# Socialist Challenge



Fight and fight againfor..

NATIONALISATION OF BANKS, MONOPOLIES

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LABOUR GOVT. WITH SOCIALIST POLICIES

Labour left... continuing the

THE DEPUTY LEADERSHIP election marks a watershed for the labour movement. The whole of the Labour left's energies were mobilised in the struggle to commit the affiliated organisations to voting for Benn.

Socialist Challenge wholeheartedly supported this campaign, although we had no illusions about the significance of Benn being elected as deputy leader or in the policies he argued for.

But we saw the campaign as an enormous opportunity to take the issues facing the movement — disarmament, socialist economic strategy, workers' democracy, unemployment and the fight to get rid of the Tories — into all the organisations of the Labour movement especially the unions.

Benn may have been defeated by the narrowest of margins, but the struggle for socialist advance inside the party is not finished.

Thatcher's government is wreaking havoc on the British economy and society. A new, even deeper, slump faces us in 1982. This is leading to a complete change in all the old political certainties.

old political certainties.

The present collapse of the stock market shows how far the British bosses are losing confidence in Thatcher. During the next period we can expect this political crisis to result in a boost for the Social Democratic Party, as the Tories stab one another in the beat.

More and more the only way out of the crisis lies in promoting a bold socialist alternative to the working class movement.

All the empty calls for 'unity' and 'an end to conflict' inside the Labour Party are worthless. They amount to a call for the left to give up the long struggle for democracy, accountability and socialist policies, which is the only hope for the

labour movement in fighting for a socialist alternative.

The temporary strengthening of the SDP, including the inevitable defection of more Labour MPs, should not weaken anyone's nerve. The tactic of the right wing and the Labour bureaucracy will be to put the pressure on both from inside and outside the party. We should not submit to their blackmail

How should the left pursue its campaign in the coming months? First, there should be no illusions about where power in the British labour movement lies — the deputy leadership campaign has demonstrated that vividly. The key levers have been held by the rank and file of the giant industrial unions.

But while Benn's vote in the constituencies and among MPs was high, the vote for him in the unions was disappointing. The key task now is to build support for left policies and leaders inside the ma-

Linking together the different wings of the movement over the next



Women demand debate on positive action

months won't just be a question of campaigning for democracy, however.

As always, the decisive backdrop to the outcome of the struggle in the unions and the labour movement will be the class struggle itself.

If the labour movement doesn't respond vigorously to rocketing unemployment and Thatcher's attempt to impose a four per cent ceiling on public sector pay, the resulting demoralisation will only benefit the right wing and the SDP.

In that sense therefore there should be a 'turning and these

there should be a 'turning outwards' towards these struggles. Doubtless, many left wing resolutions will be passed by the Labour conference.

But the next step for the Labour left includes organising action on disarmament, unemployment, pay, women rights, and so forth to make these victories more than symbolic.

The best chance of ensuring a Labour government committed to socialist policies would be to kick the Tories out before the next general election.

But stepping up the action doesn't mean abandoning the fight inside the party. The fight for reselection of MPs hostile to party policy, and for new

democratic demands including the direct election of the shadow cabinet by conference — as well as for other socialist policies, such as on Ireland, should also continue.

All this requires organisation. In the unions the
new rise of Broad Left formations should be deepened. Inside the Labour Party itself it would be the
height of foolishness to
wind down such formations as the Rank and File
Mobilising Committee on
the grounds that their task
is now somehow 'completed'

In the heat of the big battles to come there will be a temptation also to regard the debate on policy and strategy as secondary to securing the left's victory. This would be a big mistake.

The next general election could produce a left Labour government. Even if it produces an SDP government, it is certain that the SDP has no answers to the crisis. In this decade we are almost certainly going to see, for the first time, a Labour government led by the left

The Labour left must assume its responsibilities to ensure that such a government opens up the way to socialism.

#### STOCK MARKET IN CHAOS

By Paul Lawson

OVER £20,000 has been wiped off share prices over the past week. What does it mean for the system and for ordinary people?

Many causes have been put forward, including the slump on Wall St (according to some the result of the predictions of an eccentric tipster) the increase in American interest rates, or a 'normal re-adjustment' due to the rise in share prices earlier in the summer.

Doubtless there is some truth in the point that US interest rates have been rising and this has an inevitable spin off on the British stock market and the rest of the world's financial centres. But the essence of the matter is more disturbing for British capitalism.

The stock market over the past two weeks has been registering its lack of confidence in the Thatcher government's economic policies, and its deep depression both at the state of company profits and the future prospects of the economy.

Most observers fully

expect that there will be another recession in 12 months time. The upshot is that fewer and fewer people have any confidence that their investments will yield profits, and stock prices therefore slump.

fits, and stock prices therefore slump.

The decline in stock market prices is closely linked to the rise in interest rates. This will mean more expensive credit facilities of every kind, including bank overdraughts and a sharp rise in mortgage rates.

The latter is beginning to hit working class people particularly hard. According to some reports the first wave of mortgage defaults is beginning to take place, and this is deeply worrying for the building societies. It is likely to lead in the medium term to a drop in property values.

The slump is going to make things worse both for the government and industrial companies. Lower-than-expected tax revenues will increase the government's need to borrow. That is going to push up interest rates even more and add to inflation. Promised tax cuts are not going to be made.

The situation will get progressively worse for companies, with money even harder to come by. Bank loans will be

Bank loans will be more expensive, and it will be much more difficult to raise money from a depressed stock market. Capital investment will decrease and more companies will go bankrupt.

Every capitalist crisis leads to attacks on working people. As a result of this present decline in the stock market everyone is going to be worse off

going to be worse off.

Nothing could be more absurd, that the jobs and livelihood of millions is at the mercy of the moods and whims of a few hundred bowler-hatted fools. But that's the way capitalism works.



### FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMEN

#### Labour Party

### This is only thestartof the fight' Tony Benn Jeremy Nicholl

Tony Benn: 'Result is a victory for left'

By Tessa van Gelderen, reporting from Brighton

SUNDAY NIGHT at Brighton saw the most extraordinary victory for the left of the Labour Party. By a margin of less than one per cent Tony Benn failed to become deputy leader.

The closeness of the vote surprised everybody, given the decision of the public employees union to vote for Healey. The margin of the defeat was less than the vote of 5 MPs. Those who abstained have a lot to answer for.

The result shows clearly that this is not a victory for Healey or the right wing and their policies. Michael Foot and the shadow cabinet have collaborated with Healey throughout the campaign. The final vote was in fact a massive vote of no confidence in the present leadership and its policies.

The growing opposi-tion to this right wing leadership demonstrated throughout the first day of the conference. The successful reference back of the Conference Arrangements Committee report on the agenda to allow the debate

on positive discrimination

was one indication.

The failure by right wing stalwards Sid Weighell and Bill Sirs to get onto the agenda a discussion on updating the bans and proscriptions was another.

But the result of the

election showed that the campaign for socialist policies has not been taken deep enough into the trade unions. Benn failed to organise a strong enough

Such a fight is essential if the left is to go forward from this conference. It cannot be won on technicalities or by manoeuvring for this or that vote.

Benn and his supporters are right to point to the campaign of vilifica-tion which has been launched against them, particularly by the press barons.

Of course Benn is right when he said immediately after the result 'When Roy Jenkins lost at Warr-ington, Fleet St hailed it as a great victory. We must recognise that what we've achieved today is a great victory'.

But the press will never

be on the side of the work-

ing class. Benn begins to get it right when he said:
'If we are going to win this
fight, we have to take the
fight out to the people, on to the street corners and build factory branches'.

But without a campaign openly and actively supporting the struggles of workers in their workplace, Benn's cam-paign will not have the wholehearted backing of the working class.

#### Lead

And it is that backing alone that will make the editorials emanating from Fleet St not worth the paper they're written on.

The next few months are crucial not simply for the success or failure of Benn if he decides to stand again next year, but for the willingness of the trade unions to take on this government

Faced with double at-

tack from Heseltine and Tebbit, workers will be looking for a lead from their tops in both the trade unions and the Labour

#### Action

It is not enough therefore for Benn to say that we should put more 'pressure' on the trade union leaderships.

Workers need more than 'pressure' to fight the massive attacks facing them.

As Ken Livingstone said after the deputy vote, The Tory government must be brought down before the next Labour Party conference by industrial action.

Dennis Skinner said earlier in the day Remember Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, remember the Industrial Relations Act, remember getting the dockers out of Pentonville, that's what we need. It doesn't all happen at Brighton.'

#### Decision

As Alex Kitson said from the chair after the second ballot was announced 'I hope we can get on with the rest of the business now. But the battle inside the Labour Party is still not won.

The National Executive decision on who controls the manifesto is an indication of that. That vote was 12 all, with Neil Kin-nock, Joan Lestor supporting the right wing and Judith Hart casting the deciding vote.

Similarly the decision on the NEC not to make

on the NEC not to make
Labour MPs more accountable to party policy.
As Dennis Skinner
said, 'When I was elected
onto the NEC I was looking for those left wingers dominating it. It's not too easy to find them.'

Tony Benn's campaign has started that process, to get a Labour governmnt committed to socialist policies. That fight now has to be taken into the whole Labour movement.

#### Whostands for democracy?

FOLLOWING the result of the deputy leadership ballot, the right wing of the party were calling in unison for a change in the electoral college method of electing the leader and deputy leader. Instead, argued Duffy, Varley and Healey, a 'one person, one vote' system, including postal votes, should be introduced in the Labour Party and the unions.

The furore over democracy has been heightened by the result of the ballot in the Transport Workers union. A majority of the branches voted for Healey, the executive recommended a vote for Benn, and the delegation ended up voting for Silkin on the first round.

The TGWU further compounded the confusion by adopting different methods of consulting the membership in different regions.

What kind of democracy is that is the popular refrain of the right wing?

#### Mess

The mess which the TGWU got itself into was a direct result of the refusal of the leadership of the union to allow a vote on the deputy leadership question at the union's biennial conference. This would undoubtedly have resulted in a vote for

This is the highest body of the union, the most representative, and above all one where there can be a discussion of the

issues at stake. Healey gave the game away when he said last Sunday he preferred postal ballots 'away from the razzamatazz of conference' - ie away from discussion, debate and under the influence of the

Socialist Challenge believes that the most democratic way for unions to decide who to vote for in the Labour Party is the same way that they decide anything else through their national conferences.

The 'one person, one vote' argument hangs uneasily on the lips of people like Duffy, whose AUEW didn't discuss the deputy leadership question outside the ranks of their executive.

#### Defense

Healey and Hattersley say that votes at conferences, where everyone can see who is voting for what, are open to 'intimidation' from the left.

But free debate and open accountability aren't intimidatory. What intimidates the rank and file of the labour movement is the day-in-day-out vilification and slander from the press and television against the

The only defense against this intimidation is precisely that the issues are able to be discussed out in front of those who are going to vote. The same applies inside the CLPs, where the discussions inside the GCs should not be replaced by the pressure of the media.

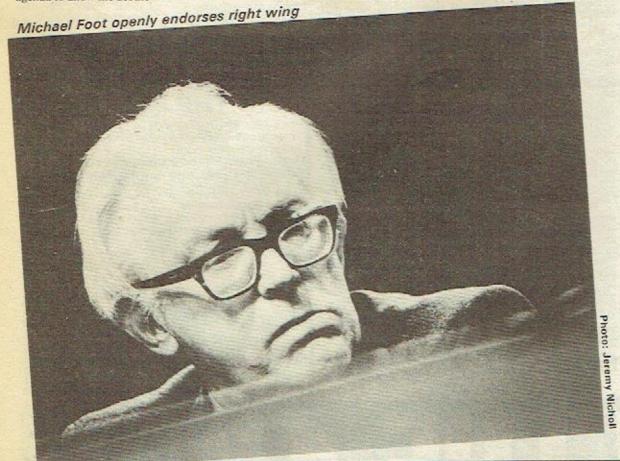
The result of the ballots inside NUPE and the TWGU bore the very obvious marks of the impact of the media.

In NUPE, the executive ignored its responsibilities and refused to make a recommendation to the membership, despite the fact that it was Dennis Healey as the last Labour Chancellor who repeatedly kicked the public sector workers in the teeth. The result of NUPE's executive's irresponsibility was the union vote for Healey.

#### Hard

Without doubt the right wing clamour for 'one person, one vote' will escalate in the coming weeks. The left should not for one moment be forced on to the defensive or confused by these arguments.

They are designed to put the decisions of Labour in the hands of the Daily Express the Daily Mail and the Sun. It's hard to see the democratic principles involved in such a proposal.



#### Labour Party



No doubt the Times came in useful for Denis Healey when he introduced the economic debate at the Labour conference

# 'Shifting the balance of wealth and power'

VICIOUS is the only way to describe the latest round of attacks on working class living standards from this reactionary Tory government. As the Tories calmly announced three million unemployed last week, the new Employment Minister Norman Tebbitt proclaimed the need for a 4 per cent pay ceiling in the public sector, including the nationalised industries. As if that wasn't enough Tarzan Heseltine then revealed new draft legislation to force local Councils to comply with his slashing of social spending. That was the context in which the Labour conference debate on the economy took place. TESSA VAN GELDEREN reports from Brighton.

'WHILE delegates were sitting here ... the stock market fell by nearly 30 points (cheers and gasps) ... the ITN switched from that item of news to their coverage of this Party conference ... that is only right ... to go from those who are destroying and manipulating Britain's wealth to those who represent the working people who pro-

Tony Benn started his summary speech of Labour's debate on the economy with these words. At the end of his speech a majority of delegates rose to their feet.

These were the two most exciting points in a debate that once again underlined the stretchability of the Alternative Economic Strategy.

Like chewing gum it

has lost any flavour it might once have had. In the biggest joke of conference Healey introduced the debate and Benn summed up.

#### Bold

Healey stressed the bold moves of Mitterrand while remaining in the EEC. Benn stressed that British withdrawal was not to promote a 'little Englander' campaign but, 'because we honestly believe that the working class of Europe want a new structure.'

Healey was at pains to stress the scourge of Thatcher's unemployment policy. Benn wanted not just the replacement of Tory ministers with Labour ministers but an assault on the centres of wealth and nower

For Healey the AES is a god send. It unites the party, It unites the unions with the party. God is in his heaven and Healey is in the deputy office.

#### AES

For Benn, the AES is the means to make an 'irreversible shift of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families'. Any teeth that the debate might have had was lost by the NEC's proposal to remit resolutions on nationalisation for further discussion,

Some delegates attempted to grapple with
specific problems such as
unemployment, youth
unemployment and incomes policy. But
nowhere was there a sense
of urgency an understanding that what was needed
was a thrashing out of
policies that could really
get the labour movement
into action.

Such policies are required if the working class is going to have the confidence to take on the Tory government now. It wants to know that the alternative to the Tories is a Labour government that is committed to and prepared to implement socialist policies.

#### Best

But the NEC did its best to prevent the conference adopting such policies. It tried to remit not only the motion on nationalisation (for full discussion 'next year') but also the resolution on fighting unemployment which called for an end to systematic overtime,

The latter resolution was passed, against the NEC's advice, committing the Labour Party to a 35-hour work week with no loss of pay, an end to systematic overtime and opposition to taxation of unemployment benefits.

#### Women

It also called for a woman's right to work though no speakers took up this point in the debate. Audrey Wise in mov-

Audrey Wise in moving the motion argued that it was not enough to wait for the next Labour government to settle unemployment. What was needed, she said, was full support for those workers fighting now against re-

dundancies and closures.

Tony Benn echoed this sentiment in his reply to the debate when he called for the support of workers like those at Laurence Scott and Lee Jeans.

But despite some good rhetoric from some delegates the Labour and trade union leaders were at pains to urge restraint. Peter Shore MP said 'it is the easiest thing in the world for the Tories to transfer wealth to 100,000 defficult it is much more difficult for us to transfer that wealth to 24 million people.'

#### Fight

What was left out of

the whole debate was the independent action of the working class which could bring about such a redistribution of wealth,

#### Pay

The Labour statement on the economy strongly opposed any incomes policy, but there was no serious lead given on how to smash the Tories' 4 per cent pay policy for the whole of the public sector this winter.

Arthur Scargill hinted at this problem when he spoke of the miners 'coming to the aid of those less powerful than us.' But that was all,

Most of the debate was taken up with the problem of youth unemployment. As the mover of the motion on that subject, Philip Hope from Kettering, said: 'Young people who have no vote, no say, and no representation are bearing the burden of Tory policy. The only solution to youth unemployment is more jobs.'

#### Fail

So after all the chatter
— some useful, much idle
— the real issue remained
unresolved. The fight for
the leadership of the
labour movement goes on.

While that question is still on the agenda, spurious unity around the AES serves no purpose except to confuse. The AES had its first serious political test in Brighton. It failed.

### Labourboosts anti-cuts struggle

'BRING TO BEAR the full political and industrial weight of the labour movement against the Tories' attempted destruction of democratic local government' — that was the message of this week's Labour conference to the Tories' war on local Labour Councils.

Last week Tory Minister of the Environment, Michael Heseltine unveiled new plans to legally oblige local councils to comply with the Tories' cuts in social spending.

ding.

Not only are government subsidies to be cut to the bone, but now the option of putting up the rates, preferred by some on the Labour left, is also to be removed. Local referenda will now be compulsory before such a rate can be raised.

Lambeth Labour leader Ted Knight won the Labour conference to support an emergency motion calling for all-out struggle against these new Tory proposals, including breaking the law if necessary.

#### Outside

'Are we going to step outside of Heseltine's law? Well, comrades, that may be the case. Is it wrong to step outside Heseltine's law if that means that working class people suffer and people die as a result?' Knight asked.

Labour's national experience.

Labour's national executive and their parliamentary spokesperson on local government, Gerald Kaufmann, all asked conference to oppose the motion. But the disastrous experience of dozens of local Labour Councils fighting against Heseltine's cuts overcame the NEC's opposition.

Knight summed up the mood of the delegates when he charged: 'We must say to Labour councillors you cannot be mere administrators of Tory policy. We must say to Heseltine and to the Tory government that Labour



Ted Knight argued for a fight against Heseltine's

councillors are not going to balance the books at the expense of workers' jobs, social services, education and the rest.' But an NEC statement on Heseltine's proposals

But an NEC statement on Heseltine's proposals was passed which promised to reimburse any Labour councillors surcharged for their refusal to implement the cuts.

#### Wake

This Labour conference decision comes in the wake of the motion passed by the GLC and the London regional Labour Party executive, to call for all-out action against Torycuts, and the adoption of a fighting strategy of coordinated action by Labour Councils against Heseltine.

Labour activists around the country should take heart from these decisions. In each locality the Labour Party and the trade unions should now thrash out a plan of national and local action to bury the Tories' cutbacks once and for all

#### JOIN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

If you would like to be put in touch with							
Socialist Challenge supporters in your							
area or would like more information fill							
in the form below							

Chicken	Name
The second second	Address
No. of London	
	Age

### SMASH THE 400

#### Home News

All aboard the jobs express

By Patrick Sikorski

THE TUC's long awaited official campaign against youth unemployment will start in Newcastle on Monday 23 November when the 'Jobs Express', carrying 125 sponsored young people, starts a 'whistle-stop' tour of ten British cities.

At the end of the week, after having picked up 25 people at each stop, the 375 young workers will link up with another 2,000 sponsored youth for a mass protest rally in London

on the Friday. Later that night there will be the first of three nightly concerts at the Rainbow by top bands and on Sunday 29 November there will a national labour movement mass

demonstration in London.

The tremendous rank and file support for the Peoples March showed the smouldering anger against the Tories and their deliberate creation of mass unemployment.

That anger burst into the flames of the riots this summer as the black and white youth of the inner cities, goaded beyond endurance by their no-hope life on the dole, hit back. Official figures show that one in five of Britain's under-18s are out of work.

But this figure reaches 45 per cent in some parts of the inner cities. This is approaching the disaster levels of Reagan's America where among the

tories including Massey-

Ferguson, GEC and Arn-

Dennis Barry, con-venor, believes that this strikebreaking has to be stopped by all the local

factories regularly joining

the country.

young blacks on Chicago's South-side the rate if 57 per cent.

This is just the tip of the iceberg. Recent surveys in London, Man-chester, Liverpool and Wolverhampton show the non-registration rate amongst youth is on average 25 per cent, reached a staggering 40-48 per cent in parts of Lon-

But the TUC still only wants to protest and lobby parliament about this scandal. The official campaign logo says it all. It is a pleading hand not a de-fiant fist.

If the campaign is to break out of the 'sealed train' and be a focus for a fight-back it must reach out to the youth of our ghettos and champion the fighting examples of Laurence Scott.

Called in conjunction with the Afro-Caribbean



Almost half of young people out of jobs in some areas

Organisation, the British Youth Council, the Na-Association for tional Asian Youth, the National Union of Students and Youthaid this is a first event in what is a continu-

ing 'Jobs For Youth' campaign whose next major focus will be May 1982.

Every trade union and Labour Party branch or committee should sponsor and nominate a young per-

Nominations sponsorship (£100 for the train and £20 for coaches per person) must be sent to Regional ordinators by 16 October.

then get an application form and the final choice will be made later in October. The names of the Regional Co-ordinators can be obtained from TUC

# Laurence Scott-battle hotting up as scabs break picket line

By Pete Clifford

THE 24-week long strike against closure at Laurence Scott Manchester is under attack from the employers and their engineering union leaders. ed during the week by delegations from local fac-

A letter has been sent out by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union's general secretary Alex Serry, to all unions con-cerned reaffirming that from the CSEU's point of view the dispute has finish-

This has given the green light to the employer Arthur Snipe to hire strike

Last week scabs burst through the Scotts picket line in an armoured van protected by the

They've been sent in to ger the £21/m worth of motors ready for dispat-

ching. fatal mistake on their part took place, when one scab attacked Manchester Evening News photographer Ian Currie with a two foot hammer breaking his camera.

Eventually charges were brought against a en Messon who turned out to be a member of the Boilermakers' union and an employee at Mining Supplies, Arthur Snipe's parent company in Don-

With the Manchester CSEU still firmly behind the strike at Scotts, this strikebreaking by other trade unionists has provoked an angry response.

The pickets were join-

'We do not intend to let any of our work leave this factory,' he told Socialist Challenge.

To back this up, a team of strikers is going into the Doncaster area to build a campaign in the labour movement to stop these

The battle inside the engineering union to win back official backing is also stepping up. On 12 October the

union's final appeal court in Eastbourne will hear a submission from the Manchester North district committee about the four separate rules which have been broken by the union leaders in terminating the dispute.

A successful hearing could, according to local

official John Tocher, force the executive to recall the AUEW national committee.

Even if the strike moves to regain official union support are unsuccessful Snipe is facing big problems after five months of strike



LAURENCE Scott strikers have been receiving messages of support from all over the country. Here we reproduce one from R Ellams, Glossop AUEW branch secretary

I'M INSTRUCTED by my branch to write to the ex-ecutive council deploring their attitude to the Laurence

Considering the slogan 'the union that fights' it seems that the generals are more interested in suing for peace and leaving the rank and file to get on with the

This EC is supposed to be against unemployment.

This EC is supposed to be fighting redundancies. This EC was instructed by the national committee to give maximum support to our members at Laurence Scott.

WHY IS THIS NOT HAPPENING?

This branch has discussed your circular and we are not convinced that a lot of pseudo-semi-legal jargon can disguise the fact, that not only are members not being supported by the EC, but by their determination are becoming an embarrassment to the EC because they're not submitting to the employers demands.

The branch strongly urges the EC to restore dispute benefit and negotiate a settlement that will be acceptable to the fighting members of this once proud union.

strike bulletin have been produced for circulation to the labour movement all over the country.

Full of the true facts behind the strike the stewards are keen that labour movement bodies will take orders for them. In the Manchester area they've had a big im-

At nearby Francis Shaw's the convenor Alan Spinks, took one bulletin for every two workers in the factory and at GEC 150 have been sold.

Make sure you order now at 5p each from Laurence Scott stewards committee, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire.

If your branch supports this resolution, make sure one copy is sent to the AUEW Head Office and another to the Strike Committee, 20 Round Croft, Romiley, Cheshire

Model resolution for

The following resolution has been sent

by the LSE workers to every AUEW branch in

In view of the unanimous support for the

Laurence Scott dispute from the 28 July 1981

Manchester North District Committee of the

AUEW and the rules of the union with regard to procedure for deciding on the official status of disputes (Rule 14 Paragraph 16), this branch deplores any attempt by the executive to terminate this dispute against the clear

wishes of the workforce expressed at two

mass meetings (14 July and 23 July) and calls

on the National Executive to maintain official backing for this fight for jobs. (For forwarding

with your branch stamp and signature to the

AUEW National Executive).

SL6 4LL with donations.

AUEW branches

### Poland: the bureaucrats' power crumbles

By Davy Jones

TWO small unpublicised events from last week show the depth of the crisis facing the Polish authorities. First, police officers in Warsaw staged a short sitdown strike in protest against the authorities' refusal to allow them an independent union.

Second, when the ruling Communist Party tried to go back on a 'compromise' formula on workers self-management worked out with Solidarity's leadership, the Members of Parliament threatened to vote it down in the parliamentary chamber against the party's instructions.

In the Eastern bloc if you can't rely on your own party MPs or your police force, you've really got problems. Those problems are likely to become even more pronounced during the second part of the Solidarity congress currently underway in Gdansk.

The first half of the congress earlier in the month caused a storm of protests and threats from the Kremlin and their lackeys in the rest of Eastern Europe. The reason was a series of congress resolutions and decisions which challenged the political monopoly of the ruling bureaucracy in Poland.

The congress offered support to the workers of Eastern Europe in their struggle to establish independent trade unions. It called for workers to have the final say in the running of the factories; for free national and local elections; and for an end to the bureaucracy's manipulation of the mass media.

#### Challenge

All those positions pointed towards the elimination of the bureaucracy's social and political power, and for the establishment of workers' democracy.

It is this challenge for power which terrifies the Kremlin. That is why the ruling Polish Communist Party was prepared to accept any compromise with the Solidarity leadership last week over the issue of workers' self-management

ment.

The Solidarity congress had voted for a resolution giving the workers the final say in the hiring and firing of factory managers. This challenged the right of the Party to nominate its own people as it does for every major position in public life in Poland.

The 'compromise' formula adopted by the Polish parliament proposed that the party retain the right to nominate directors in 'sensitive' industries like defence, and for judicial arbitration in cases of dispute between workers and the party in all other industries.

This undoubtedly represents a major retreat by the authorities in legitimising workers' power. And it was too much for party hardliners who made a last-minute attempt to ditch it in favour of the current system of exclusive party control.

#### Revolt

That was when MPs threatened a revolt against the Party to keep the 'compromise' formula. But there has also been

But there has also been a major row within Solidarity about the 'compromise'. Jan Rulewski, the militant Solidarity praesidium member who was beaten up by the authorities in Bydgoszcz last year, accused Walesa and the praesidium of a sell-out.

As we went to press the compromise formula looked likely to be only grudgingly accepted by the Solidarity Congress.

As the document reprinted with this article clearly shows, the selfmanagement movement represents a powerful new weapon for the Polish workers in their struggle to wrest power from the ruling bureaucrats.

Prime Minister
Jaruzelski and Party hardliner Olszowski both
responded last week with
suggestions of a broad national front of the Party,
the unions, the Church,
womens and veterans
organisations 'for the
salvation of the
fatherland'.

It is proof of the depth of the regime's crisis that such ideas can be seriously discussed. Such fake 'national unity' with the ruling bureaucrats would be a sure method of stifling the development of workers' power in Poland.

#### Welcome

The Solidarity congress last Monday welcomed a speaker from the founding committee for an independent union of the police, Zbigniew Dudziak. In June there was a conference of 2000 delegates representing 40,000 policemen and women demanding the right to their own union. Dudziak told the conference: 'Police should not be used to put down working class protests.'

The Congress also heard the 93 year old founder of KOR, the dissident workers' defence committee, explain their reason for now disban-

ding. Edward Lipinski told ward now was with Solidarity:

'I consider myself a socialist. I have been a socialist since 1906. Socialism was to be the solving of the working classes problems and the liberation of the working class. But the socialism that was created was a socialism of mismanagement and in efficiency that brought about an economic catastrophe unequalled in 200 years. It is a socialism of prisons, censorship and police.'

One surprising visitor to the congress was Len Murray of the TUC. Let us hope on his return he does something to help build solidarity with the Polish workers in this country. One small step was taken at this week's Labour Par-



Edward Lipinski, 93 year old founder of KOR.



'Are hungry children the goal of socialism?' asks a hunger march banner



The second half of Solidarity's congress got off to a story start this week

ty conference in Brighton.

At a fringe meeting organised by the East European Solidarity Campaign, Eric Heffer said: 'It is most regrettable that there was only one resolution to this year's conference on Poland. We should be making a very

clear statement as a conference of full support for the Polish workers of Solidarity.

'Too often we find ourselves protesting at repression in South America, South Africa or Turkey, and yet we do not pay the same attention to what is happening in Eastern Europe, and unfortunately in the name of socialism.

The fact is that Solidarity is one of the greatest advances in any East European state and it's vital we give these workers full support.'

### Immediate action programme for the workers' councils

The representatives of Solidarity, the workers' self-management committees, the regional co-ordinations and the 'Network' of large factories have drawn up the following documents which define the scope of activity of the workers' self-management bodies. They were approved by the delegates' meetings on 8 July in Gdansk and 12/13 July in Lublin.

These two meetings showed the necessity of drawing up a draft plan of activities for the self-management bodies. Our commission has prepared a short term plan drawing on the concrete experiences of the workers' self-management bodies already in existence in the large enterprises.

Our opinion is that over the next months these bodies won't be in a position to take complete control of the management of the factories unless they meet certain preliminary conditions. These are the following:

 A vote in Parliament on the decrees relating to the way the factories and selfmanagement bodies are run, given the aspirations of society.

 The creation at the level of the regions of an organisational infrastructure and a co-ordination of self-management bodies (bank of experts, discussions on the projects of the decrees, etc).

 The creation of a system of information for the self-management bodies at a national level.

#### The activities of the selfmanagement bodies at the level of the factory

 The democratically elected workers' self-management bodies or the founding committees for such bodies will immediately take measures relating to:
 a) adapting the general statutes of

workers' self-management to the specific conditions in the factory, b) ensuring the arrangement of the technical means, premises etc, c) drawing up a list of all the deeds relating to the factory, d) preparing the procedures and the documentation for a competition for the posts of director of the factory and the leading managers.

2. Before the final takeover of the factory, the workers' council's main task will be to get from the factory director a report on the factory, including an organisational outline and the circulation of information inside the factory. This report will constitute the basis from which to establish the extent of the activities of the self-management bodies.

The report must be studied by experts and presented to the workforce.

4. After the acceptance of the report, one of the priorities of the self-management bodies will be to examine the wages system in force in the factory and to prepare a new wages policy approved by the whole of society.

the whole of society.

5. The workers' council must organise permanent consultative commissions.

6. During the period of transition before

 During the period of transition before taking charge of the factory we must demand that the factory director implement the decisions of the selfmanagement bodies.

7. Self-management of the factory does not imply a systematic interference with the decisions of the managers but, on the contrary, it signifies the right of control over the manager and the possibility of spotlighting the director's activities or lack of activities.

8. We must not accept the plans without first ensuring that the means exist for their realisation.

 We must undertake a vast socioeconomic education of the workforce and the militants.

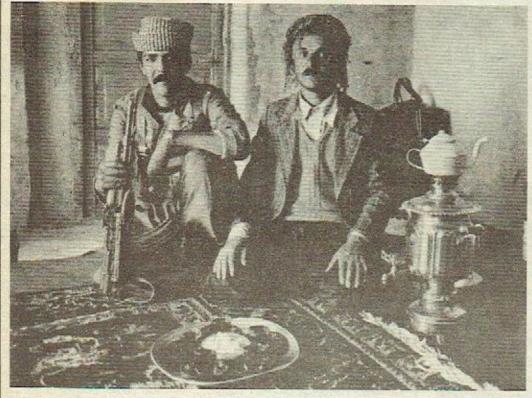
 The self-management bodies must have access to the union press, to the media, the radio and other forms of communication.

11. The best-organised self-management bodies must help those which have not yet reached their level of organisation.

12. All the self-management bodies and their founding committees must struggle for the promulgation of decrees on economic reform, on self-management of the factories, guaranteeing the management of the factory by the workforce.

13. In as short a delay as possible we must make contact with other selfmanagement bodies and scientific and technical bodies existing in the area or region.

The popular insurrection against the Shah (above) was one of the most massive ever seen anywhere in the world. Below Gharani Karimi, on the left, a Kurdish HKS sympathiser was executed by the regime.



### IRAN: KHOME REPRESSION

THE DOWNFALL of the Shah in Iran inspired millions of workers around the world But the murderous repression against political opposition by the Khomeini regime has led many to ask what has gone wrong in Iran. Socialist Challenge was able to speak to a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a section of the Fourth International in Iran. We do not necessarily share all the views expressed in the interview but discussion on the issues it raises is long overdue.

The most common sentiment of people in this country, which is reinforced by the media coverage, is that Iran is no better off now than under the Shah. What does the HKS say to that?

Khomeini's regime at one level is worse than the Shah. That does not mean that the Shah's regime was good! It was terrible, but the current repression is worse. The important difference is this: the overthrow of the Shah's regime through the mass upsurge of the people allowed three years of open activity for the workers' and left wing organisations, for the first time in 20-30 years. It gave the national minorities the space to fight against the central authorities, especially the Kurds

This development of self-organisation threatened the Khomeini regime. When the strike committee under the Shah turned into genuine working class councils the regime tried to disband them and replace them with Islamic councils.

When these two began to side with the workers rather than the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) even they were shut down. They have been replaced by Islamic Societies in the factories which operate just like the old SAVAK secret police under the Shah.

We should not forget that there have been tremendous gains from the revolution like the eight hour day, equal pay for women, nurseries, rights of workers to organise and so on. Not all these gains have been lost. The Khomeini regime has not completely crushed the working class and the gains of the revolution.

How does the HKS characterise the regime and what attitude do you have to it? Are you for its overthrow or not?

We consider that it is a capitalist regime. There were two important wings of the IRP authorities. One wing around Ayatollah Beheshti was for a centralised economy with more state control. He was killed in the IRP headquarters bombing.

The other wing round Rafsanjhani opposes land reform and stands for defence of private property. This wing now runs the country. Everything is now imported, a ly from the West. The mullahs claim against capitalism and communism but say their religion doesn't allow them isolated, so they have economic relawith East and West.

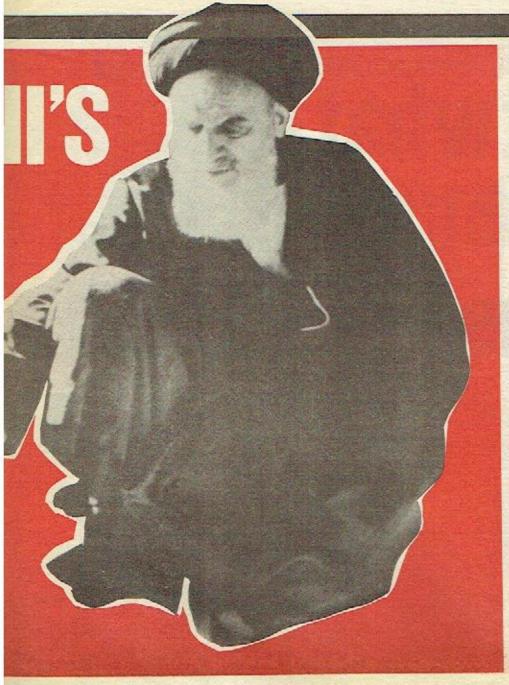
We are for the overthrow of the re and for socialist revolution. It is pothat the civil war will provide an opport for overthrowing Khomeini.

for overthrowing Khomeini.

We have no illusions in the Mujah
Their leader Rajavi says that they sup
Bani-Sadr in order to ensure they wis
support of the bourgeoisie. They expl
support capitalism.

But we say that if they come to pow overthrowing Khomeini this would ope big opportunities for open activity by workers and left wing organisations, th





alities and so on. It would also boost the nees to develop a mass working class or olutionary organisation in Iran.

In that sense we would fight alongside in to prevent any right wing inspired tary coup that the royalists outside the ntry might support.

at has happened to the mass support t Khomeini had? Is there a growth of i-clerical feeling among the workers?

Khomeini and the IRP got huge popular port from the hostages issue. We conred this matter as a factional dispute in the ruling class in Iran, not as an antierialist campaign. When Bani-Sadr od for President the IRP was dogged by ion fighting. Their candidate for the

election had to be withdrawn two days before voting when it was discovered that he was incligible to stand as a half-Afghani. Their last minute replacement was a nonentity.

On the other hand the Mojahedin leader Rajavi stood on a radical democratic programme, calling for support for the rights of the Kurds, workers and women and so on. When he was excluded from the poll by the mullahs, Bani-Sadr adopted and campaigned on many points of his programme, and was elected.

So the IRP used the hostages issue to regain mass support which it was losing. But it didn't last long. The mullahs couldn't solve the burning economic needs of the masses.

The situation in that regard was worse



than under the Shah — production and wages were going down, prices were going up, housing problems were terrible and so on. Then the war with Iraq boosted support for the regime again — people voluntarily queued up to go to the war to fight.

But again the economic problems and the lack of democratic rights undermined support for the regime, though not so much for Khomeini. There has been growing disillusion with the regime. For example after the hostages issue people's reaction was: 'If they were spies why have they been released? And if they weren't why have we had to suffer the economic consequences of holding them?'

There is now absolutely no base of support left for the regime. Their support comes from some bazaaris, and their paid agents in the Revolutionary Guards and committees along with their families. These are the people, especially kids who are on their demonstrations supposedly of one million people.

people.

The Tudeh (Communist) Party and the Fedayeen Majority group also back the regime. At their last congress they decided that one of their duties was to inform on 'counter-revolutionaries'. The Tudeh party exposed one headquarters of the Peykar (Maoist) group to the authorities leading to a number of arrests.

To understand how fed up people are you have to grasp how few rights they feel they have left. I met a woman in a hair-dresser who was crying. She told the hair-dresser to dye her blond hair black because she had just received a Ministry of Health circular saying that as well as her scarf and overalls women had also to all have dark brown or black hair!

The people hate the mullahs. They have closed down the parks — they were 'centres of the counter-revolution'. You can't even go mountain-climbing — mountains are also the 'centre of the counter-revolution'. There's only Mohammed on at the cinema and no TV — so people are very fed up

and no TV — so people are very fed up.

It is common now to hear people say: 'If
this is Islam then we don't even want the
Mojahedin who are Islamic. Probably communism is better'. And they don't mean
Russia or the Tudeh party by that.

What is the repression like at the moment?

Since the IRP headquarters was blown up it has intensified. Not just 72 people were killed it was more like 110. The Mujahedin refer to the bombings as 'revolutionary acts of the people' and there is no doubt that they were popular.

Our comrades in the factores reported that there were celebrations among the workers at the explosion of the IRP head-quarters. But within a week the regime had killed 300 people in revenge, many were only between 9 and 15 years old, sympathisers of the Mujahedin. The regime is so brutal because it is so weak. It has no control over the situation.

A sympathiser of ours, Gharani Karimi age 29, who had been a student at Hatfield Polytechnic, was killed by the regime during this time. He was a very important Kurdish militant arrested before the IRP bombing. The regime considered him to be important enough to be on a list of prisoners for exchange with the Kurds for Revolutionary Guards held prisoner. He had his throat cut.

I met a woman whose son went missing. She went to Evrin prison and found hundreds of other parents looking for their children. She went back each day for news and the crowds were smaller each day. She hoped this was a good sign that their children had been found. But after some weeks when she eventually saw the authorities they gave her ten albums of photos of young people and children who had been shot. She saw her son in one photo with five bullets in his chest where he had been shot dead. Underneath the photo it said 'suspected Mujahedin sympathiser, convicted for refusing to give his name'.

Gravediggers report that busloads of bodies were taken to the cemetery for burial. Whenever the regime announces a number of executions there are always in reality many more killed.

The assassinations have paralysed the



Bani-Sadr, exiled in Paris

regime but they have also created a certain demoralisation and passivity, a feeling of 'what can we do?'

People are reduced to betting on who will be next to be blown up. This passivity shows the substitutionism of the Mujahedin for the masses. A political struggle is needed against the regime. There needs to be a general strike through organising the workers in the factories. This has to lead to civil war and armed confrontation with the regime, and its Revolutionary Guards.

If you favour overthrowing the regime what do you call for to replace it?

We are not for an alliance with the Mujahedin as such but we would fight alongside them to overthrow the regime. While we criticise them for their bourgeois programme we recognise that rank and file Mujahedin comrades are courageous fighters giving up their lives for the struggle.

Our slogans are for: Independent working class organisation, a constituent assembly, and for workers' councils in the factories. We stand for generalising these councils all over Iran into a national workers' council.

What is the situation with the war with lraq and the struggle of the oppressed nationalities?

Only the Kurds are well organised with real autonomy over their areas. The other nationalities were not able to fully utilise the post-Shah period. The Kurds have a long history of struggle against the central authorities. Their territory is still very backward though, mainly peasants and no industry.

The war with Iraq continues — it is a year old now. But neither side knows how to win it. The economic damage to both sides is enormous and increases both their dependence on the West. There is now in Iran rationing and a black market at triple prices for goods. To queue for the bare necessities takes hours.

The regime could have survived the economic crisis through paying for its imports for everything with cash from oil. But the regime has just announced that for the first seven months of 1981 the import bill was 7.9 billion dollars and oil sales were only 550 million dollars per month — so the money is running out. The regime has already announced cuts for the winter.

This economic crisis, combined with the massive political crisis obviously puts into question how long the regime can survive.

Next week: Socialist Challenge will carry a major editorial policy statement on the situation in Iran.

### 'I got horrified at what the government has got lined up for us'

TOGETHER WE CAN STOP THE BOMB

ARTHUR WAYMOUTH and BOB HOLMES work at the River Don plant of the British Steel Corporation and have been recruiting fellow steel workers to the Sheffield Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Arthur is a shop steward in the General and Municipal Workers Union and Bob is a member of the technical workers union ASTMS.

Earlier this year they talked to Socialist Challenge supporter, CHRIS PITTS

crafty read..

Chris: What made you get involved in CND in the first place?

Arthur: Well, I went for years without really thinking about it, but one day somebody gave me a few pamphlets to read, and what I read really appalled me. Not only that, but the fact that I'd not known anything about this before appalled me too.

But then my reaction was, where can I get some information on the other side of the story, to balance this up?

But there wasn't any, except this stupid stuff on civil defence. Like on TV the other day, they were showing a nuclear shelter and saying that it is better than the Anderson Shelters of World War II because it's got a floor to it.

because it's got a floor to it.

Marvellous! So I got interested — well, not interested,
I got horrified — at what the government has got lined up for me.

The more I read, the more I realised that we ought to be doing something about it.

Bob: What first set me off thinking about atomic weapons was when America dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It wasn't until quite a long time after, but it occurred to me, why couldn't they have dropped just one on a mountain top, or in a lake, as a demonstration first?

Then, if that didn't work, to actually use it. Just to save their conscience a little bit, rather than killing 200,000 people outright without a chance.

Now we know that it was political; it was a military tactic designed to stop Russia going into Japan as they'd agreed to

But when a nation can do that, or rather, when a President can do that, it's very, very frightening.

Chris: What sort of things have you been doing to get people at the plant interested?

Arthur: A friend of ours, Harry Brooks, has been making up his own posters, by cutting out the juicy bits from the pamphlets and CND broadsheets and putting them on the notice board.

Quite a few read those, and they are good for starting a discussion. What is funny is that some people will walk by and say it's all rubbish, but they'll sneak back later for a Bob: Talking to people individually is the main way I've been getting it across. The majority are sympathetic, and if I spend ten minutes, which is just time enough to get some points across, I've converted them, or won them to CND.

I was surprised, to be honest, when I got talking to people, how many were frightened and alarmed, and knew more about it than you would think.

Chris: What reactions do you get from people at work and how do you answer them?

Arthur: A lot of people say, 'I'm surprised at you, Arthur, getting involved with this CND lot, because you used to be a soldier.'

But what has that got to do with it? They seem to suggest that I'm a coward, that I won't defend my own country,

I'll fight them on the beaches and on the hilltop, but in a nuclear war there's no chance to fight — just a very good chance of dying.

We saw the American Secretary of State on the TV the other night, Alexander Haig, He's all for a nuclear

His idea is that America could survive a nuclear war, especially with the first strike.

All this talk of surviving a nuclear war in your shelter under the garden or in the house is just a lot of propaganda.

Even supposing you did survive, though, what sort of a world would you come out to?

They seem to suggest that it will be life as normal — golf on Saturday, church on Sunday, work on Monday. It's just absurd.

There'll be no gas, no electricity, everything radioactive.

But when we come out of the shelters — the few who are left we'll ask 'Who did this?' and we'll have to say that we were all responsible. We can stop it.

Some people say to me, what about the Russians? But an ordinary person like me, how much worse off would I be if the Russians did control this country?

I'd basically go to work and do my job and do what I'm told — which is exactly what I do now. But if we haven't got any nuclear weapons, Russia won't need to knock them out, so they can just ignore us. It's only the people with money who are really frightened.

Bob: The idea that Russia is about to invade us is just ludicrous.

They can't even control Afghanistan. One of the jobs of CND has got to be to help people understand that the Russian bogey is just that, only a bogey.

Having said that, we don't want that system here; it's a bureaucracy gone mad,

Arthur: The Russian people must be partially satisfied; they must have something going for them

If you look back into history, from 1917 to now, they've come from Magna Carta to the space age. 500 years' progress in 60. Marvellous, really

Bob: I think that the US is trying to bring the USSR to its knees economically with the arms race. This year, America is spending \$168bn, that's about 20 per cent up on last year, and Russia will probably match it.

As a percentage of America's Gross National Product it's only half of Russia's, and there is a good chance they can bankrupt Russia.

Chris: Coming back to this country then, how do you see the campaign actually winning?

Can we trust a Labour government to do it? Practically, what do you see as the way we will achieve disarmament?

Arthur: I used to think that demonstrations did no good, but I've changed my mind.

It's got to make a difference, it gets what you're campaigning for in the news and forces people to think about it.

And we elect the MPs don't we? If they don't believe in nuclear disarmament I'm not voting for them, and I'm not bothered who puts up.

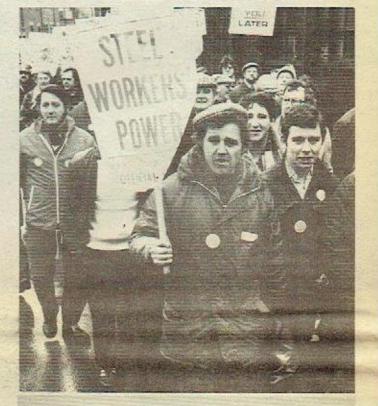
Ultimately, it doesn't matter how many of us get into the street, if we've no-one speaking for us in Parliament, we don't stand a chance.

We're just cannon fodder like we've always been.

Bob: I think it'll come down to direct action in the end.

Chris: What do you mean, exactly? I think we've seen from CND in the past, and demonstrations against nuclear power on the continent, the state can always find enough cops, water-cannon, CS gas and so on to win that sort of direct action confrontation.

Bob: What I had in mind, is the sort of sit-down, chain yourself to the railings kind of protest. I'd certainly be willing to go to



CND 1958-65 LESSONS OF THE FIRST WAVE



A Socialist Challenge Pamphlet

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prison if necessary. I know that you don't agree...

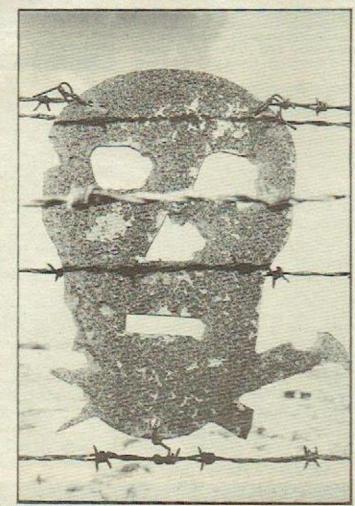
Chris: Don't get me wrong, Bob, it's not that I'm personally afraid of getting arrested, but it is a question of whether it would do any good.

I think there is very little evidence that a few thousand activists in jail would necessarily make any difference.

If you want a model of the

sort of campaign I think we are trying to build, you have to look at the anti-war movement in America, which reached into every layer of society and brought millions into the streets in huge, peaceful demonstrations, or the Australian campaign against uranium mining. Once the 'Leave it in the Ground' campaign got the support of the miners, the uranium stayed in the ground. Simple as

Contract to the Contract of the con-



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#### Interview with Sinn Fein representative

### 'The hunger strike is the cutting edge'

JIM GIBNEY, is a member of the James Connolly branch of Sinn Fein, the political party that shares the views of the outlawed Provisional IRA. He was interviewed in Belfast on 25 August by JAMIE DOUGHNEY, who is a frequent contributor to the Australian socialist weekly Direct Action.

How does the Republican movement view the stage the struggle in Ireland has reach-

That's not an easy question to answer, because there are a number of factors which contribute to it. I think that what can be said is that the freedom struggle is probably at the strongest stage it's ever been at over the last ten or twelve

While the early 1970s saw an upsurge in armed struggle and mass struggle, what we're seeing today is an upsurge in mass struggle.

This isn't superseding armed struggle, but is actually complementing it.

This mass struggle is having a considerable impact on the political establishment in the South of this country, the Northern political establishment on the nationalist side, namely the SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Par-

Also some sections of the ruling class in Britain are beginning to rethink their attitude to their presence in this country.

The single most important factor causing the dramatic developments over the last number of months has been the hunger strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. To date we have had ten men die on hunger strike, and another six presently on hunger strike, with others to join them. And there is the possibility of fur-

Now the hunger strike itself has crystalised for many people in this country and abroad just what the British are doing in Ireland. And it is exposing the contradictions which are inherent in Irish society, North and South, on the national question and on partition.

It's those contradictions that are being exposed that we would say are the signposts of

We would say that developments since I March this year, when the hunger strikers

started, have been rapid and dramatic.
Since the Bobby Sands election in Fermanagh/South Tyrone, the hunger strike issue has changed one government in the South. Probably that is the first time that something like that has ever happened in the history of the twenty-six countries.

We have also had the so-called middle ground cut away from the Social Democratic forces in the North by the hunger strikers' deaths. And we have had the recent by-election success of Owen Carron, who stood on an H-Block ticket supporting the prisoners' five demands.

In political terms, if you like, the veil of secrecy that the British government had built up around her presence in Ireland over the last five years has been torn apart.

The dirty little war it has been engaged in there has been exposed to the world by the bravery and the heroism of the prisoners in the H-Blocks.

So, from that point of view, we would say that the struggle for an independent republic is progressing at a satisfactory rate.

But obviously the deaths of the prisoners on hunger strike, and the human misery for their relatives, is something which we don't need to develop the struggle.

The dynamism of the struggle at the movement is a spin-off of the prisoners' determination. But we would be quite happy if the British government would just resolve the issue, and resolve it in the morning.

Because we don't need the deaths of prisoners on hunger strike to advance our cause for freedom. We'd much prefer that we were doing it with our own resources on the outside, and not cause the type of human misery that the hunger strike has.



James Prior (above) will face mounting protests supporting the prisoners like the one below



What has been the effect on the community of the prisoners' deaths? Is that starting to take its toll?

I think that one has to be perfectly honest and say that the deaths of the prisoners has had a depressing effect on the nationalist community in the North.

The reason why is that the nationalist community has a close affinity with the prisoners. feel for the prisoners as if one of their family has died, and died an agonizing death.

So it does sap their will, if you like. This is what the British government is banking on.

But something the British overlook is that while it saps the will temporarily, it ultimately hardens people's determination to continue to support the struggle for freedom in the coun-

It convinces them of the Republican logic that peace in Ireland will only come about when the British are removed and partition is dismantled.

I would say, and there's no doubt about it, that the deaths of the prisoners are depressing the nationalist community in the North in one

But in another sense it's strengthening their resolve and commitment to continue the struggle for freedom and support the republican

It hasn't lessened the number of people on the streets protesting. And the nationalist people, beleaguered as they may be due to military repression, are sophisticated enough politically to see that the hunger strike is the cutting edge in the situation and is having more of a political impact than one would have expected.

What do you see is the next stage of the struggle, particularly in regard to the election in the South and future elections here?

Just to paraphrase the Sinn Fein vice-president

Gerry Adams, who was speaking the other night to a journalist for the Irish Times; he said we are overhauling our political organisation North and South with a view to contesting elec-

We had been considering, over the last number of years, contesting elections at the local government level and national level.

The hunger strike itself — the electoral

gains made through the hunger strike - has encouraged us to look at this much more seriously and see if we can speed up the internal reorganisation required to win when we do go to elections.

I think that what you can take for granted, very definitely, is that election strategy will become as important to the Republican movement in the coming months and years as the armed struggle has been over the last ten years.

Does this foreshadow a much more aggressive political campaign in the South to take on the traditional parties there?

Yes. What can be accepted from what we are discussing at the moment is that we will challenge the partitionist parties that have grown up in the twenty-six counties.

The political establishment in the South is ripe for change and we believe that there is enough political disenchantment among the working class and the small-farming community for us to make significant inroads.

You mentioned that the movement is struggling for a socialist republic. How do you see that side of the struggle, the socialist aspect, emerging in the future?

This is an ongoing process that we've been involved in for some years.

Our various opponents have attempted to label us with different tags: in the late 1969-early 1970s period we were dubbed as a fascist organisation, 'green nationalists'; in the

middle of the 1970s we were dubbed as communists; later on we were again dubbed as fascists

But, we see ourselves as socialists in the tradition of the republican socialist mentor, if you like James Connolly.

We, very definitely, are interested in the socialist reconstruction of this country. We are very definitely interested in establishing a society which caters for the needs of the working class and the small-farming community.

And we are diametrically opposed to capitalism and the type of society capitalism has built up over the last 20 years.

So, in that sense, we are very definitely out for revolutionary change in society and we see this as an ongoing thing.

We don't fall into any of the political categories: namely, we don't claim ourselves to be Marxist.

However, it would be very stupid and naive to say that Marxism hasn't had an influence on the thinking of contemporary republicans, who have been to prison, who have read Marx. Obviously he has had an influence. In fact

he has had an influence on every revolutionary organisation in the twentieth century. So it would be absurd for us to say he hasn't influenced our organisation.

But I do make the point that we are a socialist organisation in the tradition of James Connolly. We intend continuing the struggle to see the socialist republic that we're after established.

How important do you see the international movement of solidarity with the Irish struggle?

International solidarity is crucial to the success of this struggle. Because, if anything has shown the need for international support, it has been the hunger strike over the last number of mon-

Now we have seen that the British govern-ment is frantically trying to reverse the gains that have been made internationally. They're sending out one diplomatic mission after another diplomatic mission after another

to try to counter the international offensive of solidarity groups in support of the Irish strug-

So we consider international solidarity a

very, very high priority.

We welcome the solidarity we have received in Australia, and in America and Europe. Those are the three principal areas - and, of course, in Britain where solidarity has been growing as parts of the political establishment become disenchanted with their war in Ireland.

Earlier you mentioned developments in the British Labour Party. How important do you see developments there?

Well, we're very encouraged by the advent of Tony Benn, who we see as a very important figure to educate sections of the political establishment in Britain who are disenchanted with the British war in Ireland.

We are encouraged — and again this is another side effect of the hunger strike — by the fact that there are something like fifty or sixty motions on Ireland to the annual conference of the Labour Party.

We are convinced that the only way progress will be made in Britain is through an understanding among the rank and file of the British Labour Party about what their British rulers are doing in this country in their name.

Therefore we see them as an important element to aim our publicity and our programme

We have been consistently doing that over the last number of years, by sending delegations to meet influential members of the British Labour Party on a local, constituency level.

Because we think that while we may make progress occasionally with people like Tony Benn, it is essential that the British Labour Party grass roots at the constituency level understand what's going on. We are encouraged that things will begin to move there.

I think that as the capitalist recession deepens under Thatcher, it becomes all the easier for us.

Because the British Labour Party then becomes more radical in its approach to its own political problems in Britain. It is easier, therefore, to encourage it to look at Ireland

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### Positive action-WhattheTUG voted for

By Jude Arkwright

WE WONDER if delegates to this year's TUC actually realised what they were voting for in the report presented by the women's committee and carried by the conference.

The proposals on positive action - that is to say, radical measures to overcome past discrimination against women - are far reaching in their scope and could have a dramatic influence on women's lives if they are

The document is highly critical of the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts, pointing out that employers 'have reacted to the legislation by setting up "women only" grades and that they have not been adequately challenged by the trade union movement.'

#### Hire

It points out that under the legislation, 'although positive discrimination could be used in relation to training it is not extended to the hiring of women'

This is absolutely true. Ironically, discrimination point of hiring would be discriminating against men under the terms of existing

This aspect of the law nonsense because it assumes that women are equal with men when they enter the jobs market. To be serious about giving women equal opportunity you cannot insist on the

The document also puts forward a number of practical suggestions on what kind of positive ac-tion programme could be drawn up by the individual unions and used in collec-

same qualifications, and

the trade unions themselves should control

the criteria for hiring and

tive bargaining agreements

— all unions locally and nationally should start discussions on these kinds of ideas. It suggests:

#### Suggest

a) Basing evaluation schemes that decide the grading of the job on the level of skill, train ng and responsibility needed and not on differentials between male and female 'skills' b) Making sure that the job description is an exact des-cription of the duties of the job and does not imply sex c) As with job evaluation schemes and job descriptions, criteria for promotion should be laid down enumerating the skills that need to be deve-loped. Such requirements as formal qualifications should be examined carefully, in terms of their necessity, their desirability or whether they could be gained after promo-

d) Adverts should be made more attractive and readily available to women by using the Equal Opportunities Clause; including a picture of a woman as well as a man in an advert; making sure the wording does not put off women; advertising in women's magazines (though to do so exclusively is discri-minatory); contacting local women's magazines (though to do so exclusively is discriminatory); contacting local women's groups, school teachers and careers officers dealing with girls to inform them of the vacancy; ensuring all vacancies are advertised internally and to all people; and the use of an employment noticeboard to display vacan-

e) Personnel staff, should be made aware of the implica-tions of an equal opportunities policy, and should have its poncy, and should have its promotion written into their job descriptions. They should have available a full job description so that the women seeking jobs are not discouraged when making their initial approach.

f) At the interviewing stage, the application form should declare the employer has an equal opportunities policy and state the recognised

and state the recognised grievance procedure.

g) In promotion, the advertised commitment to an equal apportunities policy is most important, and should be made by the chief executive.



h) The possibility of part-time promotions should be investigated and all training should be open to part-time as well as full-time workers.
i) Seminars should be held for supervisory staff on how to evaluate personnel perfor-mance free of discrimination.

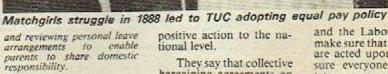
j) A system of alerting all staff suitably qualified for promotion to the vacancy should be investigated and all should be investigated and all staff should be encouraged to take training courses that will help in their promotion prospects. These should be non-residential, wherever possible, and in working hours.

k) The same criteria used for a recruitment interview should be used for a promotion interview.

1) Where not already in existence a recognised grievance procedure should be esta-blished to handle workers

m) The working conditions should be examined to see if they could be made more at-tractive to women.

For instance, by providing a creche or paying for places in a local nursery where local authority provisions do not meet the needs of employees; making working hours and working arrangements more flexible; introducing flexible holiday times and the right to carry over leave from one year. carry over leave from one year to the next; improving maternity and paternity provisions to allow more flexibility than the statutory requirements;



Succeed

These measures will only succeed if they are tied to a system of goals and targets for getting women into particular jobs and grades.

Only then will we be getting to grips with the fight to secure a perma-nent and equal place for women in the labour force and establish in principle that women have as much right to a job as men. It is significant that the TUC have overcome their reluctional level.

They say that collective bargaining agreements on an industry by industry or firm by firm basis is inadequate and has to be combined with a campaign to commit the next Labour government to changes in

But passing resolutions is one thing; taking action is another.

We women have to get together inside the unions and the Labour Party to make sure that these words are acted upon and make sure everyone inside the labour movement understands that it is in their interests to fight on our side.

If you want ideas on how to take this up in your union or Labour Party write and ask for a copy of Equal Opportunities: Positive action program-mes (annex 2 to section c) from the TUC, Congress House, Great Russell St. London WC1



By Judith Arkwright

THE REAGAN era in the United States is producing one of the most vicious and repressive attacks on women's rights that has been seen

This is contained in the Abortion Control Act which is now going though state hearings in Philadelphia.

Its provisions include: · Forcing doctors to explain in detail, to the women, the effect of abortion on the foetus, using colour pictures of a foetus before and after an abor-

● A mandatory waiting period of up to 72 hours before an abortion can be performed.

The father must be notified before the abor-If the women can't find him, then the court can take up to ten days to look for him.

• Young women must have permission from both parents to have an abor-

If they refuse, she may let the court decide if she is 'mature' enough to make up her own mind.

If not, they can appoint a legal guardian of the foetus to make sure the woman does not self-

Birth and death certificates must be issued for each aborted foctus, and a burial or cremation held. The identity of abortion clinics and doctors who perform abortions to be made public.

No abortions could be performed in public hospitals, except in the case of rape, incest or danger to the life of the woman. Consideration of this

list of horrors will not be confined to Philadelphia. Hearings in other states are planned.

Among the organisations leading the opposi-tion to a woman's right to choose is Moral Majority which has also been to the fore in criticism of the Equal Rights Amendment

to the US constitution. Moral Majorit Majority's leader, Jerry Falwell is a evangelical gospel preacher.

But despite his claim that he represents the 'majority', opinion polls have shown that a majority do not share his opposition to abortion.

The gains Moral Majority have made show the influence that organisa-tions like Mary Whitehouse's fringe movement in this country have, given a right wing administration in govern-

That's why the fight for women's rights needs to go hand-in-hand with the fight against the Reagans and Thatchers of this world.

#### Divorce issue raised in the south of Ireland

By Tom Marlowe

THE Southern Irish government has, at long last, taken a tentative step towards questioning the existing divorce law in the 26 counties.

Divorce is banned under the 1938 Irish Concoalition government, headed by Garret Fitz-Gerald, is proposing to establish an all-party committee on the 'protection of marriage' and 'the problems of marriage breakdown' stitution, but now the breakdown'

FitzGerald's move has been linked with an at-tempt by the Southern government to win over the Protestants of the North to the idea of a united Ireland.

#### Effect

In this respect it is unlikely to have much effect, as many of the more evangelical Protestants are as hostile to divorce as is the Catholic Church, A survey has also indicated that only 17 per cent of women questioned in the North during a recent opinion poll were even aware that divorce was illegal in

the South. The real beneficiaries of a change in the divorce law in the South would be the women who live under this archaic law. The Divorce Action Group in the South estimate that as many as 50,000 people in the South are separated but unable to get a divorce.

The only option these people have is to apply for a special marriage annulment to the Catholic Church. Last year out of 623 applications, only 79 annulments were granted.

evidence of growing sup-port among the southern population for a removal the prohibition on divorce. In a 1972 survey only 22 per cent of those questioned came out against the present law. Three years ago, in another poll, this had risen to 42 per cent and the most recent survey showed 47 per cent of those questioned want a changed in the

#### Fortune

The present ban on has many effects on divorce disastrous women besides the obvious one of legally binding them to a man for life. For instance, if a woman is fortunate enough to get her marriage



Groups to change divorce laws are forming

annulled, because the marriage is then deemed legally never to have existed, a man cannot be ordered to support the woman he was

never legally married to. If the law is to be eventually changed it will have to go to a referendum. The

Catholic Church can be expected to campaign heavily against any change, but the Fianna Fail opposition is, at the moment, being more reti-

When Fianna Fail was office last year,

however, it rejected the type of proposal Fitz-Gerald is now making. But the obvious growth of support for a change in the law may make it difficult for Fianna Fail to outrightly reject any moves towards liberalisation.

Socialist Challenge "1 October 1981 " Page 12

### Letters etters Letters

Salvador Allende a gun at

On the eve of the September 1973 coup, Castro sent a letter to

Allende urging him to rely

on the organised strength

of the working class to

block the impending coup. Alas, Allende did not

After the murderous US-backed military coup

of Augusto Pinochet, Cuba launched a cam-

paign denouncing the

fierce repression. At a mass rally held

two weeks after the coup,

ing solidarity with the

Chilean people and Castro spoke about the defeat:

teaches us the lesson that it

is impossible to make the

revolution with the people

alone; arms are also

The Chilean example

Cuba declared its continu-

a public function.

heed this advice.

#### Cuba and the lessons of

IT WAS GOOD to see Phil Hearse's article on Chile in Socialist Challenge 213. At a time of wide-ranging debate about socialist strategy in the labour movement, the tragic coup in Chile in 1973 contains very many important lessons for today.

In fact, Chile was an important item under consideration when Tony Benn addressed a packed meeting in Manchester's Free Trade Hall in September.
I think it's worth poin-

ting out the role of Cuba in attempting to push for-ward the revolutionary process in Chile while Salvador Allende was president.

The Cubans gave economic assistance to Chile and waged a campaign against the US/CIA attempts to destabilise and overthrow the Allende

At the same time, it attempted to influence the political course of the Chilean struggle in a revolutionary direction.

During a month-long visit to Chile in 1971, Fidel Castro observed the development of the class

struggle there.
While, as Phil Hearse explained, Allende looked to his alliance with sections of the military and the capitalists to prevent a right-wing coup, Castro pointed to the dangers in

that approach.

He noted that the growing boldness of the right-wing was 'based on the weakness in the ideological battle, on weaknesses in the mass struggle, on weakness in the face of the enemy.'

And he demonstrated this by symbolically giving

'And that arms alone aren't enough to make the revolution; people are also necessary!

Seven years later, and Fidel Castro is on the same tack.

While the Communist Parties in Europe draw the lesson that Chile went too far too fast, the Cuban leader draws the opposi-

At a rally in July 1980, Castro spoke of the revolution in nearby

Nicaragua and said: 'What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under any circumstances, because the people have the people have the power, because the people have the weapons.

He went on to draw the lessons from the recent history of the class struggle in Latin America.

The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one

path; revolution! That there is only one way: revolutionary struggle!

J SILBERMAN Oldham, Lancs



#### Problems of union organisation in GEC

BEING impressed by your trade union coverage in Socialist Challenge of 17 September, and in particular the item about the strike at Schreibers of Runcorn which is part of the General Electric Company combine, it would be appreciated if you will mention in your paper the efforts being made by the GEC National Shop Stewards Committee to widen our support throughout the combine.

At the present time, due to the problems of establishing contacts throughout the country, only a minority of shop steward committees are affiliated.

The additional pro-blem is the lack of identification between the various establishments many of them not carrying the name of GEC.

This policy of separatism is of course, encouraged by Arnold Weinstock and his board of directors who expect his managers to themselves as separate businesses although profits are milked off by the main board.

In an effort to achieve unity the SS committee have recently produced a journal which is currently being circulated to all

known GEC units.

Along with it will be an invitation to send representatives to a meeting of the committee to be held at Worthy Hall, Sheffield on Saturday 10 October.

During the last few years, but particularly since the removal of exchange control by the Tory government, GEC have acquired many additional companies overseas and sometime in the future we would like to make contact with our overseas com-

For nearly 30 years I have been a steward at the Liverpool Works, for over 20 years the senior steward of the AUEW and chairperson of the Joint Stewards Committee.

In 1969 following the

merger of the English Electric Co and GEC the workers at the Liverpool factories attempted a takeover.

It failed because of the advice given by the Minister involved at the time, Tony Benn, who came to Liverpool at the 11th hour of the takeover attempt to tell the workers that the merger with GEC would be in our best interest.

At the time nearly 14,000 people worked for GEC on Merseyside, now there are just over 2,000.

As an active Labour Party member I support Tony Benn in his current campaign but I hope he learns lessons from the

The story of GEC is one of maximisation of exploitation of the labour

There is surely a story to be told that someone in the movement could take

WALTER J BROWN **Executive Commit**tee member GEC Shop Stewards Committee Ormskirk, Lancs

An annual publication is available from most good local libraries which is useful for all trade unionists trying to track down subsidiery companies of conglomerates like GEC.

It is called 'Who owns whom' and comes in two volumes.

WRITING to us? please try to keep your letters to 400 words - preferably typed. We may have to edit for reasons of space!

50, London N1 2XP.

### Send to Socialist Challenge c/o Box

Fund Drive — cash we want to spend on boosting our bookshop and print-

We can't afford a deficit this size. So what is to be done? In the next week we ask you to make an all-out drive to cut the

shortfall. We also want our local supporters to take a long hard look at their performance and what can be done about it.

to the newspaper have been very good, but local group activities have not matched our needs.

Our drive for £100,000 showed us that every supporters group can raise cash if they give it enough attention, and if they plan

It does need the attention.

Raising money, for example, for our anti-missile work is every bit as important as arguing our politics in the campaign because our politics will get across in Socialist Challenge if its supporters

can fight as an organised Therefore now is the time to plan the next quarters fundraising.

Why not start planning now for a celebration of the 64th anniversary of the Russian Revolution? For some really spectacular Christmas fundraiser? For badge and pamphlet sales on the CND demonstration on October 24th?

magnificently to our appeal for standing orders to support our campaigns.

Her £20 a month brings our new standing orders this quarter up to £77 enough to buy our new

we'll be well on our way to our next quarter's target. What about you?

#### Where you canbuy Socialist Challenge

#### Scotland

ABERDEEN: SC available at Boomtown books, King St. For more inforing Bill 396 284.

DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, Thur 4-5-30pm, Fri 4-5-30pm, Sat 11-40m.

Thur 4-5.30pm, Fri 4-5.30pm, Sat 11-4pm.

EDINBURGH: SC sold Thur 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square and bottom of Waverly steps 4.30-5.30; Sat 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Fortest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.

GLASGOW: SC sales every Thur/Fri 4.30-5.30pm at Central Station. Also available at Barretts, Byres Rd; Clyde Books, High St; Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Cresswell Lane; Hope Street Book Centre.

HAMILTON: SC sale every Sat 1-5pm outside Safeway, shopping centre. For more info contact John Ford, 33 Eliot Crescent, Hamilton or Paul Youngson, 18 Forrest Crescent, Hamilton.

#### Wales

BANGOR: Sat 10-12 town centre. CARDIFF: every Sat in Bute Town 10.30-12. Also available 1-0-8 Books. Salichure Road. Salisbury Road. NEWPORT: every Sat in town centre

II-12.30
PONTYPRIDD: SC sales every Sate outside Open Market 11-1pm.
SWANSÉA: SC sales outside Co-op.
Oxford St, 11am-1pm, Saturdays.

#### England

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Rond, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone

3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details. BIRKENHEAD: SC on sale at Labour Club, Cleveland st, Thur nights: in preciner outside Littlewoods, Sat 11-12. BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4,30-5,40, Sat 10-4. For more into phone 643-0669. BOLSOVER: Cross Keys, every Fri 8-10pm.

BOLSOVER: Cross keys, every fig.

BRADFORD: SC at Fourth Idea
Bookshop, 14 Southgais.

BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in
Ground', Haymarket, More info Box
2, vo Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham
Rd, Montpelier, Bristol 6.

BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat
morning 11,30-1pm St.

CHESTERFIELD SC sold outside
Boots, Marketplace, Sat 11,30am12,30pm.

COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: SC sales in

Weuge Booxandp.

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

HUDDERSFIELD: SC sold Sat Ham-Ipm. The Pinzra. SC also available at Peaceworks.

LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane.

LEEDS: Sat 11-1 at Lands Lane.

LUERPSOOL: SC on sale from News.

from Nowhere. Whitechapel and Progressive Books, Berry St.

MANCHESTER SC sold H-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire.

Bank, High St.; at BURY in the share Bank, High St.; at BURY in the share Books, at BOLTON in the town centre; and in.

MANCHESTER SC sold the Central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Pereivals Boukshap, Tel: 061-236-4905 for further info.

NEWCASTLE: SC un sale every Sat

NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd. Every Friday outside Newcastle University between 12-1 and outside Newcastle Polytechine bet-ween 12-1 every Monday. OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local ac-tivities. Tcl. 061-682 5151. OXFORD: SC sold Fr 12-2pm out-side Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Commarket.

SHEFFIELD: SC on sale Thursday, Pond St, 4.30-6pm; Sarurday, Fargate 10.30-12.30pm. STAFFORD: SC on Sale Market Sq.

STAPPOND: Sc. on Sale Market Sq. Sar lunch-time.
STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, Ipm, Mersey W. Can be delivered weekly: phone 483-3909 (evening), 236-4905 (day).
SWINDON: SC on sale II-I 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.

on Stockton High Street. WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-fipm; and Saturday near Beat-4.30-spm; and Saturday near Beat-ties, town centre from Ham-2pm. YORK: on sale every Thursday, dole office Clifford Street, 9.30-11; University Vanburgh College 12-2; Saturday at Coney Street 11-1.

#### London

BRENT: SC sold Willesden Junction

BRENT: SC sold Willesden Junction Thur 4.30pm.
EALING: SC sold Thur, Ealing Bruadway tube, 4.30-5.30pm
ENFIELD: SC at Nelsons newsagents, Loodon Rd, Enfield Town.
HACKNEY: SC on sale on estates throughout Hackney, at public meetings, and local factories. Contain us at 0.9 PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8 2NF or phone Megan or John at 359 8288.
HILLINGDON: SC sold Fri., 430-5.30 at Uxbridge tube station; Sat 10.30-12.00 outside Woodworths, Uxbridge shopping centre.
KB.BURN: SC sales every Sar, Idam in Kilburn Square, and Thursday 8.30am at Queens Park tube.
LAMBETH: SC available from Village Books, Streatham: Tethric Books, Claphann: Paperback Centre, Briston; Oval tube kiosk. Also sold Thur and Fri evenings and Thur mornings outside Brixton tube.
NEWHAM: SC sold Sar I Taim to noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park, PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park, PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon, Queen's Rd Mkt, Upton Park, PADDINGTON: SC sold at Portobello Rd market Sat at noon, WEMBLEY: SC sales Fri 6.45am at North Wembley BR Station.

#### Bookshops

BANGOR: Rainbows, Hollyhead Ruad, Upper Bangor, Gwynedd, BRADFORD, Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Sandgare, BRIGHTON: The Public House, Lin-

BRIGHTON: The Pholic House, Lift-tie Preston S.

BRISTOL: Fullmarks, 110
Chelienham Rd, Bristol 6.
BIRMINGHAM: Other Bookshop, 137 Digbeth, Birmingham.
DURHAM. Durham City Co-op-Bookshop, 35a New Ebel.
ILFORD: South Essex Bookshop, 338
Lev Streen.

Ley Street.
MILTON KEYNES: Oakleaf Books.
109 Church Street, Wolverton.
OXFORD: EOA Books, 34 Cowley

Rd. LEICESTER: Blackthorn Books, 70 High St. Leicester, and V Karia, 53A London Rd, Leicester. LIVERPOOL: News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1 LONDON: Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Rd; Colletts, Charing Cross Rd, WC2: Paperback Books, Brixton and

WC2: Paperback Books, Brixton and Charlotte St; Kilburn Bookshop, Kilburn High Road, NW6; The Books Plus, Lewisham; Balham Food Co-op; Housmans, 5 Caledo-nian Rd; Nt; Compendium, Camden Town NW1; Owl, Kentish Town; New Beacon, Seven Sisters Rd, N4; The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St. NI; Bookmarks, Seven Sisters Rd, Nd; Comterview, 126 Kinesland High NI: BOOKMARY, Seven SISTER NO.
N4: Centerprise, 126 Kingsland High
Se, E8: Dillons, QMC: Page One,
E15: The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Si, NI: Reading Matters, Wood
Green next to Sainsbury's,
YORK: Community Books,

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

don't want taking up valuable space on your bookshelves? Send them to the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP. BADGES available from Revoluti

SPARE BOOKS? Any books you

Youth, 20p each plus postage, Big discount on bulk orders. Write to: Revolution Youth, PO Box 50, Lon-don N1 2XP.

don NI 2XP.

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

SOLDIERSCharter 81 founding consonnel — unions for the armed forces? Sat 3 October at Response, Old Brompton Rd, London SW5, If you were in the armed forces or are interested get details from Richie HIII at 01-739 1413. FIGHT Racism! Fight Imperialism! Now Monthly! September issue:

on Ireland part sax; Irish prisoners in Britanin: Hands off Angola; Free Bradford 12; Police Terror in Liver-pool 8; News from Iran; Central

pool 8, News from Iran, Central America.

20p plus p&p; subscriptions £2-six issues, £3-50-12 issues; From Larkin Publications (5C) BCM Box 5909, London WC£ 3XX.

RAR Gig: 2 October, 8-11.30 m Brix-ton Town Hall with Tribesman, Out-skirts plus sound system Black Phoenix. Admission £2, £1.50 un-

Fund.
IRELAND: A debate between the RCG and the CPGB, Fri 9 Oct at 7.30pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WCL. Speakers; RCG Terry Marlowe; CPGB Chris Myant; Adm 30p in advance; 50p at

door, IMG/RY Student faction now on Sunday 18 October in London, Documents available from Ann at na-tional centre. Further information ring 01-359 8371.

REMEMBER the hunger strike. Torch light parade to Tribune meeting Rully at the Level, Brighton Spm 30 September London coaches leave form York Way, Kings X, £2.50

#### Workers' Socialist League Rally of Trotskyist Unity

Bring down the Tories! Fight for a Workers' Government! Build a Revolutionary Leadership! Public launching of the fusion of the WSL and ICL.

Saturday 10 October, 10am-5pm, Digbeth Civic, Hall. Birmingham, Admission: £1 (50p unwaged). Details: WSL, PO Box 135, London NI

#### Making the links between the Labour Party and the unions

LAST week four thousand people turned up to a meeting in Leeds to hear Tony Benn - and Dennis Barry of Laurence Scott's.

Socialist Challenge supporters were instrumental in getting this meeting together.

This is the kind of link we exist to make. This is how we fight for socialism.

We've been taking the Laurence Scott struggle into the whole labour movement: by making the connection between the fight in the Labour Party and the fight in the unions.

Who else does this?

This kind of activity makes Socialist Challenge an indispensible weapon of struggle for socialists and trade unionists.

This is why we are appealing to you to support our efforts.

At the beginning of we appealed for £16,500 to carry our

campaigns through the Below we print a chart

showing what we achiev-It's the first time we've had such a drive, and the £11,092.90 raised so far is

a good start for a summer But we'd be fooling ourselves if we thought it was enough. With one week to go, we are £5,407.10 short.

doesn' inis money come out of thin air. This

Scotland 420 850 293 400 North West 723 1375 West Yorks 386 850 South Yorks 158 575 441 1450 East Midlands 218 500 697 825 South West 688 825 173 550 Outer West London 505 North West London 526 900 1009 1450 East London 1256 South London 1337 2175 2265 Total 11092

leaves us with a simple choice: either we stop our paper; we stop our campaigns; or we make up the difference with cash from our highly successful £100,000 Development

shop, on building and office improvements and on buying our building, It's a direct threat to our future.

Individual donations

ahead.

computer.

Fifty more like this and

By Geoff Bell

Once upon a time there were two filmmakers, or, as they say in smart circles, directors. One was English, called Ken Russell, the other was an American called Michael Cimino. Both were very clever gentlemen who made plenty of money by having their finger on the pulse of the times.

although to appreciate

why the movie-goer really

has to know something

about the afore-mentioned past of Mr

It can be loosely described as science fic-tion. It's about how an unpleasant person ex-periments with himself in pursuit of parwin's

perments with himself in pursuit of Darwin's theory of evolution. By eating mushrooms and suspending himself in a tank of water he rediscovers his ancestors and becomes, for a short

Ken Russell accom-

Writhing bodies in Altered States

time, an ape-person.

about

Loose

Mr Russell's era was the late 1960s and early 1970s. Then, innovation and grandiosity were the big things. So Ken made films with loud music, writhing bodies and daring images.

Everybody applauded Ken apart from one Alex-ander Walker in the Evening Standard. On TV one day Ken hit Mr Walker with a stick and called him a fascist. This went down very well with the smart set because being right wing in those days was most unfashionable and as Ken was in fashion it was very comfortable to brand his critics as fascist.

The truth of the matter is that Ken Russell made pretentious selfindulgent films. Like the smart set who loved him he was all gloss and no substance.

#### Deer

Michael Cimino's first big movie was made in a different time when Jim-my Carter's soft-centred conservatism was on the down and the new hard right of Reaganism was on the ascendancy. So he made a film to suit such sentiments. It was called *The Deer Hunter* and was about how Vietnam was not so dishonourable after all and the good old USA. all, and the good old USA was still God's own coun-

So, there was nothing much for the left in either Mr Russell or Mr Cimino. Now read on.

Ken Russell's Altered States, now on general is great fun. release

panies this unlikely tale with dream sequences in which once again there are daring images writhing bodies.

Typical, good old Ken, one might imagine. But look a little deeper. The would-be-person is forever going on about the meaning of life, his search for it and how truth and truth alone is all that will do. He is a whizz-kid, admired by all around him even though he is suspected of being slightly loopy.

Now, who does that re-mind you of? The very same Mr Russell of earlier times. And like that Mr Russell the whizz-kid is a load of pseudo-intellectual crap.

But the joke of Altered States is that in the end the whizz-kid agrees he is a load of pseudo-intellectual crap and eats humble pie. It is Mr Russell denouncing his past and suggesting that perhaps the fashionable trendiness of which he was once the liv-ing symbol did not have all

the answers. Most amus-

Now Michael Cimino and what wonderful, wonde wonderful joke he performed in Heaven's Gate. Cimino was given millions of dollars after the Deer Hunter to make any film he chose. He was the rising star of the new right and could thus be trusted to

#### Rugged

His backers must have been even more pleased when he announced he would make a western, for what other period of US history sums up so bravely the rugged individualism that has made the USA the

great country it is.

Michael Cimino has turned out to be a wicked man. Heavens's Gate is one of the most sustained attacks on the values and ideology of US capitalism that has ever been screen-

my, the state governor and the US President, decide to wipe out 125 'thieves and anarchists' who dare to test the American dream and ask for a few make something suitable. acres of land in the wild

#### Contrast

The film has faults. It has cinemagraphic faults as a result of it being cut from four hours to two and a half. It has political

faults in that Cimino is still too fond of the por-nography of violence and the soft pornography of

the more usual variety.

Nevertheless Heaven's
Gate is a block buster. It

tells how the Cattleman's Association with the assistance of the US Ar-

Cimino is unrelenting in the savagery of his at-tacks. Two long se-quences in the film sum up what he says. The first is at the start when a group of well-healed Harvard students celebrate their graduation. They are flippant and hollow. They celebrate as men while the women watch them from windows.

This is the class which rules, Cimino is saying. They may look harmless but.

The contrast is with a later sequence when the immigrants who are out for their few acres of land discuss what they should do about the attempt to li-quidate them. There is passion, warmth and humanity on display. It is women who take the political lead.

Every cliche of the wild west is turned upside down. For example, there is the traditional affair between the marshall and the woman brothel keeper. She rejects him and when the battle between the immigrants and Cattle bosses is joined she goes off to fight while he, initially, stays behind - a woman got-to-do, what a woman got-to-do.

During the battle the cattle bosses are encircled by the immigrants who ride around them firing. 'Just like the Indians', says one of the bosses, but the 'Indians' in this in-

stance are the goodies.

Heaven's Gate was slammed by most critics, especially those in the USA. Yet there are some stunning sequences, the photography is breathtaking and the tale is told as authentically as it could as authentically as it could be, for indeed it is a true

#### Down

The film was howled down because it was totally against the stream of Reaganism and, most viciously of all it used Reagan's own mythology of the Wild West to make its political statement. One could make such liberal noises in good old Ken Russell's day because things were not so serious then. But we are living in a different climate now.

Heaven's Gate is made by Partizan Productions and Cimino leaves no doubt as to whose side he is on. 'It is a bad time to be poor', says a character in the film. 'It always has been', says another. And it is not so comfortable now to be on the side of the poor. Come home Michael Cimino, all is Come home forgiven.



THE BIRTH OF A BLACK COMMUNITY

#### 'No coloured please'

'SOUTHALL — the Birth of a Black Community' Writ-ten and published by the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism/Southall Rights. Cost £1.30

Advert in Southall shop, 1958:

To Let: Decent Single Bed Sitting Room with facilities to cook in basement kitchen. Suit a working gentleman or woman. Only respectable people need apply. No coloured please.

'You cannot imagine how barbarously we lived in those days' recalls an Indian worker.

'The front room had three beds, two of them double.

The back room had a similar number. The two other bedrooms on the first floor had five beds, the large front

'The number of people there fluctuated between twenty and twenty five. Some of the beds were used during the day by night shift workers and at night by the day shift workers'

Conditions in which Asian immigrants were forced to live and work are recorded in this 70 page history of the mainly Asian community of Southall.

The pamphlet describes events from the recruitment in the 1950's of Punjabi workers by the notorious Woolf's rubber factory to the burning down of the Hambrough

Although the government and employers encouraged immigration in the 1950's, the black people who came here faced terrible conditions and discrimination in housing and employment.

Over the years they gradually established a strong community in the West London area of Southall, But even the housing and jobs occupied by blacks became a source of miserable housing and jobs occupied by blacks become a source of bitter resentment by many local people. A several occasions.

The self-declared aim of this pamphlet is to 'expose the history of Southall's struggle as a political lesson for those interested in the history of black communities everywhere.

It certainly does what it sets out to do and makes for a very interesting read. It could be improved if the political

lessons were actually put into the pamphlet. Though just describing events, the pamphlet leaves you with the impression that the same type of struggles that took place in the past will continue, and it gives credibility to conservative community organisations such as the Southall Indian Workers Association and the Southall Youth Movement.

Oliver New

#### Handbook for campaigners

Facts Against the Bomb produced by Nottingham for Nuclear Disarmament. 75p & postage from Mushroom, Heathcote St, Nottingham

THIS is a decidedly useful digest of material on the nuclear issue.

It is clear, well-written and will be an invaluable aid to campaigners who are preparing talks, draf-ting leaflets or simply wishing to educate themselves.

Although somewhat expensive, its importance lies in its sheer comprehensiveness.

No other pamphlet cover the field in this way from the effect way.

- from the effects of nuclear weapons, to the real state of the arms race and the soviet threat, to NATO strategy right the

way through to Home Defence.

Complex arguments and statistical data are made accessible.

The one missing factor is any political overview. This mutes the criticism of NATO to the fact that its claim to be a defender of democracy is 'hard to reconcile with some of its practices'.

Home Defence is ex-

amined but its role in the securing of internal order is noted and then categorised as being out-

side the scope of the pamphlet.

The connection between Britain's nuclear arsenal and the preservation of economic experience internally and extension internally and extensions. tion internally and exter-nally is crucial to grasp if any strategy is to be established to finally rid of these humanity

Julian Atkinson



Heaven's Gate's wild west - where the poor ride on the roof of the train Socialist Challenge 1 October 1981 Page 14

### Scottish labour rallies to Grenada, **Gentral America**

By Des Tierney

OVER 500 delegates and observers gathered in the Dee on Saturday 19 September at the invitation of the Dundee labour movement for a conference in support of the people of Chile, Central America, and the Carib-

Madame Allende; Carlos Trejo, first secretary of the Cuban Embassy; Fennis Cuban Embassy; Augustin, Grenadan Commissioner and Mick

McGahey, president of the Scottish miners union were among the featured speakers.

Stewart MacLennan, a delegate from the west of Scotland, DHSS — CPSA drew the conference's attention to the appraising record of the to the appalling record of the TUC and its international department in its support for CIA-backed 'trade unions' in Central and South America.

However it was the speeches and presence of the Grenadan High Commissioner, Fennis Augustin and the first secretary of the Cuban Embassy, Carlos Trejo which galvanised the au-

It was the first time since the successful revolution in Cuba that a representative of their government had spoken to a Scottish labour movement

The spontaneous standing ovation given even before the speech showed the admiration and respect in which the Cuban government is held in the ranks of the Scottish labour move-

Cde Trejo spoke of the continuing campaign of the US to isolate the Cuban revolution and the continued threats to Cuba's security through the military and naval manoeuvres which the US were carrying

He welcomed the success of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and spoke of Cuba's support for the struggle in El Salvador.



Grenada PM Bishop

He emphasised that the Cuban government were not the people who started these revolutions nor were they sen-ding arms to El Salvador, but wherever throughout the world people were struggling against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism or zionism the Cubans fully supported

Once again the audience stood to show their support for the attitude of the Cuban

There has not been much work done yet in solidarity with the Grenadan revolution in Scotland but if cde Augustin's welcome is anything to go by we can expect it to take off

Augustin stressed the links between the struggle of the Grenadan people and the people of Chile.

One of the regimes which fully supported the former dic-tatorship of Sir Eric Gairy was the Pinochet regime. Paying tribute to the Cubans he said, 'the Grenadian revolution would not have taken place in

1979 if it were not for the example of Cuba.

Talking about the threat of war in the Caribbean he said: 'since declaring our position on sovereignty, non-alignment and the development of the socialist process in Grenada, there have been many dif-ferences with the US.

'The situation has been worse since the US elections, I want to raise the whole ques-tion of El Salvador which is vital as the US has chosen El Salvador as the arena in which they will reverse the defeat, both military and psychological

of Vietnam.
'The foreign policy of the
US administration which is based on its so-called right to interfere globally has got to be

'Our comrade from Cuba raised the possible threat of in-vasion. In August-October 'Ocean Venture 81' took place in the Caribbean. There were troops on the border of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada.

'A smaller manoeuvre took place which had been designed as a dummy run for a future invasion of Grenada.

'No possibility of invasion or threat will deter us from the

or threat will deter us from the path we have chosen.

"We can quote a high authority, Robert P MacKenzie, was the US naval commander of that exercise who said that "Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are all one country", perhaps he's right about this.

'We can only say that we hope that we are soon joined by Salvador, Chile and Guatamala.

A further conference is planned to build support in Scotland for a European antiinterventionist front to block the danger of direct US inva-sion and involvement in the Caribbean Central and America.

#### Flying pickets save Scottish pit jobs

By Ralph Blake

A WEEK of action by miners at the Bedlay pit in Lanarkshire, Scotland has saved it from closure.

On Monday 21 September the 640 miners at the pit walked out on strike because of the Coal Board's intention to close the pit at the end of the year.

The Coal Board claimed that the pits workable reserves were exhausted and that there were too many geological problems in

reaching any new reserves. Scottish NUM officials, including Mick McGahey, were willing to accept the Coal Board position and negotiate a deal involving no redundancies and a transfer of miners to

But the miners at Bedlay knew that if their pit closed it would be another 640 jobs lost for

They maintain that there was 18 months left in the existing seams and that if the Coal Board opened up new tunnels to other seams spread through the working class they will there would be work at Bedlay for years to mean nothing.

The miners were determined to save their jobs and the jobs of future generations.

They sent out flying pickets to other Scottish pits to bring them out in sympathy.

By the Wednesday all the pits in Ayrshire were closed and the Bedlay miners were heading for the east of Scotland pits. Scottish president of the NUM, Mick

McGahey, told them to go back to work and accept the closure.

They responded by sending pickets to the Scottish NUM executive.

By Thursday 24 September the miners had returned to work with management promising to keep the pit open.

The Coal Board said they would develop new tunnels to reach untapped coal seams

Local NUM branch secretary, Peter Hacket said that 'this is an example of how the Coal Board was going to pick off pits one by one after they had been stopped last February by the miners' strike when they tried to get rid of us all at once.

Peter went on to say 'We can win as many left wing victories in the Labour Party as we like but without the example of Bedlay being

#### Chinese dissidents need support

EVENTS in China have turned a full circle since the 'Peking Spring' of 1978, when Democracy Wall, wallposters, journals and discussion forums flourished in all of China's major cities.

Today, the same leaders in the Chinese government who encouraged democracy and supported the criticisms against bureaucracy, are now ruthlessly repressing the democratic movement.

Since the well-publicised trial of Wei Jingshen, who received a 15 year sentence, the Chinese regime has arrested in recent months 21 leading editors of unofficial journals throughout the country, and persecuting all activists in the movement. They have also victimised leaders of students and worker's

The 21 belong to China's first generation of working class youth since the 1949 Revolution. They consider themselves to be defenders of democracy and fighters against bureaucracy and imperialism. In no way could they be branded as right wing counter-

Their activities are legal under China's constitution which guarantees freedom of press, speech and free association. On the contrary, by harassing and holding them in custody without trial, it is the Chinese government which has acted contrary to the Chinese constitution.

The Chinese democratic movement in its journals have saluted the struggles of the Polish workers; all those in Britain who sup-

port the Polish struggle should also give their solidarity to those in China who are fighting the same battle.

We are a group of Chinese and British socialists who are campaigning for supor in Britain for the Chinese democratic move-

While we support the nationalised property relations in China and would defend China against capitalism and imperialism we are opposed to the repression of these dissidents in China today.

We call on you to support us by doing the

1) Sign the petition, and urge others to do so. 2) Send urgent messages of protest to the Chinese Embassy in London.

3) Raise the question in your organisation and subscribe to our newsletter (£2 a year).

4) We need financial donations urgently. All donations will be acknowledged.

For further information contact the Socialist Com-mittee in Defence of the Democratic Movement in China, 380, Edgware Road, London W2

#### RELEASE THE DISSIDENTS!

#### PICKET CHINESE **EMBASSY**

5.30-7.30pm 1 October 31 PORTLAND PLACE W1

#### Scottish ship workers occupy against closure

By Ralph Blake

THE 145 workers at Robb Caledon shipyard in Dundee occupied it on Friday 18 September to stop it from closing. Shipbuilders in Grange-

The day before in Blackpool a national delegate conference of shipbuilding workers voted overwhelmingly to take any action necessary to oppose compulsory redundan-cies in the shipbuilding industry.

At the moment workers in the industry are committed to an overtime ban and a series of one day strikes in support of Robbs in

Dundee.
This action could well lead to a confrontation between shipbuilding workers and British Shipbuilders and the Tory government.

Already at British

yard in support of Robbs. Management Grangemouth said that no ships would enter the yard for repair while there was industrial

mouth, 39 workers were laid off last Friday,

allegedly because of the overtime ban that was

being worked in the

They said there was only seven days work left for the remaining workers.

But workers at Grangemouth are not prepared to give in to this blackmail attempt. A shop steward's spokesperson said that

the prospect of layoffs

had not affected the workers' determination to continue the overtime ban in support of the 145 workers who are occupying the Robb yard Caledon

At Robb Caledon's sister yard in Edinburgh a meeting of 600 workers is planned for this week to discuss imposing an overtime ban and a series of one day strikes on successive Mondays in support of Robbs in Dundee.

Meanwhile at the Dundee yard workers have sent their p45 tax payment forms to the chairperson of British Shipbuilders as an act of defiance. Socialist

Challenge is going to press hundreds of workers from all over Scotland including some from Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and Lee Jeans are meeting in Dundee to plan how best to support the workers at Robbs Caledon.

#### Rail union's unsolicited material

By Robin Duncan

CONSIDERABLE amounts of unsolicited material has been circulating among the National Union of Railwaymen's membership.

Although mainly written by outsiders, many NUR members have actively assisted in its produc tion, despite the fact that this is prohibited under Rule 10 of the union's rule book.

This material pursues views and policies which are contrary to those of the union and its member-This monthly production is published by the

British Rail Board and is entitled Railnews. The union leadership has made no attempt to

restrict either the circulation of this management journal, or union members active involvement.

But they are very quick to use Rule 10 against the left inside the union.

A subcommittee of the executive is investigating the activities of certain militants, including the writing of articles in the pro-Communist Party Forum, Militant, Socialist Worker/Railworker and the national press.

Three NUR members have been singled out for special attention by this subcommittee.

Geoff Hensby, secretary both of Paddington No1 Branch and of the National Joint Conference of Guards, Shunters and Yard foremen; Ian Williams, National Executive Committee member from Liverpool; and Tom Doyle from Sheffield.

This offensive is a stepping up of the witchhunt launched by general secretary, Sid Weighell, at this years' NUR conference, when he attacked the Militant tendency.

Rule 10 was originally introduced to prevent opponents of the labour movement organising in the union. It has never stopped the NEC granting the fascists the right to propagate their views inside

It is when the left began to organise to get the NUR to adopt and fight for socialist policies inside

the union that the knives come out. Many branches do not know what is happening in the union at the present time.

These manoeuvres on the part of the leadership should be brought into the open and branches given the opportunity to make their views known.

NUR branches should urge the special subcommittee, which meets on 6 October, to disassociate itself from the witch-hunt and to defend the right of members to propagate views which are in the interests of the working class inside the union.

### Socialist Challenge

Labour against the bomb

Some 2000 people supported the CND merch outside the Labour Party conference in Brighton last



### Photo: Jeremy

# RIGHT WIN VICTORY IN LABOUR NEC ELECTIONS

By Paul Lawson

THE RIGHT WING have been successful in their challenge for control of Labour's NEC. The defeat is an important one, and shows the effectiveness of the new right wing organisation through the grotesquely named Labour 'Solidarity'.

But the lessons of this

First, the right defeated party treasurer Norman Atkinson with their own candidate, Eric Varley. Then they won two positions in each of the trade union and women's sections—defeating Renee Short and Bernard Dix in the pro-

This increases the strength of the right wing to fourteen, and reduces the strength of the left to nine,

The balance of power is held by the six so-called 'soft left' — the likes of Neil Kinnock, Dame Judith Hart and Joan Lestor. Only one of the six has to vote with the right wing to ensure their view is completed on the NEC

carried on the NEC.

The defeat of the left cannot go unchallenged.

But the lessons of this defeat must be learned before it can be turned around.

First, the defeat — like that of Benn in the deputy leadership election — came at the hands of the trade unions.

The constituencies have not moved to the right. It was the change in the trade union votes that swung things against the left.

Second, the constituencies continue to give massive support to the Kinnocks, Harts and Lestors of this world who were instrumental in defeating Benn, who voted against NEC control of the manifesto, and who will doubtless continue to line up with the right wing on the new NEC. The 83 per cent vote by the constituencies for Benn in the second round of the deputy leadership election should not blind us to the need to continue the fight for left wing policies there. But most of all, the

But most of all, the lesson of both the elections this week is that left advance inside the Labour Party will be halted unless and until the left organises its own fightback inside the trade unions.

The time has come to recognise the fundamental fact that it is on the backs of the Duffys, the Boyds, the Granthams and their lik that right wing leadership of the party continues to exist.

There is no slick manoeuvre or backstairs deal which will solve the problem of right wing leadership in the trade unions. Only rank and file left wing organisation inside the unions can do that. That is the task which must be carried forward from this conference.



Tony and Caroline Benn following the election defeat - on their way to the fish and chip shop

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