically increase access to information and mass communication. This is directly opposite to their present use — police computers, surveillance techniques and so on.

The book tends to ignore the negative aspects of skilled work with workers guarding their skills jealously, not just against management but against fellow workers. Surely the widest possible opportunity to learn new skills is a desirable development under socialism?

The desire to hang onto a skill may also be partly due to the lack of access to new skills and the threat of unemployment. The author argues against the welder of car bodies transferring skills to a robot device by getting it to imitate the welding movements. But in a planned



Under socialism new technology could dramatically increase mass communication

economy, welders would be happy to transfer their skills to such devices because this wouldn't mean the dole-opportunities would exist to learn new skills. And these decisions would be determined by the conscious democratic choice of producers and consumers.

Despite these reservations, this is a welcome book.

It is a unique and valuable contribution to Marxist theory on a topic largely neglected by the left.

It takes the discussion on technology away from the realms of the 'anti-science' movement and into the cauldron of revolutionary strategy. Hopefully it will spark off the much needed debate.

Britain's 'Little Moscows'

Andrew Jenkins reviews Little Moscows by Stuart Macintyre

THE term 'Little Moscows' was applied to a whole number of centres of socialist resistance between the wars.

Stuart Macintyre concentrates on three such areas which managed to maintain their radicalism after the defeat of the 1926 General Strike: the mining villages of Mardy in the Rhondda valley, Lumphinians in Fifeshire, and the textile towns of the Vale of Leven which lies to the north of Glasgow.

Initially the term was used as part of a red scare by the press. Thus a few weeks after the general strike, the *South Wales News* came out with banner headlines: 'Little Moscow, Lawless Mardy, Red Region of Terror. Thousands of Communists who christen their town "Little Moscow".'

The *Daily Express* got into the act and sent a fearless reporter who managed to visit, then escape from Mardy, where 'visitors from outside there go in fear of their lives'.

Smears

But behind the smears was a more interesting reality. In those areas a new layer of young working class leaders had emerged who had learned their politics from the war and the Russian Revolution.

In the Little Moscows the young Communist Party was able to gain mass support and lead the struggle of working class communities.

The early twenties were dominated by union struggles. But in the wake of the defeat of '26, it was the fight against evictions, victimisations, and above all against the crippling effects of mass unemployment that became important.

The Little Moscows did not differ from the surrounding areas in terms of jobs or social composition; they fought back because the communities possessed strong CP



Little Moscows 'where visitors from outside went in fear of their lives'

units, with gifted leaders like Arthur Horner in Mardy and the Moffat brothers in Lumphinians.

In Mardy this leadership formed strike committees with representatives from the miners' lodge, the unemployed workers movement, the women's guilds, the working men's institute and the left political parties.

The NUWM was formally represented in the lodge to avoid a divide between employed and unemployed, until an outraged South Wales Miners Federation expelled Mardy lodge.

Women played a leading role in organising big anti-Empire Day demonstrations. In Lumphinians a workers' defence corps was set up to protect pickets.

To avoid demoralisation among the unemployed the CP set up choirs, bands, and sports teams.

The left, an alliance of the CP and left Labour, controlled the parish council and therefore administered the relief — generously. They also ran the local education board which fed the school children, and even took over the Old Folks Treat Committee, Children's Gala Commit-

tee and Ex-servicemen's Association.

There were two Communist magistrates in the area, one of whom was particularly famous for reliance on moral rather than legal principles.

When a girl charged with stealing coal admitted that it was to warm her young brother, he dismissed the case with the words: 'What ye did was right.'

MacIntyre contributes a fascinating chapter on the role of women. There was no generalised advance but some progress was made.

The Communists stood

hard against domestic violence. Women were involved in politics and the picket line, and Mardy CP held a public meeting for Stella Browne to lecture on contraception.

A taste of the change is given when a right-wing union leader spoke in Lumphinians in 1926. He was asked what he thought of the scab: 'Well I wouldn't call him a man; why not call him a woman?' A woman Communist demanded a retraction and pandemonium raged for 15 minutes until he apologised.

Eventually the Little Moscows crumbled. An

island of socialism cannot survive indefinitely in a sea of capitalism. Locally the employers victimised the CP members and sacked them one by one. There was continual harassment and arrest by the police.

The Communists won their leadership within the unions and then won it among the unemployed by their parish campaigns to increase relief. But the state could fight back.

In the Vale of Leven the use of the surcharge forced the councillors to retreat. The 1930 local government reorganisation made relief a county council responsibility, thereby eroding the power of the local activists.

This mirrored the similar move of 1839 when control of the police was taken from the locality to stop working class radicals exerting an influence.

Sectarian

A further feature that made the CP lose the initiative was the disastrous 'left' turn of the Comintern's 'Third Period'. Following this line the CP engineered 'red unions' separate from the other unions and adopted a sectarian approach to the Labour Party.

The decline of the Little Moscows led to their incorporation into the Labour strongholds, with all that that implies — apathetic loyalty at the polling booth while the Labour Party machine rusts or is corrupted.

The limits of the Little Moscows were determined by the overall relationship of class forces and the unscathed domination of the bourgeois state. But they showed that Leninists are well aware that politics do not exist just at the point of production.

Revolutionary politics can be expressed within the community; what was required to do this, and Beyond the Fragments supporters might consider this, was a sufficiently large and well-organised Leninist organisation.



Stay pregnant, or go to jail

Leonora Lloyd takes a look at the international struggle for abortion rights.

Spain

OVER four hundred women in the Spanish town of Seville have been charged with criminal offences because their names appeared in a file at the family planning clinic.

The file, together with medical equipment, was removed from the clinic during a police raid last October. The staff at the clinic are being prosecuted for carrying out abortions, which are totally illegal in Spain.

The clinic workers have advised the women that if they consider no one has the right to interrogate them about what they do with their own bodies, they should refuse to give any information to the police.

They are asking for letters and telegrams protesting against the raid and the subsequent closure of the clinic, and opposing any legal action being taken, to be sent to: Juzgado de Instrucción No6, Caso 3640/80, Prado de San Sebastian, Seville, Spain. Letters should also call for the legalization of abortion.

Holland

IN Holland, an abortion bill has passed through the first chamber of the Dutch parliament and will shortly go to the second chamber, where it is certain to pass. If it becomes law abortion would remain a criminal

Abortion forum planned

By Ann Potter

ON 21 February the National Abortion Campaign is holding a women's forum on abortion, which will discuss issues arising from NAC's activities in the past and how we now take the campaign forward.

It will discuss the relationship of NAC to parliament, abortion as part of the revolutionary programme, abortion and young women, and other questions. All women are welcome to this interesting and useful discussion.

offence and a woman's doctor would be able to refuse permission for an abortion.

A five day waiting period for 'reflection' would be required, which will make the country's facilities out-of-bounds for the many foreign women who at present take advantage of Holland's liberal practice. A complicated system of licensing for clinics will increase the restrictions.

Dutch abortion campaigners will continue to fight this bill when it becomes law. Messages of solidarity can be sent to:

Landelijk Secretariaat Wij. Vrouwen Eisen, Postbus 1147, 2302 BC Leiden Holland.

France

AN abortion trial is now taking place in France, where eight Parisian doctors, accused of charging up to £1,500 for abortions and doing late abortions, are in court.

Their clinic, the Pergola, has been closed since 1979, but when in use it was so overcrowded that women had to queue and camp beds were used.

Under current French law, confirmed last year, abortions are only legal in the first 10 weeks of pregnancy, while bureaucratic delays and deliberate obstructions make it impossible for most women to obtain an abortion. Hence the success of such clinics as the Pergola and the continued trips to Britain and Holland.

The International Contraception, Abortion and Sterilisation Campaign — Women Decide, will be highlighting these and other issues on its second International Day of Action on 16 May.

ICASC, to which the National Abortion Campaign in Britain is affiliated, is co-ordinating information and solidarity actions on abortion world-wide.

The Politics of Abortion

A day-long forum on: A woman's right to choose

Sat 21 February, 10-5pm

Starcross School, Rising Hill St, London N1.

Women only

Eight teacher militants suspended by the NUT

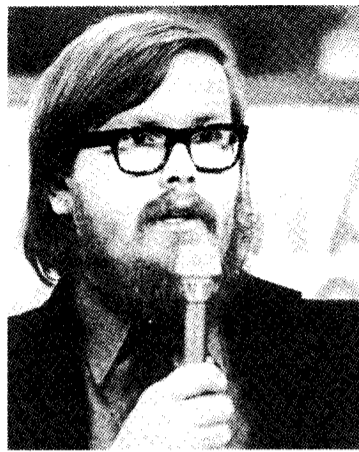
OFFICERS of the National Union of Teachers have suspended eight members of the union for supporting the Lambeth council workers' call for strike action on 4 February.

Those suspended include Dick North, a national executive member and Lambeth officer; Dave Picton, treasurer of the Inner London Teachers Association (ILTA), and Bernard Regan, secretary of the East London Teachers Association.

All three are candidates in the current ILTA elections, standing in opposition to candidates who support the right-wing NUT leadership. Five officers of the Lambeth teachers association have also been suspended. Of the eight, six belong to the Socialist Teachers Alliance and two belong to Rank and File Teacher.

What lies behind the suspension is the fear of the NUT officers that defeat of their supporters would have an impact within the union nationally. The main candidate on their side is Bob Richardson, presently secretary of ILTA. He is also the chairperson of the union's national action committee and the architect of the union's anti-cuts strategy.

The 'Guidelines' that his committee has produced are based on the assertion that the membership is not prepared to fight.



Dick North

When Eileen Crosby was sacked in Nottingham last Easter it was Richardson's committee which refused to call for all-out strike action to gain her reinstatement, while it co-operated in the industrial tribunal which backed the Tory council's decision to sack her.

Both the City of Nottingham and South Nottingham teachers associations have expressed their 'lack of confidence' in the NUT executive over the handling of the case.

A defeat for Richardson in the London elections would be a major set-back for the NUT leadership, coming as it would on the eve of the union's Easter annual conference, which will debate the anti-cuts strategy to be pursued in the coming year.

The eight suspended

members are conducting a joint defence campaign which has already won the backing of Tony Benn, Ted Knight and the Lambeth Labour MPs.

The Oval branch of Vauxhall Labour Party has called for the dropping of the disciplinary charges. A campaign of support is needed in the trade unions and the Labour Party to defend the eight.

As well as being teacher militants, many of those suspended are active within the broad labour movement. Vanessa Wiseman, one of the Lambeth officers, is president of Lambeth Trades Council, and Bernard Regan is vice-president of Tower Hamlets Trades Council.

The eight are due to appear before a national disciplinary hearing in a fortnight. If North, Picton and Regan win in the ILTA election it is likely that the right will try to prevent them from taking office.

This is an important fight for everyone in the labour movement because it shows how far the right wing is prepared to go in order to head off action. In this case they are being aided by leading Communist Party teachers.

Messages of support and donations are needed urgently and should be sent to: ILTA 8 Defence Committee, c/o 12 Albion Drive, London E8; and to the officers of the National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1.

Post workers' victory

By Niall Power, Manchester UCW

MANCHESTER postal workers have won an important staffing dispute after a week-long strike halting all mail in the Manchester area. The management tried to by-pass the local union negotiators in true Michael Edwardes' style.

A mass meeting of 2,000 postal workers in the Free Trade Hall last Monday voted to return to work after assurances that the dispute would be negotiated through the union.

The workers greeted union official Maurice Styles with derision after he threatened that they would be 'out on their own' if they rejected the settlement he had negotiated.

Brum comes to grips with the media

BIRMINGHAM's trades council has become one of the first to set up a media advisory group, in response to a series of campaigns against trade unionists by the Birmingham Evening Mail.

One of the most vitriolic was aimed at the former Longbridge convenor, Derek Robinson. The trades council, along with the city's Labour group, had already decided not to speak to journalists from the Evening Mail.

The media advisory group is an extension of this action. Made up of members from each media union, one of its first moves was to publish a media director, designed to help trade unionists who are not used to dealing with the media or how to approach it.

It contains the addresses and phone numbers of all the newspapers, agencies, radio and television in the area, as well as home numbers for contacts late at night. There's a section on reporters working for national papers in the region, and information on the times of planning conferences and deadlines.

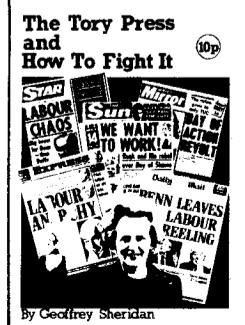
There are also hints on how best to interest newsdesks and how to react to reporters when asked to comment on disputes and developments.

The advisory group is also arranging workshops where trade union representatives can discuss the use of the media with an NUJ panel from newspapers, radio and TV.

Women unite to reclaim the night

DEMONSTRATE SATURDAY 21st FEBRUARY ASSEMBLE 6.30 p.m. TEMPLE UNDERGROUND LONDON WC2

NUS



Single copies 10p plus 10 p&p; multiple orders at 8p a copy pre-paid post free, direct from: Socialist Challenge, 328 Upper St, London N1.

By Celia Pugh

AS THE national seafarers' dispute enters its seventh week, South Wales NUS members fear a sell-out by national union leaders.

On 26 January a separate deal was signed with Canadian Pacific Steamships. The following day, a mass meeting of the NUS branch in Cardiff voted to reject the agreement made by national union officers as 'a betrayal of the aspirations of the membership reflected in the national claim.'

'We condemn the signing of the agreement during a national dispute which will obviously set the standard of a

Seafarers fear sell-out

national settlement, as was intended.'

Referring to last year's agreement by NUS leaders to allow the Cunard Princess to carry a flag of convenience, the resolution continued:

'We reiterate the statement of the London branch during the Cunard dispute — that this union has succeeded in snatching defeat out of the jaws of victory.'

'Accountability is now a major trend in the labour

movement and this branch calls on the NUS leadership to be accountable to the members by making themselves available for election by the members as the only honourable solution.'

Musa Nogan, substitute national executive member, described the deal as 'a Trojan horse which will devour us from within'. He told members: 'We have to repudiate this deal. It's a betrayal.'

The seafarers' claim is for 25.7 per cent rise in basic pay to deal with inflation, while the Canadian Pacific deal, which could now be the basis of arbitration for the national claim, gives a rise of only 9.4 per cent. On overtime payments, too, the deal falls well short of the claim.

Nogan outlined how the settlement brings into question democracy in the union.

'A large number of crew members on Canadian Pacific ships are Spanish and

Fillipino and don't speak English. They have not been balloted on this deal, as our rule book requires, and the rule book itself has not been translated into their own language as we agreed at national conference.'

'The national union officers have signed this deal over the heads of the delegate body drawn from the regions, which has not been consulted.'

A subsequent mass meeting of the Cardiff branch

unanimously demanded that 'The general secretary reconvenes the national delegate conference at the earliest possible date with a view to escalating the dispute.'

At present foreign-going ships from 14 companies are involved in action. The Cardiff resolution would mean that the crews of all foreign-going ships would refuse to set sail.

Similar resolutions for a delegate conference to toughen the action were also passed by mass meetings in Swansea and South Shields on 4 February.

Members of the Swansea dispute committee told Socialist Challenge that they share the Cardiff NUS fears about their national leaders.

TUC moves to control the unemployed

By Alan Theasby, Secretary, Middlesbrough Trades Council Unemployed Workers' Steering Committee (personal capacity)

BUREAUCRACY writ large is at the centre of the TUC's plans for organising the unemployed, it was revealed at a conference on Working against Unemployment held in Newcastle on 1 February.

Over 250 representatives of trades councils, union branches, community groups, unemployed organisations and centres debated the TUC's 'Guidelines for Unemployed Centres'.

These are a response to the groundswell of grass roots initiatives in organising the unemployed.

It was almost unanimously agreed that the proposals are incredibly bureaucratic and will stifle development of the centres.

The TUC proposes that the centres should be run by full-time union officials appointed by regional TUCs,

together with local councillors, who in many places would be Tories. The TUC wants to exclude the unemployed, labour movement and community activists, except as observers.

Regional TUCs would be responsible for reporting 'out of line' centres to the TUC and local authorities. This would mean cutting off public and labour movement funds, and disciplining offending trades councils and union branches.

The proposals were seen as trying to strangle the unemployed movement at birth.

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Tower Hamlets History Society.

Newcastle Trades Council secretary Colin Randall said: 'These guidelines must be frozen until there has been a debate at all levels of the labour movement.'

Unemployed organisations and centres have to link up independently of the TUC, but the fight has to be taken up in the Labour Party and unions.

Ford drivers keep on trucking

By Patrick Sikorski

FORD management has backed down over the use of contract drivers at the Dagenham plant. It had wanted to reduce its truck fleet by using outside contractors, but a two-week strike by the 440 drivers at Dagenham has won them an important concession.

The drivers have been guaranteed 12 trips each month to Ford plants on the continent following a 10-hour negotiation session last Thursday.

Their resistance to management cutbacks was the first serious opposition to job loss at Dagenham. The drivers' picketing, which resulted in 20,000 workers being laid-off, obliged Transport Union officials to take up

their case.

Talks are now to be held at national level to determine a longer-term solution to the drivers' grievances. However, their case is to be argued by officials and members of the Dagenham panel who were initially extremely hostile to the drivers' action.

Union officials have negotiated away thousands of jobs at Ford over the past year without even a hint of protest from the shopfloor. But management's attempt to take on the most militant section of the workforce has failed.

The militancy of the drivers has caused further headaches for management. The Dagenham plant was once again at a standstill on Tuesday when the drivers took 24-hour sympathy strike action over a dispute involving transport drivers at Silcox and Collings.

The latter had refused to cross the Ford driver's picket line during the two-week strike. But Silcox and Collings management ignored an agreement guaranteeing their drivers' basic pay.



Thousands of racist attacks in 18 months

TWO reports out last week present horrifying dossiers of racist and fascist activity.

One appeared — of all places — in the *Police Review*. Its detailed account of the British Movement will probably strengthen moves announced last week by the Home Secretary for police forces to consider setting up special units to investigate racist attacks.

A report on such attacks by the all-party Joint Committee Against Racism called on the Home Secretary to set up 'anti-racist police units'.

The *Police Review* article, by Brian Hilliard, put forward evidence to show that the British Movement has sought to use the Territorial Army as a means of obtaining guns and weapon training. The arsenal recently uncovered by West Midlands police indicates the success of this operation.

The article reveals the level of organisation employed by the British Movement in its attacks. In one incident a hundred BM supporters marched six abreast to attack West Indians in a London cinema queue.

Justifying police attacks on the anti-fascist movement, Hilliard refers to the 'ritual confrontation of right and left'.

The present trial at the Old Bailey of the cinema queue attackers opened with Judge Buzzard asking jurors to stand down if they had sympathies with any extreme right — or left wing — groups. He specified the Anti Nazi League and the Socialist Workers Party as among the latter.

The dossier prepared by the Joint Committee Against Racism outlines 250 attacks on blacks and Jews over an 18-month period, although it believes that the total may be 'several thousand'. Among the incidents are:

- Rocks being hurled at Sikh temples surrounded by 300 chanting youths.
- Firebomb attacks on countless homes.
- Pigs' heads dumped in synagogues.
- Stoning of Asian families and knife threats to children.

OVER 100 Asian workers supported pickets of Timothy Raison — under-secretary of state — when he visited Oldham and Rochdale last Saturday. They were protesting against the racist nationality bill.

TUC letter

THE TUC General Council is to write to affiliated unions, regional councils, and trades councils 'in the light of what appears to be a resurgence of activity' by racist groups in Britain.

The TUC will ask that unions and trades councils review their activities in tackling racism to ensure that racists are not able to use the trade union movement to promote their views and activities.

Police obscenities

A REPORT on relations between police and blacks in Lambeth, South London, calls for an end to the use of the Special Patrol Group in the borough, which includes Brixton, and no increase in police powers.

The report, whose authors include local Labour and Tory councillors, points to the lack of democratic control over the police as one of the reasons for 'extremely grave relations' between police and blacks.

A black bus driver is quoted describing the police as 'more like war officers than peace officers'. A magistrate said: 'They do their best to provoke blacks by shouting at them from cars. It is quite normal for a police officer to shout obscenities.'

Children out

THE Campaign Against Racist Laws (CARL) has criticised the supposed concessions announced by the government to its Nationality Bill.

At present all those born in Britain have a right to claim citizenship. Under the Nationality Bill this would apply only to the children of British citizens.

The apparent concession was that all children born in Britain and who remain here for 10 years would have citizenship rights. But CARL points out that under the existing law immigrants' parents would be unable to stay for 10 years, so that it is highly unlikely that their children would be able to remain.

The campaign has called for a national demonstration against the Nationality Bill to be held in London on 5 April.

**SUPPORT
Black Peoples
Day Of Action
DEMONSTRATE
On March 2nd 1981**

Assemble at 10am at
Fordham Park next to Moonshot Community Centre Pagnell Street
London SE14

Deptford fire demonstration

A NATIONAL demonstration over the Deptford fire has been called by the New Cross Massacre Action Committee, which represents black organisations in the area. The demo is to be held on 2 March, when there will also be a Black Peoples Day of Action.

Ken Williams, who is co-ordinating a fact-finding commission, says: 'The one thing the police are avoiding is the one thing that stares us in the face — right-wing terrorist activity.' The death toll from the fire is now 12.

The Anti Nazi League is supporting the 2 March activity. National secretary Paul Holborow says: 'There is now a welter of circumstantial evidence to indicate that the fire was started by racists.'

'Given the past record of the police, with frequent attempts to cover up racist murders, the onus is on them to prove us wrong.'

Socialist Challenge

POLAND - week of decision

By Davy Jones

SOLIDARITY union leaders are threatening a new wave of strikes following the Supreme Court's decision to reject legal registration for Rural Solidarity. Up to a million poor peasants support the new union.

This new crisis follows the purge at last Monday's Communist Party central committee meeting. Prime minister Pinkowski became the third premier to bite the dust in recent months in a move to strengthen CP leader Stanislaw Kania.

OCCUPATION BOOSTS SCOTTISH JOBS FIGHT

By Bob Pennington

AS 21 February approaches the Scottish labour movement is mobilising its forces to make sure that the Glasgow demonstration against unemployment will be Scotland's biggest ever.

The marches and demonstrations have now been joined by an occupation against unemployment.

At the Lee Leisure garment factory in Greenock nearly 200 women have barricaded themselves in the factory, sleeping on floors and benches, in an occupation against the threatened closure of the plant in April.

Alarming

The occupation will boost the fight-back against job losses in an area with an unemployment rate already at the alarming figure of 15.2 per cent. It should also act as a warning to officials of the Tailor and Garment Workers Union, which represents the women.

Although the union has called for job sharing with the firm's Irish factories, it has not backed this with any call for action.

The union's area official has more or less given up on Lee Leisure. Referring to job-sharing, he said: 'If they (management) advised us that such a



Women workers in Greenock have occupied for jobs

plan was not possible we would reluctantly have to accept the company's decision to close.'

The workforce has other plans, announcing: 'We will stay here until we get a proper solution - even if it means staying in-

definitely.'

Last week in Paisley, a town living under the shadow of 5,000 job losses, over a thousand people marched against sackings and redundancies.

On Saturday, despite the worst weather

of the year, 2,000 marched in Stirling. Among them were delegations from British Leyland Bathgate, British Petroleum Grangemouth, firefighters, GMWU, trades councils and local MPs. The demonstrators were

urged by Neil Kinnock MP to make the 21 February demonstration one that could 'inspire working people to fight back'.

Dennis Canavan, MP for East Stirling, called for industrial action to get rid of the Tories. He pointed out how often in the past Labour and Tory governments had been forced to bow to mass industrial pressure.

Example

Canavan caused a few red faces among Communist Party members on the platform when he asked British workers to follow the example of the Polish trade unions.

The fightback in Greenock, along with the demonstrations and the widespread mobilisation, is what is needed to make the 21 February demonstration an outstanding event.

It can both inspire and give confidence to the British working class in its ability to take on the Tories and sweep their government into the gutter.



JUST OUT!
Glasgow against the Tories badge.
Order your copy from: The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1
20p each or 12p in bulk.

The new premier is former defence minister General Jaruzelski, an army hardliner. Kania is rumoured to be preparing emergency powers legislation to halt the country's unrest.

The Polish workers and peasants are continuing their dramatic struggle against corruption. The strikes in the Jelenia Gora region centred on a private clinic exclusive to party members, and in Bielsko Biala the workers won the dismissal of corrupt local officials.

Corruption

Some 67 Communist Party officials had already been expelled from the party for corruption before the party's 'clean-up' campaign launched last November. One of those purged was former building minister Adam Glazur who built himself a private 4-storey house with £250,000 of state funds.

The monopoly of political power wielded by Poland's Communist Party is increasingly under threat from the new workers' power, the Solidarity union movement. A test of strength between these two powers is inevitable.

Invasion

US State Department officials have claimed that a Soviet invasion of Poland is now 'inevitable'. Polish workers may soon need the fullest support from the labour movement in this country in their struggle for workers' power.

INSIDE: How the Polish workers can move forward to full workers' power, a Fourth International resolution; the two men jostling to replace Kania as CP leader; and workers democracy in Belko-Biala - see page 11.

What you can do to help Solidarity

★ Affiliate to the Eastern European Solidarity Campaign at 10 Park Drive, London NW11.

★ Organise within the unions and the Labour Party to win donations to the EESC solidarity fund to send equipment to the Polish workers and build a solidarity campaign in Britain.

★ Support the resolution passed by Birmingham South district AUEW to raise funds to send a small printing press to Solidarity in Poland. Send donations to: Polish appeal, c/o 137 Digbeth, Birmingham B5 6DR.

★ Send resolutions through union bodies for the union leadership to invite speakers from Solidarity to national union conferences this summer. Already the General & Municipal Workers'

Union and the National Union of Students have issued such invitations.

★ Twin your factory or workplace with a corresponding workplace in Poland and invite speakers from their independent unions over to Britain.

★ Organise within the unions and the Labour Party for the trade union and Labour leaders to give greater support to the new independent union movement, and to urge a labour movement delegation from Britain to Poland.

★ Discuss with the local Communist Party branch about involvement in solidarity work for the independent union movement. If they decline, organise a public debate with them.

★ Get your union or Labour Party branch to order bulk copies of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, especially the latest issue on the Polish events. Available from: Box 23, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8.

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Glasgow 21 Feb

Assemble 11am
Blythswood Square,
march to Queen's
Park

Glasgow
Socialist Challenge Meeting
Jobs not bombs

Speakers: Pat Hickey, TGWU steward, Rover Solihull; Denny Fitzpatrick, POEU Westminster; Stewart MacLennan, Branch Chair CPSA, DHSS Glasgow North & Central Scotland

Stalls, Food and Books

2.30pm, Dixon Halls, Dixon
Avenue (off Victoria Rd), 5 mins
from Queen's Park

21 FEB GLASGOW FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT