

Socialist Challenge

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Reagan's visit and the El Salvador elections
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TORY WAR ON UNIONS AND YOUTH

Norman 'caveman' Tebbit is again on the war path against trade unionists and young people.

He is preparing further attacks on union rights. He is considering amendments to his own anti-union Bill now going through parliament to force secret ballots on strikes and lay off without pay workers in enterprises affected by sectoral strikes.

The extension of his Youth Training Schemes to include all youth between 16 and 17 This would enforce a maximum wage of £15 per week.

Tebbit has been encouraged to up the ante by the pathetic failure



Norman Tebbit

of the wage union and Labour leadership to prepare any serious fight against his laws. The response to his attacks on youth has been nothing short of

disgraceful

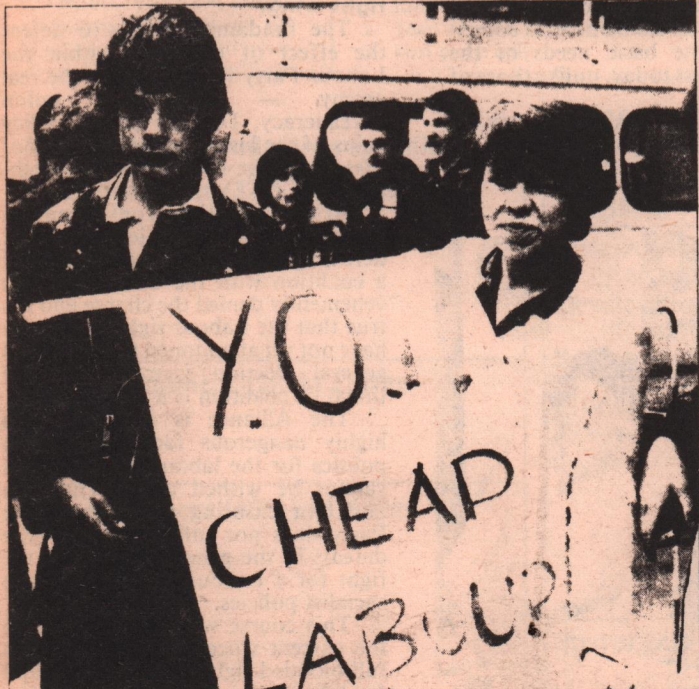
Tebbit's proposals for secret strike ballots have nothing to do with extending democratic rights. He has simply

noted the massive impact that the Tory press can have on union decision making, if the procedure is taken out of mass meetings of workers. He is more hopeful that playing on the isolated individual outside of the solidarity and feeling of collective strength of mass meetings will sap any determination of workers to fight back. The undemocratic way that the union leaders conduct union affairs gives the opening to Tebbit on this front.

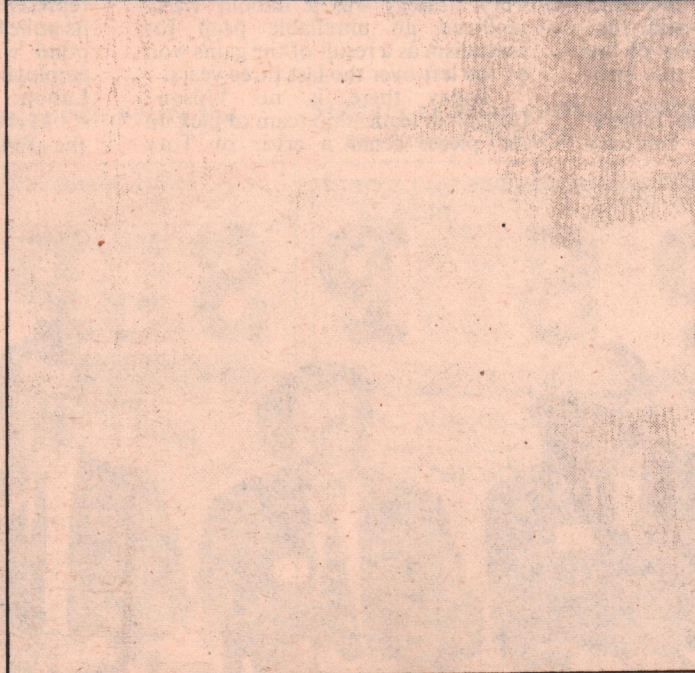
If the anti union laws are Tebbit's right hook, his attacks on youth constitute a sharp blow to the solar plexus. It is indispen-

sable that the trade union and labour movement rise up to defend the youth. If they don't, not only will the youth suffer a crushing blow, but the wage cutting plans of this Tory government will receive a massive boost.

The fight for union rights and the fight for youth rights go hand in hand. Rank and file workers, in struggle after struggle, have shown their willingness to fight. The youth rebellions of last summer showed the indomitable spirit of the youth. What we all want is a lead. This is a task which the meeting of trade union executives on 5 April is unlikely to provide.



Tebbit's slave labour wages for youth are meant to reinforce Tory wage cutting plans for all workers.



Under Tebbit's laws union funds will be liable. Any employer that has the inclination will be able to take to court any union involved in strike action.



Under Tebbit's laws, the clause waiving liability against any official that repudiates strike action will put pressure on the unions to further discipline the rank and file - even for every day trade union activity.



Under Tebbit's laws the closed shop will be almost impossible to win or maintain. £20,000 will be paid to scabs or 'nonners'.



Under Tebbit's laws, refusal to obey court orders to stop strike action will lead to the imprisonment of trade unionists.

LOBBY THE TUC 5 APRIL, Wembley Conference Centre, 9.00 am

Editorial

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THE VICTORY of Roy Jenkins in the Hillhead by-election last week is a further consolidation of the Social Democratic/Liberal Alliance.

It rubs in the message that the Alliance will be a major obstacle to the achievement of a majority Labour government at the next general election.

But the question remains: how can the SDP be fought by the labour movement and why has that fight been unsuccessful so far?

The Hillhead result does not contradict the trends already established by Warrington, Croydon and Crosby.

★ That the Tories did and will suffer greater losses at the hands of the Alliance than the Labour Party (a 16.7 per cent swing away from the Tories, a 13.7 per cent swing from Labour).

★ That the Alliance will be a serious factor in the formation of the next government unless they can be politically defeated by Labour (even a cautious extrapolation from Hillhead would give a hung parliament with the Alliance in third place acting as coalition partners for any possible government to have a majority in the House of Commons).

★ That the Alliance can win in a wide variety of different seats (even against a 'radical' Scottish Nationalist candidate, Roy Jenkins was able to take the lion's share of the protest vote from the Tories and Labour and deprive the SNP of its deposit — an outcome which many commentators — including Socialist Challenge — misestimated).

★ That the Labour Party cannot decisively defeat the Alliance in a general election with the sort of 'low profile' campaign waged by David Wiseman.

The predominant attitude towards the SDP within the left of the labour movement has been to turn Nelson's eye towards the SDP in the hope that it will go away. Others have even greeted its emergence, seeing it as a poultice to draw the right wing poison out of the labour movement. Neither of these strategies will succeed.

The argument that the SDP is a creation of the media is true; nobody can question the astonishingly partisan nature of the coverage it has received from a press corps from which it has found its most enthusiastic members.

But the argument that the SDP will therefore disappear as its news value becomes dated is unjustified. It fails to answer *why* the press has given this support and whether or not the party has a wider backing from within ruling class circles.

Tony Benn was in no doubt that the latter was the case when he described the SDP as a conspiracy hatched by the City. But why should such a conspiracy suggest itself?

Thatcher upon assuming office in May 1979 made some firm promises to the bosses. She promised that she would restore the profits of the capitalist class through curbing the power of the trade union movement. This would be achieved through the



The Hillhead campaign should have based itself on the gains of the last conference

Hillhead's lessons for the labour movement

creation of mass unemployment and the continuous erosion of basic rights won by the working class.

Such a programme would take two terms of office to complete. A recipe was required for maintaining electoral support while implementing devastating attacks on working class living standards. Thatcher, despite cries to the contrary from the 'drys' within the Tory Party, has held true to this strategy. Many defeats have been suffered by the unions in the battle to defend jobs. Attacks on basic rights have been carried through with little response from the labour movement.

The countdown to a 'law and order' election has begun. The Tebbit proposals to shackle the unions will have their third reading on 26 April.

But the ruling class still fundamentally doubts the ability of the Tories to carry through this programme.

The rot set in with the miners' strike against pit closures in February

last year. However temporary the retreat of the Tories it confirmed in the minds of the bosses that Thatcher was far from succeeding in her major objectives.

This lesson was confirmed by the train drivers dispute, where a small union set back the efforts of the Tories to carry through the rationalisation of a major nationalised industry.

The speculation begun a year ago on the outcome of the next general election has not abated. The ruling class is less confident than ever that Thatcher can win through.

This situation would not be so serious if it were not the case that the major beneficiary from this crisis of Tory strategy was a Labour Party rendered an unreliable prop for capitalism as a result of the gains won by the left over the last three years.

Today there is no Wilson/Callaghan leadership team to pick up the pieces from a crisis of Tory

strategy of the type that brought down Heath in 1974. Other safety nets must be found. Coalition, with the SDP as the broker, is the answer which has been arrived at.

It is this which explains the *flexibility* of SDP policies rather than an absence of policy. In fact the SDP holds the line for the bosses on all the most important questions of the day: continued membership of the Common Market; the necessity of an incomes policy as the economy expands slightly; the commitment to support Britain's nuclear deterrent and our full responsibilities in NATO; and, last but not least, the pledge to reform the unions, backed by the majority SDP support for Tebbit.

In no sense can the SDP be represented as a 'soft option', in fact its policies in all fundamentals correspond with the basic needs of the employing class today, unlike those of Labour.

If the ruling class has to carry out the grand manoeuvre of coalition the

price will be high. At least some serious steps towards the introduction of proportional representation in elections will be demanded by the SDP, sufficient to change permanently the shape of the British political situation. In addition, if the primary direction of such a coalition a Tory/Alliance government, were achieved the price would be Thatcher's leadership, resulting in a wholesale reform of the Tory party.

This is the reason for the SDP's backing from the ruling class and why the Nelson's eye approach will not work. It is the crisis of the *Tories* which lies at the root of the way in which the SDP has emerged. Its backing has been achieved not because it is an alternative to the Tories, but an essential complement.

Of course the ruling class has not abandoned the struggle to reverse the process of reform of the Labour Party and once again render it a party 'fit for government' — a reliable prop of the capitalist order.

Its chosen instrument is, and remains, the trade union bureaucrats.

The Bishop's Stortford agreement, far from representing 'a truce' in the internal struggle in the Labour Party, represents only the first step towards a growing reassertion of the traditional role of the bureaucracy as the major barrier to left advance in the party.

The fundamental aim of the right/centre offensive is the promotion of policies which, like those of the SDP, 'hold the line' for the bosses.

That's why its totally justified to characterise these policies as 'SDP policies', and totally wrong to see the emergence of the SDP as a useful channel for drawing out the right wingers in the party. The fundamental problem with the Labour Party has never been right wingers of the Snowden/Gaitskell/Jenkins type. The fundamental problem is the role of the trade union bureaucracy.

So how should the labour movement fight against the grand manoeuvres of the ruling class to deny the Labour Party office?

★ **There has to be fight for joint trade union and local Labour Party action to defeat the Tories policies, drive them from office and to elect a Labour government committed to socialist policies.** A defeat for the Tories particularly on Tebbit will lay the best basis for discrediting Thatcher entirely and hence any coalition government involving the Tories.

An election campaign based on this type of strategy would also have the best chance for success against the SDP. The defeats (of the Hillhead type) and the hollow victories (like that of Warrington) as a result of timid, rightist campaigns should now convince the Labour Party that a bold approach based on the fundamental gains of conference policy is the way to win the next election.

★ **There has to be a fight against the SDP policies of the Labour right wing.**

The fundamental way to defeat the effect of the SDP within the Labour Party is to confront the real enemy — the trade union bureaucracy. Defence of the policy gains of the last three years is part of that, so is the reversal of the witch-hunts.

At the same time Tony Benn has accused the Labour leadership of defeating the left in order to carry out a coalition with the SDP. Foot has vehemently denied the charge and it's true that the Labour right and centre have not yet abandoned the fight for a general election victory. But the threat of coalition is a very real one.

The Alliance is a serious and highly dangerous factor in British politics for the labour movement. It cannot be wished away. The only basis for ensuring that the Labour Party does not suffer Hillhead-type defeats in the general election is the fight for a Labour victory based on socialist policies.

This course will mean an end to the current truce with the Tories, a full-blooded fight against Tebbit and for jobs not bombs. It will also mean an end to the truce with the Labour right wing. But it is the only course that will defeat the SDP and the only course that can turn the tide in favour of the labour movement.



A major obstacle to a majority Labour government

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

Name.....

Address.....

Age.....

Union/CLP (if any).....

Send to: Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Stop the missiles

Thatcher's war machine

By Bob Pennington

WHAT you don't know about the Thatcher government's arms spending, and the schemes and plots of the arms manufacturers, can now be put right. Go out and buy a copy of *War Lords: the CIS Report on the UK Arms Industry*, which at a price of 95p is a giveaway.

The pamphlet shows how the arms manufacturers and their accomplices in the Tory Party milk the economy dry to buy weapons whose only use is to kill and maim millions of people.

It also shows how parliament has little or no say in what gets spent. In the financial year 1980/81 the defence cash limit was set at £10.1 billion. But that turned out to be not enough. By the end of the year it had been upped by £743 million which was a rise of 7.5 per cent.

Budget

The procedures of parliament however made sure that no discussion was allowed on most of these increases, altogether less than two per cent of the arms budget was subject to any detailed parliamentary scrutiny.

If expenditure on death and obsolescence — most weapons including Trident 1 are outdated by the time they go into production — was already horrifyingly high, if the Tories have their way things will only get worse.

In the period 1981/82 the government aims to spend a total of £12.6 billion which is 11.5 per cent of total government expenditure which means that Britain spends more per person on the armed forces than any other NATO country.

Crumble

As Britain sinks ever deeper into recession and the social services visibly crumble before our eyes, the Tories have jacked up military spending by eight per cent since coming to office.

From 1975 total public spending, after taking inflation into account, has dipped by £2 billion,

while military spending has jumped by £5 billion. Any increase in public services has been immediately hit on the head. As Minister of Health Gerard Vaughan says: 'cash limits are paramount once the year starts'.

Limits

But closing hospitals down is one thing that any Tory minister is willing to do. Cutting Chevaline, Trident, Polaris and all the other military paraphernalia is quite another matter, which has meant that every single year where military expenditure is concerned the cash limits have been broken.

To make sure that the arms manufacturers can keep the war machine rolling and not be distracted by cash flow problems they have been on a guaranteed profit of 20 per cent since 1977, which is 2.8 per cent higher than the average return on industrial capital in the period 1973/77.

Health workers may have to put up with a



miserly four per cent wage increase, and the unemployed youth of Britain may face years on Social Security, but no

such economic problems confront the arms bosses. Government policy is to buy the bombs and boost the profits. The

WEAPONS SOLD AND PROFITS MADE

Aircraft Group

Year Ending	Military aircraft sales	Civil aircraft sales	Trading profit ¹	Outstanding military orders
31 December	£m	£m	£m	£m
1975	267	127	27	640
1979	450	195	55	1,813
1980	613	292	63	1,703 ²

1. Excluding launch costs.
2. To 14 June 1980.

Dynamics Group

Year Ending	Sales	Trading profit	Orders outstanding
31 December	£m	£m	£m
1975	141	15	430
1979	344	23	978
1980	406	29	1,337

Defence White Paper 1981 said: 'The government will use the purchasing power of the defence budget to give the maximum support to British industry ...' But splurging out on weapons does not create jobs. As money spent goes up, and profits climb to record heights, jobs go down.

The Ministry of Defence has committed itself to cutting the 1979 total of employees from 247,000 to 200,000 by 1984. GEC Marconi which employs 40,000 people is already axing jobs — 900 having been cut at their Chelmsford and Gateshead factories with more sackings on the way.

CIS have done a real service to the socialist and anti-war movements. They have shown how the arms manufacturers do well at the expense of people's jobs and the welfare state. Facts, figures and information about in this pamphlet. We have a duty to make sure it gets the widest possible circulation. Let's make sure we do that.

Scottish Campaign Against Trident

STOP TRIDENT

NUCLEAR MISSILE BASE
EASTER DEMO

Glasgow - Saturday 10th April, 1982
March starts - 11.00 a.m.
Blythswood Square
Rally with Speakers & Entertainment

420 Sauchiehall St. Glasgow O41-332 3141

British Aerospace and the electronics companies' main arms projects

Project	Cost (approximate)	Company
Tornado GR1 & F2 plane	£9,500m	BAe/GEC Marconi
AV8B plane ¹	£1,000m	BAe
Sting Ray torpedo	£ 920m	GEC Marconi
Type 42 Destroyer equipment	£ 680m	Ferranti/GEC Marconi
Heavyweight torpedo ²	£ 500m	GEC Marconi
Nimrod planes	£ 360m	GEC Marconi
Sea Eagle missile	£ 350m	BAe/GEC Marconi
Rapier missile update	£ 320m	GEC Marconi
New sonar systems	£ 240m	Plessey
Sea Skua missile ²	£ 200m	BAe
Blow Pipe missile	£ 200m	Shorts
Ptarmigan communications ³	£ 150m	Plessey

Notes

- 1 Estimated value of work going to UK.
- 2 Total development and initial production costs.
- 3 First phase only.



CIS Report 31: The War Lords: The UK Arms Industry, 95p, available from 9 Poland Street, London W1.

9 weeks

PRESIDENT REAGAN is going to visit Britain on 7-9 June. Over the coming months we will be asked to welcome the man who has insisted on the production of the neutron bomb, the weapons of biological warfare and who is foisting Cruise missiles on Britain and the rest of Europe, which will make Europe the 'theatre for nuclear war.'

President Reagan and his advisers condemn the brutal suppression of trade union rights in Poland and yet with blatant hypocrisy they increase the financial support to the dictatorial regime in El Salvador, which daily sanctions murder and torture.

President Reagan is coming to Britain because he knows he can find full support for his policies from the Tories, who themselves are prepared to spend £10 billion to buy the American Trident missile system.

We believe that the colossal sum which is being spent on arms should be spent on more hospitals, schools, better housing and bringing down the appalling level of unemployment. We don't want bombs, we want jobs. We want peace, not nuclear holocaust.

We therefore think it is vital to show that when Margaret Thatcher and her Government welcome President Reagan, she in no way speaks for the labour and trade union movement in this country and urge support for a picket of the American Embassy on the arrival of President Reagan in this country.

Sponsors include 35 Labour MPs and dozens of other labour movement figures and organisations.

- Events include:
- * Support for the CND march 6 June, London
 - * Picket American Embassy, 5.30pm 7 June
 - * Lobby of Parliament, 1pm 8 June

Main areas of production spending

Sea equipment (32%) £1,343m
Land equipment (20%) £820m
Air equipment (40%) £1,689m
General support (8%) £316m

Equipment procurement: where the money goes 1981/2

Budget overrun (estimate 10%) £585m
Research & development (26%) £1,683m
Development (22%) £1,419m
Research (4%) £264m
Production (65%) £4,167m
New equipment (39%) £2,540m
Spares (25%) £1,627m

Military running costs, excluding equipment 1981/2

Forces pay and allowances (38%) £2,623m
Forces pension (9%) £603m
Civilian pay (25%) £1,716m
Building and miscellaneous stores and services (29%) £1,980m.

Central America

AFTER THE GUATEMALAN COUP

Will the US change course in Central America?

By Phil Hearse

THINGS are becoming desperate for the United States in Central America. Every last hope of preserving a 'moderate' facade for the regime in El Salvador seems to be going out of the window, as it becomes more and more likely that the winner in El Salvador's presidential election will be Major Robert D'Aubuisson.

D'Aubuisson, besides heading the fascist ARENA party, is also widely believed to be the leader of El Salvador's death squads. He has massive support in the middle class. Since the army coup in October 1979, which installed the junta which President Duarte leads, the United States have clung on to Duarte's reputation as a moderate to argue that the problem in El Salvador was 'communist subversion'.

With fascist D'Aubuisson in power, the possibility of convincing even the American Congress that there is something in El Salvador worth defending against communism seems remote.

The guerrilla movements in El Salvador and Guatemala are becoming increasingly powerful, and it seems certain that the administration is actively considering whether the time has come to change course, to try to reinforce

the 'centre' in Central American politics, if the hard right is incapable of defeating the guerrillas.

Debate

The Guatemala coup makes it certain that this is an active debate in the ruling oligarchies in Central America itself. The 'young officers' who are behind General Montt's coup against Lucas Garcia seem influenced not by the extreme rightist Sandoval Alacron, as was first

thought, but in favour of trying to 're-centre' Guatemalan politics.

These terms in Central America are of course relative — all the major government factions and parties in both Guatemala and El Salvador are politically very right wing. But for the United States the question is what precise combination of political forces is capable of defending capitalism and their interests.

Clue

A clue to the possible options is provided by looking at what occurred after the 1979 army coup in El Salvador. Duarte's original junta included both the social democratic MNR, led by Guillermo Ungo, and the Salvadorean Communist Party.

The original programme of the junta was one of limited 'reform' — which of course was sabotaged by the ruling oligarchy. When Duarte's original government fell

apart, the MNR and the CP walked out and joined the opposition FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front).

Members of the Congress Foreign Relations Committee are openly advocating the possibility of drawing a section of the opposition into negotiations in El Salvador. US Secretary of State Alexander Haig, despite denials, has secretly let it out that secret negotiations have been held about El Salvador with the Cubans.

Whatever the precise debate inside the administration, there is obviously an increasingly widespread view inside the US ruling class that simple military victory against the guerrillas is impossible without a disastrous Vietnam-style adventure.

A turn in United States policy towards trying a political manoeuvre towards the FDR would pose some acute tactical problems for the Salvadorean resistance. In order to understand why

we have to look at the different forces involved in the movement.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front is made up of the revolutionary guerrilla organisations of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN), the MNR and even some 'left wing' Christian Democrats.

Reform

The FMLN includes four revolutionary armies, of which the FPL is the biggest, together with the armed wing of the Communist party.

The programme of the FMLN is without doubt revolutionary. It explains that the basic problems of the Salvadorean masses cannot be solved without the rule of the workers and peasants. True, the Salvadorean Communist Party has a different view, but to incorporate its armed wing in the FMLN, it has been forced to swallow the FMLN's revolutionary

programme.

The FDR does not however have a programme which could be described as revolutionary however. While stressing the need to remove the oligarchy and break the hold of imperialism, and putting forward many concrete progressive measures such as land reform, nonetheless it holds back from advocating a socialist solution in favour of vague formulas about a 'mixed economy' and so forth.

It is by no means unprincipled for revolutionaries to participate in a joint front against imperialism and the oligarchy with forces which are politically bourgeois. Nonetheless, Ungo and the Salvadorean social democracy are politically opportunist opponents of working class power.

For the moment, however, the decisive say in the FDR remains with those who have the armed might — the FMLN guerrillas. If the US offers negotiations with the guer-

illas, this could pose some problems.

A political solution in El Salvador must include decisive elements of the FMLN programme including the dismantling of the army and national guard, the complete removal of all US personnel, and a refusal to form a coalition with any of those in Duarte's junta.

Solve

Revolutionaries stress their solidarity with all those fighting in El Salvador against the regime, irrespective of their political orientation. Nonetheless, the FDR and FMLN have different programmes with potentially different outcomes.

It is the revolutionaries of the FMLN who have understood the essence of permanent revolution — that it is impossible to solve the basic problems of the masses in a country like El Salvador without breaking from capitalism nationally and internationally.

15,000 march for El Salvador

15,000 people marched last Saturday to support the struggle of the people of El Salvador, in a demonstration called to coincide with the Salvadorean government's fraudulent 'elections'. Among the speakers were Labour Party leader Michael Foot, who denounced the elections as a sham, and the sending of British observers as a disgrace. Although not many trade union or Labour Party banners were present, the demonstration was a good start to the campaign to stop Reagan's visit to Britain. 800 people marched in the contingent organised by Socialist Challenge and Revolution Youth, behind the slogan of 'Victory to the FMLN'. Right, front of demo, the rally in Trafalgar Square and below Salvador Moncada of the FDR speaking.



FMLN meets elections with widespread attacks

By Paul Lawson

THE ELECTIONS in El Salvador were marked with widespread guerrilla attacks. On Wednesday 25 March guerrillas attacked army posts in working class areas of the town. But despite rumours to the contrary, the guerrilla attacks did not signify the build up to an all-out offensive.

The aim was to disrupt the election as much as possible, and to use the opportunity to demonstrate the strength of the guerrillas. Between Wednesday and Saturday sporadic attacks including the destruction of half of San Salvador's bus fleet continued, but the guerrillas staged their main attacks on polling day.

In San Salvador itself people queued before sunrise to vote. The reason is obvious. Since voting is compulsory and identity cards are stamped, it is asking a lot of the ordinary people of San Salvador not to vote — the price of not doing so could be dying at the hands of the national guard or the death squads.

In the countryside things are different — large areas are controlled by the guerrillas, and despite raids by government troops the daily repression is much less severe.

As people queued to vote in San Salvador gunfire could be heard all over the city. A long battle took place in one of the middle class suburbs, in which an FMLN commando of twelve held down scores of government troops for several hours.

Eventually the use of armoured personnel carriers with heavy cannon resulted in the death of the whole commando — but

their heroic action showed that the FMLN were capable of striking anywhere they chose in the capital.

Meanwhile the FMLN took control of the provincial capital Usulután sixty miles south east of San Salvador, and infiltrated the north eastern provincial capital of San Francisco Gotera, which was cut off.

All over the country major highways were cut and communications disrupted. Attempts by the army to re-open the highways, and in particular the route to Usulután, were prevented by fierce resistance by the FMLN.

Nobody expects the guerrillas to attempt to hold Usulután and San Francisco Gotera indefinitely. By the very nature of things, it is much more difficult for the guerrillas to permanently hold towns.

Nonetheless they have already this month repulsed, in the most serious set-piece battle of the war, an attempt to dislodge them from their stronghold around the Guazapa Volcano, not fifteen miles from San Salvador. The guerrillas do not expect rapid military victory. But today dual power exists in El Salvador — the growing power of the FMLN guerrillas and the declining power of the regime.



Above, FMLN guerrillas stop buses on the road to Usulután. Below, Jose Duarte campaigns before election.



Portrait of Farabundo Martí carried on Sunday's demonstration in London.



The death squads have it...

By Dave Smith

AS SOCIALIST CHALLENGE goes to press it is uncertain who will form the next government in El Salvador. But while President Jose Duarte's Christian Democrats are leading the field with about 40 per cent of the vote, it looks as if Roberto D'Aubuisson's ARENA party will be able to form a coalition with other smaller right wing parties. How do D'Aubuisson's politics differ from those of Duarte?

President Duarte is said to be a moderate, a man who would like to see the country return to a state of normalcy. He is said to be a man who would like to see the country return to a state of normalcy.

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Junta

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Reforms

In pursuance of 'land reform' several model peasant collectives were set up. Other reforms were discussed. But the army and the right wing class wanted no part of whatever and the project landed sectors were attacked fiercely as the land reform.

Democrats were left to kow-tow to the military.

Duarte is a pathetic figure with no credibility whatever. By Salvadorian standards he has a record of being a 'moderate' and in 1972 stood for president on a joint ticket with Guillermo Ungo of the MNR. Ungo is now a leading figure in the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FRD).

Sabotage

Roberto D'Aubuisson, a cashiered army major, leads the National Republican Action Party (ARENAR). He says that Duarte is an agent of 'imperialist and communism'. ARENAR organised into sectors — peasants, workers, liberal professionals, industrialists, students, women and youth. Undoubtedly the most significant aspect of the election campaign has been the 'Spanish' of D'Aubuisson and his party. He has received the support of the army and the police. He has no qualms. If the people see a chance of seeing the country return to a state of normalcy, they will vote for him.

economic sabotage.

The middle class want a quick end to the war, and D'Aubuisson is the person to provide tough policies.

They have good reason to believe in D'Aubuisson's 'toughness'. He is well known as the leader of the right wing death squads, responsible for tens of thousands of deaths over the past three years.

During the election campaign Duarte accused D'Aubuisson of being responsible for the murder of Archbishop Romero.

Sharp

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Socialist Challenge FUND DRIVE '82

Your last chance ...

FOUR DAYS left and £1,400 still to raise — that's the prospect facing Socialist Challenge. Just over £1,000 came in last week, a good try but still not enough. That our supporters want to see the paper expand is shown by the fact that orders for this week, which covers the National Sales Day, are up by a staggering forty per cent.

But even with such a large increase in sales the money from the sales will not cover the expenses, which is why we have our quarterly fund drive. We are planning a whole series of activities around the Reagan visit — if we don't make our target we won't be able to give Reagan the welcome he deserves. The quarter ends on 5 April — we need to raise another £1,373.09 to meet our target. Show Reagan and Thatcher what you think of their war drive. Send us the money.

Our thanks this week to the following supporters:

Swansea	£9.50	D. Thorpe	3.00
Birmingham	238.50	Manchester	189.45
Camden	50.00	Outer West London	65.00
Brent	261.00	Ford worker	30.00
Sylvia Brookes	5.00	Leeds	66.00
Rotherham	11.00	Islington	100.00
Bath	18.75	TOTAL	1141.87
Women's Rally	49.67	Previous Total	13485.04
Fred Kingdom	42.00	Total so far	14626.91
Swindon	3.00	SHORTFALL	1373.09

'A Charter for working mums'

LITTLE noted, and greatly underestimated, thousands of women all over Britain are fighting against terrible odds to hold onto their jobs.

At a recent public meeting sponsored by Ladywood (Labour) Women's Council in Birmingham Brenda Clarke told of her fight for the right to work and her setting up of a campaign for part-time workers. Valerie Coultas gives this report.

BRENDA CLARKE lost her job as a part-time gatekeeper at Imperial Metal Industries in Birmingham. Her union, the TGWU, agreed to management's plans to sack all part-timers.

Brenda took her case to the Equal Opportunities Commission where the union convenor from her factory spoke against her reinstatement. She lost her appeal.

She has appealed against the verdict of the tribunal not to re-instate her on the grounds that her

children are grown up and therefore she is eligible for full-time employment.

IMI have offered her a production job but she wants her old job back.

She is angry about her convenor and the treatment the part-time workers received. But she is not anti-union despite the impression given by SDP-supporter Polly Toynbee in a Guardian article.

MY colleague and I were employed as gatekeepers, responsible for security at

IMI. Joan Clarke worked from 7-12, I worked from 10-5, another person worked from 5-10.

We were, in effect, job sharing. We regularly worked 30 hours or more each week.

Both of us were the 'breadwinners' in our family because our husbands were out of work.

All the women were members of the Transport and General Workers Union. In January 1981 the management entered into a plant agreement.

Item five of that agreement said that part-timers should go before full-timers. Then and only then it should be first in first out.

The convenor held a stewards' meeting and a vote was taken on the agreement. The part-timers' evening shop steward objected but the

majority were in favour.

A mass meeting was held and each proposal in the agreement was put and each proposal carried.

The full-timers voted against the part-timers. All the part-timers were women.

On 23 October we were asked to leave the company and Joan Clarke was replaced by a full-timer with three months' service.

I was replaced by someone with 12 months' service. We resolved to do something about this and secured the support of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

Sandra Powell has a three-year-old daughter and the Tribunal recommended she should be reinstated.

On 1 January, she was given her job back.

Our campaign has rightly been called a charter for working

mums, but it's been tempered by my case being disallowed because my children have grown up.

The convenor came as a witness for management.

When cross-examined about his actions he said that he only became aware of the TUC resolution not to discriminate against part-timers after he had signed the agreement but that he didn't support it and suggested that he was not bound by the union block vote.

There is no doubt that we part-timers are thought of as second-class citizens and that's why we decided to set up a campaign.

If you want more information about the part-time workers campaign contact Brenda Clarke, 21 Ensdon Grove, Kingstanding, Birmingham B44 0QH.

We don't all live like Lady Di!

By Judith Arkwright

WOMEN are suffering from unemployment at twice the rate of men. But figures published by the Labour Research department this month show that young women under 25 are the worst hit.

Fifty-four per cent of all unemployed women are under 25 years of age compared to thirty-four per cent of unemployed men.

There is speculation that an increase in the number of early pregnancies and marriages is due to desperation at the thought of not finding jobs on the part of many young women.

The popular press and the Tories might go on about the wonders of marriage and the family — and isn't Lady Di doing well? But for most young women they are coerced into it by a system which cannot provide for them.

New technology in particular is having a devastating effect on the lives of young women. The Equal Opportunities Commission estimates that by 1990 170,000 jobs will have been lost in the secretarial and clerical sector.



guaranteed job at the end of all training, for women and men.

Schemes

The resolution carried at this year's Women's TUC should be widely circulated and acted on inside the labour movement, especially where it calls for 'new schemes to afford equal opportunity for young women and men in preparation for working life and encourage young women to enter non-traditional areas of work'.

But above all we want to see action now to defend jobs. Young women have already shown that they're prepared to fight.

Support the Bradford 12

Leeds Sat 3 April

By Toni Gorton

AS the trial of the Bradford 12 — due to start 26 April — draws closer, support is building up among the trade unions some of whom have protested the political nature of the trial to the Home Secretary.

At the same time, the national demonstration planned for Leeds on Saturday 3 April is running into obstruction from local police.

The mobilising committee states that: 'Despite assurances from top community cop

Inspector Tom Tate of the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police, a young Asian member of the campaign has been arrested for fly-posting.

'The police are contemplating charges of incitement to racial hatred, contempt of court and

criminal damage against Tej Singh.

'They say that the campaign poster which alleges a police conspiracy against the Bradford 12, will cause racial antagonism.'

If the demonstration is banned the rally will take place as scheduled.

Speakers are from the Indian Workers Association, the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee and AUEW/TASS.

FREE THE BRADFORD 12
12 Asian youths charged with Conspiracy face life imprisonment for fighting Racism.

THE ONLY CONSPIRACY IS POLICE CONSPIRACY
BLACK COMMUNITY ON TRIAL

National Demonstration
1 pm Savile Mount Park
SAT 3 APRIL LEEDS
picket of Leeds Crown Court
mon 26 april 10 am

I AM writing to you on the instructions of my union branch to express our concern at the prosecution of Gyoam Singh, Pravin Patel, Saeed Hussain, Tariq Ali, Masood Malik, Ahmed Mansoor, Sabir Hussain, Javesh Amin, Bahram Khan, Vasant Patel, Tarlochan Gatta, Anura, Ishaq Kazi, all from Bradford, on conspiracy and explosive charges.

My members regard this as a political trial, designed to intimidate black people who organise themselves against racism and in the interests of their community.

We realise that these young men have been active in many campaigns and that they have been only opposed to the white estate housing in this country on many issues. But we do not believe that they should be persecuted because of their political beliefs.

In addition, we regard the use of conspiracy laws as outrageous, since they dramatically lower the standard of proof required to gain a conviction.

We recognise that these laws may well be used against white people who are opposed to the establishment, and we utterly condemn their use.

We therefore call upon you to see that no charges against these twelve young men are dropped. The consequences of going ahead with this show-trial will be disastrous for us as a nation in this country, and we blame the signature with your government for the trial taking place.

Transport and General Workers Union
Leeds

International Book Fair

Radical Black & World Books

Socialist Challenge welcomes the first International Book Fair of Radical Black and Third World Books

The programme of events, the display of books, the discussions of political, cultural and social questions that are part of the fair will make a profound contribution to our knowledge.

It is sponsored by Race Today Publications, Bogle-I'Ouverture Publications and New Beacon Books.

The Fair is at the Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, Islington, London N1 2UD from Thursday 1 April — Saturday 3 April. Entry 25p.

Tickets and further information available from: Water P Press Bookshop, 107-109, 57-59, 49-51, and New Beacon Books, 26 Strand, London, Road, London, E4 6JH. Tel: 0753 4889.

Stop this deportation

MAZZHAR Hussain Shah is being threatened with deportation by the Home Office which argues that he has a 'marriage of convenience' despite the fact that he and his British wife Susan have two children aged 18 months and 9 months.

The North East Lancashire Campaign against Racialism is asking for your support:

- Take petitions
- Send a telegram to Timothy Raison, Secretary of State for Immigrant Affairs with a copy to the campaign.
- Donations urgently needed.

For further information contact NELCAR c/o St Mary's Vicarage, Manchester Road, Nelson or phone Burnley 52380.

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Women's right to

Employment

Child care

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Women's right to

Employment

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Education

And what are the types of jobs which young women leaving school and college this summer will be looking for? secretarial and clerical. Of the 25,000 women completing TOPS courses in 1980/81, seventy per cent have received training for commercial and office skills — this is nothing but training for the dole queue.

At Lee Jean's young women mostly under 21 years old fought for and won their jobs back.

Women are playing a big role in the YOPs campaigns and in CND.

The 5 June festival called by the Labour Party for women's rights is part of that fight and young women and the labour movement as a whole should be right up front in building that action.

- Get a resolution of support through your Labour party Young Socialist branch supporting the Labour Party action and calling for transport to be organised in your area to London on 5 June by the Labour Party or the Trades Council or the regional TUC
- Order copies of the YS leaflets building for 5 June.
- Organise pickets of local jobs centres demanding an equal access to women and jobs for all
- Contact other trade unions and Labour Parties locally and find out what they're going to do.

By Toni Gorton

A DRAMATIC stepping-up of policing tactics to deal with the youth 'riots' of the inner cities projected for this summer has been revealed by the *Sunday Times* of 28 March.

These plans include:

- 10 per cent of every police force in the country to get specialised riot training comprising new offensive tactics learned in America, Hong Kong, the North of Ireland and the continent.

- The use of 'snatch squads' organised militarily with special equipment whose aim is to pick off leaders.

Following on the appointment of Sir Kenneth Newman, formerly of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, as London's police chief this news underlines the response that the Tory government intends to make to social unrest in the inner cities.

Earlier in the week Ken Livingstone, leader of the Labour Greater London Council, spoke out against the appointment of Newman saying that 'His experience is more suited to the control of a paramilitary force in a city torn by civil war, than as a police chief in a multi-racial city with a parliamentary democracy.'

In his opinion the solution to street crime 'is to tackle the causes — high unemployment, bad housing, poor education and institutional racism — rather than arming the police with the methods of urban warfare.'

Efforts

He urged that 'we redouble our efforts for a democratically accountable police force in London'.

The weaknesses of the 'accountability' demand are referred to in a major article in *Labour Weekly*, the official newspaper of the Labour Party.

Although supporting accountability it says 'but moves to have borough level (police) committees made up of community interest groups are politically dangerous.'

'What community groups do you select? Which do you exclude?'

'How would representatives be chosen? Would they really be accountable to the public?'

The police chief of Greater Manchester, James Anderton is explicitly calling for the removal of 'political' police committees despite their impotence.

Moss Side

The Manchester Police Committee has not been able to tie his hands either in the Moss Side rebellions of last summer nor the massive operation against the Laurence Scott workers earlier this year.

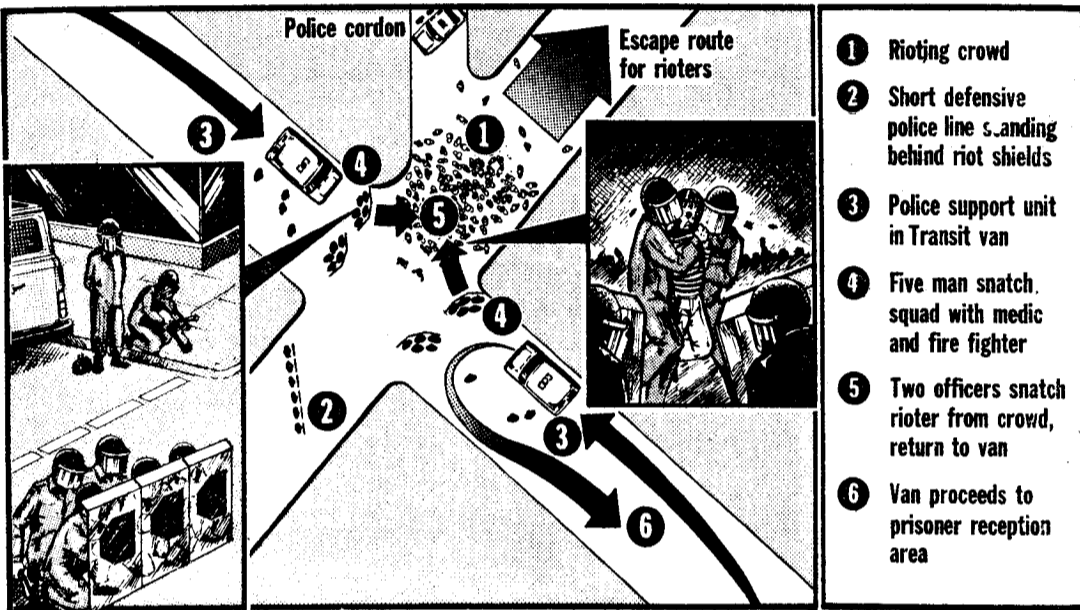
Anderton's record calls out for his removal — a demand of the local/black and labour movement.

Kenneth Newman should be blocked from becoming London's top cop.

Labour must say 'enough is enough'. Labour must counter-attack in defence of the black minority, the youth, the unemployed, who will be the first victims of direct Tory repression.

No co-operation with the police, Anderton and Newman must go.

Police step up 'riot' plans



The snatch squads consist of four five-man teams commanded by an inspector and two sergeants, using two reinforced transit vans as back up.

The squads are equipped with riot shields. The officers wear NATO-style helmets. Three officers at the front of the squad interlock their shields and edge forward — protecting the two 'snatchers' behind.

chens' behind.

Once the target is identified a command is given, the shields part, the snatchers go forward, grab their victim and retreat quickly to their van which moves to a special prisoner reception area.

Polaroid cameras are used to photograph each arresting officer with his person.

Cops and Robbers

By Aifean O'Callaghan

THE IDEA that the police are needed to combat crime is a myth. While criminal behaviour has been a feature of all class societies, the police force is an invention of the capitalist system.

There was no police force as such in Britain before 1829. In revolutionary Cuba today there are no cops. In Havana they have the only genuine 'community policing' possible ... the community itself prevents crime in its own area! Needless to say it is because capitalism has been abolished in Cuba that such a thing is possible.

The Metropolitan Police was founded in 1829 along the lines of the coercive force organised in Ireland by the Duke of Wellington to combat revolutionary nationalism.

It was the Iron Duke himself who suggested that a similar instrument be set up in Britain to deal with the rebellious 'lower orders' there.

Wellington explained to the British ruling class that in the new social conditions of embryonic industrialisation in Britain and the new political conditions in Europe following the French Revolution, the method of relying on the army to disperse the already assembled mobs was proving unreliable.

The Spa Field riots in 1816 and the Peterloo Massacre in 1817 had shown purely military force to be ineffective in dealing with revolutionary movements.

The threatened mutiny in the Guards who defended London in 1820 revealed a growing vulnerability of the soldiery to political agitation when confronted with a mass movement.

It was to answer this problem of state security that Wellington, together with Sir

Robert Peel mounted a powerful nine year campaign for the establishment of a police force.

A number of special commissions were set up to examine the problem. One in 1822 stated, 'It is difficult to reconcile an effective system of police with that perfect freedom of action and exemption from interference which are the great privileges and blessing of society in this country.'

Between 1820 and 1829 the proposal was repeatedly rejected as being *in and of itself* a blow against democratic rights.

As always the ruling class's belief in its own right to rule, exploit and profit, eventually won out over its concern for democratic rights, and fearing the growing labour movement, it had established police forces all over the country by the middle of the century in order to deal with the workers.

The increased ability to detect and punish crime was only a spin-off of the main role of the police force as a more effective instrument of repression than the army.

The technical difference in function between the cop and the soldier leads to a decisive difference in outlook between them.

The soldier, especially the conscript, is removed from civilian life to the artificial existence of the barracks which serves, nonetheless, as a microcosm of class society.

The soldier is forced to carry out the commands of an officer caste drawn from the employing and ruling classes of society.

ENEMY

The soldier is usually working class in origin but unlike workers in civilian life has no organisation and absolutely no democratic rights. The soldiery tend to accept this situation

as a necessary sacrifice as long as their duties seem to be directed at 'defending the nation' from external enemies.

This acceptance is put at risk when soldiers are asked to use their weapons against workers in their own country. *A feature of every successful revolution has been the winning over of the majority of the army to the side of the workers.*

The soldier is the natural ally of the worker. The reason for raising the slogan 'trade union rights for the army' is to promote the best possible conditions for making the soldiers conscious of this.

The cops on the other hand are the trained enemies of the workers. Their life experiences as harassers of youth, attackers of picket-lines and disrupters of demonstrations teach them to hate the working class — and vice versa.

Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* is full of descriptions of how workers aimed slogans at the soldiers and bullets and hand grenades at the police.

Every revolution in the history of capitalism has revealed the police, along with the officer corps, as the most reliable detachment of the forces of counter-revolution.

The slogan for 'trade union rights for the police' hides the truth about the class nature of the police force from the workers. It is therefore a *reactionary* slogan which forms no part of a genuinely socialist programme.

In this context the call for 'community policing' is a nonsense. What gain is it for black cops with pointed helmets and big boots instead of ones with panda cars, or for workers of ones that drive panda cars, or for workers that their strikes be broken by local cops instead of ones drafted in from another area?

As for 'democratic control' exercised through police committees, this makes the

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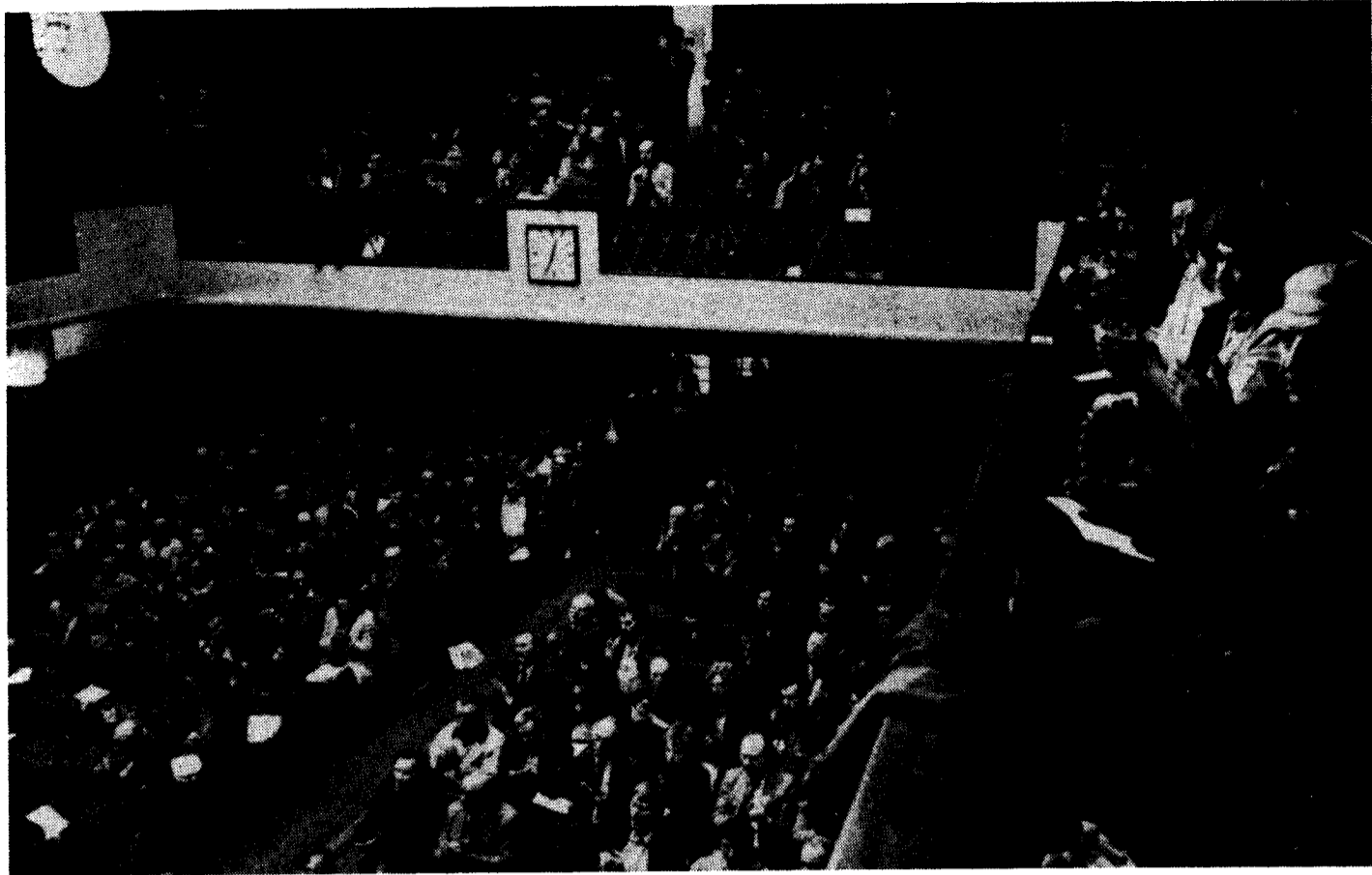
preposterous presumption that the local authorities are themselves democratic.

Socialists counterpose workers' control to all schemes for tinkering with the capitalists' bureaucratic machine. Socialist Challenge and Revolution Youth championed the demand of the youth in last summer's rebellion when they called for the withdrawal of the cops from Brixton and Toxteth.

We support the resistance of the nationalist areas in the North of Ireland to the RUC presence on the streets as well.

These struggles have begun to pose the question of a workers' veto over police activities in working class areas.

In supporting the demands for police withdrawal we were supporting slogans which educated the youth in the need to rely on their own strength and build their own organisations against those of capitalism's uniformed thugs. It's a step on the Cuban road!



The LCDTU Conference on Sat 27 March marked another step in the decline of this body. It was attended by 492 delegates — over 100 less than attended the last Conference held in 1980 on the Prior proposals. As usual at these meetings there was no allowance for motions to be put from the floor or from delegating bodies. The declaration put to conference had little to add to what the TUC has already said.

The Conference did not point a clear way forward for the

fight against Tebbit. It calls on the TUC to organise a lobby of Parliament backed by local 2 hour stoppages. But there was no line for the LCDTU to wage an independent campaign, despite the clear lessons of the previous fights against anti-union laws that without a strong rank and file campaign the leadership will not fight.

The conference was so lacking in a clear line of march that it finished early because so many delegates were leaving.

KILL THE

The meeting of trade union executives on April is not even talking of serious action against Tebbit's anti-union laws — let alone seriously planning any.

These laws are the most serious attack on the unions since the imposition of the 1971 Trades Dispute Act imposed only after the massive general strike defeat of the working class.

The TUC declares itself opposed to the Bill. But the minimum for real action would involve:

- ★ a campaign to mobilise the movement to stop the Bill
- ★ Withdrawal from any cooperation with the government and its agencies
- ★ Clear and forthright commitment to industrial action to defend any union or worker attacked under the Bill.

The widespread support given to Laurence Scott workers and to other struggles over the last two years shows that there is a great deal of militancy to draw on. The basis for the fight against Tebbit lies with those militants who have demonstrated their willingness to struggle and to support struggles. This layer must be tapped. While we support the call of the Liaison

The rise and fall of the LCDTU

By Pat Hickey

ON 8 DECEMBER 1970, more than 600,000 workers went on strike in protest against the Tory government's anti-trade union legislation, the Industrial Relations Bill. The 8 December Day of Action was unprecedented in that it was initiated by an unofficial rank and file body, the Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions, and carried forward despite the opposition of the TUC.

Mr Vic Feather, the General Secretary of the TUC, had opposed the action on the grounds that it was unconstitutional and contrary to the traditions of the movement to take strike action against an elected government.

Feather's second-in-command, Len Murray, was in the lead of those attacking the strike. It could, he said, lead to a snap general election and a Tory victory.

The timid line of the TUC was completely out of line with the mood in the class. The TUC hoped that 8 December was a flash in the pan. But it was followed by another Day of Action on 12 January in Scotland, Merseyside and Manchester which brought out 180,000.

The LCDTU campaign began to draw in increasing support from official bodies in the unions — District and Regional Committees; the Execs of some of the smaller unions. Still the TUC hesitated.

On Sunday 21 February 1971 more than 250,000 demonstrated in London in response to an official call from the TUC, (there were simultaneous marches in other major centres) whose slogan for the day was 'Attack the Bill'.

This contrasted with the LCDTU slogan of 'Kill the Bill'. It was the latter slogan that was taken up, along with 'Heath Out' and 'General Strike'.

The platform speeches reflected the divisions in the General Council of the TUC.

Chairing the meeting, Sidney Greene told the 250,000 marchers to go home quietly and leave the matter

in the hands of the leaders.

But the transport union under Jack Jones, and the engineers under Hugh Scanlon could not let matters rest there.

The main base of the LCDTU was in the shop stewards' committees, and the stewards saw 'Carr's Bill', as it was called, as primarily an attack on the shop floor organisation.

It was they who built the unofficial actions, and turned out the membership for the demonstrations.

Moving in to the leadership of the rank and file mobilisation Scanlon declared: 'The time for political action is over (pressure on parliament and delegations to Carr).

'Have we not the right to demand that the trade union movement uses its full economic and industrial strength to win this battle for us all? This is the only weapon we have left.'

The AUEW then moved in to head up the resistance to the Bill. On 1 March and again on 12 March more than 1.5 million workers struck against the Bill, in response to official AUEW calls, backed up by the LCDTU and action from members of many other unions.

At this point the weaknesses of the LCDTU's policy began to take effect. Its ability to take action independent of the official leadership was the key to shifting Scanlon. But once Scanlon moved the LCDTU abandoned its independent role. It now relied on the left officials to call action.

But the lefts on the TUC had gone as far as they dared with the protest actions. Stopping the Bill would have required all-out action against the Tories.

When, in the summer of '71, the struggle against the closure of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders broke out, the opportunity for building towards a general strike against the Tories was presented, the TUC directed the struggle into protest action once again.

The LCDTU, under the leadership of the Communist Party, contented itself with supporting the officials. The Bill became law.

The TUC adopted a policy of passive resistance to the Industrial Relations Act, refusing to register under it and refusing to pay any fines.

Encouraged by the lack of action the Tories proceeded to put the Act into effect.

On 21 July 1972 five dockers were jailed for defying the Act. Vic Feather commented: 'Putting

people in prison ... solves nothing. ... The damage that the IR Act is doing to industrial relations and to the nation is now clear to everybody.'

Jack Jones spoke of '... industrial difficulties being made worse by the operation of the Act'. (The dockers were TGWU members.)

The officials, in the absence of rank and file action were not going to confront the government.

On 24, 25 and 26 July unofficial action involving 250,000 workers throughout the country forced the freeing of the five.

It was clear that had the Tories not released them the strikes would have spread. Even Vic Feather was forced to talk in terms of a one-day general strike.

The LCDTU played the central role in this action. But once again it failed to build on the position it had gained, and allowed the officials to take control.

The extent of working class opposition to the Tories was clear. Heath had introduced incomes policy which was widely opposed.

In January '72 the miners had struck against Phase One, and defeated the Tories after the 'Battle of Saltley Gates' when 10,000 Birmingham engineering workers supported their picket.

In the spring of '72 Manchester engineering workers had used sit-ins to pursue a national wage claim.

In the summer of '72 the building workers had engaged in the first truly national strike in that industry — and had used flying pickets to bring the industry to a halt.

Discontent was widespread; militancy was high. But the officials were determined that there would be no bringing together of action to kick out the Tories.

And the CP ensured that the LCDTU did not mount a challenge to this policy. Their concern was to maintain a friendly relationship with the left officials; pushing the militancy of the workers forward would have endangered that relationship.

The working class was to pay a heavy price. The struggle against the IR Act continued through '72, '73 and '74. The high point was May Day 1973 when two million struck against Phase 2 and the IR Act.

The peak of the LCDTU was reached in November 1970, when 2500 delegates met to call the 8 December action. It met irregularly during the big struggles that followed.

But it never again achieved the kind of support that it had then. By the time of its October '73 conference the CP's policy of relying on the left officials rather than forcing them to move had had its effect.

At a time when the AUEW had just been fined £75,000 under the IR Act, Phase Three had been announced, and the trial of the Shrewsbury building workers — who had been charged with 'conspiracy' for their role in the national building workers' strike — had just got under way, fewer than 800 delegates attended.

The CP was moving right at a rate of knots, to keep pace with Hugh Scanlon. The hero of the '71 demo had just had £100,000 of union funds seized by the National Industrial Court.

His response was that the members 'might be called upon' to give 'tangible evidence' of their desire to defend the union! The CP defended this position.

On the Shrewsbury trials they refused to draw up any plans for the LCDTU to take action.

The trials went ahead, with Des Warren getting five years and Ricky Tomlinson getting three years.

Scanlon diverted the struggle against the Act into a series of protests on 5, 12, 19, 23 November. The LCDTU played no independent role.

Not surprisingly, support began to weaken, confirming Scanlon's claim that he was failing to lead only because the members would not support.

This policy of the CP opened the door for even worse betrayals. Behind the scenes, Jones and Scanlon were working on the social contract, the agreement that was to be the cover for the Wilson-Callaghan assault on the working class.

The LCDTU did not meet again until March '75, after Labour was returned. Even then it refused to break with Jones and Scanlon.

Faced with the refusal of Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins to free the Shrewsbury pickets, and with a new incomes policy in the shape of the social contract, the CP declared that 'the key need is united rank and file pressure to win the TUC and the Labour government to change course now'.

This LCDTU attracted 300 delegates.

The record of the Labour government in raising unemployment and

cutting living standards, and in breaking up the militancy of the class is well known. But the role of the CP in allowing it to happen is not so well known.

As the LCDTU starts a new campaign these lessons need to be learned.

Had the LCDTU fought both to win the officials to action and to organise as an independent rank and file body through the structures of the trade union movement allying with the left officials but never relying on them the recent history of the labour movement would have been very different.

Six burning fights

1 The closed shop will be almost impossible to win or maintain. 80-85 per cent of the employees must vote in favour. Even then there will be loopholes on grounds of strong conviction.

2 To assist such strong convictions £20,000 will be paid to scabs and 'nonners' — from union funds — to those dismissed for non-membership.

3 The right to strike will be severely restricted. The aim is to outlaw solidarity actions. For example, refusal by lorry drivers to cross picket lines will be outlawed. Action against Government policy will be out.

Support action for workers on strike such as at Grunwick will be outlawed. Blacking of equipment from firms where redundancies are being imposed will be out.

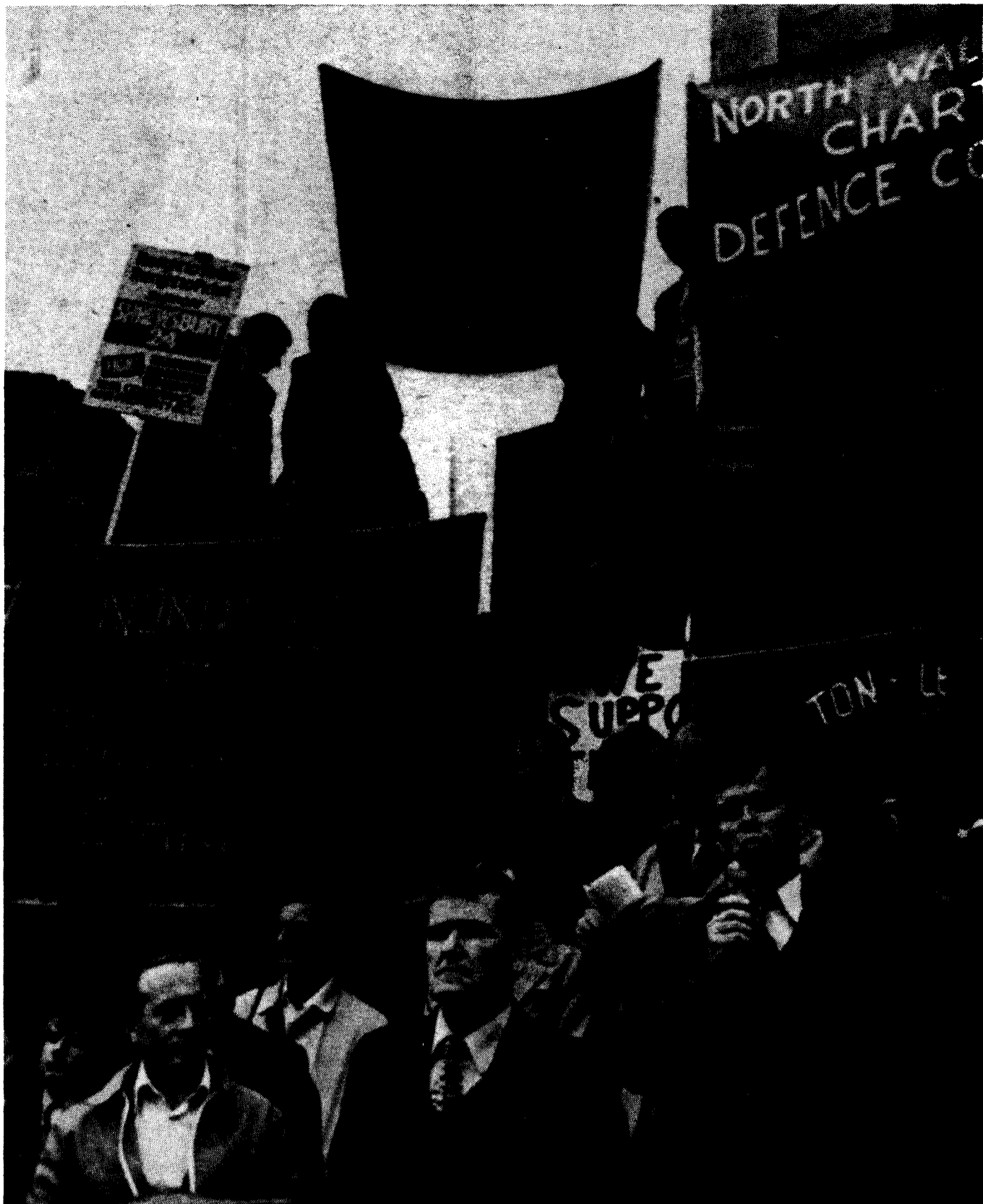
4 Selective dismissal of strikers will be made easier. At present employers are entitled to sack all workers on

THE BILL

Committee for a lobby of parliament and the 2 hour stoppages, these must be linked to an ongoing campaign of action against Tebbit if they are to convince militants that they have a real chance of stopping the Tories. There must be a call now for a one-day strike when the Bill receives its final reading.

This campaign should be clearly tied to a commitment from all the unions to defy the law and to lead mass action when it is used against any trade unionist. A clear lead from union leaders can transform the present situation.

Socialist Challenge will begin the fight to mobilise the rank and file leaders of the class to force the leaders to act. We will be drafting a statement dealing with the weaknesses of the TUC's approach, and calling for a campaign of mass action against Tebbit to begin with a 1-day strike when the Bill comes up for its final reading. We will circulate this statement to the many hundreds of militants who have given support to the LSE and other recent struggles for their endorsement, and at the same time asking them to press through their trade union bodies for a commitment to mass action from their union leaders.



Union leaders failed to mobilise to win the release of the jailed Shrewsbury building workers.

Youth and Tebbit

TORY attacks on conditions of youth employment are the other side of the same coin as Tebbit's Bill.

Tebbit's proposals are intended to remove all the obstacles to a ferocious drive to up profits and cut wages and conditions. Tebbit's 'other' proposals in regard to youth are meant as a way of encouraging employers to take on young people at slave labour rates and dramatically drive down

overall wage rates.

The failure to announce any fight against Tebbit's £15 per week youth training schemes and the failure to demand union rates for those on YOPs has encouraged Tebbit to propose a maximum wage of £25 for all youth between 16 and 17 years old.

A fight against Tebbit involves a fight to support youth struggling against these slave labour conditions.

reasons to Tebbit

strike. But all strikers must be treated equally. The employer is not allowed to sack some and not others.

Now it is proposed to allow the selective dismissal of strikers. This is a clear encouragement to employers to break strikes by sacking the militants.

5 Making the officials police the members. Trade unions will not be liable to be sued for damages if the officials repudiate the action taken by members.

This is an attempt to make the unions prevent any action and discipline the membership.

6 Much of the new law will be decided after the Bill is passed by decisions in the courts. The judges will be able to intervene in almost any strike, and require the unions to call off the action until a case has been heard — a process which could take weeks. Refusal to obey could mean contempt proceedings leading to fines and/or imprisonment.

The rocky road to Tebbit

By P McDermott
SINCE the mid-60s successive governments have had the 'trade union question' at the centre of their concerns. In the period of the '64-'69 Labour Government the main focus of anti-trade union legislation was the shop steward organisations.

Barbara Castle's 'In Place of Strife' was aimed at strengthening the power of the union officials against the 'unofficial' shop stewards organisations. The vast majority of strikes at that time were small, short and unofficial, led by the shop stewards. In the car industry such strikes often had a massive effect, leading to thousands of workers being laid off.

A series of strikes at the Girling Brake factory in Bromborough, all unofficial and leading to lay-offs in car assembly, provided a particular focus for the government. After a big press campaign against irresponsible and 'wild-cat' strikes Castle — a 'left' in the Labour Party — introduced her Bill. Its aim was to reduce the number of unofficial strikes, make procedure agreements more formal and binding, and incorporate senior stewards.

This was in line with a government drive for greater productivity which was intended to eliminate sectional piece-work bargaining in favour of

the more 'scientific' Measured Day Work.

The LCDTU led rank and file resistance to this Bill and pushed the TUC into opposition to it. Labour withdrew it after getting agreement from the TUC that it would rationalise its structure and establish a procedure to avoid disputes.

The Heath government returned to the attack with the IR Act. This introduced the concept of an 'Unfair industrial Practice', aimed at introducing legally binding agreements and procedures backed up by a National Industrial Relations Court with power to fine unions and stewards for action in breach of agreements.

Central to this strategy was the inducements to the trade union leaders to register under the Act, and bring their rule books in line with the procedures approved by the Act. In return they were offered immunity from legal proceedings by employers, and easy achievement of the closed shop — under procedures which would tightly control the rank and file.

The kind of agreement the Tories had in mind was exemplified by the Joint Industry Board set up by the ETU (now the EETPU) and the electrical contractors. Essentially the approach was one of carrot and stick — the carrot was the offer of sweetheart

agreements with the employers if the officials controlled their members, the stick being making the unions liable for failure to curb the rank and file.

There followed a long-drawn out battle lasting the whole life of the Tory government, in which the Act was substantially defeated. It was repealed by Labour. But the story did not end there.

Labour had learned from the defeats of legislation. It adopted a different strategy. With the help of the former lefts, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, it devised the Social Contract. This was a 'voluntary' agreement — voluntary for the officials not the ranks — aimed at holding back wages and reducing the ability of the rank and file to struggle on this front.

The TUC enthusiastically supported this policy, and set out to demonstrate their ability to police the rank and file. Hugh Scanlon led the attack, threatening to sack the Heathrow Engineers and the Leyland Toolmakers when they struck for wages in defiance of Incomes

After the 'Winter of Discontent' finally buried the Social Contract, the TUC and the government signed the Concordat. Its cornerstone was that 'unions should take vigorous steps to end unofficial action'.

It proposed that decisions about

strikes should be in the hands of the officials. It also proposed to limit the right to picket, and reestablish a commitment to an 'indicative' pay norm. This initiative fell with the Labour government.

Then came Thatcher. The history of anti-trade union legislation was not encouraging. Voluntary agreements did not work. Something else was needed. They found it in mass unemployment. While the recessions drastically reduced the level of struggle, the problem for the Tories was that those in work were still strongly organised. Any upturn in the economy was bound to lead to a big resurgence.

In addition, strikes were no longer of the character that had dominated the 60s and early 70s. Now they were bigger, longer and likely to draw in workers other than those immediately involved.

So the focus of the Tebbit Laws was broadened to deal with class-wide strikes. The most important element of the proposals is the attack on secondary pickets — from refusal to work to secondary pickets, sym- bolising the attack against govern- ment. The proposals attempt to involve workers through secondary pickets. And while it aims to get the officials to police the members, it places no reliance on them.

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LABOUR Committee on Ireland — Scotland Two public meetings with Bernadette McAliskey. Tue 20 April, 8pm. The Chaplains Centre, Edinburgh. University, Edinburgh. Wed 21 April, 7.30pm. SLLC Conference, Perth.

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Commemoration of Bobby Sands MP 20 April, 8pm. Liverpool City Centre, 70-72, Liverpool 1.

Middle East Books, Palestine: Facts in Focus (65p), Holocaust Victims Accuse (£2.00), Arabs of Palestine (75p), Nazi-Zionist Collaboration (£1.80), Begin & Co. (£1.50), Cheques PO's payable to 'BAZO-PS'). Write to G. Mitchell, 90, John St., Glasgow G1.

The Soviets and Iran conference organised by Iranian Students Association - 'Left Platform': Programme — Experience of Workers Councils in Yugoslavia, Speaker: Branka Magas, Researcher of Yugoslav history; The Soviets and Political Economy, Speaker: Hillel Ticktin, Editor of Critique; Iranian Revolution and Workers Councils, Speaker: Ahmad Ghotbi, Researcher on workers movement in Iran; Do Soviets exist in Soviet Union? Speaker: Duncan Hallas, Pete Goodwin, Editorial Board of Socialist Review; Soviet Union and Workers Power, Speaker: Michael Cox, Editorial Board of Critique; Saturday, 3 April 1982 (12.00-2.00), University of London Union (11) Malet St, London WC1. Refreshments available. Admission Fee: £2.00-the day, £1.00 per session. Advance booking (highly advisable) to: ISALP, 72 Gordon Road, Ealing, London W5.

Letters letters LETTERS

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

Editor reserves the right to cut any letter over 400 words.

Poland and Cuba: two different processes

HAVING explained the dangers of counterposing coverage on Poland to coverage on Central America, Phil Hearse (Letters, 18 March), goes on to do just that. 'The victory of the revolution in Poland would be a hundred times more significant' he says, than the development of the revolutionary process begun in Cuba and Nicaragua.

He goes on to further counterpose the two revolutionary processes by pedantically explaining that Poland is a highly industrialised country — and therefore somehow more 'worthy'. He never explains the difference between the two processes,

best way to defend Solidarnosc. The Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers states bases itself on the fear of an imperialist offensive.

The first workers state degenerated because it was left isolated by such an offensive. In order to

sions with the leadership of Solidarnosc who also, inevitably, have some 'misunderstandings' on the nature of this bureaucracy.

Socialist Challenge must be in the forefront of the anti-imperialist movement, raising the defence of Solidarnosc and the economic basis of the workers' states at every stage.

That is why we will be on the 28 March demo, and that is why we will go all out to build CND's national demonstration, called for 6 June the day

'Thank you' from the Irish comrades

PEOPLES DEMOCRACY would like to thank the many supporters of Socialist Challenge and individuals who responded to the electoral appeal issued to finance our intervention in the Southern General Election.

A magnificent £800 was raised in Britain and comrades from Scotland, Wales, Birmingham, London and Liverpool travelled to Ireland to work alongside PD.

The results of the election confirm the continuing difficulty of the Irish capitalists in finding a solution to the economic and political crisis and the trend of electoral instability in the 26 counties.

Despite this, the pursuit of the Anglo-Irish talks by both Fianna Fail and Coalition governments shows that for both sections of the Irish bourgeoisie any answer lies in closer collaboration, more repression, North and South, and austerity measures creating more unemployment cutbacks and increased social deprivation and misery for the Irish working class.

Election results, last June and this February, show an increasing number of voters who are disillusioned with the major parties and who are

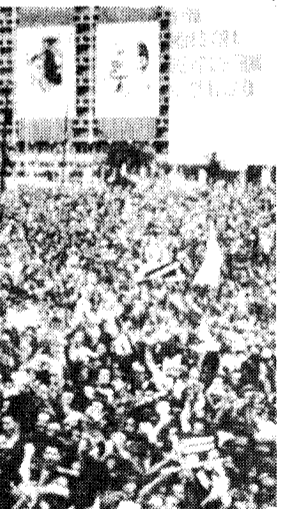
seeking an alternative. Thus, the intervention of anti-imperialists in this election was of decisive importance, and the votes received by all anti-imperialists who stood showed a solid base of support for the anti-imperialist struggle in the South.

Undoubtedly the failure to come together in a united front and campaign on the broad programme advocated by PD contributed to the inability of anti-imperialists to pose themselves as a national alternative to the bourgeois parties, particularly on the economic question.

So the fight for anti-imperialist and electoral unity continues. PD is at the forefront of this fight and thus bears a large part of the burden in providing the resources to support such an intervention, not to mention strengthening our own organisation.

So keep the fundraising up! We have already raised £3,500 of the £5,000 necessary. This gap must be closed before we are faced with another electoral contest and before we can seriously tackle the need to build anti-imperialist unity.

SINEAD JACKSON
PD National Secretary



Cuba: challenging the Stalinist bureaucracy

the one political and the other social, and therefore does not explain the relationship between the two.

The emergence of Solidarnosc has captured the imagination of workers throughout the world, because it has illustrated the possibility of a truly proletarian and democratic socialism.

At the same time it has revealed the hypocrisy of imperialism at its most naked. While paying lip service to democracy and free trade unionism Thatcher and Reagan have unleashed a vicious attack on the organisations of the working class, they are spending billions on nuclear weapons and are supporting the repressive and bloody El Salvadorean junta.

The time is ripe to build a mass anti-imperialist movement, attracting hundreds and thousands of workers and youth. This would be the

preserve its own privileges this bureaucracy therefore follows a foreign policy of 'peaceful co-existence'. The development of the anti-imperialist movement and the revolutionary process in Central America challenges that policy and therefore those privileges.

Phil's letter suggests that Stalinism in Poland can be defeated independently of the world wide class struggle. More importantly, he at no time mentions the need to build a world party of socialist revolution — without which neither Stalinism nor imperialism will be defeated.

It is on the basis of the need to build such a party that we enter into fraternal discussions with the Cuban leadership, whose foreign policy in Central America directly and practically challenges the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It is on that basis too that we enter into discus-

before Reagan arrives in this country, into a massive anti-imperialist rally.

H MACPHERSON
Harrow

'Butlerism': a question of expediency

I WAS appalled by the obituary of Rab Butler (SC, 18 March). For one thing, it is quite wrong to devote nearly a whole page of a revolutionary newspaper to a Tory ex-minister.

Why wasn't the space devoted to an obituary of Sam Gordon, which instead had to be hunted for in a small box on the Letters page? As was stated, Gordon 'played an active role in the formative years of the IMG'.

But furthermore, and more importantly, the Butler obituary contained absolutely no political comment on 'Butlerism' — that is liberal Toryism — no explanation that it is no use to the working class but is simply an expedient tactic for the ruling class under certain circumstances.

A reader who is relatively new to

politics could be forgiven, after reading the article, for believing that Butler wasn't really a bad sort of 'bloke' — a bit of an amiable type who likes to keep everyone happy. That may have been the case, but he marched under the banner of Toryism, and that is what Socialist Challenge should be concerned with.

Allowing this kind of 'Sunday supplement' article cuts right across Socialist Challenge's attempt to gain more readers and supporters in the working class — and it is also insulting to those who regularly give hard-earned cash so that Socialist Challenge can explain the views of the Fourth International and win people to it, politics.

SYLVIA BROOKES
London SW2

They shoot children

By Niall Power, secretary to the National Council of the Labour Committee on Ireland.

LAST 14 July six senior police officers from 'riot areas' in Britain flew to the North of Ireland for a crash course in riot control from the Royal Ulster Constabulary — a course with special emphasis on snatch squads and plastic bullets. This is one of the many facts brought out in a new booklet just published by the 'information on Ireland' group.

In its forty well illustrated pages we are given an outline of the origins of the plastic bullet in the 1960s when in another British colony, Hong Kong, a new lethal weapon made of wood and called the 'baton round', was first used against a guerrilla army. Always it has been used against a mass of people in revolt.

Jonathan Rosenhead, from the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science has described their use as being 'like a fever chart of the Northern Ireland body politic'. Every time large numbers of nationalist people have taken to the streets to protest against British government policies, there has been a dramatic surge in the numbers fired. In May last year for example, the month Bobby Sands died, the staggering total of 16,656 were fired.

And the consequences of their use by Britain in Ireland — outlined in

August 1981, 13 people, six of them children were killed. Injuries too have included blindness and brain damage.

And the army only pay compensation on condition that no liability attaches to themselves or the police. This means they can avoid the embarrass-

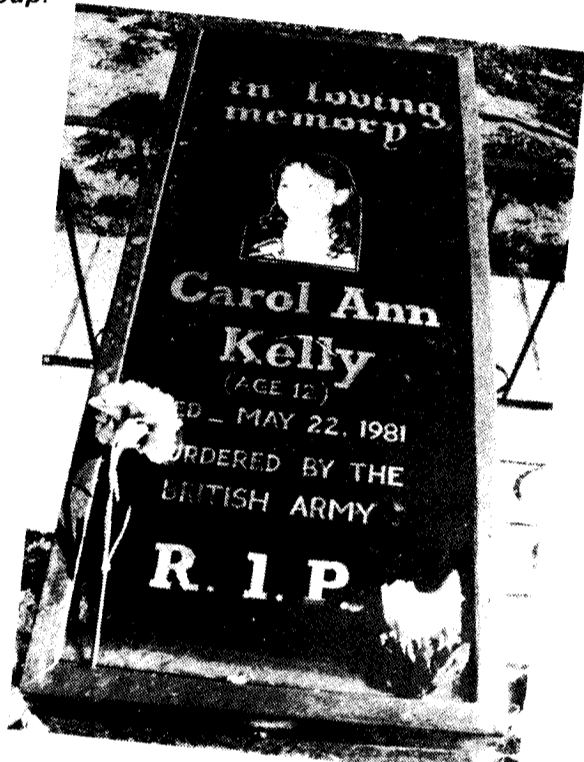
officer has been convicted for any of the deaths or injuries.

Attempts by the army to portray these weapons as next to harmless have been very successful. The army deliberately substituted the term 'rubber bullet' for the official term 'baton round'. Major Clayton, Military Programmes Manager for the manufacturers Schermuly, wrote in the Defence V. reaches 'Quarterly' that the aim was to get a 'slightly humorous image', and commented: 'looking back it does seem as if that aim was achieved'.

This booklet should be used widely within the British labour movement as a way of fighting such army propaganda, and of building a campaign to have these death weapons banned, and indeed ultimately of forcing Britain to leave Ireland completely.

If we don't do this some day these weapons will be turned against ourselves.

They Shoot Children — the use of rubber and plastic bullets in the North of Ireland, published by Information on Ireland, Box 189, 32 Ivar Place, London NW1 6DA. 50p + 20p (post & package).



some detail in the booklet — has been appalling. Between April 1972 and

ing publicity of having their members up in court. Not one soldier or police

New pamphlet shows need for campaigning LPYS

By Richard Rozanski

WAR and the dole queue ... capitalism in crisis has no future to offer young people. 'Building The Labour Party Young Socialists — Jobs Not Bombs' is a new pamphlet produced by 'Revolution' — a socialist paper for youth.

It explains the need to unite all youth in a common struggle against the Tories, and to fight for a system which can offer them a future free of the threat of nuclear war and the dole queue.

It is young people who have most often led the fightback against the Tories: in the disarmament campaign, the occupations against redundancies, on the streets last summer against police racism and a no hope future, and the campaign to amuse YOPs workers.

The advances of the left in the Labour Party over the last few years would have been impossible without these struggles against the Tories.

But one problem remains, youth need an active, campaigning mass organisation.

The Labour Party Young Socialists is the best organisation to play this role.

The history of Labour's pre and post war youth organisations shows that it's possible to build organisations of tens of thousands of youth

The potential to do this today, with the massive crisis of British capital and the search for radical solutions, is far greater.

But this can only happen if the LPYS turns to the youth leading the fightback: CND, unionisation of YOPs, solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, defending Solidarnosc in Poland, fighting for a woman's right to work and abortion, against the racism of the state, for British troops out of Ireland.

With a clear campaigning strategy, the LPYS could today unite and lead the youth. This would be a massive boost to both the fight against the Tories, and the right-wing misleaders of the labour movement.

The pamphlet makes clear that the young people leading the fightback 'will form the backbone of a new leadership for the working class, firmly based on its experiences and struggles'.

But we face a huge obstacle. 'As the present right wing Labour leaders see a mass radical youth movement building up beneath them, their terror at the challenge from the ranks will far outstrip their puny protests about Thatcher. As they have done countless times before, they will lash out in an attempt to destroy that movement'.

In the face of this the LPYS needs a leadership which won't give an inch to the inevitable crackdowns of the labour bureaucrats.

The pamphlet explains that unfortunately the Militant leadership of the LPYS does not provide this. While unconditionally defending their right to be in the Labour Party, it has to be said that the Militant tendency has not built an LPYS — currently about 9,000 members — which matches the tens of thousands of youth who have taken action against the Tories.

The problem is that the Militant won't build the LPYS out of the struggles of youth. It has done nothing to build Youth CND despite the decision of last year's LPYS Conference to affiliate.

They accuse women and blacks who organise to fight for their rights, of dividing the working class.

Instead of drawing inspiration from the

Island in chains

By N 'Ndabeni

ONE CAN be sure that there is one place in the Republic of South Africa where Geoff Boycott and his fellow mercenary cricketers will not be playing. This is Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and other political opponents of the apartheid regime are rotting away in what must be one of the grimmest prison fortresses in the world.

Prisoner 885/63 is Indres Naidoo, by racist South African definition a 'non-white' (he would call himself 'black'), one of the first volunteers to join UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the African National Congress, set up under the leadership of Nelson Mandela in the 1960's. He was arrested following the attempted sabotage of a signal box on a remote part of South African railways. Like so many of his fellow insurgents, including eventually Nelson Mandela himself, his arrest was brought about by an informer in the group with which he was working.

In my introductory paragraph, I refer to the prisoners 'rotting away' on Robben Island. This must be taken as a figure of speech. It is difficult to imagine these men, once the leaders of a people struggling for their freedom, isolated for years, some of them for life, subject to the brutal treatment and degradation at the hands of sadistic warders, not suffering physically and mentally under the strain.

But, as this book makes clear, if the South African white supremacist regime intended to break the spirit of these men, they have signally failed in their aim. On Robben Island the struggle continues and today Nelson Mandela's name is on the lips of every black South African. He and his fellow prisoners are the inspiration for those who are carrying on the struggle today.

This book is not for the squeamish. The treatment which black political prisoners receive can only be compared with what went on in the Nazi concentration camps. True, there are no gas chambers but, short of that, every known form of torture and humiliation is practised.

The tragedy is that many of the heroic men and women who took part in the



'guerrilla struggle' launched by the ANC suffered and are suffering unnecessarily. Armed actions are only practical once the masses are in motion — otherwise they are only too easily repressed.

Minority 'guerrilla actions' only valuable cadre, make it easier for the state to patch up its internal differences and pursue repression against the mass movement. It creates the illusion among the masses that there is a road to liberation which does not require their struggle and organisation, but only the heroic actions of relatively few armed militants.

Today the ANC is once again playing a leading role inside South Africa. If it can tear itself away from the influence of the South African Communist Party (a party which is still traditionally Stalinist), away from the alternating opportunist and adventurist policies of the past, it can become a movement solidly based on the emergent working class and its struggles in the townships and factories.

Failing that, there is no alternative for revolutionaries but to build a new working class party which will lead the South African masses to victory and socialism.

Island in Chains — Ten Years in Robben Island, by Prisoner 886/63, Penguin, £1.95.

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Irish elections: no confidence in major parties

There has been considerable interest in Britain over whether the election of Fianna Fail leader Charlie Haughey will resolve the Irish situation.

BRENDAN KELLY argues in the latest edition of *Socialist Republic*, paper of Peoples Democracy (Irish Section of the Fourth International) that none of the major parties have any policies which can overcome the basic problems of Irish politics: an unfinished national revolution and an underdeveloped economy.

Fianna Fail and the Coalition have the same basic strategy: defence of Partition through increased collaboration with Britain and economic 'development' within the framework of accepting imperialist domination. In a situation of international political tension and economic crisis this policy can be summed up in two words: repression and austerity.

That is what a growing number of Irish people are beginning to see. And the more they see it the less they like it. The result is

popular distrust of the major parties.

This fact was borne out by the results of the February election. It was supposed to be the most serious in the history of the state. The media and the politicians agreed that for the first time ever the electorate would vote for policies and not personalities. In the event the opposite happened. No clear national voting pattern emerged. Swings were mainly on a local basis and tended to cancel each other out. People did not vote on central policy

issues but on local ones.

But behind the peculiarities of each result there was one clear message: popular confidence in the ability of the major parties to solve fundamental political and economic problems was considerably down.

Some of the local swings however could have a national importance in the long run. This is particularly true of the outcome in Dublin for example.

Extra

Both Fianna Fail and Fine Gael increased their share of the poll in this area but in radically different ways.

Fianna Fail gained significant extra support in working class districts while Fine Gael pulled in the middle class vote. Even more interestingly it was the traditionally 'liberal'

sections of the middle class (which supported left independents such as Noel Brown and John O'Connell) which gave Fine Gael its biggest boost.

What this reflects is an initial class polarisation. The middle class opted for the most conscious and consistent policy of repression and austerity while workers rejected it. But this is only a tentative development since, while Fine Gael consciously speaks for the middle class, Fianna Fail in no way represents an alternative for workers.

Despite the depth of political and economic crisis in Ireland it is clear that workers saw no national alternative to the existing party set-up. This showed up especially in the performance of the anti-imperialist movement. The Sinn Fein vote and the Bernadette McAliskey campaign sponsored by

PD confirmed that the anti-imperialist movement has a small but credible foothold in the South. The anti-imperialist candidates polled between 5-7 per cent wherever they stood. This was a result similar to that of Sinn Fein — the Workers Party.

Believe

But there is no room for complacency. The momentum of the H-Block campaign was not maintained. This has certain implications. The hunger strike movement found its greatest support amongst the workers and the poor. Yet at a time when these people were looking for someone to defend them they did not seriously believe that the anti-imperialist movement could play such a role.

There are a number of lessons in all this. First, the economic and social im-

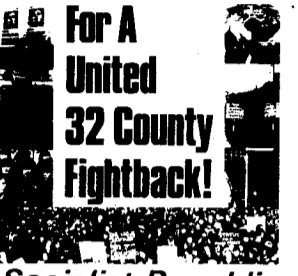
plications of imperialist domination have to be systematically integrated into the overall programme of anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialists must be able to give detailed answers to the multitude of everyday problems which afflict working people.

Secondly, it is not enough to have a programme: it is also necessary to be able to fight for it. This means winning the confidence of workers by consistent work in their areas and their organisations (trade unions etc). Without building support in this way it will be impossible to gain real credibility among workers.

Thirdly, the anti-imperialist movement must be able to present itself as a united national alternative to the established parties. Political organisations such as Sinn

Fein, Peoples Democracy and the IRSP have a responsibility to come together and develop a national alliance which will be active in every nook and cranny of the country.

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POLISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN AGM

Solidarnosc forgotten in rush to attack 'Leninists'

By Martin Meteyard

A MAJOR opportunity to build a united national campaign in support of the Polish free trade union Solidarnosc was lost on Sunday.

Nor was it simply lost. It was trampled to death at the annual general meeting of the Polish Solidarity Campaign by a London-based leadership whose methods made a mockery of their claim to support the democracy of Solidarnosc.

No resolutions for discussion were circulated beforehand. No proper pooled fare was organised for delegates from out of London. Finally, at a time when many of the latter had already had to leave to get home, a proposal was pushed through to concentrate control in the hands of the London membership. This effectively denied any real say in the campaign to the local solidarity committees who have won some of the most significant support for Solidarnosc since martial law was imposed on 13 December.

Unity

Delegates from local committees urged adoption of simple objectives for the campaign aimed at uniting all those prepared to get out and build support for Solidarnosc. Instead it was decided to put the major emphasis on breaking all links with the Warsaw Pact countries.

Solidarnosc itself mentored only a single intention — in terms of a campaign to retain British trade union recognition and support for it. And the only practical proposal for doing this — the labour movement conference initiated by the Greater Manchester Polish Solidarity Campaign — was rejected by the AGM

This was in line with a witch-hunt atmosphere whipped up from the start by the PSC leadership against Leninists and Trotskyists in general and the International Marxist Group (IMG) in particular. The morning session saw six attacks from the platform on General Jaruzelski and 14 on ... the IMG!

Quiz

An all-time low was reached when an Oxford delegate nominated for the National Committee was first quizzed on whether he supported Lenin's position on Poland in 1920!

The PSC was a natural focus for supporters of Solidarnosc after 13 December because it was the only body which had carried out any sort of national campaign since the strike wave of August 1980. As such its membership rocketed to nearly a thousand.

But its AGM revealed the real face of the PSC leadership: that anti-Leninism comes before building support for Solidarnosc, and that no real democracy will be allowed in the campaign which threatens the hold of this London-based clique. In practice — whatever the protestations of some of its members — it is now seen to stand with the Cold War rhetoric of the imperialists rather than the solidarity of the working class.

This was clearly demonstrated when the conference voted to make the campaign open to all those who supported independent unions

everywhere'. Mover of the resolution Robin Blick explained that this would mean opening the campaign to Tories, SDP members and Liberals' 'ninety nine per cent of the population, excluding only the fascist right and the fascist left'. Amazingly supporters of *Socialist Organiser* supported this resolution.

Delegates from the local solidarity committees, as in Manchester, Glasgow and Birmingham, explained that their success had stemmed from basing their activities on the organised labour movement and clearly distinguishing themselves from the hypocritical rhetoric of Reagan and

Thatcher.

Local Polish solidarity committees now have no option but to seek some alternative means of coordinating their efforts in building support for Solidarnosc among its 'natural partners' in the labour movement.

One focus for this should be the labour movement conference planned by the Manchester campaign which has already won support from a number of Labour MPs. Another should be fighting to commit the Labour Party and TUC leaders to call a labour movement march supporting Solidarnosc next December to mark one year since the imposition

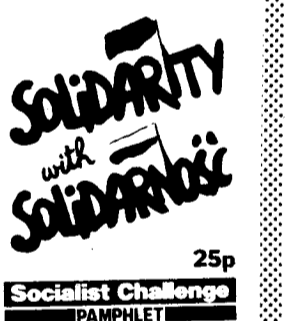
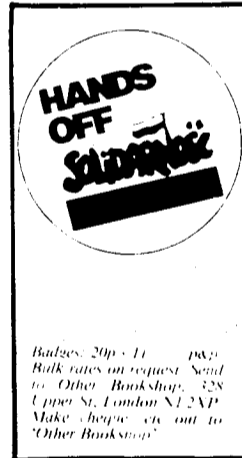
of martial law.

A de facto split has occurred in the Polish solidarity movement in Britain. It has happened because the PSC leadership is more concerned to wage war on Leninism than to unite all forces who give practical support to Solidarnosc. There is the responsibility for this situation. And those who suffer for it will be the workers of Poland.

Martin Meteyard is the Treasurer of the Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee (writing here in a personal capacity) and was a delegate from that committee to the PSC AGM.



Piotr Kozlowski from the Solidarnosc trade union working group (left) with Laurence Scott striker Phil Penning on a recent factory tour in Manchester. The PSC annual general meeting voted against supporting the Manchester solidarity committee's projected labour movement conference.



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Solidarnosc: the workers' cause

AS SOLIDARITY with Solidarnosc develops within the labour movement DAVY JONES spoke to French author JEAN-YVES POTEI about the evolution of Solidarity and the prospects for its re-emergence. Potei has been in Britain for a series of meetings to build solidarity with the Polish workers. He is an editor of the French journal *L'Alternative* which specialises in Eastern European affairs and author of the new Pluto Press book *The Summer Before The Frost*.

Could you explain the evolution of Solidarnosc after August 1980 and the debates inside Solidarnosc?

Everyone was very enthusiastic after the Gdansk Agreement. Within months this had changed and people saw that it was a long and difficult process. They began to understand the difficulty of the Gdansk Agreement which was a compromise between the strikers and the party. Party leader Kania said that the official policy of the party was for a social contract between society and the party. But in reality the party wasn't a good partner for the workers. Whenever possible the party tried to turn the clock back.

Gdansk

For example the Gdansk Agreement recognised the right of the free trade unions to organise the workers but it took a big struggle by the workers to finally win the official recognition of the union by 11 November.

In many factories the bosses threatened the workers who tried to set up the free union, that they would lose their special holiday and housing rights and so on. There were lots of other conflicts during the months after Gdansk, the meaning of which was clear: the government didn't want such an agreement. Up until March 1981 the movement radicalised around the question of the implementation of the Gdansk Agreement.

I was in Poland at the time of the Bydgoszcz events in March when the government organised the beating up of the local workers' leaders. The workers prepared a brilliantly organised general strike. For 10 days all the workers were preparing for the strike, each person in each factory had their own task. Every aspect of social organisation was covered by the strike committee, for example information, food, a legal system, and workers' guards.

It came very close to a general confrontation. The agreement that was reached, with some manipulation of the movement by a part of the leadership, was not a defeat.

We must also remember the very deep economic crisis. This had very concrete effects. People had to wait in queues for a long time for everything. The standard of life began to decline. The party was in crisis. Because Solidarnosc had a big influence on the party, lots of workers felt the

party and joined Solidarnosc. For example in one factory where there were 2/3000 members of the party, by summer 1981 there were only 20 or 30 left, the executive members of the party. So the real power in the factories in the summer was in the hands of the union.

Media

On the other hand on the TV there was a continual propaganda barrage against Solidarnosc, which had no access to the media as none of the agreements on access had been applied. In this situation the base of the movement began to radicalise, to become exasperated.

The development of democracy within the movement was another factor in the evolution of Solidarnosc. For us in Western Europe one of the main interests in Solidarnosc is in the question of the democracy of the movement, particularly in relation to union democracy. Before August the people involved hadn't experienced democracy, they hadn't even experienced the minimal democracy of Western Europe.

From November 1980 to July 1981 there was a long process of democratic elections within Solidarnosc, first at the factory level, then the regional conferences, and finally the elections for the national congress last autumn.

This congress was very democratic. It was not really a trade union conference, but rather a workers' parliament. Each delegate at the congress represented 10,000 people and each was mandated by their electors.

Draft

The programme adopted by Solidarnosc was a self-management programme. The draft programme was discussed in each factory, in every region. In June/July each region adopted a programme with special regional demands, often with different programmes put forward by differing groups.

At the special congress which lasted 18 days each region came to the first session and explained their programme from the platform. Then a special commission was organised of 450 delegates, divided up into 30 sub-commissions. Between the two sessions of the congress this commission met and compared the different programmes, and drafted another programme.

At the second session, we had a party of the movement.



programme there was more than one alternative option put forward. The congress discussed around this programme and the different options. The programme was very advanced — more so than that of the workers in the uprisings in Hungary 1956 or Czechoslovakia 1968. And for all the members of the union this programme was their programme.

Idea

Within the leadership there was a lot of discussion on the strategic options. At the beginning the general opinion of Solidarnosc was the same as that of all the democratic opposition before August 1980, namely that of stabilising a compromise between society and the party/state — a sort of historical compromise. The consequence of this idea was the self-limitation strategy.

The idea was that the balance of forces in Poland favoured the workers but the balance of forces internationally was against them and that the seizure of power by the workers would therefore lead to a war with the Soviet Union, and the crushing of the workers. Therefore a compromise was essential.

This tactic was very useful up until about January or February 1981 but from the Bydgoszcz affair it was not very useful. Thus a strategic discussion opened up within Solidarnosc. There were basically two positions.

First, the traditional leadership, Walesa and Kania, said that the compromise had to be stabilised through a government of national unity of the Church, the party, and Solidarnosc. The idea was

that if the party didn't accept this it would have to be imposed by strikes and so on. Such an agreement would allow a special economic reform with self-management.

Strike

The second position was exactly the reverse. They said that the movement should build self-management and economic reform, and if the government opposed it then the use of the active strike would be introduced where the workers work for themselves. In other words self-management would be imposed through co-ordination with other factories, and then if possible an agreement would be signed with the government.

There was no one really who said they should take power immediately. No one thought the army would attack the movement in the way it did. Even the left, the militants, thought that if the dictatorship was imposed that it would be done through legal channels, that the party would ask for such powers through the parliament.

Coup

As late as early December therefore only 15-20 per cent of industrial workers were covered by self-management bodies. And the active strike idea was not very widely known until November 1981 when it began to be popular among the regional leaderships.

The key difficulty in Poland was of time — time for the political maturation of the movement. The balance sheet of the evolution of Solidarnosc is very



positive but the strategic discussion had not matured in time before the coup.

When will Solidarnosc rise again?

First we must note that the whole population is against the regime. Their hostility is absolutely clear. But it is very difficult for Jaruzelski to stabilise the party as the leadership is divided. Jaruzelski has a project like Kadar's in Hungary to rebuild a party with some legitimacy among the people and through an open policy to the Church and peasantry.

Olszowski and Grabski, the party hard-liners, want to follow the Czech model with an ideologically purged and hardened party of workers, and continuing repression against Solidarnosc and the Church and peasants. But both projects are impractical, particularly given the lack of room for manoeuvre at the level of the economy.

Morale

Some important members of Solidarnosc are free and the resistance seems to be quite well organised in some major cities like Wroclaw, Gdansk, Katowice, Warsaw and Lodz. People are not yet ready for a general uprising or general strike. They are building up their strength and morale through clandestine actions.

There's a problem of terrorism, not from Solidarnosc but from some of the younger generation who may be provoked into armed actions. What won't happen is any sudden collapse of the government or any

general uprising against in the short term.

The defeat of last December was a political defeat and it will take time for Solidarnosc to absorb the lessons. The scope of the defeat is clear from the limitation of the initial resistance to martial law. Some 300 factories went on strike in December '81 but in the August events of 1980 there were 4000.

Solidarity with Solidarnosc is vital from the international labour movement. When Reagan and Thatcher come out in support of Solidarnosc this is used by the government in Poland to discredit Solidarnosc. The international labour movement must make Solidarnosc's cause its own.

More extensive treatment of some of these themes is available both in Potei's book, *The Summer Before the Frost*, and also in an excerpt taken from the book in the latest issue of *International*.

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe

Spring 1982 issue now out!

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Solidarity Committees with Solidarnosc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCE

Mitterrand suffers election blow

By Paul Lawson

THE French Socialist Party-led government suffered a major setback in the nationwide local elections held last weekend. Half of France's cantons (departments) held elections for councillors, and the right of centre parties — the Gaullist and Giscardian UDF — won 1154 out of the 2029 seats at stake. The left won only 781. As a result the left lost control of six departments. Overall its vote went down to around 49 per cent, as opposed to the 54 per cent gained at the time of the presidential elections last May.

The results are being interpreted as a considerable political reverse for the government and a victory for the right.

Why has the election of a Socialist Party-Communist Party government, hailed with such enthusiasm last year, begun to go sour? The answer is simple. In the face of a particularly vigorous electoral campaign waged by the right wing, the left suffered from a large number of abstentions from its supporters.

Many of those who voted for the Socialist Party and the Communist Party last year cannot see how they have benefitted from the election of Mitterrand. Far from being too quick, change has been all but non-existent.

After the Presidential and Assembly (parliament) elections last year, when two million were unemployed, the workers expected quick action to help them.

It was widely expected that the minimum national wage would be increased by 25 per cent to keep pace with inflation. In fact an increase of only 5 per cent was introduced — the first big compromise of the

government with the bosses.

The government's promise of a 35-hour week has collapsed in a muddle of compromises with the bosses.

When the bosses' federation, the CNPF, said a definitive 'no' to the 35-hour week, the government, instead of imposing a law, and mobilising the workers to defend it, compromised. A 39-hour week was introduced immediately, and the 35-hour week would be brought in during negotiations on an industry-by-industry, plant-by-plant basis over a five-year period.

The introduction of the 39-hour week has however been paid for by the workers, either in terms of reduced wages — despite government promises to the contrary — or in terms of more 'flexible' working hours.

The conditions of the 39-hour week, hidden away in the small print of the agreement, came as a surprise to many workers. The result has been a wave of strikes in hundreds of



French trade unionists on the march

factories.

These strikes have led to bitter confrontations, including the death of one worker in a fight with a bosses' goon squad, and the use of riot police to clear strikers out of the Leleu factory in Lyon. Riot police were also used to replace customs officers faced with wage cuts and more difficult hours — all in exchange for one hour less a week!

The disappointments over the minimum wage and the 35-hour week come on top of the imposition of increased national

insurance contributions, amounting to one per cent of every worker's wage to pay for the increasing costs of social security.

The attitude of the government is perhaps best highlighted by the fate of its plans to nationalise five industrial groups. The French Constitutional Court ruled that the compensation being offered was inadequate, and therefore the nationalisations couldn't go through.

Mitterrand then accepted that the nationalisations should be

delayed and billions more francs be paid out to the bosses. Once again, the option of compromise was adopted, rather than changing the law and mobilising the workers to defend a government which claimed to defend the workers' interests.

The lesson of last week's election is that the Socialist Party-Communist Party government, far from going too quickly, is going far too slowly.

Mitterrand and his Prime Minister, Mauroy, point to the fact that the assembly is elected for a five-year term and the president for seven years to maintain that they can 'go slowly'.

But things will go from bad to worse, and the bosses will pile on more and more pressure both in France and internationally, unless they can mobilise the workers to push through anti-capitalist measures.

Although the government has carried through some important social legislation — attacking right-wing control of TV, abolishing the death sentence and abolishing the anti-working class State Security Court — for the mass of the working class what matters is whether the government which claims to be 'theirs' improves their position at the expense of the bosses.

So far there is little progress on this front, and this lack of progress will continue to undermine support for the government.

Israel steps up West Bank repression



By Ros Kaplan

BEGIN'S 'iron fist' policy of repression in the Israeli-occupied territories resulted last week in a vote of no confidence being passed against the government in the Knesset. An early election in Israel now seems likely.

It is possible that an early election will increase the likelihood of an attack on Lebanon. The war drive in Israel has been building up for the past few months with the purpose of smashing the Lebanese stronghold of Palestinian refugee resistance and the PLO.

A defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon would — apart from giving the Israelis more land in the north, control of the Litani water resources and a 'more secure' border — give them a much freer hand in the already ongoing process of merging the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights into Israel.

The recent wave of Palestinian resistance in the Occupied Territories to the Milson Civil Administration farce is not a new development. 1980 saw a long rebellion in the Occupied Territories against what was then military rule.

Nor does it come as a shock to Palestinians that Israeli civilian settlers were opening fire on them with the tacit approval of the Israeli army. A weekly occurrence in the occupied areas!

What is qualitatively different is the absence of a strong local leadership. The National Guidance Committee and the pro-PLO mayors led by Shak'a, which played a significant role in giving a lead to the protests two years ago, no longer give a lead.

Today, the growth of the pro-Israeli village leagues led by Mustafa Dudin in Dura near Hebron, the open arming of his supporters by the Israelis, the growth of the Islamic fundamentalism is leading to a polarisation between the left and right in the Palestinian camp. It is coupled with the stepping up of settlement building and the pronouncements by the Israeli government that it is a race against time — to increase the numbers of Israeli settlers from 25,000 to 1 million in the next few years. This is in order to surround and isolate centres of Palestinian occupation so that political resistance is made near impossible.

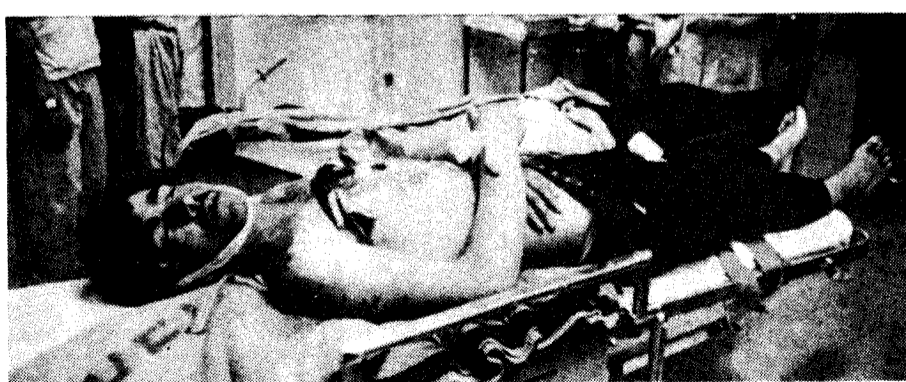
The 'colony' situation that exists means in reality that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are providing a massive cheap labour reserve and a market for the Israeli capitalist economy.

Time is running out — a defeat for the Palestinians will be a serious setback for the socialist revolution in the Middle East.

It will also have repercussions on an international level. If Israel's aggressive policies win then this will prolong the influence it has with some of the most repressive regimes in the world today.

Israel is one of the main suppliers of arms to bloody regimes like the junta in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The time has come for the labour movement in Britain to recognise that Israel's war against the Palestinians is just as much a part of imperialist oppression as the US war in El Salvador.



Bodies of Palestinian youths killed by Israeli soldiers. Top, Israeli soldiers tried to forcibly open shops during general strike.



International
Vol 7 No 2
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London fares fight 'The grass roots grow outside the depot gates not Transport House'

By Paul Styles, East London bus worker

'A MISERABLE failure.' That's how Alan Payling, a bus driver, summed up the *Can't Pay, Won't Pay* campaign. As he reported the situation in his own garage at Stamford Hill, 'I've come across one conductor to date who was presented two slips. He was told by the passengers that they were *Can't Pay, Won't Pay* campaigners to which he replied, "Can't pay, won't move".'

Alan added that 'even though the campaign has failed to mobilise public support it has succeeded overwhelmingly in creating a climate of hostility and had done great damage to the reputation of the Labour GLC among LT workers.'

'The GLC association with "Can't Pay, Won't Pay" is seen as an imposi-

tion upon workers — that they have not been consulted about.

'In fact, it has come close to destroying the respect that has been won in the workplace for the broader "Fare Fight" campaign.'

Ken Livingstone, leader of the Labour GLC has made it clear that he sees only two ways in

which the 'Fares Fair' policy can be restored.

The Douglas Jay Private Members Bill could pass through its second reading successfully on 23 April thus reversing the Law Lords ruling on subsidised public transport.

THE 'Can't Pay, Won't Pay' campaign is led by Labour GLC councillors notably Valerie Wise and Dave Wetzel. It involves handing in a slip giving your name and address in lieu of the increased fare on London's buses and tubes. The aim was to bring London Transport to a standstill through having to process thousands of such slips. The first days of the increased fares showed that isolated, individual passenger action was ineffectual. Far from swamping LT with slips only a few hundred were handed in.

Or, as the cuts and looming redundancies become apparent, the LT unions could move to organise a complete stoppage of the system.

Alan Payling, while agreeing with Livingstone's sentiments, pointed out, 'there is a difference between statements and actually implementing them.'

'To mobilise working class people we have to remind the Labour and union officials that the grass roots grow outside

the depot gates not Transport House.

'There was a great spirit on our picket line on 10 March. If somebody had come down from the TGWU or GLC and said a few words it would have done a lot of good.'

'What the union

fronted.

A few depots have started to inform and involve the membership. Stamford Hill garage is among these and this outgoing approach and its results were explained by Alan.

'Once people know the truth of the matter you unlock their potential.'

'We started putting out bulletins to the branch, sold about 200 badges and used whatever leaflets were available.'

'It was basically a long paper war that we fought, one long argument to mobilise support and turn the tide of opinion.'

'Prior to Xmas all the branch meetings I went to were nine or ten people. At the recent ordinary branch meeting thirty attended.'

'On the day of the strike up to 100 workers were involved in the picket line throughout the day. People are starting to want to know about the union, how it works.'

'It's little things, nothing revolutionary is happening, just people slowly becoming more active, and more importantly after 10 March, beginning to say, well what happens now?'



Part of 10 March picket line at Stamford Hill garage

Heathrow rampworkers face scabs

Donations and support to: Ray Davies, Heathrow Ramp Workers, c/o Feltham Community Centre, Hanworth Road, Feltham Middx.

By Oliver New

HEADLINES on the national newspapers screamed about the sabotage of ground vehicles at Heathrow Airport on 29 March, implying that it was the work of the striking rampworkers.

Transport union shop steward Mike Le Cornu said that his members would not be guilty of such a foolish act.

He added that 'it was not unheard of for saboteurs and provocateurs to be employed by the other side to put the trade union side in disrepute.'

This is the latest stage in a bitter dispute between rampworkers and British Airways management.

Hundreds of scabs, most of whom are members of trade unions, have been co-operating with management in their attempts to smash the strongest section of organised workers at Heathrow Airport.

The rampworkers, including loaders and drivers, are now in their seventh week of a lock out.

Airport regulations prevent a picket inside the perimeter of Heathrow itself, so they are not even able to properly confront the so-called 'volunteers' who are doing their jobs.

The dispute started with a management ultimatum in February, which made demands impossible for any trade union to concede. Not only did management want 300 redundancies, they wanted to lengthen working hours, change the shift system so that ramp-

workers would have up to 30 days more work per year — and they demanded no less than 116 changes in working practices.

Despite efforts by the Transport and General Workers Union to bend over backwards to accommodate management's demands, the management threw out the negotiating procedures and locked out the rampworkers.

The object of this exercise is to sell off British Airways to private industry, having first broken the organised strength of the workers.

Unfortunately many British Airways staff believe that they are doing the management and themselves a favour by carrying out organised scabbing on a scale not seen since the General Strike of 1926.

Office staff, many of them members of Apex and ASTMS, pilots and some industrial workers have been doing the rampworkers' jobs during their own time, or their annual holidays, at rates of pay much

higher than that of the rampworkers.

Meanwhile a secret report, with every copy individually numbered, is proposing that British Airways should be sold off, after having first received a cash injection from the government of £600 million.

Under this plan ten to fifteen thousands jobs at Heathrow would be lost — in addition to the recent redundancies under 'Phase 1', which cost 10,000 jobs.

After seven weeks on dispute pay alone (£12), with constant and effective scabbing, demoralisation is in danger of setting in.

Management claim 100 workers have responded to an appeal for them to return individually to work in sufficient numbers to be 'protected' from their locked out colleagues.

Mike Le Cornu, a ramp steward, told Socialist Challenge that: 'If the ramp, which is one of the strongest areas, is defeated, you can say goodbye to the rest — constitution, negotiations and trade unions will mean nothings.'

Members of Apex and ASTMS should call on their union leaders to come down like a ton of bricks on any of their members who are scabbing — so far their response has been little more than token.



Scabs at Heathrow

Rail pay down 40% says Weighell

By Toni Gorton

REAL pay for rail workers has plunged by 30 to 40 per cent in the last seven years according to NUR general secretary Sid Weighell in the latest issue of Transport Review.

Weighell states that 'Since 1975, railwaymen have suffered a decline in pay rates relative to the retail price index in every year except 1978.'

'This is a limit to the fall in living standards that railwaymen will take. Management will be foolish not to heed the rising tide of anger and frustration at the board's failure to improve basic rates substantially.'

If Weighell makes statements about his members' wages rates, at least part of his motivation is to head off growing opposition to him over the flexible rostering issue.

His decision to accept flexible rostering over the heads of his members has already resulted in unofficial strike action being taken by a number of London rail

depots. A petition circulated by the steering committee of London depots opposing flexible rostering has already received thousands of signatures since its appearance a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile ASLEF are still fighting it out with the British Rail bosses in front of Lord McCarthy's industrial arbitration tribunal.

It is now widely expected that McCarthy will again find in ASLEF's favour. In anticipation of this British Rail boss Sir Peter Parker is letting it be known that he won't abide by any such recommendation.

BR is considering unilaterally imposing the disputed rosters and withholding any pay award this year if their position on flexible rostering is rejected.

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Socialist Challenge

HILLHEAD ELECTION Excuse for a witch-hunt

By Tessa van Gelderen

'WE HAVE allowed the public to get the impression that sectarian revolutionary extremists like the Militant tendency are typical of the Labour leadership.' This was Denis Healey's verdict of the Hillhead by-election.

Every supporter out for National Sales Day

THE FIRST National Sales Day in 1982 takes place this Saturday 3 April. Sellers will be out and around estates, markets and high streets — wherever new readers can be found!

The countdown to sales day started well on last Sunday's El Salvador demonstration. Sellers of Socialist Challenge and Revolution (a socialist paper for youth) thronged Speaker's Corner and Trafalgar Square. A thousand extra sales were made.

Increased orders have also come in for next week. Manchester supporters have doubled their order, so have Wolverhampton. For most other areas an increase of 40 per cent in the order is the rule.

That's important because our aim is to boost the circulation of Socialist Challenge by that 40 per cent over the next nine weeks leading up to Reagan's reception in London.

Many people who come out to tell Reagan to get out will have never been on a demonstration before. They may have never read a socialist newspaper. That's where our sales day this Saturday and in successive months comes in.

We want them to hear about the anti-Reagan demonstration through our press, to put Socialist Challenge at the centre of the mass movement that is building up day by day.

Start the ball rolling this Saturday!

It is not a verdict agreed by many activists in the labour movement. The problem has been that it is the Denis Healeys who are 'typical of the Labour leadership' and the working class has been through that experience once too often.

Michael Foot tries to patch up the Bishop's Stortford agreement, in the aftermath of the Hillhead election. Unfortunately for the leader of the Labour Party, Healey, and Roy Hattersley and Peter Shore, have gone too far this time.

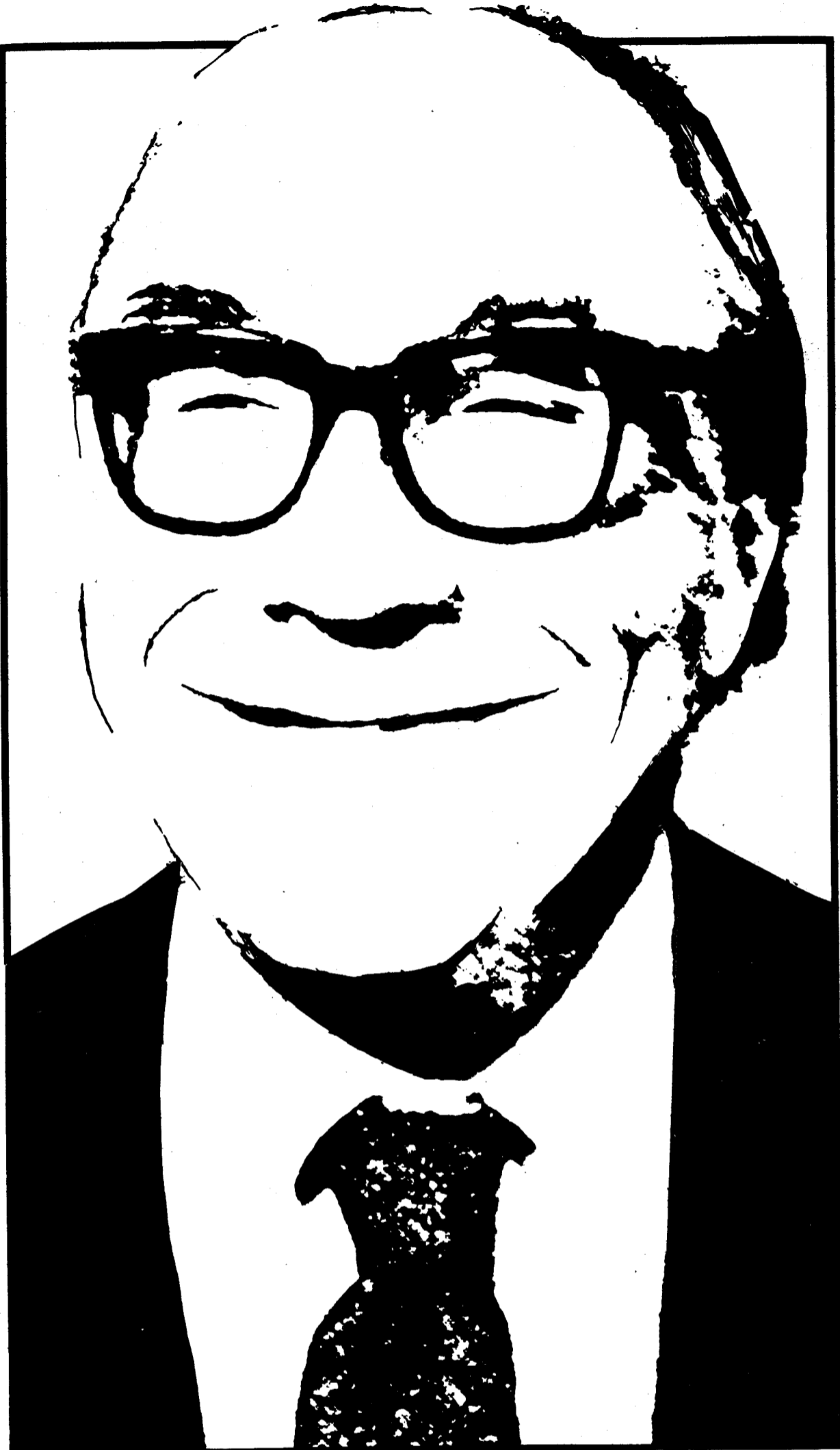
Their assertions that the left is to blame for Labour's defeat couldn't be further from the truth. The party leadership and the right wing trade union leaders had the campaign and candidate that it wanted in Hillhead.

Issues

On all major issues, David Wiseman, took his distance from left wing policies. He openly attacked *Militant*. What more could Healey and Co want? Yet according to Healey, the Labour Party is 'paying for the damage done by the in-fighting in the last two years. The damage will continue as long as people like Pat Wall and Tariq Ali are allowed to misrepresent our movement.'

Now even Foot has been forced to call a halt to these blatant saboteurs. It is Healey, Hattersley and Shore who are misrepresenting the movement. It is Healey, Hattersley and Shore who are prepared to let Labour lose the next general election rather than fight on a manifesto committed to scrapping Cruise and Trident, withdrawing Britain from the EEC and massively reducing unemployment without an incomes policy.

And these wreckers are backed up by the right wing of the trade union leadership — the Euro-



Even Healey and Chapple would think twice about forming a coalition with this smug-faced toady.

Chapples, John Boyds and Terry Duffys of this world. Chapple has been trying to hold a gun to the Labour Party's head by withholding 1981 affiliation fees at a time when the Party's finances are at an all time low.

He wants *Militant* and Tariq Ali and Peter Latchell booted out of the party before they rough up. Now is the time for Foot to

call a halt to these disrupters inside the Party. The National Executive Committee should.

* Call off the inquiry into *Militant* and endorse Pat Wall's candidature

* Endorse the right of constituencies to recruit members without interference from the Party leadership — there should be

no further blocking of Tariq Ali's membership

* Endorse the choice of Bermondsey constituency to choose their own candidate, Peter Tatchell.

This October may well be the last Labour Party conference before the next election. The right wing of the party and the unions has shown that it has no

interest in winning this election. The trick of Bishop's Stortford never existed. There has to be a big offensive to stop the witch-hunt and to unite the party around policies that present a real alternative to both the Tories and the SDP. A Labour Party committed to a socialist manifesto is not only the best way of winning that election, it is the only way.

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