

Socialist Challenge

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AFTER WEMBLEY, LABOUR LEFT HAS TO



FIGHT, FIGHT, AND FIGHT



All photos: G. M. COOKSON [Socialist Challenge]

A BARRAGE of media hysteria has greeted the victory of the left at last Saturday's Labour Party special conference.

The media has reacted to the modest proposal that the party as a whole should decide the leader as if the conference had voted for a red republic and set the day for erecting the barricades!

The Gang of Three has seized on the opportunity to make its long-expected move towards the creation of a 'social democratic' party.

The right wing in the Labour Party sees the extension of democracy as a dagger pointing at their traditional hold on the party's organisation and policy.

The victory by the left at Wembley was important, but there are major struggles to be won if the left, who have established their majority in the party, is to win. For example, control of the manifesto has still to be wrested from the shadow cabinet.

After Saturday's victory the fight for democracy and socialist policies has to continue.

The right wing has two strategies for fighting back, both inside and outside the Labour Party. The first attack comes from the formation of the Council for Social Democracy, which openly aims to organise a split from the labour movement.

Their strategy is to stay in the Labour Party until the local council elections in May, so that local supporters can get themselves elected on the Labour Party ticket and then go over to the Gang's party.

The Owen-Rodgers-Williams strategy is a calculated attack on the whole labour movement. They must not be allowed to organise at will. There are various ways in which their sabotage can be confronted:

- Any local council candidate who supports

AGAIN

the Council for Social Democracy should be removed.

- A new parliamentary candidate should be immediately selected in place of any MP who supports the council — the example set by Wrexham CLP in calling for the resignation of their local MP, council supporter Tom Ellis, is an excellent precedent.

- Shirley Williams and Tom Bradley should be booted off Labour's national executive.

- The PLP has to be forced to throw Bill Rodgers out of the shadow cabinet, and Michael Foot has to sack foreign affairs spokesperson Bob MacLennan, another council supporter.

By purging the split-

No concessions to the right wing

ters from positions of responsibility in the labour movement the damage they intend to do can be minimised.

That will not be enough for the left to win its objectives. The majority of the political co-thinkers of the Gang of Three will stay *inside* the

Labour Party.

Their champion, Roy Hattersley, who agrees with them on every detail of policy, will use their defection to launch a fight against the left within the party.

By saying last Saturday that 'conference can make a mistake', Michael Foot has virtual-

ly invited the right wing to organise a fight against the left's victories.

It's certain that Hattersley will try to do a re-run of the Gaitskellites' fight back in the early '60s.

For that, of course, he will need to line up trade union block votes,

and several union leaders have already declared their willingness to oblige. Among them are Bill Whatley of the shopworkers, rail leader Sid Weighell, and — needless to say — AUEW president Terry Duffy.

They are considering an attempt to reverse the electoral college decision at the next Labour Party conference.

This emphasises once again the need to carry the fight for democracy into the trade unions, so that fresh air is blasted into the smoke-filled rooms to ensure accountability over the exercise of the block vote.

The left can't just rest on its laurels. Unless it steps up the fight, the right will come storming back.

As firefighters' leader Ken Cameron said at a fringe meeting last Friday: 'The fight against the Labour right is part and parcel of the fight against the Tories. If we want a real alternative to the Tories, we have first of all to take on the right wing.'

21 FEB GLASGOW FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

EDITORIAL

A vintage week of media lies and distortions

THE media have excelled themselves over the past week. Day in, day out they have spewed forth a stream of biased and misleading stories, first about the US hostages and then about democracy in the Labour Party.

The press barons all weighed in with support for Reagan's campaign against the Iranian 'barbarians'. The campaign was based on a tissue of lies.

Lie 1: The American government had to pay a huge ransom for the US hostages. The \$8bn guaranteed by the American government is \$4bn less than the total amount of Iranian assets frozen in the West including the vast wealth the late Shah stole from the Iranian people. The Iranians' original claim was for \$24bn.

Lie 2: The hostages were harmless diplomats. This lie has been exposed by the sudden appearance of numerous ex-hostages wearing military uniforms. The *Sunday Times* has revealed that at least one 'diplomat' was in the pay of the CIA. The US embassy in Tehran was and always had been the imperialist 'spy nest' that the Iranians claimed.

Lie 3: The hostages were brutally tortured. Unlike tens of thousands of Iranians permanently scarred after torture at the hands of the Shah's secret police, no evidence of physical torture has been demonstrated. Even the 'serious' press like the *Sunday Times* has expressed concern at the exaggeration of the claims of mistreatment made by the US hostages.

And the biggest lie of all: America had done nothing to deserve such injustice. Former US CIA agent Jesse Leaf told the *New York Times* in 1979 how the CIA trained SAVAK in Nazi torture techniques, which killed and maimed thousands of Iranians. The CIA engineered the coup that brought the Shah to power and propped up his rule to the bitter end when the Iranian masses overthrew him.

The whole 'torture scandal' was engineered to whip up the most reactionary sentiments against the Iranian people and to prepare workers in the West for the possibility of military action against 'the Barbarians'.

■■■■■■■■■■

If all that wasn't bad enough the press lies over the left's victories at the Labour Party special conference were even more spectacular. The somersaults of logic they used to prove that the extension of democracy was really a reduction were quite breathtaking.

The situation was most aptly summed up by a radio interviewer's question to Michael Foot after the Labour Party conference: 'Don't you think the average non-political voter will get the impression that the party has been taken over by extremists and democracy has been trampled on by the conference decisions?'

To which the only sensible response would have been: 'Yes, because that is exactly how the entire mass media have presented it!'

The situation inside the Labour Party before the decisions of the last two conferences was that the whole party decided on its programme and elected a national executive at the annual conference. The parliamentary party elected the leader of the party who picked the Cabinet. They in turn ignored the party conference decisions and did what they liked.

This situation suited the ruling class and its backers in the media as it meant that only 'moderate' parliamentarians, unaccountable to anybody, had any real power. This is the 'democracy' the media are so keen to defend.

At Friday's Rank and File Mobilising Committee rally Arthur Scargill appealed to members of the journalists' union to help combat the press distortion of the struggle inside the Labour Party. We would go further.

In the week when *The Times* and *Sunday Times* slipped towards the Murdoch publishing empire it becomes increasingly clear that the Labour Party and the trade unions should rapidly launch a labour movement daily open to the main political trends in the labour movement.

Labour Party

"A TURNING POINT BRITISH LAB

By Brian Heron

WHAT a day at Wembley! Scenes of jubilation greeted the announcement of the result of the final card vote, which confirmed the changes in the Labour Party constitution in favour of an electoral college to elect the party leader.

Alex Kitson, chairing the special conference, announced the vote to a silent audience of over 2,000. He got as far as 'for the motion, five million...' The rest was drowned by cheers.

It was a famous victory for the left. Up to the last minute the issue had been in doubt. As polling for the last vote was announced, Tom Jackson of the Communication Workers asked for a recess.

'This was a situation we did not expect,' he said.

It was a last-minute manoeuvre, designed to line up big block union votes, such as that of the General and Municipal Workers, against the election plan which had been adopted. It was greeted with a roar of disapproval.

College

The Labour Party must now elect its leader by electoral college, sitting at party conference, composed of 40 per cent trade union votes, 30 per cent constituency parties, and 30 per cent MPs.

As Tony Benn said to Socialist Challenge after the conference: 'This result has been a turning point in British labour history. A very good day.'

But the final outcome had been in doubt all day. The first ballot, taken at 11.30am, determined that an electoral college would be the system used. What was left to be determined was the precise percentages.

Until the first ballot, the right wing had attempted to make its mark in the debate.

Unity

Putting forward the 'one member, one vote' system, which would have disenfranchised the trade unions and attacked the unity of the labour movement, the right wing tried to open up the election procedure to all the pressures of the media, so successfully used in the sham democracy of secret ballots such as those in the Engineering Union.

Engineers' leader Terry Duffy was miserable. Committed to a motion which supported an electoral college which gave 75 per cent of the votes to the MPs, he could not line up with his right-wing friends.

His speech gave the conference one of the

best laughs of the day. Starting from the observation that 'we do not oppose the selecting (sic) of our leaders,' he added: 'Let me say that in moving a motion that will be defeated...' By this time the conference was convulsed with laughter.

Duffy's speech turned into a eulogy for the last Labour government. After a contribution which combined total confusion with complete irrelevancies, he finished by saying: 'Some people say I should resign' (great cheers of approval). 'My logical persuasion will not change your minds.' It was the only point he got right all day.

Despite the defence of their version of democracy mounted by Owen and Chapple, which included Frank Chapple's hilariously ironic attack on 'wheeling and dealing by trade union leaders', the right's position was defeated by over five million votes.

Funny

As Peter Kelly, the delegate from Salford West, pointed out: 'It's very funny to see all these people objecting to the block vote. They didn't object when it worked in their favour ... The right are defenders of democracy when they win ... otherwise they threaten to leave.'

Owen made his position crystal clear. He challenged the democracy of the conference. He told delegates that if they voted for an electoral college 'you know it will split the party'.

Right-wing splitters were the sub-plot at Wembley. In his summary speech Michael Foot was at pains to appease the right. 'Conference is not infallible,' he insisted. 'I don't want to fight anybody in our party. I want them to all stay in our ranks to help us.'

Block

Foot was well aware that a centre party will block Labour's chances of power, outside of a massive mobilisation of the working class. The decline in Labour's popular vote, the elec-



Arthur Scargill. Non-socialists have no place in the Labour Party he told Friday's rally.



Eric Heffer: another stage in the fight for democracy

Ken Cameron of the Fire Brigades Union. He told Rank and File Mobilising Committee rally last Friday that the fight against the right wing in the Labour Party was part and parcel of the fight against the Tories.

total boundary changes, together with a few million votes for a mish-mash cooked up with the Liberals are a real enough threat to the Labour Party's chances.

Owen and his co-gangsters are splitting from the labour movement as a whole. Bill Deal from the fire-fighters' union echoed the sentiments of many at the conference when he declared of the Gang of Three: 'Let them go!'

The defence of the labour movement is the only starting point for socialists; unity at every level with those prepared, in however small a way, to defend the interests of the working class against the Tory offensive — that is the best way of dealing with the Gang.

It is the only way to turn the tables on all the manoeuvres to keep the Labour Party from power. Mobilisation of

the working class against the Tories will build up the head of steam necessary for a Labour victory.

It was the union block vote which ultimately gave such an overwhelming victory to the shopworkers' resolution. But the last card vote could give the wrong impression — it was touch and go all afternoon. From 3.30pm a series of ballots gradually arrived at the option which was to go forward for a card vote as a proposed amendment to the constitution.

Switch

The delicate balance in the USDAW delegation meant that if their resolution, the '40-30-30' option, was eliminated at any stage in the balloting then their votes would switch to the proposal of the General and

Municipal Workers, to give 50 per cent to the MPs, and 25 per cent each to the unions and constituency parties.

This meant that there was absolutely no hope of the left winning the third-third-third option of the National Executive.

Things were further complicated by the decision of the AUEW delegation not to vote for any option other than their own. As a result, only on the card vote at the very end of the conference were the engineers able to cast a vote against any other proposal.

Finally, right to the end it was in doubt whether unions like the GMWU and NUPE, which had their own options eliminated, would use their votes against the surviving USDAW proposal. In the end 'everything was alright on the night'. This was

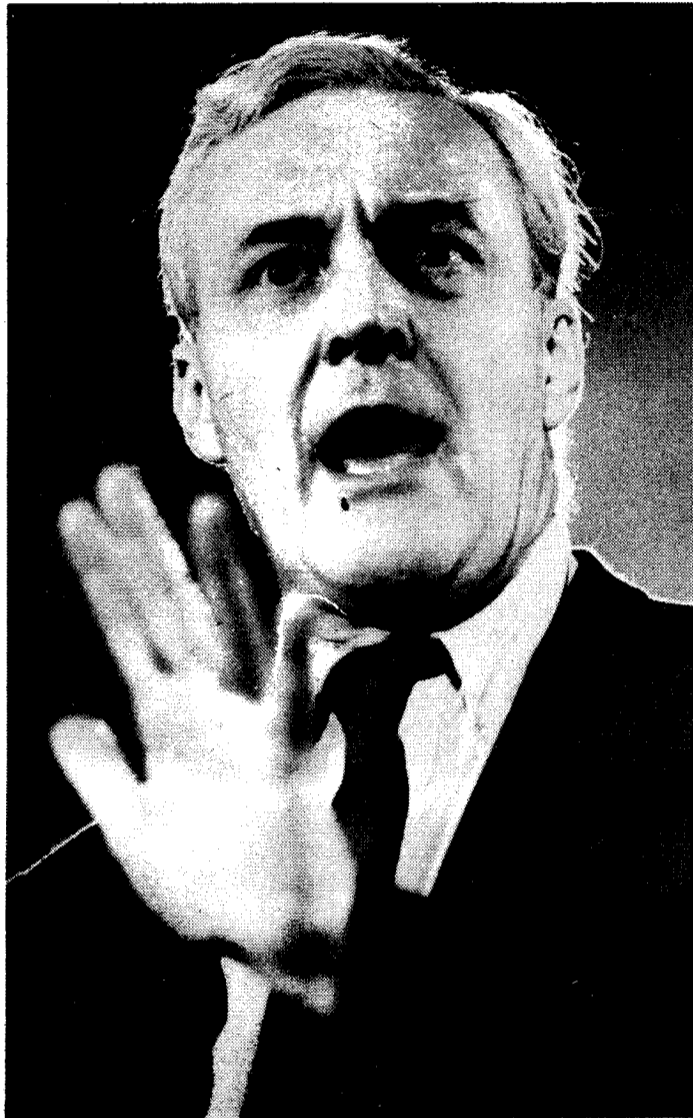
POINT IN OUR HISTORY" Tony Benn



Joan Maynard: attacked Foot's retreat on unilateral disarmament



Ian Mikardo: 'Left were a minority for 25 years. Now we're a majority right wingers threaten to resign'.



All photos: G. M. COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Tony Benn told Rank and File Mobilising Committee rally that the fight for democracy in the Labour Party would be a long one. But 'we shall continue the fight until we win' he said.

partly due to astute tactics by the left.

Late in the morning Clive Jenkins of ASTMS withdrew his union's proposal in favour of the USDAW resolution. Tony Banks from Tooting CLP followed suit first thing in the afternoon. The signals were plain. All behind the USDAW resolution!

Backbone

Banks pointed out that the shopworkers' resolution was the most democratic option on offer at the conference. The unions are the organised backbone of the party, he argued.

Speaking to Socialist Challenge, Tony Banks pointed out that 'now having a 40 per cent vote in the electoral college there will be tremendous pressure to heighten the degree of accountability in the unions'.

The fight for democracy and accountability in the unions 'is the next Lansman, secretary of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy.

Lucky

'We have had a tremendous success, but we were lucky,' he maintained. 'We need to strengthen our campaign toward the unions in future. We failed where we might have succeeded in unions like UCATT and the NUM. The next objective must be the fight for democracy in the unions.'

When Foot rose to summarise at the end of the conference, he received a standing ovation. The spirit of reconciliation washed down the gangways.

Despite Foot's appeals to the right, despite

his dangerous ambiguities on unilateral disarmament; despite his open invitation to Chapple and others to mount a fight to overturn the decisions taken that day, conference was determined to hear no evil.

Battles

The fact that Foot owes his position as leader to the hard fought battles in the unions and in the party against the right wing found no reflection in his remarks.

Nevertheless Wembley was a famous victory for the workers' movement. As Reg Race MP told Socialist Challenge: 'It shows that the left is capable of defeating those in the party who want power to remain with the PLP. All those outside the Labour Party who want to fight for socialism should take

note.' Tony Benn, speaking at the CLPD fringe meeting, expressed it another way: 'Fleet Street and their friends have put the left in the bush. That's not so bad. Robert Mugabe was in the bush. Now in government that's all changed.'

He went on: 'We want a cabinet that is elected. Local groups in local councils should have similar arrangements ... unity comes about through the right to discuss; the right to decide the vote today will unite the party. It will immensely increase our prospects of success.'

Win

As he told Socialist Challenge: 'Today's decision will make it more likely for the Labour Party to win the next general election, because it will help bridge the credibility gap between what we promise while in opposition and what a Labour government actually does.'

'It will give encouragement that a process of democratic change can be carried through the whole of society.'

Remove

From every point of view the next step is to use the victory at Wembley to encourage the fight to remove the Tories. Democracy in the labour movement, and the victory of Labour over the Tories which we all seek can only be guaranteed by the mobilisation of the workers' movement for the battle ahead.

The action of millions is required to sustain such a change in our movement. Otherwise, the victory at Wembley will ultimately be shown to have been built on sand.

Women

From that point of view one key weakness in the unity of the movement was most apparent at Wembley. The last word should go to Caroline Benn:

'There were so few women speakers today. The participation of women is a central part of the fight for democracy. It has hardly been touched so far.'



What the Social Democratic 'Council' is up to

By Phil Hearse

RAPTUROUS applause greeted Arthur Scargill at last Friday's Rank and File Mobilising Committee rally in London when he declared: 'The Labour Party needs the Gang of Three like a tree needs Dutch Elm disease.'

Scargill publicly disagreed with Eric Heffer who claimed at the same meeting that the Labour Party needed the socialism 'both of the Aneurin Bevans and of the Tony Croslands'. 'The Labour Party is a broad church' said Scargill, 'but a broad church only for socialists'.

Many of those at the meeting and among the delegates to the next day's Labour conference felt that the Labour Party had suffered enough at the hands of the Gang of Three. Now was the time for them to go.

This bitter hostility towards Owen, Rodgers and Williams can only be welcomed by socialists. Their isolation at Saturday's conference must have been painfully obvious to them — they only won support from Frank Chapple of the Electrician's Union, and perhaps from Engineer's leader Terry Duffy, although his speech was so stumbling and incoherent it was difficult to tell.

But are the plans to set up a 'social democratic' party irrelevant to Labour's future? Do they have no real chance of success? The answer, regrettably, is no.

The moves to form a centre party, orchestrated by right wing Labour MPs and Liberal leader David Steel, aided and abetted by the whole of Fleet Street, are a conscious attack on the Labour Party by the ruling class.

Eric Heffer pointed out at last Friday's rally that in 1954 the right

wing in Australia had engineered a split in the Australian Labour Party. A 'Democratic Labour Party' was set up in opposition to it, as a 'creature of the press'.

Heffer explained that this had contributed to Labour being kept out of power in Australia for 20 years. The formation of a 'social democratic' party in Britain would constitute an attempt by the ruling class to 'punish' Labour for its move to the left, and to prevent a left Labour government from winning enough votes to come into power.

The 'Gang of Three' are literally traitors and saboteurs aiming to prevent the election of a left Labour government. So how should socialists in the Labour Party respond? The response of Foot is obvious; he is desperately trying to compromise with the right, over unilateral nuclear disarmament and the Common Market for example, to keep them in the party.

Apart from the fact that it won't work such an approach merely amounts to backing down in face of the threats of the right-wing. Joan Maynard was absolutely right at last Friday's rally to denounce Foot's attempts to placate the right-wing by retreating on unilateralism.

Changes

Such a manoeuvre comes at a particularly appropriate time for the ruling class and the Tories. Following the

changes in the electoral boundaries presently going through parliament, Labour is likely to 'lose' 12 of its current seats.

This would result in the Labour Party needing a seven per cent swing — a very high figure in British electoral terms — to unseat the Tories at the next election. The creation of a 'social democratic' party would only make that task more difficult.

Radical

Labour's popular vote has always been at its highest when it has been most clearly associated with a radical programme.

The best way to defeat these manoeuvres aimed at creating a centre party is to press ahead with the fight for democracy and for socialist policies.

Mobilising the labour movement for action to bring down the Tories goes hand in hand with pressing home the fight against the right wing inside the party. All of these measures will contribute to winning votes for Labour.

Arthur Scargill is wrong to say that 'it doesn't matter' and that it won't harm Labour if a centre party is set up. It will. It could create the basis for more right wing splits, and even trade union defections towards the centre party from people like Chapple of the Electricians' Unions and Grantham of APEX.

But to retreat because of that possibility would be to play into the hands of the right wing, to capitulate in front of their threats. After all, the 'Gang of Three' are perfectly prepared to defend party unity and stay with Labour indefinitely if they can have their way politically.

Fight Whitelaw's white laws



STILL CAMPAIGNING

Newsletter of the Campaign Against Racist Laws

By Davy Jones

THE new Tory Nationality Bill aims to bring the outdated nationality laws into line with recent legislation to curb black immigration. It will defend the rights of white citizens and wilfully discriminate against black people.

Originally revealed in the aptly titled 'White Paper' last August the Tories' plans are largely based on a 'Green Paper' drawn up by the Labour government in 1977. Both Labour and Tory governments over the years have introduced thoroughly racist legislation on immigration and nationality.

The 1905 Aliens Act was aimed against Jewish refugees and the Aliens Acts of 1914 and 1919 were directed against German immigrants.

The 1962, '68, and '71 Immigration Acts perfected a racist limitation to immigration, by dividing the world into 'patrials' and 'non-patrials' according to whether a parent or grand-parent was born in this country.

This neat distribution lumped the overwhelming majority of blacks into the non-patrial category with no rights to immigration. British citizenship was and remains reserved for the overwhelmingly white patrial categories.

The Tory and Labour leaders share the same approach to the issue. Both see black immigration as a 'threat' to British culture and a contributory cause to our economic and social problems. Accepting this racist framework leads them to propose increasingly undemocratic laws on immigration and nationality to contain the 'problem'.

When the Home Secretary Merlyn Rees appeared on the TV programme *Weekend World* on 4 February 1978 he was asked: 'What you really mean is that immigration control is a device to keep out coloured people?' 'That is what it is,' Rees replied.

With 2.6m unemployed and a deep economic recession racism is a useful weapon for the Tories to use to divide the working class. This new Nationality Bill, like the Immigration Acts before it, is racist to the core and therefore a danger to all workers. Make sure you join the campaign to stop it!



CARL (Campaign against Racist Laws) is the main campaigning body against the Tories' Nationality Bill. It is supported by all the major Asian and black organisations, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and the Anti Nazi League. Within the labour movement it is backed by the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the IMG and the SWP.

CARL activities include:
*Production of a regular newsletter 'Here To Stay' with information on the struggles round the country against the immigration and nationality laws.

*A national demonstration in London in late March or early April. This is likely to be a very large demonstration.

*A lobby of parliament to protest against the Bill.

For information about the campaign against the Bill write to CARL at Lansbury House, 41 Camberwell Grove, London SE5.

What does the Bill propose?

- British Citizenship for approx 57 million people 'closely connected to the UK', by being born in or having parents born in the UK. These are mainly white, 55 million resident in the UK.

- Citizenship of the British Dependent Territories for those living in the few remaining colonies like Hong Kong, Belize and various small islands. These are mainly non-white people.

- British Overseas Citizenship for British Asians in East Africa and non-patrial British passport-holders. These are mainly black people.

- Only British Citizenship confers automatic right of entry to the UK. The other two 'citizenships' are nothing of the kind: citizenship without civic rights is a nonsense.

- Children born here to parents neither of whom is a

British citizen or free of conditions of stay will not automatically acquire British citizenship even if it leaves them stateless.

- Naturalisation qualifications will include approximately five years' residence, good character, language proficiency, and a clear demonstration 'that an applicant has thrown in his lot with the United Kingdom', i.e. only good patriots need apply!

- The Home Secretary gains extensive new powers, including the right to refuse application for citizenship giving no explanation. There is also no right of appeal.

- Married women, presently entitled to register immediately as British citizens after marriage to a British man, will lose this advantage under the new Bill — in the name of the Sex Discrimination Act!

Manchester Labour Party Demonstration against Nationality Act & Racist Immigration Laws

Sat 14 Feb, 11.30am.
All Saints, Oxford Rd, Manchester
Speakers include: Anwar Ditta, Bob Kaufmann MP

British 'justice' and the Iranian siege trial

'THE picture of the SAS deliberately gunning down unarmed men who had to their knowledge surrendered we can now see on the evidence is wholly misleading.'

Those are the facts of the SAS raid on the occupied Iranian embassy according to Kenneth Richardson, the prosecuting counsel in the trial of the surviving raider Fowzi Nejad. Richardson's words were the precise opposite of the truth, deliberate lies from beginning to end.

No evidence was given in the court as to who had ordered the SAS to attack the Iranian embassy, or the precise orders given to the SAS squad. And for a very good reason.

The evidence is abundant, both from the statements of hostages and from the court proceedings, that the SAS went in with the objective of killing all the raiders, that at least four of them had clearly surrendered before they were shot and that the SAS knew this full well.

The embassy receptionist, who had no sympathy with the attackers, claimed in court that one of the raiders, Faisal, was put up against a wall and shot in the back of the neck — although the forensic evidence apparently showed he died of multiple gunshot wounds. (It isn't too difficult to imagine how the SAS could have arranged that particular piece of deception.)

Forensic evidence did show that another raider, Abbas, died of a single gunshot wound in the back of the head. This sort of wound is not generally accidental.

When the SAS attacked, four of the five raiders threw their weapons out of a window and waved a white sheet to indicate that they had surrendered.

Some of the hostages then came into the room where the raiders were. When the SAS burst in, the raiders were sitting against a wall with their weapons thrown away. The SAS told them to stand up, then shot them in cold blood. Nejad only survived because the SAS failed to identify him.

None of this will come as any great surprise to those who know anything at all about the role of the SAS. Over the past two decades this assassination squad has been doing the British state's dirty work in colonial wars — in Dhofar, Oman, and above all in the north of Ireland, where they have functioned purely and simply as assassins of Republican activists.

The Arabistan attackers of the Iranian embassy were shot not because they had to be, or because they couldn't be captured. They were killed in order to demonstrate that the British state will not tolerate 'terrorism'. The decision to kill the raiders was taken at the highest political level. British justice, as ever, is eminently political.



By Tom Marlowe

THE US government's resumption of military aid to El Salvador has brought temporary relief to the military-dominated government headed by President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

But the guerillas maintain control of large areas in the North of the country, and even Western media reports now admit that the junta is far from defeating the liberation forces.

The decision in the last few days of the US government to further increase military aid has dashed earlier hopes of an immediate victory by the guerillas. But *The Times* conceded on Monday that the government's claims of victory are nothing but hot air and that 'the struggle in El Salvador is a long way from ending'.

The US is now supplying nearly £5m worth of military aid to the right-wing regime. This includes helicopters, military personnel, ammunition, grenade launchers and M-16 rifles.

El Salvador: US lies exposed

The excuses originally given by the US for their massive increase in such aid have now been shown completely false. The first reason, quoted by a US State Department official on 19 January, was that the Salvadoran junta had 'taken positive steps' to investigate the killing of four US citizens in December.

Now, the US ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, has admitted this is not the case. 'As far as I am concerned, there is no reason to believe that the government in El Salvador is conducting a serious investigation,' said White

last Thursday.

Other excuses, given by White himself, have also been exposed. When the aid was first increased two weeks ago White claimed that it was because of direct intervention by Nicaragua. He specifically claimed that 100 guerillas had landed in El Salvador from Nicaragua.

Now White has agreed that the evidence for this 'landing' is 'no longer compelling'. In fact, the US government has admitted that the boats which dropped off the 'guerillas' were in fact fishing canoes going about their normal

business.

The invention of reasons for increased US 'aid' has an ominous similarity with the lies given by the US for its intervention in Vietnam and Cambodia. Exactly the same tactics were adopted then: produce entirely fictitious accounts of alleged foreign 'intervention', and then use this as a rationale for US 'assistance'.

In Britain the Labour Party has protested against this assistance. Last week the party's general secretary Ron Hayward wrote to Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington urging the British Government to disassociate itself from US support for the Salvadoran regime. This follows a delegation from Labour's national executive to the US embassy in December to protest against US policy.

The Labour Party has also expressed its support for the FDR, the political expression of the guerilla struggle, and the Second International, of which the Labour Party is a member, has gone one step further and urged recognition of the FDR as the legitimate government in El Salvador.

Turkey - NATO's other generals

THE military junta which seized power in Turkey last September declared its intention a fortnight ago to set the country back on the road to democracy.

It also announced that 21 new prisons were to be built in 1981! NICK ROBIN examines these developments.

When the Turkish military seized power it pledged to rid the country of 'anarchy'.

So far, after four months, it has outlawed the Turkish parliament, all political parties, at least 703 trade unions, the right to strike, a free press, numerous intellectuals, thousands of workers' leaders and political oppositionists, and most of the democratic rights won over the past two decades.

It has not managed, however, to rid Turkey of its three-figure inflation, 20 per cent unemployment, increased foreign debt, and zero economic growth. Poverty and malnutrition have continued to increase.

Repression

The number of political prisoners has gone up — 60,000 since the coup, according to official figures, along with deaths in custody, torture, political refugees, and executions.

Since the coup repression has reached levels rarely seen in countries which are not fascist dictatorships.

When the military took over on 12 September, the Turkish parliament had been unable to elect a head of state for six months; industry was running at just 50 per cent capacity; \$16 billion was owed to a total of 256 imperialist banks; a massive oil bill; and an average of between 15 and 20 people were being killed daily — mostly youthful victims of right-wing terror.

Crushing

The state apparatus was polarised and crumbling. The country was on the brink of civil war. The police force had already divided into two factions, one left and one right wing — shoot-outs were not unknown.

The only state institution which remained

even remotely stable was the army. The nervousness of imperialism was not helped by Turkey's geographical position. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the revolution in Iran, and the permanent instability of the Middle East, were not far removed from Turkey's borders, which bridge Europe and Asia.

Anxious

The Turkish bourgeoisie was worried; NATO and the US State Department were concerned; the IMF, which had been bailing out Turkey at considerable expense, was anxious.

In short, as in other 'third world' countries applying the IMF's 'monetarist' policies, such as Chile and Argentina, the necessity of driving down living standards for the working population in Turkey was incompatible with parliamentary rule.

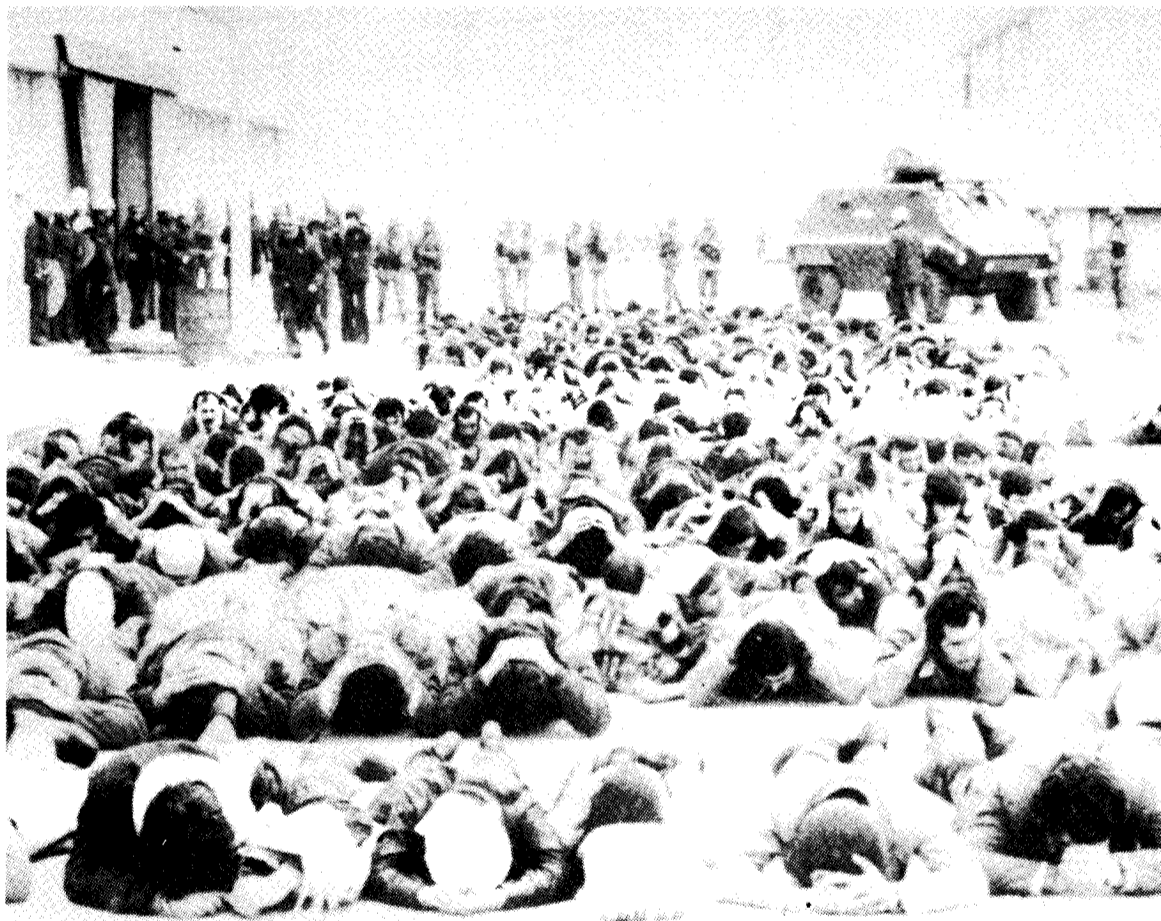
Already in the first nine months of 1980, 7.5m working days had been lost through strikes — six times more than in any previous year. In this situation the obvious solution, tried and tested in 1960 and 1971 in Turkey, was the military coup.

Unions

The only other alternative for the ruling class was to throw in their lot with the National Action Party, the largest fascist party in West Europe. The NAP, led by ex-army colonel Turkes, with 15 MPs and around one million votes, had most importantly the strength and willingness to control the streets in many towns in the centre of the country.

This option, however, had many more risks, not least the likelihood of prolonged working class resistance and civil war.

The generals who carried out the coup have placed the smashing of working class organisa-



Turkey as it is today, with martial law in force

KEY FACTS

THE Turkish Republic was founded from the remnants of the Ottoman empire in 1923 after a national independence struggle led by Mustafa Kemal, later known as Ataturk (Father of the Turks). It has a population of 45 million.

Situated between Western Europe, the Soviet Union, and the Arab world, Turkey occupies an extremely sensitive and strategic spot in the global economy. It is a vital part of NATO's southern flank.

Turkey's economic development is at a level similar to or lower than that of the larger Latin American countries. At the same time it has a high degree of working class organisation with over 30 per cent of the workforce in trade unions.

The main political parties — all now banned — were the Justice Party, the party of big capital; the Republican Peoples Party, a reformist middle class party; the National Salvation Party, Islamicists (although a secular state, 99 per cent of the population is Muslim); the National Action Party, neo-fascists; and the Turkish Workers Party, a reformist workers party. In addition there were a myriad of parties on the Turkish far left.



Since 1947 a limited parliamentary democratic system has operated, interrupted twice by periods of military rule in 1960-61 and 1971-73.

Some 25 per cent of the population, about ten million people, are Kurds. Although dispersed throughout the country following a revolt and massacre in 1925, they remain concentrated in the eastern part of the country.

The Kurds are never referred to except as 'mountain Turks' and have historically been subject to the most barbaric repression. This remains true today.

tion at the top of their agenda. DISK, the independent trade union federation which organised just under one million workers before the coup, has been the

main target. Two thousand leaders of DISK face prosecution; The entire executive committee is in custody, threatened with massive prison sentences — hun-

dreds of years in some cases.

In contrast, the leadership of MISK, the tiny trade union led by the fascists, have all just

been released without charge.

The high level of organisation, militancy and politicisation of the Turkish masses has been the single major obstacle

to imposing the IMF's austerity programme and 'stabilising' the economy to defray Turkey's enormous debts to imperialism.

The junta is continuing the same economic programme as the previous regime but, they hope, with a more favourable balance of forces thanks to the repression it has introduced. As *The Times* commented on these measures, they 'reshape management-labour relationships on a more rational footing'. They also guarantee that all opposition is muzzled.

Europe

At this time three editors of the moderate Istanbul daily newspaper *Hurriyet* remain in detention under a new law against 'spreading alarm and despondency' — for printing that a 40 per cent devaluation of the Turkish currency was pending.

Despite the brief honeymoon period which followed the junta take-over there is no reason to believe that the army offers anything but a short-term solution for the Turkish bourgeoisie.

West European governments, after initially declaring that Turkey would make a rapid return to democracy have maintained political, economic and military relations with the junta. They have also decided to assist the Turkish military in its hunting down of oppositionists by instituting visa entry systems in nearly every EEC country.

Solidarity

The British media have turned a blind eye to the brutal repression and denial of democratic rights, which makes labour movement solidarity even more urgent.

The conspicuous silence of the parties of the 'Socialist International', which includes the British Labour Party, has to be broken and a fight waged to end all economic, political and especially military links with the Turkish junta.

Stop the missiles

Pay up and survive

SOME people will try to make a profit out of anything. Ex-dictator Somoza of Nicaragua, for example, drained the blood of his victims' bodies to sell in the American blood market.

Now a group of London business people are going to make millions out of our fear of nuclear wipe-out. Douvaine, a Jersey-based investment company, is constructing an underground village in Wiltshire for use during a nuclear war.

It will have sports areas, libraries, communal laundries, washing, medical and feeding facilities. At the ground level there will be an airstrip and helicopter pad. There's one small hitch — money.

A large double-bed size room will cost £8,000. Some 10,000 wealthy people — no doubt the most enthusiastic warmongers — will be able to take advantage of this splendid offer.

The fear-merchants say: 'We have negotiated with a leading finance house to have mortgages for those who meet the requirements.'

Strategies for banning the bomb

In the third part of his review of *The Protest Makers*, JULIAN ATKINSON records the vacillations of the Labour Left in the early '60s and the failure of CND to campaign in the labour movement. There are, of course, lessons for the '80s.

THE unilateralist victory at the 1960 Labour Party conference left the leadership of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament surprisingly unprepared.

Jacquetta Hawkes was 'absolutely astonished' by the vote and had been quite 'unaware' of what had been going on.

A J P Taylor, the historian, regarded the conference decision as 'really almost a distraction; it was a misfortune

that it had been carried in this way and gave an illusion that the Labour Party had been carried for unilateral nuclear disarmament: it hadn't — something had been carried by the mass vote of the Transport and General Workers Union.'

The confusion was reflected in a call from CND's chairperson, Canon Collins, to ensure that the conference majority was maintained and increased, and to continue to win mass support for unilateralism.

Both of these suggestions were absolutely sound, if not totally precise. But then, to cover himself from the charge of being 'political', Collins called for a big push to win support in the Tory and Liberal Parties.

The leadership of the Labour left found themselves in a dilemma. They had the authority of the conference behind them. But if they attempted to apply conference decisions, Hugh Gaitskell and the right would fight.

There would be a risk of splitting the party and wrecking its electoral chances.

Resign

A few cried 'forward'. The MP Zilliacus called on constituency Labour Parties to insist that MPs either support conference policy or resign. But most cried 'back'.

In Parliament only five MPs voted during the defence debate in line with conference policy.



Last week's demo against Cruise at the American embassy on Reagan's inauguration day

The right, sensing the weakness of the left, removed the whip from the five. They began to organise in the unions and the Labour Party as the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, run by Bill Rodgers.

To their surprise they found CND and the Labour lefts were not running a campaign in the labour movement.

An indication of the indecisiveness of the lefts was shown in the Parliamentary Labour Party elections. Originally it

was decided to run the unilateralist Anthony Greenwood against Gaitskell. The lefts reconsidered and then decided to run Harold Wilson, a multilateralist and supporter of NATO, against Gaitskell.

Wilson would not raise the issue of the bomb but the need to respect conference decisions. Wilson dealt with the CND leaders beautifully. He had a meeting with them and prevaricated on everything.

He explained later that he was not with

them on the tactical and political aspects of their case but found them 'a genuine, sincere body who strongly believed in their moral campaign'.

Wilson stated of CND supporters: 'I was not looking for splits, for I would say they're all good chaps, essential to the party, and it was my job to keep links around them all, which I did.' The debate inside the Labour Party had become irretrievably muddled.

Next week: The concluding part, CND's defeat.

Photo: PETE GRANT (Socialist Challenge)

US militarists meet wide resistance

FACED with increasing revolutionary upheavals, especially in Central America and the Middle East, the United States government has been putting pressure on its allies in West Europe and Asia to share more of the cost of defending imperialist interests around the world.

But its plans are running foul of the world recession and mass resistance in a number of Western countries.

The decision that most NATO members should increase their real arms spending is running into problems. The plan was for an annual 3 per cent rise after inflation for five years, beginning in 1978.

West Germany is NATO's strongest member in West Europe. In late October the coalition government said that the 1981 budget would not meet the 3 per cent goal. Ministers cited the expected zero growth of the West German economy in 1981 as grounds for scaling down arms spending plans.

In addition to the economic problems, there is increasing resistance from West German youth. Last November on the 25th anniversary of West German rearmament, some 50,000 people demonstrated against growing militarism and the draft.

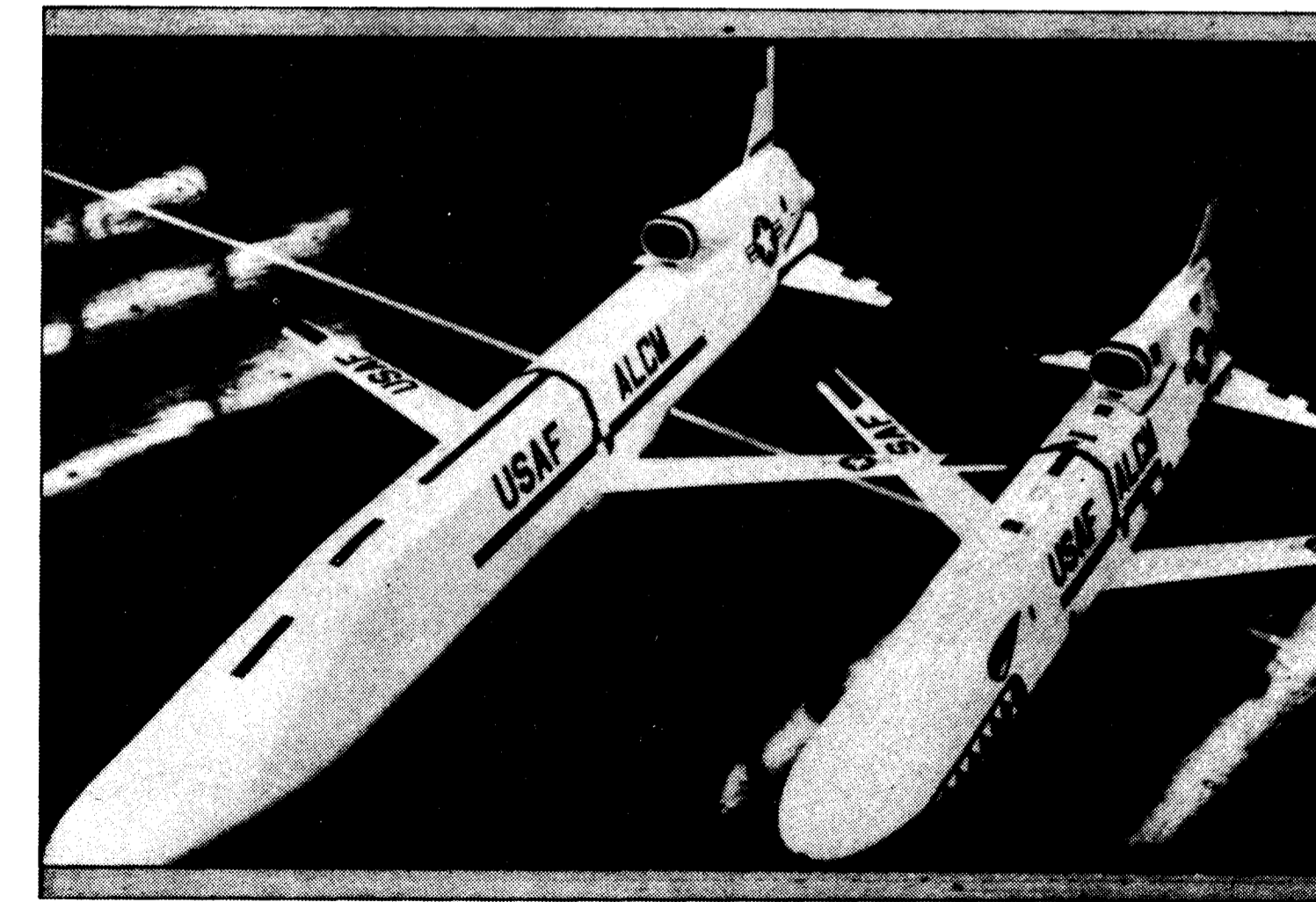
Cruise

In Holland more than a million people signed petitions two years ago opposing the neutron bomb in Europe. Mass demonstrations and other opposition forced the Dutch government to suspend its decision on accepting Cruise missiles until December 1981.

The Social Democratic government of Denmark has been hacking away at social spending while advocating that military spending be frozen at present levels, with adjustments for inflation. Some opinion polls have shown that only 17 per cent of the Danish population support increases in military spending.

Norway is one of the few NATO members expected to reach the 3 per cent target, but a major debate is brewing over a NATO plan to stockpile American weapons and equipment in the country for use by US marines.

Unlike virtually every other govern-



ment in West Europe, the French have been able to boost arms spending and step up their military role outside Europe without having to face mass protests.

The 1981 budget of the Giscard government includes sharp cuts in public spending in all areas except for the military and the police. In fact the military budget is scheduled to rise by more than 3 per cent after inflation, even though economic growth will fall sharply, with unemployment rising.

Giscard is planning a new missile for use with the neutron bomb. France already has its own regular forces with

missiles targeted on Soviet cities and industrial centres, a nuclear submarine force that is to go from five submarines to 10, and an airborne nuclear force that is undergoing modernisation.

Greece and Turkey remain major weak spots in the imperialist alliance. Greece became reintegrated into NATO's military wing in October. This was met with giant daily protests outside the Athens parliament reaching as many as 500,000 on 22 October.

There is no doubt that there has been an increase in military spending but not

to the degree that the US wants. Just as important as this increase is the resistance that has been brought forth in most of these countries especially in Britain and Greece.

The imperialist militarisation drive was forced into high gear in 1980 by the continuing revolutionary upsurge in the semicolonial countries. But it is laying the basis for big class confrontations within the imperialist centers themselves.

This article is based on a report from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* by Will Reissner.

No to sadistic films, but yes to 'Penthouse'?

I WANT to raise two aspects of the sexual oppression of women which have arisen in discussions I've had at work about the 'Ripper'.

First, although you make the link between the media and violence against women (8 January), you do not express an opinion about pornography. While current films depict the most extreme form of women's oppression, soft porn sells at most newsagents to the average man (probably a union member) who doesn't identify with the sadists/sexists portrayed in these films.

Concentrating on this aspect has not enabled us to tackle the 'ordinary' sexist who batters his wife, goes to strip clubs, harasses women at work, and buys glossy magazines. We have to show that this violence is part of the everyday oppression of women.

In my job we often walk through Soho. Arguing the link between media images and

violence to women, I had difficulty in arguing with the men I work with against a ban on pornography. Where do we draw the line, if any? No to sadistic films, but Yes to *Penthouse*?

Obviously a ban on pornography is used to repress all sexuality and that is a major reason for opposing it. But what do we say about the links between acts of violence and pornography?

Neither is it simply a question of the alliances we would be making. One of the arguments put forward in SC against hanging the 'Ripper' was that this would ally us with the NF and Mary Whitehouse's brigade. This is not a helpful way of arguing. Look at the line up on the EEC, for example.

This problem was avoided by the members of Women Against Violence Against Women interviewed in last week's paper (15 January).

Would a ban, partial or total, be a real means to end

the exploitation of women. Obviously not: unless society itself is changed, pornography will just go underground. So how do we challenge it?

My second point is about capital punishment. The problem is *not* 'what else can we do', as the sisters said. Arguing that capital punishment strengthens the state and could be used later on trade union militants is hardly the answer either. People are trying to deal with reality now, not a strong state of the future.

The question is: does capital punishment prevent women being raped? As Brian Grogan argued last week, is it really a deterrent? Isn't it better for us to be organising for things like better street lighting, free taxis, free self-defence aids and so on.

So what *do* we say: prison for life?

DENNY FITZPATRICK, POEU West End

I WAS appalled by Valerie Coultas' anti-feminist, anti-woman article, 'The Ripper, Feminism and Mary Whitehouse' (10 Dec).

Valerie implies that individual men are not to blame for their individual acts of sexual violence against women! If they are not, who is?

We all know that society encourages men to see women as sexual objects, but to go on from there to say that men are therefore unable to control their sexual drive is to perpetuate the myth that men themselves put forward to excuse themselves — 'We can't help it', or 'I was driven to it'.

It's a very small step from that position to the position currently adopted by the state that women 'ask for it' (rape) by wearing skirts or trousers, or by walking down the street, or by doing anything that would be normal human behaviour in a sane society.

To say that *any* individual, female or male, is not responsible for her/his actions is to completely ignore the fact that one's personal behaviour is a political statement of one's beliefs, a lesson the (male-dominated) left has still to learn.

The feminist call for a curfew on men was the most

Men are responsible for sexual violence

revolutionary demand that has so far come out of the demonstrations against violence against women. It certainly caused the greatest stir in the press, and it forced a lot of people to consider for the first time what it would be like if the tables were turned on men.

Why, indeed, don't we have longer prison sentences for rapists? Why, indeed, don't we have the death penalty? Because we live in a patriarchal society where the rules are made and enforced by men.

Valerie states: 'These feminists (?) shy away from such demands because they know that the government, courts, and police are not impartial.' I don't understand what this is supposed to mean — feminists don't make these demands for the simple reason that we know they will never be met!

We don't need to be told by Valerie that we can't trust the forces of law and order to protect us; women are challenging patriarchal, classist structures that those forces exist to defend.

The rest of Valerie's article leaves me stunned. 'A change in the law to allow wives raped by their husbands to take them to court ... would do more to change attitudes than any number of curfews on men.' (Who's relying on the forces of law and order now!)

If men were banned from the streets and the houses where they were not wanted this would do quite a lot to reduce the incidence of rape.

Valerie goes on: 'Progressive sex education would do more to stop men wanting to go to porn movies than increased censorship.'

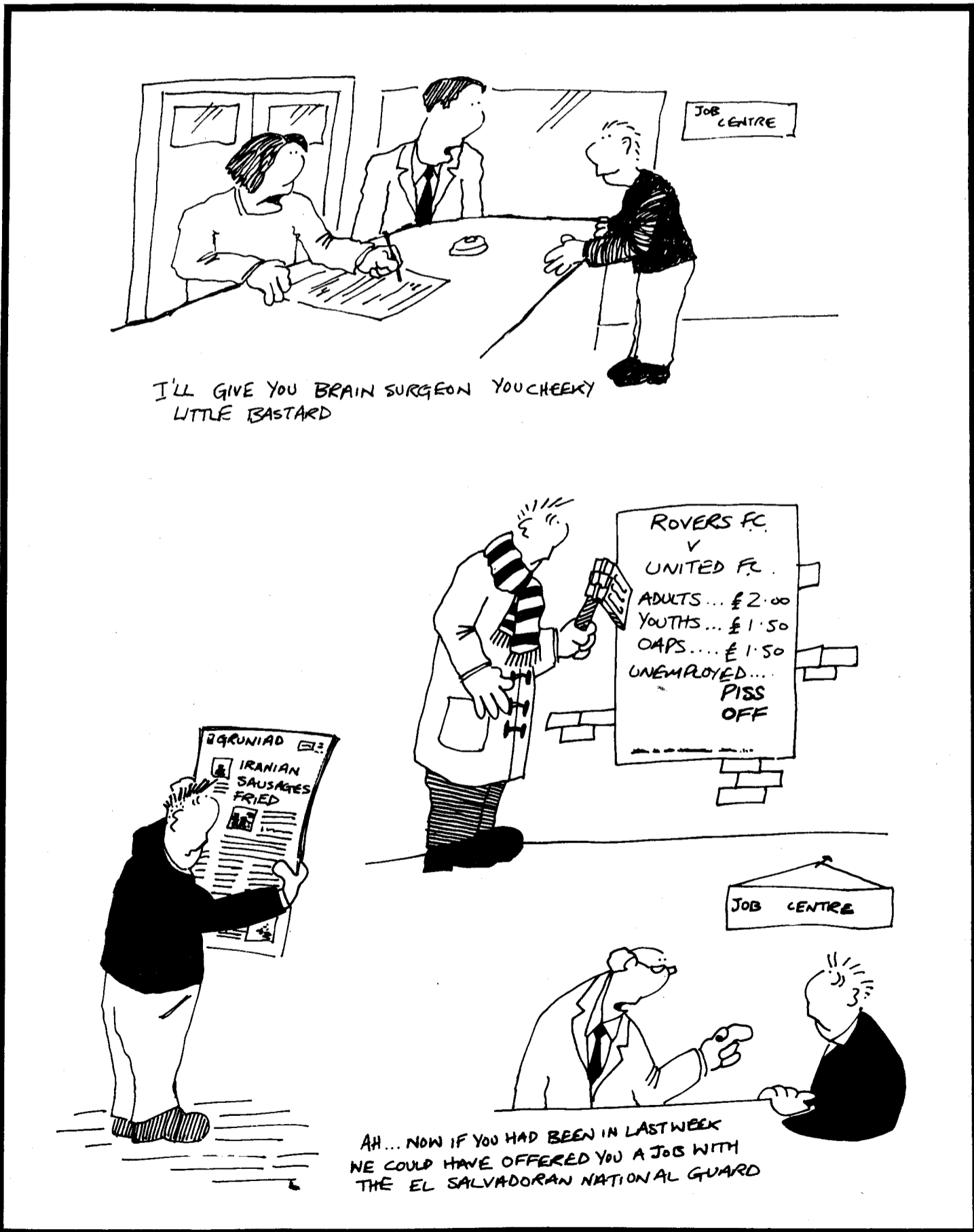
The sort of censorship we want is on pictures, movies, advertising and so on which perpetuates the image of women as sexual objects, submissive, passive dependent on men. The same sort of censorship that we want on the racist propaganda put out by the National Front or British Movement.

Contrary to her efforts by her confused article, Valerie is doing a good job in encouraging the links, made by the press, between the demands of feminists and those of Mary Whitehouse.

If Valerie really thinks that all we need is better street lighting, late night transport, and the support of the labour movement, I suggest she goes along to a trade union meeting and tries to put her case to her 'comrades' there.

I won't be there to pick up the pieces.

JUDITH CONNOR, London



The best on the left!

I HAVE been reading your paper for several weeks now and I find myself turning to it first every week, although I read other socialist literature as well.

I find it is the best written and presented paper of all and agree with the views of your paper wholeheartedly.

Amanda Crees, Great Yarmouth

No hope for Jewish culture under Zionism

THERE'S an old Yiddish curse which says: 'You should grow like an onion — with your head in the ground.' The supporters of the Jewish Socialist Group, like the onion, seem to have had their heads under ground too long to see what has happened to Jewish culture.

They say that the promotion of Jewish culture must not be confused with support for Zionism. But 'culture' cannot be lifted out of its political context.

For as long as Zionism remains the dominant political ideology of Jewish communities, Jewish popular culture (and by that I mean what we're taught in schools and synagogues, what is practised in Jewish community centres, social clubs, youth groups, summer camps, written in Yiddish and Hebrew newspapers, magazines and books, celebrated in music and dance) is *completely* Zionist in content.

Music of the Jewish communities is not the lively strains of the old *klezmerim*, but songs glorifying the blue and white flag and the new Israeli borders.

Sure, we can stake a claim in Trotsky, the Bund, Deutscher, or even Judah and the Macabees, if you like. Steve

Cohen can seek solace in the *kabala* (which, incidentally, has always been off-limits to women). But that has very little to do with present-day Jewish popular culture, which is totally contoured around support for Israel, and utterly reactionary. And for those of us who know a bit about our history, it's sad.

I shudder at the notion that we are striving for a bland assimilationist mush under socialism. On the contrary, under socialism cultures can flourish.

But there is absolutely no hope for Jewish culture to develop in a progressive direction as long as Zionism remains politically hegemonic.

So those of us who want to retain any positive vestiges of Jewish upbringing (that particular sense of irony, or a taste for Montreal bagels) must first of all combat the huge obstacle: Zionism.

PAM SINGER, London

This debate is now closed. Eds.



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Trades councils plan struggle for working class power

By Hilary Wainwright

WHATEVER moves to the left are now taking place within the Labour Party, it will make little difference to a future Labour government unless working class organisations in industry and in the community are prepared to take power for themselves.

That was one of the conclusions reached by four trades councils — Coventry, Liverpool, Newcastle, and North Tyneside — when they conducted a workers' inquiry into the industrial policies of the last Labour government.

It is this conclusion which lies behind their decision to call a conference on the theme of 'Building working class power' to be held on 28 February.

Policies

The aim is to discuss ways of organising, and the policies which will build and rebuild the strength and confidence we need.

The trade council inquiry itself pointed to a wealth of ideas and organisations which need to be extended and generalised. These were mainly in manufacturing industry. The conference, held under the auspices of Coventry Trades Council, is an attempt to widen the discussion.

The trades councils are concerned about the implicit assumption behind much of the left's arguments within the Labour Party: that the policies are basically all sorted out, in the form of the Alternative Economic Strategy agreed at the 1980 special conference, and that the only problem is to ensure that Labour MPs will carry them through.

Strategy

The inquiry is more sceptical about the policies themselves, and also the way they have been drawn up and packaged without any real involvement of the shop stewards' committees and trade union branches on whose support the Labour left argue that their policies depend.

As most Socialist Challenge readers would agree, industrial policies which really challenge the power of private capital need to be based on workers' power. And that power cannot be turned on

like a tap if ever a left Labour Party gets into government.

Yet that is what is implied by many formulations of the Alternative Economic Strategy. It is not a strategy for building working class power, starting now. It is a set of policies for a Labour government to implement on the assumption that by becoming a parliamentary majority it would thereby have the power.

The purpose of the trades council conference is not to reject the AES as a whole — its stress, for instance, on increased public spending, and government



Photo: GM COOKSON (Socialist Challenge)

Hilary Wainwright

begun to formulate alternatives in their industries and sectors. This would enable them to make links

cover a very wide range of issues concerning the strengthening of rank-and-file power and confidence in the community as well as industry, the bulk of the report was concerned with the most male-dominated sectors of the working class.

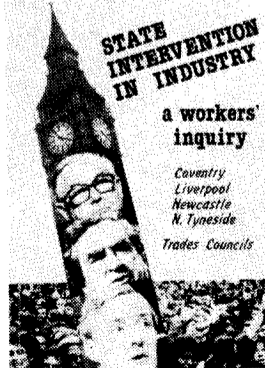
The needs of women, other than the needs which they share with the working class as a whole, hardly entered into it.

Power

The conference organisers have become very conscious of the danger that because the report focused on these traditional, very male-dominated sectors of industry, the area of working class power could be interpreted narrowly as trade union power.

If it succeeds the conference could provide a small but significant step towards a more practical meaning to a vision of socialism based on workers' power, rather than one which has been distorted and discredited by association with the corporate state.

The conference on 'Building Working Class Power' is to be held on 28 February, 11am-5.30pm, at Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry. Further details and application forms from: Coventry Trades Council, 31 Stepney Rd, Coventry CV2 4PX.



State intervention in industry — a workers enquiry — by Coventry, Liverpool, Newcastle and N. Tyneside trades councils. £2 from the Other Bookshop, 329 Uppers St., London N1.



Newcastle Trades Council demonstration

blocking of capital transfers, is of course positive. The aim is to discuss the policies and organisational steps necessary to build and rebuild working class organisations as the basis of political power.

This means, for example, discussing how trades councils together with shop stewards' committees and community-based groups can develop plans based on the resources and social needs of their locality. By linking up with national and international needs as appropriate, such moves would both strengthen campaigns and struggles against Tory policies, and prepare for a future Labour government.

Alternatives

It means providing a forum for the shop stewards' combine committees and others on a national level who have

with groups who would have a shared interest in their alternative plans and who could therefore fight together for these plans in the face of redundancies and cuts.

Tories

The unifying theme of all struggles which will be represented at the conference — whether against closures, cuts, rent increases, or for higher wage claims — is to bring down the Tories. But at the same time we need to be discussing and formulating our alternatives.

Unless we discuss these policies, defensive campaigns will lose their impetus, and a future Labour government will founder on the same rocks as before

Alliances

The trades councils argue that there are few forums through which this kind of political trade unionism can develop; where alliances can be made between workers in the private and public manufacturing sectors and those in the welfare state; between trade unionists and women organised as women, the employed and the unemployed.

Limits

A third important line of thinking behind the conference concerns the limits of the trade council report itself. Although the conclusions of the book



'Won't keep you a minute, Jackson—just like you to participate in the following decisions'

Labour's economic planning to

THE left-wing victory at last week's special Labour Party conference has raised the hopes of thousands of Labour activists and posed the

possibility of a victory. Benn looks at economic solving

THE last Labour government was voted out of office in May 1979 after a 'winter of discontent' which involved thousands of trade unionists in strike action against its pay policies. Under Labour, unemployment had doubled, wages had been frozen, and democratic rights attacked.

Yet Labour came to office in 1974 on the most radical programme since 1945. At the heart of its manifesto was an industrial policy aimed at halting the long term decline of the British economy. Labour promised a whole battery of new powers to deal with the economy, and formed the National Enterprise Board to carry out its promises.

The reality of the NEB was far from the promises of the manifesto. It presided over the loss of 30,000 jobs in British Leyland, and the rationalisation of Britain's shipbuilding industry. It donated £147m to the Chrysler car corporation only to passively watch the multinational destroy 8,000 jobs and then run off with its money.

The NEB donated £8m to Lucas, while the management refused to even consider the socially useful products designed by the workforce. With NEB support, Lucas continued to make Chieftain tanks to murder freedom fighters the world over.

The record of the NEB is one of job loss, attacks on working people through increased productivity and redundancy, and generous handouts to any employer who shared these aims.

Advocates

Despite this dismal record, left-wing activists continue to argue in the Labour Party for an updated version of the NEB as a part of their 'Alternative Economic Strategy'. The AES is now widely supported by Labour Party and trade union members.

Its leading advocates include MPs Tony Benn and Stuart Holland, and union leaders Alan Fisher of NUPE and Bob Wright of the AUEW. They argue that the practice of the NEB bore little resemblance to the radical policies of the Labour manifesto. In this they are correct.

Even after the dropping of the 1973 Labour Party conference decision to nationalise 25 to 30 profitable companies, the proposals of the 1974 manifesto were still quite radical.

The original idea was that the NEB would enter into 'planning agreements' with the top 100 enterprises. Various types of compulsion would be used to keep the companies in line with government policy, and government aid would be tied to the acceptance of planning agreements.

Handouts

The NEB was to have the power to buy a controlling share in a company, or even buy it outright. It would have the power to open the financial books to the workforce and trades unions.

When the NEB was finally established planning agreements were voluntary, even where government aid was involved. Only one planning

agreement was concluded by the Labour government, with Chrysler, which the government rescued from total bankruptcy. The NEB was only given £1,000m and 94 per cent of this money was used to keep British Leyland and Rolls Royce afloat.

During the same period the government donated £15,000m in aid to industry. The Labour Party's radical policies became little more than cheap handouts for the manufacturing employers.

Civil service

Tony Benn explains this retreat by saying that 'the majority of the cabinet did not understand or support the policies on which we were elected'. On his first day at the Department of Industry a civil service boss told him: 'I presume, Secretary of State, that you don't intend to implement the industrial strategy of the Labour Party's programme.'

The Civil Service, the employers' organisation, the CBI, and the press, conducted a campaign to discredit the manifesto commitments.

This opposition was to be expected, but what was not expected by thousands of Labour supporters was the spectacle of Tony Benn as the main campaigner for the powerless NEB.

The retreat of the Labour cabinet from the radical manifesto had nothing to do with misunderstandings. Wilson, and later Callaghan, were well aware of the effects on the economy if it were implemented.

The truth is that the '73 policy, along with the AES of today, are impossible to implement without confronting the employers head on. The Labour leaders refused to do this — instead they chose to cooperate with them and devised the 'Social Contract'.

The problem with this type of strategy is that it is based on maintaining the present system — capitalism



Callaghan and Viscount Wat

Economic policy— beat the crisis?

of a Labour
the next elec-
AN GROGAN
at Labour's
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e crisis.

through cooperation with the rul-
class in industry. The main idea
and this is the mixed economy
ivate capital and government ser-
ices — working together to defend
fits.

But planning agreements hit at
fundamentals of the profit
em. They challenge top
management's control of the move-
ment of capital and, by destroying
business secrecy, they allow workers
gain vital information. This is why
establishment opposed these types
agreements, and why the Labour
inet, understanding this perfectly,
ed with business interests.

In the final analysis, industrial
elopment depends on productive
estment. Even the NEB, with all
powers of the '74 manifesto, never
allenged the control of the
mployers over investment funds.

But employers only invest when
y are confident of eventually turn-
a profit. The original NEB pro-
als accepted this basis, so when the
nt-wing leaders argued that it was
ecessary to maintain the confidence
the bosses, the Labour lefts had no
swer. They supported the overall
onomic framework of the right
g.

Cooperation

Tony Benn supported this
amework and ended up motivating
e final, powerless NEB. The same
e awaits the AES as well. Both
ategies share the same aims and
ethods — cooperation with the rul-
g class to restore industry.

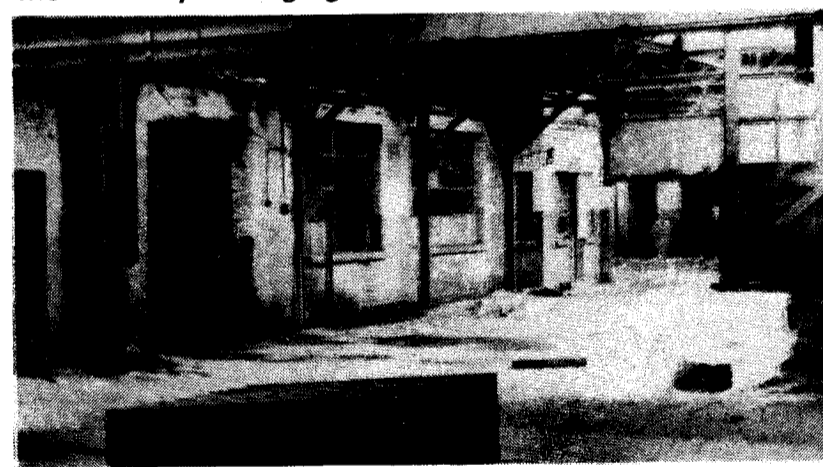
The strength of the labour move-
ent has to be mobilised to control
d defeat the employers. Sitting
ound the table and attempting joint
anning arrangements is simply uton-
an. The employers, the civil service,
e entire establishment will defend
eir privileges to the bitter end. The
k of socialists is to pursue policies
at will bring that end a lot nearer.



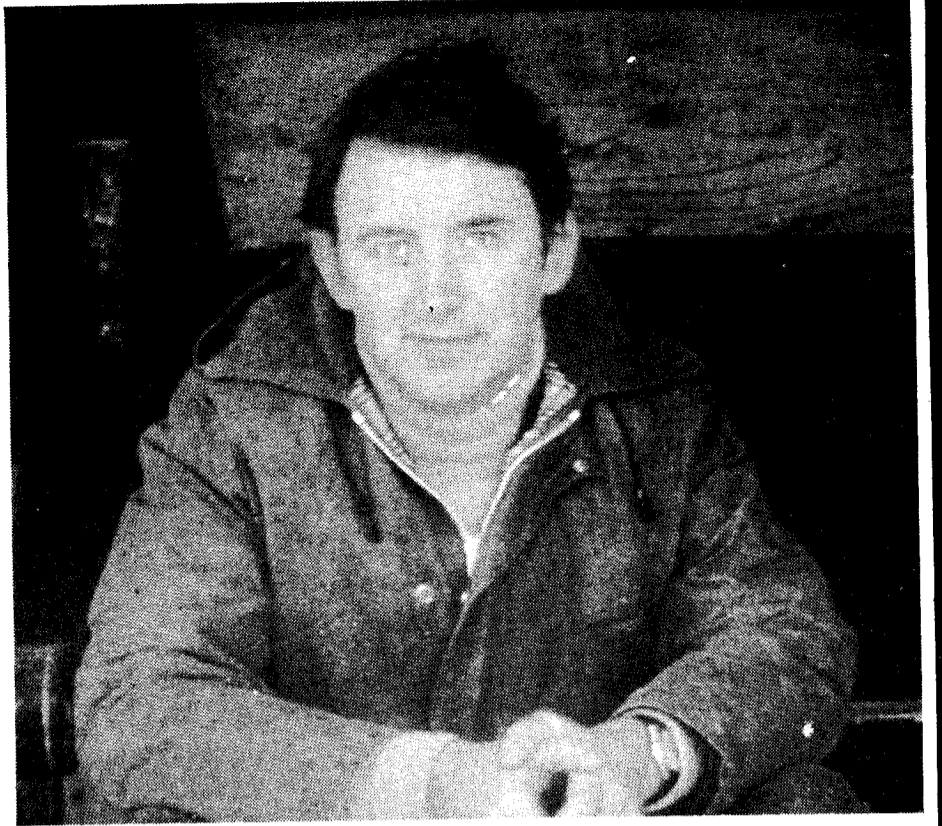
Wilson and Callaghan plotting the survival of private industry while ignoring Labour's economic policy



Denis Healey — the Chancellor's bag contained no mention of planning agreements



on, chair of the CBI



David Steel, Liberal leader

David Steel and the Gang of Three — spot the difference

By Geoff Bell

THE reason for the threatened split in the Labour Party is meant to be the democratic internal reforms adopted by the last party conference.

The picture presented by most of the media is one of the noble and sensible Gang of Three making their stand against the tyranny of the left in defence of the rights of the individual and the supremacy of Parliament.

The threat to representative democracy' Shirley Williams called it when, last November, she explained why she would not be a Labour candidate in the next election.

Crisis

The right wing is indeed worried about the growth of accountability in the party. But it is no coincidence that the divisions in the Labour Party are more spectacular than at any time since the 1930s, or that now, as then, there is an economic depression, the magnitude of which has placed a question mark against the entire capitalist system.

The left in the party recognise the importance of trying to chart a way out of the crisis, and have responded with the Alternative Economic Strategy. But what of the Gang of Three? What is their prescription for ending the economic crisis?

Mixed

It was most recently set out, not by Williams, Owen or Rodgers, nor even by merchant banker Roy Jenkins, but by Liberal leader David Steel, who recently revealed his 'Ten Point Plan for Economic Recovery'.

But what is remarkable is just how similar — and how irrelevant — are Steel's prescriptions and those put forward by the Gang of Three.

David Steel's first point is entitled 'a positive industrial strategy', the aim of which is 'to make the public sector more efficient and the private sector more profitable'. In other words 'the mixed economy and the need to manage it

efficiently' — a phrase from the famous Gang of Three 'letter', published in the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* last August.

That letter and its 'commitment to the mixed economy' called for 'an expanded National Enterprise Board' through which 'finance should be available on easy terms to new firms starting up, especially those developing new technologies.'

David Steel on the other hand — or rather the same hand — calls for 'a strengthened National Enterprise Board paying particular attention to new areas of technology'.

Partners

Steel's second point is for 'industrial partnership and co-operation'. This 'rejects the warfare between two opposing sides' and calls for 'a new identity of interest between all the participants in industry'. For Steel, the means to this goal is to 'involve all employees in decisions which affect their future by the establishment of representative bodies in each company.'

The Gang of Three say, 'there must be effective consultation, good communication and genuine democracy at work. Artificial divisions between manager and worker, blue collar and white collar are... destructive.'

Incomes

The Gang of Three also favour 'an incomes policy based on regular discussion', while, surprise, surprise, the third point of Steel's plan is 'a long-term incomes policy'.

Steel's next argument is a plea for the 'extension

of the small business sector'. Rather disappointingly the Gang of Three letter doesn't specifically make this call, but fear not: in an article in the *Daily Telegraph* (where else?) in June 1978 Shirley Williams said, 'the small businessman has a vital role to play'.

In their letter the famous three complained of 'dear money and an over-valued pound', which suggests they should be happy with the fifth and sixth points of the Steel plan which call for 'lower interest rates' and 'reduction in the exchange rate of the pound'.

The unanimity is by now becoming repetitive and boring. So let's briefly run through Steel's remaining points.

EEC

Number seven says, 'North Sea oil surpluses should be routed to recreation of our capital assets thus providing employment'. The Gang of Three say, 'North Sea royalties should be earmarked for the purpose of modernising British industry and... training young people'.

Steel's eighth point demands a 'massive energy conservation programme'; the Three demand 'measures to conserve energy'. Steel's ninth point deals with an 'extension of youth training'; the Gang want more government finance in support of 'new technologies and training... our young people'.

Steel's final point is for 'international cooperation' involving a belief that 'we should work closely with our European partners'. It was the possibility of the next Labour government withdrawing from the EEC which prompted Shirley Williams to make her public statement last November saying she wouldn't stand for Labour at the next election.

Her speech also included an important observation: 'The Liberals aren't a serious alternative.' You said it, Shirley, you said it.

SC Sales

ABERDEEN: SC sold Saturdays outside C&As — for more info ring Colin, 574060.

BATH: SC on sale at 1985 Books, London Road, and Saturdays 2pm-3pm outside the Roman Baths. Phone 20298 for more details.

BIRMINGHAM: SC on sale at The Ramp, Fri 4.30-5.40, Sat 10-4. For more info phone 643 0669.

BRADFORD: SC available from Fourth Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate.

BRIGHTON: SC sales regularly every Sat outside Open Market, London Road, from 11am-1pm.

BRISTOL: SC on sale 11-1, 'Hole in Ground', Haymarket. More info from Box 2, c/o Fullmarks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Montpellier, Bristol 6.

BURNLEY: SC on sale every Sat morning 11.30-1pm St James St.

CARDIFF: SC sales Newport Town Centre outside Woolworths 11-12.30; Cardiff British Home Stores 11-12.30. Also available from 108 Books, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

CHESTERFIELD: SC supporters sell outside Boots, Marketplace, Saturdays 11.30am-12.30pm.

COVENTRY: SC available from Wedge Bookshop. For more info about local activities phone 461138.

DUNDEE: SC available from Dundee City Square outside Boots, every Thursday 4-5.30pm, Friday 4-5.30pm, Saturday 11-4pm.

EDINBURGH: SC sales every Thursday 4.15-5.15pm Bus Station, St. Andrews Square; Saturday 11.30-2pm East End, Princes St. Also available from 1st May Books, or Better Books, Forrest Rd. More info on local activity from SC c/o Box 6, 1st May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row.

ENFIELD: SC available from Nelsons newsagents, London Rd, Enfield Town.

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

HACKNEY: supporters sell SC every Saturday morning at Ridley Road market E8.

HAMILTON: SC on sale 8-11 every Sat. outside County Bar Almada Street, every Sat outside Safeway 1.30-5. For more info contact Paul, 17 Clyde View or John at 54 Eliot St, Hamilton.

HUDDERSFIELD: SC supporters sell papers every Saturday 11am-1pm. The Piazza. SC also available at Peaceworks.

KILBURN: SC sales every Sat, 10am in Kilburn Square.

LAMBETH: SC available from Village Books, Streatham; Tethric Books, Clapham; Paperback Centre, Brixton; Oval tube kiosk. Also sold Thur and Fri evenings and Thur mornings outside Brixton tube.

NEWCASTLE: SC on sale every Sat 11-1pm outside Fenwicks. Also available at Days of Hope bookshop, Westgate Rd. For more info ring Phil or Pete on Newcastle 737507

MANCHESTER: SC supporters sell 11-1pm Sat at OLDHAM outside the Yorkshire Bank, High St; at BURY in the shopping precinct and at Metro Books; at BOLTON in the town centre; and in MANCHESTER outside the central reference library in St Peter's Square and at Grassroots and Percivals Bookshop. Tel: 061-236 4905 for further info.

NEWHAM: SC sale every Saturday, 11am to noon, Queen's Rd Market, Upton Park.

OLDHAM: SC sold every Saturday outside Yorkshire Bank, High Street. For more information about local activities. Tel. 061-682 5151.

OXFORD: SC supporters sell every Fri 12-2pm outside Kings Arms and every Sat 10.30-12.30pm in Cornmarket.

STOCKPORT: SC sold every Saturday, 1pm, Mersey Way. Can be delivered weekly; phone 483 8909 (evening), 236 4905 (day).

SWANSEA: SC sales outside Co-op, Oxford St, 11am-1pm, Saturdays.

SWINDON: SC on sale 11-1 every Sat., Regent St (Brunel Centre).

TEESSIDE: SC on sale Sat lunchtime in the Cleveland Centre, and in Newsfare, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough, and outside Woolworths on Stockton High Street.

WOLVERHAMPTON: SC sales on Thur/Fri at Poly Students Union from noon-2pm and British Rail 4.30-6pm; an Saturday near Beatties, town centre from 11am-2pm.

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

What's Left

RATES for What's Left. 5p per word or £4 per col. inch. Deadline: noon Sat. prior to publication. Payment in advance.

FIGHT Racism! Fight Imperialism! No. 8: the Irish War — what is to be done in Britain. Interview with Thozamile Botha, leader of Ford's strike, South Africa; the Communist tradition in Ireland pt 2 — Irish Labour confronts British imperialism; Greensboro murders; other news and articles on Britain and internationally. 20p plus 15 p&p from RCG publications, 49 Railton Rd, London SE 24.

NORTH London No Nukes Music gig. Tues 3 Feb. The Pied Bull, corner of Upper St. and Liverpool Rd, 8pm till closing time.

CHARTER 81 — A Programme for Action, Journalist Charter Conference. Sat 31 Jan at North London Polytechnic, Holloway Rd, London N7. 10.30-4.30pm. Creche. Registration £1.50.

NATIONAL Abortion Campaign Jumble Sale. Sat 31 Jan. 1.30pm Friary Hall, Frensham St, off Peckham Park Rd, London SE15.

SMASH the Prevention of Terrorism Act Campaign. Labour Movement Conference: TUC Hands off Ireland. Coventry 14 March. The Better Life for All Campaign and the Bill of Rights are a cover for the official labour movement's complicity in British repression. Let's change TUC Irish policy in 1981 into support for the national liberation struggle. Convenor: Dave Hallsworth AUEW Tameside Trades Council. Sponsors: Salford Trades Council, Jimmy O'Hara (National Executive TGWU), Jim Monaghan (chairperson Todmorden Trades Council), Bob Montgomery (Sheet Metal Workers) info. SPTAC, BM RCT, London WC1N 3XX. 01-274 3951.

LABOUR PARTY: Day school on the Labour Party, open to SC supporters Sun 22 March.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: National fraction now Sat 31 January.

IRISH LIBERATION: fraction on Sun 1 March. Details to follow.

POSITIVE ACTION: Day school on Sun 1 February. Ring centre for details.

ABORTION: Day school on 1 March. Ring centre for details.

MISSILES: National fraction on Sun 8 Feb at Camden Social Services Centre, Cromer St, Kings Cross, WC1.

ENGINEERING: National fraction on Sat 7 Feb at Manchester Centre.

IMG MEMBERS: We urgently need you to fill vacancies in a variety of technical posts in National Centre. Any cdes interested ring Penny on 01-359 8371.

COVENTRY: Socialist Challenge public meeting 'Violence against women'. Speaker: Valerie Coultas. Thur 5 Feb, 7.30pm. Conference room, students union, Coventry Polytechnic.

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21 Feb - National Sales Day

By Davy Jones

SOCIALIST Challenge is aiming to win hundreds of new regular readers. And our National Sales Day on 21 February is our best opportunity yet to find them!

On 21 February tens of thousands of working people will march against unemployment in Glasgow on the Labour Party demonstration.

Impact

Every Socialist Challenge supporter at the demonstration will be organised in a sales team. That way we aim to make the maximum impact with Socialist Challenge — the paper that fights for Jobs

not Bombs.

Mick Archer from Birmingham told us how Socialist Challenge supporters were organised to sell the paper on the transport to last October's massive CND demo. 'Teams of sellers were organised for every coach and train going down to the demo.'

Activities

'Special subscriptions leaflets were distributed, and names and addresses collected from people wanting to be kept informed of local activities.' Why don't supporters in other areas follow the Birmingham example for the 21 February demo?



For those not able to make it up to Glasgow there's still work to be done on the National Sales Day in your area. We want local supporters to choose a shopping centre, a housing estate, a factory sale or even a pub run for intensive selling on the day.

Send us details of your plans for local sales on the day.

Leaflet

In the next weeks we will have a new subscription leaflet available for distribution on the sales day. Note that date — 21 February!



MORE than fifty people attended last week's Lambeth Socialist Challenge meeting in solidarity with the revolutions of the Caribbean.

Pictured above are Jamie Lopez (left), from the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, who explained the history behind the present struggle in El Salvador; comrade Frederick (right) from the Grenadan New Jewel Movement support group,

who outlined the growing unity between the revolutions of the region; and Pat Kane, from Socialist Challenge, who pointed out that Reagan's war drive was aimed at the region's successful revolutions.

The meeting was a big success, and showed that socialists in this country have a lot to learn from these revolutions.

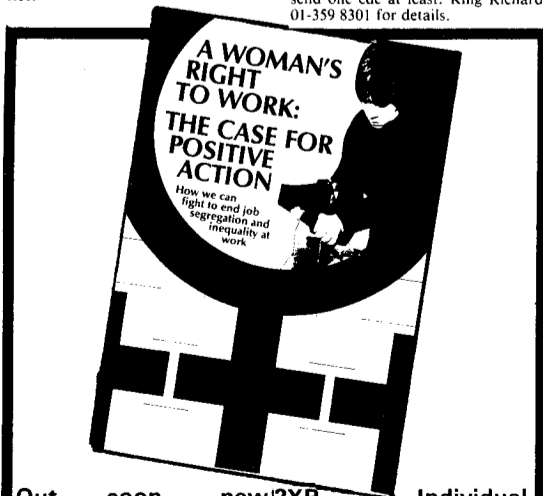
Successful Socialist Challenge meeting on Caribbean

Revolution Youth notices

MEMBERSHIP CARDS: Cards now available for members of Revolution Youth. All branches should place orders with national office.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: fraction due to take place next weekend cancelled.

CRUISE MISSILES: joint fraction with IMG on Sun 8 Feb. All branches send one cde at least. Ring Richard 01-359 8301 for details.



Out soon, new 2XP. Individual Socialist Challenge pamphlet. Available from Judith Arkwright, c/o PO Box 50, London N1. Copies, 50p + 11½ pp; reduced rate for orders over 20. Cheques payable to Red Weekly.

Socialist Challenge organisers meet

Socialist Challenge sellers at the big anti-nuclear demonstration in Sunderland earlier this month were elated when the march burst out singing 'I won't die for Thatcher, Jobs not Bombs', to the tune of the Conga. Our slogans had caught on in a big way!

But Newcastle sellers pointed out that the paper wasn't clearly identified with these slogans even though it launched them. We had the beginnings of a good reputation for nuclear and Cruise missile coverage, but the visual presentation and particularly the front page had to make this clearer.

This view was backed by a national meeting of Socialist Challenge organisers, who wanted the masthead to feature these slogans.

Sellers thought the changes in the paper made it easier to sell. But this highlighted our weaknesses in organising to sell it. The paper's role as a political weapon and

an organiser in the labour movement wasn't fully understood by its supporters.

We should fight for every supporter to sell the paper, including at least one public sale each week.

Readers

Priority for the coming month was to reach new readers, particularly in the Labour Party. The subscriptions drive was proving successful, and it

Socialist Challenge

was agreed there should be a new subs leaflet centring on the 'Jobs not Bombs' issue.

There was a feeling we could have lost readers, particularly in the Labour Party, because of a falling off in discussion material such as the Battle of Ideas series. When we carried interviews with leading Labour Party figures like Tony Benn, we should make sure to carry replies and debate.

WHAT are your views on the first three months of the new Socialist Challenge, and how can we best improve it and promote it? Your contributions will be welcomed.

Another meeting of Socialist Challenge organisers is planned for March to prepare for the next national sales day on 4 April.

We want to know what you think!

By Davy Jones

A BITTER test of strength between the workers and their bureaucratic rulers now dominates the political situation in Poland.

Since the legalisation of the mass union movement Solidarity last November, there has been a constant battle with the authorities over the implementation of the Gdansk strike agreements.

Last Saturday saw another example of the

Poland - the test of strength continues

workers' strength as millions defied the government and took the day off as part of the campaign for a five day work week.

The Polish workers are having to fight over every dot and comma of

the Gdansk agreements against the government's backtracking. There are still political prisoners to be freed. The government has not yet published its draft new code on press censorship. And Solidarity itself is still not guaranteed access to the

mass media.

Perhaps most importantly some hundreds of thousands of overwhelmingly poor farmers organised in Rural Solidarity are still being denied government recognition to their new

union.

Over the coming months there will be major battles round democratic rights and working class living standards. The Polish ruling bureaucrats and the Catholic Church hierar-

chy will be doing all in their power to undermine the strength of the independent union movement.

In this country militants should seek every opportunity of establishing links with

the workers in Solidarity. Resolutions of support for Solidarity should also demand that the regional and national union bodies and the Labour Party national executive invite Solidarity representatives to Britain to speak to labour movement meetings.

Already the AUEW has agreed to send minor printing facilities to Solidarity. Other unions should be pressed to follow suit. Resolutions should be sent to: Solidarity, MK2: Hotel Morski, Grundwaldska 103, Gdansk, POLAND.

Crisis in the Polish Communist Party

ACCORDING to recent estimates, half a million militants of the Polish Communist Party have handed back their party membership cards since last summer.

Some 60 per cent of the working class members of the CP are now members of the Solidarity union movement. And in the run up to the extraordinary congress in March, opposition documents are circulating within the party.

Jacqueline Allio, from the French Trotskyist paper Rouge, spoke to several CP militants at the University of Lodz.

'A system without queues, without privileges...

THERE has always been opposition at Lodz University: 'I developed the same ideas in 1968, and was told they were "dangerous",' remarked one of the most militant of the group.

'At the time of the last congress in 1978 I put forward similar ideas and was dismissed from the leadership. But now nothing will stop us from speaking out. The explosion is too big for the bureaucracy to control, as it did in the past through layer after layer of party committees.

'In 1978, for example, we passed a very radical resolution in my college. But by the time it had gone through the higher levels — the board of directors, the local area committee, regional committee, and so on — there was only an amputated resolution left when it reached the offices of the central leadership.

'But this time we are confronted by a socialist revolution by the working class. They are fighting for their rights and challenging the bureaucracy which has grabbed power and impose its dictatorship over the proletariat.

'The party apparatus has its own goals, its own interests. The reaction of the bureaucrats demonstrates that they have forgotten why they are

there in the first place.

'Workers are not challenging the socialist ideal; on the contrary they are defending it against the bureaucrats who have forgotten it.

'We are fighting for a completely different system. A system where there are no private cars, but rather a satisfactory public transport network and where everyone lives in decent housing ...

'A system without queues, without privileges for the families of the bureaucrats.'

I asked whether there was rank and file coordination between factory cells as there is in Torun and other towns.

'No there is not, but discussions that are taking place around the Fonica document show



Discussions are going on throughout the Polish Communist Party

that we are going through a similar process to them.

'When the Fonica document was first written the local party committee took it up and threw it into the regional committee discussions.

The management reacted strongly, wanting to know who had written it. As a result a series of factories in the region held meetings to discuss the document.

Those meetings showed that there was

agreement with the demands put forward by the Fonica workers against a bureaucracy which rules in its own interests.'

Another militant told me: 'We have already won the first round by

forcing the leadership to bring forward the date of the extraordinary congress. Some rank and file cells — like here in the University — have already elected their delegates to the congress against the wishes of the

leadership. 'We intend to be represented at the 9th congress in March. We will centre our intervention on a radical change in the structures and functioning of the party.'

What the CP militants in the Fonica factory are saying

A DOCUMENT entitled 'What is to be done? The burning problems of our movement' has been circulating within the Communist Party in Lodz since last November.

The leader of the CP in the Fonica factory at Lodz, B Ragowski, explained that the stakes were whether 'the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be a dictatorship over the proletariat'.

'Little by little a situation of dual power is developing,' he added.

The Fonica document claims that 'the Polish CP is so compromised that it cannot

recover the confidence of society without undergoing a complete change'. For that, the document argues, it is necessary to create a new party: 'the Polish Socialist Workers Party'.

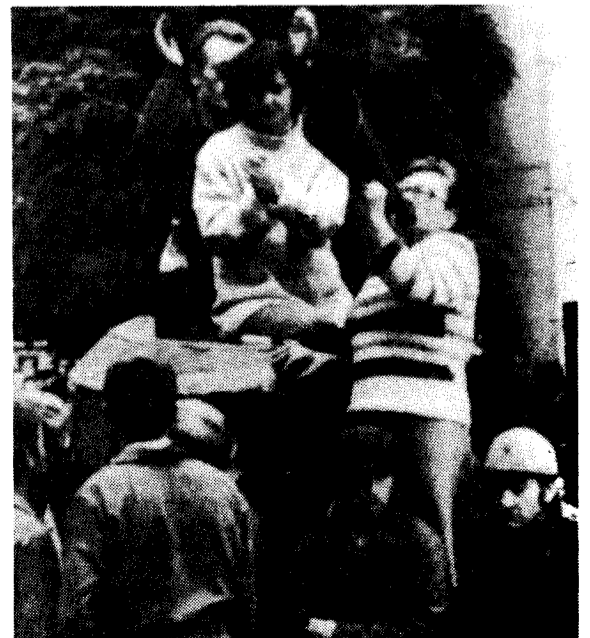
'Polish, that is to say leaning on the experience and the traditions of the Polish nation; socialist, that is committed to building a society based upon the collective ownership of the principle means of production ...; workers, that means representing the population living from salaried work — the working class and intellectuals.'

The Fonica document specifies that such a party would have to 'exercise its

leading role within the state not on its own, but jointly with the parties representing the other two classes in society: the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie'.

The document's authors then propose some internal party reforms: 'the apparatus of the salaried full-timers has to be reduced to the minimum'. They propose that the full-timers should take part in the discussion of the factory cells.

The document also argues for the immediate democratic election of delegates to the extraordinary party congress, and the prior circulation of documents to prepare the congress discussions.



Strike leader Anna Walentynowicz

Women's Rights

A woman's right to choose needs cash

National Abortion Campaign office worker JAN PARKER told Socialist Challenge about the campaign's plans and problems.

POLITICALLY the campaign is stronger than it's ever been because of the activities which put an end to the Corrie anti-abortion Bill.

A labour movement conference on positive legislation — to discuss the kind of law women need on abortion — is to be held on 14 March. The idea is to shift opinion and make people start thinking about changes.

We are distributing a video film for schools; we have held a day school on contraception and we are organising a women's forum.

The strength of NAC's organisation was an important factor in dissuading the Tory MP Timothy Sainsbury from attempting to put further restrictions on abortion rights. But that does not mean we can all sit

back and relax.

There are still restrictions going on; the cuts are biting and the number of abortions done on the health service is dropping every year. NAC groups in Bradford, Leeds, Camden, and Hackney are still fighting for facilities.

We've launched a £2,000 fund drive to help us finance all the things that are coming up. This shouldn't be

too difficult to raise — after all, some 60,000 people demonstrated against the Corrie Bill in October 1979.

NAC is £1,000 in debt and we may not be able to pay for booking the hall for the positive legislation conference which will be a crucial step for women in this country.

Whether the campaign continues to exist has national and international repercussions. A bill has just gone through in Holland which keeps abortion as a criminal offence, gives doctors the right to refuse women the right to have an abortion, creates

restrictions on clinics and requires a 4 day wait between seeing the doctor and having an abortion. International solidarity played an important role in the campaign against Corrie, and NAC will therefore play a major role in building for the international day of solidarity on 16 May.

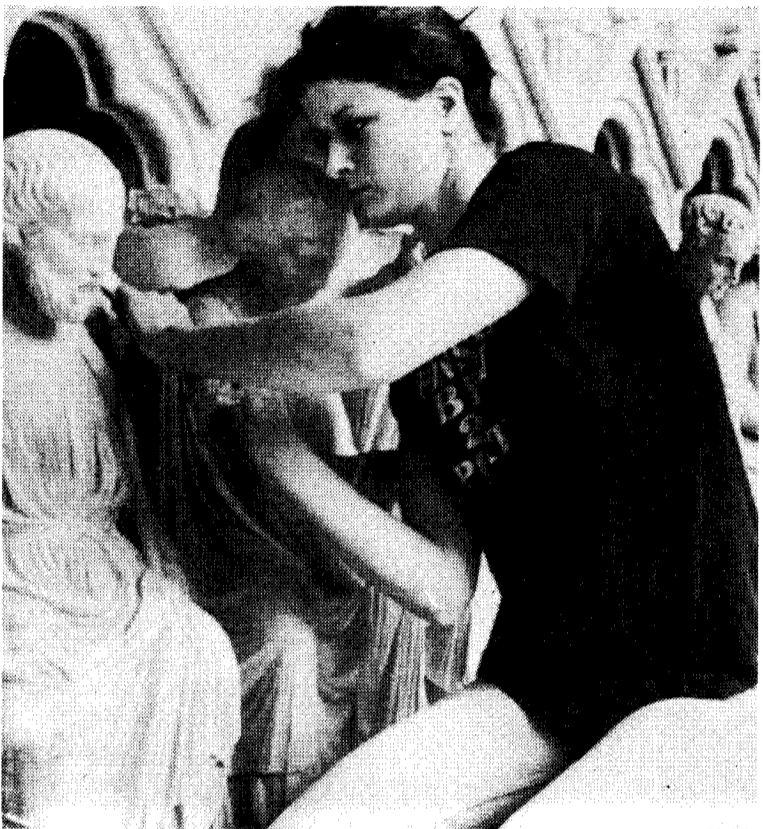
Liberation

NAC is only five years old and yet its existence has achieved so much for women's liberation. A woman's right to choose raises all sorts of other issues. Without the NAC of course, without the material we

produce, without the experience we have built up, and without the local groups the issues would not have gone into the labour movement. We would not have been able to defend women's interests.

Socialist Challenge asks its readers to help NAC in its fund-raising by getting affiliations and donations from their Labour Parties and trade unions.

Bankers' Orders to: National Abortion Campaign Account, National Westminster Bank, Current Account No. 09000496, Southwark Branch, 51-50-03, 10 Southwark Street, London SE1.



WOMEN are losing their jobs at a faster rate than men; more of them are stuck in low paid jobs, and they are under-represented in the unions.

The South-east Region of the TUC has called a conference on 'Working Women in the '80s' for 14 February to discuss these issues. ANN FIANDER looks at where action is needed.

Women are being hit hard by the recession. Since 1974 unemployment in the South-east has gone up three-and-a-half times, while the national unemployment level has doubled. However, women's job loss over the same period has gone up seven times!

Those unions with a high female membership are having to come to grips with this problem. They also need to examine problems of women's low pay and especially their own union structures, which systematically under-represent women.

Conferences

Some unions are holding regional conferences on these issues, and women's advisory committees are being set up.

The public employees union NUPE, the National Association of Local Government Officers, and the white-collar unions ASTMS and APEX already have women's advisory committees at national and area level.

Trade unionists should press for such committees in every union as an aid to tackling the problems of working women.

Many unions are producing special material. More is needed for mass distribution in the schools and workplaces; trade union journals should have consistent coverage and unions should sponsor frequent day schools in the localities on women's rights.

Beliefs

Yet the myth of 'man the maker, woman the home maker' underlies the vulnerability of women as workers, and unions have scarcely begun to tackle these deeply-held views.

Because of the belief that a woman's place is in the home, we receive little job training. Because of our job in the home we often take part-time paid work and have great difficulty attending union meetings.

Central to this view is the division between men's and women's jobs.

The Equal Opportunity Commission says that 'the major problem preventing the increase of women's earnings is

The way forward for working women in the '80s



the job segregation of the labour market.' Marie Patterson, chairperson of the Women's TUC, says: 'Job segregation is the biggest stumbling block to equal rights at work.'

The unions should fight for all jobs to be open to women and campaign for positive action in law and in practice to end job segregation.

The Sex Discrimination Act needs to be amended in several ways. It has to be recognised that women suffer from past discrimination and that compensatory mea-

asures need to be introduced.

The section of the Act dealing with employers should make it obligatory for them to review their employment practices, and where women are shown to be disproportionately represented, goals need to be set to increase the number of women.

In addition, positive action clauses should be mandatory with severe penalties for non-compliance.

The commission has suggested 25 amendments to the sex discrimination legislation and to

the Equal Pay Act. Experience has more than demonstrated the inability of these Acts to defend women at work, but the EOC still fails to tackle the main problem — job segregation.

Instead it tinkers with the most obvious abuses, such as discrimination in sports and social clubs, and the commission does not call for any effective legal enforcement for its proposals.

It is false to argue, as does the TUC's recent discussion paper on positive action, that voluntary agreements

and changes in the law are counterposed. What is needed is a combination of both.

Unions are traditionally against laws which restrict their ability to function, for example the Industrial Relations Act. But laws which establish rights can be used by unions to enforce their collective bargaining agreements. To take special measures in favour of women in filling jobs is at present against the law.

Action and argument to open all jobs to women and impose legal quotas should be taken up by the unions now.

Just as some unions have made nursery provision, maternity and paternity leave part of their collective bargaining agreements, so questions of female recruitment quotas, apprenticeship entry and on-the-job training should be part of every trade union programme.

Action

It will need a combination of political and industrial action by the labour and women's movements to bring about the structural changes in society that can even partially guarantee equality for women at work.

The bosses understand how important it is to define women as wives and mothers first — workers second. It gives them grounds for low pay, menial jobs, and places the responsibility for child-care on women rather than society as a whole.

The notion that women aren't worth

training because they'll only get pregnant and quit has legal and political support. This is why restricting abortion rights remains a central way in which the right-wing seeks to control women.

Timothy Sainsbury MP decided not to pursue a Private Members' Bill against abortion this year primarily because of the opposition which confronted him.

Abortion

The drive to get women out of the labour force will be augmented by cuts in family planning clinics, health service abortion facilities, and the behind-the-scenes restrictions by the DHSS on charitable abortion clinics.

Trade union action during the campaign against the Corrie anti-abortion Bill showed what could be achieved. The unions should now be committed to the proposals of the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign on legislation to make abortion facilities mandatory on the NHS.

If such a law is to be won, delegates to the Labour Party annual conference need to be mandated to oppose the free vote for MPs on abortion, and the next Labour government committed to implement this legislation.

The delegate conference on 'Working Women in the 1980s' is to be held on Saturday, 14 February, 10am-4pm, at Congress House, Great Russell Street, London WC1. For further information 01-636 4030 ext 122.

By Geoff Bell

SOUTH Africa's largest newspaper for blacks was banned by the government last week.

The newspaper, *The Post*, had a circulation of 181,000 and its suppression is the culmination of a fresh wave of attacks by the regime on press freedom and black journalists.

A few weeks ago two leaders of a union for black media workers had banning orders imposed on them. The two were Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA), and his deputy Marimuthu Subramoney.

The banning means that for the next three years both union leaders will be confined to the areas where they live. They are not allowed to attend meetings, cannot be quoted, must remain in their homes at night and at the weekend, and cannot do any newspaper or trade union work.

Both the banning of *The Post* and the virtual house arrest of the union leaders

South Africa steps up censorship

follows an eight-week strike by black journalists which ended at the turn of the year.

The strike began over a pay dispute but later came to centre on the right of MWASA to organise among all media workers. The government is particularly opposed to MWASA because the union is overtly political.

Zwelakhe Sisulu has gone on record as saying that the role of black journalists is part of 'the struggle against white oppression'.

The recent strike succeeded in winning a promise from management to arrange 'upgrading programmes' for black journalists, as well as the provision of separate conciliation procedures, in-

dependent of white journalists, between MWASA members and their employers.

During the strike three newspapers on which MWASA members work had their license to print revoked by the government. The newspapers have a mainly black readership similar to that of *The Post*.

The South African government's treatment of the journalists and union leaders has brought protests from the National Union of Journalists in this country. But at the start of the year NUJ general secretary Ken Ashton was barred from visiting South Africa when he was detained at Johannesburg Airport for five hours. He was put on the next plane to London.



Ken Ashton, journalists' leader — not allowed into South Africa

Labour and Ireland — the next step

THE Northern Ireland Study Group, set up by the national executive of the Labour Party, has just produced a consultative paper entitled, Northern Ireland, the next step?

The Labour Party has asked for a full discussion on the paper's contents in constituency Labour parties and affiliated unions.

As an aid to this discussion Socialist Challenge is running a series of articles taking up the five questions posed in the consultative paper. This week we deal with the first question, which concerns the economy of the north of Ireland.

The question answered

By Tom Marlowe

THE latest unemployment figures for the north of Ireland show that 16.3 per cent of the population is out of work.

There are marked variations: unemployment is much higher in Catholic areas than in those in which Protestants are in a majority. For instance, male unemployment in Strabane, Co Tyrone, a Catholic area, is an astounding 42 per cent.

These differences are a consequence of conscious policies followed by Unionist governments to discriminate against non-Unionists. The British government has, by and large, refused to intervene either to halt discrimination or to revive the ailing economy.

Backbone

The traditional industries have declined. Linen, once the backbone of the economy employing 40,000 people, has been virtually wiped out. Shipbuilding, which in the late '50s employed over 24,000 workers, has now only 6,500.

This decline has also hit the 'new industries', which were meant to replace the traditional ones. Artificial fibres, which in 1974 employed 9,000, now has less than 2,500 workers, with a further 1,000 redundancies being announced last week.

Industry in the north of Ireland — what there is left of it — is overwhelmingly privately-owned. The nationalisation of some industries in

The question posed

THE problems of Northern Ireland are exacerbated by the appalling economic problems.

★ *Unemployment in November 1980 was near 16 per cent.*

★ *One third of the population is living on or just above the bread line, compared with over a fifth in Great Britain.*

★ *Northern Ireland is 87 per cent dependent on oil; electricity is 20 per cent dearer than Britain, coal 10 per cent and gas three times as expensive (Northern Ireland does not have access to Britain's natural gas).*

One measure which could help, however, might be to extend the network for cheap natural gas, through a new pipeline to Northern Ireland.

What extra measures should be adopted to strengthen the economy in Northern Ireland? Should Britain build a gas pipeline to Northern Ireland?

From the Labour Party's consultative paper

Britain, such as shipbuilding, was only partially extended to the north of Ireland.

The economy has been run by a system of generous grants to private industrialists to set up businesses. But



The British Army props up the discriminatory system in the north of Ireland

once these grants run out the firms tend to close down, leaving a hefty profit for the owners but unemployment for the workers.

All this is made even worse by partition, which denies the natural economic unit of Ireland. The north of Ireland economy, and the wage rates of workers

there, are relatively much worse than they were prior to partition. The south of Ireland has also been hit, although unemployment there is considerably less than in the north.

It is clear that working people in the north of Ireland have been ravaged by the capitalist norms used to manage

the economy; by the exploitation of the private companies, which are only interested in making quick profits and then getting out, and most of all by the imposition of an unnatural division of the country of Ireland.

In this context, to put forward a gas pipeline from Britain to the north as some sort of solution

is like prescribing an aspirin to cure cancer.

Socialists would argue that only a system which puts the needs of the population above those of private industrialists would provide an answer to the north of Ireland economy. But as well, it is obvious that the link with Britain has not been

of any economic benefit to working people in the north.

A national economic plan applying to all of Ireland, drawn up and controlled by working people throughout the country, would not only be consistent with Irish self-determination, it would also make more economic sense.

Sign of The Times: hundreds redundant

By Geoffrey Sheridan

UNLESS you count the authors of the Bible, no press baron in history has notched up the record of Rupert Murdoch — the probable new boss of Times Newspapers — in imposing his views on tens of millions of readers. Murdoch's empire spans three continents, and in each of them the newspapers he has taken over have well earned the gratitude of the right-wing.

In his native Australia, journalists on the Murdoch-owned *The Australian* went on strike over their bosses' anti-

Labour tirades in the general election which brought the Tory Malcolm Fraser to power in 1975.

Margaret Thatcher is another reactionary who is indebted to Murdoch. She has bestowed on him a knighthood for creating Britain's top-selling working-class Tory paper, the *Sun*, replete with women's torsos.

The Tories are not alone among Murdoch's well-wishers in this country. The leaders of both the NGA and SOGAT print unions have recently appeared on platforms declaring the need for

press freedom and the working class's present lack of it.

Strange, then, that NGA general secretary Joe Wade declared at the end of last week: 'I personally would have chosen the man. He has the resources, ability, expertise and the right kind of track record.'

SOGAT general secretary Bill Keys was hardly less effusive, expressing confidence that his union would reach agreement with the Digger, although he did mention his concern over 'concentration of ownership'.

Did this enthusiasm simply reflect a concern to save jobs, bearing in mind that the other bidders roll out much the same kind of Tory hymn



sheets? Not exactly.

The redundancy levels that have been agreed are mouth-watering by the standards of any newspaper magnate — 40 per cent in the case of the 1,000 SOGAT members, and 45 per cent among the NGA compositors.

In short, it's a wipe-out, which was obvious the moment Thomson announced the sale unless the unions put up firm resistance.

There is a way out of the Thomson/Murdoch blackmail. New technology could be used

to expand production rather than axing jobs, by creating facilities for working class newspapers.

If the owners won't use their printing plants for this purpose, they could be taken over. As it happens Labour Party policy calls for a national print corporation, although you would hardly guess it from the speeches of the Labour MPs who are opposed to Murdoch's bid.

It is not too late to stop Murdoch digging in. The job agreements could be renounced and the printworkers and journalists could secure for the working class its own Fleet Street voice. They would not lack labour movement support.

Hangman Hoggart is murdering the arts

By Yvonne Taylor

THE GOVERNMENT has found a new ally in the Arts Council of Great Britain.

The council has recently demonstrated that it is willing to organise cuts in arts subsidies on behalf of the Tories, and it has no qualms about employing the most underhand tactics in carrying them through.

Just before Xmas, the Arts Council produced a hit list of forty-one funded organisations whose cash grants were to be withdrawn and redistributed among the remaining ACGB subsidised projects.

The axed groups are mainly the small scale arts centres, theatre companies and arts projects which have directed their energies to working with local communities, trade unions, young people and children, and people in institutions.

In fact, all those sections of the population who can't afford to patronise the more prestigious artistic projects — like the National Theatre, the Royal Shakespeare Company, the Covent Garden Opera House and the English National Opera — who receive between them the lion's share of Arts Council funds.

Socialist theatre has suffered badly. Broadside Mobile Workers' Theatre has lost its grant of £32,000 which ac-

counts for over 70 per cent of their income.

Paula Brown of Broadside told us: 'We had been extremely concerned for several months by the attacks in the media made on socialist theatre groups, notably by Tory MP Teddy Taylor. But the announcement from the Arts Council came without prior warning or consultation.'

Income

Broadside can afford to pay its nine workers until the end of March and are pulling out all the stops to find other sources of income. It is not hopeful about other bodies who control grants to the arts stepping in to help.

As Paula points out: 'The stigma of grant withdrawal will certainly decrease chances of alternative funding from the already hard pressed local authorities and regional arts associations.'



Another socialist theatre, Action Space in Camden, London, is in a still worse situation. The loss of its £27,000 grant may result in bankruptcy.

Jill Posener, their one time publicity officer, explained that their annual grant provided a solid base from which Action Space negotiated credit and loans. They are now left with a £32,000 debt for which trustees are personally liable.

All Action Space's staff of nine are on the dole and the building is

being kept open by volunteers. The only paid employee is a youth seconded to Action Space on a government-funded youth opportunity scheme.

Questioned by journalists about why there had been no warning given earlier to the axed arts groups about the fate that was in store for them, Richard Hoggart, vice chairperson of the ACGB, replied: 'Have you ever tried going up to a man to tell him you were going to hang him?'

Michael Croft, director of the National Youth Theatre which has lost its £15,000 grant, has called for the resignation of 'hangman' Hoggart, along with that of ACGB secretary general Roy Shaw.

The National Youth Theatre stands to lose its home at the Shaw Theatre in London. Both the National Youth Orchestra and the National Youth Brass Band have lost their subsidies, too, all on the grounds that they are amateur and not professional companies.

The ACGB doesn't explain what is to happen to the paid workers who are attached to these youth companies. Michael Croft told us: 'It's despicable at a time of high youth unemployment when youth need all the outlets they can find.'

The other criteria used by the ACGB in choosing its victims are equally spurious. It claims to have been guided by 'primarily considerations of creative and artistic quality.' But according to a number of

the companies, their work has rarely (in some cases never) been seen by Arts Council representatives.

The ACGB is supposedly an independent body from the government.

But a number of arts groups have been worried about the way in which, over the last year, ACGB policy has come to reflect official Tory government policy.

Fight

But it's not so surprising that the Arts Council has preferred to arrange its own cuts rather than organise a fight on behalf of its clients. Since its inception, the council has been a totally unrepresentative and undemocratic body. The arts practitioners and audiences it is supposed to serve have never had any right to involvement or come back in its decision making.

In 1976, a TUC working party on the arts called for the restructuring of the ACGB with participation by the unions concerned and a greater degree of democracy. The Labour Party conference of the same year was presented with similar proposals.

The arts companies just axed are many of those which have taken as their starting point the needs and interests of working people and their communities.

Survive

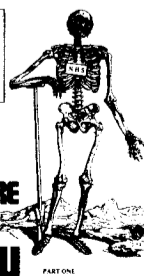
Arts Fightback has been formed by some of the arts groups concerned to fight the cuts, and to protect jobs and services which arts workers provide for the community. All the companies are determined to survive somehow and deserve maximum support from the whole labour movement.

BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE



BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE

THE CUT PRICE WELFARE STATE SHOW



'WE HAVE THE POWER OF THE WINDS'



BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE

BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE



DIVIDE AND RULE BRITANNIA

BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE

THE WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER SHOW



BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS' THEATRE



APARTHEID: THE BRITISH CONNECTION

An entertaining montage of sketches, songs and slides

Wandsworth win significant victory

By Dave Benlow, Wandsworth NUPE

THE Wandsworth branch of the town hall union NALGO are close to winning a significant victory against one of the most vicious Tory councils in the country.

In the past week, all the borough's telephonists have been on strike, council house sales have been halted, and no fuel has been issued to council vehicles.

The aim of the industrial action is a simple one. The union is demanding the re-establishment of a 'no sacking' agreement that the council tore up when it announced recently that 700 jobs

would be cut in April.

Council committee meetings have been picketed and some Labour councillors have refused to attend them. Other committee meetings have been cancelled after NALGO instructed its members who are departmental managers not to attend.

Last Friday the Tory council said that they were willing to re-establish the 'no sacking' agreement. If this happens it will be a significant, if limited, victory. A mass meeting on the same day agreed to keep up the level of action until the agreement is signed and sealed.

The simplicity of this approach is also its weakness. The NALGO

branch has no policy on fighting against cuts in services, only against compulsory redundancies.

Meanwhile the borough's manual union shop stewards have changed their position after NALGO's victory. They decided to recommend to their mass meeting that they take industrial action against compulsory redundancies, rather than against cuts in jobs and services.

This means that both sections could opt out of the struggle for the defence of local facilities. And the call for industrial action with other boroughs on 4 February is being stifled by the inability of the NALGO executive to clearly declare its support.



Ray Davies

Welsh Labour councillor opposes cuts

By Helen Slyomovics (Cardiff North CLP)

RAY Davies, the chairperson of the rank and file steelworkers' Llanwern Action Group and a Labour councillor for Mid-Glamorgan, has just

been sacked as a magistrate and had the Labour 'whip' removed from him on the council.

In a letter to Herbert Morgan, full time Labour Party officer for Wales he wrote, 'the question we all need to ask ourselves is how much more despair and despondency must people suffer before we act? How big a cut in our local government services must we absorb before we say enough is enough'.

Vote

He told Socialist Challenge: 'How can I go campaigning against cuts in steel and coal and then vote to implement cuts in Mid-Glamorgan as a councillor? I had to vote against them.' Ray has the support of four local Labour party branches and the Bedwely CLP for his stand against cuts.

He has also been removed from the bench as a magistrate, after being convicted for obstruction on picket lines in Cardiff during last year's steel strike.

His name was withdrawn from the magistrate list after he refused to give assurances about his future conduct. 'I could not give these with a clear conscience' he said. Ray has written to the TUC pointing out his concern about anti-union legislation and increased police powers.

Tory minister pelted with eggs

By Bob Turner, South Bank Poly

TWO hundred students demonstrated last week outside London's South Bank Poly as Rhodes Boyson, Tory under-secretary of state for education, arrived to present awards to science graduates.

This unexpected visit allowed students to voice their opposition to Tory education policy, and Boyson was greeted with loud chants of 'Out! out! out!' One student was arrested after Boyson was pelted with eggs.

Students and many staff were incensed that Boyson, who is responsible for initiating a further vicious round of cuts and college closures, was invited to the poly.

It has recently been reported that Boyson is looking for still tighter control over education and is seeking to impose restrictions on courses not meeting national economic needs!

Members of the Socialist Students Alliance have called on the leadership of the National Union of Students to organise an effective fightback against the education minister.

The Tories, led by Boyson, have already introduced racist tuition fees for overseas students and are planning further attacks on student union autonomy.

The London Student Organisation, which represents colleges in the capital, has recently rejected the 'cosy chat with government' philosophy of the left alliance-dominated NUS executive.

Instead they see the need for a co-ordinated campaign aligned with the whole labour movement to fight current Tory economic policy.

West Indian ships join NUS strike

By Celia Pugh

'SUSPICIONS confirmed, no sailing today.' With these words a disgruntled Board of Trade Inspector climbed off the West Indian crewed Geest Tide, held in Barry Dock by the seafarers' dispute.

The ship should have sailed from South Wales the previous evening, 21 January, having discharged a cargo of bananas and taken on general cargo for the return trip to the West Indies.

The crew of the Geest Land, tied up in the next berth, had another wasted journey in store for the Government Inspector when he returns to witness their departure. They too have decided to support the NUS decision to hold foreign bound vessels in port.

Patrick John lives in Barbados. For many years he has worked on the deck of the Dutch owned Geest Land as it sails the round trip between Barbados, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent and Barry in Wales. Like other NUS members on board he receives £64 for a basic week.

Overtime and weekend working are essential to build up enough funds to send home to his family. He does not qualify for the dole and social security

payments received by his British brothers and sisters when the crew is laid off or a trip is missed.

'Many of us on the Geest Tide and Geest Land have been away from home for some time and they are keen to get back. But we know that when you're in a struggle you've got to hold on. Whether you fail or gain you've got to try.'

Breedy, a Grenadan member of the Geest Tide crew explained: 'The Geest owners are trying to split us up and turn the West Indian workers against the union. Last night the General Director of the Geest line came on board and talked to all of us.'

'They are planning to sell the Geest Tide in August and replace it with a bigger ship. He threatened that, if we refuse to set sail, they

will sell the boat immediately, get rid of us and fly us back to the West Indies. We're not going to let them intimidate and split us up like this.'

'We've got to stick with the union because its actions will benefit West Indian as well as British crews. If we give in now they'll see it as a sign of weakness and pick on us in the future. So, we're refusing to sail until the dispute is over. This means we're blocking the berth so no other ship can unload their cargo.'

The Geest owners are refusing to let union representatives on board, so meetings are held on the quay wall. Crew members I talked to considered what other tricks the owners would try to break their spirit.

Food

Breedy noted: 'In New Zealand and Australia the owners have cut off food and heating and are refusing to allow crews to go on land. We've collected £10 per member on board and the union has said it will feed us if the company try to mess us about. At the moment, although we're not sailing, we are signed up to do maintenance so they must pay and feed us.'

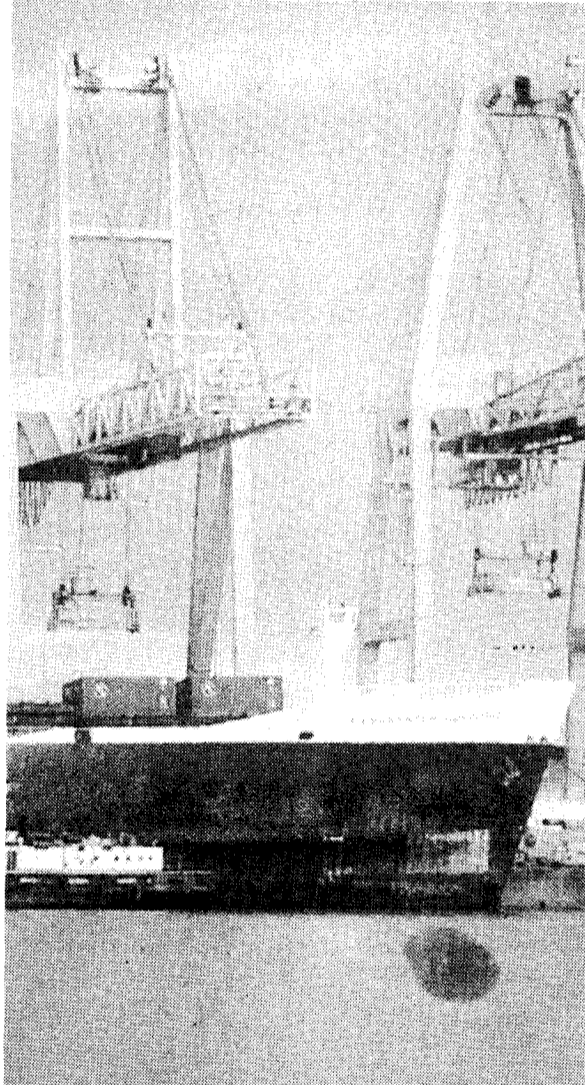
The company has threatened to bring in skeleton staff to take the ship out of Barry. South Wales tug workers have already refused to do this. One of these tugworkers, TGWU member Lloyd Ferrera joined in the discussion. He has worked on boats since he left Trinidad over 20 years ago so he knows first hand the issues behind the NUS dispute.

Help

'The tug workers have agreed that we will not take the ships out. We will only bring in foreign ships. The seamen have helped us in the past when we've been on strike so we must return it. We're all in this together.'

'The Government are doing terrible things to this country, every day we see something closing down. The seamen are important because this country needs things brought in from abroad. This dispute could soon escalate. Perhaps we'll even see lorry drivers and dockers supporting the NUS so that everything stops moving.'

'The seamen, the miners and waterworkers can bring this thing to a head, little plants affected by Government policies haven't got the strength.'



NUS strike has prevented hundreds of ships from sailing

Cardiff NUS - an apology

A MISTAKE occurred in our reporting of the seafarers' dispute last week.

The headline 'Escalation not arbitration say South Wales seafarers' implied that the Cardiff NUS branch disagrees with the tactics of the dispute and wishes the executive to call for strike action.

We have now been told that this is not the case.

In fact the resolution sent by Cardiff NUS to the executive called for the dispute to continue until the full demands are met rather than be satisfied with a referral to ACAS.

The report also erred in stating that the NUS executive had refused to call for strike action. No such resolution was put at the NUS executive meeting.

We apologise to Cardiff NUS for these errors.



Thames Water Authority worker up to his knees in sewage

NUPE supports water strike

By Rose Rielly

MANUAL staff working for the Thames Water Authority have overwhelmingly backed their Union, NUPE, in calling for an all out strike.

In the final voting on

the 7.9 per cent offer, delegates representing London sewerage and clean water employees described the offer as derisory and an attempt to cut their living standards.

In this, the first of the votes in NUPE's regions, little doubt was expressed at the impact of industrial action, particularly upon in-

dustry in London. George Caton the secretary of the stewards said: 'This shows that the membership is strongly behind the union in the rejection of the offer.'

Mark Sanders, NUPE's full-time official for the London Water Industry stated: 'We all hope that the employers see sense and get back around the negotiating

table. The men have been very patient but the vote shows that is rapidly ending.'

NUPE represents over 1,200 of the water workers, particularly in the sewerage treatment aspect of the TWA's functions. The action is in combination with the GMWU, TGWU, and the NAAAW.

BOC boss tops the pay league

By Tessa Van Gelderen

RICHARD Giordano, boss of BOC International, has emerged as the highest-paid executive of a major British company with a salary of £271,400.

Last Friday's *Financial Times* commented that 'Mr Giordano's performance has been more than satisfactory. The group made a pre-tax profit of £61.5m in the year to September 1980.'

In the last year BOC, one of the country's major suppliers of industrial gases, has also chopped an estimated 1,000 jobs. Hardest hit has been Corby, and this is directly linked to the closure of the town's steel plant.

Giordano has followed the path of BSC's boss Ian MacGregor, and joined British Oxygen from America. American business methods are being applied to both companies, with disastrous results for the rights and living standards of the workers involved.

No doubt this is what the *Financial Times* finds 'satisfactory' in Giordano's record at BOC.

Socialist Challenge

Outcry over secret BL document

By Pat Kane

IN last week's Socialist Challenge we revealed secret BL Ltd documents that exposed management plans to turn their car plants into mini-police states. We released copies of this document to the *Daily Star*, *Socialist Organiser*, which circulates weekly within the Labour Party, and to the trade unions within BL Ltd.

2,419,452 reasons to march in Glasgow on 21 February

THE Tories have done it again. This month's unemployment figure tops 2.4 million. And that's only the tip of the iceberg.

The real total is already over 3m, and it has been since the middle of last year. The Tory unemployment figures are a fraud.

Hidden from view are the 668,000 people on the various government employment and training schemes — heading for the dole heap. A further 400,000 workers are on short-time working.

Thousands of married women made redundant have never signed on.

As the Tory recession continues apace, there is a stirring of opposition. Last November 150,000 workers demonstrated against unemployment in Liverpool. Now two further protests are planned against the spiralling dole queues.

On 21 February, the Scottish trade unions and Labour Party will be organising a massive anti-Tory demonstration through Glasgow.

Brunt

Like Liverpool, Glasgow has borne the brunt of the present recession. Jobs have been lost in shipbuilding, at Chrysler's car plant, and in the steel industry.

Transport to the demonstration is being organised from all over the country. Trades councils in London, Birmingham, and Manches-

ter have booked trains. By joining the march you will help to ensure that 21 February is the next big day of action against the Tories.

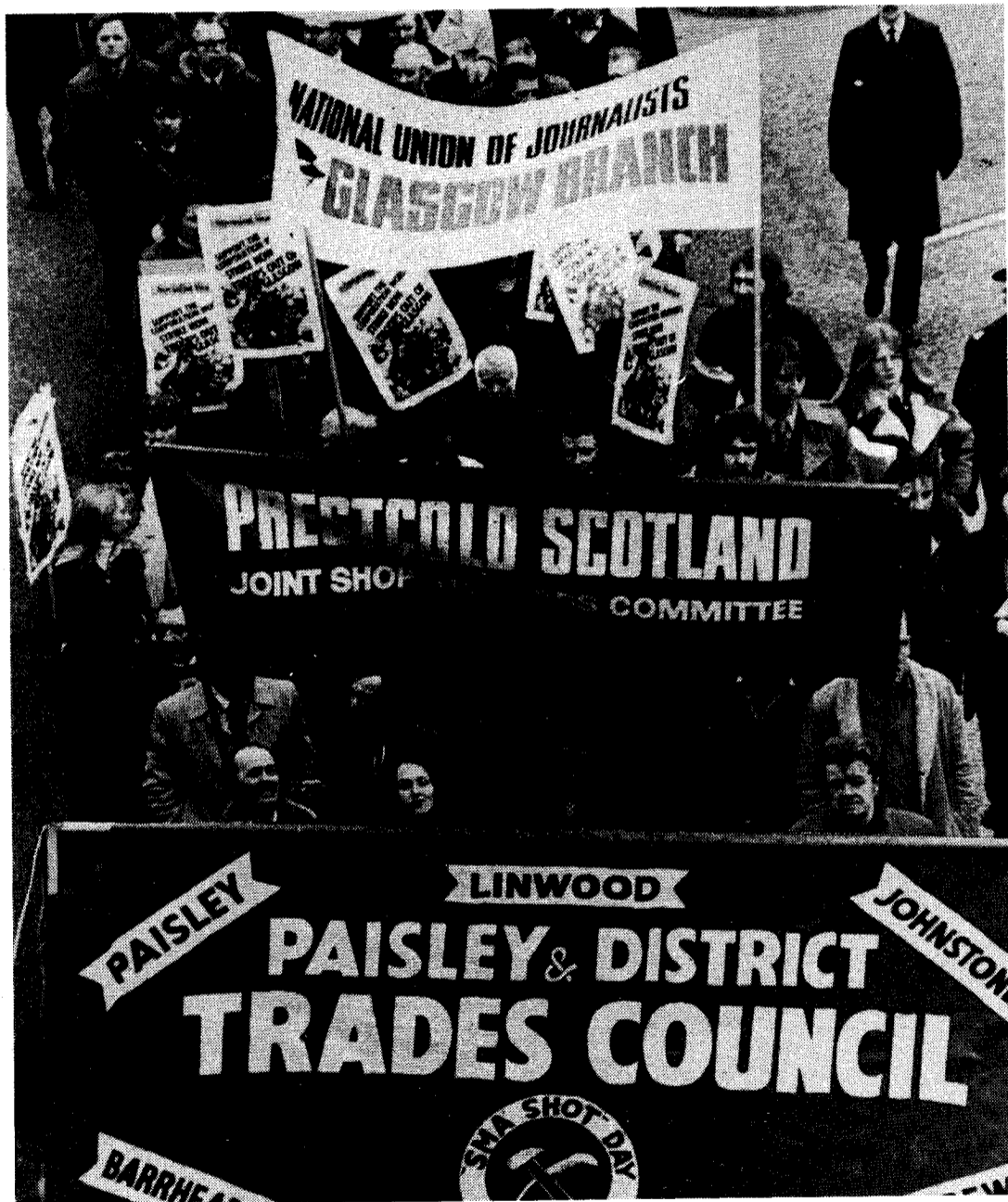
May Day this year will be the start of a massive protest march from Liverpool to London.

Last year 96,198 people were made redundant in the North-west. The demonstration is supported by trade unions, Labour Parties, and the North-West TUC.

The Tories are planning more unemployment. Their cuts in public services will throw thousands more people on the dole. Thatcher boasts of Britain being number three in the world arms spending league, while 1,600 will lose their jobs in Norfolk and Lincolnshire school meals services, and schools, hospitals, and local council services face the Tory axe.

The forthcoming demonstrations show that the most effective way to fight the Tories is through joint action by the trade unions and the Labour Party.

The marches and protests have to be turned into action in the factories and offices, to sweep the Tories from office and replace them with a Labour government.



The document outlined that BL Ltd was planning a massive attack on the civil liberties of their workforce. It aimed to introduce a new disciplinary code which would give BL managers draconian powers. The document showed that BL have complete disregard for the rights of their workforce.

The company planned to sack workers for 'gross misconduct'. BL managers would become judge and jury, with more powers than the police and courts.

Strike

BL even planned for official strike action after the first worker was sacked under the new code. Larry Grant of the National Council for Civil Liberties declared that 'the thing is horrific'.

The reaction from the unions was swift. Brian Mathers, Midlands regional secretary of the Transport Workers Union said, 'I cease to be surprised by what happens at BL. They are taking advantage of the 2.5m people out of work to rule by fear.'

Sam Robinson, secretary of the Birmingham district of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions said, 'Here's a company introducing its own "sus" law at a time when Parliament is talking about abolishing it.'

Exposed

The *Daily Star* gave the document front page coverage, and the plans of the BL board were exposed to thousands of BL workers who, unfortunately, don't read Socialist Challenge. The story was later picked up by the *Guardian*, *Newsline*, and the *Morning Star*.

This is the third time Socialist Challenge has published articles that exposed the plans of BL Ltd management. In the summer of '77, we reproduced tape recordings of a speech by Sir Richard Dobson, then BL chairperson, in which he made openly racist comments about overseas customers, slandered trade unionists, and condoned bribery.

Secret

He was subsequently sacked. Later we attempted to publish extensive details of BL Ltd's internal finances contained in secret documents but were prevented from doing so by legal action.

Despite the outcry from senior trade union leaders they have put forward no practical plans to fight BL Ltd's latest scheme. The union leadership has crumbled under every other similar management attack.

With the information revealed by Socialist Challenge, rank and file BL Ltd workers will be in a much better position to fight to defend their rights

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Bernadette McAliskey

BERNADETTE McAliskey remains 'very seriously ill' in a Belfast hospital.

Her condition is described as 'stable', and although the hospital authorities appear reluctant to give out much information, it seems she remains heavily sedated.

Her husband Michael is improving. He can now talk with visitors.

Last week he told Father O'Faul that the attack by Loyalist gunmen on the McAliskey home took place one hour before the British Army said it did. This raises yet another question about the army's presence on the scene.

• A march to commemorate Bloody Sunday will take place in Glasgow on 14 February. Assemble 10am, Dunolly St, Royspon Rd.

